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# ABBREVIATED TITLES OF SOME OF THE MOST OFTEN QUOTED WORKS

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- Aghānū, *Tables* = *Tables alphabétiques du Kitāb al-aghānū* rédigées par I. Guad, Leiden 1900.
- Aghānū, Brinnow = *The XXIII vol. of the Kitāb al-Aghānū*, ed. R. E. Brinnow, Leiden 1885.
- 'Alī Dīwānī = *Mamlūk-i 'Oghuznām* 1271/1272; *aw dūghānīyūl lughāt*, Istanbul 1323-27; 1905-9.
- al-Anbā', *Nuḥa* = *Nuḥat al-Aḥbāb* <sup>1</sup> *fi Tahābāt al-Uḥab*, Cairo 1294.
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- Balādhūri, *Futūḥ* = *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1866.
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- Dābī = *Buḡyat al-Muḥtām* <sup>1</sup> *fi Ta'riḥ al-Riḍā al-Andalus*, ed. F. Codera y J. Ribera, Madrid 1885 (BAH III).
- Dāmī = *Bayāt al-Hayawān* (quoted according to titles of articles).
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- Ya'qūt-Wiet = Ya'qūt, *Les Pays*, trad. par Gaston Wiet, Cairo 1937
- Yāqūt = Mu'djam al-Buldān, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1866-73 (anastatic reprint 1924)
- Yāqūt, *Udaba'* = *Iḥṣān al-'Arīf ilā Ma'rifat al-'Arīf*, ed. D. S. Margolouth, Leiden 1907-31 (GMS VI)
- Zambaur = E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de géologie et de chronologie pour l'histoire du Islam*, Hanover 1927 (anastatic reprint Bad Pyrmont 1955)
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## ABBREVIATIONS FOR PERIODICALS ETC.

- Abh. G. W. Gött. = *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
- Abh. K. M. = *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
- Abh. Pr. Ak. W. = *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
- Afr. Fr. = *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française.*
- AIEO Alger = *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales de l'Université d'Alger.*
- AUON = *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.*
- Anz. Wien = *Anzeiger der [kaiserlichen] Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse.*
- AO = *Acta Orientalia.*
- AO = *Archiv Oriental.*
- ARW = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*
- ASI = *Archaeological Survey of India.*
- ASI, NIS = *ditto*, New Imperial Series.
- ASI, AR = *ditto*, Annual Reports.
- ADDTCD = *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Dergisi.*
- BAH = *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana.*
- BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
- Beldten = *Beldten (of Türk Tarih Kurumu)*
- BFac. Ar. = *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University.*
- BEL. Or. = *Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas.*
- BGA = *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum.*
- BIE = *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte.*
- BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.*
- BRAH = *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia de España.*
- BSE = *Boşğaya Sözetkaya Entsiklopediya* (Large Soviet Encyclopedia) 1st ed.
- BSE? = the same, 2nd ed.
- BSLP = *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.*
- BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies.*
- BTLV = *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde [van Nederlandsch-Indië].*
- BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*
- COC = *Cahiers de l'Orient contemporain.*
- CT = *Cahiers de Tunisie.*
- EP = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edition.
- EIM = *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.*
- ERE = *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics.*
- GGA = *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.*
- GMS = *Gibb Memorial Series.*
- Gr. I. Ph. = *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.*
- IA = *Indian Archaeologist.*
- IBLA = *Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes, Tunis.*
- IC = *Islamic Culture.*
- IFD = *İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi.*
- IHQ = *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
- IQ = *The Muslim Quarterly.*
- IL = *Der Islam.*
- JA = *Journal Asiatique.*
- J Afr. S. = *Journal of the African Society.*
- JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
- J Anthr. I. = *Journal of the Anthropological Institute.*
- JBRAS = *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- JE = *Jewish Encyclopedia.*
- JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.*
- J(R)Num. S. = *Journal of the [Royal] Numismatic Society.*
- JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
- JPh. H. S. = *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.*
- JPHS = *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.*
- JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review.*
- JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- J(R)ASB = *Journal and Proceedings of the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
- JRGSG. S. = *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.*
- JSFO = *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne.*
- JSS = *Journal of Semitic Studies.*
- KCA = *Kölni Caoma Archivum.*
- KS = *Kelti Szemle* (Oriental Review).
- KSZE = *Kratkie Soobsheniya Instituta Etnografii* (Short communications of the Institute of Ethnography).
- LE = *Literaturaya Entsiklopediya* (Literary Encyclopedia).
- MDOG = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*
- MDPV = *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Philologischen Vereins.*
- MEA = *Middle Eastern Affairs.*
- MEJ = *Middle East Journal.*
- MFOR = *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph de Beyrouth.*
- MGMN = *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und Naturwissenschaften.*
- MGWJ = *Mitteilungen für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.*
- MIDEO = *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire.*
- MIE = *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte.*
- MIFAO = *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.*
- MMAF = *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire.*
- MMIA = *Madjallat al-Madimā' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabi*, Damascus.
- MO = *Le Monde oriental.*
- MOG = *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte.*
- MSE = *Malaya Sözetkaya Entsiklopediya* (Small Soviet Encyclopedia).
- MSFO = *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne.*
- MSLIP = *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris.*
- MSOS Afr. = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Afrikanische Studien.*
- MSOS As. = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Westasiatische Studien.*
- MTM = *Mülli Tebliḥi'lor Meşmū'at.*
- MW = *The Muslim World.*
- NC = *Numismatic Chronicle.*
- NGW Gött. = *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
- OC = *Oriens Christianus.*



OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.  
 OM = *Oriente Moderno*.  
 PEPQS = *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement*.  
 Pol. Mitt. = *Petermanns Mitteilungen*.  
 QDAP = *Quarterly Statement of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*.  
 RAfr. = *Revue Africaine*.  
 RCEA = *Rapports chronologiques d'Épigraphie arabe*.  
 REJ = *Revue des Études Juives*.  
 Rend. Lin. = *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*.  
 REI = *Revue des Études Islamiques*.  
 RHR = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*.  
 RIMA = *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes*.  
 RMM = *Revue du Monde Musulman*.  
 RO = *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*.  
 ROC = *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*.  
 ROL = *Revue de l'Orient Latin*.  
 RSO = *Rivista degli studi orientali*.  
 RT = *Revue Tanienné*.  
 SHAh, Heid. = *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*.  
 SHAh, Wien = *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*.  
 Silbiyar, Ak. = *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.  
 SDPMS Erl. = *Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Societät in Erlangen*.  
 SBFv, Ak. W. = *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*.  
 SE = *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* (Soviet Ethnography).

SO = *Sovetskoe Vostočevēdenie* (Soviet Orientalism).  
 Stud. Isl. = *Studia Islamica*.  
 S.Ya. = *Sovetskoe Yazykovedenie* (Soviet Linguistics).  
 TBG = *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*.  
 TD = *Türk Dergisi*.  
 TIE = *Travaux de l'Institut Ethnographique* (Works of the Institute of Ethnography).  
 TM = *Türkiyat Mecmuası*.  
 TOEM = *Ta'rikh-i 'Othmānī (Türk Ta'rikhi) En-ğümeni mecmu'ası*.  
 Verh. Ak. Amst. = *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*.  
 Versl. Med. Ak. Amst. = *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*.  
 VI = *Voprosi Istoriy* (Historical Problems).  
 WI = *Die Welt des Islams*.  
 WIn.s. = *ibid.*, new series.  
 Wiss. Veröff. DÖG = *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.  
 WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.  
 ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.  
 ZATW = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.  
 ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.  
 ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.  
 ZGEdh, Berl. = *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin*.  
 ZS = *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*.

## LIST OF transliterations

## SYSTEM OF transliteration OF ARABIC CHARACTERS:

Consonants			Long Vowels	Diphthongs
ا	lexcept when initial	آ	ā	aw
ب	b	ك	k	ay
ت	t	ل	l	
ث	ṭh	م	m	īyy (final form ī)
ج	ǧ	ن	n	ūww (final form ū)
ح	ḥ	ه	h	
خ	kh	و	w	u
د	d	ي	y	i
ذ	ḏh			
ر	r			

ا; at (construct state)

ا (article), al- and - (even before the antero-palatals)

## PERSIAN, TURKISH AND URDU ADDITIONS TO THE ARABIC ALPHABET:

پ	p	ځ	ǧh	ڤ	f	ڙ	z
ڄ	ǧ	څ	ǧh	ڄ	ǧ		

## Additional vowels:

- a) Turkish: e, i, o, ö, ü. Diacritical signs proper to Arabic are, in principle, not used in words of Turkish etymology.  
 b) Urdu: ē, ô.

For modern Turkish, the official orthography adopted by the Turkish Republic in 1928 is used. The following letters may be noted:

c = ڇ	ğ = ځ	j = ڄ	k = k and ځ	t = t and ڤ
ç = ڇ	h = h, ځ and ځh	ş = ځh	s = s, ځ and ځh	z = z, ځ and ځh

## SYSTEM OF transliteration OF CYRILLIC CHARACTERS:

а	a	е	e	к	k	п	p	ф	f	ш	sh	ю	yu
б	b	ж	zh	л	l	р	r	х	kh	ы	y	я	ya
в	v	з	z	м	m	с	s	ц	ts	ь	ʹ	ѣ	ě
г	g	н	n	т	t	ч	ch	ѡ	o	ѣ	ě		
д	d	ѣ	y	о	o	у	u	ш	sh	ѡ	o		

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- P. 1<sup>a</sup>, 'ADARDA, l. 6 read limit.  
 P. 2<sup>a</sup>, read ABAGA.  
 P. 3, ABARQURAD, Bibliography, add: G. C. Miles, *Abarquddis, A new Umayyad Mind*, in *American Numismatist*, Nov. 1952, 115-120.  
 P. 7<sup>a</sup>, l. 4 from below, for *al-shih-seven* read *shih-seven*.  
 P. 8<sup>a</sup>, 'ADARDA, l. add to the bibliography: Naser Allah Falsafi, *Zindagani-yi Shih 'Abbas-i Awwal*, Tehran 1953-; Miguel Asín Palacios, *Comentario de Don García de Silva y Figueroa de la embajada que de parte del Rey de España don Felipe III hizo al Rey Xa Abbas de Persia*, Madrid 1928; N. D. Mikhuch-Maclay, *K sepsou n nalogovoy politike v Iran pri Shakhie Abbasa I ...*, in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, vi (1949), 348-53; E. Kühnel, *Hân 'Abbas und die Diplomaten: Ber. v. Gahâgîr und Schah 'Abbas I*, ZDMG xvi (1942), 171-86.  
 P. 13<sup>a</sup>, l. 18, for 'Abbas Bilim I read 'Abbas I.  
 P. 21<sup>a</sup>, l. 36, read A. H. 407 al-Mukaddil.  
 P. 41<sup>a</sup>, l. 29, for 68/686-8 read 68/687-8.  
 P. 45<sup>a</sup>, l. 26, for by al-Zubayr read by 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr.  
 P. 47, 'ADD ALLAH B. AL-HUSAYN, Bibliography, add: M. Khadduri, *Fertile Crescent Unity*, in R. N. Frye, ed., *The Near East and the Great Powers*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1951, 137-177.  
 P. 57<sup>a</sup>, l. 66, for Abu Harith read Abu Harith.  
 P. 57<sup>a</sup>, add: 'ADD AL-AZIZ B. 'ADD AL-RAHMAN Ibn Abi 'AMIR [see 'AMIRIDS].  
 P. 58<sup>a</sup>, 'ADD AL-AZIZ B. MARWAN, Bibliography, add: U. Rizzitano, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwan, *governatore umayyade d'Egitto*, in *Rend. Lin.*, series iii, vol. ii, fasc. 5-6, 1947, 341-347.  
 P. 58<sup>a</sup>, l. 59, for 30 March read 30 May.  
 P. 59<sup>a</sup>, l. 50, 'ADD AL-AZIZ AL-DIHLAWI, read *Shih*.  
 P. 60, add 'ADD AL-DIHLAWI, Abu 'L-MARWAN [see AL-DIHLAWI].  
 P. 60, add 'ADD AL-DIHLAWI B. 'ADD AL-KARIM [see AL-KARIM].  
 P. 60, add 'ADD AL-DIHLAWI AL-AKHBAR [see AL-AKHBAR].  
 P. 60, add 'ADD AL-HAKK B. SAYF AL-DIN, Bibliography, add: Kh. A. Nizami, *Hayat Shaykh 'Abd al-Hakk Muhaddith Dihlawi*, Dhili 1953.  
 P. 61<sup>a</sup>, l. 46, after born Febr. 1852 add at Istanbul.  
 P. 61<sup>a</sup>, l. 30, for in 1937 read on 12 April 1937 at Istanbul.  
 P. 61<sup>a</sup>, l. 42, for Vâdigar-i Harp read Vâdigar-i Harb.  
 P. 61<sup>a</sup>, l. 2, for Wasil read Wasil.  
 P. 63<sup>a</sup>, 'ADD AL-HAMID II, l. 2, for 5th of 30 read 8th of 40.  
 P. 63<sup>a</sup>, l. 10 from below, for former read later.  
 P. 64<sup>a</sup>, l. 42, for *immedil* read *immedil*.  
 P. 64<sup>a</sup>, l. 42, for 1894 read 1899.  
 P. 65, Bibliography, last line, for 1343 read 1943.  
 P. 71, add 'ADD AL-KARIM B. 'ADJARRAD [see Ibn 'ADJARRAD].  
 P. 72<sup>a</sup>, l. 30, for *lâ'nâ* read *Fayyûda*.  
 P. 73<sup>a</sup>, l. 15, after son of 'Abd al-'Aziz [q.v.] add *born 30 May 1868*.  
 P. 76, add 'ADD AL-MALIK B. HUSAYN [see Ibn HUSAYN].  
 P. 78, add 'ADD AL-MALIK B. ZUHR [see Ibn ZUHR].  
 P. 80, add 'ADD AL-RAHIM B. 'ALI [see AL-RAHIM AL-FARUK].  
 P. 80, add 'ADD AL-RAHIM B. MUHAMMAD [see Ibn KURATA].  
 P. 91, add 'ADD AL-SALAM B. AHMAD [see Ibn AHMAD].  
 P. 91<sup>a</sup>, in Bibliography, for Kunushahjani read Gümüşhâhânî.  
 P. 97<sup>a</sup>, 'ADD EPRIND, l. 4, for 1704 read 1774.  
 P. 102<sup>a</sup>, l. 24, art. ABRADA, for 640-650 A.D. read 340-350 A.D..  
 P. 103<sup>a</sup>, l. 20, after item, le *Maison*, 1953, 339-42, add item, *La persécution des chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle*, Istanbul 1956.  
 P. 105<sup>a</sup>, l. 42, for al-hâjar al-Miri read al-hâjar al-Miri.  
 P. 106, 'ABU 'L-'AYNA', Bibliography, add Qubûg, *Hayawana*, index; 'Akalânî, *Lisân al-misîn*, v, 344-46; Safadi, *Hayawana*, 265; Ch. Pellat, in *RSO*, 1952, 66.  
 P. 109<sup>a</sup>, l. 8, from below, for 1330/1273 read 1330/1274.  
 P. 109<sup>a</sup>, l. 4, from below, for 1333/1279 read 1004/1299.  
 P. 109<sup>a</sup>, l. 3, from below, for 'Uthman III read 'Uthman II.  
 P. 111<sup>a</sup>, l. 66, for Nahîr<sup>am</sup> read Nahîr<sup>am</sup>.  
 P. 117<sup>a</sup>, l. 27, for al-Kahânî read al-Kahânî.  
 P. 117<sup>a</sup>, l. 15, read Akbar nama, iii.  
 P. 118<sup>a</sup>, l. 30, after Najjâl 1353, add and Cairo 1368/1949.  
 P. 118<sup>a</sup>, l. 63, for Hamâh read Hamâh.  
 P. 119<sup>a</sup>, l. 40, for Takwîn read Takwîn.  
 P. 123, ABU HANIFA, F. Rosenthal points out that the name of the grandfather (Zuf' or Zuph) corresponds to the Aramaic word for "small"; Abû Hanifa was therefore probably of local, Aramaean descent.  
 P. 125, ABU HATIM YUSUF B. MUHAMMAD, [see RUSTUMIDS].  
 P. 126<sup>a</sup>, l. 36, for al-Mahdist read al-Mukaddast.  
 P. 141<sup>a</sup>, l. 72, for ("the man with green spectacles") read ("the man with blue spectacles").  
 P. 142, ABU NAJJARA, Bibliography, add Ibrahim 'Abdull, *Abu Najjara*, Cairo 1953.  
 P. 143<sup>a</sup>, l. 9, ABU NUWAS, for (d. 198/873 read (d. 198/873).  
 P. 143<sup>a</sup>, l. 15, for al-Khatib read al-Khatib.  
 P. 144<sup>a</sup>, ABU NUWAS, add to bibliography: E. Wagner, *Der Charakter des Abû Nuwâs-Diwân*, Wiesbaden 1958.  
 P. 146<sup>a</sup>, l. 1, for bû read ba.  
 P. 147<sup>a</sup>, ABU SA'ID B. ABI 'L-KHAYR, add to bibliography: Muhammad b. Munawwar ... Maykhânî, *Asrar fi 'l-ta'aruf bi Mahdî al-Shaykh Abi Sa'id*, ed. Iqbalî Allâh Safa, Tehran 1332 s/1954.  
 P. 163, ABU YASIN AL-BAYZÂ, Bibliography, add H. Ritter, *Die Aussprüche des Bayezid Bishtâm*, in: *Westfälische Abhandlungen Rudolf Tschudi ... überreicht*, Wiesbaden 1934, 231-43.  
 P. 182<sup>a</sup>, l. 10, for zaman read zaman.  
 P. 183<sup>a</sup>, l. 9, for Bronquiere read Brocquiere.  
 P. 184, ADANA, add to bibliography: see also map of Adana in Nazim Torhan and Aziz Arsan, *Tarihte Adana*, Adana ca. 1954, new ed. "Turistik Adana" ca. 1957.  
 P. 189<sup>a</sup>, l. 48 read 1748, facs. III, 95 f.  
 P. 189<sup>a</sup>, 'ADHAN AL-KARIM, add to the bibliography: Ibn Kayyim al-Djauziyya, *al-Radd al-Karîm* fi 'l-Radd 'ala Mushrik 'Adhân al-Kabr, in *Madâni'at Sitt Rasâ'id*, Cairo 1954, n.d.  
 P. 188, ADHAN, Bibliography: add Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 127 ff. (French transl. in *RAfr.*, 1954, 96 ff.).  
 P. 190<sup>a</sup>, l. 5, for 1728 read 1729-30.  
 P. 194<sup>a</sup>, ADHAN, add to Bibliography: *Przeglad Orientalistyczny* 1956/1 (17), 86 ff.  
 P. 199<sup>a</sup>, ADHYAMAN, l. 2, for Husinamur read Husmanur.  
 P. 201<sup>a</sup>, l. 41, for 365/972 read 365/976.  
 P. 207<sup>a</sup>, 'ADD AL-AZIZ AL-DIHLAWI, l. 5, for 97143 read 97716.  
 P. 209<sup>a</sup>, l. 68, add the text of an administrative tribunal is therefore often called *dar al-'adl*.  
 P. 211<sup>a</sup>, l. 5, for 338/944 read 338/949.  
 P. 214<sup>a</sup>, l. 48, add On the Musta'ini of Ibn Bikhârigh, see Renaud, in *Hesp.*, 1930, 135 ff.  
 P. 214<sup>a</sup>, l. 23, add On the Tahwim al-Adwiyah of al-'Alî, see Renaud, in *Hesp.*, 1933, 69 ff.  
 P. 215<sup>a</sup>, l. 15 for Bahrâ read Bahrâ.  
 P. 215<sup>a</sup>, l. 65 for SHANAWANAH read SHANAWANAH.  
 P. 224, AFGHANISTAN, (ii) KHYBERISTAN, Bibliography: add Iwarida Sh. and H. F. Schuman, *Notes on Mongolian Groups in Afghanistan, Silver Jubilee volume of Zinbun-hakuge-Kenkyusho*, Kyoto Univ. 1954, 480-515 (includes linguistic texts).  
 P. 225, AFGHANISTAN, (iv) RELIGION, Bibliography: add W. Jackson and L. H. Gray, in *ERE*, s.v. Afghanistan, i, 125, 160; N. Slousch, *Les Juifs en Afghanistan*, RMM, 1908, 502 ff.; M. Akram, *Bibliographie analytique de l'Afghanistan*, i, Paris 1947.  
 P. 228<sup>a</sup>, l. 7, from below, for Ghazna read Kâbul.  
 P. 228<sup>a</sup>, l. 9, from below, for 1003/1611 read 1003/1595.  
 P. 234<sup>a</sup>, APLAT, at end, change full stop to comma and add by Tahsin Yavuz, 2 vols., 1955-5.  
 P. 244<sup>a</sup>, l. 34, for Persians read Akkyunlu.  
 P. 244<sup>a</sup>, ARVON KARA HUSAR, add after line 50: Kara Husar formerly owed some of its importance to being a junction of the caravan routes between Izmir and the constant centres in the interior (Ankara, Kayseri, Tokat, etc.) on the one hand, and between Constantinople, or rather Soutari (Uskûddir), and Syria on the other: see F. Tschernner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, i, Leipzig 1924, esp. 127; more recently it has become an important railway junction on the Izmir-Konya and Anatolian systems.  
 P. 249<sup>a</sup>, l. 49, read Iqariyya.  
 P. 250<sup>a</sup>, l. 21, add Ibrahim 'Shabbûb, in *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes*, 1956, 339 ff.  
 P. 250<sup>a</sup>, l. 30, read 128/765.  
 P. 257<sup>a</sup>, l. 29, read of the brother of 'Ad.  
 P. 267<sup>a</sup>, AHMAD I, l. 4, for 22 January read 22 December.  
 P. 268<sup>a</sup>, AHMAD II, l. 4, for Raqib read Râshid.  
 P. 268<sup>a</sup>, Bibliography, l. 1, for Raqib read Râshid.  
 P. 268<sup>a</sup>, AHMAD III, l. 4, for 27 August read 23 August.  
 P. 268<sup>a</sup>, l. 35, for Kôpûllâ read Kôpûllâ-êddê.  
 P. 277<sup>a</sup>, AHMAD B. HANBAL, add to bibliography: H. LAOUT, *Les premières professions de foi hanbalites*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, iii/1957, 7-36.  
 P. 279<sup>a</sup>, l. 29, for as a magistrate in the Native Courts read as a *khâfi* in the *Shari'a* Courts.  
 P. 287<sup>a</sup>, l. 32, read in 1891, and his memoirs appeared under the title.  
 P. 300<sup>a</sup>, l. 32 and 33 from below, read the early Middle Ages.  
 P. 317, heading, for Ak Kirmân read Ak Kirmân-Ak Koyunlu.  
 P. 312, heading, for Ak Kirmân read Ak Koyunlu.  
 P. 312<sup>a</sup>, Bibliography, for Isang read Ynang.  
 P. 312<sup>a</sup>, AK KOYUNLU, add to bibliography: J. Aubin, *Notes sur quelques documents Aq Koyunlu*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, i/1956, 123-47.  
 P. 317<sup>a</sup>, AK SHARR, add to Bibliography: Ibrahim Hakki Konyali, *Akshir*, Istanbul; Rifki Melîî Merîç, *Akshir Turbe ve Kibletleri*, TM, v, Istanbul.



- P. 317<sup>a</sup>, l. 8, after M. Roychoudhuri, *The Din-i-Ilahi*, Calcutta 1941, add 2nd edition, Calcutta 1952 (with different pagination and additional appendix "C" to Chapter V).
- P. 321<sup>a</sup>, l. 30, add *tr.* and annotated by Camara Lamine, Conakry 1950.
- P. 330<sup>a</sup>, l. 2, ~~AGHUND-ZABA, delete the words in his early days~~
- P. 332<sup>a</sup>, l. 11 f., read *in ALUON*, N.S., 4 (*Scritti in onore di Luigi Bonaldi*).
- P. 332<sup>a</sup>, l. 17 f., read *The Hague*, 1958.
- P. 332<sup>a</sup>, ~~AGHUND-ZABA, Bibliography: add M. F. Achundov (= Akhund-zade), *Pis'ma Kemal-dodli*, Baku 1959 (in Azeri); M. Kafili, *Murza Fatali Akhundov*, Moscow 1959 (in Russian); K. Tarverdieva, *Akhundov i Achundov*, Yerevan 1958 (in Armenian). See also P. Gasymzade, *XIX-az Azerbaydjan elchilikci tarixi*, Baku 1956 (in Azeri), 360-371; G. Guseinov, *It istoriy shikhestsennoy i jilskoj myli v Azerbaydjan XIX veka*, Baku 1958, 162-295.~~
- P. 337<sup>a</sup>, l. 18, add (*see DUBU*).
- P. 353<sup>a</sup>, add 'ALAWI, BA (*see BA 'ALAWI*).
- P. 358<sup>a</sup>, add AHRANIA (*see ARSAWU*).
- P. 367<sup>a</sup>, l. 55, read *various*, the future.
- P. 368<sup>a</sup>, 'ALI b. ABI TALIB, *Bibliography*, add 'Abd al-Fattāh 'Abd al-Makṣūd, *al-Imām 'Alī b. Abī Tālib*, Cairo 1940-53.
- P. 374<sup>a</sup>, l. 9-10, read *spoken in the heart of the Oran region*.
- P. 375<sup>a</sup>, l. 11-12, delete *except . . . .* region.
- P. 375<sup>a</sup>, l. 40, read *biliteral*.
- P. 376<sup>a</sup>, l. 16-17, read *Only Old Tēns*.
- P. 376<sup>a</sup>, l. 20, read *everywhere (except in Miliana and Blida)*.
- P. 376<sup>a</sup>, l. 23, read *Cherchell, Miliana, Média*.
- P. 377<sup>a</sup>, l. 21, read *vowels in open syllables*.
- P. 377<sup>a</sup>, l. 60, read *Oran and in the Chéll region*.
- P. 378<sup>a</sup>, l. 30, read *of the Oued Souf*.
- P. 379<sup>a</sup>, l. 49, add G. Kampffmeyer, *Südgermanische Studien*, Berlin 1905.
- P. 380<sup>a</sup>, l. 60, read *žibān*.
- P. 380<sup>a</sup>, l. 23, read *831/768, 1965*.
- P. 381<sup>a</sup>, l. 9, read *Jā, 1869, 6th ser., xiv*.
- P. 388<sup>a</sup>, l. 8, from below, read *869-85*.
- P. 392<sup>a</sup>, add 'ALI al-Hādī (*see al-'ASKARī, ABU 'L-HASAN*).
- P. 400<sup>a</sup>, 'ALI WIRDI KHAN, *Bibliography*: add Kalkinkar Datta, *Alivardi and his times*, Calcutta 1939, (contains an exhaustive bibliography).
- P. 404<sup>a</sup>, ALJAMIA. Circumstances beyond the control of the Editorial Committee have made it necessary for the text and the bibliography to appear as independent contributions by two different authors.
- P. 429<sup>a</sup>, l. 14, from below, for 1836-39 read 1836-99.
- P. 429<sup>a</sup>, ALWAR, read ALWAR.
- P. 430<sup>a</sup>, AMAN, *Bibliography*: add E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, l. Paris 1954, 426 ff.; P. S. Leight and G. Astuti, *La posizione giuridica delle colonie di mercanti occidentali nel Vicino Oriente e nell'Africa del Nord nel medio evo*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. Intern. de Droit Comparé*, III, Rome 1953, 133-146; M. Hamidullah, *Extraterritorial Capitulations in favour of Muslims in classical times*, in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, I, 1948, 47-60; A. Abel, *L'étranger dans l'Islam classique*, in *L'étranger* (Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, IX), 1957, 331-351.
- P. 433<sup>a</sup>, l. 50, add For a confirmation of the term *mubāḥ* in an inscription at Leptis Magna, see G. Levi Della Vida, in *Africa Italiana*, vi, 1935, 4-6; J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, 93 § 211.
- P. 437<sup>a</sup>, l. 16, AWIS, for *economic read economic*.
- P. 440<sup>a</sup>, add al-'AMIRI (*see MUHAMMAD B. YUSUF, al-'AMIRI*).
- P. 497<sup>a</sup>, l. 8, add J. D. Latham, *Towards a Study of Andalusian Immigration and its place in Tunisian History*, in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, 19-20, 1957, 203-252.
- P. 506<sup>a</sup>, ANJUMAN (India and Pakistan), *Bibliography*, add Sayyid Ḥaḡḡinī Ta'rīḡh-i Pandjāh Salā-e-Anjuman-i Tarakki-i Urdu, Karachi 1953.
- P. 511<sup>a</sup>, l. 9, from the bottom, delete *in October*.
- P. 511<sup>a</sup>, l. 10, from the bottom, for June 1919 read September 1919.
- P. 511<sup>a</sup>, add al-ANKURADA, also al-Aḡkabada, name of Lombardy in Arabic geographical works. (ED.).
- P. 539<sup>a</sup>, l. 43, DĀIRAT AL-'ARAB, for *The boundary . . . . . general way, read The boundary between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and the boundaries of their neutral zone were agreed upon between Britain and the then Sultan of Najd (later King of Saudi Arabia) in the convention of al-'Uḡayr of 1922 but were not demarcated on the ground*.
- P. 548<sup>a</sup>, l. 49, add Recently discovered inscriptions indicate that the hypothesis set forth in this article with respect to the starting point of the "Sabaeen era" is untenable, and that certain changes should be made in the chronology for Southern Arabia; see G. Ryckmans in *Muséon*, lxi (1953); J. Ryckmans in *Muséon*, lxi (1953); idem, *La persécution des chrétiens égyptiens au sixième siècle*, Istanbul 1956.
- P. 554<sup>a</sup>, l. 28, DĀIRAT AL-'ARAB, for *In the latter part . . . . . two years of rule, read In the latter part of his reign he devoted most of his attention to his East African possessions, but their independence under a younger line of his descendants was recognised in 1277/1861 by an arbitration of Lord Canning, Viceroy of India. The only Ibadī Imam elected during the century, 'Azān*

- b. Kays, failed to win recognition by the British and was killed in battle in 1287/1871 after two years of rule.
- P. 555<sup>a</sup>, l. 15, DĀIRAT AL-'ARAB, for *but in . . . . . sides, read though the Sultan did not relinquish his claim to sovereign rights over the whole of 'Umān*. Thus in 1955, when the Imam, ḡāḡh b. 'Alī, sought independent membership of the Arab League, the Sultan held this to be an infringement of the terms of the Treaty of al-Sib and advanced into the interior of 'Umān.
- P. 556<sup>a</sup>, DĀIRAT AL-'ARAB, *Bibliography*: add Eric Macro, *Bibliography of the Arabian Peninsula*, University of Miami Press, 1960; idem, *Bibliography on Yemen with notes on Macha*, University of Miami Press, 1960.
- P. 568<sup>a</sup>, l. 15, read A. C. Woolner.
- P. 573<sup>a</sup>, l. 8, read 5th ed., Cairo 1950.
- P. 573<sup>a</sup>, 'ARABIYYA, add to *Bibliography*: G. V. Cereteli, *Arabische dialectal Sredney Azii*, Vol. I, *Bukharskiy Arabiyyi dialekt*, Tiflis 1958.
- P. 575<sup>a</sup>, l. 25, after A. Worsley, *Sudanese Grammar*, London 1925, vi-80 pp. in 8 vo., add now superseded by J. Spencer Trimingham, *Sudan Colloquial Arabic*, Oxford 1946.
- P. 575<sup>a</sup>, l. 26, for *Sudan Arabic, English-Arabic Vocabulary, read Sudan Arabic Texts*.
- P. 608<sup>a</sup>, ARBŪNA, *Bibliography*: add J. Lacam, *Vestiges de l'occupation arabe en Narbonne, in Cahiers archéologiques*, viii, 93-115 (discovery, notably, of a *mīḡrah*).
- P. 609<sup>a</sup>, ll. 1-3 from below: delete the passage in brackets and what follows.
- P. 624<sup>a</sup>, ARCHERVEN, *Bibliography*: add R. W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqua Mosque London 1949*; O. Grabar, *The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem*, in *Art Orientalis*, 1959, 33-62.
- P. 649<sup>a</sup>, l. 45, add I. Krackovskij, *Vtoraya zapiska Abū-Dulafa v geograficheskom slovar'e yakuba (Azerbaijani, Armenia, Iran)*, Izbrannye sochineniya, Moscow-Leningrad 1955, 280-292 (The second notice on Abū Dulaf in the Geog. Dict. of Yāḡūt (Aḡharbāyḡān, Armenia, Iran), Selected works); N. D. Mikulov-Makla, *Geograficheskoye sochineniye XIII v. na persidskom yazike (novyye istochniki po istoricheskoy geografii Azerbaydžana i Armenii)*, Učenyje Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya, IX, 1954 (A geographical work of the 13th century in Persian: a new source for the historical geography of Aḡharbāyḡān and Armenia. Learned Members of the Institute of Orientalism).
- P. 662<sup>a</sup>, l. 36, ARSLĀN, *for (see GHURŪM) read (see SIKKA)*.
- P. 667<sup>a</sup>, ARTUKUD, add to *bibliography*: Ali Sevim, *Artuk ağulları Beyliklerinin ilk devri*, Thesis Ankara 1958.
- P. 668<sup>a</sup>, l. 2, for Ibn Kaysān read Ibn Kaysān.
- P. 668<sup>a</sup>, l. 4, for al-Talkānī read al-Talkānī.
- P. 668<sup>a</sup>, l. 13, for Al-Dubhān read Ibn al-Dubhān.
- P. 668<sup>a</sup>, l. 15, for al-Sakkāt read Ibn al-Sakkāt.
- P. 668<sup>a</sup>, l. 20, for al-Kalāwī read al-Kalāwī.
- P. 669<sup>a</sup>, l. 19, for the symbol | o for the 'quiescent', read the symbol | for the 'quiescent'.
- P. 680<sup>a</sup>, for ARZŪ KHĀN, read ARZŪ, KHĀN.
- P. 681<sup>a</sup>, 'ASABIYYA, add to *bibliography*: H. Ritter, *Irrational Solidarity groups, in Oriens* 1/1 (1948), 1-44.
- P. 688<sup>a</sup>, for ASFĀR B. SHIRAWAYH, read ASFĀR B. SHIRAWAYH.
- P. 688<sup>a</sup>, l. 40, delete.
- P. 688<sup>a</sup>, l. 13, read of the son of his maternal uncle.
- P. 692<sup>a</sup>, l. 31, ASRĀ AL-UGHŪD, for (of Hinnom) read (Vale of Hinnom).
- P. 705<sup>a</sup>, 'SHIRĪK, *Bibliography*, add G. Vajda, *Jéâne musulman et jéâne juif*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 12-13, 1938, 367-85.
- P. 710<sup>a</sup>, ll. 13-15, AḡYA, for *caused her . . . . . stone, read caused a big rock to be cast upon her; but as God took her soul to himself, the rock fell on a lifeless body*.
- P. 721<sup>a</sup>, l. 21 and 22 from below, read *lūl (Atīl [g.s.])*.
- P. 722<sup>a</sup>, l. 8, read Russians.
- P. 722<sup>a</sup>, ATAB (ATABER), add at the end of the art.: *The atabeg al-'asākir under the Ayyūbids and the first Mamlūks had restricted functions; he was the commander of the army during the minority of the prince, but in contrast with the atabeg under the Salḡūkīds he was not the tutor of the young prince; a relative or a special freedman was appointed as tutor*.
- P. 735<sup>a</sup>, l. 59, ATRARA, for 8 June 1898, read 8 April 1898 (see Sir G. Arthur, *Life of Lord Kitchener*, London 1920, i, 226; Croiset, *Modern Egypt*, London 1908, ii, 102).
- P. 736<sup>a</sup>, l. 8, read al-Subb.
- P. 736<sup>a</sup>, l. 56, read: Ḥaḡḡidī Khālifa.
- P. 735<sup>a</sup>, add ARABICUS AND ISRAELICUS (*see SA'UD*).
- P. 736<sup>a</sup>, l. 34, read *Khāit*.
- P. 736<sup>a</sup>, l. 15, for 1, 387, read 1, 408.
- P. 738<sup>a</sup>, l. 1, insert and at least specialised applications to before the history of science.
- P. 738<sup>a</sup>, l. 41, read and the famous, widely read *De inventoriis rerum*.
- P. 739<sup>a</sup>, l. 44, 'AWĀMIR, after no claim to be a range of their own, insert Ibn Rakkād's position as paramount *shaykh* of the nomadic elements of the central group has been disputed since 1947 by Sittm Ibn Hamm, also of Al-Badī.
- P. 779<sup>a</sup>, l. 34, for 1319/1903 read 1319/1901-2.
- P. 779<sup>a</sup>, l. 34, for 1918 read 1896-7.
- P. 783<sup>a</sup>, l. 11, read 748-760/1346-1360.
- P. 790<sup>a</sup>, add AYYŪD ART (*see SUPPLEMENT*).
- P. 813<sup>a</sup>, l. 12, read 1202/1787.
- P. 813<sup>a</sup>, l. 36, read Rāy.
- P. 826<sup>a</sup>, l. 25, read 'Azīz (*see KARĀKLEBī-ĀDE*).

- P. 827<sup>b</sup>, l. 34, read *Tuḡadd*.  
 P. 828<sup>a</sup>, l. 11, read *Khāḡir*.  
 P. 849<sup>a</sup>, l. 43, for *son-to-law* read *son*.  
 P. 850<sup>a</sup>, BAKH HAWK, l. 4, after *income* delete *full stop and add* (cf. the *Tayyārāt* mentioned by Naṣr al Dīn T01, *ISOAS*, 2, 2949, 701, 774).  
 P. 855<sup>a</sup>, l. 7, from the bottom, read *Chaḡḡidū*.  
 P. 850<sup>a</sup>, l. 42, read *Fawḡ'id al-Fa'ād*.  
 l. 44, read *Bihyāt*.  
 l. 57, read *Tawāḡ*.  
 P. 850<sup>a</sup>, l. 4, read *Partiyāl* (in Etah District).  
 l. 13, read *Abban*.  
 l. 17, for *Djalāl al-Uta*, read *Djalāl Khān*.  
 P. 857<sup>a</sup>, l. 10, read *Ma'āḡir-i*.  
 l. 23, read *Akhari*.  
 P. 860<sup>a</sup>, l. 18, read his uncle *Hamūd*.  
 P. 908<sup>a</sup>, BAGHDAD, add to Bibliography: M. Canard, *Hamūdides*, i, 155-74; G. Mahdīsi, *The topography of eleventh century Baghdad - Materials and notes*, in *Arabica*, vi, 1959, 178-97 and 281-309.  
 P. 913<sup>a</sup>, l. 62, read *Tārā Bū*.  
 P. 914<sup>a</sup>, l. 24, read *Ma'āḡir-i*.  
 l. 28, read *'All*.  
 l. 30, read *Kāncāḡḡ*, *A'zam al-Harb*.  
 l. 42, read *Ma'āḡir-i*.  
 P. 923<sup>a</sup>, for *Ḥamzāt al-Bāḡiya* [see MALIK BIFH NĀSIR], read *NĀHḡḡAT AL-BĀḡIYA* [see MALIK BIFH NĀSIR].  
 P. 927<sup>a</sup>, read *BAHḡ ADEHYAR*.  
 P. 952<sup>a</sup>, l. 13, for *Rāja*, read *Kāḡḡā*.  
 l. 14, read *divin*; and read *Nā'ib*.  
 l. 23, read *Barehwi*.  
 l. 32, read *Gus*.  
 P. 953<sup>a</sup>, l. 57, read *Ghāl*.  
 l. 59, read *Ramādān*.  
 P. 954<sup>a</sup>, l. 8, delete *the bracket*.  
 l. 13, read *Ma'āḡir*.  
 P. 957<sup>a</sup>, l. 34, read *Muḡammad*.  
 l. 70, read *Shukūb*.  
 P. 957<sup>a</sup>, l. 10, *Muḡammad (Ahmad) Aḡḡar* should not be in italics.  
 l. 14, read *al-Hukūmat*.  
 l. 66, for *'* Prophet, read *Prophet*.  
 P. 958<sup>a</sup>, l. 5, read *Sa'ūd*.  
 l. 39, read *al-buḡra min*.  
 l. 40, read *al-Huḡra*.  
 l. 41, read *al-Madina al-Munawwara*.  
 P. 978<sup>a</sup>, ll. 31-32 to be placed after l. 24.  
 P. 983<sup>a</sup>, l. 17, delete *A. SCHAADE* and read (G. E. VON GRUNERBAUM).  
 P. 990<sup>a</sup>, *BALBAN*, read [see DIBLI SULFANAYE].  
 P. 1016<sup>a</sup>, add between lines 23 and 24: In Spanish, *albanear* means a certain triangular set of beams in the frame of a roof.  
 P. 1020<sup>a</sup>, l. 1, read *Makhhlil*.  
 P. 1023<sup>a</sup>, l. 6, from below, read *A'lim*.  
 P. 1037<sup>a</sup>, l. 13, add *Fathūḡ-i Jahandari of Zia-u'din Barani*, introd. by Muḡammad Ḥabīb and Engl. transl. by Afzar Begum, in *Medical India Quarterly*, III/1 and 2, Aligarh 1957, 1-87.  
 P. 1037<sup>a</sup>, *BARANI*, add to Bibliography: P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, London 1960, 20-39.  
 P. 1053, heading, read *BARKEYARUK*.  
 P. 1053<sup>a</sup>, l. 7, for *Abū Ṭ-Hāḡim* read *Abū Ṭ-Kāḡim*.  
 P. 1069<sup>a</sup>, article *BARUD* (India), for *Barani* read *Bernier*.  
 P. 1105<sup>a</sup>, l. 70, *BENARES*, for *formed* read *forced*.  
 P. 1179<sup>a</sup>, *BERBERS*, section IV, 2nd para., after H. Lhote, *Touaregs du Hoggar*, 221 ff.; add *idem*, *Comment campent les Touaregs*, Paris 1947.  
 P. 1179<sup>a</sup>, *BERBERS*, section VI, add to Bibliography: J. Besancenot, *Bijoux arabes et berbères du Maroc*, Casablanca 1959; Délégation générale du gouvernement en Algérie, *Collections ethnographiques*, Album I, *Touareg Ahaggar*, Paris 1959.  
 P. 1192<sup>a</sup>, l. 44, *BUARKAN*, for *Kubūḡa* read *Kabūḡa*.  
 P. 1196<sup>a</sup>, l. 68, *BHOḡAT*, for *Jānah-i read Fāḡnah-i*.  
 P. 1202<sup>a</sup>, l. 10, for *Bombay* read *Mysore*.  
 l. 11, for 350 miles south read 250 miles south-east.  
 l. 45, for *Sivāḡḡi* read *Shivāḡḡi*.  
 l. 71, for *Marāt'hās* read *Marāḡhās*.  
 P. 1203<sup>a</sup>, ll. 25, 32, 35, 43, for *'All* read *'All*.  
 P. 1204<sup>a</sup>, l. 19, for *Andā* read *Andā*.  
 P. 1214<sup>a</sup>, *BUḡAD*, add to Bibliography: Muḡammad Mostafā, *Ṣuwar min madrasat Dihād fi Ṭ-maḡimū'd al-fannīya bi Ṭ-Kāḡina*, Baden-Baden, 1959 (also published in German as *Perische Miniaturen Werke der Dihād-Schule aus Sammlungen in Kairo*).

- P. 1234<sup>a</sup>, *BUREḡḡIK*, add to Bibliography: J.-B. Chabot, *Un épisode inédit de l'histoire des Croisades (Le siège de Birta, 1145)*, in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes Rendus* 1917, Paris 1917, 77-84.  
 P. 1236<sup>a</sup>, l. 58, *AL-BURĀLI*, for *al-Munadḡḡima* read *al-Munadḡḡid*.  
 P. 1241<sup>a</sup>, *BURR* B. ANḡ *ḲHĀḡIM*, add to Bibliography: G. Von Grunenberg, *Burr b. Am Khāḡim: Collection of Fragments*, in *JRAS* 1959, 535-67.  
 P. 1242<sup>a</sup>, l. 59, *BURR* B. *ḲHĀḡIM* *AL-MARḡI*, for *Māḡlāl* read *Māḡlāl*.  
 P. 1248<sup>a</sup>, l. 31, *BISTĀM* B. *KAYS*, for *Kabīb* read *Ḥabīb*.  
 l. 34, *BISTĀM* B. *KAYS*, for *Sab'ūḡ* read *Sab'ūḡ*.  
 l. 34, *BISTĀM* B. *KAYS*, for *Mu'talif* read *Mu'talif*.  
 l. 40, *BISTĀM* B. *KAYS*, for 1-000 read 1-100.  
 l. 44, *BISTĀM* B. *KAYS*, for *al-Hayawān* read *al-Hayawān*.  
 P. 1257<sup>a</sup>, after title *BONNEVAL* insert title *BOOKKEEPING* [see *MUHĀSABA*].



# A

AARON [see HĀRŌN]

ĀB [see TA'KĪSH]

'ABĀ' [see KĪSĀ']

'ABĀBDA (sg. 'Awwāḍ), an Arabic-speaking tribe of Bedja (q.v.) origin in Upper Egypt with branches in the northern Sudan. The northern limits of their territory in Egypt is the desert road leading from Kena to Kusayr, and their nomad sections roam the desert to the east of Luxor and Aswān. The original 'Abābda stock is most truly represented by the nomads but there are also sedentary sections who have intermarried with the *fallāḥin* and adopted much of their way of life. On the Red Sea coast there is a small clan of fisher-folk, the Kīrayḍiyyā, who by some are not recognized as true 'Abābda.

Like the rest of the Bedja the 'Abābda claim Arab descent, and the genealogical table of 'Abbād, their eponymous ancestor, begins with Zubayr b. al-'Awwān, a famous companion of the Prophet. Some of the tribesmen living in the Sudan believe that they are descended from Salmān, an Arab of the Banū Hīlāl. Though doubtless fictitious in respect of the tribe as a whole this claim to Arab descent yet embodies a genuine memory of the process by which *Ḍuhayna* and Rabi'a Arabs acquired an ascendancy in the Sudan through marriages with the daughters of Bedja chiefs, amongst whom descent was originally reckoned in the female line. This process which according to Ibn Khaldūn led to the passing of the Nubian kingdom into the hands of the *Ḍuhayna* must also have taken place in the case of the Bedja.

The Abābda have been affected by Arab influence more strongly than those Bedja who still retain their Hamitic tongue, so much so that in the Sudan they are not easily distinguished from the Sudan Arabs of the *Ḍja'īyyin* group. They may in fact be held to occupy an intermediate position between the Bedja proper and the fully arabicized elements who have become integrated in the Sudan Arabs. In their physical characteristics, nevertheless, the 'Abābda together with the Tigre-speaking Banī 'Amīr bear a closer resemblance to the proto-Egyptian inhabitants of the Nile valley than the other Bedja. The Arabic spoken by the 'Abābda is quite distinct from that of the *fallāḥin*, and the word lists collected by H. A. Winckler contain an appreciable number of Bedja words.

In their material culture and their customs the 'Abābda agree more closely with the Bedja proper than with the Arabs. Certain wide-spread customs which they share with the Sudan Arabs, such as the infibulation of girls and the ceremonial respect of in-law-relations, are of Hamitic origin. The

'Abābda use the typically Bedja style of hairdressing (*dirsa*) which has given rise to the nickname Fuzzy-wuzzy, though this custom now tends to die out. Their tents of palm-matting are quite unlike the Arab 'houses of hair'. Their marriages, like those of the Bedja proper, are matrilineal but their women do not enjoy the freedom which is allowed to their sisters of the Bighāriyyin. The 'Abābda moreover share with the Bedja, but not the Arabs, certain taboos connected with milk: only men may do the milking, for which only gourds and wicker vessels may be used, and no man may drink of the milk he has drawn until someone else has drunk.

The influence of Islam, which nominally is the religion of all the 'Abābda, has made a marked impression only on the more sophisticated elements; in the life of the majority religion, as distinct from traditional beliefs and superstitions, plays no important part. They venerate *shaykh* Abū 'I-Ḥasan al-Shādhūl as their patron saint, and his tomb in the Atbal desert is a place of pilgrimage at which sacrifices are offered. It is also common to dedicate the milk of a beast to al-Shādhūl, and the milk of such animals is always milked into separate wicker vessels. When slaying an animal a piece of the victim's right ear is reserved for al-Shādhūl or some other well-known saint and hung on the tent-pole. The celebration of the 'Id al-kabīr at the tomb of al-Shādhūl is the most important religious event of the year. Sacrifices are also offered at the tomb of the eponymous ancestor 'Abbād near Edfū, and there is a cult of a female saint (*faṣṣa*) who lived some fifty years ago and was famous for gifts of divination. The 'Abābda like the Bighāriyyin believe that an animal sacrificed at the tomb of a saint turns into a gazelle or ibex, and that such animals are protected by the saint. They also observe certain taboos about birds and will not eat the flesh of the sandgrouse or the desert-partridge, and both 'Abābda and Bighāriyyin are particularly afraid of killing the bearded vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus*).

The most important section of the Egyptian 'Abābda, of whom there are some 14,000, are the 'Ashshūbāb, who are divided into a number of clans. Their paramount *shaykh* are descended from one *Ḍjabrān* who flourished towards the end of the 18th century, and beyond whom there is no reliable historical tradition. The largest and best known sections in the Sudan are the Fakarā and the Mīlaykīb who, according to tradition, were brought to their present habitat by the Funj kings of Sennār in order to protect the caravan routes between Egypt and the Sudan. A small contingent of 'Abābda, characterized by Cailliaud as the worst

soldiers in the army, were employed as irregulars by Ismā'īl Paṣṣa during the invasion of the Sudan. During the 19th century the 'Abāda are often mentioned by travellers as guides and camel men between Korosko and Abū Hamad, and their chiefs of the Khālita family held posts of distinction under the Egyptian government. Huwayy Khālifa was *sauḍ* of Berber at the time of the Mahdist rebellion, and 'Abāda irregulars shared in the fighting against the Darwishes. Apart from traditions about wars with neighbouring tribes there are no data for their early history.

**Bibliography:** H. A. MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922; C. G. Seligman, *Races of Africa*, London 1930; G. W. Murray, *Sons of Isma'il*, London 1935; H. A. Winkler, *Ägyptische Volkskunde*, Stuttgart 1936 (full bibliography). (S. HILLESUM)

**ABAD** originally means time in an absolute sense and is synonymous with *dahr* (q.v.; see also *Zamān*).

When under the influence of Greek philosophy the problem of the eternity of time (see *KIDĀM*) was discussed in Islam, *abad* (or *abadīyya*) became a technical term corresponding to the Greek term *ἀφθαρτος*, incorruptible, eternal *a parte post*, in opposition to *azal* (or *azaliyya*) corresponding to the Greek term *ἐντελής*, ungenerated, eternal *a parte ante*. (Ibn Rushd—cf. ed. Bouyges, index—uses *azaliyya* for "incorruptible".) (For *azal* see *KIDĀM*.) As to the problem concerned, viz. if the world is incorruptible, the philosophers of Islam subscribed to the Aristotelian maxim that *azal* and *abad* imply each other, that what has a beginning must have an end and what has no beginning cannot have an end. According to this theory time, movement and the world in general are eternal in both senses. Among the theologians who all believe in the temporal creation of the world, only Abū 'Ishāq, one of the earlier Mu'tazilites, admitted the Aristotelian maxim mentioned. He applied the theory "that what has a first term must have a last one" even to God's knowledge and power, saying that God having arrived at the final term of His power, would not be able any more to create even an atom, to move a leaf or to resuscitate a dead mosquito. See al-Khayyārī, *al-Tuhfah*, ed. Nyberg, 8 ff.; Ibn Hanzlī, *al-Faṣṣah*, 102 ff. who also opposed the Aristotelian dictum by the argument that if the world were without a beginning, at the present moment an infinite past would have been traversed, which is impossible (cf. *KIDĀM*); in the future, however, there is no such impossibility, since in the future no infinite will ever be traversed. Besides, the series of past events is not infinite but no final one, and a man may have eternal remorse, although his remorse must have a beginning (al-Mahdī, *al-Bad' wa-l-Ta'wīḥ*, ed. Huart, 1, 125, cf. 1, 133). They concluded therefore that there is no rational proof either for the incorruptibility of the world or its opposite. According to the Qur'ān, xxxix, 67, on the Day of Judgment "the whole earth shall be His handful and the heavens will be rolled up in His right hand". It became the orthodox view that the annihilation of the whole world (including the destruction of heaven and hell, which, however, will not happen, as is known by revelation) is possible, *qadā*, considered as something in God's power (al-Baghdādī, *Faṣṣah*, 150). This world (*al-dunyā*) will be destroyed, but not heaven and hell.

**Bibliography:** The problem is treated in extensive by al-Ghazālī in ch. ii of his *Tahfāt al-Falāsifa*, ed. Bouyges, 80 ff.; cf. Ibn Rushd, *Ta-*

*hḥūt al-Tahfāt*, ed. Bouyges, 118 ff., tr. by S. van den Bergh, 69 ff. (with notes); cf. also S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomlehre*, 15, note 1. (S. VAN DEN BERGH)

**ABĀDAH**, a small town in Persia, on the eastern (winter) road from Shīrāz to Isfāhān. By the present-day highway Abādāh lies at 280 km. from Shīrāz, at 204 km. from Isfāhān, and by a road branching off eastwards (via Abarkūh) at 100 km. from Yazd. In the present-day administration (1952) Abādāh is the northernmost district (*shahristān*) of the province (faṣṭ) of Fārs. The population is chiefly engaged in agriculture and trade (opium, castor-oil, sesame-oil). It had possibly "the key" to Fārs?) is another small town belonging to Abādāh. The whole district counts 223 villages with 82,000 inhabitants. In history it is chiefly mentioned in the 14th century. The town must be distinguished from several homonymous villages in Fārs (Abāda-yi Taḡh in the Nūr district, etc.). **Bibliography:** Le Strange, 297; Ma'adī, *Qiyāfāt-yi-yi muḥāsasāt*, 1311, II, 223; *Farhang-i diwānī-yi-yi Irān*, vii, 1330/1951, p. 2. (V. MINORSKY)

**ABĀDĀN** (see *ABDĀN*)

**ABĀDĀSH** (see *ABDĀSH*)

**ABĀKA** (see *ABĀKĀH*)

**ABĀN** (see *TA'ĀKĀH*)

**ABĀN a. 'ABD al-HAMĪD al-LĀHĪK** (i.e. son of Lāhik b. 'Ufayr), also known as al-Rakāhī, because his family (originally from Fārs) were clients of the Banū Rakāhī, Arabic poet, died about 805/85-6. He was a court poet of the Sāsānid king and wrote panegyrics in their praise and the praise of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He also defended in some verses the 'Abbasids against the pretensions of the 'Alids. In the usual manner of the epoch he engaged in vigorous exchanges of lampoons with his fellow poets (among them Abū Nuwās). His enemies accused him, without justification, it seems, of Manicheism (see G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1937, 207 f.). His most important achievement was the versification in couplets (*muzdawij*, q.v.) of the popular stories of Indian and Persian origin: *Kallīa wa-Dinnā* (q.v.; samples in al-Sūfī, *Diwan* *wa-Yūḍaf* (q.v.), *Sinbad* (q.v.), *Maṣṣad* (q.v.) and the renowned stories of *Arzakh* and *al-Nusrawān*. He wrote also original poems in *muzdawij*, such as a poem on cosmology and logic (*Ḍihā al-Hudā*) and one on fasting (sample in al-Sūfī). Many members of his family, his son Hamdān for instance, were also known as poets.

**Bibliography:** Sūfī, *al-Aṣṣab*, ed. Heyworth Dunn, Section on Poets, 1-73 (pp. 1-12 being a collection of poems about Abū 'Abd al-Hamīd); *al-Aghānī*, ix, 73-8; *Ḍihāb al-Wuṣṣā*, 259; al-Rhāzī, *Ta'wīḥ* *Baghdād*, vii, 44; *Fihrist*, 119, 163; I. Goldziher, *Moslem Studies*, i, 198; cf. 101; A. Krinsky, *Aban al-Lahik* (in Russian), Moscow 1933; Brockelmann, S i, 238-9; K. A. Faris, in *JRAS*, 1952, 46-59. (S. M. STEEN)

**ABĀN a. 'UTHMĀN a. 'ABĀN**, son of the son of the third caliph. His mother was called Umm 'Amr bint Dūndab b. 'Amr al-Dawṣayy. Abān accompanied 'Alī at the battle of the Camel in Dūndabā 1 36/Nov. 656; on the battle terminating otherwise than was expected, he was one of the first to run away. On the whole, he does not seem to have been of any great importance. The caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān appointed him as governor of Madīna. He occupied this position for seven years; he was then dismissed and his place was taken by Hishām b. Ismā'īl. Abān owes his celebrity not so

much to his activity as an official in the service of the Umayyads as to his wonderful knowledge of Islamic traditions. The *Kuṭb al-Maghāzī*, sometimes ascribed to him, is, however, according to Yāqūt (*Iḥṣān*, i, 36) and al-Tūṭī (*Fihrist*, 7) of Abān b. 'Uthmān b. Yāyā (see J. Horowitz, in *OLE*, 1914, 183).

Abān was struck with apoplexy and died a year later at Madīna in 105/723-4 according to report, at any rate during the reign of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Sa'd, v, 112 ff.; Nawawī, 125 ff. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

**ABANŪS** (variants: *ĀBINŪS*, *ĀBUNŪS*, *ABNŪS* and *ĀBUNŪS*), eponym. The word is derived from the Greek *ebanos*, which passed to the Aramaean (*abnās*) and then to Arabic, Persian, Turkish etc. Although ebony had been already known in the old days in the East, where it was imported from India and Ethiopia, it was very little used at the early times of Islam, on account of its rarity and the scanty demand for artistic goods. Absolute faith must not be given to the story according to which, when the Mosque of the Rock was being built at Jerusalem under the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik, the venerable rock was enclosed with a palisade of ebony. It is certain that this wood had been already used under the caliphs together with ivory in the manufacture of chess-men (see *SHATRANJ*) and dice, in mosaics of the sort very often used later with great skill on furniture, doors, lattice work and wainscots (see *KIDĀM*).

As a medicine, ebony was known to the Muslims as early as the ninth century from the translations of Dioscorides and Galen. It was considered to be a useful astringent for phlyctenous inflammation and chronic catarrh of the eyes; it was also taken internally in the form of a powder for the bowels and stomach, and was dusted over burns. According to Dioscorides, Abyssinian ebony was generally considered to be more efficacious than Indian. To the former were ascribed the properties which at the present time are only found in the wood of the *Diospyros* and the *Maba* kinds of the East Indies, of Indonesia, of Madagascar, and of Mauritius. It is an intense black colour and a fineness of grain that makes it possible to distinguish the *fibra*. The African species of ebony which the Arabs prefer, are nowadays rightly held in little estimation. In particular the ebony tree of Abyssinia (*ghudjar haban*), is according to A. E. Brehm (*Reise*, aus *Nordafrika*), more of a brush than a tree. Its wood, though not of an excellent quality, can be used, but it is not suited for tables and seats.

**Bibliography:** Abū Manṣūr Muwaffak, *al-Awṣay* (Seligmann), 31; Ibn al-Bayṭar, *Bilāḥ* 1291, 8; transl. Leclerc, *Notices d'Extrats*, xxiii/1, 16; Kāzawī (Wüstenfeld), i, 247. (J. HEIL)

**ABARKUBĀDH**, one of the sub-districts (*shahristān*) of Herāt, according to the Sāsānid division adopted by the Arabs, belonging to the district of *al-azad*, A. Ḥarā Khwāh Shāhī, Bahānī (the district of the Tigris) and comprising a tract of land along the western frontier of Khuzistān, between Wāṣit and Baṣra. The name is derived from the Sāsānid king Kawādīh (Kubādīh) I. The first part of the name is probably *Abar* (P. *abar* or *ab* "elbow" is often seen at the beginning of place-names) and not *Abaz* or *Abāz* as the Arab geographers have it. Some Arab authors give *Abarkubādīh* as the name of the district in which Arrāḍān is situated, but that seems to spring from a mistake.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Khurādādhbih, 7; Kuṭāma, *al-Kharādī* (de Goeje), 233; Yāqūt, i, 90; Balādhūri, *Futūḥ*, 344; Ibn Sa'd, vi/13; Tabarī, i, 2386, II, 1123; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Arab. z. Zeit d. Sassaniden*, 146, n. 2; M. Streck, *Babylonien n.d. Arab. Geogr.*, i, 15, 19.

(M. STRECK)

**ABARKŪH**, a small town belonging to Yazd and lying on the road from Shīrāz to Yazd (at 39 farsakhs from the former and at 28 fars. from the latter) and also connected by a road with Abādāh (q.v.). It lies in a plain, and according to Mustawfī, *Nuḥḥa*, 121, its name ("on a mountain") refers to its earlier site. In 443/1051 Taghribeg gave Yazd and Abarkūh to the Kākāyīd Fāzīmāz (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 384) as a compensation for the loss of Isfāhān. His successors continued to rule these towns as *atābeks*. In the 8th/14th century Abarkūh is frequently mentioned in the history of the Muẓaffarids. The oldest of the numerous ruins of Abarkūh is the mausoleum built in 448/1056 by Fīrūzān, a descendant of the well-known condottiere of the 14th century, Fīrūzān of Ajlkawar (in Gilān). The so-called mausoleum of Tā'ib al-Haramayn was built (or rebuilt) in 728/1318 by a descendant (in the fifth generation) of a Majdī al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn Tājī al-Ma'ālī Abū Bakr Muḥammad (a Muẓaffarid).

**Bibliography:** Le Strange, 284, 294, 297; P. Schwarz, *Iran*, i, 17; A. Godard, in *Abdār Irān*, 1936, 47-71; Mahmūd Kātib, *History of the Muẓaffarids*, in *GMS*, xiv, see Index in xiv/2; Kāsim Ḥanī, *Ta'wīḥ-i 'Aṣṣā* *Ḥāṣṣ*, i, 1321/1942, Index. (V. MINORSKY)

**ABARSHAHR**, the more ancient name of Nīshāpūr (q.v.), was the capital of one of the four quarters of the province of Khurāsān. Its name in Persian, according to the Muslim geographers, is said to mean "Cloud-city", but Marquart's etymology (*Erānshahr*, 74), the "district of the 'Arzāpūr" (comparing Armenian *Apar* *āyart*) is more reliable. It was sometimes given the honorific title of Irān-Shahr "City of Irān". Its mint-signature on Sassanian coins is *Apr*, *Apr* or *Apris*, forms which continue to appear on the dirhams of Arab-Sassanian type struck by the Muslim conquerors (from 54/673-4 to 69/688-9). Under the Umayyads its Arabic name appears on the Post-Reform dirhams from 92/709-10 to 97/715-6. The names of the Umayyad governors Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān and his sons 'Ubayd Allāh and Sulm as well as 'Abd Allāh b. Khāṣim all figure on the coins of Abarkūh. The later mint activities of the place continued under the name of Nīshābūr.

**Bibliography:** Le Strange, 383; J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, Berlin 1901 (Abū G. W. Göt, N.S., III/ii, 66, 68, 74; J. Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Erānshahr*, Rome 1911 (*Asiatica Orientalia*, III), 52-3; J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1941, p. ci-cci, cvi, 36, 72, 74, 87-8; E. Herfeld, in *Transactions of the Intern. Congress of Numismatists*, 1936, 423, 426. (J. WALKER)

**ABASKŪN** (or *ABASKŪN*), a harbour in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian. It is described as a dependency of Dūndjān/Gurgān (Yāqūt, i, 25: "3 days' distance from Dūndjān; i, 91: 24 farsakhs). It might be located near the estuary of the Gurgān river (at Khodja-Nefes?). Al-Ishtakrī, 214 (Ibn Hawkal, 273) calls Abaskūn the greatest of the (Caspian) harbours. The Caspian itself was sometimes called *Bahr Abaskūn*.

Abaskūn possibly corresponds to Ptolemy's *Σαοκράειν* in Hyrcania (Gurgān). Several times Abas-



kün was raided by Rūs pirates (some time between 250-70/84-84, and in 297/909, see Ibn al-Fāridī, *Ta'wīh* i. *Tahsin*, ed. A. Eghbal, 266 [E. G. Browne's transl., 199], cf. also Ma'sādī, ii, 18; circa 300/912). In 617/1220 the Kh'āzīm-shāh 'Alī al-Dīn, tracked by the Mongols, sought refuge on "one of the islands of Abaskin", (see al-Dīnawaynī, ii, 115), and died there. According to Ibn al-Aḥḍīr, sili, 242, he possessed in Abaskin, too, a castle surrounded by water. The islands of Abaskin apparently correspond to the Aghar-ada group of islands and spits of land, divided from the Gurgin estuary by a strait.

**Bibliography:** B. Dorn, *Caspar, Über die Einfälle der alten Russen in Tabaristan*, 1875, see index; Barthold, *Istoriya srosheniya Turkestana*, 1924, 33.

**ABĀZA**, Turkish name for the Abazes (see ABĀZ), given as a surname to many persons in Ottoman history who descended from those people.

1) **ABĀZA PAŞA**, taken prisoner at the defeat of the rebel Djanbulad, whose treasurer he was, was brought before Murād Paşa and had his life spared only through the intercession of Khallīl, aga of the Janissaries, who, having become *kāpıdān-paşa*, gave him the command of a galley, and conferred upon him the government of Mar'ash when he was promoted to the dignity of grand vizier. Later he became governor of Erzurüm and planned to destroy the Janissaries; those in his province lodged a complaint against him; he was deposed, but refused to obey the orders of the Porte (1032/1623); he levied taxes and raised troops on the pretext of avenging the death of the sultan 'Uthmān II, marched upon Anıra and Siwa, and took Erzurüm, but did not succeed in seizing the citadel. In 1033/1624, the grand vizier Hıfzı Paşa defeated him in a battle near Kayseriya, at the bridge across the Kara-sü, owing to the defection of Tıyār Paşa and the Turkomen. Abāza took refuge at Erzurüm, of which he succeeded in having himself made governor on condition that he should assist a guard of Janissaries into the fortress. In 1036/1627, suspecting that the expedition against Abāza was in reality directed against himself, he massacred a great number of the Janissaries belonging to the army. His old master Khallīl besieged Erzurüm in vain and was obliged to retreat because of the snow (1037/1627). In the following year, the Bosnian Khurrew Paşa, having been made grand vizier, again besieged him and forced him to capitulate after a fortnight's siege; the rebel was granted his pardon and the government of Bosnia. There he again persecuted his enemies, the Janissaries, was deposed and went to Belgrade, where on a hill to the south of the town he erected Abāza K'öşki. Then he was sent to Widin and commanded the troops who invaded Poland (1633). Being honored with the confidence of Murād IV, he accompanied him to Adrianople when preparations were made for a new campaign against Poland; but his success excited envy; reports against him cleverly disseminated, estranged the sultan, who had him executed (29 Safar 1044/24 August 1634).

**Bibliography:** Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 369, 382; v, 26, 83, 173 ff.; 189 ff.; Mustafa Efendi, *Nakdiyye al-Wak'idi*, ii, 48, 82; Ewliya Efendi, *Travels*, i, 129 ff.

2) **ABĀZA HAN** had been given the command of the Turkomen of Asia Minor as a recompense for his capture of the rebel Baydar-oghlu. Having been dismissed for no reason, he revolted

In his turn, held the country between Gerende and Boln, defeated the old bandit Katirji-oghlu who had been sent to fight against him, and submitted on condition that he should have the title of *voivode* of the Turkomen; later as the result of complaints lodged against him, he was imprisoned in the Seven Towers and was only released after the deposition of Beylayı the position of Şahzāde al-Islām (1062/1652); his friend conferred on him the sandjak of Oljiri. When İspah Paşa, who was also one of the Abaza nation, was made grand vizier by Muhammad IV, he sent for him. At his execution he remained faithful to him, returned to Asia Minor with the remainder of his troops and regained the office of *voivode* of the Turkomen (1063/1653). He settled at Aleppo and committed such ravages in Syria that the Dīwān wanted to have him banished from the empire; the grand vizier, Sulaymān Paşa, however, confirmed him in his position of governor and entrusted the defenses of the Dardanelles to him. In 1066/1656 he was sent to Diyar Bakr as governor. Two years later he rebelled, put himself at the head of a considerable army under the pretext of demanding the dismissal of Muhammad Köprülü, at that time grand vizier, and threatened Iran. In the neighborhood of Iğhın he completely defeated Murtağ Paşa, who had been sent against him (15 Rab' I 1066/11 Dec. 1656); but he fell into a trap which had been set for him, left Syria for Aleppo to make terms for his submission and was treacherously assassinated there.

**Bibliography:** Hammer-Purgstall, v, 481, 560 ff., 563, 575, 634; vi, 35 ff., 55 ff.

3) **ABĀZA MUHAMMAD PAŞA** was the *besleyher* of Mar'ash when, during the campaign against the Russians (1813/1769), he was ordered to act in concert with the khān of the Crimea. He commanded the fortress of Bender and received the third fifth in recompense for the part he had taken in raising the siege of Choczin. Having been entrusted with the defense of this place and seeing himself abandoned by the Ottoman troops, he fled and was commissioned to defend Moldavia, which he failed to accomplish. At the battle of Kagul (1 Aug. 1770), he commanded the right wing; after the defeat of the Turks he fled to Izmā'li. Having been made governor of Silistria, he was dismissed after he had squandered the money given to him for the purpose of raising troops, and was exiled to Kustendil. At the time of the conquest of the Crimea, and the flight of Selim, he refused to lead the few troops he was bringing up and returned to Sinope; he was decapitated (1185/1771).

**Bibliography:** Hammer-Purgstall, viii, 345, 348, 369, 387; Wāsil Efendi, in *Precis historique de la guerre des Turcs contre les Russes*, by P. A. Caussin de Perceval, 23, 31, 37 ff., 59, 109, 111, 124 ff. (Cf. HUART).

**'ABBĀD** b. **MUHAMMAD** [see 'ABBĀDIDS]

**'ABBĀD** b. **SULAYMĀN** al-SAYRAH (or al-DAYMAR), one of the Mu'tazila of Basra, died c. 250/864. He was a pupil of Hishām b. 'Amr al-Fuwa'i (fl. c. 210/825), like his father criticizing the main tendency of the school of Basra (that of Abu 'l-Hudhayl), and being in his turn criticized by Abu 'l-Hudhayl's successors, al-Djubbālī and Abū Hāshim. Our knowledge of his distinctive views comes mainly from al-Aḥḍīr's *Mabāḍī*.

He emphasized the difference between God and man, admitting that God might be called a "thing" in the sense that He was "other" (fl. c. 250). In particular he insisted that God is eternal, and that what

He eternally is must be independent of transient mundane things. Thus God is not eternally "bearing" and "seeing", since that involves objects heard and seen (ib. 173, 493); He is not "before all things" (ib. 196, 519); no accident (such as an apparently supernatural event) can afford a proof of God, in view of its transient character (ib. 215). In this way he came to distinguish between God's "active attributes" (*ṣifāt al-f'āl*) and His eternal attributes (ib. 179, 186, 495-500), being perhaps the first to work out this distinction which was later adopted by orthodox theologians.

He went to extremes in insisting that God does nothing that is evil in any respect, even denying that God made unbelieved vile (kabbī; ib. 227-8, 517-9), and maintaining that His punishment of the wicked in Hell is not evil. His political views (ib. 454, 458-9, 467) seem to aim at a reconciliation of various contemporary political groups, but the point has not been adequately studied.

**Bibliography:** al-Aḥḍīr, *Mabāḍī al-Islāmiyyin*, see index; al-Shayrāzī, *al-Furūḡ*, 20-3, 203; al-Baghdādī, *al-Furūḡ*, 147-8, 211-2; Ibn al-Murtadā, *al-Mu'tazila*, ed. Arnold, 441; al-Shāh-Rustā, 51; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, 115-9; Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in early Islam*, 81-4. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**'ABBĀD** b. **ZIYĀD** b. Abī SUFYĀN, AḤ HARR, Umayyad general. Mu'āwīya appointed him governor of Sijistān, where he stayed seven years, in the course of his expeditions to the East, he conquered Kandahār. In 61/680-1 he was dismissed by Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya who appointed in his place his brother Salm b. Ziyād to be governor of Sijistān and Khurāsān. In 64/684, he joined in the battle of Marjī Rihit [p. 2], at the head of a contingent formed by his own *gens*. Afterwards he wished to return to Dīmat al-Djandal, but he was obliged to combat a lieutenant of al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd [p. 2]. The date of his death is unknown.

**Bibliography:** Balādhuri, *Futūḡ*, 365, 397, 434; id., *Anṣāb*, v, 136, 267-8; Tabarī, ii, 191 ff.; Ibn Kutayba, *al-Ma'drif*, 177; *al-Aḡḡāni* i, xvii, 123 ff. (Cf. K. V. ZETTERSTEN).

**'ABBĀDĀN** (Ābbāsīs) stands on the south-west side of the island of the same name, on the left bank of the Shatt al-'Arab. It is believed to have been founded by a holy man named 'Abbād in the 8th or 9th century A.D. (the people of Basra used to add the termination "ān" to a proper name in order to change it into a place name). In those days 'Abbādān was on the sea coast, but with the gradual extension of the delta of the Shatt al-'Arab it is now over 30 miles from the head of the Persian Gulf. In the early 'Abbāsīd period 'Abbādān was a center of ascetics living in *riḡf* (L. Massignon, *Essai*, 135; Abu 'l-Atāhiya, *Diwān*, 218).

'Abbādān is described in the *Hudūd al-'Alam*, 179 (cf. also 192) as "a flourishing and prosperous borough on the sea coast. All the 'Abbādānī mats ... come from there, and therefrom comes the salt for Basra and Wasīt." Three and a half centuries later, when Ibn Battūta visited 'Abbādān, it was no more than a large village; it stood on a salty, uncultivated plain. In later times the inhabitants eliminated the salt from the soil bordering the river and planted the palm-groves which are now such a feature of both banks of the Shatt al-'Arab and of those of the Bahmaghir river on the north-east side of 'Abbādān island. 'Abbādān, however, remained a village until it was chosen, in 1909, as the site of the refinery of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co.

Since that time, it has increased enormously in size; in 1951 its population was nearly 200,000 and the refinery had become the largest in the world.

About 1935 Ridā Shāh, in pursuance of his policy of Persianizing Arabic names, changed 'Abbādān into Abādān.

**Bibliography:** Nāsir-i-Khusrāw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Scheller, 89; Le Strange, 481 f.; L. Lockhart, *Khazdān Past and Present*, in *Annals Review*, Oct. 1948; *Abadan Refinery*, in *Review of Middle East Oil Petroleum Times*, London, June 1948. (L. LOCKHART)

**AL-'ABBĀDĪ**, Abū 'ĀSIM MUḤ. b. AHMAD b. MUḤ. b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. 'ABBĀD, often called al-Kaḍī al-Harawī, a well-known Shāfi'ite jurist. He was born in 375/985 in Harāt, studied there and in Nisābūr, and undertook extensive journeys on which he met numerous scholars. He finally became *hāfi* of Harāt and died there in 458/1066. He was notorious for his dark and difficult style of expression. Of his works, which al-Sukki enumerates, there have survived the *Tahkāt al-Shāfi'iyyin* (used by al-Ansārī) in several manuscripts, and the *Adab al-Kaḍī* in the commentary which his disciple Abī Sa'īd (or Sa'īd) b. Abī Ahmad b. Abī Yūsuf al-Harawī (d. about 500) wrote under the title *al-Iḡrīf 'alā Ghawmīd al-Hukamāt* (Sukki, iv, 37). His son Abū al-Hasan is the author of a *K. al-Rām*.

**Bibliography:** Sukki, *Tahkāt*, ii, 42 (with extracts from his works and a discussion of his style); Ibn Khallikān, no. 588; F. Wüstenfeld, *Schäfer*, no. 408; Brockelmann, I, 484; S. 669. (J. SCHACHT)

**'ABBĀDIDS** (Bābū 'Abbād), dynasty of Arab race which reigned for most of the 5th/11th century over the S.-W. of al-Andalus, with its capital at Seville (cf. *ṣaḥāḥ*).

It was at the moment of the disintegration of the Caliphate of Cordova and of the political dismemberment of the country by the petty kings known as the *taifas* (*mulūk al-ta'wā'if*) that the *hāfi* of Seville, Abū 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad b. 'Abbād, succeeded in being proclaimed ruler in 414/1013. The son of a celebrated Spanish-Muslim jurist of Laḡhmid origin, Isma'īl b. 'Abbād, he began, on first seizing power, by recognizing the suzerainty of the Hammūlid king Yahyā b. 'Alī, but soon threw off this wholly nominal mark of subordination. There is relatively little information on the details of his reign, which was mostly occupied in settling by force of arms his disputes with the *Djāwarids* [p. 2] of Cordova and the lesser baronies in southern Andalusia. He died in 433/1042.

His son, Abū 'Amr 'Abbād b. Muḥammad succeeded, in a reign of nearly thirty years (433-460/1042-69), in enlarging the territory of the principality of Seville to a considerable size by posing as the champion of the Andalusian Arabs against the Spanish Berbers, whose numbers, already large in the Iberian peninsula in the 10th century, had greatly increased since the period of the 'Amirid dictators.

On succeeding his father, the new king of Seville, then 20 years of age, took the princely title of *hāfi*, following the custom of the time, but a little later adopted the honorific *lubb* of al-Mu'tasid b. 'Alī, by which he is generally known. Gifted with real political qualities, it was not long before he showed his true character, that of an authoritarian ruler, as ambitious as he was cruel, and with few scruples in the choice of means to achieve his ends. Immediately after his accession he conti-



nued the struggle opened by his father against the minor Berber dynasty of Carmona (cf. *KARḤŪNA*), Muh. b. 'Abd Allāh al-Birzālī and the latter's son and successor Ishāk. At the same time al-Mu'tamid was preoccupied in extending his kingdom to the west, between Seville and the Atlantic Ocean. With this end in view he attacked and defeated successively Ibn Tayfur, lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Merota, and Muh. b. Yahyā al-Yahūḍī, lord of Niebla (cf. *NABLA*), who, notwithstanding his Arab descent, had unblushingly allied himself with Berber chiefs. In face of the success of the king of Seville, the other *malik al-awṣā'*, distrustful of him, formed against him a kind of league, which was joined by the princes of Badajoz (cf. *BATĀLYAWṢ*), Algeiras (cf. *AL-ḠADIRĀ* al-*SHADRĀ'*), Granada (cf. *ḠARNATĀ'*) and Malaga (cf. *MĀLAGĀ*). War broke out soon afterwards between the 'Abbādid of Seville and the Aftasid [g.e.] al-Muza'far of Badajoz; it was prolonged over many years, in spite of the efforts at mediation of the Eshwardi prince of Cordova, which bore fruit only in 431/1037. In the interval, while continuing to harass the frontiers of the kingdom of Badajoz, al-Mu'tamid did not remain inactive; he defeated, one after the other, Muh. b. Ayyūb al-Bakrī, lord of Huelva (cf. *WALBA*) and of Sales (cf. *ṢALĀTIN*) (whose son was the celebrated geographer), the Banū Muṣayn, lords of Silves (cf. *SILĀ*), and Muh. b. Sa'īd b. Hārūn, lord of Santa Maria de Algarve (cf. *SHANTAMARIYAT* al-*ḠĀRĪ*) and annexed their principalities. In order to justify these annexations al-Mu'tamid employed a somewhat clumsy stratagem: he claimed to have found the caliph Hishām II, who had died in obscurity some years earlier, and to be devoting himself tirelessly to restoring to him his former empire, entirely submissive and pacified. In order to protect themselves against the assaults of the king of Seville, the majority of the minor Berber chiefs in the mountains in the south of Andalusia acquiesced in this theatrical pretence, and paid homage both to the 'Abbādid and to the Commander of the Faithful, miraculously restored to light to serve the interests of al-Mu'tamid but at the same time carefully kept in seclusion by him. But their efforts were in vain. One day the 'Abbādid invited all these minor Berber princes and their attendants together to his palace at Seville and suffocated them to death in a bath-house whose openings he has walled up; by this means he appropriated Arcos (cf. *ARḤŪṢ*), seat of the principality of the Banū Khāzīm, Moron (cf. *MARḤŪṢ*), ruled by the Banū Dīnār, and Ronda (cf. *RUNDĀ*), capital of the Banū Ifrān (431/1038).

This action was enough to unloose the fury of the most powerful Berber prince in Spain, Bādīs b. Habbās the Zīrid [g.e.] at Granada, who alone seemed capable of standing up to al-Mu'tamid. When the war began, however, the latter found fortune still smiling on him, and soon afterwards seized Algeiras from the Hammūdīd prince al-Kāsim b. Hammūd. He then tried to capture Cordova, and for this purpose despatched an expedition under the command of his son Ismā'īl; but Ismā'īl sought to profit from the occasion to rebel and to create a kingdom of his own, with Algeiras as his capital. This venturesome project cost him his life. It also opened the political and agitated comings and goings, which ended in the payment to the count of Barcelona of a sum thrice as large, Ibn 'Ammār resumed his project of conquering Murcia, and soon realised it, thanks to the assistance of the lord of the castle of Bīḡ (now Vilches), Ibn Raḡhik. It was not long,

Bādīs routed the army of Seville, and the prince, in sad plight, threw himself into Ronda, whence he solicited and obtained his father's pardon. Al-Mu'tamid had long since discarded the fable of the pseudo-Hishām, which he no longer needed; he was by far the most redoubtable and most feared of the Spanish sovereigns; he had had no enemies but the Berbers, Muslims like himself, but far further removed from his Spanish-Arab social ideals than his Christian neighbours of the north. In other places, he might have been given the title of *Ẓarḥūmān*. When the powerful sovereign of Seville died in 461/1069, his son, Muḥammad b. 'Abbād, better known by his honorific lakab of al-Mu'tamid [g.e.], took possession of his greatly enlarged kingdom, which now embraced most of the S.W. part of the Iberian peninsula.

Already in the second year of his reign, al-Mu'tamid was able, despite the ambitions of the king of Toledo, al-Ma'mūn [g.e.], to annex to his kingdom the principality of Cordova, formerly ruled by the Dīhawīdī princes. The young prince 'Abbād was appointed governor of the former capital of the Umayyads. But on the instigation of the king of Toledo, an adventurer, named Ibn 'Ukkāsha, succeeded in seizing Cordova by surprise in 468/1075, and put the young 'Abbādid prince and his general Muh. b. Martín to death. Al-Ma'mūn took possession of the city, where he died six months later. Al-Mu'tamid, wounded both in his paternal affections and his royal pride, endeavoured for three years in vain to reconquer Cordova. He gained his object only in 471/1078; Ibn 'Ukkāsha was put to death, and all that part of the kingdom of Toledo lying between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana were conquered by the armies of Seville. Yet at the same time it needed all the skill of the victor Ibn 'Ammār [g.e.] to bring an expedition of Alfonso VI of Castile against Seville to a peaceful conclusion, in return for the payment of a double tribute.

This was, in fact, the moment when, thanks to the tenacious vigour of the Christian princes in seeking to profit from the sanguinary conflicts waged against one another by the Muslim *malik al-awṣā'*, the reconquista—which had been arrested for a time and had even receded under the last Umayyads and the first 'Amīrid dictators—resumed its advance towards the south of the peninsula. Notwithstanding their successes, blazoned by the Muslim chroniclers, it must not be forgotten that from the middle of the eleventh century many Spanish Muslim dynasties were reduced to trying to gain, by means of heavy tributes, the temporary neutrality of their Christian neighbours. Shortly before the resounding capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI, in 478/1085, al-Mu'tamid began to find himself enmeshed in serious difficulties. On the imprudent advice of Ibn 'Ammār, he attempted, after the annexation of Cordova, to annex further the principality of Murcia (cf. *MURṢĀ'*), then governed by a ruler of Arab origin, Muh. b. Abīnād Ibn Tāhir. In 471/1078, Ibn 'Ammār paid a visit to the count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer II, and asked for his assistance in conquering Murcia in return for the sum of 20,000 dinars, as surety for the payment of which a son of al-Mu'tamid, al-Raḡhīd, would serve as hostage. After a series of agitated comings and goings, which ended in the payment to the count of Barcelona of a sum thrice as large, Ibn 'Ammār resumed his project of conquering Murcia, and soon realised it, thanks to the assistance of the lord of the castle of Bīḡ (now Vilches), Ibn Raḡhik. It was not long,

however, before Ibn 'Ammār in Murcia made himself intolerable to his sovereign. Betrayed by Ibn Raḡhīk, he was forced to flee from Murcia, and sought refuge successively at Leon, Saragosa and Lerida. On returning to Saragosa he endeavoured to assist its prince, al-Mu'tamīn b. Hūd (cf. *ḤUD*), in his expedition against Segura (cf. *ṢĠARĀḤ*), but was captured and handed over to al-Mu'tamid, who, notwithstanding the ties of friendship which had for so long bound them together, killed him with his own hand.

In the meantime Alfonso VI began to disclose openly his designs on Toledo, which he had begun to invest since 473/1080. Two years later, having sent a deputation to collect the annual tribute which al-Mu'tamid was paying to him, he learned that its members had been molested and that the Jewish treasurer Ibn Shālī, who had accompanied it, had been put to death because of his refusal to accept money of low standard. Thereupon he made an incursion into the kingdom of Seville, raided the flourishing townships of the Aljarafe (cf. *AL-ḤARAF*), struck across the district of Sidona (cf. *ṢIDŪNA*) as far as Tarifa (cf. *TARIFA*, *ṬARĪṬAT*), where he pronounced a celebrated phrase in which he boasted of having trodden the furthest bounds of Spain.

The capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI was a heavy blow to Islam in Spain. The king of Castile at once demanded of al-Mu'tamid the return of his possessions which had formerly been part of the present provinces of Ciudad Real and Cuencā. Throughout Muslim Spain his ever-increasing demands caused a particularly difficult situation. In spite of their unwillingness, the princes of Spain, with al-Mu'tamid at their head, were compelled to improve the aid of the Almoravid sultan, Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (see *AL-MURĀBITŪN*), who had recently seized the whole of Morocco in an irresistible advance. It was decided to send him an embassy composed of the vizier Abī Bakr b. Zaydīn and of the kādīs of Badajoz, Cordova and Granada. The negotiations were successfully concluded, though not without difficulty; Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn finally crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and inflicted on the Christian troops, on 22 Raḡab 479/23 October 1086, the bloody defeat of al-Zallākā [g.e.], not far from Badajoz. It need here only be briefly recalled that Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, compelled to return to Africa, was unable to gain from his victory all the advantages for which the Spanish Muslim princes had hoped, while they, owing to the decisive influence exerted by the Spanish-Muslim princes on the Almoravids, rapidly lost all prestige in his eyes. After his withdrawal the Christian troops began again to harass the Muslim possessions, to such effect that al-Mu'tamid had this time to present himself in person before Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn in Morocco, to ask him to recross the Straits with his troops. Yūsuf agreed to his request and disembarked at Algeiras in the following spring (480/1088). He set out to besiege the fortress of Alsedo (Ar. *al-Ṣid*), without success, but under the stimulus of popular sentiment and the counsels of the *fakīhs* concluded that it would be of greater advantage to him to pursue the *ḡhāḥ* in Spain on his own account. From that time, he set himself to dethrone and dispossess the princes who had solicited his intervention, and it was not long before he was carrying his arms into the kingdom of Seville in order to take possession of it. An army commanded by the general Sir b. Abī Bakr by the end of 1090 seized Tarifa, then Cordova (where a son of al-

Mu'tamid, Fath al-Ma'mūn, was killed), Carmona, and finally Seville, which was taken in spite of a heroic sortie by al-Mu'tamid. The vanquished prince, made prisoner by the Almoravids, was at first sent with his wives and children to Taúnger, then to Meknes, and after several months to Agmān, not far from Marrākush. He passed a miserable existence there for some years, and died there in 487/1093, aged fifty-five years. With him, in these lamentable circumstances, ended the dynasty of the 'Abbādid, which may be regarded, notwithstanding the excesses and cruelty of its princes, as the most brilliant of the dynasties of the *taifa* and undoubtedly that under which the arts and letters shone most brightly in Muslim Spain of the eleventh century.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Bassām, *al-Ḥabshā*, iv; 'Abd Allāh b. Buluggīn, *al-Tibyān*; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hullā al-Siyāḥ* (ed. Dozy, *Notices etc.*); 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu'tadī*; Ibn al-Khātib, *al-Iḥṣā*, idem, *A'māl al-'Alī*; Ibn 'Izzārī, *al-Bayān*; al-Maghribī, ii; al-Fath b. Khallān, *Kalā'id al-'Iḥyā* and *Ma'mah al-Anṣar*; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Iḥṣā*, iv and *Histoire des Berbères*, trad. de Slane, ii; *al-Hudūd al-Mawḡhī*; Ibn Abī Zār', *Rawḍ al-Kirī*; Makarrī, *Annales*. Most of the extracts of these authors concerning the 'Abbādid have been put together by K. Dozy, *Scriptorium arabum jussu de Abbādid*, Leiden 1846; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leiden 1912, vol. ii; A. González Palencia, *Historia de España musulmana*, Barcelona 1929, 73 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris 1931; A. Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926 (especially coinage); E. Lévi-Provençal, *Exp. mus.*, vol. iv.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

'ABBĀS I, styled the Great, king of Persia of the Safawī dynasty, second son and successor of Muḥammad Khudābanda, was born on 1 Rama-dān 978/27 January 1571, and died in Māsāndarān on 24 Jumādā I 1038/29 January 1629, after a reign of 42 solar (43 lunar) years. In 980/1572-3 he remained at Harāt when his father moved to Shīrāz. In 984/1576-7 Ismā'īl II put to death the *lala* (tutor) of 'Abbās, and appointed 'Alī Kull Khān Shāmlū governor of Harāt with orders to execute 'Abbās himself. 'Alī Kull procrastinated, and when the death of Ismā'īl II (985/1577-8) rendered the order null and void, was made himself *lala* to 'Abbās by Muḥammad Khudābanda. Three years later 'Alī Kull read the *khutba* at Harāt in the name of 'Abbās, but, when threatened by the royal army, he re-affirmed his allegiance to Muḥammad Khudābanda at Ghūrīyān. Shortly afterwards his protégé 'Abbās fell into the hands of his rival Mursīd Kull Khān (Ṣā'idīlū, governor of Turbat, and in 993/1579 the latter marched on Kāzwin. Muḥammad Khudābanda was deposed, and 'Abbās became Shāh at the age of 16, with Mursīd Kull as his *waḥīd-i dīwān-i 'ālī*.

'Abbās, faced with the twofold task of enforcing his authority over the Kizilbāgh amirs, and of checking the encroachment on Persian territory of the Ottomans in the West and the Uzbeks in the East, at once created from the ranks of Georgian prisoners converted from Christianity a cavalry corps of *ghulāmīn-i ḥabshā-yi shāhī*, paid direct from the royal treasury. With their aid, and by a successful appeal to the loyalty of the *shāhī-sazān* [g.e.], he crushed a revolt of amirs, and followed this by ridding himself of the now too-powerful Mursīd Kull. The importance of the *ghulāmīn* gradually increased.



The appointment of Allāhwardī Khān to be governor of Fārs elevated a *ghulām* to equality of status with the Kīlābīsh amīrs, and eventually *ghulāms* filled some 20% of the local administrative posts. ‘Abbās systematically pacified the provinces of ‘Irāk-‘i-‘Adjam, Fārs, Kirmān, and Luristān. The local rulers of Gilān and Māzandarān were subjugated. In order to avoid fighting on two fronts, ‘Abbās signed in Constantinople in 998/1589 a peace treaty most unfavourable to Persia. The regions of Ādharbāydzān, Karabāgh, Gandīja, Karadāgh, with Georgia and parts of Luristān and Kuzestān were to remain in Ottoman hands, and a *lindert* was placed on the Shī‘ite obsequy of the early Caliphs.

‘Abbās entrusted to Allāhwardī Khān the reorganisation of the army on the lines suggested by Robert Sherley, an English adventurer then at the Persian Court. A new corps of 12,000 musketeers (*bulandī*), for the most part mounted, was recruited locally from the peasantry; the strength of the *ghulāms* was raised to 10,000 by further recruitment from the Georgian converts; 3,000 more were selected as *mudārim* or personal bodyguard to the Shāh; and a corps of artillery, comprising 12,000 men and 500 guns, was also recruited from the *ghulāms*, cannon being cast under the supervision of Sherley. ‘Abbās thus had a standing army of some 37,000 men.

After the death of the Shāykhānī ‘Abd Allāh b. Iskandar (q.v.) and ‘Abd al-Mu‘min, dynastic rivalries distracted the Uzbeks, and ‘Abbās was able to inflict on them a severe defeat at Harāt (1007/1598-9), and to recover Māghad and Harāt after ten years of Uzbek occupation. In a attempt to stabilise the North-East frontier, ‘Abbās installed at Balh, Marv and Astarābād Uzbek chiefs subservient to himself. But Bākī Muhammad, the new khān of Transoxania, re-occupied Balh (1009/1600-1), and though ‘Abbās led a force of 50,000 men against him, he was outmanoeuvred and forced to retreat (1011/1602-3), losing large numbers of men through sickness, and abandoning most of his new artillery. At this point hostilities in the East were suspended, but in the West ‘Abbās invaded Ādharbāydzān in 1012/1603-4, and occupied Nakhīwān and Erivan. The Ottomans under Cüghānāzāde suffered a signal defeat at Sis near Tābriz (1014/1605-6), with the loss of 20,000 men. Gandīja and Tiflis were taken by the Safawids. Internal disorders in Turkey confronted the hapless conduct of the war against Persia. Successive Turkish invasions of Ādharbāydzān were hampered by the Persian policy of devastating the regions of Cūghār Sa‘d and Nakhīwān and evacuating the inhabitants. Peace was eventually concluded at Sarāb in 1027/1617-8, but was broken by ‘Abbās in 1033/1623-4 when he took Baghdād and Dīyar Bakr from the Ottomans.

In other directions too ‘Abbās expanded Safawid territory. Bahrayn was annexed in 1010/1601-2, Shīrwān was reconquered in 1017/1607-8. With British aid, the island of Hurmuz was taken from the Portuguese in 1030/1620-1, but a long series of bitter wars in Georgia failed to result in permanent annexation, and ‘Abbās was finally forced to recognize the Georgian prince Taymurāz. Military necessity was often the pretext for the transference of large bodies of people to other regions. Some 20,000 Armenians from the Erzerum region were enrolled in the *ghulāms*; a further 300 families were moved from Iḡlūfa to Isfahān; the Karamān tribe of

Karabāgh was moved to Fārs in 1023/1614-5; and the influx of Georgians from Kakhētīa—150,000 prisoners were taken in the expedition of 1023/1616-7 alone—was a major factor in achieving that admixture of races and creeds by which ‘Abbās planned to offset the power of the Kīlābīsh.

Diplomatic contacts with European countries and with India were numerous during ‘Abbās’s reign, but all his efforts to create a European alliance against the Ottomans failed. Though careful to keep good terms with the Mughal Emperors Akbar and Dīshānqīr, he always regarded Kandahār, seized by Akbar in 999/1590-1, as Persian territory, and in 1021/1612-2 he re-occupied the city. ‘Abbās maintained friendly relations with the princes of Muscovy and the Tatar khāns of the Crimea. Foreign monastic orders, like the Carmelites, the Augustinians and the Capuchin Friars, were accorded permission to operate without hindrance. In 1007/1598-9 Sir Anthony Sherley, brother of Robert, was dispatched to Europe accompanied by a Persian envoy, Husayn ‘Alī Beg Bayāz, and visited Prague, Venice, Rome, Valladolid and Lisbon. Return embassies were sent by the Spaniards, the Portuguese and the English. The latter’s envoy, Sir Dodmore Cotton, was the first accredited English ambassador to the Persian Court.

‘Abbās improved communications by the construction of roads (notably the coast road through Māzandarān), bridges and caravanserais. He enriched Isfahān, which became his new capital in 1006/1597-8, with mosques, palaces and gardens; but he also built palaces at Kazwīn, and at Aghrāt and Farābād on the Caspian, where he spent an increasing amount of time in his later years. He explored the possibility of diverting some of the head-waters of the Kārn into the basin of the Zāyandā-Rūd.

Although endowed with great qualities, ‘Abbās could be ruthless, and his family fell victims to his desire for security. His father, Muhammad Khudābanda, and two brothers, Abū Tālib and Tahmīsp, were blinded and incarcerated at Alamūt; a son, Muhammad Bākī Mirzā, was executed on a charge of treason in 1022/1613, and another, Imām Kullī, was made *beir*-apparent in 1030/1620 during an illness of ‘Abbās, but was blinded on the latter’s recovery. Throughout his reign, ‘Abbās attached great importance to maintaining the *pir u-murād* relationship with his subjects: hence he made frequent visits to the Shī‘ite shrines of Isfahān, Māghad, where he repaired the damage caused by the Uzbeks, and, after their capture from the Ottomans, to those at Karbala‘ and Najaf.

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(R. M. SAVORY)  
‘ABBĀS II and III (see SAFAWIDS)  
AL-‘ABBĀS B. ‘ABD AL-MUTTALIB, with the kunya Abū ‘l-Faḍl, half-brother of Muhammad’s father, his mother being Nutayya bint

Dīnāb of al-Namir. The ‘Abbāsī dynasty took its name from him, being descended from his son ‘Abd Allāh. Consequently there was a tendency for historians under the ‘Abbāsids to glorify him, and in his case it is particularly difficult to distinguish fact from fiction. He was a merchant and financier, more prosperous than his half-brother Abū Tālib, who, in return for the extinction of a debt, surrendered to him the office of providing pilgrims to Mecca with water (*shāyā*) and perhaps also in al-ḥudūd (*ḥūdūd*). Though he owned a garden in al-Ḥāḍir, he was not so wealthy as the leading men of the clan of ‘Abd Shams and Maḥmūd. There is no clear evidence of any *rapprochement* between him and Muhammad until 762/9 when he gave in marriage to Muhammad Maymūna, the uterine sister of his wife, Umm al-Faḍl Lubāba. Stories purporting to show that prior to this he supported Muhammad are suspect. Thus he is said to have acted as protector of Muhammad at the Assembly of ‘Akaba, and, while it is conceivable that he protected him during his last year or two in Mecca, there is no evidence that the clan of Hāshim revoked Abū Labāb’s refusal to give protection. Al-‘Abbās fought against the Muslims at Badr, was taken prisoner and then released, though whether he was or without a ransom is disputed. He joined Muhammad as he was marching on Mecca in 8/60, but his conversion was less influential than that of Abū Sufyān. Muhammad welcomed him, and after the submission of Mecca confirmed in his family the inherited office of the *shāyā*. He is said to have acted bravely at Hunayn, and by his stentorian shout to have turned the tide of battle. He settled around of Medina. Though one of those who contributed to the finances of the expedition to Tabūk, he possibly did not campaign in Syria, as is sometimes said. He was not on good terms with ‘Umar, but made a gift of his house for ‘Umar’s extension of the mosque in Medina. Muhammad is said to have given him an annuity from the produce of Khaybar, and ‘Umar, in revising the Persian roll, made him the equal of the men of Badr; but he was never given any administrative post. He died about 32/653 aged about 88.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām; Wāḥidī, ed. Wellhausen; Tabarī — see indexes; Ibn Sa‘d, *iv*, 122; Yaḥyā, *ii*, 47; Ibn Ḥajjār, *al-Iḥḍā*, *ii*, 668-71; Ibn al-Aṭhār, *Ed. al-Jāmi*, *ii*, 109-12; Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, *ii*, 108-9; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1898, 21-7; Caetani, *Annali*, *i*, 517-8, *ii*, 120-1, etc.; *MO*, 1934, 17-58.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)  
‘ABBĀS B. ABI ‘L-FUTŪḤ YAHYA B. TAMIM B. MU‘TIZ B. BĀḤ AL-SINĀHĪ, AL-APŪL RUKN AL-DIN ABU ‘L-Faḍl, Fāṭimid vizier, a descendant of the Zīrids (q.v.) of North Africa. He seems to have been born shortly before 505/1115, for in that year he was still a nursing. His father was then in prison and was banished in 509 to Alexandria, whither his wife Bullāra and the little ‘Abbās accompanied him. After Abu ‘l-Futūḥ’s death his widow married Ibn Salāh, a Fāṭimid vizier, one of the most powerful generals of the Fāṭimid empire. When, in 544/1149-50, the caliph al-Zāfir appointed Ibn Maḥdī to the position of vizier, which had for some time been vacant, Ibn Salāh revolted, marched on Cairo at the head of his troops and forced the caliph to invest him with the vizierate. It was during these troubles that ‘Abbās appeared for the first time on the political scene. He took the side of his

step-father and was entrusted by him with the pursuit of Ibn Maḥdī who had taken to flight. Ibn Maḥdī fell, and on 23 Dhu ‘l-Ḥiḍa 544/24 March 1150, Ibn Salāh made his entry into Cairo. During the following years ‘Abbās lived at the court of Cairo and his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Naṣr, became a favourite of the caliph. In the beginning of 548/spring 1153, ‘Abbās was made commander of the garrison of Asḥkān, the last place the Fāṭimids still possessed in Syria. Before reaching Syria, however, at Bilhays, he decided—rumour had it, at the instigation of Usāma b. Munkidh (the various historians who mention Usāma’s role evidently follow one common source, of Cabot, *ib.*, note 2)—to assassinate his step-father and seize the vizierate. Naṣr, ‘Abbās’s son, returned secretly to Cairo, obtained the consent of the caliph, who idolized him, and assassinated Ibn Salāh, 6 Muharram 548/s April 1153. ‘Abbās returned as fast as he could and took possession of the vizierate, whilst Asḥkān fell into the hands of the Franks, 27 Dhuḥḍa I 548/20 August 1153. ‘Abbās did not enjoy the position he had won for long. According to Usāma (who was an intimate companion of Naṣr and took part in the events which he relates) ‘Abbās and his son Naṣr were deeply suspicious of each other, ‘Abbās thinking that the caliph was urging Naṣr to assassinate him. Usāma claims that Naṣr, who resolved together to kill the caliph, Naṣr lured the caliph to his house and assassinated him on the last day of Muharram 549/16 April 1154. Thereupon ‘Abbās charged the nearest male relations of the caliph with the crime. They were put to death and the minor son of al-Zāfir was placed upon the throne under the name of al-Faṭī b. Naṣr Allāh. These proceedings stirred up the court and the population; a message was sent to Tālī‘ b. Ruzzīk (q.v.), governor of Uṣṣūt, ‘Abbās, together with Naṣr, fled before him to Syria, but the Franks, warned by the enemies of ‘Abbās, surprised them near al-Muwayyib and ‘Abbās was killed, 23 Rabi‘ I 549/7 June 1154. Naṣr was captured and delivered into the hands of the Fāṭimid government and executed, Rabi‘ II 550/June-July 1155. The text of the *siyāḥ* announcing his arrival in Cairo is preserved in MS Brit. Mus., *Suppl.* 1140, fol. 67v.

**Bibliography:** Usāma b. Munkidh, *al-Iḥḍā*, ed. Derenbourg, 5-6, 132-2, 69; Ibn Abī Tayy, see Cabot; Ibn Zāfir, see Wustenfeld and Cabot; Ibn al-Muṣayyir, ed. Mas‘ūd, 80-90, 92-5; Ibn al-Aṭhār, *xi*, 93-4, 122, 125-8; Abū Shīma, *Kutub al-Kawāḍir*, Cairo 1287-8, *i*, 97 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Dīyar*, *iv*, 74 ff.; Abū ‘l-Fidā’, *ii*, 29-30; Ibn Taghribirdī, vol. *iii*; Ibn Khallikān, nos. 496, 522; Makrīzī, *al-Khāṭir*, *ii*, 30; F. Wustenfeld, *Gesch. der Fātimiden-Chalifen*, 314 ff.; Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, 174 ff.; Derenbourg, *Quelques des Mameluks*, *i*, 220 ff., 235-58. For the criticism of the sources of the historians see Cl. Cahen, *Quelques chroniques antiques relatives aux derniers Fātimides*, *BIFAO*, 1937-8, *ix*, note 2. Poems concerning the affair of ‘Abbās are quoted in ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Khawāṭir al-Kāfir*, Egyptian poets (Cairo 1925), *i*, 119, 120.

(C. H. BEVERIDGE—S. M. STARR)  
AL-‘ABBĀS B. AL-AUNAF, ABU ‘L-Faḍl, an *ahī* poet of ‘Irāk, died, it seems, after 153/808. His family belonged to the Arab clan of Hanīfa, from the district of Basra, but had emigrated to Khuzestān. It seems, however, that the father of al-‘Abbās returned to Basra, where he is said to have died in 150/767 (al-Khāṭir al-Baghdādī, 153). Al-







b. 'Anbasa, an Arab general in the service of al-Mu'tasim utilized this discontent for the purpose of organizing a conspiracy, the object of which was to assassinate the caliph and to put al-'Abbās on the throne. The latter allowed himself to be persuaded; but the plot was discovered, and the conspirators paid for their attempt with their lives. Al-'Abbās died in prison at Manbij in 223/838.

**Bibliography:** Ya'qūbī; Tabarī; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*; indexes; al-Aghāsi, *Tablēs*; *Frugm. Hist. Arab.* (De Goje and de Jong), *passim*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Index*; E. Marin, *Abū Ja'far Ma'mūn b. Jābir al-Tabarī: The Reign of al-Ma'mūn*, New Haven 1957, index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

AL-'ABBÁS B. MIRDĀS B. ABĪ 'AMR B. HĀRITHA B. 'ABD KAYR, of Sulaym, Arabian poet of the *mukhaḥḥarīn*. A sayyid in his tribe by noble descent on both sides, he was renowned as a warrior as well as a poet; although he did not come up to the fame of his stepmother, the celebrated al-Balāḥ, his poetical achievements surpassed those of his brothers and his sister all of whom displayed literary gifts and two of whom lived to compose elegies on his death. Impelled, so the story goes, by two dream experiences or epiphanies in which his family idiom, Dimār (not Dimād, cf. *TA*, iii, 353) announced its own downfall and the rise of the true prophet, al-'Abbās went to Medina to embrace Islam. Muhammad, who was at the time preparing for the conquest of Mecca, arranged for al-'Abbās to meet him with his tribesmen at al-Kudayd. Al-'Abbās returned to the Banī Sulaym and burned his idol while his wife, Haliba, returned to her people in indignation over her husband's conversion. Al-'Abbās kept his word and joined in the *fatḥ* *Makka* (630) with some 200 fully armed warriors. He was among the *mu'allafā* *ḥulāḥum*, those influential men whose loyalty Muhammad endeavored to secure by lavish gifts, but demurred when on the distribution of the booty taken from the Hawāzin at the battle of Hunayn (630) his present turned out substantially smaller than that of other leaders. As a result of a *ḥarida* of protest Muhammad satisfied al-'Abbās by increasing his share. After the *fatḥ* he withdrew to the territory of the Sulaym. He lived into the reign of 'Umar before whom he is reported to have appeared in a quarrel with another poet. Ibn Sa'd reports that he settled near Basra, often coming into town where the Basrians would take traditions from him. His son Dūbūma, too, appears as a talented poet of Hadra, the Prophet's. His offspring settled in and near Basra.

Al-'Abbās's poetical fame would seem to be due as much to his colourful personality as to the actual merits of his verse. His *mukāḥḥat* with his fellow-tribesman Qūḥfī b. Nadba, his poem upon his burning Dimār and accepting Islam, his protest against the Prophet's inadequate donation, and finally a *ḥarida* (*Amā'iyūn*, XXXVIII; cf. introduction, 12) originating in connection with a successful raid into the Yaman are perhaps the best-known of his poems, which it seems were never collected into a *diwān*. The available material gives evidence of a certain forcefulness but does not betray unusual talents. Some of his lines are interesting because of dialectal peculiarities, others because of the manner in which they reflect his experience of Islam.

**Bibliography:** *Aghāsi*, xiii, 62-72; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 467-70; Ibn Sa'd, *wa*, 15-17; *Ḥamāda* of Abū Tamīm, pp. 61-63 (ascription doubtful), 212-6, 512-3; Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, index;

*Kisāna*, index; Tabarī, index; C. Rabīn, *Ancient West Arabians*, London 1931, index.

(G. F. VON GRÜNBACH)

AL-'ABBÁS B. MUHAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. 'ABD ALLĪH, brother of the caliph Abū l-'Abbās al-Saffāh and Abū Dja'far al-Manṣūr. 'Abbās helped to retake Malaya in 130/756, and three years later was appointed by al-Manṣūr as governor of al-Djazīra and the neighbouring frontier district. He was dismissed in 135/772, but his name continues to figure frequently in the history of the following years, however little important his political part may have been. He especially often distinguished himself in the wars against the Byzantines. In 139/775-6 he was put at the head of the troops which the caliph al-Mahdī mustered for an expedition against Asī Mīmār, and it was with great success that he acquired himself of the charge committed to him. He died in 126/802.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, ii, 121; Balāḥūri, *Futūḥ*, 184; Ya'qūbī, ii, 461 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 372 ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 266; *wa*, 64 ff.; *Frugm. Hist. Arab.* (de Goje and de Jong), 223, 265, 275, 284; Abū l-Mahāsīn (Juyūbī and Matthei), i, see index; al-Aghāsi, *Tablēs*; S. Moscati, in *Orientalia*, 1945, 309-10. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

'ABBÁS B. NĀSĪH al-THAKAFI, Andalusī poet of the 3rd/9th century. He stayed for a long time in Egypt, Hǧāz and Yrāk, acquiring a broad culture. A confidant of the amir al-Hakam I, who appointed him as kadi of his native Algeria, he soon made a name for himself both as a philologist and a jurist. The *Muḥabba* of Ibn Hayyān has preserved numerous specimens of his poetry. He died at the end of the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān II, circa 238/852.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muḥabba*, i (in press), fol. 129 f.; Ibn al-Faradī, *Ta'wīḥ*, no. 879; Makkarī, *Nafā*, index.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-'ABBÁS B. AL-WALID, Umayyad general, son of the caliph al-Walid I. Al-'Abbās owes his celebrity principally to the energetic part he took in the continual struggles of the Umayyads with the Byzantines. Concerning the details, the Arabic and Byzantine sources do not always agree. In the early part of the reign of al-Walid I, he and his uncle Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, took Tūwana, the most important fortress of Cappadocia. The Muslims had begun to be discouraged and 'Abbās had to display the greatest energy to succeed in stopping the fugitives and renewing the battle. The Greeks were forced to retire into the town, which was immediately invested and had to surrender after a long siege. Arab historians give Dūmāda II 88/May 707 as the date of the fall of the fortress, but the Byzantines put it two years later. For the following period, the Arabic chronicles mention many military expeditions undertaken by the two Umayyad generals, sometimes jointly, sometimes by one of them independently of the other. The most remarkable events were the taking of Sebastopol in Cilicia by 'Abbās, and of Amasia in Pontus by Maslama, in 93/712. In the following year, 'Abbās seized Antioch in Pisidia. He continued to support Maslama faithfully in subsequent battles. When, after the death of 'Umar II in 107/720, Yazid b. al-Muḥallab, the governor of Yrāk, fomented a dangerous insurrection, 'Abbās sent against him, first alone, then he and Maslama together. Yazid was killed in a battle against the caliph's troops in 102/720, and peace was soon restored. In the reign of Walid II, he first was intelligent and loyal enough to oppose the plot of his brother Yazid, whom he

warned, together with the other Marwānids, not to let loose by his revolts the *fitna*, which would prove fatal to the dynasty. But at the end he had to give in to violence and join the coup d'état of 126/744. Later he was thrown into prison by the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II. He died in prison in Harrān, in an epidemic, in 132/750.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, ii, 129 ff.; Ya'qūbī, ii, 350 ff.; Balāḥūri, *Futūḥ*, 170, 180, 360; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 510 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 415 f.; W. Brooks, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, 182; J. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern*, *NHGF*, 1901, 436 f.; F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, 1934, 19-20, 22.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN—F. GABRIELI)

'ABBÁS EFENDI (see BAHA'IS)

'ABBÁS HILMI I, victor of Egypt, born in 1813, son of Ahmad Tūm (1793-1816) and grandson of Muhammad 'Alī (g.n.). He succeeded to his uncle Ibrahim, who died in Nov. 1848. From his accession he showed great hostility to foreigners. The reforms undertaken during the preceding period he chose to consider as dangerous and blameworthy innovations that were best abandoned. Most of the schools opened by Muhammad 'Alī were closed, as well as the factories, workshops and sanitary institutions; he even gave orders to destroy the works of the Delta dam. Many forms, especially French, officials were dismissed. The result was, from the beginning of his reign, the decline of French influence; on the other hand, he drew nearer to Great Britain. Great Britain offered him its support in the conflict with the Ottoman government about the application in Egypt of the *taszīmāt* (g.n.). In exchange for this support, Great Britain obtained on 18 July 1851 the authorisation to construct the railway between Alexandria and Cairo. The opening of this line, which was planned to be extended to Suez, was meant to counteract the French project to cut the isthmus of Suez.

Distrustful, brutal, hard, and sometimes cruel, by nature, 'Abbās quickly became unpopular. It must be noted, however, that at least in the first years of his reign, his aversion to the reforms inspired by the West, helped, by a considerable decrease of the expenses, to relieve the poorest classes of the population. They were granted some remission of taxes and had less to suffer from corvée and conscription. Moreover, certain western and Egyptian historians have tried to explain the reactionary and xenophobic policy of 'Abbās by an ardent patriotism, which, allegedly, induced him to limit by all means the foreign influence of the consequences of which he was afraid; Sammarco, however, has refuted this assertion.

'Abbās, impelled by his mistrustful character to live in isolation, retired to his palace in Benha. He was strangled there by two of his servants, on 13 July 1854, in circumstances which were never wholly cleared up. He was succeeded by his uncle Muh. Sa'īd (g.n.).

**Bibliography:** *Précis de l'histoire de l'Égypte par divers historiens et archéologues*, vol. iv: *Les règnes de 'Abbas, de Saïd et d'Ismaïl* (1848-1879), by A. Sammarco, Cairo 1919, 1-17; G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, vol. vi, Paris 1935; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, London (1939), 285-312 and index. (M. COLOMBE)

'ABBÁS HILMI II, khedive of Egypt, born at Alexandria, 14 July 1874, died in Geneva 20

Dec. 1944. He studied in the Theresianum in Vienna together with his brother Muh. 'Alī (b. 9 Nov. 1875) and succeeded to his father, Muh. Tawfīq (g.n.), on 8 Jan. 1892. He soon came into conflict with the diplomatic agents and consuls general of England in Cairo, first Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer), and then Lord Kitchener (see *MSA*).

When in August 1914 the world war broke out, 'Abbās Hilmi was in Istanbul, where he had arrived in the summer. Having been wounded on 25 July in an attempt on his life, he remained in the Ottoman capital for treatment. From there he addressed to the Egyptians and Sudanese, on Turkey entering the war on the side of the Central Powers, an appeal to fight against the occupiers of his country. On the same day the state of siege was declared in Cairo. A month later, on 18 Dec., the British Government decided to put Egypt under their protectorate; on 19 Dec., the khedive was deposed and replaced by prince Husayn Kāmil, the eldest of the princes of the family of Muh. 'Alī.

During the war, 'Abbās Hilmi, kept in the background by the Young Turks, lived first in Istanbul and then in Vienna, whence he made several journeys to Switzerland. He spent in that country the last part of his life. In 1922, when Egypt became a sovereign and independent state (British declaration of 28 Feb. 1922), and the sultan Fu'ād (g.n.), successor of Husayn Kāmil, who died in 1917, took the title of king (15 March 1922), the ex-khedive was declared to have lost all his rights to the throne (this measure was not applied to "his direct and legitimate masculine descendants"; royal rescript of 13.4.1922, *Official Journal of Egypt* of 15.4. no. 38, extraordinary). His property was liquidated and he was forbidden to enter Egypt. Nevertheless, 'Abbās Hilmi had for some time many partisans in Egypt and it was only in May 1931 that he renounced "all pretension to the throne".

The ex-khedive had two sons, Muh. 'Abd al-Mun'im and Muh. 'Abd al-Kādir. The first (b. 20 Febr. 1899) was appointed, on the abdication of king Fārūk (26 July 1932) as a member of the regency council, and became, on Oct. 1932, sole regent of the kingdom until the proclamation of the Republic in June 1933.

**Bibliography:** Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, London 1908; idem, *Abbas II*, London 1915; G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, vol. vii; Hasan Chatif, *Statut juridique international de l'Égypte*, Paris 1928; Mohamed Saïd Alla Rouchdi, *L'histoire de l'Égypte contemporaine*, Paris 1943; Abbas Hilmi II, *A few words on the Anglo-Egyptian settlement*, London 1929. (M. COLOMBE)

'ABBÁS MIRZĀ, son of Fath 'Alī Shāh, born in Dhu l-Hijja 1203/Sept. 1780, in the small town of Nawā, died on 20 Dūmāda II 1249/25 Oct. 1835. Although not the eldest son, he was made heir to the throne because his mother also belonged to the Kādjār family. Europeans who knew him were unanimous in their praise of his bravery, generosity and other excellent qualities. R. G. Watson (*History of Persia*, 128-9) describes him as "the noblest of the Kājar race". He was passionately devoted to the military art, and, with the aid of, successively, Russian, French, and British officers and men, he introduced European tactics and discipline amongst his troops in Adharbāydjān, of which province he was Governor-General for many years. Despite his military reforms, he failed in his campaigns against the Russians, but he was successful in the war against Turkey in 1821-3.



He died at Mashhad during his father's lifetime; on Fāth 'Alī Shāh's death in the following year (1834), 'Abbās Mirzā's son Muḥammad succeeded to the throne.

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**'ABBĀSA**, daughter of the caliph al-Mahdi, sister of the caliph Ḥārūn al-Raḡhīd and al-Hādī; it is to her that the locality Suwaykat al-'Abbāsa owes its name. She had three husbands in succession, who all predeceased her; this inspired Abū Nuwās to write some satirical verses, in which he recommended the caliph should he want to have a traitor killed, to marry him to 'Abbāsa. Her name is connected with the fall of the Barmakids through the amorous intrigue with Dī'fār b. Yahyā al-Barmakī, with which she is credited. According to al-Ṭabarī, Ḥārūn could not deprive himself of the society of either his sister or Dī'fār, so that, in order to have them both with him at the same time, he made them contract a purely formal marriage. They, however, were not contented with the form alone; and when Ḥārūn learned that they had children, and was convinced that the reports in circulation about them were true, he caused Dī'fār to be executed.—Some earlier historians than al-Ṭabarī do not mention this fact, especially it must be noticed that the commentators Abū Nuwās and al-Muḥallab give the names of 'Abbāsa's husbands without mentioning that of Dī'fār. Further, al-Ṭabarī, like the other chroniclers who repeat this story, only mentions it as one of the events which were reported to have caused Dī'fār's execution. Later chroniclers amplify the love-story of Dī'fār and 'Abbāsa more and more, until Ibn Khaldūn calls it truth in question, even if on grounds which are very conclusive for us. If one detail, found in the Persian Ṭabarī, must be believed, 'Abbāsa was already forty years old when her relations with Dī'fār began. It is quite certain that her second husband died eleven years before Dī'fār, and these figures put all ideas of a youthful romance out of the question. We must then resort to another, up to this anecdote as the product of popular imagination, to give a poetic aura to the fall of this favorite minister. This is the more likely in that pagan Arab stories contain a remarkably similar episode of the marriage of the minister of a king with the latter's sister (see JAQHIMA AL-ARRASSI); it was very easy to transfer to Dī'fār the motif of this story. What the greater number of authors report on the subject of 'Abbāsa is reported by some about two other fictitious sisters of Ḥārūn, Maymūna and Fāḡhita! The older authorities say nothing about what happened to 'Abbāsa after the death of Dī'fār; it is only the later writers who have woven mysterious horrors about her end. The love of 'Abbāsa and Dī'fār has frequently appealed to the imagination of European as well as Arabian authors; in 1753 a French romance appeared, and again more recently, in 1904 (Almūd Giron and Albert Tozza, *Les nuits de Bagdad*).

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Walid, *Diwān*, 213, 304; al-Aghānī, v, xx, 32; Ibn Kutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 193; Ṭabarī, iii, 676; Persian recension of the same, transl. Zotenberg, iv, 464; MacGill, *Murādī*, vi, 138; *Fragments historiques arabes*, ed. de Goije and de Jong, i, 307; pseudo-Ibn Kutayba, *al-Imāma*, ii, 330; Ibn Dadrūn, ed. Dozy, 229; Ibn Taghribirdī, i, 465, 481; Ibn Khaldūn, no. 129; Ibn Abī Hadjāla, *Diwān al-Salāha* (on the margin of *Tazīyin al-Awāḥ*), i, 54; Iḥdī, *Idm al-Nās*, 87; *Al-Layla wa-Layla*, ed. Habicht, vii, 259; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ix, 137; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 480; Chavvin, *Bibliothèque*, v, 168. (J. HANOVITZ)

**'ABBĀSA**, town in Egypt, the name of which derives from that of 'Abbāsa, daughter of Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn. The princess had pitched her camp on its place and it was there that she said good-bye to Katr al-Nadī, daughter of Khumrawayh, who was going to marry the caliph al-Mu'tadid. Around this casual encounter buildings were raised and Ksar 'Abbāsa, the 'palace of 'Abbāsa', became the township of 'Abbāsa. It was at that time the last town on the road to Syria, situated as it was at the entrance of the Wādī Tūnūllāt, that narrow strip of vegetation that reaches to the East as far as the Ritter Sea, and was called in the Middle Ages Wādī al-Sadr and even Wādī 'Abbāsa.

The town, therefore, destined to play a military role and, in effect, it was a rallying point for troops during the last period of the Ṭūlūnids and again under the Mamlūks. A customs-house was established to collect duty on goods imported from Syria; it is mentioned in connection with certain adjustments of rates ordered by the sultan Barḳūk.

The Ṭūlūnids did not leave their capital, but nevertheless, according to al-Muḥallab, 'Abbāsa had smarter houses than Fustāt, with protruding balconies. It was embellished especially by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil, who paid the town long visits. He had gardens laid out and pavilions built. The ruler came to hunt and to fish, and couriers on dromedaries brought him from Cairo the political and administrative news.

'Abbāsa kept until the end of the Mamlūk period its role as a meeting-place for hunts, and even Khāṭibay used to visit it from time to time. The town had long since lost its strategic importance owing to the foundation of Sāḫiyya about 35 miles to the North-East, and later that of Zāhiriyya, in the immediate neighbourhood of 'Abbāsa.

The district was inhabited by Beduin Arabs, who nomadized in the Wādī Tūnūllāt, and whose chief, according to some authorities, resided in 'Abbāsa. Nevertheless, 'Abbāsa is no longer mentioned in the Ottoman period and its name does not appear in al-Djābartī's chronicle. It was from Sāḫiyya that the troops of Bonaparte watched the desert road. 'Abbāsa is today an unimportant township, between Abū Ḥamūz and Tūlūn al-Kabir.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the authors quoted in J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux, MIFAQ*, xxxvi, 1245; see al-Makrizī, ed. MIFAQ, xlii and xliii, index; Makridzi, 196; Kinds, 247; Ibn Taghribirdī, Cairo, iii, 109-11, 135, 138, 139, 148; vii, 121; x, 170-1, 232; Ibn Iyās, ed. Kahle and Mintala, iii, 65, 123, 188; transl. Weil, ii, 74, 143, 214; Zakī Mohamed Hassan, *Les Tuluḥides*, 147, 149, 170. (G. WRET)

**'ABBĀSĀBĀD**, name of numerous places in Persia. The best-known is a fortified borough lying by the Kashme-yi-gaz on the Khurāsān road, between Sabrawār (circa 75 miles) and Shāhrūd

(circa 68 miles), where Shāh 'Abbās I [q.v.] settled a colony of some hundred families of Georgians. In 1934 there remained only one old woman who remembered Georgian. Another 'Abbāsābād was built by Prince 'Abbās Mirzā [q.v.] on the left bank of the Araxes (near Nakhūwān). Together with its *shahrestān* on the right bank, it was ceded to Russia by the treaty of 1828. (V. MISORSKY)

**'ABBĀSĪ** [see SIKKA]

**'ABBĀSĪD** (BASU 'L'ABBAS), the dynasty of the Ṭūlūnids from 132/750 to 656/1258. The dynasty takes its name from its ancestor, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim, the uncle of the Prophet.

The story of the origins and nature of the movement that overthrew the Umayyad Caliphate and established the 'Abbāsīd dynasty in its place was for long known only in the much-revised version put about when the dynasty had already attained power, and, with it, respectability. A more critical version was proposed by G. van Vloten (*De opkomst der Abbassiden in Chorasān*, Leiden 1890, and *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le chiisme et les croyances messianiques sous le califat des Omeyyades*, Amsterdam 1894), and developed by J. Wellhausen (in the final chapter of his *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902; English transl., Calcutta 1927). His findings, with some modifications, have been confirmed by subsequent research, and more especially by the new information that has come to light in recent years on the early history of the Shī'a sects, notably in the *Firak al-Shī'a* of al-Nawbakhtī (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1911). They were to a remarkable degree anticipated by Ibn Khaldūn in his history.

The 'Abbāsīd party that won power from the Umayyads was known as Hāshimīyya. According to the later chronicles, this name referred to Ḥāshim, the common ancestor of al-'Abbās, 'Alī and the Prophet, and it has been taken as asserting a claim to the succession based on kinship with the Prophet. In fact the name was of a quite different significance, and reveals very clearly the true origins of the 'Abbāsīd party. During the Umayyad period the large number of Shī'ite or pro-Shī'ite sects and parties that flourished in different parts of the Empire, but especially in Southern 'Irāk, may be broadly divided into two main groups. One of them followed the pretenders of the line of Fāṭima, and was, generally speaking, moderate, differing from the dominant faith chiefly by its support, on legitimist grounds, for the political claims of the house of 'Alī. The other first appeared in the revolt of al-Mughīth, who rose in 66/685 in the name of Muḥammad, a son of 'Alī by a Hanafī woman. For the next sixty or seventy years the claims of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya and his successors were advanced by a series of sects of a more extreme character, deriving their main support from the resentful and imperfectly Islamized and embodying in their teachings many ideas brought by these converts from their previous religions. After the death of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya in 81/700-1, his followers split into three main groups, one of which followed his son Abū Ḥāshim 'Abd Allāh [q.v.], and was known after him as Hāshimīyya. On the death of Abū Ḥāshim without issue in 98/716, his followers again split into several groups, one of which maintained that Abū Ḥāshim had bequeathed the Imamate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, just before he died in the house of Muḥammad b. 'Alī's father in Palestine. This group continued to be known as Hāshimīyya, and also as Rā-

wānīyya (cf. S. Moscati, *Il testamento di Abū Ḥalīm*, RSO 1935, 28 ff.). It may be noted in passing that the doctrine that the Imamate can be bequeathed or transferred by the Imam to another person is by no means infrequent in early Shī'ism (see B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismā'īlism*, Cambridge 1940, 25 ff. and 44 ff.).

Whether or not the story of the bequest of Abū Ḥāshim is, as has been suggested, fictitious, the main fact remains clear: that Muḥammad b. 'Alī took over the claims of Abū Ḥāshim, and, with them, the sect and propaganda organisation of the Hāshimīyya, which he then proceeded to transform into the instrument of the 'Abbāsīd party. He seems to have lost little time in using it. The accounts given by the historians of the first 'Abbāsīd missions are incomplete and in part contradictory. Broadly, they indicate that intensive propaganda began from about 100/718. From headquarters in Kūfa, the Hāshimīyya sent emissaries to Khurāsān, one of whom, Khaldīsh, won considerable success, but was executed in 118/736 after prematurely showing his hand. The moderate Shī'a, whose support Muḥammad b. 'Alī was still seeking, were alienated by the extreme doctrines taught by Khaldīsh, and after his death Muḥammad deemed it advisable to disavow him and place his own organisation in Khurāsān under the control of the Shī'ite chief missionary, Sulaymān b. Kaṭhīr [q.v.]. A period of inactivity followed, during which Muḥammad died in 125/743.

His son Ibrahim [q.v.] succeeded to his claims and was accepted by the followers in Khurāsān, including Sulaymān b. Kaṭhīr. With Ibrahim a new phase of activity began. In 128/745-6 Ibrahim sent his *muḥallab* Abū Muslim [q.v.] as his personal representative to Khurāsān. The sources differ on the origin of Abū Muslim, but agree that he was a Persian, and a freedman of Ibrahim. The use of the *kunya* was at that time a privilege rarely enjoyed by non-Arabs, and its employment by Persian emissaries of the 'Abbāsīds like Abū Muslim, his lieutenant Abū Dīyah, and his rival Abū Salama al-Khalīl is not without significance. Considered in the light of the statements in some sources that Abū Muslim claimed or was granted membership of the 'Abbāsīd house, it may well be an example of the practice, common among the extreme Shī'a, of granting to favoured supporters adoptive membership of the house of the Prophet, and thus, incidentally as it were, of the Arab nation. A modified form of this method of adoption later became part of the dynastic policy of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs (see ARSĀ').

Abū Muslim's mission to Khurāsān achieved a rapid and resounding success. While his main appeal was to the Persian *muḥallab*, he also found important support among the Yemenite Arabs, and is said to have won over many of the Zoroastrian and Buddhist *dihkās*, some of whom were now converted to Islam for the first time. Opinions differ as to the nature of Abū Muslim's teachings. Two things are clear however—that he was a loyal agent of the Hāshimīyya, and that they were a part of the extremist wing of the Shī'a. It seems likely therefore that the doctrines he taught were of the kind current among the extreme Shī'a—probably including elements of Iranian origin, and thus more acceptable to those whom he addressed. The hoisting of the black flag, later accepted as the emblem of the house of 'Abbās, had at this stage a messianic significance. Black flags were among the signs and portents listed in the eschatological prophecies current at the time, and had been used



as emblems of religious revolt by earlier rebels against the Umayyads. Their use by Abū Muslim was thus an appeal to messianic expectations. His activities aroused some opposition among the more moderate Arab *Shi'a*, led by Sulaymān b. Kaḥrīr, but a tactical withdrawal of Abū Muslim from Khurāsān was sufficient to demonstrate that no effective movement was possible without him and his policies, and led to his return as undisputed leader of the mission. By Ramaḍān 122/May-June 747 he was ready to show his hand. The time and the place were auspicious. The moderate *Shi'a* and the *Khawārij*, the two most important opposition movements against the Umayyads, had both shot their bolt — the former in the risings of 122/746 and 126/744, the latter in the rebellion of 127/745. These served the double purpose of weakening the Umayyad regime and, by their failure, eliminating possible rivals to the Hāshimī succession. ‘Irāk, the main centre of previous anti-Umayyad movements, was exhausted, and was moreover subject to special Umayyad surveillance. In concentrating their attention on Khurāsān, the ‘Abbāsids were breaking new ground. Their choice was good. An active and warlike Persian population, imbued with the religious and military traditions of the frontier, was deeply resentful of the inequalities imposed by Umayyad rule. The Arab army and settlers, half Persianized by long residence, were sharply divided among themselves, and even during the triumphal progress of Abū Muslim diverted their own energies and those of the Umayyad governor, Naṣr b. Sayyār (q.v.), to Arab inter-tribal strife. Soon Abū Muslim was able to take Marw, and then, ably seconded by his general Kaḥtaba (q.v.), an Arab of the tribe of Tayy, seized all Khurāsān from the crumbling Umayyad power. From Khurāsān the ‘Abbāsids forces advanced to Ray and then, after defeating a relieving Umayyad army from Kūfa, captured Nihāwand. The way was now open to ‘Irāk. In 132/749 the ‘Abbāsīd army crossed the Euphrates some 30 or 40 miles north of Kūfa, and engaged and defeated another Umayyad army led by Ibn Hubayra (q.v.). Kaḥtaba fell on the field of battle, but his son, al-Ḥasan b. Kaḥtaba, took command, and following up the victory, took possession of Kūfa. The tribalism al-Imām had fallen into the hands of the Caliph Marwān in 130/748, and died shortly after. It was therefore his brother, Abū ‘Uṣaybā (q.v.) who was hailed as Caliph by the Hāshimī troops in Kūfa in 132/749, with the title al-Saffāḥ. The accession of the first ‘Abbāsīd Caliph was accompanied by the first breach with the revolutionaries, when the missionary Abū Salama (q.v.) was put to death in obscure circumstances, allegedly for attempting to bring about the replacement of the ‘Abbāsids by the ‘Alids. Abū Muslim undertook his removal, perhaps in return for ‘Abbāsīd acquiescence in the death of Sulaymān b. Kaḥrīr. Meanwhile another ‘Abbāsīd army, led by Abū ‘Awn, advanced from Nihāwand towards Mesopotamia. In 131/749, in the neighbourhood of Shaḥrazūr, east of the Lesser Zab river, he inflicted a crushing defeat on an Umayyad army led by ‘Abd Allāh, the son of the caliph Marwān. Marwān now himself took the field, and marched across the Tigris towards the Greater Zab river, to engage the army of Abū ‘Awn. The latter had meanwhile handed over his command to ‘Abd Allāh, the uncle of al-Saffāḥ, who had arrived from Kūfa with considerable reinforcements. The battle of the Greater Zab, in 132/750, sealed the fate of the Umayyad Caliphate. The defeated Mar-

wān fled to Syria, where he tried in vain to organize further resistance. The victorious ‘Abbāsīd troops advanced through Harrān, the residence of Marwān, into Syria, occupied Damascus, and then pursued Marwān into Egypt, where he was killed and his head sent to al-Saffāḥ in Kūfa. The authority of the new ‘Abbāsīd caliph was now established all over the Middle East.

Much has been written about the historical significance of the ‘Abbāsīd revolution, which historians have rightly seen to be something more than a mere change of dynasty. Many nineteenth century orientalists, unduly influenced by the racial theories of Gobineau and others, saw in the struggle a conflict between the Aryanians of Iran and the Semitism of Arabia, ending in a victory for the Persians over the Arabs, the destruction of what Wellhausen called the “Arab Kingdom” of the Umayyads, and the establishment of a new Iranian Empire under a cloak of Persianized Islam. There is at first sight much to support this view; the undoubted role of the Persians in the revolution itself, the prominent place of Persian ministers and courtiers in the new regime, the strong Persian elements in ‘Abbāsīd government and culture. It is not surprising to find some statements to the same effect in the Arabic sources (cf. al-Maṣūdī, *Murūj*, viii, 292; al-Djāhiz, *al-Bayan wa’l-Tabyin*, iii, 181 and 206; etc.). More recent writers have however made important modifications in the theories both of Persian victory and of Arab defeat. ‘Uṣaybī, for long regarded as an exponent of the “Iranian national consciousness”, was of Arab origin, and had its main centre among the mixed Arab, Aramaean and Persian population of southern ‘Irāk. It was taken to Persia by Arabs, and remained strongest in areas of Arab settlement like Kūmān. The revolt of Abū Muslim was directed against Umayyad and Syrian rather than Arab rule as such, and won the support of many Arabs, especially among the Yemenites. There were many Arabs even among its leaders, including the redoubtable general Kaḥtaba. Though racial antagonisms no doubt played their part in the movement, and though Persians were prominent among the victors, they nevertheless served an Arab dynasty, and, as the fate of Abū Muslim, al-Saffāḥ and the Barmakids shows, received short shrift if they fell foul of their masters. Many high offices under the state were at first reserved to Arabs, Arabic was still the sole official language, Arabian land remained fiscally privileged, and the doctrine of Arab superiority remained strong enough, on the one hand, to induce Persians to provide themselves with fabricated Arab pedigrees, on the other, to provoke the nationalist reaction of the *Shu‘bīyya* (q.v.). What the Arabs had lost was the exclusive right to the fruits of power. Persians as well as Arabs came to the ‘Abbāsīd court, and the favour of the ruler, often expressed in the form of “adoption” into the Royal household, rather than pure Arab descent, came to be the passport to power and prestige. If a term must be set to the Arab Kingdom, it must be sought in the gradual cessation of the allowances and pensions formerly paid as of right to the Arab warriors and their families, and in the rise to power of the Turkish guards from the time of al-Mu‘taṣim.

The real significance of the ‘Abbāsīd victory must be sought in the facts of the change that followed it, rather than in the obviously inaccurate hypotheses on the movement that produced it. The first and most obvious change was the transfer of the centre of gravity from Syria to ‘Irāk, the traditional centre

of the great cosmopolitan Empires of the ancient Middle East, and of the civilisation to which Tōynbee has given the name “Syriac”. The first ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Saffāḥ set up his capital in the small town of Hāshimīyya, which he built on the east bank of the Euphrates near Kūfa. Later he transferred the capital to al-Anbār. It was his brother and nephew, al-Manṣūr, in many ways the real founder of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate, who established the permanent capital of the Empire in a new city on the west bank of the Tigris, near the ruins of Ctesiphon and at the intersection of several trade-routes. Its official name was Madīnat al-Salām, but it is usually known by the name of the small town that previously occupied the site, Baghdad.

From this city or its neighbourhood the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty first ruled, and later reigned, as heads of the greater part of the Islamic world for five centuries. The period of their sovereignty, covering the great epoch of classical Islamic civilisation, may be conveniently considered in two parts. The first, from 132/750 to 334/945, saw the gradual decline of the authority of the caliphs and the rise of military leaders ruling through their troops. During the second, from ca. 334/945 to 656/1258, the caliphs, with one exception, retained a purely nominal suzerainty, while real power, even in Baghdad itself, was exercised by dynasties of secular sovereigns.

The main events of these two periods will be treated under the names of the various caliphs, dynasties, places, etc. Here only the general course of events will be given, and an attempt made to describe the main characteristics of each period.

#### I. 132/750–334/945

The ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate in the days following its establishment must have seemed very insecure to contemporary eyes. Rebels rose against it on every side and for a long time every new caliph had to face risings in and around even the metropolitan province of ‘Irāk. In Syria, Arab supporters of the deposed Umayyads gave trouble, and found encouragement in the growing legend of the Sufyānī, a messianic figure of the house of Umayya who competed with the ‘Alids for pretensions for the support of the disaffected. The ‘Alids themselves, temporarily disorganised by the frustration of their hopes, and kept under close surveillance, were for a time in eclipse, but soon reappeared as the most dangerous and determined opponents of ‘Abbāsīd rule. Even the *Khawārij* remained an active, if minor, opposition force. Nor were the extant supporters of the dynasty wholly reliable. In the prevailing atmosphere of mistrust, only members of the ‘Abbāsīd family were appointed to the highest positions — but when Abū ‘Uṣaybā al-Saffāḥ died and his brother Abū Djāfar succeeded as Caliph with the title al-Manṣūr, their uncle, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī, commanding the troops and raiders on the Byzantine frontier, revolted and proclaimed himself caliph, and this serious threat was averted thanks in the main to Abū Muslim. There remained the problem of Abū Muslim himself and the Hāshimīyya. The ‘Abbāsīds, like others before and after them who had come to power on the crest of a revolutionary movement, soon found themselves faced with a conflict between the interests and objectives of the movement on the one hand and the needs of government and Empire on the other. The ‘Abbāsīds chose continuity and orthodoxy, and had to face the angry disappointment of some of their followers. Abū

Encyclopaedia of Islam

Salama had already been destroyed. Abū Muslim himself was put to death as soon as al-Manṣūr felt strong enough to dispense with his uncomfortable presence. These steps, and the suppression of the more consistent wing of the Rāwandīyya (q.v.), alienated the extremist following of the ‘Abbāsīds, some of whom found an outlet in a series of religio-political revolts in Iran, while others later joined the ranks of the *Jumālīn*, the extremist wing of the Fātimīd *Shi'a* that grew up in the course of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries. At the same time, however, the changes reassured the orthodox, thus helping al-Manṣūr to meet the dangers of rebellion and foreign war, and during his long and brilliant reign, to lay the foundations of ‘Abbāsīd government. In this task, and especially in the elaboration of the centralised administrative structure, al-Manṣūr was ably seconded by a family that was to play a vital role during the first half century of ‘Abbāsīd rule. The Barmakids (q.v.) are usually described as Persians, but they were of a very different kind from the Khurāsānī rebels who followed Abū Muslim. Their religion before conversion to Islam was neither Zoroastrianism nor any of its heresies, but Buddhism, and they belonged to the aristocratic, landowning priesthood of the Central Asian city of Balh, an ancient capital whose imperial and commercial traditions provided a fund of experience to the ruling class of its citizens. It was after the foundation of Baghdad that Khālid al-Barmakī appeared as the right-hand man of al-Manṣūr, and thereafter he and his descendants developed and directed the administration of the Empire, until the dramatic and still unexplained fall of the Barmakids from power under Hārūn al-Raḥīd in 187/803. With the transfer of the centre of the Empire to the East, the destruction of the Arab aristocratic monopoly of high office, and the firm establishment in power of the Barmakids, Persian influences became stronger and stronger. Sasanid Persian models were followed in the court and the government, and Persians began to play an increasingly important part in both political and cultural life. This process of Persianisation continued during the reigns of al-Maḥdī and al-Hādī; the *muṣallīn* and the *muṣallīn* of the *muṣallīn* in high places gradually disappeared. To replace the weakening bond of Arab nationality the caliphs laid increased stress on Islamic orthodoxy and conformity, trying to weld their cosmopolitan Empire into a unity based on a common faith and a common way of life. Al-Manṣūr's reversion to the heterodox origins of the ‘Abbāsīd movement was followed under his successors by a deliberate policy of winning the orthodox theologians and makers of opinion, and laying a greater stress on the religious element in the nature of the authority exercised by the caliphs. This policy, when contrasted with the dissolute lives led by many of the caliphs and their courtiers, often led to charges of hypocrisy, but was in the main successful in making its object, Mecca and Medina were rebuilt, the pilgrimage from ‘Irāk organised on a regular basis, and orthodoxy reinforced by an inquisitorial persecution of the various heretical movements and of Manichaeism, which at this time became prominent, under the name of Zandakā, as a revolutionary movement of the poorer classes (see *muṣallīn*). For a time an attempt was made to impose the Mu‘tazilī doctrine, which H. S. Nyberg's attractive hypothesis is correct (see EI<sup>1</sup> AL-MU‘TAZILĪ), was an official ‘Abbāsīd attempt at a compromise with the *Shi'a*. From the



time of al-Mutawakkil this attempt was abandoned, and thereafter the ‘Abbāsids adhered, formally at least, to the most rigid orthodoxy.

The reign of Hārūn al-Raḡhīd is generally regarded as the apogee of ‘Abbāsīd power, but it is at this time that the first portents of decline are seen. In Persia, the series of religious revolts that had followed the martyrdom of Abū Muḥsin became ever more threatening, and challenged ‘Abbāsīd authority in the Caspian provinces as well as in Khurāsān. In the west, ‘Abbāsīd authority disappeared almost completely. Spain had rejected the ‘Abbāsids and become independent under an Umayyad prince as far back as 138/756. After the death of Yazīd b. Hātim, the last effective ‘Abbāsīd governor of North Africa, in 170/787, independent dynasties arose, first in Morocco and then in Tunisia, and the authority of Baghdad was never again asserted west of Egypt. The Aghlabids of Tunisia, exercising hereditary and independent rule under the nominal suzerainty of the caliph, set the pattern for a whole series of subsequent local hereditary governorships, whose encroachments eventually reduced the effective suzerainty of the Caliphate to central and southern ‘Irāk. Another danger-sign showed the weakness of the defences of the Empire. By ‘Abbāsīd times the frontiers of Islam were more or less stabilised. The only foreign wars of any importance were with the Byzantines, and even these seem to have been of more show than effect. The inconclusive campaigns of Hārūn were the last major offensives launched against Byzantium by the Caliphate. Thereafter Islam was on the defensive. Byzantine armies sought out weak points in Syria and Mesopotamia, while Khazar invaders entered Islamic territory in the Caucasus and Armenia. Perhaps the most serious factor of weakness was the obscure internal convulsion that culminated in the degradation of the Barmakids and the assumption by Hārūn of the reins of power in his own not too competent hands. This step seems to have shaken the alliance with the Persian aristocratic wing of the movement that had brought them to power, which the early ‘Abbāsids had maintained long after shedding the more extremist elements. After Hārūn's death, smouldering conflicts burst into civil war between his sons al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn. Al-Amin's strength lay mainly in the capital and in ‘Irāk, al-Ma'mūn's in Persia, and the civil war has been interpreted as a national conflict between Arabs and Persians, ending in a victory for the latter. The same objections can be raised to this explanation as to the corresponding theory concerning the ‘Abbāsīd revolution itself. The civil war was more probably a continuation of the social struggles of the immediately preceding period, complicated by a regional rather than national conflict between Persia and ‘Irāk. Al-Ma'mūn, relying on eastern support, for a while projected the transfer of the capital from Baghdad to Marw, but some time after his victory wisely decided to return to the Imperial city. Thereafter Persian aristocratic and regional aspirations found an outlet in local dynasties. In 205/820 Tāhir, the Persian general of al-Ma'mūn, made himself virtually independent in Khurāsān, and founded a dynasty. His example was followed by others, who, while for the most part still recognizing the suzerainty of the caliphs, deprived them of all effective authority in most of Persia.

While the power of the caliphs in the provinces was gradually being reduced to the granting of diplomas of investiture to the *de facto* rulers, their

authority even in ‘Irāk itself was dwindling. A spendthrift court and an inflated bureaucracy produced chronic financial disorder, aggravated by the loss of provincial revenues and, subsequently, by the exhaustion or loss to invaders of gold and silver mines. The caliphs found a remedy in the farming out of state revenues, eventually with the local governors as tax-farmers. These farmer-governors soon became the real rulers of the Empire, the more so when tax-farms and governorships were held by army commanders, who alone had the force to impose obedience. From the time of al-Mu'tasim and al-Wāḡhik, the caliphs became the puppets of their own generals, who were often able to appoint and depose them at will. Al-Mu'tasim is usually credited with the introduction of the practice of using Turks from Central Asia as soldiers and officers, and from his time the dominant military caste became mainly Turkish. In 222/836 he built a new residence at Sāmarrā, some 60 miles north of Baghdad. Sāmarrā remained the Imperial residence until 278/892, when al-Mu'tamid returned to Baghdad. Its foundation illustrated the growing gulf between the caliph and his praetorians on the one hand and the people of Baghdad on the other. Its art and architecture illustrate the emergence of a new ruling caste with different tastes and traditions. Under al-Wāḡhik the power of the Turks continued to grow. A serious attempt to reassert the supremacy of the Caliphate was made by his successor al-Mu'tawakkil, who asked to break the power of the Turkish guards and to rally support against them among the theologians and the civil population, whose orthodox Isma'īnism he sought to placate by renouncing and suppressing the Mu'tazilī doctrines of his predecessors and enforcing the regulations against the Christians and Jews. The attempt ended in failure. The murder of al-Mutawakkil in 227/867 was followed by a period of anarchy. During an interval of nine years four caliphs succeeded one another, but all were helpless in the hands of the Turkish guards, whose control of the court and the capital grew firmer, while the provinces relapsed into anarchy or, at best, autonomy. In Southern ‘Irāk a revolt broke out among the negro clans, known as Zandī [g.v.], who worked on the salt marshes near Basra. This rapidly developed into a major threat to the Empire. The Zandī leader, who displayed brilliant generalship, defeated several imperial armies, and was able to establish effective control over much of Southern ‘Irāk and South West Persia. The lines of communication linking Baghdad with Basra, and therefore with the Persian Gulf and the trade route to the East, were cut, and by 264/877 Zandī parties were raiding within 17 miles of Baghdad itself. But meanwhile a period of greater stability had begun in the capital. The caliph al-Mu'tamid, who succeeded in 256/870, was not a very effective ruler, but his brother al-Mu'waffak soon became the real master of the capital, and during the twenty years of his rule did much to restore the falling strength of the house of ‘Abbās. His first task was to restore order and stability in Baghdad itself, then to tackle the problems presented by the Zandī and by the encroachments of provincial leaders, especially the Saffarids in Persia and the Tulunids in Egypt and Syria. By 269/882 he had expelled the Zandī from all their conquests, and in 290/883 he expelled them. Though failing to destroy the Saffarids and Tulunids, he did succeed in checking their ambitions, and facilitated the task of his successors. On the

death of al-Mu'waffak in 278/891, he was succeeded as real ruler by his son al-Mu'tadīd, who became caliph on the death of al-Mu'tamid in the following year. Al-Mu'tadīd and his successor al-Mu'taḥḥī were both able and energetic rulers. In Persia and Egypt the authority of the Caliphate was for a time reasserted, leaving the government free to deal with the menace of Shī'ism, now active again in a militant and extreme form. After the rise of the ‘Abbāsids and the consequent disappearance of the Hanafī line of pretenders, it was the Fātimid line of Imāms who commanded the support of most of the Shī'īs. After the death of Dī'ār al-Šāḍik in 148/765, these split into two groups, one of which, known as Ismā'īlī, inherited many of the functions, doctrines and followers of the vanished Hanafīya. The transformation of the Caliphate in the 8th and 9th centuries from an agrarian, military state to a cosmopolitan Empire with an intensive commercial and industrial life, the growth of large cities and the concentration of capital and labour, subjected the loose social structure of the Empire to grave strain, and engendered widespread discontent. The rapid growth of the intellectual life of Islam, and the clash of cultures and ideas resulting from outside influence and internal development, again helped to prepare the way for the spread of heretical movements which, in a theocratic society, were the only possible expression of moral or material dissent from the existing order. The endemic disorders and upheavals of the late 9th and early 10th centuries brought these strains to breaking point, and the caliphs were called upon to deal with a series of challenges ranging in form from the revolutionary violence of the Karmatians [g.v.] in Bahrayn, Syria, Mesopotamia and Southern Arabia, to the more subtle and ultimately more effective criticism of peaceful moralists and mystics in Baghdad itself. Al-Mu'tadīd died after a defeat at the hand of the Karmatians, but his successor al-Mu'taḥḥī managed to crush the Karmatian revolt in Syria and Mesopotamia, and, at the time of his death in 295/908, was leading a successful counter-attack against the Byzantines, who had sought to exploit the anarchy of the Muslim Empire. The Shī'ite danger was, however far from ended. After a brief struggle for power, al-Mu'taḥḥī was succeeded by his brother al-Mu'tadīd, still a boy of 13. During his minority, and the long and ineffective reign that followed it, the destructive tendencies halted by the regent al-Mu'waffak and his two successors reappeared. The Karmatians resumed their activities, and from their bases in Bahrayn threatened the life-lines of the Caliphate, while in the west another wing of the Ismā'īlī movement established a Fātimid anti-Caliphate in Tunisia. In North Syria the beduin Hamdānī dynasty established itself, while in Persia another Shī'ite family, the Būyids, began to build a new dynasty that soon threatened even ‘Irāk. In the capital, growing disorder and confusion culminated in the death of the caliph, while fighting his general Muḥsin. Under his successors al-Kābir and al-Rāḍī, the decay of the authority of the Caliphate was completed. The event that is usually taken to symbolise this process was the grant to the governor of ‘Irāk, Ibn Rāḍī, of the title *amir al-umara'*—Commander of Commanders. This title, apparently intended to assert the primacy of the military commander of Baghdad over his colleagues elsewhere, served at the same time to give formal recognition to the existence of a supreme temporal authority, exercising effective political and mili-

tary power, and leaving the caliph only as formal head of the state and the faith and representative of the religious unity of Islam. In 344/945 came the ultimate degradation, when the Būyid Amīr Mu'izz al-Dawla entered Baghdad, and the title of *amir al-umara'*, and with it the effective control of the Empire, the caliphs, passed into the hands of a Shī'ite dynasty.

Almost two centuries had passed between the enthronement of al-Saffāh and the arrival of Mu'izz al-Dawla. Though most of the period still awaits adequate investigation, certain broad lines of development can be discerned. In government, the early ‘Abbāsīd caliphs continued along the lines of the late Umayyads, with far less break in continuity than was at one time believed. Certain changes, begun under the preceding dynasty, continued at an accelerated pace. From an Arab super-ghaykh governing by the intermittent consent of the Arab aristocracy, the caliph became an autocrat, claiming a divine origin for his authority, resting it on his armed forces, and exercising it through a vast and growing bureaucratic organisation. Stronger in this respect than the Umayyads, the ‘Abbāsīds were nevertheless weaker than the old oriental despots, in that they lacked the support of an established feudal caste and a priestly hierarchy, and were themselves theoretically subject to the Holy Law, of the authority of which their office was the supreme embodiment. With the transfer of the capital to the East and the entry of increasing numbers of Persians into the service of the caliphs, Persian influences grew in the court and the administration, which was organised in a series of *diwāns* [g.v.] or ministries, under the supreme control of the *wazir* [g.v.]. Provincial government was carried on jointly by the *amir* [g.v.] (Governor) and *šawī* [g.v.] (financial administrator), under the general surveillance of the capital, exercised through the agents of the *sāḥib al-barīd* (Director of Posts and Intelligence) (see *barīd*). In the army the Arab element gradually lost its importance, and the pensions formerly paid to Arabs were discontinued except for serving soldiers. The core of the early ‘Abbāsīd army consisted of the Khurāsānīs, a term that is to be understood in a regional rather than national sense, and covering both Arabs and Persians from Khurāsān. In time these gave way to the Turkish slave troops, who from the time of al-Mu'tasim onwards became the main element in the army and, in consequence, the main source of political authority for the various amirs and commanders whose power replaced that of the caliphs.

The ‘Abbāsīds came to power through a religious movement, and sought in religion the basis of unity and authority in the Empire they ruled. While broadly successful in this purpose, they had throughout to contend with a series of religious opposition movements, and with the mistrust or reserve of the more conscientious elements among the Sunni religious leaders.

The political breakdown of the 9th and 10th centuries, resulting in the fragmentation of power in the Empire as a whole and the decline and eventual collapse of authority in the capital, had no immediate ill-effects on the economic and cultural life of the Caliphate. The ‘Abbāsīd accession had been followed by a great economic revival, based on the exploitation of the resources of the Empire through industry and trade, and the development of a vast network of trade relations both within the Empire and with the world outside. These changes brought



important social consequences. The Arab warrior caste was deposed, and replaced by a ruling class of landowners and bureaucrats, professional soldiers and literati, merchants and men of learning. The Islamic town was transformed from a garrison city to a market and exchange, and in time to the centre of a flourishing and diversified urban culture. The literature, art, theology, philosophy and science of the period is examined elsewhere (in individual articles). Here it need only be remarked that this was the classic age of Islam, when a new, rich and original civilisation, born of the confluence of many races and traditions, came to maturity.

## 2. 334/945–656/1258

During the long period from the Būyid occupation of Baghdad to the conquest of the city by the Mongols, the Caliphate became a purely titular institution, representing the headship of Sunnī Islam, and acting as legitimating authority for the numerous secular rulers who exercised effective sovereignty, both in the provinces and in the capital. The caliphs themselves, except for a brief revival towards the end, were at the mercy of the secular rulers, who appointed and deposed them at will, and only one of them, al-Nāṣir, has left any mark on history. The appointment of Ibn Rāḥiq as *amir al-umara'* was the first of a long series, and marked the formal recognition of the office of secular sovereign. The main history of the period will be found in the articles on the various dynasties that held it.

In the second quarter of the 10th century a number of princes of the *Shi'ite* Persian house of Būya (or Buyah), originating in the highlands of Daylam, extended their rule over most of western Persia, and forced the caliphs to grant them legal recognition. In 334/945 the Būyid prince Mu'izz al-Dawla entered Baghdad, and wrung from the caliph al-Mustakfi the title of *amir al-umara'*. For over a century the caliphs were compelled to submit to the final humiliation of accepting these *Shi'ite* mayors of the palace as absolute masters. Despite their *Shi'ism*, the Būyids made no attempt to install an *'Alid* caliph—the twelfth Imam of the *Ithnā-ʿashari* *Shi'a* had disappeared some 70 years earlier—but gave outward homage to the 'Abbāsids, retaining them as an orthodox cover for their own power and an instrument of their policy in the Sunnī world. It was from the extremist *Shi'a* that the real threat to the 'Abbāsids came. In 350/969 the Idrisid *Fātimids* from Tunisia conquered Egypt, and were soon able to extend their power into Syria and Arabia. For the first time a powerful independent dynasty ruled in the Middle East that did not recognize even the titular authority of the 'Abbāsids, but on the contrary founded a Caliphate of their own, challenging the 'Abbāsids for the headship of the whole Islamic world. The political and military power of the *Fātimids* was supported by an elaborate religious organisation, commanding a multitude of agents, propagandists and sympathisers in the 'Abbāsīd dominions, and also by a skilful economic policy aimed at diverting the Eastern trade from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, and thus at the same time strengthening Egypt and weakening *ʿIrāq*. (See B. Lewis, *The Fatimids and the Roads to India*, *Istanbul Islamic Inst. Mem.*, 1950, 355–60). It is indeed arguable that the diversion of *Shi'ite* energies due to the predominance of the Būyids in the East was one of the factors that saved the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate from extinction at this time (see H. A. R.

Gibb, *The Caliphate and the Arab States, in History of the Crusades*, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, vol. 1).

In time the Būyid Empire broke up into a number of smaller states, under Būyid and other rulers, while in Persia the power of a new dynasty, the Seljuks, was steadily growing. By the middle of the 11th century Būyid power was at an end, and a Turkish general called al-Buḥārī was able to occupy Baghdad and proclaim the *Abbasid* in the name of the *Fātimid* caliph. This brief episode was the high water mark of *Fātimid* power. In 447/1055 the Seljuks Tughril-beg entered Baghdad, and had himself proclaimed as *Sulṭān*. This title is often attributed by the chroniclers to earlier rulers who exercised a sovereignty not greatly different from that of the Seljuks. The Seljuks *sulṭāns* of Baghdad appear however to be the first to have used the title officially and inscribed it on their coins. In effect the Seljuks Great *Sultanate*, which lasted about a century, was the logical development of the office of *amir al-umara'*, and the title has remained in use ever since for the holder of supreme secular power. The Seljuks brought several important changes. Unlike their predecessors they were Turks and Sunnis, and with their advent the power of the Turks, that had been growing intermittently since the time of al-Mu'tasim, was finally established. By now the Turks in the Middle East were no longer all slave or freed soldiers, imported from Central Asia; whole clans of free, nomadic Turks began to migrate westwards, playing an increasingly important role and in time changing the ethnic configuration of the Middle East. The replacement of a *Shi'i* by a Sunnī ruler increased the prestige though not the power of the caliphs, as did also the extension of the role of the central government, and therefore of the nominal sovereignty of the caliphs, over many hitherto independent lands. The period of the Seljuks, and of the Seljuks and Atabeg dynasties that followed the break-up of the Great *Sultanate*, brought two major changes. One was the regularisation of the economic and social changes that had been taking place in the preceding period, and the elaboration of a new social and fiscal order of quasi-feudal character; the other was the campaign against the *Shi'ite* menace, both on the political and military level through the suppression of *Shi'ite* dynasties and movements, and on the intellectual level through the creation of a network of *madrasas* [g.s.] to serve as centres for the formulation and defence of Sunnī orthodoxy against the *Shi'ite* propagandists. Both changes encountered a vigorous reaction in the form of the Assassins (see *RIĀḌĪ*), an active and energetic revolutionary movement that rose from the ruins of the *Fātimid da'wa* and offered a bitter and sustained challenge to Seljuks rule and Sunnī orthodoxy. The Assassins ultimately failed, and thereafter *Shi'ism* was never again a major political factor until the rise of the Safavids.

After the break-up of the Great *Sultanate*, *ʿIrāq* fell under the domination of a local dynasty of Seljuks, princes, the last of whom was Tughril II (573–590/1177–1194). The collapse of his power and the absence of any alternative enabled the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Nāṣir to make a final attempt to restore the lost authority of the Caliphate. This movement was favoured by the two major dynasties of the Middle East, the Ayyubids in Egypt and Syria were preoccupied with the struggle against the Crusaders, the *Khāzrim-shāh* in the East with his wars against other Turkish dynasties and then against the Mongols. In this power vacuum, al-Nāṣir attempted

to create a kind of State of the Church for the Caliphate in Baghdad and *ʿIrāq*, and to buttress his authority by seeking popular support through the *fulawana* [g.s.] organisations and making adroit use of pro-*'Alid* sentiment. It was however only the diversion of their energies to meet the Mongol threat in the East that saved him from destruction by the *Khāzrim-shāh*. Al-Nāṣir's successors were weak and incompetent, and when the Mongol general Hūllākū, having already conquered Persia, appeared before Baghdad in 656/1258, the last caliph al-Musta'ṣim was unable to offer any serious resistance.

The Mongol conquest of Baghdad and the destruction of the Caliphate are usually described as a major catastrophe in the history of Islam. Certainly they mark the end of an epoch—not only in the outward forms of government and sovereignty, but in Islamic civilisation itself, which after the transformation wrought by the great wave of Tatar invasion flows in new channels, different from those of the preceding centuries. But the immediate moral effects of the destruction of the Caliphate have been overrated. The Caliphate had long ceased to exist as an effective institution, and the Mongols did little more than lay the ghost of something that was already dead. To the real organs of temporal power the Mongol invasions made little difference, the only change being that the *Sultanate* now began to acquire *de jure* recognition, and *sulṭāns* began to arrogate to themselves titles and prerogatives formerly reserved to the caliphs.

## THE 'ABBĀSĪD CALIPHS OF EGYPT

The establishment by Baybars of an 'Abbāsīd shadow-Caliphate in Cairo in 659/1261 has been explained by R. Hartmann as follows: the disappearance of the Caliphate in Baghdad created a political vacuum, affecting not so much the theologians as the secular rulers, who still felt the need for a legitimating authority. Abū Numayy, the *Sharif* of Mecca, gave formal recognition to the Hafsid ruler of Tunisia Abū 'Abd Allāh, who had assumed the title of caliph, with the regnal name of al-Mustansir, in 659/1263. This assumption, made before the fall of Baghdad, was not in the Sunnī juristic sense of the word caliph, but in that of North Africa, con-

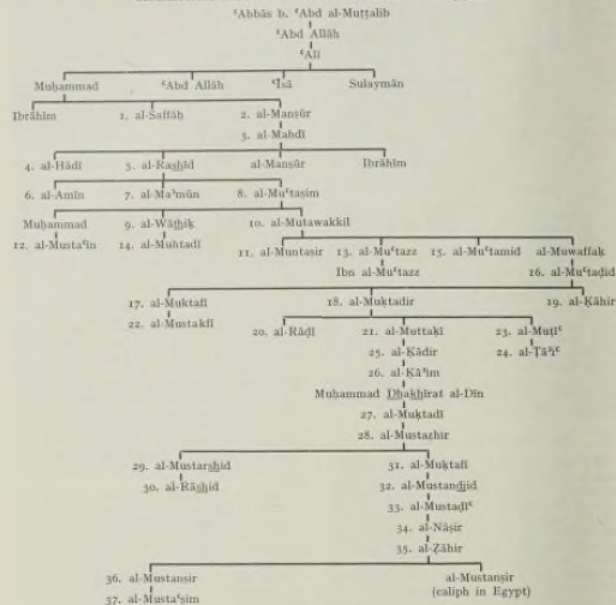
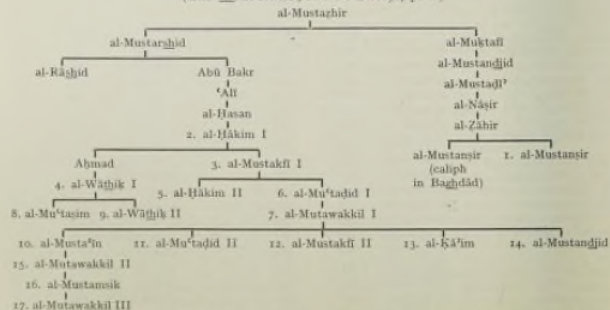
ditioned by Almohad claims and practices. It acquired a new value from Abū Numayy's recognition, confirmed by Mamūk action in sending a report on the victory of 'Ayn Jalūt to Abū 'Abd Allāh and addressing him as *amir al-mu'minīn*—Commander of the Faithful. Baybars, stronger than his predecessor, preferred not to give this recognition to a powerful and possibly dangerous neighbour, and instead solved the problems of legitimacy and continuity by installing an 'Abbāsīd refugee as caliph in Cairo, with the same regnal name of al-Mustansir.

For the next two and a half centuries a line of 'Abbāsīds succeeded one another as nominal caliphs under the rule of the Mamūk *Sultans* in Cairo. Except for a brief interval in 835/1432, when the caliph al-Musta'in became a stop-gap ruler for six months in the course of a feud between rival claimants to the *Sultanate*, the caliphs in Cairo were completely helpless and powerless, being in effect little more than minor court pensioners with purely ceremonial duties to perform on the accession of a new *sultan*. Attempts by the Mamūk *sultans* to use their 'Abbāsīd protégés as a means of gaining recognition in other Muslim countries met with some limited success, notably in India and in the Ottoman Empire where Bayezid I applied to the Cairo caliph in 1394 for a diploma granting him the title of *sulṭān*. But the Ottoman view of the Cairo Caliphate is perhaps best expressed by the 15th-century historian Yazdgerdī 'Alī, who in describing the role of the patriarch at the Byzantine court calls him 'the caliph of the Christians'—a comparison that is far nearer the truth than the more common one between the caliph and the Pope (cf. P. Wittek, in *BSOS*, 1952, 649 f.).

In 1517 the last caliph al-Mutawakkil was deposed by Selīm I, the Ottoman conqueror of Syria and Egypt, and the 'Abbāsīd shadow-Caliphate abolished. A story that al-Mutawakkil transferred his title to Selīm, and through him, to the Ottoman house, was first published by Mouraiege d'Obsson in 1788 (*Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, i, 269–70), and thereafter won wide acceptance. Barthold however showed this story to be completely without foundation, and it is now generally rejected by scholars (see *RIĀḌĪ*).

A.H.	A.D.	A.H.	A.D.
332 . . . . .	945	332 . . . . .	945
336 . . . . .	948	336 . . . . .	948
338 . . . . .	950	338 . . . . .	950
340 . . . . .	952	340 . . . . .	952
342 . . . . .	954	342 . . . . .	954
344 . . . . .	956	344 . . . . .	956
346 . . . . .	958	346 . . . . .	958
348 . . . . .	960	348 . . . . .	960
350 . . . . .	962	350 . . . . .	962
352 . . . . .	964	352 . . . . .	964
354 . . . . .	966	354 . . . . .	966
356 . . . . .	968	356 . . . . .	968
358 . . . . .	970	358 . . . . .	970
360 . . . . .	972	360 . . . . .	972
362 . . . . .	974	362 . . . . .	974
364 . . . . .	976	364 . . . . .	976
366 . . . . .	978	366 . . . . .	978
368 . . . . .	980	368 . . . . .	980
370 . . . . .	982	370 . . . . .	982
372 . . . . .	984	372 . . . . .	984
374 . . . . .	986	374 . . . . .	986
376 . . . . .	988	376 . . . . .	988
378 . . . . .	990	378 . . . . .	990
380 . . . . .	992	380 . . . . .	992
382 . . . . .	994	382 . . . . .	994
384 . . . . .	996	384 . . . . .	996
386 . . . . .	998	386 . . . . .	998
388 . . . . .	1000	388 . . . . .	1000
390 . . . . .	1002	390 . . . . .	1002
392 . . . . .	1004	392 . . . . .	1004
394 . . . . .	1006	394 . . . . .	1006
396 . . . . .	1008	396 . . . . .	1008
398 . . . . .	1010	398 . . . . .	1010
400 . . . . .	1012	400 . . . . .	1012
402 . . . . .	1014	402 . . . . .	1014
404 . . . . .	1016	404 . . . . .	1016
406 . . . . .	1018	406 . . . . .	1018
408 . . . . .	1020	408 . . . . .	1020
410 . . . . .	1022	410 . . . . .	1022
412 . . . . .	1024	412 . . . . .	1024
414 . . . . .	1026	414 . . . . .	1026
416 . . . . .	1028	416 . . . . .	1028
418 . . . . .	1030	418 . . . . .	1030
420 . . . . .	1032	420 . . . . .	1032
422 . . . . .	1034	422 . . . . .	1034
424 . . . . .	1036	424 . . . . .	1036
426 . . . . .	1038	426 . . . . .	1038
428 . . . . .	1040	428 . . . . .	1040
430 . . . . .	1042	430 . . . . .	1042
432 . . . . .	1044	432 . . . . .	1044
434 . . . . .	1046	434 . . . . .	1046
436 . . . . .	1048	436 . . . . .	1048
438 . . . . .	1050	438 . . . . .	1050
440 . . . . .	1052	440 . . . . .	1052
442 . . . . .	1054	442 . . . . .	1054
444 . . . . .	1056	444 . . . . .	1056
446 . . . . .	1058	446 . . . . .	1058
448 . . . . .	1060	448 . . . . .	1060
450 . . . . .	1062	450 . . . . .	1062
452 . . . . .	1064	452 . . . . .	1064
454 . . . . .	1066	454 . . . . .	1066
456 . . . . .	1068	456 . . . . .	1068
458 . . . . .	1070	458 . . . . .	1070
460 . . . . .	1072	460 . . . . .	1072
462 . . . . .	1074	462 . . . . .	1074
464 . . . . .	1076	464 . . . . .	1076
466 . . . . .	1078	466 . . . . .	1078
468 . . . . .	1080	468 . . . . .	1080
470 . . . . .	1082	470 . . . . .	1082
472 . . . . .	1084	472 . . . . .	1084
474 . . . . .	1086	474 . . . . .	1086
476 . . . . .	1088	476 . . . . .	1088
478 . . . . .	1090	478 . . . . .	1090
480 . . . . .	1092	480 . . . . .	1092
482 . . . . .	1094	482 . . . . .	1094
484 . . . . .	1096	484 . . . . .	1096
486 . . . . .	1098	486 . . . . .	1098
488 . . . . .	1100	488 . . . . .	1100
490 . . . . .	1102	490 . . . . .	1102
492 . . . . .	1104	492 . . . . .	1104
494 . . . . .	1106	494 . . . . .	1106
496 . . . . .	1108	496 . . . . .	1108
498 . . . . .	1110	498 . . . . .	1110
500 . . . . .	1112	500 . . . . .	1112
502 . . . . .	1114	502 . . . . .	1114
504 . . . . .	1116	504 . . . . .	1116
506 . . . . .	1118	506 . . . . .	1118
508 . . . . .	1120	508 . . . . .	1120
510 . . . . .	1122	510 . . . . .	1122
512 . . . . .	1124	512 . . . . .	1124
514 . . . . .	1126	514 . . . . .	1126
516 . . . . .	1128	516 . . . . .	1128
518 . . . . .	1130	518 . . . . .	1130
520 . . . . .	1132	520 . . . . .	1132
522 . . . . .	1134	522 . . . . .	1134
524 . . . . .	1136	524 . . . . .	1136
526 . . . . .	1138	526 . . . . .	1138
528 . . . . .	1140	528 . . . . .	1140
530 . . . . .	1142	530 . . . . .	1142
532 . . . . .	1144	532 . . . . .	1144
534 . . . . .	1146	534 . . . . .	1146
536 . . . . .	1148	536 . . . . .	1148
538 . . . . .	1150	538 . . . . .	1150
540 . . . . .	1152	540 . . . . .	1152
542 . . . . .	1154	542 . . . . .	1154
544 . . . . .	1156	544 . . . . .	1156
546 . . . . .	1158	546 . . . . .	1158
548 . . . . .	1160	548 . . . . .	1160
550 . . . . .	1162	550 . . . . .	1162
552 . . . . .	1164	552 . . . . .	1164
554 . . . . .	1166	554 . . . . .	1166
556 . . . . .	1168	556 . . . . .	1168
558 . . . . .	1170	558 . . . . .	1170
560 . . . . .	1172	560 . . . . .	1172
562 . . . . .	1174	562 . . . . .	1174
564 . . . . .	1176	564 . . . . .	1176
566 . . . . .	1178	566 . . . . .	1178
568 . . . . .	1180	568 . . . . .	1180
570 . . . . .	1182	570 . . . . .	1182
572 . . . . .	1184	572 . . . . .	1184
574 . . . . .	1186	574 . . . . .	1186
576 . . . . .	1188	576 . . . . .	1188
578 . . . . .	1190	578 . . . . .	1190
580 . . . . .	1192	580 . . . . .	1192
582 . . . . .	1194	582 . . . . .	1194
584 . . . . .	1196	584 . . . . .	1196
586 . . . . .	1198	586 . . . . .	1198
588 . . . . .	1200	588 . . . . .	1200
590 . . . . .	1202	590 . . . . .	1202
592 . . . . .	1204	592 . . . . .	1204
594 . . . . .	1206	594 . . . . .	1206
596 . . . . .	1208	596 . . . . .	1208
598 . . . . .	1210	598 . . . . .	1210
600 . . . . .	1212	600 . . . . .	1212
602 . . . . .	1214	602 . . . . .	1214
604 . . . . .	1216	604 . . . . .	1216
606 . . . . .	1218	606 . . . . .	1218
608 . . . . .	1220	608 . . . . .	1220
610 . . . . .	1222	610 . . . . .	1222
612 . . . . .	1224	612 . . . . .	1224
614 . . . . .	1226	614 . . . . .	1226
616 . . . . .	1228	616 . . . . .	1228
618 . . . . .	1230	618 . . . . .	1230
620 . . . . .	1232	620 . . . . .	1232
622 . . . . .	1234	622 . . . . .	1234
624 . . . . .	1236	624 . . . . .	1236
626 . . . . .	1238	626 . . . . .	1238
628 . . . . .	1240	628 . . . . .	1240
630 . . . . .	1242	630 . . . . .	1242
632 . . . . .	1244	632 . . . . .	1244
634 . . . . .	1246	634 . . . . .	1246
636 . . . . .	1248	636 . . . . .	1248
638 . . . . .	1250	638 . . . . .	1250
640 . . . . .	1252	640 . . . . .	1252
642 . . . . .	1254	642 . . . . .	1254
644 . . . . .	1256	644 . . . . .	1256
646 . . . . .	1258	646 . . . . .	1258

## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ‘ABBĀSĪD CALIPHS OF BAĠHDĀD

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ‘ABBĀSĪD CALIPHS IN EGYPT  
(after Khallī Edhem, *Dawlat al-Islamiyya*, p. 21)

According to others, the second Caliph, al-Ḥākim I, was descended directly from al-Rāḡhib in the following manner: al-Ḥākim b. ‘All b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Rāḡhib.

## ‘ABBĀSĪD CALIPHS IN EGYPT

		A.D.
659	al-Mustansir billāh Abū ‘I-Kāsim Aḥmad	1261
660	al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh Abū I-‘Abbās Aḥmad	1261
701	al-Mustakfi billāh Abū ‘I-Rabi’ Sulaymān	1302
740	al-Wāṭḥik billāh Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm	1340
741	al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh Abū I-‘Abbās Aḥmad	1341
753	al-Mu’tadid billāh Abū ‘I-Faḍl Abū Bakr	1352
763	al-Mutawakkil ‘ala ‘Ilāh Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad	1366
779	al-Mu’tasim (al-Musta’in) billāh Abū Yahyā Zakariyya	1377
779	al-Mutawakkil ‘ala ‘Ilāh (second time)	1377
785	al-Wāṭḥik billāh ‘Umar	1383
788	al-Mu’tasim billāh (second time)	1386
791	al-Mutawakkil ‘ala ‘Ilāh (third time)	1389
808	al-Musta’in billāh Abū ‘I-Faḍl al-‘Abbās	1406
816	al-Mu’tadid billāh Abū ‘I-Faḍl Dawūd	1414
845	al-Mustakfi billāh Abū ‘I-Rabi’ Sulaymān	1441
855	al-Kāsim bi-Amr Allāh Abū I-Bakr ‘Hamza	1451
859	al-Mustandjīd billāh Abū I-Mahāsīn Yūsuf	1455
884	al-Mutawakkil ‘ala ‘Ilāh Abū ‘I-‘Izz ‘Abd al-‘Azīz	1479
903	al-Mustasik billāh Abū ‘I-Shar Ya’qūb	1497
914	al-Mutawakkil ‘ala ‘Ilāh Muḥammad	1508-9
922-923	al-Mustasik billāh (second time; as representative of his son al-Mutawakkil)	1516-17

The sources for the history of the ‘Abbāsid Caliphate are too numerous for anything more than a general statement to be possible. A fuller discussion of the literature will be found in J. Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'histoire du monde musulman*, Paris 1941, 126 ff., and of the historians in D. S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians*, Calcutta 1930 (cf. TA<sup>2</sup>101). The first group to be considered are the chroniclers. While a large proportion of these have been published, especially for the earlier period, surprisingly little use has been made of them and most of the ‘Abbāsid period still awaits its monographs. Still less attention has been paid to the *adab* literature, perhaps the best expression of the outlook and attitude of the secular literate classes who administered the Empire, and a fruitful source of historical information. Travel and geography, poetry, theology and law all have an important contribution to make to historical knowledge, and except for the first two, have been little used. To the vast Muslim literature may be added the smaller but still valuable literatures of the Christians and Jews, in Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, and some other languages. Finally, there remains archaeology. A useful summary and bibliography of archeological work will be found in the above-mentioned book of Sauvaget.

No general history of the ‘Abbāsids has been produced for many years, and the reader must still have recourse to early and out-of-date works like G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* 5 vols., Mannheim-Stuttgart 1846-62; idem, *Geschichte der islamischen Völker*, Stuttgart 1866 (abridged English translation by S. Khuda Bukh, Calcutta 1912); A. Muir, *The Islam in Morocco and Alandalus*, 2 vols., Berlin 1885-7; W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise Decline and Fall*, revised by T. H. Weir, Edinburgh 1915 and 1924. More recent but more summary treatments are given by P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London 1937 and later editions; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten*, Munich 1939 (English and French translations); Gaudet, *Démonbynes et Piatonov, Le monde musulman et byzantin jusqu'aux Croisades*, Paris 1931; Ch. Diehl and G. Marçais, *Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081*, Paris 1936. Many interesting and provocative ideas on the nature of the ‘Abbāsid state and society

will be found in A. J. Toynbee, *A study of history*, London 1934 ff.

Only the accession and the first few reigns have been monographed in any detail. On the ‘Abbāsid revolution Van Vloten and Wellhausen are mentioned in the article. Th. Nöldeke's *Orientalische Skizzen* Berlin 1892 (English translation by J. S. Black, London 1892), includes studies on al-Manṣūr, the Zandj rising, and the Saffids. The most valuable work to date on the early ‘Abbāsid period will be found in the studies of F. Gabrieli (al-Amin, al-Ma’mūn) and S. Moscati (Abū Muslim, al-Mahdī, al-Hādī), which, with other monographs, will be found listed under the appropriate articles. For two studies by S. Moscati on particular problems connected with the ‘Abbāsid victory see *Il "Tradimento" di Wāṣit, Muson* 1951, 177-86, and *Le massacre des Umayyades, ArO* 1951, 88-115. Reference may also be made to Nabia Abbott, *Two queens of Baghdad*, Chicago 1937, dealing with the mother and wife of Ḥārūn al-Raḡhib and giving a description of some aspects of court life, and A. F. Rifa’i, *Asr al-Ma’mūn*, Cairo 1927. The period from 892 to 946 has been studied in great detail by H. Bowen, *The life and times of ‘Alī ibn ‘Isā*, Cambridge 1928. This must now be supplemented by an important additional source—the *Abḥār al-Riḍā wa l-Muḥṭāḥ* of al-Soll (ed. J. H. Dunne, Cairo 1935; annotated French translation by M. Canard, 2 vols. Algiers 1946-50). Two important works of a more general character deal with the middle period: A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922 (English translation by S. Khuda Bukh, Calcutta 1912); D. S. Margoliouth, London 1939), and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dīn, *Studies on the economic life of Mesopotamia in the 10th century*, (in Arabic), Baghdad 1948. Reference may also be made to general works in Arabic by Aḥmad Amin, ‘A. A. Dūrī, Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and others.

On the Cairo Caliphate see R. Hartmann, *Zur Vorgeschichte der ‘Abbāsidenischen Schen Caliphate von Cairo*, Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1947, nr. 9, Berlin 1950, and Annemarie Schimmel, *Kalif und Kadi im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten*, WI, 1943, 3-27.

‘ABBĀSĪD ART [see SĀMARRA’]

(B. LEWIS)



AL-ABBĀSIYYA, old town of Irbīkīya (Tunisia), three miles to the S.E. of al-Kayrawān. It was also known by the name of Kasr al-Aghlabīa and al-Kasr al-Raḍmī. It was built by Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlabī, the founder of the Aghlabid dynasty, in 184/800, the same year in which he was appointed amir of Irbīkīya, after the revolt of some leaders of the Arab *ghuṣa*. He gave his foundation the name al-'Abbāsīya in honour of the 'Abbāsids, his masters. The town contained baths, inns, *sāks* and a Friday-mosque with a minaret of cylindrical form, built of bricks and adorned by small columns arranged in seven storeys. After the example of the great mosque of Kayrawān, a *maḥḍara* of carved wood, adjoining the *miḥrāb*, was reserved to the amir and high dignitaries. The town had several gates, the following being the most important: Bāb al-Rahma (of Mercy), Bāb al-Hadīd (of Iron), Bāb Ḥalabūn (attributed to al-Aghlabī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Aghlabī, relative and minister of Zayd al-Aḥḥādī I) and Bāb al-Rīb (of Wind)—all these in the east; and Bāb al-Sa'dīya (of Happiness), to the west. In the middle of the town there was a large square called al-Maydān (Hippodrome), where the parades and reviews (*ṣarf*) of the troops took place. Not far away was the palace of al-Rusāfa, recalling by its name those of Damascus and Baghdad. It was in this palace that Ibrāhīm I received the ambassador of Charlemagne, who had come to ask for the relics of St. Cyprian and delivered the gifts destined for the caliph Hārūn al-Raḡhīb. It was also there that the truce (*ḥudna*) of ten years and the exchange of prisoners was arranged with the envoys of Constantinople, patrician of Sicily (189/805). Many other embassies also of the Franks, Byzantines and Andalusians, were received there by subsequent Aghlabid rulers. From its foundation, al-'Abbāsīya had a mint (*dar al-darb*) where gold *dīnars* and silver *dirhams*, bearing the town's name, were coined. An official factory of textiles (*ṭirāṭ*) produced the robes of honour (*ḥiḍā'a*) and the standards, and under the successors of Ibrāhīm I, al-'Abbāsīya was provided with monuments of public and private utility. Abū Ibrāhīm Ahmad b. al-Aghlabī, large reservoir (*sāḥibī* or *ḥaḥḥīya*) of which important remains have been preserved. The basin had an abundant supply of water, which was carried to Kayrawān in the summer, when the cisterns of the capital were exhausted.—The town of Rakkāda, founded in 264/877 by Ibrāhīm II, some miles further to the south, replaced al-'Abbāsīya as residence. al-'Abbāsīya sank to the level of a town inhabited by *mawālī* and tradesmen, but continued to exist in a modest way until the Hīlālan invasion (middle of the 5th/11th century) when it disappeared for good. A cursory excavation, in 1923, of the hill (*ṭell*) where al-'Abbāsīya was situated, brought to light many potsherds belonging to the Aghlabid period. This white pottery with large black, green and blue decoration was no doubt inspired by oriental models coming from Iraq (Sāmarrā, Raqqa) and Egypt (Fustāt). It is worth mentioning that al-'Abbāsīya was the birth-place of several scholars, notably of Abū 'Iṣṭaḥḥ (q.v.). Muh. b. Ahmad b. Tamīm, first historian of al-Kayrawān (d. 333/945).

**Bibliography:** Balḥūdī, *Futuh*, 234; Bakrī, *al-Mawāṭin* (de Sicile), 24; Dhirdī, *Le Caire, Description de Magrib*, 667; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Muḥḥab*, Leiden 1948, I, 84; Devergers, *Hist de l'Afr. et de la Sicile* (transl. of Ibn Khaldūn), Paris 1841, 86-8; G. Marçais, *Manuel de l'Art Musulman*, Paris 1926, I, 40.

(H. H. ABDUL-WAHAB)

AL-ABBĀSIYYA [see TURBA]

'ABD is the ordinary word for 'slave' in Arabic of all periods (the usual plural in this sense is *'abid*, although the Kur'ān has *'abd*, xxiv, 32), more particularly for 'male slave', 'female slave' being *ama* (pl. *amāt*). Both words are of old Semitic stock; Biblical Hebrew uses them in the same meaning. Classical Arabic also expresses the idea of 'slave', in the singular of both genders and in the collective, by the generic term *raḥīb*, which however is not found in the Kur'ān. On the other hand, the Kur'ān frequently uses the term *raḥīb*, literally 'neck, nape of the neck', and, still more frequently, the periphrasis *mā mālakat aynūnukum* (*-hum*), 'that which your (their) right hands possess'. The *'abid* *mamlūk* of xvi, 75 is to be regarded in the light of this formula: it should properly be rendered 'a slave, who is (himself) a piece of property'. Hence, no doubt, the development in the classical language of *mamlūk* as a noun meaning 'slave' (later also 'enslaved'). In the course of the history of Arabic, as of other languages, various vicissitudes have been undergone by euphemisms literally denoting 'boy, girl' or 'manservant, maidservant': *fatā* (fem. *fatāt*), which is Kur'anic, *ghulām* for 'male slave', *ḡiriyā* for 'female slave', both very common, *ṣaḥīf* particularly for men (the fem. *ṣaḥīfa* is also found), and *ḡulām* particularly for women (also used for 'cousin'). Both these last have in some countries finally come to mean 'negro, negress'. Another term sometimes used for 'slave' is *asīr*, properly 'captive'. The abstract 'slavery' is expressed by *raḥīb* or by a derivative of *'abd*, such as *'abdiyya*. The 'master' is *ṣayyid*; he may also be referred to as 'patron' (*mawālī*), or, in legal parlance, 'owner' (*malik*). The opposite of slave, 'free man or woman', is *ḥurr* (fem. *ḥurra*).

Turkish has, as equivalents for 'slave', *kul* or *hōle*, as well as loan-words from Persian: *bende*, and from Arabic: *asīr* (*asīr*), *ḡulām* (*ḡulām*) for the masculine, *carīye* (*ḡiriyā*) and *halayth* (*ḡulāth*), properly 'creatures' for the feminine. Besides *bende*, Persian has *ḡulām* for the masculine and *keniz* for the feminine.

#### 1. BEFORE ISLAM

Slavery was practised in pre-Islamic Arabia, as in the remainder of the ancient and early mediaeval world. But it must be admitted that the sparse and contradictory evidence available for the pre-Islamic period are insufficient to provide reliable answers to most of the problems presented by the institution. It may be allowed that, immediately before the Hijra, the great majority of slaves in western Arabia, a plentiful commodity at Mecca, by whose sale merchants grew rich (Abd Allāh b. Jūdān [q.v.]; cf. Lammens, *La Mecque* . . ., Beirut 1924, par. 12), consisted of Ethiopians and other origin (*ḥabasha*). Some of them must have formed the nucleus of the *Abd al-ḥabīb*, the Meccan *mawālī* (Lammens, *JA*, 1916 = *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Igérie*, Beirut, 1928, pp. 237-239). Bilāl, the first muḥḥab of Islam, was one such slave. There were some white slaves of foreign race, far less numerous, who were no doubt brought by Arab caravanners (slave-dealers as far back as the Bible story of Joseph), or were the product of beduin captures (legend of the Persian Salmān Pāk). Finally, there are no objective grounds for denying the existence of Arab slaves, although the ransoming of captives among nomad tribes was a matter of common prac-

tice. We have the example of the Kalbite Zayd b. Ḥāritha, who became the adopted son of Muḥammad: a valuable example, even if it has been touched upon in the manner of Tradition (see the decision attributed to 'Umar *infra*, as plausible evidence pointing the same way). We have, however, nothing conclusive on the existence of enslavement for debt or the sale of children by their families: the late and rare accounts of such occurrences (*Aḡhānī*\*, iii, 97; xix, 4) show them to be abnormal.

It would moreover be unwise to stretch the scanty information we have on the condition of slaves in the Hijra to fit before Islam, to fit every locality and every social division. Nomads and sedentaries, in particular, may have shown evidence of quite a different attitude, even in those days: we shall come to the modern period later. The abiding scorn of slave ancestry, even if only on the mother's side, the satire aimed at the man who marries a captive girl (G. Jacob, *Allarab, Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, pp. 137-8, 213; Blich, *Faris, L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, p. 71) are perhaps characteristic of beduin mentality, rather than indicative of the general outlook of town-dwellers. The biography in literary form of the renowned warrior-poet 'Antara, son of a beduin and an Ethiopian slave-girl, who has to perform dazzling feats of arms before his father the chief of the legend, is a somewhat different picture (Lammens, *Le baron de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, p. 299) against disinheriting the children of such unions, indeed against keeping them in slavery; proof that the question had some immediacy and demanded a liberal answer, at any rate in some quarters.

It is probable that the usual practice of the pre-Islamic Arabs was influenced by an ancient Semitic distinction between two classes of slaves, never perhaps reduced to a strict legal principle (I. Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1949, pp. 57-8) and never ratified by Muslim law, but which has left traces here and there in the code of behaviour of Islamized lands: in contrast with the purchased slave (*'abid* *mamlūk*), the slave born in his master's house (*'abid* *ḥabīb*), a term later applied to the slave over whom one has full and complete rights of ownership was, in the ordinary course of events, unlikely to be sold or otherwise disposed of by the master (*LA*, xvii, 227-8; Djurjānī, *Ta'rif al-ḥabīb*, *ibn*). We are on firmer ground—because the practice is expressly condemned in the Kur'ān, xiv, 33—in accepting it as fact that in pre-Islamic times female slaves were prostituted for the benefit of their masters, again in accordance with a Near Eastern custom of great antiquity (Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 54).

#### 2. THE KOR'AN. THE RELIGIOUS ETHIC

a.—Islam, like its two parent monotheisms, Judaism and Christianity, has never revealed the abolition of slavery as a doctrine, but it has followed their example (though in a very different fashion) in endeavouring to moderate the institution and mitigate its legal and moral aspects (for the part played in this by Christianity, see M. Bloch, in *Annales*, 1947, and Imbert, in *Mélanges F. de Vischer*, Brussels, 1949, vol. 3). Spiritually, the slave has the same value as the free man, and the same eternity is in store for his soul; in this earthly life, falling emancipation, there remains the fact of his inferior status, to which he must piously resign himself.

The Kur'ān regards this discrimination between human beings as in accordance with the divinely-

established order of things (xvi, 71, 75; xxx, 28). But over and over again, from beginning to end of the Preaching, it makes the emancipation of slaves a meritorious act: a work of charity (ii, 177; x, 13), to which the legal alms may be devoted (ix, 60), or a deed of expiation for certain felonies (unintentional homicide: iv, 92, where 'a *ḥalving* slave' is specified; perjury: v, 89; lviii, 3); consent must be readily given to contractual emancipation (xxiv, 33). The unemancipated slave is mentioned among those who should be treated 'kindly' (*ḥasbān*, iv, 36). Furthermore, his dignity as a human being is shown in certain ordinances relating to the sexual side of social relationships. We have already mentioned the ban on the prostitution of female slaves (xxiv, 33); nobody may lawfully enjoy them except their master (xxiii, 6; xxxii, 50; lxx, 30) or their husband, for legal marriage is open to slaves, male and female. Masters have the moral duty to marry off their 'virtuous' slave of both sexes (xxiv, 32); if need be it is even permissible for *Muslim* slaves to marry free Muslims (ii, 221; iv, 25). The slave-woman who, obtaining her master's consent, which is essential, marries a free man, is entitled to 'a reasonable dowry' from her husband. She is obliged to remain faithful to him; but if she commits adultery her slave status is not affected. In the same provision that she is liable to only one-half of the punishment reserved for the free married woman (iv, 25). Finally, the Kur'ān protects the slave's life, to some extent, by the law of retaliation, but the formula 'the free for the free, the slave for the slave' (ii, 178) shows clearly how in penal matters the principle of inequality is maintained.

**Bibliography:** R. Roberts, *Das Familien-Sklaven . . . Recht im Qorān*, Leipzig 1908, 47-47; *Social Laws of the Qorān*, London 1925, 53 ff.

b.—The more or less official Muslim ethic, expressed in the *ḥadīṭs*, follows the line of Kur'anic teaching; it even lays perceptible stress on the humanitarian tendencies of the latter in the question with which we are dealing. Al-ḡhazālī, in the *Ḥaḍīṭ*, ed. 1346 A.H., ii, 197-7 (*ḥabīb al-mamlūk*) (transl. G. H. Bouquet, AIEO 1952, 423-7) had only to string together a number of well-known *ḥadīṭs* to produce what amounts to a lecture on ethics for slave-owners, illustrated by examples.

Tradition delights in asserting that the slave's lot was among the latest preoccupations of the Prophet. It has quite a large store of sayings and anecdotes, attributed to the Prophet or to his Companions, enjoining real kindness towards this inferior social class. 'Do not forget that they are your brothers'; at any rate when they are Muslims, as some texts specify.—'God has given you the right of ownership over them; He could have given them the right of ownership over you'.—'God has more power over you than you have over them'. Thus the master is recommended not to show contempt for his slave; not to say 'my slave' but 'my boy, my servant' (v, *supra*), to share his food with him, to provide him with clothing similar to his own, to set him no more than moderate work, not to punish him excessively if he does wrong, to forgive him 'seventy times a day', and finally to sell him to another master if they cannot get on well together.

Manumission is commended as a happy solution in many cases and is suggested as a way for the master to make amends for excessive chastisement of his slave. It is recommended, in the same category



as slave-giving, at the time of an eclipse, and is included among the various possible ways of expiating a voluntary breaking of the fast of Ramaḍān (the Qur'ān prescribes no more than "the feeding of a poor man"; II, 184). A twofold reward in heaven is promised to the man who educates his slavegirl, frees her and marries her. A famous ḥadīth affirms: "The man who frees a Muslim (v.l. 'a believer') slave, God will free from hell, limb for limb".

It is the duty of the slave, for his part, to give loyal service. He is "the shepherd of his master's wealth" and will be asked for an account of it in the next world. His reward in paradise will be twofold if, in addition to performing the usual religious obligations, he has the especial merit of having given good advice to his master.

If the Qur'ān and Tradition show a certain favouritism towards such slaves as are Muslims, another direction is shown in ḥadīths forbidding the keeping of male Arabs in slavery; they invoke a decision to this effect said to have been given by the caliph 'Umar, in favour of disposing of instances of slavery against the payment of a ransom, where the result was the result of "pre-Islamic practices" (see especially Ibn Saʿīd, *K. al-Amwāl*, pp. 133-4).

**Bibliography:** Weinstock, *Handbook*, s.v. SLAVES.

### 3. FIKH

Under the heading of *fiqh* properly so-called, we shall have recourse to the main provisions agreed on by the great Sunnī schools. Thereafter we shall note very briefly some typical solutions adopted by Imānī Shī'ism.

a.—Apart from the occasionally operative distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim slaves, Muslim law recognizes only one category of slaves, regardless of their ethnic origin or the source of their condition. The institution is kept going by only two lawful means: birth in slavery or capture in war, and even of these the latter is not applicable to Muslims, since though they may remain enslaved they cannot be reduced to slavery. Legally speaking, the only Muslim slaves are those born into both categories or who were already slaves at the time of their conversion to Islam. Their number tends to diminish both through emancipation, particularly recommended in such cases, and through the following provision: whereas the usual principle of Muslim law is that the child assumes at birth his mother's status, free or slave, an exception, of all the more importance in view of its wide application, is made in favour of the child born of a free man and a female slave belonging to him; such a child is regarded as free-born (otherwise he would be his father's slave). What this amounts to is that slavery could scarcely continue to exist in Islam without the constantly renewed contribution of peripheral or external elements, either directly captured in war or imported commercially, under the direction of the Holy War, from foreign territory (*ḍir al-karb*).

It is pleasing to see that in the eyes of Muslim jurists slavery is an exceptional condition: "The basic principle is liberty" (*al-aḥl huwa'l-hurriyya*). Consequently, for the majority of them, the presumption is in favour of freedom; on the whole they have come down on the side of regarding as free the foundling (*ṣabī*) whose origin remains unknown. But it may fairly be stated that, despite the strictness professed by certain doctors of the law, the *fiqh* has never evolved an adequately clear system

of sanctions to suppress the kidnapping or sale of free persons, Muslim or non-Muslim. Still less do we see any positive denunciation of the practice of castrating young slaves, although it was condemned in principle.

b.—On the juridico-religious level, the slave has a kind of composite quality, partaking of the nature both of thing and of person. Considered as a thing, he is subject to the right of ownership—indeed it is in this that the strict definition of slavery lies—exercised by a man or woman, and he may be the object of all the legal operations proceeding from this position: sale, gift, hire, inheritance and so on. In this respect he is "a mere commodity" (*ṣaḥ' min al-siḥ'*). In the various classes of property distinguished by the *fiqh*, he generally ranks with the animals and his lot is like theirs: the newborn slave, for instance, is the "fruit" (*ḥaṣala*) of his mother, like the young of cattle, and belongs to her master; in the theoretical treatises on public law, the *mawla* is given the duty of ensuring that masters treat their slaves and their animals properly. The slave may (as among the Romans and in Christian Europe) belong to two or more owners at the same time: he is then said to be "held in common" (*mushṭarak*); such joint ownership gives rise to some extremely complex legal positions, which provide abundant material for the causticity of the doctors. Again, it should be noted that the law lays down the amount of the reward which may be claimed by the one who restores a runaway slave (*dhāb*) to his master.

Yet the slave, even from the point of view of the right of ownership, of which he is the object, is not always treated exactly like other property. Mālik law, for example, allows, in towns where it is the customary usage, an automatic guarantee of three days, at the expense of the seller of the slave, against any "faults" (*'ayab*) in the latter (one year in the case of madness or leprosy). The fact that a master may legally have sexual relations with his female slaves gives rise to a system of regulating these relations, which has repercussions elsewhere on his exercise of the right of ownership: thus a distinction is sometimes drawn between costly female slaves, intended for cohabitation, and ordinary female slaves (e.g. *Madaʿwana*, VI, 192 seq.), concerning a clause of non-guarantee in sale, between female slaves within and outside the prohibited degrees of relationship to the interested party (e.g. in the matter of the loan of consummation, *ḥard*, except among the Hanafis, who forbid it with all living things). Further, the regard for *ṣināʾ* has in even more striking effect. It is forbidden to separate a slave mother and her young child, up to about the age of seven, by their becoming the property of different masters (a ḥadīth runs: "Whoever separates a mother from her child, God will separate him from his dear ones on the Day of Resurrection"), under pain of nullity of the legal transaction; the Hanafis, more reluctant to impose legal sanctions, brand as "objectionable" the separating of a slave, not yet arrived at puberty, from any close blood-relative within the prohibited degrees. Religious affiliation is also taken into account, inasmuch as non-Muslims cannot

keep Muslim slaves; they must either free them or dispose of them to Muslim masters.

If the master fails to meet his moral obligation of providing for the physical maintenance (*naḥāla*) of his slave, the law requires in the last resort that the latter be sold, a solution also enjoined, except by the Hanafis, in the case of animals. The Mālikis hold that emancipation is compulsory (*cf. Esadus*, xxi, 26-7) when the master carries his ill-treatment of his slave to the point of mutilation or disfigurement. Later, when we come to deal with personal rights, we shall meet with other instances of curtailment of the absolute right of ownership, as of other features of penal law.

c.—On the personal rights of the slave, that is, on his juridico-religious competence, it is interesting to see whether the classical jurists have ever stated a general theory that would bring out the principles underlying the solutions scattered under the various headings of *fiqh*. One such attempt is to be found in the works of the Hanafī al-Pandawī (d. 482/1089), commented on and imitated in the later treatises on *uṣūl al-fiqh*; the basic ideas, Hanafī of course, are as follows (*Ṭīf*, ed. Istanbul 1307 A.H., pp. 1401-1426): slave status is incompatible with "matrimonial ownership" (*mālikiyyat al-māl*), whence it follows for example, that the slave cannot take a concubine, but is compatible with "non-patrimonial ownership" (*mālikiyyat ḡayr al-māl*), whence it follows, for example, that the slave may marry. His status does not deprive the slave from administering property and laying claim to the "restitution" (*ṣaf*) of it, but is incompatible with the full exercise of the higher legal faculties of the human being: his *dīmma* (abstract financial responsibility) and his *ḥill* (freedom of action in sexual matters) are reduced, and all *uṣūlāt* (public or private offices of authority) are forbidden to him. More recent works, of the type of the *Adab al-Nasīb* by the Shāfi'ite Suyūṭī and the Hanafite Ibn Nujaym, merely give dry and rather disjointed lists of the manifold rules about what slaves may and may not do.

d.—The Muslim slave has a religious status (*'ibādāt*) theoretically identical with that of his free coreligionists (the contrary opinion is exceptional; e.g. in one solitary Mālikī, *cf. Ibn Farḥin, Dhikr*, 2, 132-46); but some derogations were more or less inevitable on certain points. Most authorities hold that his dependence on a master absolves him from the strict necessity of performing such pious acts as involve freedom of movement: the Friday prayer, pilgrimage, the Holy War. Another consequence of this dependence is that the master is responsible for the annual payment of his "alms at the breaking of the fast" (*ṣabīl al-fitr*). The Muslim slave-woman is not under as strict an obligation to "hide her nakedness" (*ṣaḥr al-ṣawra*) at the ritual prayer as the free woman. The slave is not forbidden to act as leader (*imām*) of congregational prayer, although the Hanafis disapprove of the practice, and some other authorities do not permit him to become a salaried *imām*, or at any rate they prefer a free man to hold the office, if one is available of the required competence. The question of his acting as *imām* at the midday prayer on Fridays and the two canonical festivals is more debatable, especially if this office is regarded as an emanation from the public authority; even within the various schools there is disagreement about whether or not it is allowable. On the whole, however, the affirmative answer seems to have prevailed, except among the Hanbalis. The slave is no more qualified to

hold a position of religious magistrature (judgeship, *qāḍī*) than an official position of secular authority; he is nevertheless acceptable as a subordinate officer in the revenue department.

e.—In matters of law in the strict sense (*mu'āmalāt*), the slave's incompetence to act (*ḥaḍr*) is assumed in principle, but is not absolute. If he is a Muslim, the *fiqh* confirms and expressly states his competence to contract a marriage, as clearly laid down in the Qur'ān (*cf. supra*); but the master's consent is required both for male and female slaves (according to the Mālikis, the male slave of full age may marry of his own accord, but the master then has the right either to ratify the marriage or to terminate it by repudiation) and it is the master who acts as "guardian for matrimonial purposes" (*ṣaḥī*) of his female slaves. The master can even marry off by "compulsion" (*djabr*) a male slave, not yet of age, or a female slave (the father of a family has a similar right over his children); the schools of Abu Hanifa and Mālik concede him the same power over a male slave of full age. The Hanbalis alone, on the other hand, hold that the slave may insist on his master's marrying him off. Notwithstanding reservations and restrictions based on the words of the Qur'ān, and in spite of the customary requirement of "compatibility" (*ḥaḍā*) between the parties, the jurists admit and lay down rules for marriage between Muslims of whom one is a slave and the other free. We have convincing evidence that, in the course of the centuries, such unequal marriages occurred (to the advantage to the slave, male or female, concerned) more often than one might think. A slave wife, on being emancipated, has the right to opt for divorce if her husband is a slave and, according to the Hanafis, even if he is free.

A Muslim cannot be the husband or wife of his or her slave (nor even, some would add, of the slave belonging to his or her son); there is an absolute incompatibility for the same persons, between *consanguinity* and ownership. In contradistinction to the other rites, the Hanafis permit a Muslim, even a free Muslim, to marry a Jewish or Christian slave-girl. The slave is entitled to a maximum of two wives, except in the Mālikī view, which grants him four, just like a free man. The Mālikis are also alone in conceding that a slave-wife has the right to share in her husband's rights on equal terms with a free co-wife; the other jurists allow her only one night in three. The obligation, which is generally recognized as incumbent on a slave-husband, to maintain his wife, gives rise to various solutions if he is not legitimately possessed of adequate means.

Although the majority of authorities deny that the male slave of full age can contract a valid marriage of his own free will, yet all agree that he has the husband's usual right of repudiation (*ḥalāl*) as he thinks fit. But in accordance with the general tendency to reduce by one-half, in the case of the slave, all figures prescribed for free men, he may only take back his wife after one single formula of repudiation, instead of the two which the Koran (II, 229) lays down as a maximum. Consequently a twofold repudiation on his part has the same decisive result as a threefold repudiation by a free man; the Hanafis alone, who in the matter of repudiation have more consideration for the woman than for the man, apply this reduction if it is the wife who is a slave, whether or not her husband is a free man. The Hanafis also set themselves apart from the other schools in not permitting the married male slave to use the device of "cursing" (*ḥiṣān*), instituted by the



Kur'an (xxiv, 6-9) to the advantage of the husband who may accuse his wife of adultery with no legal proof.

The "legal period of withdrawal" (*'idda*) which must be observed by widows or repudiated woman (Kur'an, ii, 228, 234; xiv, 4) is also halved when the woman in question is a slave: 1) two months and five days for a widow, instead of four months and ten days; 2) two menstrual or intermenstrual periods (depending on the school) instead of three (one could hardly say one-and-a-half) for the repudiated woman who is usually regular, except that the *Zahiris* keep the figure at three; 3) one month and a half for the repudiated woman who is not regular, except according to the *Mālikis*, who oddly enough, as Averroes remarks (*Biḍāya*, ed. 1935, ii, 93; tr. Lalmeche, 433-4), here hold to the figure of three.

1.—Far more important in practice, on account of its wide application and great bearing on social life, is the system of legal concubinage. In *fiḥh* as in the Kur'an, extramarital cohabitation is permissible only between a man and his own female slave; he is forbidden to cohabit with a slave belonging to his wife, even with the latter's consent (contrary to the Biblical custom), but indulgence is shown if he has relations with a slave belonging to his son. Co-owners of a female slave may not cohabit with her, nor may a sole owner cohabit with a married female slave. When the concubine (*ṣawṣa*) has a child by her master, she enjoys the title of *umm walad* [q.v.] and an improved status in that she cannot be sold and becomes free on her master's death (compare the Code of Hammurabi, para. 170; but for the fluctuations in old Islamic practice see J. Schacht, in E.I.<sup>1</sup> s.v., and *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950, 264-6); that child and any others she may subsequently have are born free. There is no limit to the number of concubines as there is to the number of wives, but almost all the authorities teach that there are the same bars to cohabitation as to marriage: natural or acquired kinship, two sisters together, the woman's professing a heathen religion.

With the especial aim of avoiding confusion over parentage, in the absence of any initial ceremony or *'idda*, the jurists have prescribed a temporary ban on sexual relations, in the case of a slave-woman, for "verification of non-pregnancy" or *istihṣā*, when for any reason she becomes the property of a new master or changes her status (emancipation, marriage). If she is pregnant, this ban lasts till her confinement, as with the *'idda*; if not, its duration is one menstrual period. If she is not yet regular in her periods or has ceased to be regular, the authorities differ: one month or three months is the usual rule, *Mālikis* and *Ḥanbalis* make the seller of the slave-woman share in the responsibility of the *istihṣā*; the former entrust her (*muṣawḍa*) to the supervision of a third person. There is considerable difference of opinion on points of detail in the numerous cases where the *istihṣā* would appear to be no longer obligatory, as serving no purpose; to avoid it, recourse is had to certain devices of procedure, particularly by the *Ḥanafis* dependent of "circumventions of the law" (*ḥiyal*) (well-known anecdote of Ḥarūn al-Raṣīd and the *ḥafī* Abū Yūsuf, which has found its way into the Arabian Nights).

The children born of legal concubinage are legitimate and, in the matter of succession to their father's estate, are on the same footing as children born in wedlock. But it is harder to establish legally

the paternity of a master, with all its legal and social consequences, than that of a husband; besides, the old *ḥanafī* jurists were loth to declare it officially if there was no expression of willingness on the part of the master concerned. The *Ḥanbalis*, too, stand apart from the other schools in not fathering a child on the master unless the latter acknowledges it, and in permitting him to disown it if there is a legal presumption in favour of his paternity inasmuch as the concubine is already *umm walad*. In the other schools, the master of an unmarried female slave is legally regarded as the father of her child, not only if he acknowledges it as his own, but also if he makes an implicit admission of having had relations with her, as is obviously the case if she is already *umm walad*. It is open to him to deny paternity only if cohabitation was manifestly impossible within the—very wide—officially recognized limits of the term of pregnancy, or if he takes an oath that he put his concubine in *istihṣā* at least six months before the date of the birth, and that he has not cohabited with her since. The ascription of paternity becomes complicated in such abnormal situations as when two co-owners of a slave cohabit with her during the same intermenstrual period, or when two entitled parties in succession have had relations with her without *istihṣā*; recourse is then had to the ruling of the "physiognomists" (*ḥāṣi*/pl. *ḥāṣi*), an ancient Arabian expedient difficult of application at certain times. Failing this, the child is left to choose for himself at puberty. Here again the *Ḥanbalis* stand alone in refusing to ratify this archaic institution; they prefer, if the decision proves to be rationally impossible, to set up a case of two-fold paternity.

g.—Most authorities deny the slave-woman the right of custody (*ḥaḍra*) over her children to which the free woman is entitled, nor do they permit the male slave to be a "guardian for matrimonial purposes" (*ṣawfī*). The *Shāfi'is* and *Ḥanafis* schools (who have not ratified the partial tolerance of Abū Ḥanīfa) refuse to allow the slave to act as executor of a will (*waṣī*). The testimony (*shahāda*) of a slave is not admissible in court, except among the *Ḥanbalis*, and even they do not accept it in connection with the most serious punishable offences. His affirmation (*iḥṣā*) is generally accepted in matters affecting his person (apart from restrictions imposed by certain authorities) but not in matters of property.

h.—All the schools agree that the master can do as he likes with property in the possession of his slave and is at liberty to take it away from him. In the eyes of third parties, the ordinary slave has no patrimony of his own; his business activities, which are severely restricted, are on behalf of his master, who alone is financially competent to act. Nevertheless the *Mālikis* take up the remarkable position (for an interesting justification see 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Iḥṣā*, i, 270) of recognizing the slave's "ownership" (*milki*) of his *ṭawāḥim*, whose source is mainly from gifts or bequests which it is permissible for him to accept on his own account, although the ownership here is precarious and may not be disposed of without consent. Two important consequences of this doctrine are that, according to the *Mālikis*, the slave may lawfully have concubines without giving rise to any theoretical difficulties, and that on gaining his freedom he may keep his *ṭawāḥim*, unless his master has formally announced his wish to retain it.

Finally, apropos of patrimony, there is quite a common practice, known from remote Semitic anti-

quity and from the Classical world, which provides the slave with a real, though not unrestricted, legal competency (it consists in the master's putting his slave in charge of a business or of certain specified business dealings, entrusting him with a capital sum where necessary. The slave is then said to be "authorized" (*ma'dhūn* or *ma'dhūn laḥ*). The effects of this "authorization" (*iḥṣā*), which may nevertheless be revoked, are conceived in more or less generous terms by different jurists. The recipient always in fact becomes relatively independent, so as to be able to deal quite freely with third parties. The authorities are well-nigh unanimous in not making the master responsible for the debts of his "authorized" slave; the *Ḥanafis*, followed with some hesitation by the *Ḥanbalis*, allow them to be recovered on the "physical person" (*rakaba*) of the slave debtor, if the capital at his disposal is inadequate; in other words he may be sold to pay them. On the other hand, the *Mālikis* and *Shāfi'is* recognize his "abstract responsibility" (*dhimma*); the "obligation to pay" (*dayn*) they leave standing to the account of those creditors whom the assets are insufficient to satisfy, while deferring the "exaction of payment" (*muḍāḥaba*, "Haltung") till such time as the slave is emancipated.

i.—It is in connection with punishments (*'uḥūd*) that the hybrid and indeterminate character of the legal nature of the slave, who is simultaneously a thing and a person of inferior status, breaks through the complicated web of solutions presented by the *fiḥh*. Here is a curious example, of an unusual kind but mentioned as clearly showing this ambivalence: the "legal compensation" (*diya*) for the foetus aborted by a free woman is a young slave of either sex, technically known as *gharra*, whereas the compensation for victims duly born is reckoned in camels or money.

To what extent is the law of retaliation (*biḥal*) applied to slaves, on the basis of Kur'an, ii, 178 (v. *supra*)? In a case of intentional homicide it works against the slave, whether the victim be bond or free (if he is free, it is no doubt not precisely the idea of retaliation which underlies the punishment); but the schools object to putting a free man to death for killing a slave, with the noteworthy exception of the *Ḥanafis* (and also of that illustrious, albeit somewhat dissident, *Ḥanbalī*, Ibn Taymiyya; cf. Laoust, *États*, 418, 438), and even they exempt the man who kills his own slave or one belonging to his son. The *Mālikis* are also alone in conferring on the victim's next-of-kin the ownership of the guilty slave (again with a great many reservations), to do with him as he pleases: he may put him to death, keep him in slavery or set him free. This may be a survival of an archaic solution, elsewhere replaced by the simple choice, as in the case of free men, between retaliation and compensation according to the tariff. In cases of deliberate wounding the *Shāfi'is* apply retaliation between the same persons as in cases of homicide; *Mālikis* and *Ḥanbalis* insist on equality of status, slave or free, between the guilty party and his victim; the *Ḥanafis* forego retaliation altogether.

What of the monetary compensation, according as the slave is guilty of or is the victim of bloodshed?

—1) Slave victim: The compensation goes to the master. The *diya* is the responsibility of the guilty person alone, except that the *Shāfi'is* are undecided whether or not to bring in the "group jointly responsible for the bloodwit" (*dhila*), which is the *Ḥanafī* rule in cases of homicide only. This *diya* is not fixed, as for the free man, but is calculated, in the

event of death, on the market value (*ḥima*) of the victim; the *Ḥanafis* alone set an upper limit to it, namely the *diya* of a free man less a token reduction of ten dirhams. If there is only wounding, of a type specified in the tariff laid down by the Law for a free man, the majority of authorities hold that the market value of the injured slave should be reduced by the amount of the difference between the figure shown in the legal scale for an identical wound and the maximum compensation for a free man. The *Mālikis* and some *Ḥanbalis* teach, though with certain reservations, that the sum paid should exactly equal the depreciation in the market value of the slave.

2) Slave guilty: The majority of authorities give the master the choice between surrendering the culprit (*daḥf*, *notāḥis deditio*) and paying the appropriate *diya*. But the *Shāfi'is*, followed by several *Ḥanbalis*, regard the *diya* as incumbent on the "physical person" (*rakaba*) of the slave in question, whom his master will therefore sell, and hand over the price received in exchange for him, up to the amount of the *diya*, unless he prefers to pay the sum due without selling him.

The slave guilty of theft and the Muslim slave guilty of apostasy are punished in the same way as free men: by cutting off the hand in the former case, by death in the latter, when the necessary conditions for these punishments are fulfilled.

Fornication (*zinā*) committed by a slave of either sex does not legally involve the death penalty, in consequence of the Kur'anic ordinance (v. *supra*) and because neither male nor female slaves are held capable of acquiring the particular legal condition of a *muḥṣan(a)* spouse, which the *fiḥh* restricts to free persons who have consummated marriage and which it regards as necessary before a death-sentence can be imposed for a sexual offence. As laid down in the Kur'an, the punishment is half of that decreed (xxiv, 2) for the free person who is not *muḥṣan(a)*; viz. fifty lashes instead of one hundred, to which some authorities would add the further penalty of banishment. It should be noted that *Ḥanafis* and *Ḥanbalis* refuse to regard as *muḥṣan* the spouse of anybody who is not *muḥṣan*: so, according to them, the husband or wife of a slave cannot be executed for adultery. As part of the general tendency to mitigate the punishment for sexual offences involving slaves, certain cases of unlawful cohabitation with a female slave (e.g. by a co-owner or the master's father) are not looked upon as *zinā*.

Finally, the slave who is guilty of a "false charge of fornication" (*baḍh*) against a free person is liable, here again, to half the penalty decreed by the Kur'an (xxiv, 4) against the slanderer who is free; viz. forty lashes instead of eighty. But the slave who is the victim of such a slander has no right at all to any such satisfaction, since the Law, which to a certain extent protects the person of the slave, does not go so far as to regard him or her as a man or woman of honour.

The vast field of the "arbitrary punishments" (*ta'dīr*), left to the judge's discretion, almost completely defies investigation through the study of written sources. We are conscious of our inability to make a sufficiently close study of how, in matters of punishment, the slave's position really compares, throughout history, with that of the free man, in the eyes of the judicial authorities of Islam.

j.—The emancipation (*'ah*, *ṭabaḥ*, *ṭah*) of the slave is a work of piety; it is a unilateral act on the part of the master, consisting in an explicit or implicit declaration; in the former case it is not necessary



to show intention. In principle, emancipation cannot be revoked, nor may the beneficiary refuse it. If, however, instead of being immediate, it is to take effect at some fixed future date or subject to certain conditions, all authorities but the Mālikīs permit the slave to be sold in the meantime. This destroys the effect of the emancipation (except, some say, if the slave is then re-acquired by his former owner). The children of a female slave, born or unborn, as a rule become free on her emancipation. The partial enfranchisement of a slave by his sole master is equivalent to his total enfranchisement (Abū Hanifa formulates a reservation, but is not followed by his disciples). The question is more involved when the slave is held in joint ownership and one of the owners enfranchises him *iusu* as his own share is concerned; if this owner is well-to-do, the enfranchisement is total and he will compensate his fellow-owners for the value of their shares. If the emancipator is not wealthy enough for this, the slave remains "partial" (*muḥab*), except according to the Hanafīs, who free him and allow the other owners to recover their share out of the income from his work (*ḥaḍ*). There is another point on which the Hanafīs reject the solution readily accepted by the other schools: they do not permit recourse to the drawing of lots (*ḥaḍ*) to determine which of several slaves is to be enfranchised when circumstances make it necessary to choose; their rejection of this procedure dictates certain of their rulings.

A grant of enfranchisement with effect from the master's death, a desirable practice for the Faithful and one for which they have often shown partiality, is known as *ṭaḥīr*, from the expression '*an duḥar minnī*, "after me" (this is the view of the Mālikīs, who insist on a formula containing a word from the root *ḥar*). The Shāfi'īs also apply the term to an enfranchisement to take effect from a date after the master's death, which for the other schools would count as no more than a revocable testamentary disposition. *Ṭaḥīr* itself is in principle irrevocable, in the eyes of all the authorities, but here too the Shāfi'īs and Hanbalīs allow it to be made void by the sale of the *ṭaḥīr* slave. The Hanafīs permit this only if the *ṭaḥīr* is limited (*muḥabb*) by a condition connected with the emancipator's death. It is permissible for a master to cohabit with his *ṭaḥīr* slave; and her children, except in the dominant Shāfi'ī view, follow the condition of their mother. On the master's death, the *ṭaḥīr* slave, being regarded as part of his estate, is subject to the rule of the disposable third and on this rule depends the manner of his effective liberation, which is different for each school. Except according to the Hanafīs, he remains in slavery if the debts of the deceased cannot be settled without selling him.

Contractual enfranchisement is of great doctrinal and practical importance. It is recommended by the Kū'ān (xviii, 31) the interpretation of the text as implying a strict obligation has not generally prevailed. It consists in the master's granting the slave his freedom in return for the payment of sums of money agreed between them. Some call this conditional enfranchisement, according to others it is ransom by the slave of his own person: a divergence which entails solutions differing in detail. The transaction is treated in the Kū'ān as *ḥab*, the verbal noun of the third form. In the classical language, no doubt to distinguish this from *ḥab* = "letter, book", it has been replaced by its morphological equivalent *muḥab* or by *ḥab*. Although the payments are usually spaced out

(*muḥab*) and the majority of jurists regard settlement by instalments as essential to the contract, the Hanafīs accept one single and immediate payment; the Mālikīs are satisfied with one instalment, while Shāfi'īs and Hanbalīs insist on a minimum of two. The sums to be paid are of course deducted from the *ḥab* of the slave, who is *ḥab* *f* *facto* "authorized" to engage in business; the granting of *ḥab* to a female slave who has no honest source of income is frowned upon. The *muḥab* is set free only when his payments are completed (on some archaic divergences, see Schacht, *Origins*, 279-80). But the master is forbidden to sell him in the meantime, except by the Hanbalīs, who nevertheless hold the purchaser to the terms of the contract of enfranchisement. The Mālikīs give the master a limited right to dispose in advance of the total of the sums which the *muḥab* undertakes to pay (they are known as *ḥab*, like the contracts itself). Concomitant with a "contractually emancipated female slave" is unlawful. A grant of *muḥab* may be superimposed on one of *ṭaḥīr*, to the same person's advantage. When the *muḥab* reaches the end of his payments, a "rebate" (*ḥab*) is usually accorded to him, in compliance with the Kū'ān text; fixed or discretionary, obligatory or merely recommended, according to the different authorities.

k.—Once he has gained his liberty, the freedman (*ṭaḥīr*, *muḥab*) immediately enjoys the same full legal capacity as the freeborn. But both he and his male descendants in perpetuity remain attached to the emancipator (*muḥab*), and to his or her family, by a bond of "clientship" or *ḥab*, a term equally denoting the converse side of the relationship "patronage". "Patron" and "client" are both referred to as *ḥab* (pl. *ḥab*) in relation to each other; if necessary they are differentiated by means of epithets: "higher" (*ṭaḥīr*) for the former and "lower" (*ḥab*) for the latter. The Hanafīs alone maintain, besides this *ḥab* which originates in slavery, a legal institution known as *ḥab* *al-muḥab* between free men, which is outside the scope of the present discussion.

A saying, applied with slight variations in the different schools, runs: "Patronage belongs to the emancipator" (*ḥab* *al-muḥab* *al-muḥab*); it cannot be made over to a third party by any negotiation or shift at the moment of emancipation. The *ḥab*, moreover, which insists on assimilating patronage to natural kinship (in *ḥab* *al-muḥab* *al-muḥab* *al-muḥab*), has succeeded in making it inalienable and untransferable, whereas cases of sale were not unknown before and even under Islam (cf. Ahmad Aḥmad, *Faḍl al-Islām*, i, 110; Schacht, *Origins*, 173). Nevertheless, on the strength of the peculiar concept of "attraction of patronage" (*ḥab* *al-muḥab*), this right may be transferred in certain cases; for example, from the immediate emancipator to the one who emancipated him, or from the emancipator of the mother to the subsequent emancipator of the father, subject to certain conditions. Mālikīs and Hanbalīs sanction, not without much wavering, and under very different final forms, an ancient type of enfranchisement without patronage, known as *ḥab* *al-muḥab* in reference to the pre-Islamic custom, condemned in turn in the Kū'ān (v, 103), which consisted in turning loose in complete freedom one particular she-camel of the herd, protected by taboos.

The patron and his "agnates" (*ḥab*), or those of the patroness, stand in the position of agnates, except according to the Zāhirīs, to the emancipated slave who has no natural agnates, particularly in

connection with tutelage for purposes of matrimony and with joint responsibility in penal matters. In return, the property of the emancipated slave or of his or her descendants in the male line who die leaving neither priority heirs nor agnates, reverts to the patron or patroness or to their agnate heirs, in accordance with a system of devolution (by successive generations among the kin, making *ḥab* *al-muḥab* *al-muḥab* more archaic than in usual cases of succession (see R. Brunschwig, in *Revue Historique de Droit*, 1950). A woman is absolutely excluded from this "inheritance of patronage" (*ḥab* *al-muḥab*); she can be patron only of her own freedmen or the freedmen of the latter; her sons inherit the patronage, while they are not counted among her agnates for purposes of joint responsibility in penal matters, a particularly conservative institution. One ancient isolated opinion notwithstanding, the jurists have not granted the freedman the right to inherit the property of the patron who dies without heirs.

Bibliography. Apart from references in the text, all the collections of hadith and treatises on *ḥab*, not forgetting the works on *ḥab*, Studies in European languages: Weckwerth, *Der Sklave im Islam*, Rekt, Berlin 1909, mentioned for the sake of completeness; Abd Elwahed, *Contributions à une théorie sociologique de l'esclavage*, Paris 1931, is more important, but biased. For the three main Sunni schools only, see first of all: D. Santillana, *Institution*, i, 11, 11-12; Juyneil, *Handbook*, 2, 232-40; Bergsträsser-Schacht, *Grundzüge*, 38-42; and, for penal law, L. Bercher, *Les délits et les peines de droit commun prévus par le Coran*, Tunis 1926, *passim*. On the Mālikī view of paternity in legal concubinage, Lapanne-Joinville, in *Revue Marocaine de Droit*, 1932.

l.—The strictly juridical status of slavery among the Imānī Shī'ites, for which one may refer to the classic work of al-Hillī, *Sharḥ al-Islām* (tr. Query, 2 vols., Paris 1871-2) is indicative of attitudes sometimes considerably removed from the great Sunni principles. Among the solutions it offers we shall confine ourselves to the following, as being particularly revealing of some interesting legal or social viewpoints.

The child born in wedlock does not follow the status of his mother, bond or free, but failing any stipulation to the contrary, is born free if either of his parents is free. If both are slaves but not of the same master, he belongs jointly to the masters of both parents. The master of a female slave may grant a third party the "right" of her, for purposes of work or sexual relations. There is a great deal of controversy about the permissibility of manumitting a non-Muslim slave; on the other hand it is recommended that the Muslim slave should be freed after seven years' service (compare with *Exodus*, xii, 2; *Deut.*, xv, 12). Manumission is of right, according to most authorities, when the slave is mutilated by the master, as the Mālikīs hold, or if he is smitten with blindness, leprosy or paralysis in the course of his slavery. The concubine who has borne a child is not automatically freed on her master's death unless her child is still alive; her value is then deducted from this child's share of the inheritance. Enfranchisement with effect from the death may be revoked, just like a legacy; it does not prevent sale of the slave, which is tantamount to a revocation. Contractual enfranchisement is of two kinds: "conditional", which leaves in total slavery the slave who defaults in his debts, as among the Sunnīs; "unconditional", which gives the slave

his freedom in proportion to the amount he pays. In penal law, there is no retaliation on the freeman for the murder of a slave. The *ḥab* of a freeman killed by a slave can, as in Mālikī law, claim the possession of the guilty slave. The *ḥab* of the slave may not exceed (whereas the Hanafīs say: amount to) that of a free person of the same sex.

Some of these provisions show an independent development of doctrine, while others clearly echo ancient solutions which the Sunnīs as a whole have not retained (see two examples in J. Schacht, *Origins*, 265, 279).

#### THE PRACTICE OF SLAVERY

##### A) In the Middle Ages

Throughout the whole of Islamic history, down to the 19th century, slavery has always been an institution tenacious of life and deeply rooted in custom. The Turks, who were to come to the relief of the Arabs in the victorious struggle against Christianity, seem to have practised it but little in their primitive nomadic state (Üçok, in *Revue Historique de Droit français*, 1932, 423): after providing for so long their unwilling quota, through kidnapping or purchase, to the slave class of the Muslim world, they became themselves supporters of the institution in an ever-increasing degree, as they adopted Islam and the sedentary way of life.

The wars of conquest, which, after the fulgurous expansion of Islam in the first century of the hijra, continued throughout the Middle Ages to further its spread in one direction or another despite setbacks elsewhere, provided the conquerors with an almost ceaseless stream of prisoners of both sexes, many of whom remained in slavery. Even in those places where the frontiers of the *dār al-Islām* were, for the time being, established, armed raids into enemy country, organized by the central power or individual groups, continued to put into practice the principle of the "Holy War", when no official truce or momentary alliance happened to be in force; and these raids brought back captives. Piracy in the Mediterranean, coupled with the privateering war from which it was often barely distinguishable, both augmented by grim razzias against the Christian seaboard, contributed to the supply of slaves to the adjacent Muslim lands, to an extent which varied at different periods but was always considerable.

Mediterranean Christendom, from Spain to Byzantium, paid this aggressive Islam in its own coin, by land and by sea. A curious chapter in the economic and social history of these Christian countries is afforded by the periodic influences to their territory of "Moors" or "Saracens", reduced to slavery, then closely watched, employed as labourers, sometimes escaping or being ransomed but usually blending, little by little, into the local population, after their slow conversion to Christianity (see Ch. Verlinden's detailed study, in *L'Esclavage dans le monde chrétien médiéval*, in *Annuaire Historique de l'Espagne*, 1934; *idem*, on Catalonia, in *Annales du Midi*, 1930, and his useful bibliography, for various countries, in *Studi*, . . . G. Lucatini, Milan, 1949, while awaiting his book on *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe Médiévale*, due to appear in 1954; interesting documentation on one particular society is to be found in A. González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, Madrid 1930, *pref.*, vol. 2, 242-6; on the quasi-ritual invitation of Muslim captives to the Emperor of Constantinople's banquet, in the 10th century, see M. Canard, in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, vol. ii, part 2, Brussels 1950, 387-8).



It sometimes happened, admittedly on a restricted scale, that Muslims made slaves of other Muslims. This was the case, for example, when members of fanatical sects regarded the rest of mankind as beyond the pale of Islam and consequently did not scruple to attack them and, if they spared their lives, to keep them in captivity. There was an exceptional instance in 1077, when thousands of women of a revolted Berber tribe were publicly sold in Cairo.

What happened more frequently, on the borders of Muslim states, was that official or private *razzias* against populations still largely pagan carried off indiscriminately human beings, particularly children, who might belong to Islam. With the spread of Islam in negro Africa and the intensification of Moslem pressure in this direction, beginning in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, the question of the legality of subsequent sales had to be put to some great jurists; they answered circumspectly, giving the dealers the benefit of the doubt as to the origin of individuals offered for sale (in 15th century, al-Wanḡharī, *Muṣṣar*, vol. ix, 477-8, tr. *Archives Marocaines*, xiii, 426-8; towards 1600, Ahmad Bābā of Tāmbuktu, quoted in P. Zey, *Esclavage et guerre sainte*, Paris 1902).

The import of slaves by peaceful means tended, from an early date, to compete with the forcible method. Slaves were included in the well-known *haki* (g.a.) (Latin *pactum*?) or annual Nubian tribute, unquestionably a continuation of an ancient tradition, which was likewise Egyptian, well-known earlier for many hundreds of years. But, in the ordinary course of events, it was trade that brought a plentiful flow of slaves from outside into the markets of the *dar al-Islām*. The slaves' caravans went into the heart of Africa or of Asia to acquire their human merchandise, bought or stolen; on the Dark Continent, the slaving propensities and internal struggles of the natives facilitated the business of the dealers. Not only Negroes and Ethiopians, Berbers and Turks were the objects of this international trade; there were in addition, chiefly in the early Middle Ages, various European elements, above all, the "Slaves", whose name has given rise to our term "slave" and has also been extended in Arabic (*Sakābi*) to cover other ethnic groups as well as slaves in Europe, their geographical neighbours. The traffic was carried on by sea as well as by land; the Red Sea has never ceased to provide a way from Africa to Arabia; the Mediterranean, with its appendage the Black Sea, offers a route, that has always been frequented, from Christian or pagan Europe to the Muslim world. Certain ports seem to have had a bigger share than others, at various times, in the reception of this merchandise: Almería in Muslim Spain, Fāranā and later Alexandria in Egypt. Darband (*Dāb al-Aḥwān*), on the shores of the Caspian, was from quite an early date a very busy frontier-market for slaves, as were Bukhārā and Samarkand in the interior.

From the middle of the 8th century, the Venetians, to the great indignation of the Papacy, began their career as purveyors of slaves—sometimes Christian—to the Islamic lands. In the 9th and 10th centuries, Jewish merchants played an important part in the traffic of "Slaves" across central and western Europe (including a celebrated *enclaustrum* "factory" at Verdun) and their distribution throughout Islam (the famous passage from Ibn Khurādādhbih on the Baghdadīyya is reproduced and translated by H. J. Sadok, in *Géographie arabe française*, vi, Algiers 1949, 20-3). At a later date, the Mamliks of Egypt with the consent

of the Byzantine emperor, imported new slaves, to serve or to replace them, from the Genoese or Venetian trading-posts of the Crimea or the Sea of Azov.

Even within the Muslim world, there were considerable movements of slaves, of every racial origin, in the Middle Ages; tribute sent to the caliphs by provincial governors and vassals, or commercial traffic. We do not know all the details of the organization of this traffic, but we are acquainted with certain aspects of it. Every big town had its public slavemarket, which in some countries was called the "place of display" (*maṣṣaf*). The one at Sāmārā, in the 9th century, is described as being a vast quadrilateral, with internal alleys and one-story houses, containing rooms and shops (al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 260 = tr. Wiet, *Cairo* 1917, 52). The slave-merchant, who was known as "importer" (*ḡalib*) or "cattle-dealer" (*nabḥāḥ*), inspired at the same time contempt for his occupation and envy for his wealth: he used in fact to draw huge profits, often through clever faking of his merchandise, if he did not actually hoodwink the unsophisticated customer in a quite outrageous fashion. Some remarkable details in this connection are to be found from the pen of the eastern Christian doctor Ibn Buṭlān, towards the middle of the 11th century (see Mez, *Renaissance*, 136-7) and in the writings of the conscientious Muslim al-Sakātī of Malaga, towards 1100 (*Manuel de Haba*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931, 47-58).

It is difficult to consider that it would serve any useful purpose here to quote selling-prices, particularly if the prices in question are exceptional. Such figures have no real meaning unless subjected to criticism and compared with the commercial value of other commodities—a study which has yet to be made and the materials for which, it seems, could be assembled with no great difficulty. But it is already clear and well-known that there were differences in the same market as between the various categories of slave, according to their place of origin, their sex, age, physical condition and abilities; these differences seem vast in the case of choice items, particularly females: young, handsome, talented. As a rule, whites were worth more than blacks; the selling order of value among them, in 11th-century Spain, was: Berbers, Catalans, Galicians. At Alexandria, in the 15th century, Tartars and Circassians were prized above Greeks, Serbs and Albanians. An elementary and traditional kind of comparative psycho-physiology decides the typical qualities and defects assigned, in popular lore, to representatives of the various races and, in consequence, the functions for which they are considered best suited. Berber women, for instance, are esteemed for housework, sexual relations and childbearing; negroes are thought to be docile ("one would say they born for slavery"), robust and excellent wet-nurses; Greek women may be trusted to look after precious things; Armenian and Indian women do not take kindly to slavery and are difficult to manage.

Almost all female slaves are destined for domestic occupations, in which may be added, when they are physically attractive, the gratification of the master's pleasures. Herein indeed lies the commonest motive—lawful in Muslim eyes—for their purchase. Those of them who show an aptitude for study may be given a thorough musical or even literary education, by the slave-dealer or a rich master, and beguile by their attainments the leisure hours of high society (the slave-girl musician is called *ḡayya*).

Some again are found here and there given over to prostitution, despite the Kor'anic prohibition.

Male slaves have a wider range of duties, from the beginning of their captivity. A great number form the personal bodyguards or the enormous slave-militias, black or white, frequently in rivalry, which speedily reinforce or replace the Arab, Berber or Iranian fighting-men. This military function was the chief reason for the Egyptian and North African recruitment of slaves in the land of the negroes and for the introduction into 'Irāk, by the caliphs of Bāghdād, of Turkish slaves, employed in the same way by the Sāmānids of Bukhārā (details on their formation and career in Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyasat-nāma*, ed. tr. Scheler, Paris 1892-3, 95/139 f.), but certainly the most remarkable details in this respect, remarkable both for the extent of the phenomenon and for the great ethnic variety of white warrior-slaves involved in it, must have been that of the Mamliks (g.a.).

Other male slaves have domestic duties—sometimes of a questionable nature—in the homes of people of moderate means, as well as in those of the great. Among them were the eunuchs who, chiefly on the model of Byzantium, filled the palaces of the caliphs, the amirs and all the nobles, at first as guardians of the *harem*. They are rarely referred to by their specific appellation of "castrate" (*ḡhayf*) or "eunuch" (*ḡasidh*); they are more usually designated by a neutral term: "servant" (*ḡalib*), or, as a mark of such honour, "teacher" (*shaykh*). In the 10th century, see Canard, *Histoire d'al-Rāḍī*, Algiers 1946, 210, which also indicates the function performed by some of them. In the early Middle Ages, the proportion of "Slaves" among the eunuchs imported and then re-exported by Muslim Spain was so high that *ḡalib* (var. *sābi*) was often used in the sense of "eunuch" (Dory, *Suppl.*, i, 663). In the 9th century, the illustrious writer al-Dīnāwī states that the majority of white eunuchs in 'Irāk were "Slaves", and in the course of the remarkable essay which he devotes to the effects of castration on men, he asserts that in these "Slaves", as opposed to the blacks, the operation encourages the development of all the natural aptitudes (al-Hayawān, Cairo 1938, i, 106 seq., tr. A. N. Palesy in *Iran*, 1939, 42-4). For the following century, interesting details are to be found in the work of the geographer Makdisi, on the categories of eunuchs and the processes of castration (re-ed. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 56-9; see also Ibn Hawkal, i, 110). Whereas the blacks were usually submitted to a complete and barbarous amputation, "level with the abdomen", as the later expression ran, the whites, who were operated on with a little more care, retained the ability to perform coitus (this distinction is also vouched for in modern times); some of them took concubines or even wives, as the Hanafī school allowed.

Outside the house, many slaves served as assistants in business, or carried on business themselves, in accordance with their legal position, with a considerable measure of independence. Others cultivated their masters' fields. Examples are found of monumental building-works carried out by slave-labour, especially by prisoners-of-war in government service. But it must be emphasized that mediaeval Islam seems scarcely to have known the masters of large-scale rural exploitation based on an immense and anonymous slave labour-force. One big attempt along these lines, carried out by the 'Abbasids in order to revivify the lands of 'Irāk, the centre of their empire, ended, during the second half of the 9th

century, in the prolonged and terrible revolt of the *Zandī* [g.a.] slaves, who had been imported from the eastern coast of Africa to bring the swamps of Lower Mesopotamia under cultivation.

The vast majority of slaves therefore escaped the system of collective forced labour, which condemns a man to one of the most distressful of all existences. This does not mean that they were one and all contented with their lot; the number of runaways, which seems very high at certain periods, would indicate the reverse. But setting aside the suffering caused by the slave traffic (all the more if castration was performed), and taking into account the general hardness of the times, the condition of the majority of slaves with their Muslim masters was tolerable and not too much at variance with the quite liberal regulations which the official morality and law had striven to establish. Despite the obvious points of inferiority, it was even known for them to attain happy and enviable positions, in material prosperity and influence, especially in rich and highly-placed families and, even more, in the immediate entourage of the sovereign. They had, in addition, the prospect of liberation, which it was not always overbold to hope for.

This liberation, in the case of prisoners-of-war or victims of *razzias* by land or sea, might result from negotiations between the powers concerned: an exchange of captives or restoration in return for a ransom. History is full of such negotiations, sometimes futile, sometimes crowned with success, between Christian and Muslim states. Many were the captives ransomed, in both directions, thanks to collections of an official nature, but also more and more by ordinary individuals. In the latter case, Jews often played a useful part as go-betweens; in Spain they were sometimes referred to as "al-faqueques" (Ar. *fakkā*, "liberator"). Further, great Catholic religious Orders, organized for the most part since the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th, devoted themselves to succouring and ransoming their co-religionists who were captives in Muslim countries: in discharging this duty, Trinitarians and Mercedarians were to have a long and fruitful career, which their colleagues, ancient and modern, have justly regretted deemed it necessary to embellish still further by means of exaggerated figures.

Also worthy of consideration, for their number and for their effects on Muslim society, were the compulsory manumissions, under the conditions imposed by the Law, of concubines who had borne children, as well as the voluntary manumissions of slaves of both sexes, especially Muslims, by their Muslim masters. This apostasy was rendered attractive for Christians; though not, as a rule, imposed on them, it was insistently suggested. We have already said that enfranchisement is an act of piety, widely practised; it is frequently the result of a vow or oath (conditional oath, expiation for a violated oath). The beneficiary ranks unreservedly as a free man or woman; the bond of clientship which continues to exist, and whose existence is felt, prevents not so much a slight moral derogation as an inestimable advantage in the reality of a highly compact social structure. From 'Abbasid times onward, more than one freedman rose very high indeed in the military and political hierarchy, even to the most exalted ranks to which a free Muslim might attain. Their very names, which they continued to bear, betraying to the world their former servitude and even their irremediable condition as eunuchs (some of them commanded armies), were



no obstacle to such a rise. In the 4th/10th century, such men as Mu'nis in Bagdad and the negro Kāfir in Egypt afford a remarkable illustration of the system. A number of Muslim dynasties, in Spain as well as in Egypt and the heart of Asia, have an avowedly servile origin. A Turkish "slave" dynasty reigned at Dild in the 13th century (see DÖNİ SULTANATE). The "mamlik" sultans of Cairo actually made such an origin a condition of coming to power, through a recognized *curse honorum* (see G. Wiet, in Hanotaux, *Histoire de la Nation Egyptienne*, vol. iv, 1937, 393-5; D. Ayalon, *L'Esclavage du Mamlouk*, Jerusalem 1937, and *Wam'as*). As for maternal ancestry, reigning sovereigns almost everywhere, including the 'Abbasid caliphs, were commonly sons of slave concubines, of widely varying provenance.

It is therefore easy to imagine the importance of slavery in that mingling of populations to which Muslim institutions have been so favourable. The number of new slaves introduced into the great cities in certain years could be reckoned in thousands; the slave element formed a considerable part of the urban population and had a marked tendency to blend with it, not only through enfranchisement but also through sexual intermingling, which was commonplace. Crossbreeding with blacks may have had ethnological consequences, which it is not within our competence to analyse. The slave-trade was of prime importance in economic life; the taxes imposed on it were a source of profit to the authorities. Although slave-labour was for the most part employed in household duties and was not generally applied to productive work, yet the military function of large numbers of male slaves was one of the salient features of this civilization, and had repercussions on the foreign and domestic policies of the medieval states (see M. Canard, on a treaty between Byzantium and Egypt in the 13th century, in *Mélanges Gaudet-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-43, 297 ff.).

**Bibliography:** In addition to references in the text: Le Strange, 184, 470, 437, 459, 487; Mez, *Romanisme*, 152-162; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce de Levant au moyen âge*, Leipzig 1885-6, II, 555-61 and *passim*; Schuchardt, *Handels- und Verkehrsroman. Völker*, Munich-Berlin 1900, 22-3, 202, 272 and *passim*; Ch. Verhulst, *L'Esclavage dans l'Espagne musulmane, Anuario de Historia del Derecho español*, 1935, 361-424; Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne Musulmane au Xe siècle*, Paris 1932, 29, 191-3; idem, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, vol. III, R. Brunschwig, *La Barbérie orientale sous les Hafsiides*, I, 450-1, 454-6.

#### B) In the Modern Period

The practice of slavery among the Muslims seems to have undergone no radical changes during the modern period, down to the 20th century. The sources and the mediaeval routes of the slave-trade were modified only to a limited extent by the disappearance of Islam from Spain and on the other hand its expansion or consolidation in the Balkans, India and Indonesia. Far more considerable must have been the effect of the position adopted by European Christendom; having almost entirely suppressed slavery on its own ground, it must have ceased to contribute to the commercial supply of white human merchandise long before it adopted the worldwide policy of abolitionism, whose effects are still perceptible in our own days. Christendom nevertheless busied itself with supplying its American colonies with African negroes, thrown into cruel

bondage. Among these unfortunate, Muslims seem to have been particularly numerous in Brazil, where from 1807 to 1833 they fomented the great slave revolts, rigorously quelled, which shook Bahia (on their cultural influence and their disappearance, see R. Risard and R. Basile, in *Revue de l'histoire* 1930 and 1932 respectively). In the Mediterranean, where the corsairs and "Barbary" pirates continued their ravages, perhaps to an even greater extent, after the establishment of Ottoman supremacy (see O. Eek, *See-räuber im Mittelmeer*, Munich-Berlin 1900), the bordering Christian powers retaliated almost down to the end of the 18th century, as they had done previously, by numerous captures; this work of the Knights of Malta took an active part: during the first half of the century, they sold to the French navy the men it needed as rowers on the galleys. More than ten thousand Muslim slaves attempted a revolt on the island in 1749; Bonaparte liberated the two thousand Barbary slaves whom he found there in 1798 (see Godeschot and Emerit, in *R.A.P.*, 1932, 105-13).

On the lot of Christian captives or slaves in the hands of the Barbary corsairs, there is abundant European documentation; perhaps even too abundant, in view of its not being always of good quality. If Cervantes' captivity at Algiers is a matter of certainty and had a felicitous result on his work, that of St. Vincent de Paul at Tunis is scarcely less visible. The information provided in what might be termed the classic accounts of the subject, such as those of Friar Haedo or Father Dan (17th century, the heyday of the corsairs), must be carefully checked against other data, preferably derived, where possible, from consular archives (for all aspects of slavery at Algiers, see the solid study by H. D. de Graumont, in *Revue Historique*, 1884-5, to be supplemented by Venturi de Paradis, ed. Fagnan, Algiers 1898, and Lespès, *Algier*, Paris 1930, II, chaps. 3-5; for Tunisia, we have a judicious statement of the facts by J. Pignon in *R.T.*, 1930; see also, as a more recent publication, García Navarro, *Redenciones de cautivos en Africa*, ed. Vaqueiro Pajaro, Madrid 1946). It is important to distinguish between the slaves held to ransom, who were rich and well-treated, and the slave workers, whose widely-varying destinies might hold in store for them a bitter life in the galleys, or wretched toil in the countryside, or an often much easier life in or just outside the city. Barbary at that time abounded in "mataneros" (Ar. *ma'mūn* "sold") or "baginos" (Fr. *bagin*: "bath") in which the slaves were penned. The Atlantic itself was scoured by the Moroccan corsairs, from their base at Rabat-Salé (see Penz, *Les capitaines français du Maroc au XVIIe siècle*, Rabat 1944). As in the Middle Ages, the liberationist religious Orders and the Jews took an active part in procuring slaves by ransom. Renegades attained high positions in the West or in the army, but at the beginning of the 19th century, after a slow decline that was hastened by increased pressure on the part of the European powers, the number of Christian captives was considerably diminished. At the time of the French conquest in 1830, Algiers had no more than 122, as against several thousands two centuries earlier. North Africa must have been one of the main sources of negroes, on the other hand, right down to the French occupation. In this traffic Morocco played a preponderant part, especially at that period in the second half of the 17th century, when the sultan Mūlay Ismā'īl raised a veritable army of negroes and half-breeds (*'abid al-Baghdādī*, in consequence

of the oath they took on this collection of "authentic" traditions; see H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, II, Casablanca 1930, 256-7). Black slaves of both sexes continued to be imported into Morocco until well into the 20th century, with some pretence at secrecy since the open traffic from Timbuktu and public sale (the fair of Sidi Ahmad a-Missi on the southern borders; at Fez and Rabat the special market was called *birka*, as in Tunisia) had become impossible. It should be pointed out how much their presence colours the family and social life of the cities (see R. Le Tourneau, *Fis avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 200-3, with references; and, under the Protectorate, J. and J. Tharaud, *Fis ou les bourgeois de l'Islam*, Paris 1930, 37-43).

Towards 1810, a competent observer, Dr Louis Frank, made a special study of the importation of slaves at Tunis (*L'Univers Pittoresque*, Tunis, 115 seqq.) as he had done in Egypt ten years previously under Bonaparte (his *Mémoire sur le commerce des esclaves au Kaire*, Paris 1802). The general organization of the traffic, the focus of which was public sales, recorded in writing, was much the same in both places, with the difference that whereas Cairo was supplied solely by big caravans (two annual, one from Sennār and one from Dār-fūr—see also J. S. Trimmingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, Oxford 1949, 182-3, and *passim*), the biennial, from Bornu or Fezzan, Tunis used to receive some isolated *sa'iq* (negroes), apart from one big caravan every year from Fezzan or beyond (see also J. Despois, *Géographie humaine du Fezzan*, Paris 1946, 35-7, with references): an annual total of some three thousand for Cairo and one thousand for Tunis. In the latter city the male black slaves came under the authority of the *agha* or chief eunuch of the harem, while the negroes had "a forewoman to rule and protect them." In Egypt, the mortality of these negroes was high; in Tunis, according to Dr. Frank, their infants survived only if they were of mixed blood (on the blacks in present-day Tunisia, see Zawadowski, in *En terre d'Islam*, 1944). In the time of Muhammad 'Alī, towards 1815, the Egyptian army used to make up its strength by yearly razzias from bases in Dār-fūr and Kordofān; it would enrol the sturdiest of the captives and hand the rest over to the inhabitants of those provinces and to the dealers, some of whom were themselves black converts to Islam (see T. F. Buxton, *De la traite des esclaves en Afrique*, French tr., Paris 1940, 70-5).

The moral and social condition of slaves in an urban environment, in the 19th century, seems to have been fairly uniform in such diverse cities as Tunis, Cairo and Mecca (a great centre for the traffic on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage). White slaves had become rare since the beginning of the century; they were expensive and in little demand except by exalted personages or rich Turks; white female slaves were preferably Caucasians, famed for their beauty. Arabia could muster a small number of Indonesians. The bulk of the slaves were black, but in the east a distinction was drawn between Ethiopians, who were paler and more highly prized, and negroes in the strict sense. Eunuchs were imported already castrated; in Mecca, the majority of them were in the service of the mosques. All the European writers lay stress on the good treatment these blacks customarily received at the hands of their town-dwelling masters, in contrast to the dreadful conditions of their capture and subsequent transportation under the lash of the Arab or Arabized slaves. They readily adopted Islam and be-

came deeply attached to it (some even thanked God for having led them to the true Faith through their captivity; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, 554-5), though their new faith did not prevent them from performing their traditional songs and dances, or even their African rites of exorcism (the *šār* [p. 8]; see Trimmingham, *op. cit.*, 174-7; similar facts in Barbary). They formed, one may say, part of the family and, especially as concubines, the slave-girls came to be of use blood with it. Enfranchisements were usual, but it was not unknown for a concubine who had borne a child to seek from her master a denial of paternity, since there were more advantages for her in remaining a slave than in marrying and running the risk of repudiation (see especially Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1895, 147, 168, 192-7; Burchardt, *Voyages en Arabie*, French tr., Paris 1835, I, 251-2; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II (The Hague 1899), 11-24, 132-6). It is therefore not surprising that, round about 1860, the Swiss Henry Dunant, founder of the Red Cross, who knew Tunisian society, laid great stress on the customary mildness of urban servitude among the Muslims, as compared with the methods of American slave-holders.

At the end of the 18th century, Mouradgā 'Obson, to whom we owe so much of our information on the structure of the Ottoman empire, declared: "There is perhaps no nation where the captives, the slaves, the very toilers in the galleys are better provided for or treated with more kindness than among the Mohammedans" (*Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, IV, 1, 381).

Under the sultans of Constantinople, slavery perpetuated the mediaeval traditions of the Islamic peoples: it furnished domestics, concubines, officials and soldiers. For the use of private persons, for example, the slave-dealers (*esirciler*), who were under the supervision of a *kāhya*, had at their disposal a public building in the capital, not far from which lived the expert matrons who acted as go-betweens if the purchasers so desired. Every slave, after passing the frontier, had a document of civic status bearing his name, which remained as a title-deed in the hands of his successive owners. People of quality, who bought on a reduced scale, had *kariyas* (quarters) of close on a hundred slave-women. The sultan's *harem* numbered several hundred, classified in a strict hierarchy of five ranks, only the two highest of which (those of *hadin*, "lady", and below them, of *gadhik*, "privileged"), were attached to the person of the sovereign. Some of the women of the highest rank were former slaves whom the sultan had freed and subsequently married informally. Although for many years none of the sultan's wives had been freeborn, these former slaves had no difficulty in wielding very great influence at court. Besides this female element, there lived at the seraglio numerous eunuchs, conventionally known as "aghas" (Turkish also uses in this sense the Arabic *khādīm* > *kādīm*). The black eunuchs, under the "agha of the girls" (*kislar agası*), vied with the white eunuchs, under the "agha of the gate" (*kapi agası*) for precedence and power; in the upshot it was the former who carried the day. Finally we must note the importance in all public services, civil and military, of slaves of various origin, the "black eunuchs of the gate" (*kaphkharlar*), who, often converted to Islam of their own accord and enfranchised, attained the most desirable posts. From the 17th century, when the number of white slaves brought in by war and purchase had dwindled, almost down to the middle of the 19th century, these functioned the system,



contrary to the Sacred Law, of *devarna* (see *NEW-SPRIME*), or forced enrolment of young Christians of the empire, mainly from the Balkans, as slaves of the government. These involuntary yet devoted servants of the Porte used to receive a training suited to their abilities; the most gifted would enter the palace or the higher administration; the rest were turned over to the navy or various military corps, including the Janissaries, whose brilliant reputation was due to them (see M. d'Oliven, *op. cit.*, vi and vii, and H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen's solid and well-documented *Islamic Society and the West*, i, Oxford 1950, 42-4, 56-60, 73-82, 229-31).

Further east, in modern Persia, it is essentially in the domestic form that slavery has been practised. There one meets with the general characteristics already noted: usually good treatment, integration in the family, ease of enfranchisement, with some modifications belonging to Indian *Shruti* law (q. *supra*). Seventeenth-century European travellers were struck by the high number of eunuchs and the power they had, both at the Safavid court and in the houses of the great; according to Chardin (*Voyages en Perse*, Amsterdam 1711, II, 283-5) there were some 3,000 of them in the service of the sovereign, while the nobles and even rich private citizens had staffs of eunuchs. They were given the courteous appellation of 'tutor, master' (*shaykh*), equivalent to *shaykh* which we have met above. Their purchase price was extremely high; the majority were white and came mostly from the Malabar coast of India. In the first half of the 19th century, under the Qajars, white slaves became few and soon disappeared altogether, except for the pretty Caucasian girls who continued to enter the harem; but, contrary to the most widespread Muslim practice, their children could not succeed to the throne, which was reserved for sons whose mothers were of royal blood. The number of the black slaves had increased; they were either Ethiopians who had crossed Arabia, or Zangis of east Africa, who came by way of Zanzibar, Mascot and Bushire (on this traffic, in Arab hands, see R. Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa*, London 1939, 136-46, with references), to draw custom to the market of Shiraz. The high mortality which overtook these coloured men in Persia prevented their forming an important element in the population (see Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, I, 248-61, 661; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 148). The Persians, in the course of their ancient conflicts with the Soudan inhabitants of Turkestan, were sometimes reduced to slavery, as being heretics. In the middle of the 19th century, it was still possible for so many thousands of them, prisoners of war, to be sold at once in the market at Bukhara that prices slumped. Some of them in this same town, having won their masters' regard and being once franchised, rose to every official position of honour. Others, however, less well endowed, went from there to swell the number of the slaves on whose shoulders fell the greater portion of the agricultural work in the khanaats of Khorasan (see A. Vambéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, London 1864, 192-3, 331, 371).

Among the relatively rare examples of an essential agricultural task performed by a compact slave labour-force, we may cite that of the region of Zanzibar itself, where, in the 19th century, there was kept a body of blacks gathered from almost as far as the great lakes and destined in the mass for export. The harsh life of toil in the sugar- or clove-plantations, run by Arab or Indian planters, all along the coast, was quite devoid of the amenities

of urban servitude. The lot of thousands of slaves employed in pearl-fishing in the Persian Gulf also seems to have been a very harsh one over a long period.

Much less burdensome, certainly, but wildly discriminatory, is the slavery which still obtains today in the desert: in the Sahara on the one hand, in Arabia on the other, for the benefit of the nomad tribes. Tuareg society, divided into three rigid castes, used to keep on the lowest level, beneath the nobles and their vassals, the slave-groups (*akli*, pl. *aklani*), enfranchised or not, almost all of them black, who were utilized by the dominant class either as tillers of the soil or as servants to men and beasts. Among the beduin of the Arabian peninsula and its fringes (see especially A. Jaussen, *Costumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 26, 60-1, 125-6; A. Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 276-8), black slaves may be interned and acquire property, but however intimate they may be with the master and his family, however great the advantages custom permits them to enjoy, they are never regarded as equals, even after enfranchisement: they are 'abid, and 'abid they remain; and marriage with the sons or daughters of them is considered a come-down, by the lowest of whites. *Bihiyya* 212-2; in the references in the text may be added R. Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, I, 117-27.

#### ABOLITION

Although Islam, in teaching and in actuality, has favoured the emancipation of slaves, it was only under an overwhelming foreign influence that it began, about a hundred years ago, an evolution in doctrine and in practice towards the total suppression of slavery, its abolition in law and custom. This evolution, which has continued, is in some regions still incomplete. Here we have one of the most typical examples of the transformation that the Muslim world has undergone, through European pressure or example, from the mid-15th century down to our own day.

The European powers concerned were themselves, to some extent, novices in this field: they had long favoured the traffic and maintained slavery in their colonies. One of them, Russia, had maintained serfdom on her own soil. The French 'philosophers' of the 18th century, being with Montesquieu, had condemned the very principle of slavery: its short-lived suppression under the first Republic was unfortunately a check. But, from 1806 onward, Britain took the lead in the movement for the suppression of the slave-trade and then of slavery itself. She may be accused of having more than once let her maritime and colonial interests dictate her interventionist zeal or, on other occasions, the mildness of her actions. Yet, when all is said, she stands out as a great pioneer of abolition over the whole surface of the earth, including the lands of Islam.

The diplomatic history of the 19th century, since 1814-15, is dotted with treaties and other international agreements aimed at banning the traffic in negroes, by sea and across the continent of Africa, in increasingly precise terms. The suppression of slavery as such is mentioned only towards the end of the century, and then timidly. But measures in this direction had already been adopted in several portions of the Muslim world, particularly those under the authority of European states. Britain, having emancipated the slaves in her colonies by

the famous Bill of 28 Aug. 1833, made in 1843 the first general decision to abolish slavery in India (completed by a series of other Acts down to 1862). France completely abolished slavery in all her overseas territories, including Algeria, by a decree of the Second Republic on 27 April 1848; the Netherlands did the same for their Indonesian possessions, by the laws of 1854-56, with effect from 1 Jan. 1860 (31 years before their colonies in the West Indies); and Russia for her Central Asian dependencies on 12 June (O.S.) 1873, before even having completed the conquest of Turkestan.

Parallel with this direct and radical action by the Powers, the Muslim states which, while remaining independent, were most subject to Western pressure and had most contacts with European civilization, were slowly and cautiously embarking on restrictive measures. As early as 1830, the Ottoman sultan had enfranchised *en bloc* those white slaves of Christian origin who remained true to their religion, while expressly keeping the Muslims in slavery (G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, II, Oxford 1905, 121-2). To Tunisia belongs the honour of having been the first to promulgate a general edict of emancipation for black slaves (*shu'ba* factu, of Muslim slaves: there were practically no white slaves in the Regency). By a decree of 23 Jan. 1846, the same year in which he was to make his sensational journey to France, the bey Ahmad ordered that letters of enfranchisement should be granted to every slave who so wished, and that every instance of slavery of which the religious magistrates might be apprised should be referred to him. The preamble to this decision, which was approved by the two highest dignitaries of the Hanafi and Maliki rites in the country, is worth dwelling on. In it, slavery is declared to be lawful in principle but regrettable in its consequences. Of these considerations particularized, two are of a religious nature, the third political (*muṣṣala* *siyāsiyya*): the initial enslaving of the people concerned comes under suspicion of illegality by reason of the present-day expansion of Islam in their countries; masters no longer comply with the rules of good treatment which regulate their rights and shelter them from wrong-doing. It is therefore belittling to avoid the risk of seeing unhappy slaves seeking the protection of foreign authorities (M. Bompard, *Législation de la Tunisie*, 398; Arabic text in Sanad, *Madjma' al-Kawāin al-Tūniyya*, fasc. 1, p. 4).

Thirty years later, in the treaty concluded with England on 19 July 1875, the bey Mubammad al-Sādiq undertook not only to see that the decree of 1846 was given full effect, but also to do everything in his power to suppress slavery and punish any infraction. Under the French protectorate, various Tunisian ministerial circulars (1887-91) and the bey's decree of 28 May 1890 completed the formal prohibition of slavery in the Regency, and the organization of the freeing of black slaves on the judicial and administrative planes (M. Bompard, *op. cit.*, 472; P. Zey, *Code annulé de la Tunisie*, I, 384-6).

At Istanbul, the first imperial firmāns against the slave-trade date from the period of the *Tanzimat*, under 'Abd al-Majid, and especially from the years of close understanding with France and Great Britain: Oct. 1834 for the whites, Feb. 1847 for the blacks (a religiously-inspired reservation exempted the *Hajjās* from the reform). How little effect these documents had at first in preventing the import of blacks, is apparent from the multiplicity of decisions of the same sort, the circulars and instructions which continued to repeat one another,

in terms ever more insistent and explicit, till round about 1900. The agreement entered upon with Great Britain in 1830 but not applied till 1848, followed by Turkey's adhesion to the general Act of the Brussels Conference of 1850, constituted an important double step towards the suppression of the traffic, already much reduced by abolitionist action in Africa and the Red Sea: till then 'more or less clandestine', it was to assume thenceforth 'the nature of smuggling and was treated as such' (G. Young, *op. cit.*, 172-200). Moreover, foreign consuls secured from the Ottoman authorities the enfranchisement of slaves who sought refuge with them. The Constitution of 1876, guaranteeing the personal liberty of all subjects of the empire remained a dead letter until it was put in force by the Young Turks in 1908. At this time there were only a very few slaves, all of them domestic, in the capital and those provinces under the effective control of the central power (cf. Dr. Millant, *L'esclavage en Turquie*, Paris 1912).

Egypt was nominally included in the Ottoman territories within the scope of the oldest firmān forbidding the traffic in negroes. Indeed it needed to be, for this traffic had expanded just at the moment when the Egyptians installed themselves in the heart of the Sudan. Pasha subordinate to the Porte organized some anti-slavery expeditions in the south; the results were but mediocre (cf. J. Cooper, *Un continent perdu*, Fr. tr. Paris 1876, 25-8). Under the khedive Ismail, a mission of this type entrusted to Sir Samuel Baker (1869-73) was equally disappointing (S. Baker, *Ismailia*, London 1874, Fr. tr. Paris 1875), whereas after 1874 the fight against slavery was intensified, hand in hand with the Egyptian expansion, under Colonel Charles George Gordon and his European colleagues (cf. P. Crabbé, *Gordon, the Sudan and Slavery*, London 1933); H. Dehérain, in *Hauteville, Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, VI, 481-552). At this period, the khedive, under the terms of his agreement with England of 4 Aug. 1877, was formally banning all trade in negroes and then opening enfranchisement offices in the various provinces. But it was only towards the end of the century, under the English *de facto* protectorate, that the most energetic measures were taken: since 1895, any infringement of the freedom of the individual has been classed as a crime in Egypt, while since 1898 the slave-trade, with the defeat of the Mahdist movement which had revived it in the Sudan, has been no more than an infrequent and clandestine phenomenon.

It was again the British who attacked, with notable persistence, one of the most productive sources of Muslim slavery: that of east Africa. The traffic there, by land and sea, had assumed terrifying proportions since Sa'īd, the Imam of Mascot, had succeeded in gaining a foothold on the coast of Africa, at the beginning of the 19th century. The stages through which English diplomatic activity passed are symptomatic: in 1822, after ten years of parleying, Sa'īd consented merely to forbid his subjects to export slaves outside the maritime lane joining Africa to Oman; in 1845, he prohibited the export of slaves from Africa to Arabia and beyond, while at the same time insisting on the lawfulness of the import of slaves and of the slave-traffic within African territory. His son Barghash, sultan of Zanzibar, was to go further, in consequence of Sir Bartle Frere's famous mission to him: by the treaty of 3 June 1873 he prohibited the maritime traffic and the public slave-markets; then, in 1876, he declared the traffic by land illegal (see R. Coupland,



*East Africa and its Invasions*, Oxford 1938; *idem*, *The Exploitation of East Africa*, London 1939; if this did not stop it immediately, it was at any rate a considerable embarrassment for the trade. Next, under the British protectorate, a decree of the sultan in 1897 granted their freedom to any slaves who should ask for it, and forbade the courts to concede the claims of slave-owners. On 6 July 1909, a final decree abolished the status of slave in its entirety. The same thing had happened two years before in British East Africa (now Kenya), against an indemnity to be paid to the owners (the matter was settled in 1916).

It is safe to say that, towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the export of negroes was at a very low ebb. We may add that Persia, one of the receiving countries, had also publicly renounced this trade in her 1882 treaty with England, and her newly-created National Assembly adopted in Oct. 1907 a "fundamental law" in favour of individual freedom (R. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1909, 210); if slavery was not suppressed by these measures, it did suffer a severe blow. In Africa itself, the greater part of the vast zone where-in the Muslim slave held sway, extending from the Atlantic to Wadai, east of Lake Chad, was conquered piecemeal and occupied by France; this has been followed by the almost complete disappearance of the slave-trade from this immense area and slavery has been abolished almost everywhere within it. Italy, the latest comer of the colonial powers, conducted an identical policy in the territories she administered in the east (Somaliland, Eritrea) and north (Tripolitania, Cyrenaica) of the continent. But the last independent state in Africa, Ethiopia, still governed by a Christian dynasty, rejected (despite the negro's edicts against the traffic) a notable stronghold of the slavers, facing the Sudan and Arabia and exporting whenever possible; in the provinces, Islamization and the intensification of the slave trade often went hand in hand (Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, 203-4 and *passim*). During the 1924-28 war, the relinquishment of Fezzân by the Italians, who had just taken it from the Turks and its occupation by the Saudis, allowed the traffic to resume much of its activity: a slavemarket was held every week at Murâh (Petragnani, in *L'Italia on Oriente*, Feb. 1923, tr. in *L'Afrique française*, April 1922).

At the end of the first world war, when the victors had visions of organizing the peace and of securing in accordance with their Convention of St. Germain of 10 Sept. 1919, "the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms", long experience gave them advance information on the problems that were bound to be raised by a task of this nature; for the successes that might be hoped for and the resistance that might be expected in Muslim lands. The suppression of the traffic, which had become for the most part clandestine, was a troublesome affair, demanding the use of powerful forces and involving, by sea, the risk of provoking local conflict between nations (France and Great Britain, 1905, in the Indian Ocean). Yet making an end of the trade does not mean putting a stop to slavery or to the transfer of slaves from one owner to another. For official abolition, it is not always easy to secure under a protectorate; nor is it always equivalent in practice to positive and immediate suppression.

The fact is that, if slavery is such a firmly-rooted institution in certain Islamic countries, it is due far more to social conservatism than to a collective

economic need. We established above that the part played by slave-labour in those lands is rarely essential for productive work. This explains why an abolitionist policy, so long as it is not applied too high-handedly, provokes no serious disturbance there, nor any violent reaction. The prevailing wish in the minds of slave-owners is to enjoy the comfort afforded by having a large domestic staff, kept under strict control; from which, moreover, lawful concubines may be recruited. They have on their side not only the tacit consent of the majority of their slaves but also an extensive public opinion and the religious tradition of Islam. The domestic slave is in his master's power through fear and respect, through self-interest, through affection. We must bear in mind that he is generally well-treated; we may reflect that he lives in a family atmosphere, without thought for the morrow. To the slave-woman, concubinage offers, besides various advantages for herself and her children, the chance of an ascent in the social scale, of which an untimely emancipation would rob her. Even when freed, the slave is often likely to remain close to his master. If he has procured his freedom against the latter's wishes, or if he has been snatched from the claws of the slaver, he is woefully without resources in a hostile environment, unless he benefits by the special measures which governments ought to take—and which they have occasionally taken—with a view to his social readjustment.

The fact, brought out in the Kur'an, that slavery is in principle lawful, satisfies religious scruples. Total abolition might even seem a reprehensible innovation, contrary to the letter of the holy Book and the exemplary practice of the first Muslims. Nevertheless, contact with the realities of the modern world and its ideology began to bring about a discernible evolution in the thought of many educated Muslims before the end of the 19th century. They may be fond of emphasizing that Islam has, on the whole, bestowed an exceptionally favourable lot on the victims of slavery. Yet they are ready to see that this institution, which is linked to one particular social order, has outlived its day. The reformer Sayyid Ahmad Khân in India, goes so far as to maintain, in a special work, *Thâbit al-Ghulam*, which appeared in 1895, translated into Arabic in 1895, that the Kur'an (xlii, 4) forbade the making of new slaves (Baljon, *The Reforms... of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khân*, Leiden 1949, 28-29). Without going so far, his illustrious compatriot, All al-Sayid al-Sayid, London, 1st ed. 1933; ed. 1935, 262) includes slavery among the pre-Islamic practices which Islam only tolerated through temporary necessity, while virtually abolishing them: man-made laws were later to complete the abrogation of it, which could not have been done formerly by a sudden and total emancipation (cf. the Egyptian Arab and Châfî, in his *Le savant, le langage et le poète de son musulman*, Cairo 1891, 2nd ed. 1938). This thesis gradually found its way, to a varying extent, into the circle of the *Ulamâ* (for the school of Muhammad 'Abdûl, see *Tafsîr al-Mandîr*, xi, 288 ff.), already open to the older arguments of the Tunisian muftis, which were more restrained and more legalistic. But slowly, by the new gains of the *Wahhâbîs* of Arabia, those uncompromising restorers of the sunna of the Prophet; up to the present day they have vigorously maintained their downright antagonism towards abolition.

The League of Nations, from the very outset of its work, displayed an active interest in all problems

relating to slavery. This interest was notably expressed in the adoption of the international Geneva Convention of 25 Sept. 1926, in which the legal definition of slavery is formulated ("status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised"), which squares with the concepts of Muslim law and the signatories pledge themselves "to bring about, progressively and as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery". One by one, almost all the States concerned adhered to this Convention, but not Saudi Arabia or the Yaman. From then on, a consultative committee of experts worked indefatigably, gathering official returns (some of which, furnished mainly by the British and Italian governments, are highly instructive) and publishing copious reports. Legal measures multiplied, independently of this international organization as well as under its aegis. Abolition came as a matter of course in the new Turkish Republic, which repudiated every trace of Muslim law, as in the Levant territories severed from the old Ottoman empire and directly administered by France or Great Britain. In Egypt, the 1923 Constitution confirmed the guarantee of individual liberty. One after another, Afghanistan (1923, 1931), Iraq (1924), Kalât (1926), Persia (Iran) and Transjordan (1929) suppressed the legal status of slave. Bahrain followed suit in 1937.

In Africa, an order of 1922, coupled with penal sanctions in 1926, abolished slavery in Tanganyika (the former German East Africa) under British mandate; the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan took steps, as far-sighted as they were vigorous, to put an end by degrees to the vestiges of the traffic and to assist the freed slaves. In Northern Nigeria, under British administration, abolition, which began in 1907 and suffered a momentary check towards 1935 from a new offensive on the part of the trade, was accomplished by an order of 1936. In Morocco, a circular from the French Protectorate administration in 1922 suppressed public slave-dealing and granted their freedom to all who should ask for it. The pacification of the Sahara frontiers of Morocco by the French army, round about 1930, made it possible to put an end to what remained of the traffic in negroes. The Italians resumed Fezzân in 1929 and secured respect once more for abolition. Finally, Ethiopia showed evidence of good will: edicts of 1923, 1924, and 1931 forbade the capture of free persons or the disposal of slaves, while ordering many of them to be freed. A move was made to carry out these measures; enfranchisement officers were set up, from August 1932. The undertaking was immense and difficult. The Italians hurried things up by their armed intervention; they abolished slavery in Ethiopia by a decree of 12 April 1936.

The sole remaining resort of slavery was Arabia (outside the British colony of Aden). But it was there that, even in Arabia, European and particularly British persistence with the local authorities was not without effect. King Ibn Sa'ûd, master of the Hijâz and Najd, had abolished the customs-duty formerly levied on the import of slaves by the *shâir* Huwayn; in 1927 he officially confirmed to the British legation at Jidda a general right to manumit all slaves who claimed their freedom (those who refused 150 of them between 1930 and 1935). Great Britain renounced this right the day following the promulgation in Saudi Arabia of the regulation on slavery of 2 Oct. 1936, which forbade the import of slaves by sea (the reason being that the religious law prohibits the capture or purchase of subjects of coun-

tries to which one is bound by treaty; but this same regulation declares servile status to be lawful and organizes it according to the strict letter of Muslim law; see Nallino, *Scritti*, I, 43, 124-5 and *Appendice*). In Feb. 1934, the Imam of the Yaman entered upon an undertaking with Great Britain to prohibit the entry of slaves coming from Africa. From the sultans and *shaykhs* of the southern coast (Eastern Aden Protectorate) and the Persian Gulf, Britain obtained similar decisions, reinforcing any made previously. A further step forward was taken in March 1935, when the sultan of Lahij forbade all sale of slaves. In 1938, two sultans of the Hadramaut and the *shaykh* of Kuwait declared all traffic in slaves to be illegal, and authorized slaves to claim their liberty (v. H. Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles*, London 1942, 349-50; and U. N. Economic and Social Council, *Official Records*, Sept. 1951, 644).

Under cover of the second World War (1939-45) there seems to have been some retrogression, with a small-scale resumption of the trade, particularly in certain Ethiopian provinces. At the time of writing, it is usually acknowledged that there is practically no transport of slaves any longer from Africa to Arabia. Nevertheless the legal status of slave persists in the peninsula. It is evidently the example of the neighbouring independent states of Saudi Arabia and the Yaman that prevents Britain from increasing her pressure on the states which her control with a view to total abolition. Other considerations, no doubt, keep France from having slavery abolished by law in Morocco, where there are in any case only mild survivals in the cities or the southern oases (see, for the bend of the Dra, Dj. Jacques Meunier, in *Hesperis* 1947, 410-2); resistance to a finalisation does not come from the class of *ulamâ* (for the present-day legal aspect, see *Gazette des Tribunaux du Maroc*, 1944, 5-7; and *Revue Marocaine de Droit*, 1952, 154-6; 183-5). In the Sahara, the French administration which as early as 1916 deprived the Tuareg of their agricultural slaves, took their house slaves away from them in 1946 (R. Capot-Rey, *Le Sahara français*, Paris 1953, 288-9). The United Nations Organization (U.N.O.), in its possession, in its constitution of Oct. 1951, laid down as a principle the personal liberty of its subjects.

The United Nations Organization (U.N.O.), the moral heir of the League of Nations, has resumed the study of slavery and has condemned it, in no uncertain terms, in its "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" adopted by the General Assembly on 10 Dec. 1948 (though not ratified by every State: "Art. 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude. Slavery and the slave trade are prohibited in all their forms". An *ad hoc* Committee on Slavery, under the Economic and Social Council, is proceeding with enquiries by means of questionnaires addressed to governments and recognized associations (Saudi Arabia and the Yaman, both members of U.N.O., have not replied) and is proposing concerted solutions. Its Report of 4 May 1951 (ref. E/1958) advocates making a start by abolishing the legal status of slave and demands that every State concerned should assist emancipated slaves to fashion a new life for themselves. As yet no resolution has been passed by the United Nations, who are divided on this point as on so many others and are far more preoccupied with the serious forms of servitude which continue to exist, or have come into existence in the world of today, than with the last vestiges of Muslim slavery, which are doubtless bound to disappear quietly in the reasonably near future.



**Bibliography:** In addition to the references in the text: J. H. Harris, *A Century of Emancipation*, London 1933; H. H. Wilson, in *American Journal of International Law*, 1930, 505-26; United Nations, *The Suppression of Slavery*, New York, July 1951 (19th century documents, and League of Nations bibliography). It is also essential to consult the *Transactions of the Anti-Slavery Society*, the publications of the League of Nations (*Official Journal and Reports*, those latter classified in the above-mentioned U.N. pamphlet) and of U.N. *Reports of the Committee on Slavery*, and *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council*; cf. *United Nations Bulletin*, 15 April 1950 and 15 May 1951. (R. Buxenbaum)

'ABD ALLĀH B. AL-'ABBĀS (frequently Ibn 'Abbās, without the article), Abu 'Abbās, called al-Hibr 'the doctor' or al-Bahr 'the sea', because of his doctrine, is considered one of the greatest scholars, if not the greatest, of the first generation of Muslims. He was the father of Kuf'anic exegesis, at a time when it was necessary to bring the Qur'ān into accord with the new demands of a society which had undergone a profound transformation, he appears to have been extremely skilled in accomplishing this task.

He was born three years before the hijra, when the Hāshimī family was living shut up in 'the Ravine' (al-Zā'ib), and as his mother had become a Muslim before the hijra, he also was regarded as a Muslim.

From his youth he showed a strong inclination towards accurate scholarly research, in so far as such a conception was possible at that time. We know indeed that the idea soon occurred to him to gather information concerning the Prophet by questioning his Companions. While still young, he became a master, around whom thronged people desirous to learn. Proud of his knowledge, which was not based only on memory, but also on a large collection of written notes, he gave public lectures, or rather classes, keeping to a sort of programme, according to the days of the week, on different subjects: interpretation of the Qur'ān, judicial questions, Muhammad's expeditions, pre-Islamic history, ancient poetry. It is because of his habit of quoting lines in support of his explanations of phrases or words of the Qur'ān that ancient Arabic poetry acquired, for Muslim scholars, its acknowledged importance. His competence having been recognized, he was asked for *fatāwā* (especially famous is his authorization of male marriage, which he later had to vindicate). The Kuf'anic explanations of Ibn 'Abbās were soon brought together in special collections, of which the *ṣaḥīḥ* go back to one of his immediate pupils (Fihrist, 33); his *fatāwā* were also collected; today there exist numerous manuscripts and several editions of a *fatāwā* or *fatāwā* which are attributed to him (whether rightly or wrongly cannot be said, as no study of this material has yet been made (Goldfischer, *Richtungen*, 70; cf. also Bröckelmann, I, 499, S. 4, 331).

The importance of the role played by Ibn 'Abbās in the political and military events of his time should not be exaggerated, as his Muslim biographers have tended to do, influenced by the fact that he was the grandfather of the 'Abbāsids. He followed the Muslim armies in several campaigns: into Egypt (between 18 and 21 H.), into Ifrīkiya (27 H.), into Ġurġān and Tabaristān (30 H.), and, much later (49 H.), he accompanied 'Uyayyid on his expedition against Constantinople (with 'Abd Allāh b.

'Umar b. al-Qaṭṭāb). At the battles of the Camel (36 H.) and of Siffin (37 H.), he commanded a wing of 'Alī's troops. For want of resounding exploits and important offices to record, Ibn 'Abbās is presented to us later, by his biographers, as a counsellor whom the caliphs 'Umar and 'Uthmān valued highly, and as a counsellor too—unfortunately little heeded—of 'Alī and his son al-Ḥusayn. The truth is that Ibn 'Abbās did not enter political life until after 'Alī came to power, and took an active part in it for only three or four years at the most. A single official mission had been, in fact, entrusted to him by 'Uthmān, that of conducting the pilgrimage to Mecca the year the caliph was beset in his house at Medina. It was for this reason that Ibn 'Abbās was not in the capital at the time of the assassination of 'Uthmān. When he returned some days later, he paid homage to 'Alī. From that time he was charged with important missions and, after the occupation of Basra (36 H.), appointed governor of that town. He was one of the signatories of the convention of Siffin (37 H.), which handed over to two arbitrators the task of settling the quarrel between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, and in a discussion with the Ḥārūrīs (see ḤARŪRĀ) he pleaded in support of the legal validity of that arbitration. But the relations between Ibn 'Abbās and the caliph suddenly became strained, with the result that Ibn 'Abbās withdrew to Mecca, abandoning his post of government, and that 'Alī no longer regarded him as his representative at Basra. The sources assign different dates to this defection of Ibn 'Abbās: 38, 39, 40, but there is good reason to believe that it took place in 38 H. (it is possible to follow the movements of Ibn 'Abbās during that year, and in the succeeding years he no longer appears in the regular traditions which assert that Ibn 'Abbās was consistently faithful until the death of the caliph are not worthy of credence. What were the reasons for the defection? Some Arabic sources say that Ibn 'Abbās took offence because 'Alī reproached him for defalcations which he was alleged to have committed as governor; but the true motive of his relinquishment of office, which coincided with that of many other supporters of 'Alī, has to be related to other much more important events of the period: the massacre of the Khirjites at al-Nahrawān, which Ibn 'Abbās, according to certain men, had stigmatised, and the false position of 'Alī, who maintained his claim to be caliph when, according to the verdict of the arbitrators, he was no longer recognized as such by the majority of Muslims.

Later, Ibn 'Abbās took a step which one might be tempted to judge severely, were it not that the precise circumstances are completely unknown: he carried off the provincial funds of Basra, probably when he returned to the town some time after his defection. Was this seizure criminal? When one observes that this act did not diminish the esteem in which Ibn 'Abbās was held by the Muslim community, one may suppose that there were some fairly valid motives to justify it. Similarly, the events in which Ibn 'Abbās was involved immediately after the death of 'Alī are far from clear. Al-Ḥasan appointed him general of his troops, but Ibn 'Abbās established contact with Mu'āwiyah: whether on his own initiative or at the invitation of al-Ḥasan is obscure; perhaps it was he who successfully brought about the agreement between the two claimants to the Caliphate; he maintained that, as a reward for his good offices, Mu'āwiyah had recognized his right to appropriate the money which he had seized (part

of the treasury of Basra). All these machinations of Ibn 'Abbās seemed to certain *ṣaḥāb*'s incompatible with the dignity of such a personage; and so they transferred them, obviously wrongly, to his brother, 'Ubayy Allāh. During the long reign of Mu'āwiyah, Ibn 'Abbās lived in the Hijaz; he went fairly frequently to the Damascus court, mainly, it seems, to defend the interests of the Ḥāshimīs, which were also his own.

The troubled events of the years which followed the deaths of the first and second Umayyads brought Ibn 'Abbās once again, perhaps against his will, on to the political scene. Although the information which we possess is fragmentary, it can be deduced from it that 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, having raised the standard of revolt at Mecca, became violently incensed with Ibn 'Abbās, who, with the son of 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, refused to recognise him as caliph. Both were banished from Mecca; in 64, the year of the siege of the town, they returned, but they persisted in their opposition to Ibn al-Zubayr, with unfortunate results: they were imprisoned. Al-Muḥallab informed of their dangerous situation, sent from Kūfa a large troop of horse, which delivered them by a surprise attack. It was thanks to Ibn 'Abbās that on that occasion bloodshed was avoided in the holy city. Under the protection of this troop, the liberated men went to Mīna, then to al-Madīna, where Ibn 'Abbās died some time later (68/69-8).

The verdicts which Caetani and Lammens have given on Ibn 'Abbās are in contrast to the respect which Muslims of all periods have shown him. But Caetani's arguments can easily be disproved by fair and careful criticism (it is especially important not to confuse accounts from Muslim biblical history with the *ḥadīṥ* concerning the Prophet), and grave doubts can be cast on the resemblance to the original of the portrait sketched by Lammens.

**Bibliography:** Biographies by Arab authors (numerous, but often repeat the same information, and mainly concerned with Ibn 'Abbās's scholarly activity): Ibn Sa'd, II/2, 319-25, 325; IV/2, 4; V, 74-5, 216-7, 231 and Index; Balādhurī, *Anṣab*, ms. Paris, I<sup>re</sup>, 2147-731v; 448b-451v; 723; Kaṣṣabī, *Ma'rifa al-Ḥabīb al-Riḍā*, 203b; 204b; 36-42; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *Uṣṭ*, Cairo 1286, II, 192-5; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djauzī, *Mir'at al-Zamān*, ms. Paris Ar. 6131, I<sup>re</sup>, 187v-190v; Ḥabībī, *Ma'rifa al-Kurān*, ms. Paris Anc. F. 742 — Cat. 2084, I<sup>re</sup>, 5v-6; Ibn Ḥaḡgar, *Iṣṭab*, Calcutta 1850-93, II, 802-13, no. 9149; id., *Tahḍīb al-Tahḍīb*, Hyderabad 1325-7, v, no. 474; Ḥaḡḡīl Khilāfi, d. (no. 3175), 456 (no. 3706); IV, 363 (no. 8299); VI, 425 (no. 14179); on I. 'A. as for or against writing: I, 79; II, 144.

Information about I. 'A. as politician and warrior in all the chronicles and historians who have dealt with the earliest Islamic history. E.g. Naṣr b. Muḥabib al-Minkarī, *Waṣā'if Siffin*, pub. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥ. Ḥiriri, Cairo 1365, Index; Tabarī, I, 305f, (cf. 301f, 304f etc.), 309f, 314f, 316f, (cf. 322-30), 318f, 327f, 328f, 335f, 335f-9, 336f, 339f, 3370, 3413, 3419, 3431, 3449, 3453-6; II, 2, 86, 176, 222, 273-5; and Index; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, IV, 9, 105-6, and Index; information also in the books of *adab*: e.g. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿAdab*, II, 295-7, 301, 323-4 and Index in Mohammed Shafi, *Analytical indices to the K. al-ʿAḡd*, Calcutta 1935-7; Maʿūdī, *Murājiʿ*, IV, 228-30, 229-303, 330, 327, 353-4, 382, 390, 392, 410, 451; V, 8 59q, 19,

106-113, 121-5, 129-31, 175, 177-9, 184-5, 187-8, 231-3 and Index.

Other references in Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 68 a.H., par. 28.

Modern authors: A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, Berlin, 1869, I, XVII; III, CVI et seq.; L. Willmann, *Das arabische Reich*, Berlin 1902, 69-70; id., *Reise arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin 1887-97, 12 et seq.; Caetani, *Annali*, Indices; vols ix and x *passim*; particularly I, Intr. par. 24-5 and 38 a.H., par. 219-27; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Omayyade Mu'awia 1<sup>er</sup>*, Index; L. Goldfischer, *Richtungen der islamischen Koranexegese*, Leiden 1920, 63-81 and Index; L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *Il conflitto 'Alī-Mu'awia e la successione kharijita ricaminali alla luce di fonti abidite*, in *Annali Ist. Univ. Or. Napoli*, N.S., IV, *passim*, especially 75-6. (L. VECCHIA VAGLIERI)

'ABD ALLĀH B. 'ABD AL-KĀDIR (Malay pronunciation: Abdullah bin Abdulkadir), surnamed Munsji, i.e. teacher of languages, was "the greatest innovator in Malay letters" (R. O. Winstedt, *A history of Malay literature*, JMBRAS, 1940, ch. XII). He was born in 1756 in Malacca, where his grandfather, the son of Ḥayyāh 'Abd al-Kādir, who came originally from Yaman, had settled. At an early age, 'Abd Allāh received lessons in Malay from his father, who is said to have been an expert Malay scholar, and endeavoured to make himself fully master of this language by reading Malay writings and by associating with educated Malays. As he learned foreign languages and continually came into contact with Europeans, as for instance, Farquhar, Raffles, and the missionaries Milne, Morrison and Thomson, his culture increased regularly.

Shortly after the founding of Singapore (1819), he established himself in that town and earned his living in many different ways. He acted as an interpreter, gave lessons in Malay, wrote letters, and assisted the American missionaries North, Keasberry and others in translating mission books and school books.

In 1818 he published at Singapore under the title *Baḥār al-Khaṣṣ Pō-lay-an Abdullah bin Abdulkadir, Munsji, dari Singapura ka-Kalantan*, a description of a journey to the Malay States on the east coast of the Peninsula of Malacca, giving most important information concerning them. This book inaugurated a new and free Malay prose style; its author may be considered a pioneer of the literary movement which, conditioned by authors of the 19th century, ultimately led to the development of Malay into the national language of Indonesia.

'Abd Allāh's principal work is the *Hikayat Abdullah*, his Memoirs, in which *inter alia* he mentions politically important personages such as Farquhar and Raffles (whose secretary he was), and emphasizes the advantages of a European administration over an Indian one, even though he at the same time sharply criticizes the administrative measures of the English and Dutch. The work was finished in 1843 and lithographed with a few additions in 1849. Some copies of this first edition have an English dedication to Governor Butterworth, in which the work is called a "laudable attempt to revive Malay literature". In his Memoirs 'Abd Allāh mentions several works written by him. Among these is a poem describing a fire in Singapore, in which the author lost all his possessions. It was entitled *Shair Singapura dimakan api* and printed in Malay as well as in Latin characters (1843). The MS. described in the catalogues under this title do not contain this



poem, but a similar one, entitled *Ska'ir Kampong Gilan terharu*, published after a fire in 1847.

The periodical *Cérmin Mala* contains some contributions by 'Abd Allāh. He died in 1854 during a pilgrimage to Mecca, shortly after his arrival in that city. The notes of his voyage as far as Jidda were published in *Cérmin Mala*.

Besides these original works 'Abd Allāh translated the Tamil redaction of *Pandulanta* (a collection of Indian fables) into Malay under the title *Hikayat Pandita Tandiran*, and edited the Malay Chronicles (*Silsilah Melayu*).

**Bibliography:** R. O. Winstedt's work cited above; *Pelayaran ka-Kilantan*, 1st ed., Singapore 1858 (Arab. char. and romanized side by side); 2nd ed., *ibid.*, 1852 (lit.); reprinted in *Malaisie Leeboek*, 4de stukje, by J. Pijnappel, Leiden 1855 (2nd ed. 1872); ed. H. C. Klinkert, Leiden 1885 (together with *Pelayaran ka-Djoudj*; with notes) and romanized by R. Bruns Middel, Leiden 1893; Malay Literature Series 2 (in 2 vols.), Singapore 1907, 1909 (roman. ed. and ed. in Arab. char.) and reprints; translations: French by E. Dulaurier, Paris 1850 (with notes); Dutch by J. J. de Hollander (*de Gids* 1851, abridged); Javanese, Batavia 1883; English by A. E. Coope, Singapore 1909 (with notes); *Ska'ir Singapura terharu*: P. Favre, *L'incendie de Singapour, en Malaisie Or.*, *Publ. Le. Langues Or. Yin*, 1885 (translated into Malay char. from the romanized text printed in 1843); *Ska'ir Kampong Gilan terharu*, 1st ed. lith. on a scroll of paper, Singapore 1847; romanized in a collection of Malay poems, often printed (3rd ed., Singapore 1887); *Hikayat Abdullah*, 1st ed., Singapore 1849 (autogr.); 2nd ed. for the R. As. Soc., Singapore 1860; ed. H. C. Klinkert, Leiden 1884 (with a facs. of notes); ed. W. G. Shellabear, Malay Literature Series 4 (2 vols.), Singapore 1907, 1908 (rom. and Arab. ed.); English trans. by J. T. Thomson, London 1874; by W. G. Shellabear, Singapore 1918; Dutch (abridged) by G. Nimmann (*TNI*, 1854); ed. C. Hooykaas, *Over Maleische Literatuur*, 2nd ed., 1947, 101 ff.; *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah dari Singapura sampai ke-Mekah*, all editions incomplete (*Cérmin Mala*, Singapore 1853; Batavia 1866; Klinkert's edition, romanized in *BP*, 1911, 1920); copy of the complete MS. in Leiden Univ. Libr. (MS. Klinkert 63); Dutch trans. by Klinkert, *RTLV* 1867; *Hikayat Pandita Tandiran*, finished 1835; 1st ed. lith. Singapore, n.d.; 2nd ed. Singapore 1868; ed. H. N. v. d. Tuuk, *Malaisie Leeboek*, VI (notes), Leiden 1866, 1875, 1881; romanized ed. by C. A. van Ophuyven, Leiden 1913; Dutch trans. by H. C. Klinkert, *Zalmbom* 1871; Javanese, Batavia 1878; *Silsilah Melayu*, Singapore n.d. (after 1813); mutilated re-edition by H. C. Klinkert, Leiden 1884; the Singapore edition is also the basis of Dulaurier's and Shellabear's editions; *Hikayat Dunsu*, n.d. (History of Asia and Africa); *Hikayat Raja Melayu*, *Silsilah Dunsu*, Singapore 1856 (geography). (C. A. VAN OPHUYVEN—P. VOORHOEVE)

'ABD ALLĀH b. 'ABD AL-MALIK b. MARWĀN, son of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (q.v.), was born about the year 60/680-1, perhaps some what earlier, as he is said to have been 27 years old in the year 85/704. He grew up in Damascus and accompanied his father in several campaigns. We first meet him as an independent general in the year 81/700-1, in one of the usual *razzas* against the Eastern Romans. Then in the year 82/701-2, he was sent with Muhammad b. Marwān to help

al-Hadīdī against al-Ash'ath and played a part in the negotiations of Dayr al-Djāmidj. Thereupon he again led expeditions against the Eastern Romans, and in the year 84/703-4 conquered al-Masyia, which he converted into a military camp. After the death of his uncle 'Abd al-Azīz b. Marwān, he was appointed governor of Egypt in the year 85/704. On 11 Djumādī II he made his entry into Fustāt. He was to wipe out all traces of 'Abd al-Azīz, and therefore changed all the officials. His administration left a bad record in the tradition, because he accepted bribes and embezzled public moneys. The only really important achievement of his rule was the introduction of the Arabic language into the *diwān* of the capital. His administration gave offence in Damascus; in the year 88/706-7 he made there a passing visit, and in 90/708-9 he was definitely recalled. He departed to Syria with many presents, but they were taken from him in the province of al-Urdun by order of the caliph. Thereupon he disappeared from the political arena. Only al-Ya'qūbi has the information that he was executed when the 'Abbāsids came to power. He is said to have been crucified by al-Saffāh in the year 132/749-50 in al-Ura.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Taghribirdī, I, 232 ff.; Makrīfī, *Khatā'i*, I, 98, 302; F. Wustenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten*, I, 38 ff.; Tabarī, II, 1047, 1073 ff.; 1127, 1165; al-Buhārī, IV, 377 ff., 398, 400; Wellhausen, in *NGW-Ges.*, 1901, fasc. 1, 29; Ya'qūbi, II, 414, 416; *Papiri* (Schott-Reinhardt), I, 13 f., 28 f.

'ABD ALLĀH b. 'ABD AL-MUTTALIB b. B. Hāshim of Quraysh, father of the prophet Muhammad. The earliest and most reliable sources give little information about him. His mother was Fatima bint 'Amr b. M. Muḥsin, al-Kalbi places his birth in the 24th year of the reign of Anḍirīyah (534), but he is usually said to have been twenty-five when he died (? 570). According to a well-known story, picturesque but probably with little factual basis, 'Abd al-Muttalib vowed that, if he had ten sons who reached maturity, he would sacrifice one; he attained this and selected 'Abd Allāh by lot, but the event took place 100 camels later. His marriage to Āmina bint Wabb has been much embellished in legend. It may have marked an alliance between 'Abd al-Muttalib and Āmina's clan, B. Zuhrā, as he himself married a woman of this clan at the same time. During a trading expedition 'Abd Allāh fell ill and died at Medina among the clan of his father's mother, B. 'Ad b. 'Adīdīr, being buried in Dīr al-Nihāda. His death took place either shortly before Muhammad's birth or a few months after; the word "orphan" in R. xcii, 6, doubtless refers to Muhammad's early loss of his parents.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, 97-102; Ibn Sa'd, I, 53-61; Tabarī, I, 907, 979-80, 1074-81; Caetani, *Annali*, I, 507, 118-20. (W. MOHRGEBY-WATT)

'ABD ALLĀH b. 'ABD ISHĀK al-Mansūrī, grammarian and poet (d. 29-9). He is said to have extended the use of inductive reasoning (*hiyal*) and the detail is handed down that in case of doubt he opted for the accusative (*naḥb*). Nothing else is known about him beyond the facts that, being of

non-Arabic origin himself, he felt some hostility towards the Arabs, and that he was the object of a stinging riposte by al-Farazdaq, whose mistakes he had pointed out.

**Bibliography:** The fundamental passage of al-Djūmālī, *Tabakāt*, ed. Hell, 6-8 is partly reproduced by Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 25; Zuhayrī, *Tabakāt*, ed. Krenkow, in *RSO*, 1919, 117; Sīdī, *Aḥbāb al-Nahwīyyīn*, ed. Krenkow, 21-23; Abū Ḥārīr, *Nash*, 22-5; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Kurra*, no. 1747; Suyūṭī, *Mashrūf*, II, 247; G. Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, 29; cf. also Fākrīdī, 9, 30, 41, 42; *Aghānī*, XI, 106. (CH. PELLAT)

'ABD ALLĀH b. AHMAD [see 'ABDĪD].

'ABD ALLĀH b. AHMAD b. HANBAL [see AHMAD b. HANBAL].

'ABD ALLĀH b. 'ALLI, uncle of the caliph Abū l-'Abbās al-Saffāh and Abū l-Djāfar al-Mansūrī. 'Abd Allāh was one of the most active participants in the struggle of the 'Abbāsids against the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II. He was commander-in-chief in the decisive battle at the Greater Zab, where Marwān lost his crown, and when the latter took to flight, 'Abd Allāh pursued him, quickly captured Damascus and marched on to Palestine, whence he had the fugitive caliph pursued to Egypt. He was even more implacable than his brother Dā'ūd b. 'Alli in waging war on the members of the Umayyad house, and shrank from no method to exterminate them root and branch. During his stay in Palestine, he had about eighty of them murdered at one time. Such cruelties naturally caused ill-will against the new ruler, and a dangerous rebellion in Syria broke out under the leadership of Abū Muhammad, a descendant of Mu'āwīya I, and Abū l-Ward b. al-Kawthar, the governor of Kinaasar. The rebels at first inflicted a defeat on the 'Abbāsī troops, but were beaten by 'Abd Allāh in 132/750 at Marj al-Aḥram. As governor of Syria, 'Abd Allāh later threatened the safety of the new dynasty. After the death of al-Saffāh he made claims to the Caliphate, which he could base on his important services in the war against the Umayyads, and on the promise he claimed to have received from al-Saffāh. Moreover he had at his disposal a considerable army, which in reality he was to lead against the Byzantines. When he learned that the powerful governor of Khurāsān, Abū Muslim, had declared for the caliph al-Mansūr and was marching against him, he is said to have killed 17,000 Khurāsānians in his army, because he feared they would never fight against Abū Muslim, and with his remaining troops proceeded against the latter. He was, however, in Djumādī II 137/Nov. 754 defeated at Nisibin and had to flee to his brother Saḥmān, the governor of Basra. After a couple of years, the latter was dismissed, and 'Abd Allāh was arrested by order of the caliph al-Mansūr. He remained some seven years in prison, then in the year 147/764 he was taken into a house that had been purposely undermined; it fell down on him and buried him under the ruins. At his death he is said to have been 52 years old.

**Bibliography:** Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Tawālīf* (Guirgass), Ya'qūbi, *Nash*, 29; *Tabakāt*; *Mas'ūdī*, *Murājīj*, indexes; *Aghānī*, Tables; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (de Goije and de Jong), *passim*; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabishe Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 341-5; L. Caetani, *Chronographica Islamica*, Rome 1912, under the relevant years; L. Caetani, G. Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, Rome 1913, 731; L. Caetani, *Chronologia generale del bacino*

*mediterraneo*, Rome 1923, under the relevant years; S. Moscati, *Le massacre des Umayyades*, in *Archiv Orientalni*, 1950, 88-115.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN—S. MOSCATI)

'ABD ALLĀH b. 'AMIR, governor of Basra, was born in Mecca in 4/626. He belonged to the Qurayshite clan of 'Abd Shams and was a maternal cousin of the caliph 'Uḡlman. In 29/649-50 he was appointed by 'Uḡlman to the governorship of Basra, in succession to Abū Mīnā al-Ash'arī, and immediately took the field in Fars, completing the conquest of that province by the capture of Istāḡhīr, Darābīdī and Dījūr (Fīrūzābād). In 30-31/651 he advanced into Khurāsān, defeated the Ephthalites, and occupied the whole province up to Marw, Balkh and (in 32/653) Marḥ. After making the Pilgrimage, during which he distinguished himself by lavish munificence to the Meccans and Ansār, he returned to Basra, leaving the government of Khurāsān in the hands of deputies. In 35/656 he attempted in vain to support 'Uḡlman, and subsequently assisted 'Aḡhā, Tāhī and al-Zubayr in organizing the resistance to 'Alli at Basra. After their defeat in the Battle of the Camel he took refuge with a man of the Banū Hukaym and made his way to Damascus, where he joined Mu'āwīya. In 41/661 he was one of Mu'āwīya's delegates to treat with al-Hasan b. 'Alli, and at the end of the same year he was re-appointed to the governorship of Basra. In 42-43/662-3 his lieutenants reconquered Khurāsān and Sijidān, which had been lost to the Arabs during the civil war, and an expedition was sent into Sind. But his lenience towards the tribesmen appeared too dangerous to Mu'āwīya, who replaced him in 44/664 by a more energetic governor; thereafter Ibn 'Aḡhar appears to have lived in retirement until his death at Mecca in 49/668, or in 57 or 58.

'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir was celebrated not only for his military abilities, but also for his generosity and other personal qualities and especially for his numerous public works. Among these were the construction of two canals at Basra and the canal of Ubulla, plantations in al-Nihādī and Karyatayn, and improved water supplies for the pilgrims at 'Araḥa. **Bibliography:** Tabarī, *index*; Ibn Sa'd, 30-3; Ya'qūbi, II, 191-5, etc.; *id.*, *Buldan*, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 51, 315 ff.; *id.*, *Anshāb*, v, index; Muḥ. b. Habib, *al-Muḥabbar*, 150; *Aghānī*, index; *Ta'wīḥ-i Sīdīn*, 79 ff., 90-1; Ibn al-Aḡhīr, *Usd*, III, 191-2; Caetani, *Annali*, xvi; *Chronographica*, 629-30; R. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 12 ff.; J. Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Sasanian Coins* (in the *B.M.*), London 1941, index. (H. A. R. GIBB)

'ABD ALLĀH b. BULUGGĪN b. Bānīs b. Ḥaḥīs b. Zīd, third and last ruler of the kingdom of Granada, of the Sinhādī Berber family of the Banū Zīd (see *afrius* or *spān*). Born in 447/1056, he was appointed at the death of his father Buluggin Sayf al-Dawla, in 456/1065, as the presumptive heir of his grandfather Bānīs b. Ḥaḥīs. He succeeded him on the throne of Granada, while his brother Tamīm al-Mu'izz became independent ruler of Malaga. His reign consisted of a long series of troubles inside his kingdom, of armed conflicts with his Muslim neighbours, and of compromises with Alfonso XI, king of Castile. At the time of the Almoravid intervention in Spain he took part in the battles of al-Zallāka (q.v.) and Alédo, but his negotiation with the Christian king soon cost him his throne. He was besieged in his capital in 483/1090 by Yūsuf b. Tāghūfīn, who was deposed and sent into



forced residence in Aghmāt, in Southern Morocco, where he ended his days.

It was during his exile in Morocco that 'Abd Allāh composed his "Memories", the almost complete text of which was found by the author of the present article in successive fragments, at intervals of several years, in the library of the Dīwān al-Karawīyīn in Fez. This autobiography, called *al-Tibyān 'im al-hāditha al-hāditha bi-dawlat Banī Ziri fī Gharnāta*, is the most considerable and the least deficient document on the history of Spain in the second half of the 11th century. In spite of the long digressions in which the author tries to justify his political position in face of the dangers menacing his kingdom, these "Memories" give a very detailed chronicle of all the events that led in 478/1085 to the taking of Toledo by Alfonso VI, and, in the next year, to the arrival of the Almoravids in the Peninsula. At the same time it is a psychological document of the first order, that interests much better than the chronicles of the Andalusī *ṭawā'if*, the state of social and political decomposition to which Muslim Spain was found at the end of the 11th century, and the progress made by that time by the efforts of the *Reconquista*. The account of the events prior to the reign of the author is also new and important. The "Memories" of 'Abd Allāh must be considered as the guiding thread that allows us to find our bearings through the maze of the history of Muslim Spain at the moment it was about to fall into the power of the North African dynasties.

Several fragments of the *Tibyān* were published, with an annotated translation by the author of this article, in *And.*, 1925, 233-244; 1930, 29-143; 1941, 231-47. The whole of the Arabic text, as well as the first published soon. A Spanish translation, by E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez (*Las "Memorias" de 'Abd Allāh, último rey zirí de Granada*) is due to be published in 1953.

**Bibliography:** The biographical articles about 'Abd Allāh by Ibn 'Udūd and Ibn al-Khātib have been reproduced in *And.*, 1936, 124-7; see also Ibn al-Khātib, *Al-muṣallāh* (ed. Lévi-Provençal), 208-70; Nubāhī, *al-Marḥūm al-'Uyāy* (Lévi-Provençal), 93-4; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1947, indices; idem, *Leyenda las "Memorias" del rey zirí 'Abd Allāh*, *And.*, 1944, 1-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Exp. Mus.*, iv, [E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL].

'ABD ALLĀH b. DJAFAR b. Aḥmad, the father of the caliph 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh's father had gone over to Islam very early, and took part in the emigration of the first believers to Abyssinia, where, according to the common belief, 'Abd Allāh was born. On his mother's side he was a brother of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr; the mother's name was Asmā' bint 'Umayy al-Khāṣṣa. After some years the father returned to Medina taking his son with him. 'Abd Allāh became known chiefly on account of his great generosity, and received the honorific surname of *Bahr al-Djūd*, "the Ocean of Generosity". He appears to have played no very important part in politics, although his name crops up from time to time in history during 'Alī's time and that following. When Mu'āwīya tried to throw suspicion on Kayṣ b. Sa'd, the valiant governor of Egypt, to damage him in 'Alī's eyes, 'Abd Allāh advised the removal of Kayṣ; 'Alī allowed himself to be persuaded and took the fateful step of replacing him by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, who in a very short time brought the whole of Egypt into the greatest confusion. This took place in the year 36/656-7. When in

the year 60/660, after Yazīd's accession, the Shī'ites of Kūfa summoned Husayn b. 'Alī to proceed to that city to have himself proclaimed caliph, 'Abd Allāh amongst others endeavoured to dissuade him from this dangerous enterprise, but without success. The date of 'Abd Allāh's death is generally given as 80 or 85, but 87 and 90 are also recorded.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, i, 324 ff.; ii, 3 ff.; iii, 239 ff.; Ibn al-Aḥlir, iii, 224 ff.; Nawawī, 337 ff.; Ya'qūbī, 6, 67, 209, 331; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, iv, 181, 371 f.; 313, 329, 434; v, 19, 148, 383 ff.; Lammens, *La Mecque et le siècle des califes omayyades*, *Mo'dūna* 1<sup>re</sup>, in *MFOD*, index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

'ABD ALLĀH b. DJAMSH, of Banī Asad b. Khurayma, a confederate (half) of Banī Umayyā of Quraysh. His mother was Umayma bint 'Abd al-Muttalib, Muḥammad's aunt. An early Muslim along with his brothers, 'Ubayd Allāh and Abī Ahmad, he took part with the former in the migration to Abyssinia. 'Ubayd Allāh became a Christian and died there, but 'Abd Allāh returned to Mecca and was the most prominent of a group of confederates, including his sister Zaynab (g.c.), who all migrated to Medina. He led the much-criticized raid to Najd, where Muslims first shed Meccan blood, and fought at Badr. At his death at Umd he was between 40 and 50.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Sa'd, *ḥijr*, 62-4; Ibn al-Aḥlir, *Umd*, iii, 131; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taḥṣīl*, 8 v.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

'ABD ALLĀH b. DJUD'ĀN, KURAYSHITE notable of the clan of Taym b. Murra, at the end of the 6th c. A.D. He acquired such wealth from the slave trade that he possessed one of the largest fortunes in Mecca (Ibn 'Udūd, *Makhsūṣ* (van Vloten), 165; Ibn Rusta, 215; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, vi, 153 ff.; Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, index). He surrounded himself with unusual luxury (being nick-named *hāṣī 'l-dhahab*, because he used to drink from a golden cup), and was the owner of two singing-girls called "Locusts of Ad" (*Durayd*). 'Abd Allāh was married to Umayra b. Abī 'l-Salt. In giving magnificent banquets, he showed a generosity that became proverbial (*Aghānī*, i, vii, 4; *Tha'ālibī*, *Thumār*, 487, in connection with the expression: *djūdān Ibn Djūd'ān*). Thus he won the favour of the poets, but also drew on himself some invectives (al-Djāhiz, *Hayawān*, i, 364; ii, 93). His prestige enabled him to play a central rôle in politics (*Aghānī*, 218, 70), and he seems to have been the promoter of the Meccan confederacy known as *ḥilf al-fudal* (Ibn Hishām, 85; Ya'qūbī, ii, 16; Lammens, *op. cit.*, 54 ff.).

Already before the 3rd/7th c., his unusual wealth, and the wish of the Meccans to explain it otherwise than by the slave trade, gave rise to his identification with the hero of a Yamanite legend, the discoverer of the tomb of Shaddād b. 'Amr (g.c.) (Wahb b. Munabbih, *Tiḏhīn*, 63 ff.). Thus he is represented as a *suḥāb* banished by his clan, wandering in the desert and enriched by a treasure of precious stones and gold which he finds in an old tomb (al-Hamīdī, *Tiḏhīn*, vii, 181-99; al-Damīrī, s.v. *Thāhīb*; al-Djāhiz, *Hayawān*, ed. Sandhu, i, 31). According to an ancient apocryphal tradition, he is buried in a place in Yaman called Birk al-Ghumūd (Yāqūt, i, 589).

**Bibliography:** Add to the references quoted in the art.: Tabarī, i, 1187, 1330; Makdūd, *al-Bad' wa-l-Taḥṣīl*, ed. Huart, iv, 128, v, 103; *Tha'ālibī*, *Thumār*, 539; *Aghānī*, i, vii, 2-6; Ibn Durayd,

*al-Iḥṣān*, 88; Yāqūt, iv, 621; Mas'ūdī, *al-Tamhīl*, 210-1, 201 (trans. Carra de Vaux, 282-4, 381); Shihbī, *al-Matār al-Murjān*, Cairo 1326, 141; Cassin de Perceval, *Essai*, i, 300-31, passim; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms, al-Sobuḥat* ( = *J.A.*, 1907), 661-3; Reischer, *Qalā'id al-Nawādir*, Stuttgart 1909, DO. 101.

(CH. PELLAT)

'ABD ALLĀH b. HAMDĀN (see HAMDĀNĪS). 'ABD ALLĀH b. HAMMĀM al-Salṣālī, Arab poet of the 1st/7th century (he is said to have died after 96/715), who played a political rôle under the Umayyads. He was attacked from 66/680 to Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya, concluded with him upon the death of his father and consanguinity at his accession. He persuaded Yazīd to proclaim his son Mu'āwīya as heir presumptive and later he was the first to greet al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik with the name of caliph (86/705). During the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (65-86/685-705), the only information we have about his activity shows him to have had relations with the Shī'ite agitator al-Mukhtār (g.c.) and his entourage, as well as with the anticaliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (g.c.). To the latter he addressed a poem criticising the conduct of Mu'āh (g.c.), who was in effect temporarily deposed soon afterwards by al-Zubayr (67/686-7).

**Bibliography:** Balādhurī, *Anṣab*, v, index; *Djāhiz*, *Hayawān*, (Holl) 135-6; *Djāhiz*, *Hayawān*, index; idem, *Bayan* (Sandhu), ii, 66, 67; Ibn Kutayba, *Shī'r* (de Goeje), 412-3; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿIḥd*, Cairo 1940, iii, 254 (= iv, 173 = v, 136), 306; vii, 140-7; Abū Tammām, *Hamāsa* (Freytag), 507; Tabarī, ii, 636-42 and passim; Muḥammad, *Kāmil*, 34, 309; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, v, 128, 233-5; *Aghānī*, i, 100-2, 170-5; E. Nallath, *Seeds of Islam*, v, 154 (French transl. 236); H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd 1<sup>re</sup>*, *MFOD*, v, 110, 120; idem, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beyrouth, 1930, 147, 158, 166.

(CH. PELLAT)

'ABD ALLĀH b. HAMZA (see AL-MANṢŪR b. HĀLAM).

'ABD ALLĀH b. HANZALA b. Aḥmad b. 'AMIR al-ANṢĀR, one of the leaders of the revolution that broke out in Medina against the caliph Yazīd I. Posthumous son of a Companion killed at Uhud and surnamed *ḥāṣil al-Malā'ika*, 'Abd Allāh is also known as Ibn al-Ḥāṣil. In 62/682 he took part in the deputa- tion sent to Damascus by the governor of Medina, 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad, to bring about a reconciliation between the Muslims of Medina and the Umayyads. Yazīd showed special consideration for the envoys, but they, nevertheless, spoke ill of the caliph and described him as unfit for the caliphate. Ibn al-Ḥāṣil made himself prominent by his attacks and when the Anṣār openly revolted soon afterwards, it was he who chose as their chief, while 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥ' (g.c.) was in the leadership of the city's Kurayshites. After the Umayyads of Medina had been driven out, the caliph was compelled to punish the rebels by force of arms. About the end of 63/683 he sent troops under the command of Muslim b. 'Ukba, who occupied favourable positions on the Harra, to the east of Medina, and after waiting three days, engaged the Medinese in a bloody battle which ended with the complete defeat of the rebels (Ibn 'Udūd, 63/683). 'Abd Allāh showed remarkable bravery in the battle, but finally fell under the blows of the Syrians. His head was cut off and brought to Muslim, and the two soldiers who killed him received, it is said, high rewards from the caliph.

**Bibliography:** Balādhurī, *Anṣab*, v, 154; Ibn Sa'd, *Taḥṣīl*, v, 46 ff.; Tabarī, ii, 412 ff.; Ibn

al-Aḥlir, iv, 45, 87 ff.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taḥṣīl*, no. 4637; *Aghānī*, i, 12; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 365 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Das Arab. Reich*, 16 ff.; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd 1<sup>re</sup>*, 231 ff. (= *MFOD*, v, 211 ff.).

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN; CH. PELLAT)

'ABD ALLĀH b. AL-HASAN b. AL-HASAN, chief of the 'Alids. 'Abd Allāh was treated with great favour by the caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty, and when he visited the first 'Abbāsid caliph Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh at Anḥar, the latter received him with great distinction. When he returned to Medina, where he soon fell under the suspicion of the successor of al-Saffāh, al-Manṣūr. Yet 'Abd Allāh owed his misfortune not so much to himself as to his two sons Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Al-Manṣūr began to suspect them in 136/754, when he led the pilgrimage to Mecca and they did not appear with the other Ḥāshimītes to salute him, but his suspicions fell more especially on Muḥammad. After his accession al-Manṣūr tried to sound the Ḥāshimītes as to Muḥammad's real opinions, but they spoke only good of him and endeavoured to excuse his absence. Only al-Hasan b. Zayd advised the caliph to beware of this dangerous 'Alid. In order to remove all doubts, al-Manṣūr ordered 'Ukba b. Salīm to get into 'Abd Allāh's confidence by means of presents and forged letters from Khurāsān, the recognised centre of 'Alid propaganda. At first 'Abd Allāh was very cautious but finally fell into the trap, and when 'Ukba asked him for an answer for his supposed companions in Khurāsān, he did indeed refuse to give one in writing, but asked him to inform them by word of mouth that he greeted them and that his two sons would rise with him in the near future. When 'Ukba had in this manner convinced himself of the rebellious intentions of the 'Alids, he at once informed the caliph, and when the latter in the year 140/758 again made a pilgrimage, he invited 'Abd Allāh to come to him, and asked him if he could really count on his fidelity.

'Abd Allāh assured him of his honorable sentiments, but when 'Ukba suddenly appeared, he understood that he had been betrayed and took refuge in entreaties. Al-Manṣūr, however, had him arrested. 'Abd Allāh's relatives shared his fate, but the caliph was not able to seize his two sons. When he again came to Medina in the year 144/762 after making another pilgrimage, he took the prisoners back with him to al-'Irāq, and soon afterwards 'Abd Allāh died there in prison at the age of 75. According to current report, he was murdered by al-Manṣūr's orders.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, ii, 1338 ff.; iii, 143 ff.; Ibn al-Aḥlir, 172 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalif.*, ii, 40 ff.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

'ABD ALLĀH b. HILĀL al-HIMYARĪ al-Kūfī, a magician of Kūfa, contemporary of al-Ḥaḍḍīdī, with whom he was in relations by the building of the palace in Wasīl (Yāqūt, iv, 883; cf. also adventure with a concubine of the caliph, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mi'ān*, iii, 372-3). *Aghānī*, i, 167 quotes verses by 'Unar b. Abī Rabbā'a that bear witness to a connection between the poet and the magician. He obtained his powers from a magic ring given to him by Satan. In thank him for having defended him from children who were insulting him. He was also thought to receive his inspiration from Iblis, because he was descended from Iblis in the maternal line; hence his nicknames of *ṣāḥib Iblis*, *ṣāḥib Iblis*, *ḥāṣan Iblis* or *ṣāḥib Iblis* (al-Djāhiz, *al-Hayawān*, i, 190; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Makhsūṣ*, 109; al-Tha'ālibī, *Thumār*, 57); he is clearly described as *magiḥim* by al-Djāhiz, *al-Hayawān*, i, vi, 198 (cf.



WZKM, vii (1893), 235-6). The *Fihrist*, 310 (reproduced in al-Sihill, *Āḥām al-Mawḍiʿ*, 100-1) mentions him among those that follow al-*farḥa* al-*mawḍiʿ*; on the other hand he is considered as the master of al-Hallāqī, accused of practising diabolic magic (L. Massignon, *Hallāqī*, 792). Al-Djāwārī declares that he had read his books of magic (ZDMG, 35, (1866), 487; the passage is missing in the Cairo ed. of al-Maḥḥiḥ *fi Kaṣṣ al-Aḥdāḥ* and refers to Fāḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-*Ṣiḥḥ al-Mabḥūṭa* (Cf. F. F. F.).

'ABD ALLĀH R. al-HUSAYN, Amir of Transjordan (Shārk al-Urdun), afterwards king of Ḥāshimite Jordan (al-Mamlaka al-Urdunīyya al-Ḥāshimīyya), second son of the sharif al-Husayn b. 'Alī [q.v.] king of Ḥijāz. Born in Mecca, in 1882, he studied in Istanbul. After the revolution of 1908, he represented for some time the Ḥijāz in the Ottoman parliament. Just before the first world war he joined the Arab Union, an association founded in Cairo by the Syrian Muḥammad Raḥīd Riddā [q.v.]. In April 1914 he had interviews in Egypt with Lord Kitchener and Ronald Storrs and thus took part in the negotiations that led to the proclamation of "Arab Revolt" announced by his father in Mecca, 9 Sha'ban 1314/10 June 1915. During the Ḥijāz, he played only a minor role. On 8 March 1920 an "Iraqi Congress", which met in Damascus, proclaimed him "constitutional king of Iraq". But he never took possession of the throne, which was given by the English, in June 1921, to his brother Fayṣal, who had been expelled from Damascus by the French troops of General Gouraud (24-27 July 1920). In March 1921 'Abd Allāh met in Jerusalem W. Churchill, then colonial secretary. It was during that interview that it was orally agreed to create in Transjordan, separated from the rest of Palestine placed under British mandate, a "national Arab government" headed by 'Abd Allāh (28 March). On 28 August 1923 this government was recognized by the High Commissioner for Palestine. Its relations with Great Britain were fixed by a treaty signed in Jerusalem 20 February 1928 (modified by the agreements of 2 June 1934 and 9 July 1941).

In 1946 Great Britain recognized Transjordan "as a completely independent state" (treaty of 22 March 1946, modified by the treaty of 15 March 1948). 'Abd Allāh was crowned as king in 'Amān, 25 May 1946, and Transjordan constituted a kingdom, took the name of "Ḥāshimite Kingdom of Jordan". After the war in Palestine (15 May 1948-3 April 1949), 'Abd Allāh annexed the territories occupied by the Arab Legion to the west of the Jordan (April-May 1950). He was assassinated in Jerusalem on 20 July 1951.

In the last years of his life, he visited successively Turkey (Jan. 1947), Iran (July-August 1949) and Spain (Sept. 1949). His journeys were followed by the signature of treaties of friendship with these countries (Turkey, 11 Jan. 1947; Iran, 16 Nov. 1949; Spain, 7 Oct. 1950). On the other hand he tried to overcome the hostility of the Arab League to his projects of territorial expansion. He died, however, without accomplishing the great ideal of his reign: grouping round his throne the Arab lands of Syria (project of Greater Syria).

He was the author of memoirs, only the first part of which has been published.

**Bibliography:** 'Abd Allāh b. al-Husayn, *Mudhakharāt*, 1945 (English transl., Philip P. Graves, *Memoirs of King Abdullah of Transjordan*, London 1950). Return should be made especially to OM 1923-51 and *Cahiers de l'Or. Cond.*, 1942-51.

See also T. E. Lawrence, *Seven pillars of wisdom*, London 1935; idem, *Revolt in the desert*, London 1927; C. S. Jarvis, *Arab command*, 1943; R. Storrs, *Orientalism*, London 1943; J. Bagot Glubb, *The story of the Arab Legion*, London 1948; Estor Rossi, *Documenti sull'origine e gli sviluppi della questione araba* (1875-1904), Rome 1944. On the project of Greater Syria, see *Transjordan White Book*, 'Amman 1947, and *La Grande Syrie*, published by the review al-Dustur, Damascus 1947. (M. COLEMBI).

'ABD ALLĀH R. IBĀD (see IBĀDĪYYA).

'ABD ALLĀH R. IBRAHĪM (see AGĀLĀHĀS).

'ABD ALLĀH R. ISKANDAR, a Shāhābīd [q.v.], the greatest prince of this dynasty, born in 940/1533-4 (the dragon year 1532-3 is given, probably more accurately, as the year of the cycle) at Al-Finkhat in Miyaḥkāt (an island between the two arms of the Zaratshān). The father (Iskandar Khān), grandfather (Djān Beg) and great-grandfather (Khāḍja Muḥammad, son of Abu 'l-Khayr [q.v.]) of this ruler of genius are all described as very ordinary, almost stupid men. Djān Beg (d. 935/1528-9) had at the distribution of 928/1512-3 received Karmina and Miyaḥkāt; Iskandar was at the time of his birth lord of Arānkāt; later, probably after the death of one of his brothers, he emigrated to Karmina. There 'Abd Allāh first proved his ability as a ruler in 938/1531; the country had been attacked by Nawrūs Ahmed Khān of Taghland and 'Abd al-Latīf Khān of Samarkand; Iskandar had fled across the Amu; 'Abd Allāh assumed his father's duties and successfully repulsed the attack. In the following years 'Abd Allāh tried to extend his possessions westward in the direction of Bukhārā and south-eastward in the direction of Karāḥī and Shahr-i Saba, at first without permanent success; in 963/1556 he was even obliged to evacuate the lands inherited by his father and flee to Maymana. In the same year (Dhu 'l-Ka'da/September/October 1556) there died his powerful enemy Nawrūs Ahmed Khān, khān of the Orzbeḡs and lord of Taghland since 959/1552. 'Abd Allāh immediately reasserted his supremacy in Karmina and Shahr-i Saba, and in Rajab 964/May 1557 conquered Bukhārā, from that time his capital. There he had his uncle Pir Muḥammad declared as deposed and his weak-minded father proclaimed as Shāh 968/1561. May 1561 khān of all the Orzbeḡs, in order to rule himself in the latter's name. Only in 992/1583, after the death of his father (1 Djuḥda/12 June), did he accept the vacant throne. After severe fighting against insubordinate supporters of the ruling house he subjugated Balḡh in 981/1573-4, Samarkand in Kabi' II 986/June 1578, Taghland and the remaining country north of the Syr in 991/1582-3, and Farḡhina in 991/1583. In addition to these conquests, 'Abd Allāh also made a raid in the first half of the year 990/spring 1582 into the steppes as far as Ulugh Tagh. In the year 996/1587-8 a stubborn insurrection was suppressed in Taghland, and the enemy again pursued far into the steppes. In the south-west Bukhārā and the Syr in 991/1582, and Farḡhina, Gilān and Khāḍīrīm, the last named first in 1002/1593-4 and then, after an insurrection, reconquered in 1004/1595-6. An expedition to East Turkestan resulted only in the laying waste of the provinces of Kāshghar and Yārḡand. 'Abd Allāh's last years were darkened by a quarrel with his only son 'Abd al-Mu'min, who ruled in Balḡh from the end of 991/autumn 1582 in the name of his father. As 'Abd Allāh had been the real ruler under

Iskandar, in the same way 'Abd al-Mu'min wanted to occupy the same position in relation to his now aging father. 'Abd Allāh would, however, not hear of any diminution of his power, and only the mediation of the clergy prevented an open breach between father and son, and compelled 'Abd al-Mu'min to yield. On hearing of the strained relations between father and son, the nomads had penetrated into the region of Taghland and had defeated between Taghland and Samarkand an army sent against them. At the beginning of a punitive expedition against this enemy 'Abd Allāh was overtaken by death in Samarkand (end of the "ben year", 1006/beginning of 1598).

'Abd al-Mu'min was murdered only six months later by his subjects. The conquests in Khurāsān and Khāḍīrīm were lost, and in the Orzbeḡs' own country the power fell into the hands of another dynasty. Of greater permanence were the results of 'Abd Allāh's activity in internal affairs; the administration, especially the coinage system, was remodelled by him, many public works (bridges, caravanserais, wells, etc.) were completed. Even at the present day popular folklore ascribes all such monuments either to Timur or to 'Abd Allāh.

**Bibliography:** The life of this ruler up to the year 996/1587-8 is described in detail by his eulogist Hāfiḥ Tāghī, *Shahr-nāma-yi Shāhī* (Irbid), usually called *'Abd Allāh-nāma*. Much information (especially about the last few years) is given by 'Abd Allāh's Persian contemporary Iskandar Munshī in *Ta'wīḡ-i 'Ālam āra-yi 'Abd Allāh* (biography of Shāh 'Abd Allāh I, Teheran 1897). Extracts from both works are in Welyaminow-Zernow, *Islyudeniya o kashimovskikh taryakh i taryakh* (in the *Trudy* vol. 10, *old. imper. arkhiv. obšč.*, 2, German transl., Leipzig 1897), and before that in his *Moneti bukhariya i khuzhuya*. See also my extracts from the little known *Bahr al-Aḥdāḥ* by Mahmūd b. Wālī in the *Zafkisi wustol. old. imper. arkhiv. obšč.*, xv, on the *Bahr al-Aḥdāḥ* comp. Ethé, *India Office Cal.*, No. 575. The information given by Yambeyr, *Grand Eschah*, and by Howarth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, II, div. 3, who follows him, is to be accepted with great caution.

(W. BARTHOLO)

'ABD ALLĀH R. ISMĀ'IL, 'Alawid [q.v.] sultan of Morocco, whose first reign started 4 Sha'ban 1141/5 March 1729, while his last ended with his death 27 Safar 1171/10 Nov. 1757.

This sovereign was in fact deposed several times, five times according to the Arabic historians, and as often recalled to power. For the good order established in Morocco under Mawlay Ismā'īl [q.v.] was at that time but a memory. When 'Abd Allāh assumed power, two of his brothers, Ahmad al-Hababī and 'Abd al-Malik, had been fighting for it for two years, and had caused, by their mutual bids and their weakness, violent antagonism between the black army of their father, the *'abid al-Bukhārī*, and the *qish* [djaysh, q.v.] tribe of Ōdayā and the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlas. When it is added that the sons of Mawlay Ismā'īl were numerous and that several of them aspired to power, and that, on the other hand, 'Abd Allāh showed himself from the beginning to be capricious and cruel, then it is plain why Morocco was at this time the scene of constant disorders.

Raised to power by the *'abid*, who had been won over by his mother, 'Abd Allāh immediately stirred up against himself the city of Fez, whose resistance

was overcome only after a siege of six months. He then tried to pacify his kingdom, but in consequence of a disastrous campaign in the Central Atlas, excited the enmity of the *'abid* and had to flee, on 29 Sept. 1734, to the Wādī Nūn, to his mother's tribe. Replaced by his brother 'Alī al-A'rāḍī, he was recalled in 1736, but was again expelled a few months later by the *'abid*. He took refuge with the Berber Aḥl Idriṣān and was replaced successfully by two of his brothers, Muh. b. al-'Arabīyya and al-Mustadī. Recalled in 1740, he fought against al-Mustadī and his ally, the pasha of Tangier, Ahmad al-Rifī, when another son of Ismā'īl, Zayn al-'Abidin, was elevated to the throne by the *'abid*. 'Abd Allāh found new supporters among the Berbers, with whose help he regained power in the same year. He then succeeded in defeating al-Mustadī and al-Rifī and made an effort to pacify Morocco. New revolts, however, followed each other without interruption and the sultan constantly changed his allies, relying sometimes on the *'abid*, sometimes on the Ōdayā, sometimes on the Berbers. He was deposed yet again (1748) in favour of his son Muḥammad governor of Marrakech. His son, however, remained loyal and assured the reign of 'Abd Allāh until his death, but in the midst of continual disorders. 'Abd Allāh resided partly in Meknes, and partly in a country house near Fez, Dār Dibaḡh.

**Bibliography:** Zayyān, *Le Maroc de 631 à 1812* (Roubaix), Paris 1886, 35-67; trad. Houdart, Fez 1937; Alensid, *al-Djāsh al-'Aḥdāḥ*, lith. 64 1276/1918, reproducing al-Zayyān; Nāṣir Salawī, *al-Iḥḥāḥ*, iv, Cairo 1312/1894, 59-61; trad. E. Fumey, *AM*, ix, 1916, 171-270; L. de Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures et l'histoire de l'Empire de Maroc*, iii, Paris 1787, 410-65; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, ii, Casablanca 1939, 282-6. (R. LE TISSIER)

'ABD ALLĀH R. KHĀZIM al-SULAMī, governor of Khurāsān. On the first expedition of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir [q.v.] into Khurāsān in 31/651-2, Ibn Khāzīm commanded the advance-guard which occupied Sarakhs. According to some accounts, he put down a rebellion led by Kīrīn in 31/651-4 and was rewarded with the governorship of the province, but this is probably an anticipation of the events of 42/662. During Ibn 'Amir's second governorship of Baḡra (41/661), Kays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī was appointed to Khurāsān, and 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzīm and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura were despatched to recover Balḡh and Sijidīstān. When Kays showed himself unable to deal with an Ephthalite revolt which broke out in the following year, Ibn 'Amir replaced him as governor by 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzīm, who remained in Khurāsān until recalled by Ziyād in 45/665.

Ibn Khāzīm returned to Khurāsān with the army of Salīm b. Ziyād (61-2/680-2), and when the latter withdrew after the death of Yazdgerd I Ibn Khāzīm persuaded him to nominate him as governor of the province (64/684). Having gained possession of Marw after defeating its Tāmitite governor, he then attacked, with the aid of Tamīm, the Bakrite governors of Marw al-Rūdī and Harāt, and overcame them after a long struggle. The victory was followed by repeated raids of the Tamīm against Ibn Khāzīm, now nominally governor on behalf of Ibn al-Zubayr. In 72/692 he received, but indignantly rejected, an offer by 'Abd al-Malik to confirm him as governor for seven years; the offer was then made and accepted by his deputy in Marw, the Tāmitite Bukayr b. Wighāh, who overtook and killed him (probably



in 73/692-3) as he was attempting to join his son Muṣā in the stronghold which he had previously prepared at Tirmidh. The career of the Khāzim was afterwards embellished with saga-like accretions, which make it difficult to establish many details with precision.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, index (tr. Zotenberg, iv, 63-3, 113-4); Balādī, 136 ff., 499, 413 ff.; Ya'qūbī, ii, 258, 322-4; id. *Bulāḥ*, 279, 296-9; Muh. b. Habib, *al-Muḥabbat*, 225-2, 308; *Nabā'id Dīyar wa-Farāzdaq*, index; al-Kāṣī, *Ḥayy al-Ḥayy*, 32; Wellhausen, *Arab. Chron.*, 258-62; Caetani, *Annali*, vii, 275 ff., 493 ff.; *Fiṣṭiḥ*, 337 and the Twelver legends quoted by Ivanow, *Alleged Founder*, 91 ff. and G. Vajda, *RSO*, 1937, 192, 196, 224), and became, with certain additions and variations (cf. Lewis, *Origins*, 54-63) the standard account of Sunnī authors about the rise of Ismā'īlism. This is not the place to discuss in detail the vexed and apparently insoluble problem of the antecedents of the Fāṭimids (see *RYMISM* and also *RYMISM*). Yet it must be pointed out that the view that the Fāṭimids descended from Maymūn al-Kaḍḍāh seems to have been entertained not only by Ibn Riḍwān, a great enemy of Ismā'īlism, but also by certain sections of the Ismā'īlī movement itself, and the Ismā'īlī al-Mu'izz had to polemize against some of his followers who considered him as a descendant of Maymūn (see the letter of al-Ma'izz quoted by 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs and printed by Ivanow in the *J. of the Bombay Branch of the RAS*, 1940, 74-6, and, confirming and completing that piece of information, a passage in al-Nu'mān's *al-Maḡḥīl* see *'L-Muḥabbat*, MS of SOAS, London, 2534 fol. 76 ff., to be published by the author of this article). W. Ivanow (*The Rise of the Fāṭimids*, Bombay 1914), see especially 12-27-28; *The Alleged Founder of Ismā'īlism*, Bombay 1940) denies the truth of any connection between Ismā'īlism and Maymūn and 'Abd Allāh, or their descendants, considering the whole story as freely invented by their enemies—although it is difficult to see why they have picked out just Maymūn and 'Abd Allāh for the role and how early Ismā'īlī circles could come to accept them mainly on the authority of scandal invented by their enemies, as the ancestors of the leaders to whom they paid allegiance. B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismā'īlism*, Cambridge 1940 (see especially 49-73), admits, on the whole, the historicity of the role of Maymūn and 'Abd Allāh as leaders of the extremist movement out of which grew Ismā'īlism. The evidence is as yet not sufficient for a definite solution of this problem, and it would seem possible that the basis for the story about Maymūn and 'Abd Allāh is to be sought in the role that some descendants of 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn may have played in the Ismā'īlī movement in its beginnings about 260/873, and that the story was spun out of this knowledge of the connection of some 'Kaddāhids' with Ismā'īlism (S. M. STERN).

**'ABD ALLĀH b. MU'ĀWIYA**, 'Aḥī rebel. After the death of Abū Ḥāshim, a grandson of 'Alī, claims were laid to the Imānate from several quarters. Some asserted that Abū Ḥāshim had formally transferred his right to the dignity of Imān to the 'Abbasid Muḥammad b. 'Alī. Others said that he had spoken in favor of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Azar al-Kindī and wanted to revivify him. As he, however, did not come up to the expectations of his followers, they turned from him and declared 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya, a great-grandson of 'Alī's brother 'Dīfār, to be the rightful Imān. The latter asserted that both the godhead and the prophetic office were united in his person, because the spirit of God had been transferred from the one to the other and had finally come to him. In accordance with this his followers believed in metempsychosis and denied the resurrection. In Muharram 127/Oct. 744, 'Abd Allāh revolted in Kūfa where he was joined by many followers, especially from amongst the Zaydites (q.v.). The latter captured the citadel and expelled the

who gives Maymūn the kunya Abū Ḥāshim, cf. Ibn al-Aḥqar, viii, 21, presumably in order to identify him with the *isādī* Abū Ḥāshim, for whom see al-Kharrāṣī, *al-Fatāwā*, 40, 142; *Fiṣṭiḥ*, 337 and the Twelver legends quoted by Ivanow, *Alleged Founder*, 91 ff. and G. Vajda, *RSO*, 1937, 192, 196, 224), and became, with certain additions and variations (cf. Lewis, *Origins*, 54-63) the standard account of Sunnī authors about the rise of Ismā'īlism. This is not the place to discuss in detail the vexed and apparently insoluble problem of the antecedents of the Fāṭimids (see *RYMISM* and also *RYMISM*). Yet it must be pointed out that the view that the Fāṭimids descended from Maymūn al-Kaḍḍāh seems to have been entertained not only by Ibn Riḍwān, a great enemy of Ismā'īlism, but also by certain sections of the Ismā'īlī movement itself, and the Ismā'īlī al-Mu'izz had to polemize against some of his followers who considered him as a descendant of Maymūn (see the letter of al-Ma'izz quoted by 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs and printed by Ivanow in the *J. of the Bombay Branch of the RAS*, 1940, 74-6, and, confirming and completing that piece of information, a passage in al-Nu'mān's *al-Maḡḥīl* see *'L-Muḥabbat*, MS of SOAS, London, 2534 fol. 76 ff., to be published by the author of this article). W. Ivanow (*The Rise of the Fāṭimids*, Bombay 1914), see especially 12-27-28; *The Alleged Founder of Ismā'īlism*, Bombay 1940) denies the truth of any connection between Ismā'īlism and Maymūn and 'Abd Allāh, or their descendants, considering the whole story as freely invented by their enemies—although it is difficult to see why they have picked out just Maymūn and 'Abd Allāh for the role and how early Ismā'īlī circles could come to accept them mainly on the authority of scandal invented by their enemies, as the ancestors of the leaders to whom they paid allegiance. B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismā'īlism*, Cambridge 1940 (see especially 49-73), admits, on the whole, the historicity of the role of Maymūn and 'Abd Allāh as leaders of the extremist movement out of which grew Ismā'īlism. The evidence is as yet not sufficient for a definite solution of this problem, and it would seem possible that the basis for the story about Maymūn and 'Abd Allāh is to be sought in the role that some descendants of 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn may have played in the Ismā'īlī movement in its beginnings about 260/873, and that the story was spun out of this knowledge of the connection of some 'Kaddāhids' with Ismā'īlism (S. M. STERN).

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prefect. In a short time, however, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, the governor of 'Irāq, put an end to his manoeuvres. When it came to fighting, the ever unreliable Kufans deserted; only the Zaydites fought bravely and continued the battle till 'Abd Allāh was granted the unimpeded retreat. From Kūfa he proceeded at first to Maḍīn and then to al-Dībāl. His power was in no way broken. From Kūfa and from other places numbers of people flocked to him and he soon succeeded in winning over several important strongholds in Persia. After residing for some time in Isfahān, he went to Isfahān. Owing to the temporary weakness of the government in Persia as a result of the disorders in 'Irāq and Khurasān, he had no difficulty in extending his rule over a great part of al-Dībāl, Ahwāz, Fārs and Karmān. The Khārijites, who had fought against Marwān II on the Tigris, withdrew into 'Abd Allāh's domain and other opponents of the caliph also joined him, including some 'Abbasids. In the end, however, he was unable to maintain his power. 'Umar b. Duḥayr, one of Marwān's generals, who had been entrusted with the pursuit of the Khārijites, led an army into 'Abd Allāh's domains and brought his rule to a sudden end. In the year 129/746-7, 'Abd Allāh was defeated at Marw al-Shāhīn and forced to flee to Khurasān, where Abū Muslim, the celebrated general of the 'Abbasids, had him executed. After his death, some of his followers, called al-Dībālīs (q.v.), maintained that he was still alive and would return; on the other hand, others, the so-called Hārīgites, believed that his spirit was reincarnated in Isḥāq b. Zayd b. al-Hārīḥ al-Anṣārī.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, ii, 1879 ff.; Ibn al-Aḥqar, v, 246 ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vi, 41 ff., 67 ff., 109; Shahrastānī, 112-3 (transl. Haarbrücker, i, 170); *Al-Bihar*, Index; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Califats*; Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 219 ff.; id., *Die rel.-pol. Oppositionen*, in *Abd. G. W. Göll.*, 1/2, 98 f.; Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon*, ii, 853.

**'ABD ALLĀH b. MUHAMMAD**, Sharīf of Mecca [see MAKKA].

**'ABD ALLĀH b. MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-MARWĀNī**, seventh Umayyad Amīr of Cordova. He succeeded his brother al-Mundhir on the latter's death before Hobastro, centre of 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ's rebellion, on 15 Safar 273/Jan. 885. The circumstances of his death aroused the suspicion that the new governor was not quite innocent of it. At his accession, 'Abd Allāh, born in 229/844, was forty-four years old. His reign, which lasted for a quarter of a century, until his death on 2 Rabi' I 300/16 Oct. 912, was described in detail by the chronicler Ibn Ḥayyān, in that part of his *Muḥabbat* which has been preserved in an Oxford manuscript, long since known and utilized, and published in a somewhat faulty edition by M. M. Asfura, Paris 1937.

His biographers present a flattering portrait of the Amīr 'Abd Allāh and omit to mention his cruelty and his lack of scruples. They extol his sobriety, his piety and his Islamic culture. It may be granted to him as an undoubted merit that he maintained, in a difficult period, the Hispano-Umayyad dynasty and contrived to counter a multitude of internal dangers, notably the Andalusian revolt fomented by the *muwallads* and the particularist tendencies of the Arab country of Seville and Elvira. For further details see Umayyads or Spain.

Encyclopaedia of Islam

**Bibliography:** Lévi-Provençal, *Exp. mus.*, i, 329 (list of Arabic sources, note 1-396); Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, ii, 21-23.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**'ABD ALLĀH b. MUHAMMAD AL-TA'Ā'ISHI** (his name is invariably pronounced as 'Abdullāh), the successor of Muḥammad Ahmad (q.v.), the Sudanese Mahdī. He belonged to the Awlad Umm Surra, a clan of the Djabart section of the Ta'ā'isha, a tribe of cattle-breeding Arabs (Bakkāra) in Dārūr. His great-grandfather is said to have been a Tunisian *gharīf* who married a woman of the tribe. His father Muḥammad b. 'Alī Karīm bore the nickname of *Tār Shayn* (Ugly Bull). Religious pretensions were hereditary in the family, and both father and son were *fakīh* of repute. Zubayr Raḥma, the famous merchant-adventurer and conqueror of Dārūr, relates that 'Abdullāh narrowly escaped execution at his hands, when taken prisoner during the Dārūr fighting in 1873, and that even then he was in search of the Expected Mahdī. *Tār Shayn* died when the Dīn's tribe in Kordofān and, according to the legend, he enjoined on his son to seek out Muḥammad Ahmad the future Mahdī. 'Abdullāh adhered to him in the Djabra before he had manifested himself, and was the first to believe in his mission. He was his closest adviser during the years of propaganda and fighting (1881-85), and his gifts of leadership and religious piety contributed to the successes which culminated in the fall of Khartūm (26 Jan. 1885). In an epistle, dated 17 Rabi' I 1300/26 Jan. 1883, the Mahdī nominated him as his *khālifa* with the title of al-Siddīk, and as *amīr* of the Mahdīst army. On the Mahdī's death at Omdurman (22 June 1885) 'Abdullāh assumed control of the new Mahdīst state. A convinced believer in the Mahdī's mission and himself claiming supernatural gifts, he rigorously upheld the religious ordinances of the Mahdiyya, without neglecting the temporal aim of establishing his personal and absolute rule. With this end in view he deprived the Mahdī's blood-relations (the Aḥl-rā'ī) of all influence and successfully crushed the opposition of powerful tribal chiefs and of rival religious pretenders. Not himself a military leader, 'Abdullāh was served by a number of capable *amīr* who, in the first year of his reign, captured the last posts still held by the Egyptian garrisons. His governor of the eastern province, the redoubtable 'Uḡmān Dīgā (q.v.) fought numerous actions with varying success against the Anglo-Egyptian forces based on Suakin. Between 1887 and 1889 there was intermittent warfare with the Abyssinians (sack of Gondar by the Mahdīsts in 1887; battle of Kallabāt 9 March 1889 when an Abyssinian victory was turned into rout by the death in battle of King John). In the execution of his policy 'Abdullāh relied largely on the Bakkāra tribesmen of Kordofān and Dārūr, whose loyalty to the Central Sudan where they incurred much unpopularity as a privileged and predatory class. 'Abdullāh's most trusted associate was his brother Ya'qūb and he seems to have intended his eldest son 'Uḡmān Ḥayyān al-Dīn to be his successor.

The first serious reverse of his reign was the defeat at Tophī (12 Aug. 1889) of the Mahdīst army under 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Naḍfīn which attempted the invasion of Egypt with quite inadequate forces. The country over which 'Abdullāh still ruled with absolute power was now devastated by incessant warfare and by the terrible famine of 1889. The end came when the British government, then in virtual control of Egypt, decided on the re-conquest of the



Sudan. The occupation of Dongola (1896) by Anglo-Egyptian forces was followed by their advance to Omdurman and the decisive defeat of the Mahdist army (2 Sept. 1898). 'Abdullāh fled to Kordofan where he maintained himself with a considerable body of followers for another year. In the final battle of Umm Dubaykah (21 Nov. 1899) he met death with courage and dignity.

The Mahdi and his successor proposed to re-live the life of the Prophet and of early Islam, and 'Abdullāh's epistles, in which he exhorted the Sultan of Turkey, the Khedive of Egypt, and Queen Victoria to embrace the Mahdist faith, vividly display the anachronistic spirit of the Mahdiyya. Reticent towards external enemies and suspected rivals, and governing without regard for the material welfare of his country, 'Abdullāh yet remained true to his fanatical faith and to the primitive code of a Bakfari Arab. In contrast to European writers who stress the cruel and barbaric character of his reign, Sudanese tradition credits him with the virtues of simplicity in his private life, generosity as a host, and bravery as a fighter. From his numerous household of legal wives and concubines he had 21 sons and 11 daughters, not counting those who died in infancy.

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'ABD ALLĀH b. AL-MUKAFFA' (see Ibn AL-MUKAFFA').

'ABD ALLĀH b. MUSA b. NUSAYR, eldest son of Musa b. Nusayr (q.v.), the conqueror of the Maghrib and Spain. When his father left for Spain, he was charged with the administration of Ifriqiya (93/711). When Musa, denounced to the caliph al-Walid by Ṭārik, left for the East, whence he never returned, he again left 'Abd Allāh as his lieutenant. Involved in his family's disgrace by the caliph Sulaymān, who saw not without disquiet Ifriqiya governed by one son of Musa ('Abd Allāh), Spain by a second ('Abd al-'Aziz) and the Maghrib by a third ('Abd al-Malik), he was deposed in 66/714-5 and replaced by Muḥ. b. Yazid, who assumed his office in 97/715. It is uncertain what happened to him; he is said to have been accused of having instigated the murder of Yazid b. Abū Muslim and to have been executed in 102/720 by Hishām b. Sa'd. In the orders of the caliph Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik.

**Bibliography:** Ibn 'Udhārī, i, index; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 231; Ibn Taghribirdī (Juyūnbi-Mattheis), i, 261; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Ifriqiya* (Gasteau), Alger 1947, index.

'ABD ALLĀH b. MUTI' b. AL-ARWAD al-'ADAWI, was, together with 'Abd Allāh b. Hārith al-Ja'fari, one of the chiefs of the revolt against the caliph Yazid I in Medina. When he saw that after the accession of Yazid the Umayyad government was rousing increasing opposition, Ibn Muti

proposed to leave Medina, but 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar (q.v.) advised him to remain, and he gave in to Ibn 'Umar's arguments. When the inhabitants of Medina revolted against the new caliph, he became the leader of the Kurayshite elements in the city and took part in the battle of the Harra in Dhū l-Hijja 65/August 685. Escaping from the general rout, he took refuge in Mecca with the anti-caliph 'Abd Allāh b. Zubayr, who appointed him in Ramaḍān 65/April 685 governor of Kūfa. Shortly afterwards he was attacked by the Shi'ite adventurer al-Mukhtar b. Abī 'Ubayd (q.v.). Al-Mukhtar, besieged in his palace and probably betrayed by his own general Ibrāhīm b. al-Ash'ar, he relinquished his post, withdrew to Basra, and then joined Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. There he joined Ibn al-Zubayr's forces and was killed together with him in 73/692.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTEN—CH. PELLAT)

'ABD ALLĀH b. RAWĀHA, a Khazrajite, belonging to the most esteemed clan of the Banu 'Hārith. At the second 'Akaba assembly in March 622, 'Abd Allāh was one of the 12 trustworthy men, whom the already converted Medinans, conformably to the Prophet's wish, had chosen. When Muhammad had emigrated to Medina, 'Abd Allāh proved himself to be one of the most energetic and upright champions of his cause. Muhammad appears to have thought a great deal of him, and often entrusted him with honorable missions. After the battle of Badr in the year 2/63, in which the Muslims were victorious, 'Abd Allāh together with Zayd b. Haritha hastened to Medina to bring the tidings of victory. During the so-called "second campaign of Badr", in Dhū'l-Ka'da 4/Apr. 626, 'Abd Allāh remained behind in Medina as lieutenant-governor. When in 5/627, at the commencement of the siege of Medina, the fidelity of the Banu Kurayza, his allies, was suspected, the Prophet sent 'Abd Allāh together with three other influential Medinans to find out the real sentiments of his allies. After Khaybar had been conquered in the year 7/628 and its territory divided, Muhammad appointed 'Abd Allāh as appraiser of its yield. On sending out the Mu'ta expedition in the year 8/629, 'Abd Allāh was appointed by the Prophet as second in succession to the commander of the army, and when both his superiors had fallen, he sought and met his death as they had done fighting for the Faith.

Besides his military talents 'Abd Allāh possessed other qualities which made him valuable to his master; he was one of the few pre-Islamic men who could write, and was for that reason, together with other faithful followers, chosen as secretary by the Prophet. Muhammad appears to have esteemed him very highly, more especially on account of his poetical gifts. In the *Aghāni* it is expressly stated that the Prophet considered his poems equal to those of his "court" poets Ḥassān b. Ṭābit and Ka'b b. Malik. It is characteristic of 'Abd Allāh's "literary tendency" that he attacked the Kuraysh more especially for their unbelief, while the ten other poets always reproached them with their impious deeds. Only about 50 verses of his have been preserved and they are for the most part to be found in Ibn Hishām.

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*Aghāni*, i, 80, xv, 29; G. Weil, *Gesch. Muhammad der Prophet*, 120; Rahatullah Khan, *Von Enfalas des Qur'an auf der arab. Dichtung; eine Untersuchung* — *Abdallah b. Rawaha*, Leipzig 1938. (A. SCHAEDE)

'ABD ALLĀH b. SABA', reputed founder of the Shi'a. Also called Ibn al-Sawda', Ibn Harb, Ibn Wabb. "Saba'" appears also as Sabā', the name of the associated sect appears as Saba'iyya, Sabā'iyya, or, corrupted, as Sabā'iyya. Sabā'iyya.

In the Siunt account he was a Yamanite Jew converted to Islam, who about the time of 'Alī first introduced the ideas ascribed to the more extreme wing of the Shi'a (*ghalī*, q.v.). Especially attributed to him is the exaltation of 'Alī himself: that 'Alī stood to Muhammad as divinely appointed heir, as Joshua did to Moses (the *isāya* doctrine); that 'Alī was not dead, but would return to bring righteousness upon earth (*the rag'a*); that 'Alī was divine, exalted to the clouds, and the thunder was his voice. To Ibn Saba's conspiratorial cunning was ascribed by Sunnis after al-Tabari the first breach in a perfect harmony among the *Sahāba* (cf. al-Makrizi, *Khatā*, ii, 314). He is said to have roused the Egyptians against 'Uthmān on the ground of 'Alī's special rights; and the bloodshed between 'Alī and Ṭāba and Zubayr is then ascribed to these same murderers of 'Uthmān under the name of *Saba'iyya*.

For the Shi'a he sometimes figured as type of the extremist, the *ghalī*, being so cursed by Dja'far (Kashshī, *Ma'rifat Aḥbār al-Riḍā*, 70). Ibn Saba' became the subject of traditions used by both in attacking and in defending the extremist Shi'a. 'Alī is said to have had him or his followers burn for declaring him ('Alī) God. An Ismā'īlī source cites the incident in Ibn Saba's favour, claiming that he suffered only in appearance (cf. al-Makrizi, *Bad' al-Khālī*, ed. Huart, v, 181; and the *Haft Bāb* *Bāb Sayyid-na*, ed. Ivanov, in *Two early Ismā'īlī treatises*, Bombay, 1933, 15).

It is not clear what historical person or persons lay behind this figure. Al-Tabari's source, Sayf b. 'Umar, is the chief authority for his political activity against 'Uthmān. Al-Dhahabī notes a general condemnation of Sayf as a traditionist (quoted by Friedländer, *ZA*, 1909, 297), a condemnation supported on other grounds by Wellhausen (*Shi'ism und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 6); and surer sources seem to exclude Ibn Saba' from any major rôle there. Friedländer suggests that Ibn Saba's chief rôle was not to proclaim 'Alī's divinity, but to deny 'Alī's death, teaching that he died only in appearance (doctism), and would in the end come again from the clouds (messianism)—perhaps with the background of a Yamanite Judaism related to that of the Falashas of Ethiopia. Caetani would make Ibn Saba' in origin a purely political supporter of 'Alī, around whom later generations imagined a religious conspiracy like that of the 'Abbasids. Massingon considers the Saba'iyya of al-Mukhtar's time as one of the 'ayniyya sects (Massingon, *Salmīn*, Paris 1934, 37, 40).

Already in the earliest sources available contradictory teachings are ascribed to Ibn Saba' and the Saba'iyya (cf. Khushaysh al-Nasā'ī, d. 253), reported in al-Maṭalī, 118, 120). We may suppose that personally Ibn Saba', perhaps together with a seceder from the 'Abbasid movement, was a supporter of 'Alī, who denied 'Alī's death. He was probably not a Jew (Levi Della Vida, *RSO*, 1912, 495). He was either founder or hero of one or more sects called Saba'iyya, which exalted 'Alī's religious position.

**Bibliography:** Tabari, ii, 292 ff. and passim; Nawbakhtī, *Firāb al-Shi'a*, ed. Ritter, 1913; Maṭalī, *Kūsh al-Tanbīh wa'l-Radd*, ed. Dederling, 141; Ash'arī, *Mahdāt al-Islāmiyyin*, ed. Ritter, 15; Baghdādī, *al-Farḥ*, 223 ff., trans. Halkin, v.v. Sabā'iyya; Shahrastānī, 132 ff.; I. Friedländer, 'Abd Allāh ibn Saba', *ZA*, 1909, 296 ff., 1910, 1-46; L. Caetani, *Annali*, viii, 42 ff. and passim. (M. G. S. HODGKIN)

'ABD ALLĀH b. SA'D, Muslim statesman and general. Abū Yalāyā 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarb al-'Ammir belonged to the clan of 'Ammir b. Lu'ayy of Kuraysh and was as foster brother of the subsequent caliph 'Uthmān a chief partisan of the Umayyads. He was less a soldier than a financier. The judgements of historians on his character vary greatly. His name is connected in many ways with the beginnings of Islam. First he is mentioned as one of Muhammad's scribes; he is supposed to have arbitrarily altered the revelation, or at least he boasted of doing so after his apostasy from Islam, and thereby incurred the hatred of the Prophet. For this reason the latter desired to have him executed after the capture of Mecca, but 'Uthmān obtained, though with difficulty, the Prophet's pardon. This story afterwards became very famous. 'Abd Allāh later on showed himself grateful to 'Uthmān for his rescue by agitating for the latter's election as caliph. He was one of the Hijra-Companions who took part in the conquest of Egypt under 'Amr b. al-'As (q.v.) and appears to have governed Upper Egypt independently under 'Umar, after the latter's quarrel with 'Amr. It is impossible exactly to fix the date when he was appointed governor of the whole of Egypt; according to Ibn Taghribirdī, as early as the year 25/645-6, and therefore before the revolt of Alexandria under Manuel. As he was not able to suppress this rising, 'Amr was recalled, who, however, immediately after his victory had to restore the government to 'Abd Allāh. 'Uthmān desired to confirm 'Abd Allāh as financial prefect and to appoint 'Amr as military governor, but the latter declined. 'Abd Allāh now succeeded in considerably increasing the state revenues of Egypt, much to the satisfaction of the caliph. Although his principal aim was the administration of the finances, he also became renowned as a general. 'Abd Allāh regulated the relations between the Muslims and the Nubians and supported Mu'āwīya's expedition against Cyprus. He himself undertook several expeditions against Roman Africa, the first probably in the year 25/645-6, the most important and most successful certainly in the year 27/647-8. He subjected the territory of Carthage to Islam. His most important military performance, however was the naval battle of Dhāt al-Sawāfī, comparable in significance to the battle of the Yarmūk (q.v.), in which the Roman fleet was completely destroyed. This battle took place in the year 34/655, although different dates are given in some sources. Soon afterwards the agitations against 'Uthmān began in many parts of the empire. 'Abd Allāh appears as the principal champion of the regime represented by the caliph. He endeavoured to warn the caliph and even left Egypt in order to support him. His lieutenant al-SA'D b. Hishām was expelled by the Egyptian revolutionary party under Muhammad b. Hudhayfa and 'Abd Allāh himself was prevented from returning to Egypt. On the frontier 'Abd Allāh learned of the murder of the caliph, and fled to Mu'āwīya. Shortly before the latter's march to Siffin, he died in Askalon or Ramla (in 36 or 37/656-8). His supposed participation



in the battle of Siffin and his late death in the year 57/676-7 belong to the numberless myths connected with the battle of Siffin.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Sa'd, vii/2, 190; Kindī, *Wulāt* (Gust), 10-17; Ibn Taghribirdī, I, 88-93; *Waḥid* (Gust), 10-17; Makrīdī, *Kh̲iṭāb*, I, 299; Tabarī, I, 1039 ff.; 2593, 278, 285 ff.; 2812 ff.; 2860, 2867 ff.; 2980 ff.; 3057; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, II, 189 L. 445; III, 67 ff., 90 ff.; 118 ff.; 220, 238, 292; *Id.*, *Uṣd al-ḥiṣn*, 73; Ya'qūbī, II, 60, 191; Baladhuri, 226; Ibn Hishām, 818 ff.; Nawawī, 345 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, I, 268 ff.; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, 20 ff.; A. Butler, *Arab conquest of Egypt*, 4 ff.; G. W. B. Huntingford, *Paris* 1937, 27-32; Wellhausen, in N. G. W. Goltz, 1907, fasc. 4, p. 61, 13. (C. H. BECKER)

'ABD ALLĀH b. SALĀM, a Jew of Medina, belonging to the Banū Kaynakā and originally called al-Husayn (on the name Salām), see Ibn Kh̲aṭīb al-Dahshī, *Ṭuhfa*, ed. Mann, 66. Muhammad gave him the name of 'Abd Allāh when he embraced Islam. This conversion is said to have taken place immediately after Muhammad's arrival at Medina, or according to others, when Muhammad was still in Mecca. Another account which makes him accept Islam in the year 8/629-30 is worthy of more credence—though Muslim critics think it badly accredited—for his name is sought in vain in the battles which Muhammad had to wage in Mecca. The few unimportant mentions in the *Maghāzī* may well have been inserted in order to remove the glaring contradiction with the generally accepted tradition. He was with 'Umar b. al-Daḥbiya and Jerusalem, and under 'Uthmān took the latter's side against the rebels, whom he in vain endeavored to dissuade from murdering the caliph. After 'Uthmān's death he did not do homage to 'Aī and implied him not to march to 'Irāq against 'Aṣṣāḥ; legend brings him into relation with Mu'āwīya also. He died in 43/663-4. In Muslim tradition he has become the typical representative of that group of Jewish scribes which honored the truth, admitting that Muhammad was the Prophet predicted in the Torah, and protecting him from the intrigues of the co-religionists. The questions which 'Abd Allāh is made to ask Muhammad and which only a prophet could answer, the contents of the hadiths which the works on tradition ascribe to him, and the story of Bulūkūya which Ṭabāḥī al-Balḥī puts into his mouth, mostly have their origin in Jewish sources; if they do not really come from 'Abd Allāh himself, they certainly come from Jewish resuscitator circles. While his contemporaries often reproached him with his Jewish origin, later on traditions were circulated in which Muhammad assures him of entry into Paradise, or in which the Prophet and celebrated Companions give him high praise. Certain verses of the Qur'ān are also said to refer to him. The "questions" which he put to Muhammad were subsequently enlarged to whole books, and in the same manner several other works were foisted on him, which are partly based on what is related by him in Ḥadīṭh. As well as his sons Muhammad and Yūsuf, 'Abd Hurayra and Anas b. Mālik also handed down his traditions. Tabarī took more especially Biblical narratives from him into his *Chronicle*.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, 335, 395; *Wāḥid*, *Maḡāzī*, ed. Wellhausen, 164, 172; Tabarī, index; *Id.*, Persian version, transl. Zotenberg, I, 348; Bukhārī, *Aḥṣayā* bāb 1; Ahmad b. Hanbal, II, 108, 272; V, 450; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *Uṣd*, II, 126; Ibn Hadjar, *Iṣṣāḥ*, II, 780; Diyārī, *Ṭaḥṣīl*, I, 108.

al-Kh̲amīs, Cairo 1302, I, 392; Halabī, *Isṭiṣāḥ al-Uyūn*, II, 146; Nawawī, 347; Ibn Taghribirdī, I, 141; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kh̲arīd*, Cairo 1303, 118 ff.; *Kūḥ Masāḥid* Sidi 'Abd Allāh, Cairo 1326 (?); Ibn Hadjar, 174 ff.; Weil, *Arab. Exegetica*, 59. (Arab. p. 30); Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch.* d. Arab., I, 160; M. Steinschneider, *Pal. and apol.* *Lit.*, 130 ff.; Hirschfeld, in *JQR*, 1898, 105 ff.; J. Mann, *ibid.*, 1921, 127; J. Horowitz, in *ZDMG*, 1901, 524 ff.; J. Barth, in *Festschrift Böhmer* (1903), p. 36; Caetani, *Annali*, I, 413; Wessink, in *AO* 1923, 192-8; G. F. Piper, *Rück der dinstand tragen*, Leipzig, 1924; *BEO*, 1925, 127. 'Abd Allāh as well in Ḥamāḥ; Brockelmann, I, 209. (J. HOROWITZ)

'ABD ALLĀH b. ṬĀHIR, born 182/798, died 230/844, was a poet, general, statesman, confidant of caliphs and, as governor of Khurāsān, almost an independent sovereign. His father, Ṭāhir b. al-Husayn, had founded the powerful Ṭāhirid [s.v.] dynasty which ruled over a territory extending from al-Rayy to the Indian frontier, with its capital at Naysābūd.

In 206/821-2 the caliph al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir governor of the region between al-Rakka and Egypt and at the same time he was placed in command of the caliph's troops in the campaign against Nasr b. Shabab, a former partisan of al-Amin, who was endeavoring to regain possession of Mesopotamia. After subduing Nasr 'Abd Allāh went in 218/826-7 to Egypt, where for ten years refugees from Spain had been further weakening an already weak state, and he swiftly captured the leaders and restored order.

While he was at Dinawar, in al-Dijlād, busy raising troops to quell a revolt of Bābak the Kh̲urramī, his brother, Ṭāḥa, died and in 214/829-30 he was appointed by al-Ma'mūn to succeed his father as governor of Khurāsān. He proved to be an exceedingly wise ruler, establishing a stable government in his domains, protecting the poor against abuses by the upper classes and bringing education to the masses; no boy, however poor, was denied the means to acquire knowledge. As a result of litigations in Naysābūd he ordered an investigation into the use of water for irrigation, and the *Fiṭṭ* of Canak, which was the outcome of this, established legal rules for water utilization which served as a guide for several centuries (cf. A. Schmidt, *Islamic*, 1930, 128).

During the caliphate of al-Mu'tasim, 'Abd Allāh subdued the revolt of the 'Alid pretender, Muhammad b. al-Kāsim, in 219/834-5; and in 224/838-9 in Tabaristān, which was under his jurisdiction as governor of Khurāsān, he quelled the far more alarming revolt of its *shahād*, al-Māsiyir [s.v.], incited to rebel by al-Aṭṭār.

Gardizi relates that al-Mu'tasim so hated 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir for a personal criticism that 'Abd Allāh had expressed about him that when he became caliph he attempted to poison 'Abd Allāh by sending him a slave girl with a gift of poisoned cloth, but the attend failed because the slave girl fell in love with 'Abd Allāh and revealed the plot. However that may be, 'Abd Allāh seems to have enjoyed the caliph's esteem. His most implacable enemy, al-Aṭṭār, during his own heresy trial, testified bitterly to the high regard the caliph had for him, and al-Mu'tasim himself referred to 'Abd Allāh as "one of our great men (curious to note, all of them Ṭāhirids) of his brother's reign and regretted that he had not been able to foster any men of the same noble calibre."

Like all Ṭāhirid rulers, 'Abd Allāh was enormously wealthy; his magnificent palace in Baghdad enjoyed

the royal right of sanctuary and served as a residence for the governor of the city, which remained under Ṭāhirid domination for a long time (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 119).

He was a man of wide culture with a deep love and respect for learning; in the controversy regarding the relative merits of Arabic vs. Persian culture, which engaged the keenest minds of that day, 'Abd Allāh strongly supported all things Arabic. In his own right he was an accomplished musician and a poet of note, as well as a sympathetic patron of the poet Abū Tammām, the compiler of the *Hamāz*, who sang his praises in many poems.

At the age of 48 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir died as a result of quinsy after an illness of three days, on Mon. 11 Rabi' I, 230/Nov. 26, 844, according to most Arab historians (but Nov. 26 was Wed.) and, in true dynastic fashion, he was succeeded by his son, Ṭāhir. At the time of his death the taxes from the provinces under his control amounted to 48 million dirhams.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, III, 1044 ff.; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, VI, 256 ff., vii, 9 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, trans. de Slane, II, 49; Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Juyūn, I, 600 ff.; Ya'qūbī, II, 535 ff.; Gardizi, *Zayn al-Aḥbār*, 5-9; al-Khatib, *Ṭaḥṣīl* Baghdad, ix, No. 5114; Weil, *Chalifen*, II, 201 ff.; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 208 ff.; Abū Tammām, *Hamāz*, ed. Freytag, 2. Further bibliography in Caetani and Gabrieli, *Oronostomus Arabicus*, II, 973. (E. MARIN)

'ABD ALLĀH b. ṬĀHAWR [see ABU FUBAYH]

'ABD ALLĀH b. UBAYY b. SALŪT (Salūl being Ubayy's mother), chief of the al-Hubālā (also known as Sālim), a section of the clan of 'Awf of the Kh̲azraj, and one of the leading men of Medina. Prior to the hijra he had led some of the Kh̲azraj in the first day of the Fajr al-ḥudaybiyya, but did not take part in the second day of the Fajr al-ḥudaybiyya since he had quarrelled with another leader, 'Amr b. al-Nu'mān of Bayda, over the latter's unjust killing of Jewish hostages, perhaps because he realized the need for justice within a community and feared 'Amr's ambition. But for the coming of Muhammad he might have been the "king" of Medina, as the sources suggest. When all but a small minority of the Medinans accepted Islam, Ibn Ubayy followed the majority, but he was never a whole-hearted Muslim. In 2/624 when Muhammad attacked Banū Kaynakā, Ibn Ubayy pleaded for them since they had been in league with him in pre-Islamic times; he probably urged his importance as a fighting unit in view of the expected Meccan onslaught. In the consultations before Uhud (3/625) he supported the policy originally favoured by Muhammad of remaining in the strongholds. When Muhammad decided to go to meet the enemy, Ibn Ubayy disapproved, and eventually with 300 followers retired to the strongholds. This move may have stopped the Meccans from attacking Medina itself after the battle, but it showed cowardice and lack of belief in God and the Prophet (cf. Qur'ān, III, 166-8 [160-2]). Up to this point Ibn Ubayy had done little but criticize Muhammad verbally, but for the next two years he also intrigued against him. He tried to persuade Banū al-Nadīr not to evacuate their homes at Muhammad's command, even promising military support. On the expedition to Maraya he used the occasion of a quarrel between Emigrants and Ansār to try to undermine Muhammad's position and make men think of expelling him; and immediately afterwards he was active in spreading scandal about 'Aṣṣāḥ. Muhammad called

a meeting and asked to be allowed to punish him (without incurring a feud). There was high feeling between the Aws and the Kh̲azraj, but it was clear that Ibn Ubayy had little backing. His reputation of being leader of the Hypocrites (*munaḍḥiq*) or Muslim opponents of Muhammad is based on these incidents. After this year there is no record of his actively opposing Muhammad or intriguing against him. He took part in the expedition of Hudaybiya, but stayed away from that to Ṭabūk, doubtless because of ill health, since he died shortly afterwards (5/63). He was probably not involved in the intrigues connected with the "invasion of disunion" (*fatḥ al-ḥudaybiyya*), since Muhammad himself conducted his funeral. Throughout his dealings with Ibn Ubayy Muhammad showed great restraint.

Ibn Ubayy had a son 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh and several daughters who became good Muslims.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, *ix*, 546, 558, 591, 633, 726, 734, 927; Tabarī, index; Wellhausen, *Muhammad in Medina*, Berlin 1882, index; *idem*, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Berlin 1889, iv, 50-62; Ibn Sa'd, *ix*, 90, viii, 279; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, 207, 253, etc.; Caetani, *Annali*, I, 418, 548, 602, etc.; Samhūdī, *Wafā'* al-Wafā', Cairo 1908, I, 142; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, I, 506 ff.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

'ABD ALLĀH b. 'UMAR b. 'ABD al-'AZIZ, son of the caliph 'Umar II. In the year 126/744 'Abd Allāh was appointed governor of 'Irāq by Yazid III, but in a short time aroused the discontent of the Syrian chiefs in that place, who felt that they were unfavorably treated by the new governor compared with the inhabitants of 'Irāq. After the accession of Marwān II, 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwīya [s.v.] and his brother 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayy, rebelled in Kūfa in Muharram 127/Oct. 744, but was expelled by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, whereupon he transferred his propaganda to other parts. When Marwān transferred to al-Nadīr b. Sa'd al-Harāḡi the governorship of 'Irāq, 'Abd Allāh energetically refused to leave his post. Al-Nadīr appeared at Kūfa, whilst 'Abd Allāh remained in Hira and hostilities broke out between them. Soon after, however, a common enemy appeared in the person of the Kh̲aridite chief al-Dahhāk b. Kays, and then the two adversaries had to come to terms and even to join forces. In Rajab 127/April-May 745 they were defeated by al-Dahhāk and 'Abd Allāh withdrew to Wasit, whilst the victor captured Kūfa. Thus the old enmity between the two governors again broke out, but for a second time al-Dahhāk put an end to their quarrels. After a siege lasting several months 'Abd Allāh was obliged to make peace with al-Dahhāk. Subsequently Marwān had 'Abd Allāh arrested. According to the usual account, he died of plague in the prison of Harrān in the year 132/749-50.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, II, 1154 ff.; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, v, 228 ff.; C. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen* I, Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 239 ff.; Caetani and Gabrieli, *Oronostomus*, II, 982. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

'ABD ALLĀH b. 'UMAR b. AL-KHATTĀB, one of the most prominent personalities of the first generation of Muslims, and of the authorities most frequently quoted for Traditions. He derived his reputation not only from being a son of the Caliph, but also because his high moral qualities compelled the admiration of his contemporaries. At a time when the Muslims were being carried by their passions into civil war, Ibn 'Umar was able to maintain himself aloof from the conflict; furthermore, he followed the precepts of Islam with such scrupulous



obedience that he became a pattern for future generations, to such a degree that information was collected as to how he dressed, how he cut and dyed his beard, etc. The biographies of him are full of anecdotes and charming touches which serve to illustrative his native wit, his deep piety, his gentleness, modesty, propriety and confidence, his determination to detach himself from all that he loved most. Some of these stories may have been invented, but his nobility of soul is incontestable. As a transmitter of Tradition, he has been regarded as the most scrupulous in neither adding to nor omitting anything from the *ḥadīth* narrated by him. The Caliphate was offered to him three times: immediately after the death of 'Uthmān (35/653); during the negotiations of the two arbiters appointed at Siffin to resolve the dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya (37-8/657-8); and after the death of Yazīd I (64/683). On each occasion he refused, because he would have desired his election to be unanimous and wished to avoid bloodshed in securing it. Whether or not this was due to narrow-mindedness (as Lammens has suggested), it is undeniable that Ibn 'Umar was lacking in energy, and his own father recognized this defect in him.

The following are the events recorded on the life of Ibn 'Umar. Born before the *hijra*, at an unspecified date, he emigrated with his father, 'Umar, and emigrated to Medina some time before him. The Prophet sent him back on account of his age when he presented himself to fight at Badr and at Uhud, but accepted him at the siege of Medina known as the Battle of the Moat, when he was about fifteen years old (this served as a precedent later in analogous cases). Afterwards he took part in the disastrous expedition to Mu'ta (7), in the conquest of Mecca (8), in the wars against the false prophets Musayyima and Tulayha (12), in the Egyptian campaign (18-21), in the battle of Nihāwand (23), in the expedition of the year 30 to al-Jundīl and Tābaristān, and in Yazīd's expedition against Constantinople (42). In political affairs, he appears for the first time as adviser to the Council appointed by the dying 'Umar to choose from among its own members the future Caliph; he had, however, no right of voting and was not eligible. At the elections of the other Caliphs who came to power during his lifetime he conformed to the will of the majority of the Muslims, and if he refused to pay homage to 'Alī it was because he was waiting for the community to reach agreement. As agreement was not reached and civil war broke out, he remained neutral. If later he refused to recognize Yazīd as heir-presumptive—he obviously disapproved of the innovation introduced by Mu'āwīya into the settlement of the succession—he showed no hesitation in paying homage to him after the death of his father. Ibn 'Umar held no important office in the administration of the empire, except a few minor ones. Perhaps he deliberately held office, devoting himself to religious practices. It is related that he would not accept the office of *kādi*, fearing that he might not be able to interpret the divine law correctly.

Ibn 'Umar died of septicaemia in 73/693, well over eighty years of age, as the result of a wound in the foot inflicted by one of the soldiers of al-Hajjāj who had been sent to his house. On the day of pilgrims returning from 'Arafāt, When al-Hajjāj visited him during his illness and asked if he knew the man who had wounded him, so that he could be punished, Ibn 'Umar reproached him for allowing his men to carry arms in the holy places

and for having been, in this way, the cause of his injury. This reproach probably gave rise to the story found in certain of the later sources, that al-Hajjāj commissioned an assassin to wound Ibn 'Umar with the poisoned tip of a lance.

**Bibliography.** Longer biographies: Ibn Sa'd, *IV*, 103-38; *III*, 214; *II*, 42; *IV*, 49, 62, and index; Ibn Khallikān, *Bulāḥ* 1273, *I*, 349-50; Cairo 1367/1948, no. 297 (missing in other editions); Abu Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-'Awliyā'*, *I*, 292-314; Sibṭ b. al-Jawzi, *ms. Paris Ar.* 6131, *fol.* 237r-239v; Ibn al-Athir, *Usd*, Cairo 1286-7, *I*, 427-31; Ibn Hajar, *Taḥṣīl*, Calcutta 1256-93, 540-7. Historical sources: Muṣ'ab al-Zuhayrī, *Nasab Kawayhā* (ed. Lévi-Provençal), 350-1; Tabari, index; Maṣ'ūdī, *Murūj*, *IV*, 396, 398, 400, 402; *V*, 43, 284-6, and index; Ibn al-Athir, *IV*, 230, 295-6, and index; Caetani, *Annali*, 20 A.H., paras. 236, 238 (9-10), 264 no. 6; 23 A.H., para. 147 no. 6 and indexes; 38 A.H., pp. 21, 23, 27, 38, 39, 49, 57; J. Perier, *Vie d'al-Hajjāj ibn Yusuf*, Paris 1904, *II*, 53-4. Many other references given in Caetani, *Chronographia*, 73 A.H., para. 30.

(L. VECCEA VAGLIERI)

'ABD ALLĀH b. WAḤB al-RĀSĪB, Khārījite leader, a *ṣāḥib* of the Baḡdāṭa tribe, noted for his heavy and partly and surmused *ḥaḡ* 'Ṭaḡal, 'the mauls', with the 'fallies', on account of the callouses on his forehead etc. resulting from his many prostrations. He fought under Sa'd b. Abī Waḥḥā in 'Irāk and under 'Alī at Siffin, but broke with him over the decision to arbitrate and joined the dissidents at Harūra'. Shortly before their final departure from Kūfa in Shawwāl 57/March 685, the Khārījites elected 'Abd Allāh as their commander (not *khalīfa*, as usually stated), and he was also killed in the ensuing battle at Nahrawān, 9 Safar 58/27 July 685.

**Bibliography.** Tabari, *I*, 3363-6, 3376-8; Muḥarrar, *Kāmil*, 527, 538 ff.; Dinawarī, ed. Gurgans and Rosen, 215-24; Balādhuri, *Anṣab*, in *Levi della Vida*, *RSO*, 1913, 427-507; Barridī, *K. al-Dawāshir*, Cairo 1302; R. Brunsch, *Die Chronik*, 15 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Religions-Opportunisten*, 17 ff.; Caetani, *Annali*, A. H. 38 passim [additional ref. in para. 267]; L. Vecce Vaglieri, *Il Confido 'Alī-Mu'āwīya*, in *Ann. dell'Ist. Univ. Orient. di Napoli*, 1932, 38 ff.

(H. A. R. GRON)

'ABD ALLĀH b. YĀSIN [see al-MURĀBITŪN]. 'ABD ALLĀH b. al-ZUBAYR, anti-Caliph, son of al-Zubayr, al-'Awshī [q.v.], of the *ḡ* al-'Uṣra clan of Quraysh, and Amīr [q.v.], daughter of Abī Bakr and sister of 'Aṣṣāḥa. He was born at Medina twenty months after the *hijra* (c. 12/634), and killed in battle against the Syrian troops under al-Hajjāj, 17 Dhu'dhā I or II, 73/4 Oct. or 3 Nov. 692. Some sources (Ibn Kutayba, *Maṣ'ūdī*, 116; Ibn Habb, *Masāḥib*, 275; etc.) state that he was the first child born to the Muhājirīn at Medina. The close kinship linked him to the family of the Prophet on both sides was a factor which contributed to building up his reputation, both as against the Umayyads and also (it would seem) against the 'Alids.

He is reported to have been present, though still a boy, with his father at the battle of the Yarmūk (Rajab 12/Aug. 636), and accompanied him when he joined the forces of 'Amr b. al-'Ās in Egypt (19/640). He took part in the expedition of 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarh in 26-7/647 against the Byzantines in Iṭrīkiya and is said to have killed the exarch Gregory with his own hand. On returning

to Medina to announce the news of the victory, he is credited with an eloquent description of this exploit (*Aḡḡān*, vi, 59, on which most of the later narratives depend). He accompanied Sa'd b. al-'Ās in his campaigns in northern Persia (29-30/650), and was subsequently nominated by 'Uḡḡān to be one of the commission charged with the official recension of the *Qur'ān* (*Giesch. des Qur'ān*, *I*, 47-55). After the assassination of 'Uḡḡān he accompanied his father and 'Aḡḡā to Raqqa and commanded the infantry in the battle of the Camel (10 Dhu 'Dhī, 30/4 Dec. 656); after the battle he returned with 'Uḡḡā to Medina and took no further part in the civil war, except to attend the Arbitration at Dūmat al-Jandal (or rather Adhrub), where he is said to have advised 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar to bribe 'Amr b. al-'Ās (Nasr b. Muṣ'ab, *Wak'at Siffin*, Cairo 1365, 623).

During the reign of Mu'āwīya I, 'Abd Allāh, who had inherited a considerable fortune from his father, remained in the background, hiding his true bent, but refused to take the oath to Yazīd as heir-presumptive. On Mu'āwīya's death (60/680), he, together with Husayn b. 'Alī [q.v.], again refused to swear allegiance to Yazīd, and to escape the threats of Marwān they fled to Mecca, where they remained un molested. When, however, after the expedition of Husayn and his death at Karbala', Ibn al-Zubayr began actively to enroll adherents, a small force was sent from Medina under the command of his brother 'Amr to arrest him. 'Amr was defeated and taken prisoner, beaten and incarcerated in a cell until he died, and his body was exposed on a gibbet (61/681). 'Abd Allāh now publicly declared Yazīd deposed, and his example was followed by the Ansār at Medina, who elected 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [q.v.], known as Ibn al-ḡḡāl (Ibn Sa'd, *VI*, 46-9) as their chief. Yazīd, realizing that he had temporized too long, despatched a Syrian army under Muslim b. 'Ukba, which defeated the Medianians in the battle of the Harra (27 Dhu 'l-Hijja 63/27 Aug. 683) and proceeded (notwithstanding Muslim's death) to besiege 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca (28 Muh. 64/24 Sept. 683). 'Abd Allāh, after a desperate and unavailing defence of 23 days, fled, on receiving the news of Yazīd's death, the Syrian forces desisted, and the commander, Husayn b. Numayr, tried to persuade Ibn al-Zubayr to accompany them back to Syria, but he determined to stay in Mecca.

The ensuing confusion in Syria and the outbreak of civil war gave Ibn al-Zubayr his chance. He proclaimed himself *amīr al-mu'mīnīn*, and the opponents of the Umayyads in Syria, Egypt, southern Arabia and Kūfa recognized him as Caliph. But his authority remained almost wholly nominal. The victory of Marwān I [q.v.] at Marj Rāḥit (end of 64/July 684) and the revolt of Muḡḡḡār [q.v.] at Kūfa fifteen months later, placed his supporters in Syria, Egypt and 'Irāk on the defensive; and although al-Muhallab's support was secured, Ibn al-Zubayr at Raqqa and subsequent victory over Muḡḡḡār (67/687) restored a Zubayrid government in 'Irāk, Muṣ'ab was to all intents an independent ruler. At the same time, the Bakrite Khārījites, who had separated from Ibn al-Zubayr after the death of Yazīd and had established themselves in eastern Najd under the command of Najdā, occupied the province of al-Baḡdāṭa (the Harūrā), and in 68/687-8 seized al-Yaman and Hadramawt, followed next year by the occupation of Ṭā'if, thus completely isolating him in the Hijāz. At the Pilgrimage of 68/688 no fewer than four different leaders presided over their separate groups of partisans: Ibn al-Zubayr, a Khā-

rijite, an Umayyad, and Muḥammad b. al-Hana-fiyya. Finally, after the Umayyad reoccupation of 'Irāk, 72/691, 'Abd al-Malik despatched al-Hajjāj to deal with Mecca. The siege began on 2 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 72/25 March, 692, and lasted for more than six months, during which the city and the Ka'ba were under bombardment. When at length his supporters gave way, and even his own sons surrendered to al-Hajjāj, 'Abd Allāh, urged on by his mother, returned to the field of battle and was slain. His body was placed on a gibbet on the spot where his brother 'Amr had been exposed, and some time later was given back by orders of 'Abd al-Malik to his mother, who buried it in the house of Saḡiyya at Medina.

'Abd Allāh is the principal representative in history of the second generation of the noble Muslim families of Mecca, who resented the capture of the Caliphate by the Umayyad house and the gulf of power which this had created between the clan of 'Abd ḡḡān and the other Meccan clans. This resentment is still clearly visible as a groundtheme in the numerous anecdotes on his relations with Mu'āwīya (see *Iḡḡ*, under Balādhuri), in spite of their later elaboration and of Muslim idealization of this challenger of Umayyad rule, which has transformed a brave, but fundamentally self-seeking and self-indulgent man, into a model of piety (see especially *Ḥilya al-'Awliyā'*, *I*, 292-317). On the other hand, many sources portray him as avaricious, jealous, and ill-natured, and reproach him particularly for his harsh conduct towards his brother, Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya, and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās.

**Bibliography.** Tabari, index; Balādhuri, *Anṣab*, *I*, 16-60; *V*, 188-204, 353-79 and passim; *Umayyad*, ed. Chaboud, ed. Abūwardī, *I*, 14 ff.; also in *Levi della Vida*, *Il Califato Mu'āwīya I*, Roma 1938, index; *Aḡḡān*, indexes; Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbat*, 24, 481, etc.; Ibn Hazzam, *Dīwanat Anṣab al-'Arab*, 113; Kutubī, *Fawa'id*, no. 184 (ed. Cairo 1951, *I*, 445-50); Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḡ Ḥiḡḡiya*, ed. tr. Gateau, Algiers 1942, 38-47; Wiesner, *Gesch. d. Stadt Mekka*, *IV*, 129 ff.; H. Lammens, *Califat de Yazīd I*, Beirut 1927, 182-209; id., *Aḡḡān*, ed. Marwanides, Beirut 1927, passim; J. Wellhausen, *Arab. Reich*, 89-124; id., *Rel.-pol. Oppositionen*, 27-58, 72-77; Caetani, *Chronographia*, A.H. 73, paras. 14, 32 (pp. 862-3, 866-8).

(H. A. R. GRON)

'ABD ALLĀH BINEWET (see BINEWET). 'ABD ALLĀH b. GHĀLĪB b. AL-ḡḡAL AR-RUḡḡMAN, Sa'dīd sultan, son of one of the founders of the dynasty, Muḥammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdi. He was born Ramadān 933/June 1527 and, designated as heir presumptive, was recognized as sultan on his father's death, assassinated by his Turkish guardsmen 29 Dhu'l-Hijja 964/23 Oct. 1557. His reign lasted till his death, due to a crisis of asthma, 28 Ramadān 971/28 Jan. 1574.

His reign as a whole was peaceful. Yet the sultan showed himself uneasy in expectation of an eventual intervention of the Turks, who had killed his father, immediately afterwards invaded the North of Morocco, whence they had been repulsed, and who offered asylum to three of his brothers: al-Muḡḡḡ, 'Abd al-Malik and Ahmad. Thus he sought an alliance with the Spanish. These preoccupations formed the background to the cession of the Pefos de Velez (1564), the taking of Shāḡḡḡḡ (1567) and the embarrassed attitude of the sultan at the time of the revolt of the Moriscos (1568-72). He had relations with other European powers also. He negotiated



with Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, and was prepared to cede to him al-Kasr al-Saghir in exchange for 500 soldiers, and entered into commercial relations with England. He tried to conquer the fortress of Mazarg, which was in the hands of the Portuguese, dispatching against it a numerous army under the command of his son Muhammad, his heir. The siege lasted from 3 March to 30 April 1562 and ended with the failure of the Sa'idi troops, who suffered heavy losses.

In internal affairs he consolidated the work of his father, without meeting any serious opposition. He seemed to have feared especially the members of his family; he had his brother al-Ma'nin assassinated in Tlemcen and put to death his nephew Muḥ. b. 'Abd al-Kādir, whose popularity roused his ill-will (975/1567-8). He also seems to have suspected some of the religious leaders: he imprisoned, or put to death, several members of the Yūsufiyya order and had crucified in Marrākuḥ the *jaḥīl* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥ. al-Andalusī, accused of heresy (15 Dhū'l-Hijja 980/7 April 1572). He constructed several important buildings in Marrākuḥ, such as the Ibn Yūsuf madrasa. Diego de Torres also attributes to him the establishment of the *mawāḥid* of Marrākuḥ in its present location. He also built a fortress to protect the harbour of Agadir.

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**'ABD ALLĀH PASHA** MUḤAMMAD ZAKI ÇELEBI, Ottoman statesman and general, son of Muḥsin Çelebi, descended from a family of merchants at Aleppo. He started his career in 1115/1703 in the financial administration with the post of supervisor (*emin*) of the Mint (*dar-ahḥadīḥ*), the *dehshdar* of which was his brother, Mehmed Efendi. He became *san-ol-ḥāḥ* (*damād*) of a Paḡha, head of the imperial chancery (*niḥāḍatī*), *agha* of the Janissaries, Beylerbey of Vidin, of Rumeli and of Bosnia. He was commander (*ser'asker*) at Bender, in Bessarabia, when Russia invaded the Crimea (1736) and Austria threatened to intervene on the Danube. Negotiations at Niemirow (Poland) led to no results. Appointed by Sultan Mahmud I (1730-54) as Grand Vizier (6 Rabi' II, 1150/August 1731, 1737). 'Abd Allāh Pasha directed the war operations, without achieving the results hoped for by the court. Recalled to Istanbul after four months, he had to hand

over the seal of office to the new Grand-Vizier Yegen Paḡha (Dec. 19th, 1737). He continued to fill posts as commander of fortresses and governor of provinces and died in Rabi' II, 1162/spring 1749 in Trikala, Thessaly, at the age of 90 years. His son Mehmed Paḡha Muḥsin-Zade signed the peace of Kükük Kaynarca (1749).

**Bibliography:** Hammer-Purgstall, IV, 330, 340; *Sigilgrāh* 'Oḡmānī, III, 397; N. Jorga, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, III, 430, 434. (E. Rossi)

**'ABD ALLĀH SARİ** (see SARİ 'ABD ALLĀH EFENDİ).

**'ABD AL-'AZĪZ** (ARḌIAR), the thirty-second Ottoman sultan, born on 3 Feb. 1830, the third son of sultan Mahmud II (q.v.), he succeeded his brother 'Abd al-Majid II (q.v.), 20 June 1881. His reign was marked by revolts and insurrections in the Balkan provinces (Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria) and in Crete, which brought about the intervention of the great powers. From 1870 onwards, the influence of Russia, supplanting that of France and England, preponderated in Istanbul, and General Ignatiev, the Russian ambassador, often imposed his views on the grand vizier Mahmūd Nadīm Paḡha. Russia also made efforts to stir up the discontent of the subjects of the Porte: Slavs, Albanians, and even Arabs and Egyptians.

In spite of internal crises, the policy of reforms, called *tanzimat* (q.v.), was not abandoned. The administration of the provinces was reorganized (law of *wilāyets* modeled on French law, 1867) and some attempts were made to reform the institution of the *waḥḍ* (1867). On French advice, a council of justice (*shūrā-yi dawlat*), composed of Muslims and Christians, and a council of justice (*shūrā-yi aḥkām-i adlīyye*) were set up (1868). Public education was reorganized after the French model and a *lycée* was opened in Galata-saray. It was open to all Ottoman subjects and instruction was given in French by French teachers (1868). A university (*dār al-fünūn*) was established. At the same time, the army, and especially the navy, were reorganized. Foreigners acquired the right to possess immovable property (1867). Other attempts at economic reform were fruitless: in 1875 the deficit of the budget reached 212 millions. The government, judging itself unable to face its obligations, followed the advice of the Russian ambassador, reduced by half the payment of interest on the debt and had to declare itself bankrupt. The deplorable state of the national economy, the financial crisis, the revolts and insurrections in the Balkan provinces, made it particularly difficult to apply the reforms, which the great powers were dissatisfied, while the Old Turks considered them incompatible with religion and the Young Turks insufficient. This resulted in general discontent against the sultan, who was deposed on 30 March 1876 and committed suicide a few days later.

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**'ABD AL-'AZİZ B. AL-HĀDĪDĪ BRĀHĪM** AL-TAMAMĪ, al-Jazā'irī, celebrated Ḥadīth scholar, b. c. 1120/1717-8, probably at Warḡān (Ouargla). d. Rajab 1223/August 1808, at Banū Isḡān (Beni Isguen) in the Mzab, where, at the age of about forty, he had begun his studies under the *shaykh* Abū Zakariyyā? Yahyā b. Sālih, of Djarba. 'Abd al-'Aziz is held by the Ḥadīths to-day to be one of the greatest scholars who ever lived in the Mzab, where he has left the reputation of a man of exceptional piety, remarkable sagacity, great imperturbability, perfect self-control, and astonishing assiduity.

He devoted himself to the composition of a dozen works on theology and jurisprudence. His most important work is *K. al-Niḥ wa-Shāḥ* *al-'Aḥlī*, autographed at Cairo 1305/1887-8. This treatise, conceived on the plan of the *Muḥṣṣar* of Ḥāḍhī, but less concise in style, is a complete exposition of Ḥadīth legislation, put together from the most authoritative works of Ḥadīth scholarship in 'Umdān, Djarba Naḥṣa, Djarba and the Mzab, all of which can be identified without difficulty. It was on this work that E. Zeys drew for his studies on this subject. The other works of 'Abd al-'Aziz are the following: *Takmilat al-Niḥ*, published at Tunis some 25 years ago; *al-Ward al-haṣim fī Riyāḍ al-Ḥakīm*, a précis of jurisprudence devoted chiefly to questions of judgment; *Ma'ālim al-Dīn*, a reasoned exposition of the Ḥadīth creed, along with refutation of the arguments put forward by the defenders of the other sects (unpublished); *Muḥṣṣar al-Muḥṣṣar min K. Abi Maṣ'ūd wa-Aḥwāḥ*, on questions of inheritance; *Uḥd al-Dawāḥ*, a summary of *Kandī* al-*Khayr* of al-Dīyatī, on worship and religion (unpublished); *Muḥṣṣar Ḥabībāt al-'Arwād*, on the rights and duties of husband and wife (unpublished); *Tāḍī al-Manṣūm min Durar al-Minkhāḍ al-Ma'ālim*, abridgement of a voluminous 'Umdān work of jurisprudence (unpublished); *Taḥṣīs al-Maḥṣṣar fī Ḥikm al-Narāyān* *al-Mawḍi al-Habrayn* (unpublished); *al-'Asar al-Narāyān*, on travel and the accompanying rites (autographed in Egypt 1306/1888-9); *al-Nār*, on the principal dogmas of the Faith (autographed in Egypt 1306/1888-9); *Muḥṣṣar Hawāḍiḥ al-Tarīb*, résumé of several Ḥadīth works on *ḥādīḥ*.

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(A. R. MORELLO-DE T. LEWICKI)

**'ABD AL-'AZİZ B. AL-HĀDĪDĪ ĀDĪD B. 'ABD AL-MALIK**, Umayyad general. He was a faithful partisan of his cousin Yazīd III and one of his

most eminent assistants. Already in al-Walīd II's reign he helped Yazīd, who headed the malcontents, to enlist troops against the caliph. When they had succeeded in getting together an army in Damascus, 'Abd al-'Aziz received the supreme command and marched against al-Walīd. Yazīd's brother 'Abbas, who was about to go to the caliph's assistance, was attacked and forced to pay homage to Yazīd. Shortly afterwards 'Abd al-'Aziz stormed the castle of Baḡhrā, whither al-Walīd had withdrawn, and put the caliph to death. This was in the year 126/744. Yazīd was now proclaimed caliph; the inhabitants of Hims (Emesa), however, stoutly refused to do homage to the usurper and marched against Damascus. Yazīd sent two army divisions against them, and while the rebels were engaged with one division, 'Abd al-'Aziz advanced with the other and decided the combat, whereupon the rising was suppressed. In the same year Yazīd died after settling the succession on his brother Ibrāhīm and after him on 'Abd al-'Aziz. The inhabitants of Hims, however, again refused to do homage to the new ruler, who for that matter was hardly recognized outside the capital. On Ibrāhīm's orders 'Abd al-'Aziz therefore began to lay siege to the town, but withdrew when Marwān b. Muḥ., then governor of Armenia and Adharbayḡān, advanced against him. Hims opened its gates to Marwān, the followers of the late caliph were defeated in Safar 127/Nov. 744 at 'Ayn al-Djār, and Marwān had himself proclaimed caliph in Damascus. As soon as he had entered the town, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Hādīdī Ādīd was murdered by clients of al-Walīd II.

**Bibliography:** Tabari, II, 1794 ff.; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, v, 215 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, I, 669 ff.; see also AL-WALID B. YAZID.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

**'ABD AL-'AZİZ B. AL-HASAN**, sultan of Morocco from 1594 to 1608. He was born, according to Weisgerber, on 24 Feb. 1575, according to Doutté and Saint-René Taillandier 18 Rabi' I 1298/15 Feb. 1587, of the sultan Mawlay al-Hasan and Lalla Rukayya, of Circassian origin. When his father died on a campaign, 9 June 1594, 'Abd al-'Aziz was proclaimed sultan in Rabat, thanks to the *hādīḥ* Amad b. Māḥ, called Bī Ahmad, who had been in charge of his education, and received as reward the title of Grand-Vizier. 'Abd al-'Aziz left the management of affairs in the hands of Ahmad until his death on 13 May 1600. During this period Morocco continued to live more or less in its traditional way.

After the death of his mentor, 'Abd al-'Aziz fell under the influence of a small group of Europeans, including Sir Harry McLean, instructor of the Sherifian infantry, who encouraged the natural taste of the ruler for modernism, so that very soon the Sherifian palaces housed photographic cameras, billiards, etc. All this shocked the conservative feelings of the Moroccans and cost money. Moreover, in Sept. 1601, 'Abd al-'Aziz contemplated an equitable reform of taxes, *farḥ*, in order to abolish the privileges and immunities of the existing system. In consequence, an agitator (*rāḡ*), called Djalīl b. Idrīs al-Zarḥnī al-Yūsufī, nicknamed Bū Ḥamra (Abū Hamāra), rose in the district of Taza, gave himself out as a brother of the sultan and quickly became master of the region to the east of Fez (1601), threatening the capital itself in 1603.

On the other hand, the European powers exerted a strong pressure upon the Sherifian government, to protect the Europeans established in Morocco,



repress frontier incidents (region of Figini), and obtain a guarantee for the considerable sums lent to the sultan by various European groups. These pressures, marked by various incidents, such as the visit of the German Emperor William II to Tangier (31 March 1905), led to the conference of Algiers. The Act of Algiers (7 April 1905), interpreted as an admission of surrender to the demands of the European powers, made 'Abd al-'Aziz even more unpopular in Morocco. Anarchy and discontent increased equally, and the sultan was unable to bring about any improvement. One of his brothers, Mawlay 'Abd al-Hafiz, was proclaimed sultan in Marrākuṣh on 10 August 1907, immediately after the disembarking of French troops in Casablanca.

'Abd al-'Aziz tried to resist by organizing an expedition to Marrākuṣh in July 1908. His army broke up and was defeated by the troops of his brother on 19 August at Bô Adjiba on the Wadi Tassā'ūt. 'Abd al-'Aziz took refuge in Casablanca and there abdicated on 21 August 1908. After a short stay in France, he established himself in Tangier, where he lived, without mixing in politics, until his death, 10 June 1943.

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(E. L. YETTERSTEN)

'ABD AL-'AZIZ B. MARWĀN, son of the caliph Marwān I and father of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz. 'Abd al-'Aziz was appointed governor of Egypt by his father, and the appointment was confirmed by 'Abd al-Malik, when he ascended the throne. During his twenty years' sojourn in Egypt, 'Abd al-'Aziz proved himself a capable administrator, who really had the welfare of his province at heart. When in the year 69/689, 'Abd al-Malik, after the assassination of his rebellious lieutenant 'Amr b. Sa'id, intended to have the latter's relatives executed as well, 'Abd al-'Aziz interceded for them and persuaded the increased caliph to spare their lives. Towards the end of his life 'Abd al-'Aziz suffered from the ill will of his brother 'Abd al-Malik. Marwān had nominated him to succeed 'Abd al-Malik, but the latter wished to secure the throne for his two sons, al-Walid and Sulaymān, and therefore cherished the project of removing his brother from his governorship and excluding him from the succession to the throne, when in the year 85/74 news suddenly reached Damascus that 'Abd al-'Aziz was dead.

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(E. L. YETTERSTEN)

'ABD AL-'AZIZ B. MUHAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM al-Sayyid al-Fihri al-Muriciyan writer, b. 956/1549, d. at Marrākuṣh 1093/1682-2, was head of the chancery (*waṣṣ al-balān al-'aḥd*) and official

historiographer (*muṣawwif ta'riḥ al-dawla*) of the Sa'did sultan Ahmad al-Mansūr al-Dhahabī (q.v.). Of his literary and historical works, which were considerable, there survive only lengthy quotations, especially by the chronicler al-Iṣṭiṣṭāqī (q.v.) in his *Nuḥat al-Hādī*. Al-Iṣṭiṣṭāqī, who was a contemporary and friend of al-Makkarī (q.v.), the author of *Nah al-Tib*, composed annals of the Sa'did dynasty down to his own times, under the title of *Manāḥil al-Safā' fi ḥikmah al-Mulūk al-Sharāfiyya*. He was the author also of many panegyric poems, more particularly *manāḥil al-Safā'* (q.v.). The verses used for the epigraphic decoration of the palace of al-Badr at Marrākuṣh were of his composition.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Kāḍī, *Durrat al-Bihār* (ed. Albouché), Rabat 1936, no. 1056; Irfān, *Nuḥat al-Hādī* (ed. Houdas), 164/267 ff.; Makkarī, *Ḥikmah*, iii, 8 ff.; Khafāḍī, *Rayḥanat al-Abḥad*, Cairo 1294, 180; Kādirī, *Nah al-Muḥādī*, Fez, i, 140-2; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chérifa*, 94-97; Brockelmann, II, 680-2.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

'ABD AL-'AZIZ B. MŪSĀ B. NUṢAYR, first governor of al-Andalus, after the departure to the East of his father Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, the famous conqueror of the Iberian peninsula, in 93/714. Mūsā, on leaving, gave him instructions to pursue the Muslim advance and to pacify the regions which had been thrown under Muslim control. According to certain traditions, it was under his government that part of what is now Portugal, including the towns of Évora, Santarém and Coimbra, and the subpyrenean regions from Pamplona to Narbonne were conquered. He himself took Malaga and Elvira, and then subdued the land of Murcia, concluding with a Gothic lord, Theodemir (who gave his name to the district, Tudmir (q.v.)) a treaty, the more or less authentic text of which has survived.

'Abd al-'Aziz married the widow of the last Visigothic king Roderic, Egilón, who is said to have adopted Islam and taken the name of Umm 'Asim. This princess gained so much influence over the governor that he soon became suspect to his compatriots and was accused of abusing his power. He was, accordingly, banished, and he fixed his residence, by a certain Ziyād b. 'Udhra al-Balawī, at the beginning of Raḡlab 97/March 718, and was succeeded by his maternal cousin, Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī.

**Bibliography:** Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 30-34 and references cited ibid., i, 8, n. 1.

(E. L. YETTERSTEN)

'ABD AL-'AZIZ AL SA'DID (see SA'DID).  
'ABD AL-'AZIZ B. AL-WALID, son of the caliph al-Walid I. In 91/709-10, he took part in the campaign against the Byzantines, under the orders of his uncle, Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, and during the following years, he also participated in the battles against the same enemies. In 96/74-5, al-Walid, who had designated successor to his son Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, tried to exclude Sulaymān from the succession in favour of his son 'Abd al-'Aziz, but his attempt failed: After the death of Sulaymān at Dābik, 99/717, 'Abd al-'Aziz wanted to claim the crown, but learning that 'Umar II b. 'Abd al-'Aziz had been proclaimed as caliph, he betook himself to him and paid him homage. He died in 106/738-9.

**Bibliography:** Tabari, ii, 1217 ff.; Ibn al-Aghir, iv, 439 ff.; Ya'qūbī, ii, 437 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 321 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 436; Caetani-Gabrieli, *Orientalism*, ii, 986.

(K. V. YETTERSTEN)

'ABD AL-'AZIZ EFENDI KARA ÇELEBİZADE (see KARA ÇELEBİZADE).

SHĀH 'ABD AL-'AZIZ AL-DIHLAWI, the eldest son of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (q.v.), a noted Indian theologian and author of several religious works in Arabic and Persian, was born at Delhi in 1206 (hence his courtesy name Ghulām al-Arḍīn) and died there in 1239/1824. He studied mainly with his father, after whose death in 1276/1762 he soon began to teach as the head of the Madrasa Rahimiyya, founded by his grandfather. As a teacher, preacher and writer, he exercised a considerable influence on the religious thought of his time. His chief works are as follows. In Arabic: (1) *Sirr al-Shahādātayn* (Dihlī 1261), in which he sets forth the ingenious view that the Prophet vicariously acquired the merit and distinction of *ghalib* or martyrdom through the tragic death of his grandson, Husayn son of 'Alī. One of his pupils, Salāmāt Allāh wrote a commentary on it in Persian (Lucknow 1882). (2) *ʿAsā al-Hibās fi Faḍā'il al-Hayr al-Nāz*, a collection of traditions on the virtues of the first four Caliphs (Dihlī 1322/1904, with Persian and Urdu translations). (3) *Mā'in al-'Aḥād*, a concise statement of the Muslim creed with the author's own commentary on it (Dihlī 1321 A. H.). In Persian: (4) *Tuḥfa ṣāḥib al-Ḥayriyya* (edited by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Ḥāḍī Jawl, Lucknow 1295 A. H.), in which he refutes the Shi'ite doctrine that the continuous line of the Caliphate as *ḥādī al-hādī*, *ḥādī al-hādī* 'an *Khalīfat al-Khalāfa'*. It has also been translated into Urdu. (5) *ʿIḍā'at al-Nāḥa* (Dihlī 1312, 1348 A. H.), an introduction to the science of *Hadīth*. (6) *Bustān al-Muḥaddithīn* (Dihlī 1298), a bibliography of *Hadīth* literature, giving descriptions of books together with brief biographies of their authors. (7) *Fatāwā* (in 2 parts, Dihlī 1341 A. H.), a collection of opinions and formal decisions on questions of law and doctrine. There is also an Urdu translation of part I by M. Nawwāb 'Alī and 'Abd al-Djallī (Haydarabad Deccan 1235; also Cawnpore). (8) *Fath al-'Aziz*, commonly known as *Taḥṣīl al-'Aziz*, a commentary in Persian on Suras I and II, and sections 29 and 30 of the *Qur'ān*. Sections 29 and 30 of the *Qur'ān* have both been printed at Calcutta; the former bears the date 1248 A. H., while that of the other is not traceable. There are several other prints. Urdu translations of all the various parts have been published. (9) *Malfūḥat Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*, the *obiter dicta* of the author, originally collected in Persian in 1223 A. H. and subsequently translated into Urdu by 'Asmāt Ḥāḍī in 1315/1897 and lithographed at Meerut.

**Bibliography:** Siddiq Hasan Khān, *Ḥikā' al-Nuḥadā'*, 296; Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Tirḥūṭī, *al-Yānī al-Djallī fi Asnād al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghānī*, lithographed on the margin of *Kaḥf al-'Asīr 'an Ridā' Ma'āni al-Āḥād* (Deoband 1349 A. H.), 72-5; Rahmān 'Alī, *Taḥṣīl al-'Aziz*, Lucknow 1914, 122; Rahīm Ḍakḥā, *Haydī Wālī* (in Urdu), Dihlī 1319 A. H., 338-42; idem, *Haydī 'Aziz*; Storey, *Persian Literature*, i, 24; Zubaid Ahmad, *The contribution of India to Arabic literature*, Jullundur, 1946, index; Baḡhīr al-Dīn, *Taḥṣīl al-'Aziz*, Meerut 1934.

(SU. INAYATULLAH)

'ABD AL-RAHĀ' (see RAHĀ').  
'ABD AL-DJABBĀR B. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN AL-ABD, GOVERNOR OF KHURĀSĀN. In 120/747-8 and 123/750-1 he was a supporter of the 'Abbāsids in their conflict with the Umayyads, and was appointed to command the *ghurja* during the cal-

phates of al-Saffāh and al-Mansūr. The latter sent him to Khurāsān as governor in 120/737-8. On arrival in the province, he began a violent persecution against the local aristocracy, whom he accused of partiality for the 'Alids; but it seems that his measures affected also some of the partisans of the 'Abbāsids (as is stated in the Persian version of al-Tabarī). This was apparently the reason why the caliph came to suspect him of rebellion. A cunning exchange of letters, which followed, only confirmed these suspicions, and eventually in 121/738-9 al-Mansūr sent an army against him under the command of his son al-Mahdī. On the approach of the troops the population of Marw al-Rūḥī rose and delivered up 'Abd al-Djabbār, who was brought before al-Mansūr, tortured, and put to death, probably at the beginning of 122/739-60.

**Bibliography:** Ya'qūbī, index; Tabari, index; *Chronique de Tabari* (Persian), tr. H. Zotenberg, iv, 378-80; S. Moscati, *La rivolta di 'Abd al-Gabbār*, in *Rend. Linc.*, 1917, 613-5.

'ABD AL-DJABBĀR B. AHMAD B. 'ABD AL-DJABBĀR AL-HAMAGHĀSĪ AL-ASADĀDĪ, Abū 'l-Hasan, Mu'tazilite theologian, in law a follower of the Shāfi'ī school. Born about 325, he lived in Baghdad, until called to Rayy, in 367/978, by the *shāh* Ibn 'Abbād, a staunch supporter of the Mu'tazila. He was subsequently appointed chief *kāḍī* of the province; hence he is usually referred to in later Mu'tazilite literature as *ḥādī al-hādī*. (For some anecdotes on his relations with Ibn 'Abbād see Yāqūt, *Irbād*, ii, 312, 314). On the death of Ibn 'Abbād, he was deposed and arrested by the ruler, Faḡhr al-Dawla, because of a slighting remark made by him about his deceased benefactor (*Irbād*, i, 70-1, ii, 335). No details seem to be available about his later life, and we do not seem to know, for instance, whether he was re-instated in his office. He died in 415/1025.

His main dogmatic work is the enormous *Mughnī*, of which the greater part has been preserved in San'ā, see: *Fihrist Kutub al-Ḥisāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*, 103-4; some volumes in Cairo, brought from San'ā, see: *Kh. Y. Nānī, al-Ḥaḍra al-Murayyā' al-Fayṣal al-Makḥḥūṭ al-'Arabiyya* (Cairo 1952, 15). Another important handbook of his dogmatics, *al-Maḥḥūṭ bi'l-Tablī*, was compiled by his pupil Ibn Mattawayh (q.v.). Several volumes in San'ā, *Fihrist*, 102 (vol. I, Berlin 1549; Taymūriyya, 'Aḥād 357; fragments in Leningrad, see A. Borisov, *Les manuscrits mu'tazilites de la Bibliothèque publique de Leningrad*, *Bibliography*, *Fonologie*, 63-92). His monograph on prophecy (*Taḥṣīl al-Dalīl al-Nubuwwiyya Sayyidina Muhammad*, Shihād 'Alī Paṣha 1275, cf. H. Ritter, *Isl.*, 1929, 42) contains also important discussions of the views of other schools, especially those of the Shāfi'a. Another important dogmatic treatise seems to be his *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khāma* (Val. 1028). For other writings that have come down to us, cf. Brockelmann. It is not only from his own works, however, that his system can be reconstructed. All the writings of the latter Mu'tazila—including the Zaydi writers on dogmatics; as a matter of fact, his own books, too, have been preserved mainly by the Zaydis of Yaman—are full of reports on his opinions. He was the chief figure in the last phase of Mu'tazilism, but his teaching has not yet been studied.

**Bibliography:** Abū Sa'd al-Bayḥakī, *Sharḥ 'Uṣūl al-Ma'ānī*, MS Leiden, Landberg 215, fol. 123<sup>v</sup>-125<sup>v</sup>, whence Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Mu'tazila*, Arnold, 66 ff.; al-Khaṣṣ al-Baḡhdādī,



Ta'rikh Baghdad, xi, 113 ff.; al-Sabki, *Tabakat*, iii, 114, 219-20; Ibn al-Athir, viii, 510-1; ix, 77-8, 235, x, 95; I. Goldziher, *Jah*, 1912, 214; M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme*, 457-62; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Tradition*, 191-3. — 'Abd al-Djabbār's *Tabakat al-Mu'tasila* was the main source of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Bayhaqi's important historical account of the Mu'tasila in the introduction of his *Shāh 'Uyūn al-Ma'adī*. Al-Bayhaqi's account was taken over, in a slightly abbreviated form, by Ibn al-Murtadā (ed. Th. W. Arnold).

'ABD AL-FATTAH FUMANI, Persian historian, lived probably in the 16th-17th centuries. Entering into government service in Fūman, the old capital of Gilān (Ch. Scherf, *Christ, pers.*, ii, 93) he was appointed controller of accounts by the vizier of the place, Behzād-beg, about 1018 or 1019/1609-10. After serving under several other viziers, he was taken to Irāk by 'Adil Shāh. He wrote in Persian *Ta'rikh-i Gilān*, a history of Gilān from 925/1517 to 1038/1628. This book, published by B. Dorn (with a résumé in his introduction), completes the histories of Zāhir al-Dīn [q.v.] and 'Alī b. Shams al-Dīn [q.v.].

*Bibliography:* 'Abd al-Fattāh Fūmanī's *Geschichte von Gilān* (vol. iii of B. Dorn, *Mohammed. Quellen zur Geschichte d. süd. Küstenländer des Kaukasien Meeres*). (Cl. Huart—H. Massé).

'ABD AL-ĞIBRĀNĪ b. ISMĀ'IL AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, mystic, theologian, poet, traveller, and voluminous writer on a variety of subjects, born in Damascus c. 1100-1110/1090-1000 March 1647, and the leading figure in the religious and literary life of Syria in his time. His family, traditionally *Shāfi'ī* (though his father had changed to the Hanafī rite), had long been settled in Damascus and Muhibb describes his great-grandfather as "glāyā madhābūh al-Shāfi'ī" (*Īkhwān*, ii, 433). He early showed an interest in mysticism, joining the *Kādirī* and *Nakshbandī* (*tārikas*), and as a young man shut himself up in his house for seven years, studying the works of Ibn al-'Arabī, Ibn Sab'īn and 'Aḥf al-Dīn al-Tirmidī, and bringing on himself by his unconventional behaviour charges of anti-nomianism. An early work, a *hadīṣ* in praise of the Prophet, was of such virtuosity that his authorship was doubted, until he vindicated himself by writing a commentary on it. In 1075/1664 he made his first journey to Istanbul, and in 1100/1688 he visited the Bāḳā' and Lebanon, in 1101/1689 Jerusalem and Hebron, in 1105/1693 Egypt and Hijāz, and in 1112/1700 Tripoli, and wrote accounts of all these travels except the first. His work number (including short treatises) from 200 to 250. His pupils were innumerable, the most important probably being Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī [q.v.]. He died in Damascus on 24 *Sha'bān* 1243/3 March 1731.

His works fall into three main categories: *sūfi*, poetry, travels. His *sūfi* writings are mostly in the form of commentaries on the works of Ibn al-'Arabī, al-Djīlī, Ibn al-Fārīdī and others. In these commentaries he does not merely paraphrase and epitomize, but develops the thought in the tradition of the great commentators by original, if sometimes far-fetched, interpretation, which, as it is not exclusively mystical, is an important source for his religious and theological thought in general. In several of his commentaries 'Abd al-Ğibrānī has represented a combination of two trends of mystical thought, the Andalusian-Maghribī trend (Abū Madyūn, Ibn Maḥbūb, Shuḥrābī, Sanūsī) and the Perso-Anatolian trend

(Abū al-Dīn Nūrī, Mahmūd Uskūdārī, Muḥammad Bīrgāl). He wrote also on the orders to which he belonged, as well as on the Mawlawī order. In his original writings he seems to be dominated by the concept of *wahdat al-wujūd*; of these original works the most important is the first volume of his great *divān*.

The *Divān al-dawāwīn*, which contains the main body of his poetical output, comprises, as well as the first volume on mysticism (published Cairo 1302 etc.), three other volumes, all unpublished, containing eulogies of the Prophet, general eulogies and correspondence, and love-poems respectively. This by no means represents the whole of his poetical output, many of his other works also being written in verse form, and his interest in poetry is reflected in his commentary on the poems of Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī. During his lifetime and after he had a great reputation as a poet (see Amīr Haydar, *Le Liban* (ed. Rustum), i, 8 ff., 22 ff., and for his use of the *manẓūm*, Hartmann, *Manẓūm*, 6).

In his narratives of his travels (see above) it was not 'Abd al-Ğibrānī's intention to present a description of topographical or architectural detail. They are rather records of his own mystical experiences; but at the same time they throw a considerable amount of light on the religious and cultural life of the age. They are important also because they served as models for later travellers, such as the Damascusi Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and the Egyptian Aṣ'ad al-Lukaynī. In addition, he wrote works, some of them vast and encyclopaedic, on *tafsīr*, *badī'ih*, *kalām*, *fīkh*, interpretation of dreams (a mine of information on the spiritualism and superstitions of his age), agriculture, the lawfulness of tobacco, and many other subjects.

*Bibliography:* Murādī, *Sīk al-dawāwī*, ii, 30-8; Djabbārī, *Adjā'ib al-Ğibrānī*, i, 154-7; Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, *al-Faḥ al-tarīq* (v. . . al-ğayb) ('*Abd al-Ğibrānī* (Ms. in the writer's possession); Ibn al-'Arabī, *Fayḍ al-ikḥām*, ed. 'Aḥfī (Cairo, 1916), i, 23; A. S. Khālidī, *Rikla al-dīyār al-Shām* (Jaffa, 1916); 'Abbūd, *Riwayat al-nabha al-hadīṣa* (Bairut, 1952), 34 ff.; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921) 143 ff.; L. Massignon, *La Passion de al-Halālī*, passim. (W. A. S. KHALIDĪ).

'ABD AL-HAKK ABD MUHAMMAD (see MARSHALL).

'ABD AL-HAKK R. SAYF AL-DIN AL-DIHLAWI al-Buḥārī, Abū l-Maḥdī, with the *laqab* *Ḥakīm*, Indian author in Arabic and Persian, born Muharram 958/Jan. 1557, died 2 Rabī' II 1052/30 June 1642. He spent some time in Faṭṭūr, studying with Faydī and Mirzā Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, but fell out with them (cf. Badā'ūnī, iii, 115 ff.). *al-Makāshif wa l-Rasā'il*, on marg. of *Aḥbār al-Aḥyār*, Delhi, 1332, 160; 'Abd al-Hakḳ's book on the writers of Delhi, cf. below, p. 20; *Haṭṭ al-Dīn*, s. v. Dīhlī. He left for the Hijāz in 996 (*Aḥbār al-Aḥyār*, Urdu transl. of Ġhawwī's *Ğulzar-i Aḥrār*, Agra 1326, 559), studying for several years with the famous scholars there (of whom he gave an account in his *Zād al-Ma'adī*). On his return, he taught for half a century in Delhi. He won the favour of Djāhangīr (who praises him in the *Tuzuk-i Djāhangīr*, Aligarh 1864, 281 a) and the *Tuzuk-i 'Ulayd*, Alīghar, Rājasthān, *Mahabharat Shāh-Jahān*, 'Ulayd Alīghar, Rājasthān, *Mahabharat Shāh-Jahān*, Panjab Univ. Libr. Ms. no. 258 v., quotes a *risāla* by 'Abd al-Hakḳ against the "ecstatic phrases" (*ghathiyāt*) of Ahmad Kābulī (*Muḥaddith al-afī' ḥānī*, d. 1034), but ultimately

the controversy was settled peacefully (Siddiq Hasan Khān, *Tārīkh Dīyār al-Aḥrār*, Bhopal 1298, 185). The tomb of 'Abd al-Hakḳ is in the *Ḥawā'i Shāmī* in Delhi. An inscription on the wall of the *kubba* gives a sketch of his life; it is quoted fully in Ġhawwī *Alī Āzād, Ma'athir al-Kiram*, Agra 1328, 201; *Aḥbār al-Aḥyār*, 6; W. Beale, *Miftāh al-Tawārīkh*, Cawnpur 1867, 240; Ġaḥlī al-Dīn Ahmad, *Wāḥid al-Habwat*, Delhi, Agra 1919, ii, 395. According to the *Wāḥid*, 'Abd al-Hakḳ's descendants in Delhi were still celebrating every year his *vers* at the tomb.

In his *Tārīkh Kalb al-Aḥf bi-Kubātī Fihrist al-Tawā'id*, appended to his treatise on the writers and poets of Delhi (cf. the Urdu periodical *Tārīkh*, Haydarabad-Deccan, vol. i, part 34), 'Abd al-Hakḳ gives a list of his forty-nine works in Arabic and Persian. The following are the most important of his works: a *Divān* (cf. *Suhb-i Ġaḥlān*, Bhopal 1295, 141); *Lamā'at al-Tanḥīh*, Arabic commentary on al-Tibritī's *Miftāh al-Majābīh*; *Aḥf'at al-Lamā'at*, a fuller, Persian, commentary on the *Miftāh*, Lucknow 1277; *Aḥbār al-Aḥyār*, lives of saints, mostly Indian; *Zuhād al-Īḥr*, biography of 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djīlī; *Miftāh al-Faḥ*, Persian translation, with commentary, of al-Djīlī's *Faḥ al-Ğayb*; *Ḍikr al-Mulak*, a sketch of Indian history from the Ghūrīds to Akḥar; *Dīyār al-Kulab*, a history of Medina, based mainly on al-Samūdī; *Madrīdī al-Nubuwā*, a biography of the Prophet (Urdu transl.: *Madrīdī al-Nubuwā*, Lucknow 1277). His main contribution is his share of the popularisation of the study of *Hadīth* in India.

*Bibliography:* Autobiography in *Aḥbār al-Aḥyār* and another in the treatise on the writers of Delhi; *Tabakat-i Akḥarī* (Engl. transl.), Calcutta 1936, 692; 'Abd al-Hamīd, *Bidā'at-nāma*, i, 341; M. Sālib, *Amal-i Sālib*, iii, 384; *Īḥāl al-Nakāsh*, Cawnpur 1289, 303; *Tārīkh*, 112; *Aḥf'at al-Sawādī*, Cawnpur 1294, 65; *Cat. Freskhar Libr.*, 48, 173, 203 ff., 277; Brockelmann, ii, 549, S. i, 778, 277, 603; Storey, 194 ff., 181, 214, 427, 441; Zuhād Ahmad, *The contribution of India to Arabic literature*, index. (MOHAMMAD SHAFI).

'ABD AL-HAKK HĀMĪD (ABDULHAK HĀMĪD), Turkish poet, born 2 Feb. 1852. He belonged to an old family of scholars which came from Irbid, but resided for some time in Egypt before returning to Istanbul in the second half of the 18th century. His grandfather, 'Abd al-Hakḳ Molla, was chief court physician, and a great favourite during that later period of Mahmūd II's reign which began in 1826 and brought renewal to the Empire. He had a great part in the opening of the new School of Medicine, wrote occasional poetry and left a diary (*Tārīkh-i Līvā'*) describing the Sultan's sojourn in 1828 (during the Russian war) in the barracks of Rami, supervising the training of the new army. (His two brothers were also authors). Hāmīd's father, Ġhayrullāh Efendi, was one of the best historians of his day. He also wrote a journal of his visits to Paris (unpublished in this day) and was the author of the first Turkish play, *Hikāye-yi İbrahim Pāshā*.

Hāmīd grew up in this cultured environment; the childhood reminiscences of his mother, a Circassian slave girl, added to this intellectual background a fairy tale touch and Hāmīd's work was to remain to the end marked by this influence. He began his studies in one of the newly founded state schools and continued them in Paris, where he went together with his father when he was eleven

years old. Back in Istanbul, and later in Teheran, where his father was ambassador, he took private lessons, especially in Arabic and Persian. Among his tutors it was Tāḥsīn Efendi who made the deepest impression on him. It was his influence that made Hāmīd's early works (among them a narrative in verse, *Ğarām*) interesting records of the first clash between Western science and philosophy and Muslim faith.

After his father's death Hāmīd went back to Istanbul and entered the Civil Service; in 1876 he was appointed second secretary to the embassy in Paris. He had married in 1871, in Edirne, Fātma Khānūm, of the well-known Pirizade family. In Paris he met the ex-Prime Minister Mīdhat Pāshā. Letters and works written in that period testify to the intellectual crisis he was then going through. On his return he was appointed consul in Poti (Russia), then in Golos (Greece), finally in Bombay. On his way back in 1883 his wife died; her death affected deeply Hāmīd and his poetry.

In 1885 he was appointed first secretary in London, then minister in The Hague, returning as secretary, then councillor, to the London embassy. In 1908 Hāmīd, then ambassador in Brussels, became a member of the Senate, and acted, during the first world war, as a deputy president. When the Senate was dissolved, he went to Vienna, returning towards the end of the war of independence. He was elected to the National Assembly in 1928. He died in 1937 and was given a national funeral.

His works before going to Europe (1873-6): *Māğirā-yi 'Aḥb*, *Sabr ü Tḥbāt*, *İlā Kiz*, *Duḥter-i Hindu*, *Nazife*. Between his journey to Europe and his wife's death (1876-85): *Nestere*, *Tārīk yakut Endulius Fātih*, *Sakir*, *Tenar*, *Eğher*, 1885-1908: *Mahber*, *Ölü*, *Hadife*, *Bunlar o dur*, *Divandüsklerim yakut Delale*, *Dir Seffinim Hasbi-i Hāl*, 1908-23: *Zeynab*—written 1887, *İskādan bir ser*, *Ğibn*, *Liberté*, *Wāḥid*, *Turkhān*, *İḥām-i Watan*, *Mektuplar I, II*, *Abdullāh-i Şakir*, *Finlen*—1887, *Tayfār*, *Ğridi*, *Yādigar-i Harp*, *İm-i Māsā*—1887, *Yabandığı dostlar*, *Anlar*, *Kaḥbe* (*Dir Seffinim Hasbi-i Hāl*), *Khābān*. *Heḫ uya* *Heḫ*—first collection of poems, the play *Yūnus* v. 'Aḥb and some letters, as well as the last play, *Kāsinān*. *Wāḥid*, *Amir*, remained unpublished; the memoirs that have appeared in various newspapers have not come out in book form.

Hāmīd's first drama, *Māğirā-yi 'Aḥb*, is a youthful attempt which contains already the romantic elements to be developed later on by him. *Sabr ü Tḥbāt* and *İlā Kiz* are of local inspiration, full of comedy and rich in elements of folklore. Influenced also by his relative Ahmed Wefik Pāshā [q.v.], it was from the circle of Şināid [q.v.] that his personality received its first strong stamp. Hāmīd belongs to the second generation of innovators, the first being that of Şināid. Too young to join the Young Turks around Nāḥik Kemāl [q.v.], he was strongly influenced by the literature of that movement. But although Hāmīd followed Nāḥik Kemāl in his search of the ideal man, his real function may be seen in his achievement of a new Turkish poetry. In a short poem inserted in his play *Duḥter-i Hindu*, Hāmīd changed the long established rhyme scheme, abandoned the conventional poetic themes and images and enlarged the horizon of his poetry by bringing it into direct contact with life. In the collections of poems *Delale* and *Sakir*, partly written in Paris, this revolution is even deeper. In his third collection of poems *Bunlar o dur* he already appears as master of a new and better



literary form and while sometimes still hesitating, finally strikes a happy harmony between thought and language. His works reflect his joy in rediscovering nature, to which he no doubt owes the pantheistic strain of his poetry.

Nowhere, however, can Hâmîd's personality be so clearly perceived as in the poems written on his wife's death: *Mâhber üze, Hâmîd*. Obsession with death, already present in *Gherâm*, is here still more persistent and the problems of human destiny are treated with genuine anguish. The influence of a society which had lost the purity of its peaceful faith in Islam and looked with apprehension at the changing world and the literary influence of Ziya Paşa's two poems *Türkî-i İslâmî* and *Tevfîk-i İslâmî* which Hâmîd had read in his youth with great admiration, contributed to strengthen this feeling of anguish. *Mâhber* is doubtless Hâmîd's masterpiece. Fâtma's image seems never to have been absent from his mind and it is significant that his second wife Nelly, whom he married in England, resembled greatly his dead wife. Hâmîd's poems written in this second period show affinities of thought, if not of vision, with those of V. Hugo, especially with such pieces as *Dies* and *La Fin de Satan*. In the poetry written after his appointment to London, there is less philosophical searching, but the inspiration is of a clearer perfection. For example, his poem "On passing through Hyde Park" is one of the best ever written in Turkish on the subject of nature and freedom. However, 'Abd al-Hâmîd's prohibition of the publishing of his poems in the Istanbul newspapers put an end to this third period of his literary career.

In his preface to *Dükkân-ı Hindu* Hâmîd exposed his preference for the romantic and exotic drama; in other words, in all his plays, even in plays such as *Eğher*, *Nestere* or *Tesir* that seem by their very subject to be nearer to the French classical theatre, he remained faithful to this conception. A despair born of political reasons and of the realization that his plays would never see the stage, make these pieces overloaded with speculation, while the dramatic situation is either absent or lost under the weight of incident. Though a play like *Finten* pretends to be a picture of English life, though the dialogue of Râşid and *Tevfîk* *Gedide* are dealing with the problem of man's destiny, most of the plays are historical. They deal with ancient India, Greece (*Eğher*), Mesopotamia (*Sardânâpâdi*), Turkish history in Central Asia, history of Andalusia. *Eğher*, supposed to be influenced by Racine's *Alexandre* and by Corneille, is an apology of pacifism and patriotism, while *Türkî* is the expression of Nâzım Kemâl's ideology. A peculiar feature of these plays is Hâmîd's endeavour to assign to women her place in life. In *Zeyneb*, in *İsm-i Müslî*, sequel of *Türkî* and in *Finten*, Hâmîd appears as a follower of Shakespeare.

Hâmîd has deeply influenced Turkish poetry. The generations both of *Tebrîz-i Fânîs* and *Fedî-i Ât* were under the impact of Hâmîd, and followed the creative and revolutionary lead which he had given in language and form. He not only employed new metres unknown in Turkish poetry up to his day, but also quantitative verse. He even tried a sort of blank verse. In his drama he came nearer to spoken language. As, however, his works written after 1885 were not published at the time, he had little share in the developments that took place afterwards. His real influence, starting in 1885, can be said to have stopped already in 1905.

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(A. HAMDI TANPINAR) Ottoman Sultan, born 5 Rabi'ab 1137/20 March 1725, succeeded his brother Mustafa 8 Zih 1-Ka'dîa 1187/21 January 1774.

'Abd al-Hâmîd succeeded to the throne during a war with Russia, in which financial difficulties, rebellions in various provinces, and the weakness caused by ill success made the situation hopeless. An absolute necessity for Turkey. At the same time Russia also had been placed by the Pugachev revolt in a position to welcome peace. The new Sultan, however, was unwilling to end the war without some kind of victory, and the Porte accordingly refused to accept the Russian proposals for peace talks; hostilities were renewed, and the Turkish army was defeated at Kozuljiz. The road spread to the headquarters at Şumla of the Grand Vizier Muhsin-zâde Mehmed Pâşâ, who was forced to sue for peace from the Russian commander Rumjancev.

The treaty by which the war was terminated, and which was dictated by the Russians, was signed on 12 Dju'mâdî I, 1188/21 July 1774 at Kuçuk Kaynardje (g.a.), and is known by the name of that town. By its terms the Crimea was to become an independent state; and Russia obtained the fortresses on the coast of the Sea of Azov (Azâk), the lands of Lesser and Greater Kabartay, the area between the rivers Dniepr and Bug, freedom of navigation in the Black Sea, and the right to pass merchant ships through the Straits. Its most dangerous feature for Turkey was the wording of some of its clauses. It gave Russia a way to claim the right to protect Turkish subjects belonging to the Orthodox church; in return, however, Russia recognized a somewhat vaguely stated claim by the Sultan, as *ghalib*, to religious authority over all Muslims. After this treaty Austria too took advantage of the weakness of Turkey and annexed Bukovina, hitherto part of the principality of Moldavia (1775).

In 1774 war broke out also between Turkey and Persia, following a Persian invasion of Kurdistan. Ottoman forces were despatched to Baghdad in 1175, with the object of putting an end to the rule of the Manlikûs, but the Porte was forced to recognize their administration, and in the following year Barra fell to the Persians. In 1779 a war was evoked in consequence of internal disturbances in Persia, and reoccupied by the manlikû Sulaymân Aghâ, who was then granted the three paghalls of al-'Irâk (1180).

The peace of Kuçuk Kaynardje proved to be no more than an armistice between Turkey and Russia. Catherine II continued to aim at the annexation of the Crimea, whereas the Turks were trying to bring the principality back to its former status. For this reason the Crimea became an area of conflict and of Russian intervention under various forms; and

in addition, the clauses concerning the Straits and the Orthodox Christians in Turkey were subjects of contention between the two countries. Although it seemed at one time that war was imminent over the Crimean question, the terms relating to the Crimea in the treaty of Kuçuk Kaynardje were interpreted and reaffirmed by a Convention, in which Russia acted as mediator, signed at Istanbul in the pavilion of Ayvân-Kawân on 13 March 1779.

Nevertheless, Catherine II, after forming an alliance against Turkey with Joseph II (who had succeeded Maria Theresa on the throne of Austria), stirred up a revolt in the Crimea against the Khân Şâhin Girây, and on this pretext sent an army to the Crimea and annexed it to Russia. 'Abd al-Hâmîd I, though deeply mortified by this action, could not, being aware of the weakness of his empire, envisage going to war. When, however, the Czarina began to form far-reaching schemes for the setting up of a Greek state with her grandson Constantine Pavlovich at its head, the Porte could no longer tolerate the menacing demonstrations against Turkey provoked by her and her ally Joseph II.

In spite of the Sultan's love of peace, war was declared against Russia and Austria by the Grand Vizier Kodja Yûsuf Paşa (1787), when a request for the return of the Crimea was rejected, and Sweden subsequently joined in on the side of Turkey. An attack by the Turkish fleet in the direction of Kibruş was unsuccessful, and the Russians laid siege to Özakov. The Turkish army, however, attached more importance to the Austrian campaign and after twice defeating, at Vidin and Slatin, the Austrian armies which had taken the offensive along the Danube, invaded the Banat. On the other hand, the Turkish fleet failed in its attempt to relieve Özakov, and after a long resistance the fortress fell and its population was put to the sword. 'Abd al-Hâmîd, whose health was already undermined by the worries of the war, died of a stroke on reading the news, 12 Rabi'ab 1203/7 April 1789.

Although 'Abd al-Hâmîd I, who succeeded to the throne at an advanced age after spending most of his life in the seclusion of the palace, cannot be considered an energetic and successful sovereign, he is noted for his piety, his humanity, and his benevolence. He gave wide powers, for that time, to his Grand Viziers and left them free in their conduct of affairs, and he endeavoured to strengthen the central government against rebel forces within the empire; e.g. he sent a punitive expedition under Djezâ'irî Hasan Paşa against Zâhir al-'Umar, who had acquired great influence in Syria, and against the rebellious Manlikûs in Egypt. It may be observed that whereas during his reign the Porte followed a special policy towards Caucasus by trying to civilize the Circassian tribes and to attach them to Turkey and, in order to further this object, developed Soğudjuk and Anapa, the Russians, in opposition to this policy, supported the Georgians.

The last important act of the Grand Vizier of 'Abd al-Hâmîd I was Khâlîl Sulaymân Paşa, who was a supporter of reforms and, in order to put them into effect, tried to dethrone the old Sultan and to put the young prince Selim (afterwards Selim III) in his place. During the tenure of office of this enlightened Grand Vizier, who paid for his attempt with his life, the corps of Cannoniers, Bombardiers and Miners were reorganized.

The opening of the Imperial Naval Engineering School (*Mühendishâne-yi bahri-yi humâiyun*), for the education of trained officers, and the reopening

of Ibrahim Muterrikka's (g.a.) printing house, which had been allowed to fall into disuse, are among the achievements of 'Abd al-Hâmîd I. He also founded the Beylerbeyi and Mîrân mosques on the Bosphorus, as well as a number of benefactions such as libraries, schools, soup-kitchens, and fountains.

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'ABD AL-HAMÎD II (GEMAL) (AMURATAMPA) 35th Ottoman Sultan, fifth child of thirty of 'Abd al-Majîd (Abdülmejid) (g.a.), born Wednesday, 21 September 1842. He is traditionally represented as a reserved child, easily offended, and, in spite of his keen intelligence, not given to study. It is said that, after a stormy youth, he led a thrifty family life in the palace, which earned him the undeserved nickname 'Pîntî Hâmîd', Hamid the Skinfint, taken from a comedy by Kaşşâb. He early showed a great liking for the company of devout persons (Pertew-niyâ, a distortion of Pertew-nihâl, *wâide sultân* of 'Abd al-'Azîz) and for mystics, soothsayers, and wonder-workers (the *şâyih* 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Sûdî of Sayda, prototype of the astrologer Abu'l-Hudâ, who later exerted so great an influence on 'A.).

On 1 September 1876 he succeeded his brother Murâd V, who had been deposed, with the support of the Young Turks, whose leader, the celebrated Midhat (Mithat) Paşa (g.a.), was a former grand vizier of Sultan 'Abd al-'Azîz. The Porte was then engaged in victorious war with Milan, prince of Serbia and Nihilist ruler of Montenegro. The put stop to the intervention of the powers, in agreement with Midhat, initiated an international conference at Istanbul, and on the very day of its opening (23 December 1876) a *khâtt-i humâiyun* promulgated the first Constitution or *hikmân-ı kanunî* *esâsî*, a 'fundamental Law' instituting a two-Chamber parliamentary system. This Parliament, summoned to meet on 27 March 1877, and presided over by the famous Ahmed Vefik Paşa (g.a.), was prorogued *sine die* on 13 February 1878 (actually for a period of thirty years).

In the course of his reign Turkey had to wage two wars, one with Russia (1877-8), the other with Greece (18 April-5 June 1897); finally the inextricable Macedonian imbroglio, in which the most varied races were bitterly engaged, led to interventions by the Concert of Europe which precipitated the Young Turk revolution. On 3 July 1908 the vice-major (*kol-aghân*) Niyâzi Bey took to the mountains at Resna and seized Monastir. On the 23rd, the major (*bin-bâgî*) Enver Bey, former military attaché in Berlin, rose in revolt at Salonika. The Sultan and Minors were reorganized. The Constituent Assembly, which had never disappeared from the official Year-book (*sul-nâme*), was simply revived on 24 July (which was later kept as a national holiday). After



the coup de force carried out by the reactionaries and by troops roused to fanaticism, on 13 April 1909, the 3rd army corps of Macedonia, commanded by Marshal Mahmud Şhewket, which had for that occasion become an "investing" or "marching" army (*haraket ordusu*), brought back the fugitive Young Turks and the Constitution to Istanbul (24 April).

'Abd al-Hamid was deposed by a decision (*hukm-nâme*) of the two Chambers, meeting as a National Assembly on 28 April 1909, based on a *fatwa* of the same day, a document in which appeared in particular the strange imputation that he had "forbidden and burnt the books of the religious Law". The brother of 'Abd al-Hamid, Muhammad (Mehmet) Reşid, succeeded him as Muhammad V.

'Abd al-Hamid was exiled to Salonika. When the Balkan war broke out, in 1912, he was moved to the palace of Beylerbeyi (on the Bosphorus). He died there of pneumonia, on Sunday, 10 February 1918, at the age of 75, and was buried in the *turbe* of his grandfather, Mahmud II.

The two salient points of Abd al-Hamid's political system were absolutism and Panislamism.

1) Absolutism (*sûbûdîlik*).—Although their power was unlimited, 'Abd al-Hamid's predecessors interfered relatively little in the affairs of government. They usually left it to the administrative representative, the grand vizier (*Sadr-ı A'zam*), who was regarded as their *velî-i muâlef* (in the term which has sometimes been translated as 'vicar absolute'). The government was "the (Sublime) Porte" of the grand vizier. 'Abd al-Hamid wished to create an instrument of domination carrying even closer personal control, and he gave great importance to "the Palace" or "the Court". In Turkish, this was termed the *Mabeynîs*, an Arabic term which means literally "that (which is) between (the private apartments and the Porte)". It was a separate building (within the precincts of Yıldız), and contained the offices of the chamberlains (*mabeynîdâr*) and of the rapporteurs or referendaries (*âmîdgi* or *îmîdî*). Hence the power of the first secretary of the *Mabeynîs* (of the sultan, in actual fact)—Tahsin Paşa, for instance—or of a second secretary such as İzzet 'Alâ, a Syrian who was the object of public execration. The palace of Yıldız, usually shortened to Yıldız (*q.v.*), with its harem and its administrative departments, became a sort of town with several thousand residents—a town half shrouded in secrecy, which long haunted and terrified people's imaginations, often without cause.

This system, carried on at a time when there existed a strong revolutionary ferment, was not calculated to discourage conspiracies, and it was only by miraculous good fortune that 'Abd al-Hamid escaped an Armenian bomb in 1905. This only intensified the fear and suspicion which dominated all his life. He encouraged informing and espionage, which developed into an increasingly complex network. The name *shafîyye*, which means literally "secret (police)" finally came to include the whole range of informers and spies, from the highest social levels to the lowest. Written denunciations were known as *ghurnal*, from an expression borrowed formerly from Muhammad 'Alî of Egypt, and which meant originally "daily administrative report".

The severity of the censorship reached a degree of ineptitude that seems incredible, but is proved by authentic documents. The censor struck out words like *satan*, "fatherland", because it was a conception that implied rivalry to dynasty and religion, and

other words, such as liberty, explosion, bomb, regicide, murder, plot, etc.

2) Panislamism.—'Abd al-Hamid had a deep sense of the importance of his role (which was, however, debatable) of *halîfa*, by virtue of which he was protector of the religion of Islam (art. 3 of the Constitution of 1876). He greatly esteemed Djamâl al-dîn al-Afghânî (*q.v.*), who had led out to him the bright prospect of bringing the *shî'ites* themselves back into the bosom of Sunnism. This sterile and even dangerous policy was largely based on the illusion that he could count on the loyalty of the Arabs, his spoilt children.

Strangely enough, the Turcolotist Arminius Vambéry, a Hungarian Jew who was on terms of friendship with 'Abd al-Hamid, encouraged him in these tendencies. They had one useful result at least, in that they prompted 'Abd al-Hamid to build the Hijâz railway to the holy places of Islam. This undertaking, which had also strategic value because of the frequent troubles in the Yaman, and in which 'Abd al-Hamid was justly proud, was paid for by collections made exclusively among Muslims, and by the revenue from the "Hijâz-stamp". The railway was begun on 1 September 1900, on the 25th anniversary of the Sultan's accession. It was also the indirect cause of the Anglo-Turkish dispute over Tabat and the Gulf of 'Akaba, in which England appeared for the first time (1906) as the official defender of Egyptian interests. The line reached Medina in 1908.

Another manifestation of Panislamism was less successful. This was the sending to Japan of the screw training ship *Ertogul*, a wooden vessel that went down within sight of the Japanese coast (25 September 1890).

The European press and caricaturists accused 'Abd al-Hamid of blind fanaticism, and branded him with the name of 'Red Sultan' because of the role attributed to him in the suppression of revolts or of bloody conflicts in Macedonia and Crete, and especially Armenia (risings in 1894 and 1895, raid on the Ottoman Bank in 1896). The least that can be said, indeed, is that he did little or nothing to prevent horrible massacres (just as he did nothing to prevent extortion). On the other hand, the atrocities had begun before his time, and did not stop after his disappearance. The Turkish population, fanatical for these occasions, was not the only one to take part. There were also other Muslims: the Circassian immigrants from the Caucasus, and the Kurds.

It would be unjust to judge 'Abd al-Hamid, who has so often been accused of obscurantism, without giving him credit for all the institutions established during his reign.

Physically, 'Abd al-Hamid had regular features, an aquiline nose and lightcoloured eyes, but as he grew older his appearance became that of a bent and hunched old man. He had a loud, deep voice, and knew how to be agreeable. In his dress he was quiet, very simple, and distinguished. He was a man of contrasts. Very approachable, unlike most of the Ottoman sultans, he was given to sudden fits of anger, which were, however, quickly suppressed. Authoritarian to the point of despotism, very intelligent, and possessed of an excellent memory, he had an exceptional capacity for work, and liked to deal with all affairs himself—a paralysing trait in the head of a State.

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The numerous articles in periodicals are not given. (J. DESVY)

'ABD AL-HAMID b. YAHYÂ b. SA'b, the founder of Arabic epistolary style, *mauallâ* of the Kurâşî clan of 'Amîr b. Lu'ayy. He was probably a native of al-Anhâr, and is said to have been a travelling pedagogue before he was employed in the Umayyad secretariat under Hishâm's chief secretary, the *mauallâ* Sâlim; he was then attached to Marwân b. Muhammad, whom he continued to serve as chief secretary after Marwân's accession to the Caliphate. He refused to desert his master in misfortune and is generally said to have shared his fate at Bâṣir on 26 Dhû'l-Hijja 121/5 August 739. According to another account he took refuge in the house of his disciple Ibn al-Mukaffa, but was traced and seized. His descendants continued to live in Egypt under the name of Banu 'l-Muhâjjir and furnished secretaries to Ahmad b. Tulûn.

The surviving compositions of 'Abd al-Hamid, comprising six formal *rasâ'id* and a few chancery pieces and private letters, exhibit a remarkable divergence of styles. His most elaborate *rasîda*, a long epistle addressed to Marwân's son and heir 'Abd Allâh, with advice on personal conduct, ceremonial, and the conduct of war, is composed in a language and style based on the idioms, rhythms, and vivid metaphors of Arabic poetry and rhetoric, but elaborated by the addition of often lengthy sequences of qualifying clauses. Since the same style appears in most of his other official *rasâ'id*, it can only be conjectured (in the absence of earlier secretarial documents) that this feature—unusual in both earlier and later Arabic style—is to be traced to Greek influences in the Umayyad secretariat.



His most famous *risāla*, on the other hand, that addressed to the Secretaries (*kuttāb*), setting forth the dignity of their office and their responsibilities, is fluent, simple and straightforward. A comparison of its contents with the writings of Ibn al-Mukaffā and later quotations from Persian works shows clearly that it is inspired by the tradition of the Sāsānid secretariat, and largely reproduces with an Islamic gloss the maxims of the Iranian *dihkāt* (see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sāsānides*, Copenhagen, 1944, 132 ff.). Also of Persian inspiration, and quite distinct from the traditional Arabic presentation of the subject, is his *risāla* describing the incidents of a hunt, evidently written for the entertainment of the court. A large proportion of the maxims addressed to the prince in the first *risāla* mentioned above are also derived from Sāsānid court ceremonial and usages, although the military instructions are more probably influenced by Greek tactics, either through literary channels or from actual experience in the Byzantine wars.

It would appear, therefore, that both views expressed by later Arabic critics in regard to 'Abd al-Hamid are justified, in spite of their apparent incompatibility. On the one hand is the statement (e.g. al-As'kari, *Diwān al-Ma'dūd*, ii, 89) that 'Abd al-Hamid extracted from the Persian tongue the modes of secretarial composition which he illustrated, and transposed them into the Arabic language. On the other hand there is the description of him (e.g. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Ihd al-Farīd*, ii, 169 (1121) = iv, 195 (1944/1963)) as having been "the first to open up the buds of rhetoric, to smooth out its ways, and to loosen poetry from its bonds". He was also a master of pithy epigram, several examples of which are recorded in the *asāb* works.

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(H. A. R. GRUB)

'ABD AL-HAMID LĀHAWRĪ, Indo-Persian historian, died 1065/1654-5, author of the *Pañjshāh-nāma*, an official history of the Indian sultan Shāh Jihān. The work is composed of three parts, each containing the history of one decade. Only the first two parts, comprising the years 1037-1057, were written by 'Abd al-Hamid; the last part was arranged by his pupil Muhammad Wazīrī. Parts I and II were published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1866-72.

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'ABD AL-HAYY, AMR 'L-HASANAT MUHAMMAD, the son of Mawlawi 'Abd al-Hallam, an Indian theologian of the Hanafi school, associated with the famous seminary of Farangi Mahall, Lucknow, was born at Bānda in Bundelkhand in 1264/1848. He studied with his father and another scholar till the age of seventeen, when he began to assist his father as a teacher. He twice made the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he met the Mufti Ahmad b. Zaynī Dāhūdī (d. r.), from whom he obtained *ijāza* for a large number of works. He wrote glosses and annotations on a large number of text-books current

in the Indian madrasas, besides numerous works chiefly on religious and legal topics, mentioned by himself in his *al-Nāfi' al-Kābir* and in his introduction to his edition of al-Shaybānī's recension of the *Muwatā'* (Delhi 1907, 27-9). As a work of general interest and utility, special mention is due to his *al-Fawā'id al-Bahā'iyya fi Tarāḡim al-Hanāliyya* (Delhi 1293; Cairo 1324), which is an abridgement, with additional biographical notices, of Mahmūd b. Sulaymān al-Kaffawī's *Katāib 'A'ālam al-Ākharī*. He was a distinguished and influential teacher, whose lectures were attended by a large number of students, who achieved the grades of teachers and scholars in their own turn. One of his pupils, Mawlawī Hafiz Allāh wrote his biography under the title of *Kans al-Barāhāt*. He died at Lucknow in 1304/1886.

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(S. INAYATULLAH)

'ABD AL-KĀDIR b. GHAYYĪ AL-HAYAT AL-MARĠĠĠ, the greatest of the Persian poets (writers) in Arabic music, died at Marḡā, about the middle of the 8th/14th century, he had become one of the minstrels of al-Buḥayrī, the Ljālā'īd Sultan of Irāk, about 781/1379. Under the next Sultan, Ahmad, he was appointed the chief court minstrel, a post which he held until Timur captured Baghdad in 793/1393, when he was transported to Samarkand, the capital of the conqueror. In 801/1399 we find him at Tabriz in the service of Timur's wayward son Mirānshāh, for whose erratic conduct his "boon companions" were blamed. Timur acted swiftly with the sword, but 'Abd al-Kādir, being forewarned, escaped to Sultan Ahmad at Baghdad, although he once more fell into Timur's hands when the latter re-entered Baghdad in 803/1400. Taken back to Samarkand, he became one of the four brilliant men who shed lustre on the court of Shāhrukh. In 824/1421, having written a music treatise for the Turkish Sultan Murād II, he set out for the Ottoman court to present it in person in 826/1423. Later he returned to Samarkand, dying at Harāt in 838/March 1435.

Of the fame of 'Abd al-Kādir in his day, and since, there can be little doubt. Mu'īn al-Dīn Jidī, the author of the *Rasā'id al-Diyārāt*, eulogizes him for his threefold talents as musician, poet, and painter, but it was more especially for his skill in music that he was called "the glory of the past age". In addition to being a deft performer on the late (*ūd*) and a prolific composer (*ṭarīf*), he excelled as a music theorist. His most important treatise on this subject is the *Diwān al-Kādir* ("Encyclopaedia of Music"), autographs of which are preserved at the Bodleian Library and the Nūru 'Ōghmāniyya Library, Istanbul. The first of these, written in 808/1405 for his son Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān, was revised by the author in 816/1413. The second, dated 818/1415, carries a dedication to Sultan Shāhrukh. Several abridgments of this work by the author also exist, notably a shorter one, an autograph, without title, dated 821/1417, which is at the Bodleian. It was written, evidently, for Bāyquṣluḡ. A longer version in the same library, called the *Mahāsid al-Akḥās* ("Purports of Music"), written about 834-7/1427-3, was dedicated to the Turkish Sultan Murād II,

according to the Leiden copy. A third treatise on music, the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* ("Treasury of Music"), which contained the author's notated compositions, has not survived. His last work, the *Sharḥ al-Adwār* ("Commentary on the *Kitāb al-'Adwār*" [of Sāfi al-Dīn]), is to be found in the Nūru 'Ōghmāniyya Library. At Leiden there is a short *Kitāb al-Adwār* in Turkish bearing his name. These works are of great importance in the history of Persian, Arabian, and Turkish music. Although only a few of his musical compositions have survived in the *Diwān*, many have been handed down *sine nota* in a form known in Turkish as the *Kār*.

A son, 'Abd al-'Azīz, who is thought to have settled at the Ottoman court after 1435, was the author of a music treatise, the *Nahā'id al-Adwār* ("The Select of the Modes"), dedicated to the Turkish Sultan Muhammad II (d. 886/1481), whilst a grandson, Mahmūd, who lived under Bāyazīd II (d. 918/1512), compiled a *Mahāsid al-Adwār* ("Purports of the Modes"), both mss. being at the Nūru 'Ōghmāniyya Library.

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'ABD AL-KĀDIR b. MUHYI AL-DIN AL-HASANĪ, the Amir 'Abd al-Kādir, descended from a family which originated in the Rif and settled in Algeria among the Hilālites, was born in 1223/1808 at the gulf of the Wādī al-Hammām, some twenty kilometres west of Mascara. Studies at Arzew, then at Oran, marriage, and a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1244/1828-9 were the most outstanding events in a youth that was devoted to the reading of sacred books and to physical exercises, under the direction of his father, who, by his piety and charity, had acquired a great influence.

The indication shown by the French after the capture of Algiers (5 July 1830) in the organization of their conquest favoured Muhyi al-Dīn in Orania, and he took the initiative in the struggle against the Christians, but soon yielded first place to his son, who was proclaimed Sultan of the Arabs on 5 Rajab 1242/22 November 1829 by the Hilālites, the Banū 'Amir, and the Ghāribā. In spite of the opposition of certain elements of the population and the failure of his supporters before Oran and Mostaganem (1833), 'Abd al-Kādir's action prevented the pacification of the country. This state of affairs prompted General Desmichels to treat with his adversary (4 and 26 February 1834). Thus after the recognition of the new Amir of the Faithful extended his authority to the gates of Algiers (April 1835), but his claims provoked the renewal of hostilities. First Claudel and then Bugeaud avenged the defeat on the Macta (28 June) by burning Mascara (6 December), occupy-

ing Tlemcen (13 January 1836), and winning a great victory on the Wādī Sikkak (6 July); but these successes were fruitless. Three times abandoned by his troops, 'Abd al-Kādir immediately regrouped them. The position of the French remained precarious, with their towns invested, their columns ceaselessly harassed, and their allies receiving heavy punishment. The desire to be secured against attacks in the west while an expedition against Constantine was being carried out led Louis-Philippe's government to negotiate. By the signature of the treaty of the Tafna (30 May 1837) Bugeaud repeated, in even more formal language, the mistake made by Desmichels. Though the French kept Oran, Arzew, Mostaganem, Bida, and Kolea, the Amir obtained the whole province of Oran, part of that of Algiers, as well as the whole baylīk of Titteri.

From June 1837 to November 1839 'Abd al-Kādir used the cessation of hostilities to organize the territories that had been handed over to him. After establishing his capital at Tagdempt, he travelled about his new state, imposing chiefs, by force if necessary, on all the tribes between Morocco in the west and Kabylia in the east, and gaining recognition for his domination as far as the Sahara.

In the course of these journeys 'Abd al-Kādir, taking advantage of the faulty wording of the Treaty of the Tafna, had gone beyond the boundaries that had been assigned to him; Marshal Valde therefore submitted to him a draft of an additional treaty which accurately indicated, and reduced, the territories over which France recognized his rights, but he refused to ratify it. The 'Iron Gates' expedition, in the course of which the Duke of Orleans linked Constantine to Algiers, provided the Amir with a pretext for restarting the war. On 20 November 1839 his forces invaded the Mitidja, sacking farms and massacring settlers. Algiers was threatened. The occupation of Miliana, then of Medea (May-June 1840) by the French did not ease their difficulties, for the supplying of their garrisons made necessary the movement of convoys which were exposed to continual attack.

The nomination of Bugeaud as governor-general (29 December 1840) changed the course of events; he realized that Algeria would never be pacified until the power of 'Abd al-Kādir was crushed and until the tactics of 'active columns' took the place of 'limited occupation'. Between 1841 and 1843 he seized the towns of Tagdempt, Mascara, Boghar, Taza, Saida, Tlemcen, Sedou and Nedroma, and sent out expeditions with instructions to capture his enemy and destroy his supporters. The capture of the *emala* (16 May 1843), the travelling capital of the Amir, was a serious blow to him. The tribes submitted to France. Hunted and weakened, 'Abd al-Kādir took refuge at the end of the year on the borders of Morocco, to obtain shelter, to recruit soldiers, and to compromise French relations with that empire. His hopes were not deceived. The occupation of Lalla Maghnia by la Moricière stirred up a conflict, but the bombardment of Tangier and Mogador (6 and 15 August 1844) and the victory of the lily (14 August) compelled the Sultan Mawlay 'Abd al-Rahmān to refuse his guest any support and to declare him an outlaw. 'Abd al-Kādir appeared again in Algeria in 1846 to take the lead in the insurrections which were breaking out on all sides. His first successes (Sidi-Brachin, 23 September) seemed to promise final triumph for his cause. No less than eighteen columns were needed to stem the revolt and to throw the Amir back into Morocco







collections *al-Faṭḥ al-Rabbānī* (62 sermons; Cairo 1302) and *Fuṭūḥ al-Ḍiḡayy* (78 sermons; on the margin of al-Shattānawī) 'Abd al-Kādir often directs the attention of his audience to the perfect saint. Yet both the contents and the style show that the sermons were not addressed to exclusive *ṣūfī* circles. The plain manner, avoiding *ṣūfī* terminology, and the often very simple moral admonishment suggest that they were delivered before a large audience. Before men, who experience the power of fate as a permanent threat, he sets the ideal figure of man: the saint, who has overcome his accidental self and reached his essential being, conquering the fear of fate and death, because he participates in Him who orders fate and death. *Sūfism* as taught by the Hanbalite 'Abd al-Kādir consists in fighting, in a *ḡhayb* greater than the holy war fought with weapons, against self-will; in thus conquering the hidden *ḡhayb*, i.e. the idolatry of self and, in general, of creaturely things; in recognising in all good and evil the will of God and living, in submission to His will, according to His law.

Al-Shattānawī's work on 'Abd al-Kādir, *Bahāḡat al-Aṣṣar*, from which several other writers derived their information, was written just over a hundred years after 'Abd al-Kādir's death. His account, rejected as untrustworthy already by al-Dhahabī [*JRAS*, 1907, 267 ff.], presents him as the supreme saint. He is not described according to the ideal of the saint conceived by 'Abd al-Kādir himself. He is not a man who serves as a symbol for cosmic resignation, whose example can be followed by resigning this and the next world, by accepting in both of them the lot given by God. The figure of 'Abd al-Kādir as a saint, as it is drawn by al-Shattānawī, is the outcome of a piety which relinquished the hope of being able to put the ideal into practice.

According to the legend, 'Abd al-Kādir himself, by the sentence which remained closely associated with his name: "My foot is on the neck of every saint of God", laid claim to the highest rank and obtained the consent of all the saints of the epoch. A poem ascribed to him, *al-Kayḍ al-Ḥawāṭimīyā*, speaks, in a style that is very different from that of his authentic writings, of his mystery that has the power to extinguish fire, raise the dead, crush mountains, dry up seas, and of the exaltedness of his position. In the 'Abd al-Kādir of legend, the inconceivable, incomprehensible majesty of God has become manifest. From his earliest childhood, when he marked the beginning of the fast by refusing the breast of his mother, his life is a chain of miracles. His appearance, his knowledge and his power are all miraculous. He punishes distant sinners and assists the oppressed in a miraculous manner, walks upon water and moves through air. Nothing is impossible for him. Angels and *ḡinnas*, "people of the hidden world", and even Muḥammad himself, appear at his meeting and express their appreciation. When Ibn al-Dīḡawī recommends his hearers to confine themselves to the study of the religious sources and the literature dealing with them, but to read also edifying books, he does so because he realises the danger of legalistic intellectualism. The sober Hanbalite, who "fought with passion against passion", had, however, in mind the biographies of the pious and exemplary people of the past. The literature about 'Abd al-Kādir does not describe a man who can be an example to other men. The subject of their description is the concrete presence of the Divine with its inconceivable and miraculous quality. In a situation in which it seemed that the

claims of religion could not be complied with, the saint was experienced as the presentality of that which was unattainable to human effort. The saint does not make demands, but bestows grace for men who worship the inconceivable. In this capacity, 'Abd al-Kādir became one of the best known mediators in Islam. His tomb, over which sultan Sulaymān had a beautiful *turba* built in 947/1535, has remained to the present day one of the most frequented sanctuaries of Islam in Baghdad.

**Bibliography:** The collection of legends by al-Shattānawī was used among others by Muḥ. b. Yahyā al-Tāḡaffī, *Kalā'id al-Dīḡawīyāt*, Cairo 1331. Other works by 'Abd al-Kādir and on him, Brockelmann, I, 506, S. I, 777; Carré de Vaux, *Gazali*, Paris 1902 (European bibliography); D. S. Margolouth, *Contributions to the biography of 'Abd al-Kādir* (after al-Dhahabī), *JRAS*, 1907, 267-310; W. Braune, *Die Fuṭūḥ al-Ghayb des 'Abd al-Kādir*, Berlin 1933; G. W. J. Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *De mirakelen van Abdolkadir Djalanī*, Bandoeng 1938; *Fuṭūḥ al-Ḍiḡayy*, English transl. by Aḥmad al-Dīn Aḥmad (with critical introduction), Lahore, n. d.

'ABD AL-KĀDIR b. 'ALĪ b. 'YUSUF AL-FĀSĪ, the most famous representative of the Moroccan family of the Fāsīyyūn, b. in al-Kaṣr al-Kabīr 1077/1599, d. 1091/1680. He was the head of the *ṣūfiyā* of the Shādhiliyya in al-Kaṣr al-Kabīr. He wrote a *fatḥ* and some books on *ḥadīth*, but he is best known as one of the main representatives of Moroccan *ṣūfiyā* at the beginning of the 17th century. His descendants form today a very numerous and important branch of the religious and scholarly aristocracy of Fez (the inhabitants of the town being called, in order to avoid a confusion with the family of the Fāsīyyūn, *ahl Fās*).

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Choria*, 264-5 (with references). [E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL]. 'ABD AL-KĀDIR AL-KURASHĪ, MUḤYI AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-KĀDIR b. MUḤAMMAD b. MUḤAMMAD b. NĀṢIR ALLĀH b. SULTĀN b. AḤM. 'L-NĀṢIRĪ, Egyptian professor of Hanafite jurisprudence and biographer, born Sha'bān 696/May-June 1297, died 7 Rabī' I 775/27 August 1373.

He is best known for his collection of alphabetically arranged brief biographies of Hanalites, *al-Dīḡawīyāt al-Mudīyā fī Tabāḥit al-Hanāfiyya* (Haydarābād 1334/1913-4), a valuable reference work, generally considered to be the first to deal with its particular subject. Written in a country in which the Hanafite school was weakly represented, and in a period just preceding its renaissance, the work has little firsthand information but preserves much material, especially from Persian local histories.

In addition, 'Abd al-Kādir wrote a biography of Abū Hanīfa (*al-Bustān fī Maṣābiḥ Imāmīn al-Nāṣiriya*, used in *Dīḡawī*, I, p. 25 ff.) and a collection of biographies of persons who died between 696/1297 and 760/1359. His other publications (most complete lists in Ibn Kutlūbughā ed. Flügel, p. 28, and Ibn Tūlūn) belong to the ordinary run of juridical textbooks, commentaries, and indexes.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, II, 96 f., 511, 59. Additional biographies in Ibn Ḥadīra, *Tuhfat*, anno 775; Ibn Tūlūn, *Ghannā* (nos. Shafūd '541 1924, fol. 149b-149c); Ibn al-Ḥindī, *Shāḡḡharāt*, vi, 238. References to his life and activities in *Dīḡawī*, for instance: I, 21, 93 f., 292, 304, 323, 346, 353, 367; II, 121, 127, 187, 204, 229 f., 228, 231 f., 440, 444, 445 f. (F. ROSENTHAL).

'ABD AL-KARIM BUKHĀRĪ, a Persian historian, wrote in 1232/1818 a short summary of the geographical relations of Central Asiatic countries (Afghānistān, Bulghārā, Khijwā, Khokand, Tibet and Kashghar), and of historical events in those countries from 1160 (accession of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī) down to his own times. 'Abd al-Karīm had already left his native country in 1222/1808 and accompanied an embassy to Constantinople; he remained there till his death, which took place after 1246/1830, and wrote his book for the master of ceremonies 'Arif Bey. The only manuscript was obtained by Ch. Schefer from 'Arif Bey's estate and published in the *PELOV* (the text was printed in Békák, 1200/1873-4, the French translation in Paris in 1876). The *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale* is a most important authority for the recent history of Central Asia, especially for Bulghārā, Khijwā and Khokand. (W. BARTHOLO).

'ABD AL-KARIM, KUTB AL-DĪN b. ISRĀ'IL AL-DĪLĪ, a Muslim mystic, descendant of the famous *shīfī* 'Abd al-Kādir al-Dīlānī, was born in 767/1365 and died about 832/1428. Little is known of his life, as the biographical works do not mention him. According to some of his own statements in *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, he lived from 796/1393 until 805/1402-3 in Zabīd in Yaman together with his *shaykh* Shāra' al-Dīn Ismā'īl al-Djābarī. In 790/1387 he was in India. He wrote about thirty books and treatises, of which *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Ma'rāfat al-Dawāḥir* wa 'l-Adwā' is the best known (several editions printed in Cairo). An analysis of it has been given by R. A. Nicholson: *The Perfect Man (Studies in Islamic Mysticism)*, Cambridge 1921, Ch. II. Al-Dīlī is an adherent of the well-known pantheistic mystic Ibn 'Arabī, to whose *Futūḥāt* he wrote a commentary and whose doctrines he developed and modified. According to his ontological doctrine exposed in his *al-Insān al-Kāmil* and his *Marāḥib al-Wudūd*, nothing really exists but the Divine Essence with its creative (*khāliq*) and creaturely (*ḥāḍir*) modes of being. Absolute Being develops in a scale (*marāḥib*) of individualisations or "descents" (*tanazzulāt*). The most important of these are the following: *ʿamā*, the simple hidden pure Essence before its manifestation (*taḡayyūl*); *ahādīyya*, the first descent from the darkness of *ʿamā* to the light; the manifestation, the first manifestation of Pure Essence (*ḥāḍir*) exclusive of Divine attributes, qualities or relations; *shubūhiyya*, the manifestation of the Essence with the attributes and qualities and their effects under the aspect of unity. It is plurality in unity. On this scale there is no distinction between the attributes, they are identical with each other and with the One. Opposites coincide—Mercy and Vengeance are the same. *Ilāhiyya* is higher than the above-mentioned manifestations. It comprehends both Being and Non-being in all degrees, the "places of manifestation and the manifested" (*al-maḥāḍir wa 'l-maḥāḍir*), i.e. the Creator and the Creature (*al-ḥāḍir wa 'l-ḥāḍir*). At the same time it is the principle of order for the whole series of individualisations and maintains each of them in its proper place. All opposites exhibit their relativity in the greatest possible perfection, they do not coincide any longer. *Rahmāniyya* manifests the creative attributes (*al-sifāt al-ḥāḍiriyya*) exclusively, whereas *ilāhiyya* comprehends both the creative and the creaturely. The first *Mirrah* (*rahma*) of God was His bringing the Universe into existence from Himself. God is the substance (*ḥaqīqat*) of the Universe. The Universe is like ice, and God is the water of which the ice is

made. *Rahmāniyya* comprehends those attributes that require an object and are shared by man, as knowing, hearing, seeing. The differentiation of the phenomena of the Universe is caused by their mutual relations to the respective divine attribute through which God manifests Himself. In his *al-Insān al-Kāmil* al-Dīlī deals with most of the cosmic, metaphysical, religious and psychological notions current in his time. He establishes their place in his system and explains their relations to the respective divine attribute. In doing so he has succeeded in giving many new, unexpected and highly interesting interpretations of well-known theologoumena. Thus he builds a phantasmal cosmology which differs widely from orthodox views: e.g. Adam ate the forbidden fruit because his soul manifested a certain aspect of Lordship (*rahmāniyya*), for it is not in the nature of Lordship to submit to a prohibition; for the people in Hell God creates a natural pleasure of which their bodies become enamoured; Hell at last will be extinguished and replaced by a tree named *Qirjīl*; Iblīs will return to the presence and grace of God; all infidels worship God according to the necessity of their essential natures and all will be saved, etc. Al-Dīlī's doctrine of the Perfect Man (*al-Insān al-Kāmil*), the *Logos*, is almost the same as that of Ibn 'Arabī (cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-Arabi*, Leiden 1919, 104). He is Muḥammad the Prophet who may, however, assume the form of any holy man. So al-Dīlī met him in 796 in Zabīd in the form of his *shaykh*. He is a copy of the Prophet who becomes visible in him, and at the same time, he is a copy of the Universe, which is brought into existence from him. His whole being is sensible of a pervasive delight and contemplates the emanation of all that exists from himself, etc. Al-Dīlī had many auditions and visions. He talked with angels and cosmic beings. When in 800 he stayed in Zabīd, he met all the prophets and saints; he wandered through Heaven and Hell, in which he met Plato. In the *Marāḥib al-Wudūd* forty degrees of Being are enumerated, the first being *al-ḥāḍir al-ilāhiyya* or *al-ḡayb al-mutlak*, the last *al-insān*. The other books and treatises of al-Dīlī have not yet been studied by European scholars. They are listed in Brockelmann, II, 264-5, S. II, 281-2. (H. RITTER).

'ABD AL-KARIM KASHMĪRĪ, a Kashmiri MAHMUD b. DULĀ' b. MUḤ. RĪPĀ, Indo-Persian historian. From autobiographical references in his *Bayān-i Wāḥ* we learn that he was living in Dillī at the time of its sack by Nādir Shāh (1151/1739), and entered the service of Nādir as a *muṣāḥḥab*. He accompanied Nādir on his march from Dillī to Karwīn, reaching Karwīn in 1154/1741. From there he travelled to Mosca and returned to India by sea in 1156/1743. He died in 1208/1784.

He is the author of a history of his own times from Nādir Shāh's invasion of India to 1198/1784 (the India Office copy, Ethé 566, comes down to 1199/1785), including an account of his own travels, entitled *Bayān-i Wāḥ*. He gives much information obtained from Nādir's courtiers, including 'Alawī Khān, the *hakīm biḡhī*, or based on personal observation, and is not afraid to criticise Nādir. The text has not been printed so far; a condensed translation was published by F. Gladwin, *The Memoirs of Khoja Abdulkarim*, Calcutta 1788, 1812, London 1793; abridged version of this by L. Langley, *Voyages de l'Inde à la Mecque*, Paris 1797. To the MSS enumerated by Storey can be added: *The Panjab Public Library Cat. (Persian)*, Lahore 1942, p. 31,



copied 1230/1815; Panjab Univ. Library Shyranī MS (1185/1771); MS in the possession of the writer (1214/1800, from a copy made in 1193/1779).

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(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

'ABD AL-KARIM MUNSHI, or more fully MUNSHI MAWLAWI MUR. 'ABD AL-KARIM 'ALAWI, Indo-Persian historian of the middle of the 19th century. He may have lived in Lucknow (*Ta'rikh-i-Panjāb*, 2, *Mubāraba* 21) or Cawnpur (*Mubāraba*, 3). He was fond of studying history, and during his retirement rendered from Arabic into Persian al-Suyufi, *Ta'rikh al-Khalifa*, and *Ta'rikh al-Majid*, and prepared an abridged version of Ibn Khallikān in Persian. He also translated astronomical and geographical works from English into Persian and Urdu, as well as story books, the whole of the Arabian Nights, a history of Bengal etc. In Beale, *Oriental Ringer*, Dic., Calcutta 1881, 4, it is said that the Munshi had "died about thirty years ago", which places the date of his death not much later than the end of 1851 (he is spoken of as alive in the *Mubāraba* (preface) in 1848 and Sept. 1851). Of his Persian works, the following three, on contemporary history, have been lithographed. He is praised for his careful and objective writing of history and his simple, vivid and clear narrative.

(i) *Mubāraba-yi Kabul wa-Kandahār*, lith. Lucknow 1264/1848 and Cawnpur 1267/1851, describes the Afghan War down to General Pollock's expedition (Sept.-Oct. 1842). The author had prepared a rough draft of the history of the Kabul and Kandahār expedition at the time, but in 1263/1847 he made suitable additions and emendations in his work after studying the *Akbar-nāma*, a Mathnawī poem in the style of the *Shah-nāma* and quoted passages from it on occasions. This fairly long poem (comprising 8612 *bayts* in all) which is called *Zafar Nāma* in its Dastar 1, Section 5 (*madh-i-Shah-i-Diyāddār*), was finished in 2 dastars, in 1261/1844 by Munshi Khāim Dīn "Mirza Khāim Beg madh-wajin balda-yi Shāh Dīyāddār" in one of the three Panjab University MSS., which was transcribed in Agra, in 1847. The poet had himself taken part in the expedition (for details see the *Mubāraba*, 4, based on the *Khāṣṣa* of the *Akbar-Nāma*, Dastar 1).

Khāim's *Akbar-Nāma* (for MSS. other than those noted above and for the Agra ed. of 1272 see Storey, *ibid.*, 402) is not to be confounded, as has been done by Ivanow (*Descript. Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Curzon collection*, 12, no. 22) with Hamid Kashmīrī's *Akbar-Nāma* (Kabul, 1320 *shamsī*), a similar work in theme and metre and date (it also was finished in 1260).

The Curzon collection of the A.S.B. (see Ivanow's *Cat.*, mentioned above) has a ms. of the *Mubāraba*.

(ii) *Ta'rikh-i-Panjāb* *Ta'rikh-i-Hind* (or *Ta'rikh-i-Ahli*) lith. Matla' Muhammadī (prob. Lucknow), 1265/1849, deals with the Anglo-Sikh Wars. It is divided into two *kāṣṣas*, the first relating to the first Sikh War (1845-6) and the second to the second Sikh War (1848-9), written in order to show that the English had won the wars (Preface).

It is based on the statement of English officers and the accounts published in contemporary Urdu newspapers, duly checked. The work contains some curious documents such as a statement of the revenues of the Panjab in the Sikh period, texts of Anglo-Sikh treaties and texts or summaries of

British public announcements in the Panjab at the time, inscriptions on the Sikh gurus etc.

(iii) *Ta'rikh-i-Ahmad* (or *Ta'rikh-i-Ahmadshāh*), lith. Lucknow 1266/1850 (for the ms. of the work see Storey, *ibid.*, 403). Having completed the history of Shughlā' al-Mulk Durrañi (see *ibid.* above) who left Ludiānā and with the help of the British Government regained the throne of his ancestors in 1255/1841, the author decided to write a complete history of the Durrañis. Till 1212/1797 about the middle of the reign of Zamin Shāh he based it on the *Usayyāt* of the late *Ta'rikh-i-Husayn* (see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Br. Mus.*, iii, 904b) by Imām al-Dīn who had lived for a long time in Afghanistan. A very brief history of the subsequent period up to the fall of the dynasty he based on the information received from well-informed, trustworthy and truthful visitors of his from Kabul, Kandahār and vicinity (*Ahmadshāh*, b. 51). After stating the genealogy of the Abdāl he gives the history of Ahmad Shāh and his successors. In the last quarter of the work is given an account of the chief amirs of Zamin Shāh, a geographical note on the Panjab and the stages of the route Kabul-Kandahār-Harāt-Cīst with a list of the tombs of the Cīstī saints), and a chapter on Turkīstān and its ruler Narbūta Bey. The last event mentioned is the death of Shughlā' al-Mulk and the recall of the British troops from Afghanistan, to which is appended a list of the 17 sons of Pī'nāda Khān.

This work and the *Mubāraba* are among the sources of the *Sirāṭ al-Ta'wīd* (Kabul 1337), a history of Afghanistan compiled under the orders of the Amir Habib Allāh Khān.

An Urdu version of the *Ta'rikh-i-Ahmad* by Mir Warīth 'Alī Sayfī and entitled *Wah'at-i-Durrañi* was lith. in Cawnpur, 1292/1875.

E. Edwards, *Cat. of the Persian Printed Books in the British Mus.*, London 1922, 21, ascribes to him: *A dictionary of Anglo-Persian homonymous words etc.*, Bombay 1889.

*Bibliography*: Storey, *ibid.*, 402-4, 413, 673; O. Mann, *Oudhichronique ou Geschichte des Ahmad Shāh Durrañi*, in *ZDMG*, 1856, 106 ff.; Fr. trand of the chapter on Turkīstān in Ch. Scherer, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale par Mir Abolmou Boukhary*, Paris 1856, 280 ff.

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

'ABD AL-KAYS (rarely 'Abd Kays), i.e. 'Servant of (the god) Kays', old Arabian tribe in East Arabia. The *nishā* is 'Abd al-'Abkād.

'Abd al-Kays belongs to a group of tribes once settled in the modern province of al-'Aṣīd, whence it advanced to the North-West as far as present-day Sudayr and to the South-East as far as al-Bharīd. This group was later, in the genealogy of the Northern Arabs, given the name of Rab'a (g.s.). Already in the 5th century parts of this group detached themselves and started to nomadize partly within, partly beyond the arch of the Tuwayk. To the latter belonged 'Abd al-Kays, which in the 6th century penetrated into the two great oasis districts of Eastern Arabia, namely al-Bahrayn inland, and al-Kaṭif on the coast. The oasis of al-Bahrayn (known since the 10th century as al-Aḥsa'), and only since the 19th as al-Haṣā (g.s.) is plentifully watered by wells and natural and artificial streams, the greatest of which is called 'Ayn al-Muhalim. The district reached in the north as far as 'Aynayn (= al-'Uyūn), badly sanded already in the 12th century, and in the south as far as the village of al-Kaṭib, which survived till the Middle Ages. The capital was

Haḍjar, with its citadel al-Muḥakkkar. Another fortified place was Dīwāḡā. The oasis district on the coast reached from Saḥā (a name that does not occur before the Middle Ages) in the north to Zahrān in the south, its capital being Zāra near Kaṭif.

'Abd al-Kays was divided into two groups, Shann and Lukayy. Lukayy comprised the tribes of Nukra, al-Dū, 'Iḡl and Muḥārīb b. 'Amr. The last three were distinguished by the denomination al-'Umūr from their "brothers" the Annār. These latter consisted of the tribes of 'Amir b. al-Hārīth (with the sub-tribes of Banū Murra and Banū Mālik) and Dījāḥima b. 'Awf (in which the branches 'Abd Shann, Hiyay and 'Amr condescended, under the name Barāḍīn, against the stronger Hārīḡā).

The Muḥārīb lived in the villages of the oasis of al-Bahrayn. Haḍjar itself was inhabited by a mixed population, not bound by tribal ties. The same was probably the case in Zāra and other towns of the coastal oasis, where there existed also a considerable population of non-Arabic origin (Persians, Indians, Jews, Mandaean), and it can be assumed that this was the case in Haḍjar as well, though to a smaller extent. Kaṭif was inhabited by the Dījāḥima b. 'Awf and Zahrān by the Nukra. In regard to land-ownership, we know only that in Sulāṣī, in the East Arabian Dījāw (around Dīrā = al-Dīr = 'Ayn Dīr) a certain 'Amir was the owner, *raḥb*, of the oasis. In the summer, the northern 'Abd al-Kays: Shann, 'Amir b. al-Hārīth and al-'Umūr used to nomadize together inland around Wādī Farūḡ, while the Nukra grazed between Zahrān and the district of Baynāna, S.E. from Katar (where also the last village of the tribe, Lu'ba, is to be looked for).

Emigration from the over-populated oases started at an early date, directed partly towards the other coastal lands of Arabia, 'Uman (fractions of Nukra and Dī, 'Awaka, "brothers" of the 'Umūr and Annār, etc.), and partly towards the Persian coast.

When 'Abd al-Kays penetrated into Eastern Arabia, they are said to have found there remnants of Iyād, who were at that time migrating towards 'Irāk. Later, they had as their northern neighbours those of the Kays b. Tha'labā (of Bakr-Rab'a) who had their dwellings in 'Aḥṣā and were grazing along the line Thāḡīl—Kāṣīma—Fakḍ — al-Bāṭin. The enemies of 'Abd al-Kays were the Sa'd, a group of Tamīm, who roamed on both sides of the Dahna' as far as Wādī Farūḡ and Wādī al-Sabbā.

The oases of the coast were from the time of Shīḡūr II (310-79) under direct Persian rule. The country inland belonged at the beginning of the 6th century to the kingdom of Kinda, while after its fall about 530 a lateral line of that dynasty reigned in Haḍjar. After its extinction, al-Bahrayn was conquered, no doubt with the consent of the Persians, by the Lakhmids of al-Ḥira. Under al-Nu'mān III (579-601) the resistance of the Shann and Lukayy was broken by plundering expeditions. After the fall of the Lakhmids the oasis was ruled by a Persian *ṣakān* residing in Muḥakkkar and assisted by an Arabian person of trust. The cordial reception given by the governors and later also by the 'Abd al-Kays to Muhammad's envoys and letters can be probably explained by the fact that the two governors had lost the support of the home country owing to the strife over the succession to the throne that broke out in Persia in 628. During the *ṣakān* part of the 'Abd al-Kays, under al-Dīḡād (of the Hārīḡā—Dījāḥima) remained faithful to Medina, while others, led by the chief of Kays b.

Tha'labā, proclaimed a Lakhmid as their ruler. The Muslims were besieged in Dīwāḡā, but held out. After the arrival of reinforcements, made available by the victory over Musaylima, they took the initiative and attacked (12/633). It was not before the autumn of 634 that the Persian garrison of Zāra was forced to surrender.

With the Muslim conquest starts a new movement of emigration. Labū' (an older tribe than Shann and Lukayy) took part in an expedition across the Gulf against Fars and settled mainly in Tawwāḡ. The emigration was directed mainly towards Basra; in Kūfa, the 'Abd al-Kays were not so strongly represented. With the troops of Kūfa they reached Mosul, with those of Basra Khurāsān, where their strength in 715 was four thousand men. The 'Abd al-Kays took no prominent part in the politics of the newly conquered provinces. They more often, with a few exceptions, adapted themselves to local conditions, were 'Alid in 'Abd Kūfa, and participated in Basra and Khurāsān in the feuds between the tribes. In Basra, Ḥarīm b. Ḥayyān, one of the earliest pietists of Islam and a forerunner of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, belonged to this tribe.

In their native country the 'Abd al-Kays tried to withstand, but without success, the Khārīdite movement of Najdā, centered in the Yamāma (67/686-7). At the same time, the tribal distribution there begins to change. Of the tribes of 'Abd al-Kays only Dījāḥima b. 'Awf and Muḥārīb remained in their old sites—Muḥārīb occupying also the harbour of 'Ukayr, and 'Amr b. al-Hārīth remaining in Zahrān and on one of the smaller islands of Bahrayn (Sītra?). The rest of their territory was occupied by the Sa'd—Tamīm, who penetrated into Bahrayn itself and built there the village of al-Aḥsa'. And from 'Uman established themselves on the coast, probably at the same time as in Basra, i.e. about 60/680. Some of them settled, together with 'Abd al-Kays, in the oasis of Tu'ām = Tawwā/Tuwaym in Sudayr.

In the IXth century an oasis principality was set up in East Arabia. An Azdite ruled in Zāra, one Ibn Mismār of the Dījāḥima b. 'Awf in Kaṭif, the Banū Hafā, also belonging to 'Abd al-Kays, in Saḥā. Bahrayn was divided into the principalities of Haḍjar and Dīwāḡā under al-'Ayyāḡ al-Muḥārīb and al-'Uyayn (of the Banū Mālik), respectively. In the years 249-54/863-8 an 'Alid, or pseudo-'Alid, rebelled in Bahrayn. He tried his luck first in Haḍjar, then in al-Aḥsa' among the Sa'd. Finally he withdrew into the desert and collected an army consisting of Tamīm and of tribes which had newly immigrated from the west. It cost al-'Uyayn much trouble, with help of the other chiefs of 'Abd al-Kays, to expel the rebel, who soon afterwards started the great rising of the Zandī (g.s.) slaves in Basra.

The immigrants just mentioned and beduins who infiltrated afterwards, as well as good families from Kaṭif, became in the next generation the supporters of the Karmatian missionary Abū Sa'īd al-Dīḡānī. The revolution broke out in 268/889. Kaṭif fell first, Zāra was burned, and finally Haḍjar too was taken, notwithstanding the Caliph's intervention. Al-Aḥsa' became the capital of the East-Arabian state of the Karmatians (g.s.). This was overthrown in 469/1076-7 by the 'Uyaynids (g.s.), i.e. the al-Ḥāḡim, belonging to the Banū Murra of al-'Uyayn. The new dynasty soon showed signs of decline, interrupted only by a short period of recovery at the end of the 12th century. About 1245 this last dynasty of the 'Abd al-Kays collapsed.



copied 1230/1815; Panjab Univ. Library Shyranī MS (1185/1771); MS in the possession of the writer (1214/1800, from a copy made in 1193/1779).

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(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

'ABD AL-KARIM MUNSIF, or more fully MUNSHI MAWLAWI MUR. 'ABD AL-KARIM 'ALAWI, Indo-Persian historian of the middle of the 19th century. He may have lived in Lucknow (*Ta'rikh-i-Panjāb*, 2, *Mubāraka* 21) or Cawnpur (*Mubāraka*, 3). He was fond of studying history, and during his retirement rendered from Arabic into Persian al-Suyufi, *Ta'rikh al-Khalaf*, and *Ta'rikh Mijr*, and prepared an abridged version of Ibn Khallikān in Persian. He also translated astronomical and geographical works from English into Persian and Urdu, as well as story-books, the whole of the Arabian Nights, a history of Bengal etc. In Beale, *Oriental Ringer*, Dic., Calcutta 1881, 4, it is said that the Munshi had "died about thirty years ago", which places the date of his death not much later than the end of 1851 (he is spoken of as alive in the *Mubāraka* (preface) in 1848 and Sept. 1851). Of his Persian works, the following three, on contemporary history, have been lithographed. He is praised for his careful and objective writing of history and his simple, vivid and clear narrative.

(i) *Mubāraka-yi Kābul wa-Kandahār*, lith. Lucknow 1264/1848 and Cawnpur 1267/1851, describes the Afghan War down to General Pollock's expedition (Sept.-Oct. 1842). The author had prepared a rough draft of the history of the Kābul and Kandahār expedition at the time, but in 1263/1847 he made suitable additions and emendations in his work after studying the *Akbar-nāma*, a Mathnawī poem in the style of the *Shāh-nāma* and quoted passages from it on occasions. This fairly long poem (comprising 8612 *bayts* in all) which is called *Zafar Nāma* in its Dāftar 1, Section 5 (*madh-i Shāh-i-Diyāddār*), was finished in 2 dafatir, in 1261/1844 by Munshi Khām Dīn "Mirza Khām Beg madh-wajin balda-yi Shāh Dīyāddār" in one of the three Panjab University MSS., which was transcribed in Agra, in 1847. The poet had himself taken part in the expedition (for details see the *Mubāraka*, 4, based on the *Khidma* of the *Akbar-Nāma*, Dāftar 1).

Kāsim's *Akbar-Nāma* (for MSS. other than those noted above and for the Agra ed. of 1272 see Storey, *ibid.*, 402) is not to be confounded, as has been done by Ivanow (*Descript. Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Curzon collection*, 12, no. 22) with Hamid Kashmīrī's *Akbar-Nāma* (Kābul, 1320 *shamsī*), a similar work in theme and metre and date (it also was finished in 1260).

The Curzon collection of the A.S.B. (see Ivanow's *Cat.*, mentioned above) has a ms. of the *Mubāraka*.

(ii) *Ta'rikh Panjābī Tuhfat-i-I-I-Abhāb* (or *Tuhfat-i-Abhāb*) lith. Matla' Muhammadī (prob. Lucknow), 1265/1849, deals with the Anglo-Sikh Wars. It is divided into two *kāmilas*, the first relating to the first Sikh War (1845-6) and the second to the second Sikh War (1848-9), written in order to show that the English had won the wars (Preface).

It is based on the statement of English officers and the accounts published in contemporary Urdu newspapers, duly checked. The work contains some curious documents such as a statement of the revenues of the Panjāb in the Sikh period, texts of Anglo-Sikh treaties and texts or summaries of

British public announcements in the Panjāb at the time, inscriptions on the Sikh gins etc.

(iii) *Ta'rikh-i-Ahmad* (or *Ta'rikh-i-Ahmadshāhī*), lith. Lucknow 1261/1850 (for the ms. of the work see Storey, *ibid.*, 403). Having completed the history of Shughlā' al-Mulk Durrānī (see *ibid.* above) who left Ludiānā and with the help of the British Government regained the throne of his ancestors in 1255/1841, the author decided to write a complete history of the Durrānīs. Till 1212/1797 (about the middle of the reign of Zāmīn Shāh) he based it on the *Usayyāt* of the late *Ta'rikh-i-Husayn* (see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Br. Mus.*, iii, 904b) by Imām al-Dīn who had lived for a long time in Afghanistan. A very brief history of the subsequent period up to the fall of the dynasty he based on the information received from well-informed, trustworthy and truthful visitors of his from Kābul, Kandahār and vicinity (*Ahmadshāhī*, 3, 51). After stating the genealogy of the Abdālīs he gives the history of Ahmad Shāh and his successors. In the last quarter of the work is given an account of the chief amirs of Zāmīn Shāh, a geographical note on the Panjāb and the stages of the route Kābul-Kandahār-Harāt-Cāit (with a list of the tombs of the Cāit saints), and a chapter on Turkīstān and its ruler Narbūta Bey. The last event mentioned is the death of Shughlā' al-Mulk and the recall of the British troops from Afghanistan, to which is appended a list of the 17 sons of Pā'inda Khān.

This work and the *Mubāraka* are among the sources of the *Sirāj-i al-Tawārīkh* (Kābul 1337), a history of Afghanistan compiled under the orders of the Amir Habib Allāh Khān.

An Urdu version of the *Ta'rikh-i-Ahmad* by Mir Warīth 'Alī Sayfī and entitled *Wah'id-i-Durrānī* was lith. in Cawnpur, 1292/1875.

E. Edwards, *Cat. of the Persian Printed Books in the British Mus.*, London 1922, 21, ascribes to him: *A dictionary of Anglo-Persian homonymous words etc.*, Bombay 1889.

*Bibliography*: Storey, *ibid.*, 402-4, 413, 673; O. Mann, *Oudhichische und Griechische des Ahmad Shāh Durrānī*, in *ZDMG*, 1856, 106 ff.; Fr. trans. of the chapter on Turkīstān in Ch. Schefer, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale par Mir Abolmou Boukhary*, Paris 1876, 280 ff.

(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

'ABD AL-KAYS (rarely 'Abd Kays), i.e. "Servant of (the god) Kays", old Arabian tribe in East Arabia. The *nishā* is 'Abd al-'Abkāsh.

'Abd al-Kays belongs to a group of tribes once settled in the modern province of al-'Aḥūd, whence it advanced to the North-West as far as present-day Sudayr and to the South-East as far as al-Bharīd. This group was later, in the genealogy of the Northern Arabs, given the name of Rab'as (g.s.). Already in the 5th century parts of this group detached themselves and started to nomadize partly within, partly beyond the arch of the Tuwayk. To the latter belonged 'Abd al-Kays, which in the 6th century penetrated into the two great oasis districts of Eastern Arabia, namely al-Bahrayn inland, and al-Kaṭif on the coast. The oasis of al-Bahrayn (known since the 10th century as al-'Aḥsā'), and only since the 19th as al-Baḥā' (g.s.) is plentifully watered by wells and natural and artificial streams, the greatest of which is called 'Ayn al-Muhallim. The district reached in the north as far as 'Aynayn (= al-'Uyūn), badly sanded already in the 12th century, and in the south as far as the village of al-Kaṭib, which survived till the Middle Ages. The capital was

Hadjar, with its citadel al-Muḥakkkar. Another fortified place was Dīwāḡā. The oasis district on the coast reached from Saḡa (a name that does not occur before the Middle Ages) in the north to Zahrān in the south, its capital being Zāra near Kaṭif.

'Abd al-Kays was divided into two groups, Shann and Lukayy. Lukayy comprised the tribes of Nukra, al-Dū, 'Iḡl and Muḥārīb b. 'Amr. The last three were distinguished by the denomination al-'Umūr from their "brothers" the Annār. These latter consisted of the tribes of 'Amir b. al-Hārīth (with the sub-tribes of Banū Murra and Banū Mālik) and Dīdhīma b. 'Awf (in which the branches 'Abd Shann, Hiyay and 'Amr condescended, under the name Barāḡīn, against the stronger Hārīḡā).

The Muḥārīb lived in the villages of the oasis of al-Bahrayn. Hadjar itself was inhabited by a mixed population, not bound by tribal ties. The same was probably the case in Zāra and other towns of the coastal oasis, where there existed also a considerable population of non-Arabic origin (Persians, Indians, Jews, Mandaeans), and it can be assumed that this was the case in Hadjar as well, though to a smaller extent. Kaṭif was inhabited by the Dīdhīma b. 'Awf and Zahrān by the Nukra. In regard to land-ownership, we know only that in Sulāḡī, in the East Arabian Dīaw (around Dīrā = al-Dār = 'Ayn Dīr) a certain 'Amir was the owner, *raḡb*, of the oasis. In the summer, the northern 'Abd al-Kays: Shann, 'Amir b. al-Hārīth and al-'Umūr used to nomadize together inland around Wādī Farūḡ, while the Nukra grazed between Zahrān and the district of Baynīna, S.E. from Katar (where also the last village of the tribe, Luḡā, is to be looked for).

Emigration from the over-populated oases started at an early date, directed partly towards the other coastal lands of Arabia, 'Uman (fractions of Nukra and Dū, 'Awakā, "brothers" of the 'Umūr and Annār, etc.), and partly towards the Persian coast.

When 'Abd al-Kays penetrated into Eastern Arabia, they are said to have found there remnants of Iyād, who were at that time migrating towards 'Irāk. Later, they had as their northern neighbours those of the Kays b. Thaḡaba (of Bakr-Rab'as) who had left their dwellings in 'Aḥsā' and were grazing along the line Thāḡā—Kārima—Fakḡ—al-Bāṭin. The enemies of 'Abd al-Kays were the Sa'd, a group of Tamīm, who roamed on both sides of the Dahnā' as far as Wādī Farūḡ and Wādī al-Sabbā.

The oases of the coast were from the time of Shīpūr II (310-79) under direct Persian rule. The country inland belonged at the beginning of the 6th century to the kingdom of Kinda, while after its fall about 530 a lateral line of that dynasty reigned in Hadjar. After its extinction, al-Bahrayn was conquered, no doubt with the consent of the Persians, by the Lakhmids of al-Ḥira. Under al-Nu'mān III (579-601) the resistance of the Shann and Lukayy was broken by plundering expeditions. After the fall of the Lakhmids the land was ruled by a Persian *trāsabāḡ* residing in Muḥakkkar and assisted by an Arabian person of trust. The cordial reception given by the governors and later also by the 'Abd al-Kays to Muhammad's envoys and letters can be probably explained by the fact that the two governors had lost the support of the home country owing to the strife over the succession to the throne that broke out in Persia in 628. During the *trāsabāḡ* part of the 'Abd al-Kays, under al-Dīdhīd (of the Hārīḡā—Dīdhīma) remained faithful to Medina, while others, led by the chief of Kays b.

Thaḡaba, proclaimed a Lakhmid as their ruler. The Muslims were besieged in Dīwāḡā, but held out. After the arrival of reinforcements, made available by the victory over Musaylima, they took the initiative and attacked (12/633). It was not before the autumn of 634 that the Persian garrison of Zāra was forced to surrender.

With the Muslim conquest starts a new movement of emigration. Labū' (an older tribe than Shann and Lukayy) took part in an expedition across the Gulf against Fars and settled mainly in Tawwāḡ. The emigration was directed mainly towards Basra; in Kūfa, the 'Abd al-Kays were not so strongly represented. With the troops of Kūfa they reached Mosul, with those of Basra Khurāsān, where their strength in 715 was four thousand men. The 'Abd al-Kays took no prominent part in the politics of the newly conquered provinces. They more often, with a few exceptions, adapted themselves to local conditions, were 'Alid in 'Alid Kūfa, and participated in Basra and Khurāsān in the feuds between the tribes. In Basra, Ḥarīm b. Ḥayyān, one of the earliest pietists of Islam and a forerunner of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, belonged to this tribe.

In their native country the 'Abd al-Kays tried to withstand, but without success, the Khārīdite movement of Najdā, centered in the Yamāma (67/686-7). At the same time, the tribal distribution there begins to change. Of the tribes of 'Abd al-Kays only Dīdhīma b. 'Awf and Muḥārīb remained in their old sites—Muḥārīb occupying also the harbour of 'Ukayr, and 'Amr b. al-Hārīth remaining in Zahrān and on one of the smaller islands of Bahrayn (Sīḡra?). The rest of their territory was occupied by the Sa'd—Tamīm, who penetrated into Bahrayn itself and built there the village of al-'Aḥsā'. And from 'Uman established themselves on the coast, probably at the same time as in Basra, i.e. about 60/680. Some of them settled, together with 'Abd al-Kays, in the oasis of Tuḡam—Tawam/Tuwaym in Sudayr.

In the IXth century an oasis principality was set up in East Arabia. An Azdite ruled in Zāra, one Ibn Mismār of the Dīdhīma b. 'Awf in Kaṭif, the Banū Hafs, also belonging to 'Abd al-Kays, in Saḡā. Bahrayn was divided into the principalities of Hadjar and Dīwāḡā under al-'Ayyāḡ al-Muḥārībī and al-'Uyayn (of the Banū Mālik), respectively. In the years 249-54/863-8 an 'Alid, or pseudo-'Alid, rebelled in Bahrayn. He tried his luck first in Hadjar, then in al-'Aḥsā' among the Sa'd. Finally he withdrew into the desert and collected an army consisting of Tamīm and of tribes which had newly immigrated from the west. It cost al-'Uyayn much trouble, with help of the other chiefs of 'Abd al-Kays, to expel the rebel, who soon afterwards started the great rising of the Zandī (g.s.) slaves in Basra.

The immigrants just mentioned and beduins who infiltrated afterwards, as well as good families from Kaṭif, became in the next generation the supporters of the Karmatian missionary Abū Sa'īd al-Dīnābī. The revolution broke out in 268/899. Kaṭif fell first, Zāra was burned, and finally Hadjar too was taken, notwithstanding the Caliph's intervention. Al-'Aḥsā' became the capital of the East-Arabian state of the Karmatians (g.s.). This was overthrown in 469/1076-7 by the 'Uyaynids (g.s.), i.e. the al-Ḥāshimī, belonging to the Banū Murra of al-'Uyayn. The new dynasty soon showed signs of decline, interrupted only by a short period of recovery at the end of the 12th century. About 1245 this last dynasty of the 'Abd al-Kays collapsed.



The attempt of the 'Uyūnī 'Alī b. Mukarrab to revive the ancient glory of the tribe by his poems miscarried, partly because the old Arabian world had long since become petrified, partly because also the cases of East Arabia were permeated by new immigrants.

Before the 'Abd al-Kays accepted Islam, the tribe seems to have been overwhelmingly Christian. Only a few names bear witness to its original pagan religion: 'Amr al-Afkal from Shann, 'Abd Shams, 'Abd 'Amr (f.). The office of the *afhal* (from Babylonian *aphallu*, "priest") was taken over, as in other tribes, from the early Arabian town civilisation. Tradition, ignorant of this fact, made of 'Amr al-Afkal a representative of *āfāris*.

The genealogy of the 'Abd al-Kays is, compared with that of other tribes, remarkably incomplete, to judge by Ibn al-Kalbī's *Muḥāsasat* (Table A of Wüstenfeld contains many, Ibn Hazm's *Djāhiz* some errors, the latter not only in the printed text, but also in the good MSS of Rāmpore and Basijew). Firstly, many units, known from other sources, are missing; secondly, the position of the "Companions", or the members of the embassy of the tribe to the Prophet, varies up to five generations, and an officer of the caliph al-Manṣūr is put higher than some of them.

Similar uncertainty exists concerning the poets of the tribe, viz. al-Muḥallabī and al-Mumazzalī of Nukra, Yazid and Suwayd b. al-Bḥāḥidh al-Shann. Yazid (according to others al-Mumazzalī) described, as an onlooker, his own burial; this is something new. Al-Salātān, the poet from Baṣra, a contemporary of 'Uḥayr, belongs to Shann; Ziyād al-Aḍḍān, who lived in Persia, was a *mawla* of the 'Amir b. al-Hārith.

Al-Muḥallabī uses several Persian loan-words, not current otherwise, and some difficult expressions, but they are not peculiarly dialectal. At any rate, the dialect of the 'Abd al-Kays must not be identified with that of al-Baḥrayn (here used, as generally in later times, as the name of the province), considered by the Arab philologists as an inferior one. Striking are the three forms for the personal and tribal name Dī, Dīl, Dūh, "vessel", among the 'Abd al-Kays, Bakr and Kināna.

**Bibliography:** The geographers, e.g. Yāqūt, ii, 411; Hamdānī, 136 ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 392 f.; F. Wüstenfeld, *Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der arab. Stämme*, 74-6; idem, *Bahrain und Jemana*, 1-6 ff. The historians, e.g. Ibn Sa'd, ii, 24; 'N., 405 ff.; viii, 1, 60 ff.; 95; Tabarī, ii, 1297 ff. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 53, 57, 67; J. Wellhausen, *Die religionspolit. Oppositionen*, 29 ff., 58; idem, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 44, 1, 130, 248 ff., 258, 266; J. M. de Goeje, *La fin de l'empire des Sarrasins du Bahrain*, J.A., 1895, 1-30; von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii (ed. by W. Cassek), 15-9, 138 ff.; Ibn Durayd, *al-Jihād*, 136-50; Wüstenfeld (using, among others, Mas'ūdī's *Asfar* 'Abd al-Kays). For the poets, *Asma'siyat*, no. 50; *Muḥallabīyyat*, nos. 28, 76-81, Appendix no. 4; WZKM, 1904, 1 ff.; Ibn Kutayba, *Shā'r*, 233 ff., 257 ff.; *Aghānī*, v, 314, xiv, 98 ff.; 'Alī b. Mukarrab, *Diwān*, Bombay 1350. (W. Cassek.)

'ABD AL-LATIF AL-BAGHDADI, MUWAYYAR AL-DIN ABU MUHAMMAD AL-YUSUFI, also called AL-LABBIDI, a versatile scholar and scientist, born at Baghdad in 557/1162-3, died there in 692/1231-2. In Baghdad he studied grammar, law, tradition etc. (giving in his autobiography a vivid

picture of contemporary methods of study) and was persuaded by a Maghribī wandering scholar to devote himself to philosophy, mainly according to the system of Ibn Sina, and to natural science and alchemy. In 585/1189-90 he went to Mosul (where he studied the works of al-Suhrawardī al-Maklūf, but found them inept), next year to Damascus, then to the camp of Saladin outside 'Akkā (587/1191), where he met Bahā' al-Dīn b. Shaddād and 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, and acquired the patronage of al-Kādi al-Fāḍl, and then to Cairo. Here he made the acquaintance of Mūsā b. Maymūn and a certain Abū 'Iḥsān al-Shīrāzī, who introduced him to the works of al-Fārābī, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius, which turned him away from Ibn Sina and alchemy. In 588/1192 he met Saladin in Jerusalem, then went to Damascus, whence he returned to Cairo. After some years he went to Jerusalem and then, in 604/1207-8, again to Damascus. Some time later he went via Aleppo to Erzurūm, to the court of 'Alā' al-Dīn Dāwūd. When the Saljuqids Kaykubādī conquered Erzurūm, 'Abd al-Latif, after a journey to Erzerum, returned from Erzurūm to Aleppo via Kamāhī, Diwrigi and Malatya (606/1228-9), and soon afterwards returned to his native Baghdad where he died.

His numerous writings covered almost the whole domain of the knowledge of those days. Of those extant, *al-Fida* and *al-Fihrist*, a short description of Egypt, was widely known in Europe and was translated into Latin, German, and French; cf. S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte par Abd al-Latif*, Paris 1810; the others are on philology, tradition, medicine, mathematics and philosophy. (For his work on metaphysics cf. P. Kraus, in *BIF*, 1941, 272.) His account of the Mongol invasion was taken over by al-Dhahabī (cf. J. de Sotomayor, *Id.*, 1937, 106 ff.). His notes are quoted by Ibn Abi Usaybi'a for information on personalities in Baghdad (cf. index).

**Bibliography:** Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, ii, 201-13 (based on his autobiography); Kutubī, *Fawā'id*, ii, 9 ff.; *Dhahabī, Ta'wīḥ al-Fidā*, MS Oxford, i, 654, fol. 16-7; L. Leclerc, *Hist. de la médecine arabe*, ii, 182; Brockelmann, i, 632, s. 1, 880.

'ABD AL-LATIF KASTAMUNLIL (see LATIF). 'ABD AL-MADJID I (ABDULMECIT), OTTOMAN sultan, son of Mahmūd II and his second *kadin* Bezm-i 'Aleḥ (a remarkable woman), born on Friday, 14 (not 11) *Shā'ban* 1238/25 April 1823. He succeeded his father, whose reforms he was to continue, on 19 (not 23) *Rabi' II* 1255/11 July 1839, a few days after the defeat of Nith (21 June) inflicted on the Turks by Ibrahim Pasha [g.o.]. The concert of the powers, which included, for the first time, Turkey, but not France, saved, however, the Ottoman Empire (Convention of London, 13 July 1840).

The most important events of his reign were the proclamation of the *ḥatt-i shērīf*, or *ḥatt-i hümayūn*, of Gülhānīyah, 156 *Shā'ban* 1255/9 Nov. 1839, and the Crimean war, which began in 1853 and was ended by arbitration in the Treaty of Paris (30 March 1856). For the proclamation see *TANZIMAT, GÜLHANE, HATT-I HÜMAYÜN, 'UTTMANLILAR*, for the Crimean war 'UTTMANLILAR and, in general, the handbooks on history. It is worth mentioning here that the famous defence of Silistria, on the Bulgarian Danube (19 May-23 June 1854), was the subject of a famous poem by Nāḥik Kemāl [g.o.].

There was also a whole series of troubles, insurrections and massacres: in Kurdistan (1847), in the Danubian principalities (1848), in Bosnia (1850-51),

in Montenegro (1852-3), in the Lebanon (1849), in Djidda, in the Lebanon and in Syria (1860), not to speak of Bulgaria and Albania.

Apart from his legislative work, 'Abd al-Majid was the author of important reforms, in regard to the administration (in the *cyclus* or *vildāye*, "provinces"), the army (law of 6 Sept. 1845; see *NOTES*), education (*ḥidādi*, "military preparatory" schools, 1845; *rüşdiyye*, "higher primary" schools for boys and girls, 1847; *dār ul-ma'ārif*, 1849; *mekteb-i 'eḥmānī*, "École ottomane" in Paris 1853), and the coinage (money of good alloy, carefully coined, especially the pieces called *maḍḍiyye*, of 20 piastres; issued from 1844). To him is due the building of hospitals and other edifices, such as the palace of Dolma Baghçe (1853), the restoration of the Aya Sofiya mosque by Fossati (20 July 1849), the first depository for the state archives, *Ḥazine-yi Ewrah* (1843), the first theatre (French Theatre or "Crystal Palace", by Giustiniani), the first *sāl-nāme*, or "imperial year-book" (1847).

It was from his reign onwards that the imperial princes (*ḥāsh-i sālā*) bore the simple title of *ḥendī*.

'Abd al-Majid was the first sultan to speak a Western language (French). He was a subtle and polished person, lightly built, but of weak health undermined by the abuses of drink and harm. He was a spendthrift. Capricious, but courageous, he gained universal respect by his refusal to hand over to the Austrians in 1849, Roussah and the other Hungarian political refugees. The annals of Turkey have as yet no record of a sovereign more humane, of such gentle manners, animated by such civilizing tendencies; his mild and attractive features revealed a generous soul" (Mgr. Louis Petit—pseudonym: Kutubī Efendi, Catholic bishop of Athens, *Les Contemporains*, no. 333, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1899).

He died young, on 17 *Ḥijāz* 1277/25 June 1861, in the middle of the financial crisis of the country. He was buried in a modest *türbe* near the mosque of Sültan Selmā.

For three out of the ten Grand-Viziers of his reign, see RAḤİD PASHA, 'ALİ PASHA, RUMUZZA PASHA. The foreign diplomat who played during the reign of this sultan the most important role in Istanbul was Stratford Canning (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe).

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*actuelle*, 1855, 102-30; Uluğ İğdemir, *Kuldi nah'ad hahhinda bir arastırma*, Ankara 1937; Youssouf Razi, *Souvenirs de Leila Hanoum sur le harem impérial*, Paris 1923, 33-46.—See also nos. 71, 1061 and 1727 of Enver Koray's historical bibliography, Ankara 1932.—For the constitutional edicts of 'Abd al-Majid, see *J.A.*, 1931, 357-9 and references in the notes; also the extensive articles in the Turkish encyclopaedias: *IA*, *İstiklāl Ansiklopedisi*, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*.—For the Jews of Turkey, see M. Franco, *Essai sur l'hist. des Turcades de l'Emp. Ott.*, 1897, 143-60; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s.v. *Abd ul-Medjid*. (J. DENY)

'ABD AL-MADJID II (ABDULMECIT), last Ottoman caliph, son of 'Abd al-'Azīz [g.o.]. He was elected caliph of the 'Abd al-Nasir Assembly, 18 Nov. 1922, and succeeded, in this quality only, his cousin Muhammad VI, who, after the abolition of the sultanate (1 Nov. 1922) took refuge on board a British warship and left İstanbul. During some months, all the opponents of the regime established in Ankara by Mustafa Kemal called round the caliph who had, in reality, no power at all. Mustafa Kemal put an end to these intrigues by proclaiming the republic, 29 Oct. 1923. A little more than four months afterwards, 3 March 1924, the Great National Assembly resolved upon the abolition of the caliphate. The next day 'Abd al-Majid left İstanbul. He died in Paris, 23 August 1944.

**Bibliography:** *Discours du Ghazi Mustafa Kemal, Président de la République turque*, Leipzig 1927; COC, 1944-5, 105.

'ABD AL-MALIK B. MUHAMMAD B. ABI 'AMIR AL-MA'AFIRI ABU MARWAN AL-MU'AFFAR, son and successor of the famous "major domo" (kādhib) al-Manṣūr [g.o.] under the reign of the Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad b. Bakk. He was the real sovereign of Muslim Spain after the death of his father in Medina al-Madīnat (Sakim) in 392/1002.

'Abd al-Malik, second son of al-Manṣūr, was born in 364/975; his mother, an *umm walad* called al-Dhahāf, survived him several years. Even before succeeding his father he gained experience as general in several campaigns, both in the North of Spain, against the Christians, and in Morocco. He was appointed by his father as a kind of viceroy of Morocco in 388/998, and took up his residence in Fez, but was recalled to Cordova the next year. On the career of 'Abd al-Malik as sovereign we are informed in sufficient detail by the newly discovered Hispano-Arabic chronicles. One gets the impression that 'Abd al-Malik b. Abi 'Amir, without having the genius of his father, was not lacking in certain statesmanlike qualities. At any rate, the seven years during which he held power are represented as the last favourable period of the history of al-Andalus before the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of the West.

The "major domo", remaining faithful to the line followed by al-Manṣūr, continued his policy of harassing the Christian enemy beyond the frontier zones (*huḡḡār*). For this purpose he undertook year after year an expedition to one or the other of the marches of al-Andalus. In 393/1003 he directed his army towards the Hispanic March (*bilād al-Ifrānḡī*), attacked the surroundings of Barcelona and laid waste thirty-five fortresses of the enemy. In 394/1004, he attacked the territory of the count of Carle, Sancho García, who asked for an armistice and in the following year helped 'Abd al-Malik in his campaign against Galicia and Asturias. In the summer of 396/1006, 'Abd al-Malik started an



offensive against the Frankish county of Ribagorza. His most famous expedition, however, was that of the following year, aimed against the fortress of Clunia, which was taken and destroyed. This victory gained for the 'Amirid *kādib* the honorific title of al-Muẓaffar. In 387/707 he had again to take up arms against Sancho García and Castile, and yet again in the following year. While he was preparing to set out against Castile, he succumbed to a disease of the chest, near Cordova, on the Gudiñellato (Wādī Armallā), 16 Safar 390/2 Oct. 708.

During the seven years of his rule, 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar preserved for the State of Cordova its strong administrative structure, by favouring the Slavonic dignitaries (*sakāliba*) against the Arab aristocracy. Nevertheless, several attempts were made on his person. There are reasons to assume that his brother, 'Abd al-Rahmān Saneulo, who succeeded him, was not without his share in the unexpected and premature death of the second 'Amirid.

[See also 'AMIRIDS and UMAYYADS OF SPAIN.]

**Bibliography:** Ibn Basām, *Ḍihādīra*, iv (ed. in preparation); Ibn 'Udairī, *Bayān*, iii, 3-37 (transl. in Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, iii, 185-214); Ibn al-Khathīb, *A'māl al-'A'im*, 97-104; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, ii, 273 (bibliog. references in note 1), 290 ff.

**'ABD AL-MALIK B. KATĀN AL-FIRĀI**, governor of al-Andalus. He succeeded in this office 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḍahūdī [g.s.], when the latter was killed during his expedition into Gaul, 114/732. He had to surrender his office, in 116/734, to 'Ukba b. al-Ḥadijīdī al-Saḍīfī, but resumed it in 123/740. Belonging to the Meccan party, he evinced a rather unfavourable attitude towards the caliph of Damascus. Almost at once, however, he was confronted with grave difficulties caused by the Berbers who revolted in the Iberian peninsula and soon afterwards menaced Cordova. In face of this danger, and in view of the insufficiency of his own military resources, 'Abd al-Malik had to appeal, whether he liked it or not, for the services of a group of Arabs belonging to various *dhimma* [g.s.] of Syria, who were besieged in the North-African fortress of Ceuta, and gave them permission to cross the Straits under the command of their chief Balḍā [g.s.]. Thanks to this reinforcement and to three successive defeats which they inflicted upon the rebellious Berbers, he succeeded in allaying the danger that threatened him. The Syrian troops, however, confident in their strength, had no difficulty in removing 'Abd al-Malik b. Katān and put in his place as *waḥīd* of al-Andalus their own general Balḍā, at the beginning of 129/1 Ka'da 123/Sept. 741. One of the first actions of the new governor was to order the execution of his predecessor, who was then a very old man.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, i, 45, 43-7.

**'ABD AL-MALIK B. MARWÂN**, fifth Caliph of the Umayyad line, reigned 65-86/685-705. According to general report he was born in the year 26/646-7, the son of Marwān b. al-Hakam [g.s.], his mother being 'Aḥḥā bint Mu'awiyā b. al-Mughira. As a boy of ten he was an eye-witness of the storming of 'Uthmān's house, and at the age of sixteen Mu'awiyā appointed him to command the Madinian troops against the Byzantines. He remained at Medina until the outbreak of the rebellion against Yazīd I (62-3/682-3). When the Umayyads were expelled by the rebels, he left the town with his

father, but on meeting the Syrian army under Muslim b. 'Ukba he returned with him, after giving Muslim information concerning the town and its defenses. This was followed by the battle of the Harra and the total defeat of the Madinians (27 129/1-Ḥijjāda 63/27 Aug. 683). After the assassination of his father (Ramādān 65/April-May 685), 'Abd al-Malik was recognized as Caliph by the partisans of the Umayyads, but he was faced with serious difficulties. Although the battle of Marj Rāhit had reaffirmed Umayyad control of Syria and Egypt had been recovered, and was strongly held by his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz [g.s.], Zafar b. Ḥārith held out in the north at Kīrkisīyya, with the support of the Kays, until 71/690-1, and the Byzantines were giving much trouble on the frontiers, even recouping Antioch in 68/688, as well as Mecca, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [g.s.] had been proclaimed Caliph, and was at least nominally recognized in most provinces of the empire. Nevertheless, 'Abd al-Malik showed himself equal to the task, and within a few years succeeded in restoring the unity of the Arabs under Syrian leadership.

At first, however, 'Irāk and the East had to be abandoned. The governor, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, driven out by the tribesmen after the death of Yazīd, was unable, in spite of his success in defeating an attack by Kūfan forces in Mesopotamia (Ramādān 65/May 685), to recoupy Kūfa and Basra. Kūfa was shortly afterwards seized by the *Shi'ite* leader Muḥṭār [g.s.], whose partisans, after an indecisive engagement with the Syrians (129/1-Ḥijjāda 66/July 686), totally defeated 'Ubayd Allāh on the *Khāb* river in the following month under the command of Ḥarūth b. al-Ash'ath. For the next five years 'Irāk remained under the rule of Muḥ'ab b. al-Zubayr, whose general al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra, with the troops of Basra, defeated Muḥṭār's forces at Ḥarūrī in Ramādān 67/April 687 and recouped Kūfa. In order to free his hands for dealing with 'Irāk, 'Abd al-Malik in 69/689 made a ten years' truce with the Greek Emperor, by which, in return for an annual tribute, the latter removed the Mandates from Syria into Greek territory. Immediately afterwards 'Abd al-Malik set out from Damascus against Muḥ'ab, but was obliged to return in order to deal with a revolt in the capital led by his kinsman 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ash'adī [g.s.]. 'Amr fortified himself in the residence, but on the Caliph's arrival he capitulated on promise of life and liberty. Nevertheless, 'Abd al-Malik was unable to trust him, and soon afterwards had him seized and executed him, according to the general statement, with his own hand. In the following year (70/690) the campaign against Muḥ'ab was renewed, but both armies faced one another in Mesopotamia without result. In the third year, 'Abd al-Malik opened his campaign by besieging Zafar in Kīrkisīyya for some months. After its capture he recouped Upper Mesopotamia, and reinforced by the Kays marched into 'Irāk. At Dayr al-Ḍahūdīk, near Māshīn, Muḥ'ab and Ibn al-Ash'ath were defeated and slain (Ḍumādā I or II, 72/Oct.-Nov., 691). Al-Muhallab with the troops of Basra was engaged in the struggle with the *Khāridjites*, and most of the 'Irākīs were weary of the conflict which had brought them little but hardships and loss. Immediately after the Caliph's entry into Kūfa, where he received the homage of the province, a force of 2000 Syrians was despatched under al-Ḥadijīdī to deal with Ibn al-Zubayr at Mecca. After a halt at Ta'if, al-Ḥadijīdī laid siege

to Mecca on 1 129/1-Ka'da 72/23 March 692; it was a little more than six months before Ibn al-Zubayr was killed on the field and the city surrendered (17 129/1 or II, 73/4 Oct. or 3 Nov., 692). Al-Ḥadijīdī was rewarded with the governorship of the *Hijāz*.

The recovery of 'Irāk involved 'Abd al-Malik in the necessity of organizing immediate measures against the *Khāridjites*. After an initial failure, the combined forces of Kūfa and Basra defeated the *Najdiyya* of Yamīna at Muḥabbār in 73/692-3, but the more dangerous and fanatical *Azāriqa* in Persia set a tougher problem. Even under the command of al-Muhallab, the war-weary *muhādila* showed little stomach for this task until in 75/694 'Abd al-Malik transferred al-Ḥadijīdī to the governorship of Kūfa. With his ruthless and energetic backing al-Muhallab was able to hunt down the *Azāriqa* in a three-years' campaign. In the meantime a fresh *Khāridjite* rising broke out among the *Rabī'a* tribesmen in Mesopotamia, who, under the leadership of Shāhib, swept down on the territories of Kūfa and seized Madā'in (76-7/695-6). When the *muhādila* of Kūfa, recalled from Persia, proved unable to prevent Shāhib from investing the city, al-Ḥadijīdī obtained the services of 4000 Syrian troops, who, after driving off the attackers and killing Shāhib (end of 77/beg. of 697) went on to break up the Arab section of the *Azāriqa* in Tabaristān. Following on an outbreak of disorder in *Khurasān* in the same year (78/697), 'Abd al-Malik added this province also to the government of al-Ḥadijīdī, who appointed al-Muhallab to govern it as his deputy. Al-Muhallab reopened shortly afterwards the campaigns towards Central Asia, but few positive gains are recorded before his death in 82/701, when he was succeeded by his son Yazīd. At the same time 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, who had been appointed to Sijidjān, was engaged in Afghanistan with the troops of Kūfa and Basra. Enraged by the criticisms directed against them by the plebeian vicery, Ibn al-Ash'ath and the *agrārī* revolted (81/700-1) and marched back into 'Irāk. The small body of Syrian troops and their supporters were unable to withstand the united forces of the province, and for a time the situation was critical; but with the aid of reinforcements from Syria the rebels were defeated at Dayr al-Ḍumādī (II, 82/July 701) and again routed at Māshīn on the *Dudjānī* (Shābān 82/Oct. 701), and the remnants were pursued into Sijidjān and *Khurasān*, where they were dispersed by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (83/702). In the same year al-Ḥadijīdī built a new garrison city for the Syrian troops at Wasīl. This episode proved to be a turning-point in the history of the Umayyad Caliphate and the Arab empire. Henceforward a permanent Syrian army of occupation garrisoned 'Irāk, and the *muhādila* of Kūfa and Basra were never again called out on a war footing. For twelve years more the heavy hand of al-Ḥadijīdī maintained order and security, and laid the foundations of future economic prosperity in 'Irāk, but at the cost of more bitter resentment amongst the tribesmen, especially in Kūfa.

The war with the Byzantines was renewed in 73/692, in consequence of the Emperor's refusal to accept the new Muslim gold currency struck by 'Abd al-Malik. Despite some initial successes in their raids into Anatolia and Armenia, the Syrian troops, commanded by the Caliph's brother Muḥammad, gained little territory, but prepared the way for the expeditions of the next reign. In North Africa,

however, the *muhādila* of Egypt, under Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān, after regaining the southern part of Ifrīkiya, advanced on Carthage with naval support (78/679). A reinforcing Greek fleet was defeated, Carthage occupied, and a secure base established at Kayrawān for further conquests.

In the midst of these preoccupations with internal conflicts and external wars, 'Abd al-Malik found time to develop the administrative efficiency of his empire. The answer to the disintegrating tendencies of tribalism was centralization, and various reforms were put in hand to this end. The most important was the substitution of Arabic for Greek and Persian in the financial bureaux; this was a first step towards the reorganization and unification of the diverse tax-systems in the provinces, and also a step towards a more definitely Muslim administration. This appears even more clearly in the decision to issue an Islamic gold coinage, replacing the Byzantine *denarius* with its image of the Emperor by a Muslim *dīnār* with Kur'ānic texts. Despite the hostility which later tradition displayed towards the Umayyads and al-Ḥadijīdī in particular, it cannot be doubted that already the influence of Islam was strongly felt in this, the first generation of Muslim rulers who had been brought up from childhood in the Muslim faith. Another, and even more far-reaching reform was the re-edition of the 'Uthmānic text of the Kur'ān with vowel-punctuation, a measure generally attributed to al-Ḥadijīdī, but which enraged the pietists of Kūfa who held to the 'reading' of Ibn Mas'ūd. 'Abd al-Malik was also the builder of the *Kubbat al-Sākira* [g.s.] at Jerusalem.

The last years of his reign were on the whole years of prosperity and peaceful consolidation, but for his anxiety over the succession. Marwān had appointed as successor to 'Abd al-Malik his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz, but 'Abd al-Malik wished to exclude him in favour of his own sons al-Walīd and Sulaymān. A split was avoided just in time, by the death of 'Abd al-'Azīz in Egypt in 83/1, 86/May 705, only five months before the death of 'Abd al-Malik (Shawwāl 86/Oct. 705). He was succeeded by his eldest son al-Walīd [g.s.].

**Bibliography:** General histories of Tabarī, Balādhurī, Ya'qūbī, Mas'ūdī, Ibn al-Aḥṭar, etc.; Ibn Sa'd, v, 162-75; *Aghāni*, index; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, index; the general histories of the Caliphate (see also UMAYYADS); J. Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Sasanian Coins (in the B.M.)*, and other catalogues of Umayyad coins; Caetani, *Chronographia*, A. H. 86, para. 31 (pp. 1040-1). (H. A. R. GIBB)

**'ABD AL-MALIK B. NŪH** [see SĀMĀNIDS].  
**'ABD AL-MALIK B. ŠĀLIH** b. Aḥl, cousin of the caliphs Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh and Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr. In the reign of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd 'Abd al-Malik led several campaigns against the Byzantines, in 174/790-1, in 181/797-8, and according to some authorities also in 175/791-2, although other sources assert that in this year the forces were commanded not by 'Abd al-Malik but by his son 'Abd al-Rahmān. He was also for some time governor of Medina and held the same office in Egypt. At length, however, he could not escape the Caliph's suspicion; in 187/803 he was, for no adequate reason, thrown into prison and remained there until al-Rashīd's death in 183/809. The new Caliph, al-Amin, restored him to liberty and appointed him in 196/811-2 governor of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. 'Abd al-Malik set out at once for al-Raqqa, but fell ill and died in that town shortly afterwards (the year



of his death, 196/812-3, is confirmed by al-Ma'ādi, *Taḥṣīb* 348; but the same author, Murūḡi, iv, 437, gives 197, while Ibn Ḥishām indicates 193 (trans. de Slane, i, 376) and even 199 (ibid., ii, 665, 669). Some years later the caliph al-Ma'mūn ordered his tomb to be destroyed, it is said, because 'Abd al-Malik had sworn, during the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn, never to pay homage to the latter.

*Bibliography:* Tabari, iii, 610 ff.; Ibn al-Athir, vi, 64 ff.; Ya'qūbī, ii, 466 ff.; Ma'ādi, *Murūḡi*, iv, 392-3, 437 ff.; Baladhuri, *Futūḥ*, 132, 155, 170, 185; Brooks, *Byzantine and Arab in the Time of the early Abbasids*, *The English Historical Review*, xv, 728 ff., xvi, 84 ff.; Wasiyyat 'Abd al-Malik li'bnīhi khalīfah, ed. L. Cheikh, in *Machriq*, xxv, 378-45. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

'ABD AL-MU'ĪN b. 'ĀLĪ b. 'ALW b. YĀ'LA AL-KUMĪ ABU MUHAMMAD, SUCCESSOR of the Mahdi Ibn Tūmart (q.v.) in the leadership of the reformist movement of *faṭḥ*, known as the Almoravid movement (see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN), and founder of the Mu'minid dynasty, which in the West, in the 6th/12th century, took the place of the kingdoms of Ifrīkiya and of the Almoravid dynasty of Morocco and of Spain, with its capital at Marrākūsh (q.v.). The history of the origins of the Almoravid movement and of the reign of 'Abd al-Mu'min has been illuminated and in large measure reinterpreted since the present author had the good fortune to find, in a miscellaneous collection in the Escorial library, some extracts from an anonymous *Kitāb al-Andal* devoted to the principal protagonists of the religious and political system set up by Ibn Tūmart, and especially the extremely lively and certainly authentic 'Memoirs' of a companion of the Mahdi and his successor, Abū Bakr b. 'Ālī al-Sinḥāḡī, called al-Bayḍāḡ (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almoravide*, Paris 1928). This extremely important find was followed by the discovery of a volume of the *Naṣm al-Djumān* by Ibn al-Kāttān on the beginnings of the movement (published in part by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Sur fragments inédits d'une chronique du début des Almoravides, in Mélanges René Basad*, Paris 1925, ii, 315-93), and also of a collection of official letters from 'Abd al-Mu'min and his immediate successors (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres officielles almoravides*, Rabat 1942; *Un recueil de lettres officielles almoravides*, analysis and historical commentary, Paris 1941). It has thus become possible, without having to rely only on later Arabic historians, to attempt a detailed critical account of this period which covered a large part of the 6th/12th century and coincided with an unprecedented revolution in the history of the Islamic West—an account which, however, still remains to be written.

The circumstances of the meeting of Ibn Tūmart and of his disciple 'Abd al-Mu'min might have been regarded as legendary were they not confirmed by al-Bayḍāḡ, who was a witness. 'Abd al-Mu'min, a humble student, of the Arabized Berber tribe of the Kūmya, of the ethnic group of the Zanāta, settled in the north of what is now the province of Oran, not far from Nedroma, made no attempt to claim, as did his master, an Arab and even prophetic ancestry until very much later. Still a young man—the year of his birth has not been ascertained—he had, with his uncle Yā'ūs, left his native village of Tāḡrā to visit the East, for possibly Ifrīkiya only, in order to complete his studies there. But this peregrination for the purpose of *ḡalāb al-'ilm* was to take

him no further than Bougie (Bijḡiya). It was in a suburb of that town, Mallāḡa, that Ibn Tūmart, the 'faṭḥ of the Sin', as he was then called, who was on his way back to Morocco, encountered the man who was to be his successor. He persuaded him to join the small group of disciples who accompanied him, and taught him his "unitarian" doctrine, during the few months that he remained at Bougie. This meeting probably took place in the course of the year 511/1117.

From this time onwards and until the death of the Mahdi in 524/1130, 'Abd al-Mu'min plays an extremely active part at the side of his master, who attached him by adoption to his own tribe, the Harḡha, and gave him a place in his "Council of Ten". He took part in all the expeditions, had a say in the deliberations of the Almoravid general staff, and found a far-seeing protector in the person of the most active member of the movement, Abū Hafs 'Umar al-Hintāḡī (q.v.). It was the latter who, at the death of Ibn Tūmart, imposed on the Berber hillmen of Tinnallal acceptance of the choice made by the Mahdi of his own successor. Three whole years were, however, to elapse before 'Abd al-Mu'min was proclaimed. He then received from all his new subjects the *bay'a* of allegiance, but had at the same time to face an uncertain political situation. Events went on to reveal his outstanding qualities as a statesman, as a general, and as chief of a coalition which was still, in spite of appearances, heterogeneous. His first task was, leaving aside all other business, to break down the Almoravid structure, whose foundations were already undermined. Fortune favoured him to a degree beyond his highest hopes. The career of 'Abd al-Mu'min as a sovereign began on the day of his proclamation, in 527/1133, and continued until his death in 558/1163. Here we shall merely summarise its principal stages.

The first stage was to secure for the Almoravids the whole of Morocco. The conquest proved long and difficult. 'Abd al-Mu'min first of all attacked the Sūs and the Dra (Wādī Dar'a) (q.v.), then the line of Almoravid fortresses which in the North encircled the Grand Atlas, preventing access to the plains and to the capital, Marrākūsh. Then he swung towards the northeast, took the fortified towns of Dammāt and Dāy, and step by step secured possession of the middle Atlas and of the oases of the Tāḡlāt during the years 534-55/1140-47. Then the Almoravid columns debouched into northern Morocco, and, from their base in the mountainous region of the Džabal, occupied the fortresses in the region of Tāḡra. There, they went on to win over to the movement the sub-Mediterranean tribes of the Wādī Lāw, and of Bādis, Nakūr, Mellila, and the North-Oranian region; to his own village of Tāḡrā, 'Abd al-Mu'min returned as a conqueror.

From this moment, 'Abd al-Mu'min, at the head of considerable forces, felt himself strong enough to abandon the guerrilla operations in hilly country which had hitherto been his tactics, and to confront the Almoravids in the plain. The carrying out of this intention was made all the easier for him by the death of the Almoravid amir, 'Ālī b. Yūsuf b. Tāḡhufī, which took place in 537/1143, leaving a tottering throne to his son Tāḡhufī, and open rivalry between the Lamtūna and Masmūda chiefs in regard to the succession to the amirate. Another untoward circumstance for the Almoravids was the tragic death of one of their most devoted and skilful generals, the Catalan Reverter (al-Rubartayr), leader of their Christian militia, who was killed in an engagement with the Almoravids, in 539/1145, in eastern Morocco.

Finally, the adhesion of the Zanāta to the *faṭḥ* had further inclined the balance in favour of the rebel movement. The armies of 'Abd al-Mu'min and of Tāḡhufī b. 'Ālī met before Tlemcen, and the Almoravids were forced to fall back on Oran, but he died as a result of a fall from his horse in the same year, 539. Now the road to Fez was open: first Oujda (Wādīja) and then Guefīd (Aḡdāfīd) were taken, and the capital of north Morocco fell after a siege of nine months in 540/1146, followed by Meknasa (Meknās) and Salé.

This series of victories was quickly followed up by the capture of Marrākūsh. The Almoravid capital made some attempt to resist the attackers, but was soon forced to capitulate, in spite of the heroic defence made by the garrison of the *ḡasaba* (Shawwāl 541/Aḡst 1147), and there was great slaughter of the Almoravids, among the dead being the young prince Ishāḡ b. 'Ālī b. Yūsuf. Henceforward the Mu'minid dynasty had the capital of its choice. The Almoravid palace was selected as his personal residence by 'Abd al-Mu'min, who gave orders for the erection in its vicinity of the monumental Mosque of the Bookkeepers (*ḡidma* al-Kutubīyyin), whose imposing minaret still towers above Marrākūsh today.

The final destruction of Almoravid power made it possible for 'Abd al-Mu'min to organise his new empire, using as a basis the political system of the Almoravid community, but broadened and adapted to his purpose. He carried out a new scrutiny of his supporters, thousands of whom, judged to be of doubtful loyalty or lacking in religious fervour, went to the sword. Then he seemed to him that the time had come to extend his conquests beyond the boundaries of the Almoravid possessions in the Maghrib, and be prepared to annex Ifrīkiya.

Ifrīkiya was in any case an easy prey at that moment. The Sinḡhādīn dynasties of Bijḡiya and Kayrawīn were thoroughly undermined, and the wave of beduin incursions was swamping the whole country, while the Normans, led by Roger II, king of Sicily, were gaining a foothold in the principal ports of Ifrīkiya. An Almoravid expedition against Ifrīkiya could therefore be regarded as all the more justified, in that it could claim to be a *ḡihad* against the infidel. 'Abd al-Mu'min concentrated his troops at Salé, in 546/1151, then, in the course of an irresistible thrust towards the east, took possession one after another of Aleis, Rouis, and of Kal'sūl. Bad Hammād, and utterly routed near Seif the nomadic Arabs, formerly in the service of the Hammādiids of Bougie, after which he did not seem to accept their services, and for the time being refrained from advancing any further towards Tunisia.

Ifrīkiya properly so called was not conquered until eight years later. 'Abd al-Mu'min, leaving as his lieutenant in the Maghrib Abū Hafs 'Umar al-Hintāḡī, arrived before Tunis, after a journey of six months, in Djumādā II 554/June 1159. Having taken the town, he went on towards al-Mahdiyya and attacked this fortified town, which was in the hands of Roger II of Sicily, with powerful forces; the town fell in Muharram 555/January 1160. In the course of this campaign he also secured possession of Sūs, Kayrawīn, Sfax, Gafsa, Gabes, and Tripoli. Then the ruler returned to Marrākūsh, whence he left for Spain in 556/1161.

The establishment of the Almoravids in the Iberian peninsula had begun in 539/1145, immediately after the capture of Tlemcen. In the next year the Almoravid admiral Ibn Maymūn, who had gone over to 'Abd al-Mu'min, contributed his part by taking Cádiz. In 541/1157 an Almoravid army took success-

sively the fortified towns of Jerez, Niebla, Silves, Beja, Badajoz, Mérida, and finally Seville. In 549/1154 Granada was surrendered to the new masters of the country by its Almoravid governor. In 552/1157 Almería was recaptured from the Christians, who had seized it, and whose designs on al-Andalus became ever more obvious. It was in these circumstances that 'Abd al-Mu'min decided to cross the Straits himself, and established his head-quarters at Gibraltar (Djabal Tāḡr, afterwards Djabal al-Faṭḥ), whose reconstruction he had ordered in the previous year. He remained there for two months of winter, and sent out his columns towards Jaén, where the mercenaries of Ibn Mardānīsh (q.v.) had engaged in raiding.

'Abd al-Mu'min returned to Morocco at the beginning of 558/1164. He proceeded to concentrate his troops in the huge uccine built opposite Salé, the *Rihāt al-Faṭḥ*, now Rabat, with a view to another expedition to the Iberian peninsula. But he had to take to his bed, and, after a long and painful illness, died in the month of Djumādā II 558/May 1163. (All the historians agree as to the month and the year, but not as to the actual day). His remains were taken from Salé to Tinnallal and buried near the tomb of the Mahdi Ibn Tūmart.

In all probability, it was at the time of the capture of Marrākūsh that 'Abd al-Mu'min had allowed his entourage to confer on him the exalted title of *amir al-mu'minīn*, whereas the Almoravids had used only the title *amir al-muslimīn*, recognising the spiritual suzerainty of the 'Abbāsid caliphate of the East. Also, break with the Almoravid tradition, which itself had been inspired by the Hispano-Umayyad organisation, he set up an administrative system which took into account the political needs of his great empire, as well as his desire not to give offence to his entourage of Berbers, "Almoravids from the very beginning". Many regulations that formed part of this system are still in evidence in the organisation of the *maḡāzra* (q.v.) of modern Morocco. But he had also to turn to Andalusian experts for his chancellery, mostly to men who had formerly been secretaries at the Almoravid court. He cleverly secured his succession in the direct line, and in 546/1154 had his eldest son Muḥammad nominated as his presumptive. In 551/1156 he appointed his other son to governorship of the principal towns of his empire, posting with each one, as mentors, men of the highest rank in the Almoravid hierarchy.

Various estimates have been given of 'Abd al-Mu'min, who was in no way marked out for the brilliant career that he made for himself. If, at the beginning and during the years that followed the death of Ibn Tūmart, he seems to have been somewhat timid and to have allowed himself to be led by his principal collaborator Abū Hafs 'Umar Inti, it appears that he later manifested in increasing measure not only strategic but also political qualities, handling tactfully his susceptible entourage of Almoravid Berbers, winning the good will of the Arabs of Ifrīkiya after subjugating them, and carrying out with great intelligence and energy, and also cruelty, his role as head of a State and guardian of the doctrine of the Mahdi, to whom he owed his own fortune and that of his dynasty.

See also the arts. ABU HAFS 'UMAR AL-HINTĀḡĪ, MU'MINIDS and AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN.

*Bibliography:* In addition to the basic texts cited at the beginning of this article, the career of 'Abd al-Mu'min is traced, though with many errors in chronology, by 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrā-



kuhlī, *Mu'dūb*, ed. Dozy; Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawd al-khīr*, ed. Tornerberg and ed. of Fez; *al-Halal al-Mawṣūṭ*, ed. Alouche, Ibn al-Aḥlī, xi index; Ibn al-Khatīb, *A'mal al-'Am*; Ibn al-Halāl, *Hist. des Berbères*, text, i, transl. ii; Zarkashī, *Ta'rikh al-Dawlat*, Tunis 1289; Ibn al-Khalikān, *Wafayūl al-'ayyūn*, i, 399-11; See also G. Marguin, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1952, 262-4; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1949, i, 280-316; C. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord de la conquête arabe à 1830*, Paris 1952, 93-112; Lévi-Provençal, *Notes d'histoire almohade*, *Hispan.* 1930, 49-90; *Ibid.*, *Islam d'Occident*, Paris 1948, i, 257-80; A. Huc, *La histoire et la leyenda en los origenes del imperio almohade*, And., 339 ff.

'ABD AL-MUTTALIB B. HĀSHIM, paternal grandfather of Muhammad. Passing through Medina on trading journeys to Syria, Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf married Salmā bint 'Amr of the clan of 'Adīl b. al-Nadīdīr of the Khazraj, by whom he had four children, 'Abd al-Muttalib (or Shayba) and Ruqayya. The mother and her son remained in her house in Medina, this apparently being the practice of her family in accordance with a matrilineal kinship system. Some time after Hāshim's death his brother al-Muttalib tried to strengthen his deteriorating position in Mecca by bringing his gifted nephew from Medina to help him. The common explanation that the youth was called 'Abd al-Muttalib because he was mistaken for the slave of al-Muttalib is not acceptable; the name has probably a religious significance. Arabic sources give the impression that 'Abd al-Muttalib was the leading man in Mecca (sayyid *Kuraysh*), whereas some Western scholars have tried to show that he was insignificant. It seems more probable that he was a leader of a political group within Kuraysh which had developed out of the alliance of the Muttayyabīn (B. 'Abd Manāf, B. Asad, B. Zuhra, B. Taym, B. al-Hārith b. Fihr) by the secession of B. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf and B. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf. It is significant that 'Abd al-Muttalib is said to have had disputes with Nawfal and the group, and that the explanation that he was the brother of 'Abd Shams. Moreover it is doubtless as leader of this group that he negotiated with the leader of an Abyssinian army invading Mecca, perhaps hoping thereby to obtain some advantage over Meccan rivals. He also appears to have been in alliance with tribes from the neighbourhood of Mecca, *Khu'za'a*, *Kināna* and *Tha'lab*, and to have owned a well at al-Ṭāḥ. The basis of his prosperity was trade, especially with Syria and the Yemen, coupled with the *shibya* and *ridāla* (the privilege of supplying pilgrims to Mecca with water and food), which he had inherited from Hāshim. He is credited with having dug several wells, notably that of Zamzam at the Ka'ba. Fātima bint 'Amr (of B. Ma'athim) was mother of most of his children, including 'Abd Allāh (g.a.) (Muhammad's father) and Abū Ṭālib, he had other wives from B. Zuhra of Kuraysh, al-Namir, 'Amir b. Sa'ya'a and *Khu'za'a*, mothers respectively of Hameza, al-'Abbās, al-Hārith and 'Abd Lahab. On the death of Muhammad's mother he took the boy of six to his own house. While the stories about 'Abd al-Muttalib have been subject to tendentious chipping, there may be more fact underlying them than sceptical Western scholars have allowed.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, 35-5, 71, 91-6, 107-141; Ibn Sa'd, *ix*, 46-58, 74-5; Tabari, i, 937-45, 980-1, 1073-83, etc.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*,

i, 259-90; ZDMG, vii, 30-5; Caetani, *Annali*, 111-20; F. Bohl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, 113-6; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, index.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

MIRZĀ 'ABD AL-RAHIM KHĀN, KHĀN-i KĀSHĀN, general, statesman and scholar, was born in Akbar himself, who died in Dec. 1536, the son of Akbar's first wife, Bayrām Khān (g.a.). He belonged to the Bahārī, a branch of the Kara Koyunlu Turks, and his mother was a daughter of Dīnāl Khān Mewālī, whose elder daughter the emperor Humāyūn had married. When he was four his father was murdered and he was thereafter brought up by Akbar himself, who gave him an excellent education and training, and from whom he received the title of Mirzā Khān. In 1572 he accompanied Akbar to Gujrat and then had assigned to him, under the tutelage of Sayyid Ahmad of Bārahā, the district of Patan, within which his father had been murdered.

In Dīnādā I 981/Aug. 1573 he accompanied Akbar on his first forced march to Gujrat and he shared the command of the centre in the battle of Sarāl which destroyed the power of the rebel Mirzā. In 1576 he was appointed governor of Gujrat, Wazīr Khān Harawī being entrusted with the actual administration of the province. He was deputed in the same year to the Mewār expedition and assisted in the conquest of Gogunda and Kumbhāner in 1578. As a mark of great confidence the emperor appointed him, in 1581, *mir 'ard*, an office which was previously held by seven officers jointly. He was also given the *diqdar* of Ranthambore and ordered to pacify the area. In 1582 he was appointed *atālīk* to Akbar's son Salīm, then a boy of thirteen. In 1583 he was deputed to suppress the revolt of Muzaḥfir Shāh Gujratī, which he broke by defeating Muzaḥfir against heavy odds in Muharram 992/Jan. 1584, at the two battles of Sarkhēd and Nādōt. In recognition of his victories he was given the title of Khān-i Khānān and raised to what was till then the highest *manṣab*, of 5,000. He remained in command of Gujrat, pursued Muzaḥfir into Kāthiawār, and subjugated Nawāgar. In 1585, during his temporary absence at the grant of the *shāhī*, he raised the banner of revolt. He quickly returned to Gujrat and pacified the province. In the following year, when the system of joint governors was instituted, Kulīdī Khān was associated with him in the government of the province. In 1587 he was permitted to return to the court while retaining nominally the governorship. In 1589, Gujrat was taken from him and given to Mirzā 'Azīz Kōka, the brother of his wife, Māh Rān.

In the same year he was appointed to the highest office at the court, that of *wazīr*, and given *Dīnawār* as *diqdar*. In that year he presented to the emperor his Persian translation of *Bābur-nāma*, entitled *Wāḥid-i Bāburi*. In 1590-1 his *diqdar* was transferred against his wishes from Dīnawār to Mīlān and Bhakar and he was appointed to command the army sent to conquer Kandahār and to annex Thatta, then held by Mirzā Dīnāl Beg Tarīkhān. 'Abd al-Rahīm decided, according to Abū 'l-Faḍl, to proceed against Thatta in preference to Kandahār in the hope of getting more booty. Consequently the command of the Kandahār expedition was entrusted to Akbar's son Dīnāl Beg. In 1600 Dīnāl Beg married one of his daughters in 'Abd al-Rahīm's son, Shāh Nawāz Khān (Iḥdī), and came to the court along with 'Abd al-Rahīm.

In 1593 he was appointed to assist the prince

Dāniyāl who was given the command of an expedition to the Deccan, but on his advice the expedition was cancelled. Two years later, when the conquest of the Deccan was entrusted to another of Akbar's sons, Mirzā, 'Abd al-Rahīm was given Bihāsa as *diqdar* and ordered to assist the prince. From this time his services were directed to the Deccan, except for short breaches for nearly thirty years. In consequence of his delay, he was received discourteously by Mirzā and did not take an active part in the campaign except when he defeated a largely outnumbering force under Suhayl Khān of Bīdājūr in an important battle fought in 1597. His relations with the prince remained strained and in 1598 he was recalled from the Deccan.

On the death of Mirzā, Dāniyāl was appointed to the Deccan in 1599; 'Abd al-Rahīm was ordered to join him and besiege Ahmadnagar, which was being heroically defended by Čānd Bibī. After the fall of Ahmadnagar Dāniyāl was appointed to its government and was married to Dīnāl Begum, 'Abd al-Rahīm's daughter. In 1601 'Abd al-Rahīm was ordered to repair to Ahmadnagar and pacify the territory and in the following year the command of Berār, Patāl and Telīngāna was made over to him.

When Salīm ascended the throne with the title of Dīshāhīr, 'Abd al-Rahīm was in the Deccan. He was confirmed in his post and the emperor especially sent Mukarrāb Khān to reassure him. When Malik 'Anbar, the commander of the Nīrām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar, made a bid to recover the territory lost to the Mughals, 'Abd al-Rahīm promised the emperor quick victory provided he received adequate assistance. A strong army under the command of Dīshāhīr's son Parwīz was despatched to assist him, but largely as a result of lack of cooperation among the generals, 'Abd al-Rahīm was compelled to conclude a dishonourable treaty with Malik 'Anbar in 1610. He was recalled to the court in disgrace and accused of mismanagement and treachery. He was soon forgiven and in the following year received Kālpī and Kannawāḍ as *diqdar* with the responsibility of suppressing revolts in those districts.

Since, however, Mughal fortunes in the Deccan did not improve, 'Abd al-Rahīm was again appointed to the Deccan in 1612/1612, but could do little more than retrieve the situation, until in 1616 Parwīz was replaced by the prince Khurram (later Shāh Dīshāhī) who was sent with a large force. Malik 'Anbar was defeated and concluded in 1617 a treaty restoring the Mughal conquests, but again attacked Mughal territory in 1620 and was again defeated by Shāh Dīshāhī. In 1622 Shāh Dīshāhī was recalled from the Deccan along with 'Abd al-Rahīm and asked to command the army against the Persians who had conquered Kandahār. Shāh Dīshāhī refused to obey the summons and revolted. 'Abd al-Rahīm joined him but was arrested for communicating with Mahābāt Khān, the commander of the Imperial forces, and subsequently released on the latter's insistence to negotiate terms of peace. When he reached the Imperial army, his communication with the rebel forces was cut off and although he agreed to join the Imperial side, he was placed under surveillance.

In 1625 Dīshāhīr called him to the court, restored his title and honours and gave him one lac of rupees as a gift. After the emperor was released from the captivity of Mahābāt Khān, who had rebelled, 'Abd al-Rahīm asked for the command of the expedition against the rebel general, and towards the close of

1626 was ordered to make preparations for the expedition and was assigned most of the *diqdar* formerly held by Mahābāt Khān. Before the preparations were completed, he fell ill at Lahore, and died on arrival at Delhi in 1630/1627, at the age of 72. His tomb still stands near that of the *shaykh* Nīrām al-Dīn Aswīlī. He survived his four sons, Mirzā Iḥdī entitled Shāh Nawāz Khān, who rose to be a commander of 5,000 and died in 1639; Mirzā Dīrāb entitled Dīrāb Khān, also a distinguished commander who was made governor of Bengal by Shāh Dīshāhī during his rebellion, fell into the hands of Mahābāt Khān and was executed in 1625-6; Mirzā Rāhīm-dād (d. 1619); and Mirzā 'Amr Allāh who died young.

Mirzā 'Abd al-Rahīm was a distinguished scholar and poet, and was proficient in Arabic, Persian, Turkī and Hindī. Under the pseudonym Rahīm he composed poetry in all four languages. He is especially famous for his Hindī poetry which is saturated with the emotions of *bhakti*. He was a great patron of arts and letters, and the *Ma'athir-i Rahīmī* contains a long list of poets who enjoyed his patronage. His munificence and generosity were proverbial and anecdotes of his liberality are numerous. Though frequently accused of treachery and corruption, he possessed a better grasp of the problems of the Deccan than any other Mughal general.

In his religious views he was professedly a Sūfī. Though religious leaders like *shaykh* Ahmad Sarbīndī and *shaykh* 'Abd al-Hakī Dīlāwī counted him among the orthodox, his religious outlook remained mystical and liberal. The belief that he was suspected of practising *taḥiyya* and of secretly following Shī'ite tenets is not supported by contemporary evidence.

**Bibliography:** Abū 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, iii; Nīrām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Fahāḥat-i Akbarī*, ii, esp. 323-51; *Tarikh-i Dīshāhīrī*, transl. Rogers and Beveridge; Mu'tamad Khān, *Ṭihl-nāma-yi Dīshāhīrī*, esp. 287-8; 'Abd al-Bakī Nihāwandī, *Ma'athir-i Rahīmī*; Firsihta, *Gulshan-i Ibrākīmī*; Abū Turāb Walī, *Tarikh-i Gujratī*, Calcutta 1909; Muhammad Ma'yūm, *Tarikh-i Sindh*, Bombay 1938, 250-7; *Iḥdī-yi Abū 'l-Faḍl*, 1262, i, nos. 9, 10, ii (first half); *Makhlūḥat-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, Lucknow 1913, i, nos. 23, 67, 69, 171, 214, ii, nos. 8, 62, 66, 67; 'Abd al-Hakī Dīlāwī, *Madīna-u-yi Kitāb al-Mahālib*, Delhi 1332, nos. 12, 14, 18, 20, 22; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'athir al-Umarā'*, i, 693-713; *A'm-s Akbarī*, transl. Blochmann, Calcutta 1927, i, notes 354-61; Dēva Prāsāda Munshī, *Kān Khān-nāma* (in Hindī); Mīrā Śankara Vajjola, *Rahīm Rānānālī* (in Hindī). (NURUL HASAN)

'ABD AL-RAHMĀN, the name of the Marwānīd prince who restored the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus, and of four of his successors.

1. 'ABD AL-RAHMĀN I, called al-Dāḥid, 'the Immigrant', was the son of Mu'awīya b. Hishām (g.a.). When his relatives were being hunted down by the 'Abbasids, 'Abd al-Rahmān, still a youth—he was born in 133/731—contrived to escape secretly to Palestine, whence, accompanied by his freedman Badr, he made his way first to Egypt, and then to Ifrīkiya. At Kayrawān, the hostile attitude of the governor, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Habib, drove him to seek refuge in the Maghrib. He stayed for some time in the region of Tāhart; subsequently he sought hospitality first from the Berber tribe of the Miknasa, and then from the Berber tribe, on the Moroccan shore of the Mediterranean, taking ad-



vantage of his family connections—his mother having been a captive woman from that very tribe. But the Berbers did not look with favour on the political schemes of the young Syrian émigré, who with the help of his *muwallad*, decided to try his luck in Spain.

'Abd al-Rahmân b. Mu'awiya managed most cleverly, and with keen political sense, to turn to account the bitter rivalries which at that time grouped the Arab Kayate party and Yamanite party in the Iberian peninsula in opposed camps. We succeeded similarly in enlisting the support of the numerous Umayyad clients who had come to Spain with Baljû b. Bishr [q.v.], and who formed there a local cadre of Syrian *ghunads* dominating a large part of the south of Andalusia. The ground having been well prepared by Hadr, 'Abd al-Rahmân entered the peninsula: he disembarked at Aloufcar (al-Munakabi) on 1 Rabî' I 139/14 August 755, and at once put forward his claim to the sovereign power. The governor of al-Andalus, Yûsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Fihri, soon had to take up arms against him. 'Abd al-Rahmân, whose forces were continually increasing, made his entry into Seville in Sha'wal 139/March 756, defeated Yûsuf al-Fihri in the outskirts of Cordova on the 10 Dhu'l-Hijja following (15 May), and entered the capital, where he was proclaimed amir of al-Andalus.

The founder of the Umayyad amirate of Cordova was to reign for more than thirty-three years. He spent the greater part of them in consolidating his position in the capital itself. The news of his success spread in the East, and soon a stream of dependents or supporters of the Umayyads was flowing into Spain to help with the restoration in the West of the dynasty that in the East had fallen from power. It was not long before the amir of Cordova was forced to confront a multitude of political problems. He had first of all to subdue finally the former wali Yûsuf al-Fihri, who had collected round him a certain number of malcontents and tried to retake Cordova; but he was defeated in 141/758 and in the next year was killed near Toledo. Meanwhile, just as in the time of the former governors, embers of revolt were smouldering in almost every part of the new kingdom; unrest was stirred up not only by the neo-Muslim Spaniards and by the Berbers of the mountainous regions, but also by the mutual hostility of the Arab clans. 'Abd al-Rahmân II thus had to stamp out rebellion at many different points: for example, in 145/763, the rising of the Arab chief al-'Alî b. Mughith al-Djadhîdî, and, in 152/769, that of the Berber Shakyâ in the Santaver district (Santaverriya), now the province of Cuenca. Later, a certain number of the Arab chiefs on the eastern side of the Peninsula formed a coalition, and asked for help from Charlemagne. The latter himself crossed the Pyrenees at the head of a Frankish army and laid siege to Saragossa in 162/778; but a sudden recall to the Rhineland compelled him to raise the siege. On the way back his army was attacked in the narrow valley of Roncesvalley by bands of Basques (Bachkuns), and was decimated (episode of Roland, Duke of Brittany). 'Abd al-Rahmân in his turn laid siege to Saragossa, and gained possession of it for a time. But he was forced to give up the idea of recapturing other towns that had fallen into the hands of the Christians. Thus it was that Gerona (Djarunda) came under Frankish control in 169/785.

Three years later, on 25 Rabî' II 172/30 September 788, 'Abd al-Rahmân I died at Cordova before

reaching his sixtieth year. The State of Cordova was doubtless still very insecure; but at least he had provided it with an administrative and military organisation similar, on a lesser scale, to that of the former caliphate of Damascus, and which was to last as long as the Marwânids of al-Andalus remained faithful to the 'Syrian tradition'. In any case, the success of the 'Immigrant' made a deep impression in the East, and the 'Abbasid caliph Abd Dja'far al-Mansûr gave him the name *yabr Kuraish*, 'Hawk of Kuraish', as a tribute to his courage and his spirit of enterprise.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, I, 91-138. The essential Arabic source for the career of 'Abd al-Rahmân I is the anonymous compilation, entitled *Alkhabr Maghmû'a* [q.v.], 46-120. For the other sources and the bibl., see *Hist. Esp. musul.*, I, 91, n. 1.

2. 'ABD AL-RAHMÂN II b. al-Hakam b. Hisham b. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Mu'awiya, great-grandson of the above, succeeded his father al-Hakam I on 25 Dhu 'l-Hijja 206/21 May 822. He was born at Toledo in 176/792 and was chosen as heir presumptive by his father. The recent discovery of that part of the *Muhabbat* of Ibn Haysân which deals with the reigns of al-Hakam I and 'Abd al-Rahmân II has made it possible for the present writer to offer a rather different picture of the latter sovereign and of the kingdom of al-Andalus during his period from that which Dory based on the documentation available in his time. It now appears that the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmân II, which covered a third of a century, was much more prosperous and brilliant than was thought hitherto; in the history of Andalusian civilisation it represented a decisive turning-point, when for the first time there penetrated to Cordova manners and a way of life directly borrowed from Baghdad and from the 'Abbasid civilisation which firmly set their stamp on the aristocracy (Abbas) of Muslim Spain, and led to a continuous ebbing of the Syro-Umayyad tradition in the Marwânid kingdom.

At the beginning of the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmân II some disturbances, which came about as a reaction against the iron rule with which al-Hakam I had governed al-Andalus, were easily put down; gradually the Levantine territories (Sijak al-Andalus) were brought completely under the crown, and a new town, Murcia was founded in 216/831 to replace the former chief town, Ello. A revolt on a considerable scale broke out at Toledo; it was finally put down, and the town taken by storm in 222/837. At the same time the ruler of Cordova took up afresh the struggle against the Christians along the frontiers of al-Andalus, and nearly every year personally led or sent summer expeditions (ghazâs) against the Asturio-Leonese kingdom. He also had to deal with the revolt of the Berber Mahmûd b. 'Abd al-Djabbâr in the region of Merida and with the minor aggressive outbursts of the *muwallad* Banû Kasî family [q.v.] of Aragón, while at the same time waging war, at request of the Greeks, against the Bispey kingdom of Pamplona and the Hispanic Marches (now Catalonia), which then formed part of the empire of the Franks (Ifrandj) [q.v.].

Two important political events also took place during the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmân II. The first, following upon a recrudescence of nationalist propaganda, was the famous revolt of the Morabar Christians [q.v.] of Toledo and Cordova, fomented by certain fanatics. Arabic historiography makes no mention of this revolt, and information about it

can only be obtained from a few contemporary Latin sources. Not without reluctance, the government of Cordova had to deal severely with a large number of Morabar, priests and lay persons, men and women, who were guilty of having reviled the religion of the Prophet. At this time there was a disturbing outbreak of voluntary martyrdom, which was brought to an end by a Council held at Cordova and presided over by the Metropolitan of Seville (*madrid*) in 238/862. Seven years later the priest Eulogius, who had been the leading spirit of this movement and was trying to reanimate it, was arrested and beheaded, by the orders of amir Muhammad I.

Far more serious was the raid of the Norsemen, in 230/844, on Muslim Spain. The flotillas of Norsemen (Urdmålslýrðin), usually called *Maglôs* [q.v.] by the Chroniclers, first made their appearance at Lisbon, then came up the Guadalquivir from its mouth and sacked Seville and all the surrounding country. The counter-stroke was not delayed, and after a bloody battle Seville was recaptured from the pirates at the end of Safar 230/14 November 844. To meet this unexpected menace and to forestall any new attack the navy was reinforced.

'Abd al-Rahmân II instituted friendly relations with three little independent kingdoms of western Barbary: the Rustumid kingdom of Tâhart, the Sâlihîd kingdom of Nakûr, and the Midrarîd kingdom of Sijilmâsa, but made no advances to the Aglabids of Ifrîkiya, who were partisans of the 'Abbasids and had just conquered Sicily. From his reign too dates the opening of diplomatic relations between Cordova and Byzantium. An embassy from the emperor Theophilus arrived in Spain in 235/849 to demand the restitution of Crete, which had been occupied by the Andalusian adventurer Abû Hafs 'Umar al-Ballûtî [q.v.]. The reply was in the negative, but a Cordovan deputation, of which the poet al-Ghazâl [q.v.] was a member, went to Constantinople at this time.

'Abd al-Rahmân II was to become particularly renowned as an organiser and builder, and as a patron of letters and the arts. He reorganised the administration of his kingdom on the lines of the 'Abbasid system, ordered the construction at Cordova of several works of public utility, and on two occasions undertook the extension of the great mosque in his capital, in 238/853 and 234/848. His court soon became most brilliant. From the time when the musician and singer Ziriyâh [q.v.], who came to Cordova in 207/822, won acceptance at Cordova for the refined usages of the Baghdad civilisation. Several poets won fame in the entourage of the amir of Cordova: for example, al-'Abbas ibn Firnâs [q.v.], al-Ghazâl, mentioned above, and Ibrahim ibn Sulaymân al-Shâmi. During his reign the Maliki school of Cordova developed greatly, and several *shâhîs* acquired a reputation in juridical science, in particular the Berber Yahyâ [q.v.] al-Layth, whose dictates 'Abd al-Rahmân II followed in his choice of kâds. The end of the amir's life was darkened by palace intrigues, instigated by his *fâtâ* Nâsr and by his concubine Tarîb. He died at Cordova on 3 Rabî' II 238/22 September 852, after a reign that, taken as a whole, can be called glorious, and which should henceforward be assigned the position which it deserves in the history of Umayyad Spain.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, I, 193-278 (sources and bibliography *ibid.*, 193, n. 1).

3. 'ABD AL-RAHMÂN III b. Muḥ. b. 'Abd Allâh, the greatest of the Hispano-Umayyad rulers and first caliph of al-Andalus.

The successor of the amir 'Abd Allâh was only twenty-three at the time of his accession; in spite of his youth he had been chosen by his grandfather as heir presumptive because of his high qualities. The choice was fully justified. Indeed, no reign in the annals of Hispanic Islam was more brilliant or more glorious. Its great length—a whole half century, from 300/928 to 350/961—ensured for the policies of 'Abd al-Rahmân III the benefits of an unusual degree of continuity, and made it possible for him to subdue one after another all the centres of disaffection in al-Andalus.

The reign of 'Abd al-Rahmân III can be divided into two principal periods: first a period of internal pacification, the result of which was the achievement of political unity in the kingdom of Cordova, a unity which had been gravely threatened in the reign of amir 'Abd Allâh [q.v.]; then a longer period, mainly distinguished by activity in external policy: an offensive against Christian Spain, and a struggle with the Fâtimid empire for influence in North Africa.

As soon as he came to the throne, 'Abd al-Rahmân III mustered all his resources to put an end to the revolt in southern Andalusia, and to neutralise one and for all the aggressive power of the principal instigator of this revolt, 'Umar b. Hafsun [q.v.]. Until 305/917 he unceasingly harassed the Andalusian rebels and attacked the Arab aristocrats of Seville, Carmona, and Elvira, who were forced to submit. After the death of Ibn Hafsun, his sons quickly gave up the struggle. Their head-quarters at Bobastro [q.v.] were taken by storm in 315/925. Five years later the last centre of resistance, Toledo, fell in its turn.

At the same time the ruler of Cordova took care not to allow himself to be outflanked by sporadic outbursts of aggression by his Christian neighbours. He stopped the advance of the king of Asturio-Leon, Ordoño III, in 308/920, and seized a series of strongholds along the strategic line of the Duero, Omsa, San Esteban de Gormaz, and Clunia, particularly after his victory at Juncaria (Valdejunquera). Four years later the victorious operations known as the Pamplona campaign put him in a position to sack the Basque capital, the seat of Sancho Garres I, and to secure his land frontiers for several years. But he was to find a powerful opponent in the new king of Leon, Ramiro II, who, shortly after his accession, took the offensive against Islam and, after a series of encounters in which he was beaten, succeeded in inflicting on the ruler of Cordova, in 327/939, the very serious defeat at the 'moat' of Simancas (sometimes wrongly called the battle of Alhandega).

Ten years had already passed since 'Abd al-Rahmân III, after the taking of Bobastro, and as a retort to the designs of the Fâtimids on his realm, had adopted the exalted title *amir al-mu'minin*, and the honorific appellation al-Nâsir li-Dîn Allâh. He was now to pursue in North Africa a policy of attraction and to combat, particularly in Morocco, the influence of the new masters of Ifrîkiya. In order to secure from bases of operations on African soil, he occupied certain presidios, Ceuta in particular, which was taken in 339/951. On this battle of influences, which was to continue until the end of the tenth century, see the art. Umayyads of Spain.



After the Simasica disaster, 'Abd al-Rahmān III quickly succeeded in restoring the situation, especially as his enemy Ramiro II died in 339/951 and his sons Ordoño III and Sancho quarrelled over the succession. Al-Nāṣir took full advantage of the civil wars which at that time stepped the kingdoms of Leon and Pamplona in blood (for fuller details see the art. Umayyads).

'Abd al-Rahmān III died at Cordova on 22 Ramaḍān 350/15 October 961, at the height of his fame and power. During the latter part of his reign he had lived in the style of a veritable potentate, and had transferred his residence to his royal establishment of Madīnat al-Zāhira [q.v.], at the gates of Cordova, which he made into a town by itself. Of the kingdoms of al-Andalus, which under his predecessors had ever been an object of contention shaken by civil war, the rivalries of the Arab clans, and the clash of ethnic groups in opposition to each other, he had contrived to make a pacified, prosperous, and immensely rich State. From that time Cordova was a Muslim metropolis, a rival to Kayrawān and to the great cities of the East. It far surpassed the other capitals of Western Europe, and enjoyed in the Mediterranean world a reputation and a prestige comparable to that of Constantinople.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, II, 1-164 (Arab. sources and bibl., *ibid.*, I, note 1).

'Abd al-Rahmān IV b. Muḥ. b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, grandson of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir, Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus, who took at the beginning of his short reign the honorific title of al-Murtadā. This personage, who, at the time of the *hijra* of Cordova, had retired to Valencia, was proclaimed at the end of 408/1018, after the assassination of 'Alī b. Hammūd [q.v.] by a number of supporters collected together by the lord of Almería, the Sevillian *hād* Ḥayyān. Al-Murtadā, before trying to retake Cordova and to install himself there, laid siege to Granada, where the *shahīda* of Zāwī b. Zīrī [q.v.] were in command, and suffered a serious defeat. Betrayed, and abandoned by his own men, he took refuge at Guadix (Wādī Ḥaḡh), where he was before long assassinated.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, II, 328-30.

5. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN V b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Djabbār, one of the last Umayyad caliphs of al-Andalus, was proclaimed on the 16 Ramaḍān 474/4 December 1023 at Cordova, and took the honorific title of al-Mustashir bi'llah. He had barely attained his majority, and showed remarkable literary gifts. He surrounded himself with counsellors chosen from among the aristocracy of the capital, men such as the great writer 'Alī b. Harūn, but was able to remain in power for only forty-seven days. The Cordovan mob deposed him in the course of a riot, and replaced him by Muhammad III al-Mutamir, on 3 Dhu'l-Ka'dī of the same year/17 January 1024. The first act of his successor was to put 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mustashir to death.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, II, 334-5. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. MUHAMMAD b. ABI 'AMIR, nicknamed Sanchuelo (Shandwilo), the 'hija' (little) son (as he was by his mother a grandson of Sancho Garoñe II of Aburra, Basque king of Pamplona), son of the famous 'al-Mansur al-Nāṣir [q.v.]. He succeeded his elder brother 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.] al-Murraḡir on his death, 26 Safar 399/20 Oct. 1008, with the consent of the titular

caliph, the Umayyad Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad bi'llah. Indifferently gifted, vain, debauched, 'Abd al-Rahmān Sanchuelo, from the moment that he assumed power in Cordova, made one mistake after the other and alienated public opinion. He started by obtaining from Hishām II his designation as presumptive heir of the crown. The text of the document of investiture, dated Ramaḍān 1 399/Nov. 1008, has been preserved. The designation was very badly received by the people of Cordova, who were already exasperated by the pro-Berber feelings of the 'Amirid *hājib*. While 'Abd al-Rahmān misguidedly decided to go, in the middle of winter, on an expedition against the kingdom of Leon, an opposition party was formed in Cordova. They deposed the throne the Umayyad Muhammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Djabbār, whose first care was to order the sack of the residence of the 'Amirids, al-Madīna al-Zāhira [q.v.]. The reaction of 'Abd al-Rahmān to this news was half-hearted. He turned back in the direction of Cordova, but during his return journey he was abandoned by his troops and arrested, not far from the capital, by emissaries of the Umayyad prisoner, who put him to death, 3 Ramaḍān 399/3 March 1009.

[See also 'AMIRIDS and Umayyads of Spain].

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, II, 291-304. E. Lévi-Provençal

'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. 'ALI [see Ibn al-Dawāḡī]. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. 'AWF, originally called 'Abd 'Amr or 'Abd al-Kaḡh, the most prominent early Muslim convert from B. Zubayr of Kuraysh. He took part in the *hijra* to Abyssinia and in that to Medina, and fought at Badr and the other main battles. He commanded a force of 700 men sent by Muhammad in Sha'bān 6/December 627 to Dumat al-Djandal; the Christian chief, al-Asbagh (or al-Ayya) al-Kalbi, became a Muslim and made a treaty, and 'Abd al-Rahmān married his daughter Tunāḡir (but cf. Caetani, *Annali*, I, 709). By his shrewdness and skill as a merchant he made an enormous fortune. Politically he was a friend of Abū Bakr and later of 'A'isha. On 'Umar's death, as one of the *shūra* or council of six who had to choose the new caliph, he played a leading part in the appointment of 'Uthmān. He died about 31/652 aged 75. According to Tradition he was one of the ten whom Muhammad had assured of Paradise.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Sa'd, III, 7, 87-97; Tabari, *index*; Ibn al-Aṡḡir, *Uṣṣ al-Ghāba*, III, 313-7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣṣa*, II, 997-1001; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, I, 428-30.

(M. TH. HOUTENAU—W. MOSTGÖRTER WATZ)

'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. HISHAM [q.v.] al-Lawid [q.v.] sultan of Morocco, born in 1204/1790. Proclaimed in Fer, 15 Ramaḍān 1238/30 Nov. 1822, he succeeded his uncle Mawlay Sulaymān [q.v.], who had appointed him as his heir. Recognized without great difficulties, the new sovereign had nevertheless to repress during his reign several revolts of the tribes. Among these were the revolts of Zemmir, in 1240/1825, in 1250/1835, in 1260/1852 and in 1274-5/1857-8, the revolt of Banū Za'wāl in 1241/1825, that of Shidyāna in 1245/1827-8, that of Amir and Za'ā'ir in 1265/1849 and that of Banū Mōā in 1269/1853. The two most serious revolts were, however, that of Shidyāna in 1244/1828 and that of the *qayḡ* of Wādīya in 1247-8/1831-2. The sultan besieged Tāz al-Djādīd, where the rebels had fortified themselves, and after taking the city, dismissed them and scattered them near Marrāḡḡh, at Rabat and at al-'Arā'ḡh (Larache).

The relations of Mawlay 'Abd al-Rahmān with the European nations were marked by a series of failures that made him abandon his earlier plans of aggression and expansion. The blockade of Tangier by the English in 1828 and the bombardment of al-'Arā'ḡh (Larache), Arzila and Tittāwīn undertaken by the Austrians in 1829 as reprisals for the seizure of merchant ships, made an end to an attempted reconstruction of a corsair navy, while the military successes of France in Algeria forced the sultan to renounce all intervention in the territory of the late regency. He tried in 1830-2 to extend his influence to the East of his empire by appointing *khāḡifas* in Tiemlen, Miliana and Medea, but had to recall, or disavow, them, because of their troubles and the protest of the French government. From 1832 to 1834 he lent 'Abd al-Kādir, leader of the holy war, his moral and material support and allowed himself to be involved in a conflict with France when his ally took refuge in Morocco in order to continue the struggle. The reverses which he suffered; battle of Isly (14 August 1844), bombardment of Tangier and Mogador (6 and 15 August), obliged 'Abd al-Rahmān to renew the *al-Maḡ* (treaty) of Tangier, 26 Oct. 1844. In 1847 he decided to expel him from the country, thus compelling him to give himself up to the French. Several incidents, due to the fanaticism of his subjects, such as the murder of the Spanish consular agent Darmon (1843), that of the Frenchman Rosey (1855) and the pillage of the brig 'Couraoul Pey' (1851), embarrassed his relations with the foreign powers, but generally he gave in before threats or force (bombardment of Salé, 1851).

During his reign, Portugal (1823), England (1824, 1827), Sardinia (1825), Spain (1825), France (1825, 1844), Austria (1830), the kingdom of Naples (1834), the United States of America (1836), Sweden and Denmark (1844), renewed, or completed, their commercial treaties with Morocco.

A pious ruler and a good administrator, Mawlay 'Abd al-Rahmān had many monuments built or restored: in Fer (Mosque of Mawlay Idrīs), Meknes, Salé (minaret of the Great Mosque, fortifications), Tangier (harbour), Safi, Mazagan, Marrāḡḡh (mosque of Bū Ḥassān, Kanariyya, al-Wuṣṭā, and the plantation of the Agḡāl), etc. He died in Meknes, 29 Moharram 1278/28 August 1859.

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(Ph. de Cosse-Brissac)

'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. KHALID b. al-Walid al-Maḡrūbī, the only surviving son of al-Fatḡ al-Baḡ general. At the age of eighteen he commanded a squadron at the battle of the Yarmūk. Mu'awīya subsequently appointed him governor of Hims and he commanded several of the later Syrian expeditions

into Anatolia. During the civil war, after successfully opposing an 'Irakī expedition into the Euphrates, he joined Mu'awīya at Siffin and was made standard-bearer. According to the received tradition, Mu'awīya, fearing that 'Abd al-Rahmān might be a rival of Yazīd for the succession to the Caliphate, had him poisoned in 46/666 by his Christian physician Ibn Uthlū, who was himself killed shortly afterwards by one of his victim's slaves. H. Lammens (see *Bibl.*) has disputed the reliability of this tradition (transmitted from 'Irakī sources) and ascribed its origin to incidents connected with an outbreak of anti-Christian violence at Hims.

**Bibliography:** Balādhuri, *Anaḡ*, in G. Levi della Vida, *Il Califato Mu'awīya I*, Rome 1928, nos. 269, 281; Tabari, I, 3093, 3093; II, 82-3; Ya'qūbī, II, 269; Dīnawarī, 364, 181, 197; Nārī ibn Muḡalib, *Wak'at Siffin*, Cairo 1905, index; *Agḡāl*, xv, 13; *Taḡḡḡh Ta'rīkh Ibn 'Asākir*, v, Damascus 1333, 80; H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne de Mu'awīya I*, Paris 1908, 3-15, 218 f. (H. A. R. Gwyn)

'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. MARWAN b. YUSUF, called Ibn al-Djilīlī ('son of the Galician'), famous chief of insurgents in the West of al-Andalus in the second half of the 3rd/9th century. He belonged to a family of neo-Muslims (*muwalladūn*), originating from the North of Portugal and established in Merida. Although his father had been governor of this town on behalf of the sovereigns of Cordova, 'Abd al-Rahmān revolted against the Umayyad Amir Muhammad I in 254/866. The Amir besieged him and forced him, after the capitulation of the city, to reside in Cordova. He remained in the capital until 261/875, when he returned to the region of Merida and threw off his allegiance to the Umayyads. He fortified himself in the castle of Alange (Hims al-Hanashīn), but was again forced to surrender by the Amir Muhammad I, who assigned to him as residence Badajoz. It was not long before Ibn al-Djilīlī again raised the standard of revolt, supported by the *muwallad* lord of Porto (Bartakāl), Sa'dūn al-Surubakī, and by Alfonso III, king of Asturias and Leon. The insurgents laid an ambush for the loyalist general Hāḡīm b. 'Abd al-'Aṣṭr, in the region of the Serra de Estrella, captured him and delivered him into the hand of the Christian king, who released him only against a high ransom. Fearing, justly, a violent reaction from the government in Cordova, Ibn al-Djilīlī took refuge with Alfonso III. After staying for eight years in Christian territory, he returned in 271/884 to Badajoz and reached a tacit agreement with Cordova. This allowed him to rule over a veritable principality extending over the valley of the Guadiana and the south of what is now Portugal. Under the reigns of the Amirs al-Munḡir and 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-Rahmān practically had a free hand and ruled over his territory as an independent prince, until his death in 276/889. He was succeeded by his son Marwān who only survived him by two months, and after him by a grandson 'Abd Allāh b. Muḡammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, who died in 311/923 and was followed by a son, 'Abd al-Rahmān. This great-grandson of Ibn al-Djilīlī was finally compelled to submit to 'Abd al-Rahmān III in 318/930.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḡalib*, chronicle of the reign of the Emir Muḡ, I; F. Codera, *Los Reinados en Mérida y Badajoz*, *Estudios de hist. de esp.*, IX, 48 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, I, 255 ff., 386; II, 245.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)



'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. MUHAMMAD b. AL-ASH'ATH [see Ibn al-Ash'ATH].

'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. RUSTUM (see RUSTUM).

'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. SAMURA b. HADIR b. 'ABD SHAMS b. 'ABD MANAF b. KUSAYB, Arab general. The name 'Abd al-Rahman was given him by Muhammad on his conversion in place of his former name 'Abd al-Ka'ba. His first command was in Sijidistan in succession to al-Radi b. Ziyad in the latter years of the caliphate of 'Uthman when he conquered Zanzibar and Zanzibar Island and made a treaty with the ruler of Kerman. He withdrew after the death of 'Uthman; according to Chinese sources, Pirat, the son of Yairdird III, then attempted to establish himself in Sijidistan (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-tou occidentaux*, 275, 279). 'Abd al-Rahman b. Samura was, along with 'Abd Allah b. Amir, one of the envoys of Mu'awiyah to al-Harith b. 'Ali [?]. Ibn 'Amir, responsible governor of Baera and the East, despatched 'Abd al-Rahman and 'Abd Allah b. Khaytham in 42/602 to restore Arab rule in eastern Khurasan and Sijidistan. In 43/603 'Abd al-Rahman reconquered Sijidistan and captured Kabil after a siege of several months. He then led an expedition to al-Rukhbadh (Arachosia) and Zibulistan (region of Ghazna), and again attacked and captured Kabil, which had rebelled, probably in 43/605. Mu'awiyah subsequently made him directly subordinate to the Caliph, but shortly after the appointment of Ziyad as governor of Baera he was replaced. He brought back with him a body of captives from Kabil, who built a mosque for him in his *har* at Baera in the architectural style of Kabil. He died in 107/705 in Baera, where his descendants formed a powerful and influential clan during the next century.

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'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. 'ABD AL-KADIR al-FASI, Moroccan scholar, b. at Fez 1040/1631, d. in the same town 1096/1685. He was the pupil of his father, 'Abd al-Kadir b. 'Ali [?], and of numerous other masters. He became a famous jurist, polygrapher, celebrated by all his biographers for the breadth and the variety of his knowledge. He is said to have compiled more than 170 works on Malikiite *fiqh*, medicine, astronomy and history. But it is especially as a lawyer that he is an authority, and his main works are his great collection on the "customs" of Fez, *al-'Amal al-Fasi*, and a commentary on *al-Shafi'i* by the famous *hujat* 'Isa, entitled *Majma' al-Shafi'i*. He is also the author of a long didactic poem in *najaz*, *al-Umum fi Majma' al-'Ulam*. **Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chérif*, 266-9 (with references); Brockelmann, ii, 612, S. 1, 694. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. HADIR b. AMI 'URAYDA (or 'ABDA) al-FIHRI, great-grandson of the famous *tabi'* 'Uqba b. Nafi', independent governor of Ifrikiya at the end of the Umayyad caliphate. His father, Habib, had sent expeditions against the Sās, Morocco and Sicily, in which 'Abd al-Rahman, still a youth, took an active part. He was one of the survivors of the bloody defeat inflicted by the

Berber upon the regular Arab troops in 123/741, in which his father and the governor, Kulthum b. 'Iyad, lost their lives. He crossed over to Spain, but fearing for his life, returned in 127/745 to Ifrikiya, where he revolted against the actual governor, Hanzala b. Salwān al-Kalbi, who two years later saw no other choice but to yield the power to him. 'Abd al-Rahman, on becoming master of al-Kayrawān, had to suppress several rebellions and undertook several large expeditions, notably against Sicily and Sardinia, in 135/752. His seizure of power was the less contested as it coincided with the fall of the Umayyad dynasty. It seems that 'Abd al-Rahman at the beginning he acknowledged the 'Abbasid allegiance, but shortly afterwards repudiated it, on the receipt of an insulting message from the caliph al-Mansur. No doubt at al-Mansur's instigation, two of the brothers of 'Abd al-Rahman decided upon his ruin; he was assassinated by one of them, Hayk b. Habib, who took possession of al-Kayrawān 137/753. Habib, son of 'Abd al-Rahman, with the help of another uncle of his, 'Isma'il b. Habib, governor of Tunis, soon afterwards attacked the usurper and, in turn, made himself master of Ifrikiya.

Another 'Abd al-Rahman b. Habib al-Fihri, a contemporary of the preceding, who was called, to distinguish him from the former, by the surname of al-Shahid, was a propagandist of the 'Abbasids in Spain. Pursued by the Umayyad prince, 'Abd al-Rahman I, he was assassinated near Valencia in 102/728-9.

**Bibliography:** Ibn 'Idhari, *Bayan*, i, 36, 60 ff., 67 f., transl. Fagnan, 62 ff., 73 ff.; Hunyadi, *Ussawat al-Mulakhi* (Tongji), Cairo 1955, no. 594; Dabul, no. 1006; Ibn al-Aghir, v, 235 ff., transl. Fagnan, *Annales de Magreb et de l'Espagne*, 74-81; Nuywayr, *History of Africa* (Gaspard Renoult), Granada 1919, 38-40; Ibn Khaldun, *Thar*, i, 215 f.; G. Margais, *Berberie musulmane*, 45; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 47, 97, 121-2. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. 'ABD ALLAH al-GHAFIRI, governor of al-Andalus. He succeeded Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah al-Ash'ath in this office at the end of 111 or at the beginning of 112/729, and retained it until his death in 114/732. 'Abd al-Rahman, who had already governed Spain provisionally for about two months in 102/721, was a *tabi'* reputed for his piety. He is chiefly famous for the incursion into Gaul that cost him his life. His expedition, which was carefully prepared, had for its object the basilica of St. Martin at Tours. He collected a numerous army, and from Pamplona marched through the pass of Roncesvalles on Bordeaux, which he devastated, Duke Eudes of Aquitaine being powerless to oppose his advance. He then advanced towards the Loire, but was checked in his progress by the Duke of the Franks, Charles Martel, who engaged him about 20 km. to the north east of Poitiers and inflicted on him a severe defeat. The battle is known as the 'Battle of Poitiers' in French historiography, while the Arabs call it *halal al-Bashada*, "causeway of the martyrs of the faith". The Muslim survivors retreated in disorder towards Narbonne, leaving behind on the battlefield many dead, including 'Abd al-Rahman. The date of this memorable encounter can be fixed at the end of Oct. 732/Ramadan 114.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 40, 59-62. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. 'UMAR al-SUFI, Abu 'l-Husayn, eminent astronomer, born at Rayy

14 Muharram 291/8 Dec. 903, died 13 Muharram 376/25 May 986. In 317/948-9 he was in Isfahan, in attendance on the vizier Abu 'l-Fadi b. al-Amid, in 320/961 at the court of 'Adud al-Dawla, no doubt in the same town. He was the court astronomer of this ruler, who boasted of three of his teachers: in grammar al-Fārid, in the knowledge of astronomical tables Ibn al-A'lam, and in the knowledge of the constellations 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi (Ibn al-Kūfī; cf. also Yāqūt, *Irdhād*, iii, 10). His best known work is a description of the fixed stars (*Suwar al-Kawākib al-Sābiqa*, quoted in his different titles), which he wrote about 355/965 and dedicated to 'Adud al-Dawla. The book described the constellations both according to the system of the astronomers (after Ptolemy) and the Arabic tradition of the *awna'* [cf. Nawā]. The work was illustrated by drawings, which the author, according to his own declaration, preserved by al-Mutawakkil b. al-Dawla, *Genesio der Mathematiker bei den Griechen und Arabern*, Erlangen 1922, 86), traced from a celestial globe. He also saw, however, as he says in his introduction, an illustrated work on the constellations by 'Uṭrid b. Muhammad. The earliest extant MS. in the Bodleian Library, was copied and illustrated by the author's son, in 400/1009-10. There are many other manuscripts, illustrated in the styles of the various epochs. See J. Upton, *Metaphysical Museum Studies*, 1933, 189-99; K. Hutter, *Die Islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350*, Zentralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen, 1937, 2-5; cf. *Ar. Islamica*, 1940, 101. The text and translation of the introduction was published by Causin de Perceval, *Notices et Extraits*, xii, 216 ff., a full translation by H. C. F. Schjellerup, *Description des étoiles fixes par Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi*, St. Petersburg 1871. The Arabic text was published, mainly after the Paris MS (being the copy of Uluḡ Beg), in Hyderabad 1953, under the editorship of M. Nizamuddin. His other extant works are a handbook of astronomy and astrology and a treatise on the use of the astrolabe. A silver globe made by al-Sufi for 'Adud al-Dawla was preserved in the library of the Fatimid palace in Cairo (Ibn al-Kūfī, *al-Furūq*, 107). The *Urdun* of the fixed stars, attributed to a son of his, cf. Brockelmann, S. 1, 863; it was published at the end of the Hyderabad edition of the *Suwar*.

**Bibliography:** *Fihrist*, 284; Ibn al-Kūfī, 226; Biruni, *al-Aḥd al-Bakiya* (Sachau), 336, 338 (Engl. transl., 335, 338); M. Steinschneider, *ZDMG*, 1870, 348-50; Suter, 62, cf. *Nachträge*, in *Abh. zur Gesch. d. math. Wissenschaften*, 1902, 166; Hasebr., *Id.* 1918, 48-54; Brockelmann, i, 253, S. 1, 398.

(S. M. STERN)

'ABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN [c. 1844-1901], Amir of Afghanistan, was the son of Afdal Khan, the eldest surviving son of Dost Muhammad Khan, the founder of the Barakzai dynasty in Afghanistan. In 1853 he proceeded to Afghani Turkestan where his father was serving as governor of Balkh. Despite his youth he took part in a series of operations which extended Dost Muhammad's power over Kataghan, Badakhshan, and Derwaz. Before his death in 1863 Dost Muhammad had nominated a younger son, Shīr 'Ali, as his successor to the exclusion of his two elder brothers, Afdal Khan and Aqam Khan. Shīr 'Ali's succession was therefore the signal for five years of fratricidal warfare in which at the early age of nineteen 'Abd al-Rahman became involved. After temporary successes his father, Afdal Khan, was defeated and imprisoned, whereupon 'Abd al-Rahman fled to

Bulghār. In 1866, taking advantage of Shīr 'Ali's absence at Kandahār, 'Abd al-Rahman, with the help of Rafiq Khan, a general who had deserted Shīr 'Ali, seized Kabul. The defeat of Shīr 'Ali's forces at Sayyidabad led to the fall of Ghazni. Afdal Khan was at once proclaimed Amir and coins were struck in his name. Shīr 'Ali was once more defeated at Kilāi-Ghulzay in 1867 and driven from Kandahār. In the same year Afdal Khan died and 'Abd al-Rahman, who had hoped to be accepted as Amir, found it expedient to support the claims of his uncle Aqam Khan. Their combined forces were defeated by Shīr 'Ali and his son Ya'qub Khan at Zama Khan, near Ghazni, as a result of which 'Abd al-Rahman became a homeless wanderer, first in Wadristik and later in Persia. From Mashhad he crossed the Kara-Kum desert to Kijwa and Samarkand. At Tashkent he was received by General Kaufmann, the Russian governor-general. His request for assistance against Shīr 'Ali was refused but he was granted an allowance and permitted to reside at Samarkand, where he remained for eleven years until the defeat of Shīr 'Ali by the British in the Second Afghan War of 1878-80. The flight and death of Shīr 'Ali, the failure of his successor Ya'qub Khan to control his unruly tribesmen, and the assassination of Cavagnari the British Resident accelerated the removal of Ya'qub Khan to India. This left the Afghan throne vacant.

Because of Russian expansion towards the Oxus it was decided to build up a strong, friendly, and united Afghanistan to serve as a buffer state to the British dominions in India. In July 1880, 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, the most powerful candidate in the field, was informed that the British were prepared to recognize him as Amir of Kabul, provided he acknowledged their right to control his foreign affairs. He was also assured that the British would aid him in repelling unprovoked aggression on his dominions. These terms were accepted by 'Abd al-Rahman at the conference of Zimma, 31 July-1 August 1880 (Foreign Office 65, 1104). Papers printed for the use of the Cabinet. Three years later this promise was renewed by the Marquis of Ripon who bestowed on the Amir an annual subsidy of twelve lakhs of rupees to be devoted to the payment of his troops and the protection of his north-western frontiers. The British were now pledged to defend a buffer state of unknown limits. Hence the most important event in the reign of 'Abd al-Rahman was the delimitation and demarcation of the boundaries of Afghanistan. By 1886, although the Pandjsh incident [?], of the previous year had brought Britain and Russia to the verge of war, an Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission had demarcated the northern frontier of Afghanistan from Dhu'l-Fikr to the meridian of Dulci, within forty miles of the Oxus. The process of demarcation was completed in 1888. The final boundary dispute with Russia was settled by the Pamir Agreement of 1893 which defined the Afghan boundary between Lake Victoria and the Tagdumbash.

Although pro-British in so far as Russian expansion was concerned, 'Abd al-Rahman's desire to annex the territories of the Pathan tribes of the Indian frontier was not calculated to improve Anglo-Afghan relations. The tension was somewhat eased by the Durand Agreement of 1893 which delimited a boundary on the Indo-Afghan frontier across which neither the Amir nor the Government of India was to interfere in any way. Afghan intrigues



on the Indian side of this frontier still continued and were partly responsible for the Indian frontier conflagration of 1897. In fact, Afghān intrigues were the chief cause of unrest on the Indian frontier from 1890 onwards.

The greatest service rendered by 'Abd al-Rahmān to his country was the suppression of internal rebellion. The powerful Ghilzay tribesmen were crushed in 1886; the rebellion of Ishāk, son of Aḥmad Khān, was suppressed in 1888; and finally, after seven fighting, the turbulent Hazāras of central Afghānistān were forced to acknowledge his authority. In 1896 the territories of the non-Muslim tribes of Kāfiristān to the west of Citral were annexed and the Kāfirs converted to Islam. 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān died in 1901 and was succeeded by his son Habib Allāh Khān.

**Bibliography:** *Autobiographical Papers, Central Asia, 1884-5* (1887; 1888); J. A. Gray, *My Residence at the Court of the Amir, 1893*; S. Wheeler, *The Amir Abdur Rahman, 1895*; Sultan Mahmud Khan, *Life of Abdur Rahman*, 2 vols. 1900, vol. 1 being a translation of 'Abd al-Rahmān's autobiography; C. C. Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1890-1908*, 1932; W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan, 1900*; M. Longworth Dames, in *EP*, xiv.

'ABD AL-RAZZĪD B. 'ABD AL-ḠAYYUR AL-HU-SAYNĪ AL-MARĀNĪ AL-TATTĀWĪ, Persian lexicographer, born in Tatta, but a Sayyid by descent; died after 1069/1658. His principal work is a Persian dictionary, usually called *Farhang-i Razzāhī*, or *Razzāhī Fārsī*, the first critical dictionary, which was compiled in 1064/1653 and published in 1075 in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Spleth revised the preface (*Mukaddama*): *Grammaticae persicae proscripta ad regulas* (Halle 1846). 'Abd al-Razzāhī dedicated an Arabic-Persian dictionary, *Munadhab al-Lughāt*, or *Razzāhī 'Arabi* (1046/1636-7), to Shāhjahān (editions: Calcutta 1808, 1810, 1830; Lucknow 1835, 1869; Bombay 1879/1862).

**Bibliography:** Blochmann, in *JRAS Bengal*, xxviii, 20 seq.; Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. MSS.*, 501, 510; Pertsch, *Verz. d. pers. Handschr.*, Berlin, nos. 198-200.

'ABD AL-RA'ŪF B. 'ALĪ AL-DJAWĪ AL-FANŠIRĪ AL-SINKIRĪ, religious teacher, b.c. 1620 at Singkel, north of Fānsūr (west coast of Sumatra), d. after 1693, and buried at the mouth of the Acheh river. He studied for nineteen years in Arabia, was initiated into the *Shattāriyya tarīqa* by Ahmad al-Kuḥshārī and his successor Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and returned about 1661 to Acheh, whence this *tarīqa* was propagated by his pupils throughout Indonesia, especially in Java. Directions for "recitation" (*dhikr*), as practised by this order, form the most important subject of his writings, of the majority of which are in Malay, but a few in Arabic — some with a Malay rendering after each phrase. The subject is dealt with most fully in his '*Umdat al-Mahdūdīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufriḍīn* which has as introduction a summary of dogma on the same lines as al-Sanā'a's *Umm al-Iḥāsān*. He took as a theoretical basis for his mysticism the doctrine of the seven grades and of man as the image of God, which he set out in such works as *Kifāyat al-Mukhlidīn*, *Dab'ih al-Hurūf* and *Bayān Taḥḍīlī*. In this he remained within the bounds of orthodoxy; he rejected the extreme mysticism which flourished at Acheh at the beginning of the 17th century, but at the same time did not associate himself with the violent polemics of al-Rāzīnī [p. 8]. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf moreover

translated the *Kur'ān* into Malay with a concise commentary taken from various Arabic exegetical works (cf. *Taḥḍīr al-Mustafid*) and wrote a Malay handbook of *Shāhī* 'the *fiqh* which deals only with the *mu'āmalāt* and is plainly intended as a supplement to al-Rāzīnī's *al-Sirāt al-Mustahīm* which contains only the '*ahādī*. His translations from the Arabic are so literal that they are unintelligible without a knowledge of that language, and moreover not without mistakes. It is not altogether certain whether he was the translator of *al-Mawā'iz al-Bad'iya*, which is a translation into Malay of a popular Arabic collection of 32 *hadīth* *ḥadīth* and eighteen other admonitions. There are some other works ascribed to him, such as the mystical eschatological Malay poem *Shair ma'rūfāt*, which are certainly not by his hand. After his death, as Teungku di-Kuala, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf enjoyed such veneration that he was even accorded the honour of having been the bearer of Islam to Acheh.

**Bibliography:** C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehneses*, ii, 14 ff.; D. A. Rinkes, *Abdoerroe van Singkel*, 1902; P. Voorhoeve, in *TBG*, 1952, 87 ff. (edition of *Bayān Taḥḍīlī* and another Malay treatise with a list of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's writings); cf. also *ITLV*, 1905, 195, 168. — Works of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf: *Mu'ā'iz al-Faḍl* (on 1848), the preface edited by S. Keyser in *ITLV*, 1863, 211 ff.; extracts ed. by A. Meursing, in *Handboek*, 1842; *Tarḡīd al-Mustafid*, Istanbul 1302 (2 vols.); *al-Mawā'iz al-Bad'iya* in *Djāmī* *Djāmi' al-Musannafāt*, Bōlāq, n.d.; 4th or 5th imp., Mecca 1320. — P. Voorhoeve.

'ABD AL-RAZZĀK KAMĀL AL-ŪTH M. ANU 'L-ḠANĀ'IM AL-KĀSHĀNĪ (or KĀSHĀNĪ or KĀSHĀNĪ), celebrated Sūfī author, died according to Ḥādīdī Khālifa (ed. Flügel, iv, 427), in 730/1329. Ḥādīdī Khālifa, however, confusing him with the historian of the same name, the author of the *Maḥā* al-Sa'dāin, says in another place (ii, 175) that he died in 885/1482 and, besides, gives his name as Kamāl al-Dīn Abū 'L-Ḡanā'īm. 'Abd al-Razzāk b. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāḡhī al-Samarḡandī. Little is known of 'Abd al-Razzāk's life; according to *Djāmī* (*Nafahāt al-Uns*, quoted by St. Guyard), he was a pupil of Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Samad and a contemporary of Rukn al-Dīn 'Alā' al-Dawla, with whom he carried on a somewhat acrimonious controversy, and who died in 726/1326. The immediate cause of this correspondence was a conversation which 'Abd al-Razzāk had with a certain amir Ikḥāl Sīstānī, a pupil of 'Alā' al-Dawla's, on the road to Sultāniya on the vexed question of the orthodoxy of Ibn 'Arabī. *Djāmī* then gives a long letter which 'Abd al-Razzāk wrote to 'Alā' al-Dawla on this question, in which he says that he had just read 'Alā' al-Dawla's book, the '*Uṣṣa*. As this work was written in 721/1321, the date 730/1329 given as that of his death must be assumed as the correct one. We have then to place 'Abd al-Razzāk in the *Djibāl* province (Kāshān) under the *Ilkhāns* of Persia, and especially in the reign of Abū Sa'īd (716—36/1316—35).

He was the author of a large number of works, several of which have been published. So far back as 1828, Tholuck used his *Lat'if al-'Alām* in *Die speculative Theistologie des späteren Orients* (13—22, 28 ff. seq.) and translated some passages, but without knowledge of the author. In 1845 Sprenger published at Calcutta the first half of his *Ilḥādāt al-Sūfiya*, or *Dictionary of the technical terms of the Sūfīs*. An

analysis of the second part had been given by Hammer-Purgstall, in the *Jahrbücher der Literatur* (lxviii, 68 ff.). This book also was used by Tholuck, and cited under the author's name (loc. cit. 7, 11, 18, 26, 73). It is of special interest because in the preface he states that it was written after he had finished his commentary on the *Manāzil al-Sā'irīn* of al-Harawī in order to explain the Sūfī technical terms which occur but are inadequately explained in that work, and also in his commentary on the *Fuṣṣ* al-*Ḥikām* of Ibn 'Arabī (Cairo 1309) and in his *Taḥḍīl al-Kur'ān*. According to Ḥādīdī Khālifa (ii, 175) the *Taḥḍīl* of 'Abd al-Razzāk related to Sūfīs *ḥaṣṣ* only, yet Berlin MS. no. 872 covers the entire *Kur'ān*, but apparently in abstract. *Kisāla fī 'l-hadā' wa'l-badā'*, treatise on predestination and free will, first translated into French, (*JA*, 1873; revised edition 1875), then the text published by St. Guyard (1879); it will be dealt with in detail below. The treatise seems to have excited attention, for Ḥādīdī Khālifa (iii, 429) gives three answers to it by Ibn Kamāl Faḡla, Taḥḍīr-ḡāzī and Bāl Khālifa Sūfiyawl. A commentary on the *Ta'wīya* poem of Ibn al-Fārid (Cairo 1310). His works as yet unpublished are: *Kisālat al-Sarmādiyya*, on the idea of an eternal Being; *Kisālat al-Kumayliyya*, on the traditional answer by 'Alī to the question of Kumayl b. Ziyād fī *ḥādīth* (comp. the Berlin MS. no. 3462; Ḥādīdī Khālifa iv, 38; *JA* 14, 81); a commentary on the *Maḥā* al-Sa'dāin of Ibn Arabī and Taḥḍīr al-Sūfiyya. Ḥādīdī Khālifa (iv, 587) adds *Miḥāb al-Hādīya*. For MSS. reference will suffice to Brockelmann, ii, 203, 204; S. ii, 280-1; the Gotha cat. no. 76, 2, and Palmer's *Trinity College Cat.* 116.

It will already be tolerably clear what 'Abd al-Razzāk's interests and positions were. He was a Sūfī of the school of Ibn 'Arabī, the great theosophist of the Western Arabic type, though with touches of independence, and he gave much labor to defence and exposition of his master. In the three great divisions of Muslim theologians, the upholders of tradition (*naḥl*), of reason (*'aql*), and of the unveiling of the mystic (*kashf*), he took his place with the third. It may be significant that his name never indicates to what legal school he adhered. Like many mystics, he may have regarded such matters as beneath notice, or he may, like Ibn 'Arabī, have been a belated Zāhirite in law, as he was evidently a Bāṭinite in theology. The last is plain through the title itself of his exposition of the *Kur'ān*, *ta'wīl*, not *tafsīr*, and is shown in detail in his *Ilḥādāt* and his treatise on *badā'*. In the last we have the normal combination of the Aristotelian universe, the Neo-Platonic metaphysics and theology and the *Kur'ānī* mythology of Muhammad. These all appear, too, in Ibn 'Arabī, but perhaps 'Abd al-Razzāk is more anxious to lay the last element prominent, and to proclaim thus his essential orthodoxy. Certainly, he strives to avoid the absolute merging of the individual, and the consequent fatalism of Ibn 'Arabī and to lay a possible basis for individual responsibility, for freedom and rewards and punishments hereafter. His method in this is as follows. In order to bring out clearly the forces leading to any event and the close interweaving of all causes and effects to make up the great organism of the universe, he begins with a description of the universe on the Sūfī scheme. It is the Neo-Platonic chain. Above is God, the One, the Alone; from him proceeds, by a dynamic emanation, the Universal Reason

(*al-'aql al-awwal*), called also the Primary or Universal Spirit (*al-rūḥ al-awwal*) and the Highest Knowledge (*al-'ilm al-'alā*). This is a spiritual substance and the first of the properties which the divine essence implies. From it two other substances are produced, one spiritual (*rūḥāniyya*) which is the substance of the world of the Universal Reason, considered as apart from God and inhabited by particular intelligences, somewhat as fractions of the Universal Reason, which are the angels of revealed religion; the other is psychical, being the Universal Soul (*nafs*). Finally come the material elements with their natural forces and laws. In the Universal Reason are the types of all things, as universals, and this Reason, with its types, is known directly by God. God's omnipotence (*kāhriyya*) is manifested through these angels or Intelligences, and their world is therefore called the World of Power (*'ālam al-hudra*). But they also, in their perfection, repair the imperfections of other beings. Their world again, therefore, is called the World of Repairing (*'ālam al-ghabar*). Some, however, take the other sense of the root *ghar* and render it, the World of Constraint, because they constrain other beings towards perfection. This world is also called the Mother of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*; *Kur'ān*, xiii, 39, xli, 4), from it comes all knowledge of divine mysteries, it is above all fetters of time and change. The world of the Universal Soul, on the other hand, is called the World of Ruling (*'ālam al-malakūt*), is a step nearer the particular, material world. The types which exist in the Universal Reason become in it general conceptions, and these are further specialized, determined, limited, brought near to what we know, by being engraved on the individual reasonable souls, which are the souls of the heavenly bodies, corresponding to the angelic Intelligences, the fractions of the Universal Reason. This world, from its likeness to the human imagination, is called the Imagination of the World (*ḥayyāl al-'ālam*) and the Nearer Heaven (*al-samā' al-dunyā*). From it issue all beings in order to appear in the World of Sense (*'ālam al-shakāda*), it moves and directs everything, measuring out matter and assigning causes. The heavenly bodies, then, have reasonable souls just like our own, these are the imaginative faculties of the particular reasonable souls, into which the Universal Soul divides. On their changes all change in this world below depends (comp. al-Ḥazālī's scheme, in *JAOS*, 1899, 116 ff.).

Further, this constitution of the universe corresponds to man's body, macrocosm to microcosm. Just as the brain is the seat of man's ruling spirit, so the Universal Spirit or Reason is seated in the throne (*'arḡ*) above the sphere of the fixed stars. The fourth heaven, the sphere of the sun, which vivifies all, is the seat of the Universal Soul, in man this is the heart, wherein is his particular, reasonable soul. So the fourth sphere is like the heart, and the sun like the physical heart. The individual soul of the sun corresponds to the animal spirit in the heart, which is the source of human life.

Next, as to the place of predestination in this scheme, for that there are three words, *badā'*, *badā'* and *'ināya*. *Kadā'* means the existence of the universal types of all things in the world of the Universal Reason, *Kadā'* is the arrival in the world of the Universal Soul of the types of existing things, after being individualized in order to be adapted to matter, these are joined to their



causes, produced by them, and appear at their fixed times. 'Ināya is, broadly, Providence and covers both of the above, just as they contain everything that is actual. It is the divine knowledge, embracing everything as it is, universally and absolutely. It is not in any place, for God's knowledge, in His essence, is nothing else than the presence of His essence before His essence, which is essentially one and goes with all the qualities which inhere in Him. Further, while the essence (*ḥaṣṣa*) of *ḥādā* is part of the 'Ināya of God, its entelechy (*ḥamāl*) is in the world of the Universal Reason. The Universal Soul is sometimes called the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūḥ*), for on it are preserved unalterable all the general conceptions which are on their way to the individual heavenly souls.

It is the world, then, of *ḥādā*, of the Soul, which sets everything in motion. This is by the yearning of the reasonable souls of the heavenly bodies towards their spiritual source, the Universal Reason. They try to assimilate themselves to this, to universalize themselves. Step by step, they mount up, and with each advance they perceive a new outpouring from that source, drawing them on farther. With each movement, there flows from them an influence upon matter according as it is adapted to receive it, and thus there is a series of changes in the material world, corresponding to those in the world of the Soul. These changes may be either absolute of creation and destruction, or, between those extremes, simply of condition. The duration of existence constitutes the Kur'ānic *adāl*, and all these are fixed by *ḥādā*.

Finally, this exegesis of Kur'ān, li, 1-6 will show how 'Abd al-Razzāk applied Scripture. "By the Mount and by a Book Inscribed in a Parchment Outspread, and by the Frequent House, and by the Raised Roof, and by the Flowing Sea!" The Frequent House is the Spirit of the fourth sphere, that of the sun. Therefore Jesus, the Spirit of God, has been placed there, whose miracle is the raising of the dead. The Mount is the 'Arak, the seat of the Universal Reason. The Book Inscribed is *ḥādā*, which is in that Reason; and the Parchment Outspread is the Reason itself. The Raised Roof is the nearest heaven, where are the individual celestial souls; it is mentioned immediately after the Frequent House, because from this heaven the forms descend on the earth, and from the Frequent House comes the breath of the Spirit, by the combination of which the creation of animated beings is achieved. The Flowing Sea is the sea of primary matter which spreads everywhere and is filled with forms.

Now, then, is such a scheme related to predestination and free will? It is highly complicated, consisting of a remote first cause and an infinity of intermingling and crossing, nearer, secondary causes. It is possible to look at these last only, and so to assign absolute creative and deciding power to our own will. Or to look only at the first cause and become fatalists. We must preserve the balance and hold by both. The complete cause of anything into which human will can enter must have as an element in it, among so many others, free will. It sets all the others in movement. Under this conception, though never clearly stated, is evidently implied that man has in him an element of the divine nature, there must be also in his emanations. For Ibn 'Arāk the essence of the divine

nature over against the creation had overcome everything. 'Abd al-Razzāk lays stress on the multitudinous interweaving causes of the world, its constantly developing processes, to show that in life, purpose and will there must be multiplicity. The divine is spread down through the sub-lunar things, it does not simply rule from above. Again, amongst the many causes working in the world and upon men are the restraints and influences of religion, the promises and threatenings of the prophets. These we should permit to have their effects upon us as parts of the whole scheme, the process of training under which we are. But, again, why should training be necessary? Why are there good and bad? Here, again, is an implication, once pretty clearly expressed. Matter is of very differing natures, grosser and finer, it can receive only a corresponding soul, therefore souls also vary. Character and disposition is a combination of both, and it is for the soul to overcome its material body and itself rise. This evidently is the fundamental thought, but 'Abd al-Razzāk does not give much space to it. Rather, he uses the old theological argument that it is the best possible creation, otherwise God would have created a better. Further, if all things were equal, there could be neither order nor organization. This would also be hard on those less perfect things thus ruled out of existence. All things should have a chance; it is for them to use it. God knows their differences and will allow for them. The most and the greatest sin are from ignorance, and God will so treat them. In the life to come the same thing is to go on. Some will attain felicity, others, because they might have done better, must undergo purification by punishment, but that will not be eternal. Here, perhaps, 'Abd al-Razzāk is most unsatisfactory. He passes over into the normal Muslim conception although it is not at all clear that his system can be in any way apart from matter. Freed souls, we should expect, would either return into the unity, or else be sent forth again to another material life. Like so many in Muslim theology and philosophy, this tractate was adapted to an audience, and was not perfectly ingenious. Yet behind its caution of statement the real system is tolerably plain. It is nearer orthodox than that of Ibn 'Arāk, but not as near as this exegesis would suggest.

**Bibliography:** St. Guyard, in *Journ. As.*, 7th ser., i, 125 ff., which is the main source; Brockelmann, ii, 203-2 (treating him as two different persons), S ii, 280-1.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

'ABD AL-RAZZAK KANAL AL-DIN B. DIALAL AL-DIN ISMA'IL AL-SAMARKANDI, Persian historian, author of the well-known *Maṭla' al-Sa'dayn wa-Maṭla' al-Bakrayn*, born in Harāt Shāhān 887/Nov. 1413, died there 944/Dec. 1487. His father was *imām* and *add* of the camp (*ḥaṣṣa*) of Shāhrukh and read out books and expounded various problems (*masā'il*) to him (*Maṭla'*, ii, 704, 879, cf. 709). He received the usual type of education, and one of his teachers was an elder brother 'Abd al-Kābir. He also attended when his father read the two *Sakhs* to Shams al-Din Muḥ. al-Djazarī (d. 833/1429) (*ibid.*, ii, 631-1294) and received an *idjāza*. After the death of his father, he used to attend the court of Shāhrukh with his elder brothers, but when in 841/1437-8 he dedicated his *Shāh* on al-Rūḍa al-Rāḥiyya to the king and presented it to him, he was taken into

service and allowed to attend the court regularly. Two years later, he was examined by the '*ulamā'*' at the court, and granted a salary and provisions (*marāḥim* 904/*ṣalāḥ*) (*ibid.*, ii, 704, 731 f.).

In Ramadān 845/Jun. 1441 'Abd al-Razzāk was sent to India as ambassador and returned in Ramadān 848/Dec. 1444. (For his mission and the result obtained see *Maṭla'*, ii, 783; T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford 1924, 113). He was similarly sent to Gilia in 860/1446. He was ordered to make ready for a mission to Kept in the same year, but due to the death of Shāhrukh this was cancelled. In the period following the death of that king he served his successors Mirzā 'Abd al-Latif, Mirzā 'Abd Allāh and Mirzā Abū'l-Kāsim Bābur, with some as *padr*, with others as *na'ib* and *khāṣṣ*; see *ibid.*, ii, 1440. Under the last-named prince, who included him among his confidants, he enjoyed many favours (*ibid.*, ii, 1119). In 856/1452 he was in 'Yam with Mirzā Bābur, when the Mirza interviewed Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, and in 856/1452 he was with the same prince when he besieged Samarkand, in which city 'Abd al-Razzāk had many friends and old acquaintances (*Maṭla'*, ii, 1041, 1078). In 860/1462 he was sent to Asfuzār for fixing taxes (*ḥuṣūl* *ḥaqāq*). Soon after, under Sultan Abū Sa'īd, he was appointed *ḥāṭim* Jan. 1461 the vizier Khwārdizād. Kuṭb al-Dīn Tā'ib Simnānī appointed him *ḥāṭim* (governor) of the *ḥaṣṣa* of Shāhrukh (*Maṭla'*, ii, 1270), which post he held till his death.

The *Maṭla'* describes, with a brief mention of the birth (704/1304-5) and accession (716/1316-7) of the ʿIlkhān Abū Sa'īd, the events of the years 717-823/1317-1417, in chronological order. Up to the year 820/1426-7 it is principally made of the *Zuhd al-Tawārīkh* of Hāfiẓ-i Ahrū (q.v.), which is at times quoted literally. The famous account of the embassy to China in 823-5/1420-2, is also taken from the *Zuhd*. For the period from 830 to 875/1426-71 'Abd al-Razzāk's work is one of the most important original sources of information. Cf. the letter of 'Abd al-Waḥid al-Nisābūrī (for him see *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii, 1, 325) in *Maṭla'*, ii, 1420, which refers to his indebtedness to Hāfiẓ-i Ahrū for the earlier period and his impartial narrative relating to the period in which he himself lived. An edition of vol. ii was published piecemeal in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore Nov. 1933 onwards, and later a separate edition was published in two parts (Lahore 1960/1961 and 1960/1962). Ms. of the work are to be found in nearly all the larger European collections but they are now rare in the East. The Panjab University Library has an autograph copy of vol. ii, acquired recently. It was completed by the author on 17 Rabī' i, 875/13 Sept. 1470, the correction of the copy being completed by him on the 18th Sha'ban 885/23rd Oct. 1486. E. Quatremère gives extracts from the work in the *Nouvelles études*, Paris, part 1; as also H. M. Elliot in his *History of India*, iv, 89-126, and others (for whom see Storey).

From the *Maṭla'* (ii, 190) we learn that 'Abd al-Razzāk also wrote a work on the history of Harāt and its districts (*ḥaṣṣa*). In some places in the *Maṭla'* (e.g. ii, 951, 1208) he also quotes his own poems.

**Bibliography:** Storey, ii, 203-8; W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, 261; Khwāndamīr, Bombay 1857, iii/3, 315. (W. BARTOLD-MOHAMMAD SHAFI) 'ABD AL-SALĀM B. MASHISH AL-HASANĪ. Practically nothing is known of this personage, who has become one of the "poles" (*ḥaṣṣ*, q.v.) of popular mysticism in Morocco. The only fairly certain fact

is that he died in 625/1227-8 by assassination in his hermitage on the Djabal al-'Alam, in the territory of the Banū 'Arūs, to the south-east of Tetuan. He is said to have fallen victim to a man of the region, Muhammad b. Abī Tawāḍīn al-Kutāmī, belonging to Kaṣr Kutāma, who had rebelled against the decaying Almohad power and was attempting to pass himself off as a prophet, and who assassinated the saint because the latter's prestige was an obstacle to his ambitions. 'Abd al-Salām was buried at the top of the mountain, at the foot of an oak, and seems to have been for a long time the object of a purely local cult; Ibn Khaldūn does not mention him, nor for that matter the revolt of his murderer.

Besides this account of his death, which seems to be reasonably probable although reported by much later authors, little more is known of the saint than his genealogy, which, through several ancestors with typically Berber names, attaches him to the house of the Prophet. He is said to have been born in the neighbourhood of the Djabal al-'Alam, into the tribe of the Banū 'Arūs, and to have gone "in pursuit of learning" to the East at the age of sixteen; then, on his return, to have followed at Bādīya (Boogie) the instruction of the famous Andalusian mystic Abī Madyan (q.v.), and to have come back finally to stay in his native country, where he lived an edifying life as an ascetic in his mountain hermitage.

His teaching is scarcely better known, in spite of the elaborations which it acquired in Moroccan mysticism. "Perform the obligations of the Law and avoid sin", he is said to have advised a disciple who had asked him for a rule of life, "keep your heart aloof from every temporal attachment, accept what God sends you, and put above all else the love of God" (Ibn 'Aṣād, *K. al-Ma'ādhīr*, 106). It is related also that he had as a disciple Abū 'I-Haṣṣan 'Alī al-Shādhilī (q.v.), who came to him for his initiation into mysticism.

Only from the 13th century, it seems, at the time when the marabout movement connected with al-Shādhilī became active in Morocco, did the fame of 'Abd al-Salām extend beyond the limits of his tribe into the whole northern part of Morocco. He was then regarded as the "pole" of the West, as 'Abd al-Kādir al-Gilāni was regarded as the "pole" of the East. A pilgrimage was organized around his tomb in the three days following the *maulūd nahāl*. A colourful description of it, applying to the last years of the 19th century, will be found in *Le Maroc inconnu* of A. Mouléras.

**Bibliography:** Ahmad al-Kumushkūhānawī al-Nakhabandī, *Djāmi' Uṣūl al-Awliyā'*, tr. in Graulde, *Daḥat al-Nādhīr*, AM, XIX, 296-8; Sha'rānī, *al-Tabaḥṣṣ al-Kubrī*, Cairo 1299, ii, 6; Nāṣirī, *Idḥāḥ*, Cairo 1312, i, 210 (tr. Isma'īl Hamet, AM, xxxii, 254-5; Ibn 'Aṣād, *al-Ma'ādhīr* al-'Alīyya fi l-Ma'ādhīr al-Shādhilīyya, Cairo 1323, 106; A. Mouléras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Paris 1899, ii, 139-79; M. Nictina, *Quelques légendes relatives à Moulay 'Abd al-Salām ben Mouchi*, AM, ii, 119-33; A. Fischer, *Der grosse marokkanische Heilige 'Abdesalam ben Melid*, ZDMG, 1917, 209-22; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Conférences*, AM, xxvii, 53-4 et 64-5; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 600; Asin Palacios, *Saḥīles y almadradas*, (I), And., 1945, 9-11; G. S. Colin, *Chestomathie marocaine*, 226; Brockelmann, S i, 787. (R. LE TOURNEAU)

'ABD AL-SAMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH AL-PALIMBĀNĪ, i.e. of Palembang in Sumatra, was a pupil of Muhammad al-Samānī (d. 1790/1776), the founder of the Samānīyā order (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 535 and Nachtr.). He is known chiefly as translator of al-Ḥazālī's *Lubāb al-ḥayā'* 'Uṣūl al-dīn into Malay, under the title of *Sayr al-Salāṭin al-dīn* 'Uṣūl al-dīn al-Salāṭin. It was begun in 1793 and finished at Ta'īd in 1203. The translation is very free, shortened in some places, enlarged elsewhere by numerous additions, the sources of which are enumerated in book iii, bāb 10. Here we find also an interesting list of 107 literature recommended by the author to three stages of pupils in Siliṭim. Most of the works in this list are in Arabic, but some in Malay. It seems that 'Abd al-Samad lived mostly in Arabia. One of his earlier writings, *Zahr al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat al-Tawhīd*, is an Arabic treatise on *muṣṣaṭ* and *uṣūl al-dīn*, based on notes which he took during a lecture given at Mecca by Ahmad al-Damāshqī (Brockelmann, II, 371) in 1778. His *Ḥudayāt al-Salāṭin fī Salāṭ al-Muṣallīn al-Muṣallīn* is a Malay adaptation of al-Ḥazālī's *Ḥudayāt al-Hudayāt*, finished at Mecca, 5 Muḥ. 1192. In Arabic he compiled a collection of *awā'id* entitled *ʿUṣūl al-Wuḥūd wa-Salāṭ al-Ḥikm*, a *riḥab*, and a treatise entitled *Nashat al-Muṣallīn*. This last work contains fervent admonitions to holy war against infidels. It inspired the author of the Acehese poem *Ḥikayat Prang Sabi*, of which various redactions were circulated in Aceh during the war against the Dutch in the last quarter of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

**Bibliography:** Ph. S. van Ronkel, *VBG* 37, 383, 400, 429, 441, *Suppl. Cat. Arab. Mus. Batavia*, 139, 216; R. O. Winstedt, *A history of Malay literature* [JMBRAS 17, III], 103; H. I. Dams, *Ḥikayat Prang Sabi*, in *ITJG* 84, 345 ff.; for the Samānīyā: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acehnese*, II, 216 ff. Two of 'Abd al-Samad's works have been frequently printed: *Sayr al-Salāṭin*, Mecca 1306 (18th.), 1309 etc.; *Ḥudayāt al-Salāṭin*, Mecca 1307 (18th.), Bombay 1311, etc. On two works of dubious authorship see *TBG* 85, 110. The tract *Uṣūl al-Muṣallīn* by 'Abd al-Samad b. Fakih Husayn b. Fakih Muhammad is not the work of an Indonesian author, though on the title-page of the lithographed edition the epithet al-Palimbānī is added to the author's name; its attribution to a Zaydī author (Brockelmann, S II, 906) is equally false. (P. VOORHOEF)

'ABD AL-WĀDĪDS (BANC 'ABD AL-WĀD, or ZAYYĪNS, BANC ZAYYĪNS), a Berber dynasty which, from the first half of the 7th/13th century to the middle of the 10th/16th century had its capital at Tlemcen [Tilimsin, s.v.], and extended its power, against frequent opposition, over the central Maghrib (from the frontiers of the present Morocco to the meridian of Bougie).

According to the correct record by Ibn Khaldūn, the Banū 'Abd al-Wād were Zanāta 'of the second race'. Like the Banū Marīn, B. Taghā, B. Rikāhid and B. Maṣh, they belonged to the great Zanāta family of the Banū Wāṣin. Living as nomads, like their neighbours and relatives, the B. Marīn and B. Taghā, they once occupied a more extensive territory, reaching to the vicinity of the Awrūs. In consequence of the Hilāl invasion (5th/11th century) these Zanāta nomads, driven eastwards, were forced to abandon their territory to the Arab nomads and to emigrate to the high plateaux of what is now the province of Oran. The

conquest of the country by the Almohads, at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, made the fortune of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād. They proved themselves loyal and useful allies of the caliphs of Marrākūsh, especially at the time when the terrible ravages of the Almoravid Banū Ḥabībīya brought destruction upon Ifrīkiya and the central Maghrib (581-600/1185-1203). The assistance which they gave to the Almohad forces earned its reward. Tlemcen, successfully defended, profited by the ruin of the neighbouring centres and by the emigrations that were depopulating them. In 631/1235 the chief of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād, Yaḡmurāsan, better: Yaḡmūrān, b. Zayyān, inherited from his brother the command over all the branches of the family. This dignity, ratified by the consent of the tribes, was confirmed by a diploma of investiture issued by the Almohad caliph al-Kāshīd.

Yaḡmurāsan, the ḡayyāh of an imposing nomad group, who used to lead his tribesmen and their flocks periodically from the desert to the plains of the province of Oran and who could speak only the Berber dialect of the Zanāta, became the sedentary sovereign of a powerful state. He had moreover the qualities of a founder of empire: energy, the ability needed to hold his associates together around him, political insight, a taste for grandeur and the generous gesture. During a reign that lasted not less than 48 years (631-81/1235-83), he also encountered the dangers that never ceased to menace the kingdom of Tlemcen. These arose on the one hand from the legacy of the clan's former life and the rivalries that set Berber against Berber, and on the other hand from the consequences of the new situation in which the 'Abd al-Wādīs found themselves. True to his duty as a vassal, he supported the last Almohad caliphs against the Marīnids, who had become the masters of Fez. The fall of the Almohads in 646/1248 left him face to face with the Marīnids. Between the Marīnids and the 'Abd al-Wādīs there was a long tradition of conflict; it was singularly widened by the establishment of the two kindred kingdoms, neighbours and all the more ardently rivals.

These are the main themes which dictated the course of the external history of the 'Abd al-Wādīs. Yaḡmurāsan foresaw their development and on his death-bed, so the story goes, he traced for his son 'Uḡmān the conduct he should adopt with regard to the other powers: a strictly defensive attitude as against Marīnid Maghrib; attempts at expansion at the expense of the Hilāl kingdom of Tunis, as occasion should offer. In addition to this political testament, his successors could derive lessons from the activities of Yaḡmurāsan himself: his firmness in the face of the Zanāta, his relatives in the central Maghrib, namely Maḡrawa and Banū Taghā; in Spain, the triple alliance which he concluded with the sultan of Granada and the Christian king of Castile, as occasion should offer; the action of the Marīnids, their common enemy, both in North Africa and in the Peninsula.

The struggle of Fez against Tlemcen, the attack on the 'Abd al-Wādīd kingdom—the first objective of their expansion in North Africa—by their western neighbours, the Marīnids, is the principal motif of this history and could serve to mark its stages. The first noteworthy episode was, under 'Uḡmān, the son of Yaḡmurāsan, the long siege of Tlemcen by the Marīnid sultan Abū Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, who isolated it during eight years (698-706/1298-1306) by a rigorous blockade and began to build the

encampment-town of al-Manṣūra (see ANC ZAYYĀN I). This time, Tlemcen did not fall. After expanding eastwards, under Abū Hammū II [s.v.], the 'Abd al-Wādīs were again attacked by the Marīnid Abū 'Iḥāsān (see ANC ZAYYĀN I), and on 2 Ramadan 737/2 May 1337 Tlemcen was taken by storm. After ten years of Moroccan domination, Tlemcen was delivered from the foreign yoke in 749/1348 by the two brothers Abū Sa'īd and Abū Ṭhābit, but in 753/1352 was again conquered by the Marīnid Abū 'Iḥāsān, and was not regained by the 'Abd al-Wādīs until 760/1359.

These two Moroccan interregnums caused a break in the history of the 'Abd al-Wādīs which was to show itself in all fields of action. Under Abū Hammū II (760-92/1359-89 [s.v.]), the kingdom regained a relative freedom of movement, but attempts at expansion in the direction of the Hilāl

kingdom were frustrated (the expedition of 767/1366 against Bougie ended in disaster) and Marīnid invasion remained as a periodical threat. The struggle with the Marīnids had also taken on a new character, for various reasons: firstly, because of the role played by the Ma'ālī Arabs of Tāfilalt and the valley of the Mālīya (Wādī Mālīyā), who supported Tlemcen against Fez; secondly, through the policy of the Marīnids, whose aim was less to annex Tlemcen than to support an 'Abd al-Wādīd pretender and so to reduce the kingdom to a vassal state; thirdly, owing to the incapacity of the sultans of Tlemcen to defend their capital, and its temporary abandonment by the sovereign to seek refuge with his nomad allies.

This is, in its main lines, the history of the 'Abd al-Wādīs during the second half of the 8th/14th century. For the further hundred and fifty years

## A LIST OF THE 'ABD AL-WĀDĪDS

Abū Yahyā Yaḡmurāsan b. Zayyān  
(633-81/1236-83)  
Abū Sa'īd 'Uḡmān I b. Yaḡmurāsan  
(681-703/1282-1303)  
Abū Zayyān I Muḥ. b. 'Uḡmān  
(703-7/1303-8)  
Abū Hammū I Muḥ. b. 'Uḡmān  
(728/1308-9)  
Abū Ṭāḡhūfī I 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥ.  
(718-37/1318-1337)

## First Marīnid interregnum

Abū Sa'īd 'Uḡmān II b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yahyā b. Yaḡmurāsan—reigning together with his brother Abū Ṭhābit (749-53/1348-52)

## Second Marīnid interregnum

Abū Hammū II Muḥ. b. Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yahyā b. Yaḡmurāsan  
(760-92/1359-89)  
Abū Ṭāḡhūfī II 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥ.  
(791-6/1388-93)  
Abū Ṭhābit II Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
(796/1393)  
Abū 'Iḥādīdī Yūsuf b. Muḥ. (796-7/1393-4)  
Abū Zayyān II Muḥ. b. Muḥ. (797-802/1394-9)

during which the dynasty continued to exist they never again became masters of their own fate. It is true that they had nothing more to fear from Morocco, where the weak Wattāsids had succeeded to the Marīnids; but the hegemony passed to Tunis. The last two great Hafṣids, Abū Fāris (827/1422) and 'Uḡmān (871/1466), harking back to the tradition of the first rulers of the dynasty, led victorious expeditions against Tlemcen and imposed in their turn vassal sovereigns of their own choice on the 'Abd al-Wādīd kingdom.

The incurable weakness of this kingdom, its internal quarrels and the cupidity of the foreigners made of the last phase of its history—i.e. the first half of the 10th/16th century—an epoch of submission and decadence. Tlemcen passed successively under the suzerainty of the Spaniards (who had become masters of Oran in 915/1509), then under that of the Turks of Algiers in 923/1517, again from the Spaniards to the Turks, finally under the suzerainty of the Sa'īdī sovereigns of Marrākūsh, from whom it was seized by the Turks in 957/1550.

Abū Muḥ. 'Abd Allāh I b. Muḥ.  
(802-4/1399-1401)  
Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥ. I b. Muḥ. (804-13/1401-11)  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥ. (813-4/1411)  
Sa'īd b. Muḥ. (814/1411)  
Abū Mālīk 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥ.  
(814-27/1411-23)  
Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥ. II b. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
(827-31/1423-7, 833-4/1429-30)  
Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥ. III al-Mutawakkil b. Muḥ. b. Yūsuf (866-73/1461-68)  
Abū Ṭāḡhūfī III b. Muḥ. al-Mutawakkil (873/1468)  
Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥ. IV al-Ṭhābit b. Muḥ. al-Mutawakkil (873-910/1468-1504)  
Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥ. V al-Ṭhābit b. Muḥ. IV (910-23/1504-17)  
Abū Hammū III Muḥ. b. Muḥ. III (923-34/1517-27)  
Abū Muḥ. 'Abd Allāh II b. Muḥ. III (934-47/1527-40)  
Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥ. VI b. 'Abd Allāh (947/1540)  
Abū Zayyān III Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh (947-50/1540-3, 951-7/1544-50)  
al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh (957/1550)

There can be no doubt that, compared with the kingdom of their Marīnid kinsmen, that of the 'Abd al-Wādīs appears less rich in men, fertile land and cities, and in every respect less well furnished. Thus it was unable to undertake great military enterprises in North Africa or in Spain. Its geographical position exposed it to the attacks of its covetous neighbours to the east and to the west. The place taken by the Arabs, notably by the great Hilāl tribes of the Banū 'Amīr and Suwayd, who had invaded the plains of the district of Oran, imposed upon it a ruinous collaboration with these nomads. The Arabs, providing troops that could easily be mobilized, and acting as collectors of taxes and repaid in this service, took part in the dynastic crises and always profited by them. The liberation from the Moroccan yoke was due to them. The greater part of the 'Abd al-Wādīd territory passed into their hands, in the form of *shā'is*, beneficiary estates.

In spite of these precarious conditions of existence, and in spite of their slighter resources, which did







from their allegiance, but was killed, in 286/899, at the instigation of Zikrawayh, the leader of the loyalists. The account of the evidently well informed Aghū Mubsin— Ibn Rāḥim is confirmed by Ibn Hawkal (Kramers), 295. The party of 'Abdān survived in southern 'Irāk for some years. It seems that Fātimid orthodoxy rehabilitated 'Abdān's memory. He is mentioned by the author of the *Dawir al-Munadigim* (M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoires sur les Carmathes*, 204) as "one of the most famous among the hidden Imāms". He was made into an author; his 'mystic', 'Ṭa. b. Mūsā, is said to have concocted books in the name of 'Abdān (Aḥbū Mubsin, in al-Nuwairi, and al-Makrīfī, *Ḥiṣṣ*, 130). At any rate, the *Fihrist*, 289, knows numerous books attributed to 'Abdān. B. Lewis, *The Origins of Isma'īlism*, 68, states that several works by 'Abdān are claimed to be in the possession of Syrian Isma'īlī circles; cf. also W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Isma'īlī Literature*, 31. (See also ARBAMATIAN).

(S. M. STERN)

AL-'ABDARĪ (i.e. descendant of 'Abd al-Dār b. Kūwayr, of the tribe of Kurayyah), MUHAMMAD b. MUHAMMAD b. 'Alī b. AHMAD b. SA'UD ABU MUHAMMAD, author of a book of travels bearing the title of *al-Rihla al-Maghrībiyya*. He was staying, with the Ḥāḥā, near Magdala, when he wrote on his journey on 23 Dhū l-Ka'da 688/12 Dec. 1289. The dates of his birth and death are not known: all biographical data are lacking, although he was always held in esteem as the learned author of the *Rihla*. Ibn al-Kādi (*Diwān al-Ḥiṣṣ*, lith. Fez, 199; *Durrat al-Ḥiṣṣ*, i, 124) and al-Makrīfī, *Andalus*, 789, 800 know of him only from his work. That he had still affinities is shown by his interest in the cult of saints; he himself tells that he received the *ṣūfi ḥikma* from the *shaykh* Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Andalusī in Tunis (MS. Algiers, fol. 154b). In politics he seems to have been a partisan of the Marinids as against the 'Abd al-Wādids. It was due, probably, to this circumstance that he was unable, on his return, to publish his book in Tlemcen.

On his journey he received instruction from the following: *Sharāf al-Dīn al-Dimayṣī* (al-Ḥababī, *Tadhkira*, iv, 278), the famous traditionist Ibn Daḥik al-'Id (al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muhādida*, i, 143), Zayn al-Dīn b. al-Munayyir (Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dihādī*, 203; Ahmad Bābā, *Nayl*, 191), 'Abd Allāh b. Harīn al-TAY al-Kurayshī in Tunis, Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Asadī in Kayrawān, Abū Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Karāfi and others. His son Muḥammad (see Ibn al-Hāḍim) and Abū Ḥāsim b. Ridwān are mentioned as his pupils. He writes approvingly of some, such as al-Dabbāḡi (author of *Ma'ālim al-Imān*), while others are treated with devastating criticism (e.g. Abū 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Sayyid of Tripoli).

The importance of his book does not lie in its geographical details. Though he thinks it proper to criticize—with scant justification—some statements of al-Bakrī, he is not a geographer and his summary descriptions of various sights—where he usually follows other geographers—are of no great value. His rhetorical descriptions have no more than literary interest, putting him in the line of similar *Rihlas* (e.g. that of al-Balawī, who travelled 737-45/1336-40). Al-'Abdārī's main concern is with the state of Muslim scholarship and instruction. His notes are important contributions to the history of the scholars of the Maghrib. He shared the customary passion for *ghāṣa*, and gives details of the

authorities from whom he obtained, both for himself and his son, such certificates of study. Thus his *Rihla* turns into a specimen of the rich literature about teachers and books (*tarbiyat*, *ḥadīth*), from which we gain an insight into the range of works usually studied, classical, post-classical, and contemporary. In Kur'ān-reading and grammar the late works of the Andalusians are preferred, in poetry most interest is shown in the famous post-classical poetry of North Africa. Among the longer poetical pieces quoted are *al-Kasida al-Shāhīdiyya*, by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Kurayshī (cf. 466-1073), in praise of the Prophet, and a *ḡhazl* of the *Montaridja*. He quotes also some of his own poems; for instance one to his son, containing moral advice, another addressed to the Sultan Salāh al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb, praying him to deliver the lands of Islam from the Christian yoke.

The influence of the *Rihla* (a MS of which was copied as late as 1883) can be traced in the geographical and historical literature of the Maghrib from the 14th to the 18th cent. For instance, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of the Pharos of Alexandria (i, 29-30) is derived from it; other travellers, e.g. al-Balawī, and also biographers like Ahmad Bābā and Ibn al-Kādi used it extensively. Finally, its moral precepts, to be taken as material and as moral statements of contemporary Iṭṭīkya and Middle Maghrib, makes the *Rihla* a document of considerable interest.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, I, 634, S. I, 883 [add MSS Algiers 1017; Fez, Karawīyūn 1297]; Ahmad Bābā, *Nayl*, marg. of Ibn Farḥūn, *Dihādī*, 68; Taḥ, iii, 379; B. Vincent, in *J.A.*, 1845, 404-8; M. Cherbonneau, in *J.A.*, 1854, 142-76; R. Dozy, *Cat. Libr. Ind.*, iii, 137; M. Rieu, *Geographie d'Aboualida*, i, xxxiv; Motylinski, in *Bull. Soc. de Géogr.*, *l'Algier*, 1900, 71-7; W. Wright, in *Introd. of Ibn Qubayr*, *Rihla*, 1907, 16-7; E. Rossi, *La Cron. di Ibn Qubayr*, 12; W. Hoernerbach, *Das Nordafrikanische Itinerar des 'Abdārī*, Leipzig 1940.

(MUR. BEN CHENEN-W. HOERNERBACH)

AL-'ABDARĪ ABU 'ABD ALLAH MUHAMMAD b. MUHAMMAD b. AL-HADIM AL-FASĪ (see Ibn al-HADIM).

ABDAST (see WUPU').

'ABDĪ, Ottoman historian. Among the Ottoman historians who bore the *maḥabb* 'Abdī (cf. Babinger, 432 f.), the secretary (*ḫāṣṣ*) of Yūsuf Agha, chief of the eunuchs, is worthy of mention. He was an eye-witness of the magnificent festivities organized in Adrianople in June and July 1673 on the occasion of the circumcision of the crown-prince Muṣṭafā, son of Muḥammad (Mehmed) IV, and of the marriage of the princess Khādīde with the second vizier Muṣṭafā Paṣha (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 307 ff. and 313 ff.), and in which his master took a prominent part. A different account given in a more concise anonymous description of the same circumcision festival, mostly bearing the title *Medīna-i Sūra Humayūn* (MS Vienna, 1072, of which a part has been lost since Hammer-Purgstall's time but of which the greater part is still preserved; Hammer's translation, iv, 704, replaces the lost section; Hamburg, cod. or. 269 contains only the list of the presents). Also diverging from 'Abdī's account (that of an anonymous author in Paris, suppl. turc. 889, bound together with the translation of the *ŷeane de Langues* Étienne Roboly. Of 'Abdī's book there are MSS in Paris, suppl. turc. 501 (incomplete) and 1943 (the best MS), in the private collection of R. Tschudi, Basle, and in Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, 277 (414).

**Bibliography:** Babinger, 217 f.; J. H. Mordt-mann, in *Id.*, 1925, 364. (FR. BABINGER)

'ABDĪ EFENDİ, Ottoman historian. The only information about his life is that he worked under the sultans Mahmūd I and Muṣṭafā III, i.e. about 1730-64. His history, called either simply 'Abdī Ta'riḫi, or Ta'riḫ-i Sultān Mahmūd Khān, deals mainly with the antecedents of Patrona Ḥalil's rebellion and with the revolution itself (1730-1) and is one of the main contemporary sources for this event. MSS are to be found in Istanbul, Eṣfād Efendi, 2153 and Millet Kütüphanesi 409.

**Bibliography:** F. R. Unat, 1730 *Patrona ḫitālatı hāshinda bir eser Abdī tarīhi*, Ankara 1943; *Osmanlı Müderrisi*, iii, 106; *İsmail Anzoklopedisi*, i, 31; Ahmed Reṭik, *Lille desir*, Istanbul 1233, 125, 125, 140; *Rāimī Tedhīr*, MS Millet Kütüphanesi 762, 185; *Safinet ul-Rū'asā*, 83 ff., 90 ff.—For the MSS cf. *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarīh-Coğrafya Yazmaları Kataloqları*, i: *Türkçe Tarīh Yazmaları*, 2nd fasc., Istanbul 1944, 103 f. (FR. BABINGER)

'ABDĪ PAṢHA, Ottoman historian. 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Abdī Paṣha came from Anatolia, was on the Bosphorus, was educated in the Seray, and finally attained the post of imperial privy secretary (*sirr Māshih*). In Muharram 1080/June 1669 he was promoted to the office of *nigāhdār* with the rank of a vizier, and later was appointed *ḫā'im-mahām* of the capital. In April 1679 he became governor of Bosnia, next year again *nigāhdār*, in March a so-called vizier of the cupola, in August 1684 governor of Basra (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 379). Deposed in 1686, he was in the next year appointed governor of Egypt. In 1688 he was governor of Rumelia, next year governor of Crete, where he died in Rāḡiāb 1103/March 1692. 'Abdī Paṣha is usually described, though whether correctly is open to some doubt, as the first officially appointed historiographer (*ṭarīḫī-nāvis*); cf. Ismail Hakki Uzunçaralı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkezi ve bahriyesi teşkilatı*, Ankara 1948, 64-8. At any rate he was the author of a history of the Ottoman empire, which starts with the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad (Mehmed) IV, 1058/1648 and ends with 3 Ramadan 1093/5 Oct. 1682. The book, usually called Ta'riḫ-i 'Abdī, is divided into 12 *ḫizmet* (Füleg, no. 1421), but also *Wāḥa-nimay* 'Abdī Paṣha, was dedicated to the sultan Mehmed IV. For the MSS cf. Babinger; additional MSS in Istanbul, *Ḥaḡḡād Köşku*, 217, Khāled Ef., 615 (cf. *Isl.*, 1942, 207), and *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarīh-Coğrafya Yazmaları Kataloqları*, xi: *Türkçe Tarīh Yazmaları*, 2nd fasc., Ankara 1944, 111 f. A partial French translation, by Étienne Roboly, is preserved in Paris, suppl. turc. 867 (Blochet, *Cat.*, ii, 78).

**Bibliography:** Babinger, 227 f. (with further references); *İsmail Anzoklopedisi*, i, 30; Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 558 f. (FR. BABINGER)

ABDJAD (or ARADJAD or ABU DJAD), the first of the eight mnemotechnical terms in which the twenty-eight consonants of the Arabic alphabet were encoded. In the East, the whole series of these *encrez mnemotiques* is ordered and, in general, vocalized as follows: 'ahdjad hawasa kutūy hālamān sa'fas karāḡat ḥāḡḡah dāḡaḡ. In the West (North Africa and the Iberian peninsula) groups no. 5, 6 and 8 were differently arranged; the complete list was as follows: 'ahdjad hawasa kutūy hālamān sa'fas karāḡat ḥāḡḡah dāḡaḡ.

The first six groups of the Oriental series preserve faithfully the order of the "Phoniasis" alphabet. The last two, supplementary, groups consisted of the consonants peculiar to Arabic, called, for this reason, *ramādīf*, "mounted on the hind-quarters".

From a practical point of view, this arrangement of the alphabet has only one point of interest, namely that the Arabs (like the Greeks) gave each letter a numerical value, according to its position. The twenty-eight characters are thus divided into three successive series of nine each: units (1 to 9), tens (10 to 90), hundreds (100 to 900), and "thousand". Naturally, the numerical value corresponding to each of the letters that belong to groups no. 5, 6 and 8 differs in the Oriental and the Occidental systems.

The use of the Arabic characters as numerals has always been limited and exceptional; the ciphers proper (cf. *ḤISAB*) have taken their place. Nevertheless, they are used in the following cases: (i) on astrolabes; (ii) in chronograms, usually versified (epigraphic or otherwise), formed according to the system called *al-dijmal* (see *ḤISAB* and Ta'riḡi); (iii) in various divinatory procedures and in composing certain talismans (type of *ḡhazl* = 2-4 6-8, see *ṢUN'UṢ*). Even in our own days the *ḡhazl* of North Africa use the numerical value of the letters for certain magical operations, according to the system called *ayḡaḡ* (1.10.100.1000); a specialist in this technique is called in the vernacular *yahḡḡāḡ*; (iv) in the pagination, according to the modern convention, of prefaces and tables of contents, where we would use the Roman letters.

This "abecedarian" order of the Arabic letters does not actually correspond to anything, whether from the point of view of phonetics or of graphical representation. To be sure, it is very old. For the first twenty-two letters, it appears already in a tablet discovered at Ra's Shamra which gives the list of the cuneiform signs that constitute the alphabet of the people of Ugarit in the 14th century B.C. (Ch. Virel, *L'abbé de Ra's Shamra, GLECS*, 1950, 57). Its Canaanite origin, at least, is therefore certain; but moreover, the order was kept in the Hebrew and Aramaean alphabet, and was, no doubt, taken over by the Arabs together with the latter. Yet the Arabs, having no knowledge of the other Semitic languages and moreover full of prejudices arising from their strong self-consciousness and their national pride, sought other explanations for the mnemotechnic words *ahdjad* etc., handed down by tradition and incomprehensible to them. All that they had to say on this head, however interesting, is but a fable. According to one version, six kings of Madyan arranged the Arabic letters after their own names; according to another tradition, the first six groups are the names of six demons; a third tradition explains them as the names of the days of the week. Sylvestre de Sacy has noted the fact that in these traditions only the first six words are used, and that, e.g., Friday is not called *ḡhazḡḡ*, but *ṣarḡaḡ*; yet it is not admissible to base on such vague traditions the conclusion that the Arabic alphabet had originally only twenty-two letters (J. A. Sylvestre de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*, ii, par. 9). In fact, even among the Arabs there were some more enlightened grammarians, such as al-Mubarrad and al-Sirāfi, who, not satisfied with the legendary explanations of *ahdjad*, straightforwardly declared that these mnemotechnic words were of foreign origin.

There is, however, one noteworthy detail among



these fabulous indications. One of the six kings of Madyan had the supremacy over the others (*sa'ukawm*); this was Kalamam, whose name is perhaps somehow connected with the Latin *elemodum*.

For the other arrangement of the alphabet which exists alongside this "abecedarian" order and which is the one currently employed, see *muḥḥa al-ḥijāzī*.

It may be added that in North Africa the adjective *ḥabūdī* is still alive, with the acception of "beginner, tiro, green", literally, "one still at the abecedarian stage" (cf. the Persian/Turkish *abjad-kān*, English *abecedarian*, German *Abcchüler*).

**Bibliography:** Lane, *Lex. s.v. abjadī*; Tā, s.v. *ḥādī*; Fihrist, 4-5; Cantor, *Vorl. über Gesch. d. Math.*, I, 709; Th. Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Buchstaben*, in *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, 1904, 124; H. Bauer, *Wie ist die Reihenfolge der Buchstaben im Alphabet entstanden*, *ZDMG*, 1913, 301; G. Colin, *Le langage grec des "chiffres de Féc" et de nos "chiffres arabes"*, *J.A.*, 1933, 193; J. Fournier, *Histoire de l'écriture*, 1948, 227; D. Düring, *The Alphabet*, 1948; M. G. de Slane, *Les Prolegomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun*, I, 241-53; E. Westernmark, *Ritual and Relief in Morocco*, I, 144; E. Doutte, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 192-95.

(G. WEIL—G. S. COLIN)

**ABECHÉ** [see *ABEJHÉ*].

**ABEL** [see *ABĀL*].

**ABENGERAGES** [see *AL-SARRĀḠ*, *BANŪ*].

**ABENRAGEL** [see *IBN ABĪ Ḥ-ḤIḤ*].

**ABEŠIR** (*ABEŠIR*), capital of the Sultanate of Wādā's, Territory of the Tchad, French Equatorial Africa, 12° north lat. and 21° east long., to the south of Wara, the old capital. Founded in 1850, chief town of a region and a district of 125,000 inhabitants (119 Europeans). Important center of transit between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the Tchad; many *gallabé* merchants from Omdurman have installed themselves in the town. Center of trade in cattle, meat (freezing installations planned) and karakul sheep, bred in the neighbouring steppe-walk of Abugadum. A Franco-Arabic *medersa* was opened in 1951, the master of which belongs to the Tidjānī order, like all the Wādā's. The town, built in a vast dry plain, dominated by isolated mountains, comprises five big villages and a European township.

**Bibliography:** Li J. Ferrandi, *Abéché, capitale du Ouaddi* (*Publ. Comité de l'Afr. franç.*), 1913; see also *WADĀ'Ī*. (J. DRESCON)

**ABHĀ**, capital of the Saudi-Arabian province of 'Asīr [g.s.] situated in Wādī Abhā (c. 18° 13' N. lat. and 42° 30' E. long.) at an elevation of c. 2200 meters. Perhaps 10,000 people, almost all Shī'ites, live in its several villages now growing together but retaining distinctive names. One of the largest is Mandzīr, sometimes given as the ancient name of the place; al-Hamdānī (l. 115) fails to mention Mandzīr but names Abhā as a location of the tribe called 'Asīr. Banū Mughayyid, dominant in modern Abhā, belong to 'Asīr.

Other communities are al-Karā, perhaps the largest; Mukhād, joined to the main group by a stone bridge across Wādī Abhā; Na'nān and al-Rubūḍ; al-Nasab, where the principal mosque is located; al-Khaḥḥa; and al-Miftāḥ. The focal point of town life is a large open square, where a Tuesday market is held, with the adjacent stone fortress of Shādā, the center of provincial administration. Most of the houses have mud walls with multiple

swaves of flat stone as protection against water erosion. Annual rainfall of c. 30 centimeters, augmented by irrigation from numerous wells, supports grains, fruits, and vegetables grown in terraced plots. Turkish forts crown the promontories ringing the town; two have been repaired and are used by the Sa'ūdī army: Dhīra, 125 meters above the town to the SSE, and Shamsān to the north. Motor routes connect Abhā with Mecca, about 840 kilometers to the north via Dhīra, and Zahrān and Naḍrān to the south and south-east; there is only animal transport for the steep descent to the Red Sea ports of al-Kunfūḥa and Dhīra.

Little is known of Abhā's history until Wahhābī doctrine swept across the mountains about 1215/1800. The subsequent Turco-Egyptian campaigns brought an army including several Europeans to Mandzīr, which was occupied for about one month in 1230/1834 (Tanner mentions a nearby village of "Apha"). Al 'Ayid, the shaykhly clan of Banū Mughayyid, thereafter ruled from Abhā, later receiving the blessing of the resurgent Wahhābīs under Fayyāl b. Turki. In 1287/1871 when the Turks were engaged in reoccupying the Yaman, Muḥammad b. 'Ayid attacked them in the lowlands but they soon overwhelmed him, occupied Abhā, and put him to death. The town became the center of a *kaḍā* in the Yaman wilāyat and remained Turkish until after the 1918 armistice, except for several months in 1928-9/1930-1 when the Idrīsīs [g.s.] of Ḥabāḥ wrested it from Sulaymān Shafīk, the Turkish governor. A relief expedition led by Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca arrived in Dhūmāḍā II 1329/June 1911 to find Abhā once more in Sulaymān's hands.

After the Turkish withdrawal, Al 'Ayid again became sole ruler, but was promptly challenged, first by Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, then by the Sa'ūdīs, whose two campaigns (one in 1339/1921 and another in 1340-2/1922) led by Fayyāl b. 'Abd al-'Azīz broke their power. Abhā has since been the seat of a Sa'ūdī governor, increased in importance by the Sa'ūdī acquisition of Idrīsī territory in 1345/1926. The force commanded by Sa'ūdī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in the Yaman War of 1355/1934 was based on Abhā. Two years later Philby found the place still suffering from the ravages of its former insecurity, but under peaceful rule prosperity is returning.

For bibliography see 'Asīr. (H. C. MUELLER)

**ABHAR** (in *Ḥudūd al-'Alam*: Awhar), a small town owing its importance to the fact that it lies half-way between Rawm (86 km) and Zandjīn (88 km) and that from it a road branched off southwards to Dinawar. It was conquered in 24/645 by Bāḡ b. 'Azīz, governor of Rayy. Between 386/996 and 409/1020 it formed the fief of a Muḥallid [g.s.] prince. The stronghold of Sar-ḡāḥān (in *Rihāt al-sūdān*: Sar-fāḥān), lying some 25 km. N.W. of Abhar near a pass leading into Tārm [g.s.] played an important rôle under the Salḡūḥids.

**Bibliography:** Le Strange, *op. cit.*; Schwarz, *Iran*, 726-8; Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1912, 165.

**AL-ABHARI**, *Aḥlī* al-Dīn Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar, philosophical writer, about whose life nothing is known; d. in 661/1264 (according to Barhebraeus in 1262). He was the author of two works on scholastic philosophy, which were much in use and often commented. (i) *Ḥudūd al-Hikma* in three parts: a Logic (commented), (ii) *Ḥudūd al-Hikma* in three parts: a Logic (commented), b. Physics (commented), c. theology (commented). The best known commentary is that by Mīr Ḥusayn al-Maybūḍī, written in 860/1475. (ii) *al-Isḡhādī*, an adaptation of the *Isḡah* of

Porphyry (cf. *ḥikmat* 1005). Of the commentaries, that by Shams al-Dīn Ahmad al-Fanārī (d. 534/1470) has been printed in Istanbul; for other commentaries and glosses, see Brockelmann.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, I, 608, S I, 839 ff.; C. F. Seybold, *Id.*, 112 ff. (C. BROCKELMANN)

**ABD** [see *TA'ABD*].

**'ABID** [see *'ABD* and *MAẒHĀN*].

**'ABID** b. AL-ABRAS, pre-Islamic Arab poet, of the tribe of Asad. Very little is known of his life, which must have lain in the first half of the 6th century A.D. The probably legendary story that his death was caused by al-Mundhir III, king of Hira, would fix as a *terminus ante quem* the date of the king's death, 554. The literary tournament with Imru' al-Kays, attested by the historical-literary tradition and by verses in the *diwān* of 'Abid, shows that the two poets were contemporaries; their joust would have to be placed between 530 and 550. About 530-40 Lyall assumes—the Banū Asad revolted against the supremacy of the kings of Kinda and killed king Huḍayr, father of Imru' al-Kays; hence the enmity and the rivalry between the two poets.

The *diwān* of 'Abid (edited and translated together with that of 'Amir b. al-Tufayl by Ch. Lyall, Leiden 1913, GMS xii) contains thirty more or less complete *ḥayḥ*s and seventeen fragments. The very distinct archaism in the structure and the language of the *diwān* is a strong argument for its authenticity. The dominant tone is one of melancholic and sentimental austerity, as well as of a proud dignity which finds in individual and tribal *jalāl* the expression that becomes its best.

The sentiment of love appears in a very restrained and already strongly stylized form, so that the *nasīb* is more often devoted to the collective regret for a dispersed group than for an individual woman (e.g. *ḥayḥ* 1, 18, xv, etc.). It is perhaps this melancholic contemplation of life's flight and of its fleetingness, so often expressed with original accents in the poetry of 'Abid, that gave rise to the legend that places him amongst the *mu'ammarrīn* [g.s.]. He seems to have died, according to Grunbaum's view (*Orientalia*, 1939, 343, 345), rather young, perhaps even before his fiftieth year. The sentimental mood of 'Abid is expressed not only in his *nasīb* but for the past, but also in his praise of himself and of his tribe (iv, vii, xvii, xxiv etc.) and in his virulent polemics against Imru' al-Kays and other, unknown, poets. The allusions to his poetical talent are especially noteworthy (x and xxiii); they show that he had a clear conscience of his inspiration and his artistic technique. The old Arab critics admired his descriptions of storms and desert tempests, but the modern reader appreciates most among all the poems of his *diwān* his descriptions of animals, such as the famous scene of an eagle chasing a fox (i) and that of the fish in the sea (xxiii). In these poems and in other celebrated tableaux, 'Abid appears as one of the most powerful poets of the *ḡhābiyya*.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 142-5; *Agħānī*, xix, 84-7; A. Fischer, *Ein arabischer Vers des 'Abid b. al-Abbras*, *MIFAQ*, 1915, 361-75; F. Gabrieli, *La poesia di 'Abid b. al-Abbras*, *Rend. Acad. Italia*, c. mor., 1940, 240-51; Brockelmann, I, 17, S I, 84. (F. GABRIELI)

**'ABID** b. SHARYA [see *'UBAYD* b. SHARYA].

**ABIK** [see *'ABD*].

**ABISU** [see *BALEH* (URIDS)].

**ABWARD**, or *BĀWARD*, a town and district on the northern slopes of the mountains of *Ḥā'ir* in an area now belonging to the autonomous Turkoman republic which forms part of the U.S.S.R. The whole oasis region including Naṣā [g.s.], Abward etc. (known by the Turkish name of *Alak* "foothills") played a great part in ancient times as the first line of defence of Khurāsān against the nomads.

In the Arsacid period this region was in the ancestral country of the dynasty. Isidore of Charax, par. 13 (at the beginning of the Christian era) mentions between Παρθρη (with the town of Naṣā) and Μαργαρη (= Marw) the district of 'Απασπεριχ with the town of 'Απασπεριχ, cf. Pliny, vi, 46: *Aparione*, and Justin, xli, 5: *mons (Zafarpoortum) with the inaccessible town of Dara (= Kāstī?) built by Arsak*.

Under the Sāsānians the country remained broken up into little principalities. Ibn Khurādādhbih, 99, has preserved the names of the kings of Sarakhs *Zādāya*; of Naṣā: *Abrik* (?), and of Abward: *B. hm. na* (B. *hmiya* *بهمي*) which is perhaps connected with the name of Mahana, Mayhana (in the district of Khawāran to the east of Abward).

Under Ma'mūn, 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir built the *raḥīl* of Kūfan, 6 farsakhs west of Abward.

Perhaps even before the great migration of the *Ghuzz* [g.s.] the district had been occupied by the Khālajī Turks; cf. the *Ḍiḥān-namā* of Muḥ. b. Naḍīb Bakrān (written in 1200). Other Turkoman tribes later succeeded the Khālajī.

In the 12th-14th centuries Abward passed into the hands of the Dīn Ghūrbādī princes, of Mongol origin (cf. 705). In the time of 'Abbas I Atāk was outside the zone of Persian influence. Under Nādir who belonged to this region, Atāk became the starting point for his remarkable career. At that time the river of Telen (the Har-lud) was regarded as the eastern boundary of the cultivated lands of Abward (*muḥallā-yi ma'sūra-yi sarhaddā-yi Abward*; cf. *Ta'arīḥ-i Nādir*, under 1142 A. H. [The same source mentions among the dependencies, of Abward (?): Yangi-kā'a, Kā'a-yi Baghwān, Zāghān (?) etc.]). After the disappearance of Nādir from the scene, the semi-independent khāns of Kāstī [g.s.] exercised a certain influence in the district down to 1881, when, after the annihilation of the Russo-Persian frontier, Atāk with its Turkomans was incorporated in Russian territory. The resulting return of security to northern Khurāsān enabled the Persians to develop agriculture on the upper courses of the rivers running into Atāk. The irrigation of the latter region has suffered considerably as the result.

**Antiquities.** The ruins of the old town (Kuhna-Abward) are situated about 5 miles W. of the station of Kahka (Kakhaka) on the Transcaspian railway and cover an area of 14,000 square yards. The central *tell* is 60 feet high and 700 feet round. About 2 miles N. E. of Kuhna-Abward is the little hill of Namāzghān and to the north of it the site of some ancient town surmounted by a *ḡhāz-tāh* ("gateway") 45 feet high. Another important site is that of Kuhna-Kakhaka, a fortress rebuilt by Tīmūr in 784/1382 (*Zafar-nāma*, I, 343). The whole region is very rich in tells (*burgān*) 14 miles S. of Kakhaka are the ruins of Khwa-ābād which was settled by Nādir with prisoners liberated after the taking of Khwa; 11 miles S. E. of the station of Artūk are the ruins of a town called Čagondur (after the *masir* of the holy man which dates from the 13th century). Several



of these sites must go back to the Aeneas period (Isidore of Charax mentions for example a town of 'Paymō etc.) and some are even prehistoric; cf. R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, Washington 1909, excavations at Akau.

**Bibliography:** Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Persien*, I, in *SBAA Wien*, vol. cii; idem, in *Quartier-Wissenschaft*, s.v. *Afghanistan* and *Dara*; E. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, I, 182, and note 48; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 147; J. Marquart, *ibid.*, xlix, 628, xlviii, 403, 407; A. W. Kononov, in *Peterb. Mitt.*, 1889, vii, 128-69; Barthold, *Indo-Iranica*, ed. *Prusa*, St. Petersburg 1903, 60-2, 70; idem, *Turkestan*, index; idem, *K istorii arakchensko Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1916, 41-3; Le Strange, 394; A. A. Semenov and others, *Drevnosti Abkhazskago rayona* ("The antiquities of the region of Abkhaz"), in *Acta Universitatis Asiae Medicae*, ser. II, Orientalia, fasc. 3, Tashkent 1931 (expedition of 1928).

(V. MINORSKY)

**AL-ABIWARDI**, أَبُو ل-مَوْضَائِرِ MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD, Arab poet and genealogist, a descendant of 'Anbasā b. Abi Sufyān (of the Umayyad lineage of the younger Mu'awiyā). He was born in Abiward (Khurāsān), or more exactly in the village of Kuwfan (not Kūfan) near Abiward (he is therefore sometimes called al-Kawfani), and died from poison in Ishābān in 207/111 (not 257/161-2). His philological and historico-genealogical works, notably a history of Abiward and a book on the different and identical names of the Arab tribes, are lost; but al-Naysarāni extensively used the latter work. Of his *shu'arā*, the three most important sections: *al-Nadāyiyāt*, *al-'Irābiyyāt* (mostly on the caliphs al-Mu'tasim, al-Mustafīr and their vipers) and *al-Waḡḡiyyāt* are preserved in several MSS. A *diwan*, arranged according to the alphabetical order of the rhymes, was published in the Lebanon in 1317, but many poems by al-Ghazālī have been erroneously included; a choice of less important poems: *Mukhaṣṣat al-Abiwardi al-Umayri*, was published in Cairo, 1277/1860-1.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, I, 111; idem, *Ishābāt*, vi, 342-58; Subki, *Tahabāt*, iv, 62; Suyūṭi, *Ṭabaṭ*, 30; Ibn Khallikān, no. 646; Abū'l-Fidā', *Mukhtasar*, vi, 380; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Muntazam*, ix, 176-7; Rūf, *Aḥbāb al-Muhammadin min al-Shu'arā'*, MS Paris, 20v-12r; Brockelmann, I, 253, S. 1, 447; a critical study of the poet and his work by Al-J al-Tahir, *La Poésie arabe sous les Seldjoukides* (Sorbonne thesis, 1953).

(C. BROCKELMANN—CH. FELLAT)

**ABEAYE** (properly BUKAYE), a town and oil field in al-Baṣā Province, Saudi Arabia. The name is taken from that of the shallow water sources (*naba'*) of Bukayy in the sands some 15 miles north of the present town. The names Bukayy and al-Bukka (similar water sources not far to the north) appear to be associated with meanings of the Arabic root *baḥka* relating to water rather than bugs. The Bedouins know the location of the town as Aba 'L-Ri'dān, "the place of the young male camel".

Surrounded by the heavy dunes of al-Bayḍā', Abkayy (40° 40' E. long., 25° 15' N. lat.) is about halfway between al-Fahrān and al-Hufuf on the main road connecting inner Arabia with the Persian Gulf ports of al-Dammām and Ra's Tanūfira, and is also on the Saudi Government Railroad (al-Dammām-al-Riyāḍ). Prior to the discovery of oil in the Abkayy field by California Arabian Standard Oil Company

(now Arabian American Oil Company) in 1939/1940, no settlement existed there. In 1972/1973 the population was approximately 15,000, including 1,310 Americans.

The American geologist Max Steineke was primarily responsible for finding oil in this wilderness of dunes. The oil field is about 32 miles long, averages 5 miles in width, and for a time was the most productive field in the world. In 1970/1971 daily production reached about 600,000 barrels (90,000 tons) from only 61 wells.

(W. E. MOLLIGAN)

**ABKHÄZ**. 1. For all practical purposes the term *Abkhāz* or *Abkhāz*, in early Muslim sources covers Georgia and Georgians (properly *Ḍarūdī*, *g.r.*). The reason (cf. below under 2.) is that a dynasty issued from Abkhāz ruled in Georgia at the time of the early 'Abbāsids. A distinction between the Abkhāzian dynasty and the Georgian rulers on the upper Kur is made by al-Mas'ūdī, II, 65, 74. The people properly called *Abkhāz* is positively referred to only in the tradition represented by Ibn Rusta, 139:

أَبْخَازٌ، read \* *أَبْخَازٌ* *Abghaz*, see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 164-76, and *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 456. Characteristically, Ibn Rusta places this people at the end of the Khazar dominions.

2. *Abkhāz*, a smaller people of Western Caucasus on the Black Sea, which called itself *Abkhāz* in its relations between the mountain range and the sea, between the river Psoz (north of Gagra) and the mouth of the Ingur in the south. Since the 17th century (and possibly much earlier) a portion of the tribe has crossed the main ridge and settled on the southern tributaries of the Kuban.

The *Abkhāz* are mentioned in ancient times as *Abasgi* (by Arrian) or *Abasgi* (by Pliny), cf. Constantine (A.D. 1475): *Assaria*, in older Russian: *Oset*, in Turkish: *Abasa*. According to Procopius (5th cent. A.D.) they were under the sovereignty of the Lazae (*g.r.*), and in those days slaves (*saucasa*) were brought to Constantinople from *Abkhāz*. Subjugated by Justinian, *Abkhāz* was converted to Christianity. According to the Georgian Annals (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 237-43), the Arab general Marwan-Kru ("Marwan the Deaf") having occupied the passes of Darial and Darband, invaded *Abkhāz* (whither the Georgian kings, Mir and Arčil, had fled), and ruined Tskhum (Sukhum). Dysentery and floods, combined with the attacks of the Georgians and the *Abkhāz*, caused great losses to his army and made him retreat. The chronology of the Annals is very uncertain. The name Marwan-Kru seems to refer to the Umayyad Muhammad b. Marwan, or to his son Marwan b. Muhammad, i.e. to the early part of the 8th century, cf. al-Balādhurī, 205, 207-9. Towards A.D. 800 the *Abkhāz* won their independence with the help of the Khazars; the prince (*erist'ava*) Leon II, of the local dynasty issued from Ančabān, married to a Khazar princess, assumed the title of king, and transferred his capital to Kutafsi. Under the governor of Tiflis, Ishak b. Isma'il (c. 850-5), the *Abkhāz* are said to have paid tribute to the Arabs. The most prosperous period of the *Abkhāz* kingdom was between 850 and 950; their kings ruled over *Abkhāz*, Mingrelia (Egrisi), Imnereti and Abkhat, and also interfered in Armenian affairs. Since that period Georgia has remained the language of the educated classes in *Abkhāz*. In 978 the Georgian Bagratid Bagrat III, son of the Abkhāzian princess Gurandukht, occupied the *Abkhāz* throne and by 1010 united all the Georgian lands. As his first successes were based on the hereditary rights of

his mother, and as even in his later title the rank of "king of *Abkhāz*" occupied the first place, the Muslims continued to call the Georgian kingdom *Abkhāz* (down to the 13th century, and occasionally even later).

About the year 1325 the house of Sharvashidze (in Russian: *Shervashidze*, alleged to be descended from the dynasty of the *Shirvan-shāhs*, *g.r.*) was installed with *Abkhāz*, towards the middle of the 15th century (under king Bagrat VI) the Sharvashidze were confirmed as *erist'aves* of the country. According to a letter from the emperor of Trebizond in the year 1459, the princes of *Abkhāz* disposed of an army of 30,000 men.

After the settlement of the Ottomans on the east coast of the Black Sea, the *Abkhāz* came under the influence of Turkey and Islam, although Christianity was but slowly supplanted. According to the Dominican John of Lucena, even in his time (1637) the *Abkhāz* passed as Christians, although the Christian usages were no longer observed. Since the separation from Georgia the country had been under its own Catholicos (mentioned as early as the 13th century) in Pitund. Up to the present day the ruins of eight large and about 100 small churches, including chapels, are said to exist in *Abkhāz*. The house of Sharvashidze did not embrace Islam until the second half of the 18th century, when Prince Leon recognized Turkish sovereignty. On this account, he was given the fort of Sukhum, which had already been besieged by the *Abkhāz* about 1725-8. The country was divided politically into three parts: 1) *Abkhāz* proper, on the coast from Gagra to the Galidzga under the said Sharvashidze; 2) the highlands of Trebelia (without any centralized government); 3) the country of Samurzakon on the coast extending from the Galidzga to the Ingur (ruled by a branch of the house of Sharvashidze, subsequently united with Mingrelia).

After the incorporation of Georgia by Russia in 1805, the *Abkhāz* had also to enter into relation with this new powerful neighbour. The first attempt was made in 1803 by Prince Keleş-beg, but was abandoned soon afterwards. After the assassination of this prince in 1808, his son Sefer-beg came into closer touch with Russia and claimed her help against his brother, the parricide Arslan-beg. In 1810 Sukhum was taken by the Russians. Sefer-beg, who had become converted to Christianity and assumed the name of George, was installed as prince, but from that time on Sukhum was occupied by a Russian garrison. The two sons of Sefer-beg, Demetrius (1821) and Michael (1822, after poisoning his elder brother) had to be put in power by the Russian armed force. Their rule was limited to the neighbourhood of Sukhum, whose garrison could communicate with headquarters only by sea. By the incorporation of the whole coast-line from Anapa to Poti (Treaty of Adrianople in 1829) Russia's position was naturally strengthened, but even in 1835 only the north-western part of the country, the district of Brblh, is said to have been in the possession of Prince Michael. The other parts had remained under the rule of his Muslim vassals. Later on, with the help of Russia, Michael succeeded in establishing his power almost as an absolute ruler, but he too, in spite of his Christian faith, had surrendered himself with Turks.

After the final subjugation of Western Caucasasia by the Russians (1864) the dominion of the House of Sharvashidze, like that of the other native princes, came to an end; in November 1864 Prince Michael

had to renounce his rights and leave the country. *Abkhāz* was incorporated into the Russian empire as a special province (*oblast'*) of Sukhum and divided into three districts (*okrug*)—Pitund, Ošemeti and Trebelia. In 1866 an attempt made by the new governor to collect information concerning the economic conditions of the *Abkhāz*, for the purpose of taxation, led to a revolt, and, subsequently, to a considerable emigration of the *Abkhāz* to Turkey. In the thirties of the 19th century the population of *Abkhāz* was estimated at about 90,000, and the number of all *Abkhāz* (i.e. including those living in the north outside *Abkhāz*) at 128,000 souls. After 1866, the population of *Abkhāz* was reduced to c. 65,000. The almost depopulated district of Trebelia ceased to be a district and was placed under a special "Settlement Curator" (*poselennitskii nauchnyi*). Later the whole of *Abkhāz* under the name of district (*okrug*) of Sukhum-Kale (Sukhum-Kal'a) formed a part of the government of Kutais. The population again decreased through emigration, especially after the *Abkhāz* took part in the rebellion of the mountain tribes caused by the landing of Turkish troops (1877); in 1881 the number of *Abkhāz* was estimated at only 20,000. No statistics on the *Abkhāz*ians in Turkey are available.

SOVIET ABKHÄZIA. The Soviet power was proclaimed for a short time in 1918, and finally in 1921. In April 1930 *Abkhāz*, as an autonomous republic (A.S.S.R.), became part of the Georgian republic (S.S.R.) and its special constitution was confirmed in 1937. The *Abkhāz*ian A.S.S.R. has a population of 395,000, but in this number the *Abkhāz*ians are but a minority. In 1939 the total number of the *Abkhāz*ians in the Soviet Union (i.e. apparently including the northern colonies in Cerkesia) was 59,000. The capital (Sukhum) has 44,000 inhabitants. The territory of the republic has acquired great importance for subtropical cultures. Its water power has been considerably exploited (in 1935, 45 electrical stations).

Since the time when an *Abkhāz* alphabet was invented by the eminent specialist in Caucasian languages General Baron P. K. Uslar (in 1864), and when a book on Biblical history was compiled by a priest and two officers of *Abkhāz* nationality, *Abkhāz* letters have had a considerable development. In 1920 the founder of the new literature, Dimitri Gulia (born in 1874), published a book of popular poems. He has been followed by writers in prose (G. D. Gulia, Papaskiri), poets (Kogonia 1905-20), L. Kvintina etc. *Abkhāz*ian folklore has been collected and schoolbooks written (Čoč'ua etc.).

The *Abkhāz* "polysynthetic" language belongs to the same type as the Cerkas languages. It has two basic vowels as against 65 consonants in the northern (Dzh) dialect, and 57 in the southern (Abkh). The latter has been adopted as the literary language. It is now written in the Georgian alphabet suitably completed.

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the recent works by Serduzenko and Tobl' on northern Abkhazian dialects (1947-9).

(W. BARTHOLOMÆUS, MINORSKY)

'ABLA, sweetheart of 'Antara (g.n.).  
AL-ABLAQ, castle of Samaw' (g.n.).  
ABLUCTION (see gawis, ṬAYAMMUM, wud'ū').  
AL-ABNĀ', "the sons", a denomination applied to the following:

(I) The descendants of Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamim, with the exception of his two sons Ka'b and 'Amr. This tribe inhabited the sandy desert of al-Dahab'. (Cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen der arab. Stämme*).

(II) The descendants born in Yaman of the Persian immigrants. For the circumstances of the Persian immigration in Yaman under Khawrazmīn (331-79) and the reign of Sayf b. Uthaym, as told by the Arabic authors, cf. Sayf b. Uthaym. After the withdrawal of the foreign troops Sayf was murdered and the country again subjugated by the Ethiopians, so that the Persian general Wahiz had to return. The power of the Ethiopians was this time definitely broken and Yaman turned into a vassal state of Persia. At the time of the Prophet the Persian governor Bādhān (Bādhān) was, together with his people, converted to Islam and acknowledged the suzerainty of Muhammad. Later, however, troubles broke out in Yaman which led to complete anarchy; it was only under the reign of Abū Bakr that order was restored. (Cf. also al-YAMAN).

Bibliography: Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Arab. zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 220 ff.; M. J. de Goeje, in the Glossary to Tabari, s.v. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN).

(III) *Abnā' al-dawla*, a term applied in the early centuries of the 'Abbasid caliphate to the members of the 'Abbasid house, and by extension to the *Khurāsānī* and other *manāfi* who entered its service and became adoptive members of it. They survived as a privileged and influential group until the 350th century, after which they were eclipsed by the growing power of the Turkish and other troops.

Bibliography: Dāhī, *Fadd' al-Atrāk*, passim; J. Wellhausen, *Das Arab. Reich*, 347 f. (Engl. tr., 556 f.); A. Mez, *Renaissance d. Islams*, 131 (Engl. tr., 135 f.).

(IV) *Abnā' al-Atrāk*, a term sometimes used in the Manlik sultanate to designate the Egyptian, or Syrian-born descendants of the Manliks, as an alternative to the more common *awā'id al-nā'* (g.n.).

(V) *Abnā' al-ṣifāḥīn*, a term sometimes employed in formal Ottoman usage in place of the more common *ispāhī aghalār*—the first of the six regiments (*ḥāṣṣ*) of cavalry of the Ottoman standing army. They were classed as "Slaves of the Gate" (*kaplı ḥāṣṣ*).

Bibliography: H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, II, 69 ff., 226 ff.; Ismail Hakki Ünsür, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilatından Kaplı Kulu Ocakları*, 1944, II, 228 ff. (B. Lewis).

ABRAHA, a Christian king of South Arabia in the middle of the sixth century A. D. In Islamic literature his fame is due to the tradition that he led a Yamanī expedition against Mecca (referred to in the Qur'ān, cv) in the year of Muhammad's birth, c. 570 A.D. The details of Abrahā's life given by Muslim historians are largely stories of folk-lore origin which have been attached arbitrarily to the name of a famous personage. For

authentic information we must turn to Procopius and the Himyarite inscriptions. According to Procopius, Hellestheos king of Abyssinia (ἡ/ἡ/ἡ/ἡ of the inscription Istanbul 7068 bis) invaded South Arabia a few years before 531 A.D., killed his king, appointed a puppet-ruler named Esimphaos (ἡ/ἡ/ἡ/ἡ of the inscription), and retired to Abyssinia; subsequently, Abyssinian deserters who had remained in South Arabia revolted against Esimphaos and set on the throne Abrahā, originally the slave of a Byzantine merchant of Adulis; two expeditions sent by Hellestheos against the rebels were unsuccessful, and Abrahā retained the throne; Justinian's attempts to incite Abrahā to attack Persia were in vain, for he merely marched a little way northward and then retired; so long as Hellestheos was alive, Abrahā refused to pay tribute to Abyssinia, but agreed to do so to Hellestheos' successor. Our main epigraphic source is Abrahā's long inscription on the Ma'rīb dam (*Corpus inscr. sem.*, IV, 341). This records the quelling of an insurrection supported by a son of the dejected Esimphaos in the year 657 of the Sabaean era (between 640-650 A.D.); repairs effected to the dam later in the same year; the reception of embassies from Abyssinia, Byzantium, Persia, Ilira and Harīth b. Djablah the phylarch of Arabia; and the completion of repairs to the dam in the following year. A further text (Ryckmans 506, see *Le Muséon*, 1953, 275-84) discovered at Murayghin, east of the upper Wādī Taḥlīb, records a defeat inflicted by Abrahā on the North Arabian tribe Ma'ad in 662 of the Sabaean era. The Ma'rīb text begins, "By the power and favour and mercy of God and His Messiah and the Holy Spirit (ḥ/ḥ/ḥ/ḥ)". It is perhaps significant of a sectarian distinction that Esimphaos, who was no doubt a Monophysite like his Abyssinian patron, uses a different formula, "In the name of God and His Son Christ victorious and the Holy Spirit (ḥ/ḥ/ḥ/ḥ)"; possibly Abrahā had Nestorian leanings. The titulature adopted by Abrahā is identical with that of his immediate predecessors, "King of Saba" and Ḥū-Ḥaydān and Hadramawt and Yamanāt and their Arabs in the plateau and lowland", but in the Ma'rīb text he calls himself in addition "ḥ/ḥ/ḥ/ḥ". The word *ḥ/ḥ/ḥ/ḥ* is not found elsewhere, nor is so satisfactory explanation of the phrase has yet been given. Conti-Rossini's rendering "the valiant king, of the (tribe) 'Aḡḡar'" is syntactically improbable; and Glaser's "vicerey of the Abyssinian king" is incompatible with the passage later in the inscription where Abrahā receives an Abyssinian embassy on the same footing as those of Byzantium and Persia. J. Ryckmans' proposed reading "ḥ/ḥ/ḥ/ḥ" "the king's highness" is worth consideration. From here onwards reliable sources are silent, and we have only the probably legendary story in the Islamic sources, which attributes the motive of the Meccan expedition to Abrahā's jealousy of the Meccan sanctuary and a futile attempt to substitute his church at San'a' as the place of pilgrimage for all Arabia. If Abrahā really made such an expedition (the Qur'ān does not name its leader), a more likely explanation of his aims is that the rapprochement with Abyssinia under Hellestheos' successor caused Abrahā to adopt a more aggressive policy towards Persia, and the expedition was the first move of a projected attack on the Persian dominions. However, it proved a failure, and only provoked the Persians to their invasion under Wahiz a few years later, which finally destroyed the ancient South Arabian kingdom. The *Martyrium Arthas* asserts

that Abrahā was placed on the throne by the Abyssinian king Elstas (usually identified with Procopius' Hellestheos) immediately after the death of Ḥū-Ḥaydān. Other ecclesiastical sources, such as the *Leges Homeritarum* attributed to Gregentius bishop of Zaḥār, give similar accounts. This version of events, which conflicts fundamentally with both Procopius and the inscriptions, must be regarded as unhistorical and due either to a confusion of names or to a fabrication for polemical reasons.

Bibliography: Tabari, I, 930-43; Ibn Hiṣḥām, I, 28-41; Ḥ/Ḥ/Ḥ/Ḥ, xvi, 72; Lablā, xlii, 19; Kayḥ b. al-Khāṭim (Kowalski), xiv, 15; Causin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, I, 138-145; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Arab. zur Zeit d. Sassaniden*, 200-5; Procopius, *De bello persico*, I, 20; E. Glaser, *Mitt. d. Vorderas. Gesch.*, 1897, 360-485; J. Ryckmans, *Épigraphie monastique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam*, 239-45, 320-5; idem, *Le Muséon*, 1953, 339-42; Conti-Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia*, 186-95; A. F. L. Beutson, *Notes on the Mureighan inscription*, *BSOAS*, xvi, pt. 2, -Cf. also, for a feature of the legend, ABŪ RIZĀL. (A. F. L. BEUTSON)

ABRAHAM (see IBRAHĪM AL-KHALIL).

ABRAHIM (see IBRAHĪM).

AB-ABSHIH (see AL-IBSHIH).

ABU (see KUNYA).

ABU L-'ABBĀS AL-SAFFĀH, 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUHAMMAD b. 'ALL b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. 'ABD ALLĀH, the first 'Abbasid caliph. The surname al-Saffāh means "the bloodthirsty" or "the generous". With the other members of the 'Abbasid family, he took refuge in Kūfa in Ṣafār 132/Sept.-Oct. 749, shortly after the occupation of the town by al-Hasan b. Kaṭṭāb and was proclaimed as caliph in the great mosque on 12 Rabi' II/28 November, on which occasion he pronounced a famous speech.

The first task of Abū l-'Abbās was the total defeat of the Umayyads. The 'Abbasid troops, under the command of his uncle 'Abd Allāh b. 'All, achieved a complete victory on the Upper Zab (Djumāda II 132/Jun. 750) and flung themselves into the pursuit of Marwān II through Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine. When Marwān was killed in Egypt (Ḥijāz 132/August 750), the main campaign could be considered as ended. The isolated resistance of Ibn Hufayr (g.n.) in Waḥit was soon overcome by treachery, while the revolts that broke out in Mesopotamia and Syria were bloodily repressed. The conquerors abandoned themselves to violent acts of revenge, of which the first in importance was the episode on Nahr Abī Futrus (g.n.). Here 'Abd Allāh b. 'All, having killed about eighty Umayyad chiefs, laid tables over their bodies, which he afterwards threw to the dogs to eat. Similar scenes occurred in al-Kūfa, al-Basra and in the Ḥijāz. Furthermore, the tombs of the Umayyad caliphs were violated. Similarly, the discontent of the 'Alids, who, after having supported the cause of the revolt, saw themselves deprived of its fruits, was suppressed in blood: in 133/750-1, the governor of Khurāsān, Abū Muslim, put down a rising on behalf of the 'Alids in Buḥārā.

In this way, soon after the accession of the 'Abbasids to the caliphate, the principal sources of opposition, namely the Umayyad and the 'Alid enemies, were eliminated. The 'Abbasids, however, wanted to go even further, to the elimination of their own political and military chiefs who had gained too great an authority, or who were, rightly

or wrongly, suspected of insubordination. With the complicity of Abū Muslim, Abū Salama (g.n.) and Sulaymān b. Kaṭṭāb (g.n.) were suppressed. Afterwards it was the turn of Abū Muslim; the first attempt against him, in connection with the rebellion of Ziyād b. Šālih in Transoxania (135/752-3) was unsuccessful; the second, immediately after the death of Abū l-'Abbās, was carried out successfully by his successor, al-Manṣūr (g.n.).

Abū l-'Abbās died in al-Anḥar, to which town he had transferred his residence, in Ḥijāz 136/June 754. It is difficult to pass a judgment on his personality, as we do not exactly know what was his personal share in the events of his short caliphate. What is certain is that during his reign the 'Abbasid movement not only passed from the revolutionary to the legal phase, but also consolidated itself, and the first signs appeared of that political and economic power which were confirmed by the caliphate of al-Manṣūr.

Bibliography: Dīnawarī, *al-Aḥbār al-Tuḥal* (Gurgans), Ya'qūbī, *Tabari*, Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, Indexes; Ḥ/Ḥ/Ḥ/Ḥ, Tables; Th. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Studien*, 118-21; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabishe Reich*, 338-42. For the surname al-Saffāh: H. F. Amélineau, *On the Meaning of the Laqab 'al-Saffāh'*, *JRAS*, 1907, 660-3. On Ibn Hufayr: S. Moscati, *Il "tradimento" di Waḥit*, *Musyon*, 1951, 277-86. On the massacre of the Umayyads: idem, *Le massacre des Umayyades*, *ARO*, 1950, 88-115. On Abū Muslim: idem, *Studi su Abū Muslim*, *J-I*, *Rev. Lit.*, 1949, 323-35, 474-95; 1950, 89-105, and 426-50 (S. Moscati).

ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH YAK'UB b. DĀ'UD, vizier. Belonging to a philo-'Alid family, he participated, together with his brother 'All, in the revolt of Ibrahim and Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh against the caliph al-Manṣūr in 145/762-3. Imprisoned for this, he was pardoned by the next caliph al-Mahdī in 159/775-6 and succeeded in gaining his favour, it is said, by revealing the plan of escape of another partisan of the 'Alids. Having become a confidant and counsellor of the caliph, he was appointed vizier in 163/779-80 in place of Abū 'Ubayd Allāh, and used his power in favour of his 'Alid friends. This policy was the main reason for the suspicion, following upon some court rumours, entertained against him by al-Mahdī. The story goes that the caliph put him on trial by handing over to his charge an 'Alid with the order to kill him secretly; but he let him escape. When this was discovered, he was deposed and thrown into prison, from which he was released only by Harūn al-Raḡhī. Completely blind by now, his only wish was to be sent to Mecca, where he died, probably in 186/802. His policy was perhaps the expression of an attempt at reconciling the 'Abbasids and the 'Alids; if so, he himself was at the same time the symbol and the victim of the precarious nature of such an attempt.

Bibliography: Tabari, Index; Djabshiyārī, *al-Waḥid wa l-Kutāb*, Cairo 1938, 114-122; Ibn Khallikān, no. 840; Ibn al-Ṭīṭakā, *al-Faḥrī* (Dürenburg), 250-5, 257; S. Moscati, in *Orientalia*, 1946, 164-7.

ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH AL-SHĪ' AL-FUḤAYR b. AHMAD b. MUW. b. ZAKARIYYĀ', sometimes also called al-MURṬASIB (he had allegedly been a *muḥtasib*, market overseer, in 'Irāq), the founder of Fātimid rule in North Africa. A native of San'a', he joined the Ismā'īlī movement in 'Irāq and was sent to Yaman, where he spent his apprenticeship with Manṣūr al-Yaman (Ibn Hawḥab), head of the



ismā'īl mission in that country. On the pilgrimage of 279/892 he met in Mecca some Kutāma pilgrims and accompanied them back to their native country, which they reached on 14 Rabi' I 280/3 June 893. He first established himself in Ṭāḡjan near Saṭīf. In face of the opposition directed against him by a confederacy of Kutāma clans, Abū 'Abd Allāh transferred his headquarters to Tāzrūt, where he steadily strengthened his position, captivated Mīla and was able to withstand the attacks of two expeditions sent against him by the Aglabid government (289/902 and 290/903). On the occasion of a temporary setback, his headquarters were moved back to Ṭāḡjan, which remained his base for subsequent operations. In 299/902 the *imām* al-Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh [g.a.] fled from Syria, attempted to join Abū 'Abd Allāh, but had to take refuge in Siḡilmāsa, where he was imprisoned. Abū 'Abd Allāh's brother Abū'l-'Abbās Muḥammad, who had accompanied the *imām*, fell into the hands of the Aglabids. Abū 'Abd Allāh then took Saṭīf, Tabna (293/900) and Bilizima (same year), was victorious in the battle of Dār Maḥallū, conquered Tījda, Bāghāya, defeated the Aglabid army near Dār Madyan, and seized Kartilya and Kafsa (295/900). When he took al-Uṣayn (Laribus), the key of Ifrīqiya (23 Dhu'l-Ḥiḍja II, 296/19 March 900), the Aglabid *amīr* Ziyād al-Allāh fled from Rakkāda. Abū 'Abd Allāh entered the Aglabid capital on 7 Rabi' al-awwal 296/19 March 900. Leaving his brother Abū'l-'Abbās as his lieutenant, Abū 'Abd Allāh led an expedition against Siḡilmāsa and liberated the *imām*, who triumphantly entered Rakkāda on 20 Rabi' II 297/6 Jan. 910, and conferred high honours on Abū 'Abd Allāh and Abū'l-'Abbās. The ruler and his powerful servants, however, soon fell foul to each other and both brothers were murdered on 1 Dhu'l-Ḥiḍja 298/13 July 910.

**Bibliography:** The main authority, and almost the unique source for the later historians, is al-Kāfi al-Nu'mān, *Itihāq al-Da'wa* (MSS preserved among the Bohra). Written in 346/957-58, this book mainly consists of a very detailed account of Abū 'Abd Allāh's activities. It is quoted in al-Makrīfī, *al-Muḥallaf*, transl. E. Fagnan, *Cronica Michela Amari*, I, 35 ff., an extensive précis in 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs, *U'yūn al-Aḥbār*, first half of vol. v. Ibn al-Rakkī, in his lost history of Ifrīqiya, followed the account of al-Nu'mān (see the quotation in al-Nuwairī, *beg. of section on the Fātimids*; cf. J. A. Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, I, p. cccclii). On Ibn al-Rakkī was based the relevant chapter in Ibn Shabādd's history of al-Kayrawān, known from the excerpts in Ibn al-Aḥlī, viii, 23 ff.; al-Nuwairī, al-Makrīfī, *al-Muḥallaf*, transl. Fagnan, 47-53, 67-78. In this way, al-Nu'mān's narrative entered into the main stream of Islamic general history. (Cf. also Ibn Hamādī (Vonderheiden), 77; Ibn Khallikān, *Hist. des Berb.*, II, 509 f.; Makrīfī, *Kāfi*, I, 349-50, II, 10 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 171.)—The account of 'Arīb (printed in the editions of Ibn 'Udhālī, *al-Bayān al-Muḥarrar*; Dozy, I, 129 ff.; Lévi-Provençal and Colin, I, 134 ff.) is independent of al-Nu'mān; Ibn 'Udhālī (ed. Dozy, I, 128 ff., ed. Lévi-Provençal and Colin, I, 134 ff.) copies Abū Marwān al-Warrāk, 6th/12th century (who ultimately depends upon al-Nu'mān), and 'Arīb.—Of modern accounts—all of them antiquated by the recovery of the *Itihāq*—that by F. Wüstenfeld, *Gench. d. Fātimiden-Chalifen*, Göttingen 1881, 8 ff., can be recommended. For the phases of Abū 'Abd Allāh's career where it touches that

of the *imām*, cf. W. Ivanow, *Rise of the Fātimids*, index, and al-MAHDI 'UBAYD ALLAH.

(S. M. STERN)

**ABU 'L-'ĀLĀ' AL-MA'ARRĪ** (see **ABU 'L-'ĀLĀ' AL-KALANDAR** [Shaykh] SHAARAF AL-DIN VĪSĀMĪ, one of the most venerated of Indian saints, is believed to have died in 724/1324). There is little authentic information about his life and none of the surviving contemporary works even mention him by name. The earliest reference to him is in 'Alī's *Ta'wīḥ-i Firāz-Shāhī* (written in 800/1396), wherein Sulṭān Ghūyāḡ al-Dīn Tughlugh's visit to him is recorded. According to the accounts of his life written in the 1172/1760, he was a native of Pānpāt, to which place his father, Sālār Fakhr al-Dīn, had come from 'Irāk. Trained as a theologian, he ultimately renounced scholasticism, threw away his books in the river, and became a *Kalandar*. In the ecstasy of divine love, he gave up observing the commandments of God and the Prophetic Traditions, though he subjected himself to great self-mortification. He is supposed to have been a spiritual descendant of Kuth al-Dīn Bakhshīr [g.a.]; however, it is doubtful if he belonged to any organized *sūfī* order. Numerous legends regarding his life, miracles and death have grown, and it is difficult even to say whether the tomb at Pānpāt or at Karmāl is his, though the former is more famous. The works attributed to him include letters on divine love addressed to Ishrāq al-Dīn (Sulaymān Coll., Aligarh Univ.); *Usham-nāma* (Soc. Bengal, Ivanow: 1196), which is definitely apocryphal; and two *maḥnawīs*: *Kalām-i Kalandar* (Meerut) and *Maḥnawī Dū 'Alī Shāh Kalandar* (Lucknow 1891).

**Bibliography:** *Aḥbār al-Aḥbār*; *Gulzar-i Aḥbār* (Al. Soc. Bengal, Ivanow 259, ff. 32-3); *Sulḥ-i Sādāt* (A. S. Coll., Aligarh Univ., II, 411a); *Siyar al-Aḥbār*; *Muḥallaf al-Aḥbār* (B. M. Or. 216, f. 386a); *Ma'arīḡ al-Wāḍiyya* (Nizām's MSS, Aligarh Univ., 230-5); *Sharaj al-Maḥallid* (Sulaymān Coll., Aligarh Univ.); *Punjab Dist. Gazetteer*, Karnal 1918, 76, 210-1, 223-4; *Proc. Al. Soc. Bengal*, 1870, 125; 1873, 97. (NURUL HASAN)

**ABU 'ĀLĪ AL-KĀLĪ** (see **ABU 'ĀLĪ MUHAMMAD B. ILYĀS** [see **ILYĀS**]).

**ABU 'L-'ĀLIYA RUFAY' B. MINRAN AL-RIYĀHĪ**, a liberated slave of the Banū Riyāḡ, belonging to the first generation of *tābi'īn* residing in Baṣra; d. 90/708-9 or 96/714. A commentary on the *Ku'fān* is attributed to him (Hādijī Khalīfā [Flügel], II, 352), but he is mainly known as a traditionalist and a transmitter of the *Ku'fān*. Having collected in al-Baṣra and in Medina ḥadīṡ transmitted particularly by 'Umar and Ubayy b. Ka'b, he was considered trustworthy (ḡibā) and contributed to the training of Kaṭāda, Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal and other traditionalists of renown. His name figures frequently in the 'chains' of transmission of *ḥadīṡ* admitted into the great collections. In the same way, data on which his name is admitted by al-Tabarī, *Ta'wīr*, *passim*, e.g. I, 228; cf. al-Bayḍawī, *Amṣar al-Tawālī* (Fleischer), I, 124<sup>a</sup>. He transmitted his system of 'reading' (*ḥirā'a*) to al-'Amaḡh and to the readers of Baṣra Abū 'Amr b. al-'Ālā' [g.a.] and Shufayy b. al-Ḥabbāb al-Anṣī (d. 130/747). He played no political role and took no part in the conflict between 'Alī and his partisans and the Umayyads.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Sa'd, vi, 82-3; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'arīf*, Cairo 1333/1934, 200; Tabarī, I, 108-25; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, Cairo 1351-6, II,

217-24; Ibn 'Aḥkīr, *Ta'wīḥ*, Damascus 1332, v, 323-4; Nawawī, *Taḥḥīṡ al-'Ama'ā* (Wüstenfeld), 718-9; 'Uṡmānī, *Tabaḥḥāt al-Fubakā'*, MS Paris 2093, 431v; Ibn al-Aḥlī, *Uṡd*, II, 186-7; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Kurra'*, no. 1272; A. Sprenger, *Leben des Mohammed*, II, cvii, cxvi. (R. BRACHÉRE)

**ABU 'AMR ZARRAN B. AL-'ĀLĀ'**, a celebrated 'reader' of the *Ku'fān*, regarded as the founder of the grammatical school of Baṣra, died c. 154/770. The scholar seems to have claimed a genealogy connecting him with the Arab tribe of Māzin of the confederation of Tamīm; see Ibn Khallikān and the other biographers, including Ibn al-Djazarī, who, however, in one isolated statement, links him with Ḥanīfa. His name, Zabbān, has never been fully confirmed, and is only given in preference to a score of others. He is believed to have been born c. 70/689 at the latest, either at Mecca, according to the generally accepted view, including that of Ibn al-Djazarī, I, 292 (citing a disciple of Abū 'Amr, the 'reader' Abū al-Warīṡ, d. 280/796), or at Kāzārīn, in southern Persia, according to an isolated piece of evidence in the works of Ibn al-Djazarī, I, 289. If the former is correct, he must have passed his childhood in Ḥijāz before going to 'Irāk; if it is the latter, the opposite would be the case. The only established fact is that Abū 'Amr accompanied his father when the latter, harassed by al-Ḥadīḡjī's police, fled from 'Irāk to seek refuge in southern Arabia; see Ibn al-Djazarī, I, 289 (there appear to be lacunae in the text), and Ibn Khallikān, I, 380 ad *fin*. (Ibn al-Anbārī, 32, merely says that Abū 'Amr had fled from Ḥadīḡjī, without giving any details). According to his own recollections, Abū 'Amr was then a little more than twenty (which gives some force to the statements which put his year of birth at 70/689); see Ibn Khallikān, I, 387. It seems permissible to assume, from the passage of Ibn al-Djazarī, I, 289<sup>a</sup>, that this journey gave him the opportunity of pursuing further his 'readings' of the *Ku'fān* at Mecca and Medina, studies which he would appear to have continued on his return to 'Irāk. It is difficult, however, to reconcile this assertion with the statement of Ibn Khallikān, I, 387, that Abū 'Amr and his father returned immediately to 'Irāk upon the death of al-Ḥadīḡjī, in 93/714. However that may be, when Abū 'Amr had settled in 'Irāk, it appears that he rarely left Baṣra again. If it is indeed he who is praised in a line of al-Farazdaq (d. 114/732-3) (see al-Suyūṡī, *Baḡhyā*, 367), he was already before that date a celebrity of some standing in his city of adoption: cf. the flattering comment on him attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and handed on by Ibn al-Djazarī, 291. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that reveals anything about his relations with the Umayyad authorities. On the other hand, when the 'Abbasids came to power, his celebrity seems to have won him recognition even in governmental circles, since he is said to have had dealings with the uncle of the caliph al-Saffāh, Sulaymān (Ibn Khallikān, I, 387), and with the uncle of the caliph al-Mahdī, Yazīd (see *Fihrist*, 50<sup>b</sup>), as well as with the governor of Syria, Abū al-Walīḡh. It was on his return from a visit to the last-named that he died and was buried at Kūfa, c. 154/770 (or 155/771 or 157/773); see Ibn al-Djazarī, 293 (Ibn Khallikān gives also 150/775).

Abū 'Amr seems to have left no written works, and when Ibn al-Nadīm, 41, states that he saw manuscripts of this master, at al-Ḥadīṡa, in the 4th/10th century, and when this same author adds,

88, that a *K. al-Nawādir* was handed down in the version left by him, he must have been referring to writings taken down from his oral teaching by his disciples.

Abū 'Amr belongs to the generation of scholars for whom the study of Arabic was dependent on that of the *Ku'fān*. It is thus an arbitrary distinction if one tries to separate in him the 'reader' of the *Ku'fān* from the grammarian and the 'transmitter' of poetry.

During his stay in Ḥijāz, Abū 'Amr initiated himself into the system of 'reading' in process of formation at Mecca and Medina, following the teaching of Abū 'L-'Āliya [g.a.] and Ibn Kaṭhīr in particular. In 'Irāk he studied the system of Ibn Abī Ishāq al-Ḥadramī and of others (at Baṣra), and that of 'Āsim (at Kūfa). A list of his masters is given by Ibn al-Djazarī, 289; cf. also al-Suyūṡī, *Muḥṣir*, II, 398, and *Fihrist*, 39. He built up a system of his own in which the Mecca and Medina influences predominate; a complete table of the origins of this system has been drawn up by C. Pellat, *Musée basrien*, 77 f. The 'reading' of Abū 'Amr, at Baṣra, displaced all others previously existing in the town, and especially that of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; see Pellat, *op. cit.*, 76; it is said to have been recommended by the 'reader' of Kūfa, Shu'ba (d. 193/808); see Ibn al-Djazarī, 292; it was taught by disciples who later became famous, such as Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, al-'Asma', and a large number of others; see the list *ibid.*, 289. In the 4th/10th century, when the reforms of Ibn al-Mudjahīd were introduced, this system took its place among the canonical 'Sever readings'. At the time of Ibn al-Djazarī (d. 813/1429) it was the accepted system in Yaman, in Ḥijāz, and in Syria, a province where it had finally ousted that of Ibn 'Amr in the 5th/11th century; see Ibn al-Djazarī, 292. This system of 'reading' was the subject of a treatise by Ibn al-Mudjahīd, see *Fihrist*, 31<sup>a</sup>. Nevertheless, writings of the same order had been composed before that period; see the list, *ibid.*, 28. Another summary is also known, entitled *al-Kaṣar al-Miṣrī fi ḥirā'a* Abū 'Amr b. al-'Ālā' al-Baṣrī, by 'Umar b. al-Kāsim al-Naḡhshār (d. 900/1495), which is preserved in Berlin; see *Alwadhī*, no. 639. We have, too, an opuscle based on the oral tradition, on the orthography of the *Ku'fān*; see O. Rescher, in *WZKM*, 1912, 94 (this opuscle is in a miscellaneous collection, in Aya Sofia, no. 4814). The influence of Abū 'Amr was of the first importance for the development of grammatical and lexicographical studies at Baṣra. It is less easy to follow, however, than the influence of his system of 'reading'. Among his disciples, the following names are worthy of note: Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, al-'Asma' (see al-Suyūṡī, *Muḥṣir*, II, 323, 329; *Fihrist*, 42; Ibn al-Anbārī, 30), Abū 'Ubayda (see Ibn Khallikān, 387), Khallaf al-Aḥmar (see al-Suyūṡī, II, 278, 401), and the future founder of the School of Kūfa, al-Ru'āṡ (see *id.*, II, 400). It is possible that already then, under his stimulus, the method of seeking information from the Beduins, in matters concerning grammar and lexicography, was developed at Baṣra. (See the anecdote recorded by *id.*, II, 278 and 304). By his disciples, and especially by Abū 'Ubayda and by such a scholar as al-Djāḡib, Abū 'Amr was regarded as 'the most learned man in things pertaining to the Arabs, and combining with the accuracy of his auricular transmission the veracity of his statements' (see al-Djāḡib, *Bayān*, I, 255, 256; cf. Abū 'L-'Yayyib, who expresses a similar view in *Muḥṣir*, II, 399). And yet this point raises a very delicate problem. This scholar seems, indeed, like a number



of his contemporaries, to have been an enthusiastic collector of archaic poetry and of accounts of the 'Days of the Arabs'; cf. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, Paris, 1952, I, 101 f. According to an account taken from Abū 'Ubayda by al-Dhahabī, *Bayān*, I, 256 (repeated in a somewhat changed form by Ibn al-Djazarī, 290, Ibn Khallikān, I, 386, and al-Kutubī, I, 104), 'the books which Abū 'Amr had written by taking the words down from such Arabs as were worthy to serve as informers filled a room in his dwelling. Later on, having devoted himself to 'reading' (of the Qur'ān), he burnt these books.' This piece of evidence, which we have no means of checking, does not say that Abū 'Amr destroyed the collections of poetry made by himself, as has been too often asserted. Actually, the main point to keep in mind is that after this destruction—if it took place—Abū 'Amr continued nevertheless to communicate orally the documentation which he had accumulated in his memory. There are many anecdotes which show his knowledge of ancient poetry; see for example, al-Dhahabī, *Bayān*, I, 256, II, 121; al-Sifrā, 30; Ibn al-Ashbāt, 31, 34. It is known that on one occasion he did not hesitate to forge a line; see al-Suyūfī, *Mushir*, II, 415. This fact, which he himself admitted, in no way detracted from his acknowledged authority as a 'transmitter' (*rawī*). His place among Arab lexicographers seems to have been very important, since he is said to have been, in this sphere, the master of al-Khaliḥī (291); see ibid., II, 398, and also the numerous references to Abū 'Amr's lexicographical authority, ibid., II, 73, 117, 291, 360. The authors of *adab* and the anthologists often quote too, his judgements on the poets; see for example, ibid., II, 479, 484, 486.

It is no exaggeration to say that the figure of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' dominates the intellectual activity of the centre of Basra at the period when the generation of scholars was growing up—men such as al-Khaliḥī, al-Aḡna'ī, Abū 'Ubayda—who were to become the masters of the philological and grammatical school of that town.

**Bibliography:** *Djāhiz, Bayān* (Sandūbī), Cairo 1351, I, 255-6 and *passim*; *Sifrā, Akhbār al-Nah-utayyīn* (Krenkow), and again in Ibn al-Ashbāt, *Nuḥāt al-Fihāq*, 29-38; *Fihrist*, I, 35, 39, 88, and *passim*, used by Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, 32 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, 478; and again in al-Yāqūt, *Miṣbāt al-Djāwān*, I, 325 f.; Kutubī, *Fawa'id*, I, 104; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghayat al-Nihāya* (Beigsträsser), Cairo 1935, I, 288-92 and *passim*; *Suyūfī, Dughayr al-Wa'd*, 367, and *Mushir* (Bodjéwī), Cairo 1942, I, 298 f. and *passim*; C. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien dans la formation de Ḡibhī*, Paris 1953, 76-8; Brockelmann, I, 99, S. I, 198 (R. Blachère).

**ABU 'L-'ARAB MUHAMMAD b. TAMM b. TAMMAM al-Tamīmī, Malikite** (*jabhī*), traditionist, historian and poet from Kaysarīyah. Offspring of a great Arab family (his great-grandfather was governor of Tinnis, seized Kaysarīyah in 28/799 and ended his life in prison in Baghdad), Abū 'l-'Arab, born in Kaysarīyah between 250/864 and 260/873, devoted himself to study under various masters, trained, in his turn, several pupils (notably Ibn Abī Zayd al-Kaysarīyah), took part in the revolt of Abū Yazīd against the Fatimids, was put in prison and died in 318/935. Of the works on *ḥikā*, *hadīth* and history attributed to him, only the *Tabaḥḥiṭ 'Ulamā'* *Iṭṭihāya*, a collection of anecdotal biographies of the scholars of Kaysarīyah and Tinnis, seems to have been preserved (ed. and transl. by

M. Ben Cheneb, *Clases des savants de l'Iṭṭihāya*, Algiers 1915-20).

**Bibliography:** *Djāhiz, Taḥḥiṭ*, III, 105; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dihādī*, 233; Ibn Nāḍī, *Ma'ālim*, III, 42; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* (BAH), IX, 297, 301; H. H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *al-Muḥaddith al-Madrasī*, Cairo 1924, 37-8 (C. Pellat).

**ABU 'ARISH**, a town in 'Asir, about 20 miles from Dīlān. Philby describes it as kite-shaped, nearly a mile across, consisting mainly of brushwood huts ('*arā'ish*) and adjoining extensive ruins. The population (about 12,000) grows millet and sesame. The merchants are mostly of Hadramūt origin.

First settled by a *shaykh* (7th/13th century), it prospered under the *Zaydī* Imams who captured it in 1036/1627. In the next century the local *asirī* became independent. They temporarily submitted to the Wahhābīs (1217/1802-3) and later to the Egyptians. When the latter abandoned Hudayda (1256/1840) Sharif Husayn occupied the Tiḥama, was made Paṣhā and threatened 'Adan. Britain protested and the Turks drove him back to 'Asir. The power of the *asirī* weakened by civil war and the attacks of Muhammad b. 'Aḥd, disappeared when the Turks recaptured 'Asir; Philby could find no trace of them. Abū 'Arīḥ has since belonged in turn to the Turks, the Idrisī and Ibn Sa'ūd.

**Bibliography:** Descriptions: C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung von Arabien*, 267; Tamsier, *Voyage en Arabie*, I, 383-91; H. St. J. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, 181-101-2; Tamsier, *op. cit.*, I, 365-74; Philby, *op. cit.*; A. S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sana'a*; H. F. Jacob, *Cities of Arabia*, 51-4; Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāṭī*, Cairo 1348, I, 240, II, 6-8; 'Uṭmān b. Bighr al-Nadījī al-Hanbalī, *'Uṭmān al-Madīd*, Mecca 1349, I, 144-5, 211. (C. F. Beckingham). **ABU 'ARṬĪBA**, al-Husayn b. Abī Mūsā al-Muḥammad b. Ma'wūn al-Sulamī al-Harrānī, *ḥadīth* scholar of Harrān (b. ca. 222/837, d. 318/930-1).

Practically nothing is known about his life, except the names of his authorities and his students, some of them very famous personalities. He is said to have been judge or *mufī* of Harrān. One source (Ibn 'Asākir *apud* al-Dhahabī) states that he was a partisan of the Umayyads.

According to the *Fihrist*, 230, Abū 'Arṭiba wrote only one work, a collection of traditions which were transmitted by his authorities. This work seems to be identical with the *Tabaḥḥiṭ* which are mentioned as a work of Abū 'Arṭiba by al-Dhahabī. An excerpt from the *Tabaḥḥiṭ*, which deals with the men around Muhammad and their traditions, is preserved in Damascus (cf. Yūsuf al-'Iṣṣah, *Fahrasa Maḥḥabīdī* *Dār al-Kutub al-Zihiriyya*, Damascus 1947, 160). Abū 'Arṭiba is also quoted as the author of a history of Harrān (or collection of biographies of scholars of the *Djazīra*) and a *Kutub al-Aswād*.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, II, 663; *Fihrist*, 322; *San'ānī, Aswād*, fol. 161a and *passim*; Yāqūt, II, 232, and *passim*; Ibn al-'Asān, *Dughayr* (ms. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2925, iv, fol. 178b-179a); Dhahabī, *Muḥaddṭ* (ms. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2910, ix, 545-7); *idem*, *Ta'rib al-Islām*, anno 318; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharīd*, II, 279; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 300, 389, 393.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

**ABU 'L-ASWAD al-DU'ĀLI** (or, according to West-Arabian pronunciation al-Dīl, some relatives from al-Du'āl b. Bakr, a clan of the Banū Kināna),

a partisan of 'Alī. His name (Zālim b. 'Amr) and genealogy are uncertain; his mother belonged to the clan 'Abd al-Dār b. Kusayy of Kuraysh. He was probably born some years before the Hīḡra. In the caliphate of 'Umar he went to Basra. He lived first among his own tribe, then among the Banū Hudhayl, and for some time also among the Banū Kughayr, the kinsmen of his favourite wife; but his Shi'ite propensities as well as his obstinacy and avarice made him disagreeable to his neighbours. It is doubtful whether he held any office under 'Umar and 'Uthmān. In 'Alī's caliphate he rose to prominence. He is said to have taken part in the unsuccessful negotiations with 'Aḡha and in the ensuing 'Battle of the Camel', and also fought at Siffin for 'Alī. He was employed at Basra either as *ḥāḍ* or as secretary to the governor 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, and he even said to have held a military command in the wars against the Khawāriḡ. When 'Alī's star was setting, and according to al-Madīnī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās planned to leave Basra, taking with him the treasury, Abu 'l-Aswad tried to stop him and reported the matter to 'Alī, who appointed him governor. This post he held, if at all, only for a short time. When 'Alī was murdered, he made a poem (no. 59 in Rescher's numbering) the Umayyads responsible for it. But his sentiments were of no consequence, as there was no large Shi'a element in Basra (*Aḡhānī*, XI, 121). He did not realize that he had lost all influence. He had reason to complain about Mu'āwīya's representative 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amīr, with whom he had formerly been on good terms (Poems nos. 23, 46), and also tried in vain to gain the favour of the viceroys Ziyād b. Abīh. Relations between them had been strained already in the caliphate of 'Alī, when Ziyād was in charge of the revenue-offices (*Aḡhānī*, XI, 119). He lamented the death of al-Husayn in 61/680 (no. 61) and cried for vengeance (no. 62). The last event mentioned in his poems is his complaint to the 'Prince of the Faithful' Ibn al-Zubayr about his representative at Basra in c. 67/686 (Ibn Sa'd, v, 19). He died, according to al-Madīnī, at Basra during the great plague in 69/688.

A collection of his poems, made by al-Sukkārī, is extant, but has been published only in part. They are poor in language and style and artistically and historically insignificant; most of them deal with petty incidents of everyday life; some of the poems are apparently forged. This applies also to the widely circulated allegation—invented most probably by some philologist of the Basra school—that it was Abū 'l-Aswad who laid down for the first time the rules of Arabic grammar and invented the vocalization of the Qur'ān.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, I, 37, S. I, 722; O. Rescher, *Arabis*, I, 111-13; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1864, 232-40; O. Rescher, in *WZKM*, 1913, 375-97; Ibn Sa'd, vii, I, 70; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 457; *Ma'ārif*, 222; *Aḡhānī*, XI, 105-124; al-Sifrā, *Akhbār*, 13-22; J. W. Fück, *Arabiya*, 6. (J. W. Fück)

**ABU 'ATĀ' al-SINDI, AḡLAM** (or MARZŪQ) b. YASĀR, Arab. poet. He owned his name of al-Sindi to the fact that his father came from Sind; he himself was born in Kūfa and lived there as a client of the Banū Asad. He fought for the declining Umayyad dynasty with pen and sword, praising them and casting stones on their adversaries. It is true, however, that when the 'Abbasids obtained power, he tried to insinuate himself into the favour of the new rulers by singing their praises. But the

iron character of al-Saffāh was but little sensible to such flattery, and under the reign of his successor, al-Ma'mūn, the poet was even obliged to keep himself hidden. Only after al-Ma'mūn's death in 158/774 did he again make his appearance. He died, no doubt, shortly afterwards, but the exact date is not known. Abū 'Atā' was considered a good poet—his elegy on Ibn Hubayra [q.v.] being especially famous—although he pronounced Arabic badly and even stammered, so that he was obliged to have his poetry recited by others.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 482-4; Abū Tamīm, *Hamāsa*, I, 372 ff.; *Aḡhānī*, xvi, 81-7; Marzubānī, *Mu'djam*, 380; al-Bakrī, *Simt al-La'āl* (Maimani), 802; al-Kutubī, *Fawa'id*, Cairo 1283, I, 937; collection of fragments by Baloch Nābī Baksh Khan, *FC*, 1910, 137 f.

(A. SCHAADT)

**ABU 'L-'ATĀHIYA**, poetic nickname ('father of craziness') of Abū ISHĀK ISMĀ'ĪL b. al-Kāsim b. SUWAYD b. KAYSAN, Arab. poet, born in Kūfa (or 'Ayn al-Tamr) 350/748 and died 270/883 or 211/826. His family had been *muḥallif* of the 'Anaza tribe for two or three generations, and were engaged in menial occupations; his father was a copper, and the poet himself as a youth sold earthenware in the streets. His outlook on life was embittered by a sense of social inferiority; in his later verse he gave vent to his hatred of the governing class and the wealthy; and he was notorious for covetousness and meanness to the end of his life. But like Baḥshār b. Bard, he had a natural gift for poetry, and hoped to find in this the door to a larger life. On account of his poverty he had not the time to attend lectures on philology and the poetry of the ancients, and to this we must attribute the freshness and unconventionality of his style. As a young man he associated with the profligate circle of poets grouped around Wāliba b. al-Hubbāb, and gained a reputation with his *ghazals* and wine-songs; later critics have condemned these productions as poor and effeminate (Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 497), and only fragments of them have survived. Like most of the spontaneous poets, he showed a preference for simple language and short metres, and first rose to fame by a panegyric on al-Mahdī which, in spite of these unconventional characteristics, gained the caliph's favour. He made himself notorious in Baghdad by his *ghazals* in praise of 'Uṭba, a slave-girl of al-Mahdī's cousin Rayta, who hoped to gain the caliph's notice but had no intention of throwing herself away on a penniless nobody. He held the caliph responsible for his failure to win 'Uṭba, and some indiscrete verses gained him a flogging and banishment to Kūfa. When al-Mahdī died, he took his revenge in some verses which could be read ambiguously.

Back in Baghdad his fulsome praise of al-Hadi annoyed the latter's successor Harūn al-Raḡhīd, who sent him to prison along with his friend Ṭhrāḥīm al-Mawillī. Restored to favour, he charmed Harūn with his love-lyrics, but suddenly renounced the *ghazal* and devoted himself to asseptic poetry (c. 178). Harūn at first took umbrage at his conversion and suppressed him, but was reconciled later at the instance of al-Fadl b. Raḥī, and in part also no doubt because of his popularity with the masses. It may be suspected that al-Fadl's patronage was connected with his intrigue, in association with the queen Zubayda, against the Barmakids, and that Abū 'L-'Atāhiya's new 'asetic' productions conveniently served their purposes. However that may be, Abū 'L-'Atāhiya maintained henceforward a vast



output of sermons in verse, long and short, painting the horrors of al-Jevelling Death, and directed especially against the rich and the powerful, not excluding the caliph himself. So profitable was it that when Abū Nuwās also began to produce *zuhdiyyāt* Abū 'L-'Atīhiya warned him not to trespass on the field to which he had established a prescriptive right (*Akhbār Abi Nuwās*, Cairo 1924, 70). Some later critics questioned, not without cause, the sincerity of his conversion, notably the real ascetic Abū 'L-'Alī al-Ma'arrī, who referred to him as "that astute fellow" (Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Mawāliḥ al-Abḥār*, xv, MS Brit. Mus. 575, fol. 136).

A more frequent accusation brought against Abū 'L-'Atīhiya is that of heresy, which was a favourite weapon at the time; and it was suggested by Goldziher that one reason for his imprisonments may be sought in the occasionally unorthodox tone of some of his poems. Having no theological education he seems to have been influenced by the modified legacy of Manichaean beliefs still current in 'Irāk, which accounted for the disorders of this world by the existence of two primary substances, good and evil, though Abū 'L-'Atīhiya held that both were the creation of Allāh. In certain of his verses also, such as "If you would see the noblest of mankind look for a king in the guise of a pauper", there may be suggestions of a concealed attachment to Mūsā al-Kāsim and the cause of the Shī'ite imams, still strong in Kūfa.

His astonishing success as a poet was due to the simplicity, spontaneity, and artlessness of his language, which contrasted with the laboured artificiality of some of his contemporaries, and expressed the feelings of the people in verse that they could understand. He was fortunate also, by his friendship with Ḥurūth al-Mawālī, to have many of his poems set to music by the foremost musician of the day. He and his younger contemporary Abū al-Ḥanīd [s.c.] were the first to use *mudawwiḡ* (couplet) rhyming verse, and he was the first, according to al-Ma'arrī (*al-Fuṣūṭ wa'l-Ghayāt*, i, 131), to invent the metre *muddirī*. He also used a metre consisting of eight long syllables. Owing to his enormous output his entire diwan was never collected. The *zuhdiyyāt* were put together by the Spanish scholar Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1071).

**Bibliography:** Ibn Khallikān, no. 91; *al-Aghāni*, ii, 126-83 (s. iv, 1-112); see also Guidi's *Tables* for other references; *Ta'riḥ al-Baḥr*, vi, 250-60; Goldziher, *Trans. IX Congress of Orientalists*, 113 ff.; G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1937, 215 ff., 225 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 76; S. I, 119. Partial editions of the diwan were published in Beirut 1887, 1909; see also *Madīna*, ed. F. E. Bustani, Beirut 1927; *Zuhdiyyāt*, trans. O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1928.

**ABU 'L-'A'WAR** 'AMR b. SUFYĀN al-SULAMĪ general in the service of Mu'āwīya. He belonged to the powerful tribe of Sulaym (hence "al-Sulamī"); his mother was a Christian and his father had fought *Akhbār Abi 'L-'A'war*, many of which are to be found in the *al-Aghāni*. The book itself as well as the collection of his poems have not been preserved. He became blind at the age of 40, later on he emigrated to Baghdad, but returned to Basra again and died there in the year 282 or 283/896.

by sea. In addition, he showed also diplomatic and administrative abilities. At Siffin, he took part in the negotiations with 'Alī and prepared the preliminary draft for the conference of Ḥudaybiya. He was also commissioned to count the *falāḥ* of Palestine for a new distribution of taxes. Mu'āwīya had in mind to appoint him in Egypt to the post of 'Amr b. al-'Asl, who had been guilty of showing a too independent attitude; but this plan came to nothing, and he was appointed to the governorship of the province of al-Urdunn. On the ground of his services the Arabic annalists counted him among the main lieutenants of Mu'āwīya, those who constituted his *shif'a* or *hilāfa*. He died in the year 282 or 283, the political scene before the end of Mu'āwīya's reign.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Sa'd, *ii*, 102, 106; Ibn Rusta, 213; Tabarī, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 351; Michael the Syrian (Chabot), ii, 442, 445, 450; Bayhaqi, *Makāsib*, 149; Ibn al-Aghir, *Uṣd*, v, 138; Ibn Ḥajjar, *Iṣḥāḥ*, iv, 14; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne de Mu'āwīya*, 42 ff. (H. LAMMENS).

**ABÜ 'AWN** 'Awn al-Ma'arrī b. Yazīd al-Kutaybī, general in the service of the 'Abbasids. After the outbreak of the rebellion in Khurāsān, 25 Ramadan 129/June 747, Abū 'Awn several times took part in the war against the Umayyads. At first he accompanied the 'Abbasid general Kahtaba b. Shabīb; then he was sent by the latter to Shahrazūr, where on 20 Dhū'l-Hijja 131/10 August 749, in conjunction with Malik b. Ta'if, he defeated 'Uyayna b. Sulaym. While Abū 'Awn remained in the vicinity of Mosul, the Umayyad caliph Marwān II marched against him. Under the supreme command of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī, Abū 'Awn took part in the battle by the Greater Zab (11 Djumādā II 132/25 January 750), in the pursuit of Marwān, and in the capture of Damascus. When 'Abd Allāh remained behind in Palestine, he sent Sāliḥ b. 'Alī together with Abū 'Awn and a few others to continue the pursuit to Egypt, and it was there that the caliph, after a fresh defeat, was tracked down and killed in the same year. Abū 'Awn remained in Egypt till further orders as governor. In 139/775-6 he was appointed governor of Khurāsān by al-Mahdī, but deposed in the following year.

**Bibliography:** Ya'qūbi, Tabarī, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, index; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 345-51; L. Cantani, *Chronographia Islamica*, Roma 1912, under the relevant years. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN \*).

**ABU 'L-'AYNĀ** MUHAMMAD b. AL-KĀSIM b. KHALIL b. YASIR b. SULAIMAN al-HASHIMĪ, an Arabian litterateur and poet. He was born about the year 700/80 in al-Aḥwāl (his family came from al-Yamāma) and grew up in Basra, where he received instruction from the most famous philologists, Abū 'Uthāla, al-Aḡmā, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and others. He was renowned amongst his contemporaries not only for his linguistic attainments, but also for his quickness at repartee. Ibn Abī Tāhir collected anecdotes concerning him in a special work entitled *Akhbār Abi 'L-'A'war*, many of which are to be found in the *al-Aghāni*. The book itself as well as the collection of his poems have not been preserved. He became blind at the age of 40, later on he emigrated to Baghdad, but returned to Basra again and died there in the year 282 or 283/896.

**Bibliography:** *Fihrist*, 125; Ibn Khallikān, no. 645.

**ABÜ AYYÜB** KHALID b. ZAYD b. KULAYT al-ANṢARĪ al-ANŞARĪ, generally known by his kunya, companion of the Prophet. It was in the

house of Abū Ayyūb that the Prophet stayed on his emigration to Medina, before his own mosque and house were built. He took part in all the Prophet's expeditions, was present at all the battles of early Islam and served under the command of 'Amr b. al-'Asl during the conquest of Egypt. Later on he was appointed by 'Alī to the governorship of Medina, but was obliged to rejoin 'Alī in 'Irāk when Buḥayr b. Abī Arīṭa expelled the town with an army of 300 men put at his disposal by 'Amr b. al-'Asl. In 'Irāk Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣarī took part in the battles fought there by 'Alī. During the reign of Mu'āwīya, he took part in the invasion of Cyprus and the expedition against Constantinople led by Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya. During the siege of the Byzantine capital Abū Ayyūb died of dysentery, in the year 52/672 (the years 50, 51 and 52 are also given as the date of his death). At his own request, he was buried under the walls of Constantinople.

150 *hadiths* are attributed to Abū Ayyūb, but only a small number of them (thirteen altogether) have been admitted as authentic by al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

**Bibliography:** *Iḥṣāḥ al-Taḥṣīl al-Asmā' al-Sakāba*, Ḥaydarābād 1315, i, 161, ii, 161; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 3, 154; Ibn Sa'd, *ii*, 49-50; Tabarī, ii, 234; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Mīr* (Tortore), index; *Diwān al-Ḥakam*, Cairo 1283, ii, 294; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Ta'riḥ*, Ḥaydarābād 1318, i, 156, ii, 618; Ibn Ḥajjar, *Taḥṣīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7, ii, 90; idem, *Iṣḥāḥ*, Cairo 1325, ii, 89; *Khazraḡi*, *Khulāṣa*, Cairo 1322, 86; Ibn al-Kayyārī, *Ḍiyāḥ*, Ḥaydarābād 1323, 118; Ibn al-Aghir, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, ii, 88, v, 143; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḍūm*, Leiden 1855, i, 22, 34, 151, 158-60; Nawawī, *Taḥṣīb al-Asmā'* Göttingen 1842-7, 612; Sayyidī, *Ḥisn al-Mubādara*, Cairo 1322, i, 124; Abū 'L-'Arāb, *Taḥṣīb al-Asmā'* *Iḥṣāḥ*, ed. and transl. Ben Cheneh, Algiers 1920, 21/66 and note 2; M. Canard, in *J.A.*, 192, 67 ff.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENCAL).

The tomb of Abū Ayyūb is mentioned for the first time by Ibn Kutayba, *al-Ma'arrī*, 140 (ed. Cairo 1934, 119); according to al-Tabarī, ii, 234, Ibn al-Aghir, iii, 381, Ibn al-Djauzi and al-Kawtharī, 408, the Byzantines respected it and made pilgrimage to it in times of drought to pray them for rain (*istisqā'*). The probably legendary—discovery of the tomb by Ak Shams al-Dīn [s.c.] during the siege of the city by Muḥammad II can be compared to the finding of the Holy Lance by the Crusaders during the siege of Antioch. The Turkish legend is fully reproduced in Leunclavius, *Historiae musulmanae*, Frankfurt 1591, 38 ff. and in the careful monograph by Hādijīl 'Abd Allāh, *al-Jāmi' al-Madīniyya li'l-Mamdhūb al-Khalidīyya*. See also A. M. Schneider, in *Oriens*, 1951, 113 ff.; P. Witte, *Aywanariy*, in *Annales de l'Inst. de phil. et d'hist. orientales et slaves*, Bruxelles 1951, 505 ff. (esp. 513 ff.).

(J. H. MORITZMAN \*).

A mosque was built on the spot by Muḥammad II in 863/1458; it was enlarged by Etmekdiz-zāde Ahmad Paṣha in 1000/1591; two new minarets, each with two galleries, were added in 1116/1723. It was in this mosque that the sultan Mahmūd II deposited the relics of the Prophet discovered in the treasury of the Sarāy (the imprint of the foot). The grand-vizier Sinān Paṣha (d. 1133/1729), Mah Pīrīz Khādija (mother of the sultan 'Uthmān III), the grand-vizier Semiz 'Alī Paṣha, Gurdjī Muḥammad Paṣha, Lala Mustafa Paṣha (the conqueror of

Cyprus) and a number of other important persons are buried in the *ṣayra* or in the immediate vicinity of its court-yard. The mosque is situated outside the Byzantine walls, and an important suburb (Eyyūb [see ISTANBUL]) grew up round it. The mosque was the object of special veneration and it was forbidden for non-Muslims to enter it. According to a rather late custom (cf. *Id.*, 1931, 184 ff. and *MAWLAWIYYA*) it was in this mosque that the sultan, on his accession, was girded with the sword of his ancestors by the *Celebi Efendi*, the head of the Mawlawī order who came especially from Konya to carry out the ceremony.

**Bibliography:** Hādijīl Husayn b. Hādijīl Ismā'īl, *Hadīṭat al-Ḍiyāḥ*, Istanbul 1281, i, 243, cf. Hammer-Purgstall, xviii, 57; Cl. Huart, *Konia*, 206; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii, 604 ff. (CL. HUART \*).

**ABÜ BAKR**, the first caliph.

i. Name, family, and early life.—Abū Bakr was probably born shortly after 570 as he is said to have been three years younger than Muḥammad. His father was Abū Kūḥāla ('Uthmān) b. 'Amr of the clan of Taym of the tribe of Quraysh, and he is therefore sometimes known as Ibn Abī Kūḥāla. His mother was Umm al-Khayr (Salmā) bint Saḥr of the same clan. The names 'Abd Allāh and 'Atik (the latter) are attributed to him as well as Abū Bakr, but the relation of these names to one another and their original significance is not clear. Muḥammad seems to have made a play on the name 'Atik and to have said that he was 'freed from Hell'. He was later known as al-Siddiq, the truthful, the upright, or the one who counts true; the last meaning is supported by the tradition that he alone immediately believed Muḥammad's story of his night-journey (*isrā'*, 60.).

In the course of his life he had four wives. (1) Kutayla bint 'Abd al-'Uzza of the Meccan clan of 'Amr, who bore him 'Abd Allāh and Asmā' (who married al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām); (2) Umm Rūmān bint 'Amr of the tribe of Kināna, who bore him 'Abd al-Rahmān (originally 'Abd al-Ka'ba or 'Abd al-'Uzza) and 'Aḥṣā; (3) Asmā' bint 'Umayy of the tribe of Khaylān, who bore him Muḥammad; (4) Hālidā bint Khārida, of the Medinan clan of al-Hārith b. al-Khazraḡi, who bore him Umm Kulthūm posthumously. The last two marriages were made late in his life and were doubtless political; Asmā' bint 'Umayy was the widow of Ḍiyāḥ b. Abī Tālib who was killed in 6/629. The first two marriages were probably concurrent, since 'Abd al-Rahmān was the eldest son, but only Umm Rūmān accompanied Abū Bakr to Medina.

Little is known about Abū Bakr's life before his conversion. He was a merchant (*ṭiḡīr*) worth 40,000 dirhams, indicating (according to H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la Veille de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1924, 226-8) that his business was comparatively unimportant. He is not mentioned as having travelled to Syria or elsewhere, but he was an expert in the genealogies of the Arab tribes.

ii. From his conversion to the death of Muḥammad.—Abū Bakr was possibly a friend of Muḥammad before the latter's call to be a prophet and his own conversion. According to some traditions he was the first male Muslim after Muḥammad (Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 121; al-Tabarī, i, 1165-7); but this may simply be a reflection of his later preeminence, since the same claim is made for 'Alī and Zayd b. Ḥāritha.



Similarly the statement that Abū Bakr was responsible for the conversion of 'Ughmān b. 'Affān, al-Zuhayr, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Abī Wakkās and Talhah b. 'Ubayd Allāh is suspicious because these five and 'Alī continued the *ghirā* or council to elect a successor to 'Umar. What is certain is that for some time before the Hijra, Abū Bakr was the foremost member of the Muslim community after Muhammad.

He remained in Mecca when many Muslims emigrated to Abyssinia. This is an obscure affair. It has been suggested that the emigrants objected to the policy of the group among the Muslims led by Abū Bakr. The traditional view, however, was that the emigrants went to avoid persecution; and it may be that Abū Bakr's clan of Taym, like others belonging to the group known as *Hilf al-Fudhīl*, did not persecute its members. It seems, however, that it also lacked the will or the power to defend them, for it allowed Abū Bakr and his fellow clansman Talha to be bound together by a man of the Meccan clan of Asad; and at a later date Abū Bakr left Mecca and only returned on receiving the protection (*ḥimā*) of Ibn al-Dughunna, the chief of a nomadic group in alliance with Quraysh. The slaves bought and set free by Abū Bakr, notably 'Amr b. Fuḥayra and Hilāl, suffered bodily violence. The purchase of slaves who professed Islam, though showing Abū Bakr's devotion to the cause, does not completely account for the reduction of his wealth to 5,000 dirhams at the Hijra, and economic pressure by the leading merchants of Mecca is to be suspected.

Muhammad chose him to accompany himself on his migration to Medina, an event to which reference is made in Kur'ān ix, 40. His family, that is, presumably Umayyān, 'Aḥqab, Asma' and perhaps 'Abd Allāh, followed soon afterwards. Abū Kahlāḥ, however, remained in Mecca, and Abū Bakr's son 'Abd al-Rahmān actually fought against the Muslims at Badr and Uhud, but was converted to Islam before the conquest of Mecca. In Medina Abū Bakr found a house in the district of al-Sunab. His special position in the community was marked by Muhammad's marriage to his daughter 'Aḥṣā. He was a participant in all the expeditions led by Muhammad in person, and was constantly at his side, ready to help with advice and information. In critical moments he was steady as a rock and did not lose heart. There seems to have been a remarkable degree of harmony between leader and follower. When others (including 'Umar who was inseparable from Abū Bakr) questioned Muhammad's decisions to make peace at al-Hudaybiyya and to abandon the siege of al-Tā'if, Abū Bakr gave immediate and wholehearted support. He was the first to know the true objective of the expedition which conquered Mecca in 630. In other words, he was Muhammad's chief adviser. He did not have any separate military command, except of a small party detached from a larger expedition in 632 and of a minor expedition against the tribe of Hawẓin in 7/628. In 8/629 he served with 'Umar under the command of Abū 'Ubaydah, probably in order to smooth over political difficulties. By his being appointed to conduct the pilgrimage of A. H. 9 and to lead public prayers in Medina during Muhammad's last illness, and by other signs of respect, he was marked as successor.

iii. His caliphate, 11/632-12/634.—The day of Muhammad's death (12/3 Rabi' I, 12/8 June, 632) was a critical one for the young Islamic state. The Ansār set about appointing a leader from their own

number, but were persuaded by 'Umar and others to accept Abū Bakr. He took the title of *Khālifat Rasūl Allāh*, 'deputy or successor of the messenger of God', and after a short time moved to a house in the centre of Medina.

His caliphate of a little over two years was largely occupied in dealing with the *ridā* or 'apostasy'. This phenomenon, as the name given by Arabic historians indicates, was regarded by them as primarily a religious movement; but recent European scholars, especially J. Wellhausen (*Shi'ra and Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin, 1899, 7-37) and L. Caetani (*Annali*, ii, 349-83) have argued that it was essentially political. More probably it was both. Medina had become the centre of a social and political system, of which religion was an integral part; consequently it was inevitable that any reaction against this system should have a religious aspect. There were six main centres of this reaction. In four of these, the leader had a religious character and is often called a 'false prophet': al-Aswad al-'Ansī in the Yemen, Musayyima among the tribe of Huzayl in the Yamama, Tulayha in the tribes of Asad and Ghatafan, and the prophetess Saḍḍāb in the tribe of Tamim. The form of the *ridā* in each centre varied according to local circumstances; it involved the refusal to send taxes to Medina and to obey the agents sent out by Medina. In the Yemen the *ridā* began before Muhammad's death, and when Abū Bakr came to power al-Aswad had been replaced by Kaḥṣ, b. (Hubayra) b. 'Abd Yagūth al-Makḥūm. In other places there had presumably existed for some time a movement against the rule of Medina, but it became open revolt only after Muhammad's death. During the absence of the main Muslim army in Syria under Usāma b. Zayd, some neighbouring tribes tried to surprise Medina, but were eventually defeated at Dhu 'l-Kaḥṣa. After the return of the Syrian expedition, a large army commanded by Khālid b. al-Walid was sent against the rebels. First Tulayha was defeated in a battle at Burzūlā, and the area restored to its allegiance to Islam. Soon afterwards, Tamim abandoned Saḍḍāb and submitted to Abū Bakr. The most important battle of the *ridā* was the battle of the Yamama at 'Akraḥ' (about Rabi' I, 12/May 633), known as 'the garden of death' on account of the great slaughter on both sides. Here Musayyima, the most serious opponent of the Muslims, was defeated and killed, and central Arabia brought under their control. Subordinate commanders were entrusted with subsidiary operations in al-Habrayn and 'Umdn (with Muzra), while Khālid pacified the Yamama before moving towards 'Irāq. The *ridā* in the Yemen and Hadramawt was defeated by another commander, al-Muhajir b. Abū Umayya. In dealing with captured leaders Abū Bakr showed great clemency, and many became active supporters of the cause of Islam. The traditional view was that the *ridā* had been quelled before the end of 11 A.H. (March 633); but Caetani has shown that the events require a much longer time, and that it may have continued into 13/634.

The size of Muhammad's expeditions along the road to Syria shows that he had realized the urgency of expansion if peace was to be maintained among the Arab tribes. Abū Bakr was aware of this strategic principle. In the first days of his caliphate, despite the threats of rebellion in Arabia, he persisted with Muhammad's plan of sending a large army under Usāma towards Syria. Again, once the danger from Musayyima in central Arabia was removed, no time

was lost in despatching Khālid towards 'Irāq. Thus was set on foot under Abū Bakr's direction the great 'conquest of the lands'. The traditional account of the conquests and their chronology has been radically revised by European scholars' critique of the sources (Wellhausen, op. cit. 37-113; De Goeje, *Mezra'at al-Qaṣṣa de la Syrie*, Leiden, 1909; N. A. Miednikoff, *Paléontologie, St. Pétersbourg, 1897-1907* [in Russian]; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, iii). By the time of Abū Bakr's death the position would seem to be as follows. Khālid, joining a force of B. Bakr b. Wāḥid under al-Muthanna b. Haritha, had advanced plundering into 'Irāq and threatened al-Hira, which paid 60,000 dirhams to be left alone. While al-Muthanna remained on this sector, Khālid carried out a celebrated march to Damascus and lined up with three Muslim columns which, under Yazid b. Abī Sufyān, Shuraybīl b. Hasana and 'Amr b. al-'As, had been operating with success in Palestine, but were now retiring before a superior Byzantine army. The united Muslim forces defeated the enemy at al-Ajdidiyān (probably a corruption of al-Djan-nabastayn) between Jerusalem and Gaza at the end of Dhuḥāḍa I (July 634). Thus the expansion into the Persian empire was initiated by Abū Bakr, but he still laid most emphasis on Syria. At what stage the decision was made, not merely to raid these lands, but to conquer them, is not clear.

Abū Bakr died on 22 Dhuḥāḍa II, 13/23 August 634, and was buried beside Muhammad. The great simplicity of his life, with its rejection of all wealth, pomp and pretension, became in later times a legend, though there is doubtless a kernel of truth. The assertion that he began the 'collection of the Kur'ān' is now usually held to be mistaken in view of the general ascription of this to 'Umar.

**Bibliography:** In addition to works cited in the article: Ibn Hishām, *passim*; Wāḥidī (tr. J. Wellhausen, Bpzt., 1882), *passim*; Ibn Sa'd, *ii*, 119-122, 202; Tabarī, i, 1816-2144 (his caliphate); Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 96, 98, 102, 420; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, iv, 273-90; Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāha*, ii, 828-35, 839; Ibn al-Aḥṣir, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, iii, 205-24; N. Abbott, *Aishah the beloved of Muhammad*, Chicago, 1942, see index; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford, 1953, see index; C. Becker, *The Expansion of the Saracens, Cambridge Medieval History*, (1913), ii, 329-11 (= *Islamistudien*, Leipzig 1924, i, 66-82).

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ABÜ BAKR b. 'ABD ALLĀH (see **IBN ABİ 'L-DUNYĀ**).

estates given him by 'Umar and transmitting *ḥadīṭ*, in which he is regarded as trustworthy by the authorities.

His biographers give him as his mother Sumayya, so that he is considered as the brother, on the mother's side, of Ziyād b. Abihl, with whom, however, he quarrelled when Ziyād joined the party of Mu'āwiyā. Abū Bakra left numerous descendants, among them seven sons: 'Abd Allāh, 'Ubayd Allāh, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Abd al-'Aziz, Muslim, Rawwād, Yazid and 'Utha, who had a part in the transmission of *ḥadīṭ*. Enriched by the exploitation of the public baths and favoured by Ziyād, they gained a place among the bourgeoisie, and even the aristocracy, of Baḡra, and forged themselves an Arab genealogy, claiming that Abū Bakra was the son of al-Harith b. Kalada, the 'physician of the Arabs'. Al-Mahdi, on ascending the throne, did not recognize this genealogy and forced the descendants of Abū Bakra to return to the status of *masā'il* of the Prophet (Ibn al-Tiktāk, *al-Fakhri* (Dorenburg), 245; al-Makḥidī, *al-Baḡ* (Huart), vi, 94-5; I. Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, i, 137 ff.). A descendant of the family was the kāfī Abū Bakra Bakir b. Kutayba (184-270/798-864; see Ibn Khallikān, no. 115).

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'diri*, Cairo 1353, 125-6; Ibn Sa'd, *viii*, 8-9, 138-9; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 343 ff.; Tabarī, i, 2529 ff.; ii, 477 ff.; Ibn al-Fakhri, 188; *Aghāni*, ii, 48; *vii*, 141; *ix*, 100; *xiv*, 60; Nawawi, *Tahḍīb*, 378-9, 677-8; Ibn al-Aḥṣir, *Uṣd*, i, 38, 151; ii, 215; Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāha*, no. 8794; Yāqūt, i, 698-94, *passim*. (M. TH. HOUTSMAN/CH. FÉLIX)

The main work of Abū'l-Barakāt is the *Kutāb al-Ma'ārif*, dealing with logic, *naturalia* (including psychology) and metaphysics (published in three volumes by Šereḥfīn Yaltika, Hyderabad 1358/1939). A detailed commentary on Ecclesiastes, composed in Arabic, is of considerable philosophical interest; it is almost entirely unpublished. Among the smaller treatises ascribed to Abū'l-Barakāt is to be noted the *Risāla fī Sabab Zuhār al-Kawākib Laylā* (no. *Khāṣṣa* *Nahī*) (cf. Ibn Abī Usaybi'a, i, 280), transl. by E. Wiedemann (in *Eders Jahrbuch für Photographie*, 1909, 49-54). Under a slightly different title *Ru'ya 'L-Kawākib ḥiṭ-Laylā* is *ḥiṭ-Nahī*, it passes for a work of Ibn Sīnā (cf. G. C. Anawati, *Essai de Bibliographie arabo-islamique*, no. 162).



In *al-Mu'tabar*, modelled in great part on the *Shifā'* of Ibn Sīnā, Abū'l-Barakāt sometimes takes over these from that book, quoting them literally, but at the same time attacks others that are among the most essential. In his opposition to Ibn Sīnā he is often at one, in the field of physics, with the tradition that bore in Islamic lands the name of the Platonic, and which was followed by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī. His psychology is, in some respects, related more than that of the *Shifā'*, or more manifestly so to that of the Neoplatonists.

Abū'l-Barakāt's method of philosophizing does not, however, lend itself easily to recourse to the authority of tradition. This is shown by the very title of the *Kutub al-Mu'tabar*, which in the usage of Abū'l-Barakāt means something like: "The book about what has been established by personal reflection". As a matter of fact, this method is distinguished in the first instance by the appeal to self-evident truths, the certainties *a priori*, which nullify the theses *a posteriori* of the ruling philosophy of the period. Abū'l-Barakāt refuses to make a difference between the certainties of reason, admitted as valid by the Peripatetics, and those depending on the estimative faculty (*wahm*), dismissed by them.

It is mainly this method that leads Abū'l-Barakāt to assert, against the partisans of the Aristotelian theory of space, the existence of a tridimensional space. With John Philoponus he refuses the proposition denying the existence of the void. Having demonstrated the fallacy of the peripatetic arguments to the contrary, he proves the infinity of space by the impossibility for man to conceive a limited space.

Similarly, it is the appeal to the *a priori* knowledge of the human mind that allows Abū'l-Barakāt to clarify the problem of time—the true solution of which, according to him, depends upon metaphysics rather than upon physics. In effect, he shows that the apprehension of time, of being, and of self, is anterior in the soul to any other apprehension the soul might have, and that the nature of being and that of time are closely linked. According to his definition, time is the measure of being (not, as the peripatetics held, of movement). He does not admit the diversity of the various levels of time, the gradations of *zaman*, *dahr*, *sarmad* assumed by Ibn Sīnā and other philosophers. In his opinion, time characterizes the being of the Creator as well as that of created things.

He identifies prime matter with the body considered merely from the point of view of corporeity, apart from any other characteristics; corporeity being an extension susceptible of being measured. Among the four elements, earth alone is, in his view, constituted of corpuses, indivisible because of their solidity.

Dealing with the movement of projectiles, Abū'l-Barakāt accepts, though with modifications, the theory of Ibn Sīnā—ultimately, as it seems, inspired by John Philoponus—according to which the cause of this movement is a "violent inclination", that is to say a force (called later by certain Latin schoolmen (*impetus*) imparted by the projecting body to the projectile. He explains the acceleration in the fall of heavy objects by the fact that the principle of natural inclination (*insay* *al-hayā'*, a current philosophical term), which is them, furnishes them with successive inclinations. The text of the *Ma'tabar* treating of this doctrine is the first one, as far as is known at present, where one finds implied this

fundamental law of modern dynamics: a constant force gives rise to an accelerated movement.

It is especially the psychological doctrine of Abū'l-Barakāt that shows in the most palpable way the role given in his philosophy to recourse to what is self-evident. As a matter of fact, this doctrine has as its starting point the consciousness that man has of himself, i.e. of his soul. This consciousness bears the stamp of certainty and is anterior to any other knowledge; it would be there even without the perception of the sensible things. Ibn Sīnā had already availed himself of this *a priori* datum, which he had great difficulty in integrating with his psychology—which bears the stamp of Peripateticism—while Abū'l-Barakāt is led by it towards other psychological vertices, equally guaranteed and authenticated by their self-evident character. For instance, the valid consciousness that man has of being one—the same when he sees and hears, thinks, remembers or desires, or accomplishes any other psychical act—is sufficient in the view of Abū'l-Barakāt to refute the various theories postulating a multiplicity of the faculties of the soul. Another example: the certainty that one has of perceiving, in the act of seeing, the very object that one sees, and at the place where it really is—and not an image, that according to certain hypotheses is situated inside the brain—this certainty proves by itself the truth of the impressions that it guarantees. We have, then, a psychology that consists, partly, of a system of self-evident truths, and is dominated up to a certain point by the notion of consciousness or apperception (*shu'ūr*, a term used in a similar sense by Ibn Sīnā). It denies the distinction established by the Aristotelian doctrine between intellect and soul. In fact, according to Abū'l-Barakāt, it is the soul that accomplishes the so-called acts of intellection—a concept which he criticizes. Similarly, he denies the existence of the active intellect postulated by the peripatetics.

Platonic or Plotinian influences—which are, to be sure, in harmony with the personal intuitions of Abū'l-Barakāt—appear perhaps in the definition of the soul as an incorporeal substance acting in and by the body. Immortality is taken by Abū'l-Barakāt as a matter of course in a way which is not current at all; so for instance in the theory of memory. The human souls are caused, in the view of Abū'l-Barakāt, by the stellar ones, and return, after death, to their causes.

The knowledge of God, cause of causes, comes at the end of the knowledge of existing things and that of being perceived by an *a priori* knowledge, which divides being into necessary and contingent. On the other hand, the wisdom manifested in the order of nature proves the existence of a Creator. Last not least there are ways of direct communication between God and men. Abū'l-Barakāt, following in this point the Avicennian tradition, does not admit the proof for the existence of God based on movement.

He holds that the essential attributes of God, such as knowledge, power and wisdom, belong to His essence in the same way as having three angles equal to two right angles belongs to the essence of a triangle.

In his view God may have manifold knowledge, also about particulars. In order to refute arguments to the contrary, he refers to his psychological doctrine, where he proves that the forms of the things perceived, stored up in the human soul, are immaterial, like the entity that has perceived them.

In this way divine knowledge appears as being up to a point analogous to human knowledge.

Rejecting the theory of emanation held by the philosophers, Abū'l-Barakāt thinks that things have been created by a succession of divine volitions, either pre-eternal or coming into being in time. The first of these volitions, an attribute of the divine essence, created the first thing in existence, viz. according to religious terminology, the highest of the angels.

The personism of the conception of God in Abū'l-Barakāt sometimes relates it to the doctrines of the *halām*. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily justify the conclusion that the *halām* has influenced his thought.

So far as the problem of the eternity of the world is concerned, Abū'l-Barakāt, having confronted the theses of those who affirm it and those that deny it, does not explicitly state his own conclusions, but hints that one who has understood his exposé of the question will not fail to find the correct answer. It seems, in summing up the discussion, that the true solution is, in the view of Abū'l-Barakāt, that which asserts the eternity of the world.

Abū'l-Barakāt whose authority was invoked by a Jewish scholar of 'Irāk, Samuel b. 'Eli, in his polemic against Maimonides, had as his partisans amongst the Muslims 'Alī' al-Dawla Farāmura b. 'Alī, prince of Yazd, who defended him and his doctrines in a work bearing the title *Muqaddat al-Tauhid* and in a dispute he had with 'Umar al-Khayrī (see al-Bayhaqi, *Tatimmat*, 110-1). The influence of Abū'l-Barakāt over a personage of the first order, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, seems to have been decisive. It is manifest especially in *al-Mabāhith al-Magħribiyya*, a capital work of Fakhr al-Dīn, and was of great historical importance. In fact, the observation of the *Shifā'* Mūh. b. Sulaymān al-Tanakhūnī, a Persian author of the 15th cent., who says, in substance, that the tradition of Ibn Sīnā had almost succumbed under the attacks of Abū'l-Barakāt and Fakhr al-Dīn, before being re-established by Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī (*Kīyās al-'Ulum*), lith. 1304, 278), refers to a crisis in Muslim philosophical speculation, a crisis originated by Abū'l-Barakāt, the memory of which remained alive among the Iranian students of Ibn Sīnā.

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**ABŪ BAYHĀS AL-HAYYAN B. DĪYĀRIS, KHĀRĪDĪTTE**, of the Banū Sa'd b. Duḥay'a. In order to escape from the persecution of al-Hadijīdī, he fled to Medina, but was arrested by the governor, 'Uḡmān b. Ḥayyān, and cruelly executed (94/713). He gave his name to the Bayhaysiya, one of the Khārīdīte sects, who occupied an intermediate position between the strict Anṣārīte and the milder Sufīte and Bāḍīte. The Bayhaysite, though admitting that Muslims of different

opinion from their own were unbelievers, considered it permissible to live amongst them, to intermarry with them and to inherit from them. Their tenets again diverged, so that they branched off into various subdivisions.

**Bibliography:** Muḥarrar, *Kāmil*, 604, 615; Balidhūrī (Alḥawārī, *Anonymous Arab. Chronik*, 83; Muḥaddī, *Ḥurūd*, v, 230; Aḥl'at, *Mahādī*, 111 ff., 95; Baghdādī, *Farh*, 371-3; Ibn Hazm, *Faṣl*, iv, 190; Shāhrastānī, *Mīlāl*, 93 f.

(M. TH. HOUTSMAN).

**ABŪ BILĀL** [see MIRDĀS B. UDĀYĀYA].

**ABŪ BURDĀ** [see AL-ANṢĀRĪ].

**ABŪ DAHĀL AL-DJUMAHĪ, WAḤB B. ZAM'Ā**, Kuraayshite poet of Mecca, who started to compose poetry before *awāḥid* and died after 67/75. He is included among the erotic poets of the *Hijāz* by his poems devoted to three women: 'Amra, of a noble Meccan family, a Syrian woman who led him into a breach with his family, and especially 'Adika, daughter of Mu'āwīya, whom he first saw during a pilgrimage. His verses, soon becoming famous, attracted the attention of the princes, whom he followed to Damascus, but the caliph, though recognizing the chaste character of Abū Dahāl's relations with his daughter, took umbrage and sent the poet away.

Abū Dahāl is not, however, an exclusively erotic poet, as an important part of his work is devoted to panegyrics on Ibn al-Azrak, governor of al-Djānād in Yaman, appointed by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and 'Umīra b. 'Amr, governor of Hadramawt. The incident with Mu'āwīya seems to have turned him away from the Umayyads and made him a partisan of the anti-caliph; the *Aghnī* even quotes some verses alluding to the murder of al-Husayn b. 'Alī.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, S I, 80 and the references given there; to the fundamental article in the *Aghnī*, vi, 154-70 should be added al-Marashīdī, *al-Munawwadhah*, 70, 189; idem, *Mu'djam*, 117, 342; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 35; O. Roscher, *Abriis*, i, 144-5; and especially the sources quoted by F. Krenkow, *JRAS*, 1910, 1017-75, who has collected the verses of the poet. (Ch. PELLIAT)

**ABŪ DAMDAM**, the hero of a collection of anecdotes, cited already in the 10th century. All kinds of foolish remarks are attributed to him, and more particularly comical decisions on questions of law, similar to those later attributed to Karakāh. This Abū Dāmdām is probably identical with the devotee who, before or during the lifetime of Muḥammad, offered up his good name in place of the poortax to the servants of God; for this express sacrifice of the respect of his followers may easily be interpreted as a permission or invitation to expose the devotee as the typical figure of foolishness. To one bearer of the same name there is ascribed an extraordinary knowledge of the ancient poetry, but there is no means of deciding whether this is the same personage.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Adab al-Kātib* (Grünert), 3-4; idem, *Shifā'*, 3 f.; *Fihrist*, 313; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿIhd*, Cairo 1302, iii, 445; Ibn al-Aḥfīr, *Und*, v, 232; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣṣah*, iv, 204; M. Hartmann, in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, v; J. Horowitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen*, 31, note.

(J. HOROWITZ).

**ABŪ 'L-DARDĀ' AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-KHARAKHĪ**. His name and genealogy are given in the *Uḡayyām* b. Zayd b. Kays b. 'Aḥḍa b. Umayyā b. Malik b. Adī b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Harith of the Balhārīth family of the Khazraj. Some sources give his name



as 'Amir instead of 'Uwaymir, and for his father's name instead of Zayd we find variously 'Amir, 'Abd Allāh, Mālik or 'Thalaba, while some give him the *nisha* al-Rahid. He was a younger contemporary of Muḥammad who is generally listed among the Companions (*Ṣaḥāba*) though some source raise doubts as to the legitimacy of this. He did not become a Muslim till after the battle of Badr and it is noted that he was the last of his family to become a convert to Islam. Some list him among those present at Uhud. When Muḥammad established "brotherhoods" between the Emigrants and the people of Medina he was the "brother" chosen for Salīm al-Fārisī. A certain number of traditions are reported on his authority and are given in the *Ḥaḥḥīr al-Manawī*, iii, 158-62. The *Sūfis* claimed him as one of the *ahl al-ṣūfa* (q.v.), quoting a number of sayings of an ascetic or pietistic character from him, which is probably the reason why in the biographical dictionaries he is called a *ṣāhid* and one to whom 'Im was given. These sources also say that he became known as the sage (*ḥakīm*) of the early Muslim community. He is reported as having said that before Islam he was a merchant, but after his conversion found that business life interfered with strict attention to cult duties (*ʿibāda*) so he gave up business. His great reputation, however, was as an authority on the Kur'ān. He is listed as one of the few who collected (*ḡamāʿa*) revelations during the Prophet's lifetime, and a small number of variant readings from him is recorded in the *ḥirāʾid* books. During his stay in Damascus, where he was sent to serve as a *kādi*, he made it a practice to gather to the mosque groups to whom he taught the Kur'ān, thus becoming the true father of the Damascus School later headed by Ibn 'Amr (q.v.). He died at Damascus in 32/652, or thereabouts, his tomb and that of his wife Umm al-Darda' being shown there near one of the gates.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 75, 286, 397; Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, 137; Ibn Hishām, 345; Ibn Durayd, *Ḥaḥḥīr*, 268; Nawawī, *Taḥḥīṭ*, 714; Ibn al-Aḥlir, *Uṣd*, iv, 158; v, 185; Ibn al-Dīnārī, *Ḡāyā*, No. 2480; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Taḥḥīṭ*, ii, No. 2208; Ibn Ḥajjār, *Iṣḥāḥ*, iv, 110; *idem*, *Lisān al-Misāl*, vi, 375; *idem*, *Taḥḥīṭ*, 111; *Taḥḥīṭ*, viii, 175-7; Ibn al-'Imād, *Ḥaḥḥīr*, i, 39; *Fihrist*, 27; al-Dhahabī, *Taḥḥīr al-Ḥuḥḥīr*, 4, 23, 24; al-Khazraji, *Rihāla*, 254; 'Abd al-Ghāni al-Nabulsi, *Ḥaḥḥīr*, iii, 158-62; Caetani, *Annali*, Index s.v.

**ABU DĀ'UD AL-SIJISTĀNĪ**, (SULAYMĀN b. AL-AMR) *ṢIB*, a traditionist, born in 202/817. He travelled widely in pursuit of his studies and gained a high reputation for his knowledge and piety. Eventually he settled at Baḡa, which is no doubt why some wrongly held that the *nisha* Sijistān comes from a village near Baḡa called Sijistān (or Sijistāna), and not from the province of that name. He died in Sāwād 270 Febr. 89.

Abū Dā'ud's principal work is his *Kitāb al-Sunan*, which is one of the six canonical books of Tradition accepted by Sunnis. He is said to have submitted it to Ahmad b. Hanbal who gave it his approval. Ibn Dāsa says Abū Dā'ud declared that he collected this work of 4800 traditions from a mass of 500,000, and that it contains sound traditions, those which seem to be so, and those which are nearly so. He also said, "I have made clear the traditions in this book of mine which contain great weakness, and those about which I have said nothing are good (*ṣāḥih*), some being sounder than others". This refers

to the notes which he often adds to his traditions to express his opinion on the value to be attributed to them. Muslim has an introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ* in which he discusses some general questions of criticism; but Abū Dā'ud is the first to give such detailed notes, paving the way for the more systematic criticism of individual traditions given by his pupil al-Tirmidhī in his collection. Abū Dā'ud quotes men not found in the two *Ṣaḥīḥ*, his principle being that transmitters are counted trustworthy provided there is no formal proof to discount them. His work which has the generic title of *Sunan*, dealing mainly with matters of law, or allowed, or forbidden by law, received high praise. For example, Abū Sa'īd b. al-'Aḥbāb said that anyone who knew nothing but the Kur'ān and this book would have sufficient knowledge; and Muḥammad b. Maḥḥad said that the traditionist accepted it without question just as they accepted the Kur'ān. But one is surprised to find that, although many men in the fourth century praised it highly, no mention of it is made in the *Fihrist*. Indeed, Abū Dā'ud is merely mentioned there as the father of his son. People of later times have expressed some criticisms. Al-Mundhīrī, for example, who produced a summary of it, called al-*Muḥḥab*, criticized some of the traditions not supplied with notes, and Ibn al-Djauzī added further criticisms. But while faults have been found with the work, it still holds an honoured place. The *Sunan* was transmitted through several lines, some versions being said to contain material not found in others. Al-Luḥḥī's version is the one which has gained most favour. A number of editions of the *Sunan* have been printed in the East (see Brockelmann). A small collection of *ṣunna* traditions by Abū Dā'ud, entitled *Kitāb al-Maḥḥad*, was published in Cairo in 1318/1892.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, I, 168 f., S I, 266 f.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 271; Ibn al-Salībī, *Uṣd al-Hādīḥ*, Aleppo, 1350/1911, 38-41; Ibn Ḥajjār, *Taḥḥīṭ al-Taḥḥīṭ*, iv, 169-73; Nawawī, *Taḥḥīṭ al-Asmā'* (Wüstenfeld), 708-12; Ḥādīdī Khallīf, no. 7265; Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii, 250 f., 255 f.; W. Marçais, in JA, 1900, 330, 502 f.; J. Robson, in MAF, 1951, 167 f.; *idem*, in BOS, 1952, 579 ff. (J. Robson).

**ABU DHARR AL-GHIFARĪ**, a Companion of Muḥammad. His name is commonly given as Dūndub b. Dūnada, but other names are also mentioned. He is said to have worshipped one God before his conversion. When news of Muḥammad reached him he sent his brother to Mecca to make enquiries, and being dissatisfied with his report, he went himself. One story says he met Muḥammad with Abū Bakr at the Ka'ba, another that 'Alī took him secretly to Muḥammad. He immediately believed, and is surprisingly claimed to have been the fifth (even the fourth) believer. He was sent home, where he stayed till he went to Medina after the battle of the Ditch (5/627). Later he lived in Syria till he was recalled by 'Uthmān because of a complaint against him by Ma'qīriya. He retired, or was sent, to al-Rabādha, where he died in 32/652-3, or 31. He was noted for humility and asceticism, in which respect he is said to have resembled Jesus. He was very religious and eager for knowledge, and is said to have matched Ibn Ma'ūdī in religious learning. He is credited with 281 traditions, of which al-Buḥārī and Muslim rendered 31 between them.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, *Uṣd*, *Fihrist*, 190; Ya'qūbī, ii, 138; al-Ma'ūdī, *Mawāḥiḥ*, iv, 268-74; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Taḥḥīṭ*, Baydarāshīd

1336, 82 f., 645 f.; Ibn al-Aḥlir, *Uṣd*, v, 186-8; Nawawī, *Taḥḥīṭ al-Asmā'* (Wüstenfeld), 714 f.; al-Dhahabī, *Taḥḥīṭ al-Ḥuḥḥīr*, i, 17 f.; Ibn Ḥajjār, *Iṣḥāḥ*, Cairo 1358/1939, iv, 63 ff.; *Taḥḥīṭ al-Taḥḥīṭ*, xii, 90 f.; Wensinck, *Handbook*, 7 (add Ibn Sa'ūd, 11/ii, 112); A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muḥammad*, i, 454 ff.

**ABU DHU'AYB AL-HUDHALĪ**, *ḤUWAYLID* b. KHALID, Arabian poet, a younger contemporary of the Prophet. The legend presents him journeying to visit Muḥammad but reaching Medina the very morning after his death. There is some justification for the assumption that Abū Dhū'ayb migrated to Egypt under 'Umar. From there he joined Ibn Abī Sarḥ's campaign into Irbīḥya (26/647). He died on his way to Medina where he accompanied 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr who had been charged by Ibn Abī Sarḥ with informing the caliph 'Uthmān of the successes won by his armies (probably in 28/649). The only other known incident of his biography is contained in the report—probably factually correct but possibly spun out of the opening lines of Poem 1—that in Egypt he lost within one year five sons to the plague.

Recognized by the Arab critics as the foremost poet of his tribe, a judgement to which the modern reader will readily subscribe, Abū Dhū'ayb excels the bards of the *ḡhīḥīya* by the stringent composition of his *ḡhīḥīya*. In the care he devoted to the structure of his odes he continued a trend already traceable in the work of Sā'ida b. Dhū'ayb, an older Hudhalī poet, whose *rdā* Abū Dhū'ayb was. Both poets share the description of wild honey and its gathering along with a certain delight in the intimate and accurate description of the bees as well as the procedure of the collector—a motif which is not really popular with other Hudhalī poets. A peculiar treatment of the massing of a cloud formation and the subsequent downpour is also characteristic of Sā'ida and his *rdā*. In Abū Dhū'ayb's love poetry an adumbration of what came to develop into the style of the Medinese school is clearly noticeable. Another feature that seems to anticipate future developments is the manner in which Abū Dhū'ayb tends to elaborate the *naṣīb* into a complete ode (cf. nos. II and XI, where the other themes are, as Caetani says, *ḡhīḥīya*). Like his master Sā'ida, Abū Dhū'ayb is fond of, and excels in descriptions of weapons and of hunting-scenes, but is weak in depicting horses (as already noted by al-Asmā'ī). Almost half of his preserved verse belongs to elegies in which the gentle melancholy of his obsession with the instability of fate provides an appropriate emotional background. His masterpiece, the elegy on the death of his sons (poem I), shows a unity of mood and thought—the theme of the inevitability of doom is stated and connected with the occasion of the *marḥūmīya*, then illustrated in three gripping scenes, to be concisely restated in the last line—which is unsurpassed in ancient poetry.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, I, 36-7, S I, 71; Ibn Kutayba, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 413-6; Yāqūt, *Irbīḥīya*, iv, 185-8; *al-ḡhīḥīya*, v, 28-59; J. Hell, *Die Dichtung des Abu Dhū'ayb*, Hanoover 1926; E. Bräunlich, *Abu Dhū'ayb-Studien*, in *Id.*, 1929, 1-23; the same, *Versuch einer literaturgeschichtlichen Betrachtungsweise al-laharischer Poesien*, *ibid.*, 1937, 201-69. (G. E. VON GÜNKELBAUM)

**ABU DJAHL**, properly Abū Ḥakīm 'AMR b. HISHAM b. AL-MUGHIRĀ of the Banū Maḥḥim of Quraysh, also named Ibn al-Hanzaliya after his

mother, Asmā' bint Muḥḥaribha. He was born about 570 or a little after; he and Muḥammad were youths together at a feast in the house of 'Abd Allāh b. Dūd'ān, while his mother became a Muslim and lived until after 13/635. A few years before the Hijra Abū Dīḥl seems to have succeeded al-Walīd b. al-Muḥḥirā as leader of Maḥḥim and also of the group of clans associated with Maḥḥim. He was less inclined to compromise with Muḥammad than was al-Walīd, as his position in Meccan affairs was more endangered by Muḥammad than that of the older man. He was perhaps largely responsible for the boycott of Hāshim and al-Muḥḥalib, and the ending of the boycott was a defeat for his policy. He won an important success, however, when he and 'Ukba b. Abī Mufayy, soon after Abū Tālib died and was succeeded by Abū Lahab as chief of Hāshim, persuaded the latter to cease giving protection to Muḥammad. Just before the Hijra he seems to have tried to have Muḥammad killed, and to make revenge impossible there was to be a man from each clan involved. Owing to his hostility to Muḥammad during the latter years of the Meccan period many acts of persecution of Muslims are attributed to him, though probably not all really happened (cf. E. xvii, 62, xiv, 43, xvi, 6 and commentators). He and his brother al-Hārīḥī b. Hāshim persuaded their uterine brother 'Ayyāḥ b. Abī Rabi'a to return from Medina and kept him (perhaps forcibly) in Mecca. Abū Dīḥl's influence was based on his commercial and financial strength. The expedition of Ḥanzala to Sīl al-Bahr in 1/623 came near a large caravan directed by Abū Dīḥl. In 2/624 when Mecca was informed that Abū Sufyān's caravan from Syria was threatened by the Muslims, Abū Dīḥl led the force of about 2000 men which went to save it, and perished in the battle of Badr (q.v.). Abū Dīḥl sought battle with the Muslims even after the caravan was known to be safe, perhaps in the hope of gaining military glory, since Abū Sufyān, when available, had the privilege of commanding. After Abū Dīḥl's death the leading men in the group of clans associated with Maḥḥim were Sa'ūd b. Umayya (Dūnada), Suhayl b. 'Amr ('Amīr) and eventually Abū Dīḥl's son 'Ikrima.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, *Wakīdī*, Tabarī—see indexes; Ibn Sa'ūd, *Ḥīl*, 194, 10/2, 35, viii, 193, 220; Ya'qūt, *Uṣd*, ii, 27; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 294-5, 309, 478, 491, etc.; Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, by index; Azrak, *Wüstenfeld*, 455, 469. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**ABU DU'AD AL-İYĀDĪ**, *ḤUWAYRA*, *ḤUWAYRIVA* or *HARITHA* b. AL-HARITHĪ (or again HARĀLA b. AL-SHARĪ, which was more probably, however, the name of Abū Ṭ-Tamāshī al-Kaynī, see *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 229), pre-Islamic poet of al-Ḥira, contemporary of al-Mundhīr b. Ma' al-Samā' (about 500-554 A.D.), who put him in the charge of his horses. The expression *ḡhīḥīya* *ḡhīḥīya* Abū Du'ad, which appears in a line of Kays b. Zubayr and has become proverbial, gave rise to several traditions showing Abū Du'ad as the "protégé" of a noble and generous *ḡhīḥī*, who is either al-Mundhīr, al-Hārīḥ b. Hammām or Ka'b b. Māma.

As a poet, Abū Du'ad is famous for his description of horses, and in this genre some critics consider him superior to Tufayl al-Ghanawī and al-Nabīḥa al-Dī'ādī. Nevertheless, the lexicographers have not collected his poems systematically, as the *yid* did not collect those of 'Adī b. Zayd, because his language was not "naḡdī" and he did not follow the poetical tradition. Moreover, al-Asmā'ī accuses *Ḥabīb* al-



Abma of having attributed to Abū Du'ād forty *hasidas* composed by himself (al-Marzubānī, *Munawwih*, 252).

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, S. I, 58; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, II, 120-3, putting together the traditions; the fundamental article is that of al-Aghādī, xv, 95-9; see also Ibn Kutayba, *Shāh*, 120-3; Maydānī, *Amḥāl*, Cairo 1352, I, 49, 179 (in reference to *ḡar ka-ḡar* A.D. and al-naḡīr al-'arḡān); Marzubānī, *Munawwih*, 71-4, 88; idem, *Mu'jam*, 115; Ibn Durayd, *Lihāḡh*, 104; Ya'qūbī, I, 299-300; W. Ahlwardt, *Somnambula*, 8-9; O. Rescher, *Abriis*, I, 30-1; Nallio, *Scritti*, v, 36, who classifies him among the Christian poets, although Cheikh, *Naghrīniyya*, does not mention him. A number of verses are to be found in Ahlwardt, *op. cit.* I, 27-8, 68-70; Buhturī, *Hamāsa*, 87 (Cheikh); al-Jālibī, *Hayawān*, index; as well as in the works of philologists and lexicographers. Collection of fragments by G. E. von Grunewald, *Abū Du'ād al-IVādī. Collection of fragments*, WZKM, 1948, 1952. (CH. PELLAT)

**ABU DULAF**, MIB'AR b. MUHAIBIL AL-KHAZRAJĪ AL-YANBU'Ī, an Arab poet, traveller and mineralogist. The earliest date in his biography is his appearance in Buḡhārā towards the end of the reign of Nāṣir b. Ahmad (d. in 331/943). His travels in Persia hint at the years 331-339/943-951. Abū Du'ād mentions b. Ahmad, whom Abū Du'ād mentions as his patron in *Sīstān* (read: 'Ahmad b. Muḥammad), ruled 331-352/943-63. The author of the *Fihrist* (completed in 377/987) refers to him as *ḡawwāl* "globe-trotter" and as his personal acquaintance. Al-Ṭabarānī in his *Yatima al-Da'ir*, Damascus, III, 176-94, associates him with the circle of al-Shāh Ibn 'Alī b. 'Abdāḡ (326-85/938-95), probably during the later period of al-Shāh's life. As transmitters of the verses of Abū Du'ād, al-Ṭabarānī mentions chiefly the natives of Hamādhān, and among them Badī' al-Zamān (d. 398/1007). The long *hasida* on the slang of the rogues (*Baṣā' Sāṭiān*), which enchanted the *Sāḡib*, was written in imitation of the poem of 'Uḡayl al-Uḡaylī who belonged to the same literary circle of Rāy (Yatima, II, 285-8). Abū Du'ād himself supplied the commentary on the difficult expressions.

The two patrons, to whom Abū Du'ād dedicated his two geographical *risālas*, and who introduced into them their own remarks, are still unknown. The first *risāla* describes Abū Du'ād's journey in the company of the envoys of the Turkish king Kālīn b. al-Jahḡrī, who were returning from Buḡhārā to Sandābil. Marquart, *Streitsage*, 88-90, identified Sandābil with Kan-ḡo, the capital of the Western Uyghur king. On the way there, Abū Du'ād quotes in order disorder the names of the Turkish tribes which he pretends to have visited. From Sandābil he suddenly goes over to Kāṣ (Kra in Malaya), and then, in a desultory way, refers to various places in India, to emerge finally in *Sīstān*. Grigoriev, Marquart and von Mink recognized the spurious character of the journey (except for the direct road Buḡhārā-Sandābil, and *Sīstān*). Later (1945) Marquart thought that the genuine Abū Du'ād might be discovered in the quotations found in al-Fihrist. The analysis of the Maghad text shows that both the *risālas* are equally genuine, as far as the authorship goes, and therefore the fake must be attributed to Abū Du'ād himself. The quotations in *Fihrist*, though differing from the first *risāla*, have no better claim to veracity. On the contrary, the second *risāla*, describing Abū

Dulaf's journey in more easily controllable regions (western and northern Persia, Armenia) gives a clear itinerary and contains a number of interesting details which can be verified.

**Bibliography:** F. Wustendel, *Des Abu Du'ad Mīsar Bericht über die türkischen Horden*, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Erdkunde*, 1842 (text according to Kazwīnī); C. Schöner, *Abu Du'ad Mīsar*, 1845 (text according to Yāqūtī); V. Grigoriev, *Op arab. Puteshestvennik*, in *Abu Du'ad*, in *Journal Min. Narod. Pruv.*, 1872, 1:45; Marquart, *Streitsage*, 1892, 74-95; al-Dar Kāzab, in *Festschr. f. E. Sachau*, 1915, 271-2; A. von Rohr-Sauer, *Der Abu Du'ad Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien*, Bonn 1939, (translates the text of the Maghad MS. discovered by A. Z. Validi-Togan; H. von Mink, in his review of this work, *OLZ*, 1942, 240-2, has pointed out the leniency of Rohr-Sauer's conclusions); V. Mironsky, *La dernière route d'Abu Du'ad*, in *Oriens*, 1952, 237-42; id., *Abu Du'ad's travels in Iran* (being printed in Cairo, 1954)—gives the Maghad text of the second *risāla* with a detailed commentary. (V. MIRONSKY)

**ABU DULĀMA** ZAND b. AL-ḌAWNA, a black slave, client of the Banī Asad in Kūfa. He is already mentioned in the history of the last Umayyad caliph, but he appears as "ḡar ka-ḡar" only under the 'Abbasids and plays the part of a court jester in the palace of al-Saffāh and especially in those of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. His poem on the death of Abū Muslim (137/754-5) is said to have been the first of his works to make him a name. Examples of his poetry show him to have been a clever, witty versifier, who readily seizes upon low expressions and displays all sorts of flimsy and cynical jigs; but he does not despise the most loudly fulsome praise when this form of mendacity promises some reward. He laughs at the praise of the crowd and his spiteful tongue is feared by all. It is true he did not spare himself and still less his near relatives; he would even occasionally revenge himself for the coarse jokes which the magnates played on him when one of his patrons was pleased to ridicule another through him. He also enjoyed the jester's liberty of being above the Islamic laws and could make them the butt of his insolent mockery. He has given proverbial fame to his mule, which possessed all possible defects and to which he dedicated a witty *hasida*.

Abū Dulāma embodied a popular type of crude and unrestrained comicality; hence the historicity of some of the anecdotes that are told both of him and of Abū Nuwās is somewhat doubtful.

Statements as to the date of his death vary: according to some he died in 160/766-7, according to others in 170/786-7; the first of these dates being the more likely.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Shāh*, 487 ff.; al-Aghādī, ix, 120-40; xv, 85; Ibn Khallikān, 60, 243; Hariri, *Makāmāt*, 1:18 (Makāma 40); Sharīhī, *Sharḥ Makāmāt al-Hariri*, II, 230 ff.; Bayhaqī, *Makāsim*, Schwalla, 645; *Tarīkh Baghdād*, viii, 488-93; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, iv, 37-48; Yāqūtī, *Mīrāt*, I, 341-5; R. Basset, in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xvi, 87; Brockelmann, I, 72; S. I, 111; O. Rescher, *Abriis*, I, 303-7; A. F. Rida, *Asar al-Ma'mūn*, II, 300-2; Mohammed Ben Cheneb, *Abū Dulāma. Poète bouffon de cour des premiers califes abbassides* (containing an edition and partial translation of the collected poems and fragments), Alger 1922. (J. HOROVITZ)

**ABU 'L-DUNYĀ** ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALĪ b. 'UḡMĀN b. AL-KHATTĀB (or 'Uḡmān b. al-Kh.), one of those to whom preternatural longevity has been ascribed (*mu'ammarrun*, g.n.); he is also called al-Mu'ammarr al-Maghribī or al-Aghādī al-Mu'ammarr. He is said to have been born about 600 A.D. and to have died in 316/928, 327/938-9, or even 370/984. Of the tribes of Hamādhān, he drank in his youth from the source of life in the presence of al-Khadrī (g.n.), then joined 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, with whom he fought at Siffin and from whom he received the name of Abū 'L-Dunyā, after his horse had made a scar on his face (al-Aghādī al-Mu'ammarr the scarred one). After the death of the caliph, he went to Tangier. He returned at the beginning of the eighth century, to fulfil the pilgrimage and to relate traditions which he claimed to have heard from the mouth of 'Alī. The information about him goes back to the 4th century (see Ibn Bābawayh, *Ithbāt*, 297-303, cf. I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, II, lxviii, n. 4; al-Dhahabī, *Mīrāt al-Fīdā*, II, 647; Ibn Haḡar, *Lisān al-Mīnā*, iv, 134-40, 101-2) and one may think that this is no more than the tale of a vulgar impostor. Nevertheless al-Dhahabī, *Tarīkh* (Pellat), para 746, mentions an Aghādī b. 'Amr (read al-Mu'ammarr?) alongside al-Sufyān (g.n.) and al-Aḡar al-Kahtānī, and, according to the prophecies of Daniel "one with a scar", sometimes identified with 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'drif*, Cairo 1353, 358; G. van Vloten, *Recherches*, 35-6, 79, and references), well all the world with justice. It is therefore possible that a group of Sūnīs put, as early as the 3rd century, their hope in an Aghādī, especially as the Shi'ite Ibn Bābawayh uses the word *mukhlifīn*, "our adversaries", to describe those who deny the existence of the *hā'im*, but believe in the longevity of Abū 'L-Dunyā. (CH. PELLAT)

**ABU 'L-FADL** (see Ibn al-'Amīn).  
**ABU 'L-FADL** (Fadl) 'ALLĀMĪ (Shaykh), author, liberal thinker, and informal secretary of the emperor Akbar, was the younger brother of the poet Fayḡ (g.n.), and the second son of Shaykh Muḥarrir Nāḡawrī (d. 1593), one of the most distinguished scholars of his age in India, and the author of a commentary on the *Ru'āṣ*, *Maṣṣāḥ* al-Nāḡawrī al-Uḡaylī. He was born on 6 Muharrar 954/14 Jan. 1557 at Agra, where his father had settled, in 1543, as a teacher. Abū 'L-Fadl was a pupil of his father, and owed his profound scholarship and liberality of outlook largely to the training given him by the latter. By his fifteenth year he had studied religious sciences, Greek thought and mysticism; but formal education did not satisfy the yearnings of his soul, nor did the orthodox faith bring him spiritual solace. While teaching in his father's school, he spent his time in extensive reading, deep meditation and frequent discussions of religious questions.

Abū 'L-Fadl was presented at the court by his brother, Fayḡ, in 1574. He soon gained high favour with Akbar by his scholarly criticism of the narrow-mindedness of the 'ulamā' in the religious discussions which were started in the *ḡhadd Khāna* in 1575. He helped in freeing the Emperor from the domination of the 'ulamā', and was instrumental in bringing about their ultimate political downfall by the promulgation, in 1579, of the decree (*maḡhar*), drafted by him in collaboration with his father, which invested Akbar with the authority of deciding points of difference between the theologians. A firm believer in God, whom he regarded as

transcendental and the Creator, Abū 'L-Fadl considered that there could be no relationship between man and God except that of servitude (*abdulāh*) on the part of the former. Servitude required sincerity, suppression of the ego (*nafs*) and devotion to Him, resignation to His will, and faith in His Mercifolness. Though he regarded formal worship as mere hypocrisy, he believed that there were many ways of serving the Lord, but only divine blessing could reveal the Truth. "In the main", he wrote, "every sect may be placed in one of two categories—either, it is in possession of the Truth, in which case one should seek direction from it; or, it is in the wrong, in which it is an object of pity and deserving of sympathy, not of reproach" (*Akbar Nāma*, II, 660). His faith in being at "peace with all" (*ḡadh-i-kull*) involved not only toleration of all religions but also love for all human beings.

In political affairs, Abū 'L-Fadl sought to emphasise the divine character of Akbar's kingship. Royalty, he claimed, was light emanating from God (*far-i-ṭān*), communicated to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one. Though the existence of kings was necessary at all times, it was only after many ages that there appeared, by divine blessing, a monarch who could not only rule effectively, but could also guide the world spiritually. Since Akbar could ensure the material as well as the spiritual well-being of his subjects, he could be truly regarded as the "Perfect Man" (*insān-i-kāmil*). It was the duty of all to give Akbar complete loyalty and to seek his spiritual guidance by following his disciples. The chosen among the disciples would be those who attained the "four degrees of devotion" (*chakrī marāṭab-i-ikhḡā*), i.e. preparedness to place at Akbar's disposal their property, life, honour and faith.

Though Abū 'L-Fadl's religio-political views earned for him the enmity of the 'ulamā', the policy of religious toleration which he helped Akbar in evolving, the non-denominational yet spiritual character of obedience to the Emperor which he advocated, his justification, on ethical grounds, of every imperial action, and his persistent efforts to incite, especially among the nobles, a sense of mystical loyalty to Akbar, contributed greatly to the political consolidation of the Mughal Empire.

In spite of Abū 'L-Fadl's immense influence over Akbar and the numerous duties which he performed at Court (especially in drafting letters to nobles and foreign potentates), his progress in the official hierarchy was slow. It was only in 1585 that he was promoted to the *maṣab* of 1000, which was doubled in 1592. Six years later it was raised to 2500. Except when he was associated, for a short time in 1586, with Shāh Kālī Khān Mahram in the joint-government of Delhi, Abū 'L-Fadl never held any office until 1599, when he was posted to the Deccan, at the instance of hostile elements at the Court. He distinguished himself there as an able administrator and military commander. In recognition of his services, he was promoted, in 1600, to the rank of 4000, and two years later, to that of 5000. The same year he was hastily summoned to the court when Akbar's son Salīm (afterwards the Emperor Jahāngīr) rebelled. On his way back, he was waylaid and assassinated by Rājā Bīr Singh Dēva, the disaffected Bundela chieftain of Orchha, on 4 Rabi' I 1011/22 Aug. 1602. His head was severed and sent to Salīm, at whose instance the crime had been committed, while the body was buried at Antārī (near Gwalior). The news came as



a great shock to Akbar, who mourned the loss deeply and never forgave Salim for instigating the murder. Abū'l-Fadl was survived by his son, 'Abd al-Rahmān Aḥmad Khān (d. 1613), who rose to be governor of Bihār.

Abū'l-Fadl's principal title to fame as an author rests upon his monumental work, *Akbar Nāma*, a history of Akbar (down to the 46th regnal year) and of his ancestors, compiled in three dafṭars (first two dafṭars published in *Bibl. Ind.* 3 vols.). The third dafṭar, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (*Bibl. Ind.*, 3 vols.), dealing with Imperial regulations and containing detailed information on Indian geography, administration and social and religious life, was the first work of its kind in India. Abū'l-Fadl's compositions, characterised by an individual literary style, served as a model for many generations, though none was able to imitate him successfully. His numerous works include a Persian translation of the Bible; *Yūsuf-i-Dināsh* (a recension of *Asnād-i-Sukayy*); prefaces to *Tārīkh-i-Afī* (unfortunately lost), in the Persian translation of *Mahabbarāta*, and to many other works; and a *Munāẓid* (ed. by Rizvi, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, 1910). His letters, prefaces and other compositions were compiled by his nephew under the title *Inshā-i-Abū 'l-Fadl* (3 vols.). Another collection of his private letters is entitled *Ruḥ-i-Abū 'l-Fadl*.

**Bibliography:** Autobiography: *Autobiography*, accs. *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, iii (at end); *Inshā-i-Abū 'l-Fadl*, iii. Biographies: *Ma'sū'ir al-'Umarā'* (*Bibl. Ind.*), ii, 608-42; Elliot and Dowson, v, 2 f.; Blochman, Introduction to his translation of *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*; Storey, iii, 541-51 (detailed references on 551).

(NURUL HASAN)

other singers, such as Ma'bad and Ibn Surayj, and

ABU 'L-FADL ṬYAD (see ṬYAD).

ABU 'L-FARADJ (see FARADJ); Ibn al-Bawāḥ; Ibn al-'Iṣṭi; Ibn al-Nadīm.

ABU 'L-FARADJ AL-ISBAHĀNĪ (or AL-ISFAHĀNĪ), 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Kurāḡī, Arab historian, litterateur and poet. He was born in 284/897 in Isfahān (whence his *naba*) in Persia, but was of pure Arab race, a descendant of Kuraysh, or, to be more exact, of the Marwānī branch of the Umayyads. In spite of this, he was a *Shi'ite*. He studied in Baghdad, where he passed the greater part of his life, protected by the Būyids, especially by the vizier al-Muḥallabī. He found also a warm welcome in Aleppo at the court of the Hamdanid prince Sayf al-Dawla. He died in Baghdad on 14 Dhū'l-Hijja 356/26 Nov. 967. His main book, on which he worked according to his own testimony for fifty years, is the *Kātib al-Aghānī* ("Book of Songs"). In it the author collected the songs that had been chosen, by order of the caliph Hārūn al-Raḡhīd, by the famous musicians Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, Ismā'īl b. Dīnār and Fulayh b. al-'Awra', and later revised by Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī; he added songs by other singers such as Ma'bad and Ibn Surayj, and by caliphs and their descendants; for each song he indicated its melody. This is, however, but the least part of his work, as Abū'l-Faraj added rich information about the poets who were the authors of the songs, giving an account of their life and quoting many of their verses, as well as about the composers of the melodies. Furthermore, he gives many details about the ancient Arab tribes, their *ayyūm*, their social life, the court life of the Umayyads, society at the time of the 'Abbasid caliphs, especially of Hārūn al-Raḡhīd, the milieu of musicians and singers. In one

word, in the *Aghānī* we pass in review the whole of Arabic civilization from the *dihālīyya* down to the end of the 3rd/9th century. The author even does us another service: following the method of the Arab writers, he quotes long passages from earlier writers, whose works have not come down to us. His book is thus a source also for the development of Arabic style.

The first edition of the *Aghānī* was published in Būlāq 1285/1868-9 in twenty volumes, to which should be added a twenty-first volume published by R. Brünnow (*The twenty-first volume of the Kātib al-Aghānī*, Leiden 1888). For a lacuna see J. Wellhausen, *ZDMG*, 1896, 145-51. Tables by I. Guidi (Leiden 1895-1900). A second edition, being a reproduction of the Būlāq ed., together with the twenty-first volume and the *Tables* of Guidi, Cairo, 1323/1905-6. Cf. also Muḥ. Mahmūd al-Shūṭī, *Tajribat*, Cairo 1334/1916). A third and much superior edition was started in Cairo in 1927.

Another work of Abū'l-Faraj which has come down to us is *Makhlūf al-Tāhīyya* wa-*Abūrahman*, a historical work composed in 313/925. It contains biographies of the descendants of Abū Tālib (from Dī'a'far b. Abū Tālib to the seventy who died under the reign of al-Mu'tadīr, 295-320/908-32) who in some way lost their lives for political reasons, including those who died in prison or in hiding. This book was published in lithography, Teheran 1307 and in print, Najaf 1351. The Bombay edition (1911) in the margin of Faḡir al-Dīn al-Nadījāfī, *Mawāḥib fi 'l-Ma'ādhī* wa-*'l-Khāṭab*, contains the first half only.

Among those books that are lost should be mentioned books on genealogy and a *Kātib Ayyam al-'Arab*, where 1700 "days" were mentioned. Abū'l-Faraj also edited the *diwān* of Abū Tamīm, al-Buḥārī and Abū Nuwās.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Khallikān, no. 351; Yāqūt, *Irbid*, v, 149-68; al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, xi, 398-400; Brockelmann, i, 146, S. 1, 225-6. A good biography, quoting his poetry and containing information about the *Aghānī*, in *Aghānī*, preface, i, 25-37 (the information about the *Muḥaddithab* is to be corrected). For MSS of the *Aghānī* see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, 1949, 276 ff.; for miniatures illustrating it, D. S. Rice, in *Burlington Magazine*, 1953, 128 ff.

(M. NALLINO)

ABU 'L-FATH (see Ibn al-'Aṣmī; Ibn al-Furāt; AL-MUẒAFFAR).

ABU 'L-FIDĀ, Ismā'īl b. (al-Aḥḍal) 'Alī b. (al-MuẒAFFAR) MAHMūd b. (al-MANḤūr) MUHAMMAD b. TARK al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī b. SHĀHANSHĀH b. AYYUB, al-MALIK AL-MU'AYYAD 'IMĀD al-Dīn, Syrian prince, historian, and geographer, of the family of the Ayyūbids (g.w.), born in Damascus, Dhūm. 1, 672/Nov. 1273. At the age of 12, in the company of his father and his cousin al-MuẒaffar MAHMūd II, prince of Hamāh, he was present at the siege and capture of Marāb (Margat) (683/1285). He took part also in the later campaigns against the Crusaders. On the suppression of the Ayyūbid principality of Hamāh in 698/1299, he remained in the service of its Mamlūk governors, at the same time ingratiating himself with the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir (g.w.) MUHAMMAD b. KALĀWUN. After several vain attempts to obtain the government of Hamāh, he was finally appointed on 18 Dhūm. 1, 701/4 Oct. 1310, at the instance of the "king of the Arabs", MUHAMMAD, shaykh of Al Fadl. In 715/1312, his government was converted to a life principality, but two years later he, with the other governors,

was made directly subordinate to the governor of Damascus, Tankiz, with whom his relations were for a time strained. In the following years he strengthened his position by lavish patronage and generosity, especially on the occasion of his visits to Egypt. In 719/1319-20 he accompanied sultan MAHMūd al-Nāṣir to Mecca, and on their return to Cairo he was publicly invested with the insignia of the sultanate and the title of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad (17 Muh. 720/28 Febr. 1320), and given precedence over all governors in Syria. He continued to enjoy the great reputation which he had acquired as patron and man of letters, as well as the friendship of the sultan, until his death at Hamāh on 23 Muh. 732/27 Oct. 1321. With the support of Tankiz, his son al-Aḥḍal MUHAMMAD was nominated as his successor, and was also granted the insignia of the sultanate. (For his grave, cf. *ZDMG*, lxi, 657-60; lxiii, 329-33, 853 ff.; *Bull. d'Etudes Orient.*, 1931, 149).

The Arabic biographical notices furnish several specimens of his poetical productions, which included a versification of the juristic work *al-Hiṣṣ* of al-Mawṣilī (g.w.). Of various other writings on religious and literary subjects almost all have perished. His reputation rests on two works, both largely compilations, but rearranged and supplemented by himself. The *Muḥassar* *ra'ish al-baḡar*, a universal history covering the pre-Islamic period and Islamic history down to 729/1329, is in its earlier part based mainly on Ibn al-Aghir. Its contemporary popularity is shown by the continuations to it written by Ibn al-Wardī (g.w.), Ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashqī, and Ibn al-Shihna al-Halabī (g.w.). It was a major source of eighteenth-century orientalism, through the editions of J. Gagnier, *De vita... Mohammedis* (Oxford 1723) and J. J. Reiske, J. G. Chr. Adler, *Annales Moslemicae* (Leipzig 1754 and Copenhagen 1789-94). The complete text was first published in Istanbul (2 vols., 1286/1869-70).

The *Takwīm al-Buldān*, a descriptive geography supplemented by physical and mathematical data in tabular form (derived mainly from the Arabic translation of Ptolemy, the tenth-century *K. al-atawāl*, al-Bīrūnī and Ibn Sa'd al-Maghrībī (g.w.)), their divergences being noted) and completed in 721/1321, largely replaced all earlier geographical works. It is extensively quoted by al-Kalāshandī (g.w.), and several later abridgements were made, including one in Turkish by Muḥ. b. 'Alī Siphāzade (d. 997/1589). Individual sections were edited and translated by European scholars from the seventeenth century (John Greaves, London 1650; J. B. Koehler, Leipzig 1766; etc.). The entire work was edited by J. T. Reinaud and MacGuckin de Slane (Paris 1840) and translated by Reinaud (Paris 1848) and Stanislas Guyard (Paris 1883), the first volume of the translation consisting of a classic survey entitled *Introduction générale à la géographie des Orientaux*. The judgments of scholars on Abū 'L-Fidā's geography have differed widely, from "a rather poor compilation of earlier sources" (J. H. Kramers, in *Legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1915, 27; cf. C. E. Dugher, *Abū Ḥamid al-Granadino*, Madrid 1953, 182) to G. Sartori (see *DiM.*), for whom Abū'l-Fidā is "the greatest geographer of his age". See also the art. *ḡUGRĀFIYA*.

**Bibliography:** Autobiography (extracted from the History), trans. de Slane, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Orientaux* i, 166-186 (see also *Appendix 744-51*); *Tahābāt*, 7:7-128 (see also *Appendix 744-51*); *Tahābāt*, 7:7-128; *al-Idām*, Suppl., Leiden MS. 785; Kutubī, *Faṣl* (Cairo 1951), i, 70; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Duwar*

*al-hāmīna*, Hyderabad 1348, i, 371-3; Suhbī, *Tahābāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, vi, 84-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, ix, 16, 23, 24, 39, 58-62, 74, 93, 100, 292-4 (largely reproduced in Makrīf, *Sulūk*, i, Cairo 1941, 87, 89, 90, 137, 142, 166, 196, 202, 235); idem, *Les Biographies du Manḥāl Sa'ī* (G. Wiet, Cairo 1932) no. 432; F. Wistenfeld, *Geschichte schreiber der Araber*, 1881, 101-6; Brockelmann, II, 44-6; S II 44; M. Hartmann, *Das Muḥaddithab*, Weimar 1896, 101; Carra de Vaux, *Les Peussiers de l'islam*, Paris, i, 139-46; G. Sartori, *Introduction to the History of Science*, ii, Baltimore 1947, 200, 308, 795-9; A. Ates in *Oriens*, 1932, 44.

ABU FIRĀS AL-HAMDĀNĪ, poetic cognomen of AL-HĀRĪN b. Abū 'L-'ĀLĀ' Sa'īd b. HAMDĀN TAGHĪBĪ, Arab poet, born in 320/932, probably in 'Irāk. Sa'īd, himself a poet, was killed by his nephew Nājir al-Dawla Hasan on attempting to occupy Mawṣil in 323/935. The mother of Abū Fīrās, a Greek *uṣm* *salūd*, moved with her son to Aleppo after his occupation by the poet's cousin Sayf al-Dawla in 333/944, and there he was trained under the eye of Sayf al-Dawla, who also married his sister. In 336/947-8 he was appointed to the governorship of Manbij (and later also of Harrān), where, in spite of his youth, he distinguished himself in the conflicts with the Nizārī tribes of Diyār Madar and the Syrian desert. He also frequently accompanied Sayf al-Dawla in his Byzantine expeditions, and was captured in 348/951 but succeeded in escaping from imprisonment at Kharrāḡana by leaping on horseback into the Euphrates. In 351/962 he was again captured at Manbij during the Greek operations preliminary to the siege of Aleppo, and taken to Constantinople where he remained, in spite of his entreaties to Sayf al-Dawla, until the general exchange of prisoners in 355/966. He was then appointed governor of Hims and in the year after Sayf al-Dawla's death attempted to revolt against his son and successor (and his own nephew) Abū'l-Ma'ālī, but was defeated, captured and killed by the latter's general Karghawayh, a Dīmuḥdī, i, 357/4 April 968.

The reputation of Abū Fīrās owes much to his personal qualities. Handsome in person, of noble and brave, generous, and extolled by his contemporaries as "excelling in every virtue" (though also egotistic and rashly ambitious), he lived up to the Arab ideal of chivalry which he expressed in his poetry. This is probably the thought which underlies the often-quoted phrase of Ibn 'Abdāb: "Poetry began with a king (sc. Inru' al-Kayy) and ended with a king (sc. Abū Fīrās)". His earliest output is composed of *hazā'ir* of the classical type, devoted to praise of his family's nobility and warlike deeds (notably a *ra'yūya* of 225 lines recounting the history of the Hamdanid house) or to self-praise, and shorter lyrical pieces on anatomy or friendship themes of the 'Irākī type. The former are remarkable for their sincerity, directness, and natural vigour, in contrast to the metaphorical elaboration of his chief rival at the court of Sayf al-Dawla, al-Mutanabbī; the latter are elegant trifles, formal and unoriginal. Noteworthy also are his outspokenly *Shi'ite* odes, satirizing the 'Abbasids. But it is more especially on the poems of his captivity, the *Rūmīyāt*, that his fame rests. In these he gives expression in affecting and eloquent terms to the captive's yearning for home and friends, mingled with unselfish self-praise, reproach to Sayf al-Dawla for the delay in ransoming him, and bitter complaints at being neglected.



His *diwan* was edited with a commentary (largely from the poet himself) shortly after his death by his tutor and friend, the grammarian Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/960). The manuscripts present, however, so many variations in text and arrangement that other recensions must also have been circulated, including probably that of al-Babbāghā (d. 398/1008; see Tanūkhī, *Ibid.*). All the earlier defective editions (Bayrūt 1873, 1900, 1920) are superseded by the critical edition of S. Dahhān (3 vols., Bayrūt 1941), with full bibliography.

**Bibliography:** Tanūkhī, *Niḡmāt al-Mubādara*, i, London 1921, 110-2; *Tha'ālibī, Yaṭima*, i, 22-62 (Cairo 1, 27-71); also ed. and translated with an introd. by R. Dvofak, *Abū Firs, ein arab. Dichter und Held*, Leiden 1895; Ibn Khāllikān, no. 146; Brockelmann i, 88; S. i, 142-4; M. Canard, *Sayf al-Daula* (recueil de textes), Alger-Paris 1934, index; idem, *Hist. de la Dynastie des Bānū al-Mu'izz*, i, Alger 1937, 379, 395 f., 507 ff., 669 f., 763, 772, 796, 810, 824; R. Ritter, in *Oriens* 1948, 377-85. (H. A. R. Gibb)

**ABU FUDAYK** 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'UḤAYY, a Khāridgite agitator, of the Banu Kays b. Tha'ālabā. Originally associated with Nāfi' b. al-Azrak (q.v.), he left him to join Najdā b. 'Amr (q.v.), whom he did not meet. He was a controversialist, and certain differences of opinion that arose between them after this murder he gained control over Bahrayn (72/691) and succeeded in withstanding the attack of an army from Basra sent against him by 'Abd al-Malik. Shortly afterwards (73/693) a second expedition, consisting of 10,000 men from Basra and commanded by 'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ma'nār succeeded in defeating him.

**Bibliography:** 'Abū 'Alī, no. 112; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 662; Balādhuri, *Ansh*, v, 346, xi (= *Anonymi arab. Chronik*, ed. Abwardt), 143 ff.; Tabarī, ii, 829, 852 f.; Ash'urī, *Mahālat*, 107; Shahrāstānī, (on margin of Ibn Hāzim, *Fisāl*), i, 162-167; R. Brünnow, *Die Gharāshān*, 47 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionen*, 32. See also *ghawāṣṣ*.

(M. Th. Houtsma\*)

**ABU FUTRUS** (see NAME ABU FUTRUS).

**ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ HASAN** (see MAKKA).

**ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ AL-RĀZĪ**, Persian commentator of the Qur'ān. He lived between 480/1087 and 525/1131, fixed by conjecture. Among his disciples are Shāfi'ī theologians Ibn Shahrāshūb and Ibn Bārbūya (q.v.), who describes him as a scholar, preacher, commentator of the Qur'ān and a pious man. According to al-Shuḥrātī (*Madjālis al-Mu'minin*) he was a contemporary of al-Zamakhsharī, whom he quoted as his master—which would explain the Mu'tazilism of his commentary. Mub. Karwān has proved that his commentary could not date from before 510/1116. He claimed that he was a descendant of the Companion Nāfi' b. Budayr. His *Rawḍ al-Qiṣṣa wa-Rawḍ al-Diyāna* (Teheran 1905, in two volumes; 1937, in three volumes) is one of the earliest—if not the earliest—of the Shī'ite commentaries composed in Persian. In his introduction he declared that he gave preference to this language because those who knew Arabic were in the minority. The commentary, preceded by an introduction concerning the exegesis of the Qur'ān, deals with grammar, rhetoric, juridical and religious commands and the traditions about the origin of the verses. The influence of al-Tabarī's *Taṭīr* can be perceived; the Shī'ite tendency is less pronounced than in the later Persian commentaries.—In ad-

dition to the commentary he is said to be the author of a commentary on the *Shikāb al-Aḥbāb* of Mub. b. Sa'īda al-Kudā'ī (Brockelmann i, 343).

**Bibliography:** Storey, section 4, no. 6; H. A. Massé, in *Mélanges W. Marasi*, Paris 1950, 243 ff. (H. Massé)

**ABU GHĀNIM** BISHR B. GHĀNIM AL-KHURĀSĀNĪ, eminent Iḥādī lawyer of the end of the 2nd/8th and the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, a native of Khurāsān. On his way to the Rustamid capital, 'Abd al-Wāḥid (168-208/784-822) at Tāhārt, to offer him his book of *Madaṣṣana*, he stayed with the Iḥādī ḡayyāḥ, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Amrūs b. Fath, of Djabal Nafīsa, who rendered a service to Iḥādī literature by conserving in the Maghrib a copy of the work.

The *Madaṣṣana* of Abū Ghānim is the oldest Iḥādī treatise on general jurisprudence, according to the teaching of Abū 'Ubayda Muslim al-Tānimī (d. under al-Manṣūr, 136-58/754-75) (cf. *awṣaf*) as transmitted by his disciples. The manuscript of the *Madaṣṣana*, copied by 'Amrūs b. Fath, was composed of twelve parts; the titles are given in the catalogue of Iḥādī books compiled by Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Barrādī (8th/14th century). The book has become very rare; according to information received from S. Sogut, a manuscript in script was in the possession of an Iḥādī ḡayyāḥ in Guernata (Mzāb). Al-Barrādī's catalogue also quotes another law book by Abū Ghānim.

**Bibliography:** *Shammākhī, al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 228; Sālimī, *al-Lam'a*, in a collection of six Iḥādī works published in Algiers 1326, 184, 197-8; A. de Motylinski, in *Bull. Corr. Afr.*, 1883, 18, nos. 11-12, 21-22.

**ABU 'L-GHĀZĪ BAHĀDUR KHĀN**, ruler of Khīwa and Caghātāy historian, born probably on 16 Rabi' i, 1012/24 Aug. 1603, son of 'Arab Muḥammad Khān, of the Özbek dynasty of the Shaybānids (q.v.), and of a princess of the same family. He spent his youth in Urgandj at that time largely depopulated owing to the change of course of the Oxus, at the court of his father, who was khān of this place. In 1029/1619 he was appointed to be his father's lieutenant in Khūh, but when his father was killed soon afterwards in a rebellion of two of his other sons, had to take refuge at Samarkand with Imām-kulī Khān. After long fighting he, together with his brother Isfandiyyār, succeeded in ousting the rebellious brothers, with the aid of some Turkmens. In 1031/1621 he became lieutenant of his brother in Urgandj, but quarrelled with him, in connection with Turkmens tribal feuds, in 1036/1626 and had to flee to Tashkent, where he lived for two years at the Kazakh court. After another attempt to seize the throne in Khīwa, he spent ten years (from 1039/1629) as an exile at the court of the Safawids, mostly at Isfahān. Here he widened his knowledge of the most of his people, acquired at the Kazakh court, by the study of Persian sources. By the evidence of his translation, he knew Persian and Arabic well. After his flight from Persia he perfected his knowledge at the Kalnink court, by collecting Mongol traditions.

It was only after the death of Isfandiyyār (1052/1643) that Abū 'l-Ghāzī became (in 1054/1645) khān of Khīwa. As khān, he maintained diplomatic relations with all his neighbours, including Russia, interrupted by repeated wars. Expeditions against the Turkmens in 1054/1644, 1058/1646, 1058/1648, 1062/1651 and 1064/1653, led finally to the submission of some of these tribes in Kara-Kum and

Mangishlak. He was engaged also against the Kalninks in 1059/1649, 1064/1653 and 1067/1656, and against Būghdā in 1066/1653 and 1071/1662. Occasionally he allowed Russian caravans passing through his territory to be plundered, but had, in the interests of his own trade if for no other reasons, to pay compensation. For the rest, he endeavoured to further the welfare of his country and to promote scholarship. The military gifts which he ascribes to himself were, according to less partial sources, rather modest. He died in 1074/1661, shortly after he had abdicated in favour of his son.

Of his works we possess: 1) *Shedire-i Tārīkime*, composed in 1070/1659, mainly derived from Maḡhdāl-Dīn and the Oghuznāma, but with additions of independent value. The Caghātāy text was published in facsimile by the Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1937; there is a Russian translation by A. Tumaniskī, *Shakhshōd* 1892, 2) *Shedire-i Ansh* (*Shedire-i Türk*), which he left unfinished at his death; the part from 1054/1644 was finished by his son Abū 'l-Muzaḥfir Anshā Muḥammad Bahādur in 1076/1665. This work contains the history of the Shaybānids from the middle of the 15th century, and is the main source for the dynasty up to 1074/1663, though written mostly "from memory", without direct use of sources, and widely defective in number, who had been expelled from the capital, decided to emigrate and try their luck in the Mediterranean. They succeeded in gaining a foothold in Egypt and occupied Alexandria for a few years. Besieged by the governor, 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir, they had to capitulate in 212/827 and then decided to attempt a landing in Crete. Under the leadership of their chief, 'Abd Ḥafṣ al-Azīz b. Tāhir, they captured the island, which thus passed under Muslim domination. There is little information about the chronology of the dynasty founded by al-Ballūtī and the history of the island during that period. All that is known, thanks to Byzantine historians, who call Abū Ḥafṣ *Apochope* or *Apochopeia*, is that all attempts by the Byzantines to recapture Crete were in vain. It was also in vain that in 225/840 the emperor Theophilus addressed himself to 'Abd al-Rahmān II (q.v.) to ask for the restitution of the island. During its Muslim occupation, Crete maintained economic and cultural relations with al-Andalus, and its capital, al-Bhandak (modern Candia), was quite a brilliant intellectual centre.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Khāldūn, *Iḥār*, iv, 211; Kindī (6/MS XIX), 158-184; M. Gaspar Remiro, *Corcheos musulmanes en Alejandria y Creta, Homenaje Codera*, Saragosa 1904, 217-33; A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i (Fr. edition by Grégoire and Canard), Bruxelles 1935, 49 ff.; Zambaur, nos. 48, 70; A. Freixas, *España en los siglos dorados bizantinos, Cuadernos de Hist. de Esp.*, Buenos Aires, xi, 1949, 21-2; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 169-73, ii, 145-6. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

**ABU ḤAFṢ 'UMAR B. DJAMĪ**, Iḥādī scholar, probably a native of the Djabal Nafīsa, mentioned in al-Shammākhī's *K. al-Siyar* (Cairo 1301, 561-2), in a short note that gives no chronological information, but from which it may be deduced that he lived at the end of the 8th/14th or the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

He translated into Arabic the old 'Aḥida of the Iḥādīs of the Maghrib, originally composed in Berber. This translation was in use, at the time of al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1521-2), in the island of Djabar and in the other Iḥādī communities of the Maghrib, excepting the Djabal Nafīsa. It is still the catechism of the Iḥādīs of the Mzāb and of Djabar. The 'Aḥida

of Abū Ḥafṣ was the subject of numerous commentaries: by al-Shammākhī (circulating in MSS); by Abū Salaymān Ḍa'ūd b. Ibrahim al-Thalātī of Djabar (d. 967/1556-60) (see Eszica di Kayer, *Description et histoire de l'île de Djerba*, Tunis 1884, 9-10 text, 9-10 transl.); and finally those by 'Umar b. Ramadān al-Thalātī (12th/18th century), autographed or printed after the 'Aḥida, in the editions of Algeria (e.g. Constantine 1323) or Cairo.

The 'Aḥida of Abū Ḥafṣ was published and translated, with notes taken from the Iḥādī commentaries, by A. de Motylinski, *L'Épique des Abadites, Recueil Mém. et Textes XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, 305-45.

(A. DE MOTYLSKI—T. LEWICKI)

**ABU ḤAFṢ 'UMAR B. SHU'AYB AL-BALLŪTĪ**, native of Pedroche (Bitrawj) in the Faḡs al-Ballūtī, a district to the north of Cordova, founder of a minor dynasty which ruled over the island of Crete (Iḥrītīth [q.v.]) between 212/827 and 350/961, when his descendant 'Abd al-Azīz b. Shu'ayb was dethroned and the island recaptured by the general and future Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas.

After the celebrated revolt of the Suburb which broke out in Cordova in 202/818 and was harshly suppressed by the amir Hakam I (cf. *UḤAYYAD* of *awṣaf*), a group of Andalusians, several thousand in number, who had been expelled from the capital, decided to emigrate and try their luck in the Mediterranean. They succeeded in gaining a foothold in Egypt and occupied Alexandria for a few years. Besieged by the governor, 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir, they had to capitulate in 212/827 and then decided to attempt a landing in Crete. Under the leadership of their chief, 'Abd Ḥafṣ al-Azīz b. Tāhir, they captured the island, which thus passed under Muslim domination. There is little information about the chronology of the dynasty founded by al-Ballūtī and the history of the island during that period. All that is known, thanks to Byzantine historians, who call Abū Ḥafṣ *Apochope* or *Apochopeia*, is that all attempts by the Byzantines to recapture Crete were in vain. It was also in vain that in 225/840 the emperor Theophilus addressed himself to 'Abd al-Rahmān II (q.v.) to ask for the restitution of the island. During its Muslim occupation, Crete maintained economic and cultural relations with al-Andalus, and its capital, al-Bhandak (modern Candia), was quite a brilliant intellectual centre.

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**ABU ḤAFṢ 'UMAR B. YAHYĀ AL-HINTĀTĪ** (an Arabic relative adjective formed from the name of a Berber tribe of the Anti-Atlas in Morocco, the Hintātā, or, according to the more current Berber form, Inti, the chief companion of the Almohade Mahdī, Ibn Tūmārtī, q.v.) was the most active supporter of the dynasty of the Mu'minids (see 'ANU al-MU'MIN). It was his own grandson, the amir 'Abd Zakariyā' Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid who, in 634/1236-37, renounced his allegiance to the Mu'minids in Ifrikiya and founded, with himself and his descendants as rulers, the dynasty of the Hafṣids (q.v.), which was to be called after their ancestor.



Abū Ḥafs Infi—on whom the "Memoirs" of al-Bayhaqī [g.n.] is the most detailed source, whose information is most likely to be authentic—bore, in common with all his fellow-tribesmen before the activity of the Almohade Maḥdī, a Berber name, which appears to have been Faḥd b. Ḥ. Maḥdī. Ibn Tamiẓ himself, after he had persuaded him to support his cause, gave him the name of Abū Ḥafs 'Umar, in memory of the famous companion and lieutenant of the Prophet. Their first meeting, after the Maḥdī's return to his native mountains, can be placed in the year 514/1120-21; Abū Ḥafs, at this time, was apparently about 30 years old. From that time on, he was to make a remarkable career for himself, showing an extremely developed political sense, a more and more marked ascendancy over the first Almohade caliph, his own "creature", and enjoying the respect of all those who benefited under the new régime, from the highest to the lowest; in short, he was the "eminence grise" of the Almohade system which owed to him more than any other the fact that it did not fall to pieces at the outset. Until his death at a ripe age, in 571/1175-76, this intrepid Berber, vigorous general, valued counsellor and venerated *shaykh*, appeared continually in the forefront of the historical scene of the Maghrib, al-Andalus and Ifrīkiya. For details of his long political and military activities, see the articles *al-Muwāḥḥidūn* and *al-Muḥaddithūn*.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, index; *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, Paris 1942, index; Ibn al-Kaṭṭān, in *Miḥlās R. Bassel*, Paris 1925, II, 335-393, and an unpublished manuscript on the history of the Almohades (*Naṣm al-ḥimān*); 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī al-Mu'wāḥid, ed. Dozy and transl. Fagnon, index; the chronicles of the post-Almohade period (*Occident*); al-Buhārī al-Muḥaddith, Ibn 'Idhārī's *Bayan*, Ibn Khaldūn's *Thar*, Rawd al-Khāṣṣ, *Ta'rikh al-dawlatayn*, etc.; Orient: Ibn al-Aḥḥār, *Nuwayrī*, etc.—The best general account of Abū Ḥafs Infi, up to now, is that given by R. Brunschwig, *La Berbérie occidentale sous les Hafsiides*, I, Paris 1940, 13-16. His career will be treated in detail in the forthcoming work (in Spanish) by A. Hucil Miranda on the Almohades and the dynasty of the Mu'minids in North Africa and in Spain.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**ABŪ ḤAMĪD AL-ĠHARNĀTĪ**, MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN (variant al-Rahmān) B. SULAYMĀN AL-MARĪNĪ AL-KAYLĪ, Andalusian traveller and collector of *'aḥādīṭ* [g.n.] at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the perfect type of the Occidental *rakābiya*, drawn by the desire of *jalāl al-'ilm* and the spirit of adventure to the farthest limits of the lands of Islam. There is little biographical information about him and the main dates of his adventurous life are given by himself in his works. He was born in Granada in 475/1080, no doubt studied in his native city, and perhaps stayed some time in Uḡla (Uḡliḡ); when he was about thirty years old he left his native country, never to return. First he spent some years in Ifrīkiya, then embarked in 511/1117-18 for Alexandria, stayed first in that town and later in Cairo, until 515/1123. After a stop at Damascus, he went to Baghdad, where he spent four years. In 521/1129 he was in Aḥlat in Persia and subsequently near the mouth of the Volga. He went, much later, to Hungary, staying there for three years, until 548/1153. He then travelled through the lands of the Sakābiya (Eastern Europe),

and reached *Kh'arizm*; from there he went, via Bughārā, Marw, Nishāpūr, Rayy, Iṣfahān and al-Basra, to Arabia, to perform the pilgrimage. In 550/1155 he settled in Baghdad, but left six years later for Mosul. He then went to Syria, and after staying in Aleppo, established himself at Damascus, where he died in 565/1169-70.

It was in Baghdad, and then in Mosul, that Abū Ḥamīd al-Ġharnāṭī composed the two works that made him famous. In Baghdad he wrote for the well-known vizier Yahyā b. Hubayra *al-Ma'arib an al-'Aḥādīṭ al-Maghrībīy*, in Mosul, on the demand of his protector and Meccan, Abū Ḥafs al-Ardābilī (cf. Brockelmann, S. 783-4), his *Tahḍīb al-Aḥādīṭ* (or *al-Aḥādīṭ wa-Nuḥḍat al-'Aḥādīṭ*, which was abundantly cited by Muslim authors in the West as well as in the East. These two books, which are extant in numerous MSS, are full, not only of interesting information and exact records, but also of legendary or marvellous accounts. They have formed the object of elaborate monographs, with edition of the text and annotated translation; the *Tahḍīb* was published by G. Ferrand in *JA*, 1925, I, 148, 193-303; the *Ma'arib* by C. E. Dubler, with a Spanish translation and a hypercritical study (*Abū Ḥamīd al-Ġharnāṭī y su relación de viaje por tierras euroasiáticas*, Madrid 1952). A translation of the description of Rome contained in the *Tahḍīb* was published, from a Palermo MS, in the same city, by C. Crispo Moncada in 1900.

**Bibliography:** Makkarī, *Analekti*, I, 617-8; *Hadith* [Khalifa], II, 222, IV, 189-90; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, 229-31; Brockelmann, S. I, 877-8.

**ABŪ ḤAMMŪ I** MUḤA B. ABĪ SA'ĪD *'UḡḡAMAS* B. YAGMURASAS, fourth king of the 'Abd al-Wāḥid dynasty. Proclaimed on 21 Shawwāl 707/15 April 1308, he had first to repair the damage caused by the siege of Tlemcen by the Marinids; he then prepared the defence of his capital against external attacks and fortified it in the expectation of a new siege. In the exterior, he restored his authority over the Banū Tūḡlūn and the Maghāwra and pushed as far as Būḡiyya (Bougie) and Constantine, while in the west he hindered the Marinids from advancing beyond Waḡḡa (Oujda). Preoccupied by the upkeep of a strong army, he could give little thought to the material and intellectual situation of his subjects. He showed extreme harshness even towards his son Abū Ṭaḡhūf, who had him murdered on 22 Dhuḥda I 718/22 July 1318 and was proclaimed as his successor.

**Bibliography:** see 'ABD AL-WĀḤID. (A. BEL)

**ABŪ ḤAMMŪ II** MUḤA B. ABĪ YAKŪB YUSUF B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. YAHYĀ B. YAGMURASAS, king of the 'Abd al-Wāḥid dynasty. Born in Spain in 723/1323-4, he was brought up at the court of Tlemcen. After the victory of the Marinid army over his uncles Abū Sa'īd and Abū Ṭāḥib, in Dhuḥda I 753/June 1352, he had to take refuge with the Hafsid court of Tūnis. When the relations between the Hafsiids and Marinids deteriorated, he was put at the head of an army and reconquered Tlemcen, where he was proclaimed as king on Rab'ī I 760/9 February 1359. In 772/1370 the capital again fell under the rule of the Marinids, who, however, evacuated it in 774/1372. Abū Ḥammū, returning to his dominions, had to face several revolts and especially the hostility of his son Abū Ṭaḡhūf II [g.n.], who attacked Tlemcen at the head of a Marinid army in 791; Abū Ḥammū was killed in the battle, on 1 Dhu'l-Hajja 790/31 Nov. 1389.

Abū Ḥammū had a highly cultivated mind and sought the society of scholars and poets; he himself composed a treatise on political ethics. His secretary, intimate friend and historian, was Yahyā b. Khaldūn, who was assassinated in Ramaḍān 780/Dec. 1379, at the instigation of Abū Ṭaḡhūf.

**Bibliography:** see 'ABD AL-WĀḤID.

(A. BEL)  
**ABU HAMZA** [see AL-MUQTAR B. 'UWAYR]  
**ABŪ ḤANĪFA AL-NU'MĀN B. ṬAMR**, theologian and religious lawyer, the eponym of the school of the Hanafīs [g.n.]. He died in 150/767 at the age of 70, and was therefore born about the year 80/699. His grandfather Zūḥrā is said to have been brought as a slave from Kābul to Kūfa, and set free by a member of the Arabian tribe of Taym-Allāh b. Ṭa'āḥ; he and his descendants became thus clients (*mawālī*) of this tribe, and Abū Ḥanīfa is occasionally called al-Taymī. Very little is known of his life, except that he lived in Kūfa as a manufacturer and merchant of a kind of silk material (*ḥabaz*). It is certain that he attended the lecture meetings of Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān (d. 120) who taught religious law in Kūfa, and perhaps on the occasion of the *'aḥādīṭ* of those of 'Alī b. Abī Rabbāh (d. 114 or 115) in Mecca. The long lists, given by his later biographers, of authorities from whom he is supposed to have "heard" traditions, are to be treated with caution. After the death of Ḥammād, Abū Ḥanīfa became the foremost authority on questions of religious law in Kūfa and the main representative of the Kūfian school of law. He collected a great number of private disciples to whom he taught his doctrine, but he was never a *hādī*. He died in prison in Baghdad, where he lies buried; a dome was built over his tomb in 459/1066. The quarter around the mausoleum is still called al-A'zamiyya, al-Imām al-A'zam being Abū Ḥanīfa's customary epithet.

The biographical legend will have it that the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr called him to the newly founded capital, wanted to appoint him as a *hādī* there, and imprisoned him because of his steady refusal. A variant makes already the Umayyad governor Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra, under Marwān II, offer him the post of *hādī* in Kūfa and flog him in order to make him accept it, but again without success. These and similar stories are meant to explain the end of Abū Ḥanīfa in prison, and the fact, surprising to later generations, that the master should not have been a *hādī*. The truth is probably that he compromised himself by unguarded remarks at the time of the rising of the 'Alids al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his brother Ibrāhīm, in 145, was transported to Baghdad and imprisoned there (al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, xii, 329).

Abū Ḥanīfa did not himself compose any works on religious law, but discussed his opinions with and dictated them to his disciples. Some of the works of these last are therefore the main sources for Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine, particularly the *Ḥabṣ* [d. Abī Ḥanīfa] *wa'Abī Laylā* and the *Radd 'alā Siyar al-Awā'if* by Abū Yūsuf, and the *al-Ḥudūd* and the version of Malik's *Muwatta'* by al-Shaybānī. (The formal *ṣawāb al-Shaybānī*—Abū Yūsuf—Abū Ḥanīfa, that occurs in many works of al-Shaybānī, designating as it does merely the general relationship of pupil and master, is of no value in this connection). For the doctrine that Abū Ḥanīfa himself had received from Ḥammād, the main sources are the *al-Ḥāḍir* of Abū Yūsuf and the *al-Aḥād* of al-Shaybānī. The comparison of Abū Ḥanīfa's successors with his

predecessors enables us to assess his achievement in developing Muhammadan legal thought and doctrine. Abū Ḥanīfa's legal thought is in general much superior to that of his contemporary Ibn Abī Laylā (d. 148), the *hādī* of Kūfa in his time. With respect to him and to contemporary legal reasoning in Kūfa in general, Abū Ḥanīfa seems to have played the role of a theoretical systematizer who achieved a considerable progress in technical legal thought. Not being a *hādī*, he was less restricted than Ibn Abī Laylā by considerations of practice; at the same time, he was less firmly guided by the administration of justice. Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine is as a rule systematically consistent. There is so much new, explicit legal thought embodied in it, that an appreciable part of it was found defective and was rejected by his disciples. His legal thought is not only more broadly based and more thoroughly applied than that of his older contemporaries, but technically more highly developed, more circumspect, and more refined. A high degree of reasoning, often somewhat ruthless and unbalanced, with little regard for the practice, is typical of Abū Ḥanīfa's legal thought as a whole. Abū Ḥanīfa used his personal judgment (e.g., 12/2) and conclusions by analogy (*hiyāl*) to the extent customary in the schools of religious law in his time; and as little as the representatives of the other schools, the Medinese for example, was he inclined to abandon the traditional doctrine for the sake of "isolated" traditions from the Prophet, traditions related by single individuals in any one generation, such as began to become current in Islamic religious science during the lifetime of Abū Ḥanīfa, in the first half of the second century A. H. When this last kind of tradition, two generations later, thanks mainly to the work of al-Shāfi'i, had gained official recognition, Abū Ḥanīfa for adventitious reasons was made the scapegoat for the resistance to the "traditions of the Prophet" and, parallel to this, for the excessive of personal judgment in the ancient schools of law, and many sayings shocking to the later taste were attributed to him. Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) made himself the mouthpiece of this hostile tendency. The legal devices (*hiyāl*) which Abū Ḥanīfa had developed in the normal course of his technical legal reasoning, were criticised too, but they became later one of his special titles to fame (cf. Schacht, in *Id.*, 1926, 221 ff.).

As a theologian, too, Abū Ḥanīfa has exercised a considerable influence. He is the eponym of a popular tradition of dogmatic theology that lays particular stress on the ideas of the community of the Muslims, of its unifying principle, the *umma*, of the majority of the faithful who follow the middle of the road and avoid extremes, and that relies on scriptural rather than on rational proofs. This tradition is represented by the *al-Aḥim wa'-'Mata'allim* (wrongly attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa) and by the *Fikḥ al-Aḥim*, which both originated in the circle of Abū Ḥanīfa's disciples, and later by the works of Hanafī theologians, including the creed of al-Ṭabṭāwī (d. 321/932) and the catechism of Abū 'Alaysh al-Samarikandī (d. 383/993) which has always been very popular in Malaya and Indonesia, in territory which in matters of religious law is solidly Shāfi'i. This dogmatic tradition arose out of the popular background of the theological movement of the Muḥaddiths [g.n.], to which Abū Ḥanīfa himself belonged. The only authentic document by Abū Ḥanīfa which we possess is, in fact, his letter to 'Uḡḡamān al-Battī, in which he defends his *mudh'ite*







period. At that time the Coptic name *Helit* (*Helik*), or as al-Kudā'ī (quoted by al-Makrīdī) has it: *Helakā* (*Helak*), was also still known. The Arabic Abu 'l-Hawl is most probably a popular etymology based on the Coptic designation; the initial *H* probably represents the Coptic article, which has been transformed in Arabic, as often happened, into *Abū*. In the old tradition the name Abu 'l-Hawl was applied only to the head of the homobed sphinx, as the body was covered by sand in the Middle Ages and was designated only in 1872. Modern Arabic authors use the word for "sphinx" in general, not only for the sphinx in the vicinity of the pyramids.

The Arabs, who had no knowledge of ancient Egyptian civilization, regarded with superstitious awe the head which reached high above the sand of the desert in majestic dimensions. It was considered to be a talisman preventing the encroachment of the sand on the valley of the Nile, the same magical effect was ascribed by others to the pyramids. Another, female, colossal statue—to judge by the descriptions probably a statue of Isis with the child Horus—which lay on the other shore of the Nile in Fustāt, was considered to be the beloved of Abu 'l-Hawl. She had her back to the river, as Abu 'l-Hawl had his to the desert, and was thought to be talisman against the flooding of Fustāt by high water. This statue was destroyed in 711/1311 by treasure-hunters and its stones were used in the building of a mosque. According to another tradition Abu 'l-Hawl was the effigy of the legendary Ughmūn, to whom the Sībians used to sacrifice white cocks and incense.

The Arabic accounts have but little to contribute to the history of the monument. According to al-Makrīdī the face was apparently no longer intact in 375/985, although later accounts praise its beauty and the harmony of its features, whose reddish colour is frequently mentioned. About 780/1378 a fanatical *ghayk* caused further damage to the statue. *Bibliography*: Makrīdī, *Kātib*, I, 122 ff.; ed. Wiet, II, 123 ff. (with notes); Ibn Dūqūmkī, IV, 21 f.; Makrīdī, 270; Yāqūt, IV, 966; S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, 180; 'Abū Muḥrāk, *al-Kātib al-Dīdāda*, xvi, 44 ff.; E. Reimann, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter*, 98-102; K. Handke, *Ägypten*, 124 f. (C. H. BECKER).

ABU 'L-HAYYAN AL-HAMMAD (see HAMMAD).  
ABU HAYYAN ABU 'L-ḤAYYAN MUHAMMAD b. YUSUF al-GHARNĀTĪ, the most distinguished Arab grammarian of the first half of the 12th century, was born in Granada, Špawwāl 654/Nov. 1256, and died in Cairo, Šafar 745/July 1344, where, after 10 years of productive study and travel throughout the entire Arab world, he had served as a professor of the *Kur'ān* disciplines in the Ṭūlūn mosque. This creative scholar is reported to have written 63 works, many of them multi-volumed, on Arabic and other languages (notably Turkish, Ethiopic, and Persian), *Kur'ān*ic studies, traditions, jurisprudence, history, biography, and poetry.

Of the 13 extant works the most important are: *Manḥadj al-Sālik*, a commentary of the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (ed. Sidener Glaser, New Haven 1947); includes, besides text, a complete bio-bibliography of Abū Ḥayyān and a historical sketch of native Arabic grammar; *al-Idrāk li-Lisān al-A'rāb*, the most ancient grammar of Turkish available (ed. A. Caceres, Istanbul 1931; cf. also *Jā*, 1892, 346-351); *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīl*, an extensive commentary on the *Kur'ān* (cf. *Geogr. des Qur.*, III, 243 and Brockelmann, S II, 136).

Abū Ḥayyān's greatness as a grammarian was due not only to his mastery of the linguistic data and control of his predecessors' efforts (he knew Sibawayh's *Kutāb* by heart, for he accorded it an authority in grammar equal to that of *ḥadīth* in religion), but to his remarkably modern approach to descriptive and comparative grammar (cf. S. Glaser, in *JACS*, 1942), as shown both by his willingness to illuminate an Arabic grammatical concept through quotations from other languages and by following such operational principles as "Qibṭi must base rules of Arabic on frequency of occurrence" and "Analogous formations that contradict genuine data found in good speech are not to be permitted". This unusual spirit of objectivity and respect for facts have made of the *Manḥadj al-Sālik* a work of great distinction. Besides elucidating and correcting Ibn Mālik's brilliant if occasionally over-compression of the totality of Arabic grammar into 1000 verses of poetry, the *Manḥadj* presents a miniature bibliography of grammatical science and a panorama of thought on some of its most difficult problems on which the opinions of hundreds of grammarians, *Kur'ān* readers, and lexicographers are cited. It was considered to be obscure by the more scientific taste of a later generation, but written by his pupils Ibn 'Aḥl and Ibn Ḥijām.

*Bibliography*: Makrīdī, *Analekt*, I, 823-62; Kutābī, *Fawā'id*, II, 282, 352-6; Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Askalānī, *al-Durār al-Kāmina*, Hyderabad 1330/1911, IV, 303-8; Suyūṭī, *Daḡayl al-Waḍī*, 121-2; Zarkashī, *Ta'wīḡ al-Fanālaya*, Tunis 1289/1873, I; Brockelmann, II, 109, S II, 136; I. Goldziher, *Die Zāhīdīn*, Leipzig 1884, 188 ff.

(S. GLASER)

ABU HAYYAN AL-TAWHIDI, 'Aḥl b. Muḥ. b. al-'Aḥmās (probably called al-Tawhīdī after the sort of dates called *tawhīd*), man of letters and philosopher of the 4th/10th century. The place of his birth is given either as Nishāpūr, Shīrāz, Wāsiṭ or Baghdād; its date must be placed between 320-202/922. He studied in Baghdād, grammar under al-Sīrāfī and al-Rumādī, *Shāfi'ite* law under Abū Ḥāmid al-Marw al-Rūḡḡī and Abū Bakr al-Shāhī; and also frequented *ṣūfi* masters. He supported himself by acting as a professional scribe. It is said, in a somewhat doubtful passage (see al-Sukūṭī, al-Safādī, al-Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥadjar) that he was, owing to heretical opinions, persecuted by the vizier al-Muḥallabī (d. 352/963). He was in Mecca in 353/964 (*al-Imā'ā*, II, 79; *Basīr*, IV, Cambridge, fol. 167v) and in Rayy in 358/971 (Yāqūt, *Iḡḡād*, II, 292; at the court of Abū 'l-Faḍl b. al-'Amīdī, d. 360/970). From his *al-Muḥāḥadī*, 256, we know that in 361/971 he attended lectures of the philosopher Yāliya b. 'Adī in Baghdād. He tried his luck with the vizier Abū 'l-Faḍl b. al-'Amīdī in Rayy (d. 366/976), to whom he addressed an elaborate epistle; to judge from his hostile sentiments towards the vizier, he did not achieve much. From 367/977 he was employed by Ibn 'Abbād as an amanuensis. In this case, too, he was anything but a success, owing, no doubt, mainly to his own difficult character and sense of superiority (he for example refused to "waste his time" in copying the bulky collection of his master's epistles), and was finally given his dismissal. He felt himself badly treated and avenged himself by a pamphlet containing brilliant caricatures of both Abū 'l-Faḍl b. al-'Amīdī and Ibn 'Abbād (*Ḥamām*—or *Maḥabbat* or *Abḥād*—*al-Waḥayy*; considerable extracts in Yāqūt, I, 281, II, 44 ff., 282 ff., 317 ff.; v. 359 ff., 392 ff., 406 f.).

It was in the period between 359-65/961-73 that he composed his anthology of *adab*, entitled *Basīr al-Kudāmī*, also called *al-Basīr wa'l-Dhahabī*, etc.) in ten volumes (vols. I-V in Fātūh [Istanbul, 3295-9; I-II in Cambridge 134, in *Ḥār Allāh* [Istanbul] and in Manchester 767; unidentified volumes in the 'Umūmiyya [Istanbul, Rāmpūr I, 330, Ambrosiana II]). It was probably Ibn Rayy that he addressed as "Khalafah" the question which the latter answered in his *al-Hawāṣil wa'l-Shawā'id*. After his return to Baghdād, at the end of 370/980, he was recommended by Zayd b. Rīfā'a and Abū 'l-Wafā'a al-Būrdjānī, the mathematician, to Ibn Sa'dūn (also called, after his function as an inspector of the army, al-'Aḥnd—cf. al-Rūḡḡarawī, *Ḍaḡayl Taḡrīb al-Dināw*, 9; hence the confusion in Ibn al-Kūṭī and in modern authors). For him he started his book on Friendship, which was finished, however, only thirty years later. He frequented regularly at this epoch (lectures attended in 371/981, *al-Muḥāḥadī*, 246, 286) the man who exercised the greatest influence on him, namely Abū Sulaymān al-Mantikī (q.v.), who was his main oracle, especially on philosophical matters, but also on every other conceivable subject. Ibn Sa'dūn was appointed by Sa'mān al-Dawla as his vizier in 373/983. Abū Ḥayyān remained an assiduous courier of the vizier, attending his evening receptions where he had to answer the vizier's questions on the most varied topics of philology, literature, philosophy, court- and literary gossip. (He very often reproduces the views of Abū Sulaymān—who lived in retirement and did not attend the court—on the matter in question). At the request of Abū 'l-Wafā'a the mathematician, he compiled for his personal record of thirty-seven of these sessions, under the title of *al-Imā'ā wa'l-Mu'āḥad* (cf. A. Aml and A. al-Zayn, Cairo 1939-44). In 375/985-6 Ibn Sa'dūn fell and was executed, and Abū Ḥayyān apparently remained without a patron. (He wrote for Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Muḥallabī, vizier in Shīrāz for Sa'mān al-Dawla in 382-3/992-3, *al-Muḥāḥadī* wa'l-Muḥallabī; quotations in Yāqūt, I, 15, II, 87, v. 382, 405, vi, 466). Of the later period of his life we know very little; he evidently lived in poverty. It was in these later years that he compiled his *al-Muḥāḥadī* (Bombay 1306, Cairo 1937)—both very faulty editions), a collection of 100 conversations on various philosophical subjects. The chief speaker is again Abū Sulaymān, but there appear all the other members of the Baghdād philosophical circle. *al-Muḥāḥadī* and *al-Imā'ā wa'l-Mu'āḥad* are mines of information about contemporary intellectual life and they should prove invaluable for a reconstruction of the doctrines of the Baghdād philosophers.—Towards the end of his life Abū Ḥayyān burned his books, alleging as reason the neglect in which he had to live for twenty years. In the preface to his treatise on Friendship (*al-Sādika wa'l-Sadīk*), printed together with a short treatise on the use of science, Istanbul 1307), which he finished in 400/1009, he makes similar complaints. A guide book to the cemetery of Shīrāz (*Shād al-Faḥr wa'l-Faḥr al-Azhar*, 17) claims that the tomb of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī which it calls, however, Ahmad b. 'Abbās) was to be seen in Shīrāz and gives as the date of his death 411/1021.

Abū Ḥayyān was a master of Arabic style. He was a great admirer of al-Dīhīrī, in whose praise he wrote a special treatise, *Taḡrīb al-Dīhīrī* (quoted by Yāqūt, I, 124, II, 86, vi, 58, 69; Ibn Abī 'Hādīd, *Sharḥ Naḡdī al-Balgha*, III, 282 f.), and his wish to imitate the style of the great prose-writer is evident.

His talent is most apparent in the passages, frequent in his books, where he characterizes people. As for his beliefs, he does not seem to have had any original system. He was obviously impressed by Abū Sulaymān's Neo-platonic system, which the latter shared with most of the other contemporary Baghdād philosophers. Like the other members of the circle, Abū Ḥayyān also showed an interest in Sūfism, but not enough to make him a regular Sūfi. His *al-Ṭibār al-Iḥkāmī* (ed. 'A. Badawī, Cairo 1951) "consists of prayers and homilies and only occasional references to Sūfi technicalities". Abū Ḥayyān was coupled with Ibn al-Rāwandī and al-Ma'arri as one of the *zindīk* of Islam (*JRAS*, 1905, 80) but his extant works scarcely justify this assertion" (D. S. Margulouth, in *EP*, s.v.).

*Bibliography*: Yāqūt, *Iḡḡād*, v, 380 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 707; Sukūṭ, IV, 21; Safādī, *Wāfi*, in *JRAS*, 1905, 80 ff.; Dhahabī, *Muḥāḥad*, III, 353; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, IV, 369; Suyūṭī, *Buḡya*, 348; Brockelmann, I, 283, S I, 435; Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Karwīnī, *Sharḥ-i Ḥāl-i Abū Sulaymān Mantikī Sīghadī*, Chalou-sur-Saone, 1933, 32 ff. (also in *Ḥād Maḥallā*, Tehran 1935); 'Abd al-Razzāq Muḥyī 'l-Dīn, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī* (in Arabic), Cairo 1949; I. Keilani, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī* (in French), Beyrouth 1950.—Abū Ḥayyān's little treatise on writing, ed. F. Roenthal, *Arī Islamica*, 1948, 1 ff.; three epistles (*Riḍālat al-Imāma*—quoted by Ibn al-'Arabī, *Muḥammadi*, II, 77; Ibn Abī 'l-Hādīd, *Sharḥ Naḡdī al-Balgha*, IV, 594 ff., etc., and containing a message purporting to be addressed by Abū Bakr to 'Aḥl, but which, it has been suspected, was invented by Abū Ḥayyān himself; *R. al-Hayy*, from a philosophical point of view; and the above mentioned treatise on writing) have been edited by I. Keilani, *Ṭalāṭh Rasā'id*, Damascus 1952. An extract from al-Zuḥlī, *al-Rūḡḡarawī*, 75. (S. M. STERN)

ABU 'L-HUDHAYL AL-'ALLAF, MUHAMMAD b. AL-HUDHAYL b. 'UBAYD ALLAH b. MAKHUL, with the *nisba* of al-'Aḥmās (being a *maḥall* of 'Aḥd al-Kays), the first speculative theologian of the Mu'tazila. He was born in Basra, where he lived in the quarter of the *al-lāḥūn*, or foragers (whence his surname); the date of his birth is not known (335/753-4 or 342/751-2 or even 312/728-9. In 203/819 he settled in Baghdād and died at a great age, in 226/840-1, or according to another tradition, in the reign of al-Wāḥidī (227-32/842-7), or, on the authority of others, in 235/849-50, under al-Mutawakkil. He was indirectly a disciple of Wāḥid b. 'Aḥl, through the intermediary of one of Wāḥid's companions, 'Uḡmūn al-Tawīl. Like Wāḥid, he was lettered; his profound knowledge of poetry was especially celebrated. Some *ḥadīṭ* also are quoted under his name.

The theology which he inherited from the school of Wāḥid was still rudimentary. Essentially polemical, it opposed—in a rather unsystematic fashion, it seems—the anthropomorphism of popular Islam and of the traditionalists, the doctrine of determinism favoured for political reasons by the Umayyads, and the divinization of 'Aḥl preached by the extreme *Shī'ites*. While continuing this polemic, Abū 'l-Hudhayl was the first to engage in the speculative struggles of the epoch, a task for which he was exceptionally well equipped by his philosophical mind, his sagacity and his eloquence. He became the apologist of Islam against other religions and against the great currents of thought of the preceding epoch:



the dualists, represented by the Zoroastrians, the Manichaeans and other Gnostics; the philosophers of Greek inspiration, the *dahriyya*, mainly represented by the champions of the natural sciences; finally against the increasingly numerous Muslims who were influenced by these foreign ideas. crypto-Manichaean poets like Sāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Kudrī, the theologians of the "modern" type who had adopted certain gnostic and philosophical doctrines, etc. It seems that it was only at a mature age that he made himself acquainted with philosophy. On the occasion of his pilgrimage (the date of which is unknown) he met in Mecca the Ṣūfī theologian Ḥajjīm b. al-Hakam and disputed with him concerning his anthropomorphic doctrines, which show a gnostic influence; and it was only then that he began to study the books of the *dahriyya*. Later historians observe certain similarities between his doctrine of the divine attributes and the philosophy of Pseudo-Empedocles, forged by the Neo-Platonists and natural scientists of late antiquity; in effect his philosophical sources must have been of such a kind, which are represented in general by medieval Aristotelianism. These philosophers attracted, as well as repelled, him; while combatting them, he adopted their methods and their manner of looking at problems. Naive as a thinker, and having no scholastic tradition, he approached speculative problems with a daring which did not even recoil from the absurd. Hence all the premisses and the lack of balance which characterize his theology, but also the freshness of his attempts. He was the first to set many of the fundamental problems at which the whole of the later Mu'tazila was to labour.

The unity, the spirituality and the transcendence of God are carried in the theology of Abu 'L-Hudhayl to the highest degree of abstraction. God is one; he does not resemble his creatures in any respect; he is not a body (against Ḥajjīm b. al-Hakam); he has no figure (*ḥay'a*), form (*ṣūra*) or limit. God is knowing with a knowledge, is powerful with a power, alive with a life, eternal with an eternality, seeing with a faculty of sight, etc. (against the Ṣūfīs who asserted that God is knowledge, etc.), but this knowledge, power, etc. are identical with himself (against popular theology which regarded the divine attributes as entities added to essence); provisional formulas of compromise which did not satisfy later generations. God is omnipresent in the sense that he directs everything and his direction is exercised in every place. God is invisible in the other world; the believers will see him with their hearts. The knowledge of God is unlimited, as to what concerns his knowledge of himself, as for his knowledge of the world, it is circumscribed by the limits of his creation, which forms a limited totality (if it were not limited, it would not be totality). The same applies to the divine power. Abu 'L-Hudhayl strove to reconcile the Kur'ānic doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* with the Aristotelian cosmology, according to which the world, set in motion by God, is eternal, movement being co-eternal with the prime mover himself. While accepting movement as the principle of the universal process, he declared it to be created in the Kur'ānic sense; in consequence, movement also will reach its end and will cease. This end is placed by him in the other world, after the last day; movement having ceased, paradise and hell will come to a standstill and their inhabitants will be fixed in a state of immobility, the blessed enjoying for eternity the highest pleasures and the damned enduring the most cruel torments. This bizarre

doctrine, which, according to tradition, he himself revoked, is unanimously rejected by all the Muslim theologians, Mu'tazilites or not; nor has its grave consequences for the doctrine of God's omniscience and omnipotence escaped them. In regard to theology, Abu 'L-Hudhayl taught that God has the power to do evil and injustice, but he does not do it, because of his goodness and wisdom. God admits the evil actions of man, but he is not their author. Man has the power to commit them, he is responsible for them, and responsible even for the involuntary consequences resulting from his actions (theory of *ta'wil*), first developed by Abu 'L-Hudhayl. The responsibility being in man, the entire world is together with his visible body. It was Abu 'L-Hudhayl who introduced into Mu'tazilite speculation the concept of the accidents (*a'rā'id*) of bodies, and that of the atom, which he called *ḡiṣḡar*. These concepts, which originally had a purely physical relevance, were made by him to serve as the basis for theology proper, cosmology, anthropology and ethics. This is his most original innovation, as well as the most heavy with consequences; it was this which gave to Mu'tazilite theology its mechanical character. Life, soul, spirit, the five senses, are accidents and therefore not enduring; even spirit (*rūḥ*) will not endure. Human actions can be divided into two phases, both of them movements: the first is the approach ("I shall do"), the second the accomplished action ("I have done"). Man having free will, the first movement can be suspended in the second phase, so that the action remains unaccomplished; it is only the accomplished action which counts. Divine activity is interpreted in the light of the doctrine of accidents: the whole process of the world consists in an incessant creation of accidents, which descend into the bodies. Some accidents, however, are not to be found in a place or in a body; e.g. time and divine will (*irāda*). The latter is identical with the eternal creating word *ḥusn*; it is distinct from its object (*al-murād*) and also from the divine order (*amr*), which man can either obey or disobey (while the effect of the creating word *ḥusn* is absolute: *ḥusn ya-yahḥusn*, Kur'ān ii, 111, etc.). Those who are not acquainted with the Kur'ānic revelation, but who have nevertheless accomplished laudable acts prescribed by the Kur'ān, have obeyed God without having the intention to do so (theory of *ḡā'a la yurādū'lāḥu bihā*, otherwise attributed to the Khārijites). The Kur'ān is an accident created by God; being written, recited or committed to memory, it is at the same time in various places. In the question of the mediaeval bay'a al-ma'zalatayn Abu 'L-Hudhayl took up a position which was in conformity with the political situation of his time: he did not reject any of the combatants round 'Alī, yet preferred 'Alī to 'Uthmān. He enjoyed the favour of al-Ma'mūn, who often invited him to the court for theological disputes.—

All the writings of Abu 'L-Hudhayl are lost. During his long life, Abu 'L-Hudhayl had an enormous influence on the development of theology and he collected round him a large number of disciples of different generations. The best known amongst them is al-Nazzām, though he quarrelled with his master because of his destructive theories concerning the atom; Abu 'L-Hudhayl condemned him and composed several treatises against him. Among his disciples are named Yahyā b. Bishr al-Arṣādī, al-Shāhīm, and others. His school continued to exist for a long time; even al-Djubbā'ī still avowed his indebtedness to Abu 'L-Hudhayl's

theology, in spite of the numerous points on which he differed from him.—Unfortunately, the theology of Abu 'L-Hudhayl was exposed to the malevolence of a renegade from Mu'tazilism, the famous Ibn al-Rāwandī, who, in his *Faḍīḥat al-Ma'tazila* grossly misrepresented it, by substituting it to an often too cheap criticism; this caricature has been faithfully reproduced by al-Baghdādī in his *Farḥ* and often recurs in the résumés of the Mu'tazila. It is only with the help of al-Intisār, by al-Khayyāt, the severe critic of Ibn al-Rāwandī, that we are able to unmask the latter's procedure and gain an exact idea of the true motives of Abu 'L-Hudhayl's speculation. Al-Aṣḡarī, in his *Makāshif*, reproduced his thesis with admirable impartiality; after the school tradition of the Mu'tazila, al-Shahrastānī based his expose on the later Mu'tazilite tradition, especially, it seems, on al-Ka'bi.

**Bibliography:** al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'wīḥ Baghdādī*, iii, 366-70; Ma'sūdi, *Murūḡ*, index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 617; Ibn al-Murtadā (T. W. Arnold, *The Mutazilites*), index; Ibn Kutayba, *Ta'wīḥ al-Makāshif al-Baghdādī*, Cairo 1326, 31-5; Khayyāt, *Intisār* (Nyberg), index; Aṣḡarī, *Makāshif* (Ritter), index; Baghdādī, *Farḥ*, index; Ibn Hazm, *Fisal*, ii, 193, 487, iv, 83 ff., 192 ff., etc.; Mutahhar al-Makdisi, *al-Bad' wa 'L-Ta'wīḥ* (Huari), index of transl.; Shahrastānī, 34-7; Sa'īd al-Andalusī, *Taḥafut al-Umam* (Cheikh), 21 f.; Makrizī, *Khatib*, ii, 346; S. P. Butcher, *al-Bihar al-Mawṣū'at*, Berlin 1936; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London 1947; L. Gardet and M. M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948; A. N. Nādir, *Faṣaḥat al-Mu'tazila*, Alexandria 1950-1. (H. S. NYBERG)

**ABŪ HURAYRA AL-DAWĪ AL-YAMĀNĪ**, Companion of Muḥammad. His name 'Abd Shams was changed to 'Abd Allāh or 'Abd al-Rahmān when he became a Muslim, but numerous other names have also been mentioned. He was called Abū Hurayra because, when he herded his people's goats, he kept a kitten to play with. When he came to Medina the Prophet was on the expedition to Khaybar (726/27). Accepting Islam, he associated closely with Muḥammad on whose charity he depended, and was one of the seven men called *alḥudūd* (73-7). He was devoted to his mother whom he persuaded to become a Muslim. 'Umar appointed him governor of Bahrain, but deposed him and confiscated a large sum of money in his possession. When 'Umar later invited him to resume the post, he refused. Marwān is said to have appointed Abū Hurayra his deputy when he was absent from Medina, but another version says Mu'awiya gave him this appointment. Abū Hurayra had a reputation both for his piety and his fondness for jesting. He is said to have died in 57, 58, or 59; but if it is true that he prayed at 'Aḥisha's funeral in 58, the date must be 58/678, or 59. He was 78 years old.

Although he became a Muslim less than four years before Muḥammad's death, Abū Hurayra is noted as a prolific narrator of traditions from the Prophet, the number of which is estimated at 3500. Ahmad b. Hanbal's *Musnad* contains 213 pages of his traditions (ii, 228-541). 800 or more men are credited with transmitting traditions from him. There is a story, given in slightly different forms, in which he explains why he transmitted more traditions than others. He says that while he was occupied with their business, he stayed with Muḥammad and so heard more than they. When he complained that he forgot what he heard, Muḥam-

mad told him to spread out his cloak while he was speaking and draw it round himself when he had finished. Abū Hurayra did so, and thereafter forgot nothing he heard the Prophet say. He had to defend himself against suspicions regarding his traditions; but whether this is genuine, or has merely been invented for the purpose of overcoming the suspicions of people at a later period, it is impossible to prove. The traditions attributed to him contain much material which cannot be genuine; but Sprenger is scarcely justified in calling him a pious humbug of the first water, as the traditions traced to him are not necessarily his. He may be little more than a convenient authority to whom inventions of a later period have been attributed. Abū Hurayra presumably did tell many stories about Muḥammad, but the authentic ones may be only a small amount of the huge number of traditions traced to him. Many of his traditions appear in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buḥārī and Muslim.

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**ABŪ HUSAYN** (BAḤĀ ABĪ HUSAYN) Sicilian dynasty (see KALIDIS).

**ABŪ 'INĀN FĀRIS**, eleventh sovereign of the Marīfid [a.] dynasty of Fez, born in 729/1329, had himself proclaimed at Tlemcen in 749/1349, when his father, Abū 'L-Ḥasan 'Alī, after being defeated at Kayrawān, was returning as a fugitive to Morocco. Ibn al-Aḥmar describes him as very tall, with a fair skin (his mother was a Christian slave), and says that he had a long beard. A fearless horseman, he was also widely versed in literature and the law. Like his father, he was a prince with a passion for building, and completed several of the foundations that his father had begun, in particular medersas at Fez, Meknes, and Algiers. The Bu 'Ināniyya at Fez is the most monumental of these Maghribi colleges.

Having gained the throne by usurpation, Abū 'Inān went on to assume the caliphal title *amir al-mu'minin*, which his father had not borne. He made it his aim to rebuild his father's empire in Barbary and fairly quickly succeeded in doing so, but only for a few years. He seized Tlemcen from the 'Abd al-Walīdīs (1352), and, the same year, took possession of Bougie. In 757/1357 he occupied Constantine and had himself proclaimed at Tunis; but, abandoned by his Arab auxiliaries, the Dawīwīda of the Constantine region, he was compelled to return to Fez. Not long afterwards he fell ill (759/1358) and was strangled by his vizier al-Fāddī, who had the son of his victim proclaimed, and thus inaugurated the series of palace revolutions and the long decadence of the Marīfids.

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*Hist. du Maroc*, II, 62-6; M. van Derchem, *Toures chérifiennes d'Occident*, in *J.A.*, 1907, I, 245-335; G. Margat, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 1907, II, 494-500, 517-509. (G. Margat)

**ABŪ 'ISĀ' AL-ISFAHĀNĪ**, Jewish pretender to the title of the Messiah under the Umayyad 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, or according to others under Marwān II. The most noteworthy of his doctrines was his acknowledgement of the validity—for the non-Jews—of Islam and Christianity. He was killed in a battle against the Muslims; the sect, called 'Isawiyya, survived into the 10th century A.D.

**Bibliography:** Birnī, *al-Ġharīb al-Bakīya*, 15; Ibn Hānī, *Fīḥ*, I, 114-5; Shahrastānī, 108; Makrīfī, *Khīṭāf*, II, 478-9 (= S. de Sacy, *Chrest. arabe*, I, 116); H. Grätz, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, v, 173 and note 17 (by A. Harkavy); *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. Abū Isā. (S. M. STERN)

**ABŪ 'ISĀ MUHAMMAD B. HĀSĀN AL-WARRĀK**, a Mu'tazilite at first, became one of the arch-heretics in Ḥilān; his friend and pupil, Ibn al-Rāwandī [q.v.], went through the same metamorphosis. The date of Abū 'Isā's death is given by al-Mas'ūdī (vii, 236) as 247/861; if it is true, however, that Ibn al-Rāwandī died about the end of the 3rd/9th century (see Kraus, 379), this date would seem to be too early. The issue would be decided if one could be sure that the paragraph in al-Shahrastānī, 108, where the date 271 occurs, still contains the quotation from Abū 'Isā.

Abū 'Isā was accused of Manichean sympathies. Al-Murtadā's defence, *al-Kāfi*, 13, to the effect that his books *al-Maḥḥabī* and *al-Nawā' al-Baḥā'im* were spuriously attributed to him by the Manicheans, deserves, of course, no credit. On the other hand it is not very likely that he was a formal adherent of Manichaeism; most probably he was an "independent thinker" (L. Massigou). Interesting quotations, showing his method in criticising current religious beliefs, and taken from his *al-Ḥarīb al-Maḥḥabī*—such is the full title also in *Fihrist*, 177, and al-Tūsi, 99; a "stranger from the East" was evidently introduced as the exponent of heterodox views—are to be found in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī, *al-Idā' wa 'l-Mu'ānaṣa*, III, 192.

His main work was a book on religions and sects, *al-Makhlūṭ*, which served as an important source for writers such as al-Ash'arī (Makhlūṭ al-Ladīmīyya, 33, 34—Shī'a; cf. also index, 37), al-Mas'ūdī (Muraḥḥ, v, 473 ff.—Zaydiyya), al-Baḥḥānī (Fārḥ, 49, 51), al-Bīrūnī (al-Aḥḥār al-Bakīya, 277, 284—Jewish sects, Samaritans), Abū 'Alī Naṣrī (Bāyān al-Aḥḥār [Eghbal], 10—refutation of the pagan Arabs; as the editor points out, 54 ff., similar passages are to be found in Ibn Abī 'Iḥḥādī, *Sharḥ Naḥḥ al-Balāgha*, I, 39, iv, 437; Ibn Abī 'Iḥḥādī quotes Abū 'Isā in other passages also), al-Shahrastānī, (141, 143)—Shī'a; 192—Mānā; 188—Mānā). Abū 'Isā's Mu'tazilite adversaries insinuated that he was too eager to reproduce in his book the arguments of the Manicheans.

Abū 'Isā wrote books favourable to the Shī'a (*al-Imāma*; al-Sakḥā, quoted by al-Mufīd, cf. Eghbal, *Rihānā-nā Naubakḥī*, 86)—hence the partiality of Shī'ite authors for him.

His critical examination of the three branches of Christianity (Orthodox, Jacobite, Nestorian) survives in the refutation by Yahyā b. 'Adī (cf. A. Preter, *Yahyā bin 'Adī*, 17, 150 ff.; L. Massigou, *Textes inédits concernant l'Église de la mystique*, 182-3; A. Abel, *Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq*, Brussels 1949).

**Bibliography:** Khayyāṭ, *Imān* (Nybreg), 97, 149, 150, 153, 155, and note, 205; Mas'ūdī, *Muraḥḥ*, v, 473, 475, 476; *Fihrist*, 138; Tūsi, *Fihrist*, 58, 72, 99; Naḥḥānī, *Rihān*, 47, 48; Th. M. Houston, in *WZM*, 1901, 217; R. Hitter, in *Id.*, 1929, 35 f.; A. Eghbal, *Rihānā-nā Naubakḥī*, Teheran 1933, 84 ff.; P. Kraus, in *RSO*, 1914, 374; G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1937, 196-7; J. Schacht, in *Studia Islamica*, I, 1935, 41-2.

(S. M. STERN)

**ABŪ ISHAK AL-ILIRI**, ILIRĪNĪ b. Ma'sūd b. Sa'īd al-Tuḥḥī, Andalusian jurist and poet, native, as shown by his *nisba*, of Ilīra (Elvira), which in the century of the *muluk al-tama'iq* lost its position to the neighbouring Granada. Little is known of his life. Born in the last years of the 4th/10th century, he was, during the reign of the Zirid king of Granada, Bāds b. Habbis, secretary of the *khāṭ* 'Alī b. Muḥ. b. Taḥḥa and at the same time occupied in teaching. In his poems he protested against the increasing influence of the Jews in the kingdom of Granada and especially against the functions, too important in his eyes, entrusted to the famous vizier Samuel b. Naḥḥīd Ibn Naḥḥīl, and to his son Joseph, who succeeded him in this office in 448/1056-7. It was no doubt at the latter's instigation that Bāds assigned to the *fakīh* a forced residence in the *al-ḥaḥ* of al-'Ukāb, in the Sierra de Elvira. Abū Ishak, however, did not give way, and the celebrated political poem, to which he owes most of his reputation, was, if not the determining cause, at least one of the factors which brought about the well-known pogrom in Granada, on 9 Saḥar 459-30 Dec. 1066, during which Joseph b. Naḥḥīl and some of his poems were murdered. Abū Ishak al-Ilirī died shortly afterwards, at the end of the same year of 459/1067.

In addition to his fulminating poem, to which attention was long ago drawn by Dory, Abū Ishak left a collection of poems, which are in the majority of assonic inspiration and which he apparently composed at an advanced age. This *diwān*, of which a MS has been preserved in the Escorial (no. 404), has been published by the author of this article with an introduction. It is very characteristic of the limited poetical faculties of an Andalusian *fakīh* of medium culture, who rises to eloquence only when expressing his intolerant fanaticism.

**Bibliography:** Dabbi, no. 520; Ibn al-Abbār, *Tahmīn* (Algiers), no. 132; Ibn al-Khāṭib, *Iḥḥā*, article reproduced by E. Dory, *RSO*, I, 48-54 and App. xxvi (*Poème d'Abū Ishak d'Elvira*); and *contre les Juifs de Grenade*; idem, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, III, 70-3; E. García Gómez, *Un alifan español: Abū Ishak de Elvira*, Madrid-Granada, 1944; Brockelmann, S. I, 479-80.

(E. GARCÍA GÓMEZ)

**ABŪ ISHAK** (see al-Sakā' and al-Shihāz).

**ABŪ KABIR AL-HUDHALI**, early Arab poet, after Abū Dhū'ayb the second greatest poet of the tribe of Hudhayl. He belonged to the Banū Sa'd, or, according to some, to the Banū Dīrāyib. His real name was 'Amīr b. 'Uwaymīr b. al-Mulays (also named as the 'aric), according to other statements, 'Amīr b. Dīrāyib, but he was always known by his *nisba*. According to some commentators (cf. e.g. al-Thirīfī in the *Hamāṣ*), Abū Kabīr belonged to the mother of the famous Ta'abbata Sharḥ and as the stepson was displaced at this union Abū Kabīr is said to have been advised by the mother of Ta'abbata Sharḥ to kill him at the first opportunity, but failed on account of the latter's bravery. This

story can hardly be true but is rather an attempt to explain the well-known lines of Abū Kabīr in the *Hamāṣ* in which he describes a companion in arms, an ideal hero in terms of the Arab conception. Moreover, in some versions the roles are interchanged (cf. Ibn Kutayba, *al-Shī'r*, 422): Ta'abbata Sharḥ married Abū Kabīr's mother and so on. The story that represents Ta'abbata Sharḥ as the constant companion of our poet deserves equally little credence because his tribe was continually at feud with the Fahals. He flourished in the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, so that biographers like 'Izz al-Dīn b. al-Aḥḥār (*Uṣṣ al-Ḥabā*, Cairo 1280, vi, 272) and Ibn Ḥadīr al-'Asḥālī (*al-Faḥ*, Cairo 1325, vii, 162) number him among the *shāhā*.

From the content of his poems he is, however, decidedly to be classed as a *ghāḥil*. His *diwān*, edited and translated for the first time by F. Bajraktarević, consists of only four long *bayyats* and 19 short fragments mostly wrongly attributed to him, but is in many ways very interesting and valuable; all the *bayyats* are composed in the same metre (*kāmil*) and begin in the same way, as was pointed out particularly by Ibn Kutayba (*al-Shī'r*, 420). What is especially striking also in his poems is the complete absence of any description of the camel. Arab critics frequently rank Abū Kabīr very highly as a poet. Al-Ma'arri, it is true, accuses him of narrowness of range but singles out some of his verses as particularly fine, while 'Awf b. Muḥallim (in *Yakūṭ*, *Fihrist*, vi, 57) goes so far as to call him the greatest poet of Hudhayl.

**Bibliography:** *Diwān al-Hudhalīyyīn*, Cairo 1948, II, 88-115; *Hamāṣ* (Freitag), I, 36 ff.; Ibn Kutayba, *Shī'r*, 420-5; Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, *Rihān al-Ḥudhalī*, Cairo 1321, 100-1 (Engl. transl. by Nicholson, in *JRAS*, 1900, 708-9); Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ Shāhīd al-Mughnī*, Cairo 1322, 81-3; 'Abd al-Kāṭir al-Baḥḥādī, *Khāṭir al-'Adab*, Būssā 1277, III, 406-73, IV, 165-7, 420-1; 'Aynī, *al-Maḥāṣī al-Nahwīyya* (on margin of *Khāṭir al-'Adab*, III, 54-7, 301-4, 558-60; Iskandar Aḥḥābī, *Rawḍ al-'Adab fī Tabakhḥī Shī'r al-'Arab*, Beyrūt 1858, 192-6; Muḥammad Bākir, *Dīwān al-Shāhīd*, Kunm 1308, 67-8, 167, 278-9; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kāṭir al-Faḥ, *Tahmīn al-Maḥḥabī*, B. Sharḥ Shāhīd Ibn Fāḥ, *Tahmīn al-Maḥḥabī*, B. Sharḥ Shāhīd Ibn Fāḥ, *Yuz* 1210, 187, 54-7; F. Bajraktarević, *Le Diwān d'Abū Kabīr al-Hudhalī, publié avec le commentaire d'al-Sakḥārī, traité et annoté*, JA, 1925, 39-115; idem, *Le Diwān d'Abū Kabīr al-Hudhalī, publié avec le commentaire d'al-Sakḥārī, traduit et annoté*, JA, 1927, 5-94; Brockelmann, S. I, 43.

**ABŪ KALAMMAS** (see KALAMMAS).

**ABŪ KALAMM** means originally a certain textile of a peculiar sheen, then a precious stone, a bird, and a mollusc. The origin of the word is not certain; the unanimous statement of the Arab philologists that Abū Kalamīn is a Byzantine product would indicate the derivation of the word from Greek. In the *K. al-Tabayyū* b. 'Abū Kalamīn is listed as a precious Byzantine textile. According to H. L. Fleischer (*Die Glossen Habbakhanī*, Leipzig 1856, 106), followed by Dory (*Suppl.*, I, 6, 85), it is derived from *ὀφιοειδής*, supposed to mean "striped cloth". S. de Sacy proposed to derive the word from *χαλαρόν*, "chameleon", proverbial for its changing colours (*Christ. arab.*, III, trad. 268). But neither the dictio-

aries nor Djabīr nor Damīr know of Abū Kalamīn as a name for the chameleon (though, according to the *Burḥān al-ḥāqī*, the word has this meaning in Persian). The proverb: "more changeable than Abū Kalamīn", or: "than Abū Barāḥīsh" (e.g. Freitag, *Proverbia*, I, 409; Hamaḥḥānī, *Makhlūṭ*, Beyrūt 1924, 86; Ibn Ḥazm, *Tawḥ*, 66, cf. *And.*, 1959, 353), could refer to the chameleon or to a bird of changing colours which is also called Abū Barāḥīsh (cf. Karwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 406). Further, according to Muḥammad, 240-1 (ed. and transl. Pellat, 53 and no. 143), Abū Kalamīn denotes a mollusc (pinna), the byssus or "beard" of which is used in the manufacture of a sheeny cloth, which is also known as *ḥal al-bahr* (cf. Dory, *Suppl.*, s.v.). P. Kraus, *Jābir ḥn Ḥayyān*, II, 110 refers to the use of *ḥayyān* as a term for the philosophers' stone in ancient alchemy (cf. Lippmann, *Entstehung... Alchemie*, I, 298). This usage explains why Djabīr gave one of his books, in which he treats of the various colours of the seven metals (*al-ḥayyān*), the title *Kutīb Abi Kalamīn* (P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, I, 24; cf. Kuska, in *JA*, 1925, 102 n.).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references given in the text: 'Iḥḥārī, 42; G. Jacob, *Studies in Arab. Geog.*, II, 61; and the references given by P. Kraus, *Jābir ḥn Ḥayyān*, II, 109, no. 4.

(A. J. W. HUISMAN)

**ABŪ KALB** (see KIKKA).

**ABŪ KĀLDJĀR AL-MARZUBĀN B. SULTĀN AL-DAWLĀ**, a prince of the *ḥawā* yild [q.v.] dynasty, born in al-Baḥra in Shawwāl 399/May-June 1009, when he was 14/1021. Muḥarrir al-Dawla's Daylamite troops murdered his waṣī at al-Aḥwā and declared for his brother Sultān al-Dawla [q.v.], the latter, whom Muḥarrir had supplanted as ruler of al-'Irāk in the previous year, took heart and sent them his son Abū Kāldjār, though then only a boy of twelve, to take over the city in his name. In the following year Muḥarrir and Sultān made peace, Muḥarrir retaining al-'Irāk and Sultān regaining Fārs and Khūzistān; but in Shawwāl 415/December 1023-January 1024 Sultān died, on which the control of those provinces was for the next two years disputed between Abū Kāldjār (who was even then no more than sixteen) and another of his uncles Abū 'l-Fawāris, the ruler of Kirmān. Abū Kāldjār emerged victorious from this struggle, but then failed in an attempt to dislodge Abū 'l-Fawāris also from Kirmān; so that when they made peace in 418/1027 he was obliged to pay Abū 'l-Fawāris a yearly tribute of 20,000 dinars.

Meanwhile these preoccupations had prevented Abū Kāldjār from accepting the invitation of the Baghdad garrison to replace yet a third uncle, 'Izzāl al-Dawla [q.v.], as Amīr al-Umawī, on the latter's failure to appear in the capital after the death, in Rabi' II 416/June 1025, of Muḥarrir al-Dawla. Abū Kāldjār was nevertheless acknowledged in the *ḥabā* at Baghdad for some eighteen months (from Shawwāl 416/Dec. 1025 to Djumādā I 418/June-July 1027); in 417/1026 he was likewise acknowledged in the *ḥabā* at al-Kūfa; and in the following year he was able to send his waṣī, Ibn Bāshḥādī, to assert his authority over the Euphrates marshes, though the only result of this move was a rebellion of his inhabitants against the waṣī's extortions. In 419/1028 Abū Kāldjār added both al-Baḥra and Kirmān to the area under his control, the former by a timely intervention in a conflict between the Daylamites and Turks of 'Izzāl's garrison, and the latter by the death of Abū



1-Fawris. In 420/1027 however, on his seining Wāsit, ʿIzzād retaliated by sacking al-Ahwāz; and when in Kahl' I 421/April 1030 they met in a three-day battle, Abū Kālidjār was severely defeated. ʿIzzād then retook Wāsit and the marches, and for a time his troops also reconquered al-Basra, but this was soon recovered by those of Abū Kālidjār; and in Shawwāl/October of the same year he in turn defeated ʿIzzād at al-Majlāḡ.

During the next five years ʿIzzād was repeatedly forced to leave Baghdad owing to the insubordination of his Turkish mercenaries; and on two such occasions—in 425/1032—his name was replaced in the legends of the capital at their instance by that of Abū Kālidjār. On the second of these occasions Abū Kālidjār despatched a force to help the chief Turkish commander, which took and held Wāsit for a few months. During most of 424/1033, on the other hand, al-Basra was occupied by ʿIzzād's forces and the same year pronounced itself Abū Kālidjār's in the ʿIzzād's there, but these mutual aggressions proving of no advantage to either, in 428/1037, after ʿIzzād's recovery of Wāsit, uncle and nephew concluded a formal peace, swearing to molest each other no more.

In 433/1039 Abū Kālidjār joined in suppressing his tributary governor of al-Basra with Ibn Mukram of ʿUmdū, whom the governor had annoyed; and later in the same year and again in 437/1043 he was obliged to send troops to ʿUmdū itself to suppress disorders consequent on Ibn Mukram's death. In the latter year Abū Kālidjār's intervention in a quarrel between the sons of the Kākawayhid (Kākūyid) 'Alī' al-Dawla was fruitless; but in 434/1042-3 his forces repulsed the first Saljuḡid attack on Kirmān. Then in Sha'ban 435/March 1044 ʿIzzād died, and though the Baghdad garrison first offered its allegiance to his son al-Malik al-'Adī (q.v.), Abū Kālidjār prevailed on them with the offer of an ample accession gratuity to withdraw it in his favour. In Safar 436/September 1044, accordingly, he was acknowledged in the *ḡubūr* not only in Baghdad itself but also in the Ḥawāṣ district, the Euphrates territory and Diyār Bakr, and thus became sole Buwayhid sovereign, receiving from the caliph the *lubb* Muḡy al-Dīn.

During his ensuing four years' reign Abū Kālidjār was chiefly concerned to preserve his power against Saljuḡid encroachment. This had already caused him to begin walling his capital, Shīrāz, for the first time, and in 437/1045-6 only the outbreak of disease among his homes prevented him from challenging a Saljuḡid advance into the south-western ʿIzzād. Two years later, however, he decided instead to ally himself with the Saljuḡids; and, Tughrul (q.v.) proving amenable, an alliance was sealed by Tughrul's marriage with Abū Kālidjār's daughter and the marriage of Abū Kālidjār's second son to Tughrul's niece. This alliance preserved his dominions in the west from further Saljuḡid attacks; but in 440/1048, a Saljuḡid force again invaded Kirmān, where, instead of being opposed, it was joined by Abū Kālidjār's governor. He therefore set out to vindicate his authority in person, but suddenly died before reaching his destination (ʿIzzādī 440/October 1048).

Abū Kālidjār left at least nine sons, the eldest of whom, entitled al-Malik al-Kābilū (q.v.), succeeded him as Amir al-Umūrāʾ, the last of the dynasty to rule in Baghdad and al-'Irāq, and the second of whom, Fāḡlād-Sūṭrān, succeeded him as ruler of Fāz until murdered by a rebel in 454/1062.

In 479, while in Shīrāz, Abū Kālidjār, in common

with many of his Daylami troops, was converted to Ismāʿīlism by the Fāṭimid *dalī* al-Muʾayyad B. ʿUṭū (q.v.). Some four years later, in order to maintain good relations with the ʿAbbāsīd al-Kāʾim he was obliged to banish the *dalī* from his dominions; but it would appear from the account of those events in the latter's *Sūva* (ed. Kāmil Husayn, Cairo 1949, 77) that he remained personally devoted to the Fāṭimid cause. A reference to Abū Kālidjār's dealings with al-Muʾayyad is made also by Ibn al-Balḡhī in his *Fāris-nāma*.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn al-Djawrī, *al-Mawṣūʿat*, vii, 17, 21, 39, 37, 69, 72-3, 119, 128, 136, 139; Sibt Ibn al-Djawrī, *Muʾir al-Zamān* (MS Paris 1506) fols. 27, 47, 78v; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾthīr-i Gūda* 92; Ibn Khaldūn, iv, 472 f.; Mir Khān, *Rawdat al-Safā* (extract published by Wilken as *Mirchonds Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Buḡh*, Berlin 1835, 45-57); Khān, *Amir, Maḡh al-Sayr* (extract published by Ruching as *A History of the Minor Dynasties of Persia*, 1910, 118-20); H. Bowen, *The Last Buwayhids*, JRAS, 1929, 226 f. (HAROLD BOWEN).

**ABŪ KĀMİL SHUDJĀʿ** B. ARLAN B. MUH. B. SHUDJĀʿ AL-HASHI AL-MISRI, next to Muḡb. B. Mūsā al-Khārizmī (q.v.) the oldest Islamic algebraist of whose writings we still possess some remains; they entitle us to place him among the greatest mathematicians of the Islamic Middle Ages (for the development of Islamic algebra see AL-ZABR wa 'l-MUʿADABALA). Through Leonard of Pisa and his followers he exercised considerable influence on the development of algebra in Europe and no less great was the impact of his geometrical writings (algebraic treatment of geometrical problems) on Western geometry. No details of his life are known; all we can say is that he lived after al-Khārizmī (d. about 850 A.D.) and before ʿAlī b. Ahmad al-Umīdī (d. 344/955-6) who wrote a commentary on his *Algebra*.

The *Fihrist*, 281, lists a number of books on astrological and mathematical subjects as well as on other topics such as the flight of birds etc. Two of these titles, *Kāmil fi ʿl-ḡubūr* and *ʿl-Taḡrīf*, are augmenting and diminishing; the *Fihrist* attributes a work bearing the same title to al-Khārizmī and K. al-ḡubūrāʾya, "On the two errors", have been the objects of elaborate discussions ever since F. Woeckle (JA, 1863, 514) tried to identify al-Dīnawarī with the Latin *augmentum et diminutio* occurring in the *Liber augmenti et diminutionis*, ed. Libri, in *Historia scientiarum mathematicarum in Italia*, Paris 1838, 213-97, 2nd ed., 1865, 304-69; cf. H. Suter, in *Bibl. Math.*, 1902, 330-4, and J. Huska, *Zur ältesten arab. Algebra und Rechenkunst*, in *SBAG*, Heidelberg, 1917/2, 14-23.

None of the works mentioned in the *Fihrist* has survived in Arabic. A work preserved in Arabic is *al-Tarāʾif* (MS Leiden, 1001, fol. 50v-58v), transl. and commented by H. Suter, *Der Buch der Schönheiten der Rechenkunst von Abū Kāmil al-Misri*, *Bibl. Math.*, 1910-1, 100-20. It deals with the integral solutions of indeterminate equations ("Diophantine analysis" according to modern usage; it may be well to state that this term is historically incorrect; Diophantus, 3rd cent. A.D., whom we have to regard, at least as far as the Greek work is concerned, as the founder of indeterminate analysis, is interested only in rational, not exclusively integral, solutions of his problems). Of *al-Tarāʾif* there exists a Hebrew version (Munich 225, 4) by Mordechai Finai of Mantua

(c. 1460) who translated also Abū Kāmil's treatises on algebra (Munich 225, 3). As assumed by G. Sacerdote, *Il trattato del pentagono e del decagono di Abu Kāmil*, in *Festschrift Steinschneider*, Leipzig 1896, 160-94, and proved by Suter, *Die Abhandlung des Abu Kāmil Shudjāʿ b. Arlan über das Fünfeck und Zehneck*, *Bibl. Math.*, 1909-10, 13-42, these translations were made not from Arabic or Latin, but from Spanish. According to Suter, it is probable that the Paris MS 7377 A, no. 6, is a Latin version of *al-Tarāʾif*. (The same MS contains Latin versions of Abū Kāmil's algebra and of his treatises on the pentagon and decagon.)—Indeterminate equations with integral solutions appear in India fully developed about 1150 in Bhāskara's *Vijaganita* (ed. Colebrooke, *Algebra with arithmetic and mensuration*, London 1817, 233-5), but the problem is referred to already by Āryabhaṭa (b. 476), who even anticipates for its solution the method of continued fractions, to which Bhāskara applies the term *kuṭṭaka* "dispersion" (cf. M. Cantor, *Gesch. d. Math.*, i, 588 ff.) Abū Kāmil's procedure is less systematic and therefore inferior to the Indian. He finds his solutions mainly by way trial, yet shows considerable skill in overcoming the difficulties involved. It is hard to decide whether or not he knew the *kuṭṭaka* method. However that may be, it is certain that the anonymous author of a commentary on *al-Tarāʾif*, of which the Leiden MS contains a fragment (fol. 101-2), was familiar with it, because he clearly refers to the proof of a method of finding integral solutions that has hardly been different from the *kuṭṭaka* method.

The connection between Abū Kāmil and the Indians is shown by a curious detail: they resort to the same, or at least similar, varieties of birds as examples in their problems. In Europe, we meet with indeterminate equations in Leonard of Pisa's *Liber abaci* (1202; *Scripta*, ed. Boncompagni, Roma 1857-62, 4)—again with reference to birds. The first appearance in Europe of this problem seems to be marked by a MS composed about 1000 A.D. in the monastery of Reichenau. Later European algebraists, in particular the German "Consists" (Adam Kiese, etc.) usually substitute men, women, or virgins for the birds, and therefore the term "regula virginum" (for "r. potiorum", "r. coet", or "r. coet") was adopted by them. This framework the author, led on by his philological inclinations, has interwoven so much of his extensive knowledge of the *adab* literature and of the terminology of the different trades and also of pornographic poetry—he quotes many verses of Ibn al-Haddjādī—that the realism of the description as well as the unity of the tale suffer considerably.

**Bibliography:** Abū ʿl-Muṭahhar al-Aḡḡ, *Hikāyat Abi ʿl-Kāsim*, ed. A. Mez, Heidelberg 1902; J. M. de Goeje, in *GG*, 1903, 721 ff.; C. Brockelmann, in *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1902, 1568 ff. (J. HOROWITZ).

**ABU ʿl-KĀSIM** (see AL-ZAHRAWĪ).

**ABU ʿl-KĀSIM BĀBUR** (see TĪMURĪD).

**ABU ʿl-KHĀSIB**, a canal to the south of Basra (called after a client of the caliph al-Mansūr), the most important among the canals that in the Middle Ages flowed from the west into the main channel of the Tigris, the Dīḡla al-'Awrāʾ of Arabic authors, i.e. the modern *Shatt al-'Arab*. Its bed still exists. It was on its bank that the Zangī rebels built in the 3rd/9th century the great fortress of al-Mahdīyā.

**Bibliography:** Le Strange, 47 f.; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geogr.*, Leiden 1900, i, 42 (M. STRECK).

The treatise "On the pentagon and decagon", Latin version, MS Paris A, German transl. by Suter, cf. above; Heber version, Munich 225, 3, Italian transl. by Sacerdote, cf. above. All problems occurring in this treatise are solved in a clear and simple mode by applying algebraic methods to geometry. Throughout his treatise, Abū Kāmil chooses special values—in most cases the value 10—for the given quantity, instead of denoting it by a letter or even equalling it to 1. In this respect, he has not freed himself from the method of al-Khārizmī; but in his way of handling the problem he is far superior to his predecessor, and his work definitely marks an important progress. Sacerdote has shown that Leonard of Pisa knew this treatise and made extensive use of it in his *Practica geometriae* (*Scripta*, ii).

**Bibliography:** Suter, 43; Brockelmann, S I, 390; M. Steinschneider, *Hebräische Übersetzungen*, 584-5. (W. HARTNER).

**ABU ʿl-KĀSIM**, the name of a famous paraisir, whom Muhammad b. Ahmed Abu ʿl-Muṭahhar al-Aḡḡ depicts in his *Hikāyat Abi ʿl-Kāsim al-Baḡdādī* as a Baghdad type. The book was probably written in the first half of the fifth century and purports to relate faithfully a day in the life of its hero. Abu ʿl-Kāsim by means of his pious eloquence gets a hearing in a society of people at a banquet, rails at the guests and the host and shows his linguistic skill in a detailed comparison of the advantages of Baghdad and Ispahan. As the numerous courses of the repast are served, they are accompanied by his glib remarks. When the wine goes to his head he becomes importunate and vulgar, till finally, being forced to drink still more deeply, he falls asleep; when the intoxication is over he again plays the devout believer. Into this framework the author, led on by his philological inclinations, has interwoven so much of his extensive knowledge of the *adab* literature and of the terminology of the different trades and also of pornographic poetry—he quotes many verses of Ibn al-Haddjādī—that the realism of the description as well as the unity of the tale suffer considerably.

**Bibliography:** Abū ʿl-Muṭahhar al-Aḡḡ, *Hikāyat Abi ʿl-Kāsim*, ed. A. Mez, Heidelberg 1902; J. M. de Goeje, in *GG*, 1903, 721 ff.; C. Brockelmann, in *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1902, 1568 ff. (J. HOROWITZ).

**ABU ʿl-KĀSIM** (see AL-ZAHRAWĪ).

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**Bibliography:** Le Strange, 47 f.; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geogr.*, Leiden 1900, i, 42 (M. STRECK).



**ABU 'L-KHATTĀB** MUHAMMAD b. Abi ZAYNAB MIKĀS AL-AJDA' AL-ASADĪ, Muslim heresiarch. According to al-Kashshī, his father was Mikās b. Abi 'L-Khattāb, and he himself used the kunya Abū Ismā'īl and Abū 'L-Zuhayr. He was a Kufan, and a member of the tribe of Asad. In the Nuyārī writings he is also called al-Khālīl. He was one of the chief dā'īs of the Imām Dī'ār al-Šādīk, but fell into error and taught false doctrines, as a result of which he was repudiated and denounced by the Imām. Seventy of his followers, assembled in the mosque of Kūfa, were attacked by order of the governor 'Isā b. Mūsā, and after a bitter struggle, were killed. Abū 'L-Khattāb himself was arrested and brought before 'Isā b. Mūsā, who had him executed and crucified at Dār al-Rīk, on the Euphrates, together with a number of his followers. Their heads were sent to the Caliph al-Manṣūr and impaled by the gate of Baghdad for three days. The date of these events is not precisely known, but a conversation recorded by al-Kashshī as having taken place in 135/755 appears to refer to the recent extermination of Abū 'L-Khattāb and his followers (fa'nha'af ad-dhūmūn wa-nafayāt ad-dūlūm: al-Kashshī 197; cf. Lewis, 33; Ivanov, however (p. 117) interprets this tradition as referring to the repudiation of Abū 'L-Khattāb by Dī'ār, and places his death in about 145/760). According to the Nuyārī, he will still reverberate Abū 'L-Khattāb, 'he manifested the dā'wa' at Dār al-Rīk on 10 or 11 Muḥarram, and both this and the day of his 'appointment' by Dī'ār al-Šādīk (11 Dhū 'l-Hijja) are sacred anniversaries. He seems to have played a role of some importance in the early development of extremist Ṣūfite doctrine, and is named by the Central Asian Ismā'īlī book *Umm al-Kūth* (Ist., 1936, pts. 1 and 2, cf. W. Ivanov, *REI*, 1932, 428-9), as well as by a number of Sunni and Ighnā'ashari sources, as a founder of the Ismā'īlī faith. He is however condemned in later Ismā'īlī writings of the Fātimid period, in much the same terms as in the books of the Ighnā'ashariyya. For a discussion of his doctrines see KHATTĀRIYYA.

**Bibliography:** The best accounts of the life and death of Abū 'L-Khattāb are to be found in Ighnā'ashari works, especially Kashshī, *Ma'rifat al-Ridālī*, Bombay, 1317, 187 ff.; Nawbakhtī, *Firāz*, 37 and 58 ff. An Ismā'īlī account will be found in the Kāfi Nu'mān's *Dalā'im al-Islām* (A. A. Fyfe, vol. 1, Cairo, 1951, vol. 6, 11). There are also some interesting references in the Nuyārī work *Madā'ir al-A'yād*, ed. R. Strothmann, in *Ist.*, 1946, 6, 8, 10, 128, 159, 202. For general discussions see Henry Corbin, *Étude préliminaire pour le Livre révélateur des deux sagesse* (de Nādir-Khorram, Tehran 1953, 14 ff.; W. Ivanov, *The Alleged Founder of Ismā'ilism*, Bombay 1946, 115 ff.; B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'ilism*, Cambridge 1949, 32 ff.; Muhammad Kaẓwīnī, in *Djauwayrī*, III, 344 ff. (B. Lewis).

**ABU 'L-KHATTĀB AL-KALWADHĀNĪ** [see AL-KALWADHĀNĪ].

**ABU 'L-KHATTĀB** 'ABD AL-A'ZĪZ b. AL-SAMM AL-MA'AFIRI AL-HIMYARI AL-YAMANI, the first imām elected by the Ibādīs of the Maghrib. He was one of the few missionaries (kama'at al-ṣūm, 'carriers of science') sent to the Maghrib by Abū 'Ubayda al-Tamīmī of Basra, the spiritual head of the sect, in order to preach there the Ibādī creed [cf. KHATTĀRIYYA]. These missionaries received from Abū 'Ubayda the order to establish an imamate amongst the Ibadhiyya of Tripolitania, with Nuyār

'L-Khattāb as imām. The activities of the *kama'at al-ṣūm* were crowned with success. In 140/757-8 the Ibādī notables of Tripolitania, in a council held in Sayrād, near Tripoli, elected Abū 'L-Khattāb as imām. The Ibādī Berber tribes, Hawwara, Naḥsa etc., commanded by the new imām, conquered with the slogan *la ḥukm illā l'ḥimā wa-lā ḥa' illā l'ḥat* Abū 'L-Khattāb, the whole of Tripolitania, including Tripoli, which became the residence of their chief. In Safar 141/Juni-July 758 the army of Abū 'L-Khattāb took al-Kayrawān, capital of Ifrīkiya, at that time in the possession of the Sufarīs of the Berber tribe of Warfajjajūma. 'Abd al-Kāhīm b. Rustam, the future founder of the Ibādī imamate of Tāhart, was appointed governor of the town. The outcome of Abū 'L-Khattāb's conquests was the creation of an Ibādī state comprising the whole of Ifrīkiya, viz. Tripolitania, Tunisia and the eastern part of Algeria. It even seems that Abū 'L-Khattāb had a certain influence over the Sufarīs of al-Jazīra.

In Dhū 'l-Hijja 141/April 759, Muhammad b. al-Agh'ash al-Khuzā'i, 'Abbasid governor of Egypt, sent to Ifrīkiya an army commanded by al-'Awwām b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Baḡdālī, to reconquer the province. The army was defeated by the Ibādīs in the region of Surt, near the eastern boundaries of Abū 'L-Khattāb's possessions. Another 'Abbasid army, led by Abū al-Nuwayr al-Ahwas al-'Iḍīdī, was defeated at Maghaddis (Makmadēs Syrtis, modern Marsa Zafra). In the meantime, Ibn al-Agh'ash received orders to march himself against the Berbers and to assume the government of Ifrīkiya. On receiving this news, Abū 'L-Khattāb set out with a considerable army. Deceived, however, by a stratagem of Ibn al-Agh'ash, who pretended to return to the city, he allowed his troops to disband. When Ibn al-Agh'ash shortly afterwards reached the neighbourhood of Tripoli, the imām hastily assembled the nearest tribes to check his advance. The battle took place at Tāwurgā (on the coast, a few days' journey to the east of Tripoli) in Safar 144/May-June 761. It was very bloody: Abū 'L-Khattāb with twelve or fourteen thousand of his followers were killed. In Jumādā l/August, Ibn al-Agh'ash reoccupied al-Kayrawān.

**Bibliography:** Abū Zakariyyā', *al-Sira wa-dhikr al-A'imma* (MS coll. S. Smogorzewski), fol. 17, 6'-13'; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 18-18; Shammakī, *Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 114-12; Balut (de Sion, *Descript*, 2, 61, 249, 259, 2, 2, 28, 129, trans. de Sion, 25, 61, 285-6; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, 1, 320, 373-11; H. Fournel, *Les Berbères*, 1, 357, 355-60.

(A. DE MOTVLINSKI-T. LEWICKI)

**ABU 'L-KHATTĀR AL-HUṢAYN b. DIRĀR AL-KALBĪ**, GOVERNOR of al-Andalus, who arrived in that country from Ifrīkiya in 125/743, to replace the *waḥī* Ḥa'faba b. Salama al-'Amīlī. He carried out a liberal policy, and skillfully removed from Cordova the representatives of the Syrian *djunds*, who had come to Spain under the leadership of Baljī b. Bihār [q.v.]. On the advice of Count Arabast (Arbābas), son of the Visigothic prince Witiza, he settled these *djunds* on fields, requiring from them in return that they should respond to mobilisation appeals that might be made to them. It was in this way that the Syrian system of the *djund* came to be introduced into al-Andalus. The representatives of the *djund* of Damascus were installed in the Elvira district, those of the *djund* of the Jordan in the district of Rayyo (Archidona and Malaga), those of the *djund* of Palestine in the district of

Sidona, those of the *djund* of Hims (Emesa) in the districts of Seville and Niebla, those of the *djund* of Kinnasir in the district of Jaén, and those of the *djund* of Egypt in the Algarve and in the region of Murcia (Tudmir). A little later Abū 'L-Khattār entered into conflict with a powerful chief of the *djund* of Kinnasir, al-Samsay [q.v.], b. Hātim al-Kūshī, who mustered troops and defeated the governor in Raḡlab 127/April 745 on the Gualdele. In vain did Abū 'L-Khattār afterwards attempt to regain his office; it was seized by the *Djughānīte* chief Ṭawāba b. Salama, who himself died the next year.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp.*, ms. I, 48-50. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**ABU 'L-KHAYR**, ruler of the Ōzbeḡs (see UZBEKS) and founder of the power of this nation, descendant of Shāyḡān, Djuḡi's youngest son (see SHAYYARĪD), born in the year of the dragon (1412; as the year of the hidjra 816/1413-4 is erroneously given). At first he is said to have been in the service of another descendant of Shāyḡān, Djamādūkh Khān. The latter met his death in a revolt; Abū 'L-Khayr was taken prisoner, but was released and shortly after proclaimed Khān in the territory of Tura (Siberia) at the age of 17 (year of the ape-1425; as the year of the hidjra 833/1429-30 is given). After a victory won over another Khān of the family of Djuḡi the greater part of Kipčak submitted to him. In 841/1439-40 he conquered Khāzrim with its capital Urgandī, which was plundered, but soon afterwards he gave it back. According to his biographers, Abū 'L-Khayr later vanquished two more princes, Mahmūd Khān and Ahmad Khān, conquered the city of Urdū-Hāzār, and seized (though for a short time only) the 'throne of Sāyin Khān', i.e. that of Batu. Shortly before the death of Sultān Shāhrukh (850/1447) Abū 'L-Khayr established himself firmly through the subjugation of the fortresses of Signak (at present the ruins of Sınak-Kurgan), Arlık, Surak, Ak-Kurgan and Urdūn on the Sir Daryā—the most significant event in his reign for the further history of the Ōzbeḡs. Signak seems to have been his capital from that time. South of this region no durable conquests were made under Abū 'L-Khayr; even the neighbouring town of Yast (now Turkistan) remained in the power of the Timurids. Manoeuvring expeditions were frequently undertaken, even as far afield as Buḡārā and Samarkand. Abū 'L-Khayr appeared with greater forces in 853/1451-2 as an ally of the prince Abū Sa'īd against the then ruler of Samarkand 'Abd Allāh; with his aid 'Abd Allāh was defeated and killed and Abū Sa'īd was installed as ruler in Samarkand; Kibi's Sultān Bēgum, daughter of Ulugh Beg, was given in marriage to Abū 'L-Khayr. A second attempt to interfere in the disputes of the Timurids fell out less happily; Muhammad Djuḡl, favored by Abū 'L-Khayr against Abū Sa'īd, was forced in 855/1460-1 after some successes to raise the siege of Samarkand at the approach of his enemy, to quit the country ravaged by Abū 'L-Khayr's auxiliary troops (under Burkās Sultān) and in 868/1465—having, it seems, received no assistance from Abū 'L-Khayr—to surrender to his adversary. Shortly before, probably about 861/1456-7 (Abū 'L-Khayr's grandson, Mahmūd, born in 858/1454, is said to have been then three years old), Abū 'L-Khayr's power received a severe blow from the Kalmak (Kalmucks); beaten in the open field, he had to flee to Signak and let the enemy ravage the whole country up to the Sir. About 870/1465-6 there appears to have taken place among the Ōzbeḡs that split, through which the proper

inhabitants of the steppes, since called Kazak, separated from the other portion of the nation. The year of the rat (1468; erroneously identified with 874/1469-70) is given as the year of Abū 'L-Khayr's death; the power founded by him was after a short interruption restored and extended by his grandson Muhammad Shāh b. al-Kubistānī.

**Bibliography:** Abū 'L-Khayr's biography was written towards 950/1543-4 by Ma'ūd b. 'Uḡmān al-Kubistānī (*Ta'rikh-i Abū 'L-Khayr Khān*); the statements in Howarth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, II, 687, are correct only so far as concerns the MS. of the British Museum, but not the work itself; cf. Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. MSS.*, I, 102; the Leningrad MSS, including that of the University Library or 812, used here, have also the beginning of the biography. Ma'ūd was also able to utilize the oral narratives of Abū 'L-Khayr's son Šayūnūd Khān (d. 937/1525), who seems to have drawn his information from written sources, as for example the *Mafāḥ al-Sa'dāyān* of 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Samarḡandī. Information about Abū 'L-Khayr is also to be found in the historical works on his grandson Shāyḡān and his successors, especially in the *Tawārīkh-i Nujrat Nāma* (cf. Rieu, *Cat. of Turkish MSS.*, 276 ff.) and the writings dependent on it. (W. BARNOLD)

**ABU 'L-KHAYR AL-ISHLBILĪ**, surnamed al-Shadīqīyā, 'the arboriculturist', author of a book on agriculture, was a native of Seville (Ishbillya). Neither the date of his birth or that of his death are known, and one can only say that as he is quoted by Ibn al-'Awwām [q.v.], who lived in the second half of the 6th/12th century, he must have belonged to an earlier period. He was probably the contemporary of the botanist-physician and 'gardeners' of the 5th/11th century, such as Ibn Wafīd al-Lakhmī, Ibn Bāḡdāl, the *Ḥadīdī* al-Ishbīlī and al-Tighnārī. His *K. al-Filāḥa* is preserved in MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in the Zaytūna mosque in Tunis and some private libraries in North Africa.

The following are the main contents of Abū 'L-Khayr's book. (i) General considerations on planting (*shadāra*): favourable months; influence of the moon; the time needed for plants to grow and to yield fruit; age of trees; damage (weather, animals, fire, water); special treatment of olive-trees, vines, fig-trees, palm-trees. (ii) Plantations proper: trees, bushes, grain, seeds; layering, pruning, grafting; fruit and vegetable concerns; growing of vegetables; aromatic plants, flowers; flax and cotton; bananas and sugar-cane. (iii) Animals: of the back-yard, especially pigeons; bees and wild animals; harmful animals (reptiles, rodents and insects). (iv) Finally two pages on the *taḡdīb al-ām*, i.e. meteorological or astrological prognostications.

Abū 'L-Khayr appeals to his personal experience and observations in the gardens, parks, fields, vineyards and forests of the Aljizaf (al-Jizaf, district of Seville). His literary documentation consists in quoting, no doubt at second hand, the *K. al-Nabāt* of Abū Ḥanifa al-Dīnawarī (which had been expounded in 60 vols. by Ibn Ukt al-Ghanīm—cf. Makkarī, *Analekī*, II, 270), Ariatole, Anatolius, 'Kastūs' (Cassianus Bassus Scolasticus), Philo—through adaptations of the *Geoponica* and through the *Filāḥa al-Nabāḥiyya* of Ibn Wabḡḥiyya [q.v.]. (For this agricultural literature see FİLĀḤA.) On the whole, the book is an empirical work of technical science, but, like the agricultural literature in general, is not without its popular and superstitious



side, and formulas for amulets and descriptions of talismans are given.

**Bibliography:** The *K. al-Fidk* published in Fez 1357-8 is falsely attributed to Abu 'L-Khayr. An edition with annotated French translation is in preparation by the author of this article. Some paragraphs were published by A. Cherbonneau and H. Pérès, *K. al-Fidk ou Livre de la Culture*, in *Bibl. Arabo-Française*, v, Algiers 1946. See also 'A. Abu 'L-Nasr, in *MMJA*, 1953, 557; J.-J. Clément-Mullet, intr. to *Livre de l'Agriculture d'Ibn al-Fuwat*, Paris 1864, I, 78; C. E. Duhler, in *And.*, 1941, 137; E. García Gómez, in *And.*, 1945, 132-4, 137-9; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, III, 241; J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, in *And.*, 1943, 267; 1948, 331-2; idem, in *Tamuda*, Tetuan 1953, 48; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, Paris 1947, 197; idem, *Bibl. des Études Arabes*, Algiers 1946, 130-2; Introduction to *K. al-Fidk ou Livre de la Culture*, d'Abu 'L-Khayr ash-Chadīdjār al-Isibīlī, Algiers 1946, 7-11. (H. PÉRÈS)

**ABU KHIRĀSH** KHUWAYYID B. MURRA AL-HUMAYD, *mushāfir* Arab poet, who was converted to Islam and died under the caliphate of 'Umar, from the bite of a snake while he was drawing water for Yamanite pilgrims (who were then required by the caliph to draw water). Abu Khirāsh is counted among the pre-Islamic warriors who could run faster than horses, sharing this distinction with his nine brothers Abū Dīundab, 'Urwā, al-Aḥabāh, al-Aswad, Abū 'L-Aswad, 'Amr, Zuhayr, Dīandad and Sufyān, who were also poets of rank.

**Bibliography:** The *Diwan* of Abū Khirāsh was published by J. Hell, *Neue Haddadīn-Diwan*, II, Leipzig 1933. Biographical notes and verses in *Idābit*, *Hayasda*, IV, 267, 517; Ibn Kutayba, *Sh'v*, 427-8; Abū Tammām, *Hamāda* (Preval), 365, 370; *Aghāḍ*, xxi, 24-70; Ibn Ḥajar, *Isāb*, no. 2345; Baghdādī, *Khāḍa*, Cairo 1347, I, 400, 'Askāf, *Diwan al-Ma'āḍ*, I, 131, II, 72; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi = *Literatura*, 46 (French transl. 77). (Ch. PELLAT)

**ABU KUBAYṢ**, a sacred hill on the eastern edge of Mecca. Rising abruptly from the valley floor, it overlooks the Great Mosque a few hundred meters away. The Ka'ba corner containing the Black Stone points towards the hill, at the foot of which is al-Sa'īd, the southern end of al-Madīna. Buildings now hem the hill in on nearly every side. Muslim tradition holds that this was the first mountain created by God, Adam and other ancients are sometimes said to be buried there. The hill's older name was al-ʿAmīn, given because the Black Stone was kept safe there during Noah's Flood. Various stories explain the origin of the name Abū KubayṢ (Yāqūt, 437; al-Azraqī, 477-8, inclines towards the version identifying Abū KubayṢ as a man of Iyād, the first to build on the hill. Dījal Abū KubayṢ and al-Aḥmar on the western side of the valley were together called al-Aḥḥabān (the Two Rough Ones); a *hadīth* says that Mecca will last as long as these two. According to popular tradition, the Prophet was standing on Abū KubayṢ when the moon was rent in twain (Kar, IV, 1). The hill was destroyed in 640/3-4 by shots from a *manḡniya* fixed on Abū KubayṢ, and in medieval times a castle crowned the hill; no fortifications now remain there. The first *ziyāra* of the Sa'ūdī order was built on Abū KubayṢ c. 1252-3/1837,

and in Snouck Hurgronje's time a large Naqshbandī establishment also stood on the slopes (*Makha*, II, 285).

**For bibliography, see MARKA.** (G. RENTZ)  
**ABU KURRA** TEOUROPE, Melkite Bishop of Hama, said to be the first Christian writer of importance to produce works in the Arabic language. He was born at Edessa c. 740 and must have died c. 820. He refers to himself in his writings as a disciple of John of Damascus (d. 749), but though he studied as a youth in the monastery of St. Saba in Palestine, he can hardly have been a student under the Damascene. Like that of John, however, his name is associated with the early stages of Christian apologetics against Islam, and with that Christian learning which played so large a part in moulding the development of Islamic theology. He wrote in his native Syriac, in Greek and in Arabic. His writings are for the most part polemical in nature, which may be explained by the fact that in his days the city of Hama was a centre of vigorous intellectual life in which pagans and Manichees, Jews, Muslims and Christians of orthodox and of non-orthodox persuasion all shared. In his extant treatises he defends his orthodox faith against the teachings of all these opposing traditions. His Greek treatises have been edited in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xvi, and the Arabic by Constantin Bacha, *Oeuvres arabes de Théodore Aboucurra, évêque de Hama*, Beyrouth, n.d., though there is some doubt as to the authenticity of certain treatises included in each of these collections (see Peeters, in *Acta Iordaniana*, 1939, 94, and H. Beck, in *Orientalia christiana analecta*, 1937, 40-3).

**Bibliography:** Michael Syrós, *Chronique*, III, 29-31; C. Bacha, in *Mach*, 1903, 633-6; G. Graf, *Gesch. d. christl. arab. Lit.*, II, 7-25; id., *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abu Qurra*, Paderborn 1910. His part in the Muslim controversy is discussed in A. Palmieri, *Die Polemik des Islam*, 181; G. Güterbock, *Der Islam im Licht der byzantinischen Polemik*, 1912, 13 ff.; I. Kratschovsky, in *Kristianskiy Vostok*, 1916, 301-9; A. Guillaume, in the Centenary Suppl. to *JRAS*, 1924, 233-44; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, I, 434 ff.; W. Eichner, in *Isl.*, 1930, 136 ff. (A. JEFFREY)

**ABU LAHAB**, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Lubā bint Ḥaḍir (of Khuz'a), and half-brother of Muḥammad's father. His name was 'Abd al-'Uzza and his kunya Abū 'Uṭba; Abū Lahab (literally 'father of the flames') was a nickname given by his father on account of his beauty. At one time, doubtless before Muḥammad's preaching had roused opposition, he was friendly with his nephew, for his sons 'Uṭba and 'Uṣayba were married (or perhaps only betrothed) to Muḥammad's daughters Rukayya and Umm Kulthūm respectively. During the boycott of Ḥaḥim and al-Muṭṭalib by other clans Abū Lahab distanced himself from Ḥaḥim, probably because through his wife, a daughter of Harb b. Umayya, he was connected with 'Abd Shams. On the death of Abū Tālib, shortly after the end of the boycott, Abū Lahab became head of the clan and at first promised to protect Muḥammad, presumably for the sake of the honour of his clan. He withdrew his protection, however, when Abū Tālib and 'Uṭba b. Abū Muṣṣab managed to convince him that Muḥammad had spoken disrespectfully of deceased ancestors like 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and said they were destined for Hell. This loss of protection probably led to Muḥammad's attempt to settle in al-Ta'if; when it proved vain, Muḥammad,

before entering Mecca again, had to obtain the *ḡiyār* of the head of another clan. This hostile conduct was doubtless the occasion of *Sūra cxi* which, with a play on the name, consigns Abū Lahab and his wife to the flames of Hell. He died shortly after the battle of Badr to which he is said to have sent in his place a man who owed him money. There is a long story about his reaction to the news of this defeat. His sons 'Uṭba and Mu'attib became Muslims in 63/60, and 'Uṭba's grandson, al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās, was known as a poet (*Aghāḍ*, xv, 2-11).

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, 69, 231-3, 244, 440-461; Ibn Sa'd, *lit.*, II, 707, 47-51; Waki'dī, ed. Wellhausen, 42, 251; Tabarī, index; Caetani, *Annali*, I, 308-9, 496; A. Fischer, in *Ber. d. d. Verh. d. Sächs. Ak. Wiss.*, Bd. 89, Heft 2. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**ABU 'L-LAYTH** AL-SAMARKANDI, NASR B. MUḤ. B. AHMAD B. ISRĀ'ĪM, known as *Imām al-Buḍā*, a Hanafī theologian and jurist, one of the 4th/10th century. The date of his death is variously given as between 379/983-4 and 393/1002-3. He must not be confused with his slightly older contemporary al-Ḥafīf al-Samarkandī, whose name was also Abu 'L-Layth Nasr. The oldest known biographical source, 'Abd al-Kādir (d. 775/1373), attributes to this latter person some of the main works that generally go under the name of the *Imām al-Buḍā*, but this seems to be a mistake.

Abu 'L-Layth was a very successful author in several fields of the Islamic sciences, and his books have become popular from Morocco to Indonesia. His main works are: (1) a *Tafsīr*, printed Cairo 1310/1892-3; this was translated into old Ottoman Turkish by Ibn 'Arabshāh (d. 854/1450-1), and Ibn 'Arabshāh's work was expanded by Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥ. al-Faḍlī, a contemporary, under the title *Anfas al-Dīwānī*; manuscripts of these Turkish editions are among the oldest dated Ottoman Turkish manuscripts; (2) *Khiṣṣat al-Fiḥ*, a handbook of Hanafī law; (3) *Muḥṭaṣṣat al-Rimṣa*, on the divergent doctrines of the ancient Hanafī authorities, in three editions; (4) *al-Muḥṭaṣṣat fi 'l-Salāt*, on the nature of ritual prayer, with many commentaries; (5) *Tamshīl al-Ḥaḥḥim* and (6) *Buḥṭān al-'Arṣīn*, both on ethics and piety, often printed; (7) an *'Aḥḍa*, in the form of question and answer (ed. A. W. T. Juybolli, *ETLV* 1881, 215 ff., 267 ff.), with a commentary by Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Nawāwī (d. after 1305/1888), under the title *Kaṣr al-Ḥaḥṭh* (Brockelmann, S. II, 814; C. H. Becker, *Isl.* 1911, 23), often printed; (8) *al-Maḥal* and *Jawānib* interlinear translations. This *'Aḥḍa* is authentic (against Juybolli, l.c., and F. Kern, *ZA* 1912, 170) and represents a popular, Hanafī current of theological thought (Schaerh, in *Studia Islamica*, II).

**Bibliography:** 'Abd al-Kādir al-Kurashī, *al-Dīwān al-Muḥṭaṣṣat*, Hyderabad 1332, II, 198, 264-1; G. Flügel, *Die Krone der Lebenslehre*, Leipzig 1862, 55 f., 122 f.; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-Bahīyya*, Cairo 1324, 220; Brockelmann I, 210 f.; S. I, 347 f. (nos. 6 and 7 refer to the same work). (J. SCHACHT)

**ABU 'L-MA'ĀLĪ** MUḤAMMAD B. 'UNAYD ALLĀN, Persian writer. His sixth ancestor was Husayn al-Aḥḡar, traditionist and son of the *Imām* Zayn al-'Abīdīn. His family lived for a long time in Balḥ. He was a contemporary of Nāṣirī Khuzraw, whom he may have known and about whom he gives us the earliest information available.

From two passages of his only work *Ch. Schefer* assumed that he was at the court of the ḡhanawid sultan Ma'ūd III when he composed his *Bayān al-Aḡyān*, dated 485/1092, the earliest known work on religions in the Persian language. The first two chapters are devoted to religions before Islam and to some heresies; the third and fourth to the exposition of the Sunnite and Shī'ite doctrines and to the Islamic sects (especially Ismā'īlism); the fifth chapter, dealing with the extremists (which may, therefore, have been of importance) is lost. He mentions his main sources. His work has not the bulk of the *Tahzīb al-Aḡyān* of Shāfi'ī Murādā (second half of 12th century), but it commands itself by its clear precision and by the sober vigour of its style. It is among the best of the rare prose works in Persian from the ḡhanawid period. Editions by Ch. Schefer (*Chrestomathie persane*, I, 131-7) and Abbas Iqbal, Teheran 1313/1934 (detailed genealogy of Abu 'L-Ma'ālī in the introduction); transl. H. Massé, *RHR*, 1926, 17-75. (H. MASSÉ)

**ABU 'L-MA'ĀLĪ 'ABD AL-MALIK** [see AL-DUWAYKIL]

**ABU MADYAN**, SHU'AYB B. AL-HUSAYN AL-ANDALUSI, famous Andalusian mystic, born about 520/1126 at Cantillana, a little town about 20 miles NNE of Seville. Spring from a very modest family, he learnt the trade of weaver, but, impelled by an irresistible taste for knowledge, he learnt the Kufic and, as soon as he was able, went to N. Africa to complete his education. At Fez he was the disciple of renowned masters, who owed, however, their fame less to their theological learning than to their piety and their ascetic lives—men such as Abū Ya'azzā al-Hammī, 'Alī b. Hīrīm, and al-Dakkāk. This last invested him with the *shāhīda*, the robe which bore witness to his vocation of 560; but his real initiator into the theories of mysticism seems to have been Abū Ya'azzā. With the permission of this master, he left for the Orient. There he succeeded in absorbing the tradition of al-ḡhazālī and of the great mystics. At Mecca he may have encountered the famous 'Abd al-Kādir al-ḡlīlī (d. 561/1166). He returned to the Maghrib, and settled at Bulḡiya (Bougie), where he became known for his teaching and his exemplary life. His fame reached the ears of the Mu'minid ruler Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, who summoned him to the court at Marrākūsh, no doubt apprehensive about such religious prestige outside the Almohad seat. When within sight of Tlemcen (Tlemcen) Abū Madyan was taken ill and died (594/1197). Following his expressed wish he was buried at al-'Ubbād, a village on the outskirts of Tlemcen, which was apparently already frequented by ascetics, but which, as his burial-place, was to become especially venerable.

The place which he occupies amongst the most important figures in western Islam is not due strictly speaking to his writings; at least, his only surviving writings are "a few mystical poems, a *wasīyya* (testament), and an *'ahida* (creed)" (A. Bell). It is because of the memory of him handed down by his disciples, and the maxims attributed to him, that he has been considered worthy to be regarded as a *shāh* (pole), a *ḡhawṣ* (supreme succour), and a *walī* (friend of God). The maxims proclaim the excellence of the ascetic life, of renunciation of this world's goods, of humility, and of absolute confidence in God. He used to say: "Action accompanied by pride profits no man; idleness accompanied by humility harms no man. He who renounces



calculation and choice lives a better life". He often repeated this line: "Say: Allah and abandon all that is material or has to do with the material, if thou desirest to attain the true goal". Actually there is nothing original in his conception of *silṣim*, but the success of his doctrine and its long-continued influence can be explained by its conciliation of various tendencies and by the type of society which received it. "His great merit and his great success lie in his having realised, in a way that his hearers could understand, a happy synthesis of the influences which he had undergone. With him the moderate *ṭāṣiṣ* that Ghazālī had already, a century earlier, incorporated in Muslim orthodoxy, principally for the use of a privileged élite, is now adapted to the mentality of the North African believer, whether man of the people or literate... Abū Madyan... gave once and for all the keynote for North African mysticism" (R. Brunschwig).

The books of *hagiography* attribute miracles to him, and Tlemcen, where he died, adopted him as patron. His tomb, which became the centre of a fine architectural complex (mosque of al-'Ubbād 732/1339, *maḥṣara* 747/1347, little palace, *ḥammām*) mainly built by the Marīnid sultan of Fez Abū 'l-Ḥasan, ruler of Tlemcen, is still a place of pilgrimage for the country people of the province of Oran and eastern Morocco.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Maryām, *al-Buḥārī* (Ben Chenebi), Algiers 1326/1908; transl. Provencal, Algiers 1910, 115 ff.; *Ḥuḥūrī*, *Uṣūl al-Dīnīya* (Ben Chenebi), Algiers 1910; Ibn Khaldūn (Yahyā), *Hist. des B.* 'Abd al-Wād, transl. A. Bel, Algiers 1904, I, 80-3; Ahmad Baha, *Nayl al-Iḥṣād*, Fez 1917, 107-112; L. J. Barges, *Vie du célèbre marabout Cidi Abou Medjan*, Paris 1854; Brousseau, *Les inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen*, in *RAfr.*, 1859; A. Bel, *La religion musulmane en Berberie*, I, Paris 1938; id., *Sidi Bou Medjan et son maître Ed-Daqqāq*, in *Mélanges R. Basset*, Paris 1923, I, 31-68; R. Brunschwig, *La Berberie orientale sous les Hafsides*, II, Paris 1947, 317-9; M. Asis Palacios, *El místico marroquí Abenarrabi*, Madrid 1945, 32. (E. MARGAÑA)

**ABŪ 'L-MAHĀSIN** DĪMĀL AL-DIN YUSUF B. TAḤḤIRBIRDĪ, Arabic historian, born at Cairo, probably in 812/1409-10 (exact date doubtful). His father was a manikūl from Asia Minor (Rūm) bought and promoted by Sultan al-Zāhir Barḳūk; under Sultan al-Nāṣir Farajī he became commander in chief of the Egyptian armies (*amir al-jish*, *amir al-jaysh*) in 850/1407, and in 853 viceroys (*waḥīd al-saltana*) of Damascus, where he died early in 853/1412. The boy Yūsuf was brought up by his sister, wife of the chief kādī Muḥammad b. al-'Adīm al-Hanafī and then of the chief kādī 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Buklīnī al-Ḥāḥirī (d. 814). He studied under many noted scholars the usual learned disciplines, and also music, Turkish and Persian. At the same time he had entrance to the Manikūl court, became proficient in military exercises, and was granted a fief (*ikṭā'*). He made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 846/1423, in 849/1445 (as a *biḥāḥ* in the *ḥajj* escort), and again in 863/1459. In 856/1432 he took an active part in the Syrian campaign of Sultan Barḳūk, with whom he was on intimate terms (as he was with other sultans), and turned to the writing of history after he had heard al-'Aynī's works read to that sultan.

His first important work was *al-Mankal al-Sāfi* wa *'l-Mustawṣi* *ba'd al-Waḥī*, biographies of the sultans and important amirs and scholars from 650/1248 to 853/1451, but with some additions as

late as 862/1458; an annotated résumé was published by G. Wiet in *MIE*, 1932, 1-486.

Next came *al-Nuḡm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa 'l-Kāhira*, a history of Egypt from 206/641 to his own time, and continuing also the biographical series of the *Mankal*. It was written, he says, for himself and his friends, especially Sultan Dīḡmak's son Muḥammad, and at first went only to the end of Dīḡmak's reign, Muharram 857/Jan. 1455. Later he continued it to 873/1467 (see below). Editions: *Abū 'l-Mahasin ibn Taḥḥir Birdi Annales*, from 206/641 to 365/976, ed. Juvénal and Mathieu, *Le volk*, Leiden 1855-61; *Abū 'l-Mahasin ibn Taḥḥir Birdi's Annales*, from 366/977 to 566/1171 and from 766/1365 to 774/1477, ed. W. Popper (Univ. of California Publ. in Semitic Philology, II, III part I, v, vi, xii) Berkeley 1909-29; *al-Nuḡm al-Zāhira*, from 206/641 to 799/1397, Cairo 1348/1929 ff. (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, al-Kim al-Adabī).

The death of al-Makrīzī in 843 and of al-'Aynī in 855 left Abū 'l-Mahāsīn as Egypt's principal historian, and he wrote *Ḥawāḍith al-Duḥūr fī Maḍa 'l-Ayyām wa 'l-Ṣūḥūr*, chronicles from 845/1441 to 12 Muharram 874/July 16, 1469, to continue al-Makrīzī's *al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifaṭ Duḥal al-Mulūk*. Simultaneously he continued his own *Nuḡm*, but omitted from it much of the *Ḥawāḍith*'s fuller material regarding persons and economic and political conditions. Edition: *Extrait from Abū 'l-Mahasin ibn Taḥḥir Birdi's Chronicle Hawadith al-Duḥūr*, ed. Popper (Univ. Cal. Pub. in Semitic Phil., VIII), 1930-42 (contains all passages not represented in *Nuḡm*, vol. vii).

Two other extensive historical works, not mentioned by him or his biographers, are ascribed to him: *Nuḥdat al-Ri'ā'ya* for 698-742/1279-64, and *Bahr al-Zāḥir fī 'Im al-Anwāl wa 'l-Āḥir*, for 32-71/652-90.

He wrote also several condemnations or extracts from his main works: *al-Dall al-Shāfi 'ala 'l-Mankal al-Sāfi*; *Kutāb al-Wuzarā'*; *al-Biḥāra fī Takmilat al-Iḡbara* (supplement to al-Iḡharī's *Iḡbara*); *al-Kawāḍith al-Zāhira*; *Maḥṣara 'al-taḥṣīl fī Ḥikm al-Walāyā'*; *Khiṭāb*, and *Maḥṣara 'al-taḥṣīl fī Ḥikm al-Walāyā'*; *Salṭana wa'l-Khiṭāb*, ed. with Latin translation by J. E. Carlyle, Cambridge 1798.

His works other than on history were: *Taḥḥir Aḥlāḥ al-'Arab fī 'l-Asma'* *al-Turkiyya*; *al-Amṭhāl al-Sā'ira*; *Ḥilyat al-Sifāt fī 'l-Asma'* wa *'l-Simā'āt* (anthology of poetry, history and literature); *al-Sulūk al-Kāhira wa'l-Jaysh*, 1279 ff. (part of mystic content); and a short treatise on vocal music. He left the manuscripts of his works to the tomb-mosque which he had built for himself. He died on 5 Dhū'l-Hijja, 874/5 June 1470.

**Bibliography:** Ahmad al-Mardīf (the author's pupil and copyist of the *Mankal*), in *Nuḡm*, Cairo, I, introd., p. 9; Sakḥāwī, *Dam'*, x, 305-8; Ibn al-Jamāl, *Shadīḥ*, II, 127; Ibn Ḥibb, *Ḥaḍrat* (Kahle and Mustafa), III, (sci.), 42; Weil, *Chalifen*, IV, pp. xvii-xxi; v, pp. vii-xiv; E. Amar, in *Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, 1909, 245-54; G. Wiet, in *BIE*, 1930, 89-105; Brockelmann, II, 41, II, 39; F. Wustefeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, no. 490; Haddīdī Khālifa (Flügel), index, no. 1307; Buhārīng, 61. (W. POPPER)

**ABŪ 'L-MAHĀSIN** YUSUF B. MUḤAMMAD B. YUSUF AL-FĀSĪ, Moroccan scholar, and 800 *ḡayyāḥ* of repute, born in 938/1530-31, the ancestor of the Fāsiyyūn (vernacular Fāsiyyūn) family, which, since the 16th century, has provided the town of Fās with a long succession of scholars and jurists.

Abū 'l-Mahāsīn al-Fāṣī himself belonged to the Fihrite tribe of the Banu 'l-Djadd, which, about 880/1475, had emigrated from Malaga, in Spain, to Morocco. He was born at al-Kabr al-Kabr (or, in the Spanish form, Alcazquivir), where his grandfather Yūsuf had settled after a stay of seven years at Fās (this is how he came to acquire the appellation al-Fāṣī, which remained that of all his descendants). But it was to the capital of North Morocco that Abū 'l-Mahāsīn al-Fāṣī went to study, and there he finally settled, from 988/1580 onwards. He soon acquired there an exceptional reputation for learning and piety, and founded a *ṣūfiyya* which has been much frequented ever since. In 1066/1578, he took part in the famous battle of Wādī 'l-Maghāzī against the Portuguese (see *al-Niḥās*). He died on 18 Rabī' I 1073/August 1604. Among his most famous descendants should be mentioned his son Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Fāṣī, author of a monograph on Abū 'l-Mahāsīn, the *Ma'rifa 'l-Mahāsīn* (lith. at Fez in 1324), his grandson 'Abd al-Kādir b. Aḥī (d. ca. 1625), and the son of the latter, 'Abd al-Rahmān (d. ca. 1645). A genealogical table of the Fāsiyyūn family will be found in *Hist. Chorfa*, 242.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 240-41, and the numerous references mentioned there, 240, n. 4, among which may be cited here only Iḥrāḥ, *Salwat man Inṣāḡar*, Fez, n. d., 27; Kādirī, *Nagh al-Mathnawī*, Fez 1310, I, 89; Muḥibbī, *Khiṭāb al-Athar*, Cairo 1384, IV, 507; Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fez 1316, II, 306 ff.; M. Benchenen, *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Alfida de cheikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāzī*, Actes XVII Cong. Int. Or., IV, Paris 1908, I, 19 ff. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**ABŪ MAṢŪR** LĪYĀS AL-NAFŪSĪ, governor of Djabal Nafūsa and Tripolitania, on behalf of the Rustamid *imām* of Tāhart, Abū 'l-Yakrān Muḥammad b. Aḥlāb (d. 281/894-5). He came from Tindemira, a village in the Djabal Nafūsa, but the exact dates of his birth and death are unknown. His province comprised the whole of Tripolitania, except the town of Tripoli which belonged to the Aghlabids. He had immediately to engage in conflict with the Berber Iḥādī tribe of Zawāḡha, who occupied the coast between Tripoli and Djerba. The tribe, which sought to free itself from dependence on the Nafūsa and had adopted the dissident doctrines of Khālīd b. al-Samī, revolted against Abū Maṣūr, who had the leadership of the son of Khālīd, who had taken refuge with them. Abū Maṣūr, attacked by the Zawāḡha, defeated them with severe losses; their leader fortified himself on the island of Djerba, but his followers were bribed and delivered him up to Abū Maṣūr.

According to Ibn al-Rāḥīqī, quoted by al-Shamṣī, *maḥṣara*, when in 266/879-80 he invaded Abū 'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Tulūn defeated the Aghlabid governor of Tripoli, Muḥammad b. Kurub, and besieged the city for forty three days, the inhabitants called Abū Maṣūr to their help. He arrived with twelve thousand men, attacked Ibn Tulūn outside the city and routed him.

**Bibliography:** E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 188-94; Dardjūn, *Tahsil al-Maghāzī* (MS); *Shamṣī*, *Maḥṣara*, Cairo 1901, 224-5; A. de Motwinski, *Le Djebel Nafusa*, Paris 1869, 91, n. 3; R. Basset, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nafusa*, J.A., 1899, 432. (T. LEWICKI)

**ABŪ MAṢŪR** (see AL-THĀ'ALĪB).

**ABŪ MA'SHAR** DĪMĀ' FAR B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'UMAR AL-BALKHĪ, astrologer, usually known

in western Europe as Albumasar, was born at Balkh in eastern Khurāsān, studied at Baghdad, and was a contemporary of the famous philosopher al-Kindī (first half of 3rd/9th century); after studying the Islamic traditions, he devoted himself particularly to the study of astronomy and astrology, and it is to the latter that he owes his celebrity. He benefited fully from the very flourishing state of astronomical studies in Baghdad, but had a decided preference for astrology. In any case, in his various astrological works it is possible to pick out the astronomical principles and laws that he derived from contemporary scholars. He died at Wasit, about a centenary, in 272/886.

In the works of Abū Ma'shar can be observed the influences exerted at that time on Arab learning by cultural currents from Persia (in the Pahlavi tongue), and, more indirectly, from India. But Abū Ma'shar not only benefited from the learning of his contemporaries; even in his own time he was reputed to be a plagiarist. The author of the *Fihrist*, on the authority of Ibn al-Makrīzī, tells us that Abū Ma'shar plagiarized various authors, particularly the works of Sind b. 'Alī, and these accusations are corroborated by modern criticism.

Among his numerous works may be cited:

(1) a collection of astronomical tables (*ḥiḡl*), unfortunately lost, in which the movements of the planets were calculated for the meridian of Gandīst (or Gandes in Pahlavi), and in agreement with the Indian theory of millenary cycles (*ḥashrāt*).

(2) *al-Madḡhal al-Kabrī* (The great introduction to Astrology), a treatise divided into eight books and still unpublished in Arabic, twice translated into Latin, first in 1130 by Johannes Hispalensis, then, in 1150, by Hieronymus Secundus or the German. This work was to have a great influence in Christian Europe; the Latin manuscripts of it are numerous, and Hermann's translation was printed at Augsburg quite early, in 1489, under the title *Introducitur in astronomiam Albumasaris Abolacis octo continens libros partiales*; it was also printed in Venice in 1495 and again in 1506. It is important to note that this exposition of astrology contains an exposition of the theory of tides, and it can be said that medieval Europe learned the laws of the ebb and flow of the sea from it. There are in this theory, side by side with true observations, some completely fantastic explanations. The moon is made to influence also the winds, rainfall, and the whole subterranean world.

(3) *Alḥikm Tahsilī* *Sinī* *al-Madḡhal*, translated by Johannes Hispalensis under the title *De magnis conjunctionibus et annorum revolutionibus ac eorum perfectionibus octo continens tractatus*, printed at Augsburg in 1489, and at Venice in 1515. The Arabic text is found in Escorial ms. 917 (Brockelmann, I, 221, is wrong in supposing that this is a ms. of the preceding work), and also in ms. 2284 of the Bibl. Nat. de Paris. Gallini believed that the translation of *De magnis conjunctionibus*... was from an Arabic original, *Dalālat al-Aḥḡbās al-'Uṣṭayya* ('Indicazioni date dalle persone superiori dagli astri'), and Suter denied any connection between the *De magnis conjunctionibus* and the *Kitāb al-Kirāmāt* which is also attributed to Albumasar; but, as J. Vernet points out in a recent article, there is a large measure of correspondence between the two works.

(4) *al-Nuḥat*, a sort of summary of the previous treatise, translated by Johannes Hispalensis under the title *Flores astrologiae*; the Arabic text is in Escorial ms. 918, x, and 938, 5, and also in folios 1-29 of ms. 2588 of the Bibl. Nat., Paris. The Latin



translation was printed at Augsburg in 1488, at Venice in 1488, 1489, and 1506.

(5) *al-Uluf fi Bayat al-'Abdān* was, judging by the quotations from it in later authors, a study on the temples built in the world in each millenary.

(6) *Mawā'id al-Riqā' al-Ni'ā'*, a treatise on the horoscopes of men and women, divided into twelve chapters, and preserved in ms. Berlin no. 3881.

Some other works are also attributed to Abū Ma'ishar, but their authenticity cannot be proved; in any case, they do not involve a different view of the scientific character of our author, which is almost exclusively astrological.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, I, 221, S. 1, 394; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, 28, Nacht, 162; Ibn al-Kūfī, *Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'* (Lippert), 157; J. Lippert, *Abū Ma'ishar Kūh al-waf*, WZKM, 1895, 351-8; M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen*, 35-8; P. Dahm, *Le système du monde*, II, 360-860; C. Nallin, *Scritti*, IV, 331-2; G. Sartori, *Introd. to the Hist. of Science*, I, 308; J. Vernez, *Problèmes bibliographiques en torno a Abūmaṣar*, Barcelona 1952. (J. M. MILLER)

**ABU MA'ISHAR** Naḥḥ b. 'ABD AL-ḤAMMAM AL-SINDI AL-MADAKI, a slave from the Yaman, possibly of Indian parentage, who purchased his freedom and lived in Medina. He was considered a rather 'weak' ḥadīth scholar, but he is deservedly famous as the author of a Kitāb al-Maḥāḥiz. Numerous fragments of it have been preserved by al-Wāḥidī and Ibn Sa'd. Among his authorities he mentions Nāḥ, the master of Ibn 'Umar, Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Kurāzī, and other scholars of Medina. In the year 160/776-7, he left Medina and remained in Baghdad until his death in Ramadān (?) 170/787. There he enjoyed the favor of several members of the court of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Taḥarī. Abū Ma'ishar has taken from him information on Ḥilālī history and on Muhammad's life and especially chronological statements, the latter going down to the very year of his death.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, S. I, 207; Buhārī, *Ta'riḥ*, Haydarābād 1390, 134; Ibn Hibbān, *Madrāḥin* (ms. Aya 5667) 496, fol. 241; Ibn 'Adī, *Da'awā* ms. Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III, 2943, III, fols. 183b-185a; al-Khaṭīb al-Baḥḥadī, *Ta'riḥ Baghdad*, XII, Cairo 1340/1921, 457-64; Ibn Maḥjar, *Taḥḥib*, x, Haydarābād 1325-7, 410-42; Dhahabī, *Nuḥab* (ms. Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III, 2910, VI, fols. 188b-190a); id., *Ta'riḥ al-ḥadīth*, under the names of the characters of the 17th century; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'sūf* (Wüstenfeldt), 233; Ya'qūbī, II, 523; Yāqūt, *Ma'āḥim*, III, 166-167; *Muḥḥarir*, 256; J. Horowitz, in IC, 1928, 195-8.

(J. HOROWITZ-F. ROSENTHAL)

**ABU MIBHAR** (see SIKKĀ).  
**ABU MUḤJIB** (see ALLĀH or MĀLIK or 'AMR) b. HAZM, Arab poet of the Thaqif tribe, counted as one of the *muḥabbirūn*. After taking part in the defence of al-Ḥaḥī against Muḥammad, when he wounded with an arrow a son of Abū Bakr (in 630), he was converted in 635/2 and fought at al-Kalbiyya. The story goes that, in order to take part in this battle, he escaped first from his escort (for 'Umar had banished him to Ḥaḥawa, see Goldziher, *Abhandl.* II, then managed to obtain provisional liberty, thanks to the wife of Sa'd b. Abū Waḥshī; Sa'd had imprisoned him for drunkenness, but the poet's conduct in the battle—which has been somewhat embroidered by the historians—

won for him the general's pardon. It is possible that Abū Muḥjib also took part in the battle of Vologesus (Ullayy). In 637 he was again exiled by 'Umar to Nāsī, and died shortly afterwards; it is said that his tomb was to be seen on the frontier of Ḥaḥabbaylān or of Ḥijāz.

The fragments of his poetry that have been preserved show no originality, but his reputation as a poet is upheld mainly by his baruchanālī songs (the famous line: 'When I die, bury me at the foot of a vine...' is attributed to him); and a group of poems in which he openly challenges the Kur'ān's prohibition of wine must be taken seriously. It was this attitude that led to his being banished several times by 'Umar.

This poet should not be confused with his namesake Abū Muḥjib Nuḥayb b. Rabāh, on whom see NUSAYB.  
**Bibliography:** The *divān* of Abū Muḥjib has been edited by C. Landberg, *Primæri arabici*, I, Leiden 1886 (another ed., Cairo n.d., with a commentary by al-'Askari) and by Abel, Leiden 1887 (with a biography and a Latin translation). Accounts of him are to be found in *Diwan al-Tahāḥī* (Cairo, 105-6; Ibn Kutayba, *Sāḥ*, 231-2; *Ma'āḥim*, *Murūj*, IV, 213-19; *Aḥḥāḥ*, XI, 337-43; XXI, 270-24; Ibn Maḥjar, *Jahā*, IV, no. 1027; Baghdādī, *Riḥāla* (Hilālī), III, 550-6; Caṭṭānī, *Anwāl*, v, 224-264; Brockelmann, I, 40, S. I, 70; O. Rescher, *Abriq*, I, 105-7; Nallin, *Scritti*, VII, 46. N. KROGODKARIS-CH. PELLAT

**ABU MUḤJIB** LĒT b. YUSUF b. SA'ĪD b. MUḤJIB AL-ANZI, one of the earliest Arabic traditionists and historians, d. 137/774. He is credited in the *Fihrist* with 32 monographs on diverse episodes of Arab history, relating mainly to 'Irāq, much of the contents of which is preserved in the chronicles of al-Baladhūri and al-Taḥarī. The separate works which have come down to us under his name are later pseudographs. His great-grandfather Muḥjib was the leader of the 'Irāqī Aḥl on the side of 'Alī (for him see Ibn Sa'd, VI, 22 and Naḥr b. Muḥjib, *Waḥā' al-Sūfī* (Cairo 1365), index); on the whole, however, Abū Muḥjib presents an 'Irāqī or Kūfī, rather than purely Shī'ite, point of view in his historical narratives. As a traditionist he is regarded as weak and unreliable.

**Bibliography:** *Fihrist* 93; *Tūḥ*, LIII, no. 573; Kutubī, *Fawā'id*, II, 175 (ed. Cairo 1951, no. 360); Brockelmann, I, 65; S. I, 101-2; Storey, II, 229; J. Wellhausen, *Ar. Reich*, pref. 113-v (brief characterization of his materials and method); F. Wüstenfeldt, *Der Tod Husayn und die Rache* (AGWPh, 1853); Bartold in *Zapiski Vostoč. ind. imper. arkhiv*, *zhukh.*, XVII, 147 II; R. E. Brünnow, *Die Chiridichten*, Leiden 1884.

(R. A. R. GIBB)

**ABU MUHAMMAD** 'ABD ALLĀH b. MUHAMMAD b. BARAKA AL-'UMĀNĪ, commonly called Ibn BARAKA, Ḥāḥīte author from the township of Ḥaḥī in 'Umān. The precise dates of his life are not known, but an 'Umīnī Ḥāḥīte, Ibn Muḥjib, regards him as a disciple and partisan of the imām Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥbūb, killed in 328/939-40. He himself played a considerable part in the political life of 'Umān and composed several historical and juridical works, of which only the following are extant: 1. *al-Diḥāḥ*, on the principles of law; 2. *al-Mawāḥid*, on the condition of 'Umān at the time of the imām al-Salt b. Mālik, and dealing also with certain points of principle and their juridical solutions; 3. *al-Sira*, somewhat similar to the preceding work; 4. *Madh al-'Ilm*, in praise of

knowledge and those who pursue it; 5. *al-Tahyāt*; 6. *al-Ta'arūf*; 7. *al-Sharḥ li-Diḥāḥ Ibn Dja'far*, doubtless a commentary on *al-Diḥāḥ*, a work by Abū Ḥāḥīb Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Aḥkawlī of 'Umān, dealing with the application of legal principles.

**Bibliography:** Sālimī, *Taḥḥat al-'Aḥḥān fi Sira al-'Umān*, I, Cairo 1332, 151, 166, 167; idem, *al-Lam'a* (in a collection of six Ḥāḥīte works published in Algeria, 1326), 210-1; al-Siyar al-'Umāniyya, ms. Lwow, fol. 183<sup>v</sup>-198<sup>v</sup> and 271<sup>v</sup>; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zaharia*, Algiers 1878, 139, n. 1; A. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Maab*, in *Bull. de Corr. Afr.*, Algiers 1885, 19, 202, 29 and 30. (T. LEWICKI)

**ABU MUHAMMAD SĀLĪH** b. VASĪḤAN b. GHAFIYYAH AL-DUKKĀL AL-MĀḤḤĪT, famous Moroccan saint of the 6th-7th century A.H., patron of the town of Aḥḥ (q.v.), the present-day Safi. Born about 550/1155, his principal master was the famous Abū Maḥdyan (q.v.) al-Ghawḥ, patron of Tilmisān (Tlemcen). He went on pilgrimage to Mecca and is believed to have stayed in Alexandria twenty years to follow the teaching of the 10th 'Abd al-Razāk al-Djardūlī, who was of Moroccan origin. After his return to Morocco he became the propagandist among his fellow-countrymen of the *ḥadīḥ* and *ḥalal al-ḥim* in the East, and retired to the *ribāḥ* of Aḥḥ, where he died on 25 Dhū l-Ḥiḥḍja 631/12 September 1234. A monograph on him, entitled *Muḥḥad al-Ḥadīḥ fi Taḥḥīḥ Riḥāḥ al-Muḥammad Sālik*, was written by his great-grandson Ahmad b. Ḥaḥḥīm b. Aḥmad b. Abū Muḥ. Sālik. **Bibliography:** Ibn Farḥūn, *Dihādī*, Cairo 1320, 132; Bāḥḥī, *Makḥḥad*, tr. G. S. Colin, in *AM*, 1926, 92, 195 (n. 295); Kāṭṭānī, *Saḥḥat al-Anḥāl*, *Pez* 1316, II, 43-44; Lévi-Provençal, *Fragmentes historiques sur les Berberes au Moyen Age*, Rabat 1934, 77-8; idem, *Hist. Chorje*, 221 and n. 3. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**ABU MUSA** (see AL-ASH'ARĪ).  
**ABU MUSLIM**, leader of the revolutionary 'Abbasid movement in Khurāsān. He was of obscure antecedents, probably a slave of Persia, in the service of the Banū 'Uḥayb in Kūfa. Here he made contact with the ḥaḥī and in 119/737 he is found among the followers of the ḥaḥī al-Mughira b. Sa'd. In 124/747-8, the Khurāsānī *nawab* of the 'Abbasids, proceeding to Mecca, found him in prison. They liberated him and took him to the imām Ḥaḥḥīm b. Muḥammad. After instructing him, the imām sent him in 128/745-6 to Khurāsān with the mission of directing the movement of insurrection in that province.

On arrival in Khurāsān and after overcoming the initial hostility of the local chiefs of the movement (especially Sulaymān b. Kaḥḥīr), Abū Muslim managed with dexterity and energy to reap the fruits of the long 'Abbasid propaganda. On 1 Shawwāl 129/15 June 747 the black banners of the insurgents were publicly raised. Profiting by the internal disorders of the Umayyad army, Abū Muslim gained support among the Yamanites, and succeeded in taking Marw in Rabī' II or Djuḥḥā I 130/December 747 or January 748. From there his generals operated in all the surrounding regions; one of them, Kaḥḥāb b. Ḥaḥḥīb (q.v.), took up the pursuit of the Umayyad forces towards the west, while he was to end in the fall of the dynasty. After the proclamation of al-Saffāb as caliph, Abū Muslim remained as governor in Khurāsān, ensuring, on the one hand, internal security (sup-

pression of the Shī'ite revolt in Buhārā, 133/750-1), and extending, on the other hand, the Islamic conquest towards the east (expedition of Abū Ḥāḥīd, the same year). His relations, however, with the new dynasty, which in great part owed to him its success, became increasingly strained. It does not seem that there was, on his part, an actual design of revolt, nor do the assertions of some hagiographers, followed by modern scholars, that he was carrying on an extremist religious propaganda, seem to correspond to the truth. His great prestige and power, however, were enough in themselves to alarm the 'Abbasids. The accession of al-Mansūr in 136/753-4 marks the beginning of the crisis. After making use of Abū Muslim against his uncle 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī (q.v.), he invited him to present himself at court. Abū Muslim, after long hesitation, suspecting, but not fully crediting, what was waiting for him, decided to do as he was bid, and was treacherously killed. His memory remained alive in the Eastern provinces, and, starting with the movement of al-Mukanna' (q.v.), gave rise, during many years, to political and religious agitation.

**Bibliography:** Dīnawarī, *al-Aḥḥāb al-Tawāl* (Guirgass), Ya'ḥḥūd, Tabarī, indexes; *Aḥḥāḥ*, *Tabarī*; G. van Vloten, *De Opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasān*, Leiden 1890, 70-137; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 323-32; R. N. Frey, *The Role of Abu Muslim in the 'Abbasid Revolution*, *WIF*, 1947, 28-32; S. Mowat, *Study on Abu Muslim*, *J. Hist. Rend. Linc.*, 1949, 523-35, 474-95; 1950, 89-105. (S. MOSCATI)

**ABU 'L-MUTHIR** AL-SALT b. KHUḤAL AL-BAHLAWĪ AL-'UMĀNĪ, Ḥāḥī historian and lawyer, native of Ḥaḥā in 'Umān. His exact dates are not known; but he is counted among the Ḥāḥī scholars of the second half of the 3rd/9th century. He left valuable literary materials, especially in the field of history, and also took an active part in the political life of his time, being a zealous partisan of the imām al-Salt b. Mālik, deposed in 273/886-7.

Among his works, the following are worthy of note: (1) *al-Aḥḥāḥ wa 'l-Saḥī*, devoted to events in 'Umān at the time of al-Salt b. Mālik, and to the circumstances of his deposition; (2) *al-Bayān wa 'l-Bayān*, on the principle of the institution of the Imamate in connection with the affair of al-Salt; (3) *al-Sira*, containing information about the important figures of the earliest period of Ḥāḥī. — MSS of these three books were in the possession of S. Smogorzewski. (4) *Taḥḥir al-ḥaḥī ma'at Aya*, commentary on five hundred verses dealing with football and permitted things.

**Bibliography:** Sālimī, *Taḥḥat al-'Aḥḥān fi Sira al-'Umān*, 1332, I, 65-6, 153; idem, *al-Lam'a* (in a collection of six Ḥāḥīte works, published in Algeria, 1326), 210; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zaharia*, Algiers 1878, 139, note; al-Siyar al-'Umāniyya, MS Lwow University, fol. 37-106, 172-156, 372-479, 1339-1340, 268; 270v; A. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Maab*, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.*, 1885, 20, no. 7; S. Smogorzewski, *Matériaux pour servir à la bio-bibliographie ḥāḥīte* (unpublished). (T. LEWICKI)

**ABU NADDĀRA**, Ya'ḥḥū b. RAFA'IL SAḤQ' (also James Sanaa), prolific Jewish Egyptian journalist and playwright (1839-1921). He indirectly induced the 'Urabi Revolt by teaching, lecturing, writing and performing short satirical plays and first starting the publication of *Abū Naddāra Zarḥā* ("the man with green spectacles"),



an anonymous lithographic sheet, enlivened by cartoons in the Egyptian falakāh dialect. Because he had criticized the Khedive and his counsellors, he had to leave Egypt in 1887; but he continued to publish his newspaper in Paris intermittently, in Arabic and French, and smuggled it into Egypt under various names. Copies also reached North Africa, Syria and India. Besides Abū Naddāra himself, many characters drawn from Egyptian life appeared in his newspapers, notably the greedy *ḡayyāh al-kāra* (the Khedive Ismā'īl), officials, merchants, brokers, beggars, etc. They expressed their views in conversation form, letters, short plays, and minutes of meetings. He also contributed articles in various French newspapers. Besides his plays — of which he claims to have written over 30 (one preserved in Arabic) — he published a few stories and pamphlets, of little literary value. His political-journalistic activity in his exile had two phases. In the first, until 1882, he attacked the Khedives Ismā'īl and Tawfīq, and encouraged the National Party and its supporters. In the second phase, after the failure of the 'Urabi Revolt and the exile of its leaders, he inveighed against the British and their Egyptian supporters; called on France and Turkey to oust the British; proposed Prince Halim, son of Muhammad 'Alī, for the throne of Egypt; and campaigned, albeit perfunctorily, for the betterment of the lot of the falakāh. All in all, he was the creator of the satirical newspaper and the modern satirical play in Arabic.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, S III, 265-6; Yūfūf Ilyās Sarkīs, *Muḡam al-Maḥḥal al-'Arabiyya*, 349-50; F. Tarrānī, *Ta'rikh al-Shihā al-'Arabiyya*, II, 238, 247, 283, 284, 354, 355, 8-9; id., *Arabic periodicals fascicle*, 1935, 162-3, 372-7, 398-9; Ibrahim 'Abduh, *Talawwur al-Shihā al-Misriyya*, 1945, 107, 235, 236; J. Heyworth-Dunn, *Society and politics in modern Egyptian literature*, in *Middle East Journal*, July 1948, 309-10; I. Krawchovskij, in *Vostok*, 1924, 165-8; Aimé Vingtrier, *Abou Naddara à Constantinople*, 1897; J. M. Landau, *Abū Naddāra, an Egyptian Jewish Nationalist*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 1952, 30-41. (J. M. LANDAU)

**ABŪ 'U-ḤADĪM AL-FADL** (d. 1170).  
**ABŪ 'U-ḤADĪM AL-ISFAHĀNĪ** Arab poet of the 12th-13th century (d. after 1057/24). Although he composed several *kasidas*, he owes his celebrity to his verses in *radjās* in which he treats of beduin subjects (descriptions of camels, horses, oases, etc.), and eulogizes the Umayyads 'Abd al-Malik, Hishām, 'Abd al-Malik b. Ibrāhīm, and the governor al-Ḥajjājī. The critics, who include him in the *ḡayyāh al-kāra* (with his fellow-tribesman al-Aḡlabī and the two Tamīmītes of al-Baḡra, al-'Adūdī and his son Ruḥbān), rank him highest for description, and praise his facility for improvisation. His rivalry with al-'Adūdī (Mudar against Rabī'a) is famous, and the biographers describe a grotesque scene in which, at the *Mabāḥ*, Abū 'U-Ḥadīm mounted on a he-camel puts to flight his rival and his she-camel, and recites the well-known line: "I and every poet of the human race have demons to inspire us": his is female and mine male! Nevertheless it was Ruḥbān who gave the name *Umm al-radjā* to a long *arḍiyya* which Abū 'U-Ḥadīm recited to Hishām, whose wrath was aroused by an ill-chosen word; he was soon reconciled back into favour, however, and was rewarded from Hishām an endowment in the Sawād al-Kūfa.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, S I, 90; Rescher, *Abriis*, I, 223; Nallino, *Scritti*, VI, 98; A bio-

graphical account and some verses are to be found in Ibn Sallām, *Tabakāt* (Heli), 148, 149-50; Ibn Kutayba, *Sh'ar*, 381-6; *Aḡḡānī*, ix, 77-83; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, I, 103, II, 340-53; *MMIA*, 1928, collects together the biographical data (385-94), and publishes the *Umm al-radjā* (472-9). *A l-masya* has been published by Maymānī, *al-Tarā'if al-adabiyya*, Cairo 1937, 55-71, and there are scattered verses in a number of works, particularly al-Ḥabībī, *Bayān* and *Hayawān*, in the indexes; Asma'ī, *Fuḥala*, *EDMG* 1911, 499, 503, 511, 515; Abū Tammīm, *Hamāsa* (Freitag), 45, 144, 574, 755; Marzubānī, *Muḡam*, 310; 'Askarī, *Diwan al-Ma'rif*, I, 153, 279. (Cf. PELLIAT)

**ABŪ NU'AYM AL-ISFAHĀNĪ**, AHMAD b. 'ABD ALLAH b. ISHĀK b. MUSA b. MIRHĀN al-SHĀRĪ, born in Isfahān in Radjāb 336/Jan.-Feb. 948 (Ibn Khallikān: or 334, Yāqūt, *Buldan*, I, 298, 330), d. Monday 21 Muharram (Ibn Khallikān: or Safer; Yāqūt: Monday 20 Muharram; Dhabībī, *Subḥi*: 20 Muharram) 410/23 Sept. 1018, an authority on *fiqh* and *tasawwuf*. His grandfather Muḥ. b. Yūsuf was a well known ascetic, the first of his kin to accept Islam (Ibn Khallikān). Abū Nu'aym mentions him as his forerunner in *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'* (I, 4). His father who also was a scholar (Yāqūt, *Buldan*, iv, 344) had him taught by important teachers, such as Ṭūsif al-Khūṭī and al-Asamm, from his sixth year. From 360/97 he travelled and studied in Trak, Hicāz and Khurāsān, and for 14 years he was reckoned as one of the best *kāḍi*-authorities. This is stated by his contemporary al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādī who quotes him (*Ta'rikh Baghdād*, xii, 407, 412) and by al-Dhahabī and al-Subkī, but neither al-Khāṭib nor Yāqūt include him in their biographies of learned men. The number of those who transmitted *ḥadīth* from him is said to be about eighty. Al-Sulamī, his older contemporary, quotes one *ḥadīth* in his authority with one intermediary (*Ṭabakāt al-Shūfiyya* sub Abu 'l-'Albās b. 'ATĀ). Al-Khāṭib, according to al-Subkī one of his nearest pupils, criticizes him for treating *igīdā'*s lightly, but is in this contradicted by al-Dhahabī, 278. The strife between Hanbalites and Shāfi'ites caused sharp criticism of him by his fellow-townsmen Abū Allāh b. Mandāh (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 285) and led to bodily attacks on him. He was even expelled from the mosque of Isfahān, which saved his life as, according to tradition, Subukhtīn, when he conquered the town, massacred the people assembled in the mosque at the Friday-service; this is reckoned one of his *kāḍi*-at. Al-Nabḥānī (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 765 f.) relates that the mosque fell down twice and crushed the crowd because A. N. had cursed it. Abū Nu'aym's work *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'* was *Ṭabakāt al-Awliyā'* (Cairo 1351/1932-1357/1938) was finished in 422/1031 (see x, 408). It was written to strengthen what he regarded as the true *ḥadīth* (I, 4). After a general description of *ḥadīth* he mentions the different chronologies of the word, about all its derivations from *ḥil*, on which he had written a book *Lah al-Shif*, stressing its connotation of humility (I, 20, 23). The rest consists in accounts of and sayings by 649 pious people (*nuṣṣāḥ*) reckoned as *ḥadīth*, beginning with the four "righteous caliphs"—an evidence of the interpretation of *ḥadīth* and orthodoxy. Every section begins with *ḥadīth* (Abū Nu'aym, "said"). It differs from al-Sulamī's *Ṭabakāt*, which gives only sayings with few or no anecdotes. It is told that he brought the work personally to Nishāpūr

where he sold it for 400 dinārs. Extracts from it are used in Ibn al-Djāwī, *Saḥāḥ al-Saḥāḥ*.

His second large work, *Ḍikhr al-Aḡḡāh Isfahān* (ed. S. Dodering, Leiden 1931) contains biographies of people who had connections with Isfahān, mainly scholars, after a short history and topography of the town. On this topic he had several forerunners (cf. Dodering, II, p. vii). Besides these works he wrote several smaller books on the proofs of prophecy, the medicine of the prophet, the excellence of Muhammad's first followers, with extracts from al-Buḡḡārī and Muslim etc. He died in Isfahān and his tomb is said by Yāqūt (I, 298) to be in Murdāb. **Bibliography:** Brockelmann, S I, 616 f.; Yāqūt, *Diwan al-Ma'rif*, I, 153, 279; Ibn Khallikān, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, Haydarābād 1314, III, 275-79; Subkī, *Ṭabakāt al-Shāfi'yya*, Cairo 1324, 7-9; Shā'irānī, *al-Ṭabakāt al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1315, I, 50; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shahādāt*, II, 245; Nabḥānī, *Ḍijma' Karāmi* al-Awliyā', Cairo 1329, I, 293.

(J. PEDERSEN)

**ABŪ NU'AYM AL-FADL b. DUKAYN AL-MULĀ'Ī**, *ḥadīth* scholar and historical informant (b. 130/748, d. 29 Sha'bān 219/8 Sept. 834).

He was a client of the family of Muhammad's Companion Talha. He lived in al-Kūfa and made occasional visits to Baghdād, where he was once received by al-Ma'mūn. Dukayn's actual name is said to have been 'Amr. A son of Abū Nu'aym, 'Abd al-Rahmān (perhaps the father of the Kūfān commentary, referred to in *Fihrist*, 34), and a grandson, Ahmad b. Miḡdam, are mentioned.

Abū Nu'aym is considered a very reliable transmitter of traditions. He is also highly praised for the courageous way in which he stood up for the uncreedness of the Kūfān against Mu'tazilite inquirers. On the other hand, he was suspected of being a Shī'ite. He admitted his secret veneration for 'Alī, though he wanted it understood that he was moderate in his attitude. He moved in 'Alid circles, and appears quite often as a transmitter of information about Tālibids and 'Alids (cf., for instance, Ibn Sa'd, III, 160; iv, 23 ff., 30; v, 66 ff., 236-8; Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Mabāḥīl al-Fābiyya*, Cairo 1368/1949, 46). He was acceptable to and respected by both Shī'ites and 'Abbasids. When he died, a descendant of Abū Tālib prayed for him first. Then, the 'Abbasid governor of al-Kūfa, a fifth cousin of the reigning caliph al-Mu'tasim, insisted upon repeating the ceremony.

Of Abū Nu'aym's work nothing has come to light so far, except the frequent references of the historians to him. He appears as a transmitter mainly of biographical data but also of some general historical information. He himself probably never published any historical work. *Fihrist*, 227, credits him with two works concerned with ritualistic and legal problems, a *Kitāb al-Manāḥiṣ* and a *Kitāb al-Masā'il fi 'l-Fikāh*.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Sa'd, vi, 279 f., and *Jaḥiz*; Baladhuri, *Anasib* (Gutten), v, index; Buḡḡārī, *Ta'rikh*, Haydarābād 1316, vi, 133; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 122, 262; Tabarī, index; Ibn Hibbān, *Ṭibāḥ*, ms. Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III, 2995, fol. 292b; *Aḡḡānī*, xiv, 21; *Fihrist*, 227; al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, Cairo 1340/1931, xii, 346-57; 'Abd al-Ghānī al-Djannā'ī, *Kamāl*, in MSOS 45, 1904, 186-93; Subkī, *Ḥuṭūṭ* (Wiesbaden), I, 24; id., *Nabḥānī*, ms. Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III, 2910, vii, fol. 174a-178a; Ibn Ḥajjar, *Tadhkirat*, Haydarābād 1325-7, viii, 270-6. (Fr. ROSENTHAL)

**ABŪ NUMAYY I and II**, *sharifs* of Mecca [see MAKKA].

**ABŪ NUWĀS** AL-HASAN b. HANĪ' AL-HAKAMĪ, the most famous Arabic poet of the 'Abbasid period. He was born in al-Aḥwāz between 130/747 and 145/762 and died in Baghdād between 198/813 and 205/815 (so also Hamza al-Isfahānī, MS Fatih 3773, fol. 6r). As his *diwān* contains a *mawḍi'a* on al-Aḥwāz (d. 198/813), earlier dates are improbable. His father belonged to the army of the last Umayyad, Marwān II, and was a *mawālī* of al-Djarrāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hakamī, who came from the South Arabian tribe of Sa'd b. 'Aḡḡar; hence the *nisba* of Abū Nuwās and his dislike of the Northern Arabs. His mother Gullabān (= Gulistan) was Persian.

While still very young, Abū Nuwās came to Basra, and later to Kūfa. His first master was the poet Wālība b. al-Hubbāb, who is said to have been in erotic relationship with him. After Wālība's death (cf. the *mawḍi'a*, *Diwān*, Cairo 1868, 32), he became the pupil of the poet and *ra'si* Khālāf al-Aḥmar. He acquired a knowledge of the Kūfān and *ḥadīth* also, and studied under the grammarians Abū 'Ubayda, Abū Zayd, etc. He is also said to have spent, according to the old custom, some time among the beduins in order to improve his linguistic knowledge.

His education finished, Abū Nuwās came to Baghdād, to gain the favour of the caliph with panegyrics. He found, however, little favour at the court, but was better received by the Barmakids. After the fall of the Barmakids he had to flee to Egypt, where he composed panegyrics on the head of the *diwān al-ḥarāḡī*, al-Khāṭib b. 'Abd al-Hamid. Soon, however, he was able to return to his beloved Baghdād, where he now spent, as a boon companion of al-Aḥlī, the most brilliant years of his life. Nevertheless, even al-Aḥlī once prohibited him from wine drinking and even imprisoned him on that account.

There are different reports about his death. According to one tradition he died in prison, to which he had been sent on account of a blasphemous verse, according to another in the house of a woman named *Ḥabīb*, according to a third, in the house of the learned Shī'ite family of the Al-Nawbakht. He was linked to this family, especially to Ismā'īl b. Abī Sahl al-Nawbakhtī, by close friendship, though this did not prevent him from composing some wounding lampoons on Ismā'īl (*Diwān*, 171 f.). The assertion, therefore, that he was murdered by the Nawbakhts is probably mere slander, especially as this family interested itself even later in the collection of Abū Nuwās' poems and Hamza al-Isfahānī made use of information derived from them (cf. MS Fatih 3773, fol. 3v).

The Arab literary critics themselves regarded Abū Nuwās as the representative of the modern school of poets, the *mudabbāt*. "What Imra' al-Kays was for the ancients, that is Abū Nuwās for the moderns" (Būḥārī, 3773, fol. 7r). At most, only Baḡḡārī b. Burd could possibly compete with him. Although in his panegyrics Abū Nuwās still uses in general the classical form (cf. e.g. *Diwān*, 77, the panegyric known as *munāḥa*, addressed to al-Fadl b. al-Rabī), to which Ibn Jinnī devoted an extensive commentary, otherwise the old forms, *ḥadīth*, *ḥuṭūṭ* (Wiesbaden), I, 24; id., *Nabḥānī*, ms. Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III, 2910, vii, fol. 174a-178a; Ibn Ḥajjar, *Tadhkirat*, Haydarābād 1325-7, viii, 270-6. (Fr. ROSENTHAL)







St. Petersburg 1899, after two detective manuscript; reprint Teheran 1313 H. Sh., new ed., Tehran 1334 H. Sh. (quoted as AT). Manuscripts also Shantari, Hudayr, Tan. 437; Istanbul, Şehidî 'Ali Paşa 1416. This work was the source used in the *Tadhkirat al-Awliya'* of 'Atiyyi and the *Nafahat al-Uns* of Djalal. The father of Abū Sa'īd was a druggist known as Babu Bu 'L-Khayr. He took the boy with him occasionally to the sacred performances of dances (*sama'*) which the *gōls* of the town gave by turns in their houses. Abū Sa'īd received his first instruction in mystical devotion from Abū 'L-Kāsim Bighr-i Yāsīn (d. 380/990), who had a poetic streak in him and is the author of the majority of the verses which Abū Sa'īd later quoted in his sermons. As a young man Abū Sa'īd studied Shāfi'ite law in Marw under Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Haṣṣī and Abū Bakr al-Kāfilī (d. 417; al-Subkī, *Tadhkirat*, iii, 198-200). Among his fellow-students was Abū Muḥammad al-Dīwaynī (d. 438; al-Subkī, iii, 208-19), the father of Imām al-Haramayn. Then he studied exegesis of the Qur'ān, dogmatics and Hadith in Sarāghs under Abū 'Alī Zāhir (d. 389; al-Subkī, ii, 223), who succeeded in rooting out Mu'tazilism from Sarāghs.

In Sarāghs the crazy saint Luḥmān al-Sarāghī introduced him to the ṣūfi Abū 'Fāḍl Muḥ. b. Ḥasan al-Sarāghī. It was he who induced Abū Sa'īd to abandon the study of learned subjects and to devote himself entirely to *yūfism* and became his *pir* whom he consulted in all difficulties: moreover after Abū 'L-Haṣṣā's death Abū Sa'īd was in the habit of visiting his grave in Sarāghs when dejection (*ḥaḥḥ*) overtook him. He had, at the injunction of 'L-Faḍl, the *ḥikma* bestowed upon him by the celebrated ṣūfi al-Sulamī. After the death of Abū 'L-Faḍl he went through Naṣā to Āmul and spent some time with Abū 'L-Abbās al-Kaṣābī, who likewise bestowed the *ḥikma* upon him. Upon his return to Maybāna—the exact chronology of this period is by no means easy to establish—he gave himself up with extreme zeal to severe ascetic and mystic exercises. He spent his time partly in total seclusion in a room in his father's house, but also stayed in neighbouring monasteries, in particular the so-called *ribāṭ-i ḥuṣān*. Here he was sometimes observed by his father in the midst of extraordinary practices of self-castigation. He went beyond the prescribed measures in his religious abstinence, washed the doors and walls of his cell, never reclined, ate nothing whatever during the day, at night only a morsel of bread, spoke to people only when it was unavoidable, and shut himself off during the performance of *ḥikma* by padding his ears so as to be undisturbed. At times he could not bear so much as the sight of his followers and would disappear for months in the mountains or the neighbouring desert.

This period of forming himself through asceticism with the object of subduing the sensual soul (*nafs*) and breaking asunder all bonds with the world, as well as of following up an ideal model of the Prophet in the minutest detail, is said to have lasted up to the fortieth year of his life. Already at this time the social motive of *yūfism*, the "service of the poor" (*ḥāḍimat-i darwīshān*) begins to assume importance for him. He begged for the poor, swept mosques, cleaned washing-places, and so on. This "service of the poor", conceived principally for self-abasement at first, came ever more to the fore in the course of his life. "The shortest way to God", he put it once, "lies in bestowing comfort upon the soul of

a Muslim" (*rūḥānī ḥāḍim-i muṣallamīn rasūdan*) (AT, 424). This mode of life is exhibited in its fully-developed form at the period of his one year's residence in the capital of Khurāsān, Nishāpūr, where he stayed in the monastery of Abū 'Alī Tarsūḍ in the quarter of 'Adanākūbān. There young men flocked to him; he preached before large audiences and displayed himself as a kind of spiritual guide (*sidā ma' al-Haḥḥ, nāḥ ma' al-ḥaḥḥ*). At this juncture the gift of thought-readiness (*firāda*), peculiar to him and esteemed a miracle (*mir'at*) by his followers, stood him in good stead: it revealed to him the most intimate impulses of the hearts even of his enemies, discerned his adversaries and converted many of them into followers instead. He liked to arrange lavish, even extravagant entertainments for his followers, culminating in sacred dance music (*sama'*). During these, dancing and crying out (*saḥḥa zādan*) were, as was customary, the order of the day. In the threes of ecstatic *gōras* were thrown off, torn up, and distributed around. To finance these luxurious occasions, at which as much as a thousand *ḍīnārs* is supposed to have been spent in a day, and which moved 'Awfī to remark that in later years Abū Sa'īd lived hardly as an ascetic but rather as a sultan (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 311), he did not hesitate to incur debts; these were the cause of frequent embassies to his household manager Ḥasan-i Mu'addib. Some wealthy devotee, however, was always found, who, often at the last moment, provided the requisite money. Sometimes he sent Ḥasan to followers, even to opponents, with whom he stayed, in order to raise money in an almost barefaced manner. The money was immediately spent, as it was regarded as a principle to possess no assured property (*ma'wān*) and to accumulate nothing. His way of living caused offence the Karrāmites Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. Ishāq b. Miḥ-naghāḥ made common cause with the Hanafites kādī Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-Ustuwā'ī (d. 432; on both see 'Uṭbi-Masūnī, ii, 300 ff., Persian translation by Djalālīdī, Teheran 1272, 427 ff.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 289-90, 311; on the latter see Abū 'L-Wazīr, *al-Dīwān al-Muḍā'ī*, no. 685, and al-Sam'ānī, *Amād*, under al-Ustuwā'ī) and laid information about Abū Sa'īd before sultan Maḥmūd b. Subuktigin, who ordered an enquiry, perhaps in conjunction with a universal heresy hunt carried out by the aforementioned Karrāmite governor Abū Bakr (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 290). However, Abū Sa'īd contrived to disarm both through his skill in thought-reading, with the result that they abandoned the prosecution. The indictments were, that the *ḥayyāḥ* recited on the pulpits verses in place of the Qur'ān and Hadith, that he gave too luxurious feasts and that he had made the young people dance. The great al-Kushayrī, who encountered Abū Sa'īd in Nishāpūr, took exception to the excessively liberal way of life of the *ḥayyāḥ* and to his dance music. The contrast between the characters of the two men is illustrated by an apt anecdote: al-Kushayrī had repudiated a derwish and banished him from the town. Abū Sa'īd showed him at a banquet how by very much gentler methods a derwish may be sent travelling (Nicholson, 35-6).

A strong kindness of nature and an affection for his fellow-men were conspicuous characteristics of Abū Sa'īd. He was no preacher of repentance; seldom, if ever, did he refer in his sermons to the verses of the Qur'ān threatening the torments of Hell. Numerous stories were related of how by means of his *firāda* he saw through the ultimate thoughts of sinners and opponents and thoroughly

abashed them. The guiding motif of his life is said to have been the *ḥadīth*: *Sū man ḥaḍaḥa ḥaḍaḥa man ḥarama wa'ḥḍa man ḥaḍaḥa* (AT, 311). The celebrated ṣūfi Ibn Bāḳiyya (d. 442/1050) reproached him for allowing young people to sit together with old and for treating them just as he did the old, for allowing them to dance and for giving back the cast-off *ḥikma* to its owner, whereas it should by long cast off and become common property. Abū Sa'īd contrived to give plausible reasons for these innovations (AT, 170-1), the Ḥāẓim brands him as an unbeliever, since he wore now wool, now silk, sometimes prayed a thousand *raḥ'as* a day, sometimes not at all (Fisal, iv, 188). At all events social work played a very much greater role in the second period of his life than individual mystic experience: and from this point of view he is comparable (in spite of substantial differences) with Abū Ishāq al-Kāẓirānī [a.s.]. However he once gave tongue to a pronouncement similar to al-Hallāj's *Ana 'L-Haḥḥ*. In the course of a sermon he was overcome by a state of inner excitement and called out *Laysa fi l-fuḥḥāḥ illā 'Alāh*. "There is none other than God in this robe". So saying he ran his forefinger through his gown. It was divided and the portion with the hole made by his finger preserved.

In Nishāpūr he also met the philosopher Ibn Sīnā and is supposed to have held lengthy conversations with him. A correspondence between the two is preserved. Abū Sa'īd asked the philosopher what was the way to God according to his experience, and received a reply (printed by H. B. S. Nicholson, 48, 1878, 52 ff.; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Naḍāḥ*, Cairo 1321, 12-3; Ibn Abī 'Usaybi'a, ii, 9-10; al-'Amīlī, *al-Kaḥḥāḥ*, Cairo 1318, 264-5). At the end of his stay in Nishāpūr he wished to accompany his son Abū Tāhir on the pilgrimage, but was restrained from this in Khurāsān by the celebrated ṣūfi Abū 'L-Ḥasan Khurāsānī. He then went to Bistām where he visited the grave of Abū Yazīd, and to Dāmghān, eventually reaching Ray before returning with his son. He spent the rest of his life in his home town of Maybāna.

Abū Sa'īd is supposedly the author of a great number of quatrains. (On editions cf. Nicholson, 48, note; also editions Bombay 1294 and Lahore 1934.) However it has been expressly stated that he composed only one verse and one quatrain (Nicholson, 41). The quatrains may not therefore be attributable to him. One of them, with which he is supposed to have cured his Qur'ān-teacher Abū Sūlīm of an illness (AT, 229) and which opens with the word *ḥawāḍ* was made the subject of a commentary by 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Shāhī under the title *Riḍā-i Ḥawāḍ* (AT, 322-5).

Abū Sa'īd left a numerous family, who tended his grave for more than a hundred years and were held in great respect in Maybāna. His eldest son Abū Tāhir Sa'īd (d. 450) continued the "service of the poor" and thereby involved himself in debts which were paid by Niḡām al-Mulk. He was an uncultured individual, however, who left school before he was ten years old and knew by heart only the 48th *sūra* of the Qur'ān, and did not have the personality to found an order after his father's death (as did the son of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Sūltān Walad), although Abū Sa'īd did leave behind a kind of statute for an order (Nicholson, 46). The tradition was however broken by political events. Abū Sa'īd lived to see the entry of the Salḡūks into Khurāsān. They occupied Maybāna, and Abū Sa'īd was on friendly relations with Tughlāk and Çağrı Beg, Sūltān Ma'ūd laid siege to the town and captured it

shortly before his decisive defeat at Dandānākh in the year 451/1040. During the devastation of Khurāsān by the Ghūrs in the year 548/1153 the place was absolutely laid waste, no fewer than 115 members of Abū Sa'īd's family being tortured and put to death. A follower of Abū Sa'īd, Dōst Bā Sa'īd Dādā, whom the *ḥayyāḥ* had sent to Ghazna not long before his death to have the Sultan discharge his accumulated debts, found Abū Sa'īd dead, went to Baghdad on his return, and founded a daughter monastery there. At the time of Ibn al-Munawwar his family held the position of *ḥayyāḥ al-ḥayyāḥ* in Baghdad, but nothing is known of the subsequent destiny of this offshoot (AT, 294-300).

*Bibliography*: Besides the sources quoted in the article: Subkī, *al-Tadhkirat al-Kubrā*, iii, 10; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 1-76. (H. Ritter.)

**ABU SA'ID al-DJANNABI** [see al-DJANNABI].  
**ABU SA'ID b. MUHAMMAD b. MIRĀNSHĀH b. TIMÜR**, Timūrid sultan. In 853/1449, at the age of twenty-five, Abū Sa'īd, taking advantage of the desperate situation of Ulugh Beg, at whose court he lived, tried his fortune in Transoxiana. A siege of Samarkand (1449), then a rising at Kōhāḥ (May 1450) both ended in failure. Not long afterwards he seized Yazd (Turkistan), and held it against the troops of 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrahim Sultān b. Shāhrūgh. In Dīwānā I 853/June 1451 he drove the latter out of Samarkand with the help of the Orghuz khān Abū 'L-Khayr. In spring 856/1454 Abū Sa'īd crossed the Oxus and took Balkh. Abū 'L-Kāsim Bābūr, ruler of Khurāsān, invaded Transoxiana and laid siege to Samarkand (Oct.-Nov.), where resistance was organized by the famous Nakshbandī *ḥayyāḥ* 'Ubayd Allāh Ahrār, who is said to have restrained Abū Sa'īd from deserting his capital. Peace was made, Abū Sa'īd keeping the right bank of the Oxus. The relations of the two princes remained cordial until the death of Bābūr (Rabī' I 861/ March 1457).

Abū Sa'īd then tried to take Harāt, where Ibrahim b. 'Alā' al-Dawla b. Baysunghur had succeeded in having himself proclaimed. The siege (July-August 1457), marked by the execution of Gawhar Shād, who was accused of intelligence with Ibrahim, was raised without result. Defeated by the Kara Koyunlu Dīyābhānshāh, Ibrahim sought an alliance with Abū Sa'īd (beginning of 862/winter 1457-8), and a defensive treaty was concluded. At the end of June 1458 Dīyābhānshāh occupied Harāt. Abū Sa'īd, who had stationed his army on the Murgāb to watch the course of events, took advantage of Dīyābhānshāh's difficulties to get possession of the town peacefully (Nov. 1458), and thus became master of Khurāsān, which he had always coveted. In Dīwānā I 863/ March 1459 the three Timūrid princes 'Alā' al-Dawla, Ibrahim b. 'Alā' al-Dawla, and Sultān Saḡghar were defeated at Sarāghs.

The year 1459 was spent in mopping up Khurāsān. In 1460 Abū Sa'īd occupied Māzandarān; in his rear the amir Khālīl came from Slatīn and laid siege to Harāt (summer 1460); and when cald had been restored in Shībzā (autumn 1460), Abū Sa'īd had to deal with a revolt in Transoxiana (winter 1460). Sultān Husayn took advantage of this to recapture Māzandarān and besiege Harāt (Sept. 1461), but Māzandarān was retaken by Abū Sa'īd in the same year.

Abū Sa'īd's power extended theoretically over Transoxiana, Turkistan (to the confines of Kāshghār and of the Daḡh-i Kipčak), Kābulistan and Zābu-



Istān, Khurāsān and Māzandarān. In fact, he was powerless to prevent the Özbek raids to the south of the Sir Daryā. In 1414 the Timūrid Uways b. Muhammad b. Baykara had risen at Otrar with the support of Abu'l-Qāyir Özbek, and had inflicted a crushing defeat on Abū Sa'īd. In 863/1461 Muhammad Dīkūt b. 'Abd al-Latif b. Uluğ Beg, after devastating Transoxiana, took refuge at Shīhrūkhīya (Tashkent). Abū Sa'īd besieged this stronghold for ten months (Nov. 1462–Sept. 1463). Each year, the Özbeks made raids into Transoxiana. In 868/1464, Sulṭān Husayn, who had sought refuge in Khurāsān, ravaged with impunity Khurāsān from Abīward and Māghdāh as far as Tūn.

Abū Sa'īd was more fortunate in the north-east, and succeeded in averting the Mongol threat to his frontiers. During his reign in Samarkand he had repulsed two attacks by the Mongol Ḫān Esen Bugha. In 1456 he recognized Yūnus, the elder brother of Esen Bugha, and on several occasions gave him help in establishing himself in the western part of Moghūlīstān. In 868/1464 Yūnus once again sought refuge with Abū Sa'īd, who lent him troops.

**Bibliography:** Sources. The *Maṭla' al-Sa'dayn* of 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī is the main source (ed. M. Shafī', Lahore 1941-9). Supplement with: *Kawāṭ al-Sa'īd*; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*; *Ma'īz al-Ansāb*; *Bihar-nāma*, ed. and transl. Bircanlar, and *Idrārī*, *Kawāṭ al-Dīwānī* fi *Tārīkh al-Hārī* (cf. Bircanlar, *de Mubārak*, *JA*, 1862(11), 'Mongol' policy; *Tārīkh*; *Kāshghar*, ed. Elias, transl. E. D. Ross, Biographies: Sayf al-Dīn Ḥāḡī, *al-Hār al-Waṣṣā'* (ms.); *Ḫā'andāmīr*, *Dastūr al-Waṣṣā'*, ed. Tiberius 1317; and the Nakshbandī collections, *Kāshghar*, *Ḥashkāt 'ayn al-hayāt*, two ed., Tashkent and Leningrad; *Abīwardī*, *Kawāṭ al-Sāḫīn* (ms.), etc. Documents: see the collections of *ṣaḥā'ī* nūṣ, especially B. N. Paris, Suppl. Pers. 1815; A. N. Kurat, *Tophāḡ Sarayī Muzey arxivindeki... yashik ve bükler*, İstanbul 1940 (one letter); cf. also Ferīdūn Bey, *Munṣa'āt*.

**Studies.** In the absence of monographs on the period, works dealing with questions or periods bordering on it must be used. See particularly V. V. Barthold, *Uluğ Beg i 1460-1469*, 1918 (Germ. transl. by Hinz, *Uluğ Beg und seine Zeit*, 1935), and *Mir Ali Shīr i politsicheskaya žizn'* (transl. Hinz, *Herat unter Husayn Bayqara*); the articles (by Yakubovskij, Molčanov, Belenitskij, etc.) in the two collections *Rodonat'nik ushekhskoj literatury*, Tashkent 1940, and *Ali Shīr Navoi Shornik*, Tashkent 1940; Belenitskij, *K istorii feudal'nogo zemel'adelstva Srednei Azii pri Timuridakh*, in *Istorik-Markshist*, 1941/4; the works of I. P. Petrushevskij; W. Hinz, *Iran's Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat*, 1936. On the Russian embassy to Harāt in 1464 cf. ZVO, I, 30 sqq. See also Browne, *ibid.*; Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, Bouvart, *Essai sur la civilisation islamique*, JA, 1926, and *L'Empire mongol (2e phase)*, Paris 1927, may be disregarded.

**U. ARICER**  
**ABU SAKHR AL-HUDHALI**, 'ABD ALLAH B. SALAMA, Afāb poet of the second half of the 15th century. He belonged to the tribe of Sahn, a branch of the Hudhayl b. al-Hudja, and embraced the Marwānī cause; imprisoned by the anti-caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, he regained his liberty when the latter died, and according to his own account, took part in the capture of Mecca in 720/92. He celebrated in his verse the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, as well as his brother, 'Abd al-Sā'id; see *Aghānī*, xxi, 144. Above all he praised the amīr Abū Ḫālid 'Abd al-'Azīz of the Asid clan, whose brother, Umayya, had been governor of al-Basra from 716/69

until 720/69; see al-Tabarī, index; on the favour in which this family was held by the Caliph, see Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿUdā*, Cairo 1359, viii, 55. Some twenty poems and fragments by Abū Sakhr are known, which were included by al-Sukkarī in *Ḥifʿ al-Duʿā*. A number are *ḥakā'id* of the classic type; others are erotic-eloquent compositions recalling those of 'Umar b. al-'Alā. **Bibliography:** *Aghānī*, xxi, 144-54; J. Wellhausen, *Letzte Teil der Lieder der Hudhaliten*, Berlin 1884, i, Arabic text, nos. 250-261; Buḥārī, *Ḥamāsa*, no. 1009; Kudāma b. Dīʿfar, *Maḍ al-Shīr*, 13, 44-5. (R. BLANCHÉ)

**ABU SALAMA HAFS B. SULAYMĀN AL-KHĀLĀL**, vizier. A freed slave from Kūfa, he was sent in 1277/415 to Khurāsān with ample powers, as one of the chief 'Abbāsid emissaries. He took part in the armed insurrection which put an end to the Umayyad dynasty, and was appointed governor of Kūfa. At the culminating point of the revolution he inclined towards the 'Alids and seems to have attempted to set up an 'Alid caliphate. In this, one can perhaps see a consequence of the deliberate ambiguity about the rights of the "house of the Prophet", put into circulation by the revolutionary propaganda. Al-Safāh, however, was chosen as caliph and Abū Salama gave him his allegiance (132/749). The caliph appointed Abū Salama vizier, without, however, losing his suspicions, and in the same year planned to remove him. Fearing that this might irritate Abū Muslim, the powerful governor of Khurāsān, who was Abū Salama's companion in the *da'wa* and might have been acting in agreement with him, he sent his brother Abū Dīʿfar (al-Mamār) to consult Abū Muslim. Abū Muslim made no difficulties; on the contrary, he himself sent a hired assassin to kill Abū Salama. The crime was subsequently attributed to the Khārijites. Abū Salama is described as an educated and capable man, and his services in the 'Abbāsid cause are indisputable. Nevertheless, the fears of the caliph concerning him seem, by the common witness of the sources, to have been justified.

**Bibliography:** *Dīnawarī*, *al-Aḥbār al-Tawāl* (Guirgass), Ya'qūbī, *Tabarī*, Mas'ūdī, *Murādī*, indexes; Ibn Ḫalīkān, no. 200; Ibn al-Bīḥārī, *Faḥḥ* (Darmstadt), 205-10; S. Moscati, in *Rend. Linc.*, 1940, 324-32. (S. MOSCATI)

**ABU'L-SALT Umayyā B. 'ABD AL-'AZİZ B. ABU'L-SALT AL-ANDALUSI** was born in 460/1067 in Denia (Dāniya), in the Levante, and studied under the ḥadī al-Wakkāshī from whom he inherited his encyclopaedic knowledge. About 480/1096 we find him in Alexandria and Cairo, where he continued to pursue his studies. In consequence of an unsuccessful attempt to refloat a sunken ship, he was imprisoned by the vizier al-Mahdī. Exiled from Egypt, he went (in 505/1111-2) to al-Mahdiyya, where he was well received by the Zīrid amīr Yahyā b. Tamīm, and his son 'Alī b. Yahyā, and he remained in al-Mahdiyya, an honoured and respected figure, until his death on 5 Muharram 529/1134 (other dates are also mentioned).

The following may be mentioned of his numerous works. (i) *Takwīm al-Dhīn*, a short treatise on Aristotelian logic, edited and translated into Spanish by A. González Palencia, Madrid 1915 (with biographical introduction). (ii) *Riḍāla* fi *l-'Asmā' bi'l-'Asnād*, on the use of the *asna'id*; a short analysis with a list of the chapters, in Millās, *Asnād*. (iii) Answers to scientific questions (*mas'āl*) concerning different problems of physics, cosmography and

mathematics; short summary *ibidem*. (iv) A summary of astronomy, composed for the Egyptian vizier al-Aḡḡāl, which, according to the judgment of his contemporaries, was a manual without educational value and useless for teachers. (v) *Al-Adwiyā al-Mufrada*, on simples, was translated into Latin by the famous physician Arnaldus de Vilanova and into Hebrew by Yohuda Natan. (vi) *Al-Rasād al-Misriyya*, dedicated to Abu'l-Tāhir Yahyā b. Tamīm, and giving vivid information about the affairs and the customs of Egypt; ed. by 'Abd al-Salam Ḥārūn, *Nawādir al-Maghātib*, Cairo, (vii) *Riḍāla* fi *l-Mas'āl*; the Arabic original is lost, but an anomalous Hebrew translation is preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat., Hebrew MS no. 1036.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Kifī, 80; Ibn Abī Usayb'a, ii, 32 ff.; Yāqūt, *Irbāḥ*, ii, 361; Ibn Ḫalīkān, 201; Maḥkarī, *Analeches*, i, 530 ff., 218-9; Bruckmann, i, 641, S I, 889; Suter, 115; M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebräische Übersetzungen*, 735, 885; L. Leclerc, *Médecine arabe*, ii, 74-5; J. M. Millās Vallicrosa, *Asnād d'Histoire de les idées positives i matematiques a la Catalunya medieval*, i, 75-81; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the Hist. of Science*, i, 230. (J. M. MILLAS)

Abū'l-Salt also wrote for al-Hasan, son of 'Alī b. Yahyā, a historical work, viz. a continuation of the History of Ifrīkiya by Ibn al-Rāḡib, bringing it down to 517/1125. Extracts are to be found in Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Maghrīb*, i, 274 ff., 292 ff., al-Tijādī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1927, 31 ff. (= JA, 1852(11), 131), go (= *ibidem*, 176), 237 (= JA, 1853, 375 ff.), and Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb (*Centenario di Michele Amari*, i, 455-9). (S. M. STERN)

**ABU'L-SARĀYĀ AL-HAMDĀNĪ** (see HAMDĀNĪ).

**ABU'L-SARĀYĀ AL-SARĪ B. MANṢŪR AL-SHAYBĀNĪ**, Shī'ite rebel. Said to have been a donkey-driver, and afterwards a bandit, he entered the service of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī in Armenia, and was engaged against the Khurramīyya [g.n.]. Later he commanded Yazīd's vanguard against Harḡama in the civil war between al-Anḍī and al-Ma'mūn, but subsequently changed sides and joined Harḡama. Obtaining permission to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, he openly revolted, and after defeating the troops sent against him went to al-Rakka. Here he met the 'Alid Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. Tabāṭabā [g.n.], whom he persuaded to go to Kūfa, and himself joined him there on 20 Dhu'l-Ḥiḡa 11 109/26 Jan. 815. Three weeks later he defeated the army sent by al-Hasan to put down the revolt at Kūfa, and on the following day (1 Rajab/13 Feb.) Ibn Tabāṭabā died. The Sunni sources accuse Abū'l-Sarāyā of poisoning him, but the accusation is not borne out by the Shī'ite tradition. Another 'Alid, Muhammad b. Muḥ. b. Zayd, was chosen as Imām, but the effective power remained in the hands of Abū'l-Sarāyā. He had dirhams coined in Kūfa (ZDMG, 1868, 707) and sent detachments to take Wasit, Basra, al-Aḥwāz, Mecca, etc. When he next marched on Baghdād, al-Hasan b. Sahl appealed to Harḡama, then on his way back to Khurāsān. Harḡama at once turned back, defeated Abū'l-Sarāyā at Kayr Ibn Hubayra (Shawwāl/May-June), and besieged him in Kūfa. Since the Kufans refused to support him, Abū'l-Sarāyā fled with 800 horsemen (16 Muharram 1100/26 Aug. 815), made for Sūsa, but was there defeated and himself wounded by the forces of the governor of Khuzistān, al-Hasan b. 'Alī al-Ma'mūn, and his followers dispersed. He tried to reach his



home at Ra's al-'Ayn, but was overtaken at Dajdāla by Hammād al-Kundaghūsh, who captured him and handed him over to al-Hasan b. Sahl al-Nahrawān. Al-Hasan had him beheaded 10 Rabi' I 300 (18 Oct. 815) and his body was hung at the bridge of Baghdad.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, iii, 976 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 212 ff., 217 ff.; Abu 'l-Faraj, *Mabāḥil al-Talibīyyin*, Teheran 1307, 178-93; F. Gabrieli, *al-Ma'mūn e gli 'Alīdī*, Leipzig 1929, 10-23; for the activities of his representative in Basra cf. Ch. Pellat, *Milieu Barren*, Paris 1953, 108-9 (H. A. R. Gibb).

**ABU SHĪMA SHUHAB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ĪSĀS** 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. ISMĀ'IL AL-MAKDISI, Arab historian, born in Damascus in 30 Rabi' II 590/10 Jan. 1203. All his life was spent in Damascus except when he stayed for one year in Egypt for the purpose of study, and visited Jerusalem for fourteen days, and al-Hijāz, twice, on pilgrimage. He obtained a professorship in Damascus, in the madrasa al-Rukniyya or al-Ahrafīyya, only five years before his death on 19 Ramaḍān 665/13 June 1268. Like most scholars of his time he had a varied education, on a Sūnī basis, and his works, consequently, dealt with several subjects, but his reputation rests on his historical writings.

His main works are: 1) *K. al-Rawdaṭayn fi al-Ḥikāh al-Dawlatayn*, a history of Nūr al-Dīn and Salāh al-Dīn (printed in Cairo, 1288, 1292; extracts, with French translation by Barbier de Meynard, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Hist. Or.*, iv, 7, Paris 1898, 1906; German translation—careless and incomplete—by E. P. Goergens, entitled *Die der beiden Fürsten*, 1879). It derives from the *Ḥikāh* of his father and preserves, in parts, the important works of al-Bārī al-Shāmī by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib, *Sirat Salāh al-Dīn* by Ibn Abī Tayy and a great number of *Rasā'id* by al-Kātib al-Fādhī. The events are dealt with chronologically and the narratives are supported by documents mainly from al-Fādhī and al-'Imād. In this book he names his sources when quoting, and keeps to their wording, except for al-'Imād. 2) *Al-Dhayl 'ala l-Rawdaṭayn*, a continuation of the preceding. In the first part of this book Abū Shīma draws mainly on the *Mir'at al-Zamān* of Shīr al-Dīn al-Djāzī. In the later part he himself as an eyewitness is the main source. This book is more of a biographical than historical work, especially in the second part, and is less important than *K. al-Rawdaṭayn*. (Printed in Cairo, 1907, with the title *Taḥṣīl al-Dīn Ridā al-Karīm al-Sādīq wa 'l-Sābi'*; extracts with French translation in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*.) 3) *Tarīkh Dimashq* (in two versions), a summary of the vast work of Ibn 'Asākir with the same title (Abhwārī, *Ferr. arab. Hs. Berlin*, no. 9782), 4) commentary on the *Rasā'id al-Shābiyya* (printed in Cairo), 5) A commentary on the seven poems of his teacher 'Alīm al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (ed. 643/1245) in praise of the Prophet, is extant in manuscript (Paris, 3147, 2).

All of his other works, dealing with various subjects, are lost, and some biographers say that they were destroyed by fire along with his library.

**Bibliography:** Kutubī, Fawā'id, i, 252; Suyūṭī, *Tahkik al-Huṭūf*, ix, 10; Dīshakabī, *Tahkik al-Huṭūf*, Baydarshād, iv, 231; Makrīfī, *Kifāyat*, i, 46; *Orientalia*, ed. Juyonbōl, ii, 253; Brockelmann, I, 386, S. I, 550. (HILMY AMMAN)

**ABU 'L-SHAMAKMAK** 'ABU MUHAMMAD MARWĀN B. MUḤ. Arabic poet of the early 'Abbāsid period, was born in Basra in the quarter of the

Baḥū Sa'ād as a *muṣallā* of the Banū Umayya. No date is given for his birth. His *lubb* would seem to allude to his big nose and big mouth. He must have migrated to Baghdad some considerable time before the accession of Hārūn al-Raḡhīd (170/786). Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tahakut al-Sha'arī* al-Muḥaddith (A. Eghbal), 55, puts his death in or about 180/796. Like other poets of his time Abū 'L-Shamakmak is credited with undertaking an occasional public duty. He appears to have served as transmitter of the *ḥikāyāt* of Maḥnāt Sābūr to the caliph. On the whole, however, he made his precarious living by means of enlogies and lampoons. A number of anecdotes illustrate his position on the margin of the contemporary world of letters. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Ihd al-Farid*, Cairo 1353/1935, iv, 255, lists Abū 'L-Shamakmak among the "luckless wits." His originality, which was most effective in parody and to which the introduction to Arabic poetry of the talking cat that asserts its impoverished owner may be owed, went unrewarded and constant frustration induced frequent descents into unmitigated vulgarity.

**Bibliography:** A collection of his fragments with a critical introduction and a biography was published by G. E. von Grunebaum, *Orientalia*, 1953, 262-83. (G. E. VON GRUNEBAUM) **ABU 'L-SHAHWK** (see *al-Rawdaṭayn*). **ABU 'L-SHĪS** MUHAMMAD (B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. RAḤMĀN AL-KHŪZĀ'), Arab poet, died about 200/815. Like his relative Dīḥlī [q.v.], he lived at the court of Hārūn al-Raḡhīd for whom he wrote panegyrics, and afterwards dirges. He then went to al-Rakha and obtained the favours of the *amir* 'Uṭba b. al-Ash'ath, remaining his boon-companion and court poet until 198/813. He is to be judged by the quality of his work that have been preserved. Abū 'L-Shīs does not appear as an original poet in his panegyrics, hunting poems and wine songs, though these poems were valued by his contemporaries, notably by Abū Nuwās, who did not hesitate to plagiarize him. The elegies on the infirmities of old age which he composed at the end of his life, when he became blind, are of great value in that they express real feeling. Similarly, when he makes fun of himself or mocks at the poets who imitated the poetry of the desert (e.g. Ibn Kutayba, *Shif'r*, 336, concerning the *ghurāb al-bayn*), he is not lacking in humor.

**Bibliography:** Fragments of Abū 'L-Shīs's poetry and isolated verses are to be found in a number of books: Ibn Kutayba, *Shif'r*, 335-9; *Aḥmad*, v, 36, 89, 108-11; Dīshakabī, *Hayawān*, iii, 518, iv, 345, v, 184; Ps-Dīshakabī, *Mahāsin* (van Vloten), 68; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tahakut*, 26-33; Bayhaqī, *Mahāsin*, 358; Tabarī, iii, 763; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 135; Dīshakabī, *Hayawān*, 96v; al-Khatīb, *Tarīkh Baghdad*, v, 401-2; Safadī, *Nakāt al-Himyan*, 257-8; Ibn Khallikān, iv, 232; Kutubī, *Fawā'id*, ii, 261 ff.; 'Askāri, *Diwān al-Na'ā'id*, Cairo 1250, i, 455, ii, 209, 252; see also O. Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 28-9; Brockelmann, I, 83, S. I, 135. (A. SCHAEDE-CH. FELLAT)

**ABU SHUDJĀ'** AHMAD B. HASAN (OR HUSAYN) B. AHMAD, a famous Shāfi'ī JURIST. His family came from Isfahān, his father was born in 'Abbādīn. He himself was born in 434/1042-3 in Basra, and there taught Shāfi'ī law for more than 40 years; he was alive in 500/1106-7, but the date of his death is not known. At some time, he was a *hādī*. He is the author of a short compendium of Shāfi'ī law, called *al-Ghaya fi 'l-Hikāyah*, or *al-Muḥḥṭayy*, or *al-Tahrib*. This became the starting-point of one of the later literary traditions of the

Shāfi'ī school and acquired, from the 7th/13th to the 13th/19th century, a considerable number of commentaries and glosses, many of which have been printed. Editio princeps of the text, with (unreliable) translation, by S. Keyser, *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane*, Leiden 1859; translation of the text by G.-H. Bouquet, *Abrégé de la loi musulmane*, separately printed from the *Revue Algérienne* 1935; edition (and faulty) translation of the commentary of Ibn Khāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1512), with the title *Fath al-Karīb*, by L. W. C. van den Berg, Leiden 1895 (some corrections to the translation in Bouquet, *Kūṭb al-Tanbīh*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université d'Alger, II, XI, XIII, XV, Algiers 1929-31); partial translation of the gloss of Ibrahim al-Baḡdādī (d. 1277/1861), with reprint of the corresponding chapters of the text, by E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, Berlin 1897.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt iii, 598 f.; Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Tahakut al-Shāfi'īyya*, Cairo 1324, iv, 38; Juyonbōl, *Handisling*, 374 f.; Brockelmann I, 492 f.; S. I, 661 (J. SCHACHT)

**ABU SHUDJĀ' MUHAMMAD B. AL-HUSAYN** [see *al-RUDHAWARĪ*].

**ABU SUFYĀN** B. HARB B. UMMAYYA, of the clan of 'Abd Shams of Quraysh, prominent Meccan merchant and financier (to be distinguished from Muhammad's cousin, Abū Sufyān b. al-Harith b. 'Abd al-Muttalib). His name was Saḡḡr, and his Shams had been at one time a member of the political group known as the Muta'yayyibūn (which included the clan of Ḥāshim), but about Muhammad's time had moved away from this group and in some matters cooperated with the rival group, Maḥḥabūn, Dīnabā, Salm, etc. As head of 'Abd Shams Abū Sufyān joined in opposing Muhammad in the years before the hijra, but his opposition was not so violent as that of Abū Dīḥl. On several occasions he led caravans in person, notably in 2/624 when a caravan of 2000 camels returning from Syria under his command was threatened by Muhammad. In answer to his requests for help the Meccans sent out about 2000 men under Abū Dīḥl. By skilful and vigorous leadership Abū Sufyān defeated the Muslims; but Abū Dīḥl was eager to fight, and brought upon the Meccans the disaster of Badr. Of Abū Sufyān's sons Hanḥala was killed and 'Amr taken prisoner but subsequently released, while his wife Hind lost her father 'Uṭba. Abū Sufyān was apparently in charge of the preparations to avenge Badr, and commanded the large army sent to Medina in 3/625, probably as a hereditary privilege, the *ḥāḥala*. He realized that the result of the ensuing battle of Uhud was not satisfactory for Quraysh, but was prevented from attacking the main settlement of Medina by Saḥwān b. Umayya (of Dīnabā), possibly out of jealousy. Abū Sufyān also organized the great confederacy which besieged Medina in 5/627. When this proved a fiasco, he perhaps lost heart; at least resistance in Mecca to Muhammad came to be directed by the leaders of the rival group, Saḥwān b. Umayya, Suhayl b. 'Amr and 'Ikrima b. Abī Dīḥl. Abū Sufyān is not mentioned in connection with the peace of al-Hudaybiya. When in 8/630 allies of Quraysh openly broke the peace, Abū Sufyān went to Medina to negotiate. What happened is not clear, but he possibly came to some understanding with his daughter, Umm Ḥabība, may have softened his heart, even though he had been

some fifteen years in Abyssinia as a Muslim. Certainly, when Muhammad marched on Mecca soon after, Abū Sufyān, along with Ḥakīm b. Hizām, came out and submitted to him (apparently now becoming a Muslim), and those who took refuge with Abū Sufyān were guaranteed security. Thus he did much to bring about the surrender of Mecca peacefully. He took part in the battle of Hunayn and the siege of al-Tā'if, where he is said to have lost an eye; like the other Meccans he would be well aware that Ḥawāṣim and Dīḥl were as hostile to Mecca as to Muhammad. In the distribution of the spoils he and Ḥakīm seem to have received a specially large gift in recognition of their services. On the submission of al-Tā'if, Abū Sufyān, who had business and family connections there, helped to destroy the idol of al-Lāt. He was appointed governor of Najrān and perhaps also of the Hijāz, but whether by Muhammad or Abū Bakr is disputed. If it is true that he was in Mecca at Muhammad's death and spoke against Abū Bakr, he cannot have been governor of Najrān then; but the alleged speech, like many other statements about Abū Sufyān, may be anti-Umayyad propaganda. He was present at the battle of the Yarmūk, but may have done little more than exhort the younger men, as he was about 70. He is said to have died about 32/653 aged about 88. Of his sons, Yazīd died as a Muslim general in Palestine about 18/639, and Mu'āwīya was the first Umayyad caliph.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, Wakā'id, Ibn Sa'd, *Tabarī*—see indexes; Ibn Ḥajlār, *Jāmi'*, iv, 477-80; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, iii, 12-3, v, 316; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 111. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**ABU SULAYMĀN MUHAMMAD B. TĀHER B. BAHĀM AL-SUGISTĀNĪ AL-MANTĪQĪ**, philosopher, b. about 300/912, d. about 375/985. He was a pupil of Māṭī b. Yūnus (d. 328/939) and Yahyā b. 'Adf (d. 364/974), and lived in Baghdad (he was patronized by 'Adud al-Dawla, to whom he dedicated some of his treatises), occupying an eminent place among the philosophers of the capital. His system, like that of most of the other members of his environment, had a strong Neo-platonic colouring. For the content of his teaching we are mainly indebted to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī [q.v.], whose works, especially *al-Muḥāḥad* and *al-Imdā' wa 'l-Mu'annas*, are filled with reports of Abū Sulaymān's utterances on philosophical as well as many other topics, usually expressed in a rather involved and obscure style. A few of Abū Sulaymān's shorter treatises have survived in MS. Of his history of Greek and Islamic philosophy, *Sīnān al-Hikma*, only an abbreviation is extant in several MSS (cf. M. Fleischer, in *Islamica*, 1937, 554-8; add Brit. Mus. Or. 9033; cancel Bodl. Marsh 539; Leiden 339 contains an even shorter version by al-Ghāḍanfar al-Tibrīzī). The *Sīnān al-Hikma* was one of the sources of al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milāl wa 'l-Nihāl*, for the description of the old Greek philosophers (ed. P. Kraus, in *BIE*, 1937, 207-16, 1938, 146). Various other authors also quote Abū Sulaymān for information concerning the history of philosophy: Ibn al-Nadīm (who was a disciple of his), *Fihrist*, 241, 243, 248; Ibn Maṭrān, see P. Kraus, *Jahr im Hayyān*, 4, p. 131; Ibn Abī Usaybi'a, i, 9, 15, 57, 104, 186-7.

**Bibliography:** *Fihrist*, 264, 316; Abū Shāfi'a, *Dhayl Taḥṣīl al-'Ummān* (Amnūn-Margoliouth), 757; Bayhaqī, *Taḥṣīl Sīnān al-Hikma* (M. Shafī), 74-5; Yāqūt, *Irbid*, ii, 89, iii, 100, v, 360, 398 (after Abū Ḥayyān); *Shif'r* al-Andalus, 81; Ibn al-Kifṭī, 282-3; Ibn Abī Usaybi'a, 4,



321-2; Brockelmann, I, 236, S. I, 377; Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhâb Karwî, *Sharh al-Halâ' Abû Sulaymân Ma'rifat al-Sayyidî* (Irbil, de la Société des Études Iraniennes, no. 3), Chahin-sur-Sanne 1933 = *Biid Mahûla*, Tehran 1934, 94 ff.

(S. M. STERN)

**ABU 'L-SU'UD MUHAMMAD B. MUHIY 'L-DIN** MUB. b. AL-IMAD MUSTAFÂ AL-IMÂDÎ, known as Rhodja Çelebi (Hoca Çelebi), famous commentator of the *Kur'ân*, Hanafî scholar and Shaykh al-Islâm, born 27 Safar 896 to December 1499, died 15 Dhu'l-Hijja 1. 952/23 August 1572. His father, a native of Iskilîb (Iskiliy, west of Amasia) had been a notable scholar and *şâfi*. Abu 'L-Su'ud began his career as a teacher, being eventually promoted to one of the "Eight Madrasas" of Sültân Muhammad II. In 930/1523 he was appointed *hâdî*, first in Brûsa (Bursa), then in Istanbul; in 944/1537 he became *hâdî* *tasâr* of Rumelia, and in 952/1549 Sültân Sulaymân I. made him Grand Muftî or Shaykh al-Islâm. He kept this post for the rest of his life, under Sulaymân and his successor Salim II. Abu 'L-Su'ud was bound to Sulaymân by friendship, and though he could not quite maintain his exclusive influence under Salim, this Sültân too held him in high esteem. The one approach that was made against him is his scheming and his eagerness for the intimacy of the great. To Sulaymân, he justified the killing of Yâzîdî, and to Salim, the attack on Cyprus, in breach of a treaty of peace with Venice. He was buried in the Abî Ayyûb quarter of Istanbul, where his tomb still exists. When the news of his death reached the Holy City, funeral prayers for an absent person were said for him. Several of his disciples held important positions under Salim II, Murâd III, and Muhammad III.

As Shaykh al-Islâm, Abu 'L-Su'ud succeeded in bringing the *hâdî*, the administrative law of the Ottoman Empire, into agreement with the *shari'a*, the sacred law of Islam. Supported by Sulaymân, he completed and consolidated a development which had already started under Muhammad II. He formulated, consciously and in sweeping terms, the principle that the competence of the *hâdî* derives from their appointment by the Sultan, and that they are therefore bound to follow his directives in applying the *shari'a*. Already as *hâdî* *tasâr* he had begun, on the orders of the Sultan, to revise the local law of the European provinces and to apply to it the principles of the *shari'a*. (On the effect of this revision, see P. Lemerle and P. Wittek, in *Archives d'Histoire du droit oriental*, 1948, 466 ff.) His *fatâwâ*, of which a number still exist in the original, were brought together in several semi-official and private collections. In keeping with his general aim, Abu 'L-Su'ud took account of the practice in authorizing the *wa'f* of movables and in particular of money, the giving and taking of remuneration for teaching and other religious duties, (on these two questions, he became involved in polemics), in allowing the Karagöz play, and in refraining, in the end, from giving a *fatâwâ* against the use of coffee. Whilst he appreciated orthodox Sûfism, he did not hesitate to authorise the execution of extremist *şâfi*.

In his spare time, Abu 'L-Su'ud composed a commentary on the *Kur'ân*, drawn mainly from al-Baydâwî and al-Zanakhshârî, with the title *Irshâd al-'Abî al-Salim*; it became popular in the Ottoman Empire and beyond its frontiers, found several commentators and was printed a number of times. Among his other, smaller works, a book

of prayers drawn from traditions and meant to be learned by heart (*Du'â-nâma*, or *R. fi 'L-Ad'iya al-Mahâra*), may be mentioned. He also wrote some poetry in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

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**ABÜ TÂHIR SULAYMÂN AL-KARMA'TÎ** (see AL-DJAHM)

**ABÜ TÂHIR TARŞÜSÎ** (TARŞÜSÎ, TOSÛ) MUHAMMAD B. HARAN B. 'ALÎ B. MÛSA, a person otherwise unknown, said to be the author of several novels in prose, prolix in style and of great length, a confused mixture of Arab and Persian legendary traditions, written in Persian and afterwards translated into Turkish. These include *Kâramûn-nâma* (about Kâramûn, a hero from the epoch of Hâshim, semi-mythical king of Idâl), *Kirân-i Bahâgî* (the story of a hero from the time of the Kayânîd king Kay Kubâdî), *Dârâb-nâma* (history of Darius and Alexander).

**Bibliography:** Firdawî, *Liwe des rois*, ed. and transl. of J. Mohl, I, preface 74 ff.; H. Ethé, in *Grandes d. Iran. Philol.*, II, 318; E. Blochet, *Cat. des persans lib.*, Nat. Paris, nos. 1201-2; *idem*, *Cat. des turcs*, *act. fonds*, nos. 331-7; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. Turcica MSS Brit. Mus.*, 219 ff. (H. MASSE)

**ABÜ TÂKA** (see SIKKÂ).

**ABÜ TÂLIB**, son of 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hâshim and Fâtima bint 'Amr (of Makhrûm), and full brother of Muhammad's father. His own name was 'Abd Manâf. He is said to have been in the offices of *shûba* and *rifâda* (providing water and food for pilgrims) from his father, but at the Hîl al-Fudûl and war of the Fijâr his brother al-Zubayr seems to have been the leading man of Hâshim. He fell into debt, and to meet this surrendered the *shûba* and *rifâda* to al-'Abbâs. Nevertheless he seems to have remained chief of the clan of Hâshim, and their quarter of the town was called the *bayt* of Abû Tâlib. When 'Abd al-Muttalib died, he looked after Muhammad, and is said to have taken him on trading journeys to Syria. He continued to protect Muhammad when he came forward as prophet, even when most of the other clans of Quraysh boycotted Hâshim and al-Muttalib; there were presumably also economic reasons for the boycott. He died shortly after the end of the boycott, about 619, and was probably succeeded as chief by his brother Abû Lahab. Of his sons by Fâtima bint 'Asad b. Hâshim, 'Alî (who is said to have been brought up by Muhammad) and 'Djâfar became Muslims, while Tâlib fought against Muham-

mad at Badr. He himself, though protecting Muhammad, clearly did not become a Muslim; but the point was much discussed and varying traditions circulated, in connection with the theological mission of the fate of those who lived before Muhammad's mission.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hâshim, II, 174-77; Ibn Sa'd, *ibid.*, 279-81, 314-15, 319-21; Tabarî, I, 123-6, 127-85, 129-30; Ibn Badjar, *Taiba*, IV, 211-9; Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1858, 27-8; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, II, 107; Caetani, *Annali*, I, 158, 298, 307, etc.; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, 115-8; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, index. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**ABÜ TÂLIB KÂLIM** (see KÂLIM).

**ABÜ TÂLIB MUHAMMAD B. 'ALÎ AL-HÂRITHI AL-MAKKÎ**, d. in Baghdâd in 386/998, muh addidh and mystic, head of the dogmatic madhhab of the Sâlimiyya (q.n.) in Bagra. His chief work is the *Kât al-Kulûb*, Cairo 1310, whole pages of which were copied by al-Ghazâlî in his *Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn*.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, I, 200, S. I, 359-66; Sayyid, *Murtadâ*, *ibid.*, Cairo, II, 67, 68; *passim*; *ibid.*, *Lahûl*, Cairo, II, 25; Ibn 'Abd al-Rundî, *al-Rasâ'id al-Kubrâ*, lith. Foz 1320, 149, 200-1; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, 2nd ed., index and ref. cited. (L. Massignon)

**ABÜ TÂLIB KHÂN** (1752-1806), the son of Hâdîdî Muhammad Beg, of Turkish descent, was born at Lucknow. His early years were spent in Murshidâbâd at the court of Mu'azzir Djang. With the accession of Âsaf al-Dawla (1775) he returned to Oudh and was appointed *'amûlâr* of Fâtâwah and other districts. He also served as a revenue official under Colonel Hannay who farmed the country of Sarwâr. He was later employed by Nathaniel Middleton, the English Resident, and was connected with Richard Johnson in the management of the confiscated *dhigirs* of the Begums of Oudh. He remained in Oudh until 1796. In February 1799 he sailed from Calcutta to Europe where he visited England, France, Turkey, and other countries, returning to India in August 1803. An account of his travels, the *Masir-i Tâlibi fi Bulâd-i 'Irandîz* was published in 1812 and translated into English by C. Stewart (1814) and into French by G. Maho (1819). He also wrote the *Lubb al-Siyar wa-Djâhân-nûma* and the *Khulâsât al-Afâr*. His *Tarîf al-Ghâzîlî*, a history of Oudh under Âsaf al-Dawla, is an important source for the careers of Haydar Beg and the various English residents, and contains a spirited defence of Hannay's revenue administration (English trans. by W. Hovey, 1888). He published also the first edition of the *Divân* of Hâfiz, Calcutta 1791.

**Bibliography:** Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, viii, 298 ff.; Rieu, *Cat. of Persian Mss.*, I, 378 ff. (C. COLLEN DAVIES)

**ABÜ TAMMÂM** HANIS B. AWS, Arabic poet and anthologist. According to his son Tamâm he was born in the year 188/804, according to an account deriving from himself, in the year 200/806 (*Ahhâr*, 272-3) and in the town of Dâsîm between Damascus and Thiberia. He died according to his son in 231/845, according to others 2 Muharram 232/29 Aug. 846 (*ibid.*). His father was a Christian by name Tâdhûsîs (Thaddeus, Theodosius?) who kept a wine-shop in Damascus. The son altered the name of his father to Aws (*Ahhâr*, 246) and invented for himself a pedigree connecting him with the tribe of Tayyî. He was mocked on the score of this false

pedigree in satirical verses (*Ahhâr*, 235-8); later, however, the pedigree appears to have found acceptance, and Abû Tammâm is therefore frequently referred to as "the Tayyite" or "the great Tayyite". He spent his youth as a weaver's assistant in Damascus (Ibn 'Asâkir, iv, 19). Subsequently he went to Egypt where at first he earned his living by selling water in the Great Mosque, but he also found opportunity to study Arabic poetry and its rules. The exact chronology of his life is difficult to reconstruct, at all events until the happenings mentioned in his poetry and the biography of the men eulogised by him are accurately established. According to one tradition he composed his first panegyrics in Damascus for Muh. b. al-Djâhîm, brother of the poet 'Alî b. al-Djâhîm (al-Mawâhib, 324). This, however, can hardly be correct, as this personage was only in 225 appointed governor of Damascus by al-Mu'tasim (Ibn al-Mardîm Bek, in the preface to the *Divân* of 'Alî b. al-Djâhîm, 4). According to the poet's own account (*Ahhâr*, 121), he composed his first poem in Egypt for the tax-collector 'Ayyâdh b. Lahfâ' (al-Badrî, 181). He was, however, disappointed if he and repaid him as often in similar circumstances, with lampoons (cf. al-Badrî, 174 ff.). Al-Kindî (*Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guent, 181, 183, 186, 187) quotes some verses of Abû Tammâm referring to events in Egypt in the years 211-4. From Egypt Abû Tammâm returned to Syria. At this time he is to be placed, apparently, the *onoma* and lampoons on Abu 'L-Mughîlî Mûsâ b. Ibrahim al-Râkî. When al-Ma'mûn returned from his campaign against the Byzantines (215-8), Abû Tammâm, clad in the bedouin attire beloved by him all his life, offered him a *hasida*, which however was not to the caliph's taste, since he took exception to the fact that a bedouin should compose urban poetry (Abû Hîlâl al-'As'ari, *Divân al-Ma'mûn*, II, 120). At this time the young Bulhârî perhaps came into contact with him in Hîms (*Ahhâr*, 66, cf. 205).

Abû Tammâm first rose to fame and became generally known under al-Mu'tasim. On the destruction of Amorium in the year 225/838 (cf. 'AMMŪRIYYA) the Mu'tasillite chief kâdî Ahmad b. 'Abî Du'dâ [q.n.] sent him before the caliph in Samarra. The caliph recalled the harsh verse of the poet, which he had heard in Mecca, and granted Abû Tammâm an audience only after making sure that he had with him a *rawî*, or reciter, with a pleasant voice (*Ahhâr*, 143-4). Then began Abû Tammâm's career as the most celebrated panegyrist of his time. In addition to the caliph he eulogised in his *hasida* the highest dignitaries of his epoch. One of these was Ibn Abî Du'dâ, whom, however, he offended temporarily through a poem in which the South Arabs (to whom the tribe of Tayyî? belonged) were greatly extolled to the disadvantage of the North Arabs (from which the chief kâdî claimed descent). An apologetic *hasida* had to be addressed to the patron before his reinstatement was effected (*Ahhâr*, 147 ff.). Other personalities eulogised by him were, for example, the general Abû Sa'd Muh. b. Yûsuf al-Marwâzî, who had distinguished himself in the war against Byzantium and in the operations against the Khurramite Bâbak, and his son Yûsuf, killed by the Armenians in 237 while governor of Armenia; Abû Dulaf al-Kâsim al-'Idrîsî, d. 225; Is'hâk b. Ibrahim al-Mus'abî, police chief (*sâb al-djûr*) of Bagdad from 207 to 235; Hasan b. Wahb, secretary to the waif Muh. b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyât was a particular admirer of Abû Tammâm. Abû Tammâm also travelled several times to visit







philologist, and botanist. He even cultivated the art of poetry, since certain of his biographers have reproduced some of his buoche verses, and he has been given the reputation of a confirmed drinker. He has also been depicted as a bibliophile, who preserved his valuable manuscripts in envelopes of fine fabric.

In the religious sphere, Ibn Baḡhkuwāl attributes to him, without giving the title, a work on the 'signs of the prophetic mission' of the Messenger of God (*fi al-ā'im uḥuwwat nabiyyin*). As a philologist, Ibn Khayr (*Fahrasa*, B A H, ix, 325, 326, 341, 342), attributes to him four works: (1) a criticism of Abū 'Alī al-Kullī (*ḡ. 1*), al-Tawḥīd *ḡ. 1*, *Ar-Riḡā' al-ḡ. 1* al-Kullī al-Nawā'id, ed. A. Salhi, 4 vols., Cairo 1344/1926; (2) Brockelmann, S I, 202; (3) a commentary on the *Amālī* of the same, *Sinf al-La'ālī fi Shāh al-Amālī*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz Maymān, Cairo 1354/1936; (4) Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*; (5) a commentary on the verses quoted in al-*ḡharīb al-Muḡannaf* of Abū 'Ubayd al-Kāsim b. Sallām, entitled *Sinf al-Maḡallī*; (6) a commentary on the collection of proverbs by the same Abū 'Ubayd b. Sallām, entitled *Faḡl al-Maḡallī fi Shāh Kithāb al-Amālī* (MSS at Istanbul; cf. M. O., vii, 123; Z D M G, 1910; Brockelmann, S I, 106 f. n.). Lastly we may mention another work, semi-historical, semi-philological, which seems to be lost: *al-Ma'ālī wa'l-Muḡallaf* on the names of the Arab tribes.

The botanist work of Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Kithāb al-Nabāt*, also indicated by Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 377, seems not to have been found yet in MS. It has its place, in any case, in the series of Andalusian treatises on descriptive botany, made up of alphabetically-arranged items, and it served as a direct source for the *muḡḡḡ* and naturalist of the 6th/12th century Ibn 'Abdūn (*ḡ. 1*) al-ḡhblī, for the composition of his *Uḡḡḡ al-Taḡḡ fi Shāh al-A'ḡḡ* (cf. M. Asín Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances registradas por un botánico andalusí hispano-musulmán*, Madrid-Granada 1943, xxvii and n. 1). This botanical treatise, which Ibn Abī Usayb'a described in a few lines (cf. M. Meyerhof, *Esquisse d'histoire de la pharmacologie et botanique chez les musulmans d'Espagne*, in *al-And.*, 1935, 141), the same, *Un glossaire de matière médicale de Maimonide*, in *Mém. Inst. d'Égypte*, iii, 1940, xxvii), mainly concentrated, as did that of Ibn 'Abdūn, on the peninsula of al-Andalus; it was made use of not only by the latter, but also by the naturalists al-ḡhblī and Ibn al-Bayḡar.

Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī's geographical work, on which his renown in the Arab world was mainly based, consists of two books of unequal length and importance: *Mu'ḡḡam al-ḡḡḡḡ* and *al-Maḡḡḡ* in *T-Maḡḡḡ*. The *Mu'ḡḡam*, which was published by P. Wüstenfeld in an autographed edition (*Das geographische Wörterbuch*, Göttingen, 1876-7; 4 vols, Cairo 1945-51), is a list of toponyms, mostly referring to the *ḡḡḡḡ* al-'Arab, which occur in the poetry of the *ḡḡḡḡ* and the literature of the *ḡḡḡḡ* and the spelling of which had given rise to discussions. This list is preceded by an interesting introduction on the geographical setting of ancient Arabia and the respective habitats of the most important tribes.

As for the *al-Maḡḡḡ*, the main work of al-Bakrī, we have so far only part of it, in the form of extensive fragments, not all of which have yet been published. Of the introductory volume, which deals with general geography and the Muslim and non-Muslim peoples (MS at Paris, B. N., 5503), the greater part is still

unpublished (fragment on the Russians and Slavs published at St. Petersburg in 1878 by A. Kunik and V. Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bakrī i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i Slavyanakh*, i; cf. also A. Seppel, *Reisen von al-Bakrī*, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Islam*, 1878, 1879-1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 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have it, but of his descendants, viz. Khuraym b. 'Amr and his son 'Ughmā (see Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 434-7; v, 126-8). He seems to have lived in Mesopotamia, Syria, al-Basra, where he frequented dissolute poets such as Hammād 'Adhrā, Muṭṭi b. Yūsuf etc. (*Aghāni*, x, 179; xii, 82), and finally in Baghdad. In Baghdad he was connected with the entourage of al-Raḡibī (*Aghāni*, xi, 21-2) and especially with the Barmakids Yahyā al-Khatib, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, vi, 326), al-Faḍl al-Dīnabīyārī, *al-Wuṣūl*, 150r) and Dja'far (*Aghāni*, xi, 21-2), as well as with their secretaries al-Ḥasan b. Bahbāh al-Baḡhī and Muḥammad b. Mansūr b. Ziyād (Ibn al-Djarrāb, 101; al-Djabbīyārī, 118; 170r). During the conflict between al-ʿAmīn and al-Ma'mūn, he took the part of the former (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vi, 462-3) and composed during the siege of Baghdad a long *ḥusdā* (al-Tabarī, iii, 873-80) in which he described the destruction of the city and besought al-Ma'mūn to put an end to the fratricidal war.

The work of al-Khuraymī, known even in the Maghrib (cf. al-Buṭṭi, *Zahr* (Z. Muḥarrar), iv, 201; Ibn Shārazī, *Intihād* (Pellat), Algiers 1953, index) was no doubt more important than would appear from the *ḥusdā* quoted above and from verses scattered in books of history and *adab*. Though he composed some satires, some of which were sung by 'Allawayh (Ibn al-Djarrāb, 101; *Aghāni*, x, 120-33), al-Khuraymī is the foremost place an author of panegyrics (the *shams* of their object being dictated by self-interest) and of dirges on persons with whom he was connected, especially Muhammad b. Mansūr b. Ziyād and the members of Khuraym's family (Ibn 'Asākir, loc. cit.). At the end of his life, the loss of his second eye (he had been one-eyed before) and is sometimes called al-A'war) inspired him to moving verses (al-Djabbīyārī, *Hayasun*, iii, 113; vi, 111-2; *Aghāni*, xv, 109; al-Safadi, *Nahr al-Hind*, 72).

The critics admit al-Khuraymī's talent and state that his poetry was especially enjoyed by the secretaries of the bureau—no doubt because of his non-Arab origin; though he does not seem to have played a role among the Shī'īs.

**Bibliography:** *Baghdādī*, 125 to refer to the article; *Djabbīyārī*, *Hayasun* (Sandhu), i, 105 and *passim*; idem, *Ḥusdā* (Hidgiri), 128 f.; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 542-6; idem, *Uyūn*, i, 229, ii, 129; Ibn al-Djarrāb, *al-Waraka*, Cairo 1953, index; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tabakāt*, 138-9; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿIḥd*, Cairo 1940, viii, 146; *Fihrist*, index; 'Asākir, *Diwān al-Ma'mūn*, i, 74, 279, ii, 173, 197; idem, *Sināʿatun*, 345; *Ṭaʿālib*, *Khāṣṣ al-Khāṣṣ*, Tunis 1291, 97; *Hidgiri*, *ʿAṣr al-Ma'mūn*, iii, 280-24; A. Amīn, *Ḍuhā ʿl-ʿIdm*, i, 64-5; O. Reischer, *Abriss*, ii, 37-8; Brockelmann, i, 121-2. (CH. PELLAT)

**ABŪ YA'KŪB** IḤSĀN B. AHMAD AL-SIDJĪ, IḤSĀNĪ d.471 and one of the sect's most important authors. According to Raḡibī al-Dīn (*Djām*) *al-Tawārīkh*, MS Brit. Mus., Add. 7628, fol. 277r, "after that time"—viz. the execution of al-Nasafī in Buḡhārā, 317/942—"Iḥṣān al-Sidjī, nicknamed Khayshafānī, fell into the hands of the *amir* Khāḍf b. Iḥṣān (cf. MS, read Ahmad al-Sidjī). (Khāḍf b. Ahmad, of the "second" Saffārid dynasty, ruled 349-92). This probably implies that Abū Ya'kūb was killed by the *amir* Khāḍf. (According to W. Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, 119, note 1, his book *al-Iḥṣān* must be dated, by internal evidence—not, however, specified—after 360/974.) At any rate, the usual statement that Ya'kūb was executed in 331 in Buḡhārā together with al-Nasafī, turns out to be erroneous. (The

nickname Khayshafānī for Abū Ya'kūb—read conjecturally, as there are no points in the MSS; it is probably the word for 'cotton-seed', cf. Dozy, i, 417—occurs also in al-Bustī's refutation of Ismāʿilism, MS Ambrosiana, coll. Griffini 41, to be analysed by the present writer.)

Of the many surviving books of Abū Ya'kūb, the principal one of which seems to be *al-Iḥṣān*, only one, the *Kaṣf al-Maḡhīb*, has been published (by H. Corbin, Teheran 1949), not in the Arabic original, which is lost, but according to a Persian version. A close study of Abū Ya'kūb's works is absolutely necessary, as he is our main authority for the doctrine of the philosophical wing of Ismāʿilism in the 4th/10th century. It seems that the system expounded by Abū Ya'kūb was on the whole based on that of al-Nasafī [q.v.], who seems to have been the one who introduced Neoplatonic philosophy into Ismāʿilism about 300 A.H. (Abū Ya'kūb composed a book, unfortunately lost, in defence of al-Nasafī's main work, *al-Mabād*, against the attacks of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī). However, while the system of al-Nasafī can only be reconstructed from sparse quotations, in its main lines, the preserved books of Abū Ya'kūb allow us to study the system, in the form exposed by him, in all desirable detail.

**Bibliography:** *Baghdādī*, *Faḥḥ*, 267; *Birūnī*, *Hind*, 32; W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, 33-5; idem, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, index.—It is doubtful if Abū Ya'kūb al-Sidjī is the same person as Abū Ya'kūb, d.471 of Rayy about the middle of the 4th/10th century, mentioned in *Fihrist*, 189, 190. (S. M. STREUS)

**ABŪ YA'KŪB YŪSUF** a. 'Abū al-Mu'min, second ruler of the Mu'minid (g.s.) (Almohad) dynasty, reigned 558-60/1163-84. He succeeded to the throne by a coup d'état, in spite of the official proclamation of his elder brother Muhammad as crown-prince in 549/1154. It is true that Muhammad ruled for about two months, a fact that has been passed over in silence by almost all the historians of the dynasty; but the powerful vizier 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, alleging that his father, four days before his death, had ordered the name of the heir-presumptive to be suppressed in the *ḥuḡḡa*, and that he had declared to himself ('Umar) on his death-bed that he wished Yūsuf to succeed him, summoned Yūsuf in all haste from Seville, where he had resided as governor for the last six years, and had him proclaimed by the *shaykh* and the army, in Ribāt al-Faḥḥ (Rabat), as the new caliph.

The accession of Yūsuf was by no means received with unanimous approval. His brother 'Aḥmad, governor of Fez, who went to bury his father in Tinnimal, protested against this arbitrary nomination, but died mysteriously on his return from the Atlas. Two other brothers, 'Abd Allāh, governor of Bidjāya, who died shortly afterwards by poison, and 'Uthmān, governor of Cordova, also refused to recognise him. Thus Yūsuf did not dare to take the caliphal title of *amir al-mu'minin*, but confined himself for five years to the title of *amir al-muslimin*.

Establishing himself in Marrākuḡh, after dismissing the enormous army concentrated by his father in Rabat, Yūsuf had to suppress a revolt that broke out among the Ghumāra, between Ceuta and Alcazarcquivir, while the *sayyids* 'Umar and 'Uthmān were leading a vigorous campaign in al-Andalus against the Mardaniḡh (g.s.) and his Christian mercenaries. Invading his territory, they defeated his army in 560/1165, ten miles outside Murcia. The

city resisted, however, and preserved its independence for another five years.

When the hostile *sayyids* had submitted or had been eliminated, Ibn Mardaniḡh had been defeated and the revolt of the Ghumāra had been suppressed, Yūsuf assumed in 563/1168 the caliphal title. Yet at the very moment that his proclamation was celebrated, the warlike title state of Portugal caused him grave concern. Giraldo sem Pavor, the famous captain of Afonso Henriques, captured the towns of Évora, Trujillo, Cáceres, Montánchez, Serpa and Juroemeha, and laid siege, together with his king, to Badajoz, which could be saved only by the intervention of Ferdinand II of León, the ally of the Almohads.

The problem of Ibn Mardaniḡh in the Levante resolved itself almost spontaneously. Ibn Hamuḡhū, lieutenant and father-in-law of Ibn Mardaniḡh, quarrelled with him and submitted to the Almohads. Yūsuf then mobilised all his forces and crossed the Straits. Murcia was regularly besieged, Yūsuf conducting the operations from his headquarters in Cordova. The city could not be taken, but the troops of Ibn Mardaniḡh deserted him one after the other and his cruelty lost him his last partisans. He died of chagrin, seeing the whole of his work undone (567/1172). His eldest son Hūl and all his brothers soon joined the doctrine of the *ṭawḡid* and submitted to Yūsuf, who received them well and admitted them into his council.

When the latter came to Seville, they suggested to Yūsuf to lay siege to Huete (Valladolid), which had been recently repopulated by Christians and had become a menace to Cuenca and the frontier of the Levante. Yūsuf left Seville, took Vilches and Alcaraz, and marching through the plain of Albacete, reached Huete in July. The siege at once revealed the caliph's lack of energy and the hesitant and unwarlike spirit of his troops, who failed completely. It seemed that the besieged, who withstood courageously the Almohad attacks, would have to surrender owing to lack of water, but violent summer storms filled their cisterns and threw the enemy's camp into disorder. Owing to lack of food and the approach of the Castilian army, the Almohads lifted the siege and returned, via Cuenca, Játiva, Elche and Orihuela, to Murcia; there the army was disbanded. Yūsuf rested in Seville during the winter of 568/1172-3. But the count Jimeno "the hunchback" (*al-aḡḡab*), who, with the men of Avila, had caused severe damage in the valley of the Guadalquivir, penetrated, in Shā'ban 568/April 1173, into the region of Ecija and took enormous booty. The troops that had come back from Huete were collected again, and the indefatigable Abū Ḥafs 'Umar Inti [q.v.], together with the two brothers of the caliph, Yahyā and Ismāʿīl, overtook the count near Caracac, defeated and killed him. Subsequently, Badajoz was furnished with supplies and the whole left bank of the Tagus ravaged, from Talavera to Toledo; in consequence, Afonso Henriques, on behalf of Portugal, and the count Nuño de Lara, on behalf of Castile, were compelled to ask for and to sign an armistice for five years. The winter of 569/1173-4 was spent in reuniting and fortifying Beja, in the Algarve, which had been ruined and evacuated two years before.

Later, Yūsuf celebrated with splendour his marriage with a daughter of Ibn Mardaniḡh, and during the whole year of 570/1175 did not leave Seville. This second stay of Yūsuf in al-Andalus had already lasted almost five years when he suddenly left for Marrākuḡh.

Encyclopaedia of Islam

At this time a severe epidemic was raging over the whole empire. Yūsuf lost several of his brothers and he himself remained ill for a long time while Alfonso VIII was besieging Cuenca and, after nine months, in October 1177, forced this famous fortress to surrender. The garrisons of Cordova and Seville tried to relieve it by a diversionary move towards Talavera and Toledo, but with no practical results. After the loss of Cuenca, Yūsuf, who had recovered his health, consulted with his brothers, the governors of Cordova and Seville, on ways and means to cut short the ever-increasing aggressiveness of the Christians. The armistice with Portugal had expired and the crown-prince, Sancho, earned his spurs by invading the valley of the lower Guadalquivir, attacking Triana, then Niebla and the whole of the Algarve. Beja had again to be evacuated.

Yūsuf found no other way to withstand these attacks but to transport to Morocco and al-Andalus the Arabs of Ifrikiya, but seeing that they were becoming more and more turbulent, under the leadership of 'All, a descendant of the Banu 'l-Rand, lords of Kaṣa [q.v.] (Gaza), who had revolted there, he took the field to stifle that dangerous centre of disaffection and to force the Arabs to join the holy war in Spain. He left Marrākuḡh for Ifrikiya, and after a siege of three months took Kaṣa, in the winter of 576/1180-1. 'All, surnamed al-Tawfi, capitulated and the Riyyāh pretended to submit. Only a small section of them, however, followed Yūsuf; the greater part remained in Ifrikiya, ready to support any attempt at revolt against the Almohads, and to lend assistance to Karāḡhish [q.v.] and the Banū Ghāniya [q.v.].

In the meantime, in the Iberian peninsula, an advance of Alfonso VIII towards Ecija and the taking of Santafila, near Lora del Río, coincided with a Portuguese invasion towards San Lucar la Mayor, Aznalcázar and Niebla, and with the revolt in the Anti-Atlas of the Banū Wawarziḡ, who occupied the silver mine of Zaḡundar. The caliph had to go in person to subdue the rebels, while Ibn Wawdūl led a *razzia* against Talavera. Finally Yūsuf, after undertaking the extension of Marrākuḡh to the southward and enlarging the walls during the summer of 579/1185—an enterprise continued later by his son, Ya'kūb, by the building of the imperial quarter of al-Sillā—decided, in spite of the discouraging example of Huete, to engage all his forces in a campaign designed to put a brake to the audacity of the Portuguese.

The preparations for the expedition and the concentration of the troops were very ample, but also took a long time. In May, Castile and León had concluded the peace of Fresno-Lavandera and engaged themselves to fight together against the Muslims—Ferdinand on his part renouncing his old alliance with the Almohads. Three months later, Yūsuf started collecting his troops. On 16 Rabī' I 580/27 June 1184, he appeared before Santarém (Zhanartun). The Portuguese had had about ten months to prepare the defence of the fortress, almost impregnable without a long siege. It cost the Almohads much trouble to take the suburb near the river, and at the end of a week's useless efforts and tenacious resistance, the approach of Ferdinand II with his Leonese spread terror in the Almohad army which, in panic, re-crossed the river. The caliph was mortally wounded when raising camp and died near Évora, on the road to Seville, on 18 Rabī' II 580/29 July 1184.

Abū Ya'kūb Yūsuf was considered as the most



gifted of the Almohad caliphs. The son of a Maṣnūnī woman—the daughter of the *khān* Ibn 'Imrān—and born in the heart of the Atlas, in Tlemcen, he was instructed in Marrākush in the doctrine of the *tawhīd*. Nevertheless, in spite of his Maghribī birth and education, his long stay in Seville, where he arrived at the age of seventeen years, made of him an Andalusian litterateur as refined as one of the *muḥall* al-*ṭawā'if*. Surrounded by famous philosophers, physicians and poets, he perfected his literary knowledge and developed his artistic taste. Seduced by the charms of Seville, he gave it back the title of capital of al-Andalus, which had been taken away by his father at the end of his reign, and endowed it with numerous monuments and public works. He took pleasure in taking part in the scientific meetings adorned by men like Ibn Tufayl, Ibn Raḡd and Ibn Zahr, who, encouraged by him, produced their most celebrated works.

At the same time, thanks to the terror with which his father had imposed his authority, this friend of scholarship was able to enjoy an absolute power in the Maghrib. Ifrikiya was still under his control and the dangerous enclave of Ibn Mardānīsh in Murcia disappeared. Yet in spite of appearances, the ceaseless war against the Christians in al-Andalus made manifest his incapacity as a military leader, the low morale of his enormous armies and the inefficiency of his commissariat. The small Christian states of the Peninsula, though divided by internal quarrels, could, in spite of their lack of men and resources, inflict on him the severest reverses. His urgent desire to pursue the *ghilāt* did not suffice to check the Christian drive, and led to his death before the Portuguese castle of Santarém.

**Bibliography:** Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughnī*, iv, transl. Huici, Tetuan 1953, 1-84; Marrākushī, *Ma'adhib* (Dory), 166 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Iḥṣār*, i, 318 ff.; Ibn Abī Zar, *Rawḍ al-Kirāt*, Fez, 130 ff.; al-*Ḥudāl al-Mawḡibiyya* (Alouché), 131, transl. Huici, 188; R. Dory, *Recherches*, i, 107, ii, 443-80; *Primeria Crónica General* (R. Menéndez Pidal), i, 675; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, 196-224; da Silva Taveira, *Crónicas dos sete primeiros reis de Portugal*, i, 99 ff. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

ABU L-YAKZAN MUHAMMAD B. AL-AFLAH (see BIṢṬĀMĪ).

ABŪ YA'KŪB AL-FARRĀ' [see Ibn AL-FARRĀ'].

ABŪ YAẒĪD (Bisaton) [Yazīd b. 'Aṣ]. b. Sūnḡān AL-BIṢṬĀMĪ, one of the most celebrated Islamic mystics. With the exception of short periods, during which he was obliged to live far from his home town owing to the hostility of orthodox theologians, he spent his life in Biṣṭām in the province of Kūmīs. There he died in 265/873 or 267/875-8. The Iḡhādī al-Jayṣi Muḥammad Khūdhūdā is reported to have had him done erected over his grave in the year 733/1333. He wrote nothing, but some five hundred of his sayings have been handed down. In part they are extremely daring and imply a state of mind in which the mystic has as experience of himself as of one merged with the deity and turned into God (*ayn al-dīqā'*). They were collected and handed down by his circle and people who visited him, in the first place by his disciple and attendant Abū Mūsā (I) 'Aṣ b. Adam, son of his elder brother Adam. When the celebrated ṣūfi of Baghdad, al-Dīnawarī, received sayings of this nature in Persian and translated them into Arabic (*Nūr*, 108, 109, 122). The chief traditionist from Abū Mūsā is his son Mūsā b.

'Aṣ, known as "Amūd", from whom the tradition was handed down by "the lesser Tayfūr" b. 'Aṣ, whose place in the family genealogy is not quite clear, and by other traditionists. Among the visitors who recorded sayings of Abū YaẒīd must be named in the first place Abū Mūsā (II) al-Dahlī, of Dahlī in Armenia (*Nūr*, 35) and Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Harawī, known as Iṣṭanba (Satanba), a pupil of Ibrāhīm b. Adham (*Hilya*, s, 43-4) and the celebrated ṣūfi Ahmad b. Khidrīya who visited him on the pilgrimage. Abū YaẒīd was a friend of Dhū l-Nūn al-Misrī. Dīnawarī wrote a commentary on his utterances, portions of which are preserved in al-Luma' of al-Sarrāḡ. The most circumstantial source on Abū YaẒīd's life and sayings is the *Kitāb al-Nūr fi Kalimat Abi Yazid Tayfur*, by Abu l-Faḡl Mub. b. 'Alī b. Ahmad b. al-Husayn b. Saḥl al-Sahlaḡ al-Bisṭāmī, born 389/998-9, died 476/984 (not quite satisfactory edition by 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, *Zuhd al-Sūfiyya*, I, Cairo 1949). Amongst al-Sahlaḡ's authorities the most important are: Abū 'Abd Allāh Mub. b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shīrāzī Ibn Bāḡhā, the celebrated biographer of al-Hallāḡ, died 442/1050, whom al-Sahlaḡ met in the year 419 or 416 (Nūr, 138) and Shāwḡb al-Maḡhribī Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bisṭāmī (Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Maḡhīb*, ch. xii). The al-Kawā'id edition of the 1560-Dīnawarī contains a legendary embellishment of Abū YaẒīd's "Journey to Heaven" (R. A. Nicholson, *An early Arabic version of the Mēraj of Abū YaẒīd al-Bisṭāmī*, in *Islamic*, 1926, 402-15).

Abū YaẒīd's teacher in *yūṣuf* was a mystic who was ignorant of Arabic, by name Abū 'Alī al-Sinnārī, whom he had to teach the Kur'ān verses necessary for prayer, but who in return introduced him to the *Unio Mystica*. It is not impossible that Indian influences may have affected Abū YaẒīd through him. Abū YaẒīd was, in contrast for instance with the later ṣūfis Abū Ishāq al-Kāzīmī and Abū Sa'īd b. Abī l-Khayr, a wholly introverted ṣūfi. He did not exercise, as they did, a social activity (*ghāmat al-fukarā'*), yet was ready to save humanity by vicarious suffering, from hell, even finds words to criticize the infernal punishment meted out to the damned, who are, after all, but a handful of dust. The "numinous" sense is extremely highly developed in him, together with a sense of horror and awe before the Deity, in whose presence he always felt himself an unbeliever, just about to lay aside the garb of the magicians (*ṣawā'id*). His passionate aspiration is aimed at absolutely fusing himself through systematic work upon himself "the wasmith of my own self": *ḥaddād naṣf*, of all obstacles separating him from God (*ghayb*), with the object of "attaining to Him". He describes this process in extremely interesting autobiographical sayings with partly grandiose images. The "world" (*dunyā*), "flight from the world" (*ṭawā'*), "worship of God" (*ibādāt*), nirvana (*ḥaqīqat*), *ghībr*, even the mystical stages (*maḥallāt*) are for him no more than so many barriers holding him from God. When he has finally shed his "I" in *fanā'* "as snakes their skin" and reached the desired stage, his changed self-consciousness is expressed in those famous hybrid utterances (*ghalāt*) which so scandalized and shocked his contemporaries: "Subḥānī Mā a'-ṣama ḡa'-ḡalī" "Glory be to me! How great is My majesty!" "Thy obedience to me is greater than my obedience to Thee"; "I am the throne and the footstool"; "I am the Well-preserved Tablet"; "I saw the Ka'ba walking round me"; and so on. In meditation he made flights into the supersensible

world; these earned him the censure that he claimed to have experienced a *ma'rāḡ* in the same way as the Prophet. He was in the course of them decorated by God with His Singulars (*muḥallāt*) and clothed with His "I-ness" (*anā'iyya*), but shrank from showing himself in that state to men; or flew with the wings of everlastingness (*daymūmiyya*) through the air of "no-quality" (*lā-hay'iyya*) to the ground of eternity (*azālīyya*) and saw the tree of "one-ness" (*ahādīyya*), to realise that "all that was illusion" or that it "was himself" who was all that, etc. In such utterances he appears to have reached the ultimate problem of all mysticism. A later legend makes him solve with ease conundrums put to him in a Christian monastery, thus effecting the wholesale conversion of the monastery to Islam.

**Bibliography:** Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, ed. Nicholson, 380-93 and indexes; Sulamī, *Tahakkūt al-Sūfiyya*, Cairo 1953, 67-74; Ansārī Harawī, *Tahakkūt al-Sūfiyya*, MS. Nāḡibī, Pasha 125, 384-418; Dīnawarī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, ed. Nassau Lees, 62 ff.; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-Awliyā'*, 2, 33-42; Kūshayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1318, 16-7; Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Maḡhīb*, ch. xi, no. 12; 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, *Shahādāt al-Sūfiyya*, I, Abū YaẒīd al-Bisṭāmī, Cairo 1949—contains the *Kitāb al-Nūr* of Sahlaḡ, the relevant excerpts from *Sibt b. al-Dīnawarī*, *al-Zamān*, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, the *Tahakkūt* of al-Sulamī and the legendary story about the monks. (This last is treated by A. J. Arberry, *A Bisṭāmī legend*, *JRAS* 1938, 89-91. It also exists in Turkish, MS Eyyūb Mühürhāh Sultān, 202 and 443; Fāṭh 5334; in Arabic, Fāṭh 5381.) Rūghāibī Baklī, *Sharḥ al-Shahādāt*, MS Shihād 'Alī Pasha 1342, 146-266; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṭayf al-Ḥabīb*, 164 ff.; 'Atīf, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, ed. Nicholson, 134 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, *Dulūk* 1275, I, 359; Nūr Allāh Shughart, *Maḡālis al-Mu'minin*, m. 6; Kh. Ansārī, *Rawḍ al-Dīnawarī*, 338-41; R. A. Nicholson, in *JRAS*, 1906, 325 ff.; L. Maassigson, *Essai... mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, 243-56. Much of his tomb in San'ī Tuḥuran 1307, i, 69-70; E. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Berlin 1917, 69.

(H. RITTER)

ABŪ YAẒĪD MAḤMAD B. KAYDĀD AL-NUKKĀRĪ, Kh. Arīḡidī leader (belonging to the Iḡhād al-Nukkārī [g.n.]), who by his revolt shook the Fāṭmīd realm in North Africa to its foundations. His father, a Zanāta Berber merchant (or Tūzar) in the district of Kastīliya, bought in Tadmakkāt a slave girl called Saḥība, who bore him Abū YaẒīd about 270/883 (apparently in the Sūdān). Abū YaẒīd studied the Iḡhādī *maḡhāb* and became a schoolmaster in Tāhārt. At the time of the victory of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shīrī he moved to Takrūt and started, in 316/928, his anti-government propaganda. After a first arrest, when he was, however, immediately released, he went to the Awrās mountain among the Hawwāra clan of the Banū Kamīlān, among whom he gained a large following (they remained to the end his staunchest supporters); the Nukkārī *imām* Abū 'Ammār al-A'mā' ceded to him the leadership. Abū YaẒīd was arrested in Tūzar, but Abū 'Ammār broke into the prison and liberated him. He spent a year in the district of Sumṣīra, after which he returned to the Awrās.

In 317/931 he started his revolt. He took Tabassa and Marmāḡianna (where he received as a present his favourite riding donkey, whence his surname *shūb al-himār*), al-Urbus (Taribus; 15 Dhū l-Hijja

332), Bāḡja (13 Muharram 333), and entered al-Kayrawān on 23 Safar, executing the Fāṭmīd commander 'Izzat b. Iḡhād and the *khāṭ* of the city. The Sumāḡ of al-Kayrawān were at first not unsympathetic to one who, though a heretic himself, liberated them from Fāṭmīd rule (for the attitude of the Mālikī *fukahā'* cf. Abū Bakr al-Mālikī, *Riyāḡ al-Nufūs*, analyzed by H. R. Idris, in *REI*, 1936, 80-7; Abu l-'Arab, ed. Ben Cheneb (*Clés des Savants de l'Ifrīqiya*), introd., viii f., xvii); but the execution of the Berbers alienated them more and more. On the other hand the stricter sectarians became not a little dissatisfied when they saw their leader abandon his former simple habits, wear silken garments and mount a thoroughbred horse.

Leaving his son Faḡl and Abū 'Ammār in al-Kayrawān, Abū YaẒīd engaged and defeated, on 12 Raḡb I, the Fāṭmīd general Maṣṣūr (whom he killed) and approached al-Mahdiyya. After an attempt to take the city by storm (3 Dhuḡdā II), during which he reached the *muṣallā* (according to a celebrated Fāṭmīd legend, it had been foretold by al-Mahdī that a future, very dangerous, rebel would reach that *muṣallā*, but would not get farther), he laid siege to it. After repeated attempts throughout Dhuḡdā II, Raḡjāb and Shāwḡl to storm the city, and after counterattacks by the besieged in Dhū l-Kāḡa 333 and Safar 334, Abū YaẒīd withdrew to al-Kayrawān. He made repentance for his luxury and returned to his former simple life; and so the Berbers again flocked to his standard. Heavy fighting went on round Tūnis (which changed hands several times) and Bāḡja; in Raḡb II Ayyūb, a son of Abū YaẒīd, was seriously defeated by the Fāṭmīd general al-Hasan b. 'Alī but soon took his revenge. Al-Hasan retired to the Kutāma country, and established himself firmly (taking Tāḡma and Bāḡhā) in the rear of Abū YaẒīd. On 6 Dhuḡdā II Abū YaẒīd laid siege to Sūsa. Al-Kā'im died on 23 Shawḡl, and a small cavalry detachment sent out from al-Mahdiyya by his successor, al-Manṣūr, succeeded in routing Abū YaẒīd before Sūsa (21 Shawḡl, so that he hastily returned to al-Kayrawān. In the meantime, the populace of al-Kayrawān had risen against Abū 'Ammār and now excluded Abū YaẒīd from the city. Al-Manṣūr entered al-Kayrawān on 23 Shawḡl; after several futile attacks on the Fāṭmīd army entrenched in the city (Dhū l-Kāḡa 334, Muharram 335) and after a heavy battle on 23 Muharram, Abū YaẒīd withdrew towards the west. Al-Hasan b. 'Alī moved against some of the remaining garrisons of Abū YaẒīd (such as that in Bāḡja) and joined the army of al-Manṣūr. The fleet of the Umayyad admiral Ibn Rumāḡis, which was on its way to Ifrikiya, turned back on the news of Abū YaẒīd's rout. (For the embassies of Abū YaẒīd to 'Abd al-Rahmān III, cf. also Ibn 'Idhārī, ii, 248 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. med.*, ii, 103-4.)

Abū YaẒīd fled westwards, al-Manṣūr close on his heels. Al-Manṣūr left al-Kayrawān on 26 Raḡb I, reached (via Saḥība and Marmāḡianna) Bāḡhāya, and from there pursued Abū YaẒīd to Billuzna, Tubna and Biakra (which he reached on 3 Dhuḡdā II). From there he returned to Tubna, defeated Abū YaẒīd near Makḡara (12 Dhuḡdā II) and entered al-Mahdiyya. Abū YaẒīd fled to Dhabal Sūḡā, when al-Manṣūr searching for him in vain in that wild country, went westwards to the Shūḡhāja country. Abū YaẒīd, in the rear of al-Manṣūr, besieged al-Masla. Al-Manṣūr returned and entered al-Masla on 3 Raḡjāb, on which Abū YaẒīd took refuge in the mountains of 'Akkr and Kiyāna. Leaving al-



Masla on 10 Šahān, al-Manṣūr defeated Abū Yazid in a heavy battle; in Ramaḍān, he again defeated Abū Yazid, who retired to the fortress of Kīyāna (overlooking what was later to be Kal'at Banī Hammād). On 2 Shawwāl al-Manṣūr besieged the fortress, which was entered on 20 Muharram 330; at night, the last remaining warriors carried Abū Yazid and Abū 'Annār from the citadel. Abū 'Annār was killed, while Abū Yazid had a fall and was captured. The curious conversation that passed between al-Manṣūr and his captive has been recorded. Abū Yazid died of his wounds in 27 Muharram/19 August 947. His body, stuffed with straw, was exposed to the insults of the mob in al-Mahdiyya. Fadl, the son of Abū Yazid, gave some further trouble in the Awrāṣ and the district of Kafsa, till he was defeated and killed in Dhū 'l-Ka'da 336. Other sons of Abū Yazid found a shelter at the court of the Umayyads in Cordova.

**Bibliography:** The main source is a contemporary Fātimid chronicle of which the substance has been preserved in Idris 'Imīd al-Dīn, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, second half of vol. v. The same chronicle was used by Ibn al-Rāṣik in his lost history of Ifrīqiya. The whole account of Ibn Hammād (Vanderleyden), 18 ff., is no doubt taken from Ibn al-Rāṣik. Ibn Shaddād, in his lost history of al-Kayrawān, also no doubt copied from Ibn al-Rāṣik, while Ibn al-Aṣṣī's account, viii, 315 ff., still seems recognizable as an abridgement of the Fātimid chronicle, evidently goes back to Ibn Shaddād. The passages in Ṭiqṣ al-Riḥla, Tunis 1927, 17, 18-9, 20-1, 232-5 (transl. in *JA*, 1852, 96 ff., 101 ff., 106 ff., 1953, 363 ff.) are taken from Ibn al-Rāṣik.—Further references: Abū Zakariyyā<sup>3</sup> (*Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, transl. Masqueray), Algiers 1879, 226 ff.; Ibn 'Udhayr, *al-Bayān al-Magrib* (Cohn and Lévi-Provençal), I, 316 (quotes Ibn Hammād—6th/12th century, not identical with the Ibn Hammād quoted above—Ibn Sa'dūn and Ibn al-Rāṣik); Makrīfī, *Inṣāf* (Buzas), while mainly deriving from Ibn al-Aṣṣī, has some additional notes (55, 56-7).—Cf. also G. Marçais, *La Berbérie d'Orient*, 147-53; R. Le Tourneau, *La révolte d'Abū Yazid, Cahiers de Tunisie*, 1953, 103-125. (S. M. STUART)

**ABŪ YŪSUF** YA'KŪB b. Ibrāhīm al-Aṣṣāḥī AL-Kaṣrī, a prominent religious lawyer, one of the founders of the Hanafī [q.v.] school of law, Abū Yūsuf was of pure Arab extraction; his ancestor, Sa'd b. Habiba, was a youth in Medina in the time of the Prophet. (For details of his genealogy, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, xiv, 241.) His date of birth, reckoned backwards from the date of his death, is rather arbitrarily given as 713. According to an anecdote, the several versions of which are mutually contradictory, he was a poor boy, was helped by his teacher Abū Hanīfa [q.v.] who recognized his worth, and achieved success beyond every expectation. All we know is that he studied religious law and traditions in Kūfa and in Medina, under Abū Hanīfa, Mālik b. Anas, al-Layth b. Sa'd and others (as reasonably complete and authentic list of his teachers is given by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, xiv, 242), and lived in Kūfa until he was appointed *ḥakīm* in Baghḍād; he held this office until his death in 182/798. He is reported to have visited Basra in 176 and in 186. It is not certain whether he was appointed by al-Mahdī, al-Ḥadi, or Hārūn al-Raḡhī. According to a story which al-Tanūkhī (ed. 184) heard from his father (Nighār al-Mashāra, 123 ff.), Abū Yūsuf was able to assure on a point of religious

law an officer who rewarded him generously and later had occasion to recommend him to the caliph Hārūn. As he succeeded in giving a satisfactory opinion to the caliph too, the caliph drew him near to his person and finally appointed him *ḥakīm*. This version has a certain inner probability, but cannot for that reason alone be regarded as authentic. It is certain, however, that by his practical sense he soon became friendly with, and even made himself indispensable to, Hārūn al-Raḡhī. By exaggerating this achievement, both his friends and his detractors made him into the prototype of the unprincipled lawyer who would find an easy way out of any legal difficulty for his clients and for himself. The existence of his *Kaṭīb al-Hiṣāl* and the misunderstandings of the serious legal purpose underlying it, could not fail to reinforce that misconception. (Cf. Schacht, in *JA*, 1926, 317.) Al-Raḡhī conferred upon him the title of Grand Cadi or *ḥakīm 'l-ḥudūd* for the first time in Islam. This was then merely an honorific title given to the *ḥakīm* of the capital, but the caliph not only associated Abū Yūsuf on the administration of Muhammadan justice, on financial policy, and on similar questions, but on the appointment of other *ḥakīms* in the empire.

His son Yūsuf became a *ḥakīm* during the lifetime of his father, as his substitute for the western side of Baghḍād; he died in 192. His most prominent disciple was al-Shaybānī [q.v.].

The literary output of Abū Yūsuf must have been considerable. The *Fihrist* mentions a list of titles of works which, with one exception, have not survived. The exception is the *Kaṭīb al-Ḥarāḡ*, a treatise on public finance, taxation, criminal justice, and kindred subjects, which Abū Yūsuf wrote at the request of Hārūn al-Raḡhī (editio princeps of the Arabic text, Būlak 1302; French transl. by E. Fagnan, Paris 1921). These further works which are undoubtedly genuine, though they do not appear in the ancient bibliography of Abū Yūsuf, have been preserved: the *Kaṭīb al-Aḥqār*, a collection of the Kūfian traditions that Abū Yūsuf transmitted (Cairo 1335), the *Kaṭīb Ṭiḥāṣ al-Ḥanīfa wa-Ibn Abī Laylā*, a comparison of the opinions of the two authorities of Kūfa mentioned in the title (Cairo 1337), also al-Sīṭa, *Kaṭīb al-Ḥanīfa*, vii, 87-105, and the *Kaṭīb al-Radd 'alā Siyar al-Awṣā'*, a reasoned refutation, with broad systematic developments, of the opinions of the Syrian scholar al-Awā'ī on the law of war (Cairo, n.d.; also in al-Shāhīdī, *ibid.*, 303-36). The *Fihrist* mentions at least two titles of the same comparative and polemical kind: the *Kaṭīb Ṭiḥāṣ al-Awṣā'* and the *Kaṭīb al-Radd 'alā Mālik al-Hiṣāl* (Book of legal devices) were incorporated by his disciple al-Shaybānī in his *Kaṭīb al-Maḥbūrī* (ed. Schacht, Leipzig 1930). Several statements on principles and methods in his polemical treatises (e.g. *Kaṭīb al-Radd 'alā Siyar al-Awṣā'*, par. 5) show Abū Yūsuf's interest in legal theory (cf. *Fihrist*, 203,); but, contrary to what is sometimes affirmed, he did not write special works on the subject.

The doctrine of Abū Yūsuf, on the whole, presupposes the doctrine of Abū Hanīfa, whom he regarded as his master. The points on which Abū Yūsuf diverged from him are therefore more relevant for appreciating Abū Yūsuf's own legal thought than those on which both are in agreement. The most prominent peculiarity of Abū Yūsuf's doctrine is that he is more dependent on traditions than his master, because there were more authoritative

traditions from the Prophet in existence in his time. Secondly, the doctrine of Abū Yūsuf often represents a reaction against Abū Hanīfa's somewhat unstrained reasoning; but Abū Yūsuf was by no means consistent, and in a certain number of cases he abandoned, by diverging from Abū Hanīfa, the sounder or more highly developed doctrine. Thirdly, we can discern in Abū Yūsuf's legal thought certain favourite processes of reasoning, such as the *reductio ad absurdum*, and a habit of rather acrimonious polemics. Finally, a remarkable feature of Abū Yūsuf's doctrine is the frequency with which he changed his opinions, not always for the better. Sometimes the contemporary sources state directly, and in other cases it is probable, that Abū Yūsuf's experience as a judge caused him to change his opinion. Abū Yūsuf represents the beginning of the process by which the ancient school of the 'Irakians of Kūfa was replaced by that of the followers of Abū Hanīfa.

**Bibliography:** *Fihrist*, 203; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, *Ta'riḥ Baghḍād*, xiv, 242 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 834 (trans. de Slane, iv, 272 ff.); al-Ya'qūbī, *Muṣṣaf al-Djānān*, i, 382 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-Nihāya*, x, 180 ff.; Ahmad Amlū, *Dhikr 'l-Idm*, ii, 198 ff.; Muhammad Zāhid al-Kawthar, *Bayan al-Taḥḍīb*, Cairo 1948; K. Kulrāb, in *JA*, iv, 59, 1; J. Schacht, *The Origin of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950; Brockelmann, I, 177, S. 1, 288.

**ABŪ YŪSUF YA'KŪB b. YŪSUF b. 'ADD AL-MU'AMIN AL-MANṢŪR**, third ruler of the Mu'aminid (Almohad) dynasty reigned 580-95/1189-99. On the death of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf before Santarém on 18 Rabi' II 580/29 July 1184, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, bringing back the body of his father, reached Seville, where he was proclaimed on 1 Rujmād II 1190 August. He hastened to Marrākūsh, took the title of *amir al-mu'minin*, issued several severe financial edicts and demanded from his subjects the strictest orthodoxy. He attempted for some time to administer justice himself at public audiences and satisfied his passion for construction by endowing his empire with important buildings. Enraged the Almoravid Dār al-Badjar, where his father and grandfather had lived, too cramped, he built the suburb of al-Sāḫba, in order to take up his own residence there. But scarcely had he begun this enterprise when he received news of the landing of the Almoravid Banū Ghāniya [q.v.] in Bidjāya (Rougie).

As soon as the news of the disaster of Santarém reached Majorca, the Banū Ghāniya, rejecting the Almohad offers for submission and encouraged by the partisans of the Hammūlids in Bidjāya, fitted out a squadron which took Bidjāya on 19 Safar 581/22 May 1185. 'Alī b. Ghāniya, profiting from the disorganization caused by the capture of Bidjāya, also took Algiers, Miliana, Aghir and Kal'at Banī Hammād. The reaction of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb was instantaneous. An army, assisted by the naval squadron of Ceuta, recaptured in the spring of 582/1186 Algiers, Bidjāya and the other places that had passed into the possession of the Almoravids, and marched against 'Alī b. Ghāniya, then besieging Constantine. The Almoravid leader, abandoning the siege, retired hastily towards the Džarid. There he took Tūzar and Kafsa (Gafsa) and made an alliance with Karākūsh [q.v.] in Tripoli. Thus only Tunis and al-Mahdiyya remained in the hands of the Almohads in Ifrīqiya. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, in these circumstances, decided to lead a great expedition to the east. He marched to Tunis and from there sent

against the rebels and their allies a strong force, which was, however, defeated on 15 Rabi' II 583/22 June 1185 in the plain of 'Umra, near Kafsa. The Almohad caliph took his revenge for this reverse three months later, at al-Hamma (9 Šahān/14 Oct.). The whole south of Ifrīqiya was again subjected to Almohad domination and the sovereign returned to the west, reaching Tlemcen. Soon, however, the troubles broke out again in Ifrīqiya, in spite of the death of 'Alī b. Ghāniya, which occurred shortly afterwards. Ya'qūb b. Ghāniya, brother of 'Alī, was able to sustain, with uncommon energy and ability, the struggle against the Almohad empire for almost another half-century, causing it grave anxieties.

On the other hand, it was time for Abū Yūsuf to turn his attention to the Iberian Peninsula, which he had left five years before, and to check the attacks of the Portuguese and the Castilians. While the Mu'aminid ruler was making his preparations, Sancho I, with the help of strong Crusader contingents on their way to Palestine, laid siege to Silves (Šibū), on the south coast. After a siege of three months, the place was taken on 20 Rujāb 583/5 Sept. 1189. At the same time, the king of Castile had taken the field against the Almohad possessions and attacked Magaera, Reina, Alcalá de Guadaira and Calasparra. In 586/1190 Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb took the counter-offensive. He imposed an armistice on the Castilians and Loaneze, and then attacked the Portuguese fortresses of Torres Novas and Tomar, to the north of Santarém, while another army besieged Silves. Torres Novas, unable to resist, had to capitulate, but Tomar, defended by the Templars, resisted and the garrison made vigorous sallies. Lack of food and an epidemic that broke out in the Almohad camp forced the caliph to raise the siege of both Tomar and Silves. Next year, the caliph again led an expedition in the same direction. After storming several fortresses to the south of the Tagus, such as Alcazar de Sol, Palmella and Almada, he captured Silves by surprise on 25 Rujmād II 587/10 July 1191.

In 589/1193, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, who had supervised personally the works undertaken in Rabat, ordered the construction of the fortress of Hiss al-Faraj (Alfarache) near Seville, on the highest and narrowest part of the Ajarafe (al-Ḥarāf); it was thereafter celebrated by the poets in a great quantity of verses. Shortly afterwards, however, he had to organize a new expedition against Christian Spain, as the armistice signed in 1190 had expired and Alfonso VIII boldly attacked the region of Seville. Abū Yūsuf had again to cross the Straits and make for Seville, whence he departed, without loss of time, via Cordova, for the col of Muradal, to meet the army of Alfonso VIII. On 8 Šahān 591/18 July 1195, took place the famous battle of Alarcos (al-Arak [q.v.]), where the Castilians were severely defeated. The Almohads captured five strongholds situated in the region of the Campo de Calatrava. On his return to Seville, the sovereign took, to mark his victory, the honorific title of al-Manṣūr 'l-Ḥiṣṣān.

Next spring, Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, eager to exploit his victory, took Montánchez, Trujillo and Santa Cruz and devastated, in the valley of the Tagus, the region of Talavera. He pushed even as far as the Vega of Toledo and laid waste its vineyards and orchards. Another expedition next year led him without success as far as Madrid, [which was defended by Diego Lopez de Haro], Alcalá de Henares and Guadalupe.



On his return to Marrākuḥ, worn out by illness, he appointed his son Muḥammad as his heir and retired from public life, to spend his time in devotional exercises and pious works, such as the foundation of a magnificent hospital and distributions of alms. He obliged the Jews to wear a special sign to distinguish them from the Muslims. During the last days of his life he was assailed by remorse for having ordered the execution of some of his closest relations. He assembled in his palace in al-Šūbā the Almohad *shaykhs* and the members of his family and informed them of his last wishes. It seems that the date of his death can be fixed with certainty on 22 Rabi' I 595/23 Jan. 1199.

The reign of Ya'kub al-Manšur marks the apogee of the Almohad empire. His energetic character, the care and rigour with which he supervised the administration of his dominions and his personal courage made it possible for him to defeat all his enemies, in Ifrīqiya as well as in Spain, to raise the moral of his armies and to pass into the memory of posterity surrounded by an aureole of legend. His magnificent constructions in the imperial suburb of al-Šūbā and the mosque at the Montjuïc in Barcelona (*al-Kawṣayyā*) in Marrākuḥ, with its splendid minaret, the Giralda of Seville and the ensemble of the mosque of Hassan in Rabat show that he was the glorious continuator of the monumental work undertaken by his father and grandfather. His riches, the splendour of his court, his desire to be surrounded by scholars, his success in the holy war, have blinded his admirers and prevented them from observing the germs of decomposition hidden behind such a brilliant façade. In al-Andalus, in spite of his success in Portugal and Castile, he could hardly contain the Christian drive, while in Ifrīqiya the Arabo-Majorcan revolt, stifled but always reviving, opened in the flank of the empire the deep wound which soon drained it of all force and energy. When the vigour and the skill of Ya'kub al-Manšur were no longer at the helm of the Almohad ship of state, it was inevitable that it should run aground on the rocks and sink, during the reign of his successors, children or youths, who were, for most of the time, to show a total lack of ability.

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(A. HUCIT MIRANDA)  
**ABD ZABI** (commonly written *Abd Zhab*), a town (54° 22' E. long., 24° 29' N. lat.) and *shaykhdom* on the Trucial Coast of Arabia. The population of the town, the only settlement of any size in the *shaykhdom*, is several thousand. The most prominent structure is the ruler's fortresslike palace.

The town is said to have been founded about 1274-5/764 by Banī Yās [g.s.], a tribe then ranging in the interior of al-Zaḥra [g.s.]. No evidence points

to any earlier settlement on the site, which lies on the seaward side of a triangular island separated from the mainland by a narrow ford (al-Makṭa'). The island is relatively secure from attacks by land and has a partially protected harbour for small craft, but the supply of drinking water is poor.

The chiefs of Banī Yās continued to reside in the interior until the accession of Shaḡhbūt b. Iḡhlāl, father of Abū Fāḡh, the ruler of *zab*, about 1209-19/795. About 1214-5/1208 the Wahhābīs of Naḡdī first appeared along the coast, but they developed close ties with the Kawkīm and the people of al-Buraym rather than with Abū Zabi. Banī Yās do not appear to have come under Wahhābī influence until the accession of Khālifa b. Shaḡhbūt in 1248/835.

Shaḡhbūt signed the General Treaty of Peace sponsored by the British in 1255/1820 following the British expedition against Ra's al-Khayma [g.s.]. In 1251/1835 Abū Zabi adhered to the first Maritime Truce, from which the Trucial Coast takes its name (cf. BAHR FĀRIS). An Exclusive Agreement in 1309/1892 gave Great Britain special rights in Abū Zabi, which like the other Trucial States is considered to be independent while under British protection. In 1357/1939 the Shaḡh of Abū Zabi granted an oil concession for 75 years which is operated by Petroleum Development (Trucial Coast) Ltd., an Iraq Petroleum Company associate; in 1372/1952 oil had not yet been found. Offshore drilling rights are held by other interests.

Zayd b. Khālifa (d. 1268/1908) during his reign of 33 years made Abū Zabi the leading power on the Trucial Coast, but during the successive reigns of his four sons Abū Zabi was surpassed in importance by al-Shārika [g.s.] and Duḡayr [g.s.], which developed more rapidly their relations with the modern world. The present ruler (1952) of Abū Zabi is Shaḡhbūt b. Sulṭān (acc. 1346/1928), a grandson of Zayd.

Abū Zabi is by far the largest of the Trucial States, though most of its boundaries in the interior remain undefined. It claims a common land boundary with Katar in the vicinity of al-'Udayd [g.s.] and extensive territory in al-Zaḥra, where members of Banī Yās still reside in some of the tiny villages of al-Dijās. Several villages of al-Buraym belong to Abū Fāḡh. Banī Yās are settled on some of the islands in the Gulf between the Trucial Coast and Katar, and they visit others while engaged in pearling, fishing, and gathering firewood. Abū Fāḡh are on friendly terms with many of the beduins of the hinterland, though in recent years the once firm connections with the Manāḡir [g.s.] have grown weaker. (G. REAGAN)

**ABD ZAKARIYYA' AL-DJANĀWUNI**, Yawvā b. al-Khāyā, Ibāḡī scholar from the Djabal Nafūsa. He was a native of Djanāwun (modern Djennouen, near Djaḡo, in the eastern part of the Djabal Nafūsa; cf. J. Despois, *La Djebel Nefusa*, Paris 1935, 213 and passim). Al-Shammākhī mentions him amongst the personages of the 6th/12th century. He was the grandson of another Ibāḡī scholar from the Djabal Nafūsa, Abū 'Iḡhār Tūzin al-Djanāwunī, contemporary of the *shaykh* Abū 'Iḡhār Tūzin al-Zawāḡhī. As the latter lived under the reign of the Zīrid al-Mu'izz b. Bāḡis (406-54/1016-62; see al-Shammākhī, *al-Siyar*, 335-9), Abū Zakariyya' can probably be assigned to the first half of the 6th/12th century. He studied under the *shaykh* Abū 'Iḡhār Sulaymān b. Abū Hārīn in the mosque of Ibāḡīs (Djabal Nafūsa) and became

famous in Ibāḡī literature by the breadth of his learning and by his works, mainly on jurisprudence. Al-Barrādī quotes in his catalogue of Ibāḡī books, written shortly after 775/1373-4, a work by Abū Zakariyya', without giving its title. According to him the work contained seven parts, on fasting, marriage and divorce, testaments, salaries, judgments, preemption and security. The *K. al-Sawm*, on fasting, has been autographed in Cairo, 1310, and the *K. al-Nikāh*, about marriage and divorce, has been autographed in Egypt, with a marginal gloss by Muḥammad Abū Sitta al-Kaḡhī; the other parts are unpublished. Abū Zakariyya' wrote also *al-Lam'* (or *al-Waḡd'*), printed in Cairo (with a marginal gloss by Muḥammad Abū Sitta al-Kaḡhī) in 1305. It deals with dogmatics (1-116) and ritual law: ablutions, purification, prayer, alms, pilgrimage, etc. (117-592).

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**ABD ZAKARIYYA' AL-WARDILĀNĪ**, Yawvā b. Abī Bakr, historian of the Ibāḡīs of the Maḡrib. The Ibāḡī chroniclers al-Darḡinī (7th/13th century) and al-Shammākhī (d. 628/1522) who took the chronicle of Abū Zakariyya' as the basis for their own works, give but scanty details about him and do not indicate the date either of his birth or of his death. From al-Darḡinī it is known at least that he was a native of Wardilān (Ouargla) and that he studied in the Wādī Righ (Oued Righ) under the Ibāḡī *shaykh* Abū 'Iḡhār Sulaymān b. Iḡhlāl al-Maḡdī (d. 471/1078-9). Thus the chronicle of Abū Zakariyya' must have been written at the end of the 5th/11th or the beginning of the 6th/12th century. According to an Ibāḡī tradition of Wardilān, Abū Zakariyya' died and was buried in that place, or perhaps in the neighbouring oasis of Sadrāta.

The chronicle of Abū Zakariyya', *al-Sira wa-Aḡḡār al-A'mma*, is the oldest document concerning the history of the Ibāḡīs in the Maḡrib written by a member of the sect. It contains important information on the introduction and the development of the Ibāḡī doctrine in the Maḡrib and the history of the Rustamids, their fall, the struggle of the Ibāḡīs against the Fāṭimids, as well as on the lives of the famous *shaykhs* of the community up to the time of the author. The work, not yet published, consists of two parts; the not very numerous manuscripts are generally modern; those especially of the second part are rare and very faulty. The most important part has been translated by E. Maqarraqy (*Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878) in a rather mediocre way, after a very bad manuscript. A table of contents has been given by A. de Motylinski.

According to al-Barrādī's catalogue of Ibāḡī works (8th/14th century) Abū Zakariyya' was also the author of letters and decisions on dogmatic theology.

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**ABD ZAKARIYYA' b. KHALDŪN** [see 188 KHALDŪN].

**ABD ZAYD**, legendary hero of the Banū Hīlāl. In the cycle of romances relating to the Banū Hīlāl he is represented as the son of Rizk, ruler of the Djabal al-Sawr, and Khadrā', daughter of the *ghorif* of Mecca. He was black-skinned and his original name was Barakāt. After various adventures in Arabia Abū Zayd goes with his people to the Maḡrib; there he is treacherously murdered by the other chief figure in the romances, Diyāl (or Dhī'āb), but is avenged in turn by the killing of Diyāl. No documentary evidence has yet been found to determine whether Abū Zayd was a historical personage.—For details and bibliography, see MILA.

**ABD ZAYD AL-ANŠĀRĪ**, Sa'īd b. Aws, Arab grammarian and lexicographer of the school of Basra. He belonged to the Medina tribe of Khazraj. A pupil of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alī [g.s.], he was one of the few Basrians who went to Kūfa, where he collected, from al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī [g.s.] the greater part of the poetic material which he used in his *K. al-Nawādir*. He was invited by al-Mahdī to come to Baghdad and died in 214 or 215/830-1. A contemporary of Abū 'Ubayda and al-Aṣma', he was considered superior to them in grammar, but of his numerous treatises only two have survived: *K. al-Maṭar*, a collection of Arabic expressions concerning rain (ed. R. Gotthelf, JAOS, xvi, 282-312; ed. L. Cheikh, Maḡh., 1905) and *al-Nawādir al-Lughā*, a collection of rare poems and phrases. This work was handed down by his pupils Abū Ḥatīm al-Šajjastānī and Abū 'Iḡhār al-Akhḡāḡ; it has been published by S. Shārtānī, Beirut 1894. 'Alī b. Hamza al-Baḡdī wrote *al-Tanbīh 'alā Aḡḡād al-Zayd fī Nawādir* (ed. al-Baḡhdādī, Khināna, iv, 39; Th. Nöldeke, in ZDMG, 1895, 318 ff.; H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii, 471 ff.).

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**ABD ZAYD** [see al-Baḡdādī].

**ABD ZAYYĀN** [see al-Baḡdādī].  
**ABD ZAYYĀN I** MUḤAMMAD b. Abī Sa'īd 'Uṭmān b. Yaḡmūḡrasān, third sovereign of the 'Abd al-Wāḡid dynasty. Proclaimed in Tiemen on 2 Dhū 'l-Ka'da 703/6 June 1304, he succeeded in having the siege of his capital by the Marīnid troops raised. He then chastised the tribes in the eastern part of his kingdom who had supported the enemy; the Yūdīn Berbers were forced to submit and pay tribute, the Arab tribes were severely treated and driven back into the desert. On his return to Tiemen, he devoted himself to repairing the damage caused by the siege, but died shortly afterwards, on 21 Shawwāl 707/14 April 1308.

**Bibliography:** see 'ABD AL-WĀḢID.

(A. COUGÉ)  
**ABD ZAYYĀN II** MUḤAMMAD b. Abī Ḥamūḡ II, sovereign of the 'Abd al-Wāḡid dynasty. During the lifetime of his father he was governor of Algiers and tried in vain, on his father's death, to seize power. He took refuge with the Marīnid sultan Abū 'Iḡhār Ahmad, who led an expedition against Tiemen and made it possible for Abū Zayyān to be proclaimed in Muḡharraz 796/Nov.-Dec. 1393. He remained a faithful vassal of the Marīnids. A patron of men of letters and poets, he was assas-



minated in 803/1398 after being driven from the throne by his brother Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh. *Bibliography*: see 'ABD AL-WĀḤID.

(A. COOK ?)

**ABŪ ZAYYĀN III** ABMAH B. ABĪ MUHAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀH, second last 'Abd al-Wāḥid ruler of Tiemmen. Thanks to the support of the Turks of Algiers he seized the power and was proclaimed in 947/1540. The Spaniards of Oran who supported his brother Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad undertook an expedition against Tiemmen, which failed (949/1543). After a second, victorious expedition, the Spaniards made it possible for Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad to seize the power (30 Dhū'l-Ka'da 949/7 March 1543), but he was soon driven out by his own subjects, who restored Abū Zayyān to the throne. He declared himself a vassal of the Turks and reigned until his death in 957/1550.

*Bibliography*: Marmel Caravajal, *Description Générale de l'Algérie* (Fr. transl. by Perrot d'Abancourt), Paris 1667, II, 345 ff.; Huet, *Épique des rois de l'Algérie* (Fr. transl. by Grammont, in *Kāfir*, xxi, 171 ff.; Fey, *Hist. d'Oran*, 85 f.; Sander-Rang and Denis, *Fondation de la régence d'Alger*, Paris 1873; Barges, *Complément de l'Histoire des Beni Zayyan*, 449 ff.; Ruff, *Domination espagnole en Oran sous le gouvernement du comte d'Alcaudete*, Paris 1900, 90 ff.; Jour, *L'Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc*, Paris 1900, 84 f.

(A. COOK ?)

**ABŪ ZAYYĀN** [see MARINIDS].

**ABŪ ZIYĀ TAWFIK BEY** [see TAWFIK BEY].

**ABU'AM** [see ZĀFĀLLĀT].

**ABUBACER** [see IBN TUFAYL].

**ABŪKĪR**, or BŪKĪR, small town on the Mediterranean coast, 15 m. east of Alexandria, on the railway which links this town with Rosetta (Raghdī). The earliest Arab geographer to describe the position of Abūkir was al-Idrīsī. But before him Arab texts on Ancient Egypt refer to the building of a light-house; and European travellers certainly mentioned, on this route, towers intended to serve as landmarks. Eutychius tells of the passage to Abūkir of the relieving fleet which had been summoned from Tarsus to protect Egypt against the Fūtimids. Abū Faḡha Mubārak, according to a source that has not been traced, relates that European pirates raided Abūkir on 27 Shā'ban 764/11 June 1361, and carried off about sixty inhabitants, who were put up for sale at Sidon. It was the period of Bonaparte's expedition that made Abūkir famous, by Nelson's naval victory on 1 August 1798 and the extermination of the Turkish army on 25 July 1799. At Abūkir, on 8 March 1801, disembarked the English army which was to end the French occupation; and, finally, Abūkir was again an English operational base in March 1807. There was an excellent anchorage and good shelter at Abūkir at that time, but the village itself was miserable.

Amfelineau erroneously believed that he had found the name Abūkir in the *Jacobi Synaxary*; the reference there is to a church in Old Cairo, dedicated to Apa Kyros.

Étienne Combe has studied at length the problem of the Alexandria-Rosetta route, as well as of the lakes along the coast, and has provided a rich bibliography of Arab writers and European travellers. In this work will be found the various transcriptions of the name of the locality, and the monotonous description of a somewhat difficult journey: a sandy region had to be crossed, uncultivated and unin-

habited, with only a few palm-trees here and there to enliven the prospect. The three lakes, from west to east, bore the names Maryūt, Abūkir and Atkū. The only account of the lake of Abūkir which is at all detailed in the South of al-Kalbiyah, but he refers to the property of the region as a thing of the past. Some few birds lived on the shores of the lake, whose waters teemed with fish. The mullet (*bār*) which was caught there formed part of the food supply of Alexandria. On the banks were some large salinas, whose product was exported to Europe.

A strong causeway, often reinforced, separated the lake of Abūkir from Lake Maryūt; the Mahmūdīya canal and the railway from Cairo to Alexandria were built along this. Since 1887 the lake of Abūkir has been drained and the land cultivated.

*Bibliography*: Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (Torrey), 40; Eutychius, II, 81; Makrīzī, *Ḥikāḥ*, MIFAQ, xlv, 82; Synaxaire, *Patrologia orientalis*, III, 404; Amfelineau, *Géographie*, 6, 379, 381; Monnet de Villard, in *Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Égypte*, xii, 74, 76; E. Combe, *Alexandrie musulmane*, *Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Égypte*, xv, 201, 238; xvi, 111-71, 269-92; Dehérain, *L'Égypte turque*, *Hist. de la nation égyptienne*, v, 275, 377, 281-285, 435, 440, 445, 518-519, pl. 41; Durand-Viel, *Les cartes géographiques de Mohammed Ali*, I, 49, 63, 65, pl. 3, xi, xlii, xlii.

Other places of no importance in Egypt have the same name.

Worthy of mention, however, is the gorge of the Bōkīr (Bōkīrān—Bōkīrāt), in the Djabal al-Tayr (Mountains of the Birds), in Middle Egypt, north of Minya. The Arab authors associate a curious legend with this locality. The mountain is visited, on a given day each year, the meeting-place of the birds called *bōkīr*. They put their heads into a cleft in the mountain, which closed on one of them: that bird remained suspended and died there.

*Bibliography*: J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, MIFAQ, xxvii, 64-66.

**ABUKLEA**, misspelling for Abū Talūḡ, so called after the *palū* tree (*Acacia seyal*), the name of a well-centre on the road through the Bayḍā desert which, avoiding the Nile bend of Abū Hamad, leads from Korti (Kurti) south of Dongola to al-Metamma, a distance of 192 miles. The place is famous as the scene of a battle fought on 17 Jan. 1885 between the *dawād* forces of Muhammad Ahmad (g.s.) and a "desert column" of some 1800 British troops who were advancing from Korti to the relief of Khartūm where the Egyptian garrison and General Charles Gordon were besieged by the Mahdists. The British under Sir Herbert Stewart found a large body of the Mahd's best troops (some 3000 Bakīra and 5000 Dā'yūḡin) in possession of the wells. Advancing in square formation they were fiercely attacked, and after desperate hand-to-hand fighting the Mahdists withdrew leaving about 2000 dead behind. The British casualties were 74 dead and 94 wounded. The way was now open to al-Metamma where the British forces were joined by four river steamers which Gordon had despatched from Khartūm. A fatal delay of a few days enabled the Mahdists to take Khartūm by storm (16 Jan.), and the relieving force was obliged to retrace its steps without achieving its object.

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military account); A. B. Theobald, *The Mahdiyya*, London 1951; B. M. Allen, *Gordon and the Sudan*, London 1931. (S. HILLELSON)

**ABULGASIS** [see AL-ZAHRAWĪ].

**ABUMERON** [see IBN ZUKRĪ].

**AL-AMR** [see NUGRĀN].

**ABŪSHAHIR** [see MŪSHĀHIR].

**ABUSHIKA** [see 'ABD ILR KAWĀ'Ī].

**ABUSIR** [see AḤSĪT].

**AL-ABWĀ'**, a place on the road from Mecca to Medina, 23 miles from al-Djūbā in the territory of Banū Damra of Kināna. According to some authorities the name really belonged to a mountain situated there. Muhammad's mother, ʿĀmina, is commonly said to have died there while returning from Medina to Mecca, and to be buried there; but she is sometimes said to be buried in Mecca (Tabarī, I, 980). The first expedition from Medina in which Muhammad himself took part was to al-Abwā' and Waddān nearby. It is said that at al-Abwā', as the Meccans marched against Medina in 3/625, some proposed to dig up ʿĀmina's body, but the majority opposed this.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Hishām, 107, 415; Ibn Sa'd, II, 73-4, III, 3; Tabarī, 1266-70; Wāḥidī, ed. Wellhausen, 103; Yāqūt, I, 100; Caetani, *Annali*, I, 157, 461; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 155 (cf. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, II, 112 f.). (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**ABWĀB** [see DARRĀN].

**ABYAN** (or Byan, cf. Yāqūt, I, 110; Nishāwī, I, 208; C. Landberg, *Elwade*, II, 1893), 1) district (wilāyat) in Yaman in the Wādī Banā, comprising several castles and the seaport of 'Adan (g.s.), hence the full name 'Adan Abyan; 2) small place, now abandoned, ca. 18 km. NE of 'Adan on the coast, birthplace of the poet Abū Bakr b. al-Adīb al-'Idī (d. 725/1325); 3) persons in the genealogical tradition: (a) Abyan b. Zuhayr b. al-ḡhaww b. Ayyan b. al-Hanayssa, (b) [Iḡh] Abyan (Byan) b. Yaḡlūn b. al-Sawwār b. 'Abd Šams, (c) Abyan b. 'Adnan (and his brother 'Adan), Tabarī, I, 1111; eponym of 1) and 2). For epigraphical material cf. G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, I, 366, 512, 325a.

*Bibliography*: Hamdānī, *Siya*, transl. Forrer, 42, note 4 (with copious references); 'Abdall, *Hadīḡat al-Zaman fi ḡhḡb al-Mulūk Laḡh wa-'Adan*, 1351, 191; Abū Maḡhrama, *Ta'rib ḡhḡb 'Adan*, I, 4, and passim. (O. LÖFGREN)

**ABYSSINIA** [see AL-WARĀḤ].

**ACADEMY** [see MARMA'Ī 'ILM].

**ACHEIR** [see ATĪR].

**ACHIR** [see AḡLĪR].

**ACIRE** [see 'AKKĪR].

**'AD**, an ancient tribe, frequently mentioned in the Kur'ān. Its history is related only in sporadic allusions. It was a mighty nation that lived immediately after the time of Noah, and became haughty on account of its great prosperity (vi, 69; xli, 15). The edifices of the 'Adites are spoken of in xxvi, 128 f.; cf. in lxviii, 6-7 the expression: "'Ad, Iran of the pillars" (see IRAM ḡHĀT AL-'IMĀD). According to xlv, 21, the 'Adites inhabited al-Aḡlāl (g.s.), the sand dunes. The prophet sent to them, their "brother" Hūd (g.s.), was treated by them just as Muhammad was later treated by the Meccans, and on account of that they were, with the exception of Hūd and a few pious men, swept away by a violent storm (vi, 65 f.; cf. xli, 16; lii, 19, lix, 6). Finally, in xl, 32, there is mention of a drought from which they suffered. From these indications the later legends of the *biḡaḡ al-amīya'*

wove their coherent narratives. [For these, cf. also Hūd, IRAM ḡHĀT AL-'IMĀD, LUKMĀN, SHĀDDAD B. 'AD.]

It cannot be shown with certainty what more ancient traditions are at the base of the Kur'ānic story. The old poets knew 'Ad as an ancient nation that had perished (e.g. Tarāfa, I, 8; *al-Mufaḡḡalīyāt*, viii, 40; Ibn Hishām, I, 468; cf. Zuhayr, xx, 12 and LUKMĀN); hence the expression: "since the time of 'Ad", *Hamāsa* (Freitag), 195, 341. Their kings are mentioned in the *Diwān* of the Hudḡaylites, lxxx, 6, and their prudence in that of Nāḡība, xxv, 4. The mention of the 'Adite Aḡmar by Zuhayr, *Mu'allaka*, verse 32, and in the *Diwān* of the Hudḡaylites, p. 31, merits consideration, as the Muslim legend connects (Kudrī) al-Aḡmar with Ṭamūd (g.s.).

Whether there really existed, and where, a nation called 'Ad, is still an unanswered question. The genealogies of the Arabs relating to the 'Adites are naturally valueless, just as is their locating of that people in the large and uninhabitable sandy desert between 'Uman and Hadramawt. The identification of Iram with 'Ad, adopted by the Arabs and several modern scholars, is not at all likely. Of the latter, Loth has identified 'Ad with the well-known tribe of Iyād; on the other hand Sprenger sought for 'Ad in the Oadites, who according to Ptolemy lived in N.-W. Arabia; this recalls the well of Iram in Hisma (al-Hamḡdān, *Siya*, 126; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr. Arabiens*, I, 207; A. Muḡl, *Arabia Petraea*, II/2, 128). The excavation of the second-century Nabataean temple at Djabal Ramm, about twenty-five miles due east of 'Akaba, brought to light Nabataean inscriptions giving the name of the place as 'ym; Savignac, very plausibly, connected this with Iram. Cf. H. W. Glidden, in *BAOR*, no. 73, 1939, 13 ff.; Ramm would also be identical with al-Hamḡdān's Iram and Ptolemy's Aramaia. But Wellhausen pointed out that instead of the expression "since the time of 'Ad" the expression *min al-'ad* also occurs; therefore he supposed that originally 'Ad was a common noun ("the ancient time"; adj. 'ādī, "very ancient") and that the mythical nation arose from a misinterpretation of that expression.

*Bibliography*: Tabarī, I, 231 ff.; Hamdānī, *Siya*, 80; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, I, 505-18; idem, *Die alte Geogr. Arabiens*, § 199; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, I, 259; E. Blochet, *Le Culte d'Aphrodite-Anahita chez les arabes du paganisme*, 1902, 27 ff.; O. Loth, in *ZDMG*, 1881, 622 ff.; J. Wellhausen, in *GGA*, 1902, 596; idem, *Wāḥidī*, 24; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1902, 125 f.; Djabwād 'Alī, *Ta'rib al-'Arab baḡl al-'Idām*, Baghdād 1951, 230-7. For 'Adī, "ancient", see e.g. *Aḡhīnī*, II, 128; Ibn Kufayra, *Sh'ar*, 217; glossary to Muḡarrad, *Kāmid* (Wright), 297. (F. BUEHLER)

**'ADĀ'** (a.), lit. 'payments', 'accomplishments', a technical term used in the *fiḡh* to designate the accomplishment of a religious duty in the time prescribed by the law, in opposition to *ḡadā'*, which designates the belated accomplishment of a religious duty (of course when the delay is permitted). A distinction is also drawn between a perfect and an imperfect accomplishment (*al-adā'* *al-ḡadā'* and *al-adā'* *al-nāḡīḡ*).—In the reading of the Kor'ān *adā'* means the traditional pronunciation of the letters, synonymous with *ḡirā'* (g.s.).



# 'ADA (a) custom, customary law.

(i) General, (ii) North Africa, (iii) India, (iv) Indonesia.

I. — General. The realities of social life have never exactly reflected the *shari'a* [s.h.], or *shari'a*, the ideal Muslim Law corresponding to God's will. This is true not only in regard to the ritual provisions of this Law, but also and even more so in regard to its juridical aspects. It is not, of course, the modern reforms of Muslim law in various countries that are envisaged here, but the survival of pre-Islamic custom ('*ada* or '*urf* [s.h.]). The words '*ada* and '*urf* have the same meaning, but the usage varies from region to region (e.g. the first is used in Indonesia, the second in North Africa, and in East Africa one says *darfur*). In addition, the Muslim rulers have often issued administrative regulations on matters of law, called, e.g. in Persia '*urf*, in Turkey *kanun* [s.h.], for the meaning of this word in North Africa, see below ii), sometimes also *siyas* [s.h.]. Also the innumerable regulations made by rulers, establishing various taxes contrary to the Law (*mahs* [s.h.]), must be recalled here.

What is, then, the exact role of custom in Muslim countries?

a) There is first of all the case where the *fiqh* itself expressly refers to customary usage, e.g. to determine what is to be understood by equivalent dowry, or by ordinary standards of nourishment (e.g. for the *sakal al-fiqh*), etc. Some lawyers even felt justified in advancing the view, following the principle according to which everything that is not forbidden is permissible, that the Muslim Law could admit customary law in every case in which the '*urf* was not contrary to the *shari'a*; in fact, however, custom has not been admitted as one of the sources (*usul*) of the law (cf. 1901).

b) A juridico-sociological analysis of social reality allows us to make the following distinctions.

1) In the most classically Muslim countries it can be observed that alongside the religious jurisdiction there exists an administrative ("political" — *siyas*) jurisdiction, varying in forms and names, which need not be treated here, e.g. in matters concerning penal law, obligations and contracts; in customary law or the regulations (*ahkam*) of the princes are applied to a greater or lesser extent. So for example in Turkey marriage, from the 17th century onwards, had to be concluded obligatorily, from the penal point of view, before the authorities.

2) Sometimes even the religious courts are compelled to sanction local usage, either because, thanks to a juridical attitude (*fiqh* [s.h.]) the act, though contrary to the spirit of the Law, has been put into a legally unchallengeable form (e.g. in the matter of *uqub*, or the conditional repudiation in favour of the wife in Java, and especially the use of the *uqub*, in North Africa and elsewhere, to disinherit women); or even without that expedient — which is even more characteristic; thus in Java — the pre-Islamic marriage arrangement is considered as a *sarakat* (i.e. *shirkat*), a contract of commercial partnership between the husband and wife. On the island of Great Comore, there exists a kind of *uqub*, the *magahali*, in favour of women only, the validity of which is well recognized. (For the '*amal* in North Africa, see below, ii.)

3) There exist religious courts administering the Law, but, except in case of litigation, the population ignores them and follows local custom. This is the case, among others, in the Awraja (cf. below, ii), to a large extent; in the same way, the religious

courts were competent in matters of succession in Java up to 1928, but the population did not follow the *Kur'an* in this field; also the persistence of the *Lek Dukagini* among the Muslims of North Albania can be quoted in this connection.

4) The clearest case of the persistence of a customary law is that where there is no religious jurisdiction at all, but only that of the customary courts, and these apply customary law. It is, however, essential to realize that this custom can be more or less Islamized (see below, ii), concerning the Berbers). One point, especially, can be taken more or less for granted: viz. that there is no Muslim country where the marriage formalities, which are, to be sure, very simple, are not performed according to Muslim law.

It can be said that in general it is among populations which are still imperfectly Islamized (in the objective meaning of the word, as those in question may have a very fervent faith) that the predominance of customary law and the absence of religious courts can be observed. There is, however, at least one very remarkable exception: until recent times, the region of Menangkabau (Central Sumatra) was strongly attached to its patriarchal customs, which were quite contrary to Islam, and yet Islamic learning was very widely spread in that region. The same matriarchate can be observed also e.g. among the Tuaregs of the Hoggar, who are, it is true, rather lukewarm Muslims. In the Lacadive islands, inheritance follows the female line. Thus the effective manifestations of the survival of custom among the Muslim community are innumerable.

As regards the future, something on the following lines may be said. If, on the one hand, the control of Muslim Law over practice is on the decline — total abolition in Turkey and in the countries under Soviet rule, reforms in Egypt, India etc. — on the other hand the Law is almost everywhere gaining ground at the expense of custom. Custom is thus on the way of slow disappearance, partly due to the influence of European colonization and European civilization. Custom is being Islamized, because the means of communication are improving and religious courts are installed in place of the old customary jurisdictions. As a matter of fact, almost everywhere the European colonizers believed that the law of the local Muslims was essentially the theoretical religious law.

In the following sections more detailed descriptions are given of the role of customary law in three representative areas of the Islamic world.

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ii. — North Africa. This region, where Berber dialects were spoken before the coming of the Arabs, has since been profoundly Arabized and Islamized.

a) As regards the Arabic-speaking regions, no study has yet been made, with a few exceptions, of what elements among the customs of the population go back to the pre-Islamic period and are Berber survivals. On the other hand, it can be observed that, especially in Morocco, the *fiqh*s sometimes apply solutions which are contrary to the prevailing Maliki view and which may possibly — though this has scarcely yet been envisaged as an object of study from this point of view — represent Berber survivals; this is the '*amal* (especially '*amal Fasi* [s.h.]).

b) As regards the Berber-speaking regions:

1) From a purely theoretical point of view, there are districts where, officially, the Berber customs have remained legally applicable, namely Greater Kabylia in Algeria and the very important zones of Berber customary law in Morocco, where the situation existing before the French conquest was made permanent by the *dhahir* (*qadiri*) of 16 May 1930. This measure roused at the time violent polemics; these are, however, completely forgotten today, since, by the *dhahir* of 8 April 1934, penal justice is no longer governed by customary law, but is unified throughout the whole of Morocco; the civil courts of customary law have been reorganized, with two courts of appeal. In Kabylia, it is the *qadiri* of the *qadiri* who administers the customary law with right of appeal to the court of the *arrondissement*. In all these cases, the matters involved are those of personal status and the law of succession.

2) The social reality is, however, much more complex. a) In Tunisia, in the few remaining isolated Berber-speaking communities, there are scarcely more than remnants of the ancient customary law. b) In Algeria, more than a quarter of the population speaks Berber. In Greater Kabylia, where the social organization of each village has remained very strong, the *djama'a* continues illegally to settle many conflicts; it applies the local *ahkam*s, i.e. rates of fines, some of which, renewed, are nowadays compiled in French (no longer in Arabic).

In Berber-speaking Lesser Kabylia and in the Awraja (where the French have installed *baïfs*), the quasi-official Berber justice continues to operate on a fairly large scale. c) It is in Morocco (where more than 40% of the population is Berber-speaking) that Berber law is most extensively applied, and there the real customary sphere tends much more to encroach upon the official sphere.

One cannot make a simple contrast between customary law and Muslim law, because the former has been influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, by the latter. In Morocco, for instance, customary law has remained pure in the central regions; it is less pure in the Northern Middle-Atlas; it is strongly Islamized in the south. In Greater Kabylia, it has been influenced by the official French reforms. The inhabitants of the Mzab, on the other hand, have a legal system that has been very greatly influenced by the heretical *ibadhi* religious law. It would be wholly premature to assert that there once existed a common stock of Berber legal institutions. My impression is that this was not the case (just as the Berber-speaking populations do not belong to one and the same race). To be sure, some characteristic institutions recur in the whole of North Africa (collective storehouses from Tunisia to Morocco, but not in Kabylia; inferior marriage, *maghrif*, in the region of Guraya in Algeria; *amazal* among the Zemmur in Morocco), but they are not found everywhere among the Berber-speaking population. On the other hand, the condition of women is essentially variable among the Berbers; it is very low, for example, among the Kabyles, very high indeed among the Tuaregs, with all the intermediate stages between these two extremes. It is true that the collective oath as a method of proof is very widely spread and, from the point of view of succession, women are in general disinherited. It seems therefore preferable to suspend judgement about the existence of a primitive Berber custom.

Everything relating to Berber public law, which was in force in Morocco until the French conquest, is but a memory. In penal law, the custom of the *diya*, i.e. blood-money (in its Berber form and not according to the rules of the *fiqh*) survives quasi-officially in several Berber-speaking regions (as well as among the Arabic-speaking population of North-Africa). The Berber civil institutions that survive in Algeria and in Morocco are being increasingly influenced by factors foreign to customary law (such as Islam or modern civilization).

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persons, *adat*-functionaries and politicians tried to find a way out, that is to say a conciliation between both juridical complexes (on this occasion in the section of the law of inheritance) but without success. The view-point of the above-mentioned Minangkabau 'island', notwithstanding their concessions to *adat* law, was thoroughly traditional (orthodox).

4. There is however one outstanding problem that was already before the war—to quote a Javanese politician—"an inexhaustible source of disputes". This is the position of the woman, especially in Javanese life. From a social point of view the position of the Javanese woman is fairly high. But her position as a wife is extremely unsafe. The peculiar situation as far as this point is concerned is that in Java (and in Minangkabau) more than 50% of all marriages are dissolved by the husband's act of repudiation. Of course the *gharī'a* gives the husband that right everywhere. It is remarkable however that in the Muslim regions where a patrilineal system of relationship is in force the matrimonial bond is strong, because the husband has to pay a considerable bride-price. In Java the so-called 'tuku' (remnant of a bride-price) is only a combination of cheap presents, and even the *mahr* of the *gharī'a* often remains unpaid. The socio-familial system in Java is bilateral.

Since a score of years a strong current has set in against polygyny. Not in the first place against simultaneous polygyny (which is not so frequent: ± 2%) but mainly against 'successive' polygyny: the habit of the man (who can marry quite 'cheaply') to exchange his wife for a younger one. The *ta'rib*-*salah*-institution is not effective against this most serious social evil. This *ta'rib*-regulation is as follows: Immediately after contracting his marriage the husband has to declare to his wife's *wali* and the witnesses that, if he leaves his wife for a certain time without providing for her and without sending her tidings, if he severely ill-treats her or commits another unseemly act—then his wife is free, if she likes to do so, to complain before the Muslim authority concerned. If there is evidence of her husband's failing in these respects the authority states one *talāh* to have taken place.

The republic has improved the (officially edited) forms for the *ta'rib*-statements and given them by means of *suwal*-paying the character of an eventual *ghul*. And a bill is being prepared which is an interesting combination of elements of western law, Muslim religious law and *adat* law, although the prospects of its enactment are doubtful.

This bill has the following salient points: (a) child-marriages (not frequent in Indonesia) are forbidden; (b) each marriage is to be registered in a registrar's office in accordance with the European continental system; (c) the future married couple have to give each other certificates as to their health (influence of 'eugenics'?). (d) the mutual rights and duties of husband and wife are circumscribed partly (*mutadā muḥandā*) in the words of the Dutch code, partly in the terminology of the *gharī'a*, especially the duties of the 'polygamous' husband; (e) as to polygyny in general: 1. polygyny is to be allowed only in the interest of society; 2. no man can take a second or third wife (etc.) without the consent of the wife (wives) he already has; 3. he requires a medical certificate stating that his health allows 'polygamy'; 4. he must prove himself to possess the financial means to entertain more than one household; 5. the polygamist in *spe* must promise to be 'righteous' in his conduct. Otherwise the judge is given a considerable power to dissolve

marriages in well-defined cases, again partly derived from articles of the Dutch code, partly from regional rules of *adat* law and the usual *ta'rib*-formulas. Whether, however, in the intention of the bill, a Muslim husband can still repudiate his wife depends on the ultimate legislative elaboration of the bill.

5. There are of course other points in the incessant disputes. As was already mentioned in § 3 above, there is the question of succession-law. Notwithstanding the fact that in Java Muslim courts exist (since centuries) which deal with all suits concerning Indonesian Muslim estates, it is well-known that in reality the Javanese, as well as the Sundanese and Madurese—outside the court—followed in case of partition of estates the lines of *adat* law. For this reason suits of this kind belong since 1937 to the competence of the common 'secular' judge. There is still Muslim propaganda against this 'colonial' measure.

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**ADA KAL'E**, island in the Danube in Rumania, inhabited by Turks, 4 kms above the Iron Gates and  $\frac{1}{2}$  km below Orsova, 280 m. In the 15th century the Ottoman Turks occupied the strategic points of the river in this region, but the island is mentioned for the first time only in 1697, when the vizier Darvun Mehmed Paşa conquered the 'little island in the straits of Irşowa (Orsova)' which was then occupied by 400 soldiers and called *Shaw adası*, i.e. 'entrenchment island', from German *Schanz* (Sillidie, Flindell Mehmed Paşa, *Ta'rib*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 340). In 1716 the first durable fortifications were built by the *muhafiz* of the Iron Gates, Çerkes Mehmed Paşa (Mehmed Rashid, *Ta'rib*, Istanbul 1153, ii, 133). After occupation by the Austrians, it was retaken by 'Ali Paşa, called *sardār-ı ehrem*, in 1735; it is on this occasion that the name *Ada Kal'e* appears for the first time (cf. Mehmed Sabih, *Ta'rib-i Wāḥid*, Istanbul 1918, 131, 134). It depended from the *wālī* of Vidin. The last struggles round *Ada Kal'e* took place in 1788, when during the expedition of the *sadr aṣṣam* Kodja Yūsuf Paşa against the army of Laudon, the last time when Ottoman troops appeared in the Banat, the island played the role of a river base.

A river base. 'Ali Paşa built a large bridge between Orsova and Tekov (Tekija) and reinforced the 'fortress of the Great Island (Ada-i Kebir Kal'esi)'. (The expedition is described in detail by an anonymous writer in *Sefer-nâme-yi Serdār-ı Ehrem Yūsuf Paşa*, MS Istanbul, Univ. Kütüphanesi, T.Y. 3254; another

MS in the possession of the writer). During the revolt of the Serbians, the island became an important stronghold of the Empire. The *Dayl*, who surrendered in Belgrade, were executed in *Ada Kal'e* by the *muhafiz* Redif Ağha in 1809 (Ahmed Djewdet, *Ta'rib*, Istanbul 1309, ix, 126, 128). Somewhat later Redif Ağha himself, following the example of the *aym* in the Balkans, rebelled, but was executed. His brothers, Adema, Belçir and Şâhî, who occupied the fortress of Feth İslâm (Kladovo), had to retire to the island. Well Paşa, son of 'Ali Tepedelenli, who had been charged with the pacification of Serbia, granted them pardon, on which they surrendered the island. After 1867, when the Turkish garrisons evacuated Serbia, *Ada Kal'e* remained without direct communication with the capital. At the Congress of Berlin (1878) the island was forgotten, and so remained an isolated possession of the Ottoman Empire, administered by a *nâhiye müdürü*. Its inhabitants elected deputies to the Turkish parliament. By the treaty of Trianon (1920), it was incorporated, with the Banat, into Rumania; but this was recognised by Turkey only by the treaty of Lausanne (1923).

At the present day, the island has 640 Turkish inhabitants. There are schools for the Muslim population. The fortifications, in red brick and stones, with their basements and cisterns, are noteworthy, as well as the mosque built by Selim III, with a *ayvân-gâh* of Miskîn Bîbbî, a derwîsh name in the 18th century from Turkestan and died on the island.

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(AUREL DECEI)

**ADA PÄZÄRİ**, flourishing town in the province of Kodja-eli, Turkey, situated at 40° 47' N., 30° 23' E., in the fertile plain known as Akowa on the lower course of the Sakarya river. Originally it lay between two arms of this river (hence the earlier name *Ada*, 'island'), but now lies between the Sakarya and the Çarlıbı dnya. It was occupied by the Turks under Orkhan and is mentioned for the first time in a *waḥf*-foundation which goes back to him (T. Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa-lınas*, Istanbul 1952, 161). In 1795 it appears, with the modern name of Adapazarı, as the seat of a *nâhiye*. In 1852-3 it was raised to the rank of a town, and about 1860 had 24,500 inhabitants, according to V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, Paris 1899, 372 ff. By the census of 1950 the population had risen to 36,210. It is a trading centre for local produce, especially tobacco, vegetables and fruit. There are no Islamic monuments of importance.

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**ADAB** (A.). The history of this word reflects, parallel to and even better than the history of the words *ilm* and *din*, the evolution of Arab culture from its pre-Islamic origins to our own day. In its oldest sense, it may be regarded as synonym of *sunna*, with the sense of 'habit, hereditary norm of conduct, custom' derived from ancestors and other persons who are looked up to as models (as, in the religious sense, was the *sunna* of the Prophet for his community). The etymology of the word put forward by Vollen and Nallou agrees with this earliest meaning: both considered that the plural *adab* was formed from *da'b* ('custom, habit'), and that the singular *adab* was subsequently derived from this plural. (Indigenous lexicographers connect it with the root *ʿab*, meaning 'marvellous thing', or 'preparation, feast'). In any case, the oldest meaning of the word is that already given: it implies a habit, a practical norm of conduct, with the double connotation of being praiseworthy and being inherited from one's ancestors.

The evolution of this primitive sense accentuated, on the one hand, its ethical and practical content: *adab* came to mean 'high quality of soul, good upbringing, urbanity and courtesy', in this acception corresponding to the refining of *beduin* ethics and customs as a result of Islam (cf. Wensink, *Handbook*, s.v. *adab*) and contact with foreign cultures during the first two centuries A.H. Thus, at the beginning of the 'Abbasid epoch, *adab* in this sense was the equivalent of the Latin *urbanitas*, the civility, courtesy, refinement of the cities in contrast to *beduin* uncouthness. (In this sense, the lexicons use the word *parf*, courtesy and elegance, to explain *adab*.) The word kept this ethical and social meaning during the whole period of medieval Muslim civilization. So, for example, *adab*, etiquette, of eating, drinking, dressing (cf. *TA'AM*, *SHARAK*, *LİBAK*); *adab*, etiquette, of the boon companion (cf. the treatise *Adab al-Nadim* by Kughjish and NADIM); from another sphere: *adab*, etiquette, of disposition (cf. several treatises entitled *Adab al-Fahh* and *BAWH*); etiquette of study (cf. books on *Adab al-Dars*, *Adab al-'Alim wa'l-Muta'allim*, and *TADRİS*).

However, from the first century of the *hijra*, *adab*, in addition to this ethical and social meaning, acquired an intellectual meaning, which was at first connected with the first meaning, but then became increasingly differentiated from it. *Adab* came to imply the sum of knowledge which makes a man courteous and 'urbane', profane culture (as distinct from *ilm*, learning, or rather, religious learning, *Kuḥrān*, *hadith* and *fiqh*) based in the first place on poetry, the art of oratory, the historical and tribal traditions of the ancient Arabs, and also on the corresponding sciences: rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, metrics. Consequently this humanistic concept of *adab* was at first strictly national; the perfect *adib*, in the Umayyad period, was the man who excelled in knowledge of the ancient poets, in the *ayyām* al-*Arab*, in the poetical, historical and antiquarian sphere of Arab culture. But contact with foreign cultures widened the content of *adab*, or Arab *humanitas*, into *humanitas* without qualification; it now included a knowledge of those sections of non-Arab (Indian, Iranian, Hellenistic) literature (i.e. gnomic and technical literature) with



which Arab Muslim civilization became familiar from the early Abbasid period onwards. The *adab* of the 3rd/9th century, of which al-Dhahiri was the most perfect example, was therefore not only cultivated in Arabic poetry and prose, in maxims and proverbs, in the genealogy and tradition of the *qabā'il* and of the Arabs at a time when they were hardly yet Islamized, but broadened out in its range of interest to include the Iranian world with all its epic, gnomé, and narrative tradition, the Indian world with its fables, and the Greek world with its practical philosophy, and especially its ethics and economics. It was thus that in the 3rd/9th century there came into being the great literature of *adab*, with its varied and moving erudition, which is not pure scholarship although it often also touches on, and handles scientific subjects, but which is centred above all on man, his qualities and his passions, the environment in which he lives, and the material and spiritual culture created by him. Within this domain al-Dhahiri and his followers (Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī, al-Tanūkhī, etc.) turned to account and extended the heritage bequeathed to Muslim society in the previous century by the Iranian genius Ibn al-Muqaffa', who can be described as the true creator of this enlarged conception of *adab*, with his versions of foreign historical and literary works (*Khuday-nāmah* and *Kallīla wa-Dimna*) and his original ethical and didactic tracts (al-*Adab al-Kabīr* and al-*Sagīr* though the authenticity of the latter is very questionable). The literature of *adab* is the very backbone of high 'Abbasid culture.

The richness and complexity of this concept of *adab*, as humanity or culture, was on the other hand reduced, already in the 'Abbasid epoch, to a narrower acceptance. From its meaning of the "necessary general culture" expected of any man of superior education, it took on the specific meaning of "the knowledge necessary for given offices and social functions". Thus one could speak of an *adab al-kātib* or culture specially required for holding the office of secretary (such is the title of a treatise by Ibn Kutayba [cf. also Kātib]); or of the *adab* or *adab* of viziers, in the sense of the sum of special knowledge and experience proper to this office. (For the *adab* of the *hādh*, cf. also Kātib). On the other hand, the concept *adab* ended by losing the wide humanistic acceptance that it had had during the golden age of the caliphate and became restricted to a narrower, and more rhetorical sphere of "belles-lettres": poetry, artistic prose, peneumography, and anecdotal writing. This was the kind of *adab* at which al-Harīrī was an adept, with his verbal virtuosity and his entirely formal and purist interests. From *humanitas*, *adab* had become merely the literature of the academy, and remained so throughout the long decadence of Arabic letters and spirit right up to the time of the modern renaissance.

In the modern age *adab*, and even more so its plural *ādāb*, are synonymous of literature in the most specific sense of the word. *Ta'arūf al-Ādāb al-'Arabīyya* is the history of Arabic literature, *hukūyat al-ādāb* is the faculty of arts of letters in the universities organized in the European manner. But beyond the limits of technical nomenclature, the common usage of certain writers (e.g. Ṭahā Husayn) tends to give back to the word something of its former elasticity and amplitude.

**Bibliography:** Salinas, *Scrivi*, vi, 2-12. For books on various species of etiquette, cf. also Brockelmann, III, index s.v. *adab*, *adab*; Haddādī, *Shāhīn*, s.v. *adab* and *adab*. (F. GABRIEL)

**'ADAD** [see *ʿADAD*].

**ADAL**, one of the Muslim states in East Africa that played an important part in the wars between Islam and Abyssinian Christendom. Al-Makrizi (*al-Imām bi-ʿAdhīr min bi-ʿAdh al-Habasha min Mulūk al-Islām*, Cairo 1895, 5) enumerates the following seven Islamic states in Southern and Eastern Abyssinia which he designates as *mulūk al-bald Zaylaʾ*: Awlat (the common form is ʾIṭā), Dawrēb, Arayabul (Arabayul, Arabahul), Hadāyā, Shāhāb, Bālī, Dīra. From Abyssinian chronicles, other states are known which stood on the same footing as the above, one of them being Adal.—Adal ('Adal) is the farthest east of those states, and is approximately identical with the present "Côte française des Somalis". The inhabitants are partly Somali, partly ʿAtar (Danāki) [see DANAKIL]. It is mentioned for the first time in the wars between the Abyssinian king ʿAmḍa Seyōn (1314-44) and the Muslims. In the march of ʿAmḍa Seyōn upon Zaylaʾ (1332), the king of Adal, who attempted to bar his passage, was vanquished and killed. The rulers of Adal have the title of *amīr*, later on also the title of *imām*, in the Arabic texts, but of *negus*, "king", in the Ethiopic chronicles. In the 15th century Adal was part of Ifāt (Awlat [s.v.]); in the 15th century the *amīr* of Adal ruled over Ifāt and had his capital at Dakar to the east of Harar. Under the kings Zarʿa Yāʿqūb (1434-68) and Baʿda Māryām (1468-78) negotiations took place between the Abyssinians and Adal; afterwards there was fighting between them with changing fortune. Adal frequently served also for the Muslims from districts further to the west as a refuge from the Abyssinians, who, however, often followed them thither. The Muslim writers (al-Makrizi and ʿArabīkī, *Futūḥ al-Habasha*) do not mention Adal—unless it is meant by ʿAdal al-Umarʾi (al-Makrizi, loc. cit., 2)—but refer only to the sultanate of Zaylaʾ in that region. Further, the king of Adal, Melḥam son of Arwē Badlīy (Perruchon, *Chroniques de Zarʿa Yāʿqūb et de Baʿda Māryām*, 131), belonged to the family of the sultans of Zaylaʾ; he was a grandson of the celebrated Saʿd al-Dīn, after whom the dynasty and the land were called (Harīr Saʿd al-Dīn). The latter reigned 1368-1435; he fell in 1435 in the battle with King Yeshūʾ of Abyssinia (1414-29). "Adal", "empire of Zaylaʾ" are often synonymous, and their histories are closely connected with each other [cf. ZAYLAʾ]. With regard to the 16th century see also AHMAD GRÄN. In the later history of those countries, the wars with the Muslim Somali and ʿAtar are thrust into the background by those with the Galla, who since 1540 warred with the Christians and Muslims of Abyssinia. Adal is still mentioned a few times in the chronicles. Even in the 19th century, before England, France and Italy took possession of the Abyssinian littoral, King Shāhā-Sallāh of Shoa called himself also "King of Adal".

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**'ADALA** [see *'ADL*]. (E. LITTMANN\*)

**ADAM** [see *ʿADAM*].

**ADAMA**, the father of mankind (Abū'l-Baqhār). In the Kurʾān it is related that when God had

created what is on the earth and in the heavens he said to the angels: "I am about to place a substitute (*dhāliḥa*) on earth", and they said: "Wilt thou place thereon one who will do evil therein and shed blood, whereas we celebrate thy praise and sanctify thee?" Then God taught Adam the names of all things, and as the angels did not know the names Adam taught them these (II, 28-32 ff.). Thereafter God ordered the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam, and when they did with the exception of Iblīs who in his haughtiness said that he was of higher rank, since he was created of fire, whereas Adam was created of clay (II, 33; VII, 12 f.; XV, 26-36; XVII, 64; XVII, 49; XX, 116). Cf. XV, 27 "we created man of dried clay, of black shaped mud". Iblīs was expelled from the garden (VII, 12; XVII, 66), in which Adam and his wife were placed to live pleasantly there, but with the order not to come near to "this tree" (II, 35; VII, 19, cf. XX, 116 f.). Next follows the fall of man. "And Satan (*al-shayṭān*) caused them to slip from it (the garden) and had them removed from the state wherein they were" (II, 36). He whispered to them in order to reveal to them their nakedness, and said that the tree was forbidden to them lest they should become angels and live eternally. So they ate of the tree and saw their nakedness, and they sewed the leaves of the garden to cover them (VII, 20; XX, 120 f.). Then God sent them down on earth to live there as enemies, but when Adam asked for forgiveness, God promised him guidance (II, 36-37; VII, 24-26; XX, 122-123). It is said that God had a covenant with Adam at first, but Adam forgot it (XII, 125), and God said: "Have I not had a covenant with you, sons of Adam, that you will not serve Satan?" (XXVII, 60, cf. v, 172). Adam was chosen by God, as later Nūḥ and the families of Ibrāhīm and Muḥsin (II, 23). Like Adam only ʾIsā was created in a special way (III, 59).

The non-biblical elements in this account are to be found in Jewish, in some cases in Christian tradition. God's conversation with the angels before Adam's creation, and Adam's superiority because of his knowledge about the names is known from *Bereghit Rabba*, XVII, 4; *Hemidbar Rabba*, XII, 3; *Pesikta*, ed. S. Buber, 342; *Vita Adami* (Kautsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, 513). The *ἡμετέρας* of the before Adam is not commanded by God in Jewish writings. The angels wanted to honour him as God, but were prevented from doing so as God made Adam sleep (*Bereghit Rabba* 8, 10; *Pirke R. Eliezer*, 19). On the other hand Athanasius (*Quaestio X ad Antiochum*) refers to the idea (which he rejects) that Satan fell because he refused to *ὑποκρίσθαι* before Adam. In *Vita Adami*, LC., whose origin is uncertain, the angel Michael prostrated himself to Adam and called upon the other angels to do so, and it is understood, but not said, that God approved of it. In the Christian Syriac *Cave of Treasures* (ed. Bezdol, 14 f.) God gave Adam power over all beings, and the angels worshipped him except the jealous devil who then was turned out from the heavens. God's covenant with Adam is mentioned in *Sanhedrin*, 58b; *Augustin, De civitate Dei*, xvi, 27, and Adam's reverse *ʿYrabin*, 18b; *ʿAdama Zura*, 8a; *Vita Adami*, 51a.

In post-Kurʾanic tradition the *hijab* about Adam were growing, and these also reflect to a great extent Jewish and Christian influence. They are mainly found in *hādith*-collections, in *biṣṭ*-collections, in the works of general history, and in the commentaries to the Kurʾān.

As a preparation for the creation of Adam it is

related that God sent Gabriel and after him Michael to the earth to take a handful of clay (mud), but the earth refused to give it for that purpose, then the angel of death was sent and took by force red, white and black clay; this is why men have different colours. Adam got his name because he was taken from the surface, *ādīm*, of the earth. The clay was kneaded and worked on until it became sticky, then slimy, stinking and at last a body of dry clay (*ʿadāḥ*). Some authors tell that Iblīs went into his mouth and emerged from his anus and vice versa; then the spirit was blown into him by God and went into his brain, from where it went into his eyes, his nose and further through the whole body, whereafter the body became flesh, blood, bone, veins and sinews. According to a tradition ascribed to the prophet the dust for the head was taken from the Kaʿba, for breast and back from Jerusalem, thighs from Yaman etc. (al-Tabarī, I, 87 ff.; idem, *Tafsīr*, I, 159; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūʾī*, I, 51-3; al-Kisāʾī, 23-7; al-Thaʿlabī, 17). In Jewish tradition the clay for Adam's body was taken from the place of the temple or from the whole world, in different colours, and Adam was first shaped as a lifeless body (*golem*) (*Targum Yerushalmi*, to Gen. II, 7; *Sanhedrin*, 38a; *Pirke R. Eliezer*, c. 11); a similar Christian tradition is found with Cyprinus and Augustine. The beauty and the length of the body of Adam are mentioned in Muslim tradition (al-Thaʿlabī, 22, cf. Kurʾān, XXV, 4) as well as in Jewish (*Bereghit Rabba*, vii, 1; xii, 6; *Sanhedrin*, 38b) and Christian (*Cave of Treasures*, ed. Bezdol, p. 12) literature.

The Jewish literature follows the tale of the Bible, in which the serpent seduces man. In *Vita Adami* (Kautsch) 52r, Satan speaks through the mouth of the serpent, and this is Christian tradition (*Cave of Tr.*, 22; *Augustin, De civitate Dei*, xiv, 11; Bar Hebraeus, *Taʾrīkh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, 7). Whereas the Kurʾān speaks only of Satan as the seducer, the Muslim tradition also introduces the serpent. The serpent speaks by order of Iblīs (al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 107), or Iblīs is carried into the garden by the serpent in its mouth or its belly (al-Tabarī, 104-6). In the *Kisās* of al-Kisāʾī, (36-9) and al-Thaʿlabī, (20) the peacock (*ḥafā*) appears. Iblīs tries to enter the garden in order to seduce Adam, but God prevents him. Then he meets the peacock, the chief of the animals in the garden, whom he tells that all creatures shall die, but that he can show where the tree of eternity is. The peacock tells this to the serpent, the serpent goes to Iblīs, who rushes into its mouth and thus comes into the garden and speaks through the serpent to Adam and Eve, and Eve eats of the tree. The forbidden fruit is in Jewish tradition mainly named as grape or fig or wheat (*Bereghit*, 40a; *Bereghit Rabba*, xv, 7); the same and other opinions are found in Christian and Muslim tradition (al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 183 ff. and other commentaries to Kurʾān, II, 35; al-Thaʿlabī, 19). [For Eve see HAWWA.]

As Adam was ordered to "go down" (*hāḥala*) to the earth paradise was thought to be in heaven. al-Tabarī says (II, 124) that the tradition that Adam was placed in India (al-Hind) has been refuted neither by Muslim, Christian nor Jewish scholars. The most common tradition is that he alighted in Ceylon (*Sarandīb*), Eve in Djidda, Iblīs in Bayṣān (or Mayṣān or Ubulla), the serpent in Ishāḥā (or the desert). Later Adam and Eve met in Muddalifa and ʿArāfa (al-Tabarī, I, 121; al-Masʿūdī, I, 60; al-Bukhārī, I, 3; al-Thaʿlabī, 21 f.). This is to be understood in connexion with the idea that Adam,



who according to a tradition founded the Jewish festivals (*'Aboda Zara*, 84), accomplished the *hadisti* ceremonies, the black stone being sent to him from heaven, whereas he built the Ka'ba (al-Tabari, i, 122; al-Ya'qubi, i, 3; al-Tha'labi, 23). He also learned, with Eve, the use of fire, agriculture and handicraft, according to a tradition of Jewish origin (Hanza al-Isfahani (Gottwald), 84, Berlin 1340, 57; al-Tabari, i, 123, 126 ff.; al-Tha'labi, 23, 25). According to al-Tha'labi he even coined *dirhams* and *dirhams*, as they are necessary for normal life. In continuation of the foregoing it is said that Adam learned all nouns and greetings and religious formulas (al-Tabari, i, 93 ff.; al-Ya'qubi, 3). The presupposition is that Adam spoke Aramaic (*Sa'ad bin*, 38; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, 3). Al-Halabi (*al-Sira al-Halabiyya*, Cairo 1320, i, 20) says that Adam spoke Arabic in Paradise, but on the earth he spoke *uryzinyiya*, and he wrote the 12 known kinds of writing, al-Khat' (28) that he spoke 700 languages, of which the best was Arabic. He also wrote books (al-Dinawari, 8).

When Adam and Eve were united they begot children, first Kabil and Habil (g.n.), each with a twin-sister. Adam married them each to the brother's twin-sister, therefore Kabil was jealous and killed Habil. Shith (g.n.), who was born without a sister, was the favourite of Adam and his spiritual heir (*warid*). Adam begot many other children, one of whom was named 'Abd al-Harith; al-Tha'labi says that Eve bore a boy and a girl twenty times and that the number of Adam's offspring was 40,000 before he died. Al-Halabi mentions five gods of the Arabs who were sons of Adam; Iblis made images of them and these were worshipped by later generations (al-Tabari, i, 149 ff.; al-Mas'udi, i, 62 f.; al-Ya'qubi, 4 f.; al-Tha'labi, 27; al-Halabi, *Sira*, i, 28).

God rubbed the back of Adam, and all his offspring appeared to him, amongst them David. When Adam heard that David should live only a short time he gave him 40 (50 or 70) years of his own life-time, so that he did not reach the 1,000 years that were destined for him (al-Tabari, i, 156 f.; Ibn Sa'd, *Ur.*, 71; al-Tha'labi, 26). The same occurs in Jewish tradition (*Benjamin Rabba*, xvi, 12; *Yalshai Sime'on*, § 41; *Pirke R. Eliezer*, c. 19), and a related idea is the Christian tradition that everything was created at the same moment (Barhebraeus, *Ta'rikh Mukhtasar al-Dinawari*, 7).

Adam was created on Friday, the 6th of Nisan, year 1. On the same day he was expelled, and he died on a Friday at the same date of the month (al-Tabari, i, 155 ff.; al-Mas'udi, i, 60; al-Ya'qubi, i, 4). He was buried, with Eve, in a cave, *magharat al-humaz*; at the foot of Abū Kubays near Mecca (al-Tabari, i, 163; al-Ya'qubi, 4). Al-Tha'labi, 30, relates that after the flood he was brought to Jerusalem, following a Christian tradition that he was taken from the ark to Golgotha, the centre of the earth (*Cane of Treasures*, 38-42, 84, 112, 148), where the "chapel of Adam" is situated in the church of the holy sepulchre (see W. H. Roscher, *Der Omphalosgedanke*, Leipzig 1918; E. Wulstrand, *Konstantin's Kirche am heiligen Grabe*, Göteborg 1952, 36 ff.).

Adam was not only the first of men, but also the first of prophets, and so his position became influenced by the Muslim way of thinking. Just as Jesus was the second Adam in Christianity, a connexion was established in Islam between Adam and Muhammad, with Adam as the first, Muhammad

as the last apostle (*rasul*). In the *Sub'it'ya* system Adam is the first of the 7 *adams*, and some say there were men and *nabih*'s existing before him. Seth was his *awad*. They distinguish between *Adam al-kull* 'all-Adam', identical with the intelligence (*'adl*), from whom the emanation began, and *Adam al-jawid*, the first one in the period of veiling. It is this ideal Adam before whom the angels prostrated themselves because he was godly, God's spirit being in him. This is sometimes designated as an incarnation (*hulul*), which was continued by transmigration (*tawassul*). This deified ideal man was identified with "the perfect man" of Hellenism, and the same was by al-Halabi named *nabih*, as Muhammad became the centre of mankind, an idea especially emphasized in sufism, it became his essence (*hakika*) or his "light" (*warid*) that manifested itself in Adam. All creatures were created for the sake of Muhammad, and Adam and his offspring were created of his light (al-Mas'udi, i, 56; al-Sira al-Halabiyya, 23; al-Tha'labi, 16).

*Bibliography*: Kisā'ī, *Kisā' al-Anbiyā'*, Leiden 1925; Tha'labi, *al-'Adnā'*, Cairo 1325; Wessink, *Handbook*, s.v. *Adam*, *Encyclopaedia*, Cairo 1328/1910, 280, 332; R. A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawī of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī*, viii, Index II; B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'īlism*, Cambridge 1940, 48; R. Strothmann, *Gnosis-Texte der Ismā'īliyyen*, Göttingen 1943, 9, 19 f., 47, 100 f., 117, 129, 166 f.; *ZDMG*, xv, 31 f.; xxv, 284 ff.; xxv, 59 ff.; *RHR*, v, 373-9; T. Andriev, *Le Person Muhammad*, Stockholm 1947, 23 ff.; L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, Index, s.v.; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, Index, s.v.; Déodatmanche, *La légende d'Adam*, *RHR*, 1882; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 34-79; L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1909, i, 47-102; H. Speyer, *Die Biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Gießen 1911, 1931, 41-83.

(J. PEDERSEN)  
'ADAM (A.) is a translation of the Aristotelian term *στυγνός* (*privatio*) and means the absence of existence or being. A definition of the word is found in Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, v, 22 and is taken over by the Arabic Aristotelians. On the whole in Aristotelian philosophy two meanings of the word must be distinguished: (1) absolute non-existence, that is absolute nothingness, (2) relative non-existence, namely (a) the absence of a quality in matter, (b) the pure potentiality of matter. Since the absence of a quality contains, according to Aristotle, potentially its opposite, it has as potentiality a certain positive character. The Aristotelian theory of becoming is based entirely on this concept of privation. There is no absolute becoming, all becoming is the actualization of a relative non-existent or potential.

However, for Aristotle, even pure nothingness seems to have a certain being, for, according to him, by being something it is. But it is the Stoics who have discussed most actively the problem of the existence of the non-existent and it is the representation of their discussions and their terminology which is found in Islam among the theologians. In particular the Mu'tazilites held that the non-existent is a thing (*shay'*), an entity (*dhāt*) and something positive (*qadīm*). According to them, before the existence of the world God knew the entities which He was going to create and what He knew had, since He knew it, a certain reality. Creating the world He gave those entities the accident of existence.

Among the philosophers al-Fārabi and Ibn Sīnā regard, like the Mu'tazilites, existence as an accident, whereas for Ibn Rushd, as for the Ash'arites, existence is an essence.

*Bibliography*: The theory of 'adam as proposed by the Mu'tazilites is found in the works dealing with that sect (e.g. Ibn Hazm, *Fisal*, v, 45); a good discussion is found in Shahrastānī, *Nabih*, al-*Adnā'* (Göttingen), 130 ff. For a general discussion of the problem I refer to S. van den Bergh, transl. of Ibn Rushd's *Tahafut al-Tahafut*, ch. i and ii; see also S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomlehre*, 116 f. (S. VAN DEN BERGH)

ADAMAWA, the name—deriving from the local leader of the Fulani *gɔɔɔ* in 1809 (see para. 5 below)—given to a region in the hinterland of West Africa, and used:

(a) of an area never precisely defined in geographical terms but including the conquests of this *gɔɔɔ* and the resulting sphere of Fulani influence in the region, extending from Marua in the north to well beyond Ngauru in the south and from the Benue in the east to west of Yola, approximately from 11° to 6° N. and 12° to 12° E. With the European occupation of this part of Africa early in the present century, the smaller and more closely populated western part came under the British administration of Nigeria, the eastern section became part of the German Kamerun, which, after the German defeat in the 1918-19 war, was mandated to Great Britain and France by the League of Nations.

(b) of a Province, area according to 1931 census 281, 778 sq. miles—known until 1927 as the Yola Province—in Northern Nigeria, containing that part of (a) west of the original Anglo-German international boundary, plus those areas of the former German Kamerun mandated to Great Britain. These consist of a small area north of the river Benue, and a larger area to the south of it. The Adamawa Province also includes the Amirate of Muri in its south west corner and some tribal areas, not covered by the old name Adamawa. It lies south of the Bornu Province and east of the Bauchi Province of Nigeria.

2. Geography. The main features of Adamawa are the river Benue—the principal tributary of the Niger—and an international water-way which is navigable by steamers at the height of the wet season (August to October), and by large canoes and barges at all times,—running across its centre from east to west; the Mandara Mountains, over 3,000 feet, running north and south, north of the river Benue; and an extensive crescent-shaped massif,—over 5,000 feet at its highest western end,—curving from east to west south of the river Benue.

3. Transport and Trade. The river Benue is itself extensively used for transport; the main caravan routes and modern motor roads run from south to north through the region. In earlier days, slaves and some ivory were the main exports; nowadays ground nuts and hides have replaced these. The region has numerous other items, including cotton, gum, sesame, etc. Imports consist of manufactured articles, especially cotton goods.

4. Economy. The region is not industrialised, and contains no large towns. It is self-contained so far as the necessities of life are concerned. Its population is mainly agricultural and pastoral. Its capital wealth consists in the numerous herds of cattle, sheep and goats.

5. Ethnography. (a) The population of the region comprises the Fulani (see article *FULANI*), both

nomad and settled, and numerous pagan tribes. It is not possible to give figures with any accuracy for the indefinite region described in para. 1 (a) above. At the census of 1931, the salient figures for the Adamawa Province of Nigeria (para. 1 (b) above) were as follows: Fulani 150,936; Hausa (g.n.) 21,506; Kanuri (g.n.) 10,495; other tribes 467,138; these plus some minor groups gave a total population of 1,024,755.

The figures for the main pagan tribes were: Bachama 19,793; Chamba 51,224; Homa 6,604; Bata 23,003; Hiji 6,284; Kilba 22,799; Lala 9,733; Longuda 12,809; Mambilla 19,348; Mumuye 79,272; Vere 10,866; Wurkun 25,472; Marghi 151,223.\* (Starred figures include members of the tribe outside the Provincial boundary, but inside the old "Adamawa").

(b) Languages. Fulani (Fulfulde, see under *FULANI*) is the major language of the region, and the nearest approach to a lingua franca in it. Many of the pagan tribes now use it as such, though they have their own tongues, some of which are interconnected in varying degrees (e.g. Bura and Marghi with Kilba have a common dialect). Hausa is not much spoken outside the towns, and in them mostly by the trading elements. English and French are spoken only by those educated in the more advanced schools in the west and east of the region respectively.

6. History. Prior to the Fulani *gɔɔɔ*, we have only orally transmitted tribal traditions. Most of the major tribes north of the river Benue do not claim to be indigenous and have traditions of immigration from the north and/or east. It seems clear that this was formerly the general direction of tribal movement, owing to the increasing desiccation of the Saharan areas further north, and a consequent thrust of those tribes least able to survive southwards to the better ridden coast. The Fulani must have entered Adamawa centuries before the *gɔɔɔ*. Local pagan tradition speaks (i) of an offshoot from the main Fulani tribe (round the north and west African coasts, subsequently entering the West African hinterland from the direction of Senegambia), which entered Bornu and thence Adamawa from the north, having crossed the central Sahara by the westerly caravan route via Mauritania and Bilma; and (ii) of those Fulani arriving cattleless, having lost their herds en route, and then of their obtaining cattle from the local pagans. With the *gɔɔɔ* we come to firm historical ground. When Usmanu bi Foduye (see *USMANU B. FODUYE*) started a *gɔɔɔ* in the Sokoto area in circa 1804, his reputation spread, and he was joined by a certain Modibbo (Fulani for *mu'allim*) Adama. This Modibbo Adama was born near Gurin, east of the Vere hills on the west bank of the Fazo tributary and just south of the river Benue, had studied in Bornu as a youth under a certain Modibbo Kiar thereafter returning to a village called Welutunde in the Benue region. In 1806, Usmanu gave M. Adama a flag and a few warriors with instructions to return to his own country and to start the *gɔɔɔ* there. In 1809 Modibbo Adama began a *gɔɔɔ* from Gurin, thus embarking on a career of conquest and slave raiding amongst the local pagan tribes. Speaking generally, the Fulani horsemen achieved success except where the pagans could avail themselves of mountainous features unsuitable for mounted men. In such areas, many pagan tribes, such as the Hiji, Marghi and Kilba north of the Benue and the Mambilla, Chamba and others south of it, maintained actual or virtual independence until the European occupation.



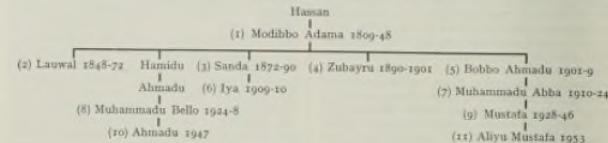
In 1838, Modibbo Adama transferred his headquarters from Gurin (now only a tiny village, but still hallowed for its associations), to the nearby Ribadu, in 1839 to Joboliu a little to the west, and, finally, in 1841, he founded Yola still more to the west (in Fulani the name means a raised area in a marsh, where he died in 1848. All these places are just south of the Benue river, and it is obvious that the intention was to control the river crossings. Details of the dynasty founded by Modibbo Adama are given below. The Fulani conquests, often amounting to little more than raids, were never closely organised except near to the capital. The administrative system was one of fiefs, feudal in character, the lesser chiefs owing allegiance to the *lamido* (Fulani = *amir*, plur. *lamibe*), and rendering tribute. But the tendency was centrifugal, and these fief holders (Fulani =

of magnitude. After an initial period of raid and counter raid, the German Kameruns were taken by an Anglo-French expeditionary force, which captured Garua on 10.6.15, and Ngamere 28.6.15. The German mountain fortress of Mora surrendered 18.2.16.

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(C. E. J. WHITTING)

#### THE AMIRS OF YOLA



*lamido* plur. *lambe*) often achieved virtual though not nominal independence, in proportion to the distance of their fief from the capital. Good examples of this tendency were found in Madagari and Rei Daba in the north and east of the region respectively. Adamawa as a name for the region seems to have become current in the Modibbo's lifetime, for it was in use in Bornu when Clapperton was there in 1823-4.

7. Religion. Islam is the religion of the Fulani and many pagans have been converted and are in process of conversion to it, though adherents of the animistic cults are still numerous. Christian missions now operate in the region. Of these the most important numerically are the Church of the Brethren (American) in the Bura-Marghi tribal areas north of the river Benue, and the Sudan United (Danish) among the riverain Bachama tribe, west of Yola. In the 1931 census, of the total population of 1,024,755 for Adamawa Province, 674,516 were recorded as Muslim, 348,791 as animist, 7,455 as Protestant. It is certain that the next census will show considerable decrease of animists, a large increase of Muslims and some increase of Christians.

8. Miscellaneous. The first recorded European explorer was Dr. Barth in 1851. The French Lieut. Mizon visited the region in 1862-3. The Niger Company traded from bulks in the river Benue for several years before the actual military occupation of Yola by British forces on 2nd September 1901, when Yola Town was spiritedly defended with the help of deserters from Rabe's forces (see under Bornu) armed with modern rifles, and two cannon presented to the then Lamido by Lieut. Mizon, contrary to agreements negotiated by him. The German forces occupied Garua in March 1902, and the Anglo-German international boundary was delimited by a commission in April 1903. During the world war of 1914-8 the region was the scene of military operations on a considerable scale, involving transport difficulties

'ADAN (ADEN) (i) town, (ii) British crown colony, (iii) British protectorate in S.W. Arabia.

(i) Town and seaport on the South coast of Arabia, in British possession since 1839, with a mixed population of ca. 35,000. 'Adan (cf. akkad. *adina* "staple"), more precisely 'Adan Ahyari (by way of distinction from 'Adan LA, and 'Adan in a verse of Ufnid al-Taghlibi; cf. Yāqūt, iii, 622 f.; Kay, 232; AM, ii, 17, 284), or *Ṭaḡr* 'Adan from its being strongly fortified, is the *Athene* of Ptolemy, *Ἐρριπύλιν* of Philostrophos, *Ἐρριπύλιν* of the Periplus, *Ἀρριπύλιν* of Ptolemy (cf. Paddy-Wisniewska, *Suppl.*, iii, 6), and most probably the 'Aden of E.E. xxvii, 23 (see recently v. Wissmann-Höfner, *Beiträge* 306 (88), where also the triple *Ἐρριπύλιν* of CH 350, which may, however, be a fake, is quoted). For other names of the place see al-Makdisi, 30, IM, 110 (= Löfgren, *Arab. Texte*, I, 29).

The peninsula of 'Adan is an extinct volcano, nowadays called *Shamshān* (vulg. *Shamsam*), in earlier time al-'Urr "the mountain" ('Urr 'Adan); it is 1775 feet (ca. 550 m.) high. On the east side is a gap in the range opposite to the island of Sirā; here is the main part of the town, and the habitations reach the sea. 'Adan was once an island: the low and narrow isthmus is still nearly covered at high spring tide. This disadvantage was removed by means of a bridge, al-Maksir, built by the Persians (cf. "Khor Makasar" west of the isthmus). Beside the main volcano there are several minor heights, e.g. *Ḍabab* Sirā, *Hukāt*, *Marshak* (with a large light-house) and *Ḍ. Hadid* (west of the isthmus).

The old harbour was on the east side, in connexion with the town; a mole (*ḍamal*) was constructed to protect it against the SE wind (*azayāh*). The excellent harbour to which 'Adan now owes its importance is the large and well protected bay between the peninsula of 'Adan and that of "Little Adan", with the mountains Muzalkam "Sugarloaf Peak" and *Iḥsan* "Ass's Ears". Bandar Tawayih (Tawāhīh),

as the modern port is called, extends along the NW shore (for details see *Red Sea* and *Aden* *ibid.* 135). The habit of constructing dams and cisterns, typical of old Sabaean culture, has left traces in the 'Adan territory. There are remnants of some fifty reservoirs scattered over the peninsula. According to IM they were built by Persians from Sirā. They are attested by Salt in 1809 and by Haines, the future conqueror of 'Aden, in 1835, to be in a tolerable state, but from 1839 on they were neglected, and much of their stonework was carried away until 1836, when the restoration of those inside the crater was begun. There are thirteen tanks holding nearly two millions litres of water, but the scanty and irregular rainfalls seldom fill them completely. There are numerous wells within the crater and in the west part of the peninsula (cf. IM, 121 f.), but they cannot supply the need of drinking water, being for the most part brackish. In the Middle Ages al-Hayk (= al-Hawa of to-day?) was "the watering-place (*manhal*) of 'Adan" (al-Hamdān, 53). In 1807 the British government got the permission of the sultan of Labḍ (g.n.) to build an aqueduct from the village of *Shaykh 'Uḥmān*. Later on cisterns were installed.

Legend usually ascribes the foundation of 'Adan to Shaddād b. 'Ad (g.n.), who is said to have caused the famous tunnel to be cut through the mountain range and to have used the place as a prison. We are told the same of the *Tubba's* and the Pharaohs of Egypt, whence the name al-Habs or Habs Fir'awn. According to old tradition (e.g. al-Tarīf, I, 104) Kābil, having killed his brother Ḥābil (g.n.), fled with his sister from India to 'Adan, where he was visited by Iblis on *Ḍj. Sirā* and taught the use of musical instruments. His grave is shown to-day above the Main Pass gate. The "abandoned well" (*ḥīr mu'atḥ*, Kur., xxii, 44) and *Iram* (*Ḍabab al-'Imād* [g.n.] (Kur., lxxix, 6) are located in or near 'Adan. The tradition of a fire coming from Yaman or 'Adan (Sirā) and portending the day of judgement, ascribed in *Ḥadīth* to Muhammad, may be some sort of reminiscence of volcanic activity. IM makes Hanuman, the Indian ape-god who has a temple in 'Adan, fetch the wife of Rāmacandra along a subway back to Uḍḍiyāni from Sirā, where she had been brought by a demon (*Rāvana*).

Population. According to al-Hamdān (53, 124) the Arabs of 'Adan were divided into three factions: Marāb, Ḥumāhim (var. *Ḍjamāḍim*, IM) and Malāḥ (cf. Yāqūt, iii, 622; BGA, iii, 302, iv, 206). The great number of Hindus and Somalis indicates a constant immigration by sea. IM 117 ff., has details on early migrations from Madagascar (*Kumri*) via Mogadishu and Kilwa, and of Persians from Sirāf and Kays (Kigh). Cf. Ferrand, *Le K'ouen-Louen* etc. (JA, 1919); Golden, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 247 ff.; idem, in *Spexnum*, 1954, 181 ff. A considerable number of the Jews of 'Adan (about whom see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. *Aden*) were in recent years evacuated into Israel.

The early history of 'Adan is very imperfectly known. From the *Periplus* (ca. 50 A.D.) we learn that the place had been destroyed recently by KAICAP (probably an error for IACAP = Hagarah Vahid, cf. v. Wissmann-Höfner, *Beiträge* 88), but in the time of Constantine the "Emporium Romanum" had recovered its old splendour; a church was built by the bishop Theophilus ca. 342. Later on 'Adan lost its importance in favour of the Red Sea ports of Adulis and Ghulifika. The Persians (from 575 on) favoured culture in Yaman, building cities and bathhouses, and installing tanneries. After Bāḍiān, the last

Sāsānid governor, had submitted to Muhammad 'Adan was visited in 106/651 by 'Alī, who preached from its *mosque*. A mosque built by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was restored by Husayn b. Salama, the vizier of Banū Ziyād (204-429/819-1037). In 454/1062 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Ḥulaybī, *dā'i* of the Fātimids of Egypt, conquered 'Adan and presented it to Harra Sayyida at her marriage with his son al-Mukarram in 461/1069. Banū Ma'n, since 470/1079 in possession of 'Adan after the Ziyādis, were left in charge of the place until 476/1083, when they rebelled and were replaced by two brothers of the Hamdanid family of al-Karam (Mukarram) b. Yām, the founders of the Zuray'id (g.n.) dynasty. 'Abbas took up his residence in the fort of Ta'kar, controlling the isthmus gate, while Ma'sūd held the castle of Khāḍir and superintended the trade. Later on the town was united in the hands of Maḥ. b. Saba' (534-48/1139-53) and his son 'Imrān (-560/1165). The *ḥarāridj* of 'Adan by this time is given as 100,000 *ḍīnār* a year. In 569/1173 Tūrān Shāh, the brother of Saladin, conquered Yaman by means of Turkish mercenaries (*Ḡhuz*). The periods of Ayyūbid (-625/1228), Rasūlid (-658/1244) and Tāhid (-923/1517) dominion were a golden time for the trade of 'Adan. A new tax, collected by galleys (*ḡhawḍi*), was introduced by the Ayyūbids.

The discovery of the sea-route to India and the rise of the Ottoman power mark the beginning of decline in the trade of 'Adan. The Portuguese admiral Albuquerque attacked the town on Easter Eve 1513 with twenty ships, but did not succeed in taking it. In 1538 a Turkish armada on its way to India outwitted the defenders, and the Turks dominated Yaman for nearly hundred years. 'Adan was lost to the Zaydi imams of Sa'nā' in 1568 and in 1630 the Turks left it finally. In 1735 'Adan passed into the hands of the 'Abdālī sultan of Labḍ, whose descendant Muḥsin was forced to cede it to the English expedition under Captain Haines, which had been sent to get an indemnity for the plundering of a British ship. In view of the sultan's treacherous attitude the place was taken by storm on the 20th January 1839. Of the prosperous town visited by Marco Polo in 1276, with 80,000 inhabitants and 360 (!) mosques, there was now left a miserable village of 600 persons living in huts. Since then the development of 'Adan has progressed rapidly, especially after the opening of the Suez canal in 1869, and this "Arabian Gibraltar" is now a mercantile centre of great and increasing importance.

Buildings. A wall was built by the Zuray'ids for the protection of trade, and houses of stone increased in number. After the depart of Tūrān Shāh his viceroy in 'Adan 'Uḥmān al-Zandjīlī (Zandjīlī) built a larger wall, with six gates, and a custom-house. Other secular buildings of Tughtekln b. Ayyūb, his son Ismā'īl, the Rasūlid 'Alī al-Muḍlībī, and the Tāhidī Ḥabīb al-Wahhāb are recorded, AM, 10 ff. Of the "hansoms" bath, lined with marble and jasper, and covered with a dome", which were seen in 1708 by de Merville (Playfair, from La Roque), nothing is left. Among the mosques of 'Adan the most celebrated is that of Abū Bakr al-'Aydārīs (g.n.), the patron of the town, whose *ziyāra* is held on 15 Rabi' II. Other *maḥajīds* are mentioned by Hunter (173 f.) and in AM.

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Hamdānī, *passim* (Forrer's transl. 41.8.); Yāqūt ii, 62; Makhlūd, 30, et pass.; Idrīdī (Ibn al-Jauharī), i, 57; Karwīnī (Wüstenfeld), ii, 67; Abu 'l-Fida', *Tahwīm*, transl. (ii, 126); Ibn Battūta, ii, 279-9; Ibn al-Muḍāwī (Löfgren), i, 106-48 (= IM); Abū Maḥjāra, *Ta'wīḡ al-Thaḡr 'Adan* (= AM), in: O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, Uppsala 1939-50; Hadīyyat b. Muḥsin al-'Abdālī, *Ḥadīyyat al-Zaman fī al-Ḥār al-Mulūk al-Lahīq wa-'Adan*, Cairo 1353/1932; R. L. Playfair, *A history of Arabia Felix*, Bombay 1859; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediæval history*, London 1892; H. von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, 1873; H. P. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, London 1923; H. Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles*, London 1924; A. Grosmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna-Berlin 1922-33; H. v. Wissmann and M. Höfner, *Beiträge zur histor. Geographie des vordem Südarabien*, Wiesbaden 1953. Map: Aden Protectorate 1930 (Geogr. Section, Gen. Staff, no. 3892; scale: 1:253,440).

(ii) British territory (since 1937 crown colony) in SW Arabia, including 'Adan town, peninsula and isthmus, Shāykh 'Uḡḡān town with surrounding district, 'Little Aden' peninsula, and Perim island. Area: ca. 80 square miles. Population: ca. 45,000.

(iii) British protectorate, divided into a Western and an Eastern half, with 'Adan and Mukalla as centres. (a) The W. Aden Protectorate (ca. 40,000 sq. miles) comprises the 'Nim Canton', viz. from W to E) Shāykh, 'Amīr (capital: Dillī), 'Alawī, Hawshīrī (cap. Muḥaymir), 'Abdālī (cap. Lahūq), 'Akrahī, Upper and Lower Yāḡrī, Fadīlī (cap. Shukra), Upper and Lower 'Awākī (cap. Ahwār), in addition to the 'Awḡḡālī and Bayḡḡālī districts (see articles on each of them). (b) The E. Aden Protectorate (70-80,000 sq. miles) comprises the Ḥaḍramawt states (Ku'ayyī and Kūḡḡīrī [see ḤAḌRAMAWT]), the Wāḡḡīlī [g.n.] sultanates of Balḡāf and Bīr 'Alī, the Shāykhdoms of 'Fīra [g.n.] and Hawra [g.n.], and the Maḡīrī sultanate of Kīshīn [g.n.] and Sukutra [g.n.]. Population: ca. 600,000.

*Bibliography*: D. Ingrams, *A survey of social and economic conditions in the Aden protectorate*, Amara 1949. (O. Löfgren).

**ADANA** (in Arabic script *Adhāna*, *Adāna*, *Adāna*, in later times *Ānāna*), (i) city in southern Anatolia, (ii) Ottoman *wilāyat*.

(i) Adana, situated at 37° N, 35°18' E, in the northern part of the plain of Cilicia (Cukurova), on the right (western) bank of the Seyḡān river (the ancient Sarus), in Ottoman times the capital of the *wilāyat* of Adana, since 1935 of the *wilāyat* of Seyḡān (see (ii) below); flourishing trading centre; population (1950) 117,799.

*History*. The changing fortunes of the city have been largely dominated by its geographical situation at the foot of the Taurus passes. Lying at the intersection of the opposing spheres of interest of the Anatolian empires pushing southwards over the Taurus and the Syrian empires expanding towards the north, whose balance of forces or common weakness allowed the establishment of minor dynasties from time to time (Rubenids, Ramadānids), it found security only in an empire which embraced both Anatolia and Syria, as before the Arab conquest, and later under the Ottomans. Adana is an ancient settlement, which seems to have flourished at the time of the Lydian kings, was resettled by Pompey after its destruction by war, and under the East Roman empire was an important commercial centre which competed with Tarsus (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i, 844).

Adana was occupied by the Arabs in the middle of the 7th century, but frequently changed masters in their struggle with the Byzantines. Depopulated by the constant frontier wars, it was rebuilt by Ḥārūn al-Raḡḡīdī and his successors and became a bastion in the chain of fortresses of the 'Syrian marches' (Iḡḡḡāl al-ḡḡḡ). In 875 it was temporarily taken by Ḥārūn al-Raḡḡīdī and again in possession in 944-6, but recaptured by the Arabs after a siege in 964. In 1023 Cilicia was again occupied by the Byzantines, who could not however hold it permanently; nor apparently were the victorious Selḡūks (1071) able at first to establish themselves in the province (cf. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs* . . ., Paris 1913, 17). At any rate, in 1082 Adana again belonged to the Byzantines, but was taken by Sulaymān b. Kutulmuş in 1083 (J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, Paris 1905, 179). After its occupation by the Crusaders in 1097, it belonged at first to the principality of Antioch, but in 1104 was detached by Alexis I and came under Byzantine administration. In 1122 it belonged to Leo of Lattaqia, Armenian, in 1127 became Byzantine, in 1138 was occupied by the Rūm Selḡūks Maḡūd, in 1171 (at the latest) again Armenian, in 1178 Byzantine, finally in 1178-3 incorporated by the Rubenid Meḡ in his Armenian state, in which it remained for a long time, although exposed to repeated Muslim attacks. Baybars, after his victory at Antioch in 1266 appeared before Adana; the Mamūlūks sacked the town in 1275 and 1304, and attacked it in 1355. It remained, however, in Armenian hands (except for 1341-4, when it fell by inheritance to Guy de Lusignan). In 1359 it was occupied by the Mamūlūks, and became the capital of a *niyāha*. In 1378 the governor was the Turkmen Yüreci-oghlu Ramadān, who, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Mamūlūks, extended his dominions and founded the buffer-state of the Ramadān-oghlu [g.n.]. He and his successors followed sometimes a pro-, sometimes an anti-Mamūlūk policy, securing for Adana a relatively quiet time. The inner conflicts and the invasion of the Dḡu 'T-Rāḡīdī Shāhsuḡār in 1467 do not seem to have disturbed the city. In 1485-9 the Ottomans endeavoured unsuccessfully to detach Adana from the Mamūlūks. In 1516, Selīm I, during his Egyptian expedition, occupied it, but left the Ramadān-oghlu in possession, now as Ottoman vassals. In 1606 it came temporarily under the rule of the insurgent Dīanbulat-oghlu and in 1608 it was constituted a regular province (*niyāte*) under a governor (*wāḡīlī*) appointed by the Sūḡlān. In the Turco-Egyptian war of 1832, Adana became the headquarters of the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Paḡḡā, who ceded to Muhammad 'Alī Paḡḡā by the treaty of Kutāya (6 April 1833), but restored to the Porte by the London Convention (6 July 1840). It was then made part of the province of Halab, but in 1867 became again the capital of the new *wilāyat* of Adana. In Dec. 1918 it was occupied by French troops, but was returned to Turkey in 1922 under the terms of the Turco-French treaty of Ankara (20 Oct. 1921).

Commerce. Its favourable situation, as a bridge-head on the great Anatolian-Arabian road (cf. Fr. Taeschner, *Anat. Wegnetz*, Leipzig 1934, index), and the fertility of its surroundings, always enabled Adana to recover, in spite of its changing political fortunes. Nevertheless, until the period of the Ramadān-oghlu it seems to have been less important than Tarsus. In the 10th century, according to al-Iḡḡḡālī and Ibn Hawḡāl, Adana was defended by

a wall with eight gates and a fortress on the opposite bank (the last remains of which were demolished in 1856); according to al-Idrīdī (1150) it had a flourishing trade; W. von Ollenburger (1211) says that it was well populated but not rich. In the town, already famous for its cotton, the Venetians had privileges (Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce*, index, cf. Laurent, 11). Abū 'l-Fida' described it as flourishing, B. de la Broquerie (1439) as a busy emporium. Its progress in the period of the Ramadān-oghlu under Ottoman suzerainty, is reflected in the accounts of travellers (cf. e.g. Badr al-Dīn al-ḡḡḡāzī [1530], MS Kōprulu 1390; Kutb al-Dīn al-Makḡī [1557], *Tārīḡ Semīnārı dergisi*, 1/2, 4 ff.; P. Belon, *Les observations*, etc., Antwerp 1533). Mehmed 'Aḡḡī, *Mendīr al-'Aḡḡīlīm* (MS Nurī 'Oḡḡḡālye 3032, 215) and Bīḡḡḡī Khalīfā, *Dīkāt-nāme* (Istanbul 1215, 601), depend on the Arabic geographers and do not add anything new. The anonymous *al-Mendīr wa 'l-Tārīḡ ilā Bayt Alīk* (MS Inkilāp Kitabhanesi, M.C., K boy, 113, fol. 8v) mentions the excellence of its markets and of its products, likewise Ewlyā Celēbī, *Seyḡāt-nāme* (Istanbul 1935, 37, ix, 333 ff.), according to whom Adana had 8700 houses built of clay (this might be slightly exaggerated in his usual manner). With the general retrogression of the Ottoman empire, however, a decline set in which lasted till the middle of the 19th century; one of the main causes was the insecurity which began immediately outside its gates. Nevertheless, the cotton trade continued, and in the 18th century there seemed to be some recovery in commercial relations with merchants from Kayseri (cf. P. Lucas [1766]; C. Niebuhr [travelled 1766], *Reisebeschreibung*, Hamburg 1837, and others quoted by Ritter).

At the beginning of the 19th century, Adana had still a larger population than Tarsus (according to J. M. Kinner, *Voyage dans l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1818), while two decades later, in 1836, it is described as smaller than Tarsus (J. Rueseger, *Reise in Griechenland . . . und südlich Kleinasien*, Stuttgart 1841, 524 ff.). There was now but little trade, as is remarked in a report of the British consul Neale (cited Ritter, see Bibl.). On the attempt made during the Egyptian occupation more especially to revive cotton production, but without much success, see W. F. Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative*, i, London 1860. An account of the corporation of the silk factories is given by V. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, Paris 1861. The city began to prosper again in the second half of the 19th century, due to the growing European demand for cotton and the efforts for improvement (e.g. road to Mersin) especially of the *wāḡīlī* Khalīf Paḡḡā. According to J. Davies, *Life in Turkey* (London 1879, 48 ff.), as a result of these efforts, the land was well cultivated, the town relatively clean and active, and the number of inhabitants varying between twenty to thirty-five thousand (the difference being due to the migration of part of the population to the mountains during the hot summer and to the great number of migrating labourers). V. Quinet, ii, 35 ff., gives: 30,000 permanent inhabitants (1830), Muslims, 12,578 Armenians and 12,000-13,000 migrating labourers. In 1870 a municipal administration was established, with a mayor. Its communications were improved by the opening of the railway to Mersin in 1886, and the piercing of the Taurus tunnels during the first world war. The occupation and the subsequent exodus of the Armenians and Greeks, who had gained importance by their position in trade during the 19th century, brought about a crisis. Under the Turkish Republic

there set in a period of rapid progress (72,577 inhabitants in 1927, 117,799 in 1950). Since 1935 Adana has been the capital of the province of Seyḡān.

Population. Christianity was established in Adana from an early date, and it was an episcopal see. Since the government of the Armenian Rubenids the Armenians had greatly outnumbered the Greeks and the Armenian church acquired a preponderant position. Its Christian population, already affected by the constant Muslim attacks, steadily decreased after the Mamūlūk conquest and under the Ottomans (see the reports of travellers, and data in Ritter and Alshān). During the 19th century the Christian population increased, but the victory of the Turks in 1922 brought about their total expulsion. Little is known of the Jews of Adana (cf. A. Galante, *Histoire des Juifs d'Asie*, Istanbul 1939, ii, 304). Arab elements penetrated into Cilicia with the armies from the 8th century, but could scarcely maintain themselves in Adana itself when Turkish nomads had already gained a firm foothold in the neighbourhood. Adana is described by P. Belon (1548) as lying on the linguistic frontier between Arabic and Turkish. Thereafter the Arab elements in the population were almost wholly displaced, and his situation could not be changed by the brief Egyptian occupation in the 19th century.

Culture. Adana has not played in the past, nor does it play at present, an important cultural role. It has an interesting museum, founded in 1924 in the *madrassa* of Dīḡā'ar Paḡḡā. The main monuments are those to the *madrassa* of the *niyāte* of Dīḡā'ar Paḡḡā, with a monumental gateway (inscription from 1533) and *madrassa* in the E. and S. sides of the court, domed *iwān* with finely sculptured ornament; the mosque itself is of uncertain date (before 1500). Ulu Dīḡā'ar, built by Ramadān-oghlu Khalīf, 1507-41, and enlarged by his grandson Mustafā, 1548/1547 (for a legend relating to its construction, cf. Baki T. Arık, *Adana Fethinin destanı*, Istanbul 1923, 47 ff.), mosque, *madrassa*, *turbe* and *dergāhāne*, enclosed by high wall; emphasis on eastern facade with main entrance. The groundplan, various details, coloured ornamentation and minaret indicate the influence of Syrian models; Selḡūk tradition is particularly apparent in the dragons at the base of the dome; richly elaborated *niyāte*; Ottoman tiles of the finest quality; these various stylistic elements are united into a convincing whole. *Turbe* with graves decorated with tiles of the Ramadān-oghlu Khalīf, Piri and Mustafā. Of the many foundations of the dynasty the following are wholly or partly preserved: the so-called Wakīf Seyḡā, residence of the dynasty since 1495; Selāmīk Dayrē, today Tur. İsmail. Also noteworthy are the Carahi Hammām, the *bedestān* (frequently mentioned by travellers, but rebuilt in the middle of the 19th century, and *Aḡḡā Mesḡūd*, of 1409-10, the oldest mosque in the town, with carved door.

*Bibliography*: No special monograph exists. Scattered references, in addition to works cited in the article, in the following: *IA* and *Turb* (formerly *Indus*) *Asiatickische*, x.v.; R. A. Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey etc.*, i, London 1850; Ebū Bekr Fawḡī, *Kūḡḡāna-yi Ahwāl al-Buldān fī Memālīk-i Dīḡā'ar Al-'Aḡḡān*, (Ist. Üniv. Kutubhanesi, Fotokopiler no. 28, p. 90); V. Quinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 340; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 731; H. Reclus, *Nouv. géog. univ.*, ix, 656; Sīdī Bey Fraḡḡar, *Kāmar al-ḡḡḡān*, i, 290 f.; W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, iv, London 1890; Le Strange, 131; E. Reitmeyer,







be supposed, no matter whether it is applied in a good or bad sense; thus for instance *ra'a* 'to be afraid' and 'to be pleased'; *tarā'a* 'to be sad' and 'to be joyful'; *radā'a*, *hādā'a*, 'to hope' and 'to fear'; *shafar*, *hanna*, a 'good smell' and a 'bad smell'; to this class belong also the verbs of conjecture in their double meaning of 'to know' and 'not to know', e.g. *sawna*, *hāsiba*, *hādā'a*. 5. Cultural influence has often caused the later differentiation of words originally meaning the same thing in *ba'a*, *gharā*, 'to sell' and 'to buy', originally 'to exchange'. 6. Denominations, especially in the 2nd and 4th forms, originally meant: 'to undertake an action with the object in question', and therefore may be applied both positively and negatively; e.g. *farā'a*, 'to rise', 'to sink' (cf. Hebrew *šārā'āh*, *sikhā'ā*). — Besides this the lack of compound-forming prepositions in Arabic makes much ambiguity possible (cf. al-Suyuti, 189: *uallā* = *ahbala*, 'to turn oneself to' and = *adbara*, 'to turn oneself from'; *samā'a*, 'to hear', and 'to give ear' in the sense of 'to answer'), and there are many vocis ambiguous or communis generis which admit a double interpretation, e.g. *amam*, properly 'aim' = a thing of little or of great importance; *ma'am*, 'a gathering place of women', either on sad or on joyous occasions; *uadi*, 'husband', 'wife'. Finally the many dialectal *adā'id* are of importance. Arab philologists already quoted such examples, *ualla* 'darkness' in the dialect of the Tamimites, 'light' in that of the Kaysites; *warā'aba*, 'to sit' (= Hebrew *yāghābā*) in the Himyarite dialect, 'to spring up' generally in Arabic; further *sadd*, *har*, etc. (cf. C. Landberg, *La langue arabe et ses dialectes*, Leiden 1905, 64 ff.).

The phenomenon of the enantiosema can be observed in all Semitic languages. Hence the graph of E. Landau, *Die gegenwärtigen Wörter im Alt- und Neuhebräischen*, Berlin 1896, was of interest also for the understanding of the Arabic *adā'id*. The most comprehensive and most critical examination of the subject is by Th. Nöldeke, *Wörter mit Gegenwärtigen*, Strassburg 1910, 67-108, 172 *adā'id* of literary Arabic are examined and explained either etymologically or semasiologically (by pointing out similar changes of meaning), taking into consideration the corresponding roots in the Arabic dialects, in Hebrew and Aramaic, and in the languages of Abyssinia. Though Nöldeke classifies a large number of the changes into certain semasiological categories, he deliberately abstains from seeking a fixed principle or order and states explicitly that "in semasiology fixed and general laws are even less manifest than in phonetics" and that "the variegated reality of human speech resists all attempts to force it into formulas".

As is implied in the preceding argument, enantiosema are to be found in all languages. Jacob Grimm, *Kleineere Aufsätze*, vii, 367, had already drawn attention to this; interesting examples are to be found in K. Nyrop, *Das Leben der Wörter* (transl. R. Vogt). Special attention is drawn to the observations of J. Wackernagel (which might otherwise be overlooked) in a passage of his *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, Basel 1908, II, 235. (G. Weir)

ADHĀN (see 'ADHĀN).

ADFC (ADFC), provincial capital in Upper Egypt, on the west bank of the Nile, the ancient Apollinopolis Magna of Greek times, the Arabic name of which is a transcription of the Coptic name, Aṭbō.

At the beginning of the Muslim administration the town was incorporated in the *kāra* of Aswān. It was on the caravan route from Cairo to the south, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is the only medieval traveller who refers to it, as being a day and a night's journey south of Aswān. The temple of Adhān is merely mentioned by al-Dīnawarī, but without any description, for it must have been buried in sand. Indeed, Grainger's reference to it, in 1739, is the first allusion to it by a European: he saw there 'the remains of a temple which one could not enter, and it was full of earth and rubbish'. We must wait for Vivant Denon to obtain a less rudimentary account of him. The temple made a tremendous impression. In the year 700/1300 some brickworkers brought to light the statue of a woman seated on a throne, on which were hieroglyphic inscriptions.

The district of Adhān seems to have been very fertile, and particularly rich in palm-trees. Its date were made into cakes, after first being pounded. In the Mamlūk period its annual revenue was 17,000 dinars from an area of 24,724 *faddāns*. Al-Adhān is full of praise for the good qualities of the people of Adhān, whom he describes as generous, discreet, sincere, welcoming to strangers, and charitable.

No events memorable in history seem to have taken place in the town.

**Bibliography.** — Makrid, *Kāṭal*, MIFAQ, xlii, 125 (with bibliography); Yāqūt, i, 168-7; Ibn Duhmāq, v, 29; *Égypte de Murādī*, fasc. Wiet, 1908, 113-4; Carrié, *Voyageurs français en Égypte*, i, 65, 89, 134.

ADHĀ' (see 'AD AL-ADHĀ').

'ADHĀB (A.), 'torment, suffering, affliction', inflicted by God or a human ruler, and in so far as it expresses not only absolute power but also love of justice, also 'punishment, chastisement' ('*adāba*). The divine judgments, which are often mentioned in the Qur'ān, strike the individual as well as whole nations in the life of this world as well as in the life to come. It is mainly unbelief, doubt of the divine mission of the prophets and apostles, rebellion against God, that are punished in this manner (see 'AD, 'ADHĀ, 'ADHĀ, 'ADHĀ, and others). With regard to the punishments in the life to come, see already in the grave, see 'ADHĀB AL-KABR, 'ADHĀB-NAM.

For legal punishments, see 'ADHĀB.

(Th. W. JUVENOLD)

'ADHĀB AL-KABR, the punishment in the tomb, also called punishment in *barzakh* [p. 1]. The idea is based on the conception that the dead had a continued and conscious existence of a kind in their grave. So arose the doctrine of the two judgements, one which involves punishment or bliss in the grave and a subsequent judgement on the Day of Resurrection [for which see AL-RIVĀMA]. There are various ideas of what happens between death and resurrection.

1. The grave is a garden of paradise or a pit of hell; angels of mercy come for the souls of believers and angels of punishment for the infidels. The souls of believers are birds in the trees of paradise and will be united with their bodies at the resurrection; martyrs are already in paradise.

2. The dead are tortured by the weeping of the mourners, especially the widow, hearing the steps of the mourners as they leave; the believer finds his grave spacious, 70 cubits by 70, while the unbeliever is crushed by his grave till his ribs inter-

lock. The grave asks the dead man about his religion and the believer's good works answer for him. A sinner may be tormented by a snake of fire which bites him till the day of judgement.

3. Two angels, Munkar and Nakir, black with blue eyes, make the dead man sit up and ask him about his religion. The believer answers with the 'steadfast word' (Qur'ān, xiv, 26) and is shown the place in hell from which he is delivered and the place reserved for him in paradise; there upon he is left alone till the Day of Resurrection. The unbeliever cannot answer, so the angels beat him with iron whips which cause flames, and the blows are heard by all creation except men and *ghinn*. It is a less reliable doctrine that punishment is of the spirit only. There are elaborate arguments to prove that those whose bodies are left impaled and those who were eaten by wild beasts suffer from it. The punishment lasts as long as it will please Allah, according to some authorities till the Day of Resurrection, except on Fridays. It may be eased as long as a branch planted on the grave is green. The angels draw the souls out of the bodies; those of believers come out easily while those of unbelievers have to be dragged out causing severe pain. Variations in detail are many. The question of whether believers last several days, that of unbelievers forty; or unbelievers are not questioned and the angels proceed at once to punishment; martyrs, infants and those who have performed certain acts of supererogation are not questioned.

In some sources a distinction is made between the punishment and the pressure (*daḡā*) in the tomb, the righteous faithful being exempt from the former, not from the latter, whereas the infidels and the sinners suffer punishment as well as pressure. The prophet's daughter, Fāṭima, and some others escape being crushed.

The punishment in the tomb is not plainly mentioned in the Qur'ān. Allusions to the idea may be found in several passages, e.g. Qur'ān, xviii, 26: "But how when the angels, causing them to die, shall smite them on their faces and backs"; vi, 92: "But couldst thou see, when the ungodly are in the floods of death, and angels reach forth their hands, saying, Yield up your souls: this day shall ye be recompensed with a humiliating punishment"; viii, 49: "And if thou wert to see when the angels take the life of the unbelievers; they smite on their faces and their backs, and taste ye the torture of burning" (cf. further i, 10; xxiii, 20; liii, 46).

The punishment of the tomb is very frequently mentioned in Tradition (see Bibliography), often, however, without the mention of angels. In the latter group of traditions it is simply said that the dead are punished in their tombs, or why, e.g. on account of special sins they have committed.

The names of Munkar and Nakir do not appear in the Qur'ān, and once only in canonical Tradition (al-Tirmidhī, *Ḍiḡā'ir*, *ḥab* 70). Apparently these names do not belong to the old stock of traditions. Moreover, in some traditions one anonymous angel only is mentioned as the angel who interrogates and punishes the dead (Munkar, *Ḍiḡā'ir*, transl. 169). Abū Dhāwūd, *Sawm*, *ḥab* 297; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 233, 240; iv, 150; al-Tayḡīdī, no. 753). So there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding this subject: the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning "the" angel, the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakir.

This state of things is reflected in the development

of the creed. The *Fikḥ Akḥar* I, which may date from the middle of the 2nd/8th century, gives only a short reference to the punishment of the tomb (art. 10). The *Wasiyyat Abi Hanifa*, which may represent the orthodox views of the middle of the 3rd/9th century, mentions both the punishment and the interrogation by Munkar and Nakir. The *Fikḥ Akḥar* II, which may represent the new orthodoxy of the middle of the 4th/10th century A.D., is still more elaborate (art. 23): "The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakir is a reality, and the reunion of the body with the spirit in the tomb is a reality. The pressure and the punishment in the tomb are a reality that will take place in the case of all the infidels, and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful". In the later creeds and works on dogmatics the punishment and the interrogation in the tomb by Munkar and Nakir are treated in a similar way.

The Khawāridj, some Mu'tazilis and some of the extreme Shi'a do not believe in punishment in the grave. Some Mu'tazilis explained Munkar as the muttering of the unbeliever as he stumbles in his reply and Nakir as the violence done to him. Others said that Munkar and Nakir were not individuals but two classes of angels because men were dying every minute in all parts of the world and two individuals could not be everywhere at once. Another rationalisation was that the two were personifications of a man's good and evil deeds, promising him bliss or misery.

The Karrāmīya [p. 5] taught the identity of Munkar and Nakir with the two guardian angels who accompany man ('Abd al-Kāfir al-Baḡdādī, *Usul al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1928, p. 246). Al-Ghazālī holds that all eschatological ideas are a reality that takes place in the *malakūt*.

The origin of the names Munkar and Nakir is uncertain; the meaning "disliked" seems doubtful. The idea of the examination and the punishment of the dead in their tombs is found among other peoples also. The details to be found in Jewish sources (*ḥabbat ha-kober*) are strikingly parallel to the Muslim ones; the idea is, however, rather late among the Jews and apparently belongs to the post-Islamic period. (See J. C. G. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen 1748, i, 95 f.; Jewish Enc., s.v. *Habbat ha-Kober*.)

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(A. J. WENSINCK-A. S. TRITTON)

ADHĀN, 'announcement', a technical term for the call to the divine service of Friday and the five daily *ṣalāt* (see ṢALĀT).

According to Muslim tradition, the Prophet, soon after his arrival at Madīna (1 or 2 years after the

Hidra), deliberated with his companions on the best manner of announcing to the faithful the hour of prayer. Some proposed that every time a fire should be kindled, a horn should be blown or *naḥās* (i.e. a long piece of wood clapped with another piece of wood; with such a *naḥās* the Christians in the East used at that time to announce the hour of prayer) should be used. But one Muslim, 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd, related that he saw in a dream somebody who from the roof of the mosque called the Muslims to prayer. 'Umar recommended that manner of announcing the *ṣalāt*, and as all agreed to it, this *adhān* was introduced by order of the Prophet. From that time the believers were convoked by Hilāl, and up to our days the *adhān* is called out at the time of the *ṣalāt*.

Becker (*Id.*, 1912, 386 ff.) finds the historical model of the *adhān* in Christian Worship, Mittwoch (*Abh. Fr. Ak.W.*, 1913, Phil.-hist. Klasse, No. 2, 22 ff.), perhaps less convincingly, in Jewish liturgy.

The *adhān* of the orthodox Muslim consists of seven formulas, of which the sixth is a repetition of the first:

1. *Allāh akbar*: "Allāh is most great".
2. *Aḥadu an lā ilāh illā 'llāh*: "I testify that there is no god besides Allāh".
3. *Aḥadu anna Muḥammadan rasūl Allāh*: "I testify that Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh".
4. *Hayya 'ala 'l-ṣalāt*: "Come to prayer".
5. *Hayya 'ala 'l-jalāl*: "Come to salvation".
6. *Allāh akbar*: "Allāh is most great".
7. *Lā ilāh illā 'llāh*: "There is no god besides Allāh".

The first formula is repeated four (by the Mālikites two) times one after the other, the other formulas are repeated twice each, except the last words: *lā ilāh illā 'llāh*, which are pronounced only once. The 2nd and 3rd formulas after being pronounced twice are repeated a third time in a louder voice. This repetition (*tarqīq*) is generally considered as recommended by the law, only the Hanafites forbid it. At the morning prayer (*ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*) the words *al-ṣalāt khayr min al-nawm* ("prayer is better than sleep") are added in the *adhān*. This formula, also pronounced two times and called *ṭaḥwīd* (repetition), is inserted between the 5th and 6th formulas, but the Hanafites pronounce it at the end.

The *adhān* of the Shī'ites differs from that of the Sunnites in that the former has an eighth formula (inserted between the fifth and the sixth): *Hayya 'ala khayr al-'amal*, "Come to the best work". These words have at all times been the shibboleth of the Shī'ites; when called from the minarets in an orthodox country, the inhabitants knew that the government had become Shī'ite (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 63; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe* i, text, p. 50; transl., p. 169). The Shī'ites pronounce also the final formula two times.

The Muslims who hear the *adhān* must repeat its formulas, but instead of the fourth and fifth, they recite: *lā ḥawā' wa-lā ḥawā' illā bi'llāh*, "there is no strength nor power but in Allāh", and instead of the 5th formula in the morning *adhān*, they say: *ṣalāḥa wa-barā'a*, "thou hast spoken truthfully and rightly".

The *adhān* is followed by formulas of glorification which are recommended and precisely determined by the law. They are omitted only after the call to the *maghrib ṣalāt*, because the space of time in which this prayer must be said, is very short.

There is no fixed melody for the *adhān*. Every *adhān* may be modulated at will with any known tune, provided that the right pronunciation of the

words is not impaired by it. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 87: "In Mecca one hears different airs at the same time. Like the recitation of the Qur'ān, the singing of the *adhān* is in Mecca a highly developed art". Only among the Hanbalites there are doctors who do not allow any melody for the *adhān*, and the Wahhābīs follow this doctrine. The Ibādīs, too, do not sing the *adhān*. (For the melody of the *adhān* see also GHINĀ.)

Every Muslim who, alone or with others, recites the above-mentioned *ṣalāt* at home or in the field should pronounce the *adhān* in a loud voice as is recommended by the law (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprüche und Reden*, 87 *Verspr. Geschr.* v, 81). At mosques, a *mu'adhḍin* [q.v.] is often appointed to perform the *adhān*.

The call to the other public *ṣalāt*s, e.g. those of the two feasts, those at sun and moon eclipses, etc., has only one formula: *al-ṣalāt dīma'at*, "come to the public prayer". This formula is said to have been current already in the time of the Prophet. Cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, 1905, 315.

Important information on the modifications of the *adhān* formulas introduced at various times and in various places from the beginning of Islam is to be found in Makrūzī, *Ḥikāyat*, ii, 269 f.

Owing to the profession of faith frequently occurring in the *adhān*, the Muslims pronounce it in the right ear of a child shortly after his birth (cf. Lane, *Arab. Society in the Middle Ages*, 136; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 138) as well as in the ear of people supposed to be possessed of *djinn* (evil spirits).

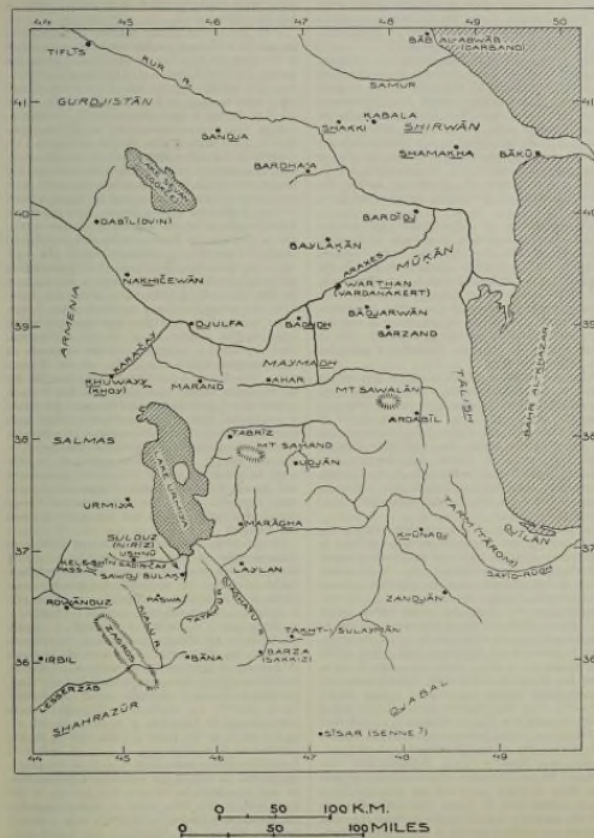
The *ṣalāt* in the mosque is immediately preceded by a second call, the *ṭiḥma* [q.v.], which contains the same formulas as the *adhān*.

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#### ADHĀR (see ṬAḤṬĀ)

**ADHARBAVDJĀN (AZARBAJDJĀN)** (i) province of Persia; (ii) Soviet Socialist Republic.

(i) The great province of Persia, called in Middle Persian *Āturpātākān*, older new-Persian *Ādharbādhagān*, *Ādharbāyagān*, at present *Azarbājdjān*, Greek *Ἀρζοπατριών*, Byzantine Greek *Ἀρζαβιγανών*, Armenian *Atrapatakan*, Syriac *Adharbādhagān*. The province was called after the general Atropates ("protected by fire"), who at the time of Alexander's invasion proclaimed his independence (328 B.C.) and thus preserved his kingdom (Media Minor, Strabo, xi, 13, 1) in the north-western corner of later Persia (cf. Ibn al-Mukaffā', in Yāqūt, i, 172, and al-Makrūzī, 375; *Ādharbādhagān* b. Bīrūnī). The dynasty of Atropates flourished under the Arshakids and married into the royal house. The last scion of the house, Gaius Julius Artabazd, died in Rome in A.D. 38, when the kingdom was already incorporated by the Arshakids. (For the ancient history cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Atropatene*.) Under the Sāsānians *Ādharbājdjān* was ruled by a *marzban* and towards the end of the period belonged to the family of Farrūkh-Hormīd, (see Marquart, *Eran-lahr*, 108-11). The capital of *Ādharbājdjān* was at *Shīz* (or *Ganzak*), which corresponds to the ruins



ADHARBAVDJĀN



of Laylān (south-east of Lake Urmīya). It possessed a famous firetemple which the Sāsānīan kings visited on their accession. Later the fire was removed to the less accessible Arghakid castle of Bōšpaxt, Bōšpaxt (now Talūt-i Sulaymān).

The Arab conquest of Ādharbaydjan is variously recorded under the years 15-22/639-43. In the days of 'Umar, Hūdhayfa b. al-Yamān is said to have conquered Ādharbaydjan coming from Nihāwand; other expeditions came from Shahrāzūr. Hūdhayfa made a treaty with the *mazbūn* whose capital was in Ardābil. He agreed to pay 800,000 dirhams and the Arabs promised not to enslave anyone, to respect the fire-temples and the ceremonies held in them, and to protect the population against the Kurds (nomads) of Balāsāgān, Sabānā and Shāt-rūdān.

The population of Ādharbaydjan (of Iranian origin) spoke a multitude of dialects (al-Makdisi, 375: 70 languages near Ardābil). Arab chieftains settled in various districts: Rawādī al-Ardī in the region of Tabriz; Bā'ū al-Rādā in Marand; Muz b. 'Alī al-Rudaynī south of Lake Urmīya, etc. They were gradually absorbed by the native population and towards the middle of the 4th/10th century the Rawādīs were considered as Kurds. (See in detail Sayyid A. Kāsarī, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, I-III, Teheran 1928-9.)

After the revolt of Bābak (g.v.), the grip of the caliphate on Ādharbaydjan weakened. The last energetic governors of the province (276-378/889-929) were the Sāgids (g.v.) who themselves ended in revolt. After their fall native dynasties sprang up in Ādharbaydjan. After the Khāridjite Dayṣam (half Arab and half Kurd), Ādharbaydjan was occupied by the Daylamite Mārnāsh b. Muḥammad, of the *khān* creed (see *MOŠA'IR*). The Daylamites were succeeded by the Kurdish Rawādīs (g.v.) (373-463/983-1070).

In the beginning of the 5th/11th century the Ghuz horse, first in smaller parties, and then in considerable numbers, under the Seljūkids occupied Ādharbaydjan. In consequence, the Iranian population of Ādharbaydjan and the adjacent parts of Transcaucasia became Turkophone. In 1311:12, Ādharbaydjan fell to the lot of the *atābek* Hūlāgū (g.v.) (better 'Hūlāgū' whose descendants ruled, in competition with the Ahmadīs (g.v.), till the short-lived invasion of the Khā'arīm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn (622-8/1223-31) at whose heels came the Mongols. With the arrival of the Il-khān Hūlāgū (624/1256) Ādharbaydjan became the centre of a great empire extending from the Caucasus to Syria. The residence of the Mongols was first in Marāgha (g.v.) and then in Tabriz (g.v.), which became a great centre of trade and cultural life. After the Mongols and their successors the Djalālīs (g.v.), Ādharbaydjan was occupied by the Turks returning from the west (the Kara Koyunlu (g.v.) and Ak Koyunlu (g.v.)) whose capital was in Tabriz (780-908/1378-1502).

After 907/1502 Ādharbaydjan became the chief bulwark and rallying ground of the Safawids, themselves natives of Ardābil and originally speaking the local Iranian dialect. In the meantime, between 1514 and 1603, the Ottomans frequently occupied Tabriz and other parts of the province. The Persian control was restored by Shāh 'Abbās but during the Afghan invasion (1730-1737-8) the Ottomans recaptured Ādharbaydjan and other western provinces of Persia, until Nādir Shāh expelled them.

In the beginning of the reign of Karīm Khān Zand the Afghan *Ẓād* Khān revolted in Ādhar-

baydjan and later the Dumbālī Kurds of Khoy and other tribal chiefs lorded it over various parts of Ādharbaydjan.

With the advent of the Kājārīs Ādharbaydjan became the traditional residence of the heir-apparent. In the north the final frontier with Russia (along the Araxes) was established in 1858 (treaty of Turkmančay). The western frontier with Turkey was delimited only in 1914, and under Rīdā Shāh Persia ceded to Turkey a small area north of the Ararat.

After 1905 the representatives of Ādharbaydjan took a lively part in the Persian revolution. On 3 April 1908 Russian troops arrived in Ādharbaydjan, by agreement with Great Britain, to protect the foreign colonies in Tabriz, but then prolonged their stay under various pretexts, and in 1914-7 warned with the Turks with varying fortune. They evacuated Ādharbaydjan after the Russian revolution (1917), and on 8 June the Turks arrived and installed in Tabriz a Turco-philic government. About this time there appeared the first traces of Ādharbaydjanī self-consciousness. The Persian control was restored by the future Rīdā Shāh on 5 September 1921. After the events of 1941 (see IRAN) the Soviet forces occupied the northern provinces, including Ādharbaydjan. Under cover of the occupation, there developed a movement for the autonomy of Ādharbaydjan within the limits of the Persian state. The Russians evacuated Ādharbaydjan by the beginning of May 1946 (instead of March 1946, as first agreed) and this delay led to a great discussion in the United Nations and to the first official split among the Allies. After the evacuation, the Premier Kāwām recognised the provincial autonomy of Ādharbaydjan in an agreement signed on 13 June 1946, by which the rights of local self-government with the use of the local Turkish dialect were guaranteed. However, on 4 November, Persian troops moved into Ādharbaydjan and the *status quo ante* was restored.

Geography. The list of towns and districts of Ādharbaydjan in Ibn Khuradādhbih, 119, is important for the composition of the province (*khra*) soon after the conquest, and possibly even under the Sāsānians: 1. Marāgha; 2. Mīyānāg; 3. Ardābil; 4. Shīr (= Senna); 5. Darza (= Sakki); 6. Sābūr-shāst; 7. Tabriz; 8. Marand; 9. Khoy; 10. Kūlsara; 11. Mōkān; 12. Barzand; 13. Dīzanā (Ganzak); 14. Dībarwān; 15. Nīrīz; 16. Urmīya; 17. Salmās; 18. Shīr; 19. Rustāk al-Salak; 20. Rustāk Sīnd-bāya ('Sind-pāye'); 21. al-Budhūh; 22. Urm; 23. Rūstān-Karādī (= Karadja-dagh?); 24. Rustāk Sarāh (Sarāh); 25. Dāskīshwar (?); 26. Rustāk Māy-pahādī. Of these nos. 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19 and 26 lie to the south of Lake Urmīya (in the direction of Daynawar); nos. 7, 8, 9, 16 and 17 in the north-western corner; nos. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 21, 22, 23 and 24 east of the meridian of Tabriz. Nos. 20 and 25 cannot be located. The frontier in the south was no. 26, 'the watch of Mōkān' (possibly the present day Sunkur (g.v.); in the east, it passed between Mīyāna and Zandjīn (g.v.); in the N.E. Ibn Khuradādhbih, 121, names Warḡān (now Altan on the south bank of the Araxes) as 'the end of the *amāl* of Ādharbaydjan'. Thus the territory of the province closely corresponded to its present extent, but as Ādharbaydjan was usually governed jointly with the neighbouring Armenia and Arrān (see al-Makdisi, 374: *shām al-rīgh*) comprising the three provinces), administrative frontiers were subject to temporary changes, especially in later times. In al-Makdisi, 374, Khoy,

Urmīya and even Dāgharrakān (south of Tabriz) are reckoned to Armenia. According to Yāhū (13th century) Ādharbaydjan extended down to Baqrīā (Parthav), in *Nasbat al-Kulūb* (730/1340), 89, Nakhshewan and Ordōbād, on the left bank of the Araxes, are mentioned under Ādharbaydjan.

Very characteristic for Ādharbaydjan are the high peaks rising in various parts of the territory, with ranges of mountains connecting them: Mt. Sawālān west of Ardābil (15,792 feet), Mt. Sahand, south of Tabriz (12,000 feet), the Lesser Ararat (12,840 feet) south of which runs the long range which forms the frontier with Turkey and 'Irāk, and which in its southern part is studded with high peaks. The central parts of Ādharbaydjan consist both of considerable plains (Tabriz, Marand, Khoy, Salmās) and of high plateaus burrowed by deep gorges.

The territory of Ādharbaydjan belongs to the basins of the Caspian, of Lake Urmīya and of the Tigris. Towards the Caspian flow: (i) the tributaries of the Safid Rūd having their sources on the south-eastern face of Mt. Sahand, and (ii) the southern tributaries of the Araxes (the river of Ardābil, Kara-su; the rivers of Karadja-dagh; the river of Khoy and the river of Mākān, Zandjīn-dagh). The internal Lake Urmīya (g.v.) drains an area of 32,500 sq. km (the rivers of Marāgha, Sulī-dāy etc.); the river of Tabriz, Aghī-dāy; the numerous rivers of Salmās and Urmīya; the important rivers of the Kurdish districts, Dīghastī, Tatawū, Gādīr). The Lesser Zāb rises on the Persian side of the frontier range and, through the gap of Alān, emerges into the plains of Northern 'Irāk to join the Tigris.

The population of Ādharbaydjan lives chiefly in villages. The largest towns are Tabriz (280,000 inhabitants), Ardābil (63,000), Urmīya, Khoy (49,000), Marāgha (35,000). The semi-nomads are found on the Mōghān steppe (the Turkish Shāshewan (g.v.)) and in the Kurdish districts along the Turkish frontier and south of Lake Urmīya. The population in its great majority speaks the local dialect of 'Ādharbaydjan Turkish' (see *AGHAR*). The characteristic features of the latter are Persian intonations and disregard of the vocalic harmony, reflecting the non-Turkish origin of the Turkicised population. The remains of the old Iranian (*ādhari*) dialects are found in small groups in Karadja-dagh, near Sahand, near the Persian border, in the official language learnt at school. Armenians and Assyrians ('Ayyor') are found in the districts to the west of Lake Urmīya. Kurdish is spoken along the western frontier and in the southern districts, to the west of the Tatawū river.

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(ii) Azerbaijan, Soviet Socialist Republic (Az. SSR) in the eastern part of Transcaucasia, between the south-eastern branches of the Caucasus, the Caspian coast and the Araxes (which separates it from the Persian province of the same name). In the north-east it borders on the Dāghstān Autonomous republic (part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, RSFSR). In the north-west it borders on the Georgian S.S. Republic (along the Alazani) and in the west on the Armenian S.S. Republic (along the line running east of Lake Sewan = Gōkče). In the south-west the autonomous republic (ASSR) of Nakhshewan, locked within the Armenian territories, is part of the Azerbaijan republic, whereas the highlands of Kara-balḥ (with a considerable Armenian population) form an autonomous territory (*oblast*) within Azerbaydjan. Historically the territory of the republic corresponds to the Albania of the classical authors (Strabo, xi, 4; Ptolemy, v, 11), or in Armenian Alvan-k', and in Arabic Arrān (g.v.). The part of the republic lying north of the Kur (Kura) formed the kingdom of Shārwān (later Shīrwān (g.v.)).

After the collapse of the Imperial Russian army Bākū was protectively occupied by the Allies (General Dunsterville, 17 August-14 Sept. 1918) on behalf of Russia. The Turkish troops under Nūr Paşa occupied Bākū on 13 Sept. 1918 and reorganised the former province under the name of Azarbaydjan—as it was explained, in view of the similarity of its Turkish-speaking population with the Turkish-speaking population of the Persian province of Ādharbaydjan. When after the Mudros armistice the Allies reoccupied Bākū (17 Oct. 1918), General Thomson (28 Dec. 1918) recognized the existing Azarbaydjan government of the *Masadi* party as the only local authority. After the evacuation of the Allies, the Soviet regime was proclaimed in Bākū on 28 April 1920, without armed opposition, and Azerbaijan became one of the three republics of the federated Transcaucasia. In 1936 the federation came to an end and on the 5 Dec. 1936 Azerbaijan was admitted into the U.S.S.R. as one of the sixteen constituent republics of the Union.

The present-day republic possesses an area of 87,700 sq. km. and a population of 3.2 million, of which 28% live in towns. Local Turks are in a majority of 5/5, whereas the Armenians form 12%, of the population, and Russians 10%. The capital of the republic, Bākū (g.v.), counts 809,000 inhabitants, Gandja (g.v.) (formerly Elazavetpol and Kirovabad) 99,000. Other large towns are Shāmākhī, Ruba, Sāliyān, Nūkhī, Mīngēčaur, etc.

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ADHARGÜN (P., 'flame-coloured'; Arabic *Ādhargūn*), a plant about 2-3 feet high with finger-long elongated leaves, of a red-yellow colour, and malodorous blossoms with a black kernel. The identification of this plant is not yet well established; in Greek 222 *ἀδάργουν* occurs synonymously with *anciso vulgaris*, the common groundsel (H. Langhavel, *Botanik der späten Griechen*, 1866, 74; I. Löw, *Arasische Pflanzennamen*, 1879, 47). The descriptions of the Arabian authors leave a choice between the dark yellow *buphthalmos*, for which Clement-Mullet decided, and the *calendula officinalis*, marigold, which indeed unites the characteristic features of shape, hue and smell and which form was official. In Arab medicine *adhargūn* passed for a







the period of the development of the Adhārī press. The appearance of *Khāḍī*, the first Adhārī newspaper, was followed by that of several others: *Diya* and *Diya-i Karkas*, at Tiflis (1879-1884); *Kerkhā* (1883-91); *Shāhī Rās* (1903-05), all of which served as rallying-points for progressive men of letters. The tempo of this development quickened remarkably after the Russian revolution of 1905, conditions becoming then more favourable, and new topics, ideas and figures began to appear. A stream of new periodicals arose: *Hayāt*, *Ighāḍ*, *Tarāhī*, *Kaspiy*, *Aḥl Sā*. Their publishers were Ahmed Aga-oghlu, 'Alī Bey Hüseyin-zāde, 'Alī Merdān Dōst-bāshā and Mehmed Ezdin Reshī-zāde, nationalists and modernists with a knowledge of Ottoman, Russian and Persian literary and political life. Thanks to their labours and those of men like them, the common people became accustomed to the new cultural movement. The protagonist in the struggle was Alekber Sābir (d. 1911), the unequalled master of Adhārī satire, who used all the powerful resources of his pen to flay reaction, fanaticism and ignorance. Support came to him from the famous poet Djellī Mamet Kul-zāde, editor of the progressive and democratic revue *Molla Nāsr al-Dīn*, and from 'Abdāḥ Shihāt (1874-1918).

Mehmed Hādī and Hüseyin Dīwāid were influenced by the literature of Turkey, imitating Nāṣrī Kemāl, Fikret and Hāmid, and the poet Ahmed Djewād also showed the influence of the Turkish national literary movement. Nedjī Bey Westrī and 'Abd al-Rahīm Bey Hakmīdī maintained a constant flow of dramatic works, while Magoma and members of the Hadjibeyli family composed operettas and operas for the Adhārī theatre, laying the foundations of a national music.

The chief figures of the latest period, from the fall of the independent Republic of Adhār-baydān to the present day, are Djellī Mamet Kul-zāde, Akwerdī, 'Abd Allāh Shā'ūh, Dīz'ār Djabbarlī, and, of the younger generation, the poets Süleymān Rüstēm, Šamed Wurgun, Rafī'beyli Nigār, Mirwār Dībāzī.

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'ADHIRĀ' (see *nuḡḡū*).

**'ADHIRĀ'ĀT**, the Edrei of the Bible, 10-day Der'a, chief town of Hawrān, 106 km. south of Damascus. Situated on the borderline between a basaltic region and the desert, the town, formerly renowned for its wine and oil, was always a great market for cereals and an important centre of trade routes. Before the Assyrian conquest (732 B.C.) the kingdoms of Damascus and Israel contended for it; some scholars have identified it with the Aduri of the Amara tablets. The capital of Batanes, Adraa was taken by Antioch III in 218 B.C.; then occupied by the Nabateans, next it came under Roman domination, and from 106 onwards was incorporated in Provincia Arabia. In the Christian era, Adraa became the seat of a bishopric of Arabia.

In 613 or 614 the Persians, in the course of their victorious campaign against the Byzantines, sacked the town and destroyed the olive-groves of the region (al-Tabarī, i, 1005, 1007). On the eve of the hijra, Adhīr'āt was the centre of an important Jewish colony; the tribe of Naḍir, driven out of Medina by Muhammad, took refuge there with their co-religionists. During the caliphate of 'Abū Bakr the inhabitants submitted to the Muslims, and acclaimed 'Umar when he passed through the region. It is stated that Mu'āwīya II b. Yazīd was born there. At the time of the Karmatian rebellion, 293/906, the population was massacred.

We find the place, called City of Bernard d'Étampes, in the works of the chroniclers of the Crusades, in 1119 and 1147 in particular. During the Mamlūk and Ottoman epoch Adhīr'āt, capital of Buḥāniyya, formed part of the province of Damascus and was one of the stages of the Pilgrimage. The building of the railway linking Damascus, 'Ammān, and Medina made it an important station, a junction for Bursa and Hayfa; it was occupied by the British on 28 September 1917.

At the present day Der'a is an important railway centre, the southern road from Damascus to Baghdad passes through it, and it is a Syrian frontier post on the Jordan border.

**Bibliography:** Balādīyūf, *Futūḥ*, 126, 139; Yāḳūt, i, 175 sq.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 283; Baughilā, *Diet. Hist.*, ed. *Geogr. ecclesiastica*, s.v. *Adra*; Schumacher, *Index*, not far from the future Baghdad. However, he kept aloof from 'Uḡmān, and it can be inferred from al-Tabarī (i, 3164) that he had some connection with his assassins. He fought under 'Alī in the Battle of the Camel (36/656), where he lost an eye. During the negotiations which preceded Sūffīn he was one of the delegates sent by 'Alī to Mu'āwīya; then, as standard-bearer, he took part in the battle, in which his three sons were killed. Afterwards he lived at Kūfa, where he did not renounce his 'Alid sentiments, and offered effective protection to members of his tribe who were persecuted by the powerful government of 'Irāq, Ziyād b. Alī Sufyān. He died in 68/688-89.

**'ADHIRUH** (ed. *Adḡna*), more rarely *Uḡnru*, a place between Ma'ūn and Petra, a magnificent Roman camp (the surviving monuments are described by Brinnow and Domaszewski), supplied by a gushing spring. This place, situated in pre-Islamic times in the Djūdhiḡ country, was visited by the Kurayshite caravans. It submitted to Muhammad on payment of tribute during the conquest of Tabūk (9/631); the treaty of capitulation handed down by our authorities is probably authentic. Mu'āwīya is said to have received there the homage of al-Hasan, the son of 'Alī. According to some Arab geographers Adhīruh was the chief town of the district of al-Sharāt, in the province of al-Balqa'. It is not mentioned since the time of the crusaders, who nevertheless possessed it at region Ahmāt, Vaux Moysse (= Wādī Mūdā), etc.

Adhīruh became famous in Islamic history on account of the conference which took place there after the battle of Siffin, in order to reach a decision in the conflict between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya (see 'Alī and Mu'āwīya).

**Bibliography:** Ishtakīr, 38; Makāsīd, 54, 155; Yā'qūt, *Buldan*, 326; Hamādī, 129; Bakrī (Wustenfeld), 85; Yāḳūt, i, 184 I.; Brinnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, i, 443 ff.; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 35, 39, 384.—The statement in *Ḥudūd al-'Alam*, 150, that the place was inhabited by Khāridjites, is due to a confusion between al-Sharāt and al-Sharāt (= Khāridjites).

(H. LAMMENS-L. VECCHIA VAGGIERI)

**AL-ADHWĀ'**, broken plural of *dhū*, denoting the kings and lords of Yaman whose names are

formed with *dhū*. The most famous are the Maḡhāma, the eight princes (*ḡay* [s.v.]) of Himyar [s.v.] who had the right of investiture at the election of the king. Their names are: Dhū Djaḍan, Dhū Hanzar, Dhū Khallīl, Dhū Mukār (Makār), Dhū Sahar, Dhū Strēwā, Dhū Thū'abān (Thū'abān), Dhū 'Uḡabān, Al-Hamādī, *Dhū*, s.v. ed. N.A. Faris, 139 includes Dhū Muḥibī, who is included also in the verses cited by Nashwān, i, 263, where Dhū Sahar is omitted.

**Bibliography:** Lane, 985a; Hamādī, *Sud-arab. Multabib*, ed. Löfgren, 48-54 (where also the derivation *adhw'* 'yasa' 'title or dignity of al-Adhw', cf. O. Löfgren, *Ein Hamādī-Fund*, Uppsala 1925, 31; Nashwān, *Shams al-Uḡmān*, ed. Zetterstén, i, 263, ed. 'Admūdā Ahmad, GMS xxiv, 16, 39, 48; M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, 319 ff.

(O. LÖFGREN)

'ADĪ B. ḤĀTIM B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. SA'D AL-TĀ', *Abū Ṭāfir*, Companion of the Prophet, and subsequently a follower of 'Alī. Son of the celebrated poet Ḥātim al-Tā'ī [s.v.], and, like him, a Christian, he inherited the command of his tribe from his father, but when threatened with the loss of it he became converted to Islam, in 9 or 10/630-1, and collected the taxes of Tayyī' and Asad. After the death of the Prophet he remained faithful to Islam, and prevented his tribe from apostatizing during the *riḍā*. Later on he took part in the conquest of 'Irāq, and received from 'Uḡmān a grant of land, al-Kaḡhā', on the Naḡr (i.e. of Le Strange, *Land*, index), not far from the future Baghdad. However, he kept aloof from 'Uḡmān, and it can be inferred from al-Tabarī (i, 3164) that he had some connection with his assassins. He fought under 'Alī in the Battle of the Camel (36/656), where he lost an eye. During the negotiations which preceded Sūffīn he was one of the delegates sent by 'Alī to Mu'āwīya; then, as standard-bearer, he took part in the battle, in which his three sons were killed. Afterwards he lived at Kūfa, where he did not renounce his 'Alid sentiments, and offered effective protection to members of his tribe who were persecuted by the powerful government of 'Irāq, Ziyād b. Alī Sufyān. He died in 68/688-89.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, i, 948 sqq., 965; Tabarī, index; Balādīyūf, *Futūḥ*, 274; idem, *Anaḥ* (= O. Pinto and G. Levi della Vida, *Il Califato Mu'āwīya I*, index); Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 136; idem, *Shīr*, index; Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, *K. al-Ma'āmmar* (Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii, index); Nawawī, *Taḡhīb*, 415-17; Ibn al-Aḡhīr, *Uḡd al-ḡadā*, iii, 392 ff.; Ibn Ḥaḡār, *Jahā*, no. 4375; Yāḳūt, s.v. *Dhūbayr*; Wustenfeld, *Gen. Tabulien*, index.

(A. SCHAEDE)

'ADĪ B. MUŠĀFIR AL-HAKKĀRĪ, SHAYKH 'ADĪ, Sūfī leader. He was an Arab of Kuraysh, an Umayyad, born at Bayt Fār near Baalbek; he met 'Alī al-Manḡdī, Hammād al-Dabbās, 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Suhrawardī, 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djīlī, Abū 'Alī al-Huḡwānī and Abū Muhammad al-Shanbākī. He travelled far, spending much time in the wilderness till he settled in Laylāsh (Lalsh) near Mosul apparently before 305/1111, made for himself a convent there and started an order called the 'Adāwiyya. His rule was so severe that many sūfī leaders were unable to follow it; it is said that he was the first to train novices. His *shāhida* is quite orthodox and contains nothing unusual, he was opposed to the Mu'tazilī and to all innovations; as a sūfī he was like al-Ghazālī. Ibn Taymiyya calls him a pious follower of the *sunna*, equates him with al-Shāfi'ī

as a true believer and with 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djīlī as a sūfī; he adds that he experienced ecstasies and that there was some extravagance in him which increased under his successors. He died in 557/1162 or two years earlier or a year later. The sayings and poems ascribed to him might have been uttered by any sūfī. The poem quoted by Layard can hardly be genuine.

According to a Christian legend, told by a monk Rāmīshō', he was a Kurd; his father tended the flocks of a monastery and he himself became its business manager. Taking advantage of the absence of the abbot and some of the monks, he massacred those who remained and seized the building. Three years later he was summoned to Marāḡha and put to death there in 159/1211; but in 682/1283 the building was restored to his descendants.

As Shaykh 'Adī had no children, the headship of the order passed to the offspring of his brother Saḡhr. Another version is that 'Adī adopted the son of a servant, Hasan al-Bawhāb, and his descendants provided the heads who were treated with unusual respect, parents being proud to lend their daughters to them. The order was confined mainly to the Kurds though it had a convent in the Karfa at Cairo. The members looked towards 'Adī (i.e. towards his grave) when they prayed and made him their treasure on which they relied in the hereafter; such devotion was not known in any other order. It is said that the extravagant views did not develop at once; only later did the sect give up the Muslim prayers and believe that 'Adī was eating bread and onions with God and was the provider for his people. One chief of the order, Hasan b. 'Adī, wept while listening to a sermon whereupon the Kurds nearly killed the too eloquent preacher. The order was strong enough to attract the attention of authority; this Hasan was put to death in 641/1246 by Badr al-Dīn Laḡhā of Mosul though the Kurds believe that he is not dead. Six years later Lu'lu' dug up the bones of Shaykh 'Adī and burnt them. In 655/1257 Sharaf al-Dīn Muḡammad b. 'Adī was called to the help of 'Izz al-Dīn Kay Khuraw of Malatya along with another Kurd, Ahmad b. Hūla. Another descendant fled to Egypt with his family in 673/1270 and yet another fled to Syria where he was killed in 680/1281. Early in the 8th/14th century one of the family kept almost royal state in Bayt Fār; another, Amīrān, served the government in Syria, then retired to Mīzza and was venerated by the Kurds who made offerings to him. As they planned rebellion, Amīrān was put in gaol (at his own wish, *al-Durār al-Kāmina*, i, 414) and all was quiet, though the Kurds bowed down in front of the tower in which he was confined.

A lawyer stirred up the orthodox in 817/1414, so they destroyed the tomb and burnt the bones of the Shaykh in the presence of the remnant of his followers who are here called Subhātīyya. Later the tomb was rebuilt.

For the relation between the historical Shaykh 'Adī and his rôle in the religion of the Yazīdīs, cf. Yazīdī.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Aḡhīr, xi, 190 (year 557); Ibn Khallīkān, no. 426; al-Shatannawwī, *Bahā' al-Aḡḡar*, 150; Ibn Taymiyya, *Madḡmāt al-Rasā'id*, 1905, i, 273; Kutubī, *Fawa'id*, i, 158; Ibn Kaḡhīr, xi, 243; Makrīzī, *Khulāt*, ii, 435; al-Sulhī, year 317; Tūdūl, *Kalā'id al-Dawā'id*, 1303, 107; Hādīdī Khallīfā, iv, 243; Yāḳūt, iv, 374; 'Abd al-Hayy, *Shahādāt al-Dhāḡab*, iv, 179, v, 220; Bar Hebraeus, *Syriac Chronicle* (Bedjan),



498 (= *Ecol. Chron.*, i, 726). *Arabic Chron.*, 466; F. Nau, in *ROC*, 1914, 105; 1915, 142; W. Ahlwardt *Forschungen*, index; A. H. Lazard, *Nineveh and its remains*, i, 293 ff.; id., *Discontinuity in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, 79 ff.; G. P. Badger, *Nineveh and its ruins*, i, 113 ff.; R. Frank, *Schweich 'Adi* (Turk. Bibl. 14), Berlin 1911; Th. Menzel, in H. Grothe, *Mesene Vorderasiatische Expedition*, Leipzig 1911, i, 109 ff.; A. Taymūr, *al-Yazidiyya wa-Manḡaḡ*, *Nihāḡiyyin*, Cairo 1347/1928; 'Abd al-Razik, *'Abd al-Šayyān*, Sidon 1931; M. Goldi, in *RSO*, 1932, 485 ff.; Lescoq, *Enquête sur les Yazides*, Beirut 1938.

(A. S. TRITTON)

'ADĪ B. AL-RIKĀ', ARD DU'ĀD 'ADĪ B. ZAYD B. MALIK B. 'ADĪ B. AL-RIKĀ' 'AMĪLĪ, Arab poet of Syria, who was, in Damascus, the pangenist of the Umayyads, especially of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (96-96/705-15), in the presence of whom he fought a poetical contest with Jarāh; he was also the butt of attacks by al-Rāṣī. 'Adī was celebrated for the grace of his *naḡīb* (see especially al-Muḥarrar, *al-Kāmil*, 58, concerning Umm al-Kāsim) and for the care with which he composed his poems. His poems were known in Spain at an early date (*IAH*, ix, 397). He lived at least into the caliphate of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (96-97/755-7).

*Bibliography*: *Djinnālī*, *Tahāḡi* (Heli), 144-5; *Ḍalībī*, *Hayawana*, iii, 64, iv, 236 v, 447; Ibn Kutayba, *Šaḡ'r*, 391-2; *Aghānī*, viii, 179-83; Ibn Durayd, *Lughāt*, 225; Marrābūh, *Ma'djma*, 205; Maymūd, *al-Tarā'if al-adabiyā*, 81-97 (three poems); *Amūdī*, *Ma'nāḡil*, 116; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iv, 246-50; Brockelmann, *S*, i, 96; Nallino, *Scritti*, vi, 160-2 (Fr. transl., 248). Cfr. PELLAT.

'ADĪ B. ZAYD, Arab Christian poet of al-Hira, of the second half of the 6th century. His life was spent partly at the Sāsānid court at Ctesiphon (al-Maddā'īn), where he was secretary for Arab affairs to Chosroes Parwiz, and partly at the Lakhmid court at al-Hira, where he was a courtier and councillor of al-Nu'mān III, whom he had helped to the throne. This last, however, as result of the intrigues of his enemies, later had him incarcerated, and finally put to death in prison (about 60 A.D.).

'Adī is one of the most curious figures in pre-Islamic Arab history and poetry. With Nābigha al-Dhubbānī and al-A'ashā he represents the type of courtly and urbane poet familiar with a higher level of culture and civilization than those of the desert. Arab historical-literary tradition accordingly regards him as being on the fringe of the main stream of the poetry of the *qabīlīyya*, because of his 'un-Naḡdī' language, although the subjects with which he dealt and the form which he gave them had a long and profound influence on the development of Arab poetry in the Muslim epoch.

As 'Adī's *dīn* has been lost, only fragments of his work are known to us (collected in an incomplete fashion and without any critical sense by L. Cheikh, *Šaḡ'r al-'Adī*, *al-Naḡrābiyya*, 439-74, to which should be added fragments in al-Ḍalībī, *al-Hayawana*, iv, 65-6, al-Makhlūdī, *al-Iḡdā' wa 'l-Tarā'if*, i, 131, Ibn Kutayba, *al-Šaḡ'r*, 112-3, and various quotations in the *Ḥamasa* of al-Buḡhārī). Among these verses, those describing Biblical episodes (the creation and man's first sin) are of interest for the history of religion and culture; they, together with other evidence, confirm that the poet was a Christian (Šahīd). But the main themes of his poetry seem to have been, on the one hand, praise of wine, and, on the other, meditation on the decay of human

passions and effort, rendered vain by the inexorable passage of time. Of the former category a few sparse but significant examples have been preserved; we know that they were appreciated and imitated by Walid b. Yazid and, later, by 'Abd Nuṣayr. On the second theme, which was probably inspired by the poet's own misfortunes, we possess numerous fragments which are interesting not only for their pious and ascetic *Stimmung* (a curious contrast with the hedonism of the bacchic poetry), but for the reflections on and evocation of Oriental (Arabian) history which are to be found there, exemplifying the vanity and futility of man. Instances of this are the famous fragment on al-Nu'mān I and the castle of Khawarnak (*Aghānī*, ii, 138-9 and elsewhere), another on Hatra (al-Buḡhārī, *al-Hamasa* (Chadikha), 108), and one in Ibn Kutayba, 112-3, on Dajdima al-Abragh and al-Zabba, which almost looks like a ballad. From all these relics, amounting to rather less than 400 lines, we receive the impression of a brilliant artistic personality, who contrived to give Arabic poetic form to the old themes of Semitic pessimism, and, at the same time, in contrast to the Biblical author of Ecclesiastes, to accompany them with a positive appreciation of some of the good things of life.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Kutayba, *Šaḡ'r*, 111-7; *Aghānī*, ii, 97-141; J. Horowitz, *al-Zaid, the Poet of al-Hira*, *JC*, 1930, 31-69; F. Gabrieli, *Adī ibn Zaid, il poeta di al-Hira*, *Rend. Linc.*, 1938, 81-96; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber z. Zeit der Sassaniden*, 312 ff.; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Hira*, Berlin 1899, 109 ff. (F. GABRIELI).

AL-'ADĪD LI-DĪN ALLĀH, the eleventh and last Fatimid caliph of Egypt. His name was 'ABD MUHAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀH B. YUSUF, and was the grandson of the caliph al-Hafīz; his father had been killed by the vizier 'Abbas b. Abi 'l-Futūḡ on the very day of the enthronement of the caliph al-Fāṭi. Al-'Adīd succeeded this latter, his cousin, a sickly child who died at the age of eleven and a half. He himself came to the throne on 17 Rabi' al-Awwal 553/9 July 1160, and was the al-powerful minister al-Šāḡh Talāḡ' (g.n.), who had been governing Egypt for more than six years, because of his tender age. Al-'Adīd was, in fact, born on 20 Muharram 546/9 May 1151.

The history of this child-caliph's reign is thus in no way one of personal action on his part. The Arab writers seem uncertain, and intermittently attribute to him stray impulses of revolt, which had little success. We shall cite them, although admitting that in general the caliph looked on helplessly at a shattering series of tragic incidents of which he himself was finally to be the victim.

Clearly an important factor eludes us, as we have little information about the role of the secret camorra of the Palace, whose intermittent influence is hinted at. We cannot but observe the personal ambition of the protagonists, who lived dangerously and were preoccupied with increasing their personal prestige, if only with a view to saving their skins. The death-throes of the Fatimid régime are a sorry spectacle.

The better to ensure the docility of the young caliph, Talāḡ' made him his son-in-law, which however did not save Talāḡ' from being assassinated, the end that he had always feared, on 19 Ramaḡin 556/11 September 1161. To be sure, the caliph was not liberated by this murder, to which he was possibly privy, for he found himself compelled to

confer the vizierate on Ruzik (g.n.), the son of the dead man. Ruzik had no intention of giving up any of his prerogatives, and the caliph established relations with a prefect of Upper Egypt, Šāḡwar (g.n.), in order to invite him to rid him of Ruzik. Šāḡwar recruited troops and took the offensive; he succeeded in taking Cairo and assuming power in Rabi' I 558/February 1163. The caliph quickly perceived that he had made a blunder, and the new minister continued, like his predecessors, to exclude his master. Šāḡwar was soon betrayed by one of his own officers, Dirghām (g.n.), who took his place in Ramaḡin 558/August 1163. There were indeed grounds for the sad reflection of a contemporary writer, 'Umra, who observed that in those times "any man who had received the confidence of his brother betrayed him". Then followed the crucial event which was to bring about the fall of the dynasty. Šāḡwar had succeeded in making his escape; he took refuge at the court of the Zangid prince of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn, and asked his help to regain power. The prince of Aleppo did not hesitate, being fired with the idea of re-establishing Sunnism in Egypt and reconstituting Islamic unity. The expeditionary force was commanded by Šāḡhīk (g.n.), "a man full of audacity to whom fear was unknown", who took with him Šāḡh al-Dīn, the future founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty. Dirghām was beaten in the open country and killed, and Šāḡwar became vizier again in Ramaḡin 559/August 1164.

Difficulties arose in connection with Šāḡhīk, but he does indeed seem that he was not to blame for them. Šāḡwar had demanded help from Sunnism against the Šāḡhītes whose chief minister he was; the next time his treachery was much more serious, for he asked for the intervention of Amālīc I to drive the forces of Šāḡhīk out of Egypt. The temporary results of this are well known: Šāḡhīk capitulated at Bilāyās and went back to Syria, the Franks occupied Cairo for a short time, and Šāḡwar had Futāḡ set on fire, being unable to defend it. For the vizier had become alarmed and was trying to negotiate the withdrawal of the Frankish troops. The caliph, who still had absolutely no authority, had now for his part decided to appeal to Nūr al-Dīn, thus signing the warrant for his imminent fall.

This was the third invasion by Šāḡhīk. It was decisive: he had Šāḡwar assassinated on 17 Rabi' I 564/18 January 1169, and seized the viziership, which he held for only two months, for he died on 22 Dhuḡdā 564/12 March. His nephew, Šāḡh al-Dīn, succeeded yet him.

Šāḡh al-Dīn energetically repressed the internal disorders, and did not hesitate to accept the challenge of street fighting in the capital itself, in the course of which the remnants of the Fatimid army, the Sudanese and Armenian forces, were exterminated. Then, one fine day, the name of the 'Abbasid caliph of Baghdad was proclaimed in Cairo, in an atmosphere of complete indifference. A theologian of Persian origin, al-Khāḡhūhī, carried this out, and three years later Šāḡh al-Dīn rewarded him by opening a college for him. The dedicatory inscription has been preserved; it celebrates the importance of Šāḡhīsm, "characterized by a solid doctrinal foundation, unified by the method of al-Aghā'arī, against vain reasoners and other innovators". Perhaps the caliph 'Adīd never knew of his misfortune; he died a few days after the 'Abbasid proclamation, on 10 Muharram 567/13 September 1172. He was not yet twenty-one.

Thus 'Adīd was far from being a caliph on the

scale of some of his predecessors. Nonetheless, he possesses some interesting information about his personal appearance, for he received a Frankish embassy led by Šāḡwar. The Franks were taken, in the royal palace, to a vast hall divided into two by a great curtain of silk and gold, "with a pattern of beasts, birds, and persons". Šāḡwar prostrated himself three times before this hanging, the third time in an attitude of most humble adoration. Suddenly the great tapestry was raised and the caliph appeared, seated on a throne of gold, encrusted with precious stones. His face was veiled, and the removal of the glove of his right hand was an elaborate performance. The ambassadors were told that "the caliph was a youth whose beard was just beginning to appear, and that he was dark-skinned and very plump".

*Bibliography*: Ibn Khallikān, i, 358; Makrizī, *Khitāt*, Bilāḡ, i, 357; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḡdīn*, Cairo, v, 334 ff.; H. Derenbourg, *Omara du Yémen*; Schlumberger, *Campagnes du roi Amāyir Ier*; G. Wiet, *Inscr. du manuscrit de Šāḡhīk*, *BIE*, xv, 169-171; *Idem*, *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, ii, 290-291; *Idem*, *Le tableau de la nation égyptienne*, iv, 289-302.

(G. WIET)

ADIGJE (see ZAKRIE).

AL-'ADĪL, title of two Ayyūbid princes:

1. AL-MALIK AL-'ADĪL 'ABD BAKR MUHAMMAD B. AYYŪB, with the honorific title of SAYYID AL-DĪN ('Sworn of the Faith'), called by the Crusaders *Saphadin*, the brother, assistant, and spiritual heir of Salāḡh (Šāḡh al-Dīn, g.n.). He was born in Muharram 540/June-July 1145, or according to other accounts in 538/1143-4, in Damascus or in Baalbek, thus being six or eight years younger than his celebrated brother.

Al-'Adīl accompanied Salāḡh to Egypt in the third and final expedition of Šāḡhīk (564/1169). His first important appointment was to the government of Egypt during Salāḡh's frequent absences in Syria after the death of Nūr al-Dīn in 569/1174. In this position he proved himself an able and loyal administrator, and apart from sending reinforcements and supplies, when called upon, for Salāḡh's army, he enjoyed full and independent powers in both external and internal affairs, being "the real Sultan of Egypt" ('Imād al-Dīn, in *al-Bārī* al-Šāḡhī, v, fol. 1170). After the capture of Aleppo in 579/1183, Salāḡh at first gave it to his son al-Zāḡh Ghāḡ, but a few months later, on al-'Adīl's own request, transferred it to him with full powers of government (diploma in 'Imād al-Dīn, *ibid.*, 124-6, dated Šāḡhīn 579), and appointed his nephew Taḡī al-Dīn 'Umar to Egypt, as regent for al-'Adīl (g.n.). Although al-Zāḡh loyally submitted to his father's decision, his disappointment on this occasion probably contributed to his later strained relations with al-'Adīl. Three years later, however, in 582/1186, again on al-'Adīl's suggestion, al-Zāḡh was reinstated in Aleppo, and al-'Adīl himself reapportioned to Egypt, this time as regent for Salāḡh's son al-'Azīz 'Uthmān. He remained in this post through the campaigns of 583-4/1187-8 and the ensuing Crusade, himself taking part in the conquest of southern Palestine and Karak, and sending ships, men, and supplies in support of Salāḡh's attempt to raise the siege of 'Akka (585-7/1189-91). During the subsequent operations in Palestine he played a particularly important part in the negotiations with Richard Coeur-de-Lion, with whom he formed such friendly relations that it was even proposed that he should marry Richard's



sister Joan, and that they should rule jointly over Palestine. In the following year (588/1192), in consequence of the disorders resulting from Takl al-Dīn's unauthorized campaigns in the Djazira and Diyar Bakr, al-'Ādil was transferred to the government of these provinces (at the same time retaining Karak and Balqa'). Behind these frequent changes there may perhaps be discerned a consistent policy applied by Saladin. Of all his brothers, the one in whom he had the most complete confidence, and on whose advice he relied in all contingencies, was al-'Ādil. It was therefore natural that al-'Ādil should be placed in command of that province which, in the changing conjunctures of events, was for the time being the most vital to maintaining the unity and strength of Saladin's possessions.

On Saladin's death in 589/1193, al-'Ādil's first task was, in fact, to defeat an attempt by 'Izz al-Dīn, atling of Mosul, to reconquer the Djazira. Having secured his own province, he next intervened as mediator in the rivalries between Saladin's sons al-'Āziz of Egypt and al-Afdal of Damascus. Though at first he supported al-Afdal, the latter's incapacity became so manifest that he finally joined al-'Āziz to drive out al-Afdal and himself took over the government of Damascus as the vicar of al-'Āziz (592/1196). He was thus on the spot and ready to deal energetically with the Crusaders of 1197. On the death of al-'Āziz (595/1199) the Egyptian troops split into two factions, one supporting al-Afdal, the other al-'Ādil. Al-'Ādil was besieged in Damascus until relieved by his Mesopotamian troops under his son al-Kāmil, when he pursued al-Afdal into Egypt, defeated him, and was proclaimed Sultan of Egypt and Syria (596/1200). His claim was challenged by al-Zāhir, who again besieged Damascus, but al-'Ādil succeeded in forcing his withdrawal and pursued him to Aleppo, where al-Zāhir was finally compelled to recognize his suzerainty (598/1202). In 602/1207 his Sultanate was formally confirmed by the Caliph, and thereafter he distributed his own provinces between his sons: al-Kāmil in Egypt, al-Mu'azzam in Damascus, al-Awāl and al-'Āshraf in the Djazira and Diyar Bakr, himself moving from place to place as circumstances required.

So far as can be judged, the cornerstones of al-'Ādil's policy were to hold Saladin's empire together, in face of the ever-present possibility of fresh Crusades from overseas, and at the same time to serve the interests of the Ayyubid house. Although the major governments were placed in the hands of his sons, it cannot be denied that they were the most capable to administer them, but he maintained at Aleppo the only one of Saladin's sons who showed any capacity and even guaranteed the succession of his infant son (who was also his own nephew), besides maintaining the governments of the collateral branches at Hama and Hamah. His personal prestige was unrivalled, and he employed it to strengthen the moral and material welfare of his subjects, by patronizing religion and learning, fostering agriculture and commerce, and maintaining peace. He followed Saladin's policy of negotiating commercial treaties with the Italian states, with the double object of increasing his own military resources and discouraging them from supporting fresh Crusades. With the local Crusader states he ensured peace by a series of truces which covered almost the entire period of his reign, at the same time strengthening his defences against the danger which materialized with the arrival of the Fifth Crusade in 614/1217. Leaving the bulk of his forces on guard in Egypt,

he moved into Syria to assist al-Mu'azzam to screen the approaches to Jerusalem and Damascus, and while organizing reinforcements for the defence of Damietta fell ill and died at 'Ālūkh, outside Damascus, on 7 Dhu'l-Hijja 1, 615-31 August 1218.

**Bibliography:** Abū Shīma, *K. al-Rawda'ayn*, Cairo 1287, passim; *Uhayy al-Kawdayn*, Cairo 1366/1947, 111-3; Ibn Khallikān, no. 665; Sibṭ b. al-Jawād, *Mir'at al-Zamān* (fasc. Jewett), 390-2; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḡūm*, vol. vi, passim; Makrīfī, *Sulūk*, I, Cairo 1934, 58-104; Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Ādim, *Histoire d'Égypte* (trans. Blochet, Paris 1900), 82-158; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, Paris 1937, 118-347; general history of the Third Crusade; and see also *AYYUBIDS* and *SALĀH AL-DIN*.  
2. AL-MALIK AL-'ĀDIL II AḤO BAKR SAYF AL-DIN, son of al-Malik al-Kāmil [g.e.] and grandson of the preceding, b. 617/1221. He succeeded al-Kāmil in the government of Egypt (635/1238) but was dethroned by his elder brother al-Sāliḥ Ayyūb [g.e.] in 637/1240 and died in prison at Cairo on 12 Shawwāl 645/9 Feb. 1248. See *AYYUBIDS*.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Khallikān, no. 666; Sibṭ b. al-Jawād, 466-485; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḡūm*, vi, 303 ff.; Makrīfī, *Sulūk*, I, 223-341.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

AL-'ĀDIL B. AL-SALĀR, AḤO 'L-HASAN 'ĀLĪ, Fātimid vizier. He was the son of an Artukid officer, who entered the service of the Fātimids after the taking of Jerusalem by the Egyptians in 492/1098. He married the widow of a Zirid prince who had died in exile at Alexandria.

He first appears in history as governor of Alexandria, at the beginning of the reign of the Fātimid caliph al-Zāhir. We learn that he assembled troops, marched on Cairo, and, on 7 Sha'ban 544/10 December 1149, installed himself in the vizier's house, which had been abandoned by his predecessor, Ibn Ma'īn, an old man, who was killed in Upper Egypt on 29 Shawwāl/19 February 1150. In spite of his repugnance, the caliph al-Zāhir was forced to accept him as vizier, with the title of al-Malik al-'Ādil. He tried, however, to foment a plot against his minister, but the latter set wind of it and took his revenge in a bloodthirsty way by wounding out the corps of pages. Before long he himself was to fall victim to a stepson, 'Abbas b. Abi 'l-Futūḥ [g.e.], who assigned to his own son, Naṣr, the task of assassinating Ibn al-Salār, on 6 Muharram 548/3 April 1153. Naṣr carried out the crime with his own hand, and by carrier pigeon informed his father 'Abbas, who had just taken command of the garrison of Ascalon. 'Abbas hastened back to Cairo to assume the office of vizier.

An important point about the political career of Ibn al-Salār is that he was the first to consider the possibility of an entente with the prince of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn, for making common cause against the Franks. It was doubtless premature: Nūr al-Dīn had his own personal designs on Damascus, which the Crusaders had besieged some years previously. As proof of his good will, Ibn Salār had, in 546/1152, sent the Egyptian fleet against the ports of Jaffa, Sidon, Beirut, and Tripoli, where great damage was caused. The expedition was also a reprisal against the Franks, who had sacked Farama the previous year.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Mubarrak, 89-92; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḡūm*, Cairo, v, 288-297; *Uḡaym*, transl. Derenbourg, index; G. Wiet, *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, II, 193-194; idem, *Hist. de la nation égyptienne*, iv, 278-284. (G. WRET)

'ĀDILA KHĀTUN, daughter of Ahmad Paṣhā, wife of Sulaymān Paṣhā Mizrākīl ("Abū Laylā"), Ottoman governor of Baghdad. During the lifetime of her husband she took part in the government of the province, holding audiences where the petitions were presented to her through the intermediary of an eunuch. She had also a mosque and a caravanserai built, bearing her name. When on the death of Sulaymān (1175/1761) power was about to slip from her hands, she stirred up against his successor, 'Alī Paṣhā, first the Janissaries, then five of the principal Mamūlūks, and succeeded in having 'Umar Paṣhā, her brother in law, appointed as governor in the place of 'Alī (1764). It is not known when and where she died.

**Bibliography:** C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Fr. transl. II, 215, 258 ff.; Cl. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad dans les temps modernes*, 153 f.; S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 165, 169, 173-4, 179.

(CL. HUART\*)

'ĀDIL SHĀHS, designation of the Muslim dynasty which ruled over Bidjāpūr, one of the successor kingdoms to the Bahmani kingdom of the Dekkan. The independent history of Bidjāpūr extends from 895/1489 to 1097/1686 when the kingdom was conquered and absorbed by the Mughal empire. The founder of the dynasty, Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, was a slave in the service of Mahmūd Gawlīn, the famous Bahmani minister. After rising to the position of master of the horse at the Bahmani court, Yūsuf was appointed to the provincial governorship of Dawlatābād. He took an active part in the intrigues and civil strife which marked the declining years of the Bahmani kingdom and, according to the historian Firāhtā, caused the *khwa* to be read in his own name in 895/1489. The Muslim historians of the dynasty claim a royal lineage for Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, asserting that he was a son of the Ottoman Turkish sultan Murād II and was saved by his mother from death at the hands of the succeeding Ottoman sultan, his elder brother Muḥammad II, by being entrusted to a merchant of Sāwa, Kh'āḍja 'Imād al-Dīn, who educated him. Eventually he found his way to India to take service under Mahmūd Gawlīn. There is no independent evidence corroborating the testimony of historians partial to the 'Ādil-Shāh dynasty. That his background was Persian is generally accepted however. Yūsuf 'Ādil-Shāh introduced Shī'a doctrines, being the first Muslim ruler in India to do so. During his reign, 895/1489-916/1510, spent in almost continual warfare against rival Muslim Dekkan princes and the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagar, the Portuguese made their appearance off the shores of India, taking possession of the port of Goa. The successors of Yūsuf 'Ādil-Shāh reigned as follows:

Imād al-Dīn b. Yūsuf	916/1510-947/1534
Malū b. Imād al-Dīn	947/1534-947/1535
Ibrāhīm I b. Imād al-Dīn	947/1535-965/1557
'Alī I b. Ibrāhīm	965/1557-987/1579
Ibrāhīm II b.	
Tahmāsp b. Ibrāhīm	987/1579-1035/1626
Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm	1035/1626-1066/1686
'Alī II b.	
Muḥammad	1066/1686-1083/1672
Sikandar b. 'Alī	1083/1672-1097/1686

Until the beginning of the 11th/17th century and the advent of the Mughal threat from the north, the political history of Bidjāpūr is filled by con-

tinuous warfare with the neighbouring Muslim states of the Dekkan, Bidar, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda and the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. However, in 972/1564 the four Muslim principalities combined against Vijayanagar and at Talikota decisively defeated its forces and sacked the capital. The power and prosperity of Bidjāpūr reached its zenith under Ibrāhīm II though it was never free from turbulence among the nobles.

Bidjāpūr escaped the direct attentions of the Mughals until the reign of Shāh Jihān, attempting indeed to acquire territory from Ahmadnagar which was disintegrating under the onslaught of the Mughals. Bidjāpūr tried the latter clashed with it in 1060/1656 the Mughals invaded Bidjāpūr and forced a peace at which Bidjāpūr acknowledged Mughal suzerainty. For the next twenty years the kingdom enjoyed peace. In 1068/1656 when Muḥammad 'Ādil-Shāh died, Shāh Jihān objected to the succession of 'Alī 'Ādil-Shāh II, invoking his claims as suzerain, and ordered Aurangzib to invade the kingdom. Operations were stopped, however, at the news of Shāh Jihān's illness and Bidjāpūr survived only to face further danger from the Marhatta chief Śivājī who in 1069-70/1659 destroyed a Bidjāpūr army and its leader Afdal Khān in an ambush. Thereafter Bidjāpūr was rarely free from Marhatta depredations. With the accession of a minor, Sikandar 'Ādil-Shāh, the kingdom was progressively bereft of Mughal and Marhatta of its provinces until in 1097/1686, after a siege of more than a year, the capital itself was taken by Aurangzib and the remnants of the kingdom absorbed into the Mughal empire. Sikandar died in captivity in 1111/1700.

The 'Ādil-Shāhs were great builders and made their capital at Bidjāpūr [g.e.] one of the most magnificent monuments to the architectural genius of Islam in India. They were also great patrons of literature and the important historian Firāhtā wrote under the patronage of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil-Shāh II.

**Bibliography:** C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, II, 745 ff.; Henry Cousens, *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. xxxvii, Bombay 1916, 1-18; *Cambridge History of India*, III (Turks and Afghans), Chs. xvi and xvii; iv (The Mughal Period), Ch. ix; Cambridge 1928 and 1937; Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Calcutta 1912-1924, Vol. iv, Chs. xxxvii-xlv; Muḥammad Kāsim Hindū Shāh (Firāhtā), *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī (Tārkh-i Firāhtā)*, ed. Briggs, Bombay 1831, II, 1-179.

(P. HAVY)

ADİYAMAN, formerly called HAY MANŞUR, or HİS-Nİ MANŞUR (modern spelling HANNUMANŞUR), according to Cuinet also called KÖRÜN, a small town in S.E. Anatolia, capital of the *hādā* of the same name in the *sandjak*, now *wilāyet*, of Malatya (formerly it belonged to the *wilāyet* of Ma'nadīrat ul-'Āziz), 37° 45' N, 38° 15' E. The numbers of the inhabitants given in the *paṣt varyi*: according to E.I., 10,000, mainly Armenians; according to Sāml, 25,000, of which only 1255 Christians; according to 'Alī Dījawād in one passage 1150, in another more than 25,000 of which more than a half were Kurds; according to Cuinet 2,000 (in the whole *hādā* of HİS-Nİ MANŞUR: ed. 134). The number in 1945 was 10,192.

The name HİS MANŞUR derives from the Umayyad *amir* Manşūr b. Dī'a'wana, who was killed in 147/768 on the orders of the 'Abbāsīd al-Manşūr. Later, Harūn al-Rashīd had the place fortified and gave it a garrison. Thus HİS MANŞUR, or Adiyaman,



because the heir of the ancient town of the neighbourhood, Perre, whose site is still marked by aqueducts and rock graves. Subsequently, Hira Manūrī is rarely mentioned; in the 6th/12th century it belonged to the Artukids.

*Bibliography:* Baladūbūrī, *Futūḥ*, 192; Yāqūt, i, 278; Haddādī Khālīfā, *Ḍikān-nāmā*, 60; Ewliya Celebi, *Siyah-nāme*, iii, 160; Sāid, *Kawā'id al-'Ālam*, iii, 262; 'Alī Ḍiḥwālī, *Ta'wīḍ wa-Ḍiḡḡarfa Luḡall*, 6, 351; C. Ritter, *Irakanda*, x, 885; Humann and Fuchslein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, 139 f.; Le Strange, 123; idem, *Palestine under the Muslims*, 434. (F. TIESCHER)

#### 'ĀDĪJ, ivory.

1. From early times there was a demand for ivory in the civilisations of the Near East. The Assyrians excelled in the carving of ivory and excavations at Nimrud and elsewhere have revealed masterpieces seldom surpassed. In the eastern Mediterranean area a tradition of ivory carving persisted and surviving examples have been attributed to the great centres of Antioch and Alexandria during the later centuries of Roman rule. There is no evidence that the workshops of Syria were producing ivories in the century before Islam; but in Egypt the tradition persisted into the Islamic period.

Probably the main source of ivory in the Islamic period was East Africa, the greatest ivory producing area during the Middle Ages. It is unlikely that India exported ivory in any quantity to the Near East or Europe as it scarcely produced enough for its own needs (W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*, Leipzig 1886, i, 629-30). Surviving Islamic ivories seem to be of elephant tusk. Walrus ivory was used for the handles of daggers (see R. Ettinghausen, *The Unicorn*, Washington 1950, 120 ff.) and there are examples of bone carvings from Egypt.

The size and shape of the elephant tusk limits its use to relatively small objects or to elements in large scale decoration. In the Islamic period objects made entirely of ivory include caskets of both rectangular and cylindrical form, combs, oliphants or hunting horns and chess pieces. Techniques of decoration were carving in relief or painting on the surface with coloured stains including gilding; intarsia in which shaped ivory plaques either carved or painted were countersunk in a wooden surface; incrustation in which sheets of ivory were cut to the required shape and stuck to the wooden surface; and incised decoration usually consisting of dots and concentric circles sometimes filled with coloured pigments. Finally, ivories sculpted in the round are extremely rare.

2. It would be strange if ivory had not been in use in the early Islamic period. But so far excavations at sites of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid period have revealed no objects of ivory. There are very few ivories attributable to the Sāsānid period in Persia and perhaps the lack of a tradition accounts for this absence of ivory carvings in Mesopotamia and Persia. The cylindrical box with conical cover in the treasury of St. Gereon, Cologne, was made, according to the inscription, in Aḍen for a governor of Yaman probably about 336/753; but its technique and style belong rather to Egypt (*RCEA*, no. 47, ill. in Cott, pl. 796). In Egypt Coptic craftsmen kept alive an earlier tradition. Large rectangular panels with both intarsia and incrustation decoration have been variously described as panels of a *tābūt* (coffin)

and as book covers; the former is more probable. Pieces have been found in Egypt, and the style were made by Coptic craftsmen in the 9th and 10th centuries. (For examples in the Arab Museum, Cairo, see Zaki Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Islamic Art in Egypt* (in Arabic), i, Cairo 1935, pl. 35; in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, *ibid.*, pl. 34 and F. Sarre, *Islamic Bookbinding*, London 1923, pl. i and fig. 2, where it is described as a Kur'an cover; and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, M.S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Muhammadan Art*, M.S. Dimand, 1947, fig. 69.)

Bone and ivory carved panels have been found in the ruined moulds of Fustāt and are associated stylistically with the wood carvings of the Fātimid period. These are cut in low relief and depict scenes of the chase, isolated animals and human figures set against a background of scrollwork. They were probably either panels of caskets or insets to larger wooden panels and can be dated to the 11th-12th century. (Examples in the Arab Museum, in Zaki Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Kunūz al-Fātimīyyin*, Cairo 1937, pl. 56; in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in M. Longhurst, *Catalogue of carvings in ivory*, i, London 1927, pl. xxviii; in the Metr. Mus., in Dimand, *op. cit.*, fig. 70. For examples of carved woodwork, see E. Pauty, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide* (Cat. gén. du Musée arabe du Caire), Cairo 1931.) Caskets of ivory both rectangular and round are mentioned by al-Makrīzī, *Khulūd*, i, 414, in an eye-witness account of the treasures of the caliph al-Mustansir.

Apart from these, it is impossible at present to attribute others with any certainty to Fātimid Egypt. A group which has the strongest claim is represented by the beautiful panels carved in aljaur in the Bargello Museum, Florence, which are perhaps related in style and subject matter to the famous carved wood panels from the *mihrāb* of Kalā'īn now in the Arab Museum. In composition and workmanship they far surpass the Fustāt fragments. (Well illustrated in *Meisners Werke Mahomedanischer Kunst*, Berlin 1910, ill. pl. 253. There is another example in the Louvre, see G. Migeon, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, Paris 1927, fig. 148. For the *mihrāb* panels, see Pauty, *op. cit.*, pls. xlviii-lviii.) Another group which has been ascribed to the Fātimid period comprises ivory oliphants or hunting horns and caskets. Their style is distinct and characterized by relief cutting in two planes; the decoration consists of interlaced circles each containing an animal or bird and, in the caskets, human figures too. Similar treatment of the decoration occurs in the repertoire of Fātimid ornament as well as in that of Muslim Spain. An attribution to Sicily or South Italy whose Norman rulers are known to have employed Muslim craftsmen should also be considered, for there are a number of oliphants of apparent western manufacture which reproduce in a general way the decoration of the oriental ones. If the latter were in fact made in Egypt it is at least possible that they were made for export to the West. (See O. von Falke, *Eifenbeinhörner*, 512-7, who attributes six horns and a fragmentary piece in the Metropolitan Museum to this group; also four caskets, seven plaques (in the V. and A. Museum) and an ivory box (in the Metr. Museum).)

As has already been mentioned the technique of incrustation was practised in Egypt. A casket of wood with ivory incrustations in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo, has been attributed to Egypt since it is connected in style and technique with a

fragmentary wood panel incrustated with ivory found at Edfū and now in the Arab Museum. Its date would appear to be the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century. (See Monneret de Villard, *La Casella*, pls. i-v; for the Edfū panel, pl. xxvii.)

While the technique of incrustation was being adopted by the Muslim craftsmen, the Copts maintained the more ancient tradition of intarsia decoration. Both techniques were used in the doors of the Church of the Virgin in the Dayr al-Suryān (in Wādī al-Naṭrīn), which were made in the first half of the 10th century (see Monneret de Villard, pls. xxi-xxv). But incrustation was rarely used in later times and was confined to small objects. Intarsia, on the other hand, was frequently used in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk period for the decoration of large surfaces. The famous *mihrāb* made in Aleppo by order of Nūr al-Dīn in 1168-9 A.D. and sent to the Maḥdīd al-Aḥsā in Jerusalem, is the first of a series of works in which panels of ivory or bone, either plain or carved, were inserted into a wooden ground so as to form geometric patterns, stars or polygons. Intarsia decoration is found in *hursi*, *mihrāb* and *dikka* of the Mamlūk period. The contrast between wood and ivory serves to emphasise the abstract pattern and the effect is heightened when the ivory panels are carved with arabesque or inscriptions. After the fall of the Mamlūks the technique was adopted in Turkey where there are fine examples of mosque furniture with intarsia decoration dating from the 17th century. (The *mihrāb* in al-Aḥsā is illustrated in M. van Berchem, *CIA, Syrie du Nord, Jerusalem*, iii, no. 277 (p. 393 ff., pls. 29-30). Mamlūk examples in L. Hautecœur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1934, ill. pls. 172-3, and Turkish examples in E. Kühnel, *Meisners Werke der Archäologischen Museum in Istanbul*, iii, Berlin-Leipzig 1935, pl. 19.)

3. A group of ivories which has given rise to much discussion consists of caskets, combs and crossiers with painted and gilded decoration. Many of these found their way to the treasuries of European churches in the Middle Ages where the caskets were used as reliquaries or pyxes and the combs for liturgical purposes. P. H. Cott's *Siculo-Arabic Ivories*, which can claim to be almost complete, illustrates some ninety pieces in which the painted decoration is still visible. All have certain common stylistic and technical features. In many pieces all trace of the original colour has disappeared and the well preserved state of the famous casket of Würzburg is exceptional. Generally patterns are outlined in black and filled in with a palette which includes red, blue and green, and gold applied in both liquid and leaf form. Many pieces are inscribed around the rim of the cover in Arabic, either Kūfic or Nashī script. Most of these inscriptions contain benedictory phrases addressed to the owner and, more rarely, verses from a love poem which suggests that these were intended as bridal caskets to contain jewels and trinkets. There are examples, too, of Arabic letters used merely for decorative effect and without meaning. Unfortunately no surviving inscription contains a date, or the name of either maker or owner. If it is generally agreed that the painted ivories can be assigned to the 12th and 13th centuries, opinions differ regarding the place of origin and unless a piece comes to light with a reverse inscription or a reference in some contemporary source is discovered there can be no final answer to this question. In the circumstances style and iconography are the only evidence.

On stylistic grounds they have been variously attributed to Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Spain and Sicily. It is true that the decoration of the so-called *mihrāb* ware of Persia dating from the second half of the 12th to the 13th century has a superficial resemblance to that of the painted ivories, in the rather sparse arrangement of the decoration and in the figural representations, especially the horsed rider. Attenuated versions of the motives found in the decorative arts of Syria occur on the ivories. The decoration of one distinctive group of painted ivories contains star interlacings and geometric ornaments so similar to those found in the art of Granada during the Nasrid period that their attribution to a Granada workshop during the 14th and 15th centuries seems certain. (Ferrandis, nos. 89-103. Ferrandis accepts the Sicilian origin for the remainder but suggests that three of these were "imitations" made in Spain, viz. nos. 9 and 65 in Cott and a casket in the parish church of Fitero, Navarre, not mentioned by Cott; Ferrandis, no. 21.) Apart, however, from this small and somewhat isolated group, the closest parallels are to be found in the art of Fātimid Egypt: in the fragments of pottery from Fustāt, wood carvings, notably the *mihrāb* panels, and the greatest surviving monument of Fātimid painting, the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo. Kühnel (cf. Bibliography), however, argues for their Sicilian (and, in some pieces, Spanish) origin. In this connection, a casket found at Carrion de los Condes in Palencia and now in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid (Ferrandis, no. 9) is important. This is a rectangular box, the flat cover of which is inscribed on intarsia with a dedication to al-Mu'izz, the last Fātimid to rule from Hrkīya, and the interesting information that it was made in al-Manṣūriyya, the Fātimid capital near al-Qayrawān. The maker's name is unfortunately almost entirely obliterated except for the *niḡba* al-Khurasānī. The casket can therefore be dated between 341/952 and 365/972. The sides are decorated with a border of scroll-work painted in green and red. Although the drawing is curvilinear the style dissimilar to that of the group under discussion, it suggests that the technique of painting on ivory was already known and practised in the Maghrib in the third quarter of the 10th century and was presumably introduced from Egypt.

But the fact remains that these painted ivories give the impression of a style not entirely in accord with the canons of Islamic art. The sparse treatment of the decoration and the frequent carelessness of the drawing are in marked contrast with the careful presentation of decoration and precise drawing to which we are accustomed in Islamic art. Indeed, were it not for the Arabic inscriptions, there might well be doubt in assigning them to the Islamic world at all. For this reason it seems likely that they originated in an area on the fringe of the Islamic world which was open both to oriental and occidental influences. The fact that certain caskets contain Christian figures, that there are two crossiers with painted decoration identical to that of the caskets, and that painted ivories are found exclusively in the countries of Europe suggests that the place of origin, at least, must be the Western market. (Christian figures occur on nos. 38, 39, 42, 44, 80 in Cott; for crossiers see Cott, nos. 148, 149. The Arabic inscription on the "Granadan" casket in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan states that it was made to contain the consecrated Host (Cott, no. 138). It is usually agreed that the combs were for liturgical



use.) Probably there was more than one centre where painted ivories were produced, and the poorer examples were copies of finer prototypes. But until we possess a documented piece, there can be no certain solution of the problem.

4. By far the most remarkable of the mediaeval Islamic ivories are the carved ivories made in Muslim Spain and among them are masterpieces which rival the Byzantine and Western ivories. Fortunately there are enough documented pieces to make it possible to trace their history over a period of little less than a century. Unlike most of the ivories which have been discussed so far, they were produced under royal patronage and include some made for presentation to royal personages. During the first half of the period, the centre of production was in Cordova and then moved to Madinat al-Zahra', thus they belong to the declining years of the Caliphate of Cordova. The earliest of the Hispano-Arabic ivories were probably made in Cordova and are characterized by the exclusive use of plant ornament (see Ferrandis, nos. 7-3). In the earliest surviving products of the new workshop at Madinat al-Zahra' the decoration of one consists of painted birds and animals amid floral and plant scrolls and that of another includes painted dancers (see Ferrandis, nos. 4-6). The artists of both these groups were evidently familiar with the carved marble plaques in the Great Mosque of Cordova and the marble revetments found at Madinat al-Zahra'. Another group consists of pieces made in the Madinat al-Zahra' workshop by an artist who signs himself 'Ishad' (Ferrandis, nos. 7-10). His masterpiece is the circular box belonging to the Hispanic Society in New York. His style is quite distinctive; birds, animals and figures are conspicuously absent and the flowers and leaves which are deeply cut are rendered with exuberance and a close attention to detail.

But undoubtedly the greatest achievement is the series of ivories with scenes with figures and animals which, indeed, must be numbered among the most precious examples of Hispano-Arabic art; for not only are they of first-rate artistic quality but as social documents the scenes of court life and of chase which they depict give us a rare picture of the refinements of Andalusian civilization. The three finest examples (Ferrandis, nos. 14-19) are evidently formed of wooden panels with the two cylindrical boxes in the Louvre and the Victoria and Albert Museum, the first dedicated to al-Mughira, brother of al-Hakam II and dated 357/968, and the second dedicated to Ziyad b. Aflah and dated 359/970, and the casket in the Cathedral of Pamplona, dedicated to a son of al-Mansur and dated 399/1008. The last is the latest dated surviving piece from the Cordovan workshop. With these are associated some five other pieces (Ferrandis, nos. 13-6, 20-2). Scenes are enclosed in lobed circles, polygons or arcades. The plant decoration is subordinated to the animals and human figures which are proportionally large; the symmetrical arrangement of these does not preclude naturalistic effect. Scenes include the prince with attendant servants and musicians, huntmen with falcons or at grips with their quarry and men performing rustic tasks such as gathering the date harvest, animals struggling with their prey; and in one case an elephant is depicted. None of these pieces is signed except the Pamplona casket which bears the name of more than one artist.

After the fall of the Caliphate of Cordova, the workers founded a new establishment in Cuernca

where they were given an asylum by the Dihl b. Nuhud, ruler of Toledo. The earliest surviving product (Ferrandis, no. 23) is dated 417/1026 and signed with the maker's name Muhammad b. Zayyin. From this it is clear that the workshop was already established before Isma'il al-Zafar rose the kingdom of Toledo in 427/1036. The last documented piece (no. 26) bears a dedicatory inscription to Husam al-Dawla son of Yahya al-Ma'mun and governor of Cuernca and is dated 441/1049. It is also signed with the maker's name 'Abd al-Fahim b. Zayyin and shows that the workshop was in the hand of a single family. The Cuernca ivories lack the vitality and invention of the Cordovan ivories. Cordovan motives recur but their presentation is monotonous. Animals and scenes are not enclosed by the lobed circles and polygons but are arranged in horizontal or vertical registers in which they are often repeated in identical form.

After the middle of the 11th century it seems that the Christian kingdoms of the North took the lead in ivory carving, although their products show the influence of Andalusian techniques. Yet the tradition of ivory carving was not entirely lost in Muslim Spain, for among the surviving examples of the decorative arts of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada are sword and dagger handles which incorporate carved ivory with floral and geometric designs and inscriptions resembling those of the Alhambra stucco revetments. (The most important pieces are illustrated in L. Torres Balbás, *Arte Almohade — Arte Nazarí — Arte Mudéjar (Arte Hispano-árabe)*, figs. 256B and C, and 257; also a bow with ivory incrustations, fig. 255, and the staff of Cardinal Cisneros, said to be the sceptre of the Nasrid kings, fig. 246. For two other sword handles see Migon, op. cit., fig. 161. Also attributed to Granada are the "eared" daggers with carved ivory plaques in the handles and "ears" of the pommel (see Torres Balbás, op. cit., figs. 256D and B).)

5. Besides ivory carving, Cordova had acquired a preeminence in ivory incrustation which was to survive the fall of the Umayyads. Muslim historians and travellers describe and praise the master craftsman by order of al-Hakam II for the Great Mosque. But neither this nor the *minbar* made some years later for the mosque at Fez by order of Hisham II have survived though from the descriptions both were evidently formed of wooden panels with ivory incrustations. One of the earliest surviving Maghribi *minbars* with this kind of decoration is the magnificent example in the Kutubiyya of Marrākush. According to the inscription (see J. Sauvaget, in *Hepp*, 1949, 313 ff.) this was made in Cordova and dates from the time of the Almoravids. Technically different from mosaics, the decoration consists of interlaced bands incrusting with contrasting wood and ivory cubes enclosing polygons of carved arabesques, larger flowing floral or geometric patterns and a frieze with inscription in which the letters are formed of ivory sheets. The ivory is either natural colour or stained. (For detailed study and illustration see H. Basset and H. Terrasse, in *Hepp*, 1926, 168-204; also Ferrandis, no. 159.) Other *minbars*, if technically less perfect, reveal a rich inventiveness. (The earliest is the *minbar* in the Mosque of al-Karawiyyin, Fez, made at the close of the Almoravid period in 1145. Others are the *minbar* in the mosque of the Kasaba, Marrākush, for which see Basset and Terrasse, 244-70, and Ferrandis, no. 160, and the *minbars* in the mosque of Taza (1292-3) and in the Madrasa Bu 'Isahiyya, Fez

(1350-5). There is a copy of the *Kasaba minbar* in the mosque of al-Mawwāshīn, Marrākush, dating from the 16th century.) In Spain, few large-scale works of incrustation have survived; but there is a particularly fine pair of doors from a cupboard in the Museum of the Alhambra (Torres Balbás, fig. 244-5; Ferrandis, no. 167; other examples, Torres Balbás, fig. 243; Ferrandis, nos. 172, 174). Equally remarkable are caskets with ivory incrustations, decorated either with figural representations or geometrical designs (Ferrandis, nos. 161-3, 168-71). All these caskets have been found in Spain and because of the similarity of their decoration to certain Toledan stucco work have been attributed to Andalusia and the 12th to 13th century. Finally the handle of the so-called rapier of Isma'il in the Museo Histórico Militar, Madrid, has delicate ivory incrustations of arabesques and is an eloquent witness of the skill of the Granadan craftsmen. (See Torres Balbás, fig. 240, and E. Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst*, Berlin 1924, pl. 124. The staff of Cardinal Cisneros has also ivory incrustations, see above.)

6. In this account of ivory products in Islam, the Persia figures scarcely at all. No piece has yet appeared that can be attributed to pre-Mongol Persia. It would be rash to assume for this reason that the art of working in ivory was unknown for there are references in contemporary literature which suggest the opposite. (Monneret de Villard, op. cit., 15, quotes al-Karwini (Wüstendiehl), II, 273, who remarks that the inhabitants of Tark, in the district of Isfahan, are skilled in making objects of ebony and ivory. M. de V. suggests that this implies a local industry of incrustation.) We can only blame the accidents and ravages of time for this absence. That incrustation was practised in later times is proved by the pair of wooden doors inscribed with ivory from the Gūrī Mir, Samarkand, now in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (*Survey of Persian Art*, vi, pl. 1470). Made about 808/1405, their decoration is typically Timurid. A pen-box (S. Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens of Egypt*, London 1886, fig. 72) and dagger handles dating from the 18th century or later (P. Heft, *Contributions à l'étude des armes orientales*, Paris 1931, II, pl. 16) imply the existence of a native school of ivory carving.

**Bibliography:** E. Diez, *Remains Elfenbein-häuten und Pyxiden der Isl. Kunst*, Jahrbuch d. Königl. Kunstsammlungen, 1910, 211-44; E. Kühnel, *Stützen und die Isl. Elfenbeinmalerei*, Zeitschr. f. Bildende Kunst, 1914, 162-70; O. v. Falke, *Elfenbeinkörner*, 3; Aegypten und Italien, Pantheon, 1929, 511-7; U. Monneret de Villard, *La Casella incrostata della Cappella Palatina di Palermo*, Rome 1935; P. B. Cott, *Siculo-Arabic Ivories*, Princeton 1939; J. Ferrandis, *Marfiles árabes de Occidente*, Madrid 1935-40.

**ADJA**<sup>2</sup> and **SALMĀ**, the two main ranges of the central Arabian mountain group of Ḥijāb al-Tayyī, modern al-Ḥijāb. An old tale of the type of "metamorphosis as punishment for sin" is attached to them; the tale is connected with reality insofar as *Adja*<sup>2</sup> and *Salmā* occur in Old Arabic and in early North Arabic dialects as personal names.—According to Ibn al-Kalbi's "Book of Idols", and one of the two versions in the *Djāmara* by the same author, the God Fals/Fah/Fulus was worshipped in the guise of one of the cliffs of *Adja*<sup>2</sup>. This cult is probably of great antiquity, as the cult of a certain cliff (Ra'n) in the valley of al-Ḥiṣṣa in the 2nd century B.C., and later between 50 and 150 A.D., is attested by the evidence of some proper names.

**Bibliography:** W. Caskel, *Likyan und Likyanisch*, Köln and Opladen 1934; Ibn Hishām, 56; R. Klinke-Rosenberger, *Das Götzenbuch*, K. al-Asad, des Ibn al-Kalbi, Leipzig 1941, 61 f.; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischer Heidentum*, 31 ff.; Yāqūt, I, 122 ff., III, 912. (W. Caskel) 'ADJĀ'IB, "marvels", are in the first instance the marvels of antiquity. In addition, the term and its derivatives comprise, already in the Kur'an, the marvels of God's creation. 'Adja'ib are thus any kind of casual data about extraordinary monuments, the three realms of nature and meteorological phenomena, and the two aspects under which they are viewed come from the Greek spirit on the one hand and the eastern biblical ideas on the other.

Islam, the continuator of the classical tradition as it was formulated in the East, was interested in exceptional monuments, but in a spirit different from that of the Greek. Among the surprising buildings described as marvellous by the Arab authors, the Pharos of Alexandria acquired great notoriety. The monument, described by them in greater detail than by the Greek and Latin authors, existed until the 18th century and was erroneously attributed to Alexander the Great. In general the Macedonian king represented a universal symbol, a mixture of Greek conqueror and of the spirituality of the ancient Orient, and many famous monuments were attributed to him.

As to the marvels of God's creation, these are no wanton inventions of fancy, but are often based on a minute and exact observation of nature. Thus in the al-Ḥayawān of Ḍiḥrī, there are rudiments of "Darwinism", and Abū Ḥāmid describes beavers' dams, which he considers to be miraculous; Ibn al-Fakhr gives an account of the magnetic and electrical phenomena to be observed on a mountain near Ḥamā.

It was, however, inevitable that these two conceptions of the 'adja'ib, so different from the ideological point of view, should fuse together to give rise, especially in the Arabic geographical texts, to a peculiar literary genre. The 'Adja'ib al-Hind by the captain Buzurg b. Shahrīyār (p. x) deserves to be mentioned in the first place by its early date and by its incontestable documentary value for its period. It starts with the statement: "God has divided the marvels of creation into ten parts, of which nine belong to the East, one to the other parts of the compass. Of the nine parts belonging to the East, eight belong to India and China and one only to the other regions of the East . . .". The book consists of stories by the navigators of East Africa, India, and the islands of S.-E. Asia; some of them show an admixture of real observation while others can be explained only by study of the folklore of the people in question. While the marvels of far-away countries found their literary form already in the 4th/10th century, the curiosities of the various Islamic countries were only described in excursus in the geographical treatises (e.g. in al-Makdisī). It was only in the 6th/12th century that these isolated zoological, ethnological, archaeological etc. accounts acquired a particular literary form, especially through Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḥamānī (p. x), who collected them in his *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*. The Arabic literature of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, called "classical", is characterized by an equilibrium between erudition and aesthetic creation. When this equilibrium was disturbed by the decadence of Arabic literature, the writers increasingly disregarded science; the 'adja'ib thus came into greater favour and reached their full development in the cosmographies of the 8th/14th century. The greatest



author of this period was al-Karwīn (g.v.) whose work is divided into two parts: *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, "The Marvels of Creation", and *Al-ḥikm al-Būdān*, "The Monuments"; thus the best representative of the genre bears witness, centuries later, to the two forms of *'adja'ib* mentioned above. At this epoch the cosmographical works increasingly neglect geography; what remains are collections of entertaining stories. It was also in this period that the *Sindbād* cycle, which is but a literary adaptation of the accounts of Buzurg B. Shahrīyār, was introduced into it.

In the first centuries of the *hijra* the *'adja'ib* were correctly situated in geographical space by those who observed them or by the authors who copied the former; this is also the case with the earlier Arab geographers and with Abū Ḥāmid. As the scientific interest decreased, however, and the popular interest in amusing literature grew, the data lost their precision and their exact geographical localization. The items of real knowledge acquired in Islam and unknown in antiquity recur in general in the descriptions of the *'adja'ib*; yet these *'adja'ib* acquire a particular role in the history of thought in that they transport us from tangible reality to the realm of fancy constituted by the oriental tales. Abū Ḥāmid, the precursor of the popular cosmographers, is one of the authors who has most influence on the Arabic *adja'ib* literature in the age of decadence of Islamic literature in the late Middle Ages; it is not for nothing that his books were among the main sources of al-Karwīn. On the other hand it is through the popular cosmographies that the *'adja'ib* stories brought an essential contribution to the Muslim genius to world literature in the form of the tales of the *Arabian Nights*.

**Bibliography:** *Tā*, i, 367; Pauly-Wissowa, *Ky. Pseudographia*; M. Asin, *El libro de Aljandría*, And., 1933, 241 ff.; for the "Darwinism" of *Ḍiḥ* see E. Wiedmann, in *SBPMSer.*, 1915, 130; for Ibn al-Fakhr, see *BGA*, v, 134 and G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Geographien*, i, Berlin 1897; for al-Makhlūqāt, see *BGA*, iii, 240; for the other authors mentioned in this article, see *al-Manāḥid*, Abū Ḥāmid al-GHARĀNĪ and al-KARWĪN; C. E. Dubler, *El Extremo Oriente visto por los musulmanes anteriores a la invasión de los Mongoles en el siglo xiii* (La deformación del saber geográfico y etnológico en los cuentos orientales), *Homage to a Millán Vallicrosa*, i, 465 ff. (C. E. DUBLER).

**ADJAL**, the appointed term of a man's life or the date of his death; a topic repeatedly discussed in the earlier *hādith* along with that of *riḥ* or sustenance. The idea that the date of a man's death is fixed presumably belongs to pre-Islamic thought. The word *adjal* is used in the Qur'ān in a variety of ways, e.g. for the date when the embryo emerges from the womb (xxii, 5), for the period Moses had to serve for his wife (xxviii, 28 f.), for the date when a debt is due (ii, 280), etc. In creating the heavens and earth, the sun and moon, God fixed an *adjal* for them (xlii, 3; xxix, 5, etc.); with this is connected the coming of the Last Day. More especially it is used for the term of existence decreed by God for creatures (xxiii, 43, etc.) and for individuals (liii, 20 f.; vi, 9). This term is neither to be anticipated, nor delayed; its fulfilment explains why the wicked are not punished at once. "No one has his life prolonged or no one has his life cut short except (as it is written) in a book (of God's decrees)" (xxv, 12). The *adjal* is not shortened even through sinning (xxv, 44, xlii, 13), while

on the other hand it may be concluded that Muhammad presupposed the shortening of the *adjal* as a punishment, but it might be restored to the original length through repentance (ii, 3, xiv, 17). The Qur'ān very often emphasizes the expression of *adjal* as the irrevocable period of life assigned by God with the epithet *musammad* (xxxix, 43; xi, 60, and elsewhere), "enunciated" (without ambiguity) "through a word which had proceeded from God" (xlii, 13); the same epithet is applied to the course of the unchangeably operating placement of matter (xix, 28, xxxv, 17, xxxix, 7). The decreed duration of the world is also often designated by the same formal expression (vi, 2, 67, xxix, 44). One may notice in the commentaries to the Qur'ān the tendency to refer the *adjal musammad*, where it is possible, to the period of the end of the world.

According to tradition (al-Bukhārī, *Kadar*, i; Muslim, *hādith*, 3; etc.) *adjal* and *riḥ* are two of the four things determined for a man while he is in the womb. Some of the early Mu'āzila apparently suggested that a man who met a violent death had not reached the term decreed for him by God. Perhaps they said this because they hesitated to ascribe the evil of killing to God, just as they did not assert that sustenance consisting of stolen goods came from God. For a number of the Mu'āzila, *adjal* is capable of being interpreted as natural term or, as they put it, "the time at which God knew the man would have died had he not been killed" (cf. *ḥina*). This view, however, offended the deep-rooted feeling that the date of death was fixed. Even Abū 'Udhayl said that, if the man had not been killed then, he would have died in some other way. Al-Najdīli insisted that, whatever the mode of death, a man died at his term; and he was followed by the opponents of the doctrine of *hādith*, including al-Ash'arī. Al-Kāfi tried to avoid ascribing evil to God by distinguishing between the death and the killing. No fresh points were raised after this, but the old points were frequently repeated by theologians. — The dogmatists discussed in connection with *adjal* also the question, whether God lengthens or shortens the *adjal* as a reward for obedience or as a punishment of disobedience respectively, a question to which the answer results in the harmonizing interpretation of the Qur'ānic verses quoted above and puts the problem of *adjal* in the domain of the debates on *hādith* (g.v.). An aspect of the problem of *adjal* concerns the death of great masses by elementary catastrophes, war, pestilence, etc.

Jewish religious philosophy treats the problem from the same point of view.

**Bibliography:** Ash'arī, *Makhlūqāt al-Islāmiyyin* (Ritter), 256 (with further references), 285; idem, *Ḥina*, Cairo 1348, 59 f. (Hyderabad 1321, 76, transl. by W. C. Klein, New Haven 1940, 115-7; something has dropped out of the text); Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1361/1928, 142-4; Ghazālī, *Ḥikm*, 4, bñ 2, f. 101, 2; *maṣ'ala* 1; Shahrastānī, *Nikāyat al-Aḥdām* (Guillaume), 416; *Ḍiḥ Masūdī*, Cairo 1325, viii, 170-1; Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Aḥdām al-Nasāfiyya*, Cairo 1335, 108 f. (transl. E. E. Elder, New York 1930, 94 f.); Ibn Abī 'Udhayl, *Sharḥ Nahḍ al-Balagh* — also quoted in *Ḍiḥ* al-*ḥikm*, *Uṣūl al-Islām* R. 'Iṣm al-Kālmī, Lucknow 1319, ii, 140-151; W. Wāṣ, *Free Life and Predetermination in early Islam*, London 1948, 16-8, 29, 66, 108, 146; G. Weil, *Maimonides über die Lebendigen*, Basel 1953.

(I. GOLDZIEHER-W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**'ADJALA**, Arabic word borrowed from the North-Western Semitic languages (Hebrew *'agallā*, Phoenician *'āḡ*, Jewish-Aramaic *'agallā*, Syriac *'agallā*, Coptic *'agallā*, from the New Egyptian *'gri* = *\*agallā*, whence Coptic *agallā*; see references in L. Koehler, *Lexicon in Veteri Testamenti libro*, Leiden 1953, 679), derived from a root denoting rotundity or swiftness. In Arabic, as in these languages, it designates wheeled vehicles (chariots, carts, wagons) drawn by animals; but in Arabic it is a generic term. It is for this reason that the use of these vehicles in the Islamic Orient will be treated here, if only in a fragmentary way.

Before Islam, the use of various kinds of cars (among them those termed *'agallā*, etc., in the Semitic countries of the west and in Egypt) is well attested in the whole of the Near East (cf. e.g. V. Gordon Childe, *Wheeled Vehicles, in A History of Technology*, i, Oxford 1954; A. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique*, ii, Paris 1953, 98-100, 233; A. Salomon, *Die Landfahrzeuge des Alten Mesopotamien*, Helsinki 1951; Ernan and Ranke, *Agypten*, Tübingen 1923, 584; P. Monet, *La vie quotidienne en Égypte*, Paris 1946, 169). In spite of the decline of the chariot of war as early as the Persian period (Salomon, 21), carriages are frequently mentioned in the same region during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (cf. e.g. for Egypt, C. Prêtre, *L'économie égyptienne*, Brussels 1939, 414; W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, 26; Jewish texts in S. Kraus, *Talmudische Archäologie*, Leipzig 1910-2, ii, 336-8 and G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, ii, 111-5, iii, 58 f., 88-90, vi, 205 etc.). The same applies for pre-Islamic North Africa (R. Capot-Rey, *Géographie de la Circulation*, Paris 1946, 87).

In Islamic times, the texts concerning wheeled traffic seem much less frequent. The word *'adjala* occurs but rarely in the Middle Ages. None of the passages allows the technology of these vehicles to be determined; at the most they mention the animals which draw them. The lexicographers do not seem to deal with the subject. The reference in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Cheikhov), 24, to a vehicle drawn by two oxen is derived from the Sanskrit original. In historical and geographical texts one comes across references, e.g. for Egypt, to such vehicles used for heavy loads (Umayyad period; Yāqūt, i, 260; al-Mas'ūdī (*Musūdī*), iii, 28 f.) in the 4th/10th century mentions large wagons drawn by buffaloes in the Syrian *ḥaḡḡ*; 7th/13th century: Ibn Sa'īd, in al-Makhlūqāt, *Al-nakla*, i, 691; for Morocco in the 8th/14th century: al-Djannābī, *Zahrat al-As* (Bell, 27, transl. 69 f.).

Most of the references, however, concern vehicles used in exceptional circumstances, and which appeared to cause considerable astonishment. E.g. in 242/856, a pilgrimage from Basra to the holy cities on an *'adjala* drawn by camels (Ibn Taghribirdī, Cairo, ii, 307); a few years later, an *'adjala* drawn by men, which carried the sick Ahmad b. Tūlūn from Antioch to Egypt (Ibn Abī Usaybā, ii, 84); in 307/919 the large vehicles prepared in Baghdad for the public humiliation of the rebel Yūsuf b. Abī 'l-Sādī (*K. al-Uyūn*, in Ibn Miskawayh, ed. Amelrod, i, 49, n.). The Christians during their feasts used state carriages, e.g. in Edessa on the eve of the feast of the cross (Husayn b. Ya'qub, in al-'Umari, *Masālik*, i, Cairo 1924, 265). The animals mentioned as drawing these vehicles, which were perhaps of very different shapes, are varied: horses (of several breeds), camels, oxen, mules, donkeys, buffaloes, perhaps also elephants; as noted above, human traction also was used on occasion.

The word often serves to designate foreign vehicles: Byzantine racing chariots (Ibn Rusta, 120, Ibn Khurrādādhbih, 112), wagons of the Christians of the Iberian peninsula (Ibn 'Idhārī, iii, 86; *Al-ḥikm al-'Aḡ*, ed. M. J. Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*, Munich 1863, 44, transl. 147-8), later Turkish arabas.

In Muslim Iran, literary references to carriages (*gārdān*) seem to be equally rare (B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 428-9, notes no examples). Firdawsi, however, transposes into the world of myth wagons drawn by buffaloes or oxen (ref. in F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdawsi's Shah-name*, Berlin 1935, s.v.). A wooden chariot used by Isfandiār (*Shāh-nāmā* (Mohl), iv, 500-2, 510) is often shown in miniatures (e.g. *Survey of Persian Art*, v, 832 D; *La guirlande de l'Iran*, Paris 1948, 30), generally as a cart with two spoked wheels drawn by a horse tied between two shafts. Persian miniatures occasionally show other illustrations of wagons: a four-wheeled wagon drawn by a horse (MS from Tabriz, end of 7th/13th century, in E. Blochet, *Musliman Painting*, London 1929, pl. xli); a cart with two spoked wheels drawn by a horse tied between two shafts on which are carried materials for building a mosque (miniature of Bihzād, A.D. 1467, in E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin 1928, pl. 31); a kind of yurt probably mounted on wheels, drawn by horses, and used to carry to Tabriz the corpse of Ghāzān Khān in 703/1304 (MS of 9th/15th century, reproduced in E. Blochet, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la Bibl. Nat.*, Paris 1914-20, pl. xix, cf. p. 272).

On the other hand, carts (*ḡarḡl*, later also *araba*, *arba*) were very frequently used by the Turco-Mongols of Central Asia until the 17th century, after which the economic decline of the nomad world led to a lessening of their use. Ibn Baṭṭiṭa, ii, 361, mentions them in Southern Russia. This vehicle, the name of which was arabicised as *'araba* and even *'arabiyya* ("Arabian"), was introduced in particular into Mamlūk Egypt (see *'ARABA*). Its name supplanted in popular use the word *'adjala* as a generic term for carriages, so that *'adjala* could be used anew in modern Egypt as a name for bicycle. In Turkish Anatolia the byzantine wagon (*ḡarḡl*) remained in use.

The medieval situation survived in the countryside up to modern times. In Syria, Volney states in the 18th century: "It is noteworthy that in the whole of Syria no wagon or cart is seen; this is probably due to the fact that they should be seized by the government's men and a heavy loss should be suffered in a moment" (*Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie*, Paris 1825, ii, 254). In Palestine, before the first world war, only Circassians and foreigners had peasant vehicles (Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, ii, 98 and fig. 40-2; A. Ruppin, *Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Berlin-Vienna 1920, 424-5). On the *ḡarḡl*, the situation is the same all over the Near East, except in Anatolia. For Morocco at the beginning of the 20th century, see Ch. René-Leclerc, *Le Maroc septentrional*, Algiers 1905, 87, 231-2; idem, in *Revue géographique coloniale*, 1905, 248; R. Le Tourneau, *Fin avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 415. Various explanations have been offered, the most common being the bad state and insecurity of the roads (R. Brunschwig, *La Barbarie orientale sous la Barbarie*, ii, 236; J. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, Paris 1946, 335-6; cf. Mez, *Revue*, 461, Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mos.*, iii, 98). Yet the comparison with the condition of the same countries



in antiquity and with the Turkish countries make this an unsatisfactory explanation. The increasing scarcity of wood, due to the loss of forests, should perhaps be taken into consideration, and one could perhaps establish a parallel with the degeneration of the plough (cf. A. G. Haudricourt, *L'homme et la charrue*, in the press, and *musaghi*). Also the improvement of transport due to the increasing use of the camel and the pack-saddle must be taken into account.

Nevertheless, sooner or later in the various countries, European vehicles were introduced, together with their usually Romance names (in Persia with a Russian name, *kiliseke*), but were often adapted to local techniques and customs. Restricted to urban, official and military use, to public transport (for Persia, numerous descriptions and illustrations in C. Auet, *La Perse en automobile*, Paris 1906, 122, 186, pl. 19, 25, 26, etc.), they rarely penetrated into the countryside. As early as the 17th century, the Muridiy bay of Tunis travelled in a *karrisa* (Italian *carrozza*) (Ibn Abi Dînâr, *Mu'nis*, Tunis 1286, 224); this word is now in common use in North Africa and is found even in Berber dialects (L. Brunet, *Textes arabes de Kabul*, 1, Paris 1952, 212). Similarly *karrisa* (Italian *carrozza*) is used in Algeria for carts and wagons (Beausse, *Dict. pratique arabe-français*, Algiers 1931, 795); the word was already used, in the plural form *kararîf*, to designate Portuguese wagons in the 16th century, *Chronique anonyme de la dynastie sa'adienne* (Cohn), 59. In Egypt, the *'arabiyat hantar*, 'cab', from Hungarian *hant* through Turkish *kârda*, cf. F. Mikschich, *SEAF*, Wiesbaden, 1889, 8, 1889, 8) and the *'arabiyat bârî* (Italian *carro*) are used (Nallino, *L'arabo parlato in Egitto*, Milan 1913, 241; cf. Ahmad Amin, *Kimât al-'Adât wa'l-Tahdîd*, Cairo 1951, 333 and pl. xvi). Bibliography: H. Zayyat, *al-Khizma al-Shar'iyya*, iii, Beirut 1946, 149-51; V. V. Barthold, *O bolesnom i verkhovnom distani v Srednei Azii*, Zakh. Institut Vostochnovedeniya Akademii nauk S.S.S.R., 1937, 5-7; A. G. Haudricourt, *Contribution à la géographie et à l'éthnologie de la voiture*, *Revue de Géographie humaine et d'Ethnologie*, 1948, 34-64 (important methodological indications).

(M. RODRIGUES)

'ADJAMI, the etymology and semantic evolution of this collective term in Arabic are exactly parallel to those of the Greek word *βάρβαρος*. In connection with the basic meaning of the root from which it is derived, 'adjām means people qualified by *'ajima*, a confused and obscure way of speaking, as regards pronunciation and language. 'Adjima is therefore also the contrary of the Arabic *fahsha*, and the 'adjām are the non-Arabs, the *βάρβαροι*, so called after the most characteristic sign of barbarousness: an incomprehensible and obscure way of speaking. As to the Greeks, so also to the Arabs, the barbarians were primarily their neighbours the Persians, and pre-Islamic poetry already contrasted al-'Arab with al-'Adjām, although for the latter the form *'adajim*, the plural of *'ajim*, was preferred. The affective value attributed to the word depended on the point of view of the user; although it preserved for the most part the original contemptuous force inspired by the haughty presumption of Arab superiority, it sometimes, and even at an early date, implied the desirability and allurements of the exotic, and the acknowledgment of a more civilized and refined culture. In any case, during the whole Umayyad period the superiority of the Arabs, who held the hegemony in Islam and by whom it was spread,

over the conquered 'adjām was uncontested, and only isolated voices were raised (e.g. by the poet Janā'ib b. Yaṣr in *al-ġhānī*, iv, 411-12) in support of the race and culture of non-Arabs, i.e. of the Iranians. With the coming to power of the 'Abbāsids, the victory of the 'adjām over the Arabs, a victory which Nasr ibn Sayyar had already deprecated in famous verses (al-Dinawari, 360), reversed the situation, the Iranians, having obtained political and social supremacy, soon laid claim to the supremacy of their cultural and spiritual values. This was the *ghu'abiyiyya* movement [g.u.] which, in its essential nucleus, reaffirmed the superiority of the 'adjām over the Arabs, even although its campaign was carried on in Arabic. When the heat of the controversy had died down, the two words remained in current usage merely to indicate ethnical differences, 'adjām becoming synonymous with *Furs* (Persians). 'Irāk 'Adjāmī indicated, from the late medieval period onwards, Iranian Media (which the ancient geographers had called al-'Irāqī), to distinguish it from 'Irāk 'Arabī, which is 'Irāk proper. *Lāmiyyat al-'adjām* was given as the title, in contrast to the celebrated *harida* of Shānīara, to a similar poem by Ibn al-Ḥakīm al-Ḥakīmī (Ibn Tugh'ā' [d. 1122]). For 'adjāmī = aljamīdo see ALJAMIDO.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 10-146 ('Arab und 'Adjām'). (F. GABRIELI)

'ADJAMI OGHILÂN (accnt *oghlan*), a term, meaning 'foreign boy', applied to Christian youths enrolled for service as Ottoman *kapî hân*es [g.u.], originally, according to the *Penâh bîsmîn* of 1562, by the reservation of one in every five of those taken prisoner of war, and later by *dewchîme* [g.u.] conscription. They were first placed for from five to seven years at the disposal of feudal sipahîs and others in Anatolia, and later also in Rumelia, in order to learn Turkish and accustom themselves to Muslim usages, and then posted to the 'adjamî odjak of Gallipoli and, after the conquest, to that of Istanbul, being simultaneously selected for subsequent service, according to their abilities, in the sultan's palace or in one or other of the *odjak*s of the standing army, infantry and cavalry, or of the *hoshîdîle* [g.u.] of Edirne and Istanbul. Their actual appointment—known as *kapîya bîsmâ*—to the palace service or their reservation in *odjak* was by seniority on the occurrence of vacancies.

After preliminary training at Ghalaṭa Sarâyî or Ibrahim Pasha Sarâyî in Istanbul or at Edirne, 'adjamî oghlân appointed to the sultan's household (and hence thereafter called *id oghlân* or *id aghas*) might gradually rise from its lowest *hoshîd* or dormitory to the *hâkîmî oda* [g.u.], from the chief post in which those who attained them might be appointed *beherîyeys* and *vevîrs*. The two most important standing cavalry regiments (*sîpâhîs* and *sîlâhdârîs*) were likewise recruited from among the *id aghas*, the other four (*niâzîdîs* and *ghurabâs*) being recruited from among those 'adjamî oghlân who, though selected for the palace service, were not in the event appointed to it.

Most of the 'adjamî oghlân not chosen for the palace were destined for service as Janissaries (see *YENI ERK*), whether after preliminary service in the *odjak* of the *hoshîdîle* or by immediate admission into one of the thirty-four *ortas* [g.u.], under the command of the *Idaush aghas*, which were reckoned as forming part of the Janissary *odjak*.

The gradual abandonment during the 17th

century of the *dewchîme* naturally resulted in the disappearance of 'adjamî oghlân proper, though their organization was maintained, like that of the whole Janissary *odjak*, till its abolition in 1826.

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(H. BOWEN)

'ADJAMIYYA, a term used of the writing of non-Arabic languages in Arabic characters, (see ALJAMIDO, *BAVA*).

'ADJARIDA, Khāridjite sect which spread especially in Khurāsān. The name is derived from that of its founder, 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Adjarad, who succeeded from the 'Atawīyya, one of the subdivisions of the Naḡdīdāt [g.u.]. 'Abd al-Karīm was a native of Balūkh and was imprisoned by the governor of 'Irāk, Khālid al-Kasrī (105-20/724-38). The main religious tenets attributed to 'Adjarida were: the exclusion from Islam (*harā'iq*) of children (even of one's own, according to Ibn Harūn) until they grow up and become believers; the duty to invite them to embrace the true faith when they reach puberty; the assertion that *ahīra* is a meritorious act, not a duty; the profession of friendship (*uḍayfa*) towards the quietists (*al-ha'adī*), the affirmation that *shu'at* (i.e. *ḥudūd*) which by its frivolity could not be the word of God, did not belong to the Qur'ān.

Al-Ash'arī names as branches of the 'Adjarida the Maymūniyya, Khālafiyya, Hamziyya, Shu'aybiyya, Saliyya, Khāzimiyya (with two subdivisions) and Thā'aliba (with five subdivisions). Al-Shah-rastānī adds the Atrāfiyya. Most of these schools held a less rigid opinion concerning children, viz. that they are in a neutral status until they accept or renounce faith at the time of puberty. The Hamziyya played an important political role in the 'Abbāsid period. The grave Khāridjite revolt which broke out in 179/795 in southern Khurāsān and which lasted till 195/810 was, in fact, led by their chief Hamza b. Adrak.

Bibliography: Ash'arī, *Makhlād al-'Idamiyyin* (Ritter), i, 93 ff.; Baghdādī, *Faṣṣ*, 72 ff.; Ibn Hazm, *Fisal*, iv, 101; Shah-rastānī, 95 ff.; Makrīfī, *Ġhānāt*, ii, 355; Ibn al-Adhīr, vi, 101, 103 ff., 114, 143; Mas'ūdī, *Murādī*, viii, 42, 127; L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *Le vicende del bāgismo in epoca abbāsīde*, *RSO*, 1949, 41.

(R. RUBINACCI)

AL-AQDĀBĪ, ABU IḤSĀN IBN AHMAD IBN AHMAD AL-LU'WĀ'Ī, a author of various works on philology (especially the *Kifayāt al-Mutabā'if*), a lexicographical work. Al-Tidjānī possessed several of them in autograph copies (al-Aqdābī was famous for his calligraphy). Al-Aqdābī lived in the second half of the 5th/11th century in Tripoli where he also died; his tomb is still venerated there.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, i, 131; idem, *Irshād*, i, 47; Suyūṭī, *Ḥawāṭir*, 178; Tidjānī, *Rikā*, Tunis 1927, 188 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 372. S. I, 341.

(H. H. ABDUL-WAHAB)

ADJĀBĪYA, town of Cyrenaica, on the old main road which followed the coast from Alexandria to Tripoli, halfway between Barka and Surt. Adjābīya now belongs to the district of Benghazi. It was conquered by 'Amr b. al-'Ās in 22/643, was subjected to poll-tax (*jizya*), and became during the following three centuries a

military station and a great centre of commercial traffic. Built at the gate of the desert on stony ground—whence probably the Arabic name Adjābīya, "the sterile"—it had in the 3th/11th century a citadel and a substantial mosque, built about 300/912-3 by the Fātimid prince Abū 'l-Kāsim, son of 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, with a very fine octagonal minaret, 114 ft. high, cut in the rock, provided water of good quality; there was also a fountain of sweet water. The town was surrounded by orchards (figs, apricots, etc.) and a small number of palms. The houses were built mainly in the form of brick vaults (*dāmīa*), as in the Sahara *ghārs*. It was well supplied with meat, fruits, honey, wool, etc. from the hinterland, especially the Jabal Aḥḥār, and prices were low. On the gulf of the Great Syrtis, later called in Djawā al-Kibitī ("gulf of sulphur") there was a small harbour six miles from the town, called al-Mahūr (?), which served as port for ships destined for Adjābīya. According to the early geographers, the inhabitants of the town and the district were mainly Luwāṭa Berbers (subdivisions of Zanāna, Wāhila, Masāsa, Siwa, Tablāna, etc.), but a number of 'Arabī elements, such as Azal, Laḥm, Sāḍīf, etc., settled there after the conquest.

The prosperity of the town seems to have been lost following the great Hīlāl and Sulamī invasion in the 5th/11th century. The travellers (al-'Abdarī, al-'Ayyāghī, al-Warḥilānī) who passed Adjābīya on their way from the Maghrib to the East, describe it as a town long since ruined, without any vegetation in the vicinity, with only a few visible, but abandoned, vestiges of habitation. During the Turkish, and especially the Italian, occupation, Adjābīya became a small village, serving as a stage between Benghazi and Misrata.

Bibliography: Ya'qūbī, Baghdad 1918, 102, transl. G. Wiet, 203; Ibn Rīsta, 344; Ibn Hawkal, 67; Bakrī, 5 (transl. 16); Yāqūt, Cairo, i, 121; 'Abdarī, *Rikā* (MS), vol. 1; Warḥilānī, Algiers 1908, 219 ff.

(H. H. ABDUL-WAHAB)

AL-'ADJĀDĪ, ABU 'L-ḤĀ'ITH 'ABD ALLAH B. RU'BA, Arab poet of the Tamīm tribe, who resided mainly in al-Basra; it is probable that he was born during the caliphate of 'Uthmān (23-35/644-66) and he died in 97/115. Little is known about his life, except that he had to journey with the Kūfan river. Abu 'l-Nadīm i, 103 ff. The main characteristic of al-'Adjādī's poetry—like that of his son Ru'ba [g.u.]—is the constant and exclusive use of the *raḡaz* metre in poetical compositions marked by a very rich vocabulary and a laborious construction made more difficult by the poet's respect for the rules of prosody and the unusual number of lines (220 in one *urḡūza*). His *arḡaz* on the model of the pre-Islamic *harida* generally comprise a traditional *waṣṭā* (replaced in one case by religious subject-matter), then descriptions of the desert and the animals found there (camels, horses, onagers, wild bulls), and end with the panegyric of a man, of the poet himself, or his tribe. Al-'Adjādī never cultivated either the *satira* or the *elogy*. His grammar is addressed to eminent personalities such as Yazīd b. Mu'awīya, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, Bishr b. Marwān, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, al-Hadīdīdī b. Yūsuf, 'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ma'nār, Mu'ab b. al-Zubayr. The Arabic critics unanimously praise the verbal richness of al-'Adjādī, whose verses are frequently cited by the lexicographers; but he was guilty of an exaggerated use of alliteration, and an excessive addition to rare words.







Fig. 1. Carved casket, Cordova. Courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America.



Fig. 2. Carved casket, Cordova (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). Crown Copyright

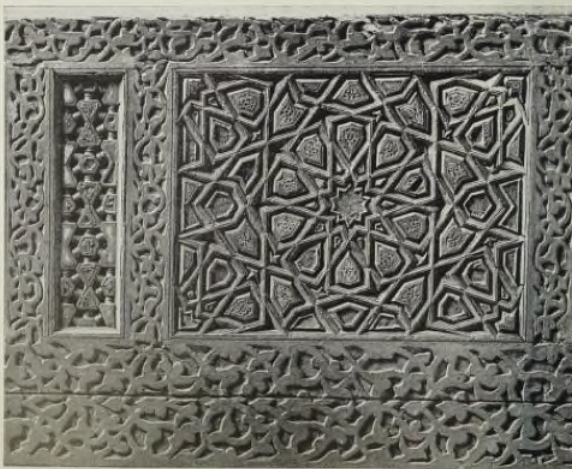


Fig. 3. Intarsia panel from Ka'ṭhay's minbar (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). Crown Copyright.

*Bibliography:* Castani, *Annali* iii, 13-81 (A. II, 13; H 7-66); an exhaustive analysis and discussion of the sources and related problems; summarized by C. H. Becker, *Camb. Med. Hist.* ii, 341-2 (= *Islamstudien* i, 81-2).

(H. A. R. GIBB)

**ADJR** (A.), reward, wages, rent. The word is of Akkadian origin and was received into Arabic, through the intermediary of Aramaic, at an early date. It is used in a religious and in a legal sense, which both occur from the Kur'ān onwards.

1. In a great number of Qur'anic passages, *adjr* denotes the reward, in the world to come, for pious deeds. This concept seems to derive from Christian rather than from Jewish sources, and it has become one of the fundamental ideas of practical ethics in Islam. According to Kur'ān, vi, 160, ten good deeds are credited for each one accomplished, though the term *adjr* does not occur here. It is often stated in traditions that the well-intentioned, though imperfect, fulfilment of religious obligations gives right to one reward, whereas their successful accomplishment is rewarded twice or several times. The fulfilment of the religious duty of the *ṣalāt* (q.n.), and of the parallel duty of giving judgment according to religious law, in particular, gives right to one reward, even though the decision arrived at is faulty; if it is right, two (or even ten) rewards are promised. The earliest tradition to this effect seems to have originated towards the middle of the second century of Islam.

2. As a legal term, *adjr* seems to have denoted in Mecca, in the time of the Prophet, any payment for services rendered, and it is used in the Kur'ān not only of wages, but of the *maḥr* (q.n.) which is due to wives, whether free women or slaves, under the contract of marriage, including a *muḥa* marriage (q.n.) (iv, 23 f.; v, 5; xxxiii, 50; ix, 10), and of the maintenance due to divorced wives who feed their children (lav, 5). In the doctrine of religious law, the term was restricted to wages or rent payable under a contract of *adjra* (q.n.). For rent in particular, the special term *uḡra* is often used.

*Bibliography:* A. Jellery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 1938, 49; C. C. Torrey, *The Commercial-Theological Terms in the Koran*, Leiden 1922, 23 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, s.v. *adjr*; Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 1950, 96 f. (J. SCHACHT)

**ADJURRUMIYYA** (see *ḤEN ADJURRUMIYYA*).

**'ADJŪZ** (see *AYYAM AL-'ADJŪZ*).

**ADJWAF** (see *TASHAF*).

**'ADL** (1) Etymologically, the term is found both as substantive and as adjective, but with meanings that do not exactly correspond. 'Adl, the substantive, means justice; as an adjective, it means rectilinear, just, well balanced; it thus applies both to beings and to things. In its two forms, the word is current in the vocabulary of religion, theology, philosophy, and law. In the Mu'tazilite doctrine, 'adl, the justice of God constitutes one of the five fundamental dogmas (*uḡal*) of the system (see *ḤUḤ FAZLA*). The Kāfi must give judgment with 'adl (or *hiq*; cf. Kur'ān, iv, 58; v, 42); but the idea of material justice plays hardly any part in the theory of religious law (cf. *UḤŪL*), although it is insisted upon in the "Investigation of Complaints" (see *MAZALIM*). The adjective which corresponds exactly to this substantive 'adl is 'adīf.

As an adjective, the word 'adl expresses more particularly a juridical conception, and has numerous

applications. However, agreement has never been reached on a definition of the term, as the Mālikite jurist Ibn Rughd observes. Furthermore, the various definitions that have been formulated are too comprehensive and imprecise. In al-Māwardī's definition, 'adāla, the quality of 'adl, is described as a state of moral and religious perfection. For Ibn Rughd it consists in not committing major sins, and also avoiding minor ones. But another author observes that such a state can be found only very exceptionally, in the saints; that 'adāla simply describes the state of a person who in general obeys the moral and religious law. This last conception is the one that came to be finally accepted. In the latest stage of Muslim law, as it appears in the codification undertaken in the Ottoman empire about the middle of the 19th century, the following definition is given: "The 'adl person is one in whom good impulses prevail over bad" (*Madjalla* art. 1705). In short, one can translate 'adl by "person of good morals", with the essentially religious sense that this has in Islam. Whether this quality must be a natural inclination, innate or acquired, or whether it is sufficient for it to be achieved by an effort of will, is however a theoretically disputed point.—The antonym of 'adl is *fāsh*.

The adjective is also employed substantively; it then means a person of good morals (pl. 'adāl). 'Adāla enters into various juridical categories. In the theory of public law, 'adāla is one of the principal conditions for carrying out public functions recognized by the doctrine of the School. But it is in private law, in the theory of evidence, that the idea has been most fully developed and involves a most detailed system of regulations. The witness must be 'adl; it suffices, however, that his 'adāla should be substantiated at the time when his evidence is given and not at the time of his observation of the fact in question. It is a disputed point, nevertheless, whether the witness is presumed to have 'adāla so long as it is not contested by the adversary, or whether, even if it is not called in question, it should be the subject of verification. The latter course has prevailed in practice and in doctrine. Consequently a procedure has been evolved for substantiation of the 'adāla of witnesses; it is known as *tashya* or *ta'dil*. In the latest stage of the law, this procedure involves two phases. In the first, the judge proceeds to a secret investigation, by sending a question in a sealed envelope to qualified persons; this is *al-tashya al-sirriyya*. It is afterwards necessary, in certain cases, for these persons to appear at the public hearing to confirm their former attestation; this is *al-tashya al-salbiyya*. The attestation of this 'adāla of a witness is called *ta'dil*; contestation of this 'adāla is called *ḡḡḡ*.

However, the *tashya* procedure is not used exclusively as an accessory or as incidental to a law-suit. It functions also independently and as an end in itself, for recognizing in a positive and final manner the quality of 'adāla in given persons. Because of the small reliance placed on writing, as such, once its use became widespread, recourse was had, in order to give it once and for all conclusive force, to the procedure of testimonial proof. However, this method was not altogether reliable, for the witnesses of the instrument could always themselves be challenged on the ground of lack of 'adāla. This difficulty was overcome by the use of a preliminary *tashya*; the judge recognizes once and for all the 'adāla of a certain number of persons, who thus become in principle irrefragable witnesses, and









absence of technical terminology — a want shared by Muslim as well as ancient science — was the most valuable device to depict the plants in figures. In ancient times this method was introduced by the "rhinotomist" Cræteus (1st century B.C.), and a part of the synonyms and figures of his herbal passed into the recension of Dioscorides represented by the Juliana Aulica codex of A.D. 518 (in which later hands introduced also Arabic synonyms). It was the gift of an illustrated Dioscorides by the Byzantine Emperor to 'Abd al-Rahmān III in Cordova in the year 948 that inspired a new and most fruitful study of the text in Spain. (For details see MS of Dioscorides see notvavazaki.) By Ibn Abi Usayb's (fl. 260-6) we are told that his teacher Ḥaḡḡid al-Dīn al-Manṣūr b. al-Sūfī (d. 632/1241) prepared a herbal illustrated with figures depicted from living plants. For the botanical chapter of Ibn Fadl Allāh, see B. Paris, *Un Herbar arabe illustré du XIV siècle, Archéologie Orientale in Memoriam E. Herzfeld*, 1932, 84 ff.

The Muslim inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula were the inheritors of a country famous in antiquity for its wealth of minerals and plants useful for preparing remedies. At first, pharmacological knowledge in Spain was, however, an import from the Orient, and Western students went to Baghdad for medical studies. A strong impulse to pharmacological studies in Spain was given by the revised text of Dioscorides, and from the end of the 10th century on there was no lack of contributions to the knowledge of simples. (See M. Meyerhof, *Esquisse d'histoire de la pharmacologie de botanique chez les Musulmans d'Espagne*, *Ann.*, 1935, 1-41.) The first to write books on simples in Spain were 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ishāq b. Ḥayḡam and Sulaymān b. Ḥasān, known as Ibn Dīnālī, both of whom joined the monk Nicolaus and the other physician and botanists who worked on the text of Dioscorides. Ibn Dīnālī wrote a work on those simples which are not mentioned by Dioscorides (MS Oxford, Hyde 34, fol. 197-201). The great medical encyclopedia al-Taṣrīf by Abū'l-Kāsim al-Zahrāwī (d. about 1000) contains in its 27th book a treatise on the simples, their synonyms and solubility. About the time of Abū Bakr Ḥamīd b. Sa'adīn (9th very little is known except that he was a prominent physician in the days of the Ḥaḡḡid al-Manṣūr (d. 592/1200). His famous *Book of Sayings of Ancient and Modern Physicians and Philosophers about the Simple Drugs* has recently come to light (cf. P. Kahle, *Ibn Sa'nān and sein Drogenbuch, Documenta islamica medii*, Berlin 1932, 25 ff.).

The most comprehensive textbook on simples (and botany) produced in Spain was written by al-Ḥaḡḡidī, probably in the first half of the 6th/12th century. The first vol. exists in two illustrated MSS (see M. Meyerhof, in *BIF*, 1941, 13 ff.; the whole work was discovered in Tripolitania). An abridged version was made by the Christian Abū'l-Faraj b. al-Ḥafī, commonly called Barhebraeus (cf. M. Meyerhof and G. P. Sobhy, *Cairo 1938-8*, not completed). The method and arrangement of material followed by Ibn Sa'nān and al-Ḥaḡḡidī was the model also of al-Idrīsī (fl. 560/1160). In his *Book of Simple Drugs* (the first half of the work in MS Fifth 3610, Istanbul) he contributes a vast material of synonyms in many languages (see M. Meyerhof in *Archiv für Gesch. der Med., der Naturwiss. und der Technik*, 1930, 45 ff., 225 ff.; idem, in *BIF*, 1941, ff. 13). For Ibn Rūḡḡid's pharmacological chapter

see the photographic reproduction of Book IV of al-Kalīyūḡ by A. al-Bustānī, Tanger 1939.

In a vast encyclopedia, al-Ḥaḡḡidī's *Is-Maṣraṭ al-Adwiyā wa'l-Ḥaḡḡidīya* (3rd edition of the Arabic text, Būlāḡ 1291). French trans. by L. Leclerc, *Nouveau d'Entrée de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xiii, xxv, xxvi, xxv, 1877-93. Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248) put together all information available to him, quoting about 150 previous authors from Dioscorides to his own teacher, Abū'l-Ḥabīb al-Nabāḡī, whose *Rihla*, or "Botanical Journey", he often quotes. Most of these works Ibn al-Bayṭār certainly knew from memory; cf. sources, al-Ḥaḡḡidī above all. In 234 articles the Ḥaḡḡidī's treats of about 1400 different drugs and plants, 400 of which were not known to the Greeks.

To these works, written in the West, containing descriptions of the drugs and directions for their use, may be added also a number of others, containing lists of synonyms written in order to explain the meaning of the different names given to simples and drugs. Such are e.g. the *Ḥaḡḡidī Asmā' al-Uḡḡār* of the famous Jewish theologian, philosopher and physician Mūsā b. Maymūn (Maimonides, A.D. 1135-1204), ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, and the anonymous *Tahṡīl al-Aḡḡār*, ed. H. P. J. Renaud and G. S. Colin, Rabat 1934, treating especially of the names current in Morocco and written probably in the 13th century.

**Bibliography:** M. Meyerhof, in the introduction to Maimonides, *Ḥaḡḡidī Asmā' al-Uḡḡār*; for a list of drugs, M. Steinschneider, *Heilmittelnamen der Araber*, WZKM, xi (2043 items). (B. LEWIS) AF'Ā means not only the viper, as it is commonly assumed, but also other similar kinds of snakes (Nāḡḡā, cf. Wiedemann, 271). The descriptions, however, which are given in Arabic zoological works (spotted or speckled, broad head, slender neck, short tail, sometimes furnished with two horns, etc.) fit well with specific kinds of vipers (*achis carinatus*, *echis coloratus*, *aspis cerastes cerastes*). Most sources state that af'ā denotes the female, whereas the male is called *waṣṣā*. The first term, however, is always employed in a generic sense. Corresponding terms in Hebrew and Ethiopic suggest that the word belongs to the oldest stock of the Semitic languages.

The af'ā is often mentioned in Arabic literature, from ancient poetry, proverbs and ḥadīṡ down to those later works in which zoology and zoological items are treated systematically. In ancient poetry it is represented as the emblem of the mortal enemy, of one who seeks revenge for murder. Its name is illustrated by the proverb: "He who has been stung by an af'ā is afraid to take hold of a rope". Rich information is offered by al-Ḥaḡḡidī. The af'ā had a market value since theriac was prepared from it. Certain people made a living from this trade importing the af'ā chiefly from Sijidīn. In al-Ḥaḡḡidī's time thirty af'ā sold for two *dirhams*. With certain Bedouins the af'ā served as food, and this habit was satirically alluded to by some poets.

A good deal of the information on the af'ā is fabulous: e.g., that it lives to an age of a thousand years, that it becomes blind and recovers its sight by rubbing its eyes on the fennel-plant (*faṣṣāḡ*). Among the correct accounts is the statement that the af'ā is viviparous; in contrast, i.e., to most other species of its genus.

**Bibliography:** Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḡḡidī, *Imāḡ*, i, 160-174, 392; Damīdī, s.v. (transl. Jāyākar, i, 56-8); Ḥaḡḡidī, *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn al-Aḡḡār, *Nidāyā*, i, 44; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Ḥayawān*, index.

Būlāḡ 1291, i, 46-8; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn al-Aḡḡār*, Cairo 1923-30, ii, 79, 96, 98, 99, 107, 102, 194 (transl. Kopl, 54, 72, 74, 75, 77, 80); Karwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 428-9; Ibn Sīdā, *Muḡḡāyā*, vii, 107-8; A. Malout, *Arabic Zool. Dict.*, Cairo 1932, index; Nawāyī, *Nidāyā al-Aḡḡār*, x, 133 ff.; E. Wiedemann, *Reiz.*, x, *Genus*, 4, 2, *Nubensis*, iii, 249-50. (L. KOPP)

**AFĀMIYA**, or FĀMIYA, the Seleucid city of Apamea on the right bank of the Orontes ('Āsī), at its northward bend 25 m. N.W. of Ḥamāt. During the Syrian campaign of the Sāsānīd Khuraw I (540) it was captured and laid waste. After the Arab conquest of Syria it was colonized by tribesmen of 'Uḡḡra and Baḡra'. It regained importance as a fortified outpost of Aleppo only in the Ḥamādīd period and during the early Crusades. After the disintegration of the Saldjūk power in Syria, Afāmiya was occupied by the Arab Khāḡif b. Muḡḡib in the Fāṭimid interest in 489/1096. On his murder by Assassins, it was captured by Tancred in 500/1106, and became the seat of a Latin archbishopric. It was recaptured by Nur al-Dīn Maḡmūd in 528 Rab'ī I, 3426 July, 1149, after his victory at Ināb, but its fortifications were destroyed in the great earthquake of 552/1157. The ruins of the old city still exist, flanked on the west by the later citadel, now named *Kal'at al-Muḡḡib* (for al-Madīḡ, i.e. the shallows or ford).

**Bibliography:** Yaḡḡūbī, *Buldān* 324; Yāḡḡūbī, i, 322-3; Ibn al-Kāḡḡī, *Ḥayyā Ta'wīḡḡ Dimaḡḡ*, index; Ibn al-Adīm, *Ta'wīḡḡ Ḥalāl*, i, ii, Damascus 1935-4, index; Ibn al-Aḡḡār, xi, 98 (wrong year); E. Honigsmann, *Outremer des byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935, index; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades* Paris 1940, index; J. Richard, *Notes sur l'archéologie d'Apamee* in Syria, xxv, 103-8; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 71-82; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 106-9. See also, for the Lake (Bahayr) of Afāmiya and the régime of the Orontes in its vicinity, Kalkāḡḡāndī in G. Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 17, 22-2; and J. Weulersse, *L'Oronte, étude de fleuve*, Tours 1940. (H. A. R. GIBB)

**'AFAR** [see DAKRALE].

**AL-AFDAL** b. SALĀḡ al-Dīn, in full al-Malik al-Afdal Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Nūr al-Dīn, the eldest son of Salāḡīn (Ṣāḡḡ al-Dīn, [203], b. 565/1169-70, d. at Samarra 622/1225. On Salāḡīn's death he was recognized as ruler of Damascus and head of the Ayyūbīd family, but owing to his incapacity and self-indulgence he lost successively Damascus, Egypt, and all his Syrian fields, and ended as a dependent of the Saldjūk sultan of Rūm. See AYYŪBIDS.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Khallīḡīn, no. 459; Abū Ḥāḡḡā, *Ḥayyā al-Rawādīr*, 125; Ibn Tagḡrībī, *Nuḡḡūm*, vi, index; Makrīzī, *Sulḡḡ*, i, index. (H. A. R. GIBB)

**AL-AFDAL**, Rasūlīd ruler [see RASŪLIDS].

**AL-AFDAL** b. BADR al-DJAMĀLĪ, Abū 'l-Kāsim Ḥāḡḡānāḡḡ, Fāṭimid vizier, commonly known in history by his vizierial title. His birth is placed about 458/1066, and it is known from an inscription of 482/1089 that he was associated with his father in the vizierate. On the death of Badr, the aged caliph al-Musta'īr was forced by the army to accept al-Afdal as his chief minister, and himself died a few months later.

The accession of the caliph al-Musta'īr assumed a capital importance by its indirect repercussions. While al-Musta'īr was still alive, but of great age, the problem of his successor had been debated, and an Isma'īlī missionary from Persia, Ḥasan b. al-Sabbāḡ, had concluded in favour of Nizār, one of the caliph's sons. Al-Afdal, being the vizier in office, raised to the throne a younger son of al-Musta'īr, Ahmad, who was given the title of al-Musta'īl. The dispossessed heir, Nizār, who had fled to Alexandria to raise an army, was seized and immured in a dungeon. Some persons, however, believed that he succeeded in escaping, and he was recognized as Imām by Ḥasan b. al-Sabbāḡ, who founded the formidable sect of the Assassins. The outrage of the latter bore for some time the name of Nizār, and their partisans in Egypt were called Nizārīs. Al-Afdal had not foreseen these consequences, and his attitude had been dictated by considerations of personal ambition, which induced him to place on the throne a young man who would be submissive to his will.

Badr al-Djamālī, who had saved Egypt from disaster, had set up a dictatorial regime, and al-Afdal now followed in his footsteps, confining the caliph al-Musta'īl, who was about twenty years of age on his accession, to his palace. Al-Musta'īl reigned for less than eight years (487/1094-495/1101), and some historians have suggested that he may have been poisoned by Nizārīs. Al-Afdal, when placed on the throne a son of al-Musta'īl, a child five years old, who was given the title of al-Amīr b. al-Ḥakīm Allāḡ, and the al-powerful minister went on to govern without interference. But as the caliph grew up he became restive under his vizier's tutelage, and succeeded in hiring the services of assassins who rid him of al-Afdal in 515/1121. The latter had held the office of chief minister for twenty-seven years, marked by an internal tranquility which is the more impressive by contrast with the unprecedented disorders of the following years.

Al-Afdal's dictatorial power justifies the laying at his door of the responsibility for the Egyptian negligence in face of the invasion of Palestine by the Crusaders. The Fāṭimid government may be partially excused if its unpopularity outside the borders of Egypt is taken into account. It has certain actions to its credit: some fortresses were restored (we have epigraphic evidence at least for the port of Sidon in 491/1098); in the previous year the Fāṭimid army had regained Tyre from a dioloyal governor; finally, Jerusalem was forcibly captured in 491/1098 from the Artukid officers who had established themselves in it. The Egyptians were not unaware that Jerusalem was the essential aim of the Crusaders, and it cannot be believed that they captured it in order to hand it over to the Franks. Ambassadors from Egypt had in fact appeared in 490/1097 in the Crusaders' camp before Antioch, and the latter in turn sent envoys to Cairo, possibly to negotiate an agreement. As a matter of fact, northern Syria was occupied by princes of Samal obedience; the Fāṭimids had no desire to interfere with them, and the Saldjūks would have viewed their intervention with bad grace. In the absence of precise documents we are reduced to putting forward these hypotheses.

Nevertheless, the inaction, or at least the lack of vigour, of the Egyptian troops cannot be ignored. They did not move to the defence of Jerusalem. Its fall was deeply felt, and al-Afdal led an army corps to a position north of Ascalon; there, however, he



held them immobile, while he waited for reinforcements which were expected to arrive by sea and for the concentration of his bedouin contingents from Palestine. The Franks took the offensive and massacred the Egyptian army; al-Afdal fled to the protection of Ascalon and hastily returned to Cairo. The year 494/1107 witnessed the Frankish occupation of Palestine, whose population sought refuge in Egypt. The vizier continued, in the following and later years, to show a certain activity against the Crusaders, but in fact the expeditions scarcely went beyond the outskirts of Ascalon and never gained more than booty and prisoners. The main ports of Syria were at the time in the hands of overlords, who sported Sunni or Shīʿī colours according to the interest of the moment. One of the more important raids, led by a son of al-Afdal, succeeded in taking Ramla. In 497/1103 Akkād (Acre) fell, surrendered by its Fatimid commandant because of lack of support. The stubborn resistance of the autonomous prince of Tripoli induced al-Afdal to send a naval squadron, which arrived too late. In 512/1118 the Frankish threat redoubled when the town of Faramā was burnt down—an episode which became famous because of the accidental death of Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, who led the expedition. During this lamentable period the Muslim princes were full of mutual suspicion, but al-Afdal had solicited, and obtained, the cooperation of the Būrids of Damascus.

Clearly, a very bad impression is made by the luxury which surrounded the caliph al-Amir and his vizier; ceremonies and feasts seemed to multiply in direct ratio with the number of cities that fell into the hands of the Franks. Whatever responsibility rests on the government of Egypt for this indifference cannot be placed on the caliph, still a mere child, but on his all-powerful minister, who was given over to frivolous heedlessness. There is in particular a striking contrast between the kind of edifices built by Badr—of which only the wall and the monumental gates of Cairo need be mentioned here—and those erected by his son al-Afdal. The latter was concerned with his own wellbeing, and multiplied pleasure-pavilions in Fustāt and Cairo. On his death, the caliph al-Amir appropriated the minister's property; it required no less than two months to transfer the precious objects, jewels and silks. On the credit side, however, the historians record al-Afdal's financial readjustments, which notably increased the revenues of the State.

For al-Afdal's son, surnamed Kutayfāt, see the following article.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Muʿayyaz (Masʿūd), 30-45, 56-60; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn al-Sayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nūla l-Wisāra*, Cairo 1924, 57-61; Ibn al-Kalānī, *Ḍhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashq* (Amedroz), 218-204, passim; Ibn Taghribirdī (Popper), i (ed. Cairo, v, 142-222); Ibn Khallikān, no. 285; Makrizī, *Khūdā*, i, 356 ff., 425 ff., 490; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Mediaeval Egypt*, 161-190; G. Wiet, *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, iv, 255-67; idem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Insc. Arab.*, ii (MIFAO), ii (contains a very full bibliography); *History of the Crusades*, i, Philadelphia 1925, 95-97.

(G. Wiet)

**AL-AFDAL**, Abū ʿAlī Ahmad, surnamed **KUTAYFĀT**, son of the preceding. After the death of the caliph al-Amir (12 Dhū'l-Kaʿda 524/17 Oct. 1130), the power was assumed by two favourites of the late caliph, Ḥazīmard and Barghāsh, who put forward al-Amir's cousin ʿAbd al-Majdī as temporary regent. Four days later the army raised Kutayfāt

(who assumed the title of al-Afdal) to the vizierate. Shortly afterwards the vizier declared the Fātimid dynasty deposed, and the empire was placed under the sovereignty of the Expected Imam of the Twelfth-Shīʿa; ʿAbd al-Majdī was removed from the regency and placed in custody, and Kutayfāt ruled as a dictator. We have coins of 525 bearing the name of "The Imam Muhammad Abū'l-Kāsim al-Muntaḍir li-Amr Allāh"; others of 526, with the inscription *al-Imām al-Mahdī al-bāṭin bi-Amr Allāh ḥudayfāt Allāh ʿala l-Islām*, give greater prominence to the vizier. ʿAbd al-Majdī ʿAbd al-Amr, his representative (nāʾib) and lieutenant (ḥāṭib). Although this implied the abolition of Ismāʿīlism as the state religion of Egypt, Kutayfāt did not propose to outlaw it, and even showed it a certain consideration; in the college of *ḥadīs* appointed by him there sat an Ismāʿīlī in addition to a Hanafī, a Shāfiʿī and an Imāmī. The Ismāʿīlī elements evidently did not relish the idea of being relegated to the status of a disestablished religious sect. Kutayfāt was killed while riding outside the city, and ʿAbd al-Majdī was brought out of his prison (16 Muḥarram 526/8 Dec. 1131). The event was commemorated annually, right to the end of the Fātimid dynasty (Makrizī, *Khūdā*, i, 357, 400). ʿAbd al-Majdī first ruled as regent, but after a brief interval was proclaimed caliph under the title of al-Ḥāfiḥ li-Dīn Allāh.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Muʿayyaz (Masʿūd), 74-5; Rühl (MS. Oxford 865), art. "al-Ḥāfiḥ"; Ibn al-Athīr, s.v. 524, 526; Ibn Taghribirdī (Popper), ii, 328-9, iii, 1 ff. (ed. Cairo, v, 237-40); G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Insc. Arab.*, ii (MIFAO), ii, 1930, 85 ff.; S. M. Stern, *The Succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Amir*, *Oriens* 1951, 193 ff. (with full numismatic references). (S. M. Stern)

**AL-AFGHĀNĪ** [see **ĀFĀMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFGHĀNĪ**].

- (i) The people; (ii) The Pashto language; (iii) Pashto literature.

#### (i) THE PEOPLE.

Racially, there is a considerable difference between the various Afghan tribes. According to R. S. Guba,  *Census of India*, 1931, i, iii A, p. xi, the Pathāns of Badjāw are closely related to the Kalāghs of Cītrāl, probably because they are to a large extent Afghanized Dards. On the other hand the broad-headed Pathāns of Balūchistan resemble their Balūch neighbours. In the plains of Peshāwar and the Dērāddās there is some admixture of Indian blood, and among some tribes we find traces of Turko-Mongolian influence. But in general it may be said that the Afghans belong to the Irano-Afghan branch of the dolichocephalic Mediterranean race. According to Coon, *Races of Europe*, 219, the skull index is 72-75, and the average height 173 cm. (Frontier Pathāns), and 165 cm. (Afghāns of Afghanistan). The nose is prominent, frequently convex, of the so-called "Semitic" type. Similar noses are found also among Balūchs, Kashmīrīs, etc. "The Afghans are usually brunets, but at the same time show a persistent minority of blondism, which in this case reflects Nordic admixture. They are heavy-bearded" (Coon, 420).

A distinction is sometimes made between Afghān and Pathān, the former name being applied to the Durrānī and allied tribes. But the difference is probably only one of nomenclature, the Persian designation Afghān (of unknown etymology) being naturally applied chiefly to the western tribes,

while Pathān, the indigenous form of the native name is used about the eastern ones.

The native name, employed by all tribes, is *Paštūn*, or *Paštūn* (north-eastern dialect *Paštūn*), pl. *Paštūnān*. Lassen and others after him, compared *Paštūn* to the Πάστριος of Herodotus, and the name of the Afridis has been identified with that of the "Aryānā". This latter identification is possible, if by no means certain. The first one, however, must be rejected, for phonetic and other reasons. (The ending *-n* goes back to *-na*, and the ancient sound-group which has resulted in *Paštū* (*ḥḥ*) is a later dialect form), could scarcely have been rendered by Greek πστρ. More probable is the connection first suggested by Marquart, with Ptolemy's *Παγανίται*, a tribe inhabiting the Pamir region. *Paštū* can go back to ancient *ps* (see Morgenstierne, "Paštū", "Paṭhan", etc., *AO*, 1940, 138 ff.), and the probable ancient form was \**Paru*-*ana*, derived from \**Paru*, cf. Assyrian-Babylonian *Paru(a)* Persian. This does not imply any specially close relationship between the two Iranian tribes in question. (Cf. also *Paštū*, *Pūštū*, the name of the supposed seat of the Afghān tribes in the Warid country.)—*Paštūn* (*Paštūn*) the native name of the Afghān language, probably goes back to a fem. adjective \**Paru*-*ana* (see language).

The Afghāns are called *Kāgh* by the Ōrsmurs of Loḡar, and the *Wazīrīs* *Kwī* (pl.) by the Ōrsmurs of Kīnjarūm. The origin of this word is unknown, but it is connected with *Kāid*, the name of an Afghān tribe near Quetta (Masson, *Travels*, i, 330) and with the *Paštū* name of the Sulaymān Mountains: (da) Kase Ghār.

The word *Paštūn* is used also as a synonym of *Paštūnawāl*, etc., the special social code of the Afghāns, the main pillars of which are: *nanawānā*, right of asylum, *badal*, revenge by retaliation, *wendetta*, *medmānā*, hospitality. The causes of feuds leading to *badal* are said to be "women, gold and land" (*zan, zar, zamān*). Among most tribes the organization is democratic, the hereditary *khān* having restricted power. More important matters are settled in consultation with the chiefs of the sub-tribes and clans, and the tribal or village council (*diris*) plays an important rôle. But the semi-independence of many tribes has become constantly more curtailed as well in Afghanistan as in India (Pakistan). Afghan or non-Afghan clients (*hamāyās*) are attached to, and living under the protection of most tribes.—The ancient custom of periodical redistribution of land (*waḡh*) is now dying out in most places.—Even while politically disunited, and fighting among themselves, the Afghān tribes had a feeling of some kind of unity, based upon their sharing language, customs and traditions. On the other hand, each tribe is split up into sub-tribes, septa and clans. The names of such sections are often formed with the word *ḥḥ*, or with the suffix *-sāy*, and in some cases *-sāy* denotes a whole tribe.

The Afghāns are first referred to (in the form *Avagānā*) by the Indian astronomer Varāha Mihira (early 6th cent.) in his *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. A little later is the probable reference to them in the Life of Hiuen-Tsang, which mentions a tribe *A-p'o-kien* (\**Avagān*?) located in the northern part of the Sulaymān Mountains (see A. Foucher, *La route royale de l'Inde de l'Irak à Taxila*, ii, Paris 1917, 235, 252 note 17). The earliest Muslim work mentioning them is the *Udūd al-ʿAlam* (372/982), followed by al-Uṭbī's *Taʾrīkh-i Yamīn*, and al-

Bīrūdī. The name *Pathān* does not occur till the 16th century, but the change of *gh* to *th* shows that it must have been borrowed into Indo-Aryan at a considerably earlier date.—According to al-Uṭbī, Cairo 1286, ii, 84, Mahmūd of Ghazni attacked Tukhārīstān with an army consisting of Indians, Khazāḍ, Afghāns and Ghaznawīs, but on another occasion he attacked and punished the Afghāns, and this is corroborated by Bayhaḳī who wrote shortly afterwards. Al-Bīrūdī mentions the various tribes of Afghāns as living in the western frontier-mountains of India (*India*, transl. Sachau, i, 1, 208, cf. 199). This points to the Sulaymān Mountains as the earliest known home of the Afghāns. It is uncertain how far they extended towards the West, but an Afghan settlement west of Ghazni is mentioned by early authors. There is no evidence for assuming that the inhabitants of Ghūr were originally Pashto-speaking (cf. Dames, in E I). If we are to believe the *Pīṭa Khānna* (see below, iii), the legendary Amīr Karṭr, grandson of Shānash, (8th century) was a Pashto poet, but this for various reasons is very improbable. The origin and early history of the westernmost Afghān tribe, the Durrānīs (Abdāllīs) [2.2.], is quite obscure.—Regarding the Ghaznawīs [2.2.] it seems possible that their name is based upon a popular etymology ("Thief's Son") of the Turkish tribal name *Khāḍḍī*, *Khāḍḍī*, located by al-Isṭakhrī on the middle course of the Hilmānd and by the *Udūd* in the region of Ghazni (see *Udūd*). But the Ghaznawīs themselves may have been partly, perhaps predominantly, of Afghan origin. At any rate the Afghāns do not appear to have acquired any political significance during the Ghaznawī period. Some early references which follow were noted by M. Longworth Dames (*EP*) and have been supplemented by P. Hardy. In 431/1039-40 Masʿūd sent his son Isṭayḍar into the hill country near Ghazna to subdue the rebel Afghāns (Gardizi, ed. M. Nazim, 109). In 512/1118-9 an army composed of Arabs, *ʿadām*, Afghāns and *Khāḍḍī* was assembled by Arslān Shāh. In 547/1152-3, Alīf says, Bahrām Shāh assembled an army of Afghāns and *Khāḍḍī*. With the rise of Ghūrī power, the same state of things continues. In 588/1192 according to Firūḡhā, Bombay 1851, 100 f., the army assembled by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām consisted of Turks, Tāḡīkās and Afghāns, and his Indian opponent Pīthorā (Pītharā Rājā) assembled a force of Rājapūts and Afghān horsemen. Thus in this great war between Muslims and Hindus Afghāns are represented as fighting on both sides, which probably indicates that they were not yet completely converted to Islam, although the manufactured legends represent them as having been converted from the days of Khāḍḍī. It is not clear whence Firūḡhā obtained his statement. It does not appear in the account of this war given by Minḥāj-i Sirāj in the *Tabāḥat-i Nāsiri*. This author does not mention the Afghāns throughout his account of the Ghaznawī and Ghūrī kings. His first and only mention of them is in his own time in the year 658/1260 in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmūd of Dillī. He there says (transl. Raverty, 852) that Ulugh Khān employed 300 brave Afghāns in subduing the hill-tribes of Mēwāt in Rājapūṭāna. According to Dīwānyār, i, 142, *Khāḍḍī*, Ghaznawīs and Afghāns formed part of the Mongol army which sacked Marw in 619. During the next two centuries we find occasional mention of Afghāns in Indian history. For instance Baranī says in the *Taʾrīkh-i Firāzshāh*, 57, that Balāhan in 664/1265 established small forts in the neighbourhood of Gopālpur and entrusted

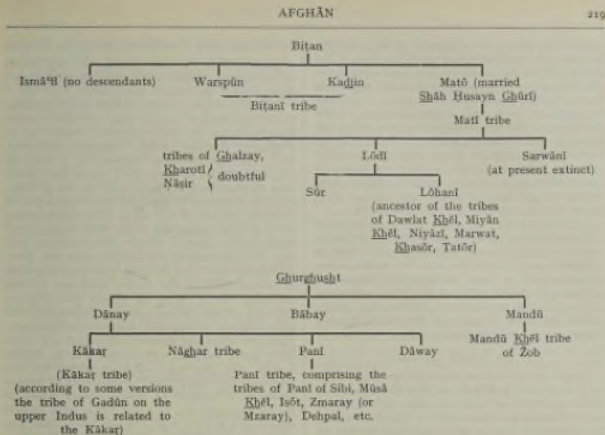
them to Afghans; three other towns, particularly afflicted by robbers, were also given the protection of forts entrusted to Afghans. According to the same author (p. 482) in the reign of Muhammad b. Tughlak there was a rebellion at Multān of a body of Afghans headed by Multān Mall (this name means in the Multān dialect "the champion of Multān" and is probably not the proper name of an Afghan). Sirhindī, *Tārīkh-i Muḥarrakhshāhī*, Calcutta 1935, 106, says that this revolt was in 744/1343. Again Multān Afghan was one of the foreign invaders who rebelled at Delhi. In 773/1370-7 the fleet of Bihār was given to Malik Bīr Afghān (*Tārīkh-i Muḥarrakhshāhī*, 133). Timur found them still hill robbers and in the *Maḥṣūṣ-i Timūrī*, the *Zafar-nāma* and the *Maḥṣūṣ al-Sa'diyya* it is related that he ravaged the country of the Awghān (or Afghān) who inhabited the Sulaymān Mountains. Thus except as occasional soldiers of fortune they remained a fierce race of mountain robbers until the rise to power in India of one of these adventurers made them famous. This leader was Dawlat Khān Lōdī of the Lōdī clan of Ghazays; he rose to be one of the most important persons in the empire. Bahālu Lōdī occupied the throne of Delhi in 855/1450 (see Lōdī). The dynasty was overthrown by Bābur in 932/1525, but for a short time (944-6/1537-55) Shīr Shāh Sūr reinstalled the Afghans in power (see Sūr) and a large number of Ghazays and other Pathāns settled in India. At a later date Awrangzeb made grants of land to Pathāns of various tribes in Rohilkhand (s. see also Kāseri) (Barclay division, etc.), so called from *Paghto roḥila* (Rohilla), "hill-man"; "Pathān". At the court of the Nawab of Bāngpur some Pathān traditions were still alive at the time of Darnesteter's visit in 1886. But gradually the Afghan settlers in India were assimilated, except in the extreme North-West.

The immigration into India was part of the great expansion of Afghan tribes during the late Middle Ages. This expansion was on such a scale that it is difficult to believe with Dames (*ETP*) that the Afghans were still at a period as late as that of the Ghūrī dynasty only an unimportant hill-tribe inhabiting a restricted area.—The Lohāns were

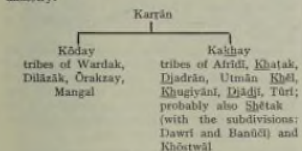
expelled from the Ghazni mountains by the Sulaymān Khēl Ghazays, who also pressed the Bīṭāns eastward through the Gōmal Pass in the 13th cent. A century or two earlier the Khātaks (s. see) and Bangashes had started their movement towards their present homes in Kohāt, and Yūsufzays and allied tribes had, according to tradition, left the Tarnak and Arghasān for Kābul in the 12th cent. Later on they were expelled from Kābul and reached the Peshāwar plain during the 14th cent., pushing back the Lūllākās, who perhaps represented an earlier wave of Afghans, and penetrating into the mountain valleys to the North of Peshāwar (cf. Yūsufzay). The Ghōriya Khēls (Mahmands, etc.), followed in their wake early in the 15th century. Some tribes crossed the Indus into the Panjāb.

A first attempt to rally the Pathān tribes on the Frontier to a common fight for independence from the Mughals was made by the warrior-poet Khushāl Khān Khatak in the latter part of the 17th century. But a national Afghan state first came into being under the leadership of the Ghazay chief Mir Wāys, and, more permanently, under Ahmad Shāh Durrāni in the 18th century (see *AFGHANISTAN, History*).

The main outlines of the tribal traditions of the Afghans are mentioned by Abu l-Faḍl, *Aḥḥar-nāma*; slightly different versions are given in Sulaymān Makā's *Tadhkirat al-Achya* (allegedly of the 17th century) and in the *Pata Khawāna* (cf. about these below, iii). Our main source for the tribal traditions is Nī'mat Allāh's *Mahḥsan-i Afghāni* (completed A.D. 1633). The genealogies given there and copied in later works such as the *Hayāt-i Afghāni*, cannot be relied upon as historical sources, but are valuable as a testimony to the traditions current among the Afghans in the 17th century. According to this tradition the common ancestor of the majority of the Afghan tribes was Kays 'Abd al-Raḥmān who was converted to Islam by Khālid and descended from Afghāna, a grandson of King Tālūt or Sāru (Saul). Kays had three sons: Sarban, Bitan (Bitan) and Ghurgushat. Sarban had two sons: Sharikhbūn and Kharrakhbūn. The further ramifications may be tabulated as follows:



Most of the remaining tribes are said to be descended from Karrān (or Karlān), of doubtful ancestry.



According to some traditions also the Bangash (Bangash) and Wazirā are descended from Kakhay; according to other, the Wazirā and the Dawr tribes are not attached to any of these genealogies.

Certain clans claim to be *sayyids* by descent; such are to be found among the Shērānī, Kākār, Karrānī, Dāwāy, Tārīn, Miyanā and Bīṭānī. The same descent is claimed by the tribes of Gandīpur and Ustārānā; these were originally subdivisions of the Shērānī. The Bangash claim to be of Kurayshite descent.

In the *Mahḥsan-i Afghāni* all these tribes are expressly acknowledged as Afghans, with the exception of the Bangash, Wazirā and those Karrānī which belong to the Kakhay division (Afrīdī, etc.). The last seem to have remained unknown to him.

It is of interest to note that all the Pashto dialects which change the long vowels ( $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ , etc., see below ii) belong to the Karrānī group or to the Wazirā.—The extreme complexity of the tribal system may be exemplified by the ramifications of the Yūsufzays. One of their five sub-tribes, the Akōzays, are divided into Rānzāys and other sections. One of the five Rānzāy clans is in its turn divided into Ghaybī Khēl and three other clans. And one of the two Ghaybī clans are the Nūr Muhammad Khēls, divided into Ghārth Khēl and Dwar Khēl.—It may also be noted that the name Tōrmān, one of the ancestors

of the Khātaks, is probably identical with that of Toramāpa, a Hūna king of India, and also a member of the Shāhī dynasty. This does not imply any historical connection between the legendary Afghan and these princes, but only a survival of the name in local traditions.

Geographical distribution of the Afghan tribes. Durrānī (s. see) in the lower river valleys from Sabzawār and Zāmb-dāwar to south-east of Kandahār and Čaman. Among the sections are the Pōpāzays (including the royal clan, the Sadōzays) and the Bārakzays.—Next to the Durrānīs, the Ghazays (s. see) are the most powerful tribe, and were for a long time their rivals. They occupy the country between Kāḥlī-Ghūzay and Djamānābād. The Hotaks were formerly the leading clan. The most important section is now the Sulaymān Khēl from whom are recruited the Pōwīndas, nomads moving in autumn down through the Gōmal and Tōḡl passes to the banks of the Indus, and returning in spring to Afghānistān. The Khārōṭīs are related to the Ghazays.—Kākārs and Tārīns inhabit the Pīḡin and Zōb districts in Baluchistan. The Panīs of Shīr are their neighbours.—North-west of Zōb, around the Takht-i Sulaymān, we find the Shērānīs.—The Wazirā (s. see) (divided into Darwēsh Khēl and Mahāūd) live in the mountains between the Gōmal and the Kurram on both sides of the frontier. In the foothills to the East we find the Bīṭāns and Lohāns, and in the plains south of the lower Kurram the Marwats. The Tōḡl valley is inhabited by the Dawrīs and Banōdīs.—The Khātaks occupy the plains of Kohāt and extend right up to Attock. In the upper Kurram valley live the Bangash, the Shī'a Tūris and other tribes, and on the Afghān side of the frontier the Djamī, with their neighbours the Mangals and Khōstwāls.—North of the Bangash are the Orakzays (with some Shī'a clans), and in Tārīn, the Khaywār and Kohāt passes the Afrīdīs (s. see), with Shīnwārīs to the north of them, on both sides of the frontier.—The Mahmand (s. see) occupy a large tract of land north of the Kābul river in







north on this eastern flank of the plateau between the Kuram and Gomal rivers are a more irregular mass with peaks over 12,000 ft./3555 m., while further north still between the valleys of the Kabul and the Kuram is the Safid Kūh, the highest range in Afghanistan after the Hindū-kūsh and Kūh-i Bābā (highest peak Sikāram, 15,600 ft./4543 m.).

River system. Northwest from the Hindū-kūsh the level of the country falls rapidly towards the Oxus valley, while southward the valleys fall more gradually towards the Sīstān depression containing the Hilmānd Hāmūn (H. Lake) and its extension the Gōd-i Zirāh, into which flow, with the exception of those belonging to the Indus system, all the rivers south of the Hindū-kūsh. Thus the rivers fall naturally into three groups, which may be called the Indus group, the Hilmānd group and the Oxus group.

The Indus group comprises the Kābul [g.s.] river and its affluents, of which the most important are the Tagao and Kunar flowing from the Hindū-kūsh on the north and the Lōghar flowing from the Gul Kūh on the south. South of this the Kuram rising in the Paywar, and its tributary the Toḡi, called in its lower course the Gambia, which joins it in Pakistan territory below the mountains. Still further south separating the Wazīrīstān mountains from the Takht-i Sulaymān is the Gomal formed by the junction of the Kunder and Zōb. These rivers though of small volume drain extensive tracts and mark important military and trade routes through the mountains between India and the plateau. Other small streams such as the Wāhō, Lōmī, Kābī and Wāf further south serve a similar purpose. It may be noted that many of these streams flow not along the natural valleys formed by the mountain range but transversely across the sandstone and limestone ridges of the Sulaymān Mountains, through which they cut deep precipitous gorges.

The second or Hilmānd group consists of the Hilmānd and its tributaries, and of the other rivers running towards the south-west into the Sīstān depression. The Hilmānd [g.s.] or Hilmānd (the Haftmunt of the Avesta, the Etymāndus of classical writers) is the principal of these. It rises near Kābul and flows through narrow mountain valleys into the more open country of Zamin-dāwar, where it is joined on the left bank by the Arghandāb (Arachwātī, Arachoti). The latter in its turn is formed by the junction of the Upper Arghandāb, the Tarnak, and the Arghashān (or Arghastīn), which drain a series of nearly parallel north-easterly and south-westerly valleys. Another member of the same system is the stream flowing southward from Ghazna which never joins the Hilmānd system but is absorbed by the Abūstāda Salt Lake. Other rivers west of the Hilmānd with the same general south-westerly flow, which also discharge into the Hāmūn, are the Khāsh Rōd, the Farāh Rōd, and the Harāt Rōd.

The Hāmūn [g.s.], a basin sometimes of small extent, expands enormously to the south in seasons of high flood, when the hill fort of Kūh-i Kūhādja becomes an island. It is then discharged through a channel called the Sīlāgh into a still lower depression known as the Gōd-i Zirāh. Part of the Hāmūn is in Afghan territory and part in Persian according to modern demarcations which have divided Sīstān. The Hāmūn is only 150 ft. above sea-level, and the Gōd-i Zirāh is still lower. The Hāmūn on the average overflows once in ten years into the Gōd-i Zirāh. Its water is only slightly brackish, and can

be drunk, a circumstance due no doubt to its occasional overflow. The level of Sīstān does not appear to have risen since ancient times in spite of the enormous volumes of silt discharged by the rivers which have no other outlet. The cause for this is probably the prevalence of violent north-west winds through a great part of the year, which remove the high surface soil.

The third or Oxus group of rivers comprises the Oxus [see AMO DARYA] and its southern tributaries, as well as the Murgāb [g.s.] and Harāt Rōd which also flow northward into the plain but never reach the Oxus. All of these rise on the northern flank of the great mountain barrier, with the exception of the Harāt Rōd [g.s.], which rises on the south of the Kūh-i Bābā and flows westwards through a narrow valley between the Kūh-i Safid and Kūh-i Sīyāh into the Harāt plain where it turns to the north and after passing through a depression in the mountains loses itself in the plains of Russian Turkistān beyond Dhuṭ-Fikr.

General formation. The mountain ranges generally become less lofty towards the south and west and the difficulties of communication that exist further north disappear. Hence the easy route for trade or military expeditions from Harāt to Kandahār has in all ages been circuitous via Sab-zawār, Farāh and Gīrīgh, while from Kandahār to Kābul and Ghazna the direct line of the Tarnak valley is followed. From Harāt where the Paropamisus drops to an insignificant elevation the Turkistān province is easily accessible, and the same country can also be reached from Kandahār by difficult passes, the Khawāk, Bāmiyān and others, through the Hindū-kūsh.

Thus the three towns Harāt, Kandahār and Kābul are marked out by natural position as the most important points in the country. Each of them lies in a fertile valley and is self-supporting, and each of them commands important routes to the others as well as to India, Persia and Central Asia. If therefore Afghanistan is to be an independent whole the possession of these three points is essential to its rulers. There can be no stability if they are in separate hands. In this political sense Ghazna and Djalālabād must be classed with Kābul, the old capitals Bust and Gīrīgh with Kandahār, and Sab-zawār with Harāt. Sīstān lying on the easy route from Harāt to Kandahār has always been a debatable land.

Kābul is in every way the strongest position, and has generally in consequence been more independent than other districts. Harāt on the contrary is much exposed to attack from the west and north, and when Harāt has been conquered by a foreign invader Kandahār is immediately threatened. As long as Harāt is held Kandahār is safe from an attack on the western side and it has also a strong position towards the Indian side, though not so strong as that of Kābul.

The district of Sīstān adjoining the Hāmūn is most fertile and suited for irrigation. Occupying a commanding position on the route leading eastward to Kandahār and westward to Harāt, it is of great importance to the rulers of Afghanistan, and its present division between that country and Persia is unfortunate.

Climate. The whole country is liable to great extremes of temperature ranging from the intense summer heat of Sīstān, the Garmīr district and the Oxus valley to the great winter cold of the high exposed regions, where violent snowstorms are

not uncommon. Instances of armies suffering from such cold are well known in history. The march of the emperor Bābūr from the neighbourhood of Harāt through the Hazāra mountains to Kābul is a case in point, and the Hindū-kūsh [lit. Hindu-slayer] is popularly supposed to derive its name from the death of the Indian troops of the emperor Shāh Dīshām. More recent instances are the sufferings of 'Abd al-Rahmān's army in 1868 and of the British Boundary Commission in Bādghīs in 1885. The daily range of temperature is everywhere very great, the difference between maximum and minimum varying from 17 to 30 degrees of Fahrenheit. In the spring and autumn the upland valleys have a temperate and pleasant climate, which is very favourable to the growth of fruit, especially grapes, melons, peaches, plums, apricots, walnuts and pistachio-nuts. Modern travellers have found the neighbourhood of Kābul to be not unworthy of the praises lavished on it by the emperor Bābūr.

In the more lofty part of the Hindū-kūsh inhabited by the Kāfir tribes a truly Alpine climate is found resembling that of parts of the Himalayas.

The vegetation generally speaking is that of the Persian plateau, and is quite distinct from that of the Indian plains. In the plains few trees are found except those cultivated in gardens, fruit trees, planes and poplars, while on the higher mountains many varieties of pines and evergreen oaks are found with wild vines, ivy and roses. On the lower and drier ranges the wild pistachio (*Pistacia khinjuk*), wild olive (*Olea europaea*), juniper (*J. excelsa*) and the reed (*Tecoma undulata*) are the most characteristic trees. The *angūsh* or *ling* (*Fernia ussuriensis*) is very abundant in many parts. Wild flowers also abound in the spring, especially the iris, tulip and poppy.

Political divisions. The divisions of the country follow its physical formation.

Kābul. The province of Kābul contains the fertile high-lying valleys round the upper waters of the Kābul, Lōghar and Tagao rivers and Ghazna, also the lower part of the Kābul valley near Djalālabād [g.s.]. Ghazna [g.s.] was the most important town in this tract formerly, but Kābul [g.s.] has taken its place during the past four hundred years. Kābul was recognized as the centre of government under Mughal emperors, and was adopted by the Durranī kings as their capital taking the place of Kandahār. Its old rival Peshawār [g.s.] is the natural centre of the tribes in the lowlands near the Indus, but has been cut off from Afghanistan since it was taken by the Sikhs in 1834, and from 1848 to 1947 formed part of British India.

Kandahār. Kandahār includes the old province of Zamin-dāwar, and comprises the lower valleys of the Hilmānd, Tarnak, Arghandāb and Arghashān, the principal home of the Durranīs. The modern town of Kandahār [g.s.] on the Arghandāb has been the capital of the province since the 14th century, and has taken the place of older towns such as Gīrīgh [g.s.] and Bust [g.s.].

Sīstān. Sīstān [see AMO DARYA] is the hot and fertile irrigated district lying around the Hāmūn. A large part of it, however, belongs to Persia. It contains no large town.

Harāt. The Harāt province includes the fertile valley of the Harāt Rōd and the open country lying between the Hazāra Mountains and the Persian border; also a considerable part of these mountains which are inhabited by the Hazāra [g.s.] and Chāfir Aymāq [g.s.] tribes. The town of Harāt [g.s.], one of the most famous in eastern history, is its capital;

although fallen from its ancient glory it is still and must remain a place of importance and will no doubt develop greatly with peace and improved communications. Sab-zawār [g.s.] is also a thriving town in the south of the province.

Hazāristān [g.s.]. The country of the Hazāra and Chāfir Aymāq tribes in the mountainous mass bounded to the north by the Kūh-i Bābā, to the west by the open country of Harāt, to the east and the south by the Hilmānd valley. It is the country anciently known as Ghūr [g.s.], and the ruins of the town of Ghūr probably mark the site of the old capital of Firūz Kūh, where the Ghūrī kings reigned in the 12th century. It now contains no town of importance.

Turkistān. The country north of the Kūh-i Bābā as far as the Oxus is known as Turkistān. Its old capital Balgh [g.s.] has lost its former importance and the present centres of administration are Mazār-i Sharīf [g.s.], Tāshkurgān and Maymana [g.s.].

Bādaghān. The region lying north of the Hindū-kūsh and east of Turkistān along the left bank of the Oxus is known as Bādaghān [g.s.]. It is watered by the Kunduz river and its affluents.

Wakhān. Still further to the east and extending as far as the Pāmīr is the long mountain valley called Wakhān [g.s.].

Nūristān. A mountainous tract of the Hindū-kūsh lying north of the Kābul valley and west of the Kūh-i Bābā is inhabited by the Kāfirs. It was known as Kālistīstān [g.s.], but after its conquest by 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān in 1897 its name was changed to Nūristān.

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(M. LONGWORTH DAKES\*)



## (II) ETHNOGRAPHY.

The population of Afghanistan is divided into the following main groups: (1) Afghans; (2) Tajiks and other Iranians; (3) Turko-Mongolians; (4) Hindu-kush Indo-Aryans (including Kāfirs). According to an estimate made in 1947 the population amounts to twelve millions, of which 32% are said to be Afghans, 30% Tajiks, 6% Uzbeks, 3% Hazāras and 2% others. But the figures are by no means certain. No "pure races" are to be found, each linguistic community being composed of several anthropological types, and intermixing and secondary adoption of Persian and Pashto having to a great extent blurred whatever clear distinctions may have existed at some earlier date. Apart from the theoretical difficulties in defining race, the meagreness of anthropological data, dealing with clearly defined local groups, warns us to be cautious in our statements.

1) For the Afghans, see the separate article *AFGHAN*.

2) *Tājīk* is the general name [cf. *tāgīk*] of the Persian-speaking population of Afghanistan, often also called *Pārsiāns*, or, in the East and South, *Dihgāns* and *Dihwārs*. They are villagers, and also the inhabitants of most towns speak Persian. The *Tājīks* have no tribal organization, except in some remote regions. In the villages they are peaceful tenants. In Harāt and Sīstān they are a direct continuation of the Persians of Persia, while in Northern Afghanistan (from Maymana to Badakhshān) they are in contact with the *Tājīks* of the Soviet Union. In South-eastern Afghanistan they occupy some of the most fertile agricultural districts around Ghazna and in the Kābul region (Kūh-i Dīmān, Pandjshir, etc.). Anthropologically they are very mixed, but the hill-*Tājīks* of Badakhshān, and of Northern Afghanistan in general, are of the Alpine type. South of the Hindu-kush many *Tājīks* probably belong to the Irano-Afghān race. Some of the hill-*Tājīks* of Badakhshān still retain their ancient Iranian languages. The same is the case with the *Pārsiāns* north of Kābul and the *Omāns* in the Lōgar valley.—The *Kizilbāsh* are descended from Persian Turks settled in Kābul and Harāt by Nādir Shāh.

3) Turkish and Mongolian tribes. In the plains of Northern Afghanistan Turkish tribes form an important, or even dominant part of the population. The majority are Uzbeks [q.v.], settled in villages and towns, and estimated by Jarring at about 500,000. West of them, between Andkhuy and Bālā Murghāb we find Turkmen [q.v.] nomads, chiefly Ersārs (estimated at up to 200,000). In Afghan Pāmīr there are about 30,000 Kirghīz [q.v.] nomads. Also some other Turkish tribes are represented in Afghanistan.—The Turks settled in the Kūh-i Dīmān and Kūh-i Dīmān north of Kābul have now all probably given up their national language.

The central *maṣṣif*, from Ghazna to Harāt, and from north of Bāmiyān to the middle Helmand, is occupied by tribes of Mongol or mixed Turko-Mongol origin and type, extending also into Persia. The eastern part of this territory is the home of the Hazāras [q.v. or Barbaris]. They are divided into a number of tribes, Day-Kundi, Day-Zengi, *Djāghuri*, etc. The Hazāras are settled in villages, their formerly very powerful chiefs living in baronial castles. They are *Shī'ites*, and up to the time of the Amir 'Abd al-Rahmān they retained semi-independence. Their orthodox neighbours accused

them of practising the infamous "lamp-extinguishing" ceremonies, and of laxity in sexual behaviour in general. When finally subdued by the Afghān Amir, many of them sought refuge in Quetta and other places outside Afghanistan. A large number of Hazāras work as labourers in Kābul and other cities. They have decidedly mongoloid features, but are usually distinguishable from the more flat-faced Uzbeks. Further west, on both sides of the Harāt Rūd, we find the half-nomadic Suni *Chāhr Aymāl* [q.v.] ("Four Tribes"), a term apparently used somewhat loosely, but usually including Taymāns (south of the Harāt Rūd), Firzākūhs (north of this river), *Djamshīdīs* (Kushk), Taymūris (west of Harāt, in Persia) and Hazāris (Kā'ā'i-Naw), probably not to be confounded with the eastern Hazāras.—The Hazāras are often assumed to be descended from Chingīz Khān's soldiers, but more probably Mongol and to some extent also Turkish elements have gradually occupied the territories laid waste by him and his successors (see Bacon, op. cit.).

4) Indo-Aryans and Kāfirs. Among the Indo-Aryan "Dardic" tribes of Afghanistan the most important are the *Pashāhs* (locally also called *Dihgāns*) in the Kūh-i Dīmān, Laghmān and the lower Kunar Valley. They are the remnants of the ancient Hindu and Buddhist populations of Kāpishā and Nāgarahra. There are also some smaller communities of Indo-Aryan origin in the Kunar region.—Nūristān (formerly Kāfiristān) is inhabited by a number of tribes, linguistically distinguished from the true Indo-Aryans [cf. *Kāfiristān*]. They were finally conquered by 'Abd al-Rahmān in 1896, and converted to Islām. Some of the Dardic tribes also remained pagans till comparatively recent times. The Kāfirs are now called Nūristāns or *Djādhīs*, i.e. "Recruits (of Islām)". Their ancient religion was a polytheism of an Indian type, with pantheons varying from tribe to tribe. They had also preserved many ancient social customs. There is no evidence of their being of Greek origin as sometimes asserted. Their neighbours divided them into *Siyāh-pūsh* "black-clad" (Kāts and Kāms) and *Safid-pūsh* "white-clad" (*Wāyghals*, *Ashkuns* and *Prasins* or *Parūns*). Anthropologically the Kāfirs contain Oriental, Dinaric and Nordic elements, beside a short, dolichocephalic type with connections in the West Himalayas. Among some of the tribes the ratio of blondism is rather high.

There are some *Djāt* [q.v.] "tribes" in Afghanistan, and a few *Gūdjārs* [q.v.] in the Kunar valley. Hindus are settled as traders and money-lenders in Kābul and other towns, and as horticulturists in the Kūh-i Dīmān north of Kābul.

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## (ii) ETHNOGRAPHY.

The population of Afghanistan is divided into the following main groups: (1) Afghāns; (2) Tadjiks and other Iranians; (3) Turki-Mongolians; (4) Hindū-kush Indo-Aryans (including Kāfirs). According to an estimate made in 1947 the population amounts to twelve millions, of which 55% are said to be Afghāns, 36% Tadjiks, 6% Uzbeks, 3% Hazāras and 2% others. But the figures are by no means certain. No "pure races" are to be found, each linguistic community being composed of several anthropological types, and intermixture and secondary adoption of Persian and Pashto having to a great extent blurred whatever clear distinctions may have existed at some earlier date. Apart from the theoretical difficulties in defining race, the meagreness of anthropological data, dealing with clearly defined local groups, warns us to be cautious in our statements.

1) For the Afghāns, see the separate article *Afghāns*.

2) Tadjik is the general name [cf. *tadjik*] of the Persian-speaking population of Afghanistan, often also called *Parsi*, or, in the East and South, *Dihgāns* and *Dihwāns*. They are villagers, and also the inhabitants of most towns speak Persian. The Tadjiks have no tribal organization, except in some remote regions. In the villages they are a direct continuation of the Persians of Persia, while in Northern Afghanistan (from Maymana to Badakhshān) they are in contact with the Tadjiks of the Soviet Union. In South-eastern Afghanistan they occupy some of the most fertile agricultural districts around Ghazna and in the Kābul region (Kōh-i Dāman, Pandjshir, etc.). Anthropologically they are very mixed, but the hill-Tadjiks of Badakhshān, and of Northern Afghanistan in general, are of the Alpine type. South of the Hindū-kush many Tadjiks probably belong to the Irano-Afghān race. Some of the hill-Tadjiks of Badakhshān still retain their ancient Iranian languages. The same is the case with the *Parāčis* north of Kābul and the *Ormurs* in the Lōgar valley.—The *Kizilbāshs* are descended from Persian Turkes settled in Kābul and Harāt by Nādir Shāh.

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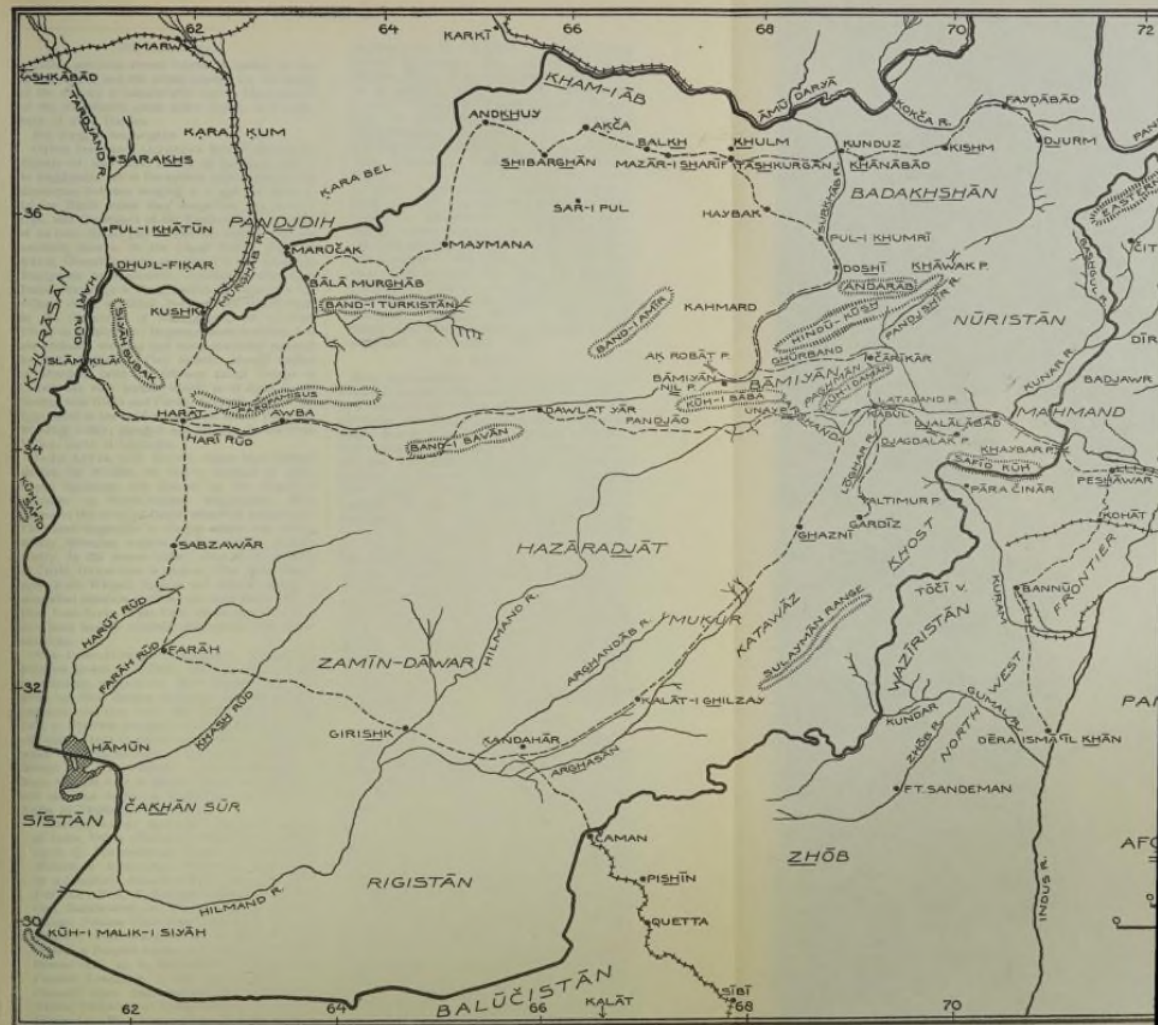
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4) Indo-Aryans and Kāfirs. Among the Indo-Aryan "Dardic" tribes of Afghanistan the most important are the *Pashlās* (locally also called *Dihgāns*) in the Kūh-i Dāman, Laghmān and the lower Kunar Valley. They are the remnants of the ancient Hindu and Buddhist populations of Kāpisha and Nagarāhāra. There are also some smaller communities of Indo-Aryan origin in the Kunar region.—Nūristān (formerly Kāfīristān) is inhabited by a number of tribes, linguistically distinguished from the true Indo-Aryans (cf. *Kāfīristān*). They were finally conquered by 'Abd al-Rahmān in 1896, and converted to Islam. Some of the Dardic tribes also remained pagans till comparatively recent times. The Kāfirs are now called *Nūristāns* or *Djāhidīs*, i.e. "Recruits (of Islam)". Their ancient religion was a polytheism of an Indian type, with pantheons varying from tribe to tribe. They had also preserved many ancient social customs. There is no evidence of their being of Greek origin as sometimes asserted. Their neighbours divided them into *Siyāh-pūsh* "black-clad" (Kutis and Kāms) and *Safid-pūsh* "white-clad" (Waygāls, Ashkuns and Prastūs or Parūds). Anthropologically the Kāfirs contain Oriental, Dinaric and Nordic elements, beside a short, dolichocephalic type with connections in the West Himalayas. Among some of the tribes the ratio of blondism is rather high.

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## (iii) LANGUAGES.

Bābur mentions eleven languages spoken in the Kābul region, and the actual number for the whole of the country is considerably higher. The majority of the inhabitants speak either Paṣhto or Persian, both of them Iranian.

For Paṣhto see AFĠHĀN.

Other Iranian Languages. Most of the Persian dialects (cf. also IRĀN, section on language) spoken in Afghānistān are of the eastern type, retaining the distinction between *maḡhālī* ۴, ۵ and *ma'raḡ* ۱, ۲. In the Harāt region they merge into the western type, and the dialect of the Hazāras presents traits of its own. Balōč just crosses the frontier into the southern deserts. In the Lōgar Valley, south of Kābul, Ormuḡ is dying out, but it is still spoken in Kānigurām in Wadristān. Another ancient local language is ʔarāčī, which is found in a few villages north of Kābul. North of the Hindū-kūḡh, in the mountains of Badakhshān, the so-called Pāmīr or Ghakka (۲۰) languages have survived, but are probably receding and being gradually replaced by Tādžiki Persian. They include: Mundjī spoken in Mundjān (with an offshoot called Yidgha in Citrāl), the very archaic Wakhi in Wakhān (overflowing into Gūgit and Citrāl), Sanglētī, Zēbākī and Ishkāsūnī at the bend of the Oxus and in the upper Wardōjī valley; Shughlī and Rōghānī in the Oxus Valley, north of Ishkāsūn.

Indo-Aryan and Kāfirī. Apart from Lahndā spoken by Hindūs, we find a number of Indo-Aryan languages and dialects on the fringes of Nōristān in North-Eastern Afghānistān. They belong to the so-called Dardic branch of Indo-Aryan. The most important is Paṣhāī which has several widely diverging dialects, and is rich in popular poetry. In the Kunar Valley, close to the frontier of Citrāl, Gāwar-Bāṭī is spoken.—The Kāfir languages (Kati, Wālgāī, Aghkum and Prasūn) occupy a somewhat separate position and must have split off from Indo-Aryan in pre-Vedic times. But they have now been heavily overlaid with purely Indo-Aryan elements.

Non-Indo-Iranian Languages. Turkish dialects are spoken by Uzbeks, Turkmens and Kirghīz in Northern Afghānistān. Most Hazāras have now given up their ancient language, and the same is probably the case with the Čahār Aymāks. But (acc. to a private communication) F. Mackenzie was still able in 1951 to collect lists of words, containing many of Mongolian origin, among the Hazāras of Bihūd and the "Moghols" north of Maymana.—Some nomads west of Maṣārī Sharīf are said to be still speaking Arabic, as is also the case with some Arabs in Tādžikistān (see 'ARAB).

Bibliography: General: *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. x (Iranian); viii/ii (Dardic Languages); G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo 1926; idem, *Rep. on a Linguistic Mission to N.W. India*, Oslo 1927. Persian: D. L. E. Loewe, *Phonology of Bakhtiari, Badakhshani, etc.*, London 1922; G. Morgenstierne, *Persian Texts from Afghanistan*, AO, vi, Ormuḡ and Parāčī: G. A. Grierson, *The Ormuḡ or Bargīdī Language*, Calcutta 1918; idem, *Ormuri* (LSI, x); G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, I, Oslo 1929 (Parachi and Ormuri); idem, *Supplementary Notes on Ormuri*, Nōrsk; Tidskrift for Sprogvidenskap, v. Pāmīr Dialects: W. Geiger, *Pāmīr-Dialekte (Grunde. I. iran. Philol. Uz.*, with bibliography); G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. x (with

bibliography); G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, ii, Oslo 1935; idem, *Notes on Shughni*, NTS, 1; R. Gauthiot, *Quelques observations sur le mondjāni* (MSL, 1925); W. Lentz, *Materialien zur Kenntnis der Schugni-Gruppe*, Göttingen 1933; H. Sköld, *Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen*, Lund 1936; I. I. Zarubin, *Kharakteristika mondzhongy yazyka*, Leningrad 1927; Klimitskiy, *Vakhshonir teksti*, Moscow-Leningrad 1936. Dardic and Kāfir Languages: G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. viii, ii (with bibliographies of older works); G. Morgenstierne, *Pashai Texts (Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, iii/2, Oslo 1944)*; idem, *The Language of the Aykhus Kafirs* (NTS, ii); idem, *The Language of the Pishan Kafirs* (NTS, xvi); idem, *Notes on Gavar Dialect*, Oslo 1930, and other publications. Turkish and Mongol: G. Jarrold, *Uzbek Texts from Afghan Turkestan*, Lund 1938; Ramstedt, *Mogholica*, JSFO, 23; Leech, *Vocabulary of the Moghal Aimsaks (Vocabularies of Some Languages, etc., Bombay 1838)*.

## (iv) RELIGION.

Since the conversion of the Kāfirs practically the entire population of Afghānistān are Muslims, and the great majority are Sunnis, Shī'ite are the Hazāras, Kizilbagh, the Kayāns of Sīstān and Harāt, a few Pathān frontier tribes (Turk, and some sections of Čakaks and Bangash, beside the Sayyids of Tīrsh), and some Kōhistāns and Badakhshīs (especially the Ghakās). Of these the inhabitants of Badakhshān (with Shughnān, Wakhān, etc.) and many Paṣhāls of Laghmān and adjacent valleys are Ismā'īlīs, the Badakhshīs calling themselves Mullā'īs and the Paṣhāls being known under the name of 'Asī-Ishkīs (cf. Ivanow, *Guide to Ism. Lit.*, p. 9). Among the Shī'ī Pathāns there may still be secret adherents of the great heretic Bāyazīd Anṣārī (cf. RAWSHANIYA).

Orthodox Islām is now very firmly established in Afghānistān, and the Islamic law (*shari'a*) is recognized. Hindus and Shī'īs are tolerated, but Ahmādīs are not allowed to enter the country, and Christian missions are prohibited. Local saints and their tombs are worshipped. Among the Pathān tribes of the frontier the *mudlis* have often played an important role in local politics and in preaching the *djihad* (holy war). (G. MORGENSTIERNE)

## (v) HISTORY. (1) PRE-ISLAMIC.

The territories now known as Afghānistān were occupied by Iranian tribes during the Aryan migrations in the second and first millennia B.C., incorporated in the Achaemenid empire by Cyrus, and after the conquests of Alexander (cf. e.g. W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1948) disputed between the Greco-Bactrians and the Parthians (cf. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1921). In the first century B.C. there was a fresh influx of Iranian tribesmen under the leadership of the Kushan tribe of the Yueh-Chi. The Kushan empire, which attained its height under Kujula Kadphises in the 1st century A.D. and Kanishka in the 2nd (cf. *Cambridge History of India*, i, 1935; R. Ghirshman, *Bégram. Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, Cairo 1948), eventually fell to the Sāsānids under Shāpūr II, probably before the middle of the 4th century. Shortly after 350 the Yueh-Chi tribes which had remained in Kāshgharia, pressed from the East by Turco-Mongol elements, appeared in Bactria, supported by a confederation of tribes of allied origin known as Chionites (see R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites. Hephthalites*, Cairo 1948, 69 ff.). Shāpūr, though at

war with Rome, marched against the invaders, but was obliged to come to terms with them and to establish them in Bactria and its peripheral regions, in return for their aid against the Romans.

Kidara, the king of the Yueh-Chi or "Lesser Kushans", soon extended his conquests to the south of the Hindu-kush and annexed the Paropamisadae and Gandhara. It is in the period of this expansion that the establishment of a tribe of Chionites, the Zabuls, in the region of Ghazni is to be placed. When, later on, Kidara's efforts to assert his independence led to a fresh conflict with Shapur, the Chionites sided with the latter. Kidara lost his kingdom, and probably his life; and Bactria passed into the hands of the Chionites known as Hephthalites from the name of their ruling dynasty.

About 400 the lands both to the north and to the south of the Hindu-kush were held by the Chionite Hephthalites, divided into two branches by the mountain-chain, but whose southern branch, the Zabuls, recognized the supremacy of the northern branch—both, however, remaining vassals of the Sāsānids. This vassal status was preserved so long as the Persian dynasty remained strong, but already by the beginning of the 5th century the Hephthalites, exploiting the difficulties experienced by Persia in the struggle against Rome and in defending the passes of the Caucasus against the barbarians, attempted to throw it off, only to be resubjected by Bahram Gōr, just as their pressure towards India was halted by the Gupta kings.

The middle of the 5th century was a turning-point in the relations between Persia and the Hephthalites. During the reign of Kōrōs, the Hephthalites won, in 448, a victory which transformed them almost from the vassals into the masters of Iran, to whom the Sāsānids paid tribute for more than half a century. It was only c. 560, when a new people, the Western Turks, had appeared on the chessboard of Central Asia, that a coalition between them and Khurāsān put an end to the central power of the Hephthalites. (For the relations with the Sāsānids, cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sāsānides*, 1944.)

The kingdom of Zabul, or of the southern Chionites, followed its own course. At the end of the 5th century a new dynasty reigned to the south of the Hindu-kush. Its two kings, Toramana and Mihirakula (c. 515-544), made extensive conquests in India; the latter, devoted to a religion with a solar divinity, Mihira, left a memory of cruel persecutions which were pursued until he was crushed by an Indian national coalition. The disappearance of the kingdom of the southern Chionites preceded by a few years the destruction of Hephthalite supremacy in the northern lands.

After the destruction of these two kingdoms, their territories remained in the hands of a number of minor princes, some of whom became vassals of the Sāsānids, others of the Turks. The political condition of Eastern Afghanistan about the middle of the 7th century is portrayed in the account of the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-Tsang, where the Afghan people are mentioned for the first time in an historical source under the form of the country of A-p'o-kien, located in the northern part of the Sulaymān mountains (see A. Foucher, *La vieillesse route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxisa*, II, Paris 1947, 215, 252 ff. 17).

Shortly after the passage of Hsuen-Tsang, the Chinese T'ang dynasty crushed the Western Turks and extended its suzerainty to the west of the Pamir. For a whole century (659-755) sixteen kingdoms

north and south of the Hindu-kush recognized this authority, more usual than real, of the Chinese emperor. The Arab invaders, who so rapidly overran Iran, were checked in this part of Afghanistan by the tenacious resistance of the last kinglets, seconded by the civil wars and dissensions between the conquering tribes, and it was only at the end of the 9th century that Islam finally triumphed south of the Hindu-kush. Nevertheless, the Hephthalite element did not disappear without leaving its traces in the ethnic composition of modern Afghanistan, and there still exists in Badakhshān an important group bearing the name of Haytal. See, for a fuller account of the Chionite-Hephthalites the articles HAYTAL, ZĀBULISTĀN, etc. For the background of the early history, cf. also W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, 1939.

(H. GRENZ)

## (2) ISLAMIC—TO THE RISE OF THE AFGHĀN NATIONAL STATE.

To the Mongol period. The territories that form modern Afghanistan belonged in the first thousand years of Islamic history to different provinces, and although these neighbouring provinces, often shared common vicissitudes, they did not at any time form a separate entity. Nor did the Afghāns form a state of their own until the days of Mir Wazir, and more especially Ahmad Shāh Durrāni. The little that is known of the earlier history of the Afghāns has been summarized in the article AFGHĀN; here a short sketch will be given of the history of the country. (For further details see the articles on the various provinces, e.g. BĀKTERĀN, SĠNDHĀN, ZĀBULISTĀN, ZĀMĠN-NĀWĀR, TUGHRĠSTĀN, KĀNDĠSTĀN, and on the various dynasties that ruled these lands, as well as the articles on the most important towns, e.g. BALKH, GHĀZNA, HARĀT, KĀBUL, etc.)

At the time of the Islamic conquest the provinces belonging to the Sāsānid empire were quickly overrun. One wave of the invasion passed through Sijistān, but the attempts made during the first three centuries to conquer Kābul from this base produced no lasting results until the rise of the Saffarid (q.v.) dynasty. The province of Kābul resisted Islamization much longer than the other eastern Islamic provinces, and it was only under the Ghaznavids that this was fully achieved. In the middle of the 10th century Alp-takīn (q.v.) seized Ghazna from its former ruler Lawīk, conquered Zabulistan and built up an independent principality, which was inherited by his son Isbākh, then by a slave of his, Balkh-takīn, then by another slave, Subuk-takīn, the founder of the Ghaznavid (q.v.) dynasty. The dynasty had its seat in Ghazna, and it was from that town that the greatest Ghaznavid ruler, Mahmūd (q.v.), set out on his expeditions to Persia in the west and India in the east. Yet, while it is about this time that the name Afghān first appears in the historians, the Ghaznavid dynasty was in no sense a national Afghan one. The armies were probably composed mainly of Turks. When Mahmūd marched on Balkh against the Karakhanid ruler, his army comprised, according to al-Utbi, Indians, Khazārs (q.v.), Afghāns and Ghaznavids (which now began to be of importance). The Afghāns (Tādjīk (q.v.)) of the province of Moznān in 474/1023 Mahmūd attacked the Afghāns of Sulaymān Kūh and sacked their country.

By the end of his life Mahmūd ruled over an extensive territory comprising in the west Khurāsān, part of Djabāl and Tabaristān and in the east the whole of the Panjshir; to the north his influence

extended beyond the Oxus while the core was formed by the whole of what is now Afghanistan. The personality of the great conqueror made a deep impression, and he became in a way a national hero in the land which formed the centre of his empire.

For the further history of the dynasty, see GHĀZNAWĪS. Bahram Shāh (511-52/1118-57) had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sāldjūqs; thereafter, the chieftains of Ghūr became increasingly stronger, and after long struggles drove out the Ghaznavids. The Ghūrīd (q.v.) dynasty was probably of "Tādjīk" origin. The fortunes of this dynasty were checked by invasions of Afghanistan by the Ghūzes and the Kh'arizm-shāhs, so that the Ghūrīds lost their power in their native land, but succeeded in building up an empire in India, which was inherited by their Turkish slaves. Djabāl al-Dīn Manikubīn, the last scion of the house of the Kh'arizm-shāhs, after strong resistance, had to vacate Afghanistan before the Mongols of Gīngīz Khān.

Mongols, Karts, Harāt and Sistān were conquered by Gīngīz Khān's son Tulay, Ghazna by Ugday. Ugday also entered the Ghūr country and, making it the centre of his operations, conquered the mountains of Fīrūz Kūh and Ghazdārjān as well as the plains of Garm-sir and Sistān. The last Ghūrīd kings were swept away and Fīrūz Kūh completely destroyed. Tulak and other mountain fortresses offered resistance but to no effect. A leader of the resistance in Ghūr was the awīr Muhammad of Ghazdārjān, descendant in the maternal line of the Ghūrīd kings. He was killed in 622/1223 in the fortress of Aghay. The founders of the Kart dynasty were his descendants. The greater part of Afghanistan was incorporated into the Mongol empire. In the east, however, a Turkish chieftain, Sayf al-Dīn Hasan Karugh, who had perhaps been allied to Djabāl al-Dīn Manikubīn, managed for some time to get possession of Bāmiyān, Ghazna and Ghūr. He must have exercised his rule in 622/1223, in which year he issued coins in the name of the caliph al-Zāhir. In 636/1238 he submitted to Ugday, and was placed under the control of a Mongol ghīsna (intendant). Nevertheless, he was expelled through the Kuram valley to India. In Sind he and his son Nāsir al-Dīn reigned for a further twenty years. Ghazna and the Kuram served as a base for the further incursions of the Mongols into India. We do not hear of Afghāns in these movements; perhaps they had not yet reached as far north as the Kuram valley. After Ugday's death the Mongol empire was divided and Afghanistan fell to the lot of the Ilkhāns of Persia. Under their sovereignty a Tādjīk dynasty, named Karts (q.v.) came into power and ruled for nearly two hundred years over the greater part of the country. It was Timur who put an end to the dynasty of the Karts, who represented the last effort of the Tādjīk element in Ghūr and Harāt to establish in their country an independent state. From this time until the rise of the Afghāns in the 18th century no native dynasty held rule in Afghanistan.

Timūr, Timurīd, in the course of Timur's invasion Sistān suffered terrible destruction; Kābul and Kandahār (which now began to be of importance) were quickly subdued and the whole country became part of Timur's empire. In 800/1397 Timūr turned to the east and left his grandson Pir Muhammad as governor of Kābul, Ghazna and Kandahār, while his son Shāhruh received in fee the kingdom of Khurāsān, with Harāt as its capital. Pir Muhammad attacked the Afghāns of Sulaymān Kūh and then

advanced into India. On the news that he was resisted in Multān, Timūr himself advanced from Andarab over the Hindu-kush, turned aside from Laghman to attack the Siyāh-pūsh and the Kator-Kāurs. After this expedition, he attacked the rebellious Afghāns and then passed over the Indus. Both on his outward march and on his return he passed Bāmiyān; he therefore probably followed the road of Tochi, which leads through the country of the Ghāzārī and the Wazīr. We do not hear of Afghāns serving in his army, though it comprised Tādjīks.

When Timūr died (807/1405), Pir Muhammad reigned in Kābul; it was, however, Khālīl who took possession of the throne of the empire. (For fuller details concerning the history of the descendants of Timūr cf. 118/6101.) The war that ensued ended with the murder of Pir Muhammad. Shortly afterwards, Khālīl was deprived of the throne and Shāhruh became the supreme ruler. His reign, which lasted for about forty years, was a period of peace and the country was able to recover from the devastations of the last years. He was followed by Ulugh Beg, 'Abd al-Latif, 'Abd Allāh, Bābur Mirzā, all of whom reigned for a short time only. In 861/1456 Abū Sa'īd ascended the throne, but the possession of Khurāsān and Afghanistan was contested by Husayn Baykara. The latter was defeated in 870/1465, but Abū Sa'īd died two years later, and his successor, Sultān Ahmad, did not possess Khurāsān at all. Husayn Baykara ruled uncontested, from his capital Harāt, over Khurāsān, Sistān, Ghūr and Zāmin-dīwar. Under the long reigns of Shāhruh and Husayn Baykara, Harāt reached the zenith of its fame as a centre of poetry, learning and art. During the latter years of Husayn Baykara, his rule was menaced from the north by the growing might of Shaybānī and his Uzbeks, while other parts of Afghanistan showed a tendency to dissolve into separate principalities, though not under indigenous rulers. Bābur (q.v.) established himself in Kābul and assumed the title of *padshāh*. Until then Kābul had been governed by more or less independent members of the Timurid house; Mukim, the son of Argūn, had just taken possession of it when Bābur appeared before the city and occupied it (910/1505). Kābul remained under Bābur and his successors, the emperors of India (see MUGHAL) for more than two hundred years, until the invasion of Nadir Shāh.

Bābur, Argūn, Uzbeks, Shāh Isma'īl. More dangerous for the kingdom of Khurāsān was the rise of the dynasty of Argūn (q.v.), its founder, Dhu'l-Nūn Beg Argūn, a descendant of the Bkhāns, governor of Ghūr and Sistān, received also, after defeating the tribes of Hazara and Nihādī, the regions of Zabulistan and Garm-sir. Taking Kandahār as his capital, he made himself independent, and with the help of his son, Shāh Beg, extended his rule southward to the Bolān pass and Siwastān. In 901/1498-g he even invaded Harāt, recruiting his army from the population of Ghūr, Zāmin-dīwar and Kandahār—probably Tādjīks and Afghāns. His son Mukim, as mentioned above, occupied Kābul, though only for a short time. Shaybānī's invasion, however, proved the undoing of Dhu'l-Nūn Beg; in the first battle against the Uzbeks he was killed and in 913/1507 Shaybānī took Harāt.

Dhu'l-Nūn's sons Shāh Beg and Mukim were now between Bābur and Shaybānī. Bābur with some right claimed to be heir to Timur's empire and advanced against Kandahār, while the Argūn princes allied themselves with his old enemy Shaybānī. Bābur defeated them and took Kandahār.



He left there as governor his son Nādir Mirāz, who was immediately attacked by Shaybānī. Bābur himself had been on his way to Harāt to concert measures of defence against the Uzbeks with Sultān Husayn when he heard of the latter's death. He joined the Sultān's sons in their campaign on the Murghāb, and then after visiting Harāt returned in winter by the mountain road to Kābul, a journey during which he and his troops underwent great hardships. He returned to Kābul in 912/beginning of 1507 just in time to suppress a dangerous plot amongst his own relations. Then followed his expedition to Kandahār in the summer, and he was back in Kābul by Jumādā I 913/Sept. 1507, arranging an Indian expedition, and had already started when he was recalled by the news that Kandahār had fallen and that the Arghūns had been restored by Shaybānī. When the news reached him he was actually engaged in war with the Afghān tribes of Tjagdalak and Naugrahār, tribes recently established in the Kābul valley. He had great difficulty in holding even Kābul, where his authority was threatened by rebellion and mutiny. Shaybānī was now possessor of Khurāsān and overlord of Kandahār, but his power began to decline. His armies suffered severely during an expedition into the mountains of Ghūr, and another warrior king, Shāh Ismā'īl, founder of the Safawī kingdom of Persia, threatened him from the west. In 916/1510 Ismā'īl invaded Khurāsān and Shaybānī was defeated and slain near Marw. Harāt passed into Ismā'īl's possession and the Shī'ite doctrines were introduced there by a severe persecution. Bābur now allied himself with Ismā'īl and recovered for a time possession of his hereditary dominions in Central Asia, leaving the kingdom of Kābul to his brother Nādir Mirāz. The alliance with the Safawī king was unpopular, however, and the Uzbeks rallied. In the end Bābur, after a severe defeat at Ghadadān near Badkhash (918/1512) from which he barely escaped with his life, had to fall back upon Kābul, which he found in great disorder, and he had to suppress outbreaks among his own Mughal troops and among the Afghān tribes. The Yūsufzāys had moved down from the mountains into the Peshāwar valley, and expelled their predecessors the Dilzāks from the mountains of Badkhash and Swāt. Bābur put them down severely and took Badkhash with great slaughter. He also had to put down risings among the Hazāras. He then turned his attention to Kandahār where Shāh Beg Arghūn was still established. He had tried in vain to make terms with Shāh Ismā'īl, had been imprisoned at Harāt, but escaped, and had since been endeavouring to establish a kingdom for himself in Sind, which he invaded with the assistance of some Baluch tribes in 927/1521. Bābur made two attempts to take Kandahār before he finally succeeded in 928/1522. Shāh Beg then removed his headquarters to Ghāl (Quetta) in summer and Sīdā in winter, and pursued his schemes in Sind, while the whole Kandahār province remained in Bābur's possession. Bābur now felt himself strong enough to embark on the series of enterprises which ended in the overthrow of the kingdom of the Lodī Afghāns in India. He always preferred Kābul to the plains of India, and was buried at Ghazna where his tomb is marked by a column.

Between the Mughal and Safawī empires, Afghānistān entered upon a more settled period under the influence of the two great empires of India and Persia between which it was divided. Harāt and Sīdā remained with Persia though still for a time

troubled by Uzbek raids. Kābul remained part of the Mughal empire while Kandahār belonged sometimes to one and sometimes to the other. The power of the Mughal emperors was gradually restricted to the south of the Hindu-kūsh. North of it Sulaymān Mirzā, established by Bābur as governor of Badkhash, founded something like an independent dynasty, and the rest of the country remained under the Shaybānīs. Ismā'īl died in 930/1524, and Bābur in 937/1530. Bābur's son Humāyūn succeeded him and his brothers Kāmran, Hindāl and 'Askari held various governments. Kābul and Kandahār were united with the Panjāb under Kāmran. On the Persian side Tahmāsp, successor of Ismā'īl had made his brother Sām Mirzā governor of Harāt. The Safawīs regarded Kandahār as an appanage of the kingdom of Khurāsān now in their possession, and considered its occupation by the Mughal emperors to be a usurpation. In 947/1535 Sām Mirzā made a sudden attack on it, but it resisted him successfully, and after eight months Kāmran arrived and raised the siege. During Sām's absence the Uzbeks under 'Abdāy Allāh invaded Khurāsān, and the unfortunate town of Harāt was again taken and sacked. Tahmāsp recovered it, deposed Sām and himself attacked Kandahār which he took; but it was recovered by Kāmran. Meanwhile Humāyūn lost his throne in India through the rising of the Sūr Afghāns under Shīr Shāh, and in 950/1543 he made his way from Sind through the desert south of Kandahār to Sīdān and Persia, where he was treated hospitably by Shāh Tahmāsp. In 953/1545 with the assistance of a Persian army he laid siege to Kandahār which was held against him by his brother 'Askari on behalf of Kāmran, and took it after a prolonged resistance. In accordance with his engagement with Tahmāsp he made the town over to the Persians, but this excited great discontent among his own followers, and Humāyūn at last retook Kandahār from the Persians, and treated the province as part of his own dominions, greatly to the anger of Tahmāsp. Shortly afterwards Humāyūn took Kābul and with it obtained possession of his young son Akbar now three years old. During the next few years the war between the brothers went on with varying fortunes. Kāmran never regained possession of Kābul but could not hold it long; on one occasion he is said to have exposed the young prince Akbar on the battlements. He then spent some time among the Mahmānd and Ghālī tribes of Afghāns, whom he intended to plunder the Kābul valley. At last in 961/1553, he surrendered to Humāyūn and was deprived of his sight. Humāyūn now held the kingdom of Kābul and Kandahār and found himself strong enough to attempt the reconquest of India. This resulted in his victory over the Sūr kings, but soon afterwards, in 963/1556, he died from the effect of an accident. While the young king Akbar was occupied in completing the reconquest of India Tahmāsp took the opportunity (965/1558) of seizing Kandahār, and it remained under Persian rule until the prince Murāfīr Husayn surrendered it to Akbar thirty-eight years later in 1003/1621. Shāh 'Abbas recovered it, but it was lost again by his successor Shāh Saif I, in whose time the governor 'Alī Mardān Khān surrendered it to Shāh Dīdān (1047/1637). Girāshk was also taken after a siege, and Zamin-dāwar occupied. In 1058/1648 the young Persian king 'Abbas II, then only sixteen years of age, led an army to Kandahār and took it, and it never again formed part of the dominions of the Mughal

empire. Shāh Dīdān's armies in vain attempted the reconquest. The rival princes Awrangzib and Dārā-shikōh both conducted expeditions against it, but were equally unsuccessful, and after the failure of the last (1662/1652) no further attempts were made.

With the exception of the vicissitudes of Kandahār, there is little to record in the history of Afghānistān during the time it was divided between the Mughal and Safawī empires. The Afghān tribes were steadily increasing in numbers and influence, and it was probably in this period that the Abdālīs and Ghālzāys spread from their mountainous over the more fertile lands of Kandahār and Zamin-dāwar and the Tarnak and Arghandah valleys. The decline in the position and influence of the Tadjik races which had borne the brunt of the Mongolian invasions, and the occupation of their mountain fortresses of Ghūr by a semi-Mongolian population (cf. *NAZARA*), gave the Afghān race the opportunity of rising into prominence. In their eastern mountains they had been but little affected by invaders, eager chiefly to press on through the passes to the plunder of India, and the same need of an outlet for their increasing population which led them to spread into the plains of India on the east also led the pastoral tribes to spread westwards. The mountain tribes continued to maintain practical independence of all rule. The Mughal government of Kābul ruled nominally, but its actual power was confined to the open valleys. In 994/1586 for instance Akbar's army met with a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Yūsufzāys of Swāt and Badkhash, and the general Rājā Birbal was slain. Rājā Mān Singh afterwards defeated the mountaineers but they were never really conquered; they often raided the plains, and sometimes took sides in dynastic quarrels, as when the Yūsufzāys took up the cause of the pretended prince Shodhā against Awrangzib. When Shāh 'Alam I before his accession was governor of Kābul under Awrangzib in 1114/1702 one of his commanders Purdī Khān himself an Afghān, was killed with all his troops when trying to pass from Khōst to Kābul, and he had to bribe the tribes to keep open the road between Kābul and Peshāwar.

Abdālīs, Ghālzāys, Nādir Shāh. In the Kandahār province the frequent changes of government between India and Persia fomented dissensions and intrigue, and enabled the powerful tribes to play off one against the other. The Abdālīs (g.s.) near Kandahār succeeded in this manner in obtaining concessions from Shāh 'Abbas the Great. Saif was recognized as chief, and his descendants the Sadōzāys became the ruling family. Nevertheless their misconduct led to part of the tribe being removed to the Harāt province. This removal led to the extension of the influence of the Ghālzāy (g.s.) tribe near Kandahār, and their power continued to increase until the accession of the emperor Shāh 'Alam I, when the Ghālzāys of the Kandahār province began to intrigue with him against the Persian government. The plot was discovered and Gurgū Khān, a Georgian chief, was sent to Kandahār at the head of an army, and arrested Mir Ways the Ghālzāy chief. During his imprisonment, however, Mir Ways succeeded in gaining the confidence of Shāh Husayn the Persian king, and was allowed to return to his tribe. Shortly afterwards he treacherously murdered Gurgū Khān whom he had invited to a banquet, seized upon Kandahār and defeated all attempts to subdue him. He died soon after, and his brother 'Abd al-'Aziz, who showed an inclination to submit to Persia, was murdered by Mahmūd, son of Mir

Ways, who established himself as ruler. (For further details of their conquest of Persia see *GHALZAY*.)

At the same period the sections of the Abdālī tribe in the Harāt province became practically masters of that province, defeated a strong army sent against them under Saif Kuli Khān, and held their own till the time of Nādir Shāh, even taking Farāh from the Ghālzāys after the latter had conquered Persia. While the Ghālzāy Mahmūd fought in Persia, the Abdālīs spread over Khurāsān and laid siege to Māghdāh. The Ghālzāy dynasty was in no way fitted to reign over a country like Persia, and had not sufficient force behind them to oppose any truly national movement. Even the support of the Kandahār province was lost when Ashraf succeeded his cousin Mahmūd, whose brother was able to retain Kandahār. The Abdālīs too remained independent in Harāt. Thus when Nādir (g.s.) put himself at the head of a national movement Ashraf's government collapsed rapidly, and few of the Ghālzāys survived to reach their native country. Ashraf was killed while wandering in Balōchistan in 1142/1729. Nādir now turned his arms against the Abdālīs under Malik Mahmūd Khān who held Māghdāh (1142/1728). He thoroughly defeated them and took many prisoners. Nevertheless he perceived their value as fighting men and secured their support by restoring them to their old home near Kandahār, from which he removed the Ghālzāys when he had the opportunity. He banished them to the Harāt province, but very few, if any, seem to have really settled there, and there are none there at the present day. When Nādir Shāh had made himself king of Persia he laid siege to Kandahār which resisted him for a year, but at last fell (1150/1738). The Ghālzāy power was thoroughly broken, but towards the Afghān tribes in general and especially the Abdālīs he pursued a policy of conciliation, and enlisted large numbers in his army. Many Ghālzāys took refuge in the Kābul province of the Indian empire, and Nādir Shāh, asserting that his remonstrances had received no reply, advanced on Kābul which fell at once (1151/1738). Thus it was finally severed from the Mughal empire. The last known date of any coin of the emperor Muhammad Shāh struck there is 1138/1725. Nādir Shāh apparently did not use the Kābul mint, but struck coins at Kandahār in 1150/1737, the year of his conquest, and others struck at Nādirābād (which he built during the siege outside Kandahār) no doubt refer to the period of the siege. The whole of Afghānistān was now in his hands and afforded him the necessary base for his invasion of India in 1152/1739. As a result of his victory over Muhammad Shāh the whole Mughal territory west of the Indus including Peshāwar and the Dīdrādī with the suzerainty over the Kalāhorā or 'Abdālī rulers of Sind was ceded to him as well as the province of Kābul. On his return from Dīlī (1152/1740) he first crossed the Indus at Attock and attacked the Yūsufzāys who had been giving trouble, and then went to Kābul. Thence he descended via the Kurām valley and the Bāngash country, and went through the Dīdrādī to Sind, returning by the Bolān to Kandahār and thence to Harāt. During the remainder of his life he relied to a great extent on his Afghān troops and but little on the Persians, from whom he was alienated by his Sunnī creed. The Abdālīs were especially favoured and their young chief Ahmad Khān rose to a high position in his army. Tradition says that Nādir himself prophesied that Ahmad would be king after him. When Nādir Shāh was assassinated by Persians



and Kīlī Bāgh, Ahmad Shāh who was near by with a strong body of Abdālīs settled on a treasure convoy and made his way to Kandahār, where he made himself king. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES \*)

(3) THE AFGHAN NATIONAL STATE. (A) THE SADDĀZĀY DYNASTY.

Ahmad Shāh made himself king in Kandahār and obtained possession of all the eastern portion of Nadir's empire up to the Indus. Harāt soon followed, and in the general break up of the Persian monarchy Ahmad Shāh acted as the protector of Shāhrūd's grandson, of Nadir Shāh, who was blinded by his enemies, and maintained a principality for him in Khurāsān. This province in reality formed part of the dominions of Ahmad Shāh and his son Timūr Shāh, both of whom occasionally struck coins at Mashhad, but Shāhrūd continued to rule in name until he was seized and killed by Āghā Muhammad Kādjār. Timūr Shāh's death, Harāt was however treated as an integral part of the Durranī monarchy, and the ancient kingdom of Khurāsān has remained divided between Persia and Afghanistan.

Ahmad Shāh made Kandahār his capital and gave it the name of Ahmadshāhī which appears on his coins and those of his successors. He took the title of Durranī Shāh, and his tribes, the Abdālīs, have since been known as Durranī [q.v.]. His family had long been looked up to, and this fact, combined with his tact and energy, enabled him to hold his own. The tribes were treated mildly, and he relied upon foreign war rather than taxation to provide him with a revenue. The Durranīs were proud of him and followed him willingly, but they were not an easy race to govern, and his son Timūr Shāh on this account moved his capital to Kābul where the population is mainly Tajik. In his Indian conquests Ahmad Shāh not only rivalled but excelled Nadir Shāh, and extended his dominions far beyond the Indus. He added the provinces of Kashghir, of Lahore and Multān, that is the greater part of Panjāb and the suzerainty over the Durrānī provinces of Bahawalpur to his dominions.

He invaded India several times, and occupied Delhi more than once. His defeat of the Mahrattas at Panipat in 1747/1761 was a turning point in Indian history, but he did not add any provinces beyond the Panjāb to his own dominions. His wars with the Sikhs were perpetual and led to the eventual loss of the province. The *khān* of Kalāt too, the Brahūī Nāir, who had become the feudatory to Nadir Shāh declared his independence in 1747/1758. Ahmad Shāh besieged Kalāt without success, and on being called away to India accepted a purely nominal submission. Nājir Khān, however, supported Ahmad Shāh in his wars in Khurāsān, and contributed greatly to his victory over Karīm Khān Zand in 1751/1768. On this occasion the blind Afghān prince took the side of Karīm Khān, and sheltered him in Mashhad which Ahmad Shāh reduced by blockade.

For further details about Ahmad Shāh see AHMAD SHĀH DURRĀNĪ; he died at Murgāb in the hills near Kandahār in 1787/1773, leaving his successor a very extensive but insecure empire.

Timūr Shāh had held important posts under his father, such as the Nizāmshīp of Lahore and Multān, which is marked by a distinct series of coins. At the time of Ahmad Shāh's death he was at Harāt, and only obtained possession of Kandahār after seizing and executing his brother Sulaymān, who had been set up as his rival. He soon moved his capital to Kābul, and reigned uneventfully for twenty years, during which the monarchy declined

steadily in strength and stability, although externally it remained unimpaired. The authority of the central government over the outer provinces was precarious. The Sikhs grew in power and took Multān in 1796/1781, but Timūr Shāh retook it the same year. In Sind the feudatory Kalhōrās were overthrown and replaced by Balūḥ *amīrs* of the Tālibur tribe (commonly called Tālipurs), who waged successful wars against Timūr Shāh's generals from 1797/1782 to 1801/1796, and remained independent, although they accepted a nominal suzerainty. The Mangī *amīr* of Būkhārā Ma'ī'm, who had been encroaching on the Turkistān province, especially Marw, also made a nominal submission when attacked by Timūr Shāh, but retained all his conquests. In Kashghir also there was a revolt which was suppressed. Internally the power of the Bārakzāy clan of the Durranīs became gradually greater. Timūr Shāh died in 1807/1793 and was succeeded by his son Zamān Shāh, who reigned till he was dethroned by his brother Mahmūd Shāh in 1815/1800. Short as his reign was he was able to concentrate in it crimes and follies enough to wreck the Durranī monarchy. Although weakened at home by the rivalry of his brothers Mahmūd and Shudjā' al-Mulk, Mahmūd, he 1815/1800, Kābul was in the north by Shāh Murād Mangit, and in the south defeated by the *khān* of Kalāt and the *amīrs* of Sind, yet he could not refrain from wasting his strength in foolish attempts to rival Ahmad Shāh's conquests in India, and to pose as the champion of Islam against Sikhs and Mahrattas. This brought him into collision with the English now rapidly becoming the ruling power in India. His first invasion (1809/1795) was cut short at Hasan Abdāl by the news that Āghā Muhammad Kādjār had captured Mashhad and murdered the blind old Shāhrūd. Having been appeased by an embassy from the Persian king he began a second invasion of India, which was interrupted by the rebellion of Mahmūd at Harāt. After defeating this rising he invaded the Panjāb, and this time reached Lahore and received the nominal submission of the Sikhs, now headed by Raudjit Singh, but the Kādjār encroachments in Khurāsān again called him back. Mahmūd meanwhile led a wandering life intriguing with discontented persons in Harāt and Kandahār. Among these was the powerful leader of the Bārakzāy clan, Payinda Khān, known by the name of Shāh Khān, who was jealous of the authority wielded by the vizier Waḥīdār Khān. The conspiracy was detected and Payinda Khān was executed. His son Fath Khān fled to Mahmūd in Khurāsān and induced him to throw himself on the sympathy of the Durranī tribe with whom Zamān Shāh was unpopular (Zamān Shāh's mother was a Yusufzāy while Mahmūd's was a Popalzāy Durranī). This advice was justified by the result. Mahmūd obtained possession of Kandahār while the infatuated Zamān Shāh was preparing for another invasion of India. Mahmūd advanced on Kābul and Zamān Shāh fled, but was soon captured and blinded (1815/1800). Simultaneously with Mahmūd's accession at Kābul Shudjā' al-Mulk proclaimed himself king at Peshāwar. He was assisted by a Ghilzāy chief and took Mahmūd in 1818/1803 he took Kābul, imprisoned Mahmūd and released the blind Zamān Shāh, his own whole brother. For a time Kandahār was held by Mahmūd's son Kāmran supported by Fath Khān, but the latter made terms for himself and submitted, but discontented with his position almost immediately set up a rival king Kayyār Shāh son of Zamān Shāh.

The next few years were occupied by constant intrigues. Fath Khān changed rapidly from one pretender to another, sometimes supporting Mahmūd and Kāmran, sometimes Kayyār, while Shudjā' al-Mulk dissipated his strength in expeditions to Sind and Kashghir. Finally Fath Khān, who was now supporting Mahmūd, defeated Shudjā' al-Mulk at Nimla (1824/1809). He fled into India and Mahmūd's second reign began. He was however absolutely dependent on Fath Khān, whose power became very great. His brother Dōst Muhammad held high office, another brother Muhammad Afzām became governor of Kashghir, and another Kūhandī governor of Kandahār. Harāt which had become independent under another prince was reconquered by Fath Khān and Dōst Muhammad in 1823/1816. Soon afterwards Dōst Muhammad incurred the enmity of Kāmran, who had become governor, by entering his harem and insulting his sister. He fled to Kashghir and Kāmran took his vengeance on Fath Khān, whom he blinded and afterwards killed with the consent of Mahmūd. Although perfidious and unscrupulous Fath Khān was greatly admired by the Afghāns, and his brother Dōst Muhammad had no difficulty in raising a large force and taking Kābul in 1825/1818 near Kābul. Mahmūd lost Kābul which he never recovered. He held Harāt till his death in 1825/1819 and Kāmran continued to rule there till he was murdered in 1828/1842. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES \*)

(B) THE BĀRĀKZĀY (OR MUHAMMADZĀY) DYNASTY.

The Muhammadzāy, a small subdivision of the Durranī Bārakzāy of Kandahār, derive their name from Muhammad, a contemporary of Malik Saḍō, chief of the Abdālī clans, with whom he lived amongst his small tribe at Arghasān, SE of Kandahār, about 1000/1591. His descendants held the title of chief among the Bārakzāy tribes of Kandahār, and came into prominence with Hādīdī Djamāl Khān b. Hādīdī Yusuf b. Yārō b. Muhammad, who served under Ahmad Shāh and died in 1784/1770-1. His son Fayīdā Khān rendered important services to Timūr Shāh in the suppression of rebellions, but in consequence of his intrigues with Mahmūd against Shāh Zamān was executed in Kandahār in 1814/1800. He left a number of sons, the eldest of whom, Fath Khān, was installed as vizier, with the title of Shāh Dōst, on Mahmūd's occupation of Kābul (1815/1800). When the strife between Mahmūd and the Muhammadzāy their ambitions clashed with the ruling Saddāzāy family and plunged Afghanistan into strife and bloodshed until finally, after the execution of Fath Khān in 1824/1818-9, his brother Dōst Muhammad drove Mahmūd out of Kābul.

The Bārakzāy chiefs, who by now held most of the country, ruled at first in the name of various puppet kings of the Saddāzāy family, such as Ayūb and Sulṭān 'Alī (who took the name of Sulṭān Mahmūd on his coins). It was not until 1824/1818 that Dōst Muhammad formally assumed the style of *amīr* of Kābul; but neither he nor any of his successors before Halīb Allāh took the title of *ghāh* or king. During the early years of his rule the outer provinces of the empire were rapidly lost. The Sikhs took Multān in 1815/1818, Kashghir in 1825/1819, Dēra Ghāzi Khān in the same year, and Dēra Ismā'īl Khān in 1826/1821. Peshāwar long resisted them under Dōst Muhammad's brother, Sardār Sulṭān Muhammad, but it too fell in 1820/1834. The *amīrs* of Sind threw off the last sign of Afghan rule by taking Shikarpūr, and to the north of the Hindu-kush Balūh was lost also. Dōst Muham-

mad therefore became the ruler of a compact Afghan kingdom; the loss of the outlying provinces, which had always been a source of weakness to the Saddāzāy kings, tended to consolidate his power. Although without scruples of any sort in attaining his ends, yet he had the reputation of a just man and was popular among the Afghāns. But his progress was checked by the inevitable rivalries of his brothers. While he made Kābul his capital, Kūhandī Khān held Kandahār and defeated an attempt by Shudjā' al-Mulk Saddāzāy to recover it in 1820/1814. Harāt was taken by the Persians after the murder of Kāmran by his vizier Yār Muhammad Khān (1828/1843), and was only recovered by Dōst Muhammad in 1820/1863, just before his death.

Shudjā' al-Mulk, after his failure at Kandahār, endeavored to obtain British assistance and political events led to his ultimately obtaining it. Attempts by Alexander Burnes to negotiate a treaty with Dōst Muhammad had broken down, and the growth of Russian influence led the Indian government to favour Shudjā' al-Mulk's claims. The Persians had at this time (1825/1837) laid siege to Harāt. It was believed that their operations were directed by Russians and an English officer conducted the defence. This brought matters to a climax. An Anglo-Indian army advanced through Sind and the Bolin Pass on Kandahār (end of 1824/Feb. 1839) and after taking the city marched on Kābul. Dōst Muhammad fled to Būkhārā and Shudjā' al-Mulk was placed on the throne of Kābul (1 Jumādī II 1255/17 Aug. 1839). Dōst Muhammad, after some unsuccessful operations in the north, surrendered to the British in the following year and was sent to Calcutta.

Shudjā' al-Mulk's reign was a troubled one. Kābul was abandoned by the British-Indian army in 1841, and on its retreat the army was almost annihilated at the Khurd Kābul pass. These operations were conducted by Muhammad Akbar Khān, son of Dōst Muhammad. The British continued to hold Djalālābād and Kandahār, and reoccupied Kābul in the autumn of 1858/1842. Shortly before this, Shudjā' al-Mulk had been murdered, and his son Fath Dīang was recognized as king by the Popalzāys but opposed by the Bārakzāys. The British soon afterwards left Afghanistan, and Fath Dīang, knowing that he could not hold his own, went with the Popalzāys, accompanied by the blind old Zamān Shāh, who was still living. Dōst Muhammad was sent back to Afghanistan, as he was the only man who could establish a firm government. His sons and brothers were reestablished in their governments, but rifts continued from time to time to breach the solidarity of the clan, and even Akbar Khān, now vizier, was on bad terms with his father till he died in 1860/1849-50. Dōst Muhammad maintained friendly relations with Britain except at the time of the Sikh war of 1849, when the Afghan contingent covered itself with ridicule by its rapid flight after the battle of Guḍgūt. During the mutiny of the Indian army in 1857, Dōst Muhammad gave them no support. He occupied himself in strengthening his own power, and from 1867 to 1872/1850-55 he reconquered Balūh, Kūhām, Kunduz and Badakhshān. In 1860/1865 he succeeded in driving the Persians from Harāt, and he died there immediately after its recovery, having been a good ruler on the whole in spite of obvious faults. [See also 0687 MUHAMMAD KHĀN.]

Shīr 'Alī, his fifth son, who had been nominated by him as his successor, became almost at once



involved in civil war with his own elder brothers Muhammad A'am and Muhammad A'id, and with 'Abd al-Rahmān, the able and determined son of the latter. (For an account of these wars see 'ABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN). Shīr 'Alī was defeated in 1283/1266 and lost first Kābul and then Kandahār. A'id and A'am reigned in succession until 1285/1268, but never held possession of Harāt, whence Muhammad Ya'qūb, Shīr 'Alī's son, advanced in the latter year and recovered Kandahār and Kābul for his father. Shīr 'Alī now held the whole of Afghanistan, and was recognized by the Indian government, and met the viceroy Lord Mayo at Ambāla in 1286/1869. He was not, however, satisfied with his treatment, as he could obtain no definite promise of support against other powers. At this period he imprisoned his enterprising son Muhammad Ya'qūb and resented the viceroy's attempt to interfere for him. He agreed to an arbitration by British officers as to the Sīstān border, regarding which there was a dispute with Persia. According to this arbitration (1290/1873) a considerable part of the most fertile lands was awarded in Persia, and this was another cause of resentment. Finally he began to negotiate with Russia and refused to receive a British embassy. These causes led to his death in 1293-80. The British army took Kābul, and Shīr 'Alī fled to Mazār-i Sharīf, where he died in 1296/1879. (See also SHIR 'ALĪ). His army, organized on the European model, was defeated by Lord Roberts at the Payawar pass.

Muhammad Ya'qūb, released from prison and proclaimed *amir* on his father's flight (Kabul 1296/1879), met the advancing British forces at Gandamak, and there concluded a treaty (1296/1879) by which he ceded to British India certain territories near the Kōh-e pass and the Kurām valley, and agreed to receive a mission at Kābul. A few months later a rising in Kābul resulted in the massacre of the members of the mission headed by Sir Louis Cavagnari. This led to a new outbreak of war. Roberts took Kābul a second time, but was besieged there by a tribal army headed by Muhammad Dīn and the *mulla* Muḥammad 'Ālam. After its defeat Ya'qūb Khān was deposed and removed to India, and the government was offered to 'Abd al-Rahmān, a separate state being constituted at Kandahār. Part of the army at Kandahār under Stewart marched to Kābul, as a preliminary to evacuating the country, and, on the way through the Ghazal country was attacked at Ahmad Khayl by a large force of men of that tribe, who were only defeated after a most desperate conflict. Scarcely had 'Abd al-Rahmān been proclaimed when Ayyūb, a son of Shīr 'Alī, who had been collecting an army at Harāt, marched on Kandahār, defeated a small Anglo-Indian force at Maywand, and then siege in Kandahār. Roberts marched rapidly from Kābul and defeated Ayyūb. After this the British army withdrew and the whole country including Kandahār was made over to 'Abd al-Rahmān (1297/1880). In spite of internal difficulties and external problems (see 'ABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN), he preserved the independence and integrity of the country, and on his death (12 Dhu'l-Hijja II 1319/1901) transmitted an undisputed authority to his son Habib Allāh. Shortly after the latter's accession the conclusion of a Russo-British agreement removed the fears of further annexation or intervention by either Power, and in 1323/1905 the *amir* confirmed the treaty made by his father with the government of British India, securing to the latter control of the foreign relations of Afghanistan in return for an

annual subsidy of eighteen *lakh* of rupees (£160,000). Internally, peace was almost wholly unbroken and some advance was made in education. During the First World War Afghanistan maintained a policy of neutrality. On 18 Dhu'l-Hijja I 1337/1920 Feb. 1919 Habib Allāh Khān was shot in his camp at Kalā-i Gūgh in Laghmān. His brother Nasr Allāh proclaimed himself his successor, but was captured by the late *amir*'s third son, Amīn Allāh, who had the support of the army, and imprisoned. Amīn Allāh Khān almost at once opened hostilities against British India but only a month later sued for an armistice, and by the Treaty of Rawalpindi (12 Dhu'l-Hijja I 1337/8 Aug. 1919) the independence of Afghanistan was formally recognized. New treaties were concluded with the USSR and Great Britain in 1921, but tension continued on the northern frontier until 1922 and on the SE frontiers until 1924. In 1922 a constitution was promulgated at a Loe Dīrja, followed in 1923 by an administrative code and in 1924 by measures to provide for the higher education of women. After the outbreak of a rebellion in Khost, led by the *mulla* 'Abd al-Karīm, the latter were cancelled and the conscription laws modified at a second Loe Dīrja (July 1924), and the rebellion was eventually suppressed. Nevertheless, King Amīn Allāh (he had assumed the royal title in 1926), on returning from a tour through India, Europe, the USSR and Turkey (Dec. 1927 to July 1928), summoned a third Loe Dīrja to promulgate a new constitution, and to announce a programme of social and educational reforms. A series of tribal risings followed, during which a Tajik brigand, Badī' al-Sakaw, later entitled Habib Allāh Khān, advanced from Kābul Dāman and seized Kābul (Jan. 1929). Amīn Allāh fled to Kandahār, and his attempts to regain Kābul were defeated by the Ghazal supporters of Habib Allāh (April-May 1929); meanwhile, Harāt was occupied by another Tajik, 'Abd al-Rahmān.

The cause of the Muhammadzāys was now taken up by a collateral line descended from Pāyinda Khān, under the leadership of a former army commander who had been living in exile, Nādir Khān (b. Muhammad Yūsuf Khān b. Yahyā Khān b. Sulṭān Muhammad Khān, brother of Dōst Muhammad). After several unsuccessful attempts, he secretly recruited a force of Wazirs and Mahdīs, which, under the leadership of his brother Shāh Wali Khān, occupied Kābul, where Nādir Khān was proclaimed king, with the title of Nādir Shāh, on 12 Dhu'l-Hijja I 1348/16 Oct. 1929. Habib Allāh surrendered, and was executed. The pacification of the country required a further two years, and discontent continued to smoulder among the former supporters of Amīn Allāh, of whom the most active were the Carikh family of Logar. The hasty execution of its leading member provoked a blood-feud, in the course of which king Nādir Shāh was assassinated (20 Raddīab 1352/8 Nov. 1933) in the palace of Dilkūsh. His son Muḥammad Zāhir, then aged 19, was at once proclaimed as successor by the brothers of Nādir Shāh, the eldest of whom, Sardār Muḥammad Hishmat Khān, exercised virtual regency until 1946. Several tribal risings in the following years were sternly suppressed, and an active programme of military, educational and economic development was pursued. In 1934 Afghanistan entered the League of Nations, and in 1937 signed with Turkey, Iraq and Iran the pact of Sa'dābād; a trade agreement was negotiated with the USSR in 1936. During the second World

War it again maintained a strict neutrality. The remaining frontier disputes were settled in 1947—that in the north by agreement with the USSR, and that with Iran over the Hilmud river by American arbitration. Since the constitution of Pakistan in the same year, however, the problem of the unsubdued tribes of the former "North-West Frontier" (see the articles AFRID and MAHMAD), which for a century bedevilled relations between Afghanistan and British India, continues equally to disturb those between the two Muslim States. Bibliography: in addition to the works quoted in section (i): J. P. Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, London 1858; C. B. Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*, Lahore 1878, London 1880; G. P. Tate, *The Kingdom of Afghanistan, a historical sketch*, Bombay-Calcutta, 1911; P. Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan*, London 1910 (full bibliography); W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan, a study of political developments*, London 1933; A. A. Kuhzad, *Tārīkh-i Afghānistān*, Kabul 1946; K. Ishtiyā, *Afghānistān dar Kārn-i Nāsakum*, Kabul 1950; C. C. Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1890-1908*, Cambridge 1932; W. Hubertson, *Anglo-Russian Relations concerning Afghanistan, 1837-1907*, London 1937; *Cambridge History of India*, v, ch. xxviii (184 ff. and Bibliography, 643 ff.); Durand, *Causes of the First Afghan War*, London 1879; J. W. Kaye, *History of Afghan War*, London 1874; *The Second Afghan War, 1878-1880, Abridged Official Account*, London 1908; Heusman, *Afghan War of 1879-80*, London 1881; *The Third Afghan War, 1919, Official Account*, Calcutta 1920; Whitte King, *History and Geography of the Barakani, Numismatic Chronicle*, 1896. See also Bibliographies under AHMAD KHAN DURRĀNĪ, DŌST MUHAMMAD KHĀN, 'ABD AL-RAHMAN KHĀN, SHĪR 'ALĪ, PANJSHĪR. (M. LONGWORTH DAMES—H.A.R. GIBB)

'ATĪP AL-DĪN AL-TILIMSĀNĪ (see AL-TILIMSĀNĪ).

**AFĀLĀDJ** (APLĀDJ) (AL-DAWĀSĪ), a district in southern Najd athwart the great cuesta of Tuwayk, roughly bounded by Wādī Birk (N), the plain of al-Dayl (E), Wādī al-Makran (S), and the sands of al-Daby (W). The most populous oasis and present capital is Laylā (46° 44' 35" E, 22° 16' 45" N).

The district contains a remarkable group of spring-fed pools called 'Uyūn al-Sayh and the extensive remains of a system of channels which once irrigated a more prosperous land. The pools, the largest of which is nearly a kilometre long, are the most noteworthy features of this kind in the Arabian Peninsula. The district, in older times also known as al-Faladj, takes its name from *faladj* (pl. *afḷadj*), the term used for 'Qunayr' for an underground aqueduct with surface apertures to facilitate cleaning of the channel, though strangely enough this type of aqueduct, which may be of Persian origin, is now called *sāḥi* (pron. *sāḥī*, pl. *sawāḥi*) in al-Aḷḷaj. The poorly kept aqueducts of Samhān, Barābir, al-Wadīdīdj, and three smaller ones, all of which water the oasis of al-Sayh, are still flowing.

The northernmost village of al-Aḷḷaj is Usaylā. Laylā comprises the settlements of Ghāṣba, the present seat of the *amir*, al-Moharraz, the former seat, and al-Djufaydiriyā. Farther south are the oases of al-'Amār (not to be confused with Al-'Amār, a section of the Dawāsir), al-Sayh, which is the most extensively cultivated of all, al-Kharfa, and al-

Rawda. The pools lie south-west of al-Sayh. South of the pools are the tiny oases of Suwaydān, al-Bukaykiyya, al-Ghawr, and Marwān. The southernmost oases are al-Hadī in Wādī Haḥraḡ, which descends from al-Haddār, and al-Shubra in the upper reaches of al-Makran. In the highlands of Tuwayk are al-Sitāra (al-Sidāra in al-Hamdanī), Hurāda, and al-Ghayl, all ancient places. Along the western escarpment of Tuwayk are al-Hamar (al-Aḥmar) (N) and al-Haddār (S).

At the dawn of Islam the dominant tribe in al-Aḷḷaj was Dī'a'da [q.v.], whose ancestor was a brother of Kūshayr and al-Ḥaḡlir, sons of Ka'b, a descendant of 'Amir b. Sa'sa'a of the Northern Arabs. In 9/630-1 Dī'a'da embraced Islam and sent an envoy to Medina, where the Prophet confirmed the tribe's position in the district (Caetani, *Annali*, II, 1, 297).

In 1267/134 Dī'a'da and their allies of Banū 'Amir on the Day of al-Faladj killed a governor of Banū Hanifa who had been set over them. Banū Hanifa, after defeating Banū 'Amir on the Second Day of al-Faladj, had their power broken on the Day of al-Nighlāh in 126 (Caetani, *Chronographia*, v, 1601).

Three centuries after the Prophet, Dī'a'da remained the foremost tribe of al-Aḷḷaj, followed in importance by Kūshayr and al-Ḥaḡlir (al-Hamdanī, I, 139). Dī'a'da's chief centre was Sūk al-Faladj, a city with iron gates and walls 30 cubits thick enclosing an area said to contain 250 wells of sweet water. Also within the territory of Dī'a'da was al-Ksar al-'Adī, reputed to date back to the time of Tām and Dījadī—perhaps the same as the ruins now known as Kuṣayrāt 'Adī just south of al-Sayh. Kūshayr occupied the city of al-Haysamiyya with walls broad enough for four horses to run abreast along the summit. Among the towns belonging to al-Ḥaḡlir was al-Haddār, but many members of this tribe had already moved to the Yemen.

In 443/1051 Nāṣir Khusraw found al-Aḷḷaj in a state of virtual ruin as the result of internal dissensions so severe that men wore their shields and swords even while praying. During this medieval age the tribe of Dī'mayla, said to be a branch of 'Anaza, became the leading power. Āl Sabāb and Āl Khālifa, the present ruling houses of al-Kuwayt and al-Bahrayn, who trace their lineage back to Dī'mayla, emigrated from al-Haddār well over two centuries ago under pressure from the Dawāsir (q.v.) of the south, who eventually supplanted Dī'mayla in control of the whole district.

In 1199/1785 the people of al-Aḷḷaj, following the lead of their kinsmen in Wādī al-Dawāsir, adhered to the Wahhābī cause and have since remained staunch in its support, though the district has played only a minor role in modern history. In 1281/1919 'Abd al-'Azīz Āl Sa'ūd conquered the rebellious leaders of the Harzina of al-Fara' at Laylā and executed them. The district is now under an *amir* responsible to the central government of Saudi Arabia in al-Riyāḍ.

In addition to the Dawāsir, small numbers of Subay', the Subūl, and the Puḍlī live in al-Aḷḷaj. Remnants of Dī'mayla are found at al-Haddār. *Aḡlir* form an important part of the population of al-Sayh. Negro blood is often seen in the towns, and there are many folk of Banū Khadīr (q.v.), mainly tillers of the soil (*haddāḍ*, pl. *haddād*).

The dates of al-Aḷḷaj are famous. Both al-Hamdanī and Philby mention the *suḥri* variety (called by al-Hamdanī *zayyid al-dawār*, though the present inhabitants regard the *siri* as the *zayyid*),



and Nāṣir reckoned the dates of al-Aflāṭūn better than those of al-Baṣra.

**Bibliography:** Hamdūn, index, s.v. al-Falāḡī; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma* (Scheler), 80-1, transl. 220-2; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Omān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15; H. St. J. B. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*; idem, *Two Notes from Central Arabia* (with map of al-Aflāṭūn), *GJ*, 1920, 80-93; Ibn Bulayḡid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Aflāṭūn*, (G. RENTZ and W. E. MULLIGAN).

**AFLĀṬŪN**, **ṢAMS AL-DIN AHMAD**, biographer of the saints of the Mawlawiyya (s.v.), was a disciple of Ḍiāl al-Dīn Rūmī's grandson, Ḍiāl al-Dīn al-ʿArīf, at whose request he wrote the *Mawāḥib al-ʿArīfin*, lives of Ḍiāl al-Dīn Rūmī, his father, successors and associates, begun in 738/1358-9, completed in 750/1354. Edition: Agra 1597; Fr. transl. by Cl. Huart, *Les saints des derrières tournées*, Paris 1918-22; Engl. transl. of extracts: *The Mevlevi*, book the first, transl. by J. W. Redhouse, London 1887, r. 135. There is a revised version by 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Hamadī (947/1540-2), with additional dates, etc., and a Turkish translation of this work.

**Bibliography:** Steyer, i, 537 ff.; Cl. Huart, in *Jd*, 1922, 308 ff.; M. F. Kōprülü, in *BdK*, 1943, 383, 422-3, 425; H. Ritter, in *Jd*, 1942, 129 ff.

(F. MEIER)

**AFLĀṬŪN** Arabic for Plato, the Greek philosopher, who became, together with Aristotle, the standard philosopher in late Greek philosophy.

(i) Works and doctrine; (ii) Lives; (iii) Sayings. (i) Plato is known to Arab authors according to the different ways in which his genuine works or those erroneously attributed to him were read and studied in the Greek sections of the Roman Empire during the centuries preceding the Arab conquest of Hellenized lands in the Eastern Mediterranean. Most Arab thinkers did not consider Plato the main representative of Greek thought as St. Augustine e.g. had done (*Civ. Dei*, vi, 4, 12) but subordinated him to Aristotle; they were however like e.g. Porphyry, Ammonius and Simplicius aware of an identity of purpose and a basic agreement between the two great philosophers.

Just as commentaries on Aristotle written outside the Neoplatonic schools survived in Arabic translations, partly in Arabic translations only (as in the case of certain writings of Alexander of Aphrodisias and Theophrastus, etc.), interpretations of Plato, unstung by Neoplatonism, found their way to the Arabic philosophers and were studied by them. Part of Galen's (*Ḍiālūn* (s.v.) *Πλάτωνος διαλόγων σύνολον* in eight books, lost in the Greek original but still partly accessible to Hunayn b. Isḥāq (*Mā Turjima min Kitābi Ḍiālūn* (Bergsträsser), no. 124) and his school, has been traced and recently published, viz. the summary of the whole of the *Timaeus*, with many verbal quotations, a fragment of his paraphrase of the *Republic*, a fragment of his summary of the *Lysis* and a reference to his summary of the *Parmenides* (P. Kraus and E. Walzer, *Plato Arabus*, i, 1951). Fragments of his medical commentary on the *Timaeus* (Hunayn, no. 122) have been recovered from Arabic medical writers (H. O. Schröder and P. Kahle, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, Supplementum*, i, 1934). Many quotations from Plato and references to him reached the Islamic world through translations of other works by Galen. As had happened in the case of Aristotle, late Greek philosophers tried to arrange Plato's dialogues in systematic order. An otherwise unknown work of this type, completely free

from Neoplatonic influence and still fully aware of the political aspects of Plato's thought, was used and partly reproduced by al-Fārābī (F. Rosenthal and R. Walzer, *Plato Arabus*, ii, 1943). The author of the Greek treatise, who had even regarded this systematic ordering of the dialogues as a chronological arrangement by date of composition, is unknown. A commentary on the *Republic* of similar provenience was widely used by al-Fārābī; it constitutes the main part of Ibn Rughd's commentary which is available in a Hebrew translation and a 16th century Latin one (edition in preparation by E. J. Rosenthal). A summary of Plato's *Lysis*, of a similar type, was used by al-Fārābī in his compendium of the work (F. Gabrieli, *Plato Arabus*, iii, 1952). Al-Rūdī commented on Plutarch's commentary on the *Timaeus* (S. Pines, *Almonester*, 90) and Yahyā b. 'Adī copied Plutarch's book (*Fihrist*, 241).

But, in general, Arabic philosophers look at Plato through the eyes of his Neoplatonic interpreters, Plotinus (cf. AL-SHAʿIRĪ AL-YUNĀNĪ), Porphyry (*Furfiyūs* (s.v.)), Proclus (*Burkūlīs* (s.v.)) and E. Plato, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, Supplementum*, iii, p. xlii, 1941) Hunayn b. Isḥāq (cf. also *Mā Turjima*, no. 45) says: "Galen is the standard interpreter of Hippocrates, and the man who is best entitled to explain the meaning of Plato's words is Proclus the most famous of scholars". An instructive example of this Proclean interpretation of Plato is to be found in Mikawway's al-*ʿAṣāʾ al-Aṣḡar*, in the section on the immortality of the soul (F. Rosenthal, 399 ff.), based probably on Proclus' work *On the immortality of the soul according to Plato*, in three books, which was known to the Arabs (*Fihrist*, 252). A tradition of this kind is followed by al-Kindī, in whom the Platonic element is strong (cf. Rasāʾid (Abū Rūmī), nos. 10-13) not only in psychology but also in his extremely orthodox neoplatonic metaphysics of the One and in his ethics. The Plato to whom al-Fārābī (with the exception of his theory of the ideal state), Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bāḡdīd and Ibn Rughd refer is, whether explicitly or implicitly, always the Plato of Plotinus and his followers, Yahyā b. 'Adī had Olympiodorus' (6th century A.D.) commentary on the *Phaedo* (lost in the Greek original) in his library (*Fihrist*, 256) in the translation of Isḥāq b. Hunayn. We find an interesting account of Plato's metaphysics, cosmology and psychology, derived from an unknown but valuable neoplatonic source, in al-Shahrastānī, 283 ff. (German transl. by Th. Haarbrücker, ii, 117).

On the whole, since Neoplatonism claims to be a reinterpretation of Plato, influential Neoplatonic writings deserve to be mentioned here as well, the *Theology of Aristotle*, in which Aristotle is supposed to have become a Platonist in his old age, the *Liber de causis* based on Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, the new Plotinian text discovered by P. Kraus (cf. Bibliography) and the Arabic Plotinus source discussed by F. Rosenthal (cf. AMIR-ʿUTĀSIL and AL-SHAʿIRĪ AL-YUNĀNĪ).

A new development starts with al-Suhrawardī al-Makṭūl (s.v.) and the Ishrāqīs (s.v.), who, criticizing al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, emphasize the mystical aspects of Platonism, or rather Neoplatonism, and make Plato the mystic chief authority in philosophy. The Sūfīs now become the true followers of Plato (cf. e.g. al-Suhrawardī, *ʿIshrāq* (s.v.) *ʿIshrāq al-Mystica* (Corbin), i, p. vii, xxvii ff.). An anonymous book *On the Platonic Ideas* (ed. 'A. Badawī,

Cairo 1947), written probably in the 14th century (Corbin, *op. cit.*, 4, n. 79), depends on al-Suhrawardī's strange interpretation of the Platonic ideas.

Another special tradition of Platonism is represented by Muhammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāḍī (s.v.), who also claims to follow Plato as his main authority. His Platonist ethics (cf. al-*Ṭib* al-Rihānī) may be connected with his study of Galen, and his rejection of the eternity of the world with the interpretation of the *Timaeus* put forward by Plutarch and Galen, but his five eternal principles are of Neopythagorean provenience, although he considered them to be Platonic. His theory of the atomic structure of matter may go back to Plato's lecture *On the Good*, it is certainly found in a neopythagorean version of Plato's metaphysics (Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Physicos*, ii, 249 ff.).

The Arabic biographers list the titles of all the dialogues to be found in the Greek Corpus Platonium, but give little information about Arabic translations. They mention a commentary on the *Republic* translated by Hunayn b. Isḥāq; translations of the *Timaeus* by Yahyā b. al-Bitīk, Hunayn b. Isḥāq and Yahyā b. 'Adī. (Hunayn wrote also a treatise *That ought to be read before Plato's works*.) Ibn al-Nadīm also mentions a copy of the *Crito* in Yahyā b. 'Adī's handwriting. Part of Proclus' commentary on the *Phaedo* (lost in the Greek original) was translated from the Syriac by the *Zawāʾir*.

No manuscripts of these or other Arabic translations of a Platonic dialogue have so far been traced. A verbal quotation from the *Republic* (apart from the more or less verbal references in Ibn Rughd's paraphrase and references to its contents in works of other philosophers) occurs e.g. in the *Rasāʾid al-Hudūd al-Safāʾ*, Cairo 1347, iv, 134 (the story about Gyges, *Rep.*, ii, 359 ff., cf. Rosenthal, 397). Al-Kindī found a treatise on the Platonic number (*Rep.*, viii; *Fihrist*, 256). Quotations from the *Timaeus* occur frequently, but it is difficult to decide whether they are taken from Plato or from some intermediary. For the quotations from the *Lysis* to be found in al-Birūnī's *India* (cf. F. Rosenthal, 359 ff. and F. Gabrieli, *Plato Arabus*, iii, p. xli, 1952). There are numerous quotations from the *Phaedo* in the same work. The closing section on Socrates' death is to be found e.g. in Ibn al-Kifī, 200-6 and Ibn Abī Usaybi'a, i, 45. A Persian version of the dialogue exists in Brusa (*Bell*, 1952, 114). The Alcibiades-speech from the *Banquet* has been traced by F. Rosenthal in Istanbul, Kōprülü 1608, fol. 226. Persistent research will no doubt trace more quotations of Platonic dialogues in Arabic philosophical and non-philosophical writings.

Among the pseudographs of a philosophical kind can be mentioned: the neopythagorean treatise *Plato's Exhortation of young men*, probably of Greek origin (F. Rosenthal, *Orientalia*, x, 383-95), a letter by Plato addressed to Porphyry (i) about the banishment of grief, depending on a treatise on consolation by al-Kindī (*Maq.*, 1921, 88-9, see H. Ritter-R. Walzer, *Memoriae A. dei Lincei*, 1940, 388 n. 2) and Plato's will addressed to Aristotle.

But the Arabs are acquainted not only with the different interpretations of Plato's thought which are familiar to the student of Greek philosophy but also with a Plato who had been associated with the superstitions which had become an integral part of the teaching of most of the neoplatonic schools: magic, astrology and alchemy (Olympiodorus and other late Neoplatonists had dabbled in alchemy and made Plato their patron). The Arabs went a

step further and made Plato the author of alchemical works. Ḍiālir quotes a *Musabbihāt al-Falāṭin* in which Plato initiates his disciple Timaeus in the secrets of alchemy; but the passages of the *Timaeus* referred to by Ḍiālir have nothing to do with the original dialogue of Plato (P. Kraus, *Jahrb. d. d. science grecque*, 48 ff.). Another work of a similar character, a philosophical alchemical book attributed to Plato is the *Rasāʾid al-Falāṭin* known to the West as *Liber Quartorum* and preserved in two Arabic MSS. It contains a dialogue between Ahmad b. al-Husayn b. Ḍiālir Būghār and the well known Hārūdī mathematician and astronomer Ḍiālir b. Kurra (P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 31, 339). Another alchemical treatise, the *Liber Platonis de XIII clavis*, is supposed to have been translated from the Arabic into Latin in A.D. 1301 (L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, iii, 37). Cf. also Kraus, *op. cit.*, 31, n. 9.

Among the magical treatises ascribed to Plato the *al-Nawāḥis*, which deals with artificial generation, appears to be worth mentioning (P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 104 and n. 12), as well as al-*Sirr al-Ḍiālir* (ibid., 52).

(ii) The Arabic "Lives of Plato" do not add anything substantial to the material to be found in the Greek tradition as represented by Diogenes Laertius, book iii, Olympiodorus, and the *Prolegomena* to the Platonic philosophy by an anonymous Neoplatonist (cf. H. Breitenbach, F. Budenhausen, A. Debrunner, F. von der Müll, *Diogenes Laertius*, III, 1907; J. Kirchner, *Prolegomena aditio*, no. 12855). There is, however, no direct connection between them and any of the Greek texts known. Part of the Arabic tradition can be traced back to an introductory work by Theo of Smyrna (2nd century A.D.), referred to by the *Fihrist*, 245, and quoted at length by Ibn al-Kifī, 17-9 (cf. J. Lippert, *Studien auf dem Gebiete der griechisch-arabischen Überlieferungsliteratur*, i, Braunschweig 1958, 39 ff.). The *Fihrist* refers also to (Ps.-) Plutarch, see H. Diels, *Doctrinae Graeci*, 287. Al-ʿAmīrī, a philosopher of the 4th/10th century (quoted in the Abbreviation of Abū Sulaymān al-Maṭṭī al-Sayid al-Ḥikma, introduction), probably following some lost Greek tradition, made Plato one of the five pillars of wisdom, the others being Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates and Aristotle (Anḍakūlīs, Pūḡbāghūras, Sukrāt, Aristotālīs [pp. 8]); these philosophers derived their wisdom from the Prophets. According to him Plato retired in old age into solitude and prayer. He also gives an account of Plato's solution of the Delian problem (cf. Plutarch, *De gen. Socr.*, 7, p. 579; idem *De El* ap. *Delphos*, 6, p. 386; Tannery, *La Géométrie grecque*, 110). Al-Karwīnī, *Abḥār al-Būdā* (Wustenfeld), 45; Lufft al-Makṭūl, *Tadhqī al-Maḥabb* (S. Yaltkaya, A. Adnan, H. Corbin), Paris 1940). On him depends Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Tabaḥāt al-Ummān*, 23; Ṣāʿid's life was used, as a minor source, by Ibn al-Kifī, *passim*.

The life in Mubashshir b. Faṭṭā's *Mashāʾir al-Hikma* (MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 2389), fol. 44 ff., on this work (cf. F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, 1937, 21 ff.) was copied by Ibn Abī Usaybi'a, i, 30 ff. He made both Plato's parents descendants of Asclepius, probably misinterpreting the epigram to be found in Diog. Laertius, iii, 45 (cf. E. J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Baltimore 1945, i, no. 322, ii, 127). Alone among the Arab biographers he mentions Plato's supposed stay in Egypt. For the physiognomical section cf. F. Rosenthal, *loc. cit.*, 38.

Ibn al-Kifī based his long and detailed life (17-47) on the *Fihrist*, on Theo of Smyrna (cf. above) and on an unidentified Greek source (19 line 16-25



1. 3). There are Greek parallels to almost everything mentioned. Stories similar to the discussions reported to have taken place at Dionysius' court (21) are to be found in Olympiodorus' *Life* and in Plutarch's *Deo*. There are a very few confusions, such as the story of Socrates' stay in Sicily and the introduction of Plato's two female disciples as his wives and the inclusion of Proclus among his pupils. The section 25<sup>a</sup>-26<sup>a</sup> is taken from al-Fārābī (cf. the anonymous *Procl. Phil. Plat.*, cap. 7-16); 26<sup>a</sup>-27<sup>a</sup> reproduces Sā'id al-Andalusi, 19. Plato's prayer in neoplatonic language (27<sup>a</sup>-28<sup>a</sup>) is being mentioned (cf. also MS Oxford, Hunt. 262, fol. 202r).

Al-Shahrastānī's account of Plato's life in his *Nuṣṣat al-Arā'īḥ* (in MS) is based on Mubashshir. In later centuries Plato's tomb could be visited at Konya (F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, 363 and *passim*).

(iii) The main source for the various quotations of sayings of Plato is Hunayn b. Ishaq's *Nawdir al-Faṣiḥa wa 'l-Hakamā'* (cf. the Hebrew transl., ed. by A. Löwenthal, Frankfurt 1896, and translated by him into German, Berlin 1896; and K. Merkle, *Sinnprüche der Philosophen*, Leipzig 1921). Another primary source is Ibn Hindī, *al-Kalām al-Rūḥānīya fi 'l-Hikmah al-Yūnāniyya*, Cairo 1328. The life in the Abbreviation of Abū Salimān's *Sināt al-Abbās* contains only sayings. Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'a, i, 52<sup>a</sup>-53<sup>a</sup>, reproduces the section on sayings to be found in Mubashshir. Sayings attributed to Plato occur very often in Arabic literature.

**Bibliography:** A. Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Überlieferung*, Halle 1873; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1893; F. Rosenthal, *On the knowledge of Plato's Philosophy in the Islamic world*, IC, 1940, 387 ff.; idem, *As-Sayf al-Yūnānī and the Arabic Plotinus source*, *Orientalia*, 1952 ff.; P. Kraus, *Plotin chez les Arabes*, *BIF*, 1947, 293 ff. (R. WALZER).

**ĀFRĀĞ** (Berber, "enclosure"), term adopted in Morocco since the Almohad period for the enclosure of cloth, which isolates the encampment of the sovereign and his suite from the rest of the camp. It corresponds to the Persian *sarāḥ* or *sarāpārā*.

**AFRASIYĀB**, legendary king of the Tūrānians according to Iranian tradition. In the Avesta (especially *Yaght xī*) "Frangrasyan the Turian" was an adversary of Kay Khusraw (> Kay Khosraw), having treacherously murdered Kavi Haosrava's father Siyāvush (> Siyāvush). He vainly desired to secure the *knarva*, "the Glory of the Aryans", and was killed, in revenge, by Kavi Haosrava. He may have been originally a historical figure, chief of the Turian tribes (who were probably themselves of Iranian race (cf. *vr̥k̥ānā*). The Pahlavi form of the name is Fr̥siyāb. Some additional details about him are given in the religious literature (*Divandān*, etc.). His genealogy is given, his first ancestor being Tōt (Tūr, ancestor of the Tūrānians), son of Fr̥tōdā (> Farīdūn (q.v.)). His incursions are said to have started in the reign of Manušhūr; he defeated the latter and gained dominion over Iran. Subsequently Uzw (> Zaw or Zab) delivered Iran from his domination; Fr̥siyāb tried to recapture the "Glory" and sought it in all the seven *khaybars*. Fr̥siyāb's residence (the subterranean fortress of the *Yaght*, where Frangrasyan lived "surrounded by iron") is described in detail. In the end Fr̥siyāb was killed by Kay Khusraw. Thus in the development of the legend after the period of the *Yaght* Fr̥siyāb

became the chief of the Tūrānians in all their wars, not only against the Kayānids but also against their predecessors, the "Fr̥siyābids"; he thus became a contemporary of Manušhūr and Uzw; his end, however, is still firmly connected with Kay Khusraw.

The Islamic authors derived their information from secular books on the national tradition, more especially the *Khawadīr-nāma*. Many additional details are to be found. Afrasiyāb fought with Manušhūr in Tabarīstān; he thus reached an agreement, making the river of Balḫ the boundary between their territories. Siyāvush, sent by Kay Kā'ūs with an army against Afrasiyāb, concluded an armistice with him, which was repudiated by Kay Kā'ūs. Siyāvush took refuge with Afrasiyāb who married him to his daughter Wisdāfarīḡh (al-Tabarī; Firdawsi: Fāringī); but nevertheless murdered him, out of jealousy. Wisdāfarīḡh, pregnant with Kay Khosraw, escaped and was taken back to Iran by the hero Gēw (Basy, Wawu). Rustam and Tōt then ravaged the land of Tūrān, to avenge Siyāvush. The reign of Kay Khosraw was filled with wars against Afrasiyāb (details in al-Tabarī, i, 605 ff.; cf. also index, s.v.; al-Tha'libī, *Histoire des rois de la Perse* (Zotenberg), 222 ff.; Firdawsi, *Shāh-nāma* (Vulliamy), ii, 764-ii, 1444). After the final battle Afrasiyāb fled from Turkestan and hid in Aḫarbayvān, but was caught, and killed by Kay Khosraw with his own hands.

The Tūrānians having been identified with the Turks (see *TÜRĀN*), Afrasiyāb was regarded as a Turk; this is strongly emphasized in the *Shāh-nāma*. Turkish dynasties therefore sometimes claimed him as their ancestor: thus the Kara Khānīd (q.v.) dynasty is also called 'Al Afrasiyāb, and the Salḡīds claimed descent from him. Cf. W. Barthold, *Hist. des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 70, 84.

**Bibliography:** A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1932, index, s.v. Frangrasyan and Fr̥siyāb (with further references to Islamic authors); F. Woll, *Glossar zu Ferdowsi Schahname*, Berlin 1935, s.v. Cf. also *pl̥g̥r̥ānā*, *KAYANIDS*.

(S. M. SYKES)

**AFRASIYĀB** founder of a line of governors of Basra (Al Afrasiyāb). He was an officer of unknown racial origin, who purchased the government of Basra from the local pasha about 1021/1022. Afrasiyāb was succeeded by his son 'Alī in 1034/1024-5, during an attack on Basra by Persian forces, which failed in face of 'Alī's resistance. A second Persian attempt in 1038/1029 was equally unsuccessful. During the Turco-Persian struggle for Baghdad, 'Alī Pasha took neither part and continued to govern his province independently. The succession of his son Husayn (c. 1062/1052) led to internal conflicts, of which advantage was taken by Murtadā Pasha of Baghdad to evict Husayn in 1064/1054 and replace him by 'Alī's brother Ahmad. Murtadā's subsequent execution of Ahmad led to a rising of the local population and tribesmen and the restoration of Husayn Pasha. His attempts to extend his power over al-Hazā were followed by a full-scale expedition against him led by Ibrāhīm (Tawīl), pasha of Baghdad, in 1076/1065. After a prolonged siege of Kurna, Husayn abdicated in favour of his son Afrasiyāb, but continued to govern as regent until a second expedition from Baghdad under Karā Murtadā (Fīrād) Pasha drove him out and restored the imperial government in 1078/1068.

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(H. A. R. GIBB)

**AFRASIYĀBIDS**, also called (by Rabio) the Kiyās of Culāb or Calāb (after one of the eight *bulaks* of Amul, and (by Sachau), the Kiyā Djalwāl, synonym), the rulers of Māzandarān. The spouse of the clan, Afrasiyāb b. Kiyā Hasan, was a *sipāh-sālār* in the service of his brother-in-law, Fakhr al-Dawla Hasan Bāwand (see *BĀWAND*). Kiyā Afrasiyāb conspired with his sister, who had a daughter from a previous marriage, accused the Bāwand of taking this girl as his mistress, and obtained from the *šahād* of Amul a *fatwā* authorizing the death of the culprit. At the same time, the Bāwand put to death his minister, Kiyā Djalāl al-Dīn Ahmad b. Djalāl, a member of the powerful family of the Kiyā-yi Djalālī. This filled the nobles with anger and consternation and obliged the Bāwand to seek the friendship of the Kiyās of Culāb, old rivals of the Kiyā-yi Djalālī. The reconciliation of the two Kiyās Afrasiyāb and the Kiyās of liberty of action, and finally the Bāwand was assassinated in a bath, on 27 Muharram 750/7 April 1349, by 'Alī and Muḥammad, sons of Afrasiyāb (or by the latter alone, according to Justī). With the death of Fakhr al-Dawla, the dynasty of the Bāwand, which had ruled for 750 years (43-750/665-1349) came to an end, and Kiyā Afrasiyāb took over the power in Amul (end of Sā'ir?, *JA*, 1943, 237). Some of the most of the officers of his former master refused to submit to him, he tried to make use of religion and became the disciple of the *darwish* leader Kawām al-Dīn Mar'āghī, called Mīr-i Buzurg, hoping that the veneration of the population of Amul for the latter would restrain them from rebellion. After ten years of rule, however, Kiyā Afrasiyāb was defeated and killed, together with his three sons, by the same *darwish* in the battle of Djalāl-kamr-pārdīn, in 760/1359.

Mīr-i Buzurg established himself as governor of Amul and thus founded the dynasty of the Mar'āghī (q.v.) *sayyids* (760-989/1359-1581). In the same year, a member of Afrasiyāb's clan, Kiyā Fakhr al-Dīn Djalālī, murdered 'Abd Allāh, son of Mīr-i Buzurg, and was himself executed with his four sons; Kiyā Gushasp (Wighāts) also, another brother-in-law of the last Bāwand, was killed with his seven children. The Kiyās of Culāb re-emerge only with Iskandar-i Shāykhī, eighth son of Kiyā Afrasiyāb, who took refuge at Harāt, led an adventurous life and eventually entered the service of Timūr. In 793/1390-1 Timur invaded Māzandarān, took the city of Māhina-Sar near Amul, sacked Amul and Sā'ī, deported the Mar'āghī *sayyids* and appointed Iskandar as governor. Having returned with the invader, Iskandar enjoyed little popularity, all the less that he ordered the mausoleum of Mīr-i Buzurg at Sā'ī to be demolished. In 802/1400-1 Iskandar accompanied Timūr on his expedition to 'Irāq, Aḫarbayvān, Anatolia and Syria, then, having obtained permission to return to Amul, he rebelled. In 805/1403-4 Timūr marched into Māzandarān in pursuit of Iskandar, who fled into the forest with his wife and two small children, and fearing that he might be betrayed by their cries he killed them together with their mother. Finally he was killed at Shīrūd Dū-Hazār, and the officers of Timūr sent

his head to his son Husayn Kiyā who was holding out in the fortress of Fīrūz Kūh and now hastened to surrender it. Another son, 'Alī Kiyā, had fallen into the hands of Timūr's troops. Timūr pardoned the two brothers and Husayn Kiyā contrived to rule over Fīrūz Kūh. His son, Luḥrāsp b. Husayn b. Iskandar ruled over Tālahān in 880/1479-80. In his turn, *amir* Husayn (Hasan?) Sachau b. 'Alī b. Luḥrāsp ruled over part of Rūstamān and the mountainous region of Fīrūz Kūh. Dāwūd and Hādī Rūd, in 999/1593 Shāh Ismā'īl I, after taking the fortresses of Gulshāndā and Fīrūz Kūh, laid siege to the fortress of Wusta, where the *amir* Husayn Kiyā had taken refuge. Forced to surrender, he shortly afterwards committed suicide at Aywān-i Rasūl Wādī (Kabūd-Gundāb). The last member of the family, *amir* Suhrāb Culāb, keeper of the fortress of Ardabīl in Sāwḡd-kūh, was confirmed in his post by the Shāh.

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**AFRĪDĪ**, the name of a large and powerful Pathān tribe, with an estimated fighting strength of 50,000, on the northwest frontier of Pākistan. The territories inhabited by the Afrīdīs stretch from the eastern spurs of the Sāfīd Kūh through the northern half of Tirāh and the Khyber (Shāyhar) (s.v.) pass to the west and south of the Peshāwar district. On the east they are bounded by the settled districts of Pākistan; on the north by the territories of the Mohmands; on the west by the Shīrwāris; and on the south by the Ōrākzays and Bāghāz tribes. They are divided into eight clans. In and around the Khyber Pass are to be found the Kūhī Khel, Malikhel, Khel, Kambar, Khel, Kamrā's, Zakka Khel, and Sipah. These six clans are generally referred to as the Khyber Afrīdīs. The Akā Khel Afrīdīs have no connection with the Khyber and are located to the south of the Bārā river. The Ādam Khel Afrīdīs inhabit the hills between the districts of Kohāt and Peshāwar.

The origin of the Afrīdī, or as they call themselves, Afrīdī tribes has always puzzled ethnologists. H. W. Bellew (*JRAS*, 1887, 504) identified them with the 'Arđuparā of Herodotus. This has been accepted by G. A. Grierson (*Linguistic Survey of India*, x, 5) and A. Stein (*JRAS*, 1925, 404). But the name does not occur in the Achaemenian inscriptions, and it is doubtful whether Herodotus intended to describe the 'Arđuparā as dwelling where the Afrīdīs now are. H. G. Raverty (*Notes on Afghanistan*, 1888, 94), relying on what are probably fictitious genealogies, believed them to be of Pathān or Afghān origin, the descendants of a supposed eponymous ancestor Karlān. The derivation of the name Afrīdī in the *Hayāt al-Afghān* of Muḥammad Hayāt Khān (Engl. transl.: *Afghanistan*, Lahore 1874, 201), from *afīda* (a creature of God) is also evidently a modern fabrication. According to Grierson (*JRAS*, 1925, 405-16) the modern Afrīdī country of Tirāh was at one time occupied by a people speaking a language still known as Tirāhī which resembles the Dardic languages of the Hindū-kush. It seems probable, therefore, that the Afrīdīs, although speaking *Pashto*, contain a large, if not predominant racial element, which was



established in Tirah long before the advent of those Pashto-speaking Afghan invaders who gradually pushed their way into the belt of hills and alluvial plains to the west of the Indus between the 13th and 16th centuries.

Their position athwart the Khyber Pass connecting India with Afghanistan made it extremely difficult for the Mogul emperors of Hindustan to maintain safe communications with their outlying provinces of Kabul. In the reign of Akbar, incited by the preaching of Bayāzīd, the founder of the Kawāghā-niyya (q.v.) sect of heretics, and of his son Dīlāl al-Dīn, they attacked Mogul troops and caravans passing through the Khyber. They were forced into submission by Akbar's forces in 1587 and in the following year agreed, in return for allowances, to keep the pass open for traffic. They were however only temporarily subdued and expeditions had to be undertaken against them in the reigns of Dīlāshir and Awasangrī. Dīlāshir defeated many Afriids to Hindustan and Deccan, where their descendants are still to be found. After the establishment of the Afghan kingdom by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī the Afriids were nominally subject to him and are mentioned in the register of his army; according to it the tribe counted 10,000 fighting men.

The first skirmish of British troops with the Afriids dates back to the invasion of Afghanistan during the first Afghan War of 1839-42. From the annexation of the Panjāb in 1849 to the formation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901 no less than eight expeditions were required against these unruly tribes. The first was against the Kohāt Pass Afriids in 1850. In 1855, troops were sent against the Dīawāl Afriids, a clan of the Adam Khēl Afriids. Punitive measures were necessary against the Āka Khēl Afriids in 1855. Expeditions were necessary against the Dīawāl Afriids in 1877 and 1878; and against the Zakka Khēl Afriids in 1878 and 1879. The Zakka Khēls of the Khyber and the adjacent Bāzār valley of Tirah have been the most contentious of all the Afriid clans. Inhabiting lands stretching from the slopes of the Saif Kūh to the border of Peshāwar they have been able to force their neighbours to pay exorbitant tolls for the privilege of passing through their territories. The first agreement with the Zakka Khēls was during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 (Aitchison, *al.*, 32-6). This was observed until the Second Afghan War, 1878-80, when the peace of the Khyber and the whole frontier zone was abnormally disturbed. Zakka Khēl attacks on the Khyber lines of communication forced the British, in 1878 and 1879, to enter their country, destroy their crops, and raze their forts and villages to the ground. On 17 Feb. 1881, the Khyber Afriids, together with the Loargī Shīwārīs of Landi Kotal, accepted responsibility for the safety of the Khyber; and in return for the recognition of their independence, agreed to have no dealings with other foreign powers. At the same time arrangements were made for the protection of the Khyber by a force of *gandāwāz* (tribal levies), to be paid by the Government of India (Aitchison, *al.*, 37-9). The Afriids were the last to join in the general frontier confederation of 1897 and were only forced to come to terms after extremely severe fighting in the Tirah campaign of 1897-8. At the end of this campaign the previous system of allowances, which had proved so successful for seventeen years, 1881-97, were once more adopted. At the same time the Khyber Rifles were reorganised under British officers supported by a movable column at Peshāwar. This agreement, under which the British became

responsible for the Khyber Rifles and for the safety of the pass, regulated British relations with the Afriids until the year 1908 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1908, lxxiv, Cd. 4210, pp. 14-5).

Towards the end of 1904 large numbers of Afriids visited Kabul. This was followed by small marauding incursions into British territory, in which the Zakka Khēls, assisted by other Afriid clans, by Orakzāys, and even by bands of Afghan outlaws, such as the Hazāma gang, were the chief offenders. From 1905 to 1908 bands of well-armed Afriids ravaged the British borders. An attack by a gang of about eighty men upon Peshāwar city, on the night of 28 January 1908, exhausted the patience of the Government of India, and in that year the Zakka Khēls were specifically ordered by troops under the command of Major-General Sir James Willcocks. The entry of Turkey into the First World War, in November 1914, created considerable excitement on the frontier. One of the great dangers on the frontier has always been the possible attitude of the Afriid clans whose lead in war the other tribes are usually prepared to follow. Fortunately for the peace of the Peshāwar frontier, and possibly of the whole frontier, the mission of the so-called Turkish generals to Tirah failed because of a shortage of funds. The danger of an Afriid rising was averted when, on 1 February 1915 the Government of India decided to double their allowances.

Quickly following the wake of the 1914-8 war came the Third Afghan War of 1919 which was the signal for risings along the entire frontier, and for the collapse of Lord Curzon's militia scheme. By 1921 the Afriid clans had made full submission. The Khyber Rifles were disbanded and their place taken by *khatāsādris*, tribal levies paid by the Government of India but providing their own arms and ammunition. But there was a great danger of a recrudescence of Afriid raiding because of the intrigues of the Āka Khēl *mulla*, Sayyid Akbar, who denounced all tribesmen who had accepted British terms. His activities were checked when, in April 1921, the Afriid tribal *dīrwa* accepted new allowances in compensation for the increased tribal responsibility involved in the construction of the Khyber railway (*Secret Border Report*, 1921-2, p. 1). In February 1922 the Zakka Khēls agreed to pay a substantial fine for their past misdeeds. In the following year the peace of the Afriid country was rudely disturbed by the exploits of the Kohāt gang. Members of this gang were forced to seek refuge in Afghan territory where their immunity from punishment led to a diplomatic protest on the part of the Viceroy. The opening of the Khyber Railway from Dīamrūd to Landi Kūhna did not make for peace. The construction of this line had been a source of profit to the tribesmen and it had completely reduced their allowances. From 1927 to its settlement in March 1930 Tirah became the scene of a religious struggle between its Sunni and Shī'ite clans. In the spring of 1930 the Afriids came under the influence of Indian National Congress agitators with the result that Afriid *laghurs* (tribal forces) entered the Peshāwar district and attacked the city of Peshāwar in June and August of that year. By the end of August all raiding gangs had been expelled from the district. Since 1927 the Government of Pakistan has been responsible for the control of the Afriid clans. As recently as December 1952 the Afghan government has been accused of granting asylum to Afriid outlaws who had been organising depredations into Pakistan.

**Bibliography:** C. C. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, 1909, xi; C. C. Davies, *The*

*Problem of the North-West Frontier*, Cambridge 1932; *idem*, *British Relations with the Afriids of the Khyber and Tirah*, *Army Quarterly*, 1932; *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India*, ii, and Supplement A, 1908; H. D. Hutchinson, *The Campaign in Tirah*, London 1898; Th. Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, London 1901, chs. xv-xvi; *North-West Frontier Province Administration Reports* (published annually); W. H. Paget and A. H. Mason, *Record of Expeditions against the N.W.F. Tribes since the Annexation of the Panjab*, 1888; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1908, lxxiv, Cd. 4201; R. Warburton, *Eighteen years in the Khyber* (1879-98), 1901. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

**AFRĪDŪN** (see FARĪDŪN).

**AFRIN** important right tributary of the Orontes (al-'Asī [q.v.]), which it reaches after joining with the Nahr Yāghūr (Murād Paḡhā) in the Lake of Antioch and the Nahr al-'Aswad (Kara-sū), in the 'Arab. Its wide middle valley, between the Djabal Sīmān and the Kurd-dagh, was known in the Middle Ages as the district of the Dīma. The importance of the valley was due to the crossing of the road, which used it to connect Antioch with the districts of the upper Euphrates, with the roads which led from Cilicia and Asia Minor towards Aleppo and inner Syria. One of these roads, after passing the Amanūs at the end of Bagdāḡ [q.v.] and following the shore of the Lake of Antioch, crossed the 'Afrin at the ford near modern Bellāne (the 'Ford of the Baleine' of the Crusaders). In the first centuries of Islam it was guarded on the south side by the small fortresses of Tāfā, Arīth, 'Imm and since the time of the Crusades by that of Hārim [q.v.], which lay nearer to the Orontes. The other, more northerly roads issued, after passing the Kurd-dagh, at the gap of 'Azāz and passed the 'Afrin either at the bridge of Kibār (now 'Afrin) or further up below the old capital of the region, Kūris (Cyrrhus). The new capitals were 'Azāz, outside the real basin of the 'Afrin, and Rāwāndīn—of which important ruins are still preserved near one of the 'Afrin's sources. Thus the valley of the 'Afrin served in the classical period of Islam as the main longitudinal line of communication in the western part of the military district of the 'Awāsim [q.v.]. It was temporarily captured from Islam by the Byzantines in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, and by the Crusaders in the first half of the 6th/12th century. At present it lies athwart the political and ethnical boundary between Turkey and Syria.

**Bibliography:** The main medieval work on the geography of northern Syria is Ibn al-Shaddād's *al-'Aḡā al-Khāṣira fi Dhikr Umard* (al-Shām wa'l-Dīarīa, partial ed. by Ledit, *Maḡ.*, 1935; complete ed. for Northern Syria) by D. Sourdel, to appear shortly. Modern accounts: R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927; E. Houtemann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie de Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, I, Algiers 1951. None of these deals with the Ottoman and modern periods, for which see *Guide Hiss: Syria-Palestine*. For physical geography see S. Mazloum, *L'Afrin, étude hydrologique*, Paris 1939. (CL. CAHEN)

**'AFRĪT** (see 'IRĀT).

**'AFS** denotes, according to Arab authors, the fruit of the oak or a similar tree and the tree itself. It actually is the gall, an excrescence which forms on certain kinds of trees and shrubs as

the result of the sting of various insects. The Arabic term, however, was probably applied to the oak-gall in particular. It was maintained that the 'afs is produced either simultaneously or alternately with the acorn.

In medieval Arab medicine the gall served chiefly as an intestinal astringent and a remedy for skin diseases. It was also said to strengthen the gums and preserve the teeth from caries. In different preparations, chiefly in powdered form or boiled in vinegar or wine, it was applied both internally and externally. Frequent mention is also made of its use as a black hair-dye and as the main ingredient in the manufacture of ink. Recipes for the latter are indicated by al-Kalkāshandī.

**Bibliography:** Dā'ūd al-Antākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1935, i, 228; Ibn al-'Awwām, *Fidāha* (transl. Clément-Mullet), ii/b, 263; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Dīwān*, Būlak 1291, iii, 127-8; Kalkāshandī, *Subh al-Aḡā*, ii, 454-6; Kazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 259; I. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, index, s.: *idem*, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 631-4; Maimonides, *Sharh Asmā' al-Ukhār* (Meyerhof), no. 295; M. Steinschneider, in *WZKM*, 1898, 220; *Tuhfat al-Aḡāb* (Renaud-Colin), no. 309. (L. KOPP)

**AFSANTIN**, *afsanīn* or, more rarely, *irsanīn* (from Greek *ἀλφεινός*) mostly denotes the common wormwood (*Artemisia Absinthium* L.) but also other similar kinds of plants. In medical writings it is often called *kaḡhūth rāim*. The cognate form *afīnt* (absinth-wine) already occurs in ancient Arabic poetry (Nöldeke, in Löw, 389).

A good deal of the information which Arab authors offer on the *afsanīn* goes back to classical sources. Its different kinds were generally classified according to their origin: Persian, Nabataean, Syrian, Egyptian, Khurāsānian etc. That from Tyre and Tarsus was considered the best. The yellow flower in particular was put to diverse medicinal uses. Not only tonic and vermifug but also laxative, diuretic and other properties were attributed to the plant. It was also recommended as an antitoxic. Externally it was used in plasters, oils etc. Its juice mixed with the ink was said to preserve the paper. In addition to many other applications it was also employed against the loss of hair (*dā' al-thalāb*).

**Bibliography:** 'Abd al-Tabarī, *Firdaws al-Hikma* (Siddiqi), 418-9; Dā'ūd al-Antākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1935, i, 49-50; Ghāṣīfī (Meyerhof-Sobhy), no. 27; Ibn al-'Awwām, *Fidāha* (transl. Clément-Mullet), ii/a, 302-3; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Dīwān*, Būlak 1291, i, 41-4; Kazwīnī (Wüstenfeld), i, 272; I. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, 81, 421; *idem*, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 386-9; Maimonides, *Sharh Asmā' al-Ukhār* (Meyerhof), no. 3; *Tuhfat al-Aḡāb* (Renaud-Colin), no. 1. (L. KOPP)

**AFSHĀR** (or *Awshār*), *Oghuz* (Ghuzz [q.v.]) tribe, first mentioned by al-Kāshgharī, *Divān Luḡat al-Turk*, i, 56; cf. also Rashīd al-Dīn, *Dīwān al-Tawārīkh* (Bérezine), i, 32, according to whom Awshār was the grandson of Yildiz Khān, the third son of Oghuz Khān (whence Ya'qūtī-oglu, *Saldjūq-nāma*, in MS; Abu'l-Ghāṣī, *Shodire-ye Turki* (Desmaisons), 27; *idem*, *Shodire-ye Turki* (Istanbul 1937, 42). They seem to have migrated westwards with the other Ghuzz tribes. An Afshār chieftain, Aydoḡdu b. Kuzhdoḡhan, known as Shūmla, ruled in Khūzstān as a vassal of the Saldjūqs (al-Bundārī (Houtema), 230, 287; al-Rāwandī, *Rikāat al-Sudūr*, 260; Ibn al-Aḡṣir, index, s.v. Shūmla; Wansūl, ed. Bombay, ii, 149, writes



Ya'qūb b. Ardān al-Afshārī; "Husayn al-Dīn Shihābī" in Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta'wīḡh-i Gharāib*, I, 347—whence Bīdīstī, *Shāra-nāma* (Vāqanīnawī, Zamnawī), I, 35—seems to refer to the same person and to be due merely to a textual error), Shūnī, who ruled 543–79 (1148–74), was followed by his son Ghāz (or Hāz) al-Dawla (al-Rāwandī, 377); after his death in 590/1194 the family's rule came to an end. No further information about the Afshār is available in these early centuries; this may simply be due to the fact that authors often speak of Turkmen in general without specifying their exact tribal affinity.

As is well known, the usual practice was to allocate a particular district as an *ahāl* (*hiyal*) to a chieftain, who would take with him his clan and whose office was inherited by his descendants; this practice was followed, no doubt, also in the case of the Afshār. Afshār chieftains are mentioned during the rule of the Ak Koryūn (e.g. Maṣṣūr Beg Awshār, 877/1472–3, Hasan Rūmlu, *Akhan al-Tawāriḡh*, in MS, chapter on the Ak Koryūn; Dawūdī, *Arā-nāma*, MTM, v, 298, Engl. transl. in *BSOAS*, 1940–2, 356, 374; Maṣṣūr Beg, *du chahār Shihābī*, 904/1498–9, 906/1501–2, idem, ed. Sordani, *Bārīda* 1931, 21 ff. 59; Fird. Beg, *Shihābī*, 1498–9, ibidem, 24). The Afshār played a part in the establishment of the Safawid dynasty (cf. Khān. *Naṣṣ*, 1334/11, 13). High dignitaries of Afshār origin are also mentioned in the Safawid chronicles (e.g. *Akhan al-Tawāriḡh*, 236, 332, 339, 345, 435; Iskandar Munshī, *Ta'wīḡh-i Akhan-i-yi 'Abbāsī*, I, 155, 185, 190, 251, 309 ff., 400, iii, 263; *Taḡhbirat al-Irām* (Munroky), 16).

Under the Safawids we find Afshār clans in various districts, and their chieftains occupied provincial governorships. Afshār *khān* ruled in the district of Kōh Gilū; the tribesmen of this region belonged mainly to the Gūndūzlu and Arāghlu clans (see *Ta'wīḡh-i Akhan-i-yi 'Abbāsī*, 199, 340–4, 358 and 408). After the revolt of 1005/1607 their rule came to an end, most of the clans that escaped punishment were scattered and only small remnants survived by the beginning of the 19th century.

The Gūndūzlu and Arāghlu played an important role in Khūzestān. In the beginning of the 16th century we find in Diwāl and Shughlār Afshār governors like Mahdī Kūh Sulṭān and Haydar Sulṭān. When the governor Mahdī Kūh was killed in 946/1539–40, the Afshār Haydar Kūh charged with his punishment (*Akhan al-Tawāriḡh*, 294 ff.). [For the Afshār governors of Shughlār, see *SHUGHAR*.] After Nādir Shāh, the Afshār in this region were weakened by the continuous attacks of the Arab tribes of the neighbourhood. According to C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, some Afshārs were removed from Duruk and transferred to Kangāwar, Asadābād and Urmīya, while a smaller portion were settled in Shughlār and Diwāl.

Afshār governors ruled for two and a half centuries, from the time of 'Abbās I till about 1250/1834–5, in Khāzārīn (180). We find governors belonging to various Afshār clans also in other regions: Isfahān in Yazd, Kirmānshāh, Mōsul and Rūmīya, Isfahān, Kirmānshāh and Kirmān in Khūzestān (Abīwardī, Farāh, 1812f.).

In the vicinity of Urmīya, Afshārs were settled in the time of 'Abbās I (the tradition in the text translated by Nikitine, that they came there with Timūr in 802/1400, has no foundation). Kāsim Khān, a distinguished general of 'Abbās I, chieftain of the Isfahān, settled with his tribe, shortly after

1030/1622–3, in the regions of Urmīya, Sā'ib Kā'ā and Sulṭān (*Ta'wīḡh-i Akhan-i-yi 'Abbāsī*, 263). His son, Kā'ā 'Alī Khān, was governor in 1037/1627–8, and was followed by other Afshār governors; Khūzestān Beg Kāsim (the Kāsim clan probably derived its name from Kāsim Khān) took the title of *begherbeg* in 1119/1702. (For further details see R. Nikitine, *Les Aghas d'Urmia*, *J.A.*, 1929, 71 ff. and URMIA; cf. also *SA'IB KĀ'Ā*.)

In general, the Afshār played an important role in the wars of the Safawids against the Ottomans and the Uzbeks, though, as we have seen above, 'Abbās I, according to his policy in general, tried to break the particularist tendencies of the clans. During the reign of Nādir Shāh, who himself came of the Kirmān branch of the Abīward district, Afshār *amirs* were prominent. Some Afshār chiefs played important roles during the troubled period after Nādir's death. Afshār contingents were an important element in the Kādjār army and were used in the suppression of revolts as well as against external enemies.

According to Joannin (quoted in Langles, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, Paris 1811, x, 243) the Afshār counted at the beginning of the 18th century 800–900 souls (repeated by Ritter, *Asien*, viii, 400–3; etc.). This may, however, refer to the number of tents. (Detailed statistics according to localities are also given there.) For the same period, cf. also P. A. Jaubert, *Voyages en Arménie et en Perse*, 225; Zayn al-'Abidin Shīrwānī, *Bāstān al-Siyāḡā*, 106 (the numbers seem exaggerated). For more modern times see Maṣṣūr Kāshān, *Zayn al-'Abidin al-Siyāḡā*, Tehran 1310–1, ii, 86 (Isfahān in Fārs, as part of the *lāh-i Khāma*); 106 ff., 112, 163 (Isfahān and Afshār in the vicinity of Ardabil, Mighlān, Zārand, and especially Sīwa and Kāzwin [cf. also *ghān* *SKWAN* and *KHANSA*]; 90 (clan called Afshār as part of the Akadger in Kōh Gilū—cf. also *Fārs-nāma-yi Nādirī*, ii, 270); 92 (Gūndūzlu near Shughlār and Diwāl, completely assimilated); 92, 233 (Afshār in Kirmān); cf. also 75 and 374 (their name in geographical and administrative nomenclature); Mehmed Hasan Bahārī, *Asarabāyān*, Baku 1921, 73 (Afshār in the Republic of Agharbayān); for an earlier time, cf. Ewliyā Celebi, *Siyakat-nāma*, ii, 259, 859, iv, 284, 317; G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan*, Lund 1936, 67 (settled Afshār settled in Afghanistan) by 'Abbās I, others by Nādir Shāh).

Just as Afshār elements were (as noted above) attached to other tribes, so also we find Afshār clans, which, to judge by their names, must have originally belonged to other tribes: the Shāmlu and Djalā'ir in Urmīya (mentioned by Nikitine) who were probably detached from the great tribes of the same name; the same is true of the Tukān and Amīrī (O. Mann, *Das Muḡmil al-Tārīkh-i bā'ī Nādirī*, 31).

Afshārs figure among the Turkmen who lived during the Mamlūk period in Syria, especially Aleppo (cf. e.g. al-Kalkashāndī, *Subḥ al-Afshār*; Ibn Taghribirdī (Popper), vi, 225, 364, 557). They seem to have played a role in the establishment of the principality of the Karānān-oghla (q.v.; see C. Cohen, in *Dzaynaw*, 1932, 133). In the Ottoman period various branches of the Afshār are mentioned (Radjab-oghlu near Kalāt Dja'bar: Hādījī Khālīfā, *Dhikr-nāma*, 593; in documents: Radjābāli Awshār, A. Relik, *Anadolu türk asiretleri*, İstanbul 1930, 145, 165–76, 186, 309, 339; Kara Awshār, Kara Gūndūzlu Awshār, Bahārī Awshār, ibid., 106, 102). These tribes, who were also known under the

collective name of Yenī İli, spent the winter in Syria and the summer in Anatolia, near Zamaṭī. The government made continuous efforts to settle them (Awshār villages near Isfahān, *Dhikr-nāma*, 640; 264, 293; Abū Tamīmīn, *Diwān*, 107, 262, 326 f.; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 210–1; Browne, i, 330 ff.; E. Herzfeld, *Gesch. der Stadt Samarra*, Berlin 1948, 101, 238–52. (W. Barthold-H. A. R. Ginn) AFSUN (v.), charin, incantation; for etymology and usage in old Persian, see Salemann, in *Gr.I.P.A.* II, 304, and especially H. W. Bailey, in *BSOAS*, 1931–5, 283 ff. This word is now used in Persia to designate especially a charm against the biting of poisonous animals; certain *darwishes* who pretend to have the power to charm serpents, scorpions etc., will, for some gratuity, communicate their invulnerability to other persons. Often it is one part of the body which is so protected, as for instance the right or the left hand, and it is with this that the animals of this kind must be seized (Polak, *Persien*, I, 348).

(CL. HUARTE)

AFSHĪN, pre-Islamic title borne by the native princes of Ughrūsāna, the mountainous district between Samarkand and Khujānda, including the upper course of the Zarafshān river (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 163–9). This province was subjected to the Arab governors of Khurāsān by an expedition commanded by al-Fadl b. Yahyā al-Barmakī in 178/794–5, but it was only after an internal conflict and a second expedition under Ahmad b. Abī Khālid in 207/822 that the ruling *afshān* Kāwūs accepted Islam. Kāwūs was succeeded by his son Khayyār (in Arabic texts generally: Haydār, who became universally known in Islamic historiography as *al-Afshār*). He first came to notice in the reign of al-Ma'mūn, when as an officer of the Caliph's brother Abū Ishāq al-Mu'tasim, the titular governor of Egypt, he was given charge of Barqa (Cyrenaica) and vigorously suppressed the rising of the Copts and Arabs in the Delta in 216/831. He is credited also with forming al-Mu'tasim's regiment of "Mughāshar" by recruitment from the Arabs of the Delta and the Western Desert.

During the reign of al-Mu'tasim (218–27/833–41), the Afshān's chief exploit was the tenacious campaign which he maintained without interruption in 220–2/835–7 against the Khurānī rebels in Agharbayān led by Bishāk (q.v.). In reward for his success the caliph gave him a crown, two jewelled sceptres, the government of Sind in addition to that of Armenia and Agharbayān. He played also a prominent part in the celebrated Amorium campaign conducted by al-Mu'tasim in person in 223/838. Subsequently, out of rivalry with 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir (as the leading native prince of the Transoxanians, he appears to have resented the control exercised over Mā warā' al-Nahr by the parvenū Tāhirids), he secretly encouraged the revolt of Māzīyār (Muhammad b. Kārim), the *ipshābkhān* of Tābaristān, and was consequently involved in the latter's defeat, charged with apostasy, and after a celebrated trial started to death in his prison at Samarrā in Shā'ban 226/May–June 841.

The title of *afshān* was borne also by other princes in Central Asia, according to al-Yā'qūbī (ii, 344), Ghūrak, the prince of Samarkand, calls himself in his treaty with Kutayba b. Muslim "Ishābkhān of Suḡd, Afshān of Samarkand"; cf. also B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 357, n. 14. Bibliography: Tābarī, iii, 1105, 1171–1318 passing; trans. Zotesberg, iv, 523–45; trans.

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AFSUN (v.), charin, incantation; for etymology and usage in old Persian, see Salemann, in *Gr.I.P.A.* II, 304, and especially H. W. Bailey, in *BSOAS*, 1931–5, 283 ff. This word is now used in Persia to designate especially a charm against the biting of poisonous animals; certain *darwishes* who pretend to have the power to charm serpents, scorpions etc., will, for some gratuity, communicate their invulnerability to other persons. Often it is one part of the body which is so protected, as for instance the right or the left hand, and it is with this that the animals of this kind must be seized (Polak, *Persien*, I, 348).

(CL. HUARTE)

AFSŪS (AFSŪS), poetical name of Mir Shīr 'Alī, the son of Sayyid 'Alī Muḡaffar Khān, and descendant of the Prophet through Imām Dja'far al-Sādk. His ancestors dwelt at Khā'm in Fārs. One of them, Sayyid Dawl al-Dīn, the Thawr of Sayyid 'Alīm al-Dīn Hādījī Khān, came to India and settled at Narnaw near Agra. Sayyid Gulām Muḡaffar, the grandfather of Afsūs, came to Delhi during the reign of Muhammad Shāh (1719–48), and was an associate of Nawwāb Sanjam al-Dawlah Khān. Afsūs was born at Delhi and received a liberal education. On the assassination of the Nawwāb (1747), when Afsūs was 11 years of age, his father took him to Patna; later on, after 1760, they removed to Lucknow, where Afsūs settled, supported by Nawwāb Sālar Dja'ng the son of Ishāq Khān, and became an associate of Mirzā Dja'wān-bakhsh (Dja'han-dār Shāh), the eldest son of the emperor Shāh 'Alam.

After living some years at Lucknow, he was brought to the notice of the Resident, Colonel W. Scott, at whose recommendation he went to Calcutta in 1215/1800–1, and was appointed Head *Munshi* in the Hindustani department of the College at Fort William.

Afsūs wrote a Hindustani *Dīwān* during his residence at Lucknow. He also made there a translation of the *Gulistan* of Sa'dī, which was completed in 1216/1801, under the title of *Bīgh-i Urdā*. The introduction to this translation contains an autobiographical sketch, which is the principal source of our information regarding his life. Whilst at Calcutta, he edited the *Kulliyāt* of Sawda, and revised the Hindustani translations of Persian works, which had been prepared by *mawḡils* of the College. He also made a translation of the first part of the *Khulāṣat al-Tawāriḡh* or a Persian history of Hindustan written by Munshī Sudjān Rā's of Patiala in 1207/1695–1696. This work, undertaken at the instance of J. H. Morington, was completed in 1220/1805 under the title *Arā'iq-i Mahfil*, and was first printed at Calcutta in 1808. John Shakespeare translated the first ten chapters of this work into English and included them in his *Muntahabāt Hindī*, Dublin 1847. A complete English translation was made by M. J. Court and published at Allahābād, 1871 (2nd ed. Calcutta 1882). According to Garcin de Tassy and Sprenger (*Oudh Catalogue*, 198), Afsūs died in 1809.

Bibliography: Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustanie*, Paris



1870, i, 120-126; J. F. Blunhardt, *Catalogue of Hindi, Panjabi and Hindustani MSS.*, in the British Museum, London 1899, no. 72; Mirzā 'Alī Qāsim, *Gulistan-i Hind* (a contemporary source in Urdu), Lahore 1906, 47-50; Nawwāb M. Mustafā Khān Shihātib, *Gulistan-i Bihār* (in Persian) Lucknow 1874, 23-4; M. Yahyā Tanhā, *Siyar al-Muhammadiyah* (in Urdu), Dhaka 1924, i, 72-73; Sayyid Muhammad, *Arbab Nadr* (in Urdu), Hyderabad-Dacca 22-109; K. R. Sakuma, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allahabad 1927, 44-5.

[J. P. BLEMMERD-SR. INAYATULLAH] **AFTASIDS** (BANC 'L-AFTAN), small Hispano-Muslim dynasty of the 5th/11th century, which reigned during the period of the *mulūk al-tawā'if* of al-Andalus over a vast territory in the western part of the Iberian peninsula, with Badajoz (Batalayya) as its capital.

On the dismemberment of the caliphate of Cordova, the "Lower March" of al-Andalus (al-*dhaghir al-andal*), consisting of the middle valley of the Guadiana (Wādī Ānā) and the central portion of modern Portugal, passed into the possession of a liberated slave of al-Hakam II, Sābūr, who, according to the custom followed in Muslim Spain at that period, took the title of *hādhī*. Sābūr, whose epitaph has been preserved and who died on 10 Šabā' al-ġā' 418/November 1022, took as his minister a man of letters of Berber origin, belonging to the group of Miknās established in the Fāls al-Balīd, north of Cordova: 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad b. Maslama, surnamed Ibn al-Fāls. The latter did not hesitate to usurp power, when Sābūr died, leaving two sons under age, and founded the dynasty of the Aftasids of Badajoz, sometimes also called Banū Maslama.

'Abd Allāh, who took the honorific *ṭabāḥ* of al-Manṣūr, reigned until his death, which, according to his epitaph, also preserved, occurred in Badajoz on 19 Dhu'l-ḥijja 417/30 Dec. 1025. Few details are known of his reign, which seems to have been peaceful and fruitful for his principality at first, but was later troubled by the bad relations which soon obtained between al-Manṣūr and his neighbour in Seville, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-*ḥ* (ʿAmmār). The latter even captured him at Beja (Bāja) and kept him prisoner for some time.

'Abd Allāh was succeeded by his son Muhammad, but known under his *ṭabāḥ* of al-Manṣūr. The historians are unanimous in praising his deep learning and literary taste, and record that he appreciated but little the contemporary poets, who in his opinion were incapable of producing anything to equal even remotely the poems of al-Mutanabbī and al-Ma'arri. He is attributed with the authorship of a large work, no doubt an anthology, in no less than fifty volumes, entitled *al-Muṣawwar*. The fact that the book is very rarely quoted proves that it was not widely known even in Spain.

The reign of al-Muṣawwar, which lasted for twenty years, was extremely troubled from the political angle and almost entirely occupied with a tenacious but ineffective struggle against the city of Seville, al-Mu'tadid. In spite of the attempts of the prince of Cordova, Ibn Dīnār (cf. *ĠANAWARIS*) to arbitrate in the conflict, the almost continuous hostilities greatly weakened the kingdom of Badajoz and induced Ferdinand I, king of Castile and León, to attack it and impose a tribute upon it. In 449/1057 the northern frontier fortresses of the Aftasid kingdom, Viena and Lanega, passed in this way into the possession of the Christian king, who in 450/1058, by the capture of the city of Cúmbra (Kūmariyya)

and of the whole region between the rivers of Douro (Duro) and Mondego, marked one of the decisive stages of the Reconquista.

At the death of al-Muṣawwar, who only survived for a short time this grave amputation of his dominions, he was succeeded by his son Yahyā al-Manṣūr, who was challenged by his brother 'Umar, governor of Evora (Yābura) and soon disappeared from the scene. 'Umar, who took the *ṭabāḥ* of al-Muta-wakkil, was exposed, like all the *mulūk al-tawā'if* of his epoch, to the increasing demands of the Christian king Alfonso VI, who in 471/1079 took from him the fortress of Coria (Kūriya). He seems to have been the first, even before the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI, to solicit the intervention of the Almoravids in Spain, but eventually, like all his neighbours, he was unable to resist the growing aggressiveness of the Christian king, and had to comply with his demands for tribute. His attempt in 472/1080 to add the kingdom of Toledo to his dominions, following on the offer made to him by the inhabitants of Toledo themselves, failed in spite of the fact that he stayed for ten months in the Elgu 'Zūrid capital. He was present at the battle of al-Zūlā' (48-5), which took place within his own territory on 12 Rajab 479/23 Oct. 1086, and had a hand in the intrigues which finally decided the Almoravids to dethrone all the *mulūk al-tawā'if* of al-Andalus and annex their possessions. Feeling himself menaced, 'Umar al-Muta-wakkil turned towards Alfonso VI and solicited his help, in return for the cession of Santarém (Santaral), Lisbon (al-Ughbina) and Cintra (Sintaral). But all this was in vain, and Badajoz was taken at the end of 487/1095 by the Almoravid general Sir b. Abi Bakr, with the connivance of the inhabitants, who had enough of the fiscal exactions of their king. Al-Muta-wakkil and two of his sons, al-Faḍl and Sa'd, were taken prisoner and sent to Seville, but even before their arrival there they were executed. Another son of al-Muta-wakkil, al-Manṣūr, escaped, fortified himself for some time in the castle of Montánchez, in the modern province of Cáceres, and finally, together with his followers, migrated into the dominions of Alfonso VI and was converted to Christianity.

**Bibliography:** All the chronicles of the period of the *mulūk al-tawā'if*, especially *Ḥisāb*, as quoted by Ibn Dīnār. (*Ḥisāb*: Ibn Dīnār, *Ḥisāb*, iii, index; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *ʿAṣn al-ʿAṣm* (Lévi-Provençal), 211-5. The narrative in the *Memoirs* of 'Abd Allāh b. Buluggin (g.u.) which relates to the reign of al-Muta-wakkil is by far the most detailed and trustworthy source. Hoogvliet, *Specimen e lit. orient. . . . de regis Alphonso VIII. familia*, Leiden 1839, is antiquated. See also R. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, iii, index; A. Prieto y Vives, *Los reyes de la casa de Badajoz*, Madrid 1926, 48; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1947, index; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, 53-5; idem, *Islam d'Occident*, 125-6; idem, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iv (in preparation).

[E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL]

**AL-AFWAH AL-AWDI**, Arab poet, chieftain of the Awd clan of Maḍhij, about the middle of the 6th century A.D. Most of his extant poetry celebrates the warlike virtues of his tribe and of its chief, while his gnomes poems caused him to be counted among the sages of the *ḍiḥkiyya*. Al-Dībātib, however (*al-Hayawān*), vi, 280, doubts the authenticity of the poems attributed to him, and the arguments which he presents are to the point.

**Bibliography:** The *diwan* of al-Afwah al-Awdi was published in *al-Tarā'if al-Adabiyya*, Cairo 1937; L. Cheikho, *Shi'ar al-Narā'iyiyya*, 70-4; it was introduced into Spain by al-Nāḥil, who had received it from Ibn Durayd (*BAH*, ix, 396). Verses and biographical notes are to be found in *Ḍiḥat Hayawān*, index; idem, *Hayawān* (Sandil), i, 271; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 110-11; idem, *Uyūn al-Aḥbār*, iii, 113; Kāll, *Amāl*, i, 125; *Aghābi*, xi, 41-2; Barbier de Meynard, *Sarumna*, 45, (offprint from *J.A.*, 1907); Brockelmann, *S*, 1, 377; Nallino, *Scritt.*, vi, 29 (French transl. 48).

**AFYUN**, opium, from Greek ὀπύον, diminutive of ὀπός, "vegetable juice". Opium is the dried resinous juice of the unripe capsules of the opopy (*Papaver somniferum* L., in Arabic *ḥashish*), the preparation of which is already described by classical authors, e.g. by Dioscorides, iv, 64. (For opium in Antiquity see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Mohn). In Islamic times it was used officially and as a narcotic (also by *darwishes*). The poppy had long been cultivated in Upper Egypt: according to Kühn al-Aṭṭār, 128, in his time (7th/13th century) the best opium was prepared in Abū Ṭūl, S. of Asyūt. The cultivation of the poppy and the preparation of opium flourished in Egypt until the beginning of the 19th century. (Cf. Lane, *Modern Egypt*, i, 118, 4, 35). The cultivation of the poppy in Asia Minor does not seem to go back to the Byzantine period. It apparently spread after the Crusades, and under Turkish rule the plant was acclimatised especially in the neighbourhood of Kara Hisar, which received the nickname of Afyūn Kara Hisar (g.u.). This town was the centre for the cultivation and the export of the opium as late as the 19th century (cf. O. Blau, *Erwartung des Opium*, ZDMG, 1869, 280). In Persia, as well as in Turkey, opium is often called *firyāsh*, "antidote". When 'Abbas II tried to enforce the prohibition of wine, the consumption of opium grew to such dimensions that he was forced to soften the prohibition and take measures, instead, against the trade in opium (1621; P. della Valle, ii, 208). Yazd and Isfahan used to export opium to India and Turkey. (See Chardin, *Voyage*, Amsterdam 1735, iii, 141, 92 ff.; H. 58-67; E. Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, ii, 248-55; and the vivid description of opium-eating by E. G. Browne, *A Year among the Persians*, index.) Opium played a considerable role also in India, where the decoction of the husks was called *pot* (cf. J. Charpentier, *Pot*, BSOS, 1935-7, 101 ff.; especially for the Mughal period: According to B. Lauffer, in *Touring Pao*, 1916, 464 (cf. also O. Franke, *Geschichte d. Chines. Reichs*, ii, 557, iii, 428) the knowledge of preparing opium came to the Chinese from (medieval) India and not from the Muslims (contrary to the assertions of scholars such as J. Edkins, *The Poppy in China*, 3; E. Bretschneider, in A. D. Canolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, 400; Yule and Burnes, *Hobn-Johns*, 642; Giles, *Glossary of References*, 200, who derive the Chinese names of opium from the Arabic).—For the adulteration of opium by dishonest merchants (by admixture of various resins, or sandarac, etc., see E. Wiedemann, in *SBPMS Erl.*, xlv, 1914, 176-206).

**Bibliography:** Abū Manṣūr al-Muṣawwak, *Abniya* (Seligmann), i, 36; Ibn al-Awāmm, *Filāḥ*, transl. Clément-Mullet, ii, 128 ff.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Diwān*, i, 45, transl. Leclerc, no. 116 and 2120; Kaswini (Wüstenfeld), i, 282; *Tuhfat al-Aḥbāb* (Renaud-Colin), 40; I. Low, *Die Flora der*

*Juden*, ii, 364-70; M. Meyerhof, *Un glossaire de matière médicale comp. par Maimonide*, no. 35, (cf. 280 no. 401); Milliet, *L'opium et le kachich*, *La Géographie*, 1912, 135 ff. (C. E. DEBILAS).

**AFYUN KARA HISAR** (modern spelling: AFYONKARAHISAR), more correctly AFYUN KARA HISAR, "Opium Black-Castle", at present also simply AFYON, formerly Kara Hisar-i Sāhib (in Negh, ed. Ankara, 64 = ed. Berlin, 21 = Leuclavia, *Hist. Musulm.*, Frankfurt 1937, col. 140; Sāhibūn Kara Hisar, *Principes Muscovitum*; Subcarassus in Caterino Zeno, *Commentarii del Viaggio in Persia*, Venice 1558, 148), town in western Anatolia, 38°50' N, 30°30' E, about 1007 m. above sea level, on the stream Akarçay, which flows into the Eber Gölü, and then into the Akşehir Gölü, at the foot of an isolated and steep trachyte cone which rises from the plain to a height of 200 m. above the town surrounding it. Kara Hisar-i Sāhib was the capital of a *sandjak* of the *evliyat* Anadolu (Hādhīdī Khalifa, *Ḍiḥat-namā*, 641), since 1281/1284 of a *sandjak* of the *evliyat* Khawānd-digār (Brusa); in modern Turkey Afyūn Kara Hisar is capital of the *vilayet* (il) of the same name, comprising the *hads* (ilā) Afyūn Kara Hisar, Bolwadin, Dinār Emirdag (Aṣriyye), Sandıklı and Şuhut. In 1943 the town had 29,050 (1930: 29,226), the *hads* 195, 667, the *vilayet* 135,600 (1930: 172,600) inhabitants; the *vilayet* has a surface of 13,555 sq. km.—The name Afyūn Kara Hisar, formerly only in popular, but at present also in official use (Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, i, 120 has: Aphion Carassar; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1854; Aphion) comes from the rich production of opium in the district, already mentioned by Herodotus: *Les observations de plusieurs singularités et choses mémorables*, Paris 1555, 183 a (cf. O. Blau, in *ZDMG*, 1869, 280).

Kara Hisar-i Sāhib is identified with the Byzantine fortress of Akropolis, Akroynus, near which in 740 A.D. the emperor Leo III defeated the Arabs, and the legendary hero Sayyid Batlāl and his armies met their death (Theophanes, *Chronogr.* (de Boor), i, 390-411), and where the emperor Alexius I Comnenus negotiated in 1116 with the Saljuq prince Malikshāh (Anna Comnena, *Alexias* (B. Leib, Paris 1934-43, iii, 209)). It was apparently taken from the Byzantines by the Turks in the beginning of the 13th century, but no details are available. The inscription on the Alfiga köprüsü (RCA, no. 3658) shows that the town was Turkish in 666/1269. It was to Kara Hisar that the famous Saljuq vizier Sāhib 'Atā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Husayn (d. 687/1288-9) from whom the town received its designation, retired with his treasures before the Karamlaniens. His sons, Tūgī al-Dīn Husayn and Nūrat al-Dīn received in fief in 1271 the whole territory of Kara Hisar, with Kutayba, Samsat, Ghungurum and Ak Şehir, later also Lüle (Laodicea on the Lycus, near the modern Deñil) and Khomas (ancient Chonae, modern Honaz); see Aksaraylı (Osman Turan), 74; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), 308 (also mentioned, in connection with the sons of the Sāhib, p. 323, 327, 334; by Kara Hisar Dewele our Kara Hisar is meant). Lökli and Khomas fell into the hands of the Turkmen 'Alī Beg during the troubles of Ḍimirt (1277); he was, however, defeated in a successful campaign by the Sultan and killed near Kara Hisar (Ibn Bībī, 333). The latter descendants of the Sāhib 'Atā had to submit to the Gerniyan and finally lost their territory to them. (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Musālik al-Aḥbār* (Taeschner) states in one passage, p. 31, that Karasir was in the possession of Ibn Tughul; in



another, p. 36 and 37, that Karasiri was in the possession of Ibn al-Saybi—by which no doubt the descendant of the Sāhib is meant—under the suzerainty of the Gerniyan; cf. also Ahmed Tewhid, in *TOEM*, 2nd series, ii, 303 ff. After this Kara Hisar shared in the vicissitudes of the principality of Gerniyan (q.v.), which soon became a dependency of the Ottomans and under Bayazid I actually belonged for a time to the Ottomans, from 792/1390 until its restoration under Timur, 805/1402. Nizār Paşa (d. 750/1349), son of Sulaymān-ghāh of Gerniyan, and other members of this princely family, are mentioned as heads (*chefs*) of the Newland colonies in Kara Hisar (see Ghilili Dedo, *Tadhkirat al-Sultān al-Mawlayy*, MS Vienna, no. 1257, fol. 54r, got = 'Ali Enver, *Sema' al-Ghāni-yi Edah*, Istanbul 1309, 48 f., 102). During Timur's invasion of Asia Minor after the battle of Ankara (1401), Kara Hisar also suffered from the raiding parties of the conqueror (Shārah al-Dīn 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1887-8, ii, 445, 457, 484, 492 = *Histoire de Timur-Bek*, transl. 1848 of la Croix, Delit 1723, iv, 21, 31, 60, 68; Dukas, *Hist.*, Bonn, 77).

In 852/1448-9 the principality of the Gerniyan-oghlu definitely fell into the hands of the Ottomans, and Kara Hisar with its territory became a *liva* (*sandak*) of the *eyâlet* Anadolu (cf. *Diğân-nūma*, 641). As a fortress near the Karānān-oghlu, it was, as long as Karānān remained independent, of military importance. At the beginning of the war with Uzun Hasan (877/1472-3) the prince Muṣṭafā retired to Kara Hisar and used it as a base for his expeditions against the Karānān-oghlu, the allies of the Persians (ʿAshikpaşa-zāde, *Ta'riḥ* (Giese), 1867; Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tūgh al-Tawāriḥ*, i, 534; Caterino Zeno, loc. cit.), and in 895/1480-90 it served as a base for the operations of Hersek-zāde Ahmed Paşa against the Egyptians who had invaded Karānān (Sa'd al-Dīn, ib. 63). Kara Hisar is often mentioned in connection with the revolts and struggles of contending pašas in the 17th century (1017/1602, revolt of Džellāl, 1043/1631, revolt of Baba 'Omər, 1066/1658, revolt of Abīza Hasan Paşa). In 1833 the town was temporarily occupied by Ibrahim Paşa, son of Muḥammad 'Ali Paşa. In 1836 Turkish war in 1923 it was occupied by the Greeks twice (28 March-7 April 1921 and 13 July 1921-27 August 1922). The war caused great damage to the town, which was, however, restored by reconstruction on a large scale under the republic.

The greater part of the scanty antiquities from the classical period seems to have been removed to the town from the ruins of the vicinity, notably Seydlir (Pyramus), *Isle* Kara Hisar (Doricum) and *Çifti Kasaba* (Synada). The town's landmark, the steep trachyte cone with the late Byzantine fortifications restored by the Gerniyan-oghlu (described by Ewliya Çelebi, *Seyahat-nāme*, ix, 29-34) bore as late as Niebuhr's time (1766) the name *Bek Haran Ka'esi* ("the fortress which gives refuge to the Bek"). It was never properly inhabited, and is now deserted, and was used occasionally for the internment of political prisoners (ʿAshikpaşa-zāde, *Ta'riḥ*, ed. Istanbul, 243 f., not in ed. Giese), and as late as 1802 for the imprisonment of the French prisoners of war from Egypt.—The other monuments from the epoch of the Sa'diyyas and the Gerniyan-oghlu, such as the Sübükler Türbesi, the Ulu Džami' of Khāḍija Beg and the mausoleum of Sültān Džiwān, as well as the Ottoman monuments, such as the mosque of Ahmed Gedik Paşa with its annexes (the *medrese* is at

present used as a museum; Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Fatih devri minarisi*, Istanbul 1953, 252-58), still await detailed examination.—In addition to the inscription on the Alligie köprüsi, mentioned above, other inscriptions from the town are published in *RCIA*, nos. 4132, 4329, 4540 and 4667.

**Bibliography:** *Sul-nūma of the sultān Khudawendigar for 1302*, 466 ff.; V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 224 ff.; Haddjidi Khālija, *Diğân-nūma*, 641 f.; Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1677, i, 87 ff.; Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii/2, 82; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibungen*, iii, 131 f. (with plan and panorama); W. G. Browne (1802), in R. Walpole, *Travels in various countries of the East*, London 1840, 116 f.; Léon de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1838, 64 ff. (with beautiful views); W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 462, 470; v. Vincke, F. L. Fischer and V. Molthe, *Plantagen von Kleinasien*, Berlin 1846, 54, page no. 4; Müll. *Deutsches Arch. Institut in Athen*, 1852, 139 f.; G. Radel, *Rapport sur une Mission scientifique en Asie Mineure*, *Nouv. Archives des Missions scientifiques*, 1895, 425 ff.; E. Naumann, in *Globus*, vii, no. 19 (illustration); Körte, *Anatolische Studien*, Berlin 1896, 81 ff.; Oberhammer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, Berlin 1899, 390 ff.; Besim Darkest, in *JdA*, vii, 277-80; Edib Ali Baki, *Afyon-ehi sanamard*, 20 sayyi, in *Taḥsin derişin*, Afyon, M. Ferid and M. Mesit, *Sahip Ata de agadir*, Istanbul 1934.

(J. H. MORDTMANN-FR. TARSCHNER)

**AGA** [see AGHA].

**AGADIR**, one of the names of a fortified enclosure among the Berbers, where chambers are allotted to the various families of the tribe for storage of grain, and where the tribe takes refuge in times of danger. The following are the areas where this ancient Berber institution survives: Djabal Nafusa (under the name of *gaor* = *kajr*, or *temidat*); Southern Tunisia (*gherfa*); the *Awāra* (*gdāa* = *ha'fa*); and in Morocco the Rif and more especially the Great, Middle and Anti-Atlas and the Siwa (*agadir* among the *Shāra* and *igra* among the Berbers of the Middle Atlas). The word *agadir* probably goes back to Phoenician *gadir* = Hebrew *gāḏir* "wall" (in fact the word has in the Sūs the meaning of "strong wall").

**Bibliography:** R. Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: L'Agadir des Ibouhna*, *Hesp.*, 1929; idem, *Les Berbères et le Mahakim dans le Sud de Maroc*, Paris 1930, 323 ff.; idem, *Villages et Kades Berbères*, Paris 1930, 9 ff.; Dj. Jacques-Monod, *Greniers Collectifs*, *Hesp.*, 1949, 97 ff.; idem, *Greniers-Cladettes au Maroc*, Paris 1951.

**AGADIR-IGHIR**, Moroccan town situated at the junction of the Moroccan High Atlas with the plain of Sūs, on the Atlantic coast. The town stands at the northern end of a large bay, at the foot of a hill some 800-900 feet high which is surmounted by a fort. The population numbers 30,111, of whom 7,518 are Jews and 6,062 Europeans (1952 census).

It is not clear whether a settlement existed there before the arrival of the Portuguese, although a letter from the inhabitants of Māssa to Emmanuel I of Portugal, dated 6 July, 1510 (*Sources inédites de l'Histoire de Maroc*, *Portugal*, i, 423) speaks of an *agadir al-arḥa* at that site. This suggests that an *agadir* existed there near which a travelling market was held every Wednesday. At all events, it was of no great importance. Leo Africanus mentions the

same settlement under the name Gartguessen ("Cape Kilma" named after a Berber tribe living round about the town).

In the second half of 1505, a Portuguese nobleman João Lopes de Sequeira, built a wooden castle there, perhaps to protect a fishing fleet, perhaps also, with the approval of his sovereign, to thwart the Spaniards in the Canary Islands who had designs of the southern coast of Morocco. The castle was situated near a spring, at the foot of the hill commanding the roadstead. The site still bears the name of Funt, although its official designation seems from the first to have been Santa Cruz do Cabo de Aguar, by reason of its relative proximity to Cape Ghir. This castle was purchased by the King of Portugal on 25 January 1513.

The establishment of the Portuguese at Santa Cruz caused a strong reaction among the Berber tribes of the Sūs. The members of the Diuptydy order, which had established itself in the Sūs 50 years previously, were able to exploit this antipathy for the purpose of a holy war, and some of them promoted the rise of the Sa'dids (Banū Sa'd), a family of *gharafa* coming from the Dar' (Dra'). The chief of this family, Muhammad, later entitled al-Kā'im bi-Amr Allah, was proclaimed war leader about the year 1510. From that date the Portuguese fortress was subjected to an intermittent, but nevertheless irksome, military and economic blockade, and to attacks which grew in severity as the power of the Sa'dids increased. In September 1540, the Sa'did king of the Sūs, Muhammad al-Shaykh, son of al-Kā'im, captured the hill which dominated Santa Cruz and concentrated there a strong force of artillery. The siege began on 16 February 1541 and ended, on 12 March, with the surrender of the Governor, D. Gutierre de Monroy, and the survivors of the garrison. A very detailed and lively account of these events can be found in the *Chronique de Santa Cruz*, the work of one of the besieged who, after 5 years' captivity at Tarfand and elsewhere, wrote this account of his adventures.

For many years Santa Cruz-Agadir was left deserted until the Sa'did sultan 'Abd Allah al-Ghālib bi'Allah (1557-74) built a fort on the top of Agadir hill to protect the anchorage from the Christian fleets. From then onwards Agadir was one of the points at which European traders regularly called, principally to take on cargoes of sugar (see especially *Sources inédites de l'Histoire de Maroc, 1ère série*, France, iii, 361). Agadir retained its role of trading port up to the founding of the Muslim town of Mogador (q.v. in 1773). Since that date, Agadir harbour has been little used.

The settlement achieved momentary renown in 1911 when the German gunboat "Panther" cast anchor in the roads to assert German claims there at a time when General Moine's column had just occupied Fez (1 July 1911). After the signing of the Protégé agreement, Agadir was occupied by French troops in 1913. Its population was then less than 1,000.

Since then, the town has developed greatly. It has become the chief town of one of the administrative regions of Morocco which comprises nearly 700,000 inhabitants. It owes its growth chiefly to the development of its agriculture and commerce and to the exploitation of its mineral wealth. The port of Agadir, constructed since 1914, has recently been enlarged.

**Bibliography:** Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, (Schefer), i, 176 (Guarguessem); Chro-

nique de Santa Cruz du Cap de Guel (Agadir), ed. and tr. P. de Cenival, Paris 1931; Marmol, *L'Afrique*, tr. Perrot d'Abancourt, Paris 1667, ii, 15-9; J. Fignatier, *Histoire de Santa Cruz du Cabo de Guel (Agadir)*, 1505-1547, Lisbon 1945 (cf. *Hesp.*, 1946, 93 ff.); these works deal primarily with the Portuguese period; H. de Castries, *Une description du Maroc sous le règne de Moulay Ahmed el-Mansour* (1590), Paris 1909, 110; Ch. de Foucaud, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, new edition, Paris 1934, 184-5; J. Erekman, *Le Maroc moderne*, Paris 1885, 50-1 (with a map); Castellanos, *Historia de Marruecos*, Tangier 1898, 203-17; Budge Meakin, *The land of the Moors*, London 1901, 378-81; H. Hauser, *Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe* (1871-1914), Paris 1929, vol. ii, 6th part, ch. iii; P. Renouvin, *La crise d'Agadir*; P. Guiffay, *La port d'Agadir*, in *Bull. Ec. et Soc. du Maroc*, 1951, 297-301; G. Guide, *Agadir in Les Cahiers d'Outremer*, 1952.

(R. LE TOUNREAU)

**AGDĀL** (Berber), a term borrowed by the Arabic of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia from Berber, with the same meaning as in that language namely "pasture reserved for the exclusive use of the landowner". In Morocco, however, the word has acquired the special sense of "a wide expanse of pasture lands, surrounded by high walls and adjoining the Sultan's palace, reserved for the exclusive use of his cavalry and livestock". Such enclosures exist in each of the royal cities, Fez, Meknes, Rabāt and Marrākush.

(G. S. COLIN)

**AGEHI**, Turkish poet and historian, d. 985/1577-8. His real name was Manfir. He was born in Yenide-yi Wardar (Giannitsa in Greek Macedonia), which was at that time an important centre. His career as *mudarris* and *hâfi* took him to various places; Gallipoli and Istanbul are mentioned by his biographers. Agehi was a poet of considerable renown in spite of the fact that no *divan* of his poems seems to have existed. He owed his fame, particularly, to a *hazida* addressed to his sweetheart, a young sailor, and composed in the professional slang of the Turkish sailors of his time and containing many terms borrowed from the nautical lingua franca, especially, terms belonging to the terminology of the galley; it was imitated by several poets of his time. Of Agehi's only known historical work, the *Ta'riḥi Ghāsi* *Sigirname*, describing Süleymān's expedition against Sigirvár, (see Babinger, 69) no manuscript is known.

**Bibliography:** The main sources for Agehi's life are the contemporary collections of biographies of Ottoman poets (*Tadhkirat* vi *Shu'ara*), by 'Ashli Çelebi, Khall-zāde Hasan Çelebi, Riyāḍi, 'Abdi, Beyānī, Kāz-zāde Fāḍlī and the biographical sections in 'Ali's *Kunh al-Aghābir*; none of these sources is published; excerpts in the article Agehi in Saadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1936, i, 16-8, where also several of Agehi's poems are printed. The *hazida* in sailors' slang is published with a commentary in A. Tietze, *251. aslı Türk şairinde gömici dili, Agehi kasidesi ve tahmini*, *Türkşair*, *Memnâ*, 1951, 113-121 (with further bibliography).

(A. TIETZE)

**AGEI** [see AGAVE].

**AGHA**, a word used in eastern Turkish generally to mean "elder brother", sometimes in contrast to *rai*, "younger brother", but in Yakut (*aghi*) meaning "father" (cf. V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon Dikchirika*, 98 (880), in *Koybal-Karaghad* "grand-



father" and "uncle", and in Cawash, "elder sister". Among the Mongols it appears already to have been used as an honorific, the princesses of the imperial family being designated by it (cf. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, xxxix-xl).

In Ottoman Turkish *agha* (usually pronounced *ah* or even *ah*) means "chief", "master" and sometimes "landowner". It is also used for the chief servant of a household and occurs in combination with many words, e.g. *şarhı agha* ("market inspector"), *ahân agha* ("inkeeper"), *ahş agha* ("village headman") and *agahbey* ("elder brother" —cf. above— or "senior"). As a title, up to the reform period and in some cases even later, it was given to many persons of varying importance employed in the government service, for the most part in posts of a military, or at least a non-secretarial, character, being contrasted particularly with *efendi* (s.e.). The most notable *aghas* of this kind were the *Yeniçeri Aghası* (see *Yeni Çeri*) and most of the principal officers of the standing as opposed to the feudal army, and the *Uzenci* or *Rihab Aghaları* and most officers of both the "inside" and "outside" Services of the Sultan. The *ahş agha* was the *kahya* (*had-hada*) of the Grand Vizier who was entitled *agha*, though his duties were entirely administrative and secretarial—whence, in his case, the word *efendi* was usually added to his title and he was called *Agha Efendim*; and so were the eunuchs of the palace service headed by the *Bâb al-Sa'adet Agha* or *Kapı Aghası* (white) and the *Dâr al-Sa'adet Agha* or *Kıdar Aghası* (black), and the eunuchs attendant on the *Wâlide Sultân* and princesses of the imperial blood. Hence eunuchs employed by officials and the well-to-do in general came usually to be known as *harem* or *hâdim aghaları*, till the word *agha* alone might sometimes mean "eunuch".

After the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826 and the formation by Mahmud II of the *Asakir-i Mansûre*, it became the custom to entitle *agha* illiterate officers up to the rank of *ahîm-mahâm*, literate officers of corresponding rank being addressed as *efendi*; and this usage was maintained among the people up to the end of the Ottoman regime. Until the establishment of the Constitution there existed a military rank intermediate between those of *yûshak* and *hâşimî* called *sof aghânî* (i.e. commander of a wing).

*Agha*, often spelt *ahâ*, is also used in Persia, in which it again sometimes signifies "eunuch", as notably in the case of the first Kâdjâr, Aghâ Muhammad Shâh.

**Bibliography:** W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuch d. Türk-Tatar. Sprachen*, I, 2-3; H. Vambéry, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch d. Türk-Tatar. Sprachen*, 5; Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, 24; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1921, 146; 'Atâ, *Türkçe*, I, passim, particularly sections beginning pp. 7, 30, 72, 138, 137, 182, 205, 209, 257 and 290; M. d'Arbois, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, cf. index, 14, s.v. *Agâ*; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, li, index.

(H. BOWEN)

AGHĀ KHĀN, properly *Ākâ Khān*, title applied to the Imāms of the Nizārī (s.e.) Ismā'īlīs. It was originally an honorary title at the court of the Kâdjâr Shāhs of Persia, borne by Hasan 'Alī Shāh, who, after the murder of his father Khālī Allāh in 1817, gained the favour of Fath 'Alī Shāh and received the hand of one of his daughters in marriage.

In consequence of intrigues at the court under the reign of Muhammad Shāh, Hasan 'Alī Shāh revolted in 1838 in Kirmān, but was defeated and fled in 1840 to Sind, where he rendered valuable services to Sir Ch. Napier in the Sind campaign. After an unsuccessful attempt to establish himself in Persia he was removed to live in Bombay, but was removed to Calcutta at the instance of the Persian government. In 1848 he returned to Bombay, which has remained, except for a brief period at Bangalore, the headquarters of the movement headed by him and his successors. Internal conflicts among the Khodjas (s.e.) concerning the leadership of the Imān, led to lawsuits, culminating in the famous judgment of Sir Joseph Arncliffe in 1866 in favour of the Aghā Khān. (It was this case, during which a great deal of information about the sect was elicited, which called the attention of western scholarship to the continued existence of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs; cf. M. H. B. Frier, *The Khojas, the Disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain*, *Macmillan's Magazine* 1876, 431 ff.; St. Guyard, in *J. A.* 1877, 337 ff.) Hasan 'Alī Shāh (d. 1881) was the son of 'Alī Shāh (d. 1851). The latter by his son, the present Aghā Khān, H. H. Sir Sulţān Muhammad Shāh (b. 2 Nov. 1877), the spiritual head of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs in India (including the Khodjas), Persia, Central Asia, Syria and East Africa. Under his guidance, the organization of the Nizārī community has been greatly developed. The Aghā Khān has also occupied a prominent position in public life. His heir (until 1884) is 'Alī Khān (b. 1910).

**Bibliography:** J. N. Hollister, *The Sky's of India*, London 1953, 364 ff. The memoirs of the present Aghā Khān were published under the title *Of World Enough and Time*, London 1954. (H. A. R. GIBB)

AGHĀ MUHAMMAD SHĀH, founder of the Kâdjâr (s.e.) dynasty of Persia, who was born in 1135/742, was the elder son of Muhammad Hasan Khān, hereditary chief of the powerful Kâdjâr tribe. When a child he was castrated by order of 'Ādī Shāh, Nâdir Shāh's nephew, an act which warped his character in later life. On his father's murder in 1758, he became chief of the Kâdjârs. He spent his youth at Kārm Khān's court at Shīrāz, on Kārm's death in 1779 he fled to Astara and engaged in a long struggle with his descendants. By 1785 he had made himself master of the north and centre of the kingdom, and in that year he made Teheran his capital because of its central position and its proximity to the Kâdjâr territories. In 1794 he captured the gallant Lutf 'Alī Khān, the last of Kārm Khān's descendants, and put him to death after inflicting fearful tortures. In the following year he re-established Persian authority over Georgia. He was crowned Shāh in 1796. He subsequently added Khurāsān to his dominions, deposing Shāhrûkh, Nâdir Shāh's blind grandson; by means of torture, he forced Shāhrûkh to disclose where he had hidden his grandfather's jewels. So dreadful were the unfortunate prince's sufferings that he died. Nine months overtook Aghā Muhammad, for he was assassinated in 1797. He showed great skill as a statesman and also as a military leader, but his reputation was sullied by his revengefulness, his revolting cruelty and his insatiable avarice.

**Bibliography:** 'Abd al-Razzāk b. Nadjaf Kullī, *Makûrât-i Sultânîyya*, Tabriz 1826 (English translation by Sir Harcourt Jones Brydges entitled *The Dynasty of the Kajars*, London 1833); Ridā

Kullī Khān Hūdâyât, *Rawdat al-Safâ-yi Nâjiri*, ix; Sir J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, ii, 300-302; R. G. Watson, *A History of Persia from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Year 1858*, London 1866, 65-105; P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii, 289-96.

(CL. HUART-L. LOCKMART)

AGHĀC, meaning "tree" in Ottoman Turkish, "wood", in Eastern Turkish (in which the forms *yîghet*, *yîghet* are the more frequent) means also "the male member" and "parasang"; cf. al-Kâshghari, *Divân Lughât al-Turk*, Istanbul 1933, iii, 6; and Brockelmann, *Mittelasiatische Wortschätze*, Budapest-Leipzig 1928, 87. Al-Kâshghari shows only the forms *yîghet* and *yîghet*, but W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, 1893, i, 130, shows also *agha* and other forms of the word such as *aghat*, *aghas* and *yaghat*, as signifying not only "tree" and "wood" but also "a measure of distance". The measure thus referred to by al-Kâshghari as a "parasang" is said (cf. Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, Paris 1870, 554-5) to be three times the distance at which a human step between two other men may be heard by them. An *agha* in this sense is equal, according to a verse of Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawâ'î, to 12,000 double cubits (*harî*); according to Pietro della Valle, *Voyages*, ii, 141, to a Spanish league, or four Italian miles; according to Flaminio Costa, *Voyages en Perse*, i, 111, to 6 kilometres; and according to Radloff, loc. cit., to between 6 and 7 Russian versts.

**Bibliography:** in addition to the references given above, Sulaymân Efendi, *Lughât-i Caghâtî'î wa-Turkî-yi 'Uğmânî*, 15 (transl. I. Kúnos, Budapest 1902, 6, 105); H. Vambéry, *Cagataische Sprachstudien*, 337. (CL. HUART-L. BOWEN)

AGHĀTHODHIMŪN, Agathodaemon. The correct transliteration of the name occurs, e.g., in Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, *Uyûn al-Ahbal*, i, 18. Other forms are Aghāthodhimūn and similar spellings, Aghāthimūn and similar spellings, as well as more serious distortions. In Latin translations from Arabic we find various representations of different accurateness, e.g., in the *Turba Philosphorum*: Agadimon, Adimon, Agmon.

In the Greco-Egyptian god Agathodaemon (see Ganschmidt, in *Fauly-Wissowa*, iii, Suppl.-Bd., s.v.) is represented in Arabic tradition as one of the ancient Egyptian sages or prophets. Already Ps.-Manetho refers to Agathodaemon as the third king of Egypt, in another place as son of Hermes the second and father of Tat. According to Ibn al-Khitt, 2, Agathodaemon was the teacher of Idhri (Heschel-Hermes). Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, on the authority of al-Mubashshir b. Fâtik, says that he was the teacher of Asclepius. The Sābians (s.e.) identify him with Shīth b. Ādam. Ibn Wabghīyya attributes to him the prohibition of fishes and beans, after him confirmed by Amīsa/Hermes, and also the invention of three ancient alphabets. The *Ighwān al-Safā* (Bombay), iv, 296, mention him together with three other sages, each of whom inaugurated one of four schools. Agathodaemon created the Pythagorean. Dābir b. Ḥayyān mentions him in several places together with Socrates, Ps.-Magrīt together with other philosophers, and al-Shahrastānī quotes some teachings of his.

Agathodaemon is a great authority in the occult sciences. *Ḍabīr* and Ps.-Magrīt attribute to him a clock that lures snakes, scorpions, etc. out of their

holes. He is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm amongst the alchemical authors and he is quoted in several authors on the art, even in Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's *irr al-Asrār*.

Many authors consider the two great pyramids the graves of Hermes and Agathodaemon (cf. HARAN). **Bibliography:** Manetho, ed. Waddell, 1940; D. Chwolson, *Die Saker*, index s.v.; idem, *Ueber die Ueberrinde der althaischen Literatur*, 1859; J. Hammer, *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters*, 1806; A. v. Gutschmid, *Die nabatäische Landwirtschaft, Kleine Schriften*, ii, 1890; P. Kraus, *Jahrb. b. Hayyān*, ii, 1942, index, s.v.; Ps.-Magrīt, *Ghāyat al-Hakīm* (Ritter), 327, 406; Shahrastānī, 241; *Fihrist*, 333, cf. J. W. Fick, *Ambr.*, 1931, 92; J. Kuska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, 1936, index s.v.; idem, *Turba Philosophorum*, 1931, index s.v.; idem, *Al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, 1937, 21; M. Plessner, *Hermes Trismegistus and Arabic Science, Studia Islamica*, ii, 1954, 45 ff. (M. PLESSNER)

AL-AGHLĀB AL-'IDJĪ (AL-AGHLĀB b. 'AMR b. 'UBAYD b. HĀRITHA b. DULAF b. 'UJSHAM), Arab poet, born in the pre-Islamic era and converted to Islam, who later settled at al-Kūfa, and was killed at the battle of Nihāwand (21/642) at the reputed age of 90. He is not regarded as one of the Companions of the Prophet. Al-Aghlab is considered to be the first to have employed the *radjās* metre in lengthy poems constructed on the pattern of the *hāzaj*, but very few traces of his works remain. Critics praise particularly a poem on the prophet Saqlāb (s.e.), and quote an anecdote which suggests that Islam afforded him little inspiration for the composition of religious poetry.

**Bibliography:** *Ḍjūmāl*, *Tabakh*, Cairo, 218; Sidjisti, *Mu'ammarrin* (Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii), no. 107; Asmā'ī, *Fuhala*, in *ZDMG*, 1911, 466-7; *Ḍabīr*, *Hayawān*, ii, 280; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 389; *Aghāth*, xviii, 164-7; Baghdadī, *Ḍiḥān*, i, 332-4; Ibn Hujar, *Isāba*, no. 225; Amīdī, *Mu'allaqāt*, 28; Ibn Durayd, *Ighlāl*, 908; O. Roscher, *Abriss*, i, 114; Brockelmann, S. I, 90; Nallin, *Scritti* vi, 96-7 (Fr. trans. 149-31).

(CH. PELLAT)

AGHLĀBIDS or BANU 'L-AGHLĀB, a Muslim dynasty which throughout the 3rd/9th century held Ifrīkiya in the name of the 'Abbāsids and reigned at al-Kayrawān.

(i) General Survey; (ii) Religious Life; (iii) Chronological Survey.

(i) GENERAL SURVEY.

In 184/800 the founder of this dynasty, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, who, as governor of the Zab, had displayed skill and energy in restoring law and order in his province, was invested with princely power by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd on terms advantageous to the latter. His vassal relinquished the subvention hitherto paid to Ifrīkiya and undertook to pay a tribute of 40,000 dinars to the imperial treasury. The ties which linked the Aghlabid *amir* to the Caliph were such as to allow him a large measure of autonomy, especially in the matter of the succession. "He bequeathed his dominions to a son or a brother as he pleased" (al-Nuwayrī), making his choice without interference from Baghdad, and this practice was followed by each of the *amirs* who succeeded him.

Our knowledge of these Arab rulers of Ifrīkiya is considerable, and it is possible to discern their



characters with reasonable clarity. In these high officials of the caliphs who had become independent princes, one finds the merits and defects of their masters. Although the majority were devoted to pleasure and addicted to drink, which at times incited them to outbreaks of violence and bloodshed, there were among them men of culture who had a sense of greatness, showed statesmanship, at once stern and humane, aware of the need to promote public works and to devote the revenues accruing to them to the welfare of the State. Under them, Ifrikiya experienced a genuine renaissance, and many magnificent foundations still testify to their beneficent rule.

They needed energy and political skill to overcome the difficulties which confronted them. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab (184-97/800-12) had to extinguish the last outbreaks of Berber revolt. On the borders of Aghlabid territory, Khiridjism was in control of Southern Ifrikiya, of the Awrās and nearly all of Central Maghrib, the Zāh forming the western boundary of the kingdom. The adherence of the Kutāma of Lesser Kabylia to Shī'ism was to cause the downfall of the dynasty. The gravest crises, however, were centred round the very heart of the Aghlabid kingdom. Tunis and even al-Kayrawān were centres of opposition, and the most troublesome elements were the Arabs of the *ghund*, who ought to have been the strongest supporters of Aghlabid power. In the towns in which they were concentrated, they treated the indigenous population with contempt, and proved exacting and contentious in their dealings with the rulers of the country. Ibrāhīm I had to suppress two Arab revolts: that of Hamdān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Kindī (186/802) and that of 'Imrān b. Muḡhallād (194/809), in both of which Kayrawān was involved. Foreseeing the danger, the *amir* had constructed, 2 m. south of al-Kayrawān, al-Kaṣr al-Kadīm (or al-'Abbsīya) (g.c.) and had taken up residence there. He surrounded himself there with those elements of the *ghund* considered reliable and with slaves bought for the purpose, who constituted an imposing coloured guard.

Under the third Aghlabid *amir*, Abū Muḡammad Ziyādāt Allāh (201-23/817-38), who had displayed excessive severity towards the *ghund*, a new and more serious Arab revolt broke out, instigated by Maṣūr b. Naṣr al-Tunbuljī. From his fort at Tunbulja, near Tunis, he called the Arab chiefs to arms and received their support (209/824). After varying fortunes the insurgents found themselves masters of nearly the whole of Ifrikiya except Kābis and its surrounding district. With the help of the Berbers of the Djazir, Ziyādāt Allāh succeeded in regaining the advantage. Al-Tunbuljī surrendered and was executed. The coalition then broke up and Ziyādāt Allāh pardoned the remaining rebel chiefs. Once again the Kayrawānīs had supported the cause of the insurgents.

The hostility of the Kayrawānīs and the policy of the Aghlabids towards them constitute another aspect of the internal history of the dynasty. This hostility was fostered mainly by the religious classes, scholars and devotees who enjoyed the confidence and regard of the people. These doctors of religion, exponents of *ḥadīth*, jurists and theologians who, for the most part, were of eastern origin, lived close to the people and guided public opinion. As professing ascetics, they criticised the morals of the *amir*; as champions of orthodoxy, they protested against their illegal decisions and their abuse of power. The second of the Aghlabids, Abū 'l-'Abbs 'Abd Allāh

b. Ibrāhīm (297-201/812-7) promulgated a financial reform which was contrary to Islamic tradition, namely, the levy on crops of a fixed sum in cash instead of the tithe in kind. This measure aroused strong protests, and the death of the *amir* soon afterwards was regarded as a divine punishment. On the whole, the Aghlabid rulers treated the religious classes with respect and tried to conciliate them, but they rarely induced them to relax their uncompromising attitude. Apart from various architectural creations and public works (which will be described later), which may be considered to owe their origin to this religious policy, the conquest of Byzantine Sicily can also be attributed to the same cause.

Although this conquest, the supreme military achievement of the Aghlabid *amir*, was undertaken by Ziyādāt Allāh immediately after the revolt of Maṣūr al-Tunbuljī, and was doubtless inspired by the desire to divert the energies of the Arabs to an external theatre of operations, the expedition of 211/827 assumed the guise of a holy war. The army was entrusted to the learned jurist Asad b. al-Furāt (g.c.), and Sūsa (g.c.), where the fighters for the Faith and their followers embarked, already had the character of a *ḡhāzī* port, as the town had been furnished with a *ribāṭ* six years previously.

This *ribāṭ* still exists. An inscription at the foot of the signal tower bears the name of Ziyādāt Allāh and the date 200/817. The rebuilding of the Great Mosque at al-Kayrawān (g.c.) is attributed to the same *amir*. This splendid building, founded by 'Ukba b. Nāfi' about 670, twice remodelled or rebuilt in the course of the 8th century, was in fact the work of the Aghlabids. In addition to Ziyādāt Allāh, two other *amirs*, Abū Ibrāhīm and Ibrāhīm II, carried out work there and enlarged the prayer-hall.

The Aghlabids were enthusiastic builders. Under Ziyādāt Allāh's successor, Abū 'l-Kāṣ al-Aghlabī (223-6/837-40), the small mosque named after Abū Fatyāta was built at Sūsa, which acquired other new foundations about the same time. Abū 'l-'Abbs Muḡammad endowed it with the Great Mosque (236/850) which still exists. The ramparts, also preserved, were constructed under Abū Ibrāhīm Ahmad (242-9/856-6), who of all the dynasty figures most prominently in the architectural history of Ifrikiya. To him is attributed the construction of the great mosque of Tunis, which like that at al-Kayrawān, superseded an earlier mosque which was now considered inadequate. The creative activity and the munificence of this prince were shown, above all, in his military and public works. Ibn Khaldūn, who is usually more cautious in his assertions, states that "Abū Ibrāhīm Ahmad built in Africa nearly 10,000 forts, constructed of stone and mortar and furnished with iron gates". It is true that he constructed a large number, both along the coast and on the western frontier, many perhaps being strongholds of the Byzantine *limes* which he restored. At Sūsa, the rampart, dating, according to an inscription, from 242/859, seems to have been built on the old wall of Hadrumetum. Similarly the Burj Yungu, on the Tunisian coast south of Mahres, which also dates from the Aghlabid era, is a Byzantine fort, the foundations of which were used by the Muslim architects.

The same thing probably applies to a number of hydraulic undertakings, but it can be asserted that the Aghlabids carried out many of these in order to restore prosperity to regions possessing only a poor water supply, notably to the south

of the 'Tunisian chain'. A recent work by M. Solignac, based on an examination of the constructional methods employed and the nature of the materials used, and a comparison with those used at the neighbouring reservoirs at al-Kayrawān, leaves no doubt on this point.

For their public works, their defence installations, and, in general, for their building, the *amirs* evidently relied on a labour force recruited locally. The superintendence of the workshops was entrusted to non-Muslim freedmen, their clients (*mauḍā*), whose names are recorded on the buildings themselves. On their coins are mentioned officials of the same origin who controlled the Mint.

Although the inherited traditions of Christian Africa had a considerable influence on the construction and ornamentation of buildings (the Roman mosaic style of paving being still employed), Aghlabid architecture draws also on Oriental sources. The influence of Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia is apparent, and a new and specifically Muslim art emerges which finds its most striking expression in the Great Mosque at al-Kayrawān.

The dynasty enjoyed its last years of prosperity in the reign of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm II, who succeeded Abū 'l-'Abbs Muḡammad called Abū 'l-'Gharīnīk ("Father of the Cranes"), a frivolous and extravagant prince. Ibrāhīm II, in whose strange character were blended in exaggerated form the merits and defects of his line, was by turns a just sovereign, concerned for the welfare of his people, and a capricious tyrant, whose cruelty spared no member of his family. On the command of the 'Abbsīd Caliph al-Mu'tadid, who had received complaints about him, he abdicated in 289/902 in favour of his son Abū 'l-'Abbs 'Abd Allāh, and devoted himself to a most edifying life of penitence. Being unable to perform the pilgrimage by the overland route, he travelled to Sicily, made himself master of Taormina, and then went on to Calabria, where he died before Consenza (29 Dhū'l-Ka'da 289/29 Oct. 902).

During the reign of Ibrāhīm II there appeared in Ifrikiya the Shī'ite missionary Abū 'Abd Allāh (g.c.), who was to bring about the downfall of the dynasty and secure the triumph of the Fātimid al-Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh. Supported by the Kutāma Berbers, whom he had converted to Shī'ism, Abū 'Abd Allāh set out to conquer the Aghlabid kingdom. The points on the western frontier, some of which had been imprudently denuded of their Arab garrisons, victims of Ibrāhīm's severity, were incapable of checking these fanatical mountaineers. The *amir* Abū Mudar Ziyādāt Allāh III perceived the danger, but his measures lacked any rational plan and were insufficient to delay the catastrophe. He restored the walls of al-Kayrawān and sent against the Kutāma several forces which were defeated. Then, announcing a great victory, he made preparations for flight. He left Rakkāda, the royal city which Ibrāhīm II had founded 4½ m. south of al-Kayrawān, and, taking with him what treasures he could, set out for Egypt. From there he went to Rakkā, but later returned to Egypt, and died at Jerusalem.

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#### (ii) RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Al-Kayrawān under the Aghlabids was a great centre of Islamic religious life, scholarship and literature, both in its own right and as a half-way house between the Islamic East and West. Whilst they did not elaborate a common local interpretation of religious law of their own, the scholars of al-Kayrawān followed one or the other of the Eastern schools of thought, sometimes adopting an eclectic attitude. This eclecticism is attested not only by the *Asādiyya* of Ibn al-Furāt but by other works as well. 'Iḍārīan and Medinese doctrines were equally well represented in al-Kayrawān of the Aghlabids, but the teaching of al-Shāfi'ī never took root there. In particular, al-Kayrawān under the Aghlabids became the most important centre of the Mālikī school, superseding Medina and Cairo as such. Some of the most prominent specialists in religious law of the period, whose works have to a greater or lesser extent survived, are: Asad b. al-Furāt (g.c., d. 213), Sahnūn (g.c., d. 240), author of the *Mudawwana*, the great digest of Mālikī doctrine, Yūsuf b. Yalqā (d. 288), Abū Zakariyya<sup>2</sup> Yalqā b. 'Umar al-Kinānī (d. 289), 'Isā b. Muḥsin (d. 295), and Abū 'Uḡmān Sa'īd b. Muḡammad b. al-Haddād (d. 302). Manuscripts dating from the time of the Aghlabids, of the works of these and of other scholars, are still preserved in the library of the Great Mosque of al-Kayrawān. In the field of dogmatic theology, too, al-Kayrawān under the Aghlabids was the meeting-place of many opinions and the stage of lively discussions, occasionally, too, of violence and persecution, between the orthodox, the Djahariyya, the Murji'ā, the Mu'tazila, and last but not least the Iḥdīyya (see these art.). Asad b. al-Furāt, for instance, assaulted Sulaymān al-Farrā' who denied that the believers who see God, and when Sahnūn became khalīf, he had slowly beaten to death his professor 'Abd Allāh b. Abū 'l-'Iḍwādī, who was of the opinion that the Kur'ān was created. Concerning this last proposition, the religious policy of the Aghlabids followed that of the Caliphs of Baghdad. Shortly after the *mihna* (g.c.) in the East, the upholders of the orthodox doctrine had to undergo a similar, though milder, tribulation under the pretender Ahmad b. al-Aghlab; Sahnūn himself had been in danger on that occasion, but escaped serious trouble. In the same way as in the East, an orthodox reaction soon asserted itself, but Mu'tazilite doctrines were not eradicated, and a professed Mu'tazilite, such as Ibrāhīm b. Aṣwad al-Saddīnī, was appointed khalīf of al-Kayrawān at the end of the reign of Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad, shortly before the end of the dynasty. Religious life proper is represented by a great number of pious persons and saints who were often







reach the region of eternal snow. It is only in the districts at the eastern and northern feet of the mountain, in the plain of the Aras, that the water comes out and forms in parts marshy patches.

The dearth of water results in scanty vegetation. Apart from some birches, Ararat, like all the neighbouring mountains, is completely bare of forests; in this extreme form, however, this is caused by human agency. A poor fauna corresponds to the scanty flora. Since the destruction of the human settlements in the valley of St. James the district of Ararat is an uninhabited, solitary desert. In the Middle Ages the conditions were quite different. Al-Isfahārī, 191, expressly states that there was much wood and game on Ararat; al-Makdisi adds that there were more than 1000 hamlets on the promontories of Ararat. The Armenian historian of the 10th century also stresses the richness of the region in deer, boars, lions and wild asses (cf. Thopdchian, in *MSOS*, 1904, ii, 150).

After the Persian wars of Selim I and Süleyman I Ararat was for centuries the northern pillar of the Ottoman Empire against Persia, though both the summit and the northern slopes of Great Ararat, as well as the eastern slopes of Little Ararat, lay in Persian territory, or in that of the Persian vassal state of Nakhchivan. By the treaty of Turkmançay (2-14 Febr. 1828) the plain of the Aras north of Ararat (the districts of Surmalu, Kulp and Igdir) was ceded by Persia to Russia. Thus the northern slopes together with the summit of Great Ararat fell to Russia, while Little Ararat formed the gigantic boundary stone between the three empires of Turkey, Persia and Russia. By the treaty of Moscow, 16 March 1821, between Soviet Russia and Turkey the plain of the Aras was ceded to Turkey; and in the Turco-Persian agreement (*Tihid-nāma*) of 23 Jan. 1932 (which came into force on 5 Nov. 1932) Persia also ceded to Turkey a small territory, comprising the eastern slope of Little Ararat (cf. *MSOS*, 1934, ii, 116); thus at present the whole territory of the immense mountain belongs to Turkey. (Cf. G. Jäschke, *Die Nordostgrenze der Türkei und Nachschwan*, WI, 1935, 111-5; idem, *Geschichte der russisch-türkischen Kaukasusgrenze*, *Archiv des Völkerrechts*, 1935, 198-206.)

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**ĀGRA**, town, headquarters of a division and district of the name in the state of Uttar Pradesh, is situated on the banks of the river Yamunā, 27° 1' N, 77° 59' E. Pop. (1951) 375,665, of whom 15.6% are Muslims. The city was for a long time the seat of residence of the Mughal emperors, and is renowned especially for its remarkable monuments of Mughal architecture.

**History.** Little is known about the early history of Āgra, but there is no doubt it was founded long before the Muslim invasions of India. The first reference to the city, and to an ancient fortress in it, is contained in a *hajida* written in praise of the Ghaznavid prince Mahmūd b. Ibrahim by the poet Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salmān (d. 315/1121 or 326/1131), wherein the conquest of the fortress (presumably during the reign of Sulṭān Mas'ūd III, 493-508/1099-1115) is mentioned. The town was ruled by Rājapūt chiefs, who, upon making their submission to the Sultanate of Delhi, were allowed to keep their control over it, under the overall command of the governor of Biyāna province. It remained unnoticed until Sultan Sikandar Lōdī (894-923/1489-1517) rebuilt the city in 917/1505 and made it the seat of his government. The place quickly gained in importance and attracted scholars and learned men from many parts of the Muslim world. Commanding routes to Gwalior and Māwa in the south, Rājapūtāna in the west, Delhi and the Panjāb in the north-west, and the plain of the Ganges in the east, it soon became a strategic and trading centre. It continued to be the capital of Ibrahim Lōdī (923-32/1517-26) and, on his defeat in 932/1526, it became the capital of Bābur. In addition to building his palace of Čārāigh, Bābur laid out a number of gardens in the city and constructed many baths. His nobles followed his example, and a considerable portion of the old city was levelled down. The city remained Humāyūn's and Shīr Shāh's capital, but neither Humāyūn, nor Shīr Shāh or his successors were able to spend much time there. It again became the seat of government in the third year of Akbar's reign (965/1558), when he took up residence in the citadel formerly known as Badal Gadh, and his nobles built their houses on both banks of the river. In 972/1565 the construction of the fort on the site of Badal Gadh was undertaken, but before it could be completed, the building of Fatehpūr Sikrī [s.c.] was commenced. From 982/1574 to 994/1586 Akbar lived mostly in the new city, and later, till 1006/1598, his headquarters were generally at Lahore. In the latter year he returned to Āgra. On his death in 1014/1605, Dīshāngir ascended the throne in that city and lived there almost continuously from 1016/1607 to 1024/1613. He spent another year in Āgra in 1027/1618, but later, until his death in 1037/1626, he spent most of his time in Kašnūr and Lahore. Like his father, Shāh Dīshāh also ascended the throne at Āgra, but had to leave for the Deccan in the following year. From 1040/1631 to 1042/1633 he again resided in the city, but after that, except for brief visits, he did not stay there for long. Thereafter, he lived mostly at Delhi, where he built

the new city of Shāh Dīshāhābād. (The name of Āgra was also changed to Akbarābād, but the latter name was never widely used.) In 1067/1657 he fell seriously ill and was brought to Āgra by his eldest son, Dārā Shīkh. In the war of succession that broke out, Awrangzib was victorious and ascended the throne in 1068/1658. Shāh Dīshāh was imprisoned in the Fort, where he died in 1071/1666. On hearing the news, Awrangzib returned to Āgra and held Court there for some time. Later, he again stayed in Āgra from 1079/1666 to 1081/1671. However, Awrangzib's usual place of residence was, first, Delhi, and then, in the Deccan. Though, in the 17th century, the court did not remain at Āgra for long, the place was nevertheless regarded as one of the capital cities of the Empire. Most of the European travellers who visited India considered it to be one of the largest cities they had seen, comparable in size to Paris, London and Constantinople. It was a centre of trade and commerce and was well known for its textile industry, gold inlay work, stone and marble work and crystal. However the population as well as the trade diminished considerably when the court was away.

The successors of Awrangzib lived mostly in Delhi, though Āgra continued to be important politically. During the second half of the 18th century, it suffered much from the depredations of the Džāts [s.c.], the Mahrattās and the Rohillās. Though nominal Mughal sovereignty over the town continued till it was annexed by the British in 1803, except for the years 1774 to 1785 when Nadīf Dīshān (d. 1782) and his successors were its governors, Āgra was under the occupation of the Džāts (1761-1770, and 1771-74) and the Mahrattās (1758-61, 1770-73, and 1785-1803).

**Monuments.** The Fort. The present fort of Āgra was built by Akbar on the site of the Lōdī fortress of Badal Gadh on the right bank of the Yamunā. It was constructed in about eight years (1565-73) under the superintendence of Muḥammad Kāsim Khān Mirā Bāhr at a cost of 35 lacs of rupees. It is in the shape of an irregular semi-circle with its base along the river. The fort is surrounded by a double wall, loop-holed for musketry, the distance between the walls being 40 ft. The outer wall, just under 70 ft. high and faced with red sand-stone, is about 14 miles in circuit and represents the first conception of a dressed stone on such a large scale. The principal gateway, the Delhi Gate, is one of the most impressive portals in India. Within the fort, according to Abul Faḍl, Akbar built "upward of 500 edifices of red stone in the fine styles of Bengāl and Guḍrāt". Most of these buildings were demolished by Shāh Dīshāh to make room for his marble structures, among those that still stand *Akbari* and *Bangali Mahal* are the earliest. Akbar's buildings are characterised by carved stone brackets which support the stone beams, wide eaves and flat ceilings, the arch being used sparingly. Similar in design is the *Dīshāngiri Mahal*, a double-storeyed construction, 26 ft. by 28 ft., supposed to have been built by Akbar for Prince Salim (later Dīshāngir) but very probably built by Dīshāngir himself. The Rājapūt principality of the *haram*, though Cunningham thinks it was built by Ibrahim Lōdī. After the accession of Shāh Dīshāh architectural style underwent a radical change. With the discovery of marble quarries, red sand-stone was practically eliminated and large-scale use of marble made carved line and flowing rhythm of style possible. Instead of the beam and brackets, foliated or cusped

arches became common and marble arcades of engravled arches distinguished the buildings of Shāh Dīshāh. Among the most important of his buildings in the Fort are the *Khāsh Mahal* and its adjoining north and south pavilions; the *Shāh Mahal* a bath whose walls and ceilings are spangled over with tiny mirrors of irregular shape set in stucco relief; the *Muḥammadan Dargā* built for the Empress Mumtāz Mahal (in which building Shāh Dīshāh breathed his last); the *Diwan-i Khāsh* (or private assembly chamber); the *Diwan-i Āmm* (or public audience chamber) having a court 500 ft. by 73 ft., and a pillared hall 201 ft. by 67 ft. with an alcove of inlaid marble being the throne gallery (built of red sand-stone plastered with white marble stucco which is artistically gilded); the *Mafī Masgid* (or Pearl Mosque) a magnificent structure of white marble standing on a plinth of red sand-stone.

Not far from the fort stands the *Dīwān Masgid*, built by Dīshāh Ārā Bēgam, the eldest daughter of Shāh Dīshāh, in 1038/1648, a red sand-stone building having three domes and five gracefully proportioned arches, the central archway being a semi-domed double portal.

The tomb of Akbar at Sikandara, constructed in Dīshāngir's reign on a site selected by Akbar himself, stands in the middle of a well-laid garden about five miles from Āgra. Very probably some idea of the design was settled by Akbar, but the building lacks that correctness which is characteristic of the construction undertaken by that monarch. The building is 340 ft. square, consisting of five terraces diminishing as they ascend. The lowest story is arcaded and in the centre of each side is inserted a large portico with a deeply recessed archway. The next three storeys consist of superimposed tiers of pillared arcades and kiosks built mainly of red sand-stone. The topmost story is of white marble and is screened with perforated lattices. Each corner of this story is surmounted by a slender kiosk.

The tomb of Dīshāngir's minister, Mirzā Ghīyāth Bēg entitled I'timād al-Dawla (d. 1622), constructed by his daughter, the Empress Nur Dīshāh and completed in 1628, stands in the middle of a well-laid garden on the left bank of the river. The mausoleum consists of a square lower story, 69 ft. wide with a gracefully proportioned octagonal turret, like a dwarfed minaret, thrown out from each corner; while the second story rises in the form of a tracery pavilion covered by a canopy shaped vaulted roof sending out broad steeping eaves, surmounted by two golden pinnales. It is the first large building in India built entirely of marble and is remarkable for the richness of its decoration and profuse *pietra dura* work.

**Tidj Mahal.** The most famous building at Āgra is the *Tidj Mahal*, the beautiful mausoleum erected by Shāh Dīshāh for his dearly loved wife, Arjumand Bānū Bēgam, entitled Mumtāz Mahal, popularly known to her contemporaries as Tidj Mahal. She was the daughter of Asaf Khān, son of I'timād al-Dawla, and was married to Shāh Dīshāh in 1612 at the age of nineteen. She bore him fourteen children, and died in June 1631 at Burhānpur after giving birth to a daughter. Work on the mausoleum was started almost immediately after her death and was completed in about twelve years at a cost of five million rupees, though some later writers have put the figure at 30 million rupees. According to the contemporary European traveller,



Tavernier, the structures, together with its subsidiary buildings, was completed in about twenty-two years during which period twenty thousand workmen were continuously employed on it. The best architects and craftsmen, each a specialist in his own field, available in the Empire as well as in the neighbouring countries were engaged for the work, which was carried on under the general supervision of Muzammat al-Khān and Mīr 'Abd al-Kāfir. The tradition that the Khān, architect of the *Tāj al-Mahall* was a Venetian, Giovanni Veronesi, based on a statement made by Father Maneguzzi, finds no corroboration either in the Mughal chronicles or in the writings of the other contemporary European travellers like Tavernier, Bernier, and Thevenot, who regarded the building as a purely oriental work. Its close resemblance with the tomb of Humayūn at Delhi, and an analysis of its architectural as well as decorative features, suggest that it was undoubtedly the culminating point in the evolution of the Indo-Muslim style of architecture, though no other building in India is quite as exquisite, elegant or beautiful.

The tomb, built of white marble from Djodhpur, stands on a raised platform, 18 feet high and 313 feet square, faced with foliated arches. At each corner of this platform there is a beautifully proportioned cylindrical minaret, 133 ft. high and with three galleries and finished with an open domed dome throwing out broad eaves. In the centre of the platform stands the mausoleum, a square of 186 feet, the facade angled to the extent of 43 ft. 9 ins., the facade rising 92 ft. 3 ins. from the platform. In each face of the building is a high arched recessed porch. On either side of each porch, and at the angled angles, there are arched recesses of uniform size arranged in two storeys. These recesses and the porches are vaulted. Above each of the angled angles stands a domed pillared kiosk, while the centre is occupied by a beautiful bulbous dome, rising from a high circular drum, and surmounted by a gilt pinnace finished with a crescent. The central dome, 38 ft. in diameter and rising 74 feet above the roof or 191 feet from the platform, is one of the finest in the world. Beneath the dome is the central chamber, octagonal within, buttressed at each angle by small octagonal rooms of two storeys, with the great porches in between each pair. In the middle of the central chamber is the cenotaph of Mumtāz al-Mahall, and beside it that of her husband. Immediately beneath them, in the crypt, are the two graves. The cenotaphs are enclosed by a remarkable screen of trellis-work of white marble. The porches are framed in ornamental inscriptions from the *Kur'ān*, and the beauty of the whole is enhanced by copious and graceful ornamentation in *pietra dura*. All the spandrels, angles, and important architectural details are inlaid with semi-precious stones combined in wreaths, scrolls, and frets, as exquisite in design as beautiful in colour. The tomb is surrounded by a formal garden of great beauty, with long lily-ponds, also of marble, containing a row of fountains, leading from the principal entrance to the mausoleum. The river, which bounds the garden on the north, provides marvellous reflections of the building.

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(NURUL HASAN)

**AGRICULTURE** [see FALSAHA].

**ĀHĀD** [see KHABAR AL-WĀHĀD].

**AHĀDITH** [see HADITH].

**AHADIYYA** [see ALLĀH, WĀHĪDĀ].

**AHAGGAR**, a Berber word denoting (a) the members (pl. *ahaggar*) of one of the noble tribes constituting the former group of the Northern Tuwāgs (q.v.), and (b) one of these tribes (Kāl Ahaggar or Ihaggar), inhabiting a region to which it has given the name of Ahaggar (Hoggar).

In its widest sense, the Ahaggar is the group of territories under the dominion of the Kāl Ahaggar. It covers an area of about 200,000 sq. miles between lat. 21°-25° N. and long. 3°-8° E. Bounded by mountain masses (the Ahaggar to the E., the Tassili of the Ajjir to the N.-E., the Innādīr to the N., the Adrar of the Hoggar (q.v.) and the Ayr (q.v.) to the S.), it consists of a barren peninsula bounded by the Tassili, which stretch out in an arc both north and south, and dominated by mountain masses, of which the highest and most important is, in the centre, the Atakor al-Ahaggar or Ahaggar proper, with a mean altitude of 7,200 ft. and with peaks rising to 9,835 ft. (Tabat, 9,835 ft.; Haman, 9,510 ft.; Ahaggar, 9,210 ft.). Valleys and steep gorges which debouch into shallow enclosed basins are evidence that in the past the volume of water was more considerable than at present, when the water courses are extremely irregular, and consist of subterranean channels which are easily accessible in places (see 1928a). It has a desert climate, and the vegetation is poor and thorny. The few trees which manage to survive are stunted and apparently unable to reproduce themselves further. The fauna comprises several *ungulata*, principally gazelles, and cheetahs, jackals and hares. The people grow dates and a few cereals, breed camels and goats and employ large numbers of donkeys.

The name of the region is taken from that of the peoples who inhabit it or who rule it, the Kāl Ahaggar. The word *ahaggar* is to be related to the name of the Huwāra (q.v.) tribe, the change from *w* to *g* being normal in Berber phonetics, and it is likely that branches of this tribe, coming from the Fazzān, established themselves during the historical era in the mountainous mass which has taken their name, and reduced the inhabitants of

the region to vassal status. The problem of the origins of these peoples is still not solved (see BERBERS), and the local traditions and the theories formulated by writers at different periods about the populating of the Ahaggar must be treated with reserve. It is clear however that the country has been inhabited from remote antiquity, as witness the traces of work in stone and the many rock engraving which have been discovered (see F. de Chasseloup-Laubat, *Art rupestre au Hoggar*, Paris 1938).

The Ahaggar country was visited several times during the course of the 19th century. After the massacre of the Flatters mission (1880) and the Fourcaud-Lamy expedition (1898), the *aménokal* (q.v.) Mūsā ag Amāstan surrendered to the French. Lapertuis in 1904, and Ahaggar was placed under the control of France. It forms part of the Oasis Territory and its chief centre, Tamanrasset, comprises less than 1,000 inhabitants.

The population of the Ahaggar does not exceed 5,000. The noble tribes of the Kāl Ghāla, Taytōk and Tēgēb Māllat, with their subdivisions and subject tribes constitute the Ahaggar confederacy, the *aménokal* being chosen from amongst the Kāl Ghāla.

The Tuwāg of the Ahaggar live in tents. Society is divided into three classes: the noble and suzerain tribes (Ihaggar or Imuhagh), the subject tribes (Amghid, pl. Imghad) and slaves (alil, pl. ikilan). The Ihaggar, essentially warriors, levied tribute from the Imghad in exchange for their protection. They deplored all manual labour to them and to the slaves, and themselves lived by warfare and pillage. By putting an end to their warlike activities, the occupation of the country by France had somewhat curtailed the resources of the Ihaggar, who nevertheless retain their prestige and continue to be supported by the Imghad.

For their writing (*ihawgh*), language (*amashak*), the subject of a masterly study by P. de Foucauld, and literature, see BERBERS.

**Bibliography:** Duveyrier, *Les Touwag du Nord*, Paris 1864; Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touwag de l'Ahaggar*, Algiers 1908; E. F. Gautier, *La conquête du Sahara*, Paris 1910; idem, *Le Sahara*, Paris 1928; Ch. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire des noms propres*, Paris 1940, 97-101; idem, *Dictionnaire des noms propres*, Paris 1952, II, 513-33; the monograph of H. Lhote, *Les Touwag du Hoggar*, Paris 1944, which has a detailed bibliography, is an essential work. (Ch. FELLAT)

**'AHD**, injunction, command; thence: obligation, engagement; thence: agreement, covenant, treaty. The term (as well as the 1st and the 3rd forms of the corresponding verb) occurs frequently in the *Kur'ān*. It is used there over the whole range of its meanings, of Allāh's covenant with men and His commands, of the religious engagement into which the believers have entered, of political agreements and undertakings of believers and unbelievers towards the Prophet and amongst each other, and of ordinary civil agreements and contracts (xvii, 34; xxiii, 8; lxx, 32); occasionally, the agreement is personified. It is "well" be asked to give evidence (xxiii, 82; xxviii, 15). From the idea of God's covenant derive the Christian Arabic terms *al-'ahd al-Sāth* and *al-'ahd al-dhādī* for the Old and the New Testament respectively. The basic concrete concept is "joining together", whereas the synonym *'ahd* derives from the concrete idea of "binding". In later usage, the latter term is commonly used of civil engagements and contracts, whereas *'ahd* is generally restricted to

political enactments and treaties, in particular to the appointment of a successor, a wali *al-'ahd* (q.v.), by a ruler, and to treaties of alliance with non-Muslims outside the Islamic state, who are therefore called *ahd al-'ahd*; this last term is occasionally added, on one side to the *muftā'imin* (see AMĀN), and on the other to the *dīnawīn* (see DĪNĀWĪ); both *amān* and *dīnawīn* are, indeed, a political *'ahd* with religious sanction.

**Bibliography:** Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; [Jurjānī], *Ta'rīfāt*, 165; W. Heffening, *Fremdenrecht*, index s.v.; A. Jeffery, in *MW*, 1950, 120-1; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, I, Paris 1931, 270 ff.

**AL-AHDAL** [plur. Mahādā, < 'Mahādā for am-Ahādī?]; on etym. cf. al-Muhībī, i, 67, Wüstefeld, 6), a family of sayyids living mostly in SW Arabia, descended from the sixth 'Alid *imām* Dījā' al-Sādk. Their ancestor, 'Alī b. 'Umar b. Muḥ. al-Ahdal, called Kūth al-Yaman, and his son Abū Bakr (d. 700/1031) were famous sūfis, living in the little town of Murāwā'a (74) or Marwā'a (al-Muhībī) b. (hikāya) of Bayt al-Fakhī Ibn 'Uḡayy, where their graves are visited by pilgrims. To this clan belong the following sūfi scholars:

1. Husayn b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥ., Badr al-Dīn (b. in Kūbriyya 779/1377, d. as Mufti in Abayāt Husayn 855/1451). Among eighteen titles enumerated by al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'* III, 146 f., are *Tahdāt al-Zamān* fi *Ta'rīfāt* Sādk al-Yaman (s'dīn 'Alī al-Y., Ḥajjīlī Khāfī), an adaptation and continuation of al-Dīnawī's *Ta'rīfāt* (al-Sādk); a similar revision of al-Yāqūbī, *Mar'at al-Dīnawī* was called *Qubūl al-Zamān*. Cf. Brockelmann, II, 185, S II, 238 f.; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 248, 355, 407.

2. Husayn b. al-Sādk b. Husayn (grandson of 1) (b. 850/1446 in Abayāt Husayn, d. 901/1497 in 'Adān) abridged, according to his pupil Abū Maḥjāra, his grandfather's *Ta'rīfāt* (i.e. *Tahdāt al-Zamān*). A mosque was built in 'Adān in his memory in 1847. Cf. Brockelmann, S II, 251 (incorrect), *Nūr*, 27-30, *Daw'* III, 144.

3. Tāhīr b. Husayn b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, Dījā' al-Dīn (b. 914/1508 in Murāwā'a, d. 998/1599 in Zabīd), a jurist and traditionalist, abridged a work of his ancestor Husayn (no. 1) called *Maḥādīh* *Abī al-Kurba* fi *Sharḥ Du'ā'* (al-Walī Abū Harba (Nūr, 447 ff., cf. *Daw'* III, 146). His son

4. Muḥ. b. Tāhīr wrote *Bughyat al-Tāhīb bi-Ma'rīfat Anṣād 'Alī b. Abī Tāhīb* (Wüst., 7; Brockelmann, II, 239 is incorrect).

5. Ḥatīm b. Ahmad b. Mūsā b. Abū'l-Kāsim b. Muḥ. (d. 1013/1604 in the seaport Makhlā' (Mukhlā), where he had lived for 37 years), famous sufi and scholar, "the Ibn 'Arabi of his time", according to his disciple 'Abd al-Kādir al-'Aydārūs (Nūr, 261-475), who published their correspondence in the work *al-Darr al-Bāsim min Rasā'id al-Sayyid Ḥatīm*. His improvised poems were collected into a *dīwān*. Cf. Brockelmann, II, 407, S II, 365; al-Muhībī, I, 466-500, Wüst., 124. Serjeant, *Materials*, I, 585 f.

6. Abū Bakr b. Abū'l-Kāsim b. Ahmad (b. 984/1576, d. 1035/1626) had a *sūfiya* in al-Mahāṣī (Wādī Rīmā'). Among his works are: *Nafḥat al-Mandāl* (fi *Tarāḍīm* Sādk al-Ahdal, 10m. Pasha, [Shayr] and al-Ahdal al-'Alīyya fi *Ṭawāṣiṭ al-Ahdaliyya*. Cf. Brockelmann, II, 544; al-Muhībī, I, 64-8, Wüst., 122 f.

7. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Sulaymān (d. 1250/1835) is mentioned with eight titles in Brockelmann, S III, 131. Another work, *al-Nafas al-Yamānī fi Idghāt* *Daw'* *Shāhīnī*, cited by Serjeant, *Materials*, I, 587,



For two more members of this family, with the *ahbā* al-Muaww, Muḥ. al-Kāsim in the 913th century, the other in recent time, see Broekmann, S II, 239, 805. A collection of traditions on North Arabia, *Nathr al-Durr al-Mahmūd min Fadā'il al-Yaman al-Maymūn*, was published ca. 1350/1931 in Cairo by Muḥ. b. 'Alī al-Aḥd al-Husaynī al-Aḥaf.

**Bibliography:** Shariḥ, *Tahābil-Ḥawādī*, 80, 173, 190; Sakhiyū, *al-Daw' al-Lahmī*, II, 144-7; 'Abd al-Kādir al-'Aydārī, *al-Nār al-Sāfir*, passim; Muḥibbī, *Khawāṭir al-Aḥaf*, passim; F. Wustenfeld, *Die Ḥawādīn in Süd-Arabien im XI. (XVII.) Jahrhundert*, 121-5; H. K. Kay, *Yaman*, xviii, 1; O. Löfgren, in *MO*, xxv, 129 f.; idem, *Arab. Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden*, introd., 22 f. and passim; R. B. Serjeant, *Materials for South Arabian history*, I-IV, BSOAS, 1950, 381-397, 581-601.

**AHDATH**, literally "young men", a kind of urban militia which plays a considerable role in the cities of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th centuries, and is particularly well known at Aleppo and Damascus. Officially, its role is that of a police, charged with public order, fire-fighting, etc., and also, in time of need, with military defence in reinforcement of the regular troops. For these services the *ahdath* receive stipends allocated from the product of certain urban taxes. The only distinction between them and any ordinary police is the local nonprofessional nature of their recruitment, but it is precisely this which gives them an effective function, much more important and often quite different from that of a police. As armed and pugnacious men of the native-born population, they constitute in face of the political authorities (usually foreigners, or in any case from outside the city) the dynamic element of "municipal" oppositions. It is for this reason that we repeatedly find them rising against the domination of the princes, and sometimes, when the latter are weak, forcing upon them in effect a regime of condominium in the city. In relation to the population, however, they do not always represent the same strata. At critical moments, for example at Damascus immediately after the Fatimid occupation, they are dominated by popular elements; more often they appear to accept the direction of the bourgeoisie, and form more especially a body of supporters for one or two great families, from whom they draw their chief, the *ra'īs*. This *ra'īs* forces the authorities to recognize him as *ra'īs al-balad*, a kind of mayor, whose influence counterbalances, and sometimes exceeds, that of the *hādī*, also a local notable. Out of this there may thus emerge finally veritable urban dynasties, such as (parallel to the Banū 'Amr al-Tripoli, arising out of the *hādīs* of that city) the Banū Nāṣir al-Aḥd, hereditary chiefs of Ḥamā in the 6th/12th century under the nominal suzerainty of the Iḥdīd Turkmen princes. The portrait of the cities of Syria and the Djazīra furnished to us by these facts is evidently at some remove from the common view which presents them as lacking any kind of municipal structure. The *ahdath* were, of course, most active at times and places in which a professional police (*shurā* [q.v.]) could not be maintained, and for this reason neither Baghdad nor Cairo offer us a comparable picture. Their final decadence begins with the establishment by the Salḡūkiids or their successors of military commandants (*ghāḥa* [q.v.]) at the head of each city, supported by garrisons drawn from the regular army. About the same period the term *ahdath* is applied also to

armed bands of the Bāṭiniyya or "Assassins" in Syria.

The term is found in earlier centuries in 'Irāk, especially in Baṣra and Kūfa in the 2nd/8th century, but also in Baghdad and elsewhere. The officer in charge of the *ahdath* was responsible for public order, but the term *ahdath* in this case has generally been taken (following the opinion of Dozy, s.v.) in the other sense, equally justified by etymology, of blame-worthy "innovations" of such a nature as to disturb public order and whose authors should be seized and punished. In general use, the term certainly has in given contexts the sense of "crime", but equally certainly in other contexts the sense of groups of "young men", vaguely specified. In the light of the materials described above, Dozy's view must be regarded as open to question; but up to the present time no text has come to notice which allows of a definite decision.

The further question arises of the relations between the Syrian and Mesopotamian *ahdath* and the *fityān* (see FATĀ) and 'ayyārūn (see 'AYYAR) whose existence is documented in 'Irāk and the Iranian region throughout the Middle Ages, and who were especially active from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th centuries. These certainly played the role of "active wing" of the popular oppositions to the official authorities, parallel to, but more vigorously pressed than, that of the *ahdath*; the Iranian cities, moreover, all had apparently a *ra'īs*, who seems sometimes to have been the *ra'īs* of the *fityān* in his city. Etymologically also, *ahdath* and *fityān* have the same meaning. Nevertheless, though there is often convergence in fact, the two institutions differ in their origin, and these differences persisted. *Fityān* and 'ayyārūn were essentially private groups, recruited from the depressed classes and more violent in action, and it was only by gradual stages that they sometimes succeeded in drawing certain bourgeois or aristocratic elements in their train, or in replacing the military police. They often formed organized bodies with initiatory rites, within which there developed the peculiar ideology of the *futuwwa* [q.v.]. No parallel to this has yet been found among the *ahdath*. It may not be accidental that the boundary between those with *fityān* and those with *ahdath* corresponds very closely to the ancient Byzantine-Sasanid frontier, a fact which suggests that the *ahdath* may possibly be related to the ancient "factions" of the Later Roman empire. The whole question can, however, only be investigated in the framework of the general social study of the Islamic cities, on which little work has yet been done.

**Bibliography:** Numerous references to *ahdath* in Ibn al-Kalānī, *Ḍhayr Ta'riḥ Dimashq* (Amedroz) (Eng. tr. by H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1931, Pt. II, by R. Le Tourneau, *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, Paris 1952); also in Ibn al-'Adīm, *Ta'riḥ Ḥalab* (Dahlan), Ibn al-Tayyib (cp. Ibn al-Furāt, in MS), Ibn al-Athīr, *Yahyā al-Antākī* (Kratchkovsky & Vasiliev), Sibt b. al-Djauzī, and other Syrian sources. For the 'Irāqī problem see esp. Tabart, *passim*, and Miwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, ch. xix. Summary in *Recueil de la Soc. Jean Bodin*, vi, by Cl. Cahen, who is preparing a more complete study; remarks by Renaud in *JA*, 1848/II, 231; indications by Gibb and Le Tourneau in the introductions to translations of Ibn al-Kalānī; J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 96, 103, 139. See also AHD, 'AYYAR, FATĀ.

(CL. CAHEN)

**AHL**, Turkish poet, whose real name seems to have been Beḥī Hasan ("Hasan with the mole"). His father Sidi Khodja was a merchant in Trestnik (not far from Nicopolis). After the latter's death Ahl went to Istanbul and chose for himself the career of a scholar, but for a long time advanced no further than the rank of candidate (*mudāris*), because he declined the position of *mudāris* in Bayazid Paḡha's *madrassa* in Bursa. Finally he obtained the less important position of *mudāris* in Kara Perya (Berhoca), where he died in 923/1517. He left two unfinished poetical works, of which the titles are: *Shirīn wa-Persa* (imitating Shervāsh's *Khawere u-Shirīn*), and *Ḥusn u-Dil* (Istanbul 1277). The latter work is an allegorical poem written in prose interspersed with verses, and is an imitation of Fāṭih's [q.v.] work of the same title. Gibb has epitomized its contents.

**Bibliography:** Sehl, 108; Laflī (Chabert), 105; 'Aḡhla Celebi and Kinnāl-zāde, s.v.; Gibb, II, 280 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geogr. d. Osman. Reichthum*, I, 209; Yemī Meḡmū'a, 1918, no. 54; Istanbul Kitāplıkları Türkçe Yazma divanlar kataloğu, no. 35.

**AL-AHKĀF**, the title of Sūra xvi of the Qur'ān, and a geographical term the meaning and application of which have been generally misunderstood. The Sūra derives its title from verse 21, which speaks of 'Ad as warning his people in al-Ahkāf. The word *ahkāf* is usually interpreted in dictionaries, books of *tafsīr*, and translations of the Qur'ān as meaning curved sand dunes. Medieval Arab geographers considered al-Ahkāf to be the name of a sand desert in Southern Arabia, said to lie between Hadramawt and 'Uṣmān, i.e., in the eastern part of al-Ramlā or al-Rub' al-Khālī [q.v.]. Modern Western geographers, on the other hand, have inclined towards the identification of al-Ahkāf with the whole of al-Ramlā or just its western half. C. Landberg (*Hadramawt*, 146-160) showed that Ahkāf as a regional name is used in Southern Arabia as roughly synonymous with Hadramawt in the broadest sense and is not applied to the sands farther north. The southern bedouins define Barr al-Ahkāf as the mountainous area running behind the coast from Zufar west to Aden, the central valley of which is Wādī Hadramawt; to them the word *ahkāf* means simply mountains and is not associated either with dunes or, as suggested by Landberg, with caves (*ahkaf*). A statement made to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib by a man of Hadramawt, as recounted by Ibn al-Kalbi and repeated by al-Bakrī and Yāqūt (s.v.), indicates that even in ancient times *ahkāf* may have been used in Southern Arabia in this connection rather than as a name for dunes in the Great Desert.

(G. KREMER)

**AHKĀM**, pl. of *ḥukm*, decision, judgment. [See also HAKĀM.] In the Qur'ān, the word occurs only in the singular, and is used (as is the corresponding verb) of Allāh, the Prophets, and other men. Use of Allāh, it denotes both individual ordinances and the whole of His dispensation (iii, 79; xiv, 16; ix, 10). In the ultimate sense, final jurisdiction belongs to Allāh alone (see AL-MUḤAKKIM), but He has given authority to make decisions to His Prophets. The jurisdiction of Muhammad, in particular, is opposed to that of paganism (v, 50). So *ḥukm* comes to mean the authority, imperium, of the Islamic government and, on the other hand, the judgment of a *hādī* on a concrete case.

From *ḥukm* in the sense of a judicial decision derive the meanings of a logical judgment concerning a

thing, of a status to be predicated of a thing or of a person, and of a rule in religious law, in grammar, and in other sciences. In all these meanings, the term is freely used in the plural. In particular, one speaks of *al-ahkām al-khama*, the "five qualifications" (obligatory, recommended, indifferent, reprehensible, forbidden), by one or the other of which every act of man is qualified in religious law (see MAḤṢA). In a broader sense, *ahkām* means the sum of the rules pertaining to any given subject (cf. the titles of books such as *ahkām al-awḥā* ["On Waki"], *al-ahkām al-sulṭāniyya* ["On Government"], also *ahkām al-āḥirā* ["On the Next World"], *ahkām al-nudūm* ["astrology", etc.]). In the field of religious law, *ahkām* is therefore synonymous with the *ḥurūf*, the positive law as opposed to legal theory or jurisprudence (see FIQH), but as it also means judicial decisions, the term is more specifically used of the application of legal rules to concrete cases.

**Bibliography:** Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥukm*; Djurdān, *Ta'riḥ*, 97; A. Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, s.v. *ḥukm*; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 72 f.; A. Jeffery, in *MW*, 1950, 121 f.; R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 133; L. Gardet, *La Cide musulmane*, index, s.v. *ahkām* and *ḥukm*.

(J. SCHACHT)

**AHL** (أهل), originally meaning "those who occupy with one the same tent (Hebrew *ohel*)", thus "family, inmates". Therefore *ahl al-Bayt* means literally "the household of the Prophet". When the *ahl* (pl. *ahāl*) of a town or a country is spoken of it denotes its inhabitants, sometimes, as in Medina (according to Burton), specially those who were born there and own houses. But this word is often connected with other concepts, and is in these combinations more loosely used, so that it may come to mean "sharing in a thing, belonging to it", or "owner of the same", etc. Some of the compounds with *ahl* most in use follow here:

**AHL AL-AHWĀ'** [أهل الأهواء], "predilection, inclination of the soul"; comp. Qur'ān vi, 151) is a term applied by the orthodox theologians to those followers of Islām, whose religious tenets in certain details deviate from the general ordinances of the Sunnite confession (cf. ZDMG, 1898, 150). As examples there are mentioned: Ḍjābariyya, Kadariyya, Rawāfīd, Khawāriḡ, anthropomorphists, Mu'tazilīa. From the above definition it may be inferred that in the sense of Muslim theology it is not proper to designate these tendencies as sects.

(I. GOLDZIEHER)

**AHL AL-BAYT**, *Āl al-Bayt*, "the people of the House", *Āl al-Nabī*, "the family of the Prophet", all mean the same; the term *Āl Yāsīn* also occurs. The origin of the phrase is to be found in the strong clan sense of the pre-Islamic Arabs, among whom the term *al-bayt* was applied to or adopted by the ruling family of a tribe (by derivation from an ancient right of guardianship of the symbol of the tribal deity, according to H. Lammens, *Le Culte des Dieux, en l'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut 1928, 136 ff., 154 ff.), and survived into later centuries in the plural form *al-bayyāt* for the noble tribal families (see AHL AL-BUYYĀT and ĀL). In early Islamic times the term *bayt* was applied to themselves by a number of families, e.g. by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar to the house of 'Umar (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Sirat 'Umar* b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Cairo 1927, 19), and by 'Umar II to the Unayyad house (*unayyad al-Hudaydīd*) *minnā ahl 'ibayy* [ibid. 24]. In the Qur'ān the phrase *ahl 'ibayy* occurs twice: once in xl, 73, applied to the house of Ibrāhīm; the



second passage, xxxiii, 33 ("God desires only to remove filthiness from you (musc. pl.), *ahī* 'al-bayt', and with cleansing to cleanse you"), serves as the proof-text for its application to the house of Muhammad (but see R. Faret, in *Orientalische Studien Enzo Lütmann*, ... überreicht, Leiden 1935, 127-20).

The precise interpretation of the term in xxxiii, 33, gave rise to differences of opinion. In one tradition, according to which Salama al-Firdi (q.v.) is included among the *ahl al-bayt* (Ibn Hishām, *Siya* (Cairo), iii, 241; Ibn Sa'd, iv/1, 59), it is opposed to *muhajjirin* and *anṣār*. Among the *Shi'a* (and generally in circles friendly to 'Ali) it was applied to Muhammad, 'Ali, Fātima, al-Hasan and al-Husayn (cf. already al-Kumayt, *Hāshiyat* (Horowitz), 38 l. 30; cf. 92, l. 67) by interpreting the verse through the well-known "tradition of the mantle" (*ḥadiṭh al-ḥiṣā'*, *ḥadiṭh al-'ashā'*), which was accepted also in Sunni circles (see AHL AL-KHAWARIZM). In keeping with an explanation of the Kur'anic phrase as referring to the Prophet's wives and dependents, attributed to Ibn 'Abbās and 'Umar, Umm Salama is, in some versions of this tradition, recognized by the Prophet as belonging to the *ahl al-bayt*. It is given a still wider application in a version of the so-called *ḥadiṭh al-'ashā'*, where the term is applied to those to whom (including their *ma'wāl*) a share in the *ḥudūd* is forbidden; among these are definitely mentioned the families (āf) of 'Ali, of his brothers 'Akkā and 'Iṣṣā, and of al-'Abbās. In this tradition, therefore, the *ahl al-bayt* includes the Tālibids and 'Abbāsids, historically the most important families of the Banū Hāshim; and in order to strengthen their claim to inclusion in the verse of purification, the 'Abbāsids also had their counterpart of the *ḥadiṭh al-ḥiṣā'*. Malik and Abū Hanifa extended it to include all the Banū Hāshim and al-Shāfi'i extended it to the Banū Muttalib also, while others make it include the whole community. The current orthodox view is based on a harmonizing opinion, according to which the term *ahl al-bayt* includes the *ahl al-'ashā'*, i.e. the Prophet, 'Ali, Fātima, al-Hasan and al-Husayn, together with the wives of the Prophet.

The *Shi'a* limit the family (which they call by preference *āf*) to the *ahl al-ḥiṣā'* and their descendants, making devotion to them an essential, or even the main, part of religion. In one version of the "Farewell Sermon" Muhammad is represented as saying that God has given two safeguards to the world: His Book and the Prophet's *sunna*; in another version, this is replaced by: His Book and the Prophet's *ṣiṭra*. The official creed of the *Shi'a* does not go beyond this, but popular belief ascribes cosmological importance to the family as in traditions like: "The stars are a pledge to the world that it will not be drowned, and my family are a pledge to the community that it will not go astray"; "God would not have created heaven, earth, paradise, Adam, Eve, the angels, nor anything else but for them (the family)". They have the same saving function as Noah's ark. The heads of the family are the Imams (q.v.), infallible and sinless. The extreme Manṣūriyya called the family heaven and the *Shi'a* earth (al-'Ash'ari, *Makābil*, 9).

The ideas of the *Shi'a* found their way into later collections of *ḥadiṭh*, although the Sunna declares that love for the family is of no avail without obedience to the *sunna*. Al-Makrizi is quoted as saying: "Beware of finding fault with one of the family, for no heresy, no default in the performance of religious duties, and no sin deprives him of his sonship."

The form *āf* is used more especially in the invocation: "O God, bless (*ṣalli* 'alā) Muhammad and his *āf*" (cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, l, 114-7). The definition of those comprehended in this expression has produced controversies similar to those about the *ahl al-bayt*. Ibn Khallaway enumerated twenty-five classes in his *K. al-Āf* (G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen d. Araber*, 231; citation in Bahārī, *Manār al-Hudā*, Bombay 1320, 200). See also al-Ṭūsī, *List of Shi'a Books*, no. 294.

**Bibliography:** The law books on *ṣalāt*, e.g. Kudūri, *Mukhtasar*, Kazan 1880, 23; Nawawī, *Nikāya* (Van den Berg), ii, 305; Ibn Kāsim al-Qāṣirī, *Fatā al-Kurān* (Van den Berg), 232; Bahārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Fatāwā al-ḥakīm*, no. 39, with Kaṣṣālīnī, vi, 151; Commentaries to Kur'ān xxxiii, 33; the works of Makrizi, Ṣabbān, Nabbānī quoted in the bibliography to art. *ḥajrāt*; Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Hayṭamī, al-Sawā'iq al-Mubriha, Cairo 1307, 87 ff. (comprehensive discussion, in an anti-*Shi'a* sense, of the extension of the notion of *ahl al-bayt*; Hasan b. Yūsuf al-Hillī, al-Bihar 'l-Hādī 'Saghar, trans. Miller, London 1928; 'Ali Asghar b. 'Ali Akbar, 'Ashād al-Shi'a, summarized trans. by A. A. A. Fyzee, *A Shi'a Creed*, Bombay 1942; R. Lammens, *Fatima*, Rome 1912, 95 ff.; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zeitgenossen*, Strassburg 1912, 19 f.; C. van Arentdonk, *De Ophomst van het Zaiditische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919, 65 ff.; Wessink, *Handbook*, s.v.

(I. GOLDZISER, C. VAN ARENTDONK, A. S. TRITTON).

**AHL AL-BUY'UT** (A.), originally denoted those that belong to Persian families of the highest nobility (Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 71), then, the nobles in general. Other meanings are given by Dozy, *Supplément*, l, 131.

**AHL AL-DĀR** (A.) = "the people of the house", in the Almadid hierarchy the 6th order (see AL-KUWALIMIN).

**AHL AL-DHIMMA** (A.), the Jews and Christians, between whom and the Muslims there is according to Muslim law a certain legal relation (see DHIMMA).

**AHL AL-FARD** (see MIRĀṬH).

**AHL AL-HADITH**, also **ASHĀB AL-HADITH**, the partisans of traditions (see *ḥadīṭh*). Traditionalism in Islam manifested itself first in the re-emergence of the old Arabian concept of *sunna* (q.v.), the normative custom of the community, which was in due course identified with the *sunna* of the Prophet. This normative custom found its expression in the "living tradition" of the ancient schools of religious law, which came into being at the very beginning of the second century of Islam. In opposition to the ancient schools and their extensive use of human reasoning and personal opinion (see *ASHĀB AL-RĀ'Y* and *RA'Y*), the *ahl al-hadīṭh*, who appeared on the stage a little later, claimed that formal traditions from the Prophet, even though they were transmitted only by isolated individuals (see *ḥajrāt* AL-WAHID), superseded the "living tradition". The traditionalists themselves were responsible for putting into circulation many traditions which purported to go back to the Prophet, and they specialised in collecting, perfecting, transmitting and studying them; long journeys were made in search of traditions. Though hardly any of this material, as far as religious law is concerned, can be regarded as authentic by the standards of historical research, the Muslims, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, have accepted its essential parts as genuine.

The movement of the traditionalists was the most

important event in the history of Islamic religious law in the second century of Islam. The ancient schools opposed it strongly at first, and the discussion concerning the authority of formal traditions from the Prophet, as against the "living tradition" of the schools, occupied most of that century. Once consciously formulated, however, the thesis of the traditionalists, involving as it did the highest possible authority under the Kur'ān, was assured of success, and the ancient schools had no real defence against the rising tide of traditions. Al-Shāfi'i (q.v.) adopted the thesis of the traditionalists and the other schools accepted it too, though they did not necessarily change their established doctrine accordingly. Only the doctrine of Ahmad b. Hanbal (q.v.) is purely traditionalist. The final theory of religious law represents a compromise, insofar as the thesis of the traditionalists, while accepted in principle, was made dependent in its application on the consensus of the scholars (see *ṭaḥṭ*).

The main material aim of the traditionalists was the same as that of the ancient schools, that is, to subordinate the legal subject-matter to religious and ethical considerations. On occasion, they showed themselves interested in purely legal issues as well. Al-Shāfi'i had reason to complain that their standards of reasoning in general were inferior to those of the ancient schools, and in particular, he disavowed those extreme traditionalists who accepted all traditions indiscriminately. The majority of traditionalists, however, attempted to discriminate between reliable and unreliable traditions by criticism of the *isnād* (q.v.); this criticism was directed against the ancient schools whose standards, by the nature of things, were less exacting in this respect. This traditional criticism of the *isnād* has no direct bearing on determining the historical authenticity of a tradition.

As early as the 2nd/8th century, the study of traditions from the Prophet became an end in itself, and the science of traditions, no longer opposed but complementary to the science of positive religious law (*fiqh* (q.v.)), became an important and assiduously cultivated branch of Islamic religious scholarship. The usual term for a technical specialist in traditions is *muhaddith*.

**Bibliography:** *Shāfi'i*, K. al-Umm, vii, passim; Ibn Kutayba, *Ta'wīd Muḥaddith* al-Hadīṭh, 88 ff. (defence of the traditionalists); idem, *Makābil* (Wustenfeld), 232 ff. (list of traditionalists); *Fihrist*, 225 ff. (another list); al-Hākim al-Nayṣabūrī, *Maṣṭhal 'Ulūm al-Hadīṭh*, 3 f.; Ibn Fūrāḳ, *Bayān Muḥall al-Aḥādīṭh*, 3; I. Goldziher, *Muḥ. Stud.*, ii, 77 ff. (transl. Bercher, *Études sur la tradition islamique*, 91 ff.); A. Guillaume, *Traditions of Islam*, 69 f.; J. Fück, in *ZDMG*, 1939, 1 f. (represents a very conservative point of view); J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 253 ff. and passim; idem, *Esquisse d'une histoire du droit musulman*, 31 ff.

(J. SCHACHT)

**AHL-I HADITH**, "the followers of the Prophetic tradition", is a designation used in India and Pakistan for the members of a Muslim sect, who profess to hold the same views as the early *ashāb al-hadīṭh* or *ahl al-hadīṭh* (q.v.) as opposed to *ahl al-ra'y*. They do not hold themselves bound by *taḥṭ* or obedience to any of the four recognized *imams* of the *fiqh*-schools but consider themselves free to seek guidance in matters of religious faith and practice from the authentic traditions, which together with the Kur'ān are in their view the only worthy guide for true Muslims. They disregard the opinions of

the founders of the four schools when they find them unsupported by or at variance with traditions, transmitted on the authority of the Companions of the Prophet. They have thus earned the name of *ghayr muḥallid*, which appellation, though disowned by them, nevertheless admirably defines their position in relation to other sects. They reject also the common notion that the *ashāb al-hadīṭh* or legal conclusions of the founders of these schools are of final authority; and rather contend that every believer is free to follow his own interpretations of the Kur'ān and the traditions, provided he has sufficient learning to enable him to give a valid interpretation. Consequently, they do not regard the *ijmā'* or consensus of the preceding generations of Muslims as binding on them. As a result of their characteristic attitude, they have found themselves in conflict chiefly with the Hanafis or followers (*muḥallid*) of Abū Hanifa, who constitute the majority of Sunni Muslims in India and Pakistan. Their controversy has, however, been confined in actual practice to certain minor points of ritual (such as *ra'f* al-*yadayn*, *imām bi'l-ḥajr*) and belief, there being a substantial agreement on really important theological and doctrinal questions.

The Ahl-i Hadith try to go back to first principles and to restore the original simplicity and purity of faith and practice. Emphasis is, accordingly, laid in particular on the reassertion of *taḥṭ* or the unity of Allāh and the denial of occult powers and knowledge of the hidden things (*'ilm al-ghayb*) to any of his creatures. This involves a rejection of the uncanny powers of saints and of the exaggerated veneration paid to them. They also make every effort to eradicate customs that may be traced either to innovation (*bid'a*) or to Hindu or other non-Islamic systems. In all this, their reformist programme bears a striking resemblance to that of the Wahhābīs of Arabia; and as a matter of fact their adversaries often nickname them Wahhābīs, an appellation which they repudiate, on the ground that their tenets are not derived from the Arabian Wahhābīs, who are themselves *muḥallid* in the sense that they follow the opinions of Ahmad b. Hanbal in legal matters.

The Ahl-i Hadith made their first appearance as a distinct sect in the last century, partly through the influence of the writings of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan (q.v.); d. 1307/1890 and partly through the teaching of Sayyid Naḍir Husayn (d. 1320/1902), an eminent theologian who specialized in the science of *ḥadiṭh* and lectured on it for more than half a century at Delhi. Among his numerous pupils, who became influential teachers and writers in their own turn and propagated his ideas in different parts of the country, special mention is due to Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh 'Uḡamawī (d. 1391/1971), who was banished from his native country of Afghanistan for his views and settled in Amritsar (Punjab); Mawlānā Muhammad Husayn of Batāla (d. 1338/1919), who edited the monthly *Ishād al-Sunna* for many years; and Mawlānā Abū 'l-Wafā Ṭhanā Allāh (d. 1367/1948), who edited the weekly *Ahl al-Hadith* till 1947 and made a great name for himself as a controversialist and an expositor of the views of the school. The last named also took a leading part in organizing the All-India Ahl-i Hadith Conference with its headquarters at Delhi, where its first annual meeting was held in 1912.

The Ahl-i Hadith have their own journals, mosques and seminaries, and are distinguished by (i) their zealous effort, only partly successful, to purify the



religious life of the Muslims by ridding it of its innovations, superstitions and unnatural accretions, (2) their active promotion of the study of Hadith literature, the importance of which had already been recognized by Shāykh 'Abd al-Hakk Muhaddith of Delhi (q.v.), and (3) their polemics against the Ārya-Samājist Hindus, the Christian missionaries and the Ahmads (Kādyānīs).

**Bibliography:** Siddiq Hasan Khān, *Tarjūmā-i Waḥabīyya*, Agra 1300; Muṣṣin al-Mulk Sayyid Maḥdī 'Alī Khān, *Ta'riḥ-i Taḥlīd aur 'Aṣmā bi'l-Hadīth*, Aligarh 1306; M. Thaḥā Allāh, *Ahl-i Hadīth kā Madhhab*, Amritsar 1296; Abū Yahyā Imām Khān, *Tarjūmā-i 'Ulamā-i Ḥadīth-i Hind*, Delhi 1350; idem, *Ahl-i Hadīth bi'l-ḥaq*, Delhi 1350; idem, *Ahl-i Hadīth bi'l-ḥaq*, Delhi 1350; Naḍīm al-Ḥijāzī Khān, *Madhhab al-Ḥadīth*, Lucknow 1324, 611-22; Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī, *Hindūstān min 'Ilm Hadīth* in the *Ma'arif*, xxii, Azamgarh 1928; Maṣ'ūd 'Āṭam Nadwī, *Islām bi' Fikr Sayyid Taḥrīr*, Rawalpindi 1368, 21-31; S. M. Ikrim, *Mawḍi' Kauthar*, Bombay, 48-55; M. Ibrahim Mir Sālikoti, *Ta'riḥ-i Ahl-i Hadīth*, Lahore 1933; *Fatāwā 'Ulamā-iyya*, ed. M. Dā'ūd Rāz, Bombay 1372. (All the preceding works are in Urdu.) Shāh Wali Allāh, *Ḥudūd al-Ālāh*, Cairo 1352, I, 147-62; Siddiq Hasan Khān, *Ḥudūd al-Ālāh al-Adīl al-Maṣ'ūdī*, 1293 A.H.; Shāykh Ahmad al-Makhlī, *Ta'riḥ Ahl-i Hadīth*, lithographed at Lahore; Murray Titus, *Indian Islam*, 1930, 187-91; H. A. R. Gibb (editor), *Western Islam*, I, London 1934; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, Lahore 1947; H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1948. (SH. INAYATULLAH.)

**AHL-I HAKK**, "Men of God", a secret religion prevalent mainly in western Persia. Ahl-i Hakk would seem to be a rather imprecise name for this sect, because it is used, for example, by the Hurūfīs (see CL. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Hurūfīs*, 1899, 401), and because it has an affinity with such verb nouns as *Ahl-i Ḥalīqā*, a term which is also used by the Ahl-i Hakk. In the strict sense, however, Ahl-i Hakk is the name properly given to initiates of the religion described in the present article. The name 'Ahl-i Ḥalīq' applied to them by their neighbours is an unsuitable title, because 'Ahl' is not the dominant figure in the religion of Ahl-i Hakk, and further because the term 'Ahl-i Ḥalīq' is also used in relation to sects whose connection with the Ahl-i Hakk has not yet been established.

The only reliable method is to describe the sect on the basis of the authentic sources, supplemented by material drawn from the narratives of travellers. The difficulties of this task arise firstly from the fact that the number of texts available is

still limited (besides being often in dialect and bristling with abstruse terms) and secondly from the existence of numerous subsects. The Ahl-i Hakk church has no canonical unity, but resembles rather a federation of associated movements (see a provincial list of these subdivisions in Minorovsky, *Notes*, 46 [53]). There are twelve main *khānādāns* or *silsilas* (v. infra), but there are branches which are not included in this list, cf. the Sayyid Djalāl (Minorovsky, *Notes*, 48 [53]) and the Tūmārī (a highly abnormal group) (Minorovsky, *Etudes*, II). The account by Gohineau, the *Firḥān* and the text published by W. Ivanov reveal a religious system more philosophical than the naive legends of the *Sarandjam* (in the Āṭash-begi version). Since, at the moment, however, this branch is better known to us, the following account will be based primarily on the Āṭash-begi documents, to be supplemented later by material from the *Firḥān*, the author of which was a Khāmūshī (?).

The Dogmas. The central point in the dogmas of the Ahl-i Hakk is the belief in the successive manifestations of the Divinity, the number of these being seven. The manifestations of God are compared to garments put on by the Divinity: "to become incarnate" means "to come (to dwell) in a garment" (*libās, dījama, dān* < Turk. "don").

On each occasion the Divinity appears with a following of Four (or Five) Angels (*yārān-i ār-malak*) with whom he forms a close group.

The table of theophanies according to the MS. of the *Sarandjam* is given below.

In pre-eternity (*azāl*) the Divinity was enclosed in a Pearl (*durr*). He made his first external appearance in the person of Khāwandagīr, the Creator of the world. The second avatar was in the person of 'Alī. From the beginning of the third epoch the list becomes quite original and typically Ahl-i Hakk. The first four epochs correspond to the stages of religious knowledge: *shar'īa*, *tarīqa*, *ma'rifa* and *haḥika*. According to all branches of the sect, the representative of the last and the highest stage is Sultān Ṣohāb. On the other hand, several differences of opinion regarding the succession of Sultān Ṣohāb are recorded.

Just as the divine essence reappears in each of the seven "incarnations", the angels (cf. the vertical columns in the table) are avatars of one another. For this reason their names are interchangeable and Salāmān is often spoken of in the epoch of Sultān Ṣohāb or Benyāmīn in the epoch of Khāwandagīr. The angels are emanations of the Divinity: the first of them was produced by Khāwandagīr from his armpit, the second from his mouth, the third from his breath, the fourth and

fifth from his perspiration and his light respectively (cf. the *Sarandjam*). According to another version, Benyāmīn was created from the perspiration, which is characteristic of modesty; Dāwūd — from the breath (anger); Mūsā — from the moustache (pity); Razbār — from the pulse (charity). The angels play the part of ministers to the Divinity: Benyāmīn is the deputy (*naḥb*) and the *pir*; Dāwūd is the overseer (*waṭir*) and judge (?); Pir Mūsā is the *waṭir* who records good and evil; Muṣṭafā Dowdān (< Nuṣayr) is the Angel of Death.

The angels are usually said to be four in number (in some lists and in certain periods this number is reduced to three) but in fact a fifth angel is especially charged with the supervision of worship. This angel's symbolical name is Razbār, Razbār or Ramzār ("entrusted with mysteries") and her feminine character is indisputable; but the sex in Razbār is not emphasized. One of the informants even alleges that Razbār is a hermaphrodite (*khawndā*). Razbār is the mystical name of Khātūn Dāyira, mother of Sultān Ṣohāb, and the compiler of the list quoted above is wrong in relegating her to the fifth epoch.

Metempsychosis and Eschatology. The belief in the reincarnation of the theophanies finds its parallel in the general belief in metempsychosis. "Men! Do not fear the punishment of death! The death of man is like the dive which the duck makes".

Human beings must pass through the cycle of 1,001 incarnations, in the course of which they receive the reward of their actions (*Notes*, p. 131 [212]). According to the *Firḥān* (I, 32, 33, 57, 68), however, the possibilities of purification are essentially limited by the very nature of beings; of whom some, created out of yellow clay (*sarda-gil*), are good, and the others, created out of black earth (*siyāḥ ḥāk*), are evil. "The more (the former) go through the world of garments and the more they suffer, the more they approach God and the more their luminous state increases", while the "Dark ones" shall never see the Sun. As a complement to these beliefs, the Ahl-i Hakk eagerly await the advent of the Lord of Time who shall come "to accomplish the desires of the Friends and embrace (ḥāḥa) the Universe". There are a number of prophetic *ḥādīth* which announce the coming of the Messiah. The scene of the Last Judgment, (*sā*, "review") will be the plain of Shahrizūr (q.v.) or that of Sultāniyya (q.v.) where the "sultāns shall be exterminated" (*Notes*, p. 44 [11]). According to the *Firḥān*, I, 57, the Good shall enter Paradise (which is the contemplation of the beauty of the Lord of Generosities, while the Wicked shall be annihilated (*ma'dūm*)).

Rites. The Ahl-i Hakk have a number of practices which are quite original.

1. We find little mention of individual prayer; on the other hand, the Ahl-i Hakk attach tremendous importance to assemblies (*dījam* < *dījam*) in which "all difficulties find their solution". The life of the community is eminently collective and the assemblies are held at fixed intervals and in connection with all important events. *Kalāmas* are recited at them to the accompaniment of music.

2. On solemn occasions sessions of *dhikr* (q.v.) are held. Specially qualified darwishes to the sounds of music (*sā*) enter into a state of ecstasy, accompanied by anaesthesia, which enables them to walk over burning coals, to handle them, etc.
3. The indispensable features of these assemblies are the offerings and the sacrifices: *naḥḥ wa-niṣā*

(raw offerings, uncooked, including animals of the male sex, oxen, sheep, cocks, intended for sacrifice) or *ḥayr wa-ḥāḥmat* (cooked or prepared victuals, like sugar, bread, etc.). The *Firḥān*, I, 74 counts fourteen kinds of bloody or bloodless sacrifices (*burhān-yi ḥāḥmāt wa-ni-ḥāḥ*). The ritual of sacrifice is regulated and the flesh is separated from the bones, which are buried. The boiled meat and the other offerings are distributed among those present and dedicatory formulae (*ḥāḥmāt*) are repeated. The term *sāḥ namādan*, "to render green, i.e. living, to reanimate", is applied to the ceremony (*Notes*, p. 210 [90]).

4. "Just as every dervish must have a spiritual director (*murshid*) so the head of every Ahl-i Hakk has to be commended to a *pir*". In the course of this ceremony (*sar sipurdan*) the persons symbolising the "Five (sic!) Angels" stand round the infant. A Muscat nut (*dījam-i ḥusn*) is broken by the celebrant as a substitute for the head. It is then worn as an amulet, with a piece of silver called *ḥasra* bearing the Shī'a form of the profession of faith (*ḥasra* from the Shī'a town of Hawra in Khuzistān; cf. *Notes*, p. 227 [107], and W. Caskel, *Ein Maḥdī des 15. Jahrhunderts, in Islamica*, 1931, 48-9, and the art. *MUGRA* (SHA)). Links recalling blood relationship are established between him whose head is commended and the line of the *dhayl* to whom the head has been commended. This spiritual relationship carries with it the prohibition of marriage between the individual dedicated and the family of the *pir*.

5. With the object of attaining moral perfection special unions (*nuclei*) are formed between a man (or several men) and a woman who are called brother and sister (*shar'i-ābrār*). The union is said to be formed in anticipation of the Day of Resurrection: *Notes*, p. 230 [110]; cf. the *ahh wa-niḥi* al-*dhayr* among the Yazidis (q.v.).

6. Fasting is rigorously observed but lasts only for three days, as among the Yazidis (q.v.). It takes place in winter and is followed by a feast. Among the divisions of the sect, only the Āṭash-begi do not observe the fast "for the days of the (final) advent are near" and instead of fasting they say one ought to feast.

For the other rites and customs see the *Notes* by Minorovsky (*ibid.*).

**Firḥān al-Aḥḥār**. The author of this treatise was Ḥādīdī Nī'mat Allāh of Dīayūn-ābād near Dinawar (1872-1920) who belonged to the Khāmūshī division and who believed the time had come to reveal the Real Truth (*ḥaḥīq*). His son Nūr 'Alī Shāh (b. 1313/1895) wrote the biography of his father and an introduction to the *Firḥān* under the title of *Naḥḥ al-ḥaḥīq*. While confirming much that was already known, the *Firḥān* represents a tradition different from that of the Āṭash-begi in as much as it makes no mention of "seven" epochs and reserves a special position for Khāwandagīr and Sultān Ṣohāb, while the number of manifestations of less importance is increased (Bābā Nā'ūgh, etc.).

The *Firḥān* consists of 4 parts. The first deals with the fundamental principles of the *ḥaḥīq* established in pre-eternity by the Divinity who in the stage of "yā-yi *ghayb*" became externalised in the garment of Khāwandagīr. The law remained concealed till the coming of Sultān Ṣohāb (Ṣohāb). Then the *dhayr* were recorded these doctrines but each in his own way and according to the sources which were accessible to him. As a result the Ahl-i Hakk community has no [single?] sacred book and

	I	II	III	IV	V
1. Khāwandagīr	Dīyārā'ī	Mikā'ī	Isrā'īl	'Arrā'ī	?
2. Murtadā 'Alī	Salāmīn	Kanbar	Ḥajrat-i Muḥammad	Nuṣayr	Fāṭima
3. Shāh Khoshīn	Bābā Buzurg	Kāḥā Redā (Rūdā)	Kore-Fakī	Bābā Tāhir	Māmā Djalāla
4. Sultān Ṣohāb	Benyāmīn	Dāwūd	Pir-i Mūsā	Khātūn Dāyira	Razbār
5. Kīmīdī (Shāh Waye Kulī)	Kīmīdī	Yārīdīn	Yārāl	Muṣṭafā Dowdān	Shāh Sawār
6. Mamad-beg	Dījamshīd-beg	Almīks-beg	Abdāl-beg	?	Agā
7. Khān Āṭash	Khān Dījamshīd	Khān Almās	Khān Abdāl	?	Pārī-khān-i Shart
					Dīstī Khānum



its divisions are distinguished by different views. The Ahl-i Hakk required a *baḥ-i ānā* which would be unique. So after 1324/1305 N'isnat Allāh, by God's command, abandoned the world and became the "messenger of the Lord of the Hour", i.e. of Pīr Benyāmīn (explained as *bis + yā + amīn* "faithful son of Ya"). Then comes the explanation of metempsychosis (*ḡardīn* *ān* *bi-dān* = "going from one garment to another").

The creatures of the world are divided into two distinct categories according to their original element (*asār-i ḡū* or *ḡāḡ-i āyāh*). To the first belong the Saved and Luminous beings whose respective *sardars* are Benyāmīn and Sayyid Muḥammad (in his avatar of Barzgar-sawār). To the other category belong beings of Fire and Darkness whose respective *sardars* are Iblīs and Khannās, with whom are associated the first three caliphs, Mu'āwīya, 'A'ishā, etc. The intermixture of the two categories of beings produces combinations which may be recognised even externally.

The second part of the treatise is mainly concerned with the correspondence of the avatars through the ages. Thus the manifestations of Benyāmīn are Noah, Jesus and provisionally (*mukānā*) Rustam of the Persian epic; those of Razbār: Bilkis, the queen of Saba; Mary, etc.; those of Sayyid Muḥammad: Zoroaster, the prophet Muḥammad, etc. Next we are given the history of Sūltān Ishāq (Shāh) and of his successors.

The third part relates the personal experiences of N'isnat Allāh and the communications which he received from God during his journey "to the beyond" (*asfar-i 'uḥā*), notably his mission to unite the *khānādāns*, to give absolution from sins (*az khayānat pāk namādan*) and to intercede (*ghīḡā'at*) with the Lord of Time.

The fourth part is the very full description of the rites and customs (*asr wa-nāḡ*), with the Gūrān text of the formulae recited on each occasion.

Distribution. The principal centres of the Ahl-i Hakk are in the west of Persia, in Luristān, Kūrdistān (land of the Gūrān east of Zohāb, town of Kerend) and in Ādharbāyḡdān (Tabriz, Mākū, with ramifications in Transcaucasia especially Karabagh). Little colonies of Ahl-i Hakk are found almost everywhere in Persia (at Hamadān, Teheran, at Māzandarān, Fīz and even in Kāzvin), to which, according to tradition, one of the brothers of Khān Ātāsh had gone. In 'Irāq there are Ahl-i Hakk among the Kurd and Turkoman tribes of the region of Kirkūk, of Sulaymāniyya and probably at Mosul.

Very little is known of the connection between the Ahl-i Hakk and the sects popularly known under the name of 'Alī Bāhī or by contemptuous terms like *ḡardīn-ḡardāns* ("extinguishers of lights"), *ghāwā-ghāḡā* ("daughters of cock") etc. (see BERTAGH, *ghūl-bāgh*, *ḡāḡī*, *ghāwān*). In any case, it is a striking fact that the direct influence of Ahl-i Hakk preachers of the district of Zohāb could be traced among the 'Alawī (Klāḡbāsh) of 'Aynāḡ; cf. Crowbridge, *The Alevis, Harvard Theol. Review*, 1909, 340-55, repr. in *MW*, 1921, 253-66.

Religious History. The Ahl-i Hakk possess a wealth of legends arranged according to the manifestations of the Divinity. The collections of these legends are known as *Sarandām*. The epoch of Khāwandgar is interesting only for its cosmogonic myths. The traditions relating to the epoch of 'Alī (which does not in any way form the central point) are inspired by the extreme Shī'a. The epoch of Khoshn is placed in a typically Lur (g.a.) environ-

ment, the geographical nomenclature showing an excellent knowledge of the localities of Luristān. One of the angels of Khoshn is Bābā Tāhīr (g.a.) whose quatrains in dialect are quoted. The fourth epoch is placed in the land of the Gūrān close to the river Sirwān. The sayings attributed to Sūltān Shāh are in Gūrān, which is the sacred language of the Ahl-i Hakk (cf. *Forbās*, I, 37). Minorities. *The Guran*, *USOS*, 1943, 77-103. The greatest sanctuaries of the sect: Bābā-Yādegār and Perdiwār, are situated in the same region. In the later epochs the scene is transferred to Ādharbāyḡdān and the *khāḡās* relating to these epochs are in Ādharbāyḡ Turkish. From these facts it may be concluded that the stages of propagation and development of the religion have been: Luristān—land of the Gūrān—Ādharbāyḡdān.

Exact dates are naturally difficult to obtain and we shall endeavour to proceed from the known to the unknown. Khān Ātāsh, born at Adjār (north of Marāgha) and buried in the village of Ātāsh-beg in the district of Haḡḡā-rūd, northeast of Mount Sahad, is said to have lived at the beginning of the 18th century (Notes, p. 41 [27]). This line was continued by his direct descendants, of whom the seventh was called Sayyid 'Abd al-'Aḡlān Mirzā (Aḡḡā-bāḡbāsh) and lived at Garrahān (also called Dūrū) on the Gāmāsāb to the south of Bisḡtān, where O. Mann visited him. He died in 1917 and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Hasan Mirzā. The popularity of the Turkish poems of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣāḡawī is significant; the *khāḡā*, known as *Kāḡḡ-nāma*, call Shāh Ismā'īl the "Pīr of Turkistān" (= Ādharbāyḡdān where Turkish is spoken). The spread of Ahl-i Hakk doctrines among the Turkoman tribes seems in any case to go back to an earlier period, that of the Kara Koyunlu rulers. The remnants of these Turkomans who live in a district in the centre of Mākū are Ahl-i Hakk. Similarly in Transcaucasia the Kara-Koyunlu in the region of Ganḡā live in the close neighbourhood of the Gūrān (< Gūrān). Shāh Ibrāhīm, whom many of the Ahl-i Hakk regard as the successor of Sūltān Shāh, and who lived in Baghdād and whose acolyte angel was Kūshī-ḡāḡī (author of Turkish *khāḡā*), is perhaps responsible for the dissemination of Ahl-i Hakk teaching among the Turkomans north of the Tigris.

Tradition places immediately before Shāh Ibrāhīm the famous Sūltān Shāh who (outwardly) was the son of Shāykh 'Alī and Khātūn Dāyira (Dāyārīk), daughter of Hasan Beg Djalid, chief of the tribe of Dīḡāḡ Murād. His real name is said to have been Sayyid 'Abd al-Sayyid. Barzindja, north of Sulaymāniyya, is said to have been his birthplace. He is said to have had seven sons from his wife Khātūna Baghlī, who are named *Kāḡān*. His tomb is at Perdiwār (in Awerānān lūḡā, see *senās*), on the right bank of the Sirwān.

The Kākā'ī chiefs of Ta'ūk claim to be his direct descendants (see al-'Azzāwī, *al-Kāḡā'īyya*). Shāykh Mahmūd, who after the World War proclaimed himself "King of Kurdistan" (cf. the article *Kūrdān*), claimed to be descended from the brother of Sūltān Shāh in the twelfth generation. At Kirkūk Minorsky found a MS containing a genealogy of that family.

The only definite indication of Bābā Khoshn's date would be his association with the poet Bābā Tāhīr (12th century) but here tradition is on very uncertain ground.

The Elements of the System. The religion of the Ahl-i Hakk is typically syncretist. At its foundations we find Shī'a extremism. It should be

noted that the Ahl-i Hakk always speak of the 12 imāma and as a result ought not (at least directly) to be connected with Ismā'īlism. According to the *Firhān*, the "religion of Truth" simply re-establishes the contents of the 10 *ghus'* which were suppressed in the received text of the Kur'ān, but in fact the Ahl-i Hakk deviate from the orthodox Shī'a to the extent of forming a separate religious system. The religious of the Ahl-i Hakk has in common with those of the Druzes and the Nusayris the worship of 'Alī, but 'Alī is completely overshadowed by Sūltān Shāh.

The other obvious element in the formation of the Ahl-i Hakk is the rites of the Ṣūfī darwishes: election of the *pīr*, agapes with *ghīḡ* and distribution of food, brotherly unions.

From the social point of view, the religion of the Ahl-i Hakk is professed particularly by the lower classes, nomads, villagers, inhabitants of the poorer quarters, darwishes etc. From this probably comes the hope that on the day of the last judgment "the sūltāns" will be punished (Notes, p. 44 [31]). On the other hand, the eminently popular character of the religion is apparent in the exuberance of the musical and folkloric element in the traditions of the Ahl-i Hakk. Amid the country people in the remote provinces which have at all times been outside the control of central governments, it is natural to expect to find survivals from olden times. The Divinity enclosed in the Pearl is a Manichaean idea (personal communication by Th. Nöldeke), like the belief in the purification of the "Luminous" in the course of their transmutations. The belief in metempsychosis cannot be directly Indian for it was already in existence in Ismā'īlism. The division of beings into two distinct categories is perhaps a later development of Zoroastrian ideas. The sacrifice of the cock has been several times connected with the corresponding Jewish rite (cf. I. Scheffelowitz, *Das stellvertretende Huhnopfer*, Gießen 1914), while the Biblical names (David, Moss) may have come through the intermediary of the Kur'ān. The alleged Christian influence ought not to be exaggerated: if the Ahl-i Hakk in their conversations with missionaries talk of Jesus and Mary, it should be remembered that, apart from these possibly being simply reminiscences of the Kur'ān, the Ahl-i Hakk regard them merely as avatars of their own pantheon. For the ages it is not necessary to go further back than the known darwesh practices (e.g. the Bekḡāḡ). The elasticity of the system of metempsychosis is responsible for the appearance of unexpected names in the myths. W. Ivanow has called attention to the name of Malak Tā'ūs (cf. *vayfols*) in a fragment containing traditions, found at Shīrāz.

Bibliography: The first references to the genuine Ahl-i Hakk are found in the European travellers at the beginning of the 19th century: Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, 1813, 141; G. Keppel, *Personal narrative of a journey from India to England*, 1817, II, 61 ff. H. Rawlinson, who commanded a regiment recruited from the tribe of Gūrān (Ahl-i Hakk), about the sect. Notes on a march from Zohāb, *JRCS*, 1859, 36, 39, 53, 57, 95, 97, 99, 105, 109. The Baron de Bode visited the shrine of Bābā Yādegār, *Bibliotheca d'ia Itoniya*, St. Petersburg 1854, t. xxiii, p. 45, cf. also his *Travels in Luristan*, 1845, I, 371-8, II, 180. The first general outline of the doctrines of the Ahl-i Hakk is in *Traits ans en Asie* by Gobineau, Paris 1859, 338-70,

who was in direct contact with the representative of the sect in Teheran, see Schemann, *Gobineau, eine Biographie*, Strasbourg, 1913, I, 506-7, and Minorsky, *Gobineau et la Perse, in Europe*, Paris, Oct. 1923, 116-27. A very interesting anonymous article (signed: Sh.) on the Ahl-i Hakk of Tabriz appeared in the journal *Karkas*, Tiflis, 1876, nos. 17, 29 and 30. The first authentic document of the Ahl-i Hakk (a *Kāḡā* of 34 verses, "the Credo") was published with important notes by V. A. Žukowsky in the *Zap.*, 1887, 1-25. The American missionary S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, 1896, collected a certain amount of information at first hand. In 1902 Minorsky acquired in Teheran an authentic Ahl-i Hakk MS., dated 1292/1843 and containing a collection of religious legends listed under epochs (see above), (*Kitāb-i Sarandām* "Book of the End, or Fulfilment") in Persian, and also a number of *Kāḡās* in Turkish (translated and published in Russian with a French summary: V. Minorsky, *Matériels d'ia tudeviya persidskoy sekhi "Ahl-i Hakk"*, Moscow, 1921, published as fasc. xxxiii of *Trudy* *so vostochnovedeniya iadaniyemim* *Lazarevskim Institutom*; id., *Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i-Hakk*, in *RMM*, 1920, 20-97 (p. 61-84; detailed bibliography containing 54 items), and *RMM*, 1922, 205-302 (also published in book form with certain additions); a review by F. Cumont in *Syria*, 1922, 262; V. Minorsky, *Un traité de polémique Bāḡāh-Ahl-i-Hakk*, in *JAI*, 1921, 165-7; D. Saad-Khan, *The sect of Ahl-i Hakk*, *MW*, 1927, 31-42; Gordievsky, *Kara-koyunlu*, in *12o. Omlistia tudeviya Azerbaydjana*, Baku, 1927; Ajarian, *Gyranas and Tawmanis, a newly found religion in Persia*, *Bull. de l'Université d'Erivan*, French translation by F. Macler in *RHR*, 1926, 204-307; Minorsky, *Études sur les Ahl-i Hakk*, I, "Tawmanis" — *Ahl-i Hakk*, *RHR*, 1928, 90-105; F. M. Stead, *The Ahl-i-Hakk sect in Persia*, *MW*, 1932, 184-91; Y. N. Marr, *Radeviye sekhi L'ndi istini* (in *V. Marr. Statyi i soobsheniya*, II, 1939, 248-54); Ch. P. Pittmann, *The final word of the Ahl-i Hakk*, *MW*, 1937, 147-63 (makes use of a text of the *Sarandām* which corresponds closely to that translated by Minorsky); W. Ivanow, *An Ahl-i Hakk fragment*, *Collectanea (The Ismā'īlī Society)*, I, 1948, 247-54, idem, *The Truth Worshipers of Kurdistan*, *Ahl-i Hakk*, Texts, Bombay 1953, (a third version of the *Sarandām*); 'Abbas al-Azzāwī, *al-Kāḡā'īyya fī'l-Ta'rīḡ*, Baghdād 1368/1949 (the Ahl-i Hakk of Kirkūk considered jointly with various 'Alī Bāhī; cf. *Oriens*, 1953, 407 ff.); Minorsky, *Un poème Ahl-i Hakk en l'urk*, *Wiedliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, 1954, 258. The results of the researches of Minorsky amongst the Ahl-i Hakk (Teheran, Tabriz, Mākū, Kurdistan) and of his visits to the sanctuaries of the sect (Bābā-Yādegār, Perdiwār) have been set forth in his *Notes* (see above). In the same work there is a translation of the Bāḡā'ī polemic tract directed against the Ahl-i Hakk. Minorsky's other materials comprise numerous *Kāḡās* (in Gūrān and Turkish), and an important account of the collection of dogmas *Firhān al-Ahḡā* (see above), as well as an account of his visits to the sanctuaries of Kirkūk and Kirind (1934).

(V. Minorsky)  
AHL AL-HALL WA'L-'AKD (this, though illogical, is the normal order of the words), "those who are qualified to unbind and to bind", the representatives of the community of the Muslims who act on their behalf in appointing and deposing a caliph or



another ruler (see *ḥaṣṣa*). They must be Muslims, male, of age, free, *ʿadl* [q.v.], and capable of judging who is best qualified to hold the office. No fixed number of "electors" is required; according to the prevailing opinion, even the appointment made by one "elector" in the presence of two qualified witnesses is valid. This is the theory in fact, all through the history of Islam, the *ahl al-hall wa'l-ʿakd* have consisted of the persons who wielded political power in the capital, acting in association with the notables and prominent religious scholars. The thought of modernists and reformers occasionally identifies them with the whole of the community, or nation, with parliament, or with the body of religious scholars.

**Bibliography:** Joyntō, *Handbook*, 332; id., *Handwriting*, 335 f.; Santilana, *Islāmīyāt*, 3, book 1, § 13; H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de Rafīʿ al-Rāḍī*, Beirut 1938, index, s.v.; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, I, Paris 1953, 172 ff., 334 ff.; L. Gardet, *La Cūḍ musulmane*, Paris 1954, index s.v. (Ed.)

**AHL AL-KAHP** (see *ASHAB AL-KAHP*).

**AHL AL-KITĀB** (A.) = "the people of the Book" [q.v.], appellation of the Muslims.

**AHL AL-KISĀʾ**, the people of the cloak. According to a tradition, Muhammad went out one morning—at the time of the visit of the Najrān delegation in 10/611 [cf. *MURĀḤĀLA*], wearing a figured black cloak; first Fāṭima, then ʿAlī and then al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn came and he took them under his cloak, hugging them and quoting from Kurʾān, xxxiii, 32: "God only desireth to put away filthiness from you as his household, and with cleansing to cleanse you". The Sunnis explain filthiness as unbelief but the Shiʿa explain it as intercourse with the impure world, a parallel to the statement that the family lost the visible caliphate to win the invisible. Another version says that Muhammad threw his cloak over his uncle ʿAbbās and his sons saying: "Hide them from hell fire as I hide them from my cloak".

**Bibliography:** See *AHL AL-BAYT*, and L. Massignon, in *Vie et pensée*, Paris 1941, 1 ff. (A. S. TRITTON)

**AHL AL-KITĀB**, "possessors of the Scripture" (or "people of the Book"). This term, in the Kurʾān and the resultant Muslim terminology, denotes the Jews and the Christians, repositories of the earlier revealed books, *al-Tawrāt* [q.v.] = the Torah, *al-Zabūr* [q.v.] = the Psalms, and *al-Injīl* [q.v.] = the Gospel. The use of this term was later extended to the Sabaeans (*al-Sābiʾa* [q.v.])—both the genuine Sabaeans, mentioned in the Kurʾān alongside the Jews and the Christians (= Mandaeans), and the spurious Sabaeans (star-worshippers of Harrān)—to the Zoroastrians (*Maḍḍis* [q.v.]), and, in India, even to idolaters.

This article deals only with the doctrinal position of the Kurʾān, the *ḥadīth* and the controversialists concerning the Jews and the Christians. For their legal status as protected persons (*ahl al-dhimma*) on the fringe of the Muslim community, see *GHIMMA* and *ḡIYẒA*.

In the Kurʾān, the term does not occur before the end of the Meccan period. A possibly slightly earlier expression is *ahl al-dhār*, "possessors of edifications", witnesses of previous revelations [xv, 43 (45); xxi, 7], but *dhār* already denotes generally the Pentateuch and the Psalms.

The Kurʾān emphasises the community of faith between the possessors of the earlier scriptures and the adherents of the new revelation. It occasionally

pays tribute to their religious and moral virtues and calls on the Prophet to interrogate them. More often, however, as a result of the disappointment of Muhammad at the intransigence of the Jews of Medina and of the Christians with regard to his mission, he puts the emphasis on their failure to comprehend the message which they possess but do not put into practice, just as they fail to comprehend the new teaching which fulfils that message, on their exclusiveness, and on their impatient jealousy; they are therefore not to be treated as allies, but to be fought with: xxix, 45-7 (44-6); xlii, 14 (13); x, 93-5; ii, 105 (99); 109 (103); 111 (105), 135 (129); xviii, 1, 4, 6; iii, 19 (17), 23 (22), 64-5 (57-8), 69-73 (62-7), 75-6 (68-9), 77 (75), 98-100 (93-5), 110 (106), 113 (109), 159 (158); lvi, 29, iv, 153 (152), 171 (169); lvi, 21; ix, 29; v, 5 (7); 15 (18); 19 (22), 57-9 (52-4), 63 (70), 68 (72).

The Kurʾānic texts which mention the adherents of these two religions by their proper names (*Imān* [q.v.] and *Yahūd* [q.v.] for the Israelites of biblical history and the contemporary Jews of Medina respectively, *Nasārā* [q.v.] for the Christians) adopt similar viewpoints and determine the entire future attitude of Islam towards these two groups. The children of Israel are God's chosen people, recipients of his bounty, admitted to his covenant, beneficiaries under his law, to whom Paradise is assured. The Kurʾān recognises several episodes of their history: the bondage in Egypt, the crossing of the Red Sea, their wanderings in the wilderness, their sojourn before the Mount, their division into twelve tribes, their entry into the Promised Land and into the Holy City and the City by the Sea. But they distinguish themselves by their rebellious spirit and unbelief; they worship the golden calf, they demand to see God and they clamour for idols. Instead of believing in the prophets, they persecute them. They violate the Sabbath and infringe the Law; they are unconcerned in heart. Though guardians of the Scriptures, they alter them, conceal them and pervert their meaning; they are signaled by their opposition to all further revelations, and they are themselves divided into factions. Cursed by the Lord, metamorphosed into apes, punished in this world where they are doomed to humiliation, they are moreover consigned to Hell. They can only be saved by righteousness; they have on the other hand given rise to a just community.

This picture is coloured, like all Muhammad's conceptions of religious history, by his experiences and disappointments, which are expressed still more clearly in his pronouncements concerning the contemporary Jews and Christians.

At first the Kurʾān admits that Jews, Christians and Sabaeans can, like Muslims, achieve salvation through the performance of the rites of their respective religions, but this standpoint is not maintained. At Medina, the Kurʾān admonishes the Jews (recalling especially the divine protection vouchsafed to their ancestors) and summons them to Islam. Although certain Jews are praised and granted forgiveness, the tension, and finally the breach and conflict between the Jews and Muhammad, are reflected by the condemnation of their doctrines, by maledictions, and the ban on association between them and believers. Their sins fall into the moral as well as the religious category. Their attitude resembles that of their ancestors: eager to enjoy life, they fear death; ungrateful for God's blessings, they are careless too of the welfare of their doctors of religion; they practise usury, war among themselves, and

rush into iniquity and corruption. They preserve and study their Law, but do not hesitate to transgress it, to distort its phraseology and to conceal the truth. The prohibitions concerning food have been imposed on them as a punishment. Their enmity towards the Christians is not forgotten. Even their monotheism is questionable; they believe in the *Ḍjīl* and *Tāghūt* and deny *ʿUṣayr* [q.v.]. They ally themselves with the polytheists. Their attitude towards the Kurʾānic revelation, the advent of which has caused disunity amongst them, is compounded of hostility and unbelief. They are the worst enemies of Islam; they bandy words with the Prophet, are jealous of the believers, and are conspicuous for their mockery, their machinations, and their treachery. Assured of obliquity in this world, they are destined to Gehenna. [See also *YAMŪN*.]

As regards the Christians, God has made a covenant with them, and their salvation through their faith is admitted in several passages. Muhammad at one time credited them with a leaning towards Islam, and they are declared to be superior to the Jews, to whom they are opposed. But the condemnation of their doctrines is no less outspoken. Their exclusive claim to salvation and to the true religion is severely criticised; it would be a grave error to adopt their religion. The divinity of Jesus (*ʿIsā* [q.v.]), the reality of his Passion, the Trinity and monasticism are all rejected. They are threatened with Hell; affiliation with them is forbidden, and recourse to imprecation (*maḥāla* [q.v.]) proposed to them. The dissection between the Christian sects is not forgotten. [See also *NAḌĪRĀN*, *NASĀRĀ*.]

The attitude of Islam towards the Jews and Christians, as reflected in the *ḥadīth*, is one of mistrust. It stresses the importance of differentiating at all costs, as regards religious and social conduct, between the believers and these two religious groups, which are rather superficially understood. Moreover there is noticeable in Muslim tradition a clear tendency to stress the originality of those Muslim institutions which invite comparison with similar (mainly Jewish) institutions. Finally, the *ḥadīth* sometimes puts into a polemical context the condemnation of various abuses prevalent among the Muslims, as well as certain positions taken up in many internal controversies within the Muslim community. The principles and processes employed betray more than once their Jewish origin. The basic rule is: "do not act as do the people of the Book" (*lā tūfūkū*), which corresponds to the Talmudic ban on following the practices of the Gentiles (*hukhūl ha-goy*). By virtue of this principle, the *ḥadīth* condemns numerous practices of little consequence in themselves. But to Jewish *ḥalakhā* it opposes a certain degree of Muslim laxity, especially in sexual matters. It claims as purely Muslim (if it does not date back to "Israelite" antiquity or to pre-Islamic Arabia) an institution like the fast of *ʿAshūrā* [q.v.], which is in fact derived from the Jewish *Yom Kippūr* and is moreover virtually supplanted by Ramadan [q.v.], which again is found in the Kurʾān. Muslim tradition willingly underlines above all the enmity of the Jews, but also that of the Christians, ranging from certain episodes in the Prophet's life to eschatological disputes. Although Muslim tradition rarely gives evidence of direct acquaintance with large portions of the Judaeo-Christian Scriptures (information of this type stemmed from intercourse with the *ahl al-kitāb* or

was supplied by converts), this does not prevent it from accusing the inheritors of those Scriptures of suppressing certain portions which had fallen into desuetude (capital punishment for adultery in Deuteronomy) or which foretold the mission of Muhammad, and also of interpreting passages falsely and even of materially altering their sense. Discussion with the *ahl al-kitāb* is regarded with dislike, and consultation of their religious documents is deprecated as much by reason of the probable fraudulence of their owners as from the fact of the autarchy of the Kurʾānic revelation, which abrogates all that is antiquated in previous revelations and renders the remainder superfluous by superseding it. In contrast, the edifying stories connected with the antiquity of the *ahl al-kitāb* (*Isrāʾīliyyāt* [q.v.]) are tolerated.

The anti-Jewish and anti-Christian polemics of Islam display a remarkable consistency in their major themes from the writings of the controversialists of the 8th/9th-10th centuries down to the modernist apologues. Unlike the *ḥadīth*, they make use of a scriptural, theological, historical and sometimes liturgical knowledge which is ample if not always exact.

As regards their use of the two Testaments, Muslim polemics continually waver between two opinions: (a) the Judaeo-Christian Scriptures and their existing form are authentic documents which only require a suitable exegesis; (b) they are not to be trusted, either because their actual meaning has been falsified (see *TAFSĪR*), or because their recension and transmission do not afford the necessary guarantee of sincerity and authenticity, so that they cannot be accepted as the Torah and Gospel as actually revealed to Moses and Jesus. The first view prevailed in the 8th-10th centuries (what first view prevailed in the authenticity of "The Book of Religion and Empire", attributed to ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Tabarī, which includes a huge mass of scriptural arguments), whereas Ibn Ḥazm wrote the most penetrating literary, historical, theological and moral criticism of the Judaeo-Christian Scriptures. This method has been followed down to the modern polemic writers, who in addition utilise the rationalist bible-criticism of the 19th century in their attacks on Judaism and Christianity.

In the anti-Jewish polemics the chief theological problem is the abrogation (*naṣḥ*) [q.v.] of previous divine revelations, which does not imply *baḍʿ* [q.v.] (alteration of God's purpose). The principal charge levelled at Judaism, in most of the traditional compositions, is that of the anthropomorphic conception of the Deity.

The anti-Christian polemics are much richer in historical and theological argument. The message of Jesus has been altered by Paul, and the historical position of the Christian community has been falsified by Constantine. The christological controversies between the Melkites, the Nestorians and the Jacobites afforded ample material to the Muslim polemic writers. The Trinity, taken to mean tritheism, is irreconcilable with divine unity; the incarnation is a blasphemous offence against divine transcendence. Jesus may have had the prerogative of theopathic speech, but nothing more than a moral union can be involved (al-*ḡhazzālī*). Muhammad is the *Ḥaṣṣ*, and in clete foretold by the Gospel (see *AMMAN*), and in addition several messianic and eschatological prophecies of the Old Testament are similarly fulfilled in his person. Historically and sociologically, the astonishing success of Muslim arms and the superiority



of Muslim civilization are proofs of the truth and superiority of Islam. In al-Dhābi, there is a "sociological" study of Christianity and Judaism within the framework of Muslim society.

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**AHL AL-NAZAR**, "those who apply reasoning". This term originally denotes the Mu'azila (q.v.), and it is probable that they coined it themselves. It occurs in Ibn Kutayba, *Ta'wīd Muḥallaf al-Hadīth*; passim; al-Ma'sūdi speaks of *ahl al-baḥth wa'l-naẓar*; synonym are *ahl al-kalām* (in al-Shāfi'i) and *al-muḥallafūn* (in al-Aḥqārī). Later, *ahl* (or *ashāb*) *al-naẓar* came to denote the careful scholars who held a sound, well-reasoned opinion on any particular question. See also NAẒAR. (E.)

**AHL AL-RA'Y** (see AḤD AL-RA'Y).

**AHL AL-SUFFA**, a group of Muhammad's Companions, mentioned chiefly in ascetic and mystical writings, where they have come to typify the ideal of poverty and piety. The *suffa* or *suffa* (often rendered 'bench', 'banquette', etc.) was, according to Lane, a long, covered portico or vestibule, which formed part of the mosque at Medina. This—the legend run—was the sole home of these men, and they spent their time in study and worship, except when in obedience to a command from Muhammad they went out to fight. They are sometimes said to have been as many as 400; Lane (s.v. *suffa*) quotes al-Sayyid Murādā as saying in *Tā* that he had made a list of 92 or 93 names. Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muhammad b. Husayn al-

Sulami (cf. Brockelmann, I, 200) write a history of them (al-Hudūdī, *Kaṣf al-Mahjūb* 2, R. A. Nicholson, Leyden and London, 1917, 81; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-Awliyā'*, I, 337-47). According to L. Massignon (*Essai sur les Origines du Lesque Technique de la Mystique Musulmane*, Paris 1922, 140), al-Muḥallafī, Ibn Kurrān, and al-Tustarī admitted the authenticity of the legend, and it was defended by Abū Nu'aym, Ibn Tāhir, al-Makdīsī and al-Subbī. (For the latter cf. Brockelmann, II, 87.) It also appears in al-Ghazālī, where there is an anecdote contrasting the *ahl al-suffa* with *al-mu'allafā hūlūhūm*, 'those whose hearts are reconciled' (*ḥiṣṣā*), iv, book 34, bayn *ḥadīth al-faḥr muḥallaf*; cf. al-Sayyid Murādā, *Ḥadīth al-Suffa*, 48, 273-8. Ibn Taymīyya, though in the main an opponent of *tasawwuf* or mysticism, developed his conception of the true nature of the religious or devotional life by describing the piety of the Companions, and in this gave a prominent place to the men of the *suffa* (esp. *Risāla fī Ahl al-Suffa*, in *Madjma' min al-Rasā'id wa'l-Ma'ad' al-Kayyama*, Cairo 1349/1930, I, 25-60). The supporters of the legend claimed that Kur'an, II, 273/4 (and other verses such as vi, 52, xvii, 28/7, and xlii, 27/6) referred to this group; but the orthodox commentators express hesitation about this attribution (cf. al-Bayḍawī on II, 273/4, 'it is said') or neglect it altogether (al-Tabari on the same).

The factual grounds for the legend are slight. The later lists include names of persons who were either poor or pious but not necessarily both; among the 34 persons mentioned by al-Hudūdī (cf. 82-3) is Abū Lubāba, one of the most influential men in Medina, who was wealthy enough to present a balcony to the *maḥall al-dīnār* (al-Wāḥidī, tr. Wellhausen, 410). In the early account in Ibn Sa'd, 1/2, 15-4, those named are Wāḥila b. al-Aṣka', Abū Hurayra, Abū Dharr and Kays b. Tāḥa al-Ghaffārī; while from the (possibly not exhaustive) index to Ibn Sa'd (s.v. *suffa*, 1/2, 26) we learn that 'Abd al-Rahmān (b. Ka'b) al-Asammī, Ḍarḥad b. Razāh al-Aslamī, Raḥīf b. Ka'b al-Aslamī, Asma' b. Hāritha al-Aslamī and Talha b. 'Abdallāh (or b. 'Amar) al-Nadīr al-Laythī belonged to the *ahl al-suffa* (Ibn Sa'd, 1/2, 48; 1/2, 33, 44, 51; vi/1, 35). The first report in Ibn Sa'd, 1/2, 13 f. emphasizes not the poverty of the men of the *suffa* but the fact that they had no dwelling in Medina, but other parts of the material there speak of their ragged clothing. This suggests that those who slept (perhaps only temporarily) in the *suffa* were men from the less influential tribes round Medina who had no confederates to put them up in Medina apart from Muhammad. Some of them were prominent in their tribes, and so presumably not poverty-stricken. Muhammad apparently also invited a few poor followers to share his meal, but this probably happened only occasionally (cf. Ibn Sa'd, 1/2, al-Buḥārī, *Mawḥiṭ al-Salāt*, 41).

The legend must have begun to grow before the time of al-Wāḥidī (d. 207/822), himself an Aslamī, since Ibn Sa'd's material on this point comes from him. The statement that Kur'an, II, 273/4 referred to the *ahl al-suffa* is passed on as from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Kurāḥī. Though scholars are now agreed that *suffa* is derived from *sūf*, wool, the similarity in sound of *suffa* encouraged the legend, and it was said, for example, that a *sūfi* was one who resembled the *ahl al-suffa* in character (al-Kalābādhī, *al-Ta'arruf*, ed. tr. J. Arberry, Cairo 1934, and Cambridge 1935, ch. 1; cf. al-Hudūdī, op. cit. 30).

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**AHL AL-SUNNA**, the "Sunnite", i.e. the orthodox Muslims (see *SUNNA*).

**AHL-I WĀRIS**, in general use among the Muhammadan peoples of Indonesia with the meaning of Arabic *awāḥid*. The word is taken from the Persian usage and has reached the East Indian archipelago via India.

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**AHLĀP** (see *HLĀP*).

**AHMAD**, one of the names of the Prophet Muhammad and a proper name used by Muslims. Formally, it is the elative of Mahmūd or Ḥamid and means "more, or most, worthy of praise", or, less properly, of Ḥamid, in which case it would mean "praising [God] to a higher, or the highest, degree". As a proper name it is, however, distinct from the other, etymologically connected forms, including the name Muhammad. It occurs occasionally, and less frequently than Muhammad, among the pre-Islamic Arabs. In the Sāfiitic North-Arabian inscriptions of the Syrian borderland, names of this form seem to occur as abbreviations of composite theophoric names of the scheme "God is praiseworthy"; but whether the same is true of literary Arabic in the Hijāz is subject to doubt.

The basis of its use in Islam is Kur'an, Ixi, 6: "And when Jesus, son of Mary, said: 'O Children of Israel, I am God's messenger to you, confirming the Torah which was before me, and announcing the good tidings of a messenger who will come after me, whose name is Ahmad.'" There is no obvious parallel to this passage in the New Testament. It has therefore been suggested that Ahmad is the translation of *periklitos* "celebrated", which in its turn would be a corruption of *paraklitos* "the Paraclete" in John, xiv, 16, xv, 27. But the history of the text and of the translations of the Gospel, together with the fact that *periklitos* was not common in contemporary Greek, shows this to be impossible. The Muslims did indeed apply to Muhammad the prediction of the Paraclete, before the middle of the 4th century A. H. (Ibn Hishām, 150, quoting Ibn Ishāq); but the terms used were either the Greek *paraklitos* or its correct Aramaic translation *m'nash'mānā*; this identification is based only on the assonance between the Aramaic word and the name Muhammad, and seems to have been suggested by Christian converts to Islam.

Whereas the name Muhammad was used by Muslims from the lifetime of the Prophet onwards, and the forms Mahmūd, Ḥamid and Ḥumayd occur in the first century of Islam too, the use of Ahmad as a proper name among Muslims seems to begin only about 125/740. From this it has been concluded that the word *ahmad* in Kur'an, Ixi, 6 is to be taken not as a proper name but as an adjective (the verse might then contain an obscure reference to John, xiv, 12), and that it was understood as a proper name only after Muhammad had been identified with the Paraclete. Occasional references to the Prophet as Ahmad in the poetry of the first century are accordingly explained as caused by the necessity of the metre. Traditions which state that the name of the Prophet was Ahmad (Ibn Sa'd, 1/2,

64 f.) are regarded as proposing an interpretation which had not always been obvious. But the original hesitation of the Muslims to use the name Ahmad is sufficiently accounted for by the form of the word as an elative, even though it was a proper name from the beginning.

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**AHMAD I**, fourteenth Ottoman sultan. Eldest son of Mehmed (Muhammad) III, born at Manisa 22 Jumhād II, 998/18 April 1559, succeeded his father 18 Rajab 1012/22 Jan. 1603. The chroniclers have noted that on his accession, contrary to established custom, he did not put to death his brother Mustafa, and the latter later succeeded him. One of the first acts of the sovereign was the confinement in the old Seray of his grandmother Şāfiya Sultān (the Venetian Baffa), the prime mover in the Ottoman administration under Murād III and Mehmed (Muhammad) III. Ahmad sent an army under the command of Çiğdem-zāde Sinān Paşa (q.v.) against the Persian troops of Şah 'Abbās I, who had just gained possession of Erzurum and Kars but had been repulsed in front of Akkisa. Sinān Paşa, however, was defeated at Salmas (9 Sept. 1605) and shortly afterwards died of chagrin in Diyarbakir, while Şah 'Abbās probed by his victory to recover Gandja and Shirvan. In Hungary the Grand-Vizier Lālī Mehmed Paşa (see *MUHAMMAD PAŞA*), after experiencing setbacks before Pest and Estergom (Estergom, Gran), captured Wač (Vác, Watten). In a second campaign, in which he was supported by the ruler of Transylvania, Stephan Bocskay, he was able to isolate and storm the fortress of Estergom (4 Nov. 1605), while Tiryākī Hasan Paşa entered Wesprim (Veszprém) and Palota. Bocskay was invested with the principalities of Transylvania and Hungary. Soon afterwards the Grand-Vizier died, and his post was held successively by Darvīsh Paşa and Murād Paşa (q.v.), surnamed Kuyudju ("the well-sinker"), who signed the treaty of Zaitvorok (11 Nov. 1606) with the Austrians, whereby the Ottomans were left in possession of the territory which they had conquered and received in a single, definitive payment an indemnity of 200,000 *kara ghurāsh*, but contracted to accord the Austrian sovereign the title of "Emperor" and not merely "King", a step which would give him equality of status with the Sultān. Conferences were held at Neuhausel in 1608 to settle the final details of the treaty, and at Vienna in July 1615 and March 1616 to extend its validity. Internal difficulties had forced the Ottomans to sign it; revolts, caused by repeated military levies and by the exactions of certain governors, had broken out in various parts of the empire. Kuyudju Murād Paşa was despatched against the rebels, and triumphed over Musli Cavuşlu at Lāranda, over Djamshīd at Adana, and notably over Lārānā-oghlu 'Alī Paşa in the plain of Orđū, near Baylen (24 Dec. 1607). In the west, he attacked Kavalend-oghlu Mehmed (Mohammad) Paşa, who held the districts of Brusa and Manisa, and defeated him at Alīmāyır (5 Aug. 1608). In Syria, the Turkish forces launched themselves against the Druse amir Faḡhr al-Dīn b. Ma'n (q.v.), but could not win a decisive victory. The Grand-Vizier, at the age of 90, then set out for Tabriz, but shortly after opening peace negotiations with the Şah of Iran,



he died. His successor Naḥḥ Paḥḥa [g.e.] concluded in 1611 a peace treaty which fixed the demarcation of the frontier on the basis of the settlement made during the reign of Selīm II, but hostilities were resumed four years later. At sea, the Grand-Admiral Khālīl Paḥḥa [g.e.] achieved important successes against the Florentine and Maltese fleets. In 1609, six Maltese galleons were captured in Cypriot waters, including the "red galleon" of Commander Fresinet (battle of Kani Dīshammān); in 1610, the Turks suffered a setback at Lepanto, and the Maltese Corsairs were checked at Coe; in 1612 a Florentine squadron raided the Cilician coast, near the port of Aghullmān, and 1614 Khālīl Paḥḥa inflicted some losses at Malta. In the Black Sea, the Cosacques, who had sacked Sinope, were overtaken and defeated at the mouth of the Don by Shākhshīdī Ibrahim Paḥḥa; another Cosack attack in Moldavia was checked by Iskender Paḥḥa, and peace was signed at Buzsa, on the Danube, on 27 Sept. 1617. Under Ahmad I, the capitulations with France, England and Venice were renewed (1604), and similar capitulations were concluded for the first time with the Netherlands (1612). The use of tobacco became widespread in Turkey during the reign of Ahmad I devoted himself to the promulgation of a *kāḍm-nāme* designed to establish an authoritative code of the administrative and commercial regulations of the empire, hitherto not co-ordinated. He constructed (1609-1616) in the At Meydan at Istanbul the magnificent mosque which bears his name. He died 23 Dhu'l-Ka'da 1026/22 Nov. 1627 after a two months' illness. Of a violent and changeable nature, and easily swayed, Ahmad I was not always capable of appreciating the services of his most able ministers; a pious man, he established numerous religious foundations, and even furnished the Ka'ba with ornaments. He was passionately fond of hunting and *gürdā*, and took a close interest in poetry.

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(R. MANTHAN)

**AHMAD II**, twenty-first Ottoman sultan. Son of sultan Ibrahim and Mu'azzaz Sultān, born, according to Na'mā, 6 Dhu'l-Hijja 1052/25 Aug. 1643 (according to Rashīd 5 Dhu'mādd II on 26 Ramadan 1102/21 June 1691). He confirmed the Grand-Vizier Köprülü-zāde [g.e.] Fādīl Mustafa Paḥḥa in his post, and the latter resumed hostilities against the Imperial Powers, but was defeated and killed at the battle of Slankamen (19 Aug. 1691). 'Arābadī 'Alī Paḥḥa succeeded him, but was soon replaced by Hādījī 'Alī Paḥḥa who, in 1692, conducted his campaigns with great caution. In the same year, the Venetians made an unsuccessful attempt on Canea. As the result of a dispute with the sultan, Hādījī 'Alī Paḥḥa was dismissed from office, and his post given to Bozoklu Mustafa Paḥḥa, who forced the Austrians to raise the siege of Belgrade (1693). Dismissed in his turn, he was succeeded by Sūrmīl 'Alī Paḥḥa [g.e.], who failed

in an attempt to capture the fortress of Peterwardein (1694), while the Venetians gained control of Gabelia in Dalmatia and of the important island of Chios. During the reign of Ahmad II, there were disturbances in 'Irāk and the Hijāz, and in the west, Tunis was attacked by both Tripoli and Algiers. A sovereign of weak personality, and continuing swayed by his entourage, Ahmad II was in addition addicted to drink, and died of dropsy 22 Dhu'mādd II, 1106/6 Feb. 1695 at Adrianople. He was buried in the *turbe* of Kānūnī Sulaymān at Istanbul.

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**AHMAD III**, twenty-third Ottoman sultan, son of Mehmed IV (Muḥammad IV, [g.e.], born in 1084/1673, he succeeded his brother Murād IV [g.e.] on 20 Ka'bi II 1115/21 August 1703, when the latter abdicated in consequence of a rising of the Janissaries. The leaders of this rising were soon got rid of by the new sultan on his immediate re-establishment of Istanbul as the habitual residence of the court; and for the next few years large numbers of persons known to have, or suspected of having, been implicated in it continued to be dismissed, banished or executed, to the detriment of governmental efficiency. Ahmad's resolve to break the power of the soldiery was also shown by his dismissal from the palace service of 700 *hoshangīs* and their replacement by *değhirmes* (cups) (this being the last application of the *değhirmes*), as well as by his later drastic reduction of the Janissary establishment. Nevertheless during the first half of his twenty-seven years' reign in particular he lived in a morbid dread of "revolutionaries" (*ihmūdīler*); for three years he was unable, though making four changes in the Grand Vizierate, to find a capable minister; and it was only with the appointment in Muharram 1118/May 1706 of Corulu 'Alī Paḥḥa [g.e.] that the government regained some stability. During this period, and indeed for the following eight or nine years, his actions were largely influenced by a palace camarilla, headed by the Walide Sultān, the Kizlar Aḡash, and the sultan's favourite, later to be known as (Shehid) Sūlāḥdīr Dāmād 'Alī Paḥḥa [g.e.]. The sultan and the camarilla were always uneasy at the appointment to the Grand-Vizierate of "outsiders"—i.e. persons not of the palace service, such as Köprülü Nu'mān Paḥḥa (see below), and took fright at any initiative they might display.

No event of much note occurred during the reign until July 1709, when, after being defeated by Tsar Peter the Great at Poltava, King Charles XII of Sweden, nicknamed in Turkish *demir baş*, "Iron Head", sought refuge at Bender on the Danube in Ottoman territory. The Porte had so far made no attempt at profiting either by the preoccupation of Austria and the western powers with the War of the Spanish Succession to recover any of the territory lost to the sultan in 1699 by the Treaty of Carlowitz, or by the preoccupation of Russia with the "Great Northern War" to nullify the concessions to the Tsar's Black-Sea ambitions agreed to in the Russo-Ottoman treaty of 1700. Charles, however, in order to retrieve his fortunes, soon began urging the

sultan to take up arms against Peter, an action to which the Porte was also incited by successive ambassadors of Louis XIV and the Venetian representative at Istanbul, with the result that in June 1710 Corulu 'Alī, who had but recently renewed the Russian treaty, was dismissed, and yet though his successor, Köprülü [g.e.], Nu'mān Paḥḥa, proving too independent for the taste of the camarilla, fell in turn two months later, his replacement in September by the pliant intriguer Baltadī Mehmed Paḥḥa (see MUHAMMAD PAḤḤA), who had shown his incapacity when in office earlier, was followed on 20 Nov. by a declaration of war, the main Ottoman grievances being the Tsar's construction of workshops at Asov, his erection of a number of fortresses along the Ottoman frontiers, his interference with the Tatars subject to the *Khān* of the Crimea, and his incitement of the sultan's Orthodox subjects to disaffection.

The opposed armies met only in July 1711, after Peter had been enabled to overrun most of Moldavia owing to the treachery of the hospodar Demetrius Cantemir [g.e.]. But by then he had run gravely short of food supplies and was surprised by the main Ottoman army when marching south along the Pruth with the intention of seizing Ibrā'īl; he was forced to retreat; and was eventually surrounded and obliged to sue for peace. A treaty was signed forthwith by which Peter agreed to retrocede Asov and raze the other objectionable fortresses, to interfere no further either with the Tatars or in the affairs of Poland, no longer to maintain an ambassador at Istanbul, and to cease intriguing with the sultan's Orthodox subjects. Since, however, the Grand Vizier could have forced the Tsar to almost any concession, he fell under suspicion of having been bribed into the acceptance of such lenient terms and was dismissed three months later, largely as the result of further intrigues on the part of Charles, whose hopes had been disappointed by the treaty. Charles continued indeed for most of the next three years to incite the Porte to a renewal of hostilities, a task made easier by Peter's failure to observe his undertakings. Largely as a result of the king's efforts war on Russia was again actually declared no less than three times (in Dec. 1711, Nov. 1712 and April 1713), though it was always averted by Russian concessions. A final agreement with Peter was reached only in June 1713, with the signature at Adrianople of a treaty, to remain in force for twenty-five years, whereby the terms of the Treaty of the Pruth were confirmed and peace with Russia was in the event established for a long period. Charles, persisting in a refusal to quit Ottoman territory unless provided with money and troops with which to recover his losses in Poland, was at length, in the spring of 1714, removed forcibly from Bender to Demotika and then to Demirtaş Paḥḥa Saray near Adrianople, and was obliged in the autumn to return home with his Swedish troops via Wallachia, Transylvania and Hungary.

Meanwhile, on 27 April 1713, Ahmed's son and heir-law, Sūlāḥdīr 'Alī Paḥḥa, had been appointed Grand Vizier himself; and it was by his policy that peace was thus re-established with Russia, so that the Porte might seek to regain what had been lost to Venice at Carlowitz. Venetian rule had proved exceedingly unpopular in the Morea, the Orthodox inhabitants of which had sent repeated appeals to the Porte for deliverance from their new masters. But a suitable pretext for war against the republic occurred only in 1714, when, after the

suppression of a Russian-instigated rebellion in Montenegro, the Venetian government refused to extradite the Vladika and other eminent Montenegrins who had sought refuge in Venetian territory. War was declared on Dec. 1714, and in the following summer within two months (June-July) an Ottoman army under Sūlāḥdīr 'Alī's own command, operating in conjunction with the sultan's fleet, conquered the whole province with but little serious fighting, while the fleet also took the islands of Tenos, Aegina, Cerigo and Santa Maura, and reduced Suda and Spinalonga (in Crete), which had remained till then in Venetian hands.

These Ottoman successes, and the possibility that Corcu and the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia might also fall into the sultan's grasp, alarmed Austria. In April 1716, accordingly, the Emperor Charles VI concluded a treaty of mutual assistance with Venice, and in June provoked the Porte by an ultimatum into a declaration of war. It opened with an unsuccessful attack by the Kapudan Paḥḥa on Corcu, and this was followed in August by a rout at the hands of Eugène of Savoy near Peterwardein of the Ottoman main army commanded by Sūlāḥdīr 'Alī, who was mortally wounded on the field. Eugène followed up this victory with the reduction of Temesvár and the occupation of the Banat and Little Wallachia in the autumn; and in the summer of 1717 laid siege to Belgrade, where on 16 August he completely routed a superior Ottoman relieving force. The Belgrade garrison surrendered three days later, after which, though the Austrians failed in an attempt to overrun Bosnia, there was no fighting of importance. The Porte soon made proposals for an armistice; and peace was eventually signed, on 21 July 1718, at Passarowitz (Passarof, Pödravac), whereby Belgrade and the region about it, the Banat, and Little Wallachia were ceded by the Porte to Austria, while the Morea, the Cretan ports and Tenos, as well as the south-eastern districts of the Hercegovina were ceded to the Porte by Venice, which for its part received Cerigo and the strongholds the Venetians had captured in Albania and Dalmatia. A commercial treaty further secured to Austrian and Venetian traders certain advantages they had not till then enjoyed.

The Grand Vizier responsible for this treaty was another favourite of Ahmad's: Newshēhīrī Ibrahim Paḥḥa [g.e.], who by marrying the sultan's thirteen-year-old daughter, Fāṭime Sultān, formerly the nominal wife of Sūlāḥdīr 'Alī, had also become a *dāmād*; and for the remaining twelve years of the reign, which with this entered upon its second phase, he entirely dominated the court. Ahmad was of a pleasure- and art-loving nature, and with Ibrahim, who shared his tastes, was able, as he had not been able with the warlike Sūlāḥdīr, to indulge them and set new fashions for Ottoman society. The gradual abandonment of the *değhirmes* during the 17th century had led, with the occupation of the chief governmental posts by free-born Muslims, to a growth of interest among the powerful in the arts and learning, side by side with a decline in military and administrative efficiency. Moreover the Greek community of the Phanar quarter had at the same time acquired both a stronger influence than before in metropolitan society and some familiarity with contemporary western thought. In consequence the twelve years ensuing on the peace of Passarowitz witnessed a remarkable change of taste in poetry, music and architecture and a new inclination to profit by European example. During this short



period—known as *lâle devri*, "the Age of Tulips", the cultivation of which became for some years a "craze", and the secular spirit of which is exemplified by the poet Nâdir (g.e.) in the verse "Let us laugh and play and enjoy the world"—pavilions and gardens were more often built than mosques and mausoleums, and they were built to designs imported from the west. An ambassador accredited to Louis XV received specific instructions to study French institutions and report on those adaptable to Ottoman use; and in 1724 his son assisted Ibrahim Muterrikkâ (g.e.) to establish the first printing press in Istanbul. A French officer of Engineers was invited by the Porte to prepare plans for the reform of the army on western lines, while a French convert to Islam organized a fire service (the *ciğak* of the *tuismâdeği*); and though the reform of the army came to nothing, the organization of the Admiralty was overhauled and the building of three-decker men-o-war was undertaken for the first time. Some of the 'ulama further founded a society for the translation of books (from Arabic and Persian); the export of rare manuscripts was prohibited for educational reasons; and no less than five libraries were founded at the capital, including the sultan's own Enderin-i Hümayûn Kütüb-ihhâsi, of which Nâdir was made curator. Chain factories at Kütahya and Irmid were revived and a new one founded at Tekfir Sarayı at Istanbul; extensive repairs to the Byzantine walls were carried out from 1722 to 1724; and a barrage was built to provide water for the capital from springs at Belgrade. The most notable extant architectural monuments of the period are the mosque built by Ahmad III for his mother at Üsküdar and his *şehme* outside the Bâb-ı Hümayûn of the Topkapı Sarayı, for which he composed the chronogram himself.

It was Ibrahim Pasha's policy to avoid war. Nevertheless the Tulip Age saw the temporary extension of Ottoman rule over large tracts of western Persia. The decline of the Safavids and the Afghan invasion of their dominions, culminating in the capture of Isfahân in 1735/1722, had plunged the country into a state of anarchy tempting to both Russia and the Porte. In 1735/1723 Ottoman forces occupied Tiflis, and on Russia's ceding Darband and Bâkû in the same year, in 1724, after a period of tension during which a fresh war between Ahmad and the Tsar came near to breaking out, another Russo-Ottoman treaty was concluded, providing for a partition that should leave Peter in possession of Darband, Bâkû and Gilân and the sultan in that of Georgia, Erzerûm, Şirvân, Ârdâhan, baylîk and all Persian territory west of the line Ardâbil-Hamadân. Ottoman forces in fact took over all this vast region, the Porte forming it into some ten new *eyâlets*. But when in April 1725 the Afghan Ashraf proclaimed himself shâh, he demanded the relinquishment of these conquests; and on the Porte's refusal eventually, in November 1726, defeated Ahmad Pasha (g.e.) commanding the Ottoman forces in Persia. However, a year later Ashraf was obliged to make peace; and the sultan's sovereignty over the conquered provinces was recognized. From then until 1730, accordingly, these regions formed part of the Ottoman Empire. But in 1729 Ashraf was overthrown by the future Nâdir Shâh, who in the following year defeated the Ottomans and obliged them to relinquish all their gains.

The result was a revolt of the people at Istanbul, to suppress which Ibrahim and the sultan hesitated until it was too late. The Muslims of the capital,

though they had at first disapproved the Persian conquests, were now indignant at their loss. But Ibrahim Pasha was anxious to avoid further fighting and prepared for it only under pressure from public opinion; moreover he was already unpopular for the nepotism he practised to secure his own position and for the fiscal policy he had pursued; the new luxurious and "Frankish" manners of the court were disliked by the conservative and resented by the poor; and the project of army reform had alarmed the Janissaries. The leader of the revolt was a Janissary "affiliate", an Albanian, formerly a *levend* and hence (cf. *şavur*) called Patrona Khâlîl, who acted under the influence of two disaffected 'ulama and with the approval of many Janissary officers. It began on 28 Sept. 1730; and in a few hours a partially armed crowd of thousands had gathered in the At Meydan. Ahmad and Ibrahim were in camp at Üsküdar; but on learning of the outbreak in the evening, they returned to the palace at night. For the next two days fruitless attempts were made to parley with the rebels, who demanded the delivery up to them of the Grand Vizier, the Şeyhül-islâm, the Kapudan Paşa, the Kâhya Bey and others, till, during the night of 30 Sept., the sultan, finding no support in any of his troops, decided to sacrifice his favourite, whose corpse, together with those of the Kapudan and the Kâhya, was brought out to them in the morning. Ahmad himself agreed to abdicate on condition that his own life and the lives of his sons should be spared, and was accordingly succeeded on 1 Oct./18 Rabi' I 1143 by his nephew Mahmud I (g.e.). He died, in the retirement that was henceforth his lot, in 1149/1736.

Ahmad III was handsome of person and an accomplished calligraphist, letter-writer and poet. Though normally of a mild disposition, he was ruthless in the treatment of those whom he feared or who had incurred his displeasure. He had no taste for war, partly because of the expense it entailed; for he was exceedingly fond of money and applied himself to the accumulation of treasure. His love of amusement and display ran counter to this propensity. But Dâniş İbrahim Pasha contrived to minister to both his avarice and his extravagance by increasing the revenues and curtailing other expenditure in ways that contributed to his unpopularity. Ahmad was greatly attached to his harem, to which he gave much of his attention, but he did not allow its members to influence public affairs as some of his predecessors had done. He had no less than thirty-one children; and his reign was consequently distinguished by the numerous attempts to celebrate the circumcision of his sons and the marriage of his daughters, which lent it a special air of gaiety.

Minor events of the reign were a revolt of the Muntafik (g.e.) Arabs in the neighbourhood of al-Basra in 1171/1705; the suppression of another Arab revolt in the same region in 1272/8; the affirmation of Ottoman sovereignty over certain areas of the Caucasus bordering on the Black Sea early in the reign; the conquest of Oran (Wahran) from Spain by Algerian forces in 1708; recurrent troubles in the Armenian *millet* occasioned by Jesuit propaganda (particularly in 1706-7 and 1727-8); and two insurrections in Egypt (in 1712-3 and 1727-8). Successive *âşuks* of the Crimea played a considerable part in the events of the period, more especially in the war with Russia, the *âşuk* Devlet Girây (g.e.) in particular strongly supporting Charles XII in his anti-Russian schemes. During the war with Austria

the Porte accepted an offer of assistance from Francis Rákóczy, the Prince of Transylvania, after the final failure of his attempts to secure the independence of Hungary, but he reached Istanbul too late to be made use of. Finally the treachery of Cantemir and his fellow-Hospodar of Wallachia during the campaign of the Pruth resulted in the appointment from 1716 onwards of Phanariote Greeks to the governorship of the Principalities.

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(H. BOWEN)

**AHMAD B. ABİ BAKR** (see MURTADHUS).  
**AHMAD B. ABİ DU'ÂD** (Ibn al-Ahwâl, 'Aso ALI), Mu'tazilite kâdî born at Basra about 160/776. Through his own merit and also, it is said, through the good offices of Yahyâ b. Aktham (g.e.), who introduced him to the Court at Baghdad, he reached a position of great honour under the Caliph al-Ma'mûn, soon becoming one of the Caliph's closest friends. Shortly before his death, the Caliph recommended his brother and successor al-Mu'tasim to admit Ahmad, a fervent follower of the Mu'tazilite doctrine, to the circle of his advisers, and as a result al-Mu'tasim, after his accession (218/833) made Ahmad his Chief Kâdî. In the latter capacity he presided over cases heard before the court of inquiry which had been set up by al-Ma'mûn after the elevation of al-Mu'tasim to the status of the state religion (see *musul*), and he consequently played an important part in the examination of Ahmad b. Hanbal (g.e.). In the discharge of his duties he nevertheless displayed a tolerance and humanity unusual at that time. He retained his post under al-Wâthiq; at the death of the latter several high officials and officers wished to place

his son, a minor, on the throne, but at the instance of the commander of the Turkish guard, Wasil, the brother of the late Caliph al-Du'âd, was proclaimed Caliph, and Ahmad himself gave him the title of al-Mutawakkil. The new Caliph, however, gradually adopted a hostile attitude towards the Mu'tazilites and established amicable relationships with the Sunnis, with the result that the Chief Kâdî could not maintain his position of influence. A short while after the accession of al-Mutawakkil, he suffered an attack of apoplexy, and handed over his office to his son Abu 'l-Walid Muhammad, who had been his *na'ib* since 218/833 (L. Massignon, in *WZKM*, 1948, 107). The latter was dismissed in 237/852 and, with his brothers, thrown into prison, and all the property of Ibn Abi Du'âd was confiscated. The prisoners were eventually released, but Ahmad and his son did not long survive their disgrace; Muhammad died at the end of 239/May-June 854, and his father three weeks later, in Muharram 240/June 854.

Sunni writers naturally pass a severe judgement on Ahmad b. Abi Du'âd and, in the religious sphere, do not conceal their hostility towards him, but all recognize his great learning and magnanimity. Himself endowed with some poetic talent, he was courted by the poets of his own circle. He was the patron of many *usûl* writers notably of al-Djâlibî (g.e.), who dedicated to him *inter alia* his *al-Bayân wa 'l-Tabyîn*, and addressed to him, either directly or through his son Abu 'l-Walid, *risâlas* in which he dwelt at length on the details of Mu'tazilite doctrine, and furnished the Kâdî with arguments with which to confront the Sunnis subject to his inquiry (on the relations between al-Djâlibî and Ibn Abi Du'âd, see Ch. Pellat, in *RSO*, 1935, 35 ff.; idem, in *AIEO*, Algiers 1952, 302 ff.; and idem, in *Mash.*, 1953, 281 ff.).

**Bibliography:** Tabarî, iii, 1139 ff.; Ibn al-Athîr, vi, 365 ff.; Ya'qûbî ii, 509; Ibn Khallikân, no. 31; al-Khatîb al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rih Baghdad*, iv, 141; Ma'arrî, *Risâlat al-'Ujûrân*, Cairo 1950, 435; 'Askalânî, *Lisân al-Mu'nân*, I, 171; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalîfem*, ii, 261 ff.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN-CH. PELLAT)

**AHMAD B. ABİ KHÂLID AL-AHWAL**, secretary to al-Ma'mûn, was of Syrian origin and the son of a secretary of Abû 'Ubayd Allâh. He took advantage of his former connections with the Barmakids to enter the service of al-Faḍl b. Sahl. Indeed the Barmakids were already under an obligation to his father, and he himself had managed to be of service to the disgraced Yahyâ. Apparently even before the capture of Baghdad he went to Khurâsân and, as the result of a letter of recommendation which Yahyâ had given to him before his death, he was placed in charge of several *diwâns* at Marw. After the return of the caliph to 'Irâq, profiting by the support of 'Uthmân b. a-Ashras, he assisted al-Hasan b. Sahl in the direction of the administration, and later replaced him. A man of doubtful integrity, easily corrupted, notorious for his greed and his harshness towards his subordinates, he was, nevertheless, up to his death in 211/826-7, the right-hand man of al-Ma'mûn. It is not possible, however, to state definitely whether he acquired the rank of *nazir*. Doubtless his ability was the reason why the Caliph, who was fully aware of his faults, still retained him in his service.

He played an important part in the political intrigues which secured in 205/821 the nomination of Tâhir b. al-Husayn, then governor of Baghdad, to the governorship of Khurâsân in place of 'Uthmân b.



'Abbād. When Ṭāhir asserted his independence in 207/822, al-Mu'tasim ordered his secretary to proceed at once to Khurāsān and to bring back the governor whose loyalty he had guaranteed. Ahmad with much difficulty secured a respite of 24 hours, and, before his departure, the news of the death of Ṭāhir is said to have reached the city. Everything points to the fact that, as some chroniclers aver, Ahmad was privy to this sudden death. He secured the appointment of Ṭāhir's son Talha as governor, but al-Mu'tasim sent Ahmad himself to Khurāsān to assist, or rather to keep watch on Talha. The secretary, furnished with military powers, penetrated on this occasion as far as Transoxiana, and conquered Ughrisans. Ahmad also used his influence to obtain a pardon for al-Mu'tasim's uncle, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who had laid claim to the throne and who had for several years succeeded in eluding the caliph's police.

**Bibliography:** Baladīyāt, *Futūḥ*, 430-2; Ibn Tayfūr, *Ya'qūt*, ii, Tabari, iii, indexes; *Djāhizīyāt*, index and *RAAD*, xviii, 330; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 351-2; *Aghāni*, *Tabat*; *Shāhshūh*, *Diwān* ('Aswād'), 94-5 (cf. G. Rothstein, in *Festschrift Th. Nöldeke*, 1, 153-70); *Tanbih*, *Niqāḥ*, i, 211-5; *Furūdī*, Cairo 1928, i, 24-5; ii, 8, 10 (cf. D. Sourdeau, in *Mélanges Marçais*); Ibn al-Aḍrī, iv, index; Ibn Khalkān, Cairo 1928, ii, 205. (D. SOURDEAU)

**AHMAD B. ABĪ ṬĀHIR TAYFŪR** (see Ibn Abi ṬĀHIR).

**AHMAD B. HĀBIT** (rather than Hāṭī), if the position in the alphabetical order given to him by al-'Aḥkālī is taken into consideration, a theologian ranked among the Mu'tazilites; he was the pupil of al-Nazzām (q.v.), and the teacher, in particular, of al-Faḍl al-Hadādī. Nothing is known about his life, and only his "innovations" are partly known to us. His doctrine, evolved before 232/846-7, seems to differ from Mu'tazilite teaching on the following two fundamental dogmas, which are borrowed from systems alien to Islam but which, in the eyes of Ibn Hābit, found justification in the Qur'ān. (1) On the basis of Qur'ān lxxix, 22 (xii), ii, 210 (206) and v, 210, he affirms the divinity of Jesus, from which heresiographers infer that, for him, the world has two creators, God and the Messiah. (2) He professes the doctrine of *hurūf*, or the reincarnation of souls, sprung from the Universal Spirit, in forms which will be more beautiful or more ugly according to the merits they have acquired in their previous incarnation. This theory involves the existence of five stages: a place of damnation (Hell); a place of testing (this world); two places of relative reward; and, finally, Paradise, where the souls were created. According to Qur'ān vii, 34 (32); x, 49 (50); xvi, 61 (65), souls which have "filled to the brim the cup" of good or evil go eventually to Paradise or Hell. Ibn Hābit, who accepts incarnation in animals, is obliged to concede its corollary, the doctrine of the *ḥabīb* of animals, of their individual responsibility, which can be justified only if they have had prophets to teach them; verses vi, 38; xvi, 68 (70) and xxxv, 24 (22), enable him to put forward this opinion. The heresiographers, of course, have passed a severe judgement on the theologian, to whom they deny the name of Muslim.

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(Ch. Pellat)

**AHMAD B. HANBAL**, "the imam of Baghdad", celebrated theologian, jurist and traditionalist (164-241/780-855), and one of the most vigorous personalities of Islam, which he has profoundly influenced both in its historical development and its modern revival. Founder of one of the four major Sunni schools, the Hanbali, he was, through his disciple Ibn Taymiyya (q.v.), the distant progenitor of Wahhābism, and has inspired also in a certain degree the conservative reform movement of the Salafīya.

1. Life. Ahmad b. Hanbal was an Arab, belonging to the Banū Shaybān, of Rabī'ah, who had played an active role in the conquest of al-'Irāk and Khurāsān. His family, first resident in Basra, moved to Marw with Ahmad's grandfather, Hanbal b. Hilāl, governor of Samarkand under the Umayyads and one of the early 'Abbasid propagandists. Ahmad was born in Rabī'ah i 164/Dec. 780, a few months after his father Muḥammad b. Hanbal, who was serving in the army of Khurāsān, had removed to Baghdad, where he died three years later. Ahmad inherited, however, a small family estate which allowed him a modest but independent livelihood. After studying in Baghdad jurisprudence, jurisprudence and tradition, he devoted himself from 179/793 to the study of tradition, in pursuit of which he made a series of journeys in al-'Irāk, Ḥijāz, Yaman, and Syria. His visits to Iran, Khurāsān, and even to the distant Maghrib must be dismissed as legendary. Already in 183 he had visited Kūfa. He stayed more frequently in Basra; after a first visit in 186, he returned there in 190, 204 and 208. He was more often still at Mecca, where he made the Pilgrimage on five occasions: in 187, 191, 196, 197 (followed by a pious retreat (*mudjāwara*) at Medina), and 198, followed by a second *mudjāwara* into the year 199, after which he visited the traditionalist 'Abd al-Razzāk at San'a' (Manāhīb, 22-3; *Tarjuma*, 13-24).

His studies of *ḥikā* and *ḥadīth* were made under a great many teachers, whose names have been preserved (Manāhīb, 33-6; *Tarjuma*, 13-24). After Baghdad he attended the courses of the *kādi* Abū Yūfūf (s.d.) 182/798), by whom he was not profoundly influenced, and studied regularly under Hujaym b. Baḥr, a disciple of Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, from 179 to 183 (Manāhīb, 34; *Ḥidāya*, s, 183-4). His principal teacher thereafter was Sufyān b. 'Uyayna (d. 198/812), the greatest authority of the school of the Ḥijāz. Others of his more important teachers were 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Maḥdī of Basra (d. 198/813) and Waki' b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812) of Kūfa. But, as Ibn Taymiyya noted (*Minkāhī al-Sunna*, iv, 143), his juristic formation is due, above all, to the school of ḥadīth and of the Ḥijāz. He cannot therefore be regarded, as is sometimes done, simply as a disciple of al-Shāfi'i, whose juridical work he knew, at least partially, but whom he seems to have met only once, at Baghdad in 195 (*Ḥidāya*, s, 251-3, 326-7).

The policy adopted by the caliph al-Mu'tasim, towards the end of his reign, under the influence of Biḡr al-Marḥ, of giving official support to the doctrine of the Mu'tazila (q.v.), inaugurated for Ibn Hanbal a period of persecution, which was to gain for him a resounding reputation (see al-Ma'mūn, al-MINNA). Ibn Hanbal vigorously refused to accept the dogma of the creation of the Qur'ān, contrary to orthodoxy. Al-Mu'tasim, then at Tarsūs, on hearing of this, ordered that Ibn Hanbal should be sent to him, together with another objector, Muḥammad b. Nūb. They were put in chains and sent off, but shortly after leaving Rakka they

received the news of the caliph's death. They were then sent back to Baghdad; Ibn Nūb died on the journey, and Ibn Hanbal, on arrival in the capital, was imprisoned first at the Yāsiyira, then in a house of the Dār 'Umāra, and finally in the common prison of the Dār al-Mawṣil (Manāhīb, 308-317; *Tarjuma*, 40-56; *Ḥidāya*, s, 272-280).

The new caliph, al-Mu'tasim, though inclined to abandon the inquisition, was, it is said, persuaded by the Mu'tazilite *kādi* Ahmad b. Abī Du'ād of the danger to the authority of the State of surrendering a position now officially taken up. Ibn Hanbal was therefore summoned to appear before the caliph in Kamādān 210. Still stoutly refusing to acknowledge the creation of the Qur'ān, he was severely beaten but permitted to return to his home after an imprisonment of some two years in all. During the whole of al-Mu'tasim's reign he lived in retirement and distanced from giving lectures on Tradition. On the accession of al-Wāḥid (227/842), he attempted to resume his courses of lectures, but almost at once preferred to discontinue them, though not officially forbidden to give them, lest he should be exposed by further reprisals by the Mu'tazilite *kādi*. He continued therefore to remain in retirement, sometimes even (it is said) in hiding, in order to escape from his enemies (Manāhīb, 348-9).

With the reinstatement of Sunnism by al-Mutawakkil on his accession in 232/847, Ibn Hanbal was able to resume his teaching activity. He does not, however, appear among the traditionalists appointed by the caliph in 234 to oppose the *Djāhmiyya* and the Mu'tazila (Manāhīb, 356). The disappearance of the leading figures of the era of persecution opened the way to an association between the caliph and the independent-minded theologian. Ahmad b. Abī Du'ād was removed from office in 237/854, and his successor Ibn Aktham is even said, in certain traditions, to have been recommended to the caliph by Ibn Hanbal (*Ḥidāya*, s, 315-6, 319-29). After a first unsuccessful approach to the court, the date and circumstances of which remain obscure (Manāhīb, 359-60), Ibn Hanbal was invited in 237 to Sāmarrā by al-Mutawakkil. It appears that the caliph wished him to give lessons in *ḥadīth* to the young prince al-Mu'tazz, and it may also be supposed that he had some idea of utilizing the famous theologian for his policy of restoration of the sunna. This journey to Sāmarrā gave Ibn Hanbal the occasion for making contact with the personal enemies of the court, without danger of compromise. The extant narratives show him welcomed on his arrival by the ḥāḍib Waṣfī, installed in the luxurious palace of Ṭāhīb, loaded with gifts, presented to al-Mu'tazz, but eventually exempted, on his own request, from any special charge on account of his age and health. After a short stay, he returned to Baghdad without seeing the caliph (Manāhīb, 372-8; *Tarjuma*, 58-75; *Ḥidāya*, s, 314, 316, 327-329).

Ahmad b. Hanbal died in Rabī' i 241/July 855, at the age of 75, after a short illness, and was buried in the Martyrs' cemetery (*Maḥābir al-Shuhadā'*) near the Harb gate. The traditions which surround the account of his funeral, although partly legendary in character, convey the impression of a genuine popular emotion, and his tomb was the scene of demonstrations of such ardent devotion that the cemetery had to be guarded by the civil authorities (Manāhīb 409-18; *Tarjuma*, 75-82; *Ḥidāya*, s, 340-3). His tomb became one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage in Baghdad. In 574/1178-9 the caliph al-Mustadīr furnished it with an inscription

glorifying the celebrated traditionalist as the most faithful defender of the Sunna (*Ḥidāya*, xli, 300). It was washed away by a flood on the Tigris in the 6th/14th century (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 166).

By each of his two legitimate wives Ibn Hanbal had one son, Sāliḥ and 'Abd Allāh, besides six children by a concubine, who are not otherwise known (Manāhīb, 298-306). Sāliḥ (born in Baghdad 203/818-9, died as *kādi* of Iḥṣān 266/879-80) is said to have transmitted a large part of Ahmad's *ḥikā* (*Tahāḥī*, i, 171-6). 'Abd Allāh (b. 213/828) was chiefly interested in *ḥadīth*, and through him the major part of Ahmad's literary work was transmitted. He died in Baghdad in 299/903 and was buried in the Kuraysh cemetery, and to his tomb was transferred the veneration enjoyed by that of his father when the latter was swept away (*Tahāḥī*, i, 180-8). Both sons, who were closely associated with the intellectual life of their father, were amongst the chief architects of that collective structure which constitutes the Hanbali *madhāb*.

2. Works. The most celebrated of Ibn Hanbal's works is his collection of traditions, the *Musnad* (1st ed., Cairo 1311; new edition by Ahmad Shākir in publ. since 1368/1948). Although Ahmad himself gave an exceptional importance to this work, it was his son 'Abd Allāh who collected and classified the enormous accumulation of material, and himself made some additions. His Baghdad disciple Abū Bakr al-Kaṭīf (d. 568/978-9) transmitted this recension with some further additions. In this vast collection the traditions are classified not according to subjects, as in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, but under the names of the first guarantor; it thus consists of a number of particular *musnads* juxtaposed, and includes those of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uḡmān, 'Alī and the principal Companions, and ends with the *musnads* of the Anṣār, the Meccans, the Medinians, the people of Kūfa and Basra, and the Syrians.

This order, though evidence of an effort of intellectual probity, made it difficult to use by those who did not know it by heart. It was therefore sometimes reshaped. In his *K. fi Dīwān al-Ma'mūn al-'Aḡhra* the traditionalist Ibn Kaṭīf classified, in alphabetical order of the Companions, the traditions contained in Ibn Hanbal's *Musnad*, in the "Six Books", al-Tabarānī's *Mu'jam* and the *Musnads* of al-Bazzāz and Abū Ya'qūb al-Mawṣilī (*Ṣaḥāḥ*, vi, 231). Ibn Zukūn (d. 837/1433-4; *Ṣaḥāḥ*, vii, 22-3) follows, in his *K. al-Dawā'ir*, the order of the chapters of al-Bukhārī, and has the great merit of having inserted among the *ḥadīths* which he quotes extracts from numerous Hanbali works, especially of Ibn Kūdāma, Ibn Taymiyya, and Ibn al-Kayyim. This voluminous compilation, preserved in the Zāhiriyya in Damascus, has served as a mine for numerous editions of Hanbali texts in the last fifty years.

Within the framework of Tradition, Ahmad b. Hanbal is to be regarded as an "independent *muḍḥabī*" (*muḥṭabī*), who as Ibn Taymiyya has remarked (*Minkāhī*, iv, 143), was able, from amongst the mass of traditions and opinions received from many teachers, to form his own doctrine (*ikhtilāf* *li-madhāb*). In no sense can he be regarded, in the manner of al-Tabarānī, as merely a traditionalist, and nothing of a juriscounsel (*ḥakīm*) concerned with normative rules. As already pointed out by Ibn 'Aḥlī, "certain positions adopted (*ikhtilāf*) by Ibn Hanbal are supported by him on traditions with such consummate skill as few have equalled, and certain of his decisions bear witness to a juridical subtlety without parallel" (Manāhīb, 64-6). "Pol-



lowers of tradition" (*ashāb al-hadīth*) must not be too systematically contrasted with "followers of opinion" (*ashāb al-ra'y*), since it is hardly possible to acquire an understanding of *hadīth* and to resolve their contradictions and divergences, or to deduce from them the consequences which may derive from them, without using a minimum of personal judgment.

The two fundamental treatises for the study of Ibn Hanbal's dogmatic position are the short *Radd 'alā 'al-Djāmiyya wa'l-Zandīka* and the *K. al-Sunna* (both printed together, Cairo n.d., a longer version of the *K. al-Sunna* in Mekka 1349). In the former of these, he expounds and refutes the doctrines of Ḍiḥm b. Saṭwān [q.v.], whose ideas, widely circulated in Khurasān, were adopted by certain disciples of Abū Hanīfa and of 'Amr b. 'Ubayd. In the *K. al-Sunna* he re-examines some of the theological questions already raised in the *Radd* and unequivocally defines his own position on all the principal points of his creed (cf. also *Tahakkīd*, I, 21-36). Of his other surviving doctrinal works, the *K. al-Salāt* (Cairo 1323 and 1347), on the importance of the communal prayer and rules for its correct observance, was transmitted by Muḥannā b. Yahyā al-Shāmī, one of his early disciples, and extracted from the bio-bibliographical repository of the Abū 'l-Ḥusayn (Tahakkīd, I, 245-80). Two unpublished MSS. should be noted: the *Muraḥḥaṣ min Maṣā'id Ahmad b. Hanbal* (B.M., cf. Brock, S. I, 311), transmitted by Abū Bakr al-Khālīl, which may possibly be a fragment of the *K. al-Djāmi'* (see below) and is important for the study of Ibn Hanbal's politico-religious ideas; and the *K. al-Aḥw*, transmitted by Ghulām al-Khālīl (MS Zahiriyya).

In the *K. al-Waṣī'* (Cairo 1349; partial trans. by G.-H. Bousquet and P. Charles-Dominique in *Heperis*, 1932, 97-112), there are to be found, in the form of roughly-classified notes, the opinions of Ibn Hanbal on certain cases where scrupulosity (*waṣa'*) seems necessary in his view. Their reporter, Abū Bakr al-Marwāzī, has added the opinions of other doctors on the same or related subjects, with the apologetic object, it seems, of showing that Ibn Hanbal's teaching in the matter of pious scruples, the ascetic life and devotion, can be compared with advantage to that of his contemporaries Ibrahim b. Adham, Fudayl b. 'Iyād, or Dhū'l-Nūn al-Misrī. This work, it has been noted (cf. Abū al-Jalīl, *Aspects intérieurs de l'Islam*, 225, n. 193), is extensively quoted by Abū Tālib al-Makhlī in *Kifā al-Kalāb*, and taken up again by al-Qaṣṣabī in *Ḥayāt 'Uḥm al-Dīn*.

The *Maṣā'id* Ahmad b. Hanbal was constantly consulted on questions (*maṣā'id*) of all sorts relating to dogmatics, ethics or law. Although he may not have prohibited the writing down of his opinions as formally as certain traditions assert, it is certain that he warned his questioners against the danger of a codifying of his thought (*taḥḍīr al-ra'y*) which might then replace the principles of conduct traced by the Kur'ān and the Sunna; he himself, in contrast to al-Shāfi'ī, never sought to present it systematically as a body of doctrine. The fundamental purpose of his teaching is to be seen as a reaction against the codification of the *fiqh*. Since primitive Muslim law was a doctrine of essentially oral transmission, which on a common substructure left a wide latitude to individual variations, any systematic codification, such as to impose it in the terms of thought of any particular representative or to congeal it by fixation, was to change its inner character.

The written redaction of his *responsa* and their classification under the general headings of the *fiqh* was the work of Sāliḥ and 'Abd Allāh and of the following other disciples of Ibn Hanbal: 1) Ishāq b. Manṣūr al-Kawṣarī (d. 251/865-67; *Tah.* I, 113-5); 2) Abū Bakr al-Aḥmām (d. 260/873-4 or 273/886-7; I, 66-74); 3) Hanbal b. Ishāq (d. 273; I, 143-5); 4) 'Abd al-Malik al-Maymūn (d. 274/887-8; I, 212-6); 5) Abū Bakr al-Marwāzī (d. 275/888-9; I, 56-63); 6) Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275; I, 56-63); printed in Cairo, 1355/1934); 7) Hārūn al-Kirmānī (d. 280/873-4; I, 145-9); 8) Ibrahim b. Ishāq al-Harīfī (d. 285/898-9; I, 86-93). There are also other collections, and in addition the *Tahakkīd* of Ibn Abī Yaṣfā contains the replies given by Ibn Hanbal to numerous visitors.

These dispersed materials were assembled in the *K. al-Djāmi'* *il-'Uḥm al-Islām Ahmad*, by a disciple of Abū Bakr al-Marwāzī, the traditionalist Abū Bakr al-Khālīl (d. 311/923-4), who taught at Baghdad in the mosque of al-Mahdī (*Tah.* I, 12-13; *Ta'rikh Baghādī*, v, 112-3). Al-Khālīl's role has been well appreciated by Ibn Taymiyya, who says (*K. al-Imān*, 138) that his *K. al-Sunna* is the latest possible source for a knowledge of Ibn Hanbal's dogmatic views (*ḥukm al-dīniyya*), and his *K. al-Ḥayāt* the most valuable repository for the study of law (*ḥukm al-fiqhīyya*); these are no doubt subdivisions, or a rehandling, of *K. al-Djāmi'*. According to Ibn Kayyim al-Djāwīziya (*Iḥām al-Mawāḥib* in, Cairo, I, 31), the *K. al-Djāmi'* consisted of twenty volumes. To our present knowledge, the work is lost, except for the fragment referred to above; but as it has entered deeply into the output of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Kayyim, the study of these two writers may partially compensate for its loss in assisting an evaluation of Ibn Hanbal's thought.

Al-Khālīl's work was completed by his disciple 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Dja'far (d. 363/975-4), better known as Ghulām al-Khālīl, who did not always accept his master's interpretations of Ibn Hanbal's thought, and whose *Zād al-Ma'ārif*, though less important than the *Djāmi'*, presents a body of supplementary materials often consulted. The divergences which this *Corpus* has allowed to remain in the exposition of Ibn Hanbal's thought explain why the Hanbalis distinguish between the text (*naṣṣ*) of the founder of the school, the teachings ascribed to him (*riwāyāt*), the indications (*taḥakkīd*) suggested by him, and what are simply points of view (*ma'ā'id*) of his disciples.

Ibn al-Djawād (*Manāḥib*, 191) cites a *Tafsīr* based upon 120,000 *hadīths*, and other works now lost. See also Brockelmann, I, 193; S. I, 309-10.

3. Doctrine. Hanbalism has sometimes suffered from a slightly fanatical turbulence among certain of its followers, or an extravagant literalism adopted by others through ignorance or as a challenge. It has been exposed throughout its history to numerous and powerful opponents in the various schools whose principles it opposed, who when they did not deliberately disregard it, have united to attack it or to muffle it with insidious suspicions. Western orientalism has taken little interest in it, and has been no less severe. It has become the received opinion to see in the Hanbalis' doctrine a fanatical anthropomorphism, a traditionalism so sectarian as to be no longer viable, a spirit of frenzied intolerance, a fundamental lack of social adjustment, and a kind of permanent inability to accept the established order. A direct study of its works shows that it is not in these summary judgements that the governing objectives of his teaching are to be sought.

The *Attributes of God*. For Ibn Hanbal, God is the God of the Kur'ān: to believe in God is to believe in the description which God has given of Himself in His Book. Not only, therefore, must the attributes of God, such as hearing, sight, speech, omnipotence, will, wisdom, etc., be affirmed as realities (*ḥaqīq*), but also all the terms called "ambiguous" (*muḥaḍḍah*) which speak of God's hand, throne, omnipresence, and vision by the Believers on the day of resurrection. In conformity with tradition, also, it must be affirmed that God descends to the lowest heaven in the last third of every night to hearken to the prayers of his worshippers, and at the same time, with the literal text of the Kur'ān (cf. *ṣūra* cxli), that God, the Unique, the Absolute, is not comparable to anything in the world of His creatures (*K. al-Sunna*, 37; *Manāḥib*, 135). Ibn Hanbal therefore vigorously rejects the negative theology (*ta'wīl*) of the *Djāmiyya* and their allegorizing exegesis (*ta'wīl*) of the Kur'ān and of tradition, and no less emphatically rejects the anthropomorphism (*taḥakkīd*) of the Mubashshah, amongst whom he includes, in the scope of his polemics, the *Djāmiyya* as unconscious anthropomorphists. In the fideism of Ibn Hanbal, one must believe in God without seeking to know the "mode" of the theologoumena (*ḥukm al-kayf*), and leave to God the understanding of his own mystery, renouncing the vain and dangerous subtleties of dogmatic theology (*ḥukm al-Sunna*, 37; *Manāḥib*, 155-6). So simple, and at the same time so strong, was this position from the Kur'ānic angle, that al-Aḥḥādī, on abandoning Mu'tazilism, seeks, either for tactical reasons or in sincere acceptance, to place himself under the patronage of Ibn Hanbal before making certain concessions to his former credo, concessions successively enlarged by his disciples, on the problem of the attributes, the Kur'ān, and the legitimacy of dogmatic theology.

The Kur'ān. The Kur'ān is the uncreated Word of God (*ḥukm Allāh ḡayr maḥḥūḥ*). To affirm simply that the Kur'ān is the Word of God, without further specification, is to refuse to take up a position, and to fall into the heresy of the *waḥābiyya*, the "Abstenionists", which, because of the doubt which it inspires, is a graver sin than the more open heresy of the *Djāmiyya* (*K. al-Sunna*, 37-8). By Kur'ān is to be understood, not just an abstract idea, but the Kur'ān with its letters, words, expressions, ideas—the Kur'ān in all its living reality, whose nature in itself eludes our understanding.

The Pronunciation of the Kur'ān. It is difficult to define Ibn Hanbal's position on this question. Some traditions assert that he regarded its pronunciation as uncreated (*ta'wīl* *ḡayr maḥḥūḥ*). In *K. al-Sunna* (38) he goes no further than to say: "Whoso asserts that our words, when we recite the Kur'ān, and that our reading of the Kur'ān are created, seeing that the Kur'ān is the Word of God, is a *Djāmi*". While formally condemning the *laḥiyya*, who held the pronunciation of the Kur'ān to be created, he gives no more positive formulation of his own doctrine, to the embarrassment of the later Hanbalis. Ibn Taymiyya regards this question as the first on which a real division existed among the Ancients (cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur . . . Ibn Taymiyya*, 172) and states that Ibn Hanbal avoided taking up a position. He himself gives, in *al-Waḥābiyya*, the cautious formula which appears to him to be in conformity with the spirit of Hanbalism: "When men recite the Kur'ān or write it on

leaves, the Kur'ān remains always and in reality the Word of God. A word cannot in fact be really attributed except to the one who first formulated it, and not to anyone who transmits or carries it."

Methodology. Ibn Hanbal, unlike al-Shāfi'ī, wrote no treatise on ethico-juristic methodology (*ḥukm al-fiqh*), and the well-known later works of his school, composed with elaborate technique and in an atmosphere of discussion with other schools, cannot be accepted as rigorously expressing his thought. His own doctrine, as it may be elucidated from the *Maṣā'id*, is more rudimentary than the later elaborations, but has the merit of setting out the first principles of the methodology of the school.

Kur'ān and Sunna. This doctrine claims to rest above all on the Kur'ān, literally understood, without any allegorical exegesis, and on the Sunna, i.e. the total of traditions which can be regarded as deriving from the Prophet. From his own statement (*Maṣā'id*, I, 56-7), Ibn Hanbal aimed to collect in his *Musnad* the *hadīths* generally received (*maḥḥūḥ*) in his time. In this work, therefore, there are found, to use his own terminology, *hadīths* whose authenticity is properly established and which may be regarded as perfectly sound (*ḥaqīq*), and *hadīths* which benefit only from a presumption of authenticity and for whose rejection (*as da'if*) there is no positive reason, or, to use the classification established by al-Tirmidhī, sound *hadīths* and "good" (*ḥasan*) *hadīths*. It was only much later, when the criticism of Tradition had reached, with Ibn al-Djāwī, the climax of formalist rigour, that Ibn Hanbal was reproached with admitting apocryphal (*maḥḥūḥ*) *hadīths*—an accusation contested by many traditionalists, as, for example, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḥajar al-Askalānī. The opinion which has come to prevail is that in the *Musnad* there are found, along with "sound" traditions, "good" or "rare" (*ḡayr*) traditions, none of which, however, are strictly speaking unacceptable.

The *Fatāwā* of the Companions and *Idimā'*. Kur'ān and Sunna find their continuation in a third source, derived and complementary: the *consilia* (*fatāwā*) of the Companions. The reasons which, for Ibn Hanbal, sustain the legitimacy of this source of doctrine, are clear: the Companions knew, understood, and put into practice the Kur'ān and the Sunna much better than later generations, and all of them are worthy of respect. The Prophet also, in his *waḥābiyya*, had recommended the Muslims to follow, together with his own Sunna, that of the "rightly-guided" (*raḥḥīdīn*) caliphs who should succeed him, and to avoid all innovation (*bida'*). Where the Companions disagree, it is easy to determine the juster view by reference to the Kur'ān and the Sunna, or by taking into account their order of pre-eminence (*Manāḥib*, 161).

In hierarchical order (*taḥakkīd*), the *ḥanbal* puts Abū Bakr first, then 'Umar, then his *asāb al-ḡurā* appointed by 'Umar "all of whom were worthy of the caliphate and merit the title of *imām*": 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Zubayr, Talha, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, and Sa'd b. Abī Waḥkā; then the fighters at Badr, the Muhājirīs and the Anṣār (*K. al-Sunna*, 38; *Manāḥib*, 159-61). This doctrine of Sunnī reconciliation acknowledges the eminent position of 'Alī and the legitimacy of his caliphate, but also rehabilitates his enemies, and in the first place Mu'awwiya, whose historical role in the consolidation of Islam has always been indulgently evaluated in the Hanbalī school, and whose decisions are not necessarily to be discarded.



The decisions of the most authoritative representatives of the later generations (*ahb'aw*) also deserve to be taken into consideration as evidence of plausible interpretations. The consensus of the Community, in such a doctrine, expresses a general concentration around a truth founded on *Kur'ān* and *Sunna*; it does not constitute in itself, properly speaking, an independent source of law. A community may well fall into error collectively, if not guided by the light of revelation transmitted by the Tradition (cf. *Essai*, 239-42).

**Function of the mufti.** The first duty laid upon the juriconsult is to follow faithfully the spiritual legacy transmitted by the Elders, by avoiding any spirit of creation or innovation. Ibn Hanbal therefore condemns *ra'y*, the gratuitous expression of personal opinion (Abū Dāwūd, *Masa'il*, 275-7), but without requiring as a rule of conduct an absolute and impossible passivity in face of the texts. He does not reject analogical reasoning (*hiyāh*), but does not fully appreciate its value as an instrument of juridical systematization and discovery, as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Kayyim were to do later, under intellectual influences.

Ibn Hanbal made an extensive use of *caṭi'ah*, a method of reasoning which consists in maintaining a given juridical status so long as no new circumstance arises to authorize its modification, and of *gharā'ih*, another method of reasoning to the effect that, when a command or prohibition has been decreed by God, everything that is indispensable to the execution of that order or leads to infringement of that prohibition must also, as a consequence, be commanded or prohibited. The notion of *maṣlaḥa*, or recognized common interest, which allows the limitation or extension of a juridical status, is also in conformity with his doctrine, although he did not himself extend and regulate its use as Ibn Taymiyya and his disciple al-Tūfī were to do.

To repeat a comparison of Ibn Kayyim's, which seems to us to characterize very successfully the double care for tradition and for realism shown by Ibn Hanbal: the *mufti*, like the physician who must adapt his treatment to the state of his patient, must make a constant personal effort (*idghāḥ*) to draw from the sources of the law the moral prescriptions which should be applied to a given case. Thus, if the great Hanbalites have never called for the reopening of *idghāḥ*, it is because they have held that its continual use was indispensable to the understanding and application of legal doctrine.

**The Caliphate and the Arabs.** Ibn Hanbal's political views, directed essentially against the Khārijites and the Shī'ites (*rawāḥid*) affirm first and foremost the legitimacy of the Qurayshite caliphate: "No person has any claim to contest this right with them, or to rebel against them, or to recognize any other until the Day of Resurrection" (K. al-Sunna, 35). In the quarrel of races (*ghu'abhiyya*) which was raging in his time, he defended the Arabs, but without proclaiming their superiority: "We must give the Arabs credit for their rights, their merits, and their former services. We must love them, for reason of the very love which we bear for the Apostle of God. To insult the Arabs is hypocritical; to hate them is hypocritical" (ibid., 38)—hypocrisy because, behind the insults or the hatred, there was concealed a more secret aim, to destroy Islam by reviving the ancient empires or reinstating other forms of culture.

On the precedents furnished by Abū Bakr and 'Umar, Ibn Hanbal founded the legality of a caliph's

designation of his successor, but any such designation, to become effective, should be followed by a contract (*muhiya'a*) in which the imām and the authorized representatives of public opinion swear to mutual fidelity in respect for the Word of God (cf. *Essai*, 287). His view of the functions of the imām follows the general lines of the legal expositions, but leaves to the imām, within the framework of the prescriptions of the *Kur'ān* and the *Sunna*, a wide freedom of action to take, for the common good (*maṣlaḥa*), all the measures which he considers necessary to improve the material and moral conditions of the community. In this lies the germ of that important concept of "juridical policy" (*siyāsa shar'iyya*), which was methodically taken up by Ibn 'Aḥlī, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Kayyim al-Quraynī.

The members of the community owe obedience to the imām and may not refuse it to him by disputing his moral quality. "The *ghāḥid* should be pursued alongside all imāms, whether good men or evildoers; the injustice of the tyrant or the justice of the just matters little. The Friday prayer, the Pilgrimage, the two Feasts should be made with those who possess authority, even if they are not good, just or pious. The legal alms, the tithe, the land taxes, the *jayr*, are due to the amīr, whether they put them to right use or not" (K. al-Sunna, 35). If the ruler seeks to impose a disobedience to God (*ma'iyā*), he must be met on this point with a refusal to obey, but without calling for an armed revolt, which cannot be justified so long as the imām has the prayer regularly observed. But every member of the community has also the duty, according to his knowledge and his means, of commanding to the good and prohibiting the evil. By their apostolate, therefore, the doctors of the law, while remaining within the limits of loyalty, may revive the *Sunna*, keep public opinion vigilant, and impose on the prince respect for the prescriptions of religion.

**The Spirit of Community.** Ibn Hanbal's policy is one of communal concentration and confessional solidarity; to the *ihwa*, disunity, which weakens the community, he opposes the concept of *ghimā'a*, of group unity and cohesion. He goes so far as to adopt, on the problem of excommunication (*takfir*), an attitude of tolerance which links up with the laxism of the Murjī'a. One may not exclude from the community, he states, any Muslim guilty of a grave sin; the excommunication of a *hadhā* which must be interpreted with a restrictive literalism (K. al-Sunna, 35-6). He cites only three sins which involve excommunication: non-observance of prayer, consumption of fermented liquors, and spreading of heresies contrary to the dogmas of Islam, among which he mentions none but the Dhahiriyya and the Kadhariyya. As to excommunication properly speaking, he replaces it by a systematic refusal to associate with the heretical within the bosom of the community, "I do not like (he wrote) that prayer should be made behind innovators, nor that the prayer for the dead should be said over them" (K. al-Sunna, 35-6).

**Ethics.** Ibn Hanbal's doctrine is entirely dominated by ethical preoccupations. The end of action is to serve God (*ibāda*). In opposition to the Dhahiriyya and the Murjī'a, he asserted that faith (*al-imān*) "is word, act, intention, and attachment to the *Sunna*" (K. al-Sunna, 34). It may therefore vary in intensity, "increase or diminish", and it implies so total an engagement of the being that no man may possibly call himself a Believer without making his affirmation in a conditional form (*istithnā'a*), by

adding "if God wills". Faith is, therefore, not a simple body of rites, but implies a whole system of strong moral convictions: an absolute sincerity brought to the service of God (*ibāda*); renunciation of the world, with refinement of feeling and a spirit of poverty (*zuhd, fibr*); a moral courage which lies in "relinquishing what one desires for what one fears" (*istisnā'a*); fear of God; a scrupulous mind, which leads one to avoid dubious things (*al-ḥukūb*) between the two well-marked limits of the licit and the illicit (cf. *Manāḥil*, 194-200). Ibn Hanbal's belief has, therefore, nothing of a pedantic juristic literalism.

**Religious practices and Customs.** This is not the place in which to analyse in detail the juridico-moral prescriptions which constitute the applied doctrine of Ibn Hanbal (*fiqh*) in the two domains which come within this discipline: that of religious practices (*ibāda*) and that of usages and customs (*ʿādāt, muʿamalat*). The methodical exposition of them contained in *al-Muḥḥaṣṣar* of al-Khiraḥī does no more than reproduce single opinions of Ibn Hanbal and presents a restrictive codification of his thought. The same is to be said of the *ʿUmda* of Ibn Kudāma, precious as it may be for a knowledge of Hanbalism in the 7th/13th century. (See Laoust, *Précis de droit d'Islam* [Paris, 1930].)

But there is one very important rule which Ibn Taymiyya has brought out and which seems to us characteristic of primitive Hanbalism: nothing is to be regarded as imposing social obligations but the religious practices which God has explicitly prescribed; inversely, nothing can be lawfully forbidden but the practices which have been prohibited by God in the *Kur'ān* and the *Sunna*. This is the dual principle which Ibn Taymiyya resumes in the formula: *laḥḥīḥ fī l-ḥiddāt wa-l-ʿawf fī l-muʿamalat*, i.e. the most rigorous strictness in regard to religious obligations and a wide tolerance in all matters of usage (cf. *Essai*, 444). A wide liberty should therefore be left to both parties in drawing up the conditions of a contract, especially in regard to transactions, in which no stipulations can be nullified except those contrary to the formal interdiction in the *Kur'ān* and the *Sunna* of speculation (*mayyir*) and usury (*ribā*). In the *Kutub al-Sunna* (38), Ibn Hanbal, reacting against al-Muḥāṣilī, regards the free pursuit of an honest profit as an obligation of religion.

On the other hand, in the domain of religious practices those alone are lawful which are prescribed by the *Kur'ān* and the *Sunna*, and only in the manner in which they are prescribed. The rigorism of the Hanbal school is to be explained less by the spirit of devotion and of attention to detail which it seeks to bring to the performance of religious duties, than by its refusal to recognize any legal value to forms of worship introduced by the *idghāḥ* of ascetics or mystics, or even by the arbitrary decision of the administrative authorities. This attitude of hostility to innovations (*bidʿa*)—vestiges of paganism, inventions of later generations, or infiltrations from foreign civilizations—showed itself with special violence in al-Barbahārī and the early Wahhābiyya.

**Bibliography:** (a) Biography: a chapter in Abū Bakr al-Kharrāḥī (d. 312/923-4) history of Hanbalism, of which a few pages are preserved in the *Zāhiriyya* in Damascus; the monograph of Abū Bakr al-Bayhaḥī (d. 458/1065-6), of which large extracts are quoted in Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, 2, 234-43. (A biography is also attributed to al-Harawī, d. 481/1087-8.) Two extensive biographies:

Ibn al-Djāwī, *Manāḥil al-Imām Ahmad b. Hanbal*, Cairo 1349/1931; Dhahabī, excerpt from his great history, ed. separately by A. M. Shālūt, *Tarjamat al-Imām Ahmad*, Cairo 1363/1946 (reprinted in vol. 1 of the *Maṣnād*); they contain abundant documentation going back to Ibn Hanbal's sons and first disciples, but are in the first instance laudatory biographies and often lack precision in chronology. (b) Works: mentioned in the article. (c) Studies: W. M. Patton, *Ahmad ibn Hanbal and the Mihna*, Leiden 1897; L. Goldziher, *Zur Geschichte der hanbalitischen Bewegung*, ZDMG, 1908, 1-28; idem, in EP; Muhammad Abū Zuhra, *Ibn Hanbal*, Cairo 1949.

(H. LAOUST)

**AHMAD b. IDRIS**, Moroccan shāfiʿi and mystic, a disciple of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dabbāgh, the founder of the Khadiriyya order, himself founded a religious congregation, the Idrisiyya, in 'Asir, where in 1823, he initiated the founder of the Sanusiyya (q.v.). He died in Sabayā ('Asir) in 1253/1837, after founding a kind of semi-religious and semi-military state, the two last heads of which were his great-grandson Sayyid Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥ. b. Ahmad (1892-1923), and the latter's son 'Alī (from 1923), who was forced to submit to Sa'ūdī Arabia by a pretetorate agreement, negotiated by the Sanūsī leader Ahmad Shāfi (see Ibn Isḥāq).

The Idrisiyya order is at present strongly represented in former Italian Somaliland (Meraa), in Djibouti, among the Banū 'Amir (Khatmiyya), in Eritrea, and among the Gallas (where their missionary, Nūr Ḥusayn, enjoys great veneration). The Idrisiyya order maintains fraternal relations with the other congregations derived from the Khadiriyya, particularly the Murjāniyya of the Sudan.

**Bibliography:** *Awā'id, Ahādī, wa-Riḥā'iq*, lith. Cairo 1218; Nallino, *Scritti*, II, 387 L, 397 L, and especially 402-7; *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 1954, 27, 380, 385, 387, 392-3; 'Abd al-Wasī' b. Yahyā al-Wasī' al-Yamānī, *Ta'rikh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1346, 338-43.

**AHMAD b. 'ISĀ** b. MUḤ. b. 'ALĪ b. al-'Aḥfā b. Dja'far al-Šādiq (the great-grandson of 'Alī), called al-Muhājirīr "the Emigrant", saint and legendary ancestor of the Hadramī sayyids. He left Baṣra in 312/929 accompanied by Muhammad al-Sulaymān (alleged ancestor of the Banū Abīd [q.v.]) and Sālim b. 'Abdallāh (ancestor of Banū Kudaym), was prevented from visiting Mecca until next year by Abū Ṭāhir al-Karnāfī's occupation and settled with his companions in Western Yaman (region of Surūd and Saḥām). In 340/951 he left with his son 'Ubayd Allāh for Hadramawt, and lived at first near Tarīm, al-'Alīyah, then in Kāraḥ, Hadramawt, and finally in Husayniya, where he bought the territory of Sawā above the town of Bawr and where, after vigorously supporting the cause of the *Sunna* against the heresies of the Khawārijī and Iḥādiyya he died in 343/956 (according to al-Šūhālī). His grave and that of Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Habshī in Shī'ah Muḥaddithan (Shī'ah Abū 'Abd) outside Husayniya are visited by pilgrims. His grandson, Bārī, Djāhid, and 'Alawī settled in Sumal, six miles from Tarīm. Since 321/1127 this town is the centre of the (Bā) 'Alawī [q.v.] family in its wider sense, i.e. the offspring of the 'Alawī mentioned above.

For another Ahmad b. 'Isā, 'Amūd al-Dīn, ancestor of the Hadramī family al-'Amūdī, see v. d. Berg, *Hadramawt*, 41, 85.



*Bibliography:* L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Hadramout*, 1886, 50, 85; F. Wüstenfeld, *Qafṣat* 2 ff.; al-Jillī, *al-Muḥarrir al-Ra'ī fi Maḥādih al-Banī* (Aḥmad, 1339, 1, 35 f., 133 ff.; C. Landberg, *Hadramout*, 450; Zambaur, *Manuel*, Tabl. E.

(O. LÖFGREN)

**AHMAD b. KHĀLID** [see AHMAD al-NĀSIRI].  
**AHMAD b. MUHAMMAD** b. 'ABD al-SAMAD **ABU NAṢR**, vizier of the Ghāwirīd Maḥmūd b. Maḥmūd (after the death of his celebrated predecessor al-Maymandī (433/1021). He began his career as steward (*ṣaḥbāh*) of Kh. 'Arīim Shāh Altūnāh, and having become the vizier of Maḥmūd he managed to retain this office during the latter's reign. After the defeat at Dandānākin, Maḥmūd, who himself retired to India, sent him as attendant of his son Mawḍūd to Balḫ in order to defend this city against the Saljūqs. Also after the accession of Mawḍūd (437/1045) he officiated for some time as vizier until al-Maymandī's son received that office. The year of his death is unknown.

*Bibliography:* Bayhaki (Morley); Ibn al-Aṭṭār, 12; De Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Diwan Menouchchiri*, preface.

**AHMAD b. MUHAMMAD 'IRFĀN** [see AHMAD BILĀW].

**AHMAD b. MUHAMMAD al-MANŠUR** [see AHMAD al-MAṢṢIḤ].

**AHMAD b. SAHL** b. Ḥaṣṣim, of the aristocratic diḥkān family Kāmkariyān (who had settled near Marw), which boasted of Sāsānid descent, governor of Khurāsān. In order to avenge the death of his brother, fallen in a fight between Persians and Arabs (in Marw), he had under 'Amr b. al-Layth stirred up a rising of the people. He was taken prisoner and brought to Sīstān, whence he escaped by means of an adventurous flight, and after a new attempt at a rising in Marw he fled for refuge to the Sāmānid Ismā'īl b. Ahmad in Buḫārā. Ahmad took an active part in the battles of Khurāsān and Ray under Ismā'īl, and in the conquest of Sīstān under Ahmad b. Ismā'īl. Having been sent under the command of Naṣr b. Ahmad against the rebel governor of Khurāsān, Ḥusayn b. 'Abī al-Marwarrūdi, he defeated his antagonist in Rāst 1306/Aug.-Sept. 918. But shortly afterwards he rebelled himself against the Sāmānids, was vanquished on the Muḥrāb by the commander-in-chief Ḥamīdiya b. 'Alī and sent to Buḫārā, where he died in prison in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 307/May-June 919.

*Bibliography:* Ibn al-Aṭṭār (ed. Torab, viii, 86 ff.) and the same information in a somewhat more circumstantial wording in Gardizi, *Zayn al-Aḥbār* (ed. Nazim, 1928, 27-9); evidently there is a common source, probably al-Sallāmī's *Ta'ārib Wulāt Khurāsān*. (W. BARTHOLO)

**AHMAD b. SA'ID** [see n° 5470].

**AHMAD b. TULŪN**, founder of the Tulūnid (968) dynasty, the first Muslim governor of Egypt to annex Syria. Vassal in name only of the 'Abbīd caliph, he is a typical example of the Turkish slaves who from the time of Ḥārūn al-Raṣhīd were enlisted in the private service of the caliph and the principal officers of state, and whose ambition and spirit of intrigue and independence were soon to make them the real masters of Islam. Ahmad's father Tulūn is said to have been included in the tribute sent by the governor of Buḫārā to the caliph al-Ma'mūn c. 200/815-6, and rose to command the caliph's private guard. Ahmad, born in Ramaḍān 230/Sept. 835, received his military training at Sāmarrā and afterwards studied theology at Tarsūs.

By his bravery he gained the favour of the caliph al-Musta'in, who, on his abdication in 251/866, chose to go into exile under the guard of Ahmad. The latter had no hand in the subsequent murder of al-Musta'in, probably because his cooperation had not been invited. In 254/868 the caliph al-Mu'tazz gave Egypt as apanage to the Turkish general Bāḥbāk, who had married Tulūn's widow. Ahmad was appointed as lieutenant of his father-in-law, and entered Fustāt on 23 Ramaḍān 254/15 Sept. 868.

For the next four years Ahmad was engaged in seeking to obtain control of the administration from Ibn al-Mudabbir, the powerful and skilful intendant of finance, whose intolerable exactions, cunning and greed had earned the hatred of the Egyptians. The struggle was fought out mainly through the medium of their agents and relations at Sāmarrā, and ended with the removal of Ibn al-Mudabbir. After the murder of Bāḥbāk Egypt was given as apanage to Yarḡūkh, who had married one of his daughters to Ibn Tulūn; he confirmed Ahmad in his post as vice-governor, and invested him also with authority over Alexandria, Barḳa, and the frontier districts, which had hitherto lain outside his government. The revolt of Amīdīq, governor of Palestine, gave Ahmad the opportunity to obtain the caliph's authorization to purchase a large number of slaves in order to subjugate the rebel. Although the task was subsequently confided to another, this intact army constituted the foundation of Ibn Tulūn's power. For the first time, Egypt possessed a large military force which was independent of the caliphate. By liberal gifts, Ahmad gained the favour of the 'Abbīdīd courtiers, and succeeded in obtaining the annulment of an order of recall issued by the caliph. It was to Ibn Tulūn, and not to Ibn al-Mudabbir's successor, that the caliph addressed his requests for the Egyptian contributions to the treasury. In order that he might have the personal use of them by keeping their sum a secret from his brother al-Muwaffak, he placed the financial administration of Egypt and the Syrian Marches under Ahmad. In 258/872, the caliph's son Dī'ā'far (later entitled al-Muwaffak) succeeded Yarḡūkh as apanage of Egypt; al-Mu'tamid had recognized his brother al-Muwaffak as heir to the throne after his own son and had divided the empire between the two heirs-presumptive, al-Muwaffak receiving the eastern provinces as his apanage, and al-Muwaffak the western; a regent, the Turk Mūsā b. Buhūtī was appointed as coadjutor of the latter. In fact, al-Muwaffak exercised the supreme power. But while the caliphate was threatened in the east by attacks and movements of independence, and in the south by the revolt of the Zinjī which engaged the forces of al-Muwaffak, he himself, the only man capable of making a stand against Ibn Tulūn, was threatened above all by the disorders in the administration and by the internal conflicts between the caliph and himself on the one hand, and the captains of the Turkish regiments on the other.

Such was the state of the caliphate at the moment selected by Ibn Tulūn for his essay at independence, after gaining the financial control of his territories. On account of the long and costly campaigns against the Zinjī the commander-in-chief al-Muwaffak considered himself entitled to obtain financial assistance from all the provinces belonging to the caliphate. On receiving a sum from Ibn Tulūn which he considered unsatisfactory, he sent a force of troops under Mūsā b. Buhūtī to remove him (263/877), but the demands of the soldiers and the fears inspired

by Ibn Tulūn's forces led to the abandonment of the attempt. Ahmad was now encouraged to occupy Syria (264/878), under the pretext of engaging in the holy war and of defending the frontiers in Asia Minor against the Byzantines. But he had to return to Egypt shortly after to deal with a revolt by his son 'Abbas, whom he had appointed as his lieutenant in Egypt.

After the Syrian campaign, Ibn Tulūn began to add his own name to those of the caliph and of Dī'ā'far on his gold coinage. (It should be noted that Ibn Tulūn always recognized the caliph al-Mu'tamid himself, perhaps just because he was powerless.) In 269/882 Ahmad invited the caliph to take refuge with him, aiming by this means to concentrate the whole sovereign authority in Egypt and to gain the merit of being the saviour of the caliph, now a shadow. But the latter's flight was intercepted, and al-Muwaffak nominated Ishāk b. Kundāqī as governor of Egypt and Syria. Ahmad retaliated by proclaiming through an assembly of jurists which met at Damascus the forfeiture of al-Muwaffak's succession to the throne. Al-Muwaffak thereupon compelled the caliph to have Ahmad cursed in the mosques, while Ahmad had the same measure applied to al-Muwaffak in the mosques of Egypt and Syria. But al-Muwaffak, though finally victorious in his war with the Zinjī, sought to have the *status quo* recognized, in the hope of gaining from Ahmad by mildness and diplomacy what he had failed to gain by war. Ahmad gave a favourable response to his first approaches, but died in Dhū 'l-Ka'da 270/March 884.

Ibn Tulūn owes his success not only to his talents, his cleverness, and the strength of his Turkish and Sudanese slave-armies, but also to the Zinjī rebellion, which prevented al-Muwaffak from devoting himself to counter his encroachments. His agrarian and administrative reforms were directed to encouraging the peasants to cultivate their lands with zeal, in spite of the heavy charges which were still laid upon their produce. He put an end to the exactions of the officers of the fiscal administration for their personal profit. The prosperity of Egypt under Ibn Tulūn was due principally to the fact that the greater part of the revenues of the state were no longer drained off to the metropolises; they were thus employed to stimulate commerce and industry and to found, to the north of Fustāt, a new quarter, called al-Kaṭā'ī, which was the seat of government under the Tulūnids and in which the great mosque built by Ibn Tulūn was situated.

*Bibliography:* Balāwī, *Sirat Ahmad ibn Tulūn* (ed. Kurd 'Alī); Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Muḥrib* (ed. Zaky M. Hassan, Sayyida Kashaf and Shawky Deif, and ed. Vollers, *Fragmente aus dem Mughrib*); Tabarī, iii, 1720 ff.; Ya'kūbī (Houtsma), ii, 615 ff.; Makrizī, *Kātib*, i, 313 ff.; Abū'l-Mahbūdī (ed. of Makrizī, *Kātib*, ii, 37 ff.; Marcel, *Egypte*, Cairo), ii, 1 ff.; Wüstenfeld, *Die Stalthalter von Ägypten*, iii ff.; Corbitt, *The Life and works of Ahmad ibn Tulūn*, *JRAS*, 1891, 527 ff.); Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, 59 ff.; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, iii, 149-198; Wiet, *Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne*, iv, Chap. 10; Zaky M. Hassan, *Les Tulounides*, Paris, 1937.

(ZAKY M. HASSAN)

**AHMAD b. YŪSUF** b. al-KĀSIM b. SUBAYY, **ABU Dī'ā'far**, secretary to al-Ma'mūn. He belonged to a mawālī family of secretaries and poets originating from the neighbourhood of al-Kūfa. His father, Yūsuf, was secretary to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī,

then Ya'kūb b. Dāwūd, and finally to Yahyā the Barmakid. It appears that Ahmad held a secretarial post in 'Irāk at the end of the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. He was presented to al-Ma'mūn by his friend Ahmad b. Abī Khālid, and soon attracted notice by his eloquence. He became an intimate of al-Ma'mūn, and at a date impossible to determine accurately, was placed in charge of the *diwān al-sirr* (rather than the *diwān al-ra'ad*), which was entrusted to 'Amr b. Ma'sūda). As private secretary to the caliph he occupied a position of such importance that some historians have styled him "vizier", a title, however, which he does not appear to have held. He came into conflict with the future caliph al-Mu'tasim, and died, it seems, in Ramaḍān 213/Nov.-Dec. 828. Various letters, terse remarks, aphorisms and verses by which he achieved fame as a "secretary-poet" are attributed to him.

*Bibliography:* Dīḥlī, *Fi Dhawm Ahlīh al-Kutub*, 48, *Bayān*, ii, 263; Ibn Tayfūr, *Tabarī*, iii, *Dīḥshīyāt*, indexes; Sūlī, *Awarāḥ* (Poets), 143, 156, 206-36; Ma'sūdi, *al-Tanbih*, 352; *Alḥadīth*, Tables; Yāqūt, *Iḥṣād*, ii, 100-71.

(D. SOURDEL)

**AHMAD b. ZAYN DAHLĀN** [see DAHLĀN].

**AHMAD AMIN**, Egyptian scholar and writer, b. in Cairo 2 Muharram 1304/Oct. 1886, d. 30 Ramaḍān 1373/30 May 1954. After studying in al-Azhar and the School of Shar'ī Law, he served as a magistrate in the Native Courts, and in 1926 was appointed to the staff of the Egyptian University (U. of Cairo), where from 1935-1945 he was professor of Arabic Literature. In 1947 he became Director of the Cultural Section of the Arab League. Ahmad Amin was one of the founders and most active members of the *Lajnat al-la'wī wa'l-tarjūma wa'l-naḥw* (see U. Rizzitano, in *OM*, 1940, 31-8), for which he edited and produced (in collaboration) a number of classical Arabic texts and general works on literary history. As a scholar, his most important production was a history of Islamic civilization to the end of the 14th/10th century (in three parts: *Faḍīr al-Islām*, 1st ed., Cairo 1928; *Duḥā' al-Islām*, 1st ed., Cairo 1933-6; *Zuhūr al-Islām*, Cairo 1945-53), notable as the first comprehensive attempt to introduce critical method into modern Muslim Arabic historiography. From 1933 he collaborated in the weekly literary journal *al-Risāla*, and from 1939 edited a similar journal *al-Zuhūr*; his essays on literary, social and other topics in these journals were later collected and issued in book form (*Fayd al-Khāṣir*, 8 vols., Cairo 1937 ff.). Of his many other works special mention should be made of his dictionary of Egyptian folklore (*Kāmis al-Adab wa'l-Tahāṣil wa'l-Ta'ābir al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953), and his autobiography *Hayātī* (Cairo 1950).

*Bibliography:* Autobiography (see above); Eng. tr. by A. J. M. Craig to be published; U. Rizzitano, in *OM*, 1953, 76-89; Brockelmann, S III, 305.

**AHMAD BĀBĀ**, otherwise **ABU'l-'ABRĀS AHMAD** b. AHMAD al-TAKRUBĪ al-MAṢṢIḤ, **SUDĀNES** jurist and biographer, belonging to the Shihābī family of the Aḥl, born at Timbuktu (now Timbuktu) 21 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 963/26 Oct. 1556. All his ancestors in the male line were *imāms* or *hādīs* in the Sudanese capital in the 15th and 16th centuries, and he himself rapidly became a *faḥh* of repute in learned circles in his country. At the time of the conquest of the Sudan by the Sa'īdī Sultan of Morocco Ahmad al-Manṣūr (g.s.) in 1000/1592, Ahmad Bābā refused



to recognise the authority of the court of Marrākush and, two years later, the governor Mahmūd Zarkūn arrested him on the Sultan's orders, and accused him of fomenting a revolt at Tinbukūt against the new rulers. Taken in chains to Morocco with several of his companions, Ahmad Bābā was not long in regaining his liberty, but he was required to reside in Marrākush (1004/1596). He began to give instruction in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, and formulated legal opinions (*fatāwa*). His renown soon spread throughout the Maghrib. At the death of Ahmad al-Mansūr in 1016/1607, his successor Mawlay Zaydān allowed Ahmad and the other Sudanese exiles to return to Tinbukūt. It was no doubt at this time that he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, and returned to his native town where he died on 6 Shā'abān 1036/12 April 1627.

Ahmad Bābā was the author of some 50 works on Mālikite law, grammar and other subjects. But his chief work is his supplement to the biographical dictionary of the *fabāḥ* of the school of Mālik b. Anas, composed in the second half of the 16th century by Ibn Farḥūn [s.v.], and entitled *al-Dihādī al-Mudhahhab fī Ma'rifat A'yān 'Ulamā' al-Maghrib*. Ahmad Bābā gave his supplement the name of *Nayl al-Dihādī bi-Tarīq al-Dihādī*. He completed it at Marrākush in 1005/1596, and later issued an abridged version dealing only with those Mālikite *fabāḥ* not represented in Ibn Farḥūn, called *Khiṣṣat al-Mudhahhab fī Ma'rifat mā jāya fī-Dihādī*. The *Nayl* was lithographed at Fās in 1217 and printed at Cairo in 1329, in the margins of the *Dihādī*.

Ahmad Bābā's dictionary is one of the main sources for a bio-bibliographical survey of the Maghrib up to the 16th century, and contains, apart from the Mālikite doctors, a certain amount of information on the great Moroccan saints (*awliyā'*) of the period. The extensive library which he built up in the Sudan has still not been entirely dispersed, and it was one of his own copies of which particular use was made in the publication of the materials relating to Spain in *al-Rawf al-Ma'fūr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari (Lévi-Provençal, *La Pérouse littéraire au Moyen Âge*, Leiden, 1938 p. xii-xiii).

**Bibliography:** Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 250-51; idem, *Arabia Occidentale*, iv, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 89-96; Mubhith, *Khiṣṣat al-Dihādī*, i, 170 ff.; al-Ḥafīd, *Nuṣṣat al-Ḥādī*, Fez, 81 ff.; idem, *Salwat man inṣāghar*, Fez, 52 ff.; Kādirī, *Nasb al-Maṭā'ib*, Fez 1310, i, 157 ff.; Ahmad Nāsirī, *Taḥṣīṣ*, Cairo 1312, iii, 63; Sa'dī, *Tarīkh al-Sūdān* (Houdas), i, 35-6, 244; transl. 57-9, 379; M. Ben Cheneb, *Iḍā'at*, § 94; idem, in *IE*, i, 191 (with a complete list of the works of Ahmad Bābā); Brockelmann, II, 618, § 11, 715-6. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

**AHMAD AL-BADAWĪ** (in modern Egyptian Arabic *al-Badawī*, with the kunya Abu 'Aṭīya), is the most popular saint of the Muslims in Egypt and has been so for about 700 years. By the people he is often called simply *al-sayyid*; in a song in his honour (ed. Littmann) he has the title of *shāh al-'Arab* because of his name al-Badawī, and this name was given to him because he was a villager like the bedouin of the Maghrib. As a *Ṣūfī* he was called *al-kabīr*, «the pole».

Ahmad was probably born in Fez in 560/1159-1200, and he seems to have been the youngest of seven or eight children. His mother was called Fātima, his father 'Alī (al-Badrī); the occupation of his father is not mentioned. His genealogy was traced up to 'Alī b. Abī Tālib. In his early youth Ahmad went with his family on a pilgrimage to Mecca where

they arrived after four years' travelling. This is placed in the years 603-7/1206-11. In Mecca his father died. Ahmad is said to have distinguished himself in Mecca as a daring horseman, and he received there, according to tradition, the surnames al-'Aṭṭāḥ, "the intrepid horseman", al-Ḥadhān, "the furious, raging one". His name Abu 'Aṭīya may be a miswriting for Abu 'Aṭīya; and the latter would have much the same meaning as al-'Aṭṭāḥ. Other names that were given him later are al-Sammāt, "the silent" and Abū Farrāḡ, "liberator", namely of prisoners. About 627/1230 he seems to have undergone an inner transformation. He read the *Kutub* according to all the seven readings and studied some *Shāfi'ite* law. He gave himself up to devotion and declined the offer of a marriage. He retired from men, became taciturn, made himself understood by signs. According to some authorities Ahmad was summoned in 633/1236 by three consecutive visions to visit 'Irāq, and he went there in company with his eldest brother Ḥasan. They visited the tombs of the two great 'pōles' Ahmad al-Riḥā'ī and 'Abd al-Kādir al-Jilānī and of many other saints. In 'Irāq he is said to have subdued the indomitable Fātima bint Barri, who had never yet surrendered to any man, and to have refused her offer to marry him. This incident has been turned into a highly romantic story in popular Arabic literature; it may go back to ancient Egyptian mythology. In 634/1237-7 Ahmad had another vision which told him to go to Tanṭā in Egypt. His brother Ḥasan returned from 'Irāq to Mecca. In Tanṭā Ahmad entered on the last and most important period in his life. His mode of life is described as follows: He climbed in Tanṭā to the roof of a private house, stood there motionless and gazed up into the sun so that his eyes went red and sore and looked like fiery cinders. Sometimes he would maintain a prolonged silence, at other times he would indulge in continuous screaming. He went without food or drink for about forty days. (The forty days fast is also known from the legends of Christian saints. The standing on the roof is reminiscent of Symeon Stylites, and the name of the followers and disciples of Ahmad: Saṭūbiyya or Aḥbāb al-Saṭh, «the roof men», of the Christian «pillar saints», the «pillars» of Symeon.) Those saints who were still worshipped at the time of Ahmad's arrival in Tanṭā (such as Ḥasan al-Iḥṣān, Ṣālim al-Maghribī and Wajḥ al-Kamar), found themselves eclipsed. His contemporary, the Manlūḡ sultan al-Zāhir Baybars, is said to have worshipped him and to have kissed his feet. A boy called 'Abd al-'Alī came to him when he was searching for a cure for his sore eyes, and this boy became afterwards his confidant and his *khāḍiṣ* (successor); the saint is therefore called Abū 'Abd al-'Alī in popular literature. Ahmad died on 12 Rabī' I 675/24 August 1276.

Ahmad al-Badawī is the author of (i) a prayer (*ḥudūd*); (ii) a collection of prayers (*salawāt*); commented by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muṭafī al-Aydiarī under the title of *Faḥ al-Rahmān*; and (iii) a spiritual testament (*wasīyāt*), containing admonitions of a rather general character.

Ahmad al-Badawī is a representative of the lower type of the dervishes, and his intellectual qualities seem to have been of small importance.

After his death 'Abd al-'Alī (d. 733/1332-3) became his *khāḍiṣ* and built a mosque over his tomb. The veneration of Ahmad among the pilgrims was not confined to Tanṭā, but spread to other places. Ahmad was one of the more highly educated scholars and other opponents of the *ṣūfīs*. These

opponents were partly men who were averse to all *ṣūfism*, partly politicians who objected to the *ṣūfīs* as rulers of the people. We hear twice of the murder of a *khāḍiṣ* of al-Badawī (Ibn Iyās, ii, 61, iii, 78). In 852/1448 the 'ulama' and pious politicians caused the sultan al-Zāhir Ḍiḡnāq to forbid the pilgrimages to Tanṭā, but this edict had no effect because the people would not forsake their old customs. The sultan Kāṣṭaway seems to have been an admirer of the saint (Ibn Iyās, iii, 217, 201). Under Ottoman rule the outward splendour of the cult of Ahmad seems to have diminished, because it annoyed the powerful Turkish orders. But this political attitude could not prejudice his veneration amongst the Egyptians. The *dawriyy* order of the Ahmadiyya founded by him is, together with the Rifa'iyya, the Kādiriyya and the Būrkānīyya, among the most popular orders in Egypt. The banners and the turbans of the Ahmadiyya are red. There are several "branches" of the Ahmadiyya, such as the Bayyūmiyya (s.v.) etc. (cf. *TARIKH*).

The place where Ahmad al-Badawī is venerated is the mosque at Tanṭā (s.v.), which was built over his tomb. On this E. W. Lane says (*An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1848, i, 321): "The tomb of this saint, so attracts almost as many visitors, at the period of the great annual festivals, from the metropolis, and from various parts of Lower Egypt, as Mekkah does pilgrims from the whole of the Muslim world". Many Egyptians who make the pilgrimage to Mecca first go to Tanṭā, and therefore Ahmad is called *abū-nabī*, "the door of the Prophet". The three great festivals (*wasadīl*, plural of *wasad* (s.v.)): (i) on the 17 or 18 Jan.; (ii) on or about the winter equinox; (iii) about a month after the summer solstice, when the Nile has risen considerably, but the dams of the canals are not yet cut. They are, as Lane says, "great fairs as well as religious festivals". The dates are reckoned according to the Coptic calendar, and it is very likely that in these festivities and pilgrimages old Egyptian and Christian practices have survived; the date of the first festival corresponds to the time of the Christian Epiphany. Goldziher (*Mus. Stud.*, ii, 338) suggested a connection between the pilgrimages to Tanṭā and the ancient Egyptian processions to Bubastis described by Herodotus.

Festivals in his honour are also held in other places in Egypt, in Cairo, but also in small villages (cf. e.g. 'Alī Muḥarāk, ix, 37). It is somewhat doubtful if all the sanctuaries bearing the name of "al-Badawī" refer to Ahmad. Such sanctuaries occur, e.g. near Aswān; in Syria near Tripoli (J. L. Burckhardt, *Syria*, 166); at Gaza (Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii, 338; *ZDPV*, xi, 252, 158).

Many legends are told in Egypt about Ahmad al-Badawī; miracles that he did while he was alive; miracles that he performed from his tomb; miracles that he did reviving from the dead; miracles in favour of those who celebrated his festivals. What many people still nowadays believe of him is shown by the song taken down in Cairo by Littmann (see *Bibl.*). In this song incredible miracles of Ahmad are told; it is also said that he began to speak on the day on which he was born, and that he was an unusually heavy eater. He is especially renowned as a saint who brings back prisoners and lost persons or goods. Therefore he is known as *ghayb al-yasir*, "bringer of the prisoner", and when a public creditor announces the loss of a child, of an animal or of a piece of property, he invokes Ahmad al-Badawī.

Spencer (in *ZDMG*, 1914, 243) tells of a miracle in Palestine by this saint.

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(K. VOLLERS-E. LITTMANN)  
**AHMAD BEY**, bey of Tunis (1837-55), tenth ruler of the Husaynid dynasty. He proclaimed himself commander-in-chief of the army and attempted to modernize it; he sent Tunisian officers to Europe for instruction, and obtained European military advisers and French officers to act as instructors, but the latter were unable to instil habits of discipline into the troops or to form them into reliable regiments. When Ahmad decided to send a contingent of 10,000 men to take part in the Crimean war, this force was quartered in the Caucasus, where epidemics decimated its ranks and shattered its morale.

With the Bey's permission, a French topographer made a careful survey and drew up a map of the Regency. The Bey also founded, in 1848, a polytechnic institution, with the object of training a cadre of specialist and administrative officers. This institution ceased to function after the campaign in the East.

Ahmad also wanted a navy. He purchased twelve ships abroad and resolved to create a naval station at Porto Farina. A frigate was built there, but proved permanently unserviceable, and the port was soon silted up by the Medjerda. Towards the end of his reign, the Bey contented himself with modernizing the arsenal at La Goulette (Halk al-Wādī). He showed no interest in improving the commercial ports.

Ahmad resisted the claims of Turkey, which seized every opportunity to reassert its suzerainty over Tunisia, to demand gifts, and to press for payment of an annual tribute which would at least have been tangible evidence of the Bey's vassal status. As England supported Turkey, Ahmad sought the aid of France, which, to maintain security



in Algeria and to put an end to the illicit arms traffic, took care that the Porte should not interfere in Tunisian affairs. In 1846, Ahmad went to France and was warmly welcomed in Paris. As a reward for his stubborn resistance, he succeeded in obtaining from the Porte in a *khāt-i shērī* which recognized him individually as an independent sovereign.

Ten miles from Tunis, on the banks of the Sakhā Saghūm, Ahmad built the Muhammadiyya palace, a huge mass of enormous buildings which were still incomplete at the end of his reign and which soon fell into ruins.

This extravagance, and the prodigality of the Bey's favourites, the Genoese Raffo, the minister of foreign affairs, and above all the Greek Mustafā Khazandār, minister of finance from 1857 to 1873, exhausted the Treasury. The farming of the tax on tobacco and increased taxation generally caused revolts in 1840 at Tunis and in the region of Kābis, and in 1842 at La Goulette. They were suppressed, but the Bey was unable to impose his will on the mountain tribes. Beneath an outwardly brilliant display, a love of ostentation coupled with chaotic administration set Tunisia on the road to decadence.

It must nevertheless be recognized that Ahmad, sincere in his desire to confer on his country western institutions, introduced some beneficial reforms. In 1841 he prohibited the sale of negroes, and emancipated his household slaves. In 1846 he formally abolished slavery throughout the Regency. He abrogated the laws discriminating against Jews. Finally, he promoted the development of education. The abbé Bourgade, in charge of the chapel of Saint Louis of Carthage, the construction of which had been authorized by Ahmad, founded a hospital in 1843 and, two years later, built the Saint Louis College, which was open to boys of all creeds and to which a nursery school was attached, as well as a small printing press. The abbé later opened other schools and dispensaries. Various archaeological excavations were begun. French influence became dominant in Tunisia, as a result both of their educational activities and of the flourishing trade conducted by the merchants of Marseilles.

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(G. VERA-M. EMERY)

**AHMAD BĪDJĀN** [see BĪDJĀN AHMAD].

**SAYYID AHMAD BRĒLWĪ**, a militant religious reformer of Muslim India, was the son of Muhammad 'Irān and the 36th direct descendant of Hasan, the son of 'Alī. He was born on 6 Šafar 1207/28 Nov. 1786 at Bareilly (Bareil), where he received his early education. He then went to Lucknow and after a few months' stay there, he proceeded about 1219/1804 to Delhi, where he became a disciple of the famous divine Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz [s.v.], the eldest son of Shāh Wali Allāh [s.v.], and received formal

instruction from his younger brother Shāh 'Abd al-Kādir [s.v.]. About 1223/1807, he returned to Bareilly, where he married. In 1225/1810, he left for Radipūtina, where he served for seven years in the army of Nawāb Amīr Khān, who subsequently became the ruler of Tonk.

In 1232/1817, he left the service of the Nawāb and returned to Delhi. Roused by the religious and political degradation of his co-religionists, he started on a missionary tour as a religious teacher and reformer. His tenets bore a great similarity to those of the Arabian Wahhābīs in the adoption of a pure and simple form of religion, free from superstitious innovations and exaggerated veneration for prophets and saints. His reputation spread far and wide, and thousands of Muslims adopted his views. His chief disciples and constant companions in his chequered career were Mawlāwī Muhammad Ismā'īl, the nephew of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, Mawlāwī 'Abd al-Hayy, the son-in-law of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, and Mawlāwī Muhammad Yūsuf of Phulānā, a descendant of Shāh Abī Allāh, the elder brother of Shāh Wali Allāh.

In 1236/1821, Sayyid Ahmad set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, staying a few months at Calcutta on the way. On his return to India in 1239/1824, he began to make active preparations for a *dīkhāt* or religious war. It is clear from his letters that the ultimate object of his reformist movement was to overthrow the rule of the British and the Sikhs and restore Muslim dominion in India. His first aim was to oust the Sikhs from the Panjāb. Having enlisted the sympathy and promised aid of his co-religionists at Kābul and Kandahār, he started on his expedition in 1241/1826 with an army of enthusiastic followers, and reached Peshāwar via Radipūtina, Sind, Baluchistan and Afghanistan. He attacked and repulsed the Sikh army at Akora Khattak (20 Nov. 1826); but lost the battle of Saydo through the desertion of Yār Muhammad Khān Durrānī and his brothers. Although he succeeded in occupying Peshāwar in 1830, he was disgraced by the treachery of the Durrānīs and other local khāns, and decided to proceed to Kashmir. On the way, however, he was encountered by the Sikhs in 1246/1831 at Bālākot where he was killed along with Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl and his army was dispersed. Nevertheless, the remnants of his army continued their struggle in the North-West Frontier Province for the cause for which their leader had laid down his life.

His numerous disciples continued his reformist movement in India, and were responsible for the production of a vast religious literature. In order to reach the masses, they adopted the Urdu language as their medium and were incidentally instrumental in promoting the growth of a simple, direct and vigorous style. His adherents preferred to engage themselves in religious pursuits rather than seek service under the British government.

A few short epistles and pamphlets on religious topics are credited to Sayyid Ahmad. He is also said to have inspired the composition of *Širāt Muṣṭafīya*, a work written in Persian by his two foremost disciples, Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl and Mawlāwī 'Abd al-Hayy. Several collections of his letters (in Persian) also exist in manuscript.

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(SH. IRAYATULLAH)

**AHMAD DJALĀ'IR** [see DJALĀ'IR].

**AHMAD-Ī DJĀM**, "Ahmad of Djam", also AHMAD-Ī DJĀMĪ, Persian šōfi in the Sādiqī period, contemporary of al-Qazwīnī, 'Adī b. Muṣāfir, 'Ayn al-Kudāt al-Hamadhānī, and Sanā'ī, in full SHĪRĀZ AL-DĪN ABŪ NASH AHMAD B. ABŪ 'Ī-ḤASAN B. AHMAD B. MUṢ. AL-NĀMA'Ī AL-DJĀMĪ. He is also known by the nickname of Zāda Pī, "Elephant-coloured". He claimed descent from the Prophet's Companion Dī'far b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baḡialī (Ibn Sa'd, VI, 13), but although of Arab origin had a ruddy complexion, reddish beard and dark-blue eyes. Born in the village of Nāma or Nāmā, in Turḡhī (Kōhistan), in 441/1049-50, he led as a youth, according to the legend, a somewhat wild life, until, when 22 years of age, in 463/1070-1, he was driving an ass laden with wine homeward to a drinking-bout, he was converted by a supernatural voice and withdrew to the solitude of the hills of his native village. After twelve years spent there in ascetic exercises, and visits to some cities of Khurāsān, he settled as the result of an inner call in the mountains of B.P. z.d-ī Djām (in Kōhistan), where he built a *maṣgid-i nūr* and entered into active intercourse with men. He stayed here for six years. At the age of 40, i.e. in 481/1088-9, he moved to the village of Ma'addābād of Djam and built there a convent (*dhakka*) and a Friday mosque. He travelled widely in eastern Persia, to Sarakhs, Naysābūr, Harāt, Bākhārā, etc., and is said also to have visited Mecca. The sources speak also of a personal connection with sultan Sanḡar. He died in his convent as the leader of a considerable body of disciples in Muharram 536/Aug. 1141, and had himself buried under Ma'addābād at a place which a friend had seen in a dream. A mosque and convent were later built over the grave, followed by a complex of buildings which became the centre of a new, and still existing, place called Turbat-i Shaykh-i Djām [s.v.], "Mausoleum of the Shaykh of Djām". One of his 14 surviving sons (out of 30), Burhān al-Dīn Nasr, took over the leadership of the group of disciples. Shams al-Dīn Muhammad al-Kūsawī al-Djām, a šōfi who died in Harāt in 863/1459 [Djām, *Nafahāt al-Dīn*, I, 11], was descended from a daughter of this Burhān al-Dīn and her cousin Širāj al-Dīn Ahmad, another grandchild of Ahmad-ī Djām.

Ahmad-ī Djām had no regular novitiate training, but sought his own way in solitude. He had nevertheless relations with a certain Abū Ṭāhir-Kud, who is said to have been a disciple of Abū Šā'ib b. Abī Ṭāhir and even to have given Ahmad the latter's patched robe (*dhakka*). That a famous shaykh gives his own robe to the care of a friend, together with a description of certain signs by which he may

recognize its future authorized wearer, is a well-known motive of šōfi hagiography, and can generally be shown up as an invention (cf. *Firdaws al-Murshidiyya* (Meier), introduction, 18 ff.). This may well be the case here. The above-mentioned al-Kūsawī is later said to have claimed to wear the same robe.

Ahmad wrote the following works, all in Persian: *Uns al-Ta'wīn*, *Širāḡ al-Sā'irīn* (professedly written in 535/1139), *Futūḡ al-Kulūb* (= *Futūḡ al-Rūḡ*), *Rawḍat al-Muḡhīnīn*, *Ḥikāz al-Hāḡhā*, *Kunūz al-Dīkma*, *Mīḡhā al-Nadāḡ* (written in 522/1128). Of these only the first and last-named works have so far been recovered, although Mirzā Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh (1901) had still read the second. The biographers' information on the dates of the first six writings (Ivanov, in *JRAS*, 1917, 303 f., 349-52) must be false in part, since all these works are listed in *Mīḡhā al-Nadāḡ*, and must be earlier than 522/1128, unless the list is an interpolation or the works mentioned were subsequently revised. There has been preserved further a *Risāla-yi Samarḡhandiyya* (also called *Šu'āl u-Djawāb*), in reply to a question. Two or three other works listed by the biographers, together with the *Futūḡ al-Rūḡ*, are said to have perished in Djām in consequence of the Mongol invasion. Only the library (in Dihlī) of Fīrūzshāh, of the Tughlakid dynasty (724-907/1313-88), still possessed all Ahmad's works. The *Mīḡhā al-Nadāḡ* (MS Rida Pasha 3099), mentioned in the *I. A. v. v. Cami*, is probably not a work by Ahmad.

On his conversion Ahmad, as he himself says, possessed no theological training, and what he later learned and published on this subject was professedly acquired by revelation. This is to be taken *sans grana salis*. Even his early diṭa betray some theological knowledge and still more his writings, where he positively requires it. His views, or at least his formulations, are, however, not exempt from contradictions and inconsequences. His theology is firmly grounded on Kur'ān and Sunna, and on the *shar'ī* in the šōfi sense, and in it he shows himself a pronounced Sunni; he allows, for example, the *maṣk al-ḡhuḡāyā*. Right action includes, however, also *hujūdāt*, i.e. inner reasoning; unlawful conduct accompanied by *hujūdāt* is, according to him, better than lawful conduct without *hujūdāt*. His doctrine of the *tarīḡa* recognizes the purification of the soul through the stations *ammā*, *lawmā*, *maḡhama*, up to *maḡmaḡma*, and aims to clarify the relation of the last stage to the heart (*kalb*); Ahmad defines the "soul at rest" (*maḡmaḡma*) as the sheath in which the heart is fixed (*ghāḡḡat al-ḡh*). The aim of mystical endeavour is according to him to pick out only one of many expressions—to find the "spirit" (*rūḡ*, *djām*), the "real being" (*ḡahḡat-i ru*), to which only two ways lead: remembrance of God (*dhikr Allāh*) and waiting (*istidrāḡ*) until God in His grace discloses this being to one. An assumption of God's qualities in *concreto*, as certain šōfis had taught, is regarded by Ahmad, in agreement with al-Sarrāḡī, al-Kalābādhī, and al-Kuḡhārī, as impossible, since this implies indwelling (*ḡwāl*), and only effects (*āḡhār*) of God's qualities, not these themselves, can inform the creature (incommensurability of the eternal and the temporal). True belief in *taḡwīd* consists in Ahmad's view of referring all action and event back to the one original cause, God (*mushāhidat-i ḡahḡī* — *ḡudrā* — *ḡahḡī*). For the rest, conditions in mystical love are much the same as in ordinary love; no person can really become one with another. The representation which one may take on oneself from the Beloved is rapidly dissipated,



and one immediately returns to daily life. Should it reappear, so in reverse one loses again one's connection with the world. Together with this, however, Ahmad expresses the dignity and the spiritual power of *šūfī* life in poetic terms. He cites the case of Fudayl b. 'Iyād who, when converted from highway robbery, returned their possessions to those whom he had robbed and when he had nothing more left, still brought gold from beneath his robe for a Jew, the earth having been turned into gold. One who is converted, he says in the same treatise (*Miftāḥ al-Nadī*), which was written on the occasion of the conversion of one of his sons), him does the water praise over which he journeys; him do the stars praise and for him they pray. The *šiddīk*, *ahdī*, *zāhid*, is the sun, from whom all men derive their light. The *šūfī* should distil a dew of blessing around him, as musk and aloes distil their scent. True poverty (*fakr*) is, according to Ahmad, the elixir which has the faculty of colouring everything which comes into contact with it.

The picture of Ahmad's spiritual personality acquired from his prose writings and sayings is in contradiction with the *Dīwān* which goes under his name, and which would make him out to be an ecstatic pantheist intoxicated with self-devotion. As already remarked by Ivanov (*JRAS*, 1917, 395) and expressed in a private letter by H. Ritter, there is room for suspicion that the *Dīwān* is at least partly a fabrication, but the question still awaits fuller investigation. It is preserved in several MSS, not all of which are complete (list in Meier, *BH&*), and has been lithographed (Cawnpore 1898, Lucknow 1923). Taḥṣīl Ahmad and Ahmadi. A book of "Poems" is also mentioned, however, by his biographers.

**Bibliography:** Biographies: (1) Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm-i Tā'abbādī, a contemporary of the *ghayyā*; it is not preserved, but was used by: (2) Saḍīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ghaznawī, also a contemporary and a disciple of the *ghayyā*, *Mahāmat Shāykh al-Islām . . . Ahmad b. Abū 'Iḥsān al-Nimāzī*, *Shams al-Dīn*, composed ca. 600/1204, MS Nāḥīdī Paḡha, Istanbul, 399, 38v-132v. It is almost worthless for Ahmad's real biography and thought, being full of miraculous legends appealing to the primitive masses; al-Ghaznawī must have interpreted in a concrete sense certain poetical utterances of his master. It is, however, interesting for the typical aims of the *šūfī* legend and for certain historical circumstances, as well as geographical names, of eastern Persia. (3) Ahmad-i "Tarāḡhātānī", a contemporary of the *ghayyā*, whose work is apparently not preserved, but was used, together with that of al-Ghaznawī, by: (4) Abū 'I-Makrīm b. 'Alī al-Mulk-i Dīāmī, *Khawāṣṣ al-Mahāmāt*, written in 840/1437-7 and dedicated to Shāhrukh, MS of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ivanov's Cat., I, no. 245), and two incomplete MSS in Russia, one of which was published by Ivanov, in *JRAS*, 1917, 291-365. (5) 'Alī of "Būrdjān" (probably = Būrdjān), of 929/1523, probably depending of Abū 'I-Makrīm, was used by Khanikoff.—The articles in Dīāmī's *Nafahāt al-Uns* (Calcutta 1859, 405-17) on Ahmad-i Dīāmī and Abū 'I-Makrīm b. Kurā, as well as certain other parts, are derived from al-Ghaznawī.—See also Ibn Taḥṣīn (Defrémery-Sanguinetti), III, 75 ff.; Mirzā Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, *Tarā'ih al-Habā'ih*, Lith. Teheran 1316, 261. Studies: N. de Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'Asie centrale*, Paris 1861, 116-92;

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**AHMAD DJEWDET PASHA** eminent Ottoman writer and statesman, born on 28 Jumādā II, 1237/22 March 1822, at Lofla (Love) in northern Bulgaria, of which his father, Hādīdī Ismā'īl Agha, was a member of the administrative council, and where his earliest known ancestor, a native of Khikānēl (Kirk Kilise), had settled after taking part in the campaign of the Pruth in 1711. Ahmad early displayed unusual aptitude and diligence, and in 1839, on reaching the age of seventeen, was sent to continue his education in a *medrese* at Istanbul. There, as well as following the traditional *medrese* courses, he not only studied modern mathematics, but devoted his spare time to learning Persian with the poet Süleyman Fehim and himself took to composing verse in the traditional style. It was from Fehim that he received the *maḥabb* Djewdet that he thenceforth added to his name.

After obtaining the *ijāzat* that permitted him to enter the judicial profession, he received his first paid but nominal appointment as *hāfi* in 1260/1845. When Mustafā Reḡhīd Paḡha, on becoming Grand Vizier in 1846, applied to the office of the *Shāykh al-Islām* for an open-minded *ʿālim* to provide him with the knowledge of the *gharīʿa* necessary for the proper drafting of the new *hānūns* and *nūpū-nāmes* he had in mind to promulgate, it was Djewdet who was chosen. From this time to Reḡhīd Paḡha's death thirteen years later Djewdet remained closely attached to him, even living in his house and becoming his children's tutor. During this period he also became, acquainted with 'Alī and Fu'ād Paḡhas, and under Reḡhīd's influence was persuaded to undertake political and administrative duties. In August 1850 he received his first appointment proper as Director of the recently founded *Dār al-Mu'ālīm*, with membership, as its chief secretary, of the *Medjlis-i Ma'irī*.

During his directorship of the *Dār al-Mu'ālīm*, which seems, however, to have come to an end in the following year, Djewdet achieved reforms in the admission, maintenance and examination of the students attending it; and as secretary of the *Medjlis-i Ma'irī* he wrote the report that led to the foundation in July 1851 of the *Endüme-i Dāwā*, to which, after accompanying Fu'ād Paḡha on a state visit to Egypt in March 1852, he devoted his attention, beginning his best known work, the *Ta'riḫ-i Wākāy-i Dāwā-i 'Alīyye*, of which he completed the first three volumes during the Crimean War, under its auspices. On his presenting these to 'Abd al-Medjīd he received promotion to Süleymaniyye rank; in February 1855 he was appointed *sa'fa-nisāz*; in 1856 he was appointed *sa'fa* Galata; and in 1857 he attained Mevra rank in the judicial hierarchy. Meanwhile, during the war, he was made a member of a commission set up to compose a work on the prescriptions of the *gharīʿa* regarding commercial transactions, which was dissolved, however, after publishing only a *Kitāb al-Buyūʿ*. In 1857 he was appointed to the Council

of the *tanẓīmāt*, taking a lead in the composition of a new criminal *hānūn*, and, as a president of the *Arāḫ-yi Shāyḫi Komisyonu*, participated in that of a *hānūn-nāme on tafa*.

After the death of Reḡhīd Paḡha in 1858 it was suggested to Djewdet by 'Alī and Fu'ād Paḡhas that he should abandon the learned profession in favour of the government service by accepting the *sa'if* of Vidin. It was not for another eight years, however, that he took this step, although in the interval he was twice charged with important administrative missions as an "Extraordinary Commissioner", the first in the autumn of 1861 to Ishkodra, and the second (in company with a general commanding a division) in the summer of 1863 to Kozan in the Taurus region, to pacify those areas by the introduction of needed reforms. So successful was he in the first that he was sent in March 1863 as *na'ib* with the judicial rank of *hāfi-ʿaṣher* of Anatolia, to Bosnia, where he was again markedly successful during the ensuing eighteen months in restoring order. During this period he was also made a member, first of a commission appointed to reform the official newspaper *Tahwīm-i Wākāy*, and secondly of the *Medjlis-i Wālā*. His abandonment of the learned profession took place in Jan. 1866, when he ceased to be *sa'fa-nisāz*. His "learned" rank was then replaced by that of vizier, and he was appointed governor of the *widāyet* of Aleppo, as reconstituted under the Ordinance of *widāyets*. In Febr. 1868, however, he was recalled to Istanbul to become president of the *Dīwān-i Akhām-i 'Adliyye*, one of the two bodies that then replaced the *Medjlis-i Wālā*, the other being the *Shāyḫ-i Dāwā*. It was chiefly owing to Djewdet's efforts in this post that the Nizām courts were instituted; that this *Dīwān* was in due course divided into a Court of Appeal (*Temyiz*) and a Court of Cassation (*Ittihad*); and that the presidency was converted into a ministry. It was also during this his first term as a Minister of Justice that on the one hand Djewdet instituted law courses at the Ministry for the better instruction of judges and the improvement of judicial procedure, and, on the other, a beginning was made with the composition of a legal code (*Medjelle* (q.v.)) based on Hanafī *fiqh*, under the auspices of a society for the purpose.

In securing approval for such a code (that is one based on Islamic prescriptions) Djewdet had the support of Fu'ād Shāyḫ-i Wālā Reḡhīd Paḡha in opposition to 'Alī Paḡha, who favoured rather the adoption of the French Code *Civil*.

Djewdet Paḡha (as he now was) remained Minister of Justice up to the end of April 1870, by which time four volumes of the *Medjelle* had been published. Just as the fifth was completed, however, he was dismissed, and though appointed *sa'if* of Brusa, was almost immediately removed of that post also. He remained unemployed until August of the following year, when he was recalled to the presidency of the *Medjelle* society and of the *tanẓīmāt* department of the *Shāyḫ-i Dāwā*. In the interval, as well as the fifth volume of the *Medjelle*, a sixth, in which Djewdet had had no hand, had been published. It was largely the deficiencies of this volume, which he at once superseded by a new translation of his own, and from this date until the publication of the final volumes in 1877 he continued to supervise the composition of the code, though also otherwise employed in a variety of important offices, sometimes in the provinces. One of the chief of these was his appointment in April 1873 as Minister of Education,

in which capacity he achieved a reform of the primary schools for boys (*shāyḫ mahāṣir*), drew up curricula for the Rüşdiyye, and the still to be created 'İdādiyye, schools—measures that necessitated the composition of new manuals of instruction, three of which he wrote himself; and reorganized the *Dār al-Mu'ālīm* to meet the demands of these three educational grades. On 2 Nov. 1874, however, after the appointment as Grand Vizier of Hüseyin 'Awad Paḡha, who was apparently already meditating the deposition of Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz, Djewdet was made *sa'if* of Yanya (Jannina) in order to remove him, as a likely opponent of the move, from the capital; and it was not until June of the next year, after Hüseyin 'Awnī's fall, that he was restored to his former post. In Nov. 1875 he became for the second time Minister of Justice, and as such secured the transference to his Ministry of the commercial courts, which had till then depended on the Ministry of Commerce. But he incurred the displeasure of Mahmūd Nedim Paḡha, during the latter's second Grand Vizierate, by opposing his grant of customs concessions to foreign capitalists; and after first being sent on a tour of inspection through Rumelia in March 1876, he was dismissed from the Ministry of Justice and was on the point of proceeding to Syria as *sa'if*, when on the fall of Mahmūd Nedim he was for a third time made Minister of Education.

Djewdet played no part in the deposition of 'Abd al-'Aziz, which occurred at the end of May, and in November, after the accession of 'Abd al-Hamid II, he returned to the Ministry of Justice. It was now that he and Midhat Paḡha became permanently estranged, owing to what Midhat regarded as Djewdet's reactionary attitude to the constitution, in the discussions upon which the latter began by taking part. Yet throughout his Grand Vizierate Midhat maintained Djewdet in office; and it was only on Midhat's disgrace and replacement by Sakrīl Edhem Paḡha that Djewdet left it for newly created Ministry of the Interior. In this he remained until near the end of the war of 1877 with Russia, the involvement of the Porte in which he disapproved, when after a short term as Minister of the Imperial *Ewlad*, he was for a second time appointed *sa'if* of Syria.

He remained in Syria nine months, during which, having special knowledge of the area, he repressed in person another revolt at Kozan. In December of the same year he was replaced by Midhat and recalled to the capital to preside over yet another ministry, that of Commerce. On the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Khayr al-Dīn Paḡha in Oct. 1879 Djewdet acted for ten days as President of the Council of Ministers, and on the appointment of Kılıç Sa'ad Paḡha he was for a fourth time made Minister of Justice. This was, so far, his longest term in that position, lasting three years. It was during it that Midhat was put on trial. Djewdet appears already to have denounced him as treacherously pro-Christian, and went out of his way, as *ex-officio* head of the body appointed to arrest Midhat and bring him to the capital, himself to travel for the purpose to Smyrna.

His fourth tenure of the Ministry of Justice came to an end in Nov. 1882, on the appointment of Ahmed Wefik Paḡha as Grand Vizier; and it was only in June 1886 that he was given office again, for the last time, in the same post. He held it on this occasion for four years, during which he also became one of the three members of the special conclaves







views re-emerge regularly in writings of the present generation. The greatest benefit, however, which Ahmad Khân rendered to his country was that he restored the despairing Muslims of his age to faith in themselves. In this respect—and not for the communalism imputed to him—he may be regarded as a forerunner of Pakistan.

**Bibliography:** (a) His main writings (beside the above-mentioned): a Bible commentary *Tahyîn al-Kalâm*, 1862; *Essays on the Life of Muhammad*, 1870 (cf. Nöldeke, in *Academy*, 4, 312-4); *Review on the Book of Dr. Hunter, 1872*; *Tafsîr al-Kur'ân*, 1880-95. (b) On his life and work: Urdu biography by Aîshâ Husnî, called *Hâlî*, *Hayât* [1904], 1905; J. M. S. Baljon jr, *The Reform and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khân*, 1949 (with a full bibliography); A. H. al-Durûk, *Makers of Pakistan*, 1950, 1-60; G. F. L. Graham, *Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan*, 1885. (J. M. S. BALJON JR.)

#### AHMAD AL-MANŠÜR. [See KÖPRÜLÜ.]

AHMAD AL-MANŠÜR, sixth sovereign of the Moroccan dynasty of the Sa'âdids (q.v.), son of the sixth sultan of the dynasty, Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdi (d. 964/1557), was born at Fez in 956/1549. He held various military commands, but was driven into exile at Algiers with his elder brother, 'Abd al-Malik. The latter, on ascending to the throne in 983/1576, designated Ahmad as his heir presumptive. Two years later Ahmad took part in the famous battle of Wādî 'l-Mahghirîn, in the vicinity of al-Kasr al-Kabîr (q.v.) in the N.W. of Morocco. This battle, which took place on the last day of Djumâdâ I 986/4 August 1578, ended disastrously for the troops of King Sebastian of Portugal, who was killed, while a great number of Portuguese noblemen were taken prisoner. In his turn, the sultan 'Abd al-Malik, who was very ill, died in his litter during the battle. The same day Ahmad was proclaimed sultan by the victorious troops, to whom he promised pay and rewards; he took the honorific *labb* of al-Manšūr, "the victorious."

The new sovereign came to the throne under the most favorable auspices. From all sides, felicitations poured in, from the Grand Turk, the *pašas* of Algiers, even from Spain and France. Nevertheless he had to overcome many difficulties at home: these he faced with skill and energy, reinforced by the considerable sums which he realized by the ransom of the prisoners of Wādî 'l-Mahghirîn. With this money he engaged, in the customary manner of Islamic rulers, a reliable bodyguard commanded by morisco officers and organized in the Turkish fashion, and built fortifications in Taza, Fez and the *hasaba* of Marrâkuṣh. At the same time, he turkicized to a certain degree his court and administration (*maḥzen* (q.v.)), as well as his military cadres, under the command of *beys* and *pašas*. He also had to repress various troubles stirred up by the Arab tribes and to overcome the opposition of some members of his family who rose against him. But in general, Ahmad's reign, which lasted for a quarter of a century, was peaceful and allowed Morocco, at last, to enjoy for a time a relative tranquillity.

It was in foreign affairs that Ahmad al-Manšūr showed real diplomatic talent. We have ample materials at our disposal for estimating his abilities in the incomparable collection of documents made by H. de Castries in his *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*. First of all, the sultan had to give some

pledges to the Porte, without completely yielding to its demands; then he had to negotiate with Philip II of Spain, and he did this in such a way that Spain achieved no positive results. On the contrary, the practically-minded sultan encouraged the development of smuggling, or even piracy. In 1585 a "Barbary Company" was founded by British merchants in order to monopolize the external trade of Morocco. After the destruction of the Armada in 1588, Ahmad al-Manšūr gave up the friendship with Spain and entered into relations with Queen Elisabeth.

To Ahmad's credit stands also the conquest of the Sîdân, which, though it was ephemeral, gained for this ruler, greedy for riches, a considerable booty in gold and procured him his second surname of al-Djahabî, "the golden". It was prepared by al-Touatî and Tîgîrâtîn in 990/1582 and was decided upon by the advice of al-Manšūr's Morisco general staff. It is related in detail by all the historians of the Sa'âdîd dynasty and by three Sudanese chronicles. The expedition, commanded by the *paša* Dîawîdîr, left Marrâkuṣh in the autumn of 990/1590 and reached, not without difficulties, the Niger three months later. The Sudanese *achas* of Gao, Ibhak, after a battle near that town, had to ask for peace and shortly afterwards the Moroccan troops entered Timbuktu (q.v.). After the *paša* Dîawîdîr had been replaced in his command by another morisco officer, Mahmûd Zarkîn, the conquest of the whole country was continued, while the most important *faḥis* of Timbuktu, amongst them Ahmad Bâbî (q.v.), were deported to Marrâkuṣh. Thereafter, for some years, there was an incessant afflux of gold and captives to the Sa'âdîd capital.

Ahmad al-Manšūr, who hardly left Marrâkuṣh during the whole of his reign, wanted to build there a residence worthy of himself: the palace called al-Kasr al-Badî', the construction of which was begun soon after his accession and lasted for about twenty years. This sumptuous mansion was later mutilated by the sultan Mawliwî Ismâ'îl. At the same time, the Moroccan ruler made a point of assembling a literary court, in which some famous writers, especially the secretary of the chancery, 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Fîḥṭâllî (q.v.), author of a panegyric chronicle, *Manâzil al-Sajâ'*.

The last years of Ahmad al-Manšūr's reign were troubled by the intrigues of his son to obtain the succession, and by an epidemic of cholera which began in 1007/1598-9 onwards, to decimate the population of the capital. Deserting Marrâkuṣh to escape the scourge, the sultan went to the north of the country, and soon after his arrival at Fez he died there on 11 Rabî' I 1012/20 August 1603. His body was transferred to Marrâkuṣh and buried in the sumptuous mausoleum which he had built for himself and his family and which still exists.

**Bibliography:** Arabic sources enumerated in Lévi-Provençal, *Chorja*; Ifrânî; Fîḥṭâllî; Ibn al-Kâdî, *al-Muntahâ al-Mahjûr*; Anonymous chronicle (ed. by G. S. Colin, Rabat 1934); Nâsirî, *Isṭiḥṣâ'*, Cairo 1312 (translated by the son of the author in *AM*, xxiv, Paris 1936). European sources: H. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 21st series, I-V. See also *E.P.*, III, 250 ff., and the bibliography of the articles *SA'ÂDIDS* and *ARABIS*. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AHMAD MIDHAT, Ottoman Turkish writer, was born in Istanbul in 1260/1844, the son of a poor draper called Sulaymân Agha and a Circassian

mother. He lost his father in early childhood, and was for a while apprenticed to a shoemaker. When he was 10 years old the family moved to Vidin, where his half-brother Hâfîz Agha was the *mudîr* of a *hâdâ*. Hâfîz, however, fell into disgrace, and in 1859 Ahmed returned to Istanbul, where he began his schooling. In 1277/1861 Hâfîz Agha, having won the favour of Midhat Paşa, was reinstated and given an appointment in Niş, to which he brought the family. Ahmed entered the Rüşdiyye school there, and graduated in 1280/1863. In 1281/1864, when Midhat Paşa took over the newly constituted *wilâyet* of Tuna, the family followed him to its capital, Rusçuk, where Ahmed was apprenticed as a clerk in the provincial chancery (*wilâyet meclîs-i bakiye*). While working, he continued his studies privately, and also studied French and western knowledge under the guidance of a Christian colleague. He won the favour of Midhat Paşa, who gave him his own name, and, after appointing him to various offices, made him, at the age of 24 or 25, editor-in-chief of the *wilâyet* newspaper *Tuna*. In 1285/1868, when Midhat Paşa became *sâdî* of Baghdad, Ahmad Midhat followed him there, taking charge of the government printing-press and newspaper (*Za'atîr*). During his stay in Baghdad he continued his private studies, and began to write school-books and stories. In 1288/1871 his brother Hâfîz, who had meanwhile become *mutasarrîf* of Basra, died, and Ahmed returned with the whole family to Istanbul. Abandoning the state service, he devoted himself entirely to writing and printing. For several years he contributed articles to various papers, and also ran a printing-press where he himself printed and published his numerous books. His journalistic activities brought him into an apparently fortuitous association with the Young Ottomans, and in 1289/1872 he was arrested and summarily exiled to Rhodes, together with Abû'l-Diyâ Terefîk. There he wrote a number of books, some of which were published in Istanbul under a pseudonym. In 1293/1876, after the deposition of Sultan 'Abd al-'Azîz, he was pardoned, and returned to Istanbul, where he resumed his activities as a writer and printer. His cautious attitude during the following months won him the good will of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid, and in 1294/1877, after publishing the *Usûl-i İhtisâs* (an historical justification of 'Abd al-Hamid's accession), he was given the directorship of the official gazette and printing-press. This led to a permanent breach with the Young Ottomans. During the reign of 'Abd al-Hamid he held various state offices, and from 1295/1878 onwards edited the *Terjümân-ı Hâbihat*, a periodical of some importance in the intellectual history of that time. In the summer of 1888 he went as official Ottoman representative to the International Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm, and spent some 3½ months in Europe. (This trip is described in his *Avropâda bir Dîvânîcân*, Istanbul 1307/1891.)

In 1908, after the Young Turk revolution, he was retired from his official positions under the age-limit, and was subjected to vigorous attacks. He attempted to resume the literary work which he had long since sacrificed to his official career, but abandoned the attempt in the face of hostile opinion and altered tastes. For a few years he held teaching posts at the University, the Woman Teachers' Training College, and the School for Preachers. He died in Muhtarîm 1331/Dec. 1912-Jan. 1913. Besides playing an important role in the development of Turkish journalism in the 19th century,



Ahmed Midhat also wrote an enormous number of books, estimated at about 150. These fall into two main groups, fiction and popularized knowledge. His novels and short stories, many of them first published as serials in periodicals, were widely read among the generation of Turks that grew up under the *tanzimat*, and played no small part in developing new tastes and interests among a public still entirely unacquainted with western literary forms and aspirations. His novels were in every sense popular, simple in both style and sentiment, intended to entertain and sometimes also to instruct a reader of unsophisticated and unitary tastes. Some are romances of adventure, others deal with his own and the immediately preceding periods, and at times manage to achieve a certain liveliness and realism. Ahmed Midhat was much influenced by the French popular novelists, and also translated a number of their works. Apart from fiction he wrote a considerable number of popular and semi-popular works on history, philosophy, religion, ethics, science, and other subjects, the purpose of which was to bring modern European knowledge to his compatriots in a simple and attractive form. The most important of his historical works are *Ust-i İnkilâb* (3 vols., 1294-5/1877-8), already cited, and *Zuhd al-Fakih* (1295/1878), an attempt to explain the Turkish defeat in the war of 1877-8. He also wrote a universal history in 3 volumes (1303-5/1880-2), and a series of separate histories of European countries (*Kā'imāt*, 14 vols., 1292-1303/1877-1881).

**Bibliography:** J.A., s.v. (by Sabri Esat Siyavuşlu), on which much of the foregoing is based. Further Turkish publications are cited there. A contemporary judgment will be found in 'Abd al-Rahmān Šērā's obituary notice, published in *TOEM*, 3rd year, 1328 [sic], 1113-9. See further P. Horn, *Geschichte der Türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig, 1st ed. 1902/1909, 32-30; Babinger, 389-91; O. Hachtmann, *Die türkische Literatur des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1916. For two sharply contrasted judgments by European contemporaries see M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, Leipzig 1910, 79, 208; J. Ötörp, *Erinderinger*, Copenhagen 1937, 41-44. (B. Lewis)

**AHMAD b. KHALID b. HAMMAD AL-NĀSIRI AL-SALAWI**, *Abū* 'ABRĀHĪM SHĪHĀB AL-DĪN, Moroccan historian, born at Salé (Sālā) 22 Dhū'l-Hijja 1250/20 April 1835, died in the same town 16 Džumādā I 1315/13 Oct. 1897. The genealogy of this writer descends in a direct line from the founder of the Moroccan brotherhood of the Nāsirīyya, Ahmad b. Nāsir, who was buried at his *zāwiya* at Tāngrūt in the valley of Wādī Dar'ā (Dra). He pursued his studies at Salé, and, without neglecting his religious and juridical studies, delved deeply into Arabic profane literature. At the age of about 40, Ahmad al-Nāsiri entered the judicial branch of the Sharīfī administration as a notary or as a steward of State lands. Internationally, he held relatively important posts. He lived first at Dār al-Bayḍā' (Casablanca), from 1292-3/1875-6, and had two periods of residence at Marrākuš, where he was employed in the Steward's department of the royal household. Later, he lived for a time at al-Djāzida (Mazagan), as a customs official. He then stayed successively at Tānzil and Fez, and, at the end of his life, returned to his native town, where he devoted himself to teaching. At his death, he was buried in the cemetery at Salé situated outside the gate known as Bāb Ma'allaka. In short, al-Nāsiri was a minor official under the Sharfīs, and

at the same time a man of letters and a historian. Apart from his historical writing, which gained him a name even outside Morocco, he left several works which without doubt would have sufficed to draw attention to him and to assure him an honourable place among contemporary Maghribī men of letters. These are, in addition to six short works (*Chorfa*, p. 333 n. 1); 1) a commentary on the *Shamākhīyya*, a poem by Ibn al-Wannān, which he called *Zahr al-Ajānib min Ḥadīth al-Wannān* (lithographed at Fās in 1314/1896); 2) a survey of the schisms and heresies of Islam, entitled *Ta'zīm al-Mīnā bi-Nasr al-Sunna* (Ms. Rabat; cf. *Catalogue*, I, 23); 3) a monograph on the alleged *sharīfī* house of the Nāsiriyya, to which he himself belonged, entitled *Ta'zīm al-Mughīrī al-Nasab al-Djāfārī* (lithographed at Fās; French summary by M. Bodin, *La Zaouia de Tamegrout, Archéologie Marocaine*, 1918). This work, which the author completed in 1309/1881, is an excellent history of the *zāwiya* of Tāngrūt, containing a great deal of interesting information which compensates for the lengthy arguments by which the author seeks to demonstrate the authenticity of the family's genealogy.

The major work of Ahmad al-Nāsiri is the *Kutub al-Itihād al-Ikhlāq* *Dawal al-Maghrib al-Arab*. Its publication was an unprecedented event in Maghribī historiography. The author produced, not a chronicle of limited scope, but a general history of his country, printed, moreover, in the Orient. Hailed, ever since its appearance, by the orientologists of Europe, this work speedily attracted the attention of the North African historians, who frequently had recourse to it in the course of their studies—the more so when a French translation, in the *Archives Marocaines*, rendered the last part of the work, containing the history of the 'Alid dynasty, available even to non-Arabs.

It was quickly realised that this chronicle was akin to other productions of western Arab historiography; it was no more than a compilation, the main narrative the fragments of political history scattered throughout the chronicles and the biographical anthologies previously produced in the country. But it must be recognized that al-Nāsiri was the first of his countrymen to deal exhaustively with a subject which his predecessors had treated only in part. This however, was not his original aim. Elsewhere (*Chorfa*, 357-66) it has been explained that the starting-point for the compilation of the *Kutub al-Itihād* was a work of considerable length on the Marīnid dynasty of Morocco, composed mainly with the aid of the historical works of Ibn Abī Zar'ā and Ibn Khaldūn, and entitled *Kaḥl al-Asrār fī Laylāt Bānī Marīn*. His successive transfers from one capital of Morocco to another enabled him to extend his knowledge of the sources for the history of other Moroccan dynasties, and he conceived the idea of writing a full history of Morocco. He completed his work on 15 Džumādā II 1298/15 May 1881, and dedicated it to the reigning prince Sulṭān Mawlay al-Ḥasan, but received no reward for his action. On the death of this ruler, the author decided to have his history printed at Cairo, after bringing it down to the accession of Sulṭān Mawlay 'Abd al-'Azīz, and the *Itihād* duly appeared at Cairo in four volumes in 1312/1894.

For an analysis of the Arabic historical sources of al-Nāsiri, and for a list of the works from which he adapted or quoted verbatim numerous passages, the work previously cited should be consulted. It is

sufficient to say here that, apart from documenting his work from the Arabic sources, he was the first Moroccan chronicler to call on European sources which, however, only became known to him by chance. These were the history of Mazagan under Portuguese domination, entitled *Memorias para historia de praça de Mazagan*, by Luis Maria do Conto de Albuquerque de Cunha, Lisbon 1884, and *Description historique de Marrakech y de ses environs de ses dynasties*, by Manuel P. Castellanos, Santiago 1878; Orihuela 1884; Tangier 1898.

In the presentation of his history, al-Nāsiri follows the usual method of his fellow-countrymen but he does occasionally demonstrate a critical sense. On the whole, however, he gives the impression of being a historian by accident, but a man of letters by vocation. Sometimes he gives indication of considerable intellectual independence and breadth of outlook. His style is lucid and polished, and he rarely resorts to the artificial use of metaphor and rhymed prose. He gives the impression of being the modern Moroccan historian who has perhaps handled his language with the greatest ease and elegance.

Vol. IV of the Arabic edition of the *Itihād* has been translated by E. Fumey, with the title of *Chronique de la dynastie 'alawite au Maroc*, in *Archives Marocaines*, Vols. IX and X, Paris 1906-7. The remainder has been translated in the same journal, Vols. XXX ff., Paris, 1923-35, by A. Graulhe, G. S. Colin, I. Hamet and the sons of the historian himself.

**Bibliography:** Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 350-361; Brockelmann, S II, 888-9 (new edition of al-Itihād, Rabat 1954.) (E. Lévi-Provençal)

**AHMAD PASHA**, Ottoman governor of Baghdad, son of Hasan Pasha (q.v.), also governor of Baghdad. In 1715 he was appointed governor of Shahrazūr and Kirkūk, and subsequently of Basra; in 1719 he was made vizier. After the death of his father (at the beginning of 1724) he was appointed governor of Baghdad and charged with the continuation of the expedition undertaken by the former against the Persians. In the spring of 1724 he took Hamadān, and although he was defeated (owing to the desertion of the Kurdish chieftains) by Ashraf, the Ghajalayi ruler of Persia, he achieved in 1727 favourable terms, acquiring for the Ottoman empire Kirmānshāh, Hamadān, Tānzil, Rawand, Nakhshewan and Tiflis. After losing these conquests to the Safawid Tahnāsh, Ahmad Pasha undertook another campaign and captured Kirmānshāh and Ardalan, and in 1732, after winning the battle of Kurdiān, reached Hamadān. By the treaty of 1732, some of the conquered territories were kept by the Ottomans, others returned to Persia. Hostilities, however, were soon resumed and Ahmad Pasha had to defend Baghdad itself from Nādir Shāh. In 1733 he was made governor of Basra in addition to Baghdad. The following year he was transferred first to the governorship of Aleppo, then to that of Rakka. After the death of Kōprülü-zāde 'Abd Allāh Pasha, he, though retaining the governorship of Rakka, was made commander-in-chief in the east and succeeded in reaching an armistice with Nādir Shāh. He was appointed governor of Baghdad for the second time, and was engaged, in addition to the Persian affairs, in subduing rebellious tribes. He died in 1747, on his return from an expedition against the Bābān ruler Salīm, and was buried at the side of his father near the tomb of Abū Hanīfa. He had governed Baghdad first for a period of eleven, and on the second occasion for twelve years.

**Bibliography:** Rāshid, *Tārīkh*, IV, 52; Celebi-zāde 'Āsim (continuation of the former), Istanbul 1282, passim; Samī, Shākir and Subhī, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1396, passim; 'Izzī, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1399, passim; Kātib Celebi, *Tahwīm al-Tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1346, 153 ff.; Naẓmī-zāde Murādī, *Gulshen-i Khulafā* (MS of M. Cavidi Bayson); the passage on Ahmad Pasha not in printed ed.; *Dawabul al-Wasaf* (continuation of former), Baghdad 1246, index; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, II, 254-6; *Sidḡill-i 'Oghmānī*, I, 250, II, 149; Hammer-Purgstall, index; C. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad*, 145-6; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, 75, 127-1, 131-62, 165-1, 346.

(M. CAVID BAYSON)  
**AHMAD PASHA**, KARĀ, Ottoman grand-vizier under Sulaymān I. He was of Albanian origin, was educated in the palace and rose to the posts of *haptıgı bahşı*, *mīr-i 'alem* and (in 927/1521) *agha* of the Janissaries. He was appointed *hıyerbiy* of Rumelia and took part in the campaign in Hungary, taking (950/1543) Valpo and Siklós and being present at the capture of Esztergom (Usturgun, Gran) and Szekesfehérvár (Istánin, Belgrád, Stubi weassenburg). In 953/1548 he was appointed commander-in-chief against the Persians and raised to the rank of second vizier. He put the Persians to flight in 1549 near Kaniálh and took numerous fortresses in E. Anatolia and Georgia. After the loss of Lippa in Hungary (959/1552) and the vain siege of Temesvár (Temesghar) by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, he was transferred to the post of commander-in-chief in Hungary and took Temesvár (defended by Stephan Loncseny) after a siege of 35 days. Subsequently he captured Szolnok, but was unsuccessful in the siege of Eger (Egri, Erlau) undertaken by him together with Sokollu. During the war against Shāh Tahnāsh (960/1553) Sulaymān deposed the grandvizier Rustem Pasha and appointed in his stead Ahmad Pasha. The latter took part in the campaigns of Nakhshewan and Karabagh. After the treaty of Amasya (1555) which ended the war, and the sultan's return to Istanbul, Ahmad was arrested during a meeting of the *divan* and decapitated (13 Dhū'l-Ka'da 962/28 Sept. 1555). Though the reason given was his intrigue against 'Alī Pasha, governor of Egypt, the sultan's main motive seems to have been his wish to reappoint Rustem Pasha, his son-in-law, to the grand-vizierate.—According to *Hadikat al-Djauzmīn*, I, 143; *Sidḡill-i 'Oghmānī*, I, 259, Ahmad Pasha married Fāṭima Sulṭān, daughter of Selīm I. He began to build a mosque near Top Kapı, which was, however, finished only after his death.

**Bibliography:** Djellāl-zāde Mustafā, *Tahakkāt al-Madīkh*, MS; Djellāl-zāde Šāhīh, *Sulaymān-nāme*, MS; Rustem Pasha, *Tawārīkh-i Alī 'Oghmān*, MS; Lutfi Pasha, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1347, 323-433; 'Alī, *Kanūn al-Ahḥār*, MS, Univerzitet Kütüphanesi, no. 2290/32, fol. 317; Pebevi, *Tārīkh*, I, 24, 247-343; Solak-zāde, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1597, 304-34; Müntedjilün-baḥshī, *Sahā'iy al-Ahḥār*, Istanbul 1285, II, 497-506; Kātib Celebi, *Tahwīm al-Tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1346, 121, 176, 230; 'Oghmān-zāde Ahmad Tā'ib, *Hadikat al-Wasaf*, Istanbul 1271, 31; Aywanasayī Hüseyn, *Hadikat al-Djauzmīn*, Istanbul 1281, I, 141-3; *Sidḡill-i 'Oghmānī*, I, 198-9, 259; Hammer-Purgstall, passim; Busbecq, *Litterae Turicae*. (M. CAVID BAYSON)

**AHMAD PASHA BONNEVAL**, Claude-Alexandre Comte de Bonneval was born in 1673 into a noble family of the Limousin. After serving with



great distinction in the French army at the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, in 1704, regarding himself as insulted, he changed sides and soon won a European reputation as a general in the Austrian service under Eugene of Savoy in a succession of campaigns against his own countrymen, the Pope, and finally the sultan, being wounded at Peterwarden in 1716 and participating in the siege of Belgrade in the following year. He later, however, fell out with Eugene and, after being imprisoned for a year, in 1727 fled to Venice, whence, after offering his services in vain to various powers inimical to Austria, he resolved to place them at the disposal of Ahmed III. In 1729 he accordingly travelled by way of Ragusa to Bosnia Sarajev, where, to avoid being extradited to Austria, he turned Muslim, taking the name Ahmed; and after the accession of Mahmud I was first given a daily allowance while resident at Gamuligine in Thrace, and then, in Sept. 1731, summoned by the grand vizier Topal 'Othman Pasha, who aimed at training the Ottoman army on European lines, to reform the *edjash* of the *ghumbaradji*. Although on 'Othman Pasha's fall in the following April, Bonneval was at first neglected by his successor Hekim-oghlu 'Ali Pasha, in 1733 the latter sought his advice on the course to be followed by the Porte in relation to the problem of the Polish succession, and in Jan. 1735 appointed him *ghumbaradji* *bağlı* with the rank of a *pasha* of two *feths* (*nizamnir*). After the dismissal of 'Ali Pasha in July of the same year, however, Bonneval was excluded from the councils of the Porte until 1737, when he was again called on by Muhsin-zade 'Abd Allah Pasha to advise on the conduct of the war against Austria. But although he eventually accompanied the next Grand Vizier Yeghen Mehmed Pasha to the front, a plan he had put forward for the fomentation of a revolt in Hungary was a failure, and on his return to Istanbul in 1738 he fell from favour and in the following year was deprived of his command and exiled to Kastamonu. Moreover, although he was restored in less than a year, he never regained his former influence, and up to his death in 1747, by which time he was casting about for means to return to France, he was employed only in the continued management of the *ghumbaradji* and in furnishing the Porte with comments (some of which have been preserved in Turkish translation) on European political developments. He was buried in the cemetery of the Mewlvi-ikhane in Galata, and succeeded in his command by his adoptive son, also a French convert, who went by the name of Süleyman Agha.

**Bibliography:** Mehmed 'Arit, *Ghumbaradji Bağlı Ahmed Pasha Bonneval*, *OTEM*, nos. 18-20; Prince de Ligne, *Mémoire sur le comte de Bonneval*, Paris 1817; A. Vassalli, *Le Pasha Bonneval*, Paris 1884; idem, *Une Ambassade Française en Orient*, Paris 1887, index; *IA*, s.v. (M. Cavidi Bayson). (H. Bowens)

**AHMAD PASHA**, called **BURSALI**, Ottoman poet of the second half of the 15th century, the most important after Sheykhli and before Nedjâdî. He was the son of the *hâfi* Şakir Well al-Din b. İlyas (who claimed descent from Hunayn) and was most probably born in Adrianople (according to some authorities in Bursa). He was appointed *muderris* at the *madrasa* of Murad II in Bursa and in 855/1452 succeeded Molla Khosrev as *hâfi* of Adrianople. After the accession of Muhammad II he became *hâfi* Şakir, and tutor of the new ruler, obtaining the rank of vizier. He accompanied the sultan during the con-

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Apart from his *divân*, which was compiled by order of Bayazid II, and the numerous manuscripts of which are rather different from each other, Ahmad Pasha's poems (some of them written in Arabic and Persian) are to be found also in the great *na'at* collections of the 15th and 16th centuries.

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(H. HALL, ITALIC)

**AHMAD PASHA GEDİK**, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born in Serbia, he was taken into Murad II's palace as an *ic-oghlanî* and became for a short time *beglerbeyi* of Rûm (Tokat) under Mehmed (Muhammad) II before being appointed *beglerbeyi* of Anatolia in 1461. He kept this post until he was made a vizier in 1470. He played a decisive role in consolidating the new conquests in Anatolia against the Karamanids and Ak Koyunlu. He first distinguished

himself by capturing Koylî Hîsar (1461). In 1469-72 he subdued the mountainous part of Karaman-îl and its coastal area, taking 'Adîyya in 1471, Silîfî, Mukan, Gortos and Lalye (Lallou) in 1472. In 1472 a dangerous attack of the Ak Koyunlu forces, which, led by the Karamanid prince Pîr Ahmad, had advanced as far as Hâmîd-îl, was repelled by Gedik Ahmed, who subsequently reconquered Karaman-îl. According to Neshrî, 211, he played an important part in the victory over Utun Hasan (s.v.) in 878/1473. Later we find him in 16-17 fighting successfully against the Karamanid princes who had retaken it with the help of a Christian fleet. During this campaign Ahmed captured Minan, Silîfî, massacred or banished the local chieftains in Tash-îl (1473-4). Having been the second vizier up to this time, he became the first after the execution of the Grand Vizier Mahmud in 1474 (Kemal Pasha-zâde). He was sent by Mehmed II against the Genoese in the Crimea, where he took Kaffa (June 1475), Soldaya and Tana, and besieged Mangup (which was to be captured later by Ya'qûb Beg (December 1475)). Ahmed also signed an agreement with the new *ghazî* Mengli Girây whom he had saved from prison in Kaffa, by which Mengli Girây accepted the sultan's protection. Ahmed's self-confidence roused the sultan's displeasure and when he dared to disagree with the sultan on the subject of an expedition to Scutari in Albania, he was imprisoned in Rumelî Hîsar (1477). In 1478 he was released and made *Nâkapdan* of the fleet. In 1479 he seized Santa Maura from Leonardo Tocco (who fled to Apulia), and setting sail from Valona, he captured Otranto on 21 August 1480. When in the next spring he gathered in Valona a new army to make further conquests from Otranto, he was persuaded to uphold the new sultan, Bayazid II, against his brother Djem Sültân, and played a decisive part in securing the throne for Bayazid. But as he would not, or could not, capture Djem in his flight to Mamliks territory, the suspicious sultan put him into prison. This, however, led to a tumult among the *kâpî-bûlu*, so that he had to be rehabilitated. After the failure of Djem's second attempt to seize the throne, Bayazid felt himself strong enough to put Ahmed to death (6 Shawwâl 887/18 Nov. 1482), though this caused a new tumult among the *kâpî-bûlu*.—A district in Istanbul is called after Gedik Ahmed because of his pious foundations there and the mosque of Gedik Ahmed in Ayfyon is a fine example of old Ottoman architecture.

**Bibliography:** Neshrî, *Dîkân-nûma* (Tasch-negh); Kemal Pasha-zâde (MS Fâtih 4205); Uruđî, *Tasvîr-i Ak-ı 'Oghmân* (Babinger); D. da Lezze (G. M. Angiolillo), *Historia Turcica*, Bucarest 1910; Hammer-Purgstall, index; S. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey*, Urbana 1948; Fr. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, Munich 1953; *IA*, s.v. (by M. H. Yinanç). (HALL, ITALIC)

**AHMAD PASHA KHAYRÂN**, Ottoman Vizier. Georgian in origin, Ahmed entered Selim I's palace as *ic-oghlanî*; later, as *büyük emîr-i Akhâr* he took part in the campaign against the Mamliks in 1516-7 and became *beglerbeyi* of Rûm-îl in 1519. In the campaign of Süleyman I against Belgrade Ahmed's plan of operations was accepted. Accordingly he took Bigirîndin (Sabac) (2 Sha'ban 929/8 July 1523) and invaded Syria. At a reward for his services in the siege of Belgrade the sultan appointed him vizier of the *divân* (autumn of 1521). In the campaign against Rhodes he, as commander-in-chief, was responsible for the successful operations

during the landing and the siege. Subsequently he negotiated with the knights of St. John the terms of surrender of the castle (2 Safar 929/12 Dec. 1522). Ahmed Pasha was instrumental in causing the fall of the Grand Vizier Pîr Mehmed Pasha (s.v.) and expected to be promoted from the third viziership to the first, as the second vizier was in Egypt. But, contrary to custom, the grand vizierate was given to the *khâsî* *ada-bağlı* İbrâhîm (s.v.). Deeply disappointed Ahmed asked the sultan for the governorship of Egypt (10 August 1523). There he reconciled the discontented Mamliks as well as the bedouin chieftains who were in a state of great agitation after the death of Khayrî Beg. Süleyman, still under İbrâhîm's influence, appointed Kara Mûsâ governor of Egypt and charged him with Ahmed's execution. On discovering this, Ahmed decided to declare his independence with the title of Sultan (January 1524). He massacred and dispersed the Janissaries in the castle of Cairo and established relations with the Christian powers against the Ottomans. Süleyman sent an army to Egypt under the vizier Ayâk Pasha, while Ahmed's troops were secretly encouraged to turn against him. One of his officers, Kâdî-zâde Mehmed Beg, made an attempt on his life in a public bath. Though wounded, Ahmed succeeded in escaping to the Band Bakîr Bedouins, who, however, finally delivered him to be beheaded.

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(HALL, ITALIC)

**AHMAD RAFİK** (he assumed the family name of ALRÎNAVÎ), Turkish historian. He was born in Beghiktaş, İstanbul, in 1880, and educated in the Kuleli military lycée and the military school (*Harpîyye Mektebi*), became an officer, but for most of the time was engaged in teaching geography and French. In 1909 he was appointed to the General Staff, as editor of the *'Ashîrî Medîna'sa*, in which he himself published articles on military subjects. After becoming a member of the *Tarîkîh Endüsmeni*, he retired and devoted himself entirely to his studies. From 1917 to 1933 he was professor of history in the University of İstanbul. He died on 10 Oct. 1937.

He wrote a very large number of historical books, partly of a scholarly, partly of a more popular character, and published many documents concerning Ottoman history from the archives. Among his best known books are those on life in old İstanbul (*Hîrî X uncu—or respectively XI inci, XII inci, XIII inci—Asîrât-ı İstanbul Hayatı*), and the series of monographs: *Gelmîsh 'Asîrât-ı Türk Hayatı*. Numerous articles by him were published in *TOEM*, *Yeni Medîna'sa*, *Hayât*, *Edebiyat Fakültesi*, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*.

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**AHMAD RÂSİM**, Turkish writer, b. 1864 in Sarğulcu or Sarğulca, a quarter of Fâtih, İstanbul, d. 21 Sept. 1932 in the island of Heybeliada and buried there. In early life he lost his father Bahâ al-Din, who belonged to the family of Mentesh-oghlu from Cyprus, and was brought up by his mother.



great distinction in the French army at the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, in 1704, regarding himself as insulted, he changed sides and soon won a European reputation as a general in the Austrian service under Eugene of Savoy in a succession of campaigns against his own countrymen, the Pope, and finally the sultan, being wounded at Peterwarden in 1716 and participating in the siege of Belgrade in the following year. He later, however, fell out with Eugene and, after being imprisoned for a year, in 1727 fled to Venice, whence, after offering his services in vain to various powers inimical to Austria, he resolved to place them at the disposal of Ahmed III. In 1729 he accordingly travelled by way of Ragusa to Bosnia Savoy, where, to avoid being extradited to Austria, he turned Muslim, taking the name Ahmed; and after the accession of Mahmud I was first given a daily allowance while resident at Gamuligine in Thrace, and then, in Sept. 1731, summoned by the grand vizier Topal 'Othman Pasha, who aimed at training the Ottoman army on European lines, to reform the *edjash* of the *ghumbaradji*. Although on 'Othman Pasha's fall in the following April, Bonneval was at first neglected by his successor Hekim-oghlu 'Ali Pasha, in 1733 the latter sought his advice on the course to be followed by the Porte in relation to the problem of the Polish succession, and in Jan. 1735 appointed him *ghumbaradji* *bağlı* with the rank of a *pasha* of two *feths* (*nizamnir*). After the dismissal of 'Ali Pasha in July of the same year, however, Bonneval was excluded from the councils of the Porte until 1737, when he was again called on by Muhsin-zade 'Abd Allah Pasha to advise on the conduct of the war against Austria. But although he eventually accompanied the next Grand Vizier Yeghen Mehmed Pasha to the front, a plan he had put forward for the fomentation of a revolt in Hungary was a failure, and on his return to Istanbul in 1738 he fell from favour and in the following year was deprived of his command and exiled to Kastamonu. Moreover, although he was restored in less than a year, he never regained his former influence, and up to his death in 1747, by which time he was casting about for means to return to France, he was employed only in the continued management of the *ghumbaradji* and in furnishing the Porte with comments (some of which have been preserved in Turkish translation) on European political developments. He was buried in the cemetery of the Mewlvi-ihane in Galata, and succeeded in his command by his adoptive son, also a French convert, who went by the name of Süleyman Agha.

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Apart from his *divân*, which was compiled by order of Bayazîd II, and the numerous manuscripts of which are rather different from each other, Ahmad Pasha's poems (some of them written in Arabic and Persian) are to be found also in the great *na'at* collections of the 15th and 16th centuries.

**Bibliography:** *The tedbîr* of Sehlî, 20, 145ff, 76, 'Ashik Celebi and Khali-zade, s.v.; al-Shahîsh al-Nu'mâniyya, Turkish transl., 217; 'Alî, *Kunh al-Ahshâr*, v, 230 f.; Sa'd al-Din, *Tâdî al-Tasarrûh*, ii, 311; Belhî, *Güldeste*, 259; Hammer-Purgstall, index; idem, *Gesch.* d. osm. Reichthum, ii, 41 ff.; McAllan, *Nadî*, 'Oghmâdî *Shâ'ir*, i, 209-17; Fa'ik Reshîdî, *Ta'rikh-i Edebiyyât-i 'Oghmâniyye*, İstanbul 1913, 137-50; Gibb, ii, 40-58; Sadettin Nuhret Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, İstanbul 1936, i, 305-20; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Bursalî Ahmed Pasha, Dersâ'âd*, 1920, nos. 29, 36, 45, 56; idem in *IA*, s.v.; Sa'd al-Din, *Ta'rikh-i Yâsma Divanlar Kataloğu*, no. 43.

(H. HALL, ITALIC)

**AHMAD PASHA GEDİK**, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born in Serbia, he was taken into Murad II's palace as an *ic-oghlanî* and became for a short time *beglerbeyi* of Rûm (Tokat) under Mehmed (Muhammad) II before being appointed *beglerbeyi* of Anatolia in 1461. He kept this post until he was made a vizier in 1470. He played a decisive role in consolidating the new conquests in Anatolia against the Karamanids and Ak Koyunlu. He first distinguished

himself by capturing Koylî Hîsar (1461). In 1469-72 he subdued the mountainous part of Karaman-îl and its coastal area, taking 'Adîyya in 1471, Silifke, Mukan, Gortos and Lailûn (Lailon) in 1472. In 1472 a dangerous attack of the Ak Koyunlu forces, which, led by the Karamanid prince Pîr Ahmad, had advanced as far as Hâmîd-îl, was repelled by Gedik Ahmed, who subsequently reconquered Karaman-îl. According to Neshrî, 211, he played an important part in the victory over Utun Hasan (s.v.) in 878/1473. Later we find him in 16-18 fighting successfully against the Karamanid princes who had retaken it with the help of a Christian fleet. During this campaign Ahmed captured Minan, Silifke, massacred or banished the local chieftains in Tash-îl (1473-4). Having been the second vizier up to this time, he became the first after the execution of the Grand Vizier Mahmud in 1474 (Kemal Pasha-zâde). He was sent by Mehmed II against the Genoese in the Crimea, where he took Kaffa (June 1475), Soldaya and Tana, and besieged Mangup (which was to be captured later by Ya'qub Beg (December 1475)). Ahmed also signed an agreement with the new *ghazî* Mengli Girây whom he had saved from prison in Kaffa, by which Mengli Girây accepted the sultan's protection. Ahmed's self-confidence roused the sultan's displeasure and when he dared to disagree with the sultan on the subject of an expedition to Scutari in Albania, he was imprisoned in Rumeli Hîsar (1477). In 1478 he was released and made *Nâkapdan* of the fleet. In 1479 he seized Santa Maura from Leonardo Tocco (who fled to Apulia), and setting sail from Valona, he captured Otranto on 21 August 1480. When in the next spring he gathered in Valona a new army to make further conquests from Otranto, he was persuaded to uphold the new sultan, Bayazîd II, against his brother Dîven Sütlân, and played a decisive part in securing the throne for Bayazîd. But as he would not, or could not, capture Dîven in his flight to Mamliks territory, the suspicious sultan put him into prison. This, however, led to a tumult among the *kâpî-bûlu*, so that he had to be rehabilitated. After the failure of Dîven's second attempt to seize the throne, Bayazîd felt himself strong enough to put Ahmed to death (6 Shawwâl 887/18 Nov. 1482), though this caused a new tumult among the *kâpî-bûlu*.—A district in Istanbul is called after Gedik Ahmed because of his pious foundations there and the mosque of Gedik Ahmed in Afyon is a fine example of old Ottoman architecture.

**Bibliography:** Neshrî, *Dîkân-nûmâ* (Tasch-negh); Kemal Pasha-zâde (MS Fâtih 4205); Uruđî, *Tasvîr-i Ak-ı 'Oghmân* (Babinger); D. da Lezze (G. M. Angiolillo), *Historia Turcica*, Bucarest 1910; Hammer-Purgstall, index; S. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey*, Urbana 1948; Fr. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, Munich 1933; *IA*, s.v. (by M. H. Yinanç). (H. HALL, ITALIC)

**AHMAD PASHA KHAYRÂN**, Ottoman Vizier. Georgian in origin, Ahmed entered Selim I's palace as *ic-oghlanî*; later, as *büyük emir-i âkkâr* he took part in the campaign against the Mamliks in 1516-7 and became *beglerbeyi* of Rûm-îl in 1519. In the campaign of Süleyman I against Belgrade Ahmed's plan of operations was accepted. Accordingly he took Bigirîndin (Sabac) (2 Sha'ban 929/8 July 1523) and invaded Syria. At a reward for his services in the siege of Belgrade the sultan appointed him vizier of the *divân* (autumn of 1521). In the campaign against Rhodes he, as commander-in-chief, was responsible for the successful operations

during the landing and the siege. Subsequently he negotiated with the knights of St. John the terms of surrender of the castle (2 Safar 929/12 Dec. 1522). Ahmed Pasha was instrumental in causing the fall of the Grand Vizier Pîr Mehmed Pasha (s.v.) and expected to be promoted from the third viziership to the first, as the second vizier was in Egypt. But, contrary to custom, the grand vizierate was given to the *khâsî* *ada-bağlı* İbrâhîm (s.v.). Deeply disappointed Ahmed asked the sultan for the governorship of Egypt (10 August 1523). There he reconciled the discontented Mamliks as well as the bedouin chieftains who were in a state of great agitation after the death of Khayrî Beg. Süleyman, still under İbrâhîm's influence, appointed Kara Mûsâ governor of Egypt and charged him with Ahmed's execution. On discovering this, Ahmed decided to declare his independence with the title of Sultan (January 1524). He massacred and dispersed the Janissaries in the castle of Cairo and established relations with the Christian powers against the Ottomans. Süleyman sent an army to Egypt under the vizier Ayâk Pasha, while Ahmed's troops were secretly encouraged to turn against him. One of his officers, Kâdî-zâde Mehmed Beg, made an attempt on his life in a public bath. Though wounded, Ahmed succeeded in escaping to the Band Bakîr bedouins, who, however, finally delivered him to be beheaded.

**Bibliography:** Dîkân-zâde Mustafâ, *Tuhafât al-Mamliks ve-Dereğât al-Masliks* (MS Fâtih 4423); Şühreylî, *Ta'rikh-i Mîsr al-Fâtîd*, İstanbul 1145; Ferîdün Beg, *Münşâ'ât*, İstanbul 1274, 507-40; Peçewî, i, 71-9; Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii*, vols. XXXV-XXXVII, Venice 1879-1903; Hammer-Purgstall, index; J. W. F. Stripling, *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs*, Urbana 1942.

(H. HALL, ITALIC)

**AHMAD RAFİK** (he assumed the family name of ALRÎNAVÎ), Turkish historian. He was born in Beghiktaş, İstanbul, in 1880, and educated in the Kuleli military lycée and the military school (*Harp-hıyye Mektebi*), became an officer, but for most of the time was engaged in teaching geography and French. In 1909 he was appointed to the General Staff, as editor of the *'Ashkî Medîna'sa*, in which he himself published articles on military subjects. After becoming a member of the *Ta'rikh-i Endüsmîcî*, he retired and devoted himself entirely to his studies. From 1917 to 1933 he was professor of history in the University of İstanbul. He died on 10 Oct. 1937.

He wrote a very large number of historical books, partly of a scholarly, partly of a more popular character, and published many documents concerning Ottoman history from the archives. Among his best known books are those on life in old İstanbul (*Hîrî X uncu—or* respectively *X inci*, *XII inci*, *XIII üncü—Asîrda İstanbul Hayatı*), and the series of monographs: *Gelmîsh 'Asîrîârda Türk Hayatı*. Numerous articles by him were published in *TOEM*, *Yeni Medîna'sa*, *Hayât*, *Edebiyat Fakültesi*, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*.

**Bibliography:** Resad Ekrem Koç, *Ahmed Refik*, İstanbul 1938; İsmail Hakkî, *Edebiyat Türkî*, İstanbul 1942, 384; O. Spies, *Die türkische Prosaliteratur des Gegenwart*, Berlin 1943, 83-7 (with full list of his works). (A. TATREZ)

**AHMAD RÂSİM**, Turkish writer, b. 1864 in Sarğulcu or Sarğulca, a quarter of Fâtih, İstanbul, d. 21 Sept. 1932 in the island of Heybeliada and buried there. In early life he lost his father Bahâ al-Din, who belonged to the family of Mentesh-oghlu from Cyprus, and was brought up by his mother.



From 1292/1875 to 1306/1883 he attended the school Dâr ül-Shafaka in Istanbul, where he was attracted to art and literature and decided to become a writer; and to this profession (or, as he himself calls it, "the Sublime Porte Road", *Bâb-ı 'Alî (Çaddesi)*) he remained faithful throughout all later political changes. Like many other writers he began as a journalist, and almost all the more important Turkish papers received contributions from his pen. He afterwards collected his numerous articles and sketches, for example in the two volumes of *Mahabbât ve Muhabbât* (1323) and the four volumes entitled *'Ömr-ü Edebî* (1315-19). The latter is not an account of his life but reflects his spiritual development and the feelings and emotions reflected in his publications of different years.

Ahmad Râsım's output became in time very extensive; in all, he is said to have produced about 140 works of larger or smaller size. Nevertheless he was not a polygraph in the depreciatory sense of the word; before dealing with a subject he always studied it thoroughly and then wrote on it seriously, or sometimes in the lightly humorous fashion of which he was a master, or again in a pleasing conversational way, but always with artistic feeling and in his particular style, which was new and independent of existing schools and coteries. He had a great success with his public; he himself created a school of writers, and his influence has been strongly felt in Turkish literature.

His literary work in the fields of the novel, short story and tale, includes his early novels *Hayat-ı Dil* (1890) and *Tedricir-i Hayat* (1891) (short analysis of both in P. Horn, *Gesch. der Türkischen Moderne*, 46 f.), the patriotic novel *Maşâhîr-i Hayat* (1308), the stories *Tedricir-i Ağâ* (1311) and *Mektûb Arkadaşım* (1311), a little later *Nâhâm* (1315) and another patriotic novel *Aşker-oglu* (1315) and the more lyrical *Kübbe-yi Şamm* (1315) and *'Andalib* (in verse).

At the same time he had from the first a preference for history and sought to arouse an interest in it among his fellow-countrymen by presenting his carefully prepared compilations in popular form. After earlier works on the history of Rome, of civilization, etc., he devoted himself to the history of Turkey, and produced a work on Turkish history from Selim II to Murad V, entitled *Tarih-i Osmaniye* (*Hâkimiyet-i Mülkiye-yi* (1341-2), and a general survey, *'Öğmenli Tarîhi* (1328-30). A valuable supplement to these is formed by his "City Letters", *Şehir Mektûbları* (1328-29), which contain an unsurpassed description of old Istanbul life in all its variety, written in a vivid and stimulating manner. In *Menâhîr-i İslâm* (1323) the Muslim festivals, mosques, and other religious matters are dealt with. To the history of literature belongs his book on *Şiir* (1323), which was intended as an introduction to the history of the Turkish Moderns (*Matbu'at Tarîhine Medhâl. İki büyük Muharirlerden Şinâsî, 1927*). *Matbu'at Kâğıtlarından* (1342) contains his personal recollections of Turkish writers, and *Falaka* (1927) of his own school days and the old system of education in general.

Ahmad Râsım was also a prolific writer of school books on grammar, rhetoric, history, etc., and composed also a work on model letters (*'İlâvî Khasine-yi Mehlûl yahud mukemmel Münâhîl*, 5th ed. 1318). In addition he translated many western works, and a large collection from his early period is called "Selections from Western Literature" (*Edebiyyât-ı Gharibiyeden his Nâhîye*, 1887). He was

a talented composer as well, and left 65 songs now preserved in the Dâr ül-Shafaka library.

For this great literary activity Ahmad Râsım required a measure of freedom which did not exist under 'Abd al-Hamid II, and such as he could hardly have enjoyed at all as a state official. He was, however, twice a member of a commission of the Council of Instruction Publique (*Enfâz-ı Tefhîh ve Me'sû'iyet*), but only for a short time. He showed his interest in religious matters in 1904, when after the abolition of the caliphate he wrote an article in *Wahit* on 4 March 1904 on the relics (*amâlid, muhalla'ât*) of the Prophet, cloak (*kâbîrâb*), banner (*isvâb*), praying-carpet (*sâdjâda*) etc., which also appeared in Cairo and Damascus in Arabic. He proposed to make these relics accessible to the public in a museum (cf. C. A. Nallino, in *OM*, 1904, 220 f.). From 1927 he was a deputy for Istanbul along with men like 'Abd al-Hakk Hâmid and Khâlid Eddem (cf. *OM*, 1927, 416; 1931, 227 and Mehmed Zekî, *Encyclopédie biographique de Turquie*, i, 1928, 23, and ii, 1929, 88), but suffered from ill-health in his last years.

**Bibliography:** Newâlî Mülli, i, 1330, 265-7; İsmâ'îl Halîb, *Türk Tefahhûs Edebiyyâtı Tarîhi*, Istanbul 1925, 567-9; *Taninmatları*, 1940, 358-64; Ali Canîp, *Edebiyat*, 1929, 171-4; İdem, *Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, 1934, 98-100; Bulkur-luzade Rîdâ, *Muntahabât-ı Bedâyî-i Edebiyye*, 1326, 347-50; Nasreddin, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, 1910, 217; Hüseyin Kâhîd, *Kavâir*, 1326, 259-90; Ahmet İlyas, *Medhat hafızlarım*, 1930, 76; Wl. Gordievski, *Oleksi po notoviy otomanskoy literature*, Moscow 1912, 76, 100; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei (Der islamische Orient, vol. II)*, Leipzig 1910, index, p. 252; İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *Son asir türk şairleri*, viii, 1939, 1358-62; Resat Ekrem Koç, *Ahmad Râsım, hayatı, sevgi şir ve şairliği*, 1938; İbrahim Alîettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları anisolepedisi*, 24; Nihad Sami Banarlı, *Resmî türk edebiyatı tarihi*, 328-9; *JA*, s.v. (by S. E. Siyavuşgil); Suat Hızal, *Ahmad Râsım* (Türk Klasikleri, 30), 1953. (W. BJÖRKMAN)

**AHMAD RASİM**, Ottoman statesman and historian. Ahmad b. İbrâhîm, known as Resmî came from Rethymno (Turk. *Resim*; hence his epithet ?) in Crete and was of Greek descent (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, viii, 202). He was born in 1172/1700 and came in 1146/1733 to Istanbul, where he was educated, married a daughter of the Re'îs Efendi Ta'ûkijî Muştâfâ and entered the service of the Porte. He held a number of offices in various towns (cf. *Sigill-i 'Öğmenli*, ii, 380 f.). In Safar 1271/Oct. 1757 he went as Ottoman envoy to Vienna and on his return made a written report of his impressions and experiences. In *İçli'ül-Ka'da 1176/ May 1763* he was again sent to Europe, this time as ambassador to the Prussian court in Berlin. He also wrote a very full account of this mission, which excited great attention; in the West also, for its views on Prussian policy, its description of Berlin and its inhabitants and all sort of observations on related topics. After filling a number of important offices he died on the 2 Shawwâl 1197 (31 August 1783); on this date cf. Babinger, 309, note 2 in Istanbul. His tomb is in the Selimiyye quarter of Scutari.

In addition to the descriptions already mentioned of his embassies (*seferât-nâmâ's*) to Vienna and Berlin, Ahmed Resmî wrote in connection with the Russo-Turkish war and the peace of Küçük

Kaynarç (1769-74) a treatise entitled *Khulâsât ul-Fikâr*, in which he took a part in the campaign and eye-witness, he gave his impressions of this important period in the history of Turkey. Of especial value are his biographical collections, particularly his *Khulâsât ul-Rû'ûsâ* (composed in 1157/1744) with the biographies of 64 *re'îs ul-kuttâb* (*re'îs efendi*) and his *Hamîl ul-Kubera'*, in which he gives the lives of the chief eunuchs of the imperial harem (*hâim ul-ahâler*). Of a similar nature is his continuation (written in 1177/1766) of the *Wefâyât* of Mehmed Emîn b. Hâdijî Mehmed called *Abd-berî-âzad*, in which he gives in twelve lists the deaths of famous men and women (cf. the accurate list of contents in Hammer-Purgstall, ix, 187 f.). He also wrote several other works on geology and provinces.

**Philography:** *Sigill-i 'Öğmenli*, ii, 380 f.; Brusaîl Mehmed Tâhir, *'Öğmenli mu'âfifleri*, iii, 38 f. (with list of works); Babinger, 309-12 (add to the list of the MSS of his *sefer-nâmâ's*: Berlin, Or. 4° 1502, fol. 27v-46v (incomplete), Paris, Suppl. Turc 510 (7); Paris, collection of Cl. Huart and the MSS described in *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Türk-Coğrafya Yasmaları Kataloğu*, i, no. 483; 1925, also the Polish translation, *Podręcznik Ahmed-Elwazaga de Paski i powstanie jego de Pras 1727* (according to Wâsîf, *Tarîh*, i, 239 ff.) in J. J. S. Sekowski, *Collectanea z dziejopisów Turczickich*, ii, Warsaw 1825, 222-80; for MSS of the *Khulâsât ul-Rû'ûsâ* and the *Hamîl ul-Kubera'*, see also *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri* etc., nos. 412 and 413. (F. BABINGER)

**AHMAD AL-RÂZÎ.** (See AL-RÂZÎ).

**AHMAD SHAH** is the name of various Muslim monarchs in India. The most notable are: 1. AHMAD SHAH BAHADUR MU'JIB-UD-DIN AR-RU'ÂS, son and successor of Muhammad Shâh, Grand Mughal of Delhi. He was born in 1158/1725 and came to the throne in 1161/1748. The actual ruler during his reign was Saifdar Dîang, Nawâb of Oudh, who was also appointed vizier of the new emperor. In order to check the Rohélas he called upon the Marâthas for help, which resulted in their plundering the provinces of his realm, while the Afghans devastated the Panjâb. Ahmad Shâh himself was an incapable ruler and lived for pleasure. After the dismissal of the vizier Saifdar Dîang his reign soon came to an end; another vizier, 'Imâd al-Mulk Ghâzi 'l-Dîn Khân caused him to be declared unworthy to govern, had him put into prison and had his eyes put out 1167/1754. Ahmad Shâh died in 1169/1775.

2. AHMAD SHAH I, II and III, Bahmanid rulers; see BAHMANIDS.

3. AHMAD SHAH b. MUHAMMAD SHAH SHAMS AL-DIN, prince of Bengal (835-46/1431-42); see RÂZÎA GANESH.

4. AHMAD SHAH I and II, rulers of Gudsjarât; see GUDJARÂT.

5. AHMAD SHAH, founder of the dynasty of the Nizâm Shâhs; see NIZÂM SHÂHS.

**AHMAD SHAH DURRÂNÎ**, the first of the Sadozay rulers of Afghanistan and founder of the Durrânî empire, belonged to the Sadozay section of the Popalzay clan of the Abdâllî [s.v.] tribe of Afghans. In the early 18th century the Abdâllîs were to be found chiefly around Harât. Under their leader Zamân Khân, the father of Ahmad Khân, they resisted Persian attempts to take Harât until, in 1748, they were forced to submit to Nadir Shâh.

Some time later they rebelled under Khân-Fikâr Khân, the brother of Ahmad Khân, but were once more defeated by the Persian ruler who, in 1751, captured Harât. Recognizing the fighting qualities of the Abdâllîs he enlisted them in his army, and, in 1757, after the expulsion of the Ghilzays, he allowed the Abdâllîs to settle in Kandahâr. Ahmad Khân Abdâllî distinguished himself in Nadir's service and quickly rose from the position of personal attendant (*wasid*) to the command of Nadir's Abdâllî contingent, in which capacity he accompanied the Persian conqueror on his Indian expedition. In Dîumâdî II 1160/June 1747, Nadir Shâh was assassinated by Kizilbâshî conspirators at Kûcân in Khûrâsân. This prompted Ahmad Khân and the Afghân soldiery to set out for Kandahâr. On the way they elected Ahmad Khân as their leader, hailing him as Ahmad Shâh. This election was facilitated by the withdrawal in his favour of Hâdijî Dîamâl Khân, the chief of the Muhammadzays or Bârakzays, the great rivals of the Sadozays. Ahmad Shâh assumed the title of *Durr-â Durrân* (Pearl of Pearls), after which the Abdâllî tribe were known as Durrânîs. He was crowned at Kandahâr where coins were struck in his name. Like the Persian conqueror who served as his model, he organized a special force dependent on himself, known as the Ghulâm Shâhîs, a heterogeneous body recruited from Tâdjiks, Kizilbâshes, and Yûsufzays; but he naturally relied chiefly on his immediate followers the Durrânîs. With Kandahâr as his base he easily extended his control over Ghazni, Kâbul, and Peshâwar. His aims were to consolidate his power in Afghanistan and to increase his prestige and provide employment for his turbulent followers by means of foreign war in which course he was favoured by the anarchical conditions prevailing in India. Regarding himself as heir to Nadir Shâh's eastern dominions, he laid claim to the provinces which Nadir had wrested from the Mughal emperor. In accordance with this policy, but with no intention of founding an empire in India, he invaded India nine times between 1747 and 1769. He set out from Peshâwar on his first Indian expedition in December 1747. By January 1748 Lahore and Sarhind had been captured. Eventually Mughal forces were sent from Delhi to resist his advance. Lacking artillery and greatly outnumbered he was defeated at Manupur, in March 1748, by Mu'în al-Mulk, the son of the warlike Kâmar al-Dîn, who had been killed in a preliminary skirmish. Ahmad Shâh retreated to Afghanistan and Mu'în al-Mulk was appointed governor of the Panjâb. Before Mu'în al-Mulk could consolidate his position, Ahmad Shâh, in December 1749, again crossed the Indus. Receiving no reinforcements from Delhi Mu'în al-Mulk was forced to come to terms. In accordance with instructions from Delhi, Ahmad Shâh was promised the revenues of the *Châhr Mahallî* (Gudsjarât, Awrangâbâd, Sîlîkôt, and Pasrûr) which had been granted by the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shâh to Nadir Shâh in 1739. While he had been absent in the Panjâb, Nûr Muhammad Allây, a former Afghân general of Nadir Shâh, had conspired to dethrone him. On his return to Kandahâr the conspiracy was suppressed and Nûr Muhammad executed. He next turned his attention to his western frontier. By 1163/1751 Harât, Mâghhad, and Nîshâpûr had been captured. Mirzâ Shâhruhîl, the grandson of Nadir Shâh, was forced to surrender several districts bordering on Harât and to acknowledge Afghân suzerainty on his coins. In the same year Ahmad



Shah came into conflict with the rising Kādirī power but was repelled at Astarābād beyond which he was unable to advance. He was more successful across the Hindu Kush where he annexed Balūkh and Badakhshān after which the Oxus roughly formed his northern frontier.

The non-payment of the revenues of the *Chakar Mahāl* was the reason for his third Indian expedition of 1752-2. Lahore was besieged for four months and the surrounding country devastated. Mu'n al-Mulk, without reinforcements, was defeated in March 1752, but was reinstated by Ahmad Shah to whom the emperor formally ceded the two *shahs* of Lahore and Multān. During this expedition Kāshmir was annexed to the Durrāni empire. By April 1752 Ahmad Shah was once more back in Afghanistan. Mu'n al-Mulk found the Panjāb a troublesome charge and his death in November 1753 only served to intensify the anarchy. All power was for a time in the hands of his widow Mughalāt Bēgam whose profligacy led to constant rebellions. The Mughal *saqir* Tīmāl al-Mulk took advantage of this anarchy to recover the Panjāb for the empire and entrusted its administration to Adina Beg. Ahmad Shah immediately set out to recover his lost provinces. Lahore was reached towards the end of December 1756, and, after an unopposed march, Delhi was entered on 28 January 1757. The city was plundered and the defenceless inhabitants massacred. A similar fate befell the inhabitants of Mathurā, Brindābān, and Agra. Towards the end of March 1757, an outbreak of cholera amongst his troops forced Ahmad Shah to leave India. Before leaving he married Hadrat Bēgam, daughter of the late emperor Muhammad Shah, while his son Tīmūr was married to Zuhra Bēgam, daughter of the puppet emperor 'Alamgir II. The territory of Sarhind was annexed to his empire. Najīb al-Dawla, the Rohilla leader who had supported him, was left in charge of Delhi and Tīmūr remained as viceroy of the Panjāb. He had no sooner left India than the Sikhs, together with Adina Beg, rose in revolt against Tīmūr. Early in 1758 Adina Beg invited the Marāṭhās to expel the Afghāns from the Panjāb. This was accomplished by the Marāṭhās who actually crossed the Indus and held Peshawar for a few months. (The evidence which corroborates Grant Duff's *History of the Marāṭhās*, 1917, 207, is to be found in the Persian manuscript *al-Bihar* (news-letters) in the archives of the Bharat Itihas Samādhān Mandal and in the *Chandachuda Daftar*, I, 1920, II, 1934. See also H. R. Gupta's *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Panjab, 1644-1756*.) These events brought Ahmad Shah to India a fourth time (1755-6). Before setting out he marched against Naṣir Khān, the Beṣābūt chief of Kalāt in Balūchistān who had declared his independence. Despite Ahmad Shah's failure to capture Kalāt, Naṣir Khān agreed to acknowledge his suzerainty and to furnish contingents for his army. The Marāṭhās rapidly evacuated the Panjāb before the Afghān advance and fell back on Delhi. Sādehīz Bihān, the brother of the Marāṭhā *pedhwa*, was entrusted with the formidable task of ousting the Afghāns from northern India. The Marāṭhās had not only to face a coalition of the northern Muslim chiefs who had joined forces with Ahmad Shah but they had to fight without the assistance of the Rājāpūts and other Hindu powers whom their extortionate demands for *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* had estranged. The Marāṭhās occupied Delhi (22 July 1760) but it was of little use as a base since food,

fodder, and money were unprocureable. The situation, so far as supplies were concerned, was temporarily relieved by the capture of Kundiya (17 October 1760). But this advance proved disastrous as the Afghān army crossed the Jūmma cutting off Marāṭhā communications with Delhi. The Bihān now decided to entrench his forces at Pānīpat. Deprived of all aid by his more mobile forces he was compelled to leave his entrenchments and attack the Afghāns. Although the Marāṭhās fought desperately they failed to withstand the fierce Afghān onslaught under Ahmad Shah's expert generalship and were routed with enormous losses at Pānīpat on 14 January 1761. Ahmad Shah made no attempt to consolidate his position and in March of the same year was once more on his way back to Afghanistan. The Afghān victory at Pānīpat had far-reaching consequences. It enabled the Nijām to recover from his defeat at Udgir (1760), and probably saved the state of Hyderabad from extinction. It also contributed to the rise of an independent Muslim power in Mysore under Haydar 'Alī. It is usual to regard Pānīpat as a temporary setback from which the Marāṭhās rapidly recovered. This view ignores the real importance of the victory which granted the English the respite needed for the consolidation of their power in Bengal.

After Pānīpat the main factor in the history of northern India was the growing strength of the Sikhs whose attacks on Ahmad Shah's lines of communication gradually led to a cessation of the Afghān menace. It was against the Panjāb Sikhs that his sixth expedition (1762) was directed. They were defeated with enormous slaughter near Gūdgūarwal in a battle known to Sikhs as the Ghalighārah. Ahmad Shah remained in the Panjāb for nine months during which Kāshmir whose Afghān governor had revolted was re-annexed to his empire. But the Sikhs were by no means crushed. Their attacks on Afghān garrisons necessitated three more expeditions between 1764 and 1769. Ahmad Shah had also to contend with serious revolts nearer home. The Aymāk near Harāt rebelled in 1763, and, in 1767, serious disturbances broke out in Khurāsān. At Ahmad Shah's death, in 1784/1773, his empire roughly extended from the Oxus to the Indus and from Tibet to Khurāsān. It embraced Kabul, Peshawar, Multān, Sind, Balūchistān, Persian Khurāsān, Harāt, Kandahār, Kābul, and Balūkh. Even in his lifetime it was apparent that he would be unable to maintain distant conquests like the Panjāb. Balūchistān was practically independent, and Khurāsān was obviously destined to become a Kādirī possession. Under his successors the Durrāni empire rapidly disintegrated.

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**AHMAD AL-SHAHYKH** (known locally as *AMARU SĀQU*) Tokolor (TAKRIRI) ruler, son of al-Balḥī 'Umar Tal [q.v.] Tokolor conquests of Western Sudan. Before he proceeded to the conquest of Masina which cost him his life, 'Umar left Ahmad in charge of the Bambara kingdom of Segu, and appointed him *khālifa* of the Tijāniyya *jariba* for the Sudan. 'Umar died (1864) before he was able to consolidate his conquests and left Ahmad to face, not only a heritage of dynastic troubles and revolts of subjected peoples, but also the steady advance of the French. His titular inheritance to the paternal power was not seriously contested, but the unity of the military empire was weakened because the various governors ruled their regions in practical independence. These were his brothers Ḥabīb (ruling Dingiray) and Muḥṭār (at Konakari), his cousin al-Tijānī (who ruled Masina independently from 1864 to 1889), and his father Mustafā al-Nyoro. Ahmad's vain attempt to avert the break up involved him in continual warfare. His early years were occupied in dealing with the Bambara of his own kingdom, who were never crushed. His Tokolor chiefs intrigued with his relatives, the revolt of Ḥabīb in 1868 being only one of many. In 1874 he assumed the title of *amir al-mu'minin*. The period from 1876-84 witnessed the steady penetration of the French into the Sudan. The anarchy into which the country had fallen gave Ahmad no chance of offering effective opposition, whilst hostility between him and Sanori [q.v.] enabled the French to attack and defeat them separately. Ahmad's brother, 'Adilbu, ruler of Dingiray, allied himself with the French. In 1884, feeling his life in danger at Segu from discontented Bambara and Tokolor, he moved to Nyoro, dispossessing his brother Muntaka whom he had installed there in 1873. On 6 April 1890 Segu was occupied by the French Colonel Archinard, and the following year he fled from Nyoro (occupied by Archinard on 1 Jan 1891) to Bangadigara where his defeat on 26 April 1893 brought an end to Tokolor dominion over the Sudan. He fled to the Sokoto region in Hausaland where he died in 1901.

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**SHAYKH AHMAD SIRHINDI**, generally known as *MUHAMMAD AL-ʿAṢI* Thiri, an eminent divine and mystic of Muslim India, who contributed in a considerable measure towards the rehabilitation of orthodox Islam, after the heterodoxies of the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) had had their day. He was born at Sirhind (Patāli State, East Panjāb) in 971/1564, being the son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahād, who traced his descent from the Caliph 'Umar al-Bakrī. He received his early education from his father and later pursued a course of higher studies at Siyālкот. He later went to the capital, Agra, where he frequented the society of the chief minister Abu 'l-Faḍl [q.v.] and his brother Fayḍ [q.v.]. It was probably during these days that he wrote among other things a tract, entitled *Takhlīḥ*

in refutation of Shī'ite views. (This tract was, subsequently, translated into Arabic by Shāh Wālī Allāh al-Dihlawī, with a prologue on the religious trends of the court of Akbar and the activities of Shaykh Ahmad.) After some years, he returned to his native town. In 1008 he was initiated into the Naqshbandī order of Sūfis by Khwāja Bāḥ b'illah (d. 1012), who was then living in Delhi. The enmity with which he controverted the doctrines of the Shī'a, who were at that time in favour at the court of the emperor Dīshangir, rendered him particularly odious to them and they represented his activities as dangerous to the state. An ecstatic utterance of his caused him to be summoned in 1028/1619 to the court at Agra, where his unbending attitude incurred the displeasure of the emperor, who ordered him to be confined in the fort of Gwalior. The emperor was, however, soon reconciled to him, for he not only released him after a year but bestowed upon him a *khṭa'a* and a gift of money. Thereafter, the Shaykh kept in close touch with the Imperial camp, till he died in 1034/1624 and was buried at Sirhind, where his tomb is an object of veneration to this day.

Shaykh Ahmad wrote a number of tracts on religious topics, viz., *al-Mahād' wa'l-Ma'ad* (Delhi 1211); *Risāla Takhlīḥiyya*, published as an appendix to the Lucknow edition of his *Mahādāt*; *Ma'arif Laduniyya*; *Mahādāt al-Shaykh*; *Risāla fi ḥikmat al-Nubuwa*; *Adāb al-Murīdīn*; *Sharḥ Ruḥā'iyāt Khwāja Bāḥ b'illah*, etc. But he is chiefly remembered for Letters (*Makhlūṭāt*), which he wrote (in Persian) to his disciples and other persons and in which he explained a large number of points, ranging over a wide area of Islamic faith and practice. These letters have exercised a great influence in favour of orthodoxy and, in their collected form, constitute one of the most important classics of religious literature produced in Muslim India. It was in recognition of his services to the cause of orthodox Islam that Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hakīm al-Siyālкотī [q.v.] gave him the title (*shah*) of *Muḥaddid al-'Alī* Thānī, i.e., the Renovator of Islam who appeared at the beginning of the second millennium of the Islamic era. Even in his life time, his influence spread as far as Afghanistan and Central Asia. After his death, it deepened still further, when his descendants and disciples, now called *Muḥaddidīn*, were dispersed, as a result of the unfavourable conditions produced by the rule of the Sikhs in the Panjāb.

Although Shaykh Ahmad was connected with several Sūfi orders, he avoided their extravagances, especially their pantheistic tendencies; and in fact he tried to bridge the gulf between the monotheistic and pantheistic groups of Sūfis by putting forth the theory of *wahd al-shahād* (g.s.) in place of *wahd al-wajūd* (pantheism). This theory is regarded as his special contribution in the field of religious thought.

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**AHMAD TÂ'IB** (see 'UZHMAW-ZÂR).

**AHMAD TAKDÂR** (see ILKHAÑIS).

**AHMAD WAFIK PASHA**, (AHMED WAFIK PASHA), Ottoman statesman and leading Turkish Turcologist, born 23 Shawwâl 1238/6 July 1823, died at Istanbul 22 Sha'bân 1308/2 April 1891. He came of a family of interpreters, grandson of Bulgaç-zâde Vâliyî Nâjî, a dragoman of the Porte converted to Islam, of rank according to the historian Şihîn-zâde 'Alî Allâh Efendi, of Jewish origin according to A. D. Mordtmann. Ahmed Wafîk accompanied his father Rûh al-Dîn Mehmed Efendi, the Turkish chargé d'affaires in Paris, studied for three years at the Lycée Saint-Louis, and returned at the age of 14 to Turkey where a full and varied career lay before him (for details see Şihîn-zâde 'Oğlânî, i, 308). After initial employment on the interpreting staff, his most important posts were as follows:—ambassador in Paris (1860); inspector of the Western Anatolian provinces; legendary president of the first and ephemeral Ottoman Parliament of 1876, with the rank of *wazir* and title of *paşa*; twice Grand Vizier (for periods of 23 days and one day respectively); governor-general of Brusa. As a diplomat, he successfully defended Turkish interests at the time of the Russian occupation of the Danubian principalities and the French occupation of the Lebanon. He edited the first Imperial Year Book (1893/1896), and the newspaper *Taushîr-i Efkâr* (in collaboration with Şinâsî). He was responsible for the restoration of the Yehûdî Dîmî mosque at Brusa (by the French orientalist Pavellô), and for effecting the transfer of the Burgaz Ova estates in the Izmir region, which were granted to Lamartine by 'Abd al-Majîd (1849). It was he who was responsible for the celebrated incident in the Paris theatre concerning the production of Voltaire's *Makomet*.

A strong personality, he was an energetic, honest and conscientious man, frank to the point of rudeness; at the same time he was whimsical and an ascetic, and possessed a dry wit. Extremely

studious, and with long periods of leisure at his disposal as a result of being debarred from office by the enmity of 'Alî Pasha, he immersed himself in the library of his famous villa in Rumeli Hîsar, and there produced works to which, however, he seemed to subscribe his name. Turkish studies were his special province. He was self-taught, but acquainted with western studies which, paradoxically, he underestimated; as one of the first "Turkicists", he made an impressive contribution to the Turkish purist movement. His *Lehçe-yi 'Oğlânî* (1st edition 1293/1876; 2nd edition 1306/1890), the first Turkish dictionary in Turkish words of the name, a concise work of which the fullest use has not yet been made, formed a basis for the work of Şihîn-zâde Dîn Sâml Bey Frashîrî and many others (see the preface to the *Supplément* of Barbier de Meynard, i, p. v). His translation, or rather adaptation, of sixteen comedies of Molière (2nd edition in Latin script, 1933) is a masterpiece. (He produced them on the stage at Brusa.) He also translated *Tefâşûr*, *Gülîlâs de Sessilân* and the *Microcosm* of Voltaire. In eastern Turkish, he published Abu 'l-Fîkâhî and, in collaboration with Belin, the *Makbûl al-Kulûb* of Mir 'Alî Shîr Nawâ'î (1289/1872). A collection of proverbs (*Atalar Sözi*) figures among his other works. For his historical works, see Babinger (see below) and Enver Korkut, *Türkiye tarih yayıncıları bibliyografyası*, Ankara 1952.

Ahmed Wafîk was buried in the Kayalar ("Rocks") cemetery at Rumeli Hîsar, allegedly by order of 'Abd al-Hamîd II, but once again there are probably no grounds for this assertion. Ahmed Wafîk's grandfather, who owned estates in the neighbourhood, was buried in the same cemetery. The Sultan's displeasure may be explained by the fact that Ahmed Wafîk had sold land to the American institution Robert College.

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[J. DENVY.]

**AHMAD YASAWI**, Turkish shufî shaykh of Central Asia. His life story is shrouded in legend like those of many popular saints. Son of a certain Shaykh Ibrahim, he was born at Sayram (İsfidjâb) in Turkistân during the second half of the 12th century. He lost his father at the age of seven and the family settled at Yasî. There he began his education (it is said as a disciple of Arslan Baba),

later moving to Bukhârâ where he became a disciple of the great Shaykh Yûsuf Hamadânî, and eventually succeeded him in 355/1166. He returned to and remained in Yasî until his death in 362/1166.

Ahmad Yasawi's tomb became a place of pilgrimage for kings and princes and was especially venerated by the Turks of Central Asia and the Volga region. A sumptuous mausoleum was erected in Yasî (later known as Turkistân) by Timûr (see *yasî*) and the cult of Yasawi has never decreased. Among the Turkish peoples Yasawi's doctrine was adapted to local trends and was strongly influenced by pre-Islamic Turkish creeds and rituals. The shaykh's first *ahâlîya* was Arslan Baba's son, Mansûr Ata (d. 594/1197) great-grandfather of Zengi Ata [q.v.]; the second, Sa'îd Ata (d. 615/1218), the third Hakîm Ata [q.v.] (d. 582/1188). His other successors also bore the title of *ata*. Yasawism established itself in Eastern Turkistân, later spread to Ma warâ al-Nahr, Kh'arizm, as far as Bulghâr, Khurâsân and Persia, and penetrated into Anatolia with the migration of Yasawi shaykhs, among whom Hâdîdî Bektaşîh and Sarî Saltûk [q.v.] are outstanding.

We know that Ahmad Yasawi wrote vernacular Turkish verse in the old syllabic metre in order to popularize and spread his mystic doctrine. But the poems to be found in the extant collection called *Dîwân-4 Hikmet* attributed to him (*hikmet* = "religious poem"), can hardly be genuine. The original work of Ahmad Yasawi has not come down to us and the oldest MSS belong to the 17th century. But we can safely assert that these poems reproduce the true spirit and style of Ahmad Yasawi, since we know that the verses of many a mystic leader were often faithfully imitated, for centuries, by later disciples (cf. Yûnus Emre and his followers). The poems in the *Dîwân-4 Hikmet* are of a didactic character and express, in popular language, Islamic and mystic precepts. They gave rise to a new genre in Turkish literature: mystic folk literature which, in the following centuries, flourished side by side with secular folk literature and classical literature.

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As to AHMAD YUKNAKî (the *sûda* may possibly refer to the village of Yûgnâk, north of Tâghkent), early Turkish poet of the 12th century, author of the didactic poem in quatrains, *'Aybat al-Hakâ'ib*, dedicated to a certain Dâd Sipâshâhîr Beg. Its subject matter is related to that of Yûsuf Bîhşeq Hâdîjî's [q.v.] *Kutadgûk Bilig*; its language is also akin to, though not identical with, that of the *Kutadgûk Bilig*. The content is, however, more Islamic in character, and more Arabic and Persian words are used. It was edited by Nejjîb 'Âşim, under the title *Hibet al-Hakâ'ib*, Istanbul 1334.

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**AHMADÂBÂD** is the capital of the district of that name in India (Presidency of Bombay), on the river Sâhramât. In 1901 the town numbered 185, 899 inhabitants, of which about 1/2 were Muslims, the district (3,816 square miles = 9,885 square kilometres) containing 793,967 inhabitants. Ahmâdâbâd is one of the most beautiful towns in India and is famous for the manufacture of gold and silver brocade, of silk, cotton and satin (*shamshâr*) materials. It is equally noted for its brass and bronze works, and for the manufacture of mother of pearl ornaments, of japanned goods and wood-carving (e.g. betel-boxes, *phandân*). There are also a great many monuments of ancient Muslim art, amongst others mosques and mausoleums of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Ahmâdâbâd was founded in 1411 by Ahmad Shâh I sultan of Gujjarât [q.v.], (who made the old Hindu town of Asaval his capital), and was enriched by him with countless buildings. In the first century of the Gujjarât dynasty it rapidly attained prosperity. But after that it fell into decline; it enjoyed another period of prosperity under the reign of the Mughal emperors, until, in the 18th century, it again deteriorated. In 1818 the English took possession of the town.

**Bibliography:** *Imperial Gazetteer*, i, (1901), 492; *Bombay Gazetteer*, iv-B (1904); *Muhammedan Architecture of Ahmedabad A.D. 1472-1520* (1900); Th. Hope, *Ahmedabad*; Fergusson, *Indian Architecture*; Schlagintweit, *Handel und Gewerbe in Ahmedabad* (Oester. Monatschr. für den Orient, 1884, 166 ff.).

**AHMADÎ**, TAQI al-Dîn Ismâ'îl b. Kâzîm, the greatest Ottoman poet of the 8th/14th century. His place and date of birth are not known; the weight of the evidence is in favour of Germiyanî, before 735/1334-5. After learning all that Anatolia had to teach him, he went to Cairo to study under Akmal al-Dîn (al-Bâbârî), commentator of the *Hidâyât*; he also made friends with Hâdîdî Fudûl and Molla Fennâr. Returning home, he entered the service of the Germiyanî-oghlu in Kütâhya, Sulaymân Shâh, a well-known patron of poetry, who ruled over the principality from c. 769/1367 to 788/1386. (He wrote for him the *Iskander-nâme*, the final version of which was, however, presented to Sulaymân Celebi.) Later he joined the court of his patron's son-in-law, the Ottoman sultan Bayezîd I, and was especially favoured by his son, Sulaymân Celebi. If the traditional account is to be believed, he met Timûr after his victory at Ankara. What is certain is that the poet seized the earliest opportunity of rejoining Sulaymân Celebi at his court in Adrianople, although from several hostile references in his poems to the people of Brusa it appears that Ahmedî spent some years in the latter city. This hostility is understandable in view of Ahmedî's devotion to Sulaymân, as the people of Brusa sided with Mehmed Celebi (Muhammed I). His *dîwân* contains many panegyrics on Sulaymân, to whom he also dedicated the final version of the *Iskander-nâme*, *Dîwânîdî me-Kurubîdî*, and *Tarîkh al-Arûk*. At the end of his moving



elegy on the death of Sulaymān (814/1411) the poet did not neglect to add a prayer for the new sultan, Mehmed, to whom he subsequently dedicated some of his poems. He died at Amasia in 815/1413.

His main works are the following: (1) *İshk-e-dāwān*, on the life and deeds of Alexander the Great, the subject matter of which is borrowed from Firdawsi and Nizāmī, but is expanded by many didactic digressions. The language is singularly pure Turkish and the metre is the native *farḥānī* *hisālī*. The poem ends with a revival sketch of Islamic history, the last part of which, however, is a highly important versified history of the Ottomans, the first we have, on which later historians frequently drew. (The story is brought down to the changes in different versions.) (2) *Diwān-ı we-kāshid*, a *mathnawī* on the theme of the love of a Chinese prince for a Byzantine princess, based on Salāmī Sawāḡī's poem of the same title. (3) *Tarīk al-Arabī*, a didactic *mathnawī* on medicine and preservation of health, apparently written for the edification of Sulaymān Cēbi, (4) *A dīwān*.

**Bibliography:** Ibn 'Arabīshāh, *Tahkīk al-Naṣīḥa*, (quoted by Takī al-Dīn, *Tahkīk al-Hanūfiyya*, MS); Taḡhīb-ur-rāde, *al-Shahāb-ik al-Nu'māniyya*, 201; the *Tafhīṣ* of Sehl, 54 L, Latīf, 82, 'Ashkī Cēbi; 'Alī, *Kashf al-Asrār*, v, 128; Ghib, *Ummat*, i, 260 ff.; Bahār, 11 ff.; J. Thury, *Tarīk al-Arabī*, Budapest 1903, 32 ff. (Turkish transl. in *MTM*, ii, 210 ff.); S. Nūrhet Ergin, *Tarīk al-Arabī*, i, 284 ff.; Nihād Samī Banārī, *Ahmadī wa-Dīstīk-ā Tawdīh-ā Mādīk-ā Al-ā Osmān*, *Turkiyat* Muḥammāl, 1939, 49 ff.; C. Brockelmann, in *ZDMG*, 1919, 1 ff. (on Ahmadī's language); F. Wittek, in *Id.*, 1935, 205; idem, in *Byzantion*, 1936, 103 ff.; *Id.*, 1937, 103 ff. (G. L. Lewis).

**AHMADI** (see **SINKA**).

**AHMADILIS**, a dynasty of princes of Marāḡha. Distinction must be made between the eponym Ahmadī and his successors. Ahmadī b. Ibrāhīm b. Wabūdīn al-Rawādī al-Kurdī was a descendant of the local branch of the originally Arab family of Rawādī (of Asī) established in Tabriz (see **SANWAKHTS**). In the course of time the family became Kurdicized, and even the name Ahmadī is apparently formed with an Iranian (Kurdish) diminutive suffix -ī. Ahmadī took part in the anti-Crusade of 505/1111. During the siege of Tāl Bāghī, Jocelyn made an arrangement with him and he withdrew from the town (Kāshī al-Dīn, *Tawāḡh al-Halāl*, *RHC*, ii, 399). Shortly afterwards he left Syria altogether in the hope of winning the succession to the Shāhī Arman (q.v.) Sukmān (d. 506/1112). As Sukmān had subjugated Tabriz, Ahmadī was probably interested in recapturing the basic fief of his ancestors. According to Sīhī b. al-Dīwānī (*RHC*, iii, 356), Ahmadī could muster 5,000 horsemen and his revenue amounted to 400,000 dinars yearly. In 510 (or 508) he was assassinated in Baghdād by the Ismā'īlīs, to whom he had caused much harm (*RHC*, *ibid.*; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, s.v. 510).

The study of his successors is complicated by the variants of their names and titles used in different sources. Ahmadī was apparently succeeded by one of his slaves, bearing the Turkish name Ak Sunkur 'al-Ahmadī', who is often mentioned in the struggles between the sons of Sultan Muḥammad (d. 511/1118). In 514 Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad appointed his former *atāsh* Kāsim al-Dawāla al-Bursakī to Marāḡha, but Sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad restored Ak Sunkur (who had come to Baghdād)

to Marāḡha. After the death in 515/1121 of Kūn-tughlī, *atāsh* to Malik Tughlī b. Muḥammad, Ak Sunkur was anxious to succeed him; Tughlī ordered him to raise 10,000 horse and went with him to conquer Ardābil. During the unsuccessful siege of this town, Marāḡha was occupied by Dīwānsh-beg, sent by Sultan Maḥmūd. Under 516/1122 the Georgian chronicler (Brosset, i, 368) mentions the defeat of the 'atāsh of Ardābil Agnashūl (PAK Sunkur), whom Tughlī had directed to carry out a raid in Shārwān. In 522 he was employed to frustrate the intrigues of the Mazyādī Dubayā. Under 524 we hear of Ak Sunkur, *atāsh* to Dā'ūd b. Muḥammad, supporting the candidature of this prince. In 526 Tughlī defeated his nephew Dā'ūd and occupied Marāḡha and Tabriz (al-Bundārī, 161). Ak Sunkur fled to Baghdād and then helped Dā'ūd's other uncle Ma'ūd to occupy Aḡharbayḡlīn. He also captured Hamadḡān but in 527/1133 was killed by Ismā'īlīs instigated by Tughlī (*ibid.*, 160).

Ak Sunkur's son and successor is usually called Ak Sunkur (Ibn al-Aṭṭar, xi, 166, 177; *Tawāḡh-ā Gushā*, 472), but is called also Arslān b. Ak Sunkur (*al-Kāshī al-Dawla al-Salḡūbiyya*), and referred to by 'Imād al-Dīn as Nurat al-Dīn Khāy-bek (al-Bundārī, 231, and even, p. 445, as Nurat al-Dīn Arslān-Aḡa ?). At this time the authority in Aḡharbayḡlīn was divided between Eldigüz, *atāsh* to Arslān b. Tughlī, and Ak Sunkur II, who was associated chiefly with the family of Malik Muḥammad b. Sultan Maḥmūd. An enemy of Ak Sunkur, Khāy-bek Arslān b. Boling-er, besieged Marāḡha in 541/1146 (al-Bundārī, 217). In 547/1152 Sultan Muḥammad executed Ibn Boling-er, but in point of fact this execution alerted the two lords (*shāhshā*) of Aḡharbayḡlīn, Eldigüz and Ak Sunkur, who proclaimed another candidate (Sulaymān). When Muḥammad was restored he appointed Ak Sunkur as *atāsh* to his son Dā'ūd. This led to a rift with Eldigüz. With the help of the Shāhī Arman, Ak Sunkur defeated Pahlawān b. Eldigüz on the Saḡd Rūd. In 556/1161 he supported Ismā'īl of Ray, who was hostile to Eldigüz, but this *amir* was defeated by Eldigüz in 557, and Ak Sunkur subsequently accompanied Eldigüz on his expedition to Georgia (557/1162). In 563, however, Ak Sunkur obtained from Baghdād the recognition of his charge, Malik Dā'ūd, and this led to a new clash with Pahlawān (Ibn al-Aṭṭar, xi, 218). Soon afterwards, Ak Sunkur fades out of the picture. According to *Tawāḡh-ā Gushā*, 472, his brother Katlugh revolted in Marāḡha, apparently with the encouragement of the *amir* Ismā'īl of Ray (d. 564/1168-9; see Ibn al-Aṭṭar, xi, 230). Pahlawān suppressed the revolt and left Marāḡha to Ak Sunkur's brothers 'Alī<sup>3</sup> al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn.

Under 570 Ibn al-Aṭṭar (xi, 260) mentions in Marāḡha Fakal al-Dīn, son of Ak Sunkur (II), who must have inherited some designs on Tabriz, but after a clash with Pahlawān had to desist from this claim, although the hereditary rift between the two families persisted. In 602/1205-6 the lord of Marāḡha 'Alī<sup>3</sup> al-Dīn made a pact with the lord of Irbīl Ghūkūrī to depose the incapable Eldigüz Abū Bakr, but the latter, with the help of the former, drove out of Marāḡha, giving him Urmiya and Ughūn in compensation. In 604 'Alī<sup>3</sup> al-Dawla (whom Ibn al-Aṭṭar, xii, 157, 182, this time calls Kara Sunkur) died, and a courageous servant of his took charge of his minor son who died in 605. The servant remained in the castle of Rūyīn-dīz, while Abū

Bakr occupied the remaining territories of Marāḡha. It seems certain that 'Alī<sup>3</sup> al-Dawla was the patron to whom Nizāmī dedicated his *Haft Paykar* (completed in 595 ?) and whom the poet calls 'Alī<sup>3</sup> al-Dīn Krb (*Kōp* 'young')-Arslān (see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS*, ii, 567, and *Suppl.*, 1985, 154). Nizāmī refers to his two sons Nurat al-Dīn Muḥammad and Ahmad (one of whom may be the son who according to Ibn al-Aṭṭar died in 605).

After this we find the line continued by women. When in 618/1222 the Mongols took Marāḡha the mistress of the town survived in the fortress of Rūyīn-dīz. In 624/1224 Shāraf al-Mulk, *wazīr* of the Khā'arām-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn, besieged Rūyīn-dīz, whose mistress was a granddaughter of 'Alī<sup>3</sup> al-Dīn Krbas (Nasawī, 1291 possibly 'Kōp-apa'). She was married to the deaf-mute son of the Eldigüz Uṭrak (called Khāmūsh, 'deaf'), but probably was separated from him because Khāmūsh had joined Djalāl al-Dīn and later went over to the Ismā'īlīs (Nasawī, 129-30). The princess was ready to wed Shāraf al-Mulk when Djalāl al-Dīn himself arrived on the spot, married her, and appointed his own governor to Rūyīn-dīz (*ibid.*, 137). Khāmūsh had a numerous family and it is not clear whether his son 'atāsh Nurat al-Dīn' was born to him or the Ahmadī princess. According to Dīwānī, Nurat al-Dīn was hiding in Rūm, but towards 644/1246 he obtained an *al tamgha* from Güyük Khān for the governorship of Tabriz and Aḡharbayḡlīn.

(V. MISORSKY)

**AHMADIYYA** is the name (i) of an organized religious community, standing in continuity with its eponym, Mīrāz Ghulām Ahmad of Kādiyān; and (ii) of a small organization or movement derived from (i).

Ghulām Ahmad was born into the leading family of the small towns of Kādiyān, Gurdāspur district, Panjāb, India, about 1255/1839. The title *Mīrāz* relates to the family's having come in with the conquering Maghals, in this case under Bābur. The boy received a good traditional education, in Arabic and Persian, and was from childhood studious and reflective. Rather than follow his father as *bakim*, or his father's wishes by going on in British government service or practising law, he soon gave himself up (on his landlord income) to quietude in his native place. Along with meditation and religious study he developed apparently a propensity for hearing voices (see below), and sometimes—usually at the behest of his father—began to publish (1850) a considerable work *Barīkh-ā Ahmadiyya*, which was well received. On 4 March 1859 he announced that he had received from God a revelation authorizing him to accept *bay'at*; and a small group was forthcoming of formal disciples, who were devoted and in some cases remarkably able men. Opposition from the Muslim community began two years later when he announced that he was the *Masīḥ* and the *Mahdī*. From that date (1861) until his death (24 Rabī' II 1262/26 May 1908) there was continuous increase both in opposition to him and in his own claims; also in his following. Controversy raged: chiefly with Muslims, though also with Hindus and Christians. He claimed to receive revelations (both *ilham* and *shuky* are used), including the foreknowledge to perform miracles (including both raising the dead to life, and *eco-tertia* he boasted of bringing about, through prayer, the death of rivals); and to be an *anwar* of Krsna (1904) as well as Jesus returned to earth and the Mahdī; also the *burūz* ('re-appearance') of Muḥammad. Whether he claimed to be a *nabī*, and if so what he meant by it, is disputed between

the two groups into which his followers later divided (see below). His teachings, over his last twenty years, are multifarious; sometimes curious (as, e.g., that Jesus died and is buried in Srinagar) or well-informed, sometimes inconsistent, often polemical and crude, sometimes remarkably spiritual. One discerns in them, in addition to peripheral Hindu concepts and a reaction against Christian influences, but more especially in the pattern of his life and the positive response evoked, a late Indian sūfi version of Islam activated by modern-Western infiltrations.

When he died, his followers thereby ceased to be a body of disciples; they became instead a community of believers, and, rather than disintegrating, elected a *khālifa* (Mawlāwī Nūr al-Dīn) and proceeded to exist as an independent community. The validity of this, or at least of its form, was doubted by some; and when this first *khālifa* died (1914), most of the executive and westernized minority seceded, to set up at Lahore a society propagating the new teachings (as they saw them), while the majority remained at Kādiyān rather as a community embodying those teachings (and propagating itself). There was a political difference also: the secessionists (dismissing themselves less from the wider Muslim community) were beginning to feel and to participate in the nascent anti-imperialism of Indian Islam (Kānpur mosque incident, 1913), while the major group explicitly clung to the traditional loyalty of the founder and his family. They chose the founder's twenty-five-year old son as *Khālifat al-Masīḥ II*. The forty years of his *khālifat* have been the story of the gradual forging of the virtually new movement that exists to-day. Similarly in the case of the Lahore party, which had as leader a young lawyer and religious intellectual, it has been rather the gradual working out of a virtually new system of ideas.

Both groups were—and are—dynamic, and have developed much, each in its own way. They have travelled far, from their common starting point, and also from each other. They will, accordingly, be separately described.

(i) The community. Name: Urdu, *QIYAMAT-ī AHMADIYYA*; English, **AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT** in Islam. An Ahmadī is also commonly referred to as *Kādiyānī* (which since 1947 has become less appropriate; see below), and sometimes—usually at his own annoyance—*Mīrāz-ī*. Membership is by birth within the movement, or by joining, on formal profession of faith and acceptance of duties. According to their own figures, there are some half-million members; about half of these being in Pakistan, the rest somewhat evenly divided between India and the remainder of the world (chiefly West Africa); but there are Ahmadī congregations from Indonesia to the Arab world, with small bands of converts also in Britain, the continent of Europe, and the United States). Members pay monthly dues (from each a minimum of 1/4% of his income is required; with various further contributions expected and often given). The movement accordingly handles considerable sums; and its organization is strong and centralized. The community also operates and enforces (on traditional 'Islamic' lines) its own internal judiciary (*haḍāḍ*) so far as feasible. New headquarters of the community are at Rawalpindi, Pakistan. There is a central Advisory Council (*Madīlis-ī Muḥawwarat*), largely elected; and a strong central secretariat. However, all power is finally vested in the head of the movement, who for the last



forty years has been, as already indicated, the founder's son, Hadrat Mirzā Baḡhūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḥmad (b. 1306/1889). So largely have direction and control been in his hands that the movement in its present form may be said to be in significant degree his creation.

The above organization binds the community together, and strikingly vigorous, well-planned missionary activity throughout the world continues to expand it. These externals, however, are manifestly informed by a spiritual quality, a faith and religious life. Four, overlapping, aspects of this may be noted: the memory of the founder, reverence for the present head, doctrine, and the intensity of corporate life. The teachings are those of the founder, as interpreted (expanded, modified) by the present head. At the present stage of development they are most effectively presented in his *Aḥmadiyyat or the True Islam* (1924: 3rd ed., Washington 1951; also available in other languages), and in his vast Qur'ān commentary, now in process (*Tafsīr-i Kabīr*, in Urdu). In the formula currently signed on joining the movement, a statement addressed to the head, these sentences figure: "I bear witness that God alone is to be worshipped. He is One having no partner. . . . I will try my best to act upon all the Laws of Islam. I will obey you in everything good that you tell me. I consider the Holy Prophet Muḥammad to be the Seal of the Prophets, and also believe in all the claims of the Prophet Aḥmad of Qadian (peace be on them)." (from the English version used in the Washington, D. C., mosque). The core of Aḥmadī belief is that their community embodies the only true form of Islam (the one true religion, sent by God), it having been launched in this revitalized and newly revealed form by Aḥmad, who was sent by God for the purpose, and it is being further divinely guided through its present head. Other Muslims, by rejecting this heaven-sent reformation, are pronounced *kāfir*. Of the veneration in which the present head is held by his followers a compelling illustration is the reasoned tribute by one who is to-day a world figure: Zafarullāh Khān, *The Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam* (offprint, Chicago, n.d. [c. 1945]).

The activities of the community, apart from their zealous and efficient propaganda, include such internal matters as the establishing and running of schools and colleges (the former centre, Kādiyān, appears to have been much the most literate town in India, with almost total feminine literacy). They produce great quantities of literature (see below); they have their own exclusive mosques; and sustain a telling *esprit de corps*.

Aḥmadī relations with Hindus and Sikhs have been chiefly attempted proselytism, with very limited success; with Christians there was also at first a spirited polemic on both sides, not without acerbity, though the situation appears gradually to have improved. It is with other Muslims that the Ahmadiyya have had primarily to deal: from them has come the overwhelming body of their converts, and also their opposition, often bitter and at times violent. The ambiguities of their situation became particularly vexed with the establishment in 1947 of Pakistan, into which both geographically and ideologically they almost, but not quite, fit. They transferred their headquarters perforce from Kādiyān (in India, because of the controversial Radcliffe award) to a site, previously barren, in Pakistan, which they named Raiwalh (cf. Qur'ān, ii, 265) and where they are now constructing a town (about 90 miles south-

west of Lahore). The political issue was less easily settled: whether they, who called other Muslims *kāfir*, should be fully admitted into the Muslims' new state, was a question that flared up in 1953 and brought riots, bloodshed, and the fall of governments. The *bibliography* is enormous. The most important source is the movement's own voluminous publications. A few of the founder's more than 75 books (in Arabic, Persian, Urdu) have been republished by the present community in several languages (perhaps most important to-day: *The Teachings of Islam*, various editions); the first *ḡalīfa* wrote some half-dozen, and the present *ḡalīfa* is the author of over thirty works (two most important noted above; add: *Introduction to the Study of the Holy Qur'an*, Qadian 1949; *Economic Structure of Islamic Society*, Qadian 1946). Other members have written about the community, and its leaders; also lives of Muḥammad, etc. (e.g. Sufi M. R. Bengalee, *Life of Muḥammad*), and translations of the Qur'ān in several languages. Moreover, the community has produced and produces large numbers of periodicals—daily, weekly, and monthly—from India, West Pakistan, East Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, Lagos, Israel, Zurich, London, Chicago, Washington, and elsewhere.

Sunnī Muslim and Christian missionary writing on the movement has often, though not always, been polemical; the former, of more importance, revealing (e.g. Muḥammad Iqbal, *Islam and Ahmadiism*, Lahore, 1950), the latter often informative (e.g. H. A. Walter, *The Ahmadiyya Movement*, Calcutta and London 1928; numerous other studies; articles in *MW* every few years). Almost all books on Indian Islam (e.g. M. Titus, *Indian Islam*, 1930, 226 ff.; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, 1946, 298 ff.) or *Modern Islam* in general, the community. Objective descriptive studies, of an academic sort, do not seem to have appeared in significant or comprehensive form since L. Bouvat, in *JA*, 1928, 159-81.

(ii) The AHMADIYYA ANJUMAN IḡMĀT-I ISLĀM (headquarters in Lahore). This group accepts ḡulām Aḥmad as *muḡaddid*, not as prophet, and affirms that he never claimed to be a prophet. It is always led by Muḥammad, who died in 1826, accompanied 'Oḡmān dan Fodio on his successful expeditions intended to propagate Islam (about 1800), and took up residence in a hamlet near Djénne. He was expelled by the Moroccans, who distrusted his reputation for learning and his influence, and settled in Sebera, birthplace of his mother, where he gathered round him many students. An incident between these students and the son of the ardo of Māsina, Gurūr Dyallo, incited Aḥmad to open revolt. A Bambara army which was sent against him was defeated by a ruse, the Dyallo dynasty was dethroned (1810) and all the Ful of the region placed themselves under his command. He took Djénne after a siege lasting nine months, defeated Gélégou, the head of the Komari (whose exploits are still the subject of a popular ballad, see G. Vieillard, in *Bull. des Comités d'études hist. et scient. de F.A.O.F.*, 1931, 131-6) and built a new capital in that district, on the Rasi, called Hamdallāhī (fulbe: Hamdallay) (1815). He conquered Iaa Iler from the Touareg (1823), Timbuktu (1827), and extended his authority eastwards as far as the first ranges of Toubani, and to the south-east as far as the confluence of the Black Volta and the Suru. He adopted the title of *amir al-mu'minin* and devoted himself to propagating orthodox Islam according to the Kādiyya order, demanding strict observance of its religious requirements; he demolished the tribal

*bibliography*: The movement's own publications are again the main source; see the writings

of Muḥammad 'Alī (chiefly his *English Translation of the Holy Qur'an with Arabic Text, Commentary and Index*, Lahore, several editions; over 50,000 copies have been distributed). *The Religion of Islam*, Lahore 1936; *Muḥammad the Prophet*, 1924, Urdu original, Kāyār al-Baḡhūr, ibid., 1917; etc. etc.), and also of Kamāl al-Dīn (e.g., *The Ideal Prophet*, London 1925; *Islam and Christianity*, ibid., 1932; and many others). For external sources, see the bibliography of (i) above.

(WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH)

**AHMADNAGAR** is the capital of the district to that name in India (Presidency of Bombay) on the river Siva. In 1901 the town numbered 42,000 inhabitants, the district (6586 square miles = 17,058 square kilometres) 837,695 inhabitants. The town was built in 1494 by Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh, the founder of the dynasty of the Niẓām Shāhs (q.v.), who reigned for about a century in Aḥmadnagar, until, after a brave defence by Čand Bībi, the place was taken by Akbar's troops and annexed to the Mogul empire. After the death of Awrangzeb, Aḥmadnagar became subject to the Marāṭhās, and in 1803 Dawlat Rao Sindhiya was obliged to surrender the town to the Duke of Wellington.

*Bibliography*: *Bombay Gazetteer* xvii-B (1904).

**AHMADU** (see AHMAD AL-SHAḠIRI).

**AHMADU LOBBO** (SHAYKH AHMAD, SEGU AHMADU (HAMAMU) LOBBO, SAKUY AHMADU SOKE), Ful religious chieftain, of the Bari clan (or Saugare or Dabe, corresponding to the Mandingo clan of the Sise) a native of Malangal or Mareval in central Māsina, actually called Hamadu Hamadu Lobbo, that is to say the son of Hamadu Lobbo. The latter was a pious Muslim living at Yognusuri (died in central Māsina, a native of the region to the east of Niakoune), called Lobbo after the name of his mother. Māsina was then occupied by the Ful, who were mostly pagan or superficially Muslim, and were ruled by *ardos* of the Dyallo dynasty, vassals of the Bambara rulers of Segou, and only Djénne was occupied by Moroccan troops. Aḥmadu Lobbo, a disciple of the marabout Kunté of the order of the Kādiyya Shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad, who died in 1826, accompanied 'Oḡmān dan Fodio on his successful expeditions intended to propagate Islam (about 1800), and took up residence in a hamlet near Djénne. He was expelled by the Moroccans, who distrusted his reputation for learning and his influence, and settled in Sebera, birthplace of his mother, where he gathered round him many students. An incident between these students and the son of the ardo of Māsina, Gurūr Dyallo, incited Aḥmad to open revolt. A Bambara army which was sent against him was defeated by a ruse, the Dyallo dynasty was dethroned (1810) and all the Ful of the region placed themselves under his command. He took Djénne after a siege lasting nine months, defeated Gélégou, the head of the Komari (whose exploits are still the subject of a popular ballad, see G. Vieillard, in *Bull. des Comités d'études hist. et scient. de F.A.O.F.*, 1931, 131-6) and built a new capital in that district, on the Rasi, called Hamdallāhī (fulbe: Hamdallay) (1815). He conquered Iaa Iler from the Touareg (1823), Timbuktu (1827), and extended his authority eastwards as far as the first ranges of Toubani, and to the south-east as far as the confluence of the Black Volta and the Suru.

He adopted the title of *amir al-mu'minin* and devoted himself to propagating orthodox Islam according to the Kādiyya order, demanding strict observance of its religious requirements; he demolished the tribal

mosques and local places of worship, placed a ban on tobacco, established relations with the sultan of Istanbul, and, about 1838, welcomed al-Ḥāḡḡī 'Umar Tal [q.v.] on his return from Mecca. He organized his dominions along orderly lines, Vi lages, districts and provinces were governed by officials, appointed by himself, who could be impeached before the *hādī* (fulbe: *alḡhī*) of the region. The State owned lands and flocks, and received a portion of war booty, fines etc. Taxation comprised the *ṣakh* (fulbe: *d'asha*, tithe on grain crops, proportion of flocks); a *surtax* on the rich (140 on gold, cowry and bar salt); the *ḡharāḡī* on food crops; the *madāḡ* in millet at the festival of the breaking of the fast; a contribution from slaves for the provisioning of the army; the *ṣaḡr* (fulbe: *ṣawru*), a 10% customs duty. Every spring military expeditions were organized. Each village had to provide a fixed quota of men for these military operations, a third of this quota being mobilized each year by *notar*. The troops, free men, received subsistence for the maintenance of their families during their absence. There were five high-ranking military officers, each responsible for the defence of a particular sector. There existed a right of appeal from the regional *hādīs* to the *hādī* at Hamdallāhī, and from the latter to Aḥmadu himself, aided by a "marabout tribunal" in an advisory capacity.

Aḥmadu I died in 1842 and his son Aḥmadu (Hamadu) II succeeded him, despite the native customary law of succession. In 1846 he reimposed, in a modified form, the sovereignty of Māsina over Timbuktu, which had rebelled at the death of his father. Aḥmadu II was similarly succeeded in 1852 by his son, Aḥmadu III. He tried, by diplomacy or by force, to check the expansion of the great Tukulor conqueror, al-Ḥāḡḡī 'Umar Tal, but the latter took Hamdallāhī in June 1862. Aḥmadu III fled towards Timbuktu, but was captured and put to death at 'Umar's orders. His uncle Ba Lobbo continued the fight against 'Umar and his successors. The Māsina State had been a centre of strict Islam, inimical to infidels, as the European travellers René Caillé and Heinrich Barth had discovered.

*Bibliography*: Ch. Montell, *Monographie du Djenné*, Tulle 1903, 266-77; M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Paris 1912, ii, 232-9; L. Tauxier, *Mœurs et histoire des Peuls*, Paris 1937, 163-85; P. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan*, ii, Paris 1920, 137-8; 137-80, 246-7; Mohammadou Aliou Tyan, *La vie d'El Hadj Umar*, ed. and trans. H. Gaden, Paris 1925, 20, 154 ff.; 164 ff., 185 ff.; R. Caillé, *Journal d'un voyage à Tombouctou et à Jenné*, Paris 1830, ii, 205 ff.; E. Mape, *Voyage dans le Soudan occidental*, Paris 1868, 258 ff.; H. L. Labouret, *La langue des Peuls ou Foulbé*, Dakar 1952, 162-5. (M. ROBINSON)

**AHMAR, BANU 'A**, genealogical name of the nasrid dynasty (see below).

**AL-AHNAF B. KAYS**, the usual cognomen of a Taḡmīte noble of Basra named Aḥd Baḡr Ṣaḡmī (sometimes, but erroneously, called al-Dabbāk) b. KAYS b. Mu'āwīya al-Taḡmī al-Sa'īd, of the family of Murra b. 'Ubayd; through his mother, he was descended from the Bāhilita clan Awd b. Ma'n. He was born before Islam and, probably at an early age, lost his father, killed by the Basra Māzin. His biographers state that he was deformed from birth and that he had undergone an operation. His cognomen (*al-ahnaf*) derives from the fact that his feet were misshapen, but he also had other abnormalities (see the description of his physical appearance in *al-Djāzīr, al-Bayān* (Hārūn), i, 56).



At the advent of Islam, the Tamīmites did not respond immediately to the Prophet's overtures, and it was al-Ahnaf who was instrumental in procuring their conversion. He then presented himself to 'Umar, and was among the first inhabitants of Basra, where he soon emerged as spokesman and leader of the Tamīmites who, during the 1st/7th century formed the intellectual, religious and political élite of the city. Under the command of Abū Muṣā al-Aḥbārī, he took part, notably in 23/644 and 29/649-50, in the capture of Kūmā, Kābāh and Istāhān. He was later one of the best generals of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aunir (q.v.), under whose orders he conquered Kūhān, Harāt, Marw, Marw al-Rūdī, Balḫ and other districts (near Marw al-Rūdī, his memory was perpetuated by the Kaṣr al-Ahnaf and the Ruṣṣā al-Ahnaf). He even led his troops as far as the plains of Tukhāristān, thus preventing the last king of Persia from organising further resistance against the Muslims. For a time governor of a district of Khūzistān, he afterwards returned to Basra where his position as head of the Tamīmites enabled him to play an important political role. Although a neutral at the battle of the Camel (63/656) between the partisans of 'Alī and those of 'Aḥmad, he fought on the side of 'Alī the following year at the battle of Siffin. From then on he appears to have devoted himself to local political affairs, but the Umayyads considered his influence to be such that they consulted him on general political problems, and it was in this way that he came to give his opinion on the question of Mu'awiyah's successor. At Basra there was latent hostility between the Rabī' faction, represented by the Bakr b. Waḥī, and the Mudar faction, represented by the Tamīm. Al-Ahnaf was sufficiently astute to prevent bloodshed, but he did not succeed in extinguishing smouldering animosities. At the death of Yazīd b. Mu'awiyah (64/683) a rising occurred there, and the governor 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād (q.v.) placed an Azdite, Ma'sūd b. 'Amar al-'Atakī, in charge of the city, but the latter was assassinated shortly afterwards. The Azd faction then allied themselves with the Bakr and the 'Abd al-Kays against the Tamīm, whom al-Ahnaf had exhorted to adopt a moderate policy towards the Azd. The situation remained extremely confused for several months; finally al-Ahnaf agreed to a compromise favourable to the Azd, and contributed from his own funds to an indemnity for the Azdite victims. When order was restored, he devoted his energies to achieving an alliance of the various tribes at Basra against the common enemy in the shape of the Khazirites who were threatening the city, and it was he who, in 65/684-5, proposed that the Azdite al-Muhallab (q.v.) should be entrusted with the command of an expedition against the Khazirites which the populace hoped to induce him to undertake. In 67/686-7 the Shī'ite agitator al-Muḥallab (q.v.) succeeded in recruiting supporters at Basra, but al-Ahnaf took his stand against the Shī'ites, and succeeded in evicting al-Muḥallab's partisans from the city. He then assumed command of the Tamīm contingent of the Umayyad forces which, under the orders of Mu'awiyah b. al-Zuhayr, marched to attack al-Muḥallab at Kūfa. It was there that he died, at an advanced age.

His line soon came to an end, but his memory was kept alive by the Tamīm who considered him one of their greatest leaders. He was something of a poet, but above all he left a reputation for sagacity, which is conveyed by a large number of aphorisms and maxims, some of which have become proverbs; his *ḥikm* is

compared to that of Mu'awiyah, and is also proverbial; hence the saying: *ahlam min al-Ahnaf* (al-Jāhīz, *al-Hayawānī*, ii, 92; al-Maydānī, i, 229-30).

**Bibliography:** Jāhīz, *Hayawān* and *Hayawānāt*, index; idem, *Mukhtār*, Berlin ms. 5032, 518-566; Balḫārī, *Anṣab*, iv b, v, index, Istanbul ms. ii, 994 ff. (see B. *Et. Or.*, 1922-4, 208); Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaṭabāt*, viii, 66-69; Dīnawarī, *al-Aḥbār al-Tamīm*, 173-74; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 36, 37, 134; 186-87, 230, 268; idem, *ʿUyūn al-Aḥbār*, index; Ibn Nuhās, *Sahā al-Uyūn*, 53-57; Tabarī and Ibn al-Aḥṣar, index; Ibn Ḥajjar, *Iṣāha*, no. 429; Maydānī, *Amṣāl*, Cairo 1352, i, 229-30, ii, 274; *al-Aḥbār*, index; Goldziher, *Maṣ. Sh.*, II, 96, 205; Ch. Pellat, *Muslima harrānī*, index.

(Ch. PELLAT)

**AL-AHSA'Ī** (see AL-HAṢĀ and HUTHUR).  
**AL-AHSA'Ī**, SHAYKH AHMAD B. ZAYN AL-DIN B. IḤRĀHīm, founder of the theological school (later, after his excommunication by the Shī'ī *muḥaddiths*, more properly speaking "sect") which, from his designation, took the name of *Shaykhī* (q.v.). He was born in al-Ahsā' (Arabia) in 1266/1753. His biographers record his great piety from his years of infancy. At the age of twenty, already learned in the religious sciences, he went on pilgrimage to the Shī'ite sanctuaries in al-'Irāk, where he had his first successes, obtaining from their *muḥaddiths* "licences" to teach the religious sciences. After establishing himself with his family in Bahrayn, and later in Basra, he made several journeys to al-'Irāk and from 1281/1866 onwards, also to Persia, where he made the pilgrimage to Mashhad and, on his return, settled at Yazd as a teacher, enjoying the greatest veneration. Even the ḡhāh (Fāṭh 'Alī Shāh Kādīr) summoned him to Teheran, and loaded him with honours. This, together with his great popularity, roused the jealousy of the divines of Yazd, and several reports began to circulate on the unorthodoxy of Shaykh Ahmad's teachings; more particularly challenged were his eschatological doctrines, in which, according to the "orthodox" Shī'ite theologians, he had denied the resurrection of the dead and interpreted it as a purely spiritual resurrection (see SHAYKHĪ). After a final pilgrimage to Karbalā', he settled in 1299/1884 in Kirmānshāh, whence he made several journeys (into al-'Irāk and, in 1328/1815-8, to Meccah). His definitive rupture with the *muḥaddiths* took place at Karzin about 1299-40/1884, after his return from another pilgrimage to Mashhad, in consequence of a discussion with the fiery Ḥādīdī Mullā Takī Barakānī, uncle of the famous Bābī poetess Tāhira (or Kurrat al-'Ayn, see BĀBĪ). The hostility of the *muḥaddiths* towards him steadily increased, and he was even accused of professing theories which never entered his head (e.g., the divinity of 'Alī, the doctrine of *taḥdīd*, according to which God had entrusted the care of the worldly creation to the *imāms*, etc.). After many wanderings, interspersed with teaching and the composition of his numerous works, he died in the course of a pilgrimage to Meccah, at the age of 75 years, near Medina, in 1341/1826, and was buried there in 1342/1827.

His theological works (including minor treatises) number about a hundred. For his doctrines see art. SHAYKHĪ. The school founded by him was guided by his successor Sayyid Kārim Raḡhī (q.v.), and out of it there developed at a later date the Bābī (q.v.) movement.

**Bibliography:** A. L. M. Nicolas, *Cherkh Ahmad Lakshī*, Paris 1909 (*Essai sur le Cherkhisme*, ii); Brockelmann, S. II, 844-5. For further bibliography see SHAYKHĪ. (A. BAUSANI)

# AḤSANĀBĀD (see GULBĀRA).

**AL-AHWĀS** al-Aḥwāz, 'ĀḤW, ALLĀH B. MUḤ. B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'ĀḤM B. ḤARIR, Arabic poet, of the Banū Dubay'ā b. Zayd (a clan of al-Awāl), born about 35/655; he spent his life mainly in the refined society of Medina. The noble-born inhabitants of Medina had grown rich during the first conquests, acquired great wealth by the sale of historical buildings and gardens in the town and were, in addition, subsidised by the caliphs. They were, however, not allowed to take part in government and in political life and thus lived in a sort of political exile. Affluence and the exclusion of political aspirations exercised an influence also on the social life of Medina, which was dominated by worldly pleasures. In this milieu arose the urban poetry of love, of which 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a, al-'Arjdī, and al-Ahwās were the main representatives.

The first personal relations of al-Ahwās were with al-Walīd, whose guest he was on various occasions. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, when he was governor of Medina, had him whipped for an amorous adventure (*al-Aḥwāl*, iv, 53-4). During the last years of al-Walīd's reign began his quarrel with Ibn Ḥazm, who was first *bāḥī* (94/713), and then governor (96/715) of Medina. Al-Ahwās slandered him in the presence of the caliph and also attacked him in his verses. This was aggravated by other political and moral offences, such as his love-affairs, his mentioning of noble ladies (e.g. Sukayna bint al-Husayn) in his poems, his conflict with the Islamic aristocracy, the suspicion of pederasty, immoral utterances, and perhaps also the circumstance that he was the member of a family which had taken an active part in the rising in Medina. On the instigation of the governing circles and by order of the caliph Sulaymān he was whipped, put in the pillory, and exiled to the island of Dahlak in the Red Sea (*al-Aḥwāl*, iv, 48, iv, 246; iv, 43, iv, 233; iv, 45, iv, 239). He remained there during the reigns of Sulaymān and 'Umar II, i.e. for four or five years, although the Amur, whose mouth-piece he was, interceded on his behalf. Yazīd II released him and conferred on him rich gifts; al-Ahwās became his boon-companion and supported his political aims by a satire against the Muḥallabids. Nothing more is known of al-Ahwās after his relations with Yazīd; he died after an illness in 120/782-3.

The judgments about al-Ahwās's character are negative: he had neither *neurotica nor dīn* (*al-Aḥwāl*, iv, 43, iv, 233). He was, however, highly appreciated as a poet. He excelled chiefly in love poetry, *ḡhazl*, *maḥmūd* and *hijāz*. He is praised for the ease of his diction, good sense, beautiful and agreeable expressions, and the well-ordered structure of his poems. Rabi'a, this is shown in his preference for the old themes of the *ḡhazl* and the old metres. His language is influenced by the dialect of Medina (cf. K. Petráček, in *ArOr*, 1954, 460-6).

**Bibliography:** *al-Aḥwāl*, iv, 40-7, iv, 224-68 and *Tables*, v, al-Ahwās; Ibn Kutayba, *Shā'ir*, 329-32; *Khāṣṣa*, i, 232-4; *Uyūn al-Aḥbār*, Cairo 1925, 334-43; Ibn Ḥazm, *Diwān*, 313. Verses by him in Bakrī, *Ma'ānī*; Buḥārī, *Ḥamāṣa*; Abū Tamīm, *Ḥamāṣa*; Yāqūt, *Irbād*; idem, *Ma'ānī*; *Lā; Tā*; Ibn Da'ūd al-Iṣṭahānī, *Zuhra*. Studies by Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgesch.*, ii, 232-40; Brockelmann, i, 44; Rescher, *Abus der ar. Lit.*, i, 167-8; Pizzi, *Lett. ar.*, 115; Gaudesroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Qutayba, Introduction*

*au livre de la poésie et des poètes*, 64-7; Tabāḥ Husayn, *Ḥadīṭ al-Aḥwās*, ii, Cairo 1926, 93-104; K. Petráček, *Al-Aḥwās al-Aḥwāl*, *Philosophy a poezní života a díla*, thesis, Prague 1951 (to appear in *ArOr*). (K. PETRÁČEK)

**AL-AHWĀZ** (or *Aḥwāz*), a town, is situated (31°19' N, 48°46' E) on the Kārin river at the point on the Khūzistān plain where it cuts through a low sandstone ridge; this ridge causes rapids which impede navigation and necessitate the trans-shipment of goods from vessels on the lower river to those on the upper or *vice versa*. Attempts have been made to identify Ahwāz with the town of Aginīs mentioned by Strabo, but it is more likely that it stands on the site of Tareiana where, in Achaemenian times, the royal road connecting Susa with Persepolis and Pasargadae crossed the river by a bridge of boats. Nearchus anchored his fleet just below this bridge after his memorable voyage up the Persian Gulf. (Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.vv. Aginīs and Tareiana.)

Tareiana was rebuilt by the Sāsānian king Ardāshīr I, who renamed it Hormuzd Ardāshīr and began the construction of the great dam across the rapids. Under him and his successors the town prospered greatly and became capital of the province of Susiana in place of Susa (cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber zur Zeit d. Sasaniden*, 13, 19; I. Guidi, in *ZDMG*, 1889, 410.)

When the Muslim Arabs conquered Susiana (Khūzistān) and took Hormuzd Ardāshīr, they renamed the town Sūk al-Ahwāz, meaning "the market of the Hūz" (Ahwāz is the Arabic name of Hūz, i.e. Khūz or Khūzī, in Syriac Hūzayy, a warlike tribe which has been identified with the Oḡḡi of the classical writers; hence also Khūzistān [q.v.]).

Ahwāz continued to prosper under the Umayyad and 'Abbasid Caliphs. It was the centre of extensive sugar plantation (cf. SURIKĀN), but the serious Zangī rebellion caused a decline towards the close of the 3rd/9th century. A recovery was subsequently made, but the collapse of the great dam some five and a half centuries later brought about the virtual ruin of the town and it ceased in consequence to be the provincial capital. At the beginning of the present century it had about 2000 inhabitants, but the discovery of the important oilfields in Khūzistān restored its fortunes to such an extent that it again became the capital of Khūzistān in 1926. The town has also benefited greatly from the opening of the Trans-Persian railway; the line crosses the Kārin by a fine bridge which has for its foundations the remains of the great dam. Further downstream is an imposing road bridge. In 1948 the population of Ahwāz exceeded 100,000. (See also *GHURZĀW*, for the history of the province.)

**Bibliography:** F. Wüstenfeld, in *ZDMG*, 1864, 424 ff.; Le Strange, 233 ff.; Schwarz, *Iran*, 315-24; K. Ritter, *Erldhunde*, ix, 219-30; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*; ii (*Etudes géographiques*), 275 ff.; A. Kasrawī, *Tārīkh-i Pan-Sad Sālā-yi Khūzistān*. (L. LOCKHART)

**AI**...[for words beginning with *ai*, see under *ai*.]  
**'ĀṬILA** (ā), "family". From the root 'W-L or 'Y-L, this word is not found in the Kur'ān except (ix, 28) as a variant reading for 'ayla "poverty" but a marginal gloss in the *Kāṣas al-Muḥīl* (2nd ed., iv, 24) and a *ḥadīṭ* quoted by al-Ghazālī (and see the meaning "family"). The modern neo-classic language uses it freely, perhaps influenced by the Ottoman civil code (*Majalla*), for example *baḥāḥ* "family head-mem", "Ottoman family law", (*J. O.*



Ottoman, 14 Muharram 1336), but the polished style to-day prefers verse.

Sociological theories. The collective work of the Arab genealogists is based implicitly on the assumption that the tribe is a family on a larger scale. Robertson Smith has made a just appreciation of this over-simplified conception, which is ostensibly based on common sense, and, more recently, Bicher Farris (*L'Honneur chez les Arabes*, Paris 1932, pp. 30) has recognized "that it appears impossible to study the social morphology of the ancient Arabs". This picture corresponds to that given by the nomads regarding their social structure. But does it correspond to reality? The existence of ancestor-worship and of the cult of the dead among the Semites, disputed by Renss, has been proved by A. Lods as regards biblical antiquity, and by I. Goldziher as regards the Arab world. The cult of the dead concerns the family because the natural ministers of such a cult are recruited from within the family, and because it implies a posterity for its own perpetuation. It is not impossible even that this cult may have played some part in the formation of the family, and especially in establishing it as a religious unit, endowed with social functions. Easily-recognizable traces of the cult of the dead, to which Islam has been opposed since its inception, persist even to the present day, with unmistakable signs of propitiatory rites. The need, still felt to be imperative, for descent in the male line could be a final relic of this cult. On the other hand, to liken saint-worship and the veneration of holy places to ancestor-worship is to invite disagreement. The inter-connection between divine and human genealogies has been amply demonstrated by Dornier (*La Religion des Hébreux nomades*, Brussels 1937, Ch. xviii). It confirms the identification of legal relationships involving protection or alliance, with kinship, an idea which still exists among the nomads, and which is typical of the patriarchal system.

The basic social unit among the Semites was the clan (Hebrew *misfaba*, Arabic *bayt* [s.c.]). The totemistic theory of an exogamous organization between maternal clans has been brilliantly developed by Robertson Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885). In his review of this work, Nöldeke (*EDMG*, 1886, 148-57) disputes the importance of the naming of clans after animals "which occurs, relatively speaking, much rather than the exposit of the author would imply". But, in addition to the linguistic arguments based on the words indicating the clan by allusion to a uterine relationship, and on two parallel series of names of kinship, agnate and cognate, all the facts so far advanced hardly seem to provide a better explanation. Marriage customs of a matrilineal character seem to have persisted relatively late in the Peninsula. The lack of a prohibition of incest in the paternal line is also adduced as evidence by R. Smith (ibid., 163), but Wellhausen (*Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, Nachr. von d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss. u. d. Georg-August Univ. zu Göttingen, 1893, 431-82) is of the opinion (441) that this has not been sufficiently proved. Even if one admits the existence of a matrilineal period during remote antiquity, the patriarchal régime is firmly established from the dawn of the historical era, and the notable survivals of earlier practices pose a difficult problem. According to Gertrude H. Stern (*Marriage in Early Islam*, London 1939), certain marriage alliances of a political nature, contracted by the Prophet with the tribes were of a different character from the others, and

the women continued to reside amongst their own clan (appendix A, 151-7). In fact it is possible to find, up to the contemporary epoch, evidence of this type attested in Assyrian legislation. It is, however, indisputable that the family regime has become patriarchal.

The family in Islam. Islam did not create the practices of the social milieu in which it appeared, and to begin with it concerned itself only with improving the moral standards governing these practices. In the second period, at Medina, the Prophet, now head of the State, is led to dispense justice and to create, in progressive stages, a system of rules, called into being by judgements in individual cases, with the force of statutory law. The work by G. H. Stern quoted above shows that he followed a plan of reform, by unifying the chaotic practices of pagan Arabia. This unification could not have been completed, as is clear from monographs on present day customs. Elements borrowed from conquered peoples have been incorporated in the original Arabic background. But if the lack of unity displays itself in a marked discrepancy between fact and theory, the overall picture nevertheless reflects the type of patriarchal family which has maintained its position with remarkable stability throughout the Near East, and which is already depicted in the ancient Hittite, Babylonian, Assyrian and Sumerian systems of law. In all the most primitive forms, the authority of the head of the family is entirely unrestricted; it becomes weaker among the settled populations of the great cities. This patriarchal authority is the origin of the laws on divorce, polygamy etc. The veil (*hidjab* [s.c.]), which goes back to remote antiquity, is not strictly relevant to the subject of family institutions, although it is in keeping with their patriarchal character. In short, the Muslim family recalls in certain respects though with some notable points of difference that portrayed in European literature in the heyday of the Middle Ages. See also JAKIN, MAR'A, NIKAS, TALAN.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the works mentioned above, the following works on Semitic antiquity should be consulted: Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, London 1889 (re-ed. S. A. Cook, 1907); I. Goldziher, *Le Culte des ancêtres et le culte des morts chez les Arabes*, in *RHR*, 1884, 332-59; A. Lods, *La croyance à la vie future...*, and especially *Le Culte des morts dans l'antiquité hébraïque*, Paris 1906; for the modern period, see H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947 (French trans. Paris 1949); R. Paret, *Zur Frauenfrage in der arabischen-islamischen Welt*, Stuttgart 1934; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1893; Kâsem Daghestâni, *Etude sociologique sur la famille musulmane contemporaine en Syrie*, Paris n.d.; for a full bibliography, see J. Lecler, *Note sur la famille dans le monde arabe d'islamisme*, *Arabica*, 1956/1. (J. LECLER)

**ARIN**, Persian word meaning "law, rite, institution". Among the works translated from Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn al-Mukaffa' in the middle of the 8th/9th century, the *Fihrist*, 118, mentions an *Arin-nama* (sometimes rendered in Arabic as *Kitâb al-Ru'ûm*). This work which, like the *Khuday-nama*, was of a quasi-official character, presumably contained an account of the organisation of the Sâssânid state, of the privileges and prerogatives of the classes, and of court life and etiquette (Djensen calls it "a well almost royal"), much of its contents being of a sententious and didactic nature. Fragments

of the *Arin-nama*, translated by Ibn al-Mukaffa', are preserved in the *Uyûn al-Akhbâr* of Ibn Kutayba, and the most important of these, relating to military tactics, archery and polo, have been studied by Iqbalnasev. It is possible that, co-existent with the large official *Arin-nama*, there were lesser works of a specialized nature dealing with each branch of court education. This belief arises from other titles quoted in the *Fihrist*, namely, *Arin al-Ramy* and *Arin al-Darb bi'l-Sawdigiya*, although these could be considered merely as portions of or extracts from the larger work. The Sâssânid *Arin-nama* is also mentioned by al-Mas'ûdî (*Tanbih*, 104-6); (pseudo?) Ibn al-Kutayb al-Tadîr, *fi Akhbar al-Musâli*, which has very full materials concerning the manners and etiquette of the Sâssânids, also refers to, but does not quote directly, an *Arin al-Furs*. The title of *Arin* was used later in other works on Persian Islamic history and institutions, such as the *Arin-i Akhbari*, being that part of the *Akhar-nama* of Abu'l Fadl 'Allîsî (s.c.) (16th century) which is devoted to the institutions of Akbar's court.

**Bibliography:** Iqbalnasev, *Saasandike Etladi*, St. Petersburg, 1909, 25-80; F. Gabrieli, *L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, in *RSO*, 1932, especially 213-5. (F. GABRIELI)

**AIR** (AYR), also called ASBER, mountainous district of the Sahara, falling between lat. 12°-21°N., and long. 7°-9°E. It comprises three distinct regions: 1) the northern AIR, consisting wholly of plateau and plain; 2) the central AIR which is a homogeneous unit, has a rugged landscape, with peaks rising to 5,000 ft.; 3) the southern AIR, consisting of rocky plateaus sloping towards the Sudan. The rainfall, more abundant in the AIR than in the rest of the Sahara (rainy season from June to August) feeds underground basins which support a fairly rich vegetation (grum trees); agriculture is, however, on a small scale, and the country owes its important place in the economic life of the Sahara primarily to its position on caravan routes (*ansaf*). It possesses strata of slate, and hot springs; primitive handicrafts are still carried on.

The population of the AIR is composed of two main elements: negroid (Hausa) and Berber—the main elements of the seven principal Tuareg groups; they comprise the Kel Geres and the Kel Uî (Ewer), the latter having intermarried to a considerable extent with the Hausa. According to the censuses of 1933-8, the Kel Air number 27,765. They are a semi-settled people, and live in villages or in primitive encampments. The most important town is Agades. Founded in the 15th century, it became after 1533 the capital of the sultanate of the Kel Uî who, in the AI, had just supplanted the Kel Geres. Agades is now the chief town of a region (Niger Territory) of which the AIR is part.

The whole population is Muslim (the Kel Geres since the 9th/15th century), and religious activity is relatively keen, owing to the presence of religious brotherhoods with considerable numbers of adherents.

**Bibliography:** H. Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Central Africa*, Gotha 1857 (French trans., Paris 1860); E. de Bary, in *Zeitsch. d. geog. Gesellsch.*, 1880 (French trans. by Schirmer, *Journal de Voyage*, Paris 1898); Schirmer, *On the ethnography of Air*, *Scott. geogr. Mag.*, 1899, 338-40; E. Pourou, *D'Alger au Congo par le Sahara*, Paris 1902; Idem, *Documents géographiques du Sahara*, Paris 1905; E. F. Gautier, *Le Sahara*, Paris 1928; A. Buchanan, *Exploration of Air out of the world North of Nigeria*,

London 1921; F. R. Rodd, *People of the veil*, London 1926; Y. Urvoy, *Histoire des populations du Soudan central*, Paris 1936; L. Chopard et A. Villiers, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Aïr*, *Mémoires de V.F.P.A.N.*, no. 10, Paris 1930, particularly *Ethnologie des Touaregs de l'Aïr*, by F. Nicolas and H. Lhote, ibid., 459-533; Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944 (with a bibliography); L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, Paris 1935, 331. (G. VYER-R. CAPOT-REY)

**'A'ISHA BINT ABI BAKR**, the third and favourite wife of the Prophet, was born at Mecca about 614. Her mother, Umm Rûmân, came from the tribe of Kinâna. Muhammad gave 'A'isha the *awsya* Umm 'Abd Allâh, after the name of her nephew 'Abd Allâh b. al-Zubayr.

The usual story of her marriage to Muhammad is that the initiative came from Khawla bint Hakim, wife of 'Uthmân b. Ma'ûn, who possibly helped Muhammad in domestic matters. Some time after the death of Khadija, Khawla suggested to Muhammad that he should marry either 'A'isha, the six-year old daughter of his chief follower, or Sawda bint Zam'a, a widow of about 30, who had gone as a Muslim to Abyssinia and whose husband had died there. Muhammad is said to have asked her to arrange for him to marry both. It had already been agreed that 'A'isha should marry Djubayr b. Mu'tim, whose father, though still pagan, was friendly to the Muslims. By common consent, however, this agreement was set aside, and 'A'isha was betrothed to Muhammad. Since Muhammad had a political aim in nearly all his marriages, he must have seen in this one a means of strengthening the ties between himself and Abû Bakr, his chief follower. The marriage was not consummated until some months after the *hijra* (in Shawwâl 1 or 2/April 623 or 624). 'A'isha went to live in an apartment in Muhammad's house, later the mosque of Medina. She cannot have been more than ten years old at the time, and took her toys to her new home. Muhammad sometimes joined in her games with them. She seems to have possessed great beauty, both as child and as young woman, and to have remained Muhammad's favourite even after he had married several other beautiful women. Her position as principal wife, however, may partly depend on her father's position in the community.

A serious crisis developed out of an incident on the return from the expedition against Banu 'Mustalik in 5/627, on which 'A'isha accompanied Muhammad. At the last halt before Medina 'A'isha, who had gone a little way from the camp to satisfy a natural need, dropped a necklace and spent some time searching for it. She was so light in weight that the men who loaded her litter on the camel had not noticed her absence from it, and the whole caravan had moved off before she returned to the camp. She sat down to wait, and was eventually found by a handsome young man, *Salwân* b. al-Mu'tal al-Sulamî, who escorted her back to Medina. In the circumstances of the time, especially in view of the imposition of the *hidjab* on Muhammad's wives, this was highly improper. Gossip was magnified, however, not merely by personal enemies of 'A'isha and her family, but by 'Abd Allâh b. Ubayy, the leader of the Munkifîn or Hypocrites. Already during the expedition he had given expression to his dissatisfaction with the growing power and prestige of Muhammad. It became clear at length that there was no solid evidence against 'A'isha, and Muhammad received a revelation



(Kur’ān, xxiv, 11 ff.) implying her innocence and rebuking those who had gossiped. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy was publicly humiliated.

A number of stories about ‘Ā’isha have been preserved from the later years of Muhammad’s life. They depict Muhammad as having genuine affection for ‘Ā’isha, and ‘Ā’isha as being devoted to him. They do not, however, justify the view (cf. H. Lammens, *Le Tricentenaire d’Abū Bakr*, etc., *MOA*, iv) that she engaged in political intrigue and influenced Muhammad’s decisions. Nevertheless, there seems to have been two factions among Muhammad’s wives, one led by ‘Ā’isha and Hafsa, the daughter of ‘Umayr, which supported the policy of their fathers, and another led by Umm Salama of the Meccan clan of Makhzum; but their rivalry probably had little political effect. When Muhammad realized that death was near, he asked his wives to agree that he should go to ‘Ā’isha’s chamber and remain there. She nursed him for the few days of his illness, and his grave was made in the floor of her chamber. Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were also buried there.

As Muhammad’s power increased, his wives had a more comfortable life and a higher status in the community, including the title “mothers of the believers” (cf. Kur’ān, xxxiii, 6); but they were forbidden to remarry (II, v, 35). ‘Ā’isha was thus left a childless widow about the age of 18. For two years her father was caliph, and then for ten ‘Umar, with whom she was on good terms, but she does not seem to have played any part in public affairs. As opposition grew against ‘Uthmān, the third caliph, however, ‘Ā’isha came to have a leading part in it, though she was not in agreement either with the group of insurgents responsible for ‘Uthmān’s assassination nor with the party of ‘Alī. She openly declared her opposition to the killing of ‘Uthmān, but left Medina for Mecca to take part in the pilgrimage. Many motives have been alleged for this flight by ‘Ā’isha at a critical juncture. Perhaps the chief one was to help in organizing in Mecca a party of like-minded persons.

‘Uthmān was assassinated in Dhū ‘l-Hijja 35/June 656. About four months later ‘Ā’isha left Mecca for Basra along with about 1,000 men of Quraysh, shortly before she was taking vengeance for ‘Uthmān. Prior to this she had been joined by Talha and al-Zubayr. The three were now at the head of a movement in opposition to ‘Alī. They obtained control of Basra, and with many of the Muslims of that city marched to the outskirts to meet ‘Alī who had meantime left Medina for Kūfa, and was advancing against them. The battle (in Dhu’l-Hijja II 35/December 656) came to be known as the Battle of the Camel, since the fiercest struggle was round the camel bearing ‘Ā’isha’s litter. ‘Alī was victorious, and the opposing army was scattered. ‘Ā’isha herself was treated with respect, but Talha and al-Zubayr lost their lives.

After this failure ‘Ā’isha lived quietly in Medina for over twenty years. She took no further active part in politics, but became reconciled to ‘Alī and did not oppose Mu‘awiya. Her approval and disapproval, however, still seem to have counted for something. She died in Ramaḍān 58/July 678. In later times she was depicted as a model of piety, but it is difficult to know what is the basis of fact for this view.

It is said that 1210 traditions were related on her authority, but barely 300 of these were retained by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. She is said to have had a collection of the Qur’ān, and a few readings are given

on her authority (cf. A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Qur’ān*, Leiden 1937, 231-3). She was noted for her knowledge of poetry and ability to quote it, and also for her eloquence; and she was versed in Arab history and other subjects.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, index; Balādhuri, *Ansab*, v, Tabari, index; Ibn al-Aṭhār, index; *Isnad*, i, 391-4; Ibn Sa‘d, vi, 39-50; Ibn Hishām, *Isnad*, iv, 691 ff.; Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iv; Nawawī (Wustenfeld), 848 ff.; Ibn Hishām, *Musnad*, vi, 29-282; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, passim; N. Abbott, *Asiatick Researches*, 1942.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

‘Ā’ISHA BINT TALHA, one of the most famous of Arab women. Daughter of a Companion of the Prophet, Talha b. ‘Uthayy al-Āshaj al-Taymī (q.v.), who had already won great renown, grand-daughter of Abū Bakr through her mother Umm Kulthūm, and niece of ‘Ā’isha, the Prophet’s favourite wife, she combined nobility of birth with an imperious spirit and a rare beauty, which she was anxious should not go unnoticed. By nature a coquette, she courted the praises of her husband, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, i, 1; Kūhājyūr ‘Āzza, Ibn Kutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 322; ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, *Aghāni*, s, 60, and knew how to use to the best advantage the emotions which she inspired. She even occasioned the dismissal of the Governor of Mecca, al-Harith b. Khālid al-Makhzumī, who had agreed to postpone the hour of prayer in order to allow her to complete her *ḥajj* (*Aghāni*, iii, 100, 101, 113; see Eshbir, *Fiṣṣat*, [ed. Pellat, in course of preparation] § 20, and *Aghāni*, s, 60, for an anecdote concerning the brilliant retinue which she had obtained from the caliph for the purposes of her pilgrimage). She is reckoned as one of the *mutawassitāt*, i.e. women who have had several husbands; she married successively her cousin ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, Mu‘āṭ b. al-Zubayr, and after the latter’s death, ‘Umar b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ma‘mar al-Taymī. The date of her death is not known.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, Cairo 1355/1934, 102-103; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabari*, vi, 342; Balādhuri, *Ansab*, iii, 16, 204-5, 222; Muhammad b. Habib, *Muḥabbat*, Baydarābād, 1361/1942, 66, 100, 432; *Aghāni*, Tabari; Nawawī, *Taḥḍīb*, 850; A. von Kremer, *Calcuttische der drei Umayyaden Chaldien*, i, 29, II, 99. (Ch. Pellat)

‘Ā’ISHA BINT YUSUF (see AL-BĀ‘ONĪ).

‘Ā’ISHA AL-MANNŪBIYYA, Tunisian saint of the 7th/13th century whose name was ‘Ā’isha bint ‘Imrān b. al-Hādīj Sulaymān. The *nisba* by which she became known derives from her native village of Mannūbiya (La Manoubia), situated 5 m. W. of Tunis. She is also commonly known, especially at Tunis, by the reverential title of al-Sayyida. The contemporary historians of the Hāfiḍ dynasty, under which she lived, maintain complete silence about her, but we possess a small anthology of her *maṣāhib* written, in a style strongly influenced by the colloquial, by an anonymous semi-literate author; the latter appears to have made use of another author, composed during the saint’s lifetime or soon after her death by an *imām* of the mosque at Mannūbiya. While still young, ‘Ā’isha gave evidence of her future vocation by a number of *ḥurāmāt*. When she reached a marriageable age, her mystical ideal caused her to refuse the cousin whom her parents wished her to marry and to flee to Tunis, where she took refuge in a *ḥayariyya* (a kind of caravanserai) situated outside the old Bab al-Fallāḥ (S.E. of the

town, later known as Bab al-Gurḍān). There she passed her life, enjoying, especially among the lower classes, a great reputation for saintliness, although certain doctors of law showed hostility towards her. Oral tradition relates that she received mystical teaching from the celebrated ṣūfī Abū’l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, who was at Tunis during her lifetime, but neither the *maṣāhib* of the saint herself, nor those of the disciples of Abū’l-Ḥasan, make any reference to this. She died at an advanced age, 21 Rabi‘ab 653/April 1525, or 16 Shawwāl 653/May 1525. She was buried in the cemetery which, in her time, was known as Makbarat al-Sharāf, and at the beginning of this century, a fervent devotee believed he had discovered her tomb. He erected there a wooden mausoleum which soon became a place of pilgrimage for the women of Tunis. However, the locality where ‘Ā’isha lived continues to attract believers, especially women, and to-day bears the name of al-Mannūbiyya. Around the old *ḥayariyya* has grown up in the course of centuries a small group of buildings comprising an oratory, rooms for visitors, private dwelling-houses, and even a few shops. The visit (*mi‘ād*) to the sanctuary is performed by men on Thursdays, by women on Mondays. The house in the village of al-Mannūbiya where the saint was born has similarly been made the object of special veneration. During the reign of the Husaynī Bey Muhammad al-Shāḥ (1859-82), it was converted into a huge building containing a *ṣawīya*, private apartments, and a large covered courtyard where the religious fraternities held their meetings. To-day, the decline in saint-worship has meant the abandonment of the buildings at al-Mannūbiya. Much religious poetry in dialectal Arabic has been composed in honour of al-Sayyida Lalla ‘Ā’isha al-Mannūbiyya; Sonneck (*Chants arabes du Maghreb*, i, 5-7, II, 36-9) has given examples of this verse. The cognomens al-Mannūbiyya and al-Sayyida are frequently given to girls, especially in Tunis, and even a masculine cognomen, al-Mannūbi, has been formed from the *nisba* of the Saint.

**Bibliography:** Anon., *Maṣāhib al-Sayyida ‘Ā’isha al-Mannūbiyya*, Tunis 1344/1925, 44 pp. (several Ms. of this work exist in Tunis itself); Muhammad al-Bādīj al-Mas‘ūdī, *al-Khulāṣa al-Nabhiyya fi Umār al-Friḥiyya*, Tunis 1325/1905, 64; H. b. ‘Abd al-Wahhīb, *Shahīdāt al-Tunūsiyya*, Tunis 1355/1934, 77-8; R. Brunschwig, *Hayfides*, ii, 329. (H. H. ABUL-WAHAB)

AISSAOUA (see ‘ISAWA).

AJARAFE (see AL-SHARAF).

AK DENIZ (see BAB AL-RŪM).

AK HIŞĀR (T. “white castle”), name of several towns.

1. The best known is Ak Hişār in Western Anatolia, formerly in the *wilāyat* of Aydı, since 1925 in that of Manisa, situated in a plain near the left bank of the river Göküklü (a sub-tributary of the Gediz), 115 m. above sea level. Known as Thyatira (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.) in antiquity and Byzantine times, it owes its Turkish name to the fortress on a neighbouring hill. Annexed by the Ottomans in 784/1382, it was lost again during the disorders which followed Timur’s invasion, and recaptured when rebel Baysunq (q.v.) by Khālīl Yakhshī Beg in 829/1425-6 (see Hādījī Khālifa, *Takwīm al-Tawārīkh*). Before 1914 Ak Hişār had 12,000 inhabitants, of whom three-quarters were Muslims; in 1935 they numbered 21,000. The *ḥukū* of Ak Hişār in the *wilāyat* of Manisa had, according to Cuiet (*Turquie*

*d’Asie*, iii, 548 f.), 31,746 inhabitants; in 1935 it had 91,000.

2. Ak Hişār in the Marmara district, now called Pamuk-ova, in the *ḥukū* of Geyve, *wilāyat* of İzmit (Kocja-eli), situated on the left bank of the Sakarya river, and a station on the Anatolian railway. It was captured by the Ottomans in 708/1308-9. The fortress, now deserted, commands a vast plain. The remains of many ancient columns and other buildings in the town and its neighbourhood bear witness to its earlier prosperity, but its ancient name is unknown. In 1935 it had 1,668 inhabitants, and its *nāhiye* 9,354.

3. Ak Hişār was formerly also the name of a small locality in Bosnia west of Sarajevo, at the outlet of the Prusokota in the Semeskiliza; its modern name is Polny (i.e. Lower) Wakuf. It was conquered by Muṭafā Paḡla in 907/1501-2 (J. von Hammer, *Ummid und Bosna*, 166; Ch. Perrotier, *La Bosnie*, Paris 1882, 222). (K. SÖSSEHM-F. BARINGER)

4. Town in Northern Albania, called also in Turkish Akçe Hişār, and in Albanian Krujë Kroya, “well-spring”, and formerly in the *sandjak* of Shkodra. Mentioned by the name of Kros in the chronicle of Acropolis (13th cent.), it was in 1343 a Venetian possession and in 1395 passed into the hands of Constantine Castriota. It became famous as the residence of Scanderbeg (Iskender Beg [q.v.]), and withstood vigorous sieges in 1430, 1466, and 1468, before it was finally taken by Muhammad II in 885/1474-5, July 1478. Later on it was the centre of the Bektāshī [q.v.] order of dervishes in Albania. One of the graves of Sarf Salīk Dede (q.v.) is shown in Kroya and the number of graves of Bektāshī saints around the town is considerable. Special reverence is paid to the tombs of Hādījī Hamza Baba and Baba ‘Alī (with a *tekké*). The citadel was demolished in 1248/1832 by order of Raghib Pasha. In the Albanian state the town became the centre of a sub-prefecture, and had in 1938 4,500 inhabitants, mostly Muslims.

**Bibliography:** Ippen, *Sakari*, 71 f.; *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, vol. 60; A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie*, Paris 1901, 215 ff.; F. W. Hasluck, in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1915, 121 f.; F. Bahinger, in *MSOS*, 1930, 149; idem, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, index, s.v. Krujë. — For the date of the capture of the city see especially the contemporary chronicler Benedetto Dei (in *Della decima e delle altre guerre della moneta, e della mercatura de’ Fiorentini*, ii, Lisbon-Lucca 1765, 270 f.). (K. SÖSSEHM-F. BARINGER)

AK HIŞĀRĪ, *nisba* of several authors originating from one of the places called Ak Hişār. To Ak Hişār in Aydın belong:

(a) İlyās b. ‘Isā, commonly called İsx ‘Isā b. MAḤMŪD al-Dīk, author of a Turkish book of prophecies (*Kaḡhāṭi Rumāṭ-ı Kuvān*) which, composed in 963/1557-8 when the Ottomans had reached the summit of their power, foretold the continuation of their empire until the end of the world and, from the numerical value of the letters of proper names, predicted the fate of the nation until the year 2033 A.H. (Cl. Perrot, *Cat. Berlin*, No. 48, 9; Kraft, *Cat. Vienne Acad.*, No. 301; Flügel, *Cat. Vienne*, No. 1502). A few other works of his in prose and in verse are mentioned by Hādījī Khālifa (Flügel), iii, 480, iv, 155, 412, 440, and by Mehmed Tāhir (see bibliography). He died in 967/1559-60.

**Bibliography:** Bursalı Mehmed Tāhir, *‘Uḡmānīlī Mu‘allifleri*, i, 18.











and cattle. Between 1867 and 1877 Ak Šu belonged to Ya'qub Beg [g.c.] of Kashghar, since 1877 again to China (Chinese name: Wōn-sū-chow); the Chinese chose the town for the residence of the president (tso-fai) of the 'Four Eastern Towns' (Ak Šu, Kofā, Kara Shahr and Če Turfan). In the 20th century it shared the changing fortunes of Eastern Turkestan. The number of the inhabitants (previously mostly Sunni Eastern Turks) is at present given as between 20,000 and 40,000, who occupy themselves also with carpet weaving.

**Bibliography:** P. Pelliot, *La ville de Bakhwan dans la géographie d'Irfal, l'oung-pao*, 1906, 553-6; idem, *Notes sur les anciens noms de Kulā, d'Aq-u et d'Ul-Ul*, l'oung-pao, 1923, 126-32; the materials are put together in *Huifad al-šūm*, 2937, cf. also 271 and the map, 270; Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedičeskij slovar'*, St. Petersburg 1890, I, 307 f.; A. H. H. H. H., *Atlas of China*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1935, 24, 37, 58, 60; *Boš'zhaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, 1950, I, 617 f.

**AK ŠU** (Agh Šu), village near Shemakhi, (Russian Shemakhi) in Soviet Aghdarbaidžan, with a mosque, a bazar and with the ruins of 'New Shemakhi' [g.c.]. (H. SPEER)

**AK ŠUNKUR**, 'White Falcon', the name of many Turkish officers, of whom the following are the most important:

1. **AK ŠUNKUR B.** 'ABD ALLAH KASIM AL-DANLA, known as AL-HADIR, mamlūk of Malik-shāh [g.c.], who appointed him to the government of Aleppo in 480/1087. He at first supported the efforts of the Saljuq prince Tutuq [g.c.] to establish himself in Syria, but after Malik-shāh's death he, with the other governors in northern Syria and the Djazira, declared for Barkiyūruk, who was defeated and executed by Tutuq near Aleppo in Djumāda I, 487/May 1094. He was the father of Zanki [g.c.], afterwards atabeg of Mosul, and is highly praised for his justice and good government.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Kalānisi (Anedroz), 119-26, trans. Le Tourneau, *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, Damascus 1932, 15-17; Ibn al-Aṣṣir, x, 98, 149-51, 157-8; Ibn Khalkān, no. 99; Ibn al-Adim, *Ta'rikh Ḥaleb*, II, Damascus 1924, index.

2. **AK ŠUNKUR AL-AHMADI** [see AHMADI].

(H. A. R. GIBB)

**AK ŠUNKUR AL-BURSUKI** (AK ŠA'IN SA'IN AL-DIN KASIM AL-DANLA), originally a mamlūk of Bursuk [g.c.], and one of the principal officers of the Saljuqid sultans Muhammad and Mahmūd. He became prominent firstly through his activities as military governor (ghosn) of al-Ḥirāk, and later, at the end of his life, as governor of Mosul, which office he held simultaneously with the former. Appointed ghosn in 498/1103, his main task was to oppose the Mazyadite Arabs of Dubays [g.c.], who were infesting the environs of Baghdad. In his first government of Mosul (507/1113) his chief duty was the organization of the Holy War in the name of the sultan against the Franks in Syria, combining with this an effort to restore the Saljuqid authority in Diyār Rāsi and up to the Mediterranean. After several setbacks, due essentially to the suspicion aroused by these ambitions, and which led to his spending the years 509-512/1116-8 in partial disgrace at his fief of al-Rabba on the Euphrates, he finally succeeded, after saving Aleppo from an attack by the Crusaders supported by Dubays, in taking over the government of the entire province (518/1125), by

agreement with the leading citizens of Aleppo. He thus realized that union of a part of the Djazira with northern Syria which had served as the basis of Hamdanid power, and was to support that of Zanki [g.c.]. His life was cut short by the Bātinis of Alamūt, one of whose allies he had opposed in al-Ḥirāk, in 519/1126, before he could display his abilities, and it fell to Zanki to realize, with greater solidity, the task thus begun. But already al-Bursuki had combined, as Zanki was also to do, Saljuqid legitimism, represented by his dignity as atabeg of a prince, with an almost complete de facto autonomy at Mosul, and had effected that reinforcement of Muslim north Syria by the forces of the Djazira which was to permit the latter to break the Frankish encirclement and explain its readiness, despite its particularism, to accept his authority.

**Bibliography:** C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, I, Paris 1934; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, II, Cambridge 1952; Ibn al-Kalānisi (Anedroz; tr. Le Tourneau, index, s.v. al-Borsuqi); Ibn al-Aṣṣir, x, 272, 290, 350-3, 374, 378-80, 415, 419-40, 446-7; Ibn Khalkān, no. 100; Ibn al-Adim, II, Damascus 1934, index; Ibn Abi Tāyī; and, among non-Muslim authors, Matthew of Edessa; other sources quoted by Cahen, *op. cit.*, introduction. (CL. CAHEN)

**AL-ŠAKABA**, a mountain-road, or a place difficult of ascent on a hill or acclivity. There are many places of this name; the best-known is that between Māṣīf and Mecca. Here, according to traditional accounts, Muhammad had secret meetings with men from Medina at the pilgrimages of the years 621 and 622 A. D. In 621, at 'the first 'Akaba', twelve were present, and they gave to Muhammad an undertaking known as 'the pledge of the women' (bay'at al-nisā'); at 'the second 'Akaba' seventy-three men and two women promised to defend Muhammad, if necessary, by arms, in what is known as the 'pledge of war' (bay'at al-harb). Some Western writers have held that there was only one meeting at al-Šakaba, since only one is mentioned by al-Tabari (II, 1224 f.), and since the wording of 'the pledge of the women' in the extant sources is based on Kul, *Muḥammad*, Leipzig 1930, 186. It is likely, however, that the delicate negotiations involved would require more than one meeting. (For the stone-throwing that takes place at al-Šakaba as part of the pilgrimage, see AL-DJAMRA and HADJ.) **Bibliography:** Yāqūt, III, 692 f.; Ibn Hišām, 288-300; Tabari, I, 1209-27; G. Melandri, in *MO*, xxviii, 17-58; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford, 1953, 144 ff.

**AL-ŠAKABA**, the sole seaport of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan, lying on the eastern side of the head of the Gulf of 'Akaba at the foot of the Djabal Unm Nunayia.

Al-Šakaba is the successor of Ayla [g.c.], from which it developed as the town grew further to the southeast. The name al-Šakaba is a shortened form of 'Akabat Ayla, 'the Pass of Ayla', which refers to the pass through the Djazir al-Nunayia from the route from al-Šakaba northeast to Ma'ān through the Wādī l-Iḥm and the Wādī Ḥimā. This pass, which was improved under the Tūfūd al-Khumarawayh (884-95), ultimately gave its name to the town itself. The term 'Akabat Ayla appears as early as the time of al-Idrisi (d. 1166), but the town was still generally known as Ayla. Ibn Batṭuta

1201-77), however, knows it only as 'Akabat Ayla (I, 256, IV, 324) and by the time of the 16th century historian Ibn l-Yāsi it was called by its present name of al-Šakaba.

At the very end of the Mamlūk period (920/1514-5) Sultan Kansawh al-Ghawri, through the agency of his architect Khayr b. al-'Alā', erected the present ruined fortified ḥaṣn at al-Šakaba in order to protect pilgrims from the attacks of predatory beduin bands.

Under Turkish rule (1516-1917) al-Šakaba, by the beginning of the 20th century, was reduced to a village of some fifty mud-and-stone huts, the inhabitants of which lived from the produce of their gardens and from the fruit of date palms, the latter of which they divided equally with the Hawayit bedouins, to whom the palms still belong. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the building of the Ḥiḡḡā railway in 1908 had deprived al-Šakaba of its only remaining importance as a pilgrimage station. When Muṣil visited the town in 1898 it was the seat of a Turkish garrison guarding the frontier with British occupied Egyptian Sinai. (It belonged to the province of the Ḥiḡḡā and was the seat of a *mukāfi* subordinated to the wālī in Djidda.)

During the sea bombardment by British and French warships which preceded the capture of al-Šakaba by Anglo-Arab forces on 6 July 1917, the town was severely damaged. Following the end of World War I, al-Šakaba was part of the Ḥiḡḡā, but with the fall of the Ḥiḡḡā to the Sa'ūdī Arabian forces in Oct. 1925 the town, along with the Ma'ān district, was annexed to Transjordan. Little change took place in the condition of al-Šakaba until 1942, when new construction was undertaken by the British forces to prepare the port as a supply port in the event of the fall of Egypt to axis armies driving from Libya. At this time a paved road was constructed from al-Šakaba to the railroad at Nakb Shīrā S. W. of Ma'ān. Following the Palestine war of 1948-9 the town grew rapidly in population and in 1954 it was projected to develop the port as Jordan's outlet on the Red Sea.

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(H. W. GLIDDEN)

**'AKABAT AL-NISĀ'**, a name for the pass of Baghrās or Baylān [see BAGHRĀS].

**'AKĀ'ID** [see 'AK'ID].

**'AKĀL** [see 'AKĀMA].

**AKANŠUŠ** AND 'ABD ALLAH MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD, Moroccan historian and man of letters originating from the Berber tribe of Ida b-Kansu which inhabited Sūs in southern Morocco. He was born in 1211/1797. He studied at Fez under teachers of repute, and then obtained a post at the Sharīfian college as secretary. Promoted to the rank of vizier in 1236/1820, he was entrusted by the Sultān Mawlay Sulaymān (Mūlay Slimān) with several official missions, but lost his post on the

latter's death (1238/1822). He retired to Marrākush, where he devoted his time to the composition of poetical and historical works and became one of the most prominent representatives of the Tijdidiyya *farṣa*. He died, at an advanced age and afflicted with blindness, on 29 Muharram 1294/14 Feb. 1877, in the same town. His tomb, situated outside the Bab al-Rabā, is still visited by natives of the *Chér*. The major work of Akanšūš is a general history of Islām up to his own era, in which pride of place is given to the history of his own country and, even more specifically, to that of the 'Alid dynasty ('Alawiyya) of Morocco, from its origins up to 1282/1865. This voluminous work, a limited number of copies of which were lithographed at Fez (1330/1918), is entitled *al-Diyār al-'Arṣam al-Ḥamāsi* *fi Damaṣ al-Dawla Mawlaḥ 'Alī al-Sidqīnī*. Its chief merit lies in the fact that it constitutes the first chronicle of the reigns of the sultans 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥiḡḡā and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, and was subsequently used extensively by Ahmad b. Khālid al-Nāsiri [g.c.] in his *al-Isṭiḡā'*. For the earlier period, the *Diyār* plagiarizes most frequently the chronicles of al-Ḥirāk [g.c.] and al-Zaynāl [g.c.].

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 200-13 (with bibliography, 200 n. 1); idem, *Extraits des historiens arabes du Maroc*, Paris 1948, 8-9 and 126-7; Brockelmann, S II, 884-5.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**'AKĀRIB** [see 'AKĀRIB].

**'AKARĀKŪF** group of ruins 30 km. west of Baghdad; its identification by H. Rawlinson with the town of Dur Kurigalzu, founded by the Kassites in the 14th century B. C., has been confirmed by the excavations of 1942-5 (see T. Baqir, in *Iraq*, Suppl. 1944, 1945; 1946, 73 ff.). The high tower (the ruins of the ancient *zikkurat*) drew the attention of the Arabs, and is referred to in connection with the Arab conquest as al-mawṣi (al-Balāḥūf, *Futūḥ*, 250; cf. also al-Tabari, II, 917, iii, 943). It was said to be the tomb of the 'Kaynānī' dynasty (Ibn al-Fakih, in Yāqūt), or to have been built by Kay Kā'is (Hamd Allāh, *Nuḡa*, 39) or by 'Akarākf, son of either Tahmūrah (Yāqūt, al-Kazwīnī) or of Fāris b. Tahmūrah (Ibn al-Fakih, 196) or of Sām (Abū Ḥimūd). According to a legend (already found in Hamd Allāh) the stone into which Namrud the Akkadian (see *namrud*) was at 'Akarākf; for this reason it was sometimes called Tell Nimrud. Abū Nuwās mentions 'Akarākf in a verse (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1898, 100) and al-Makhlūd (258) quotes from al-Kaḥbi a Persian tradition naming it among the seven towns of al-Ḥirāk noted for intelligence (cf. Ibn al-Fakih, 210). There was also a village, a prominent family being the descendants of Sa'd b. Zayd al-Gharābī (Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 931; al-Sam'ānī, Yāqūt). The European travellers of the 16th century and later who mention 'Akarākf (see Ritter, *Erldunde*, xi, 847-52; Tush, *De Nino urbi*, Leipzig 1845, 4) usually call it the 'Tower of Babel'.

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**AL-'AKAWWAK**, 'thick-set', sobriquet of the poet 'Alī b. Djabāla. Born at Baghdad in 160/776, of a family of Khurāsāni mawālī, al-'Akawwak seems to have spent most of his life in 'Irāk, where he was the panegyrist of Abū Dulaf al-'Iḡlī [g.c.], Humayd



b. 'Abd al-Hasan al-Yusuf, and the vizier al-Hasan b. Sa'īd. The exaggerated and almost sacrilegious eulogies addressed to the two first-named excited, it is said, the hostility of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who had the poet's tongue torn out in 213/828. His *diwān*, a work of considerable proportions (see *Fihrist*, 1143), has not come down to us, and his poetry is known to us only through the quotations of anthologists; the long poem quoted by al-Dhahabī, *Yatimat al-Jahr*, Damascus edition, iii, is ascribed to him, but this is questionable. Al-Dhahabī had a great admiration for the way in which he recited poetry (see al-Khatib al-Baghdādī and also Ibn Khallikān); but this profuse and catholic writer quotes al-'Akawwak once only in his *Kutub al-Nayyir wa'l-Tayyib*. On the other hand, contemporaries of al-Dhahabī such as Ibn Kutayba and Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī consider al-'Akawwak to be a poet of exceptional merit.

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**AKBAR, ABU'L-FATH DĀULĀL-DĪN MUHAMMAD** (15 Oct. 1542-16 Oct. 1605), the greatest of the Mughal emperors of India, was born at Umarkot in Sind while his father Humāyūn, who had been ousted by the Afghans under Shīr Shāh Sūr, was escaping to Persia. A grandson of Bābur, he was both a Timurid Turk and a Çağatay Mongol. His mother, Hamida Bānū, was a Persian. After thirteen years of exile Humāyūn, because of the decline of Sūr power, decided to attempt the reconquest of Hindūstān. Little however had been accomplished before his death on 24 Jan. 1556. In fact there was no Mughal empire before Akbar, only an attempt to create one. In his early struggles Akbar owed much to his able guardian and regent Bayram Khān (q.v.). In addition to the Sūr claimants the most dangerous of his rivals was a usurping Hindu minister named Hēmi who had assumed the title of Rājā Vikramāditya. Hēmi's forces were routed at Pānpat on 5 Nov. 1556. The following year saw the surrender of Sikandar Shāh Sūr. In 1560 Bayram Khān fell from power, after which Akbar remained for about four years under the pernicious influence of the ladies of the harem and of a faction controlled by his foster relatives, the *afga khān* of contemporary Muslim historians. His personal rule therefore dates from 1564.

His annexations. In 1567 his kingdom comprised the Panjāb and Multān; the basin of the Ganges and Dīwāna between Pānpat and Allāhabād; the country between the Guntū and the foothills of the Himalayas; Owalior in Central India and Aḡmīr in Rājasthān. The country around Kābul was held by his half brother Muḥammad Ḥakīm. Kandahār belonged to Persia. Outside his dominions were the Muslim states of Guḡjarāt and Khāndeḡ; the five Deccanī sultanates of Berār, Bidr, Ahmādnagar, Bidlāpur and Golconda; and, to the south of the river Tungabhadra, the Hindu empire of Viḍḡyanagar. Kāḡmīr, Rājasthān, and Gondwana were under independent chiefs and rājās. Bidr and Bengal acknowledged an Afghān ruler, Sulaymān Kararānī. The Portuguese were firmly established at strategic points along the coast.

Between 1562 and 1576 he added to his dominions Malwa (1562), the Gond kingdom of Garha-Katanga in Gondwana (1564), Chitor (1568), Rānasthān

(1569), Kalandjār in Bundelkhand (1569), and Guḡjarāt (1573). The annexation of Bengal in 1576 made him master of the whole of northern India with the exception of lower Sind. Subsequent additions to his empire were Kāḡmīr (1586), Sind (1591), part of Orissa (1592), Baluchistan and Malakia (1594), and Kandahār (1595). As a result of his Deccan campaigns Berār, Khāndeḡ, and part of Ahmādnagar were annexed between 1595 and 1601. At his death, in 1605, his empire comprised the following fifteen *subas* (provinces): Kābul (including Kāḡmīr), Lahore, Multān (including Sind), Delhi, Oudh, Agra, Aḡmīr, Ahmādnagar, Malwa, Allāhabād, Bidr, Bengal, Khāndeḡ, Berār and Ahmādnagar (not fully subjugated).

**Administrative policy.** Akbar was not merely a conqueror. He was in addition endowed with a genius for administration to which the structure of both his central and provincial government bears testimony. The ideas of Akbar can be traced back to his immediate predecessors the Sūr Afghāns and the sultans of Delhi. The chief lesson he learned from the past was the danger of the unlimited waḡirate. In 1564, therefore, the central government was reorganized by entrusting the financial functions of the *wakūf-i mulūk* to the *diwān* or *waḡir*. From this time onwards the power of the *wakūf* was eclipsed by that of the *diwān* and the importance of the office was further lessened by keeping it vacant for long periods. Other important officers of the central government under Akbar were the *mir bahāḡī*, the *war sāmān*, and the *padr al-padr*. It is extremely difficult to define the functions of the *mir bahāḡī*, who has been referred to as the Paymaster-General or as the Adjutant-General, but the more fitting modern equivalent would be Quartermaster-General. Under Akbar the *mir bahāḡī* as administrative head of the military department was responsible for all transport arrangements during campaigns and could be placed in command of an army in the field. In accordance with Akbar's policy of separation of powers it was only on active service that the *mir bahāḡī* actually paid the troops. Normally this was the work of the *diwān*. The *mir sāmān* was in charge of the *bayāḡāt* department and was responsible for the organization of the *kāshānās*, the factories, workshops, and stores maintained by the emperor. The *padr al-padr*, the chief spokesman of the 'ulama', was the Chief Kāḡī and head of the judiciary. In the early part of Akbar's reign this official had extraordinary powers. His reading of the *khutba* in the name of a new sovereign legalized the accession. He also exercised the right of patronage recommending deserving cases to the king for *maddad-i mulūk* grants. It is incorrect to assert that in 1581 Akbar abolished this office. It is true that six provincial *padrs* were appointed but the office of *padr al-padr* continued, though shorn of its former extraordinary powers. All important officials, whether civil or military, were graded, as *amirs* or *manshabdars* on a military basis. They were divided into 33 classes and their rank and precedence were regulated by nominal commands of horse, ranging from 10 to 5000. Under Akbar there was evidently some connection between an officer's rank and the number of troops he entertained, but the exact meaning of the terms *ghāt* and *sawār* is controversial.

The provincial government was administered by a hierarchy of officials corresponding to those at the centre. The *subas* (provinces) were divided into *sarkārs* (districts) which were further subdivided

into *parganas* or *mabālis*, the lowest fiscal unit in the empire. Distance and the backwardness of communications necessitated elaborate precautions to prevent fraud and rebellion. The provincial governor was a bureaucratic head and was not allowed to develop into a feudal baron. Not only was the governor's tenure of office short but important provincial officials like the *diwān* and the *faḡḡār* (executive head of a *sarkār*) were appointed by the central government. There was also an elaborate system of espionage carried out by the *waḡīr-i nawās* (reporter) and other officials.

Akbar's revenue policy was the outcome of three experiments. In each case a different set of assessment rules was adopted but in all three the assessment was based on the area sown and varied with different crops. The first two experiments failed and it was not until the 24th regnal year (1579-80) that a stable system was introduced. This was known as the *ḡāk sāla* system because the assessment was based on the average of the previous ten years. An attempt was made to deal directly with the peasants who had to pay one-third of their gross produce to the state. It was enforced only in the six central provinces which formed the original nucleus of his empire.

His religious policy was chiefly dictated by political and dynastic considerations. His policy of *saḡh-i ḡāḡ* (universal toleration), his abolition of the *ḡitya* and of the tax formerly levied on Hindu pilgrims were aimed at securing the loyalty of his Hindu subjects, who formed the bulk of the population. It was also inextricably bound up with his conception of sovereignty and was an assertion of the supremacy of the state politically, economically, and financially. With this object he curbed the powers of the 'ulama' by the so-called Infallibility Decree of 1579 by which he was recognized as the chief authority in the realm on religious matters. Although illiterate he was genuinely interested in the study of Comparative Religion and built an 'ibādat-ḡhāna (House of Worship) where learned men of all religions assembled to discuss theological problems. These discussions convinced Akbar that there was good in all religions and prompted him to promulgate a new eclectic faith called the *ḡīn sāḡh* which he vainly hoped would prove acceptable to his subjects. It was the reversal of his policy of conciliation by his immediate successors and their gradual departure from the main principles of his rule that led to the decline of the Mughal empire.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

**AKBAR, SAYYID HUSAYN ALLĀHĀBĀDĪ**, Indian Muslim poet, who wrote in Urdu under the pen-name of Akbar. Born in 1846 in Bāra, a small village near Allāhabād, he received a casual and desultory schooling. After several years' practice as a lawyer, he spent many years of his life as a judge in the service of the British government, till his retirement in 1903. He died in Sept. 1921.

His chief characteristic is his use of humour and satire to enforce his views on political and social subjects. The employment of *jeux de mots*, of which he made frequent and effective use, greatly added to his popular appeal. His command of pure Urdu was matched by his ability to bend to his purpose strange words, whether English or vernacular. From the sociological point of view, the main interest of his poetry lies in the fact that it may be regarded as a running commentary on the social foibles of his contemporaries and the political and religious trends of his times. This rôle of a humorous commentator on contemporary life earned him the title of *Lisān al-'Aḡr* or "the Mouthpiece of the Age". His criticism is not, however, the result of deep or sustained sociological thought, but is the impulsive reaction of a conservative mind to that Westernization of Indian life, which as a matter of fact had been in progress for a long time past. The shafts of his wit and ridicule simply touch the surface of things, and as the phases of life criticised by him pass away in a changing society, a considerable part of his poetry is likely to lose its topical interest for the coming generations.

His poetical compositions have been collected in four volumes and frequently published under the title of *Kulliyāt-i Akbar*. The first volume was published in 1909, the fourth in 1948. His letters, too, have been published in several collections. Shortly before his death, he composed *Gāḡḡ-nāma*, in which he set down the political views of the various parties, which took part in the anti-British movement led by M. K. Gandhī. It was edited by M. Nā'im al-Rahmān, Allāhabād 1948.

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(SH. INAYATULLAH)

**AKCE**, meaning "small white", was the name given in Turkish to the Ottoman silver coin habitually referred to by European writers as the



*aspre* or *asper*, from the Greek *aspron*. The term was already in use under the Salgiukids of *Irak* during the 12th century (see al-Rawandi, *Kitāb al-Salār*, 300, where a gift of 1,000 *akles* is recorded); and since, when applied to the first Ottoman coin to be struck, under Orkhan in 727/1327, it was qualified by the epithet "Oghmānī", it would appear to have continued in use either for some other coin or as signifying "money" in a more general sense. In later Ottoman times it certainly came to bear this wider sense, as in such phrases as *salāmāt akles*, *asānāt akles*, and to have been generally used by all the northern Turkish-speaking peoples in both senses (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.). During the 14th and 15th centuries the Ottoman coin was usually called simply "Oghmānī", but from the reign of Selim I onwards, this usage being abandoned, it came to be known simply as the *akle*.

The earliest Ottoman *akle* was modelled on the *dirham* of the Salgiukids of *Rūm*; and although one issue or another of the sultan down to Murād II there appear most of the elements that were later to make up the final formulae of the *akle*'s inscriptions, it was not until the reign of Mehmed II that these were all regularly, though not always identically, combined.

The *akle* of Orkhan weighed 6 *karāt*, or one-quarter of a *mithqāl*, was 90% silver, and measured 18 mm. in diameter; and down to the reign of Murād II, though the *akle* was somewhat reduced in size, its standard of purity and even its weight were pretty well kept up. Under Mehmed II, Bayazid II, and Selim I, however, its standard was reduced by 5% and its weight to 3½ *karāt*; and although under Süleymān I and Selim II this decline was retarded, it continued, until under Murād III and his successors down to 'Oghmān II, though retaining the same standard and more or less the same diameter, it was reduced by fits and starts to a weight of no more than 2½ *karāt*, becoming thinner and thinner. Moreover, under Murād IV, Ibrahim, and Mehmed IV, its silver content was reduced first to 70 and then to 50%, though its weight and size remained roughly the same. The effect of these various debasements on its value was that, whereas 10 *akles* went to the first Ottoman gold piece, of Mehmed II, by the reign of Mustafa II, when a currency reform resulted in the first coinage of the Ottoman *kurūsh*, the rate of the gold piece (whose own weight and standard had been pretty well maintained) had risen to as much as 300 *akles*. The *akle* continued to be minted thereafter down to the reign of Mahmūd II, but from the end of the 17th century its value, which gradually declined still further, was so slight that it became little more than a conventional unit, used chiefly for accountancy purposes; and in the *tanziimat* period it was abandoned, except in connection with *waḥfs*, even for that.

**Bibliography:** al-Sayyid Mustafā Nūrī, *Neḥḍat al-Waḥfāt*, I, 66, 128, II, 99 f., III, 106; [Zawdet Paşa], *Taṭrīḥ*, 234 f.; Baur, *Essai sur l'histoire économique de la Turquie*, I, 1, series vi, vol. III; S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Turks in the British Museum*; Ismā'īl Ḥabībī, *Taḥqīq al-Mushāḥāt al-Oghmāniyye*; 'All, *Oghmānī Imperatorluğunun ilk sikkesi waḥf aklesi*, *OTEM*, no. 48; idem, *Fatih Zamanında akle ve idkī*, *OTEM*, no. 49; I.A., s.v. (by I. H. Uzunçarşılı).

'AKD. The '*akd*, in Muslim law, is properly the legal act, whether it relates to a contract or to a simple unilateral declaration, such as a will. More

especially, however, the term '*akd* denotes the legal act which involves a bi-lateral declaration, namely the offer (*ijāb*) and the acceptance (*qabūl*). The offer by itself has no obligatory character, in Hanafite law. *Milkiyye* law differs on this point. At all events, the '*akd* is formally constituted at the moment when the acceptance is given.

It is necessary at this point to distinguish clearly between the '*akd* or contract, and simple promises ('*uḍāt*) and also allowances (*ihāshāt*), which are not binding.

The '*akd* is not merely a simple expression of agreement. Every '*akd* requires a *ṣiḡḡa*, or form, by which the wishes of each of the parties are expressed. These wishes must in principle be expressed verbally, unless a mute is involved. Writing cannot be used unless the parties are not in the presence of each other. But there is no question of an inflexible formalism. The *ṣiḡḡa* is not confined to a stereotyped form. Any mode of expression (*ṣawāb*) is valid, provided it gives the required meaning. It is necessary however to realise that *ṣawāb* de *futuro* can in no way validly express the will to contract. *Ṣawāb* de *praesenti* only bind the contracting party if the will to contract is established independently. There is no necessity to try to establish this intention (*niyya*) if the *ṣawāb* are in the past tense.

The '*akd* should therefore reflect a mutual understanding which has already been reached. It is concluded in order to secure for this agreement its legal effects. Thus the effect of a contract of sale is the immediate transfer of the ownership of the object of sale to the vendee. This conveyance cannot be deferred. In the definition of the '*akd*, there is no question of obligations being incurred by one party or the other by virtue of the contract. The '*akd*, in Muslim law, is not so much an act giving rise to obligations as a legal act creating a new legal situation or modifying an existing one. The vendor is naturally obliged to deliver the object of sale, just as the purchaser is obliged to pay the price. These obligations, however, are not considered to be effects (*ḥukūm*) of the contract, but are properly considered to be contractual rights (*ḥuḳūq al-'akd*).

If the obligations of the two contracting parties are discharged as soon as mutual agreement is reached, then this does not constitute an '*akd*, but only a *mu'āḥāt*, a mutual delivery of the object of sale and of the sale price. This delivery is certainly valid for *res vides*. It is also valid, according to some legal doctrines, for articles of value, if there has been an effective fulfilment of the contract by at least one party. But, in principle, the '*akd* postulates a *ṣiḡḡa* which necessarily creates, in law, a new situation.

It should also be noticed that, in certain contracts, the material delivery of the object of sale is regarded as a condition of the fulfilment of the '*akd*. This position obtains as regards loan of fungible and not fungible things, pledge and gift which, in Muslim law, are equivalent to "real" contracts.

The '*akd* must comply with a condition of unity in time and space. The '*akd* constitutes an indivisible whole. The *negotium* (*mu'āḥāt*) is one and indivisible, in the sense that the offer cannot be accepted in part, even when it involves two distinct things. Similarly, the offer cannot be accepted by one of its recipients to the exclusion of the other. Finally, the contract is rendered null and void if one of the objects of the contract proves to be an asset *extra commercium*.

This conception of the contract as an indivisible unit gives great rigidity to the structure of the '*akd*. Thus the '*akd* cannot comprehend more than one

*negotium*. On the other hand, the '*akd* must be concluded at one and the same sitting (the contract meaning or *mu'āḥāt al-'akd*). In short, the contracting parties must assemble in one and the same place. The contractual act thus takes place under the symbol of the three unities (see Ch. Chehata, *Théorie générale*, no. 116).

From this it follows that any clause added to the contract will be declared inoperative unless it is implied by the nature of the contract itself, so that it can be smoothly integrated into its structure. Such clauses are termed *essentia* and *naturalia*. All other clauses (*accidentalia*) will be considered invalid. Thus the inalienability clause added to a contract of sale will be deemed null and void.

Does this mean that contracts in Muslim law are all formulated contracts, and that the parties cannot, by mutual agreement, conclude contracts which have not been anticipated by the Law (*shar'ī*)? The answer usually given is that Muslims are bound by their stipulations (*shurūṭ*) (q.n.). But at the same time every type of contract is considered on its merits and pronounced legal or otherwise on the basis of the Kur'ānic texts, the *ḥadīth* or the *qiyāma*. It must moreover be realised that the conditions governing the formation of contracts are tantamount to precepts of an authoritative nature, and that the various regulations laid down by jurists concerning contracts entail the sanction of nullity, which considerably limits the area of contractual freedom. On the other hand it should not be forgotten that the Muslim social order, in matters concerning contracts, is based on two main principles: the struggle against usury and any suspicion of usury (*ribā* and *ghuḥḥāt al-ribā*), and the exclusion of all risk (*ḍaḥar*) from transactions.

The '*akd*, once drawn up in accordance with the requisite conditions, cannot in principle be vitiated by some fault in the agreement, unless there is a question of constraint (*ikrāh*). Constraint is usually the subject for a separate chapter in works on *fiqh*. The party which has suffered constraint can revoke its contractual obligations. In the case of fraud, on the other hand, the contract can be challenged only if the fraudulent actions have inflicted on the deceived party excessive loss (*ḡhunāb al-ḡibh*). Errors, such as a fault in the agreement, pass almost unnoticed. The party which is deceived as to the quality of the article can only withdraw from its contractual obligations if the quality has been made the subject of a special stipulation in the contract. The contract will then have to be cancelled, not on account of the error, but on the basis of the resolutive clause.

An '*akd* which does not satisfy the required conditions is in principle ineffective, and is termed null and void (*bāṭil*) (q.n.). Hanafite doctrine distinguishes, however, between the invalid contract and the irregular (*fasīd*) contract. The contract will be considered null and void only if one of the conditions regulating the conclusion of the contract happens to be unfulfilled. In all other cases, the contract will simply be irregular. The irregular contract, however, is, like an invalid contract, an act devoid of legal consequences. The advantage of the distinction between these two categories appears only when the protection of a third party is involved. Thus a person acquiring property by virtue of a '*akd* contract can validly alienate it in favour of a third party, if he has previously taken possession of it. The alienation in this case arises from a *non dominus*, but it is considered valid, because the third party, which has acquired the property from

its owner, could be ignorant of the irregularity (*fasāḍ*) attaching to that owner's title. This measure of protection is at the basis of the theory of *fasīd* contracts in Hanafī Muslim law. (See Ch. Chehata, in *Travaux de la Semaine de Droit Musulman*, Paris 1953, 36 ff.)

It should, however, be noted that certain contracts are neither valid nor invalid, but belong to a third category. The '*akd* is then said to be *muḥḥal*, as, for example, in the case of a contract concluded, without the *awḥāḍ* of his guardian, by a minor who is not without powers of discrimination. Unless gratuitous transactions are involved, transactions concluded by minors who are not without powers of discrimination are not null and void. They are simply non-effective (cf. Art. 108 of the German civil code). The ratification (*ijāza*) of the guardian gives them full and absolute effect. Similarly a contract agreed to by a *non-dominus* is considered simply to be non-effective, prior to the ratification of the *verus dominus*. In the meantime, the contract has no legal effects whatever. It is in a state of suspense (*muḥḥal*) between the parties and equally as regards any third party.

If an '*akd* is to have effect on other than the contracting parties, representation is required. In Hanafī Muslim law the agent (*wakīl*) does not, in principle, represent his client. In order that the '*akd* may produce its effect directly on the client, the agent must act in the name of his client (*alīeno nomine*). But he then assumes the role of a messenger a spokesman pure and simple (*rasūl*). If he acts in his own name (*proprio nomine*), which is the usual function of an agent, the '*akd* will still produce its effect in regard to the client, but the obligations arising from the contract will not be binding on the client; they will be binding on the agent alone. Thus the legal representative of a person acquiring property will find himself bound to pay its price himself, while the property will go directly to his client. The distinction, already noticed, between the effects of the contract (*ḥukūm*) and rights arising from the contract (*ḥuḳūq al-'akd*) is clearly illustrated here. (See Chehata, *La représentation dans les actes juridiques en droit musulman hanafite*, *L'après les textes de Shaybānī*, to appear in the Proceedings of the Congress of Comparative Law, Paris 1954.)

The effective '*akd* is in principle binding (*lāzim*). There are, however, several exceptions to this rule; for instance agency, gratuitous loan, pledge, partnership, suretyship, security and gift are considered, among others, to be contracts which are essentially revocable. In all these contracts one of the parties is free, depending on the circumstances, to withdraw from its contractual obligations by a simple unilateral declaration. (In the case of gift, however, a judicial decree is necessary.) Moreover, contracts of lease can always be rescinded if one of the parties lodges a plea (*ruḍḍa*) on any grounds whatever. Finally, a special clause can be inserted in general in any contract, to confer on one party, or on both parties equally, the right to withdraw (*fasḥ pa'amtan*, called in Muslim law *ḥāyir al-shar'*).

In conclusion it may be mentioned that mutual agreement between the parties can always put an end to a contract. This is termed *khāla* (*mutawāḍi'at*), and is discussed at length in works on *fiqh*. But the '*akd* cannot in principle be cancelled on the grounds of non-fulfilment. Thus the vendor, in default of a special clause, cannot demand the rescission of the sale in a case where the purchaser has not paid the agreed price. (See also *muḥḥal*.)



**Bibliography:** Ch. Chebata, *Essai d'une théorie générale de l'obligation en droit musulman*, vol. 1, Cairo 1936; D. Santillana, *Instituciones de derecho musulmano malicobas con respecto anche al sistema asiático*, vol. II, Rome 1938; Sim. Tolédo, *Analyse de la théorie des contrats et obligations en droit civil ottoman*, thesis Paris, 1915; G. G. C. van den Bergh, *De contracten "do ut des"*, thesis Leiden, 1898 (Hilal, trans. Gatteschi, Alexandria 1877); Z. A. Rilal, *Le consentement et les vices du consentement en droit musulman hanafite*, thesis Nancy, 1933. Modern works in Arabic: 'Alī al-Khaffāf, *Aḥkām al-Mu'malāt al-Shar'iyya*, 3rd edition, Cairo 1947; Muhammad Abū Zakra, *al-Mukhiyya wa-Nasariyyat al-Akhd*, Cairo 1939; Muhammad Yūsuf Mūsā, *al-Amūd al-Nasariyyat al-Akhd*, *Fi-Fikḥ al-Idārah*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1934; Subhī Mahasnah, *al-Nasariyya al-Akhd*, *al-Muḥabbi* wa'l-'Uḥūd, 2 vol., Beirut 1948; Muṣṭafā Ahmad al-Zarkī, *al-Madkhal al-Fikḥ al-'Imāmī al-Huḥūb al-Madaniyya*, *fi'l-Hilāl al-Sūriyya*, 1, Damascus 1952; 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Sanḥūrī, *Maḥḍar al-Hukūb fi'l-Fikḥ al-Idārah*, 1, *Siḡḡat al-Akhd*, Cairo 1954. Doctrinal sources, i.e. those for Hanafite law, which is specially discussed in the article: Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, *al-Aḥl*, Kitāb al-buyū' wa-salām, ed. by Shafī' Shūbātā, Cairo 1954; Sarākhshī, *al-Muḥabbi*, 30 vol., Cairo 1324/1906; Kāsānī, *Badā'iyat al-Sanā'id al-Shar'iyya*, 7 vols., Cairo 1328/1910.

(CHAPIK CHEBATA)

**AKHDARIYYA** is the name of a well-known difficult law question about inheritance which belongs to the *masā'il mulāḥabā* (i.e. questions "called by special names"). When a woman leaves behind as her heirs: 1. her husband, 2. her mother, 3. her grandfather, and 4. her sister (whether she be her *shahiba*, i.e. her full sister, or her *uḥḍā* i.e. her half-sister on the father's side), then her husband gets  $\frac{1}{2}$ , the mother  $\frac{1}{4}$  (cf. Kur'an, iv, 12-13), so that there would only remain  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the inheritance for the grandfather and the sister. The latter two are generally considered, when they inherit together, as *'asabāt*, that is the sister inherits half as the grandfather's part, and together they get everything that remains when the *ahbāb al-farā'id* (i.e. the heirs to whom the Kur'an assigns a definite part of the inheritance) have been satisfied.

Now the grandfather can, according to the current interpretation of Kur'an, iv, 12, in any case lay claim to a sixth part of the whole inheritance. But then the sister would get nothing. This is actually the doctrine of the Hanafis. According to them, the grandfather here excludes the sister from the inheritance. But the other schools of *fiqh* are of opinion that in this case the grandfather and the sister are not to be regarded as *'asabāt*, but that in the same way as the husband and the mother, they get the parts to which the Kur'an entitles them. Then the division is as follows:

the husband inherits  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  
the mother inherits  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  
the grandfather inherits  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  
the sister inherits  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

By means of *ṣawī* (q.v.) these nine sixths are reduced to nine sixths.

Then the husband would receive  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  
the mother  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  
the grandfather  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  
the sister  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

But as the sister can after all only lay claim to half the grandfather's part, the right proportion between these two parts has again to be re-established. Together they inherit  $\frac{1}{2}$  =  $\frac{1}{2}$ , but the grandfather receives  $\frac{1}{4}$  and the sister  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

About the meaning of the name *akhdariyya* the Muslim scholars hold different opinions. Some say that the question itself is *akhdar* (i.e. troubled, obscure), or that the otherwise generally accepted principles are "troubled, disturbed" in this case; others believe *akhdar* to be the name of a man, to whom 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān submitted this question.

**Bibliography:** T. A. III, 518; Mutarrif, *al-Muḥabbi* fi *Tarīḥ al-Muḥabbi*, vol. 1, A. I, vi, 450; W. Marçais, *Des parents et aliés*, Rennes 1898, 154 ff.; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-Haythamī, *Tuhfa*, Cairo 1282, III, 15; Santillana, *Instituciones*, II, 517 ff.; id., *Sommario del diritto malicobita di Halil Ibn Ḥabīb*, II, Milan 1919, 823; H. Laoust, *La Préface de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beyrouth 1950, 139; Sir R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muhammadian Law*, 6th ed., § 229 f. (Th. W. JUVENIUS).

**AKHD** [see 'AḤḤA, IGHWAN, MU'ALIM].  
**AKHD TEKKE** was between 1882 and 1890 the name of a district (*ṣaḥā*) in the Russian territory (*oblast'*) of Transcaucasia, which had been conquered by the Russians in 1881. It comprised the sub-districts of Atek (q.v.) (chief place: the village of Kaakhka) and Durūn (q.v.) (Dārūn; chief place: Baghirdon). Since 1890 the district is called 'Ashkhabad (q.v.). The name Akhd (which is of modern origin) applies to the oases on the northern slope of the Kopet Dag and Kūren Dag; Tekke refers to the Tekke or Teke (q.v.) Turkmen, the present inhabitants of this region. The Islamic geographers of the Middle Ages have no special name for the region, which was inhabited by Iranians, masters in the art of irrigation. Here was situated the town of Nāsā (q.v.) or Nūd, now in ruins, the border fortress of Shahrīstān (three parasangs to the north of Nāsā) and Farāwa (Afrawa) near the present Kifl Arwat. In the 16th-17th century the country came under Uzbek rule and was called Tagh Boyu ("mountain side") in contrast to Su Boyu, "water side" (i.e. Kh'Arīm proper). At that time the town of Nāsā seems to have still existed, but subsequently it was completely ruined owing to the neglect of irrigation; Durūn (Dārūn) is also mentioned at this time. At the time of the Russian conquest the country had no towns; 'Ashkhabad and Kifl Arwat came into being only under Russian rule. The district suffers from earthquakes (for instance in 1893, 1895, 1929, 1948).

**Bibliography:** Brockhaus-Efron, *Ensklopedicheskii Slovar'*, St. Petersburg 1891, II, 526 f. and xii, map after 180; Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya', 1950, III, 462 (horse-breeding). Cf. also Bibl. s.v. 'ASSKABAD.

(W. BARTOLD-B. SPULER)

**AKHDALCIKH** [see AKHBĀR].

**AKHBARNAR** [see WUDJUM].

**AKHBAR** [see TA'RIKH].

**AKHBĀR MADJM'Ō'A**, title of a short anonymous chronicle recording the conquest of al-Andalus by the Arabs, the period prior to the foundation of the Marwānid amirate of Corboba, and the history of the amirate itself up to the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāsir. This text, published on the basis of the *manuscript* of the Bibl. Nat. in Paris, and translated into Spanish by Lafuente y Alcántara (Madrid 1867), has had little documentary

interest since the discovery of the greater part of the *Muḥabbi* of Ibn Ḥayyū. It is an ill-proportioned and relatively late work, probably contemporary with the reconquest of Valencia. In it are found lengthy passages from earlier chronicles, notably from that of 'Isā b. Ahmad al-Rāzī. The fact that this text does not refer to the sources which it transcribes or transposes has deceived Dozy (preface to his edition of the *al-Bayān al-Muḥabbi* of Ibn 'Abdīr, *op. cit.* 184-85, 10-12) and Ribera (introduction to his translation of the *Iḥḥāb* of Ibn al-Kāṭiyya, Madrid 1926, XIII ff.) into supposing it to be an original work. The extremely debatable study and philosophical conclusions reached by the non-Arabist Spanish historian C. Sanchez Albornoz, in his work *El 'Aḥḥā māyū'a*, *cuestiones historiográficas que suscita*, Buenos Aires 1944, need only be mentioned here.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, S. I, 23-32.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**AL-AKHDAR**, "the green", a vulgar form currently used in North Africa for the personal name al-Khidr (q.v.). Various santos, especially at Constantine, are known by this name.

**AL-AKHDHĀR**, ABŪ ZAYD 'ABD al-RAḤMĀN b. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD al-Sa'galla, Algerian author of the 16th/16th century. He wrote (1) *al-Sulām al-Murawwān* (composed in 942/1534), a short versification of al-Aḥḥār's (q.v.) *Isḡhāḡ* on logic; this little work soon became extremely popular and acquired numerous commentaries (one by the author himself and glosses; it has often been lithographed or printed, in Bā, Bālik (edilio princeps of 1241 in *Majma'at* *Muḥammad al-Mawḥid*, Cairo and Lucknow; French transl. by J. D. Luciani, *Le Soudam*, Algiers 1921. Very popular, too, is his (2) *al-Dīḥār al-Maḥmūd* fi *Sadāq al-Thalāṭh al-Funūn*, a versification of the *Talḥīq al-Muḥabbi* (Brockelmann, I, 353), to which the author himself supplied a commentary (composed in 950/1543); in this form, or with commentaries by other writers, it has often been lithographed or printed in Cairo (first in 1282). Also printed or lithographed are (3) *al-Durra al-Bayḍā' fi Aḥḥār al-Funūn wa'l-Aḥḥā'*, a metrical treatise on arithmetic, inheritance and legacies (composed in 950/1543); and (4) *Nazm al-Sirāḡ fi 'Im al-Falah*, a metrical treatise on astronomy (composed in 959/1552-3); and (5) a *Muḥabbar* *fi'l-Hilāl*, a popularized astronomical treatise on civil duties according to the Maliki school. Several other works of his exist in manuscripts. He is buried in the *zāwya* of Bentiyū (al-Baḥr, *al-Muḥabbi*, 52, 72), the modern Ben Thious, s.w. of Biskra, and his tomb is still visited.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, S. I, 705 f.; Sarkis, *Muḥabbar al-Muḥabbi*, 406 f.; Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Kāsim al-Būḥārī, *Ta'rif al-Khāṣ al-Ridā' al-Salaf*, Algiers 1325-27/1907-9.

(J. SCHACHT)

**AL-AKHFASH**, ("nyctolope" or "devoid of eyelashes"), cognomen of a number of grammarians listed by al-Suyūṭī (*Mushir*, Cairo, undated, II, 282-3), viz.: Abū 'Iḥḥāṭh, Sa'd b. Ma'sada, and 'Alī b. Sulaymān, see below; 'Abd. al-Ḥalī, b. al-Baḥārī, pupil of al-Aḥḥā'; Ahmad b. 'Imrān b. Salama al-Aḥḥā, died before 250/863, author of a *Ḥaḥḥ al-Muḥabbi*, grammarian, lexicographer and poet (see Ben Cheshir, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, 34); Ḥārūn b. Mūsā b. Sharīf, d. 271/884-5; Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Mawḥid, tutor of Ibn al-Djinnī; 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Andalusī, tutor of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr; 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Idrīsī, d. after 450/1058; Khāṣ b.

'Amr al-Yaḥḥūr al-Balansī, d. after 460/1068; 'Alī b. Imād b. Raḡīb al-Fātimī. To this list may be added 'Alī b. al-Mubārak (Brockelmann, S. I, 165), and a traditionist named al-Ḥuḥayn b. Mu'āḥḥ b. Ḥarb, d. 277/890 (see Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Lisān al-Misīn*, II, 313-4). The three following are the most famous; the first two of these belong to the school of al-Buḥār.

I. — **AL-AKHFASH al-AKHBAR**, ABŪ 'Iḥḥāṭh 'Abd al-Hamīd b. 'Abd al-Majīd, d. 177/793, pupil of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā'; he was the first, it is said, to provide ancient poems with an interlinear commentary, and he collected together numerous dialectal terms; his principal pupils were Sībawayh, Abū Zayd, Abū 'Ubayda and al-Asma'ī (q.v.).

**Bibliography:** Strāḡ, *Aḥḥār al-Nawāyīn* (Krenkowski, 52; Zubaydī, *Tabaḥḥi*, Cairo 1954; Suyūṭī, *Mushir*, II, 241, 249; Ibn Taghribirdī, I, 48; Brockelmann, S. I, 165.

II. — **AL-AKHFASH al-AWḤAT**, ABŪ 'Iḥḥāṭh Sa'f b. Ma'sada, the most famous of all the Akhḥāḥ, *maḥḥ* of the Tāminite clan of Muḥabbi b. Dārim; born at Balḡh, he was a pupil of the Mu'tasidite Abū Shāmur, but more particularly of Sībawayh, whom he survived although superior to him in age, and it was he who gave instruction on the Book and made it widely known; he died between 210 and 218/825-835. Nothing has been preserved of his own works (*Fihrist*, I, 52). Al-Thālibī (d. 427/1035) made use of his *Kitāb Ḥaḥḥ al-Kur'ān*, and his *Kitāb al-Ma'ḥḥ* is frequently quoted in the *Khāṣna* of al-Baḥḥāḥ (I, 391; II, 300; III, 36, 327).

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif* (Wiesbaden), 271; Asharī, in *MQ*, 1250, 22; Ibn al-Aḥḥārī, *Wuḥḥ*, 184-8; Zubaydī, *Tabaḥḥi*; Strāḡ, *Aḥḥār al-Nawāyīn*, 49-51; Ibn Khallikān, no. 250; Yāqūt, *Iḥḥāḥ*, IV, 242-4; Yāqūt, *Dīḥān*, II, 61; Suyūṭī, *Buḥḥa*, 258; id., *Mushir*, II, 253, 287; Brockelmann, S. I, 165.

III. — **AL-AKHFASH al-ASGHAR**, ABŪ 'Iḥḥāṭh 'Alī b. Sulaymān b. al-Mufaḥḥāl, pupil of al-Mubārraz and Thālib; he gained distinction by introducing the grammatical studies of Baḥḥāḥ into Egypt, where Ahmad al-Naḥḥās was his pupil; a grammatical work which he wrote was studied and annotated in Spain (see *BAH*, IX, 313-4). He died in 315/927.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, S. I, 165. On the subject of these grammarians, see also Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, 61 ff. (C. Brockelmann-C. Flügel).

**AKHI**, designation of the leaders of associations of young men organized as guilds in Anatolia in the 13th-14th centuries, who adopted the ideals of the *futuwwa* (q.v.) and were recruited mainly among the craftsmen. Ibn Battīḥā (II, 260) connects the name with the Arabic word for "my brother"; this explanation is based on anything more than an identity of sound, it would offer an instance of a "title in forms of address" similar to A. sayyidī, T. ḥāḥḥ, *begum*, etc. It is more likely, however, that the homonymy of the two words is accidental, though it was willingly adopted by the Akhḥā; occasionally also it is borrowed in the Persian translation *biḥār* (cf. Tieschener-Schumacher, *Yāqūt*, 38). In reality it is a Turkish word (cf. J. Dony in *Jā*, 1920, 182 f.; H. H. Schander, in *OLE*, 1928, 1049, n. 1), which is already found in Uyghur in the form *akhi* "generous" (A. von Gabain, *Altürkische Grammatik*, glossary, s.v.; *Turkische*, VI, 1-4). The word occurs in the same form and with the same meaning (cf. also *akhiḥ*, "generosity" in Middle Turkish (Kāshgarian); in al-Kāshgarian, *Dīḥān* *Lughāt al-Turk* (akhi, "al-dīḥāḥ"), I, 84 —



fact, ed. 57; *al-Bihar*, II, 129 — fact, ed. 520; C. Broelmann, *Mittelalterlicher Wortschatz*, v.v.), and in the didactic poem *‘Atabet al-Ushsh’* by Edib Ahmed b. Mahmud Yukneli, ch. ix (ed. R. Rahmeti Arat, Istanbul 1951, 58/66, index, s.v.); under the title *Hibet al-Ushsh’*, ed. Nedjib ‘Asim, Istanbul 1334, 52/5; cf. J. Deny in *RMF*, 1925, 219, n. 1; *ahf er*, ‘the generous one’, and *ahf bal*, ‘the generous’; the opposite is *ahsh* and *ahshila*, or *ahshil*, also *ahshil* and *ahshilil*. In the latter work the form *ahsh* occurs also as a variant reading for *ahf*, and this is the form which is exclusively used in Rüm-Turkish. It is found several times in the oldest Rüm-Turkish literature, as a vocative “oh generous one, oh noble one, oh hero” constituting the rhyme-word at the end of a line; for instance in the *Kühâ-i Dede Korkut* (ed. E. Rossi, fol. 65, three times; ed. Kiliç Rıfat, 16; ed. Gökyay, 9), in two poems of Yunus Emre (ed. Burhan Ünad, II, 344, 361; ed. Abdülhak Gölpinarli, 117), and also elsewhere (e.g. Enveri (Mükrimün Khalil), 43). The word passed from the general to the particular meaning, i.e. possessor of *fatuwa* (P. *fatuwat*, T. *fatuwat*), by acquiring the full implications of the Persian word *fatuwat*, which is lower in turn had received as a translation of Arabic *fatwa*, *al-fatwa* (cf. H. H. Schaeder, loc. cit.).

Akhi, as a term qualifying its bearer as possessing *fatuwat* (*akhi fatuwat* or *fatuwat-dar*), always precedes the name and occurs occasionally with reference to persons even earlier than the 7th/13th century. So for instance it is applied to the 3rd shaykh Akhi Faraj Zandjeli (d. c. Baghdad 437/9 June 1065), and the teacher of the poet Nisami (b. 515/1141) is also said to have borne that designation. It is, however, only in the 7th/13th, and more especially the 8th/14th century, that the name occurs frequently, in the whole of the Middle East, but predominantly in Anatolia; it gradually disappears again in the course of the 9th/15th century.

In the more particular sense, Akhiism is the specific form assumed by the *fatuwat* organization in late- and post-Seldjuk Anatolia. It is well attested here by a literature of its own (the Persian *Futuwwat-nama* of Nisami, written in 669/1250 in N. E. Anatolia, being a *mathnawi* of 880 couplets; the Turkish *Futuwwat-nama*, in prose, by Yahya b. Khalil al-Bughdâli, probably from the 8th/14th century; the important chapter on *fatuwat* in Gülshahr’s old-Ottoman version of ‘Attâr’s *Manâzil al-Tayr*, studied by F. Taeschner in *SBPAW*, 1932, 744-60), as well as by allusions in various authors (the most impressive being Ibn Battûta’s vivid account, II, 254-154, especially 260 ff., the chapter on *al-ahdiyya al-fayân*), and by inscriptions and documents. (A list of the references, to which many additions could now be made, in *Islamica*, 1929, 29-47.) ‘Ashikpasha-râde (Giese), 201, 213 (= Istanbul ed. 205), names the *ahdiyyân*, together with the *ghaziyân*, *ahdân* and *hâdiyyân*, as the four groups of “travelers” (*misâfirler ve sayyâklar*) in Rüm (Anatolia) (for comments on this statement see P. Wittek, in *Byzantion*, 1936, 310). The wording of the sentence seems to imply that these groups came to Anatolia from abroad. They can perhaps be connected with the flood of *darwishes* and related figures from the east (Kharâshân and Turkistân), who are known from other sources as well to have come to Anatolia in the Mongol period (second half of the 13th century). Some early mentions of *ahdiyyân* in Iranian territory in pre-Mongol times would bear this out. The earliest mentions of *ahdiyyân* in Anatolia (especially in Adhli,

*Manâzil al-Tayr*, cf. Cl. Cahen, see below) also go back to relations with Iran. On the other hand, in considering the forms of organization of Akhiism, the connection with the courtly *fatuwat* at the caliphs’ court in Baghdad ought not to be passed over; this is made likely by the relations, repeatedly attested, between the caliph al-Nisr b. Dhî al-Falâh (575-622/1180-1225), the patron of the *fatuwat* [g.z.], and the Seldjuk sultan of Rüm.

During the disintegration of the state of the Rüm Seldjûks and the division of Anatolia into a number of Turkish principalities (second half of the 13th century), the *ahdiyyân*, who according to the contemporary or slightly later authors (such as Ibn Bihî, Aksarayî, the Paris Anonymous and Adhli) were leaders of bands (*frunâ*), showed a remarkable activity, reminiscent of the activity of the *waywâd* [g.z.] in Baghdad and the *ahdiyyân* [g.z.] in Syria a century before. In the first half of the 14th century, the *ahdiyyân* appear in the account of Ibn Battûta, to whom the *ahdiyyân* extended hospitality in every town during his journey through Anatolia, ca. 1333, as an important element of cohesion in the motley conglomeration of states in Anatolia at that period. In towns where no prince resided, they exercised a sort of government and had the rank of *amir* (Ak Sarây, Ibn Battûta, II, 286; Kayasiriye, II, 288 f.); sometimes they exercised judicial authority (Konya, Ibn Battûta, II, 281). Their position seems to have been especially strong in Ankara, at the time when the authority of the Mongol governor residing in Swik did not reach so far. Shâvar al-Dî, the richest and most powerful of these *ahdiyyân* of Ankara, calls himself in his tomb inscription of 731/1330: *ahdiyyân mu‘azzam* (Mubârek Ghâlib, *Ankara*, II, 15 f., no. 20; *Islamica*, 1929, 44, no. 3b). According to Negri (Taeschner), 52 (= ed. Ankara, 190-2), it was from their hands that Murâd I accepted the town in 762/1360-1. We find *ahdiyyân* also in the entourage of the first Ottoman ruler; some of these *ahdiyyân* took part in the conquest of Bursa (for details see *Islamica*, 1929, 30). Basing himself on this fact, Fr. Giese (ZS, 1924, 255, 258) considered the *ahdiyyân* as the troops with whose help the Ottomans founded their power, and surmised that they themselves were members of *ahdiyyân* organizations. This is, however, little likely, in view of the urban character of Akhiism and the fact that its associations were concentrated in towns.

Wittek has shown with much probability that the role attributed by Giese to the *ahdiyyân* belongs in reality to the *ghazis*, fighters for the faith, who constituted a military counterpart to the *ahdiyyân* (on the first in ZDMG, 1925, 288 f., and then frequently). On the other hand it results from a *wasfiyya* of Murâd I, of 767/1366, and an inscription in Hâdjîdî Belâzîb, of 769/1368, that Murâd, probably for political reasons, joined the still powerful *ahdiyyân* organization (see Fr. Taeschner, *War Murâd I Grossmeister oder Mitglied des Achmedbâd, Orions*, 1933, 23-31). This was followed, however, by the decline, rather than the advancement, of Akhiism, as it seems that the Ottoman sultans, when they had no further need of the *ahdiyyân*, dropped their relations with them.

The *ahdiyyân*’s own literature does not allude to any activity in public life. Here the *ahdiyyân* organization appears as a half-religious, *darwish*-like society. It comprised three grades: *yigit* (“young man”, translation of A. *fatâ*, designated the ordinary unmarried member of the organization); *ahdiyyân* (president of a corporation of *fatâ* and owner of a *shaywa*, meeting-house, of which there were sometimes more than one

in a town); and *ghaysh*. The latter grade seems to have played practically no active role; probably it refers to the leader of a *darwish* settlement, to which the members of the corporation felt themselves attached. Such attachments seem to have varied with the individual corporations; there are known to have been relations between *ahdiyyân* and the Mewlewis, Bektashis, Khawetis, and probably yet other orders. The ordinary members were again divided into two classes: they were either *kashis*, “word-members”, when they made a general profession only (“by way of speech”), or *sayfis*, “sword-members”, who probably were the active members. Their symbol was, according to Ibn Battûta, II, 264, a knife (*shâkî*); they covered their heads with a white woolen headscarf (*kâlawusu*), from the end of which three hung down a piece of cloth one ell long and two fingers in breadth (the resemblance to the head-covering of the later Janissaries, the *hale*, is noteworthy). According to Ibn Battûta, the members of an *ahdiyyân* corporation met every evening in the house of their leader, the *ahdiyyân*, bringing him their daily earnings, which served to cover the expenses of the club premises and the communal meal, of which these *ahdiyyân*, especially passive travellers, would be invited. The lodging and entertaining of travellers was considered by the *ahdiyyân* as their main function. According to Ibn Battûta, they also played a political role by fighting tyrants and murdering their adherents; this statement may be an echo of the frequently attested activities of the *ahdiyyân* in earlier times, which found expression in revolts and similar demonstrations.

As regards other customs and their code of honour, the *ahdiyyân* accepted the general rules of *fatuwat* [g.z.], T. *fatuwat*. As in the *fatuwat*, so also among the *ahdiyyân*, the initiation of novices (*terbiye*) into the association by their girding, the cutting of their hair, the passing round of a cup of salted water and putting on the trousers, was of central importance. Their religious-political position, however, was not fixed: some elements in the custom and theory of the *ahdiyyân*, as for instance the intense cult of ‘Alî, shows a Shi‘ite colouring; yet they no doubt considered themselves to be Sunnis and like all Turks followed the Hanafî rite. (Ibn Battûta, as a Maliki, fell in Sinop under suspicion of being a Shi‘ite, i.e. Shi‘ite, because of a minute discussion of the ritual of prayer and had to clear himself by eating roasted hare (II, 352 f.).)

In the 15th century information about Akhiism becomes more and more rare and finally ceases. Sometimes the word *ahdiyyân* occurs, but merely as a proper name. A *molla* *ahdiyyân* is named under Mehmed II; a family called *ahdiyyân*, *ahdiyyân* members occupied high judicial posts, survived into the 17th century. Also place-names in which the word *ahdiyyân* occurs in various combinations are not uncommon in Anatolia and Rumelia. But it seems that Akhiism disappeared in the course of the 15th century. Its tradition survived only in some elements of the Turkish guilds (cf. *sinir*), in whose organization (which according to Sayyid Mehemmed b. Sayyid *ahdiyyân*’s *Grand Futuwwat-nama* (composed in 1324) had nine grades) the *ahdiyyân*, also called *ahdiyyân*, occupied the seventh grade. The *ahdiyyân* tradition was especially cultivated in the guild of the tanners, who had as their patron Akhi Ewrân [g.z.], a semi-mythical figure, who, if he is historical at all, must have lived in the first half of the 14th century. The president of the tanners’ guild bore the title of *ahdiyyân* Baba [g.z.]. Moreover, among the tanners the

*Futuwwat-nama* of Yahya b. Khalil al-Bughdâli continued to be read, revised and copied.

The designation *ahdiyyân* occurs sporadically also outside Turkey, but the evidences are too scanty to allow of any definite conclusions as to its exact significance. The most striking case is appearance of a man called *ahdiyyân* [g.z.], “little *ahdiyyân*” in *Algharbayân* after the decline of the Ilkhâns of Persia. The word *ahdiyyân* occurs, in a weakened sense, several times in the *diwan* of “Khatâ’r”, i.e. Shâh Ismâ‘îl, as one of the designations given to his followers (V. Minorsky, *The Poetry of Shâh Ismâ‘îl I*, BSOAS, 1942, 1030a; M. Fud Koprulu, *Türk Halkedebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, no. 1, Istanbul 1935, 304).

*Bibliography*: Koprulu-râde Mehmed Fu‘âd, *Türk Edebiyatında ilk Mektepler*, Istanbul 1918, 237-43; ‘Ughmân Nûrî, *Medicât-i Umûr-i Beladîyye*, I: *Ta’rîh-i Teshkîlât-i Beladîyye*, Istanbul 1338/1922, ch. vi: *Akhi teşkilâtının enâfîl-i la minâsahet*, 537-56; VI. Gordlewskiy, *Is izmeni tsekhov v Turtsii. K istorii “akhi”*, *Zapiski Kollegii Vostochnovedeniya*, 1926-7, 235-48 (French résumé by G. Vajda, in *REI*, 1934, 79 f.); Fr. Taeschner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Akhi in Anatolien* (14-15. Jhdh.), and *Grund neuer Quellen*, *Islamica*, 1929, 1-47; M. Djewdet, *Lhayal ‘alâ Fasl ‘al-ahdiyya al-Fayân al-Turkiyya’ fi Kudû al-Rihla li-Ibn Battûta* (L’Education et l’Organisation des foyers des gens des métiers en Asie Mineure et Syrie du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu’à notre temps), Istanbul 1350/1932; Kist Istan. *Afrya global sur l’Histoire économique de l’Empire Turco-Ottoman*, Istanbul 1941, 63-6; Fr. Taeschner, *Der anatolische Dichter Nâzîrî (um 1300) und sein Futuwwat-nama*, mit Beiträgen von W. Schumacher, Leipzig 1944; İlhan Tarsus, *Akhi*, Ankara 1947 (to be used with caution); Fr. Taeschner, *Spuren für das Vorhandensein des Akhiismus ausserhalb von Anatolien*, Proceedings of the 22nd Inter. Congr. of Orient., Istanbul 1951; Cl. Cahen, *Sur les traces des premiers Akhi*, M. F. Koprulu Armağanı. Cf. also FUTUWWA. (FR. TAESCHNER)

**AKHI BABA**, in popular parlance also **AHU BABA** or **EHİ BABA**, title of the shaykh of the tekye of Akhi Ewrân [g.z.] in Kirsehir. Sometimes also his delegates to the Turkish guilds (cf. *sinir*) in Anatolia, Rumelia and Bosnia, especially those of the tannery and other leather workers (saddlers and shoemakers), as well as the heads of these guilds, were given the title of Akhi Baba (more correctly *Akhi Baba wehîl*). The main task of the Akhi Baba, or of his delegate or local representative, was to carry out the initiation of apprentices to these guilds by the ceremony of the girding (*baghak* or *pehlîmal baghakmak*), this carried with it some fees. The Akhi Baba succeeded little by little in extending their ascendancy over other guilds and conducting the girding ceremony in them also. Thus they brought under their control almost the whole Turkish guild organization, both in Anatolia and the European provinces (but not, however, in the provinces with Arab population), acquiring for themselves a position of considerable power, and for the tekye of Kirsehir great riches. Only a few guilds managed to escape their control; among these were the guilds of Ankara, which had formerly been the stronghold of *ahdiyyân*. His influence even reached as far as the Crimea, where also the tanners’ guild had precedence in all celebrations of the guilds (E. Bulatov, in *Očerki Rossi*, ed. V. Pansky, Moscow 1840, II, 139-54; V. Gordlewskiy, *Organizatsiya*



*tachov v khrimshikh Tatar. Trudi etnografiko-arkheologicheskogo Muzei, pri I. Mstovkovom Gosudarst. Universitete, iv, Moscow 1928, 36-63).*

The Akhi Babas claimed to be descendants of Akhi Ewırân. The local representatives of the Akhi Baba were elected by the members of the respective guilds, but did not necessarily belong to them, and any persons who were in any way tainted could be chosen. They had, however, to receive a licence (*ajdat-nâme*) from the Akhi Baba of Kirsehir and a diploma (*berât*), confirming the appointment, from the government. The Akhi Baba of the tanners was at the same time the head of the whole guild organisation in his town. He could, however, be deposed.

With the decline of the Turkish guilds, following on the penetration of Western economic systems, the journeys of the Akhi Babas of Kirsehir, as well as the sending of delegates by him, fell into disuse. A delegate of the Akhi Baba came to Bosnia for the last time in 1886-7 (Hamdiya Kreslevijaković, *Esmâ-i Öhrî u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevu, in Zbornik Narodni život i običaji južnih Slavena*, Zagreb 1935, 201-47). In the provinces which remained part of the Ottoman Empire, this practice ceased only at the time of the abolition of the old guilds in 1908.

**Bibliography:** see AKHI and AKHI EWİRÂN, also Fr. Taeschner, *Das Zunftwesen in der Türkei, Leipziger Vierteljahrsschrift für Südosteuropäer*, 1941, 172-88; idem, *Das heimische Zunftwesen zur Türkeizeit* (1465-1878), *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1951, 551-9.

(Fr. TAESCHNER)

**AKHI EWİRÂN**, semilegendary Turkish saint, patron of the Turkish tanners' guilds. His tomb sanctuary in Kirsehir (built in the 9th/15th century, with inscriptions of 854/1450 and 886/1481; the last in the name of 'Alî' al-Dawla b. Süleymân Beg, probably of the family of the Dîw 'I-Kadr, and thus brother-in-law of Sultan Mehmed II), connected with a *tekke*, was a frequented place of pilgrimage. Taşköprüzâde (on margin of Ibn Khalkalân, 15; Turkish text of Moghî, 33; German trans. by O. Roscher, 6) mentions him amongst the *shaykh*s of the period of Orkân. His name first occurs in a Turkish *mathnawî*, *Kerâmât-i Akhi Ewırân bâba (sharâ)*, by Gülshehr, which was composed probably after the author's *Mantik al-Tayr* (finished in 717/1317)—from which it has many borrowings—and not long after the saint's death. He is next mentioned in the *Wâsiyat-nâme* of Hâdîdî Bektaşî, written in the time of Murâd II (E. Gros, *Das Wâsiyat-nâme des Hâdîdî Bektaşî*, Leipzig 1927, 82-93). While in Gülshehr's *mathnawî* Akhi Ewırân's figure is given only a slight touch of the miraculous (it is noteworthy that there is as yet no mention there of his relation with the tanners' craft), in the *Wâsiyat-nâme* it is already fully elaborated with legendary features (there is also mention of relations with the tanners); it is worth noting that here Akhi Ewırân is presented not as a disciple, but as a friend of Hâdîdî Bektaşî. According to 'Alî Emîrî (OTEM, 1335, 467 f., note) and M. Djewdet (*Dihân 'alâ Fasl 'al-Akhiyya al-Fayda*), Istanbul 1351/1932, 279-82) there exists a document of endowment (*wakfiyye*) by Akhi Ewırân dating from 706/1307-8 (in a copy published by C. H. Tarim, *Kirsehir Tarihi*, Kirsehir 1938, 84, even bears the date of 676/1277), where the full name of the saint is given as al-Shaykh Nasir (Tarim: Nasir) al-Din Pir-i Pirân Akhi Ewırân. The document can, however, easily be recognized as a forgery, as Şayyakh Hâmid Well (d. 815/1412), named in the *Hâdîdî Bayrak* Well (d. 833/1428-9) is termed in it; it was

probably fabricated in the first half of the 15th century, in order to give legal sanction to the possessions of Akhi Ewırân's sanctuary in Kirsehir.—The importance of the sanctuary as a place of pilgrimage is attested by Sîdî 'Alî Re's (*Mir'ât al-Memâlik*, Istanbul 1313, 163; Engl. transl. by A. Vambéry, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sîdî Ali Re'i*, London 1869, 105), who visited it in 674/1275 on his return from India. Also an Anatolian cities besides Kirsehir boasted of the possession of the grave, or at least of a memorial, of the saint, for instance Traperunt (a *makâm* on the Boz Tepe), Konya (in the quarter of Sîrâll), Niğde and İrma. All these were, however, more or less forgotten, and only the sanctuary of Kirsehir retained its position.

In addition to the aforementioned writings, legends of Akhi Ewırân are occasionally found in authors such as 'Alî, *Künâh al-Akhiyya*, v, 64; Ewliya Celebi, *Siyâhat-nâme*, I, 594 f.; in the literature of the tanners' guilds, which continued the akhi tradition (often in the form of appendices bearing the title of *Memâlik* to the *Faiṣṣat-nâme* of Yahyâ b. Khâlid al-Burghâlî, [cf. 283ff.]) in oral traditions, recorded for instance by K. Kassim, *Türkische Sprachproben aus Mittelanatolien*, iii, Helsinki 1936, 99 ff., nos. 22, 23 and 25, and by W. Ruben [see BIBL.]. For the most part they deal with the saint's work as a tanner (or gardener) or with his name (Ewırân or Ewren, "snake, dragon"); for this reason Gordievsky suspects a survival of a snake cult. In the tanners' guild literature the legend is found that his original name was Mohâmîd, that he was a son of al-'Abbâs, the Prophet's uncle, and that he had been specially commended by the Prophet. (This anachronism was censured in the work of Muṣṭafî Belghirdî, who criticized the Shî'ite tendencies which were displayed in the literature of the guilds, in a work entitled *Nisâb al-Intisâb wa-Adâb al-Intisâb*, composed in 1620.) In the *'Adâb-ı Mâğrib* of the Djelwetî *shaykh* Sayyid Muṣṭafâ Hâjîm (d. 1197/1783), quoted by 'Alî Emîrî (loc. cit., 464-6), the saint, under the name of Sayyid Ni'mat Allâh Akhi Ewırân Well, is brought, along with Hâdîdî Bektaşî Well and Sayyid Edehîlî, into connection with Ghâzî 'Oghmân's girding with the sword. As patron of the Turkish tanners, a *titile* was ascribed to him which went back to Zayd Hâdîlî, patron of all the tanners, other *shaykh*s go back to Manṣûr 'Abîd, i.e. al-Hallâj.

The sanctuary of Akhi Ewırân in Kirsehir played a great role into the first years of the 20th century, as the *shaykh* of the monastery, who bore the title of Akhi Baba (i.e.) controlled, partly personally, partly through his representatives who resided in the various towns, the guilds of the tanners and of all kindred leather workers (saddlers, shoemakers) in Anatolia and the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and gradually succeeded in extending his influence over almost the whole of the Turkish guild-organization.

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1944, 431 ff. (the inscriptions in the sepulchral sanctuary: 434 f. nos. 8-14); W. Ruben, *Kirsehir'in dikkatli zekânı şerâhâtı*, iii: *Akhi Ewırân Tarihi*, *Bild.*, 1947, 616-38 (German résumé in *Bild.*, 1948, 195-9; description of the sepulchral sanctuary and legends about Akhi Ewırân); Fr. Taeschner, *Gülshehr's Mesnevi und Akhi Ewırân, den Heiligen von Kirsehir und Patron der türkischen Zünfte*, Wiesbaden 1955. (Fr. TAESCHNER)

**AKHIJÖK**, "little akhi", an amir of unknown name in Tabriz, in the 8th/14th century, follower of the Central Mamluk Ashraf, who was defeated and executed by Dîlâz Beg, khân of the Golden Horde. When after Dîlâz Beg's death his son, Berdi Beg, who had been left by his father as governor in the conquered city, left Tabriz in order to secure his father's throne for himself (738/1337), Akhijök succeeded in obtaining possession not only of Tabriz, but of the whole of Agharbaydân, and in defending them for some time from the Dîlâzîd sultan of Baghdad, Uways, son of the "Great Hasan" (Hasan-i Burgul). When, however, Uways captured Tabriz in 760/1359, he ordered the execution of Akhijök, who had taken part in a conspiracy against him. During his short rule Akhijök corresponded with the Mamluk Empire of Egypt (he was addressed by the Mamluk chancery simply by the title of "akhi", al-khalibhandi, *Sûlt. al-'Aṣṣ*, vii, 28, cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatshandels im islamischen Ägypten*, 128). His fame spread as far as Anatolia, where a chapter was devoted to him by the old Ottoman poet Ahmedî in his famous *İshend-nâme*.

**Bibliography:** Mirkhând, *Rawdat al-Safâ*, Bombay 1266, v, 169; Khândamir, *Habib al-Siyar*, Teheran 1271, iii, 81; Hâfiz-i Abrâ, trans. Bayani, Paris 1936, 154; V. Minorsky in *EF*, IV, artt. TABRIZ and UWAYS; D. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 137; Fr. Taeschner, *Der Akhijschah von Tebriz*, in *Festschrift Jan Rypka*, Prague 1956. (Fr. TAESCHNER)

**AKHIR-İ CÂRSHAMDA** [see SAPAR].

**AKHIRA**, fem. of *akhîr*, "the last", is a term used already in the Qur'ân for the life to come, according to the commentators properly *al-dâr al-akhirâ*, "the last abode", as opposed to (*al-dâr* or *al-hayât*) *al-dunyâ*, "the nearer or nearest abode or life", i.e. the present world. A synonym is *ma'âd*. The same antithesis is expressed by the terms *dâr al-bahâ*, "the abode of everlasting existence", and *dâr al-fana*, "the abode of transitoriness", and by the terms *'âle* and *'âle*. *Âkhirâ* also denotes the condition of bliss or misery in the hereafter, again as opposed to *dunyâ*, the lot of man in the present world, and in particular its pleasures. From these meanings derive more technically theological and philosophical definitions, such as the state of resurrection whether corporeal or incorporeal, or, if resurrection of the body is denied, a spiritual state. See also *AKHİR*.

**Bibliography:** Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; A. Sprenger (ed.), *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, s.v.; Ghazâlî, *Thaḥd 'Ulûm al-Dîn*, *hiṣṣ* 40 and passim; Fakhr al-Din al-Râz, *Mubashar*, *ruḥ* 5, *hîm*, 2. (A. S. TRUITON)

**AKHISKHA**, the Persian and Turkish name of a town, in Georgian AKHAI TSIGHE, "New Fortress", situated on the Roshk river (left tributary of the upper Kur), centre of the Georgian province Samtskhe (later Sa-atabago) which is mentioned among the conquests of Hâblî b. Maṣlama (under Mu'âwiyâ), al-Balâdhuri, 203.

Under the Mongols the local rulers (of the Djakî'e family) became autonomous and received the title of *atabeg*. The name Kurkîra found in Persian and Turkish sources refers to these rulers of whom several bore the name of Kuarkîr (see Brunsen, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii). In 1579 Akhal Takhe was occupied by the Ottomans who succeeded in implanting in this region Islam and Ottoman customs. In 1625 the Turkish pashas took over the administration. Akhal Takhe became a considerable strategic point and one of the chief Caucasian slave-markets, cf. Hâdîdî Khallîfâ, *Dîkhân-nâmâ*, 108 f. In 1529 the town was incorporated by the Russians. After the revolution it forms part of the Georgian S. S. Republic. (V. MINORSKY)

**AKHLÂK** (plural of *akhlâq*, "innate disposition"), ethics.

(i) Survey of ethics in Islam; (ii) Philosophical ethics.

(i) SURVEY OF ETHICS IN ISLAM.

1. Islamic ethics took shape only gradually and the tradition of the different elements of which it is composed was not finally established before the 5th/11th century. Unlike the Greek world, in which popular ethics were refined and reshaped by philosophical reasoning without any break between them, and with no perceptible influence of any foreign doctrine, so that eventually philosophy came to express the moral values by which the lives of the educated classes were governed, in Islam ethics appear in their matured state as an interesting and, on the whole, successful amalgamation of a pre-Islamic Arabian tradition and Kur'ânîc teaching with non-Arabic elements, mainly of Persian and Greek origin, embedded in or integrated with a general-Islamic structure. The praise of, and value attached to, good character (*ḥuṣn al-akhlâq*) is common enough among traditionalists, mystics, philosophers, and those writers who aim at giving practical advice to rulers and "civil servants". But their ideas of moral perfection are drawn from widely different sources, although all of them, in various ways, try to conform to the basic standards of Islam (which are in themselves not static); hence the process of assimilation and eventual integration of these different and sometimes conflicting trends extended over a considerable time.

2. It would be erroneous to assume that the different kinds of morality which found literary expression in successive periods from the age of the pre-Islamic poets to the 5th/11th century present a cumulative process, in the sense that each new type as it emerged replaced or suppressed the earlier types. On the contrary, they co-existed for a long time, in varying strength. The tribal *summa* of the pre-Islamic Arabs, based on usage and custom, described by I. Goldziher (*Musammât al-Andalus*, i) and others (e.g. B. Fârûs, *L'homme chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1912), by no means died out with the advent of Islam, and since pre-Islamic literature eventually became part of the accepted Arabic humanities, the values expressed in it were never entirely forgotten: a high sense of personal honour (see *IRB*), courage (see *HAMASA*), loyalty (see *KARILIA*), hospitality (see *one's fellowtribesmen* [see *IRB*]), self-control (see *IRIL*), and a secular spirit which could never be completely quelled by the prevailing religious morality (cf. also *serwewa*). The preaching of Muhammad obviously produced a radical change in moral values as well, based on the sanctions of the new religion, and fear



of God and of the Last Judgment: kindness and equity, compassion and mercy, generosity, self-restraint, sincerity, moral fellowship of the Believers are among the new virtues to replace tribal morality, and to become the pillars of an ethical society or, at least, the programme for such a society.

The religious ethic of the Qur'ān was subsequently expanded and pointed in immense detail by the traditionists in the form of *ḥadīth* (q.v.), professedly based upon and expounding the *sunna*, or model behaviour, of the Prophet, but frequently supplementing this source by traditions of the Companions and by adaptation of materials from the cultural traditions of the older religions. The importance of the *ḥadīth* in forming and maintaining the common ethical ideas of the Muslim Community in all ages and all regions has been incalculable; but in addition it was largely responsible for the ethical framework of the developing Islamic Law (see *SHAR'Ā*), and for laying the foundations which made possible the process of integration described above. It may be said broadly that the whole corpus of *ḥadīth* constitutes a handbook of Islamic ethics, inasmuch as in the general Muslim view the correct performance of religious duties and the right understanding of religious doctrine are inseparable elements of the moral life. Within this comprehensive structure, however, certain forms of conduct were more particularly designated by the term *adab* (q.v.), which in this early religious context had a definitely ethical connotation (see, e.g. Wessink's *Handbook*, s.v. *Adab*). It is tempting to imagine (though it might be difficult to prove) that it was the capture of this term for the very differently motivated ethic of Persian origin expounded by the 2nd/3rd century writers (see § 4 below) which led to the substitution of the term *akhlaq*, which appears in various traditions extolling "good *akhlaq*" (see Wessink, *Handbook*, 118 and B. Faris, *Makhrim al-Akhlaq*, *Rend. Linc.*, 1937, 47 = *Mabāhith 'Arabiyya*, Cairo 1939, 21 ff.). The tradition of the Prophet used as a proof-text by later writers on Islamic ethics: "I have been sent to fulfil the virtues which go with nobility of character (*makhrim al-akhlaq*)", does not occur in the canonical books of tradition (cf. B. Faris, loc. cit.). Under this title several collections of ethical *ḥadīth* were made from the 3rd/4th century onwards, e.g. by Ibn Abi 'I-Thayyā (Brook, I, 160), al-Ghazālī (Brook, S I, 270), and al-Tabarī (Brook, S I, 317, S I, 709), the last-named being the classical Shī'ite book on the subject (cf. also B. Faris, 411-2).

3. The refinement and development of moral thought on the basis of the *ḥadīth* was carried further by both of the religious movements which began to develop within Sunnī Islam in the 3rd/4th century. In theological circles, on the one hand, the conflict with the antedeterminist trend of the Mu'tazilī (q.v.), and the consequent emphasis laid by the Mu'tazilī theologians on moral decision and individual responsibility, produced an elaborate discussion and analysis of these topics (see *KADAR*); and it was through both the Mu'tazilī movement, which in its turn was connected with Greek thought and Christian-Hellenic apologetic works, and the conflict with the antedeterminist trend of the orthodox reaction to it (see *KALAM*) that the reception of Greek philosophical ethics was prepared and made possible. On the other hand, the anti-intellectual and ascetic mystical movement of Sūfism (see *TASAWWUF*) produced a somewhat divergent type of Islamic ethics, which was gradually to become more and more influential and eventually almost dominated in the Islamic world. For the Sūfī preachers, poverty,

self-humiliation, and complete surrender of personality became the highest values in life. It may be sufficient here to mention one eminent early Sūfī writer, al-Muḥāsibī (d. 213/837), who had a decisive influence on al-Ghazālī when he made Sūfism a definite part of Islamic ethics in his fundamental *Revivification of the Religious Sciences* (see M. Smith, *An early Mystic of Baghdad*, London 1935, and *JRAS*, 1936, 165).

4. The introduction of Persian moral thought into the Islamic tradition preceded the acquaintance with Greek ethics. Its main representative is Ibn al-Mukaffā' (q.v.), and—apart from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, a work which deserves to be mentioned in this context—its main content is to be found in the two *adab* works ascribed to him, the *Adab al-Kabīr* (Fr. translation by C. F. Destrie, Brussels 1902, from the Dutch of G. van Vloten; German trans. by O. Rescher, *MSOS*, 1917) and the *Adab al-Saghir* (German trans. by O. Rescher, 1915), whose authenticity has been doubted but not disproved by G. Richter (*Jal.*, 1930, 278) and F. Gabrieli (*RSO*, 1932, 219 ff.). These works (cf. also ARABISCH, *STUTTGART*) are not based on any philosophical principle, but rather remind the reader of Greek rhetorics, giving the rulers, "civil servants" and persons who wish to advance in life advice on how to be successful. The Islamic allusions contained in this literature are at first simple and formal, but the connection of this tradition with religion is steadily emphasized; Islam is regarded accordingly in the character of a state religion, linked to the sovereign power as religion had been linked with political power in the old Persian state (cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1944, ch. III): "religion and government are sisters". The advice, conveyed in a pleasing and effective style, is based on opportunist considerations and the recognition of force, which the intelligent man (*al-'arif*) will know how to deal with properly. In the course of a century or so, however, this originally foreign *adab* tradition was more or less adopted into Islamic standards, and was finally received into the accepted body of Islamic *adab* in the *U'yūn al-Akhbar* of Ibn Kutayba (d. 276/889-90). This work, which may be called the first comprehensive manual of Islamic ethics, brought together and to a remarkable degree integrated the Qur'ānic, pre-Islamic and Persian contributions, and by excluding the irreconcilable elements of the two latter, practically defined and standardized the component elements of the orthodox morality in its pre-philosophical and pre-Sūfī stage. Related types of literature are the "Mirrors of Princes" (see *MAKIL*) and popular wisdom in apophthegmatic form (see *IKHMA*).

5. Philosophical ethics, derived from the Greeks, was introduced at first by the limited circles who devoted themselves to the study of philosophy. The details of its development amongst the Muslim *falāsifa* are studied in the next section. As is pointed out in §§ 8-10 of that section, philosophical ethics exercised an influence on *adab* literature, and what is of even greater importance, philosophical ethics in the form given to it by Miskawayh was fully accepted by such an influential theologian as al-Ghazālī and in this way was integrated with religious tradition. Miskawayh's doctrine became known also through another channel, viz. the Persian works of authors such as al-Tūsī and al-Dawūdī. On the other hand, the purely Sūfī mystic gained through the great Persian poets an

immense influence in the eastern Islamic world, including Turkey—an influence which was paralleled and reinforced in all countries by the powerful social position occupied by the Sūfī orders and the extension of their lay membership to all classes.

6. During the last century, the strong revision from Sūfism in orthodox Muslim circles has had a parallel effect on Muslim ethical thought, which in reaction from the extreme passivity of the Sūfī ethic has tended to swing towards an activist ethic, rather guardedly expressed by such leaders as Ḥasan al-Dīn in al-Aḥḥād and Muḥammad 'Abduh, and in more outspokenly "Mu'tazilite" terms by others. Outside theological circles, the same trend, reinforced by the influence of western philosophies, together with internal social and political developments, has stimulated more evolutionary types of ethical theory, notably those of the Turkish sociologist Ziyā Gökalp and of the Indian poet Muḥammad Iqbal, all of which, however, are most properly to be regarded as representing transitional phases in modern Muslim thought.

(R. WALTER and H. A. R. GIBB)

#### (II) PHILOSOPHICAL ETHICS.

1. In the classification of the various branches of philosophy, *akhlaq* is considered, together with politics (*al-'ilm al-madani*), see *MAKIL*), and economics (*taḥdīr al-mawāl*) (q.v.), as a part of practical philosophy. Galen's work *Fi 'l-Akhlaq* is described in Hunayn's treatise on the Syriac and Arabic Galen-translations in the following terms: "Galen dealt in it with different *ḥayāt*, their causes, signs and treatment" (ed. Bergsträsser, no. 119; cf. Seneca, *Epist.* xiv, 65). Al-Ghazālī uses almost the same words when he says (*al-Munqidh*, 99) that *akhlaq* as a branch of philosophy consists in "defining the characteristics and moral constitutions of the soul and the method of moderating and controlling them". The same definition still occurs in Ibn Sadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1036/1626-7), quoted by Ḥajjīdī Khalīfa, s.v. *akhlaq*: "It is the science of virtues and the way how to acquire them, of vices, and the way how to guard against them. Its subject is: the innate dispositions (*akhlaq*), the acquired virtues, and the rational soul as far as it is affected by them". *Akhlaq* as a philosophical doctrine of ethics appealed at first only to the limited circles of persons interested in Greek philosophy. But since its representatives insist that philosophical ethics are not meant to contradict religion but either to supplement or confirm it, these ideas could eventually be integrated with the religious tradition and retain some influence even in later centuries.

2. Greek moral philosophy was conveyed to the Arabs in several different ways which eventually converged. Standard works of the classical days of Greece read in the late philosophical schools, like Plato's *Republic*, *Timaeus*, *Leves*, were known in the original and in commentaries and summaries (cf. *ARABICA*). Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, divided into eleven books, were known in Ṭahāb b. Hunayn's translation. Books viii-xi of the Arabic text, corresponding to vi-x of the usual division, have been traced in a Moroccan manuscript (cf. A. J. Arberry, in *BSOAS*, 1955, 1 ff.). The same manuscript contains a summary of the *Nicomachean Ethics* by Nicolaus of Damascus (1st century B.C.). Porphyry's commentary (cf. *Fihrist*, and J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre*, Gand-Leipzig 1913, 56<sup>a</sup>-58<sup>a</sup>) was translated into Arabic and most probably extensively used by Miskawayh in chapters 3-5 of his *Tahdīb*

*al-Akhlaq* (see § 2 below). The Arabs knew also a late Greek summary of the *Nicomachean Ethics* ("Summary of the Alexandrians"); extracts in MS Tawmūr Paḡba, *akhlaq* 290, no. 167; this work was translated into Latin by Herman the German in 1243 or 1244 (cf. *Aristoteles Latinus*, ii, Cambridge 1955, 1308). Al-Fārābī wrote a commentary on the introduction of the *Nicomachean Ethics* which is referred to by Spanish authors of the 12th century (cf. M. Steinschneider, *Al-Fārābī*, St. Petersburg 1869, 60). The Kugler's Middle Commentary (written in A. D. 1177) is preserved in a Latin translation by the same Herman in 1240 (cf. *Aristoteles Latinus*, ii, 1308) and in a Hebrew translation of 1321 by Samuel b. Judah of Marseilles (M. Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übersetzungen*, 217).

Among Greek works less known in the Western tradition but widely read in the Arab world are three treatises by Galen, (i) *Ἐπεὶ ἔχουσιν*, *Fi 'l-Akhlaq*, lost in the Greek original and preserved only in Arabic guise, (Arabic Epitome published by F. Kraus in *Bull. of the Fac. of Arts of the Univ. of Egypt*, vi/7, 1939; cf. R. Walzer, in *Classical Quarterly*, 1949, 88 ff.; idem, in *Harvard Theological Review*, 1954, 243 ff.; S. M. Stern, in *Classical Quarterly*, 1956, 13) (*How a man may discover his own vice* (cf. *Corpus Med. Graec.*, v, 4, 11); Hunayn, *Risāla*, no. 118), (ii) *Good men profit by their enemies* (lost in the Greek original; Hunayn, no. 121). Both of these two latter treatises were used by al-Rāzī (see § 5 below), all three by Miskawayh (§ 7 below). A treatise by Themistius is quoted under a wrong name by Miskawayh (see below); another one attributed to him survives in Arabic (ed. L. Cheikh, *Maḥ.*, 1920, 887-9, tr. M. Bouvier, *Arch. de Philosophie*, 1924, 15 ff.). There were, no doubt, some other late Greek books from which middle-platonic Greek thought, only slightly touched by neoplatonic ideas, was handed down to the Arabs. Among other pre-neoplatonic treatises studied by Arabic writers on moral philosophy are the *Pinar* of Cebes ("Kābis the Platonist"), reproduced in Miskawayh's *U'yūn al-Akhbar* (ed. Badawī, 229 ff.; separate editions by Elchman, Leiden 1640 and R. Basset, Algiers 1898); the neopythagorean Bryson's *Ὀλογοισμός*, preserved only in Arabic translation and extensively quoted by Miskawayh (ed. M. Plessner, Heidelberg 1928); the *Golden Verses* ascribed to Pythagoras (see *FUTURAGRAM*) and a pseudo-platonic *Ethiologia* concerning the education of young men, two "pythagorean" documents by which Miskawayh was impressed (cf. F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, 1947, 104 ff., 383 ff.).

3. Al-Kindī's ethical treatise (*Fihrist*, nos. 790-1, 793-6, cf. also F. Rosenthal, *al-Sarakhī*, ii A, 10-2, 16-7) were apparently appreciated by subsequent Islamic writers. His treatise *On freedom from Grief* (ed. H. Ritter, R. Walzer, *Shukū' al-Kindī II*, Rome 1958; M. Pohlenz, in *GGU*, 1958, 104 ff.) was used by Miskawayh (*Tahdīb*, 70 ff.), Ibn Sīnā and others. Another quotation in Miskawayh (61) may derive from al-Kindī's lost work *Fi 'l-Akhlaq* and is also found in al-Ghazālī (*F. Ruhādī*, in *Rasā'id* [Abū Rida], 177-8) and elsewhere in his *Rasā'id*. In the moral philosophy, not unlike the Stoics, Galen and other late Greek philosophers, on the threefold platonic partition of the soul into a rational, spirited and appetitive part or soul or faculty, and on a platonic definition of the four cardinal virtues, wisdom, valour, temperance and justice (cf. *PADR*); these in their turn are each associated with a number of subordinate virtues. This scheme may, though



different in detail, be compared to the Stoic arrangement of the virtues and vices, or, e.g., to the pseudo-Aristotelian *De virtutibus et vitiis* (transl. in the 11th century by Ibn al-Tayyib (Bruck, S. I, 884). The Aristotelian definition of virtue as the mean between two extremes is combined with the platonising view (cf. Porphyry, *Ἀποφάσεις*, ch. xxiii, 2 and I. Goldzahn, *Maḥṣūn al-Nafs*, 20). Although the evidence available in the few extant works of al-Kindī is obviously slight, it seems probable that Miskawayh based himself in the first chapter of *Tahdhīb al-Akhlaq* on al-Kindī's treatment of the virtues and vices. There is on the whole nothing ultra-neoplatonic in al-Kindī's platonising popular philosophy, in which platonic, peripatetic and stoic elements are blended in a way not uncommon in hellenistic and later popular Greek moral treatises.

4. The Christian Kustā b. Lūḳā's treatise *About the causes of the differences which exist between men with regard to their characters, ways of life, desires and considered moral choice* (ed. P. Sbath, in *BIE*, 1947) is based on the Platonic tripartition of the soul and on the whole on ideas to be found in Galen.

5. Al-Kindī's treatise *On Spiritual Medicine* appears to be lost but al-Rāzī's brilliant treatment of the same subject is available in a critical edition of the Arabic text (*Opera Philosophica*, ed. Kraus, 15-96, Eng. tr. by A. J. Arberry, *The spiritual Philosophy of Rhazes*, London 1930). As was to be expected in this Muslim "Platonist", it is written in an uncompromisingly platonic vein, and the Aristotelian elements found in al-Kindī and Miskawayh are missing. It should be studied together with his autobiographical defence of the philosophical way of life (*Opera*, 98-112; French transl. by P. Kraus in *Orientalia*, 1935, 300 ff.; English tr. by Arberry in *Islamic Review*, 1949). Al-Rāzī's version of Greek moral philosophy did not, however, influence the main trend of philosophical ethics in Islam.

6. The treatise *Fi Tahdhīb al-Akhlaq* of the Jacobite philosopher Yahyā b. ʿAdī represents another variant of late Greek thought. There are no specifically Christian ideas in it; Aristotelian influence is, as in al-Rāzī, non-existent. It is based on the platonic tripartition of the soul, but the 21 virtues and corresponding vices are neither specifically referred to the three souls nor subordinated to the four cardinal virtues and their contraries (which are listed among them). This scheme probably depends ultimately on some lost pre-neoplatonic Greek original. His concluding chapter on the perfect man who bases his life on the requirements of his intellectual soul and has trained himself to love every human being combines stoic and neo-platonic language, and is not very different from the thought of al-Fārābī (q.v.).

7. The most influential work on philosophical ethics is *Tahdhīb al-Akhlaq* of Miskawayh (fl. 421/1030) (analysis of its contents in de Boer, 507, and Donaldson, 127-133; Eng. tr. by A. J. M. Craig in course of publication). Miskawayh firmly rejects the pre-Islamic Arabic poets as educators, but is not unsympathetic to the Persian tradition of ethics. In many striking passages he insists on the agreement of Greek moral philosophy with the basic tenets of Islam. He tries, however, to reconcile revealed and philosophical truth on the basis of rational thought, and for this reason his views are not acceptable to a primarily religious thinker, except with a certain shift of emphasis. The few Greek writers mentioned by name and quoted, sometimes at considerable

length, are all of the later centuries of the Roman Empire: Galen (see § 2 above), Bryson (on the right upbringing of children; *ibid.*), Porphyry as a commentator on Aristotle's *Ethics*, and Themistius, wrongly quoted under the name of Socrates (cf. F. Rosenthal, in *IC*, 1940, 403). References to Plato and Aristotle occur within the context of these late works. Although al-Kindī is only twice mentioned by name, Miskawayh is probably in al-Kindī's debt to a much greater extent (see § 3 above). In chapters 3-5 he follows rather closely a neo-platonic commentator on certain sections of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which recalls the known teaching of ethics in the later Peripatos and the extant commentaries on the *Ethics* without being identical with any of them. But at the same time he stresses the platonic elements to be found in the *Ethics* to make out Aristotle to be a more decided platonicist than he was. Miskawayh's own contribution to this inherited interpretation, if any, was (apart from demonstrating the compatibility of Greek philosophy with Islam) to emphasise the neo-platonic aspects of this moral philosophy still further (cf. R. Walzer, *Some aspects of Miskawayh's Tahdhīb al-Akhlaq*, *Mélanges Latins de la Vierge*, Rome 1956).

8. The influence of philosophical ethics on *adab* literature has been noted by de Boer, who singles out as an instructive example *Adab al-Dunyā wa ʿDīn* by al-Mawardi (d. 450/1038). In this work the presentation of the traditional ethical materials is refreshed and "modernized" by the inclusion of materials from the later centuries, including both philosophical and ascetic ideas; these are combined with the older materials somewhat unsystematically, but in a direction not dissimilar from that taken later by al-Ghazālī. (German transl. by O. Rescher, 1932-3.)

9. A much more far-reaching and fundamental synthesis was carried through by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who on the one hand discarded the merely formal and superficial elements of the *adab* tradition, and on the other firmly based his exposition on the penetrating spiritual analysis developed by the ʿāḫī teachers (see sect. I, § 3 above). At the same time, he evidently regarded Miskawayh's treatise as "reasonable in itself and supported by proof", and agreed that its contents "did not contradict the Book and the Sunna". Hence the philosophical ideas of Greek origin which Miskawayh discussed and explains became part of the generally accepted educational theory to be found in the *Ḥiyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, in which the section on self-discipline (and book of the 3rd quarter) is based on Miskawayh's *Tahdhīb al-Akhlaq*. Miskawayh's influence is also unmistakably traceable in other works of al-Ghazālī, and his ethical theory was in this way eventually integrated with the religious tradition. (Cf. A. J. Wensinck, *La Pensée de Ghazālī*, Paris 1946, esp. chap. II; M. Plessner, op. cit., II, Ritzer, *Al Ghazālī, Das Elusive der Glückseligkeit*, Jena 1925, and see al-Ghazālī.)

9. How successful the Ghazālīan synthesis was in influencing later ethical literature and thought is a question which still awaits investigation. The literary evidence suggests *prima facie* that its influence, if anything, was indirect, and that the diverse trends of ethical thought continued to exist side by side. The influence of Miskawayh's work was perpetuated chiefly in Persian literature; the Shīʿite Avicennian, Naṣr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, follows Miskawayh closely, as he himself avows, in the section on ethics of his *Aḥḥādāt Nāṣiri* (completed 633/1233) (cf. Plessner, loc. cit.). Two centuries

later, al-Dawānī (d. 907/1501), the author of the *Aḥḥādāt Dīnīyāt* (Eng. trans., with valuable notes, by W. E. Thompson, *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People*, London 1899; short analysis by Donaldson, 184), selected his basic material from Ṭūsī's work, but he also refers to al-Ghazālī as an additional Islamic authority. (For Persian *akhlaq* literature cf. H. Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 346 ff.)

*Bibliography* to (i) and (ii): No comprehensive history of Islamic ethics has yet been written. D. M. Donaldson, *Studies in Muslim Ethics*, London 1951, is of unequal value. There is a brief but suggestive survey by T. J. de Boer in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. V, 1912, s.v. Ethics and Morality (Moslem). Scattered materials are to be found in a number of works; in addition to those mentioned in the article, different aspects are dealt with in the following: G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte des islamischen arabischen Fiktionenspiels*, Leipzig 1932; D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago 1909; C. E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1946, etc.; L. Gardet, *La Cité musulmane*, Paris 1954. (R. Walzer).

**AKHLĀT** or **KHLĀT**, town and fortress at the N.W. corner of Lake Wān.

(i) Pre-Mongol; (ii) Mongol and Ottoman periods.

In Armenian the town is called *Khlāt*, the name being possibly connected with the ancient inhabitants of the country, the Urartian *Khlads*. It lies half-way between Sipan Dağ and Nimrud Dağ on the route taken by invasions from Mesopotamia into eastern Armenia. Al-Balādhūri, 200, reckons it to Armenia III, which in the Arab view included Kālikāis (Erzerum), Arğīsh and Bahmays (i.e. either Apahonik, where Manāzger lies, or Bzunikh, the district of Akhlāt).

Under ʿUmar, ʿIyād b. Ghann made a treaty with the Akhlātians (al-Balādhūri, 176, 199). For four centuries Akhlāt was ruled in turn by Arab governors, Armenian autonomous princes, and Arab local amirs of the Kays tribe (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ch. 41, ed. and tr. Moravcsik-Jenkins, Budapest 1949, 198-205; cf. J. Markwart, *Sudarmenien*, 501-5, and M. Canard, *Hamdānides*, I, 471-8). Among the episodes of this period may be cited: in 316/918 the attack on Akhlāt by the domestic John Curcuas (see Ibn al-Aḥḥār, viii, 146); in 328/939 the arrival of Sayf al-Dawla (Ṭaḥḥāḥ Maṣṣāḥīrīn, see M. Canard, *Sayf al-Dawla, Aghlabi-Paris*, 1934, 268; *idem*, *Hamdānides*, I, 478-89); in 335/964 the occupation of Akhlāt by Naḍīā (Miskawayh, II, 201 etc.).

Towards 375/983 Akhlāt became part of the dominions of the Kurd Bādh (Asolk of Taron, iii, ch. 14) and was associated with the Marwānīd (q.v.) princes until the battle of Manāzger (463/1071), after which Alp Arslan himself is said to have taken it (Ṭaḥḥāḥ Maṣṣāḥīrīn, fol. 145v). In 493/1100 it was occupied by the Turkish amir Sukmān al-Kuṭbī and for over a century remained the capital of the dynasty known as Shāh Arman (q.v.). In 604/1207 it was captured by the Ayyūbīd al-Awḥad, son of al-ʿĀdil, and on his death in 609/1212 passed to his brother al-Aḥḥār. In the interval, the Georgians twice reached Akhlāt (605/1208 and 607/1210). In 627/1230 it was stormed after a six months' siege by the Kh'ārim-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubermi, who was, however, shortly afterwards defeated by al-Aḥḥār in alliance with the Rūm Salḡūkid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaykubād I at Arzindān. In 633/1233

Kaykubād in turn seized Akhlāt, and held it in spite of a coalition of the Ayyūbīd princes against him.

*Bibliography*: A full bibl. of Akhlāt is given in A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*, Paris 1940, I, 241-51 (with plates, II, 85-90); for the inscriptions, Abdurrahman Serif, *Ahlāt Kütahleri*, İstanbul 1932 (corrections and additions by J. Sauvaget, in Gabriel, *op. cit.*, 346-50, and *RCEA*, nos. 3886-2, 4440, 4682, 4696, 4782-3, 4807-2, 4996, 5038, 5116-9. E. Honigsmann, *Östergate d. Byzanz*, *Reisch*, Brüssel 1935, passim; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953, index; Le Strange, 183; H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia*, London 1901, II, 280-97; Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien u. Kurdistan*, Leipzig 1913, 58. (V. MINORSKY.) (ii) After the battle of Kōse Dağ (647/1243) Akhlāt was captured by the Mongols (642/1244); see Tomaszek, in *SIAM*, 131, no. IV, 31 ff.; Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ (Beiske-Adler), IV, 4721, who, however, confirmed the native princes in their possessions (confirmation of a Georgian princess in her possession in Akhlāt: Cyriac of Gandja, 440, cf. B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 330, n. 1). The definitive occupation by the Mongols of Akhlāt and the neighbouring lands of Upper Mesopotamia and the Armenian highlands followed only after their capture of Baghdād (656/1258), in conjunction with Hulāgū's advance into Syria in 658/1256-66 (Spuler, op. cit., 55). Thereafter Akhlāt belonged to the kingdom of the Ilkhāns and their successor states (Djalālīrīds, Aḥ Koyunlu), and was also a mint-city of the Ilkhāns. In 644/1246 the city was largely destroyed by a severe earthquake.

In one version of the legend of the foundation of the Ottoman empire Akhlāt is mentioned as the starting-point of the Oghuz tribe to which Ertogrul, the alleged father of ʿOthmān, belonged; he is said to have moved westwards from Akhlāt under pressure from the Mongols. Neshrī, however, denies the identity of this Ertogrul with ʿOthmān's father (Ṭaḥḥāḥ, ed. Taschner, 21-2; the statement is missing in the Ankara ed.). According to Ewliya Ceḥelī (iv, 140) tombs of the ancestors of the Ottomans were shown in Akhlāt. The city appears to have come into Ottoman possession only under Selīm I; in 955/1548, however, it was captured by Shāh Tahmasp and levelled to the ground. Sulaymān I, under whom it was finally incorporated in the Ottoman empire, built on the lake shore a citadel (completed in 963/1555 according to Ewliya Ceḥelī), in the vicinity of which a smaller new town arose. During the Ottoman period, Akhlāt remained under the rule of local Kurdish chieftains, and was brought under direct Ottoman administration only under Maḥmūd II in 1847. At the end of the 19th century, according to Cusinet, the *hadd* of Akhlāt had 23,659 inhabitants (16,635 Muslims, 6609 Gregorian Armenians, 210 Orthodox Greeks, 250 Yāzides). It is now the capital of a *hadd* (ilāḥ) in the wilāyet (il) of Bitlis in the Turkish Republic; population of the town (1945), 3,124, of the *hadd*, 13,702.

The mediaeval town (Eski Akhlāt), on the slope of the mountain, is in ruins and uninhabited; the new town, with a large Ottoman *kale* (on the main gate an inscription of Selīm II, 1568) lies to the E. of it on the lake shore. The latter contains two mosques of the 16th century (Iskender Paṣṣā Djalāmī), with inscriptions from 972/1564 and minaret from 978/1570, and Kādī Mahmūd Djalāmī, dating from 1006/



1597). Between the medieval and the modern towns there is a famous cemetery with richly ornamented tombstones from the 13th-16th centuries (among them a "ram" stone from 1401) and many funeral buildings (*turbe* or *kubbeds*) from the Seljuks, Mongols and Turkmen periods. The most noteworthy among them are: Ulu Künbed (undated); Şahîdî Ağa Künbedi (1273; now disappeared); İki Turbe (cf. Bughayir Ağa, d. 1281, and his son İsmail Ağa, d. 1279); Bayındır Medjid (182/183) and Turbe (189/189-2); of special interest, one built by Baba Dîrî (1317); Şahîdî Nâdim al-Dîn Turbesi (1222); Hasan Paşahîş Turbesi (1275); and Erzen Künbedî Turbesi (1306-7).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the works mentioned under İi, Hâdîdî Khallîf, *İzâh-ı nâmâ*, 413 f.; Ewliyâ Celbi, IV, 134-42; Sâmi, *Kâmil al-Âsâr*, I, 464; Râşid, *Nom. géogr. anat.*, II, 376; V. Culnet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II, 364-6. (F. TÄSCHNER)

**AKHMIM**, town in Upper Egypt on the east bank of the Nile about 312 m. from Cairo. Its name reflects the Coptic name, *Shimo*, the Greek *Chemmis*, and the place is called Panopolis in Byzantine texts. It was the chief town of a pagarchy (*kura*), and later, from the time of the reformation of the Filialist caliph al-Mustansir, of a province. In the 12th/18th century the town lost its position of chief city and was incorporated in the province of Gîrgî. In the middle ages, Akhmim was surrounded by rich areas of cultivation, with plantations of date palms and fields of sugar cane. Al-Yâkûbî mentions it as a centre for the manufacture of leather mats. There was a toll-house there, and the strictness of the officials around the indulgence of Ibn Dîjarî. The population to-day still includes a considerable number of Christians. The town was the birthplace, at the end of the 2nd/8th century, of the mystic Dîwî 'I-Nûn.

All the Arab writers have enthused over the ancient temple of Akhmim, (of which no trace now remains), which was particularly famed owing to its traditional association with Hermes Trismegistus. Most of the accounts record the usual legends which have grown up around relics of Egypt under the Pharaohs. The delightful description given by Ibn Dîjarî, however, merits special attention. He displays a keen power of observation, intelligently used. The temple was destroyed in the course of the 8th/14th century, and the materials used to build a *wadûd*. But it appears that some of the materials had previously been pillored; historians of Mecca mention the erection in the *haram* of columns originating from Akhmim.

The town has no history. It was sacked at the beginning of the 12th/18th century during the struggle between the Manîkî chiefs, and the governor, Hasan Akhmîdî, was put to death; the latter had restored, in 1124-10/1702-4, the principal mosque, an act which is commemorated by inscriptions.

**Bibliography:** Ya'kûbî, 332 (trans. Wiet, 187); Makhlûf, 201; Idrîsî (Dory and de Goeje), 46-7; Ibn Dîjarî 60 ff. (trans. Gaudeloy-Demoulin, 66-70; trans. G. Brault, 23-25); Ibn Battûta, I, 103 ff.; Yâkût, I, 186; Makhlûf, *Khûlîd* (Wiet), IV, 134-8; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, MIFAO, XXXV, 6-7; Djabarti, I, 47, 98; Wiet, *L'Égypte de Méridien*, 205-10. (G. WIET)

**AKHMINKH** [see IDNÎS].

**AL-AKHRRAS**, 'Abd al-Ghaffâr b. 'Abd al-Wâhid b. Wâhid, Arab poet of 'Irâk, born at al-

Mawâsil about 1220/1805, died at al-Basra 1290/1874. After settling in Baghdad, he established a connection with the *waḥid* Dâwūd Pâghâ. The latter, at his request, sent him to India for treatment to correct the defective power of speech which had gained him his sobriquet of al-Akhras ("the mute"), but he refused to undergo the operation. The panegyrics he addressed to Dâwūd Pâghâ and 'Abd al-Bakî, and also to various men of note at Baghdad and al-Basra, appear to have secured him his livelihood, but the fame which he enjoys in 'Irâk rests on the remainder of his work, which embraces every category of classical poetry: *ghazal*, elegy, threnody, satire, descriptive verse, personal glorification. He even composed some *muwashshahât* and wrote some notable *basīd* songs which led to his being dubbed the "Abū Nuwâs of the 10th century". His *diwân*, although incomplete, was compiled through the efforts of the nephew of 'Abd al-Bakî, Ahmad 'Izzat Pâghâ al-Fârûkî, and published in Constantinople in 1304/1886, under the title: *al-Firds al-Anjar fi Sh'ir al-Akhras*.

**Bibliography:** Dj. Zaydan, *Tarâjîm Maḥâbir al-Sharh*, 3rd ed., 1922, II, 257-60; L. Cheikh, *La littérature arabe au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. L., 1924, II, 9-11; M. M. al-Basir, *Nahd al-'Irâk al-Adabiyah fi 'l-Karn al-Tâsi* 'Aghar, Baghdad 1935/1946, 114-29; H. Péris, *La litt. arabe de l'Islam par les textes*, 28; Brockelmann, S II, 792 and references quoted. (Ch. PELLAT)

**AKHSIÂN** [see SÂLÂT].

**AKHSIKATH** or **AKHSIKATH** (Sogdian, "city of the prince"), in the 4th/10th century capital of Farghâna and residence of the *amir* and his lieutenants (*ummad*), on the north bank of the Sir Daryâ (Jaxartes), near the mouth of the Kasânay, at the foot of a mountain. Ibn Khurrâdhbih, 208, calls the place Madinat Farghâna, "the city of Farghâna"; according to Ibn Hawkal (Kramers), 512, it was a large town (1 sq. mile) with many canals and a citadel under the Friday Mosque, the governor's palace, and the prison. The city was then enclosed by a wall with five gates, outside of which stretched extensive suburbs and gardens. There was a market-place both in the city and the suburb, and there were rich pastures in the vicinity (al-Istakhfî, 333; al-Makhlûf, 271; al-Karwînî, II, 156; *Hadûd al-Islâm*, 72, 116).

The town was apparently destroyed during the wars of the Kh'ânshâh Muhammad II, at the beginning of the 13th century, and the succeeding Mongol invasions (Sharaf al-Dîn 'Alî Yazdî, *Zafar-nâmâ*, Calcutta 1885-8, I, 441, II, 633; here also the form Akhsikant). The capital was transferred to Andijân, but for some time Akhsî, as the town was called at the time of Bâbur (see transl. of Beveridge, 1907), still remained the second town of Farghâna. As late as the 11th/17th century Namangân, the present capital, was considered only one of Akhsî's less important sisters (*jawâb*); cf. *Bahr al-'Asdar*, in H. Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, no. 575, fol. 108v. The ruins, near the villages of Akhsî and Shahand (700 steps from west to east, 600 steps from north to south, about 150 feet above the level of the Sir Daryâ), with the old citadel, Idî Akhsî, were explored in 1885 by N. I. Veselovskii (cf. *Sredneasiatskii Vvedeniye*, Tashkent, July 1896).

**Bibliography:** Schwarz, *Iran*, II, 269 (incidental reference, Farghâna is not dealt with in the book); Le Strange, 477 f.; 480; K. Müller, *Mappae arabicae*, Stuttgart 1926-31, IV, 78-82, 808-918. (B. SPULER)

**AL-AKHITAL**, "the loquacious", the sobriquet of the Arab poet GHAYTH b. GHAYTH b. AL-SALT, who died probably before 927/10. He belonged to the great tribe of the Taghlib (cf. of northern Syria, which remained entirely Christian, of the Monophysite persuasion. By his mother Layla he was connected to another Christian tribe, that of Iyâd. He was born either at Hira (see *al-Ghâni*, VII, 170), or near Rusafa (Sergiopolis); his date of birth is uncertain, but may have been about 26/40. He remained a Christian all his life, and was unmoved by the efforts of prominent members of the Umayyad dynasty to convert him to Islam. Although a Monophysite, he maintained good relations with the Melkite family of the Sargîdî. In his poetry, certain features prove his zeal for his faith and even indicate a certain ostentation in asserting it (see *Diwân*, *passim*). His moral standards, however, do not seem to have differed markedly from those of the society in which he lived. He repudiated his wife and married a divorced woman. He seems to have been a heavy drinker, passing his time in taverns in the company of singing girls of easy virtue.

All his life al-Akhital followed the fortunes of the reigning dynasty. During the reign of Mu'awiyah, he became embroiled in political affairs. He was the close companion of Yazîd I, whom he lauded in his panegyrics, and of others of the Umayyad line Zayd and al-Hajjâj. Under 'Abd al-Malik, he actually became official poet to the Caliph (see *al-Ghâni*, XII, 172-6). He remained in the service of the successors of 'Abd al-Malik, and in his poetry attacked all opponents of the dynasty (see *Diwân*, 58, 73, 93, 204, 277 etc.). Lammens has clearly shown the historical interest of such compositions.

The poet's whole career was dominated by verbal warfare with his contemporary, the poet Dîjarî. In his diatribes he was supported by the poet al-Farazdak who, although a Taminite like Dîjarî, was in antagonism with his fellow-tribesman. It is almost impossible to dissociate here the accounts of these three men. It is clear that in this sphere al-Akhital and Dîjarî perpetuated the pre-Islamic tradition and simply expressed the sentiments of their particular group. In this respect, the poems of al-Akhital show how the old bedouin themes break through the religious veneer.

Under Walîd I, it appears that al-Akhital was not held in such high favour (see *al-Ghâni*, VII, 179 ff.). He died, probably shortly before the end of Walîd's reign, and left no offspring.

The poems of al-Akhital have reached us in a recension of al-Sukkarî, compiled with the aid of material collected by Ibn al-A'râbi (see Brockelmann, S I, 94; and *Fikhrî*, 78, 158). This recension is available in provisional editions; Salhânî, *Diwân al-Akhital*, Beirut 1892-2, is in part completed by the same, *Diwân al-Akhital*, Beirut 1905, (photographic reproduction of a Baghdad MS.) and by Griffin, *al-Akhital*, Beirut 1906 (reproduction of a Yemen MS). In order to produce a counterpart to a compilation containing the epigrammatic poems between Dîjarî and al-Farazdak, the poet Abû Tamâm composed, in the 3rd/9th century, a *Nahdî Dîjarî wa 'l-Akhital*, which presents the verbal content between the two rivals. A MS of this work exists at Istanbul.

The works of al-Akhital, like those of Dîjarî and al-Farazdak, have their origin in contemporary events, and reflect the feuds and political controversies of the time. The bedouin tradition is always apparent in them. The *Diwân* comprises panegyrics in

*hâjida* form and also a large number of epigrammatic poems. The poetical forms, the stereotyped terminology and the language resemble, with but slight variations, those of the other contemporary poets. It is highly probable (as Baghshîr thought) that the vogue which al-Akhital enjoyed during his lifetime was the result of an infatuation on the part of the Rab'ite Arabs, who rejoiced at finding in him a champion worthy to stand against those of the Bakrite and Taminite Arabs (see al-Marzubânî, *al-Muwashshah*, 138). Later, however, when the literary centres of 'Irâk evolved their poetic ideal, it became the fashion to draw comparisons between the works of al-Akhital, al-Farazdak and Dîjarî. People succumbed to this taste for "assessments of comparative merit" so engrained in mediaeval oriental scholars, and this type of critical comparison became a regular subject for debate, which al-Hamadîhî parodied in his *Makhlûf* at the end of the 4th/10th century. It is possible that as early as the end of the 2nd/8th century or the beginning of the 3rd/9th the grammarians and philologists of Basra and Kûfa had indicated their preference for al-Akhital (see the judgments of Abû 'Ubayda, al-Asma', and Hammâd "the Reciter" collated in *al-Ghâni*, VIII, 284 ff., 297, 303). Al-Akhital does not seem to have kept his place in Arabic literature in the eyes of later generations (cf. for example the rather cautious judgement of Tâhî Husayn in *Hadîth al-Araba*, II, 77 ff.) Up to the present time al-Akhital has, in the West, been the subject only of biographical studies.

**Bibliography:** *al-Ghâni*, VII, 169-88 = *al-Ghâni*, VIII, 280-320; Marzubânî, *Muwashshah*, 132 ff.; Causin de Perceval, *Notice sur les poètes Akhal, Farazdaq et Dîjarî*, in *JA*, XII, 289 ff., XIV, 5 H.; Lammens, *Le Chantre des Omayyades*, in *JA* 1894, 94-176, 193-241, 381-465; idem, *Études sur le règne du Califé omayyade Mo'awia I<sup>er</sup>*, Beirut 1908, 397-404; I. Kračkovskiy, *Der Wein in al-Akhital's Gedichten*, *Festschrift G. Jacob*, 146-64; further details in Brockelmann, I, 49-52 and S I, 83 ff.; C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, VI, 73-6 (= *La Letteratura araba dai origini all'epoca della dinastia umayyade*, trans. Pellat, Paris 1950, 115-6).

(R. BLACHÈRE)

**AKHTARÎ** is the *takhallus* of Muḥib al-Dîn Muḥtaf b. Shams al-Dîn al-Karabîshîrî (d. 968/1561). He wrote an Arabic-Turkish Dictionary (952-1545), known by the name of *Akhṭarî Kabir* (there are also concise recensions), and printed at Constantinople (1242, 1256, 1292). Cf. Flügel, *Die arab. pers. u. türk. Hss. zu Wien*, I, 119-120.

**AKHUND** (Akhund, Akhund), title given to scholars. In Eastern Turkistan it is used after the name as "Mister", in Western Turkistan it is given to "ulama" of high rank, in the district of Kâzin to the chief *imâm* of a place. In Persian it is current since Timurid times in the sense of "schoolmaster, tutor". The word probably comes from Persian *khând* (*kh'and*, *khând*), from *khândān* [q.v.].

**AKHUND-ZĀDA**, Mirzâ Fatḥ 'Alî (1812-78) was the first writer of original plays in a Turkish idiom. The son of a trader who hailed from Persian Āgharbaydîn, he was born in 1812 (according to Cafersûli) or 1813 (according to the *Soviet Encyclopaedia*, 1950) in Shîrî, the present-day Nûshîr. Thanks to the assistance of a relative he was able to avail himself of a good literary and philosophical education, which brought him into closer touch with liberal ideas than the actual calling which he intended to follow, that of an



Islamic theologian. After instruction from a divine in Gandja (Karabagh) Akhund-zada finished his training at the newly-opened Russian intermediate school for Muslims at Shkhi. It is possible that Akhund-zada was in his early days brought into touch with modern trends in Islam owing to contacts with the reformers Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī and Makhūm Khān. Influence of this nature, however, as reported by Kōberli on the basis of comments of members of Akhund-zada's family, can scarcely be proved. In his youth Akhund-zada wrote in the style of Persian poetry, one of his works being an elegy on Fushki's death.

He received a stimulus to activity as a dramatist from the advancement of the theatre in Tiflis by the military governor, Prince Worontsov (1844-48), in whose government chancellery he was employed as oriental interpreter. Between 1850 and 1857 Akhund-zada wrote six comedies and a historical narrative in Aḡharī Turkish, the titles being as under: (1) *Hikāyet-i Mollā İbrahim Khālī-i Kīmī-yāgar* ("Story of M. I. Kh. the alchemist"), 1850; (2) *Hikāyet-i Moustair Jourdan Hehtim Nabātāt ve-Mostafā Shāh Dādāğeri-Meghar* ("Story of M. Jourdan and Mostafā Shāh, the well-known magician"), 1850; (3) *Sergizishāh Wezīr-i Khān-i Serāh* ("Adventures of the Vizier of the Khān of S."), 1850; (4) *Hikāyet-i Khēri-i Gudar-hasan* ("Story of the bear that caught the robber"), 1852; (5) *Sergizishāh Merd-i Khānī* ("Adventures of the miser"), 1852-53; (6) *Hikāyet-i Wukala'-ye Murād'sa* ("Story of the attorneys in the lawsuit"), 1855; and the historical-satirical narrative, *Alāmdād Kuvchek* ("The betrayed stars"), 1857. In the plays and in the narrative the author gave play to his progressive ideas in opposition to feudalism, the practice of highway robbery, the prevalent corruption of justice and the superstition then rife in the Caucasus. Now and again he preaches loyalty to the Russian authorities in order to facilitate the transition of the Transcaucasian Muslims (the term "Aḡharī Turks" was not yet in use in the 19th century) to modern civilization.

Several of the plays were published in Russian translation in the official Government journal *Kavkaz*, and performed in Russian at Tiflis and St. Petersburg. The first performances in the original language were given by pupils of Aḡharbaydjan state schools at the end of the 1870's. A complete Aḡharī Turkish edition of the plays and the narrative appeared in Tiflis in 1859; a second was brought out in 1918 by the Ministry of Culture of the A.S.S.R. to mark the 125th anniversary of the writer. (In the 1920's, frequent separate editions for school use had already appeared.) The plays were translated into Persian by Muhammad Dīq'ar Munghī; no. 1 was translated, into French by Barbier de Meynard, *JA*, 1886; no. 2 into German (after the Persian) by A. Wahlund, Vienna 1889, and into French (after the Turkish original) by L. Bouvat, Paris 1906; no. 3 into English (after the Persian) by W. H. O. Haggard and G. le Strange, *The Vase of Lankurin*; no. 4 into French by Barbier de Meynard, in *Recueil de textes et de traductions*, Paris 1889; no. 5 into French by L. Bouvat, *JA*, 1904; no. 6 into French (after the Persian) by Allières, in *Deux comédies turques*, Paris 1888; the narrative was edited and translated by L. Bouvat, *JA*, 1903.

Besides his activity as a dramatist, which earned him the name of the "Caucasian Gogol" or the "oriental Molière", Akhund-zada wrote treatises on political science against absolutism and theocracy,

and also two memoranda on an alphabetical system of his own invention, designed to render the Islamic tongues, especially the Turkish idioms, more tractable and thus more capable of progress.

**Bibliography:** F. Kōberli (in Russian Kōfarsinskiy), *Azerbaydjan Edebiyyatı Materyalları*, Baku 1925, 1/2, 407 ff. (contains autobiography of Akhund-zada); A. Akhondov, *Shāh's dāstān* (unpubl.), *Moskva Fethi A Akhondov*, Baku 1928; A. Catoğlu, *XIX yüzyıl azir büyük Asiri Reformatörleri Mirza Fethi Ali Akhundzade*, in "Festschrift" for Bonelli, Rome 1940, 69-85; A. Vahap Yurtsever, *Mirza Fethi Ali Zadenin Hayatı ve Eserleri*, Ankara 1950; idem, *Azerbaycan Dram Edebiyatı*, Ankara 1951; H. W. Brands, *Azerbaydžansches Volksthum und modernistische Tendenz in den Schauspielern Mirza Fethi Ali Akhundzade* (1812-1878), thesis Marburg/L., 1952 (not yet published). (H. W. BRANDS)

**AKHİR** (see AMRĀKĪR).

**'AKIDA** (A.), creed; but sometimes also doctrine, dogma or article of faith; and hence 'akā'id (pl.), articles of faith, is also used for "creed".

1. The Development and Use of the Form. The documents to which the terms 'akida or 'akā'id are applied vary in length, and the longer ones cannot be sharply divided from the comprehensive theological treatises (e.g. al-'Akida al-Nidmiyya by al-Diwayni). The terms, however, may usefully be taken to signify compositions where the chief interest is in the formulation of doctrine or dogma, and not in intellectual discussion or argument about it. The earliest and simplest creed is the *ghāhida* or confession of faith [q.v.], and this alone appears to be used liturgically. Though the term 'akida is usually not applied to the *ghāhida*, there is a sense in which most of the later creeds are expansions of it. Sectarian discussions, however, also led to the development of doctrine, and an important source of the later creeds is the succinct formula defining the position of an individual, school or sect on some disputed point. The *Fikr Akbar* I attributed to Abū Hanifa is a collection of such formulae, since it does not mention belief in God and in Muhammad's apostleship, but only the attitude of the Hanafī school on matters on which they rejected views of the Khawāridj, Shī'a and Dīhmiyya. The later creeds are usually statements of the doctrinal position of the various theological schools, orthodox and heretical, and are often the subject of many commentaries and glosses. Sometimes an 'akida is intended as a catchism to be learnt by children. Creeds are often built round either the *ghāhida* (as al-*ghazālī*'s) or the tradition, which elaborates a Kur'ānic formula, that faith is faith in God, His angels, His books, His prophets, etc. (as Birgwi's). Sometimes they are included in legal treatises, as introductory statements of what it is obligatory for a Muslim to believe. The development of the literary form and of its contents has been studied by Wessneck (see *Bibl.*).

2. The Development of Dogma. While the statement of the faith, it seems likely, was constantly being more accurately formulated during Muhammad's lifetime, the development of dogma is generally regarded as beginning with the caliphate of 'Alī and the appearance of the Khawāridj and Shī'a as distinct religio-political parties, the one making justice according to the Scripture the supreme principle, while the other looked for a leader from the household of Muhammad. For at least the first two centuries of Islam religion and politics were

inextricably mingled, but the topic has not been fully investigated. The exclusiveness of the Khawāridj was opposed by the inclusiveness of the Mu'tazila, who refused to treat Muslims who had committed grave sins as unbelievers (and could therefore remain loyal to caliphs of whom they disapproved). As these sects had many subdivisions with differing views, there was a great variety of doctrine by the middle of the 2nd/8th century. In the second half of that century elaborate intellectual arguments about doctrine appeared, inspired partly by Greek and Christian thought. This may be regarded as the beginning of *kalām* or theology [q.v.]. It influenced the formulation of dogma to the extent that some philosophical terms were introduced into the theologians' creeds, e.g. when they said that God is neither substance nor accident (*jawhar*, 'arad'), or when al-Sanūfī prefaces his creed by distinguishing between the necessary, the impossible and the possible. The opposition to this intellectualizing tendency, which probably always existed, found its chief exponent in Ibn Taymiyya. The statements of their position by Shī'is often contain, besides their specifically mystical teaching, a section dealing with their attitude on matters of dogma.

3. The main Dogmas of Islam. No creedal statement has been accepted even by all Sufi Muslims as the standard account of Islamic dogma. The following brief account has been compiled from various creeds (chiefly those of al-Baḡdādī, al-*ghazālī* and Naḡm al-Dīn al-Nasafī), though not in their precise words. Short comments have been added. For fuller details see the articles referred to below.

(a) God [see *ALLĀH*] is one; there is no god except Him; He has no partner nor wife; He neither begets nor is begotten.—This article of faith belongs to Muhammad's Meccan period, though it was given no emphasis in the earliest passages of the Kur'ān. It soon became necessary, however, to insist that Muhammad's doctrine was incompatible with the vague monotheism apparently current in Mecca, which, while acknowledging God as supreme, tolerated lesser deities. Hence in the later Meccan *sūrah*s strict monotheism was vigorously proclaimed, and *shirk* [q.v.], the giving of partners to God, i.e. polytheism, became a serious sin. When the Muslims came into closer contact with Christians, they regarded the current interpretations of the doctrine of the Trinity as an infringement of this article of faith. This is the point chosen for emphasis in the first clause of the *ghāhida*.

(b) God exists; His existence is rationally proved from the originated character of the world.—When the Muslims had to defend their religion against materialists and other unbelievers, some of them offered rational proofs of the existence of God. These were given at length in the theological treatises, and came to influence the creedal statements (cf. al-Baḡdādī, Naḡm al-Dīn al-Nasafī). Some schools (cf. al-Sanūfī) treated existence (*wuḍūd*) as one of God's attributes. This implied a distinction between essence and existence which was opposed by the early Ash'ariyya and Ibn Taymiyya.

(c) God is eternal; His existence has neither beginning nor end.—This calls for no comment except on the difficulty of translation. Arabic has no single word for "eternal". *Kādim* (properly "old" or "ancient" and *azālī* mean "being from eternity" or "having no beginning", while *hāḡim* and *abādī* mean "being to eternity" or "having no end" (cf. ARAB, *ETERNAL*). Consequently the renderings in European languages

sometimes puzzle the uninitiated, e.g. "priority" and "continuance" for the hypostatized attributes *hidam* and *hādā*. Perhaps "pre-eternity" and "post-eternity" might be suggested.

(d) God is different from created things. He does not resemble any of them, and none of them resembles Him. He is not a body nor a substance nor the accident of a substance. He is not bounded nor limited in any way; He does not have a position in space; He may not be said to be in any direction. He sits on the throne (*'arsh*), but only in the sense in which He Himself intended. He is above the throne and the heavens, but at the same time is "nearer to man than his jugular vein" (Kur'ān, I, 16/15). He is not subject to movement or change or suffering.—The otherness (*muhābala*) of God is presupposed in Islamic thinking from the Kur'ān onward, but only gradually became an explicit article of faith; al-Sanūfī makes *muhābala* one of the negative attributes of God. At an earlier period the main body of Muslims came to regard the Muḡhabbiha (those who made God resemble man) as unorthodox (cf. *raṣā'id*). This was chiefly with regard to the interpretation of the anthropomorphic expressions in the Kur'ān, such as God's sitting on the throne and having hands and a face. At the other extreme from the Muḡhabbiha were those, like the Mu'tazila, who interpreted the terms metaphorically. The central position was that of those who said the terms were to be taken neither literally nor metaphorically but *bi-lā hayf* ("without how"), i.e. without specifying their manner or modality, or, as it was sometimes expressed, "in the sense in which God intended them" when He used them in the Kur'ān. It was emphasized that God was not corporeal and not material, and those who held that view were sometimes called Muḡjassima. From the 5th/11th century onwards the followers of al-Ash'ari and other orthodox theologians, but not the Hanābila, largely abandoned *bi-lā hayf* and accepted metaphorical interpretations of anthropomorphic terms.

(e) God will be seen by the faithful in the world to come.—This article occasioned great difficulty because of God's incorporeality. The Mu'tazila and others denied the possibility of any vision of God. Dirār suggested that a sixth sense would be created. Eventually, however, it was generally agreed to accept the doctrine *bi-lā hayf*, and to avoid any inferences from it which involved corporeality.

(f) God is eternally powerful (or omnipotent), knowing (or omniscient), living, willing, hearing, seeing, speaking. He is so by the attributes of power, knowledge, life, will, hearing, sight and speech. These attributes are eternal; they are not God, yet not other than God. His power extends to everything, and no inadequacy or weakness characterizes Him. He knows everything, even what is concealed and secret, even the creeping of a black ant on a rugged rock on a pitch-black night.—These seven attributes (*sifāt* [q.v.]) received special attention from the theologians from the 3rd/9th century on. The discussion probably arose out of the question whether the Kur'ān was created or uncreated (see below). If the Kur'ān was uncreated, it was an eternal entity existing in relative independence of God's essence, even though it was His speech. For the Dīhmiyya and Mu'tazila this view was unsatisfactory, and they asserted that God does not possess attributes of power, knowledge, speech, etc., which are distinct from His essence. In their view it is by His essence that He knows. Opponents called this



in 'fū, "stripping" (see, God of His attributes), and the upholders of it Mu'attila. Those who held that God knows by an attribute of knowledge, neither identical with His essence nor distinct from it, are sometimes known as Sāṭiyya, and include the Ash'ariyya and other orthodox theologians. The points at issue were discussed with much subtlety in al-Sanā'ī and al-Faḥḥālī a further distinction is drawn between God's power and His "being powerful" (*kaṣa* *ḥādīṣa*), etc.; the first group is known as al-ma'mūnī and the second as al-sifāt al-ma'nawīya (perhaps to be rendered "attributes which are hypostatized concepts or aspects" and "attributes connected with hypostatized concepts"). It was doubtless because of their importance in popular religion that hearing and seeing were retained among the seven.

(g) The Qur'ān (4:1) is the eternal and uncreated speech of God. This eternal speech is repeated by men's tongues, written in their copies of the Qur'ān and remembered in their hearts, yet it is distinct from its material embodiments.—The doctrine of the uncreated character of the Qur'ān was developed and advanced in order to justify its position as the chief foundation of law and doctrine. The opponents, who included the Ijāhiyya, the Mu'tazila, and the central government of the caliphate from about 217/832 to 234/849 (cf. *MUSK*), were sympathetic politically to certain groups of the Shi'a; and the Shi'a tended to set the imamate above the written scripture. (It is still the view of the Shi'a that the Qur'ān is created.) The Māturīdiyya and other followers of Abū Hanifa rejected the Ash'ariyya's view that the eternal speech of God can be heard.

(h) God's will is supreme and always effective; "what He wills exists, and what He does not will does not exist". Thus He wills all things, good and evil, though He does not command or approve of all. There is no obligation of any sort upon Him, e.g. to do what is best for men, or to reward them for good works, or to command them to do only what they are able to perform. Actions are good or bad because He commands or forbids them, and not in themselves; He could, if He so willed, change what is good and bad.—The sovereignty of God's will in the world was thought to be impaired by the Mu'tazila's assertion of man's free will, and was vigorously re-asserted by the orthodox. The Mu'tazila also held that God was bound by our (see human and rational) conceptions of good and bad. Al-Ash'ari and some of his followers opposed this, maintaining that good and bad had been known only by revelation. They further asserted that God may punish one who obeys Him, that He may change a faithful man into an infidel (and that therefore when one says "I am a believer" one ought to add "if God will" (cf. *ISTIGHYAT*), and that God may impose on men duties that are beyond their powers. The Māturīdiyya took a contrary view on these and similar problems, though affirming the sovereignty of God's will against the Mu'tazila. The later and more intellectualistic theologians emphasize the supremacy of God's will at the time of events, but in the earlier and more popular creeds, the stress is on God's determination of events beforehand (cf. *SAḤĀB*); and thus al-Ash'ari himself includes in his creed the doctrine that whether a man dies or is killed his death takes place at his appointed term (*qadā* *qāṣ*)."

(i) Man's acts are created by God, but are nevertheless properly attributed to man. They proceed from a power (*ḥada*, *istiḥāṣa*) in the man, but this power is created by God; God does so at the moment

of the act, not before it.—The leading orthodox theologians all try to find a middle way between absolute determinism (*ḡiaḥ*) and absolute free will (*ḡiaḥ*). The argument of the Mu'tazila, that God's justice (*ʿadl*) presupposed that men could properly be punished or rewarded for their acts, forced orthodoxy to deny that men were mere automata. The Ash'ariyya (and others before them—cf. *JRAS*, 1941, 234-47) used the vague word *ḡiaḥ* (q.e.) or *istiḥāṣ*, "acquiring", to describe the relation of man to his act. They held that, though the act proceeded from a power in the man, this power was created by God at the moment of the act for this specific purpose and no other. The Mu'tazila on the other hand held that the power was created before the act and was power to do either the act or its opposite.

(j) God is also characterized by active attributes (*sifāt ḡiyya*), such as creating and giving sustenance.—Some, especially the Ash'ariyya, held that God cannot be called creator, sustainer, etc., until He has created or given sustenance; as this implies the existence of originated beings, these attributes cannot be eternal. On the other hand, some, like the Māturīdiyya, held that God is eternally creator, etc.

(k) Only those names (or attributes) are applicable to God which are to be found in the Qur'ān and sound traditions, or are sanctioned by *ijmāʿ*.—The Mu'tazila argued that names might be applied to God by inference. It is commonly held that there are 99 names (cf. *AL-ASMAʿ AL-ḡUSNĀ*), but in fact more are found.

(l) The questioning by Munkar and Nakir, and the punishment of the tomb, are realities; so also are the signs of the end, such as the slaying of the Dajjāl by 'Isa.—Between death and the resurrection on the Last Day men will be questioned in the graves by two angels, Munkar and Nakir, and rewarded or punished. Various signs of the coming of the Last Day are also mentioned. These are popular beliefs, based on Tradition and not on the Qur'ān, but they have been incorporated into the creeds (cf. *ʿAḡḠĀB AL-SABR*). Among the Shi'a special emphasis is laid on the Return (*raḡʿa* (q.e.)), i.e. of the Mahdi and of a limited number of very good and very bad people; this is for the punishment of the latter and the glorification of the household of Muhammad (cf. D. M. Donaldson, *The Shi'a Religion*, London 1913, 236 f.). This return to earth before the Last Day, though "a preliminary judgement", is to be distinguished from God's final judgement.

(m) God will judge all men on the Last Day (cf. *KIYAMA*). The balance (*miḡāl*), the bridge (*sirāt*) and the pool (*ḡaḡ*) are realities.—The central fact of judgement is prominent in the Qur'ān, and the balance on which men's deeds are weighed is hinted at (cf. Wessicini, *Muslim Creed*, 167 ff.). The pool or basin of Muhammad, from which he quenches for ever the thirst of his followers, and the knife-edge bridge over the pit of Hell, from which the wicked fall down, come from popular conceptions. The various ideas were reconciled with one another only by the later systematizers.

(n) Certain persons, and notably Muhammad, will be permitted by God to intercede for others on the Last Day (cf. *SHAFʿĀʿĪ*). Muhammad will intercede for sinners of his community.—This was denied by the Mu'tazila on Qur'anic grounds, but ultimately gained general acceptance.

(o) Paradise and Hell already exist, and will continue to exist eternally (cf. *ḡANNA*, *ḡARĤAM*). Grave sinners of the Muslim community will be

punished in Hell, but not eternally. No monotheist will remain eternally in Hell.—The Ijāhiyya and other sects held that Paradise and Hell would not be created until the Last Day and would cease to exist after a time, but the majority rejected this view. There are some divergences about the precise fate of Muslims who are sinners, but it is generally agreed that by intercession of otherwise they will eventually be released from Hell, if they enter it at all.

(p) Prayers for the dead and alms offered on behalf of them are advantageous to them.

(q) God has sent to mankind messengers (*rasūl*) and prophets (*nabīyāt*). The prophets are above saints and angels. Muhammad is the seal of the prophets and the most excellent of them.—The *Fikḥ Akḡar* ascribed to al-Shāfiʿi says there are 120,000 prophets and 312 messengers.

(r) Prophets are preserved (*maʿiḡa*) from all sin by God.—This was the view of the Māturīdiyya and other followers of Abū Hanifa, but the Ash'ariyya admitted that they might commit light sins.

(s) The best of men after the prophets are Abū Bakr, then 'Umar, then 'Uthmān, then 'Alī.—This assertion of the acceptance of the first four caliphs in order made in opposition to the Shi'a who held that 'Alī was best.

(t) No Companion of Muhammad is mentioned except for good.—This was to bury the quarrels about rights and wrongs of 'Uthmān, of Talha and al-Zubayr, etc. It was directed mainly against the Shi'a.

(u) Unbelief (*kuf*), or the status of being an unbeliever, does not necessarily follow the commission of sin by a believer.—This was directed against the Khawāridj, who excommunicated anyone guilty of sin.

(v) Faith is knowing in the heart, confessing with the tongue and performing works. It increases and decreases (cf. *IMAN*).—Many others, however, notably the Ash'ariyya, said that works were not a part of faith, and that faith did not increase and decrease.

(w) Faith and unbelief are due to God's guidance and abandonment (*ḡiḡāḡ*) respectively.

(x) (Some later creeds also contain articles about the nature of knowledge and true report, and other philosophical matters.)

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**ʿAKIP PASHA** [see MUHAMMAD ʿAKIP PASHA].  
**ʿAKIK** (a), *nomen univale*: 'Akika is the name of the cornelian, which is found in Arabia—in various colours and qualities, of which the red shade is especially in demand. The cornelian has old been exported from Yaman (al-Shīr) via Sanʿā to the ports of the Mediterranean; and also from India. It was used for seal-rings, for ladies' ornaments and even costly mosaics, for example in the mihrāb of the great mosque at Damascus (according to al-Makdisī, 157). It was used as a medicine for the preservation of the teeth; superstitious belief ascribed to the cornelian in the sealing the power of soothing the heart—especially in battle—and of stopping hemorrhage. Even Muḥammad is said, according to some traditions, to have shared this belief and to have confirmed the power of the seal to give happiness and to protect from poverty. (Similar beliefs attached to the cornelian also in Europe, cf. *Handwörterbuch d. Deutschen Aberglaubens*, s.v. Karneol.) Down to the present day the cornelian has remained a favourite neck-ornament for women, and the name ʿakik has been transferred to any kind of necklace which is of a red colour, whether made of glass or shells or other materials.

**Bibliography**: Hürnī, *al-Djamāhīr fi Maʾrifat al-Djamaʾir*, 174 ff.; Karwīl (Wustenfeld), I, 230; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djamaʾir*, Būlak 1291, III, 283; Tifāḡhī, *Aḡḡar al-Aḡḡar*, Tā, VII, 15; Dory, *Suppl.*, II, 145; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London 1836, II, 358; J. J. Clément Lupton, in *Jā*, 1868, I, 157. (J. HALL)

**AL-AKIK**, the name of a number of valleys, mines, and other places in Arabia and elsewhere. When applied to valleys, 'Akik is used in the sense of a bed cut by a stream; when applied to mines, it may refer either to stones such as the cornelian ('akik) or more generally to any mineral cut away from its source. The name is much used by the Arab poets, who do not always make clear which of the many 'Akikas they have in mind.

The best known of the 'Akikas is the valley passing just west of Medina, from which it is separated by Harat al-Wabra. It continues northwards to join Wādī al-Hamā (q.v.), the classical Idam, which empties into the Red Sea south of al-Waḡḡ. The mountain 'Ayr south of Medina rises above the right bank of al-Akik, which draws much of its water from the neighbouring lava beds. After heavy rains the valley is filled with a broad river which has been compared with the Euphrates; when the rains fall, only the wells remain to stake the thirst of men, beasts, and plants.

In the Prophet's time the first stage of the route from Medina to Mecca ran through al-Akik to Dhū Ḥuḡayfa, as does the present road. Numerous traditions speak of the fondness Muḥammad had for al-Akik, the 'blessed valley' in which he was once told to pray by a messenger from God. As the valley lay within the territory of Muzayna, Muḥammad gave it as a *ḡaṭ'a* to Bilāl b. al-Harith of this tribe. Muḥammad also established a reserve (*ḡima*) for the Muslims' horses at al-Nakī, Bilāl having done nothing to improve his land, the Caliph ʿUmar took most of it from him and distributed it among deserving Muslims. For several generations thereafter the valley flourished: wells were dug, gardens and fields abounded, and the country houses (*ḡuḡra*) of 'Alids and other Medinan notables witnessed parties where the entertainment was hardly in keeping with the sober spirit of the first days of Islam. (Cf. H. Lammens, *Traité de l'Islam*, 98; idem, *Le régime de Meḡḡa*, index—with further references.) Saʿd b. Abī Waḡḡas retired to his estate in al-Akik on the election of ʿAlī as Caliph. The poets lavished praise on the lovely scene and the famous wells, particularly Biʿ Rūma (now known as Biʿ ʿUḡḡan after ʿUḡḡan b. ʿAḡḡan, who bought it from its Jewish owner and gave its water to the Muslim army) and Biʿ ʿUḡḡa b. al-Zubayr. The water of al-Akik was so sweet that it was sent all the way to Hārūn al-Raḡḡid in ʿIrāq. With the decline of ʿAbbasid power and the increase of insecurity in al-Hijāz, the valley lapsed into its old somnolence, to remain there for centuries.

Another 'Akik, sometimes called 'Akik Dhāt ʿIrāq by the older authors, extends northwards from the vicinity of al-Tāḡīf along the inner side of the main mountain range of al-Hijāz. Some writers state that this valley is connected with 'Akik al-Madina, but recent hydrographic studies have shown that it empties instead into a large swampy basin called al-Akūl between Mecca and Medina.

A great valley in Central Arabia was known in classical times as 'Akik al-Yamama or 'Akik Tamra. Although the descriptions given by the

older authors are meager, there is little doubt about the identification of this valley with the present Wādī Dawadī [q.v.], a small settlement in which still bears the name Tamra, while a nearby salt flat in the valley bed is still called al-Akik. According to al-Hamadī (I, 152), Tamra was a town with 200 Jews. The same authority may well be mistaken in connecting the name of this valley with Maʿdīn al-Akik, a mine he places in the vicinity, no trace of which has been found. Other mines with the same name are mentioned, but in such general terms that identifying them may be a hopeless task.

In addition to various other valleys named al-Akik in Arabia, there has been at least one in ʿIrāq south of the Euphrates (cf. W. Wright, *Opuscula arab.*, 110; *Hamāsa*, I, 468; *Aḡḡānī*, VII, 123; al-Dinawarī, 260). On the Sudanese shore of the Red Sea a village named 'Akik (without the definite article) stands on a gulf of the same name southwest of Sawḡīn.

**Bibliography**: Hamdānī, index; Bakrī, *Maʿḡḡim*, s.v. and 'al-Nakī'; Yāḡḡū, s.v.; *Aḡḡānī*, index; Samḡḡdī, *Waḡḡaʾ al-Waḡḡaʾ*, Cairo 1326, II, 286-226; Shakhī Aḡḡānī, *al-Iḡḡānī al-Liḡḡ*, Cairo 1350, 211-4; M. Husayn Haykal, *Fi Maḡḡal al-Yaḡḡ*, Cairo 1356, index; H. St. J. B. Philby, *A pilgrim in Arabia*, London 1946, 50 ff. (G. KENTZ)

**ʿAKIKA** (a) is the name of the sacrifice on the seventh day after the birth of a child. According to religious law it is recommendable (*mustahab* or *sunna*) on that day to give a name to the new-born child, to shave off its hair and to kill a victim, for a boy two rams or two he-goats, for a girl one of these according to the Shīʿites, but in both cases only one according to the Mālikites. If the offering of the 'akika has been neglected on the seventh day, it can be done afterwards, even by the child itself when it has come of age. The greater part of the flesh of the sacrifice is distributed amongst the poor and indigent, but a meal (*waḡḡa*) for the family is recommendable.

Some of the older scholars amongst other Dāʿūd al-Zāḡirī have looked upon the offering of the 'akika as a duty. Abū Ḥanīfa on the contrary regarded it as optional.

The shorn hair of the child is also called 'akika, and the law recommends to the faithful to spend a sum not less than the weight of this hair in silver (or gold) in almsgiving.

The 'akika sacrifice was doubtless derived from old Arabian heathenism. The Prophet is said to have observed: "When some one wishes to offer a sacrifice for his new-born child, he may do so". In heathen times it was the custom to wet the child's head with the blood of the animal. According to some traditions Muḥammad had allowed the idiom to do the same. The jurists still maintain that this custom is not desirable (*sunna*) but it is done, e.g. in Palestine.

According to Doughty (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, I, 452) the 'akika is one of the most frequent sacrificial ceremonies in the Arabian desert, but there it is only performed at the birth of a boy, never when a girl is born.

**Bibliography**: Wensinck, *Handbook* s.v.; Badīdī, Cairo 1326, II, 311 ff. and the other *ḡaḡḡ*-books; Dimāḡḡī, *Raḡḡat al-Umma fi ʿAḡḡānī al-Yamama*, Būlak 1300, 62; Juynboll, *Handbook*, 160 f., 169; I. Guidi, *Il Maḡḡḡar*, I, Milano 1919, 338 f.; J. Wellhausen, *Reise*, 174; idem, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern* (NGW Göttingen, 1893),

459; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia* (new ed. 1907), 179 ff.; idem, *The Religion of the Semites* (3. ed. 1927), 329; G. A. Wilken, *Über das Haaropfer* etc., 92 (*Revue coloniale internationale*, 1887, I, 581); J. Chelhod, *Le Sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, index, and works quoted, 137-40; Lane, *Manners and Customs* (Everyman's library), 55; J. A. Jausen, *Coutumes Palestiniennes*, I, *Naplouze* (1927), 37 ff.; H. Grausnitz, *Birth and childhood among the Arabs* (1927), 88, 240; Snouck Hurgronje, *Makka*, II, 127; J. S. Trimmingham, *Islam in the Sudan* (1949), 180 f. —Concerning the 'akika in Indonesia cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Acheers*, I, 423 (= *The Acheenes*, I, 384); van Hasselt, *Midden-Sumatra*, 269 ff.; Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de ethnologie van Zuid-Gesche*, 67. (TH. W. JUYNBOLL; J. PEDERSEN)

**ʿAKIL** [see BAḡḡI].

**ʿAKIL** a. **ABī TALīb**, elder brother of ʿAlī, who was 20 years his junior. After fighting against the Muslims at Badr, where he was taken prisoner and ransomed by al-ʿAbbās, he became a convert to Islam. The sources give contradictory information as to the date of this event (after the capture of Mecca, according to al-Balāḡḡurī; shortly before or after the pact of al-Hudaybiyya, according to Ibn Ḥaḡḡar, etc.), as well as on his participation in the Khaḡḡar and Muta expeditions, the capture of Mecca, and the battle of ḡuḡḡayn. During the struggle between ʿAlī and Muʿāwīya, he ranged himself on the side of the Umayyads because his brother, it is said, refused to draw on the state coffers in order to pay a debt to him, but the estrangement between the two brothers probably had political causes. Yet ʿAkil would never allow anyone to insult ʿAlī in his presence.

He had "an extremely prosperous household" and a considerable entourage. He died, probably in 50/670, and was buried at Medina. He left several sons who joined al-ḡuḡḡayn at the time of his rebellion against Yazīd; one of them, Muslim, was killed by Ibn Ziyād, and others either six or nine in number, fell at Karbalāʾ. ʿAkil left a reputation not only as a great authority on genealogies and the history of Kurayḡ, on the strength of which he became one of the four arbiters (*ḡaḡam*) of Kurayḡ, and was summoned by ʿUmar to assist in compiling the *ḡuḡḡ*, but also as a man endowed with great natural eloquence; his swift and pungent retorts are often quoted by the historians.

**Bibliography**: Ibn Saʿd, *iv*, 28-30 and index; *Djāḡḡ*, *Bayān*, index; Ibn ḡuḡḡayn, *Maʿḡḡar*, index; Balāḡḡurī, *Anḡḡ*, ms. Paris, 416v-417v; Tabarī, III, 2340 ff. and index; *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 140; *Maʿḡḡdī*, *Murāḡḡ*, v, 89-93 and index; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, *Usd*, Cairo ed., III, 422-24; Ibn ḡuḡḡar, *Jāḡḡ*, Calcutta ed., no. 9994, Cairo ed., no. 565; idem, *Taḡḡḡḡ al-Taḡḡḡḡ*, Hyderabad 1325-27, VII, no. 463; *Aḡḡānī*, xv, 45 ff. and index; Bayḡḡḡ, *Mahḡḡin*, 492; Ibn ʿAbd Rabḡḡḡ, *ʿIḡḡ*, Būlak 1293, II, 133 ff.; Safadī, *Nahḡ*, 200; Nawawī, *Taḡḡḡḡ al-Aḡḡḡḡ*, 426-27; H. Lammens, *Études sur le régime du calife Umayyad Muʿāwīya I<sup>er</sup>*, Beirut 1906-7, 91, 112-3, 175 ff. A series of anecdotes, translated from Balāḡḡurī, are to be found in Caḡḡatī, *Anḡḡ*, 37 A.H. and 176, and several other quotations exist in his *Chronographia*, 50 A.H., no. 39, 551. (L. VECCEIA VAGLIERI)

**ʿAKILA**, one of the most significant institutions of Muslim penal law as regards both the origins and the sociological evolution of that law.

The term *ʿakila*, pl. *ʿawākil*, denotes, as its ety-



mology would suggest, the group of persons upon whom devolves, as the result of a natural joint liability with the person who has committed homicide or inflicted bodily harm, the payment of compensation in cash or in kind. This compensation is called *diya* (q.v.), *ḥabl*, pl. *ḥabā*, and also *ma'wala*, pl. *ma'walāt*, from a root meaning 'to bind, shackle': the Arab lexicographers readily explain that it referred originally to the camels of the *diya*, which were given 'shackled' to the victim or his inheritors (cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Adab al-Kātib*, 1346 A. H., 32; Lā, xli, 487-8, which has a detailed account); but the classical jurists prefer to relate it to the idea of a 'restraint' operating against the exercise of private revenge (cf. Germani *supra*). The original meaning is perhaps to be found in the classical expression *'akabū l-ḥabīḥ*, 'to pay the compensation for the victim of a murder', which possibly meant at first 'to prevent the victim [from avenging] himself'.

This institution has its roots in the ancient Arab tribal principle of joint responsibility (Procksch, *Über die Blutnache etc.*, Leipzig 1899, 56-61; Morand, *Étude de droit musulman algérien*, Paris 1930, 60-7; *ibid.*, *Introduction, à l'étude du droit musulman algérien*, Paris 1921, 210-12; Lammens, *Arabie occidentale*, 189). In Islam, it seems to be a survival not easy to reconcile with the individualist tendencies of religious doctrine which find expression, in the field of moral responsibility, in the Qur'ān (vi, 164): 'no soul bears another's load.' *Fikḥ*, however, approved of it (protests were raised by the McTearlie Abū Ḥafṣ al-Asamm, and in Khāridjite circles), and several 'hadiths' of the Prophet (conveniently grouped, with a commentary, in al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-Awtār*, 1357 A. H., vii, 86-6) gave it the tardy support of Tradition: the *Muwatta'* of Mālik only takes cognizance of such versions as are irrelevant to the question of the *'ākila*, which it discusses at considerable length without invoking any decision of the Prophet. Its incorporation into *fikḥ* was accompanied, however, by the imposition of highly restrictive regulations and even, in one of the principal schools of law, by an appreciable change in the principle of joint responsibility.

Firstly, as was to be expected, *ta'ākul*, or joint liability by *'ākila*, is not permissible between Muslims and non-Muslims (it is allowed between *dhimmīs*, the conditions varying according to the school). Secondly, a factor of much greater importance, four other basic restrictions are laid down in the formula, valid in principle for all the orthodox schools: *lā ta'ākul 'l-'ākilat 'amīn* *wa-lā 'ahd 'wa-lā ṣubḥ 'wa-lā 'irḥām*. '*'ākila* does not intervene in the case of an intentional act, or a slave, or a compromise or a confession'. The first of these restrictions, which limits the legal function of the institution to the case of non-intentional homicide or injury (*ḥabbā'* [q.v.]) — and most of those who allow this supplementary category include the quasi-intentional — is extremely important; there is a clear connection between it and the distinction drawn in the Qur'ān (ii, 178; iv, 92) between intentional and non-intentional homicide. The intentional act of a minor or an insane person is counted by the majority of authors as tantamount to a non-intentional act. The second restriction apparently denotes the grammatical vindication of this was given by the grammarian al-Asna'ī to the Hanafī ḥabl Abū Yūsuf) that if the victim is a slave, and not the guilty party — a slave, the *'ākila* of the guilty party does not intervene; but the Hanafīs, followed with some hesitation by the Shāfi'īs, see

the matter in a different light. The two remaining restrictions mentioned in the formula are represented by the jurists as seeking to prevent any collusion prejudicial to the members of the *'ākila*.

Even more drastic is the Hanafī innovation which affects the members of the *'ākila* themselves. Among the pre-Islamic Arabs, only the relatives by parentage, real or fictitious, were concerned. The Muslim jurists have not departed from this customary view, with the exception of the Hanafīs of Irāk, who have accepted and confirmed an Umayyad administrative practice (Schacht, *Origins*, 207) which gave precedence to the joint liability between companions-in-arms entered on the same pay-roll or *diwān*. This tallied with the tendency towards state control, because the authorities would in this way directly guarantee compensation for the victim, by means of official deductions from pay. The experiment made by some early Mālikīs, obviously following the example of the 'Irākīs, of taking the *diwān* into account to a certain extent, was unsuccessful (compare 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Fikḥ*, ii, 194, with al-Bāḍī, *Mudawwān*, vii, 113-4).

The schools of law are thus virtually unanimous on the point that the *'ākila* comprise, as in the pre-Islamic period, the *'asaba* (cf. *māṭn*) of the guilty party, that is to say, the male relatives or agnates, after whom come, in the case of a freedman, the patron and his *'asaba* (an old Shāfi'ī ruling in favour of the reciprocal obligation of the freedman towards the patron has not been generally accepted). As regards the agnates, the old system of kinship is seen here in all its force and clarity, more plainly even than in the rules governing inheritance; moreover, the agnatic relationship, in such a conservative question of penal law, continues to be interpreted with the greatest strictness: Mālik, for example, stipulates that neither the husband nor the son of a woman who is a guilty party, although they are her heirs, can be a member of her *'ākila*. The Shāfi'īs are alone in excluding from the *'ākila* the ancestors and descendants of a man who is the guilty party, though the Hanbalīs are undecided on this point (Ibn Qudāma, *al-Mughnī*, 1367 A. H., vii, 784). Minors and insane persons are excluded from the *'ākila*, as are women. As regards the guilty person himself, it is certain that originally he was not party to the *'ākila* which intervened on his behalf; although certain Mālikīs have incorporated him in it, it can be confidently asserted that this is in imitation of the Hanafīs — an additional modification to be attributed to the latter (Brunschwig, in *Studia Islamica*, iii, 69).

Hanbalism has not completely excluded from the *'ākila* either the agnates or the patron by right of manumission; it even includes the contractual patron, to whom it alone of the orthodox schools accords legal status; and it places no limitations of time or degree on the agnatic relationship. But agnates and patrons, under this system, only play a supplementary role. Further, Hanbalism justifies its *'ākila* either the agnates or the military *diwān*, to the *'asaba* by declaring itself faithful to the traditional idea of an overriding duty of 'mutual assistance' (*naṣra, laḥiqa*) as the basis of penal solidarity, and by adding the changes which had occurred during the first century of Islam in the very composition of the natural group of mutual aid; thus there was initiated among the members of the *'ākila* a development of doctrine which led to the acceptance of the principle that, in default of the *diwān*, members of the same *sub* or of the same

profession, in a given locality or district, should between them perform the function of *'ākila*. Further developments occurred among the mediaeval Hanafīs, but the various jurists trod divergent and confused paths (the classical works on *ḥibḥ*, through being over-condensed, give the illusion of a unified doctrine); some left the judge considerable scope for the exercise of his own discretion, others were inclined to provide a definitely geographical basis for the institution, at least in the absence of agnates.

As a result of the dislocation of the tribes under Islam and their dispersal over vast areas of territory, the problem of a limitation either, again, of a geographical nature, or connected with the degree of kinship, arose in the other schools, in which the role of the agnates retained its original importance. The Mālikīs had early signified their decision (*Madaṣṣana*, xvi, 198) that there should be no *ta'ākul* between the people of Egypt and Syria, for example, because they constituted different *diwāns* (a faint echo of the *diwān* theory); and the Shāfi'īs, who to begin with saw no impediment in any distance, however remote, wondered in their turn whether relations who were near at hand might not be called upon in preference to more closely connected relatives who lived at a distance (compare al-Shīrāzī, *Muhaghghah*, ii, 214, with *K. al-Umm*, vi, 203). The Hanbalīs were not inclined to take geography into account at all; but, while the Shāfi'īs rejected joint liability between tribes considered to be related, they, on the other hand, limited the institution to that fraction of the tribe in which kinship was clearly established (*Mughnī*, vii, 786, 788). Again, within the framework of the social changes occasioned by Islam, and as a mark of its distrust of Bedouin life, there is recorded the attempt of several doctors to prevent *ta'ākul* between townsmen and nomads: the Hanafī al-Sarāḥī emphasizes this point (*Mabāṣiṭ*, xvi, 132-3); the Mālikīs, notwithstanding the *Madaṣṣana*, loc. cit., on the whole refused to follow this path (al-Bāḍī, *al-Munakhāḥ*, vii, 98).

Attention must be drawn here to a theoretical discussion, which occurs in detailed works of *fikḥ*, on the nature of the obligation devolving on the *'ākila*, and which is notable as an interesting example of Muslim legal thought, rather than for its problematizing interest on practical solutions. Does this obligation rest on the *'ākila* 'per se' (*ibtidā'*)? This is the technical significance of this term, which is sometimes not fully understood, that is, are they considered as debtors 'per se', or does it result from a legal 'transfer' (*intihāl*) from the guilty party, the 'acceptance of responsibility' (*ṭahammul*) being made by the group? The second hypothesis allows emphasis to be placed on the idea of the 'salvation' (*ṭaḥḥīṭ*) and the 'generous help' (*muwadda'*) which, although obligatory, are afforded by the *'ākila* to the guilty party. Hanafism seems to adhere to this theory. The other schools are undecided; the *ibtidā'* of the responsibility, which they hesitate to affirm or maintain, would doubtless tally better with the rival theory with the primitive conception by which the clan, jointly responsible, feels itself bound to offer reparation collectively, as much or even more on its own behalf as on behalf of the guilty party.

Again, as regards the amount of *ḥabl* and the modalities of the payment incumbent upon the *'ākila*, Muslim law has shown a tendency to restrict and regulate the institution. The Shāfi'īs alone have remained faithful, or have returned to their allegiance,

to the settlement of the compensation by the *'ākila*, whatever the amount may be (theoretical discussion by al-Shāfi'ī, *Riḍāla*, ed. Shāhīr, Cairo 1929, nos. 1019 ff., and *K. al-Umm*, vii, 207). The Mālikīs, on the other hand, followed by the Hanbalīs, have fixed, perhaps in conformity with an old government decision (*K. al-Umm*, loc. cit.; Schacht, loc. cit.), a minimum, representing a third of the whole *diya*, below which the *'ākila* are not liable. The Hanafīs, in the same way, but acting with greater moderation, have absolved the *'ākila* from responsibility for sums less than 500 *dirhams* or — what amounts to the same thing according to them — 1/20th of the whole *diya*, the legal rate for head injuries which 'lay bare' (*muḍḥaba*) the skull. Below these minima, therefore, the responsibility rests on the guilty party personally.

All the schools have given their assent (exceptions apart) to the general rule, deriving almost certainly from Umayyad practice, which allows the *'ākila* to discharge its liability by three consecutive annual payments (according to some to commence from the date of the injury, according to others from that of the agreement between the parties, or from the date of the conviction, instead of by the immediate payment of the whole). But they again reveal an appreciable difference of opinion on the method of assessment among the members. The Hanafīs, who like accountancy, and who are anxious to embarrass each member as little as possible, have opted for an extremely low *maximum*, to be the same for all — three or four *dirhams* per head. The Shāfi'īs, who aim at relieving the poor, have fixed two rates of contributions according to means, very similar to the preceding ones, but in this case revolving round a *minimum* — 1/3 *dirḥam* for the rich, 1/4 for persons of more moderate means, proceeding from the nearest agnates to the most distant. The Mālikīs and Hanbalīs refuse to lay down any fixed amount; each of the agnates, in order of kinship, must pay according to his means; this was undoubtedly the ancient method. In an organized State, if an equal assessment is refused, the case must be referred to a judge; the schools concerned agree on this.

The *'ākila* reappears in a closely-connected penal institution, the *ḥudama* [q.v.], but in slightly different forms from the ones just described.

The Islamic Shāfi'īs have made virtually no innovations on the subject of the *'ākila*. Their fundamental solutions are those of the orthodox doctors, with a preference now for one school, now for another. In their eyes, the persons jointly responsible are first and foremost the agnates; the guilty person himself, minors and the insane, and the *diwān* too, are included; the priority accorded to, or rather imposed upon, relations german as against consanguineous relations of the same degree is debated by the orthodox, who in general disallow it. The minimum sum involving the *'ākila* is that laid down by the Hanafīs; the minimum devolving on each member is fixed either in accordance with Shāfi'ī doctrine, or by the magistrate; payment is made, as in the case of the *Sunna*, in three annual instalments.

Finally, can *fikḥ* be said to have succeeded in its effort to preserve, and at the same time to delimit, the function of the *'ākila*? The reply can only be in the negative. In general, large sections of the old Muslim penal law, even though based on the Qur'ān, fell rapidly into disuse, when faced with competition from the secular, and highly arbitrary, justice of rulers; there was even greater reason why this



should occur in the case of an institution such as the *'ahila*, which was extra-*'ku'*anic and no longer corresponded to social reality as far as an increasing number of Muslims were concerned. The evolutionary process initiated during the first centuries of Islam by Hanafism, in the sense of joint liability on a territorial basis, was indecisive, and unsatisfactory in many respects; taken a stage further by the Hanafis in the course of time, it even went as far as the doctrine, put forward by some, that the public treasury, i.e. the state, was responsible in the absence of family or of a military *diwan*. Instead of this solution, which was hard to admit, some authors advocated that the *diya* should be placed to the sole charge of the guilty person—this being the germ of a theory of civil liability which was not further developed (Tyan, *Le système de la responsabilité individuelle en droit musulman*, Beirut 1926, 123-8; Abou Haïf, *Le Dik en droit musulman*, Cairo 1932). It seems that collective responsibility to *day* exists only in societies where the joint responsibility of the tribe is still an active force, for example among the Arabic-speaking nomads (the literature on the subject is summarized in Grail, *Das Kerkennien der heutigen Beduinen*, Bonn 1932), or among the settled Berber populations; customary law then predominates, only influenced in varying measure by Muslim law.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references quoted in the text, all the general works on *fiqh*. For the three principal orthodox schools see Bercher, *Les Dik et les Primes de droit commun prises par le Coran*, Tunis 1926. For reference on the Maliki school Arévalo, *Derecho penal islámico*, Tangier 1939, 40-44. Bourham, *De la vengeance du sang chez les Arabes d'avant l'Islam*, 1933-44, is of no value. (R. BROUSSEAU)

**AKINDJIL**, irregular cavalry during the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire, based on and primarily for service in Europe. Their name derives from the verbal noun *akın* (from *ak-<sup>1</sup>* 'to flow, to be poured out'), which means a "raid, incursion into enemy territory". *Akindji* is "the name given to those who carry out *akın*s on foreign territory to reconnoitre, plunder, or spread destruction". (M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih devrimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 36). The treasurer of Mehmed II, G. Angelidelo, in his recollections on the account of the campaign against Uzun Hasan (1473), gives the best description (trans. Charles Grey): "Besides the five columns we have mentioned, there was also another of the Agazi, who are not paid, except by the booty which they may gain in guerilla warfare. These men do not encamp with the rest of the army, but go traversing, pillaging, and wasting the country of the enemy on every side, yet keep up a great and excellent discipline among themselves, both in the division of the plunder and in the execution of all their enterprises. In this division were thirty thousand men, remarkably well mounted..."

Tradition ascribes the formation of these auxiliary troops, comprising contingents from the Turcoman tribes of Anatolia, to Salâhûddin; and in fact, although accurate information is lacking concerning the battle in the plain of Brusa at the end of the 13th century between Ertoğrul, supported by the *akindji*, and the Byzantine-Tatars, it seems probable that this tradition contains the truth. The term *akın* is also used in connection with naval expeditions. Enverli (ed. M. H. Yinanç, Istanbul 1928, 24) records an *akın* made along the Bosporus with

35 ships. Negârî mentions the *akindji* *hâdîrlar*, or "akindji judges". These irregular units of the Ottoman army established themselves, as the Turks gradually advanced into the northern Balkans, in strategic and wellprotected localities. Firîz Bey of Vidin was ordered by Bâyezîd I to make an *akın* on Wallachia, and in 1391 the Turks (*akindji*) for the first time advanced north of the Danube. Later they numbered not less than 40-50,000 horsemen. They were commanded by what were virtual dynasties of local chiefs (*berg*); Evrenos-oghullar (the descendants of Evrenos Bey [q.v.], at Gümüldüz, Serez, Ighodra) in the north-west; Mihâl-oghullar, descendants of Kösê Mihâl [q.v.], a Greek renegade of the family of the Palaeologi (Serbia, Hungary); Tâhîr-oghullar (Guederevo-Semenovo, Greece, Wallachia and in the direction of Venetian territory); Malko-oghullar, originally from Bosnia where they were known as Malkovitch (Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia and Poland); Kâsim-oghullar (at Vienna, 1329).

Towards the end of the 16th century, the *akindji* lost some of their thrust and importance. In the course of the ill-fated expedition of the Grand Vizier Kojâ Sinân Pasha against Mihâl Vîsâr of Wallachia (1595), they were almost annihilated at Giurgiu (Yerköy) on the Danube they remained on Rumanian territory, where "the root of the *akindji* was severed and they withered away". Again in 1604, Sultan Ahmad I issued orders to 'Alî Bey Mihâl-oghlu to join the expedition against Hungary. But the *akindji* rapidly adapted themselves to new forms of warfare. They became artillerymen, armourers, and drivers, and demanded to be entered in the army muster-rolls and to be paid regularly. The statistician of the decline of the Ottoman empire, Koî Bey, in his *Risâle* (ed. A. Wefik Pasha, London, 1279/1862, 17) written in 1630, stated that "the *akindji* contingents (*akindji* *hâdîrlar*) had become either paid troops or regular soldiers, or had relinquished their positions (*akindji* *hâdîrlar* *idârî*); scarcely 2000 *akindji* remained". Their individuality became lost in the main body of the regular Ottoman forces.

**Bibliography:** Mehmed Zeki, *Ahîrîr ve-akindjîlar*, TOEM, viii, 286 ff.; Ahmet Refik, *Türk ahîrîrî*, Istanbul 1933; N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisés en X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, v, Bucharest 1913/139; Giovanni Maria Angiolillo, *A short narrative of the Life and Acts of the King Uzun Camsano*, in the Hakluyt coll. *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, London 1873, 80; I. H. Uzuncarsili, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 250; Ahmed Eşwâd Pasha, *Ta'rikh-i 'Akhar-ı 'Oghulî*, Kütah-â Fushî, Yendişler, Istanbul 1297, i, 1, and French text, 19; Friedrich Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken in Text und Übersetzung*, Breslau 1922, i, 28; *Ta'rikh-i Nâ'imâ*, Istanbul 1147, i, 68; Zinkeisen, iii, 185-88; A. Doerl, *L'expédition de Mircea cel Bătrân contre les akincis de Karinovali* (1595) in the *Revue des Études Roumaines*, Paris, i (1935).

'**AKK**, old Arabic tribe, probably identical with the 'Ayyikiz ('Ayyikiz) of Ptolemy, vi, 7, 423. H. Reckendorf considered the name 'Akk as a place-name; but it occurs as a personal name in Thumidic inscriptions. At the beginning of the 7th century the territory of the 'Akk in the Thāma of Yaman stretched from Wādî Mawr, over Surūd, to Wādî Sahām (i.e. between modern Lahayya and Hudayya), where it met that of the Ash'ar. At that time they

participated in the Meccan cult. Earlier a colony of the 'Akk was to be found in 'Akk (Tanra) = Wādî al-Dawādî. No information is available concerning their adherence to Islam. In the revolt of al-Aṣad, which broke out during the last year of the Prophet's life, they took sides against him, so that the representative of Medina, Tāhir b. Abl Hāla, was able to remain in their territory. On the other hand, after the death of Muḥammad a group of 'Akk and Ash'ar assembled at 'Akk near Suḥr (in the territory of a sub-tribe of 'Akk of the same name), but they were annihilated by Tāhir and a chieftain of the 'Akk themselves. During the wars of the conquests some groups from the tribe came to Syria (they settled in the valley of the Jordan), and from there to Egypt and the Maghrib, also to Kūfa and Persia. Members of the tribe were prominent in the conquest of Egypt and in the battle of Siffin on the Syrian side). In Arabia, the tribe preserved its old territory, and even extended it to the north and south.

Wüstenfeld, Table A2, shows the divisions of the emigrant 'Akk, the *Turfa* those of the tribe in its primitive seat in the 13th century. In the tradition of Medina (Ibn Ishāq) the 'Akk are counted among the 'Ash'ab, in that of Khurāsān among the Ard Shānā's through 'Udhān, which is often corrupted into 'Adnān). Both versions are easy to understand: when Kūfa was founded, the 'Akk were assigned to the "seventh" of the *lūḥ* (b. Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān), while in Khurāsān they were assigned to the Ard.

**Bibliography:** Azrakî, *Abhār Makka*, Cairo 1332, i, 117; Hamidî, *Diyala*, 68 L, 112 f.; Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, 6; Umar b. Yusuf b. Rasūl, *Turfat al-Ash'ab fi Ma'rifat al-Ansāb*, Damascus 1949, 64 ff.; Tabari, i, 1855, 1985 ff., 2495; Lankester Harding and E. Littmann, *Some Thamudic Inscriptions*, Leiden 1932; M. Nallino, *La Fucine di an-Nabigah al-Ga'ah*, Rome 1935, 104, 87.

(W. CANNIZ)

'**AKKĀ**, the Akco ('Akkā) of the Old Testament, the Ptolemais of the Greeks, the Acre of the French, town on the Palestinian seaboard. 'Akkā was captured by the Arabs under the command of Shurabīl b. Ḥasana. As the town had suffered in the wars with the Byzantines, Mu'āwīya rebuilt it, and constructed there naval yards which the Caliph Hishām later transferred to Tyre. Ibn Tūlūn constructed great stone embankments round the port; al-Makdī, whose grandfather executed the work, gives an interesting description of their construction. The port became subsequently one of the naval bases of the Fātimids in Syria. The Crusades marked a new epoch in the history of the town. After an unsuccessful attempt, Baldwin I succeeded, in 1107/1104, in gaining possession of this important port, which then became the central point in the Christian possessions in the Holy Land. Al-Idrīsī's description of 'Akkā belongs to this period: a large straggling town, with many farms, a fine, safe harbour and a mixed population. After Saladin had won the great battle of Karn Hattin, 'Akkā surrendered to him in 583/1187. But since possession of 'Akkā was vital to the Christians, they again laid siege to the town. The siege lasted for two years, and finally (1191) the arrival of Philippe Auguste and Richard Cœur de Lion led to the capture of 'Akkā by the Christians. From 626/1229 onwards, 'Akkā was the principal centre of Christian power in Palestine, and received the name of Saint-Jean d'Acre, after a splendid church built there by the Knights of St. John of

Jerusalem. In 690/1291 the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf gained possession of 'Akkā and put an end to Christian domination in Palestine. The town was completely destroyed, and for long remained a heap of ruins, with few inhabitants. Towards the middle of the 18th century, a revival took place, when Shāykh Zāhir, who had founded a kingdom in Galilee, made 'Akkā his capital. The town was rebuilt, and flourished still more during the reign of terror of Ahmad al-Djazzār (1775-1804). It was during his rule that Napoleon conducted a fruitless siege of the town, which was protected by the British fleet. 'Akkā continued to prosper under the peaceful rule of al-Djazzār's successors, but in 1832 it was taken by Ibrahim Pasha and razed. It rose yet again, only to be bombarded in 1840 by the Turkish fleet supported by the British and the Austrians. Since then the town has witnessed a certain revival.

**Bibliography:** Balādīyah, *Patāk*, 136-47; Makdī, *ib.*, 162-3 (comp. *EDIP*, vi, 135-6); Idrīsī (= *ibid.*, viii, 11); Yāqūt, iii, 707-9; Nāṣir-ī Khuraw (Scheler), 48 ff.; other descriptions translated by G. Le Strange in *Palestine under the Moslems*, 328-34; E. Robinson, *Neue biblische Forschungen*, 115-29; Guirin, *Galilée*, i, 502-25; *Palestine Exploration Fund, Survey of Western Palestine. Memoirs*, i, 160-7; Gauley-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923; *Guide Bleu de Syrie, Palestine*, Paris 1932; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1933-8 (in particular, vol. II, 13); *idem, Histoire de la Palestine depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, Paris 1952; A. S. Marmadī, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 144-8. (F. BERT)

**AKKEMAN** (see AK KIRMAN).

'**AKL**, intellect or intelligence, the Arabic equivalent to Greek *νοῦς*.

(1) In neoplatonic speculation, which in many respects resembles the late Greek doctrine of the Logos and also in many respects corresponds to the Logos christology, 'akl is the first, sometimes the second, entity which emanates from the divinity as the first cause, or proceeds from it by means of intellectual creation, *nafs* and *fabā'* etc. coming after 'akl in succession. As first created entity the 'akl is also called "the representative" or "the messenger" of God in this world. The neoplatonic idea of 'akl as first creation also appears in the hadīth: "The first thing created by God was the 'akl etc." (cf. I. Goldziher, *Neuplatonische und gnostische elemente im Hadī*, ZA, 1908, 317 ff.). (Cf. also *PALESTA*, *ISHWĀN AL-SAKĀ'*, for the role of 'akl in Ishwānīlism, *ISHWĀNĪYYA* and *DURĪ*; for 'akl in *akl* theosophy, e.g. Ibn 'Arabī and *ABD-AL-RAZZAK AL-RĀSHANĪ*.) (I. DE BOER)

(2) According to the theologians (*mudabbirīn*), 'akl is a source of knowledge and, as such, is the antithesis of *sakl* or tradition (see e.g. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, ch. iii); the words *ifra* and *fabā'* (*qūma*) are also used for it. 'Akl is thus a natural way of knowing, independently of the authority of the revelation, what is right and wrong. (Thus it corresponds to the *λόγος* of the Stoics, which is understood by this term as "natural light" (*lumen naturale*), which was their criterion for distinguishing between good and bad.) This 'akl, possessed by all human beings, is also called *al-ra'y al-muṣṭarak* (al-Fārābī, *R. fi 'Akl* (Bouyges); cf. the *σοφία* of the Stoics and the *κοινὴ γνώμη* of Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De anima* (Brundage) Allied to this meaning of 'akl is the view qualified by al-



Fārābī (op. cit.) and Ibn Sīnā (*al-Hudūd*) as that of the *maʿān* (*al-djūhar*), according to which 'akl must lead to praiseworthy conduct, so that a man of bad character, however ingenious he might be, is not an 'akl (cf. the *ḥēthos logos* of the Stoics and the distinction made by Aristotle between *ἐφροσύνη* and *σοφροσύνη*, *Nic. Ethics*); 'akl here means "wisdom".

(5) The philosophers of Islam followed in their accounts of 'akl Aristotle and his Greek commentators, more especially Alexander of Aphrodisias. According to them 'akl is that part of the soul (for their psychology in general see *SAVS*) by which it "thinks" or "knows" and as such is the antithesis of perception. Mostly, however, 'akl is not regarded as a part of the soul at all, which is then restricted to the lower mental functions, but as an incorporeal and incorruptible substance differing in kind from the soul—an ambiguity which also pervades Aristotle's psychology. 'Akl is broadly divided into the theoretical (*al-naẓari*) and the practical intellect (*al-'amalī*); the former apprehends the quiddities or universals, while the latter deliberates about the future actions and through the appetitive faculty moves the body to the attainment of the good.

The development of the theoretical intellect in man is the most widely and richly discussed subject of the doctrine. In a brief and rather obscure passage (*De anima*, iii, 3) Aristotle had said that the potential intellect in man is actualized by an eternally actual intellect (an application of the general Aristotelian principle that for the realization of a potentiality the agency of something already actual is necessary); the latter acts upon it as light acts upon our faculty of sight or art on its material. The disparity between the two analogies obscures Aristotle's view of the relationship between the passive and active intellects, but it was Alexander's interpretation which provided the basis for the Arabs' discussions. According to Alexander (op. cit.) our intellect is initially a pure potentiality which is actualized by the active intellect which is God; when our actualized intellect is not operating, it is *intellectus in habitu*, which in actual operation becomes *intellectus in actu*. Most of the succeeding commentators, especially Thānis and (pseudo-)Philoponus (Stephanus), reject Alexander's equation of the active intellect with God and declare it to be a part of the human soul. According to Muslim philosophers, the active intellect ('akl 'aṣaf) is the lowest of the separate intelligibles, which gives individual forms to material objects and universal forms to the human intellect—hence its name: *waḥd al-ṣawar* (*dator formarum* of the later scholastics). According to al-Fārābī (op. cit.) the first stage of actualization consists of the abstraction of forms from matter by the "light" of the active intelligence; the second stage is reached when in this actualized intellect ('akl bi 'l-f'i = *intellectus in effectu*) reflects upon itself and attains to a knowledge of the categories and becomes 'akl *muṣtaḥḍ* (*intellectus acquisitus* or *adeptus*). According to Ibn Sīnā (*al-Ḥikma*), *De anima* the potential intellect ('akl bi 'l-hawāṣi, or 'akl kayḥān = *intellectus potentialis* or *materialis*) reaches the first stage of its actualization when it acquires the axiomatic truths (this is called 'akl bi 'l-malakā = *intellectus in habitu*), the second stage (called 'akl bi 'l-f'i = *intellectus in actu*) when it acquires the secondary intelligibles from the primary intelligibles or axioms, the final stage ('akl *muṣtaḥḍ* = *intellectus acquisitus*) when it actually contemplates these intelligibles and becomes similar to the active

intellect, Ibn Sīnā, inspired by Neo-platonism, affirms that the universal cannot be acquired by abstraction from the particulars, but by direct intuition from the active intelligence. The final stage of human bliss comes when the human intellect becomes one with the active intellect, which happens, according to al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, only after death, although Ibn Ruṣḥd allows such a union during earthly life.

One of the chief difficulties of this whole Greco-Arabic doctrine is the individuality of intellect which they affirm to be incorporeal and therefore, according to their general principle of individuation by matter, universal. Although its individuality is recognized, seeing that the subject of thought is the individual "I", the basic principle of their theory of knowledge, viz. that of the identity of subject and object (a principle laid down by Aristotle in order to ensure the objectivity of knowledge, but rejected by Ibn Sīnā), prevented the formulation of the individual ego. This difficulty culminated in Ibn Ruṣḥd (*De anima*), who declared the intellect to be one for all humanity, while recognizing that his theory did not do justice to the individuality of the act of thought.

(6) The Muslim philosophers recognized a hierarchy of separate intelligences ('akal *muṣṭarāḥ*), each lower one emanating from the higher. These incorporeal beings, usually ten in number and endowed with life, intuitive thought and bliss in varying degrees, create and govern their respective spheres which themselves are regarded as being possessed of souls. Like the Greco-Christian thinkers (e.g. (pseudo-)Philoponus, *De anima* (Hayduck), 327), the Muslims identified the separate intelligences with certain angels, the lowest of these, the active intellect, called Gabriel, being the ruler ('akl) of the sublunar sphere.

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'AKLIYYĀT, (a.), technical term in 'Sim al-ḥakām (scholastic theology). Its use is common (see the commentators on al-Taṭṭarānī, al-Baḥārī etc.), as expressing a certain concept, and to denote a genus of theological dissertations, which go back at least to the 6th/12th century with Faḡhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and are clearly stated in the 8th/14th century by al-Iḍḡī, al-Taṭṭarānī and al-Djurgānī. The term refers to the earlier expression *al-ṣulūḥ al-'akliyya*, derived from *faḡḥa*, signifying the rational (and natural) knowledge which the reason ('akl) acquires by itself. Al-Ghazālī uses this phrase freely (cf. *Ihya*, iii) and opposes it to *al-ṣulūḥ*

*al-ḡharīyya* wa '*l-diniyya* (revealed and religious knowledge). According to Mu'tazilite tradition and Sa'ādiya al-Fāyūmī, 'akliyyāt denotes that which is accessible to the reason and especially, on the ethical level, the natural values of law and morals. Cf. the Mu'tazilite MS *al-Madḡimāt* *fi'l-Muḥit* (abridged from the Muḥit of the *Kaḍī* 'Abd al-Djabbār, end of the 10th century) by Ibn Mattawayh (Berlin, MS Glaser 526; information supplied by G. Vadjia).

In classical Islam, this distinction operates also within the "religious sciences". Traces of it are found from the time of the first Mu'tazilite disputation, when 'Sim *diṣ* is sometimes subdivided into 'Sim 'aklī and 'Sim ḡharī. In later works (Aḡḡarī and Hanafī-Māṭrīdī schools), 'akliyyāt denotes the aggregate of subjects in *ḥakām* (i.e. "religious science") which are amenable to reason; that is to say subjects the fundamentals of which, even when they are provided by the *ḡhar*, can be "proved" by "apologetic arguments" (*ḥāṭi*). These are contrasted with the subjects called *saṁ'iyyāt*, *ex auctoritate*, the fundamentals of which derive only from Kur'ānic or traditional texts (*ḥādīṭ*, *ijmā'*). In this latter category, reason only intervenes to resolve arguments of expediency. Two kinds of problems are considered as 'akliyyāt: (1) the purely rational subjects of *ḥakām*, which deal with "essentials and accidents", subjects which are in the strict sense "rational", and which assemble the products of logic, natural philosophy, and ontology; (2) *ḡḡiyyāt*, which deal with (a) the existence of God (*wuḡḡid Allāh*), and his attributes (*ḡḡāḡ*), with the exception of the three attributes of Sight, Hearing, and Speech, and of the "vision of God" (*ḡḡāḡ Allāh*), which are considered as *saṁ'iyyāt*; and (b) the "acts of God" (*af'āl* *ḡḡāḡ*). The *ḡḡiyyāt* must always have a scriptural basis, but a basis which reason, for its part, can prove by apologetic arguments. The other subjects, such as prophecy, eschatology, the "statutes and the names", the "command and prohibition" (*imāma*), are *saṁ'iyyāt*. The great classic of al-Djurgānī, the *Sharḥ al-Mawḡib* (8th/14th century) for example, has six principal sections; five of these treat of 'akliyyāt, and one only, the final section, comprises all the subjects called *saṁ'iyyāt*. (L. GARDET)

AL-AKRA' = HĀBIS b. 'UKĀL = MUHAMMAD b. SUFYAN b. MUḡĀRĪT' b. DARIM, Tamimite warrior. Al-Akra' is an epithet ("bald"); his proper name (Fīris i Dull 2) is disputed. He is said to have been the last judge in the *djāḡiyya* at 'Ukāz, having inherited this office (which was a privilege of Tamīm) from his ancestors; he performed this duty until the rise of Islam, giving his judgments in *saḡ*ī' (al-Djabbār, *Bayān*, i, 236). He is said also to have been the first to prohibit games of chance (*ḡimār*), but was accused of partiality in the controversy between Baghlā and Kalb. He took part and was captured in the battle of Zuhāla (or Salāmā), according to al-Balāḡhūrī and Yāḡūt; and was freed by Bistām b. Kays. Another exploit of al-Akra' was the raid on Naḡrān after the battle of al-Kulāb al-ḡhānī (see al-Nabāḡī, 46, 448; Ibn Ḥabīb's statement (*Muḡabbar* 247) that he took part in al-Kulāb al-awwal is due to a confusion with his ancestor Suṭyān; see *Aḡḡānī*, xi, 67). Ibn Ḥabīb also states that he was one of the *djāḡidīn*, who succeeded in uniting a whole branch of his tribe, the Banū Ḥanzala, under his banner. According to Ibn Kutayba (*al-Ma'āḡir*, 194) and Ibn al-Kalbi (quoted in the *Iḡḡāḡ*) he was a Zoroastrian (*maḡḡḡī*); this is of importance for the estimation of Persian influence on some sections of Tamīm.

Nothing is known of his attitude towards Muhammad up to the time when he joined the Prophet in al-Sukra during the expedition to Mecca in 8/530. He took part in the conquest of Mecca and was one of *al-mu'allafā ḡulāḡuhum* who were presented with gifts, which gave occasion to a famous verse of 'Abḡb b. Mirdās. He took part also in the battle of Hunayn and refused to return his booty, in spite of the Prophet's request. (For Muhammad's somewhat negative opinion of him see also Ibn Ḥishām, iv, 139.) He participated later in the deputation of Tamīm to the Prophet, the traditional account stressing his arrogant conduct; nevertheless, he was appointed to collect the *ḡadāḡ* of part of the Banū Ḥanzala (*al-Anṣāb*, x, 970). Together with other chiefs of Tamīm, he interceded for the captives of the Banū 'l-Anḡar, and was a witness to a letter despatched by the Prophet to Naḡrān.

During the *riḡḡa*, according to Sayf (al-Tabarī, i, 1920), al-Akra' and al-Zubīrān proposed to Abū Bakr to guarantee the allegiance of Tamīm against the grant of the *ḡharāḡī* of Bahrayn, and it was only 'Umar who prevented Abū Bakr from accepting the proposal. In view of the situation of Tamīm at this period, this tradition does not seem trustworthy, but it may reflect 'Umar's attitude towards al-Akra' (cf. *Bayān*, i, 235, and 'Uṣṣun al-Aḡḡār (Cairo), i, 83). Sayf relates also that he took part in the battle of the *riḡḡa* alongside ḡhālīd b. al-Walīd, and was in the vanguard at the battles of Dūmat al-Djandal and al-Anḡar. His name is last mentioned in 32/552-3, when he was sent by al-Aḡḡar b. Kays to subdue Ṭijrān; he must have been a very old man at that time. Al-Balāḡhūrī mentions that his descendants lived in Khurāḡān.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Ḥishām, *Sira*, index; Buḡḡārī, ch. on *Wafā Banī Tamīm*, iii, 65; *Nabāḡī* (Bevan), index; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Djāḡḡarāt al-Anṣāb*, B. M. 1202, 65; Balāḡhūrī, *Futūḡ*, Cairo 1319, 474; idem, *Anṣāb al-Aḡḡar*, MS, x, 969-970; Hishām b. ḡḡāḡī, *Diḡḡān*, Cairo 1929, 243-55, 255; Ibn Sa'āḡ, index; Muḡarrar, *Kawāḡ*, Cairo 1355, i, 133; ḡḡāḡī, *Bayān*, i, 236, 253; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḡabbar*, 134, 182, 247, 473; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'āḡir*, Cairo 1935, 194, 305; Tabarī, index; *Aḡḡānī*, Tables; Ibn 'al-Rabbāḡ, *Iḡḡāḡ*, Cairo 1940, f., index; Ibn Raḡḡīb, *al-Muḡḡī*, ii, 160; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djāḡḡar*, 210; Ibn 'Ashḡir, iii, 10, 191; Yāḡūt, c. ev. Salāmā, *Djāḡḡān*; Ibn al-Aḡḡar, index; *LA*, s.v. *ḡharāḡ*; Ibn Ḥaḡḡar, *Iḡḡāḡ*, s.v. al-Akra'; E. Brāunlich, *Bistām b. Qays*, Leipzig 1923, 46; Maḡḡrīf, *Imāḡ al-Aḡḡar*, Cairo 1945, index. (M. J. KISTER)

'AKRAB (a.), scorpion. This branch of the *arāḡḡida*, which is met with as far north as lat. 43°, includes, in Asia and Africa, some species whose sting produces effects of a more or less serious nature, and sometimes even death. For this reason the scorpion has always haunted the imagination of oriental peoples; it has found a place among the stars (a constellation and the 8th sign of the Zodiac are named after it), and has played some part in the magic and the interpretation of dreams. As a protection against its sting, magic formulas and, later, verses of the Kur'ān, were used, engraved on rings and other talismans; according to the Traditions, Muhammad saw no objection to this practice. The observations of Arab naturalists, who claimed that the scorpion escaped from pain and intense heat by committing suicide, and that the female carried its young on her back and ultimately perished in this way, have been confirmed in modern times.



The behaviour of the scorpion when confronted by human beings, and the effect of its sting on different victims, were noted at an early period; different species were identified; but above all, efforts were made to discover a remedy against its sting. The best method, apart from sucking the venom from the wound, was to cut the animal open and place it on the affected part. The scorpion was played an important part also in Arab medicine; its ashes were an effective remedy against calculus; its roasted flesh would cure the eye complaint known as *rib al-sabal*. Scorpion oil (*dahn al-akārib*), prepared in various ways, was considered to possess particularly curative powers; it was used in the treatment of malignant sores, sciatica and pains in the back, orchitis, and falling hair. In addition, cases are quoted in which hemiplegia and fever were cured by a scorpion sting.

On the use of scorpions in war see al-Djābir, *Hayawān*, v, 358; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, v, 550-1. In Arabic literature, the name "scorpion" occurs quite frequently, and always typifies treacherous hostility (*Hamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 105, verse 1; 156, verse 2; *Hadisat al-himn*, no. 3, verse 24; *Maṭaladīyāt*, ed. Thorbecke, no. 19, verse 12; Nāḥiyya, ed. Ahlwardt, no. 1, verse 4), or mockery ('Urwā, no. 15, verse 2), or calumny ('Urwā, no. 5, verse 6; Farazdaq, *Dihān*, no. 61, verse 3), and similarly in proverbs (Freytag, *Proverbia*, no. 902). The three coldest days of winter (the new moons of November, December and January) were, on account of their "biting" cold, called "the three scorpions" (*Calendrier de Cordoue*, 10).

**Bibliography:** Djābir, *Hayawān*, v, 353 ff. and the index; Damiri, i, 106 ff.; Karwini (Wüstenfeld), i, 439 ff.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmi'*, Būlāq 1291, iii, 1281; Dory, *Suppl.*, ii, 152-3; Hommel, *Ursprung und Alter arab. Stimmnamen und Mondationen*, in ZDMG, xlv, 605; A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in AIEO, 1951, 152-7. (J. HERTZ)

**'AKRABĀ'** is the name of two localities:  
1. A place on the frontier of Yamāma, famous for the bloody battle in which Muṣayyima and the Banū Hanifa were defeated by Khālīd. In its neighbourhood was a grove (*kaḥlāb*), surrounded by a wall and, before this battle, known by the name of "Rahmān's garden"; later on it was called "garden of death".

**Bibliography:** Tabari, i, 1937-1940; Balādhurī (de Goeje), 88; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* ii, 226, iii, 694-2. A place of residence of the Ghassanid princes in Ḥawāṣin; it is probably identical with the present 'Akraḥ' in the province of Ḥaḥl.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, iii, 695; Noldeke, in ZDMG, xxix, 430; cf. in ZDFV, xli, the map of the Ḥawāṣin A B 3. (F. BOUTI)  
**AKRĀBĀDHIN**, or *Karābādhin* from Syriac *grādhān*, reproducing Greek *γρᾶδῖον*, "small treatise", was used by the Arabs as a title of treatises on the composition of drugs, or pharmacopoeias, while the simples which went into the composition were designed by the term *al-sadiya al-murāda* [q.v.].

The practice of pharmacology. In the hospitals pharmacological instruction very early made an important part of the medical training. That the big hospitals had a pharmacist on the staff we can infer e.g. from the *al-Sayda fi 'l-Tibb* of al-Mirīnī. The rapid increase in the materia medica, not only of Greek but also of Iranian and Indian origin certainly called for a special body of

men and for the separation of the pharmaceutical from the medical profession. In ordinary outdoor practice the doctor may have prescribed and compounded his own mixtures (cf. C. Elgoud, *A medical history of Persia and the Eastern caliphates*, Cambridge 1951, 273 f.). As a rule drugs were bought separately from the druggist (cf. al-'Aṣṣār), and then compounded. The *muṣṭash* had to give heed to the various ways in which drugs were adulterated (cf. Ibn al-Uḥḥuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Kurba* (Levy), ch. 25). The practice of preparing substitutes for certain simple drugs is attested by the philosopher al-Kindī who wrote a treatise containing recipes for the preparation of substitutes for rare drugs (*Kitāb al-'Iṭr wa 'l-Ta'wīd*, (K. Garber), Leipzig 1948).

Pharmacological literature. Galen's *De medicamentorum compositione secundum locos et genera* had been translated into Arabic, under the title *Kitāb Tarkīb al-Aḍwiya*, by Ḥubaysh from the Syriac of Hunayn b. Isḥāq (cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Hunayn bin Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Gabeisungsverfahren*, Leipzig 1925, 23 f.). We are told that surgeons, before they could practise, were obliged to make themselves masters of this work (cf. Ibn al-Uḥḥuwwa, ch. 45).

The first pharmacopoeia to receive universal acceptance throughout the caliphate was written by the Christian physician Sūbūr b. Saḥl (d. 235/869), of the staff of the hospital of Iḡḡuday Sūbūr. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (Fihrist, 297) it contained 22 chapters, according to Ibn Abī Usayb'a (*'Uyūn al-Aḥḥād*, i, 161) 17 chapters. It was in common use until the publication of the *Akrābādhin* of Amīn al-Dawla Hibat Allāh b. Sa'īd b. al-Tilmīdh (d. 560/1165). Ibn al-Tilmīdh was a court physician to al-Muḥtafi and to his successor al-Mustajīd and attached to the 'Aḥḥadī hospital in Baghdad. Besides the *Akrābādhin* in 20 chapters he wrote a compendium *al-Maḥḥad al-Biharī* (written for use in ordinary hospitals (Ibn Abī Usayb'a, i, 276). Manuscripts of these works or of parts of them have come down to us (Brockelmann, i, 642 and S I, 888), as have also manuscripts of the *Akrābādhin* of the famous physician and philosopher Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. Zakariyyā' al-Kāzī (Brockelmann, i, 269). Of 14 the pharmacopoeias written in the East, the *Akrābādhin* of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahrām al-Kāzī, who wrote in the year 590/1194, is also worth mentioning. In this work, of which several manuscripts have come down to us, the author quoted the *Hāwī* and the *Tibb al-Mansūrī* of al-Kāzī, the *Kānūn* of Avicenna and other works (Ibn Abī Usayb'a, ii, 31). Of the great medical compilation written by Naḥīm al-Dīn Mahmūd b. Yūsuf al-Shīrāzī (d. 730/1320), the 5th part, containing a treatise on compound drugs, was edited by F. F. Guigues (thesis, Paris 1902).

In Egypt the Jewish physician Mūsā b. al-'Aṣār (Moses b. Eleazar) wrote an *Akrābādhin* for the Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz (Ibn Abī Usayb'a, ii, 36). In the hospitals of Egypt, Syria and Ṣūṣ the *al-Dawār al-Biharī* of Abū 'l-Faḍl b. Abī 'l-Bayṭār (publ. by P. Shacht in *BE*, 1933, 15-28) was in common use until it was replaced by the *Minhādī al-Duhān* of Ibn al-'Aṭṭār al-Isrā'īlī which was published in Cairo in 658/1260 (Brockelmann, i, 648).

In Muslim Spain the study of the text of Dioscorides seems to have inspired an exclusive confidence in the simple drugs. We are informed by Ibn Abī Usayb'a (ii, 49) that the famous physician Ibn

Wafid (d. after 460/1068) very seldom prescribed a compound drug. Like his contemporary 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bakrī, who wrote an inventory of the plants and trees of al-Andalus (Ibn Abī Usayb'a, ii, 52), Ibn Wafid seems to have been an enthusiastic adherent of the Dioscoridean tradition in medicine. This is true also of al-Shāhīdī, the most important pharmacologist of Muslim Spain. In the Latin tradition the *Grabin* of Mesue Junior (according to Leo Africanus this work was written by a certain Māsawayh al-Mārīndī, who died in Baghdad in 1015, and translated into Latin by a Sicilian Jew) was for centuries the recognized authority on pharmacy throughout Europe and became the basis of later official pharmacopoeias.

For the medical principles underlying the composition and administration of drugs see *TIBB*.

(B. LEWIN)

**'AKRABĀ'** [plural: 'Akārib], a South Arabian tribe in the neighbourhood of Aden. Their territory, stretching on the coast line from Bū'r Ahmad to Ra's 'Imrān, is very small (a few square miles only). It is crossed by the lower part of the river (Lahij), which here is nearly always dry; as rain is almost lacking, the soil is barren and yields but little fruit. The chief town is Bū'r Ahmad, with a few hundred inhabitants and the castle of the sultan. The 'Akārib, according to the Rasūlīd al-Aḥḥadī, *Turjāt al-Aḥḥadī* (Zettersteden), 56, 57, belonged to the Kaḍā'a (text obscure; according to 56 to the branch of Banū Majīd, according to 57 to that of al-Shawālī). The identification by A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr. Arabien*, 80, with the Agraai of Pliny, is very doubtful. Their chief, Maḥdī, threw off the allegiance of Lahij and became independent about 1770. Haydara b. Maḥdī, a descendant of the former, signed a treaty of friendship with the British in 1839. 'Abd Allāh b. Haydara various treaties in 1857, 1863, 1869, and the treaty of protectorate in 1888. (The animosity always latent between them and the 'Abdālī led to open war as late as 1887, when the latter besieged Bū'r Ahmad; peace was restored by British intervention.)

**Bibliography:** H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Braunschweig 1873, 314-23; C. U. Aitchison, *A collection of Treaties etc.*, xi, 99, 158 ff. (J. SCHLEISER-M. M. STERN)

**AKRĀB** [see KURĀB].

**'AKS** [see BALĠĠĠA].

**AKSARĀ'** [see AK SARĀV].

**AKḤAM** b. SAYFĪ b. Rīyān b. al-Ḥārith b. MUKHARRAB, ANḤ HAYDA (or Abū 'l-Haffād, *Anḥ*), the verse quoted there is, however, attributed in *K. al-Mu'ammari*, 92, to Raḥī' b. 'Uzayy, also tribe of Tamīm, was one of the judges of the *al-Balāḥiyya*. The biography of Akḥam consists mostly of legendary stories. Numerous traditions tell of missions by kings and chiefs to ask advice from him. The utterances of Akḥam contain wise sayings about life, friendship, behaviour, virtue, women, etc. His personality as reflected in these sayings may be compared with that of Luḥmīn, to whom some of the wise sayings attributed to Akḥam are actually attributed in other traditions.

Akḥam is famous as one of the *mu'ammari*. Muslim tradition tries to bring him into relation with the person of the Prophet and stresses that Akḥam approved of Islam; he is even said to have, spurred on by his people to embrace Islam, and to have died as a martyr on his way to the Prophet, but these traditions are certainly spurious.

Akḥam is said to have had descendants in al-Kūfa, particularly the *kaḥī* Yahyā b. Akḥam.

**Bibliography:** *Nahā'id* of Ḥajjāj and Farazdaq (Bevan), index; Balādhurī, *Anḥ* al-Aḥḥadī, Istanbul MS, fols. 964r, 1070r-1075r; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbat*, index; Sijidī, *K. al-Mu'ammari* (Goldziher), 9-18; Djābir, *Hayawān*, index; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ālim*, Cairo 1935, 35, 139, 240; idem, *'Uyūn*, index; Muḥarrar, *Kānūn*, Cairo 1935, index; Washḥā, *Fāḥid*, MS Brit. Mus., Or. 6499, fols. 118r, 121r; *Aḥḥadī*, *Tables*; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iḥd*, index; Dabbi, *Fāḥīr* (Storey), index; Ibn Ḥarm, *Ḍamharat Anḥ* al-Arab, 200; Ibn al-Aḥḥar, *Uḥd*, Cairo 1280, i, 111-3; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iḥd*, no. 482. (M. J. KRISTE)

**ĀL** (ar.), the definite article, see *TĀ'ĀL*.

**ĀL**, the clan, a genealogical group between the family (*ash*, *'ā'ila*, [q.v.]) and the tribe (*bayy*, *hablā*, [q.v.]), synonym of *'aḥḥad* [q.v.]. In this sense, the word occurs in the title of sūra iii, *sūrat al-Imrān*. The *āl* of the Prophet are the descendants of Ḥāshim and al-Muṭṭalib; when the *Shī'a* restricted this concept to his nearest relatives and descendants (see *ASH*, *al-BAY*), the Sunnis enlarged it so as to include all his followers (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). Later, the term came to mean the dynasty of a ruler, e.g. *āl 'Uḥḥmān*, the Ottoman dynasty, *āl Bū Sa'īd*, the dynasty of the rulers of 'Uḥmān and Zanabir, *āl Fayyāl al-Su'ūd*, the official title of the Saudi Arabian dynasty. (E. J.)

**ĀL**, demon who attacks women in childbirth, a personification of puerperal fever; cf. ZDMG, 1882, 85; Goldziher, *Arab. zur arab. Philologie*, i, 116; H. A. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina*, 104-7. (A. HAFNER\*)

**ĀL** [see SARĀB].

**ĀLA** "instrument", "otensil" (synonym of *add* plural *adawāt*).

i. In grammatical terminology, *āla* and *add* are found in expressions like *ālat al-ta'wīf* "instrument of determination" (= the article *al*), *ālat al-taḥḥīḥ* "instrument of comparison" (= the particle *ka*) etc. The term *āla* (like *add*) does not seem to have been used by the Arab grammarians of the 3rd/9th century; in works such as that of Ibn Fāris, the word *add* is only met with once. Towards the end of the 13th/14th century the term *harf* ("particle") may be regarded as signifying also the grammatical "instruments" later called *āla* and *add*. This usage seems to imply a distinction between the idea of "casual action" (connected with *harf*) and the idea of "syntactic function" (represented by *āla* and *add*), leading to the expression of "determination", "finality", "comparison".

**Bibliography:** Ibn Fāris, *Saḥīḥ*, 102; al-Tahāwī, *Kaḥḥīf* *al-ḥalālāt al-Fawān*, ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, art. *add* and *āla*. (R. BRACKEN)

ii. In the classification of sciences *āla* is the name of such attainments as are acquired not for their own sake (as an end in itself), but "as a means to something else", as e.g. philosophical sciences and logic, as ancillary studies of the religious sciences and *'alim al-dīnya* in contrast to *al-'ulūm al-shar'īya*. Cf. the expression *āla al-mundāma*, i.e. knowledge and accomplishments which are useful in social intercourse. Consequently that what is called *āla* differs from what is called *adab* [q.v.] only in so far as the former takes into account the attainments in the religious sciences, i. e. The appellation *āla* corresponds exactly to the expression *ἐπὶ τῶν* in the classification of the philosophical sciences by Tyrannion of Amisus;



see H. Ueumer, *Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft* Bonn 1889, 21.

*Bibliography*: *Ghazālī*, *Ḥayy*, *Kutāb al-ʿIlm*, ch. II (*Ḥikāf al-Sāda*, I, 149); Suseok Hurgonje, *Mekka*, II, 206; Goldthorpe, in *Stenographische Zeitschrift*, 114 (with further references). (I. GOLDTHORPE)  
iii. Logic is called *alā*, following the peripatetic view according to which it is an instrument (*ḥayy* 'yawl', not a part of philosophy (cf. Goldthorpe, in the bibliography of II, above); S. van den Bergh, *Aurores Epitome de Metaphysica*, 145; al-Bīrūnī, introd. to *al-Ḥayyāna* (ed. M. Meyerhof, in *Quellen u. Stud. u. Gesch. d. Naturw. u. Med.*, 1932); and MANTIKH.

For other meanings of *alā* see *ḤAYY*, NAWBA.

**ALA DAGH** (ʿā), 'mountain of various colours', name of various mountains. (1) In N.W. Anatolia, near Bolu. (2) In the Taurus range. (3) In E. Anatolia, near the springs of the Murād Şu, N. E. from Lake Wān; it served as summer headquarters for the Ilkhānids. (4) In N.E. Persia, S. of the Atrak. (5) In Central Asia, between Drungaria and the basin of Lake Balkash. (6) Between the Isik Kōl and Aloua Ata. (7) In Siberia (in Russian Kunzets Mountains), N. of the Altai Mountains. (8) The local pronunciation for the last three is *Ala Taw*.

**ALA SHEHR**, 'the motley-coloured town', town in Anatolia at the foot of the Boz Dağ (ancient Tmolus), near the Kuzu Cay. In antiquity and in Byzantine times the town, called Philadelphia after its founder, Attalus II Philadelphus, played an important role (see Pausanias, *Strabo*). It was taken, together with the other towns of Phrygia by Süleyman b. Kathunagh in 1075 or 1076, but was recaptured by the Byzantines in 1093 and served as an important base in their operations against the Saljuks. According to Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), 37, the battle between the emperor Theodore Lascaris and the Saljuks Kay Khusrav I, in which the latter lost his life (607/1210), was fought near the town (here called for the first time *Ala Shehr*), but this is not borne out by the Byzantine historians. The town was besieged by the Gerniyan-oghlu Ya'qub I in 1305, but was relieved by the Catalan mercenaries; as a result of repeated sieges by the Gerniyan-oghlu (1307 and 1324), the town was reduced to the payment of tribute. Subsequently, the tribute was paid to the Aydin (though the statement of the *Düstūr-nāme-yi Isfahānī*, that it was actually captured by the Aydin-oghlu Timur Beg in 1335, does not seem to correspond to reality). *Ala Shehr* was captured, the last of the free Greek cities in Asia Minor, by Bāyezīd I in 1394/1391, but passed in 1402 into the possession of Timur, and subsequently into that of Ḥumayd Beg, until it came finally under Ottoman dominion in the reign of Murād II. In Ottoman times the town did not preserve its former importance and was only the capital of a *ḥaḍā* (of the *vilāyat* of Aydin, later of Manisa). Between 1291-25 it was occupied by the Greeks. In 1890 the town had 17,000 Muslim, 400 Greek inhabitants (Cuiet); in 1945 the town counted 8,883 inhabitants (all Muslims), the *ḥaḍā* (I, 115) 59 km. 45, 794.

*Bibliography*: Lebeau, *Histoire de l'Empire*, Paris 1813-6, xv, 357 f., 426 f., 427 f., 446, xvi, 61 f., 184, 285, 331 f., 412 f., xvii, 253, xviii, 3, xix, 421 f., xxi, 316, xx, 460 f.; Chalandou, *Alexis I. Comnène*, Paris 1900, 12, 197, 255, 265; idem, *Jean II. Comnène et Manuel Comnène*, Paris 1912, 37, 417, 395 f., 460, 501, 513; Moncada, *Expedition des Catalans* (French transl., Paris 1828), 73-84; 'Aḥḥāḥ-paḥḥā-rāde, *Tawāḥh*, Istanbul 1331, 46, 64 ff.; Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tadh* al-Tawāḥh, Istanbul

1279, I, 117; Mükrimin Halli, *Düstūr-nāme-i Isfahānī*, Istanbul 1929, introd., 36 ff.; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie arabe de l'Asie Mineure*, 61; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, Ankara 1937, 10, 28, 187 f.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 269 f.; A. Wächter, *Der Vorfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien*, in *Leipzig*, 1901, 39 f.; F. W. Wotke, *Das Türkentum in Mesopotamien*, Istanbul 1934, 78 ff.; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, II, 375; A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, IV, 31 f.; V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II, 571 f.; F. Sarre, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, 4 f.; *IA* x.v. Alasheir (by B. Dorok and Mükrimin Halli Yunus).

**'ALĀ' AL-DAWLĀ** (see KAWAWAYMA).

**'ALĀ' AL-DAWLĀ AL-SIMNĀNĪ**, RUKN AL-DIN ABU 'L-MAKKĪM AHMAD B. SHARAF AL-DIN MUH. B. AHMAD AL-BAYRĀNĀKĪ, important mystic, born in Dhu 'l-Hijja 659/Nov. 1261 in Simnān (Khurasān) of an illustrious and rich family (see SIMNĀNĪ). When he was fifteen, he left Simnān and entered government service. Under the Ilkhān Arghūn his father became governor of Baghdād and the whole of Iraq, his paternal and vicar, and his maternal uncle *ḥādī* 'l-mawālīd. In the course of a campaign in 683/1284 against Arghūn's uncle, Simnānī experienced near Ka'bin a vision of the other world, and though he remained until mid-Sha'bān 685/beg. Oct. 1286 in the service of the Ilkhān, he was then allowed to go on leave to Simnān, where he found his way, after examining his conscience, to Sunni Orthodoxy and Sūfism. He performed spiritual exercises with the aid of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Kut al-Kawāb*, until he made the acquaintance of *Aḥḥā* Sharaf al-Dīn Sa'd Allāh, by whom he was taught a particular form of remembering God's (*dhikr*), viz. throwing the head swiftly hither and thither; this resulted after only one night in powerful manifestations of light. Simnānī decided to join as a novice Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Kasrīkī al-Isfahānī, by whose command Sa'd Allāh had visited him; so in Muharram 686/Febr.-March 1287, instead of returning to Tabriz, he travelled in *ḥif* dress to Baghdād, where Kasrīkī lived. He was, however, stopped in Hamadān by Arghūn's men and was carried to Shārizayr, where Arghūn was founding the city of *Shārizayr* (later completed by Ulgıyāt). He succeeded, as a result of successful disputations with Buddhist monks (*ḥāḥḥā* < *ḥāḥḥā*), who played a great role at the court, in appeasing the Ilkhān's anger, so that he was asked to remain at court at least as a Sūfi. After staying, rather unwillingly, for eighty days, Simnānī escaped to Simnān, which he reached in Simnān 686/Oct. 1287. Arghūn, having ascertained that he had not gone to Baghdād, left him alone. Sa'd Allāh, who had in the meantime visited Baghdād, brought for Simnānī the *ḥayyā* of Kasrīkī, in whose name he entered the *ḥalwa* in Simnān, in Shawwāl 687/Nov.-Dec. 1288. After the dismissal of his father and the execution of his uncle, (for the date see SIMNĀNĪ; 'Alā' al-Dawla's own statements vacillate), he succeeded in reaching Baghdād, where for the first time he met his *shaykh* Kasrīkī personally (Ramādān 688/Sept. 1289). Simnānī entered the *ḥalwa* in the Masjid al-Khalifa and undertook, in obedience to an order by Kasrīkī, the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. He returned to Baghdād in Muharram 689/Jun. 1290, entered the Baghdād for the second time in the *Shūṭiyya*, and, after returning to Simnān, where he began to instruct Sūfis in the *ḥikmah* al-Sakkāfi. After a life of extensive educational and

literary activity he died in his monastery, Süfiyāhād-Khūṭānīd, in Simnān, on 22 Rajab 736/6 March 1345.

Simnānī was a Sūfi; he condemned the *Shūfi* tendencies of Ulgıyāt and praised the amir Ḥubān, who did not share them. In spite, however, of his zealous advocacy of war against unbelievers, he rejected the idea of a revolt against *Shūfi* oppression and advised, with Hasan al-Baṣrī, to show patience under oppression, though not to withhold exhortation or prayer for improvement. In the *Shūfi* he appreciated the love of the Prophet's family, but deprecated their hatred of 'Alīya. He adapted the *Shūfi* belief in the disappearance of the twelfth Imām to his doctrine of the *ahādī*, who according to him, was raised after his disappearance to the grade of *ḥaf* and then, after 19 years, died. By his *shif* affiliation he was a Kubrawī (Simnānī-Kasrīkī, d. 717/1317 — Ahmad al-Jurāfānī, (Görpānī), d. 669/1270 — Rajā' al-Dīn 'Alī al-Lālā, d. 642/1244 — Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, d. 618/1221), but he also venerated, in addition to this line, other *shaykh*s, and more especially Abū Ḥaf's Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234). He also took as a model the Kubrawī Majd al-Dīn al-Buḥārī (d. 616/1212), whose name he sometimes inserts between Lālā and Kubrā. He was impressed by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, but advised caution. He admired also Ghazālī, but blamed in him the excess of theory over experience and the abundance, in some of his writings, of philosophical (Avicennian) ideas. Simnānī's main opponent was Ibn 'Arabi, against whose pantheistic ideas he kept up continuous polemics, not only in his books, but also in his correspondence with 'Alā al-Razzāk al-Kāshānī (d. 730/1330). He accused Ibn 'Arabi of idolizing a verb (*ḥayy*), by his identification of Being (*wujud*) and God; he himself considers Being as an attribute (*ḥayy*) or accident, which, though it is eternally inherent in God, is distinct from His essence (*ḥayy*). For this reason the last degree of the mystic is not *taḥḥīd*, but '*ḥayy*. The only presence of man in God is the grace of inner purity (*ḥayy*), by which he is enabled to reflect the higher things. To become a mirror in this sense is the aim of manhood and mysticism. Simnānī's doctrine was later elaborated by the *ḥayy* Ahmad al-Sirhindī (q.v.), d. 1035/1626) who opposed this reversion to *ḥayy*, *ḥayy*, to the *wujud* of Ibn 'Arabi.

Simnānī shared with Kubrā a strongly mediomystic nature and a preference and capability for visionary experience. He had a particularly refined feeling for spiritual vibrations in his environment; out of a deep sense of the living presence of Khadīr, he insisted on saying 'the Lord' Khadīr; and at places where he attempted to contact the spirits of the great dead (*ḥayy*), he registered the slightest oscillations of experience. Like most of the Kubrawīs, in mystical training he accepted the so-called 'eight conditions of *ḥayy*' (see Meier, *Faḥḥ*, index), about which we have different statements by him. In addition to the particular *dhikr* of Kasrīkī (cf. above) he had another, viz. the recital of certain formulae in four beats; the *ḥayy* being drawn as it were from the navel, the *ḥayy* sunk into the right side of the breast, the *ḥayy* raised from there, and the *ḥayy* thrust into the left side of the breast, the heart (cf. for the recital of this *dhikr* in two beats Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Dāya, *Mirdād al-ḥayy*, Teheran 1312/32, 151, and for another practice, 'Alā' Nāsaf, in *WZKM*, 1933, 163). Simnānī also practised listening to music (*ḥayy*) and fed in his monastery passing

travellers. The greater part of his possessions he left as *ḥayy* for the Sūfis of his persuasion; he disagreed with the view that the Sūfi must have no material possessions, though he demanded that each individual should give away all he had. He denounced begging and in general insisted, in the interest of humanity, upon the most intensive cultivation of the soul, another feature which connects him with Kubrā and his disciple, Sayf al-Dīn al-Bāḥarī. Simnānī aspired to a great number of disciples, hoping that there would be amongst them at least one chosen one. His most important, and for a time most beloved, disciple seems to have been 'Alī al-Dīn, who became teacher of 'Alī al-Hamadī. Names of other disciples are to be found in *ḥayy* al-Sistānī's collections of Simnānī's apophthegmata, and those in *ḥayy*, *Nafāḥāt al-Uroa*, 510-14 and the *ḥayy* al-'Askānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, I, 251. Some of them bore the title of *ḥayy*.

There exists as yet no critical bibliography of Simnānī and none of his works has been published. For the works in Persian, cf. the catalogues of MSS and for those in Arabic, Brockelmann, II, 263, S. II, 281 (eleven *ḥayy* al-Sayyid *ḥayy* and *Tadh* al-Sayyid, *Maḥḥā*, *Maḥḥā* al-Kawāb, *al-Uroa* I, *al-Khawāb* and *Safaw* al-Uroa belong together as different versions of the same work and can be exactly dated: the first 711/1311 (MS *Shahid* 'Alī 1378, not 1328), the second Ramādān 720/Oct. 1320-23 Muharram 721/Dec. 1321, and the last *ḥayy* al-Dīn 728/Oct. 1328-18 Dhu 'l-Hijja 728/Dec. 1328. Some of the surviving MSS are excellent; MS 'Aḥḥā I 482 of the *Uroa* reproduces the autograph, Lālel 1432 of the *Safaw* is dated Süfiyābād 733/1333 and was thus written in the lifetime and perhaps under the eyes of the author). The book *Fadh* al-Sharīf (MS Fayd Allāh 2135, not 2133) should probably be called more correctly *Fadh* al-Tarīk; it is once quoted by Simnānī himself, in accordance with the sub-title of part I, as *Tabyin al-Mahmūd wa-Tabyin al-Daradīst* and dates from 712/1312-3. The treatise *Mā lā ḥadd fi 'l-Dīn* is in Persian and the treatise on Simnānī's *ḥayy* affiliation, also in Persian (MS Paris 159, 10) is called not *Tadh* al-Kubrā, but *Tadh* al-Maghāyib. Of great importance for Simnānī's biography and mystical and Sūfi collection of his sayings, made by his disciple Ḥabīb al-Sistānī and preserved in several MSS under the titles of *Ḥayy* *ḥayy*, or *Mafḥūḥ* al-Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dawla-yi Simnānī, etc. On this is based the greater part of *ḥayy*, *Nafāḥāt*, 504-15.

*Bibliography*: Autobiography in *Maḥḥā* 'Uroa, *Safaw*, *ḥayy* al-Sistānī and *ḥayy*, see above; Nūr al-Dīn Djalāl Badakhshī, *Khūṭānīd al-Mahmūd* (MS Berlin, in Persch no. 6, 6; MS Oxford, in Etbe, no. 1264); Dawlatshāh, 251-2; 'Alī b. al-Husayn al-Wāḥid al-Kāshānī, *Rasāḥ* 'Ayn al-Hayāt, lith. Lucknow 1905, 35 (correspondence with 'Alī al-Rānīnānī); 'Abd al-Husayn Nawwātī, *Ridāḥ* *ḥayy* al-Sayyid, Teheran 1324, 29-30; Rūḥ Kull Khān Ḥudayyat, *Riḥ* al-'Arifin, Teheran 1316, 178; and other biographical collections; W. Ivanov, in *JASS*, 1923, 299-303; Maulavi Abdul Hamid, *Cal. of the Arab. and Pers. MSS in the Or. Publ. Libr. at Banikpore*, xiii, no. 905; Mir Valiuddin, in *IC*, 1951, 43-51; F. Meier, in *Id.*, 1957, 14 f.; idem, *Die Faḥḥ* al-Jamāl des Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, Mainz 1956, 164-165 (F. MEIER).

**'ALĀ' AL-DIN** (see *GHURIDS*, *KHARIZMIYĀN*, *SALJUQS*).



'ALĀ' AL-DĪN BEG (commonly 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN PAŞHA), son of 'Oghmān, the founder of the Ottoman state. His figure remains enigmatic, owing to the absence of reliable documents and the tendentious, and rather legendary, character of the early Ottoman chronicles—the same circumstances which are the cause of so many uncertainties in early Ottoman history. In some sources he is called Erden 'Alī (Ibn Taghribirdī and Ibn Hadjar), or 'Alī. According to the historians he and Orghān were born of the same mother, Māl Khātūn, daughter of the aghā Edebalı; according to a document of 724/1324, however, Māl Khātūn was the daughter of a certain 'Umar Bey—thus there seems to be some error. There are conflicting statements as to whether he was a younger, or an elder, brother of Orghān. The historians relate that after the death of 'Oghmān, 'Alā' al-Dīn (who is said to have stayed during his father's lifetime with Edebalı in Bilejik) refused the offer made by Orghān to assume the direction of the affairs of the state and retired to his property situated in Kotra (or Kudra) in the district of Kere, between Brusa and Mihallıç. H. Hüsnü al-Dīn has put forward the suggestion that in reality the two brothers were rivals for the throne and that this fact was purposely distorted in the historical tradition. (Ibn Taghribirdī and Ibn Hadjar say: "Erden 'Alī succeeded his father".)

According to tradition 'Alā' al-Dīn for some time occupied the post of vizier and commander-in-chief; in effect, in a *wahy* by him, dated 733/1333, he bears titles which imply a military position. H. Hüsnü al-Dīn holds that 'Alā' al-Dīn, while he was commander-in-chief, was never a vizier, but that his figure was conflated with that of a certain 'Alā' al-Dīn Paşa, who was in fact 'Oghmān's and Orghān's vizier. (He is mentioned in a *wahy* of Asporjiz Khātūn, Orghān's wife, dated 723/1323.)

The establishment of various Ottoman institutions are ascribed to 'Alā' al-Dīn: the choice of the coniform cap of white felt as official costume and the organization, together with Djenderli-rāde Kara Khaml, of Ottoman infantry (*yaya*). The responsibility for the introduction of an Ottoman coinage is also credited to him by late historians. (Cf. ORGHAN.)

'Alā' al-Dīn died about 1333; the various accounts concerning the circumstances of his death in late authors (such as Nizāmī and Belgh) are not worthy of credit. His tomb is in 'Oghmān's mausoleum in Brusa.

Descendants of 'Alā' al-Dīn are mentioned in the latter half of the 15th century by Neghri and 'Aghāpaşa-rāde, in the 16th century in land-owners, in connection with *wah* established by their ancestor.—'Alā' al-Dīn founded a *taba* in the Kükrül quarter of Brusa and two *monques* in the fortress of Kaplıda.

**Bibliography:** 'Aghāpaşa-rāde, *Ta'rih*, Istanbul 1332, 21, 36 ff.; Neghri (Tarschuer), index; *Urdu Tawarikh-i Al-i 'Oghmān* (Babinger), 3 ff.; *Ta'rih-i Al-i 'Oghmān* (Giese), Lufft Paşa, *Ta'rih*, Istanbul 1341, 27 ff.; Sā'id al-Dīn, *Tādh al-Tawarikh*, Istanbul 1279, 1, 21 ff.; 'Alā', *Kutub al-Akhbar*, v, 42; Şoluk-rāde, *Ta'rih*, Istanbul 1297, 18 f.; Muhammad Za'im, *Ta'rih* (cf. TOEM, II, 436-45); Hammer-Purpstatl, index; Hüseyin Hüsnü al-Dīn, *'Alā' al-Dīn Bey*, TOEM, xiv, 307 ff., xv, 128 ff., 200 ff. (with excerpts from unpublished sources); I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Gazi Orghān Bey vahyleri* (724), *Bell*, 1941, 278 ff.; *LA*, s.v. (by I. H. Uzunçarşılı). (S. M. STERN)

'ALĀ' AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD B. HASAN (see ALAM7).

'ALĀ' AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD KHALDĪ (see DİHL, SULTANATE OF).

ALABA WA 'L-KILĀ', 'Alava and the forts', a geographical expression used in the 2nd-3rd/8th-century by Arab chroniclers to denote that part of Christian Spain which was most exposed to the attacks of summer expeditions (*al-shi'a*) sent from Cordova by the Umayyad army. The term Alaba was used more especially to denote the northern part of the Iberian peninsula beyond the left bank of the upper valley of the Ebro. This region was bounded on the west by the territories of Bureba and Castilla la Vieja ("Old Castile" = *al Kila*), which stretched from the left bank of the Orghān, opposite the Puncobro pass as far as the outskirts of the present town of Santander. Alaba to-day the name of a Spanish province, the capital of which is the modern town of Vitoria.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 143 D. 1. See also AL-ANDALUS (I. LEVI-PROVENÇAL).

ALADDIN (see ALP LAYLA WA-LAYLA).

ALADJA (r.; originally a diminutive of *ala* = spotted, variegated) = chints with coloured stripes (cp. Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Alpja*, 8 and 736); it is also found in geographical names (see for example the next article).

ALADJA DAGH, "mountain of various colours", a name often employed for mountains in Turkish speaking countries; it is the name e.g. (1) of a mountain S. W. of Konya; (2) a mountain, constituting a spur of the Kara Dag in the S. E. part of Kars, near which the Russians defeated the Turks on 16 Oct. 1877.

ALADJA HISAR, "the motley-coloured fortress", the Turkish name of the town of Krusovats, on the south side of the Western Morava. The town was the capital of Serbia under Lazar (who assembled there his army to march against the Turks, and lose his empire, at Kosovo, in 1389) and his son Stephan. It was occupied by the Turks in 1428, after the accession of George Brankovitch, who made Semendria his capital. The town played a role in the Serbian wars and Muhammad II established there a gunfoundry. Aladja Hisar was the capital of a *sandjak* in the eyalet of Rüm-el *g.* The Austrians occupied the town for a short while in 1737; a second occupation lasted from 1789 to 1791, when the town was restored to Turkey by the treaty of Sistova. It was occupied from 1806 to 1813 by the Serbian insurgents of Kara George; in 1833 it was ceded to the autonomous principality of Serbia as one of the "six districts" (cf. G. Gravier, *Les frontières historiques de la Serbie*, Paris 1919, 67 ff.); the small garrison of the citadel, however, had to be starved into surrender.

**Bibliography:** C. Jireček, *Staat u. Gesellschaft im mittelalt. Serbien*, iv (Dienstadt, *Ar. Wien*, 1919), index; idem, *Geogr. d. Serbien*, Gotha 1919, 186, 191, 202, 212; B. de la Broquière, *Voyage d'Orientisme* (Schöffer), 305; F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer*, 146, 165, 385; Ewliya Çelebi, v, 584; Hâdîdî Khāfī, transl. J. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, 146; A. Boe, *Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1840, ii, 28, 395, iii, 203-4, 207, iv, 282; idem, *Récueil d'itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Vienna 1854, i, 176 ff.; R. M. He, *Krakov*, 1908. (S. M. STERN)

'ALĀ'YYA (see ALANVA).

'ALĀKA (see ANSA).

'ĀLAM, plural *'ālam* (a), i. "simplist, flag", used in the latter sense concurrently with the Arabic *liwa'*, *rāya*; the Persian *band*, *dirafsh*; and the Turkish *bayrak* = *liwa'*, *sandjak*; see SANDJAK, and compare the Latin *signa*.

It is known that when, before the advent of Islam, the Kuraysh waged war on another tribe, they received from the hands of Kusayy the *liwa'*, a piece of white cloth which Kusayy himself had attached to a lance (Cassius de Perceval, *Essai*, i, 237-8). During Muhammad's lifetime, flags were called indifferently *liwa'* or *rāya*, less commonly 'alam. Tradition, however, says that the flag ('alam) of the Prophet was called 'uhāb. Other traditions contrast the *rāya*, the Prophet's black flag, with his *liwa'*, which was white (*Kans al-'Ismā'il*, iv, 18, no. 346; 45, no. 99). In another tradition the proposal is made to Muhammad that the faithful should be called to prayer by the raising of a *rāya*, but he will not consent to this method of summoning them (*Ibid.*, iv, 264, no. 5461). In yet other traditions, however, *liwa'* and *rāya* appear to be synonymous (*Ibid.*, v, 268, no. 5357; 269, no. 15158). The use of the *rāya* does not seem to have been confined exclusively to Muslims, since, at Badr, Talha carried the *rāya* of the idolaters (*Ibid.*, 269, no. 1565).

Later, flags played an important part in Islam. The Umayyads adopted white, the 'Abbasids black, and the Sh'ites green. Representations of flags occur frequently on various objects, especially in miniatures. One of the oldest representations is that shown on a Persian lustre-ware plate, which unquestionably dates from the 10th century (*Survey*, pl. 577). For other later drawings of flags, see Kratchkovskaya in *Ar. Islamica*, iv, 468-9. Compare also the Moorish flag of the 14th century preserved in Toledo cathedral (Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst*, pl. 149). Banners and standards were also used in Egypt and Syria during the Mamlūk period (see Leo A. Mayer, *Mamlūk Costume*, s.v. *Banner*; Makhlūf, *Étude*, i, 21 ff.; *Al-hisār al-bardī*). There may at this period have been some differentiation in the use of the various words meaning "flag".

In epigraphy, an inscription of Khytāy balances the words *sayf* and *balam* with *band* and 'alam, which seems to suggest that the first term denotes a military standard, the second a religious flag (see J. David-Weill, *Catalogue général du Musée arabe du Caire, Bois à Épiphras depuis l'époque mamlouke*, 57-8; Gauderoy-Demombynes, *Ibn Fadl Allāh, Masālik al-abḥār fi mamālik al-amḥār*, XLV-LVI and 26). Numerous flags with religious inscriptions are preserved in museums; they usually date from the 17th or 18th century and the majority derive from the countries of the Middle East and North Africa. (Cf. among others, a Turkish flag, C. J. Lamm, *Mamlūk Musci Vannors*, *Arshob* 1940; *En Turkish Fans*, *Malmö* 1940.) Some flags are still used in processions conducted by the religious orders.

For Turkish standards see TOEM, SANDJAK. For the emblem of the crescent see DİHL, for that of the lion and the sun, *siḥḥ* u-*ḡuḡḡ*. For heraldic symbols, see *ANSA*.

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Sakhsian, in *Syria*, 1941, 66-80; Phyllis Acherman, in A. U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 2766-82. (J. DAVID-WEILL)

ii. Proper noun, see ISM.

'ĀLAM (a., pl. 'ālamān, 'ālamīn), world.

1. The word is found as early as the Kur'ān, where in borrowed formulae we have references to the *rahb al-'ālamīn* and the seven *amānat*. Allah is its lord and creator who has created it for man as a sign of his omnipotence. This transitory world (*dunyā*) is of little value—"not worth the wing of a midge" is the traditional expression—in comparison with the next (*ākhirā*). We are told very little about the structure of the world (cf. the article *ḤAKĀL*); the subjects of interest, in the Kur'ān as well as in Tradition, are God, the spiritual world and man.

This became altered as Islam took over the inheritance of Hellenistic eclecticism and especially through the translation of Indian and Greek works on science and philosophy. The huge figures with which the Hindus operated were, it is true, ridiculed, nor were the fables of the ancient Greeks about an endless plurality of worlds beside or in succession to one another, believed nor, from the theological point of view at least, was the belief in the eternity of the world accepted; on the whole however, the picture of the world as given by Greek science was accepted. The teaching of Plato and Aristotle that there is only one universe was naturally easy to reconcile with the monothemism of Islam; cf. *Kur'ān*, xii, 21: "If there were in these two worlds gods in addition to Allah, both (heaven and earth) would perish".

On the scientific development of the cosmogonic teachings of Aristotle and Ptolemy in Islam, see the articles *ḡuḡḡ* (Astronomy and Astrology) and the article *Sun*, Moon and Stars in Hastings, *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics* (by C. A. Nallino). Here we must confine ourselves to the speculations of the theologians and philosophers regarding the origin and nature of the world in relation to the existence of God and man. They are mainly based on Plato's *Timaeus* or Aristotle's *Ἠερί οὐρανῶν* and Book A of his *Metaphysics* and also on the commentaries of Simplicius and Johannes Philoponus. Of the greatest importance for the Islamic elaboration of the Greek philosophy we have the neo-Platonic "Theology of Aristotle" and to some extent the tradition of Christian dogmatics. In reference to Aristotle's work *Ἠερί οὐρανῶν* ("On the Universe"), it should be noted that according to Hellenistic tradition the title of the Arabic tradition is *fi 'l-Sama' wa 'l-'Ālam* ("On Heaven and the World"). Augustin Müller (*Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Uebersetzung*, Halle 1873, 51) therefore suggested that the Arab translators of the Aristotelian work had added to it the *Ἠερί κόσμου* which is three hundred years later and influenced by the Stoics. But so far no translation of this work ascribed to Aristotle has been found.

All Muslim thinkers ascribed that God is the author of the world although they used different expressions for the coming into existence of the world in distinction to the existence of God: creation out of nothing, emanation (*ḡayf*) or manifestation (*taḡallī*). The image most used, whether emanation or manifestation was talked of, was that of light (*nūr*) which disseminates itself timelessly.

In general, the theologians who adhered to tradition said that the reason for the world was the all-powerful will of God. Mu'tazil thinkers



laid more emphasis on the benevolent wisdom of the Creator, who orders everything well for the good of his servants. Mystics talked a great deal about the overflow of divine love; finally the philosophers in the narrower sense, as well as a few speculative theologians, regarded the world as the product of pure thought, in itself accidental, but necessary on God's part.

The world forms a whole, a unity in plurality. Even the atomist theologians, who denied any interconnection in nature, were of the opinion that no part of the world but only the whole could be destroyed at once by an act or an omission of God.

The world is a plurality. The traditional distinctions between heaven and earth or between this world and the next continued. But Hellenistic mediatorial theories complicated this originally simple universe. From Plato came the distinction between the visible world of beings (*κόσμος ὁρατός*) and the spiritual intelligible world (*κόσμος νοητός*). Aristotle rather emphasised the distinction between our earthly world of origin and decline (*ἅλως ἄρως ἡ γῆ*) and the world of the heavenly spheres. The world of heaven controlled by exalted spirits or souls, consisting of one element entirely, the ether, and provided from eternity with the most beautiful motion revolving in a circle, is far more perfect than the earthly world with its four elementary circles and motions of various kinds. Then came the Stoics who brought God and the world together and worked out a theodicy. Finally came the Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists, who took over a great deal from Aristotle and the Stoics, but with Plato, and much more decidedly than he, transferred the central point into the world of God and of pure spiritual existence.

This is the starting point of the cosmological speculations of the Muslim thinkers just as it was for the Gnostics and the doctrine of the Eastern Christian church. Since God is the highest being and everything in the most exalted sense, so also is He the first world. The mystics in Islam (cf. al-Djīlī, *al-insān al-kāmil*, ch. xff. and Horten, *Die philosophische System von Schirāzī*, Strassburg 1911, 36, 276 f.) in so far as they were influenced by Christian dogmatics, ultimately talked of five worlds: 1. the world of the divine being; 2. of His names; 3. of His qualities; 4. of His actions; 5. of His works. Others established mediation between God and the world by triads and tetrads. Emphasis on three qualities of God was very common: power, knowledge, and life (in speculation these were no doubt interpreted as the power of the Creator, the knowledge of the *ʿālm* and the life of the soul). God's spheres of activity in the world were determined according to his qualities. When for example al-Ghazālī speaks of three worlds (*ʿālam al-mulk, al-malakūt, al-jabarūt*), this looks like a triad for the spheres of the Creator's power (for Ghazālī's immediate sources see Wensinck (*Ibīl*)).

To distinguish three or four worlds the philosophers as a rule used the neo-Platonic terminology from the "Theology of Aristotle": the world of the mind (*ʿālm*), of the soul (*nafs*) and of nature (*tabʿa*). The soul of man is there the centre of interest which, although associated with a mortal body, remains, in so far as it is intelligent, always associated with the highest world, its origin and the goal of its long march through the intermediaries of the world soul and the world intelligence. From the point of view of this soul, only two worlds

are as a rule mentioned: the physical and the spiritual, the lower and the upper world. If it is desired to define more closely the sphere ruled by the soul it is called the world of the heavenly spheres and its site (*ʿālm*) is transferred to the sphere of the fixed stars. The world of pure intellectual being has a superheavenly site (*al-ʿālm al-ʿālī*) and nature has its special sphere of operation in the sub-lunary world.

It is not possible here to go into the modifications of this cosmogony in the different philosophers. The main object in all cases is to indicate the different stages of being and parallel with them the stages of cognition. The world is a man on a large scale and man a little world. Now man is made up of a natural body, a conceiving soul and a pure intelligence. The sub-lunary world is therefore also called the world of sensual perception (*shakāda*, *hiss*); the world of the heavenly spheres that of allegorical conception (*uḥm*, *lahayyūl*), if we assume, e.g. with Ibn Sīna that the souls of the spheres possess a power of imagining (Ibn Ruḡḡd denies this); and the super-heavenly world that of pure thought or of intellectual observation (*ʿālm, nazar* etc.).

Of the great deal that could still be said let us only emphasise one thing in conclusion, that is the optimism of the philosophers, who with the Stoics regard this beautiful world as the best possible and with Plato and Aristotle they make it last for ever. Al-Fārābī, for example ("Model-State", Arab. text, ed. Dieterici, 27), sees in the present order of the universe God's goodness and justice. According to the general philosophical view, evil and wickedness are only imperfections without real existence. Even the *ikhwān al-ṣafā*, although they call the physical world a hell for fools and a purgatory for the wise, are quite aware of the amenities of this world and appreciate the splendid life of its kings. The mystics also can be optimistic: everything comes from God and returns to Him. All thus endeavour to regard the relatively better as allied to the absolutely good.

**Bibliography:** in the text, cf. also: D. B. Macdonald, *The Life of al-Ghazālī*, in *JAOS*, 1899, esp. 116 ff.; T. de Boer, *The Muslim Doctrine of Creation, Proceed. of the 6th Internat. Congr. of Philosophy*, New York 1927, 597 ff.; *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, ed. S. v. d. Bergh, Leyden 1924, chap. iv.; A. J. Wensinck, *On the Relation between Ghazālī's Cosmology and his Mysticism* (in *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, vol. lxxv, ser. A, no. 6, 1933). (T. de Boer)

2. **ĀLAM AL-JABARŪT**, **ĀLAM AL-MALAKŪT**, **ĀLAM AL-MUṢṢALĀH**. *Ālam*, "world", is used here in the gnostic sense of "sphere of existence". The idea is a common one, and is derived from a dual stream of influences—Plotinian and Iranian: Ismaʿīlī traditions, the Hellenistic philosophers (*kalāsā*), notably al-Fārābī, and the ṣūfī schools. Introduced by the Ṣūfīs of the early centuries of Islam, it became one of the themes of al-Ghazālī, and was adapted and developed by the "master of the *isrāʾ*" and his school. Later, it was widely adopted by the ṣūfīs of the *wahdat al-wujūd*.

Platonist and Neoplatonist stream of influence: the world of sensual perception: *ʿālam al-mulk*, *ʿālam al-ḥakā*, is distinguished from the world of the mind or the world of ideas (*maʿānī*, *muṣṣalāh*). The latter is the *ʿālam al-muṣṣalāh* (or *muṣṣalāh*), translated by Henry Corbin as "world of archetypal images".

Oriental gnostic stream of influence: opposed to the *ʿālam al-mulk* are the worlds of the *malakūt* and

the *jabarūt* (Aramaic terms); and, transcending them both, the world of the *lāhūt*.

*Lāhūt* (antonym of *nāsūt*, "humanity"): the incommunicable world of the divine essence—a word occurring frequently in Hallajian terminology. In general: the world of absolute divine transcendence, and therefore absolutely superior to all other "spheres of existence". For some supporters of Monist tendencies, *malakūt* and *jabarūt* are, as it were, assumed by *lāhūt*; this is then the *ʿālam al-ghayb*, the world of Mystery (uncreated).

*ʿĀlam al-mulk*, a term of Kurʿānic origin, "the world of kingship" (synonyms: *ʿālam al-ḥakā*, *ʿālam al-shakāda*, the latter expression being frequently used by al-Ghazālī); it is the world of becoming, the world here below.

*ʿĀlam al-malakūt*, similarly of Kurʿānic origin, (cf. *Kurʿān*, vi, 75; vii, 185; xxiii, 88; xxvi, 83): "the world of Kingdom, of Sovereignty", of which the *ʿālam al-mulk* is the contingent reflection. It is the world of immutable spiritual truths (*ḥakāʾ*), and hence of the angelic beings, to which are added the *asmi* of Islamic tradition, the Preserved Table, the Pen, and the Scales (see *AL-WAʿD WAʿL-WAʿL*), and often also the Kurʿān. The spiritual reality (*ruh*) which is in man belongs to it. So too do the separated intellects, and hence the human *ʿālm* which partakes of them. Al-Djurdjānī (*Taʾrīḥ*, 24) includes the *nafus* (souls) which are sometimes assigned to the *ʿālam al-jabarūt*. Common synonyms: *ʿālam al-ghayb*, *ʿālam al-amr*. This "world of Sovereignty" recalls the "City of the Angels" of Gregory of Nyssa.

*ʿĀlam al-jabarūt*, a term originating in Tradition, occurring in various *ḥadīṡ* (see A. J. Wensinck, *La pensée de Ghazālī*, 81 p. 2), "the world of (divine) Omnipotence". In general, the place of *barzakh*, an "intermediate" world (some texts, however, are inclined to put this last near to the *malakūt*). To it belong, according to al-Ghazālī, the impressionable and imaginative faculties of the human soul. Sometimes, however, as is pointed out by al-Djurdjānī, following Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (*Taʾrīḥ*, 77), *jabarūt* is the world of the divine Names and Attributes. Al-Kāshānī assigns to it *ḥadīṡ* (decree of divine predestination); the Preserved Table has also been assigned to it.

*The mutual interrelation of these various "worlds".* (1) The *ʿālam al-muṣṣalāh* can coincide either with the *malakūt*, or with the *jabarūt*, or with both together. It is in fact stated (al-Ghazālī) that the world of sensual perception is the reflection, the image, the copy of the *ʿālam al-malakūt*; cf. the "shadows" of the cave of Plato. In so far as the *ʿālam al-muṣṣalāh* denotes the idea of archetypal images, it also recalls the *jabarūt* and the *barzakh*. To sum up: *malakūt* is the world of pure self-existent intelligibilities; *jabarūt*, the world of the archetypal images and symbols of the contingent world, evoking the idea of "transcendental imagination", in Heidegger's acceptance. According to the Avicennian cosmogony, the active intellects belong to *malakūt*, the celestial souls to *jabarūt*.

(2) Whether this hierarchy of "worlds" is considered as real or as a privileged myth, the *falāsifa*, al-Ghazālī, and the *isrāʾīyyūn* teach, from the standpoint peculiar to each school, how man can elevate himself from the *ʿālam al-mulk* to the two superior worlds. This is the *ḥaḡf* ("unveiling") or *muḡāḡha*. Al-Ghazālī (*Iḡyāʾ*, ii, 17-19) tells us that the heart (*ḥaḡf*) has "two doors", the one open towards the world of the *malakūt*, the other towards the world of the *malakūt* or *shakāda*. Further, referring

to the relationship of the macrocosm-microcosm, the same author sees in man—body, psychic faculties, and spirit—a reflection of the three worlds—*malakūt*, *jabarūt* and *malakūt*. It can happen, however, that the relationship between the two worlds is reversed. The following summary classification can be made: the world of *amr* is opposed to the (perceptible) world of *ḥakā*, and the *amr* combines *jabarūt*, *malakūt*, and *muṣṣalāh*.

(3) Some ambiguity exists regarding the mutual relation between *malakūt* and *jabarūt*: (a) the thesis of al-Ghazālī (cf. above): *malakūt*, the world of intelligible realities to which belong the Angels, "light-substances" (cf. the Ghazālīan text of the *Muḡāḡha al-Amr*) is practically synonymous with *ʿālam al-amr*, the world of Command, of the divine Logos uncreated. The *jabarūt* becomes therefore a refraction of the light emanating from this higher world into an intermediate world of archetypal images, and is *therefore* accessible to the insight of a prophet or a gnostic (*ʿīrī*), who borrows from it symbols for the instruction of the people. In the *Iḡyāʾ*, al-Ghazālī compares the journey through the *ʿālam al-mulk* to the progress of man on earth; that through the *ʿālam al-jabarūt* to a voyage on a ship; that through the *ʿālam al-malakūt* to the progress of a man with the power to walk directly on the waters. Clearly, therefore, the *jabarūt* is the "intermediate" world, "in contact with both the others". It "can be manifested in the visible world, although the eternal Power has linked it to the world of the *malakūt*", says al-Ghazālī in the *Imāʾ*. The superiority of the *malakūt* is also affirmed by Ibn ʿAlīʾ Allāh of Alexandria, etc. (b) In other texts, particularly, it seems, those representing the Ṣūfī line of thought of the *wahdat al-wujūd* (see *ALLĀH*), which itself had its origin in a Plotinian-gnostic tradition, superiority is accorded to the *jabarūt*. Thus in the Turkish dictionary *Maʾrifet-nāme* (cf. Carra de Vaux, in *Bibl.*) the following hierarchy in descending order is given: (1) *ʿarḡ* (divine Throne or Tabernacle), (2) *jabarūt*, (3) *kūrī* (divine Seat), (4) *malakūt*, (5) human works, including Paradise. (The according to W. Montgomery-Watt, apocryphal) Ghazālīan text al-Durra al-Fāḡhira states: the race of Adam, and the animals, belong to the world of the *malakūt*; the angels and the *ḡinn* to the world of the *malakūt*; the "elect among the angels" to the world of the *jabarūt* (cf. Wensinck, op. cit., 99). Or again: the Kurʿān (uncreated), the substantial World of God, "exists personally" in the *jabarūt*, while *islām* (*islām, pāw, naḡr*) belongs to the *malakūt*.

Al-Suhrawardī, "master of the *isrāʾ*", brings together in the same passage (*Iḡmāt al-Iḡrāk*, ed. Corbin, 156-7) the "light which permeates the world of the *jabarūt* and the entities of the *malakūt*". Other passages from the same work sometimes treat of the *jabarūt*, sometimes of the "victorial lights of the *malakūt*", both worlds being the hierarchized places of archangelic or intelligible irradiations (*isrāʾīḡāt*).

The mutual interrelation between the supra-sensory worlds can thus vary. Each case where the worlds are mentioned must be considered in its context, while the indications derived from the etymology can serve as an orientation.

**Bibliography:** Numerous texts by al-Ghazālī, among others, *Iḡyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1931, i, 107, iii, 17-19, iv, 20, 212 ff., etc.; *Imāʾ* (in margin of the *Iḡyāʾ*) with inversion of texts 168-71 and 135-41, in *Iḡyāʾ*, i, 49, 170-1, 135, etc. See also *Kiḡāḡ*, *Arḡāʾ*, *Muḡāḡha*, *Durra*, etc.; Ibn ʿAlīʾ Allāh of



Alexandria, *Mithāḥ al-Falāḥ*, Cairo, n.d., 5-6; Suhrawardī, *Ōweqat al-falāḥ* ou *Ōweqat al-mystiques*, ed. H. Corbin, in *Teheran-Paris*, 1952; *al-Muḥall al-ʿAshīya al-ʿAḥādīya*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Rahmān Badawī, Cairo 1947. (On the concept of *mithāḥ*, see the texts of Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and others.) The *Rasāʾid* of Ibn ʿArabī, Haydarābād 1307/1948, still remain to be analyzed.—CARRÉ DE Vaux, *La Philosophie illuminative d'après Suhrawardī Maymūd*, J.A., 1902, 78; idem, *Fragments d'écrits mystiques musulmans*, Brussels 1895, 27 ff. (with an explanation of the figure in the *Ma'rifa-nāma*); S. Guyard, *Travail du décret et de l'arrêt des par le Dr. Soufī Abd er-Razzaq*, 1879, 14 (text); A. J. Wensinck, *La pensée de Ghazālī*, Paris 1910, chap. iii; idem, *On the Relation between Ghazālī's Cosmology and his Mysticism*, *Mede. Ak. v. Wetenschapen*, Amsterdam, 75, A, 7; M. Smith, *al-Ghazālī's Mysticism*, London 1944, passim; Henry Corbin, *Avicenne et le Récit visionnaire*, Teheran-Paris 1954, 1, 34 ff. (Ibn Sīnā's idea of *mithāḥ*). (L. GARDET)

AL-ʿALAM AL-SHANTAMARĪ [see AL-SHANTAMARĪ]

ʿALĀMA, mark of ratification or initialing used in the Muslim west, from the time of the Muʿniyyid dynasty, on all official chancery documents. This ʿalāma, in principle inscribed by the sovereign's own hand in the space provided for the purpose at the head of the document, beneath the *basma*, consisted of a *ḥamza*, which varied under the different dynasties: *al-hamza l'ilāh*, under the Muʿniyyids and Saʿdiyya; *al-hamza l'ilāh wa l-shukr l'ilāh*, under the Hafsīds; *lā ḥaḍra l'ilāh* under the Nasrīds of Granada. The ʿalāma was gradually replaced by illegible arabesque initials, and supplanted, in modern times, by the seal in indelible ink. At the beginning of the 13th century, the chancery Abu l-Walīd b. al-Aḥmar devoted a short treatise, *Mutaʿadda* al-ʿAlāma, to the formula of ratification (cf. *Heptémer*, 1934, 200).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, Paris 1942, 17-9; the same, *Arabica occidentalis*, v (in *Arabica*, ii, 1955, 277); on the ʿalāma of the ʿAbbāsī caliph of Baghdad, al-Mustashir bi-llāh al-Qāhir bi-llāh; H. de Castries, *Les signes de validation des Chérifs saadiens*, *Heptémer*, 1921, 211 ff.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ALAMAK [see AL-ANBAR].

ʿALAMGIR [see AWRANGZIB].

AL-ʿALAMĪ, the name of an old Jerusalem family, the *nisba* being to one ʿAlam al-Dīn Sulaymān (d. 720/1318). The family traces its descent to Ibn Maḡbir and may have been one of the many Maḡbir families which immigrated to Jerusalem in the 14th century, though Maḡbir al-Dīn hints (ii, 616) that it was of Turcoman origin. Two sons of ʿAlam al-Dīn: Mūsā (d. 802/1399) and ʿUmar (d. 806/1403), succeeded one another as governors of the city (*naib al-saltana*), and keepers of the sacred places of Jerusalem and Hebron (*naib al-karamayn*), and at least three other members of the family became chiefs of police (*amir ḥāḡib*) before this post was merged into the governorship by al-Aḡraf Iḥāl about 857/1453. Muhammad al-ʿAlamī (d. Jerusalem 1035/1628), for whose works see Brockelmann, S II, 470, was one of the more famous ḡafīh al-shaykh of his day in Syria. He conceived the plan of building a mosque near the site of the Place of Ascension on the Mt. of Olives, which the Christians of Jerusalem at first thwarted by appealing to Con-

stantinople. But Shayḡh Muhammad enlisted the support of Shayḡh Aṣʿad b. Ḥasan, the *mufti* of Constantinople (al-Muḥibbī, i, 396), after whom the building, when completed, in 1052/1616 was called al-ʿAṣʿadiyya, and where Muhammad was later buried. Muhammad's teaching was carried on by his nephew Ṣāliḥ (d. 1055/1643), who also became *Shayḡh ḥāḡib* in Jerusalem. Arab travellers to the city in the 18th century mention several ʿAlamīs, chiefly as lecturers at the Aḡṣā Mosque and Hanafī *madrasa*. Early in the present century the Alamīs re-entered administrative life with Fayḍ Allāh (who was also the author of the Concordance of the Kurʿān, *Faḥḥ al-Rahmān*, Cairo 1927, 1935) and his son, Muṣā (still alive).

Bibliography: Maḡbir al-Dīn, *Uns*, ii, 506, 609; Muḥibbī, index; Murādī, i, 49, 71, 216, ii, 330, iii, 88, iv, 218; Husaynī, *Tarāḡim al-ʿAlamī*; Nābulusī, *al-Ḥadīth al-Uṣṣayyā* (both MSS in writer's possession); Kirk, *The Middle East 1945-1950*, London 1954, 314-5.

(W. A. S. KHALID)

AL-ʿALAMĪ, MUHAMMAD B. AL-TAYYIB, Moroccan poet and man of letters belonging to the branch of the *ghurafa* ʿAlamiyyūn (or descendants of the Moroccan saint ʿAbd al-Salam b. Maḡbir [q.v.], who is buried among the *ḡhāḡib*, in *Djabal al-ʿAlam*, north Morocco). Born and educated at Fās, he lived for a while at Mikās, at the court of Maḡwīlī Imaʿnī, and died at Cairo on his way to the Arabia to perform the pilgrimage, in 1234 or 1235/1271-3. He has left a work, which is at once an anthology of poetry and a compilation on certain technical subjects, in which there is much information on Moroccan literary life at the beginning of the 13th/13th century; this work, entitled *al-Anīs al-Maḡrib* *fi-man laḥṭaḥa man ʿUḍāʾ al-Maḡrib*, was hitherto known at Fās in 1335 A.H.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 295-97 (and references quoted); Brockelmann, S II, 684; J. Berque, *La littérature marocaine et l'Orient au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Arabica*, 1953, 321-2. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ALAMŪT. (i) The fortress; (ii) the dynasty and state.

(i) THE FORTRESS.

The ruins of the fortress of Alamūt are situated on the summit of a lofty and almost inaccessible rock in the heart of the Alburz mountains two days' march north-north-east of Karwin. According to Ibn al-Aḡlir (x, 131), an eagle indicated the site to a Sassanide king, who built a castle there, hence the derivation of Alamūt from *al-wāḡ*, 'eagle' and *al-maḡhī*, 'teaching'. In 246/860 the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan al-Daʿī Iḥāʾ al-Hakk rebuilt the castle. Hasan-i Sabbāḥ, the founder of the Assassins, seized Alamūt in 483/1090 and made it the headquarters of the Order. The Mongols took Alamūt in 554/1257 but the Assassins regained it in 572/1275, only to lose it finally soon afterwards. In Salawīd times, Alamūt was used as a state prison or 'castle of oblivion'. Remains of the walls and buildings are still to be seen.

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regarding the identification of Alamūt), *Some Tamasī Strongholds in Persia*, *JG*, xii, 18-27; F. Stark, *The Valleys of the Assassins*, London 1934. (L. LOCKHART)

(ii) THE DYNASTY.

Alamūt was the center of a *Shīʿite* state between 483/1090 and 654/1256 with territories scattered unevenly from Syria to eastern Iran, ruled by the head of the Nizārī Ismaʿīlī [q.v.] sect, sometimes called the Assassins.

The state grew out of an attempt by the Ismaʿīlīs of Iran to break the power of the Sunnite Salḡūks on behalf of the Fātimid rulers of Egypt. Their revolt began in the last years of Malikshāḡh's reign, spreading especially during the troubled time of Barkīyārūq; Ismaʿīlīs seized strongholds in Kūhstān, Kūms, Fārs, al-ʿLjāsīra, Syria, and Iran supported by Ismaʿīlī troops intervened in the civil war. Among the leaders the most important were the learned ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAtṭāḡh, daʿī (chief propagandist) of Isfahān, his son Ahmad b. ʿAtṭāḡh, who seized *Shāḡhīz* near Isfahān in 494/1100, and Hasan-i Sabbāḡh [q.v.], who seized Alamūt in Daylamān in 483/1090. On the death of the *imām* al-Mustansir of Ismaʿīlīs in 487/1094 the Ismaʿīlīs of Iran supported the claims of his son Nizār; when Nizār was defeated they refused to recognize al-Mustaʿī, and carried on their revolt independently of Egypt, under the name of Nizārī [q.v.].

With the concentration of Salḡūk power in the hands of Muhammad Tāpār the tide turned against the Ismaʿīlīs; Shāḡhīz fell in 500/1107 and Alamūt was in grave danger when Muhammad's death, in 511/1118, allowed the Ismaʿīlīs a time of recuperation. By this time the leadership was clearly in the hands of Hasan-i Sabbāḡh at Alamūt. He controlled an essentially independent state consisting of the strongholds in the Rūdḡār district around Alamūt, of the fortress of Girdkūh near Dāmḡhān in Kūms, and of numerous towns in Kūhstān south of *Khurāsān*. In addition, he was the leader of most of the Ismaʿīlīs under Salḡūk rule in Iran and the Fertile Crescent and even a few partisans of Nizār in Egypt. With a later small addition in Syria, the territory of the state remained substantially the same till its end, while the importance of Ismaʿīlī adherents in the surrounding lands seems to have declined rapidly.

The history of the state was dominated by a sustained hostility between the Ismaʿīlīs and the surrounding Sunnite and even *Shīʿite* populations; a hostility expressed on the one side in repeated massacres of all suspected Ismaʿīlīs in a town and on the other side in assassinations of their most active enemies, such as Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.]. Assassination was not in itself unusual at that time, but Ismaʿīlīs produced a special terror. Especially in the earlier years, Ismaʿīlīs owing allegiance to the sect leadership at Alamūt lived interspersed among the people, keeping their unpopular faith secret with *Shīʿite* *kābiya*. Those detailed to get rid of some persecuting *ḥādī* or *amīr* sometimes stalked their victim with signal devotion, finally killing him spectacularly in public. Any public murder therefore was likely to be Ismaʿīlī; hence a nickname of theirs, al-*ḡhāḡib*, has become the word *assassin* in Western languages. (There is no evidence that the use of the drug *ḡhāḡī* entered in any way into the assassinations.) Eventually, at least, assassins being as a weapon became institutionalized, assassins being

kept in readiness at hostile courts and their services perhaps even hired out to friendly rulers. Suspicion and war almost never ceased between the Ismaʿīlī state and the surrounding peoples; raiding Ismaʿīlī villages and slaughtering their inhabitants was considered a pious act among the Sunnites, while the Ismaʿīlīs in their isolated districts maintained a united front against outsiders until the end.

Hasan-i Sabbāḡh died in 518/1124, leaving the leadership to one of his generals, Bāḡr-i-ʿumūd, as daʿī of Daylamān, Buzurg-umūd's son Muḡammad succeeded him in 532/1138. During these two reigns defense against Salḡūk rulers, especially Sandjar and Mālmūd, alternated with local raids against mountain rivals or nearby towns like Karwin. Of symbolic importance were the assassinations of two ʿAbbāsīd caliphs, al-Mustarshīd and al-Rāḡhīd. Meanwhile, after playing a calamitous role in the politics of Aleppo and Damascus, the Syrian Ismaʿīlīs finally acquired for the state the fortresses of a part of *Djabal Bahra*, north of the Lebanon.

Muḡammad's son, Hasan II, who succeeded in 557/1162, declared himself in 559/1166 no longer simply daʿī but *ḡhāḡī*, plenipotentiary of the long-hidden *imām*; and probably hinted that he was himself that *imām*, proclaiming the Day of Resurrection, the spiritual consummation of the world, he abolished the *Shīʿite* *gharʿa* law as inconsistent with the mystical life in Paradise to which Ismaʿīlīs were henceforth called; thus consecrating irrevocably the breach with the Muslim community at large. Some objected to the new order, and in 575/1166 Hasan was murdered; but his young son Muḡammad II took firm control and carried through his father's policy. Henceforward the ruler of Alamūt was regarded as an ʿAlid *imām*, lineal descendant of Nizār. But external relations remained much as before; Muḡammad had a long and relatively peaceful reign, troubled toward its end by the enmity of the *ghāḡ* *ḡhāḡ*. During his reign Syrian Ismaʿīlīs was dominated by the able Rāḡhīd al-Dīn Sīnān [q.v.], who acted with apparent independence of Alamūt in his quarrels and rapprochements with Aleppo and Saladin, with the Crusaders, and with the Nuṣayrī mountaineers about him. But after his death in 589/1193 the authority of Alamūt was unquestioned.

The son of Muḡammad II, Hasan III, succeeded in 607/1210 and declared himself a Sunnite Muslim, ordering all his followers to accept the Sunnite *gharʿa*, and allying himself with, among others, the caliph al-Nāṣir. The Ismaʿīlīs accepted his decrees outwardly; he made minor conquests in alliance with Urbāq of *Āḡharbāyḡḡ*. But when he died in 618/1221 (perhaps by poison) his young son who succeeded, Māḡammad II, was not brought up a Sunnite; and though officially Hasan's decrees probably stood, in fact the *gharʿa* was dropped and the state resumed its political isolation.

Nevertheless, a broad Islamic outlook was maintained. Naṣr al-Dīn Tūd [q.v.] and other scholars were attracted to its fortresses; and ambitious quarrels were carried on with *Djālāl al-Dīn Mangūḡ* [q.v.] and then with the Mongols; allies were sought even in western Europe. But the Sunnites' ingrained hatred finally prevailed. The Mongol Hūḡāḡ's first objective in Iran was to destroy the Ismaʿīlī state. Muḡammad had developed a degenerate character and his refusal to negotiate frightened his generals, who were evidently hoping to circumvent him when a courier murdered him, in 653/1255.



After ambivalent negotiations and the fall of many fortresses, his son Kh<sup>h</sup>urshid surrendered unconditionally in 634/1256. He was soon killed, and the Isma'ili of Daylam, Kōmis, and Rūstān were massacred; the survivors never succeeded in re-establishing the state. The Syrian fortresses survived the Mongols only to be taken by Baybars of Egypt, who however left them as an autonomous community, furnishing assassins to their new overlords.

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(M. G. S. HODGSON)

**ALAN** (in Arabic usually taken as al-Lān), an Iranian people (Alan < Aryan) of Northern Caucasus, formerly attested also east of the Caspian sea (see al-Bīrūnī, *Tahdīd al-Amākin*, ed. A. Z. Validi, in *Iran's Picture of the world*, 57), as supported by local toponymy. The Alans are mentioned in history from the 1st century A.D. to 371 when they were defeated by the Huns. Together with the Vandals, a part of the Alans migrated to the West across France and Spain, and finally took part in the creation of the Vandal kingdom in North Africa (418-534). On conquering this kingdom Justinian assumed the title of king of "Vandals and Alans". The Alans remaining north of the Caucasus became neighbours successively of the Bulgars, the Turks and the Ephraims, who pushed them out of the plains towards the mountains. In 719/737 Marwān b. Muḥammad "entered the Ephraim country from the direction of Bab al-Lān (Darial)", see al-Balādhurī, 207 (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 160).

The Alans were the ancestors of the present-day Ossets whose name (in Georgian: Oset<sup>h</sup>) is derived from As (very probably the ancient Aorsi). Ibn al-Ma'ūdī, ii, 10, 12: al-Arsiya guards in Ephraim who were apparently a sister tribe of the Alans. The Armenian Geography calls the westernmost Alans "Ashtigēn" (As-Digor), and the Digor are the western division of the present-day Ossets, while "Asi" in Oset refers to the still more western region near Mt. Elbrus, which the Ossets must have occupied too in earlier days.

The Alans were converted en masse under the Byzantine Patriarch Nicholas the Mystic between A.D. 901 and 935, though al-Ma'ūdī, *Murāghā*, ii, 43, states that in 320/932 they apostasized (probably temporarily) and expelled their bishops and priests. According to Ibn Rūsta, 148, only the chief of the al-Lān was a Christian. Muslim authors do not know any other peoples between the dominions of the Alans and those of the Šāhīn al-Sarīf, the ruler of the Daghistān Avar, who also professed the Christian faith. The tribe Dikhiš (Rūhiš-As) which Ibn Rūsta, 148, mentions as the noblest tribe of the Alans, may correspond to the Roxalāni of the western authors, and the name Twila (see *Mudād*, 445) would probably be read Tuwila-As and refer to the Tuwila living now across the

Caucasian range. The Alan capital Magas mentioned in the *Murāghā*, ii, 42, should be read \*Magas and explained in Arabic as *ghibbina*, "a city" (not *diya* as in the Paris edition).

The Alans (or Ās) are frequently mentioned at the time of the Mongol invasion when they were Greek Christians. Their settlements in the 13th century extended towards Darband and the estuary of the Volga. The Alans had close relations with the Byzantines, the Georgians and the Russians (the latter called them Yail).

The Mongol conquest led to a further dispersion of the Alans, whose military contingents and settlers are known even in China. The Persian sources know the Ās as Christians at the court of the Mongol sovereigns, but according to Ibn Batūta (Defremery), ii, 448, the Ās in Sarāy on the Volga were Muslims.

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(W. BARTHOLOM-V. MINORSKY)

**ALANYA** ('ALĀ'YYA, 'ALĀVĀ), port in South Anatolia, 36° 32' N, 32° E, at the foot of a mountain 250 m. high and towering above the sea; capital of the *hādā* of the same name, which belongs to the *vilāyat* (formerly *sandjak*) of Antalya. In 1945 the town had 8884, the *hādā* 37, 971, inhabitants. The name is derived from the Rūm Saldjuk sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykūkhād I, who, in 1220, conquered, and adopted as his winter residence, the castle on the mountain. This had been in the possession of a Greek, or Armenian, baron, called by Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), iii, 234-44, iv, 97-103, Kir Fārd, and was known, on account of its beautiful situation, as Galanoros (E. 1020/650; hence the name of Galanoros in Shāh-nāma in medieval European sources). From 692/1293 'Alā'YYa belonged to the principality of Karaman; Ibn Batūta (ii, 257 f.) found there in ca. 1333 Yūsuf Beg as prince of the Karaman. According to al-Makrizī (*al-Sulūk*, s.a.) the town was sold by the Karaman to the Mamlik sultan Barsbay in 850/1447; but according to the Ottoman chronicles the town was, later in the 15th century, in the possession of a descendant of the Saldjuk dynasty. In 876/1471-2 'Alā'YYa was captured by Gedik Ahmed Paşa, Mehmed II's general (*Nāghī* (Taschnker), i, 205 f.). From then 'Alā'YYa remained in Ottoman hands and was the capital of a *vilā* (*sandjak*) in the *vilāyat* of İvel (Kāthib Çelebi, *Dihā-nāma*, 611).

The old town of 'Alā'YYa was situated on the mountain, which slopes steeply to the W. and S., but descends more gradually to the E. and N. To the north it is connected with the mainland only by a narrow neck of land, and thus forms together with the latter two bays, of which, however, only the eastern one served, and serves still, as a harbour. The old town on the mountain is surrounded by a wall which starts from a strong octagonal tower in

the NE side of the peninsula on the eastern shore, made of red sand-stone (hence the name Kīlī Kūle) and dated 623/1226, and ascends up to the summit of the mountain at the southern end of the peninsula. The area so enclosed is further divided by two transverse walls, of which the upper, southern one encloses, together with the outer wall, the citadel (İç Kā'fe) lying at the summit, the other the outer fortress (Dış Kā'fe). In Turkish times, the citadel served as barracks for the garrison; it is uninhabited today, but contains the ruins of a Byzantine church. The outer fortress was the residential area of the old town; it contains a *hāsh* (caravanserai; see i, 109), a *hakekāt*, as it is called, stated of the early Ottoman period, an old, though in its present state only Ottoman, mosque (Kā'fe Djāmi') and the *hürbe* (from 628/1230) of a certain Akşehbe Sultān. The mosque called after 'Alā' al-Dīn, situated outside the outer fortress, does not seem to be very old. On the shore there is an arsenal (*feriye*) built, according to its inscription, by 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykūkhād I; it consists of five large barrel-vaults with five arched openings in each partition-wall, the only building of its kind yet known from the Saldjuk period.

The old town is at present but sparsely populated; a new town arose at the foot of the mountain on the isthmus and on the mainland. It contains no monuments worthy of mention.

Not far to the east of 'Alā'YYa in the coastal plain on a rivulet, it is to be found the ruin of a small, kōhā-like building of the Saldjuk period, mainly consisting of a barrel-vault in the middle of an area surrounded by a wall. It was probably the country-house of a Saldjuk nobleman with a garden. On the line of the wall lies the ruin of a small Christian church.

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**ALARCOS** (see AL-ARAK).

**ALAVA** (see ALABA wa 'L-KILĀ).

**ALAWI** ('Alāwī < Alī 'Alī, according to v. Maltzan, *Reise*, 336), tribe and district on the caravan route 'Adan-Kā'aba-San'a', the smallest among the "nine cantons" of the Western Aden Protectorate. It lies between 'Amrī (N) and Haw-shāhī (S) territory and formerly belonged to the 'Amrī (v. Maltzan, loc. cit.), but later it became semi-independent and signed a treaty with the British in 1895. Population: 1000-1500. The *ghaydh* lives at al-Sawda, which is the only place of some importance, with a landing ground for aircraft.

**Bibliography:** *Handbook of Arabia* (Admiralty), i, 212; Hunter, *Account of the British settlement of Aden*, 87 f., 155, 169 f.; von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südrabien*, 204, 356; D. Ingram, *Survey of social and economic conditions in the Aden protectorate*, 24, 27, 34. (O. LÖRGEN)

**'ALAWIS** ('ALAWIYYA), the reigning dynasty in Morocco.

Morocco at the advent of the 'Alawid dynasty. When the 'Alawid *Shurafā* (see *sharīf*) succeeded in asserting their sovereignty over Morocco, the country was rent by a serious political, social and religious crisis. The great movement of maraboutism and xenophobia for which the growth of Sūfism and Sharīfism and the development of the religious brotherhoods had for long paved the

way, and which had manifested itself as early as the 15th century, the period of incursions by Portuguese and Spanish Christians on the coasts of Morocco, assumed a new form. While the two Sa'fīd *mağāhīn* established at Fez and Marrākūsh crumbled into ruin, strong provincial factions, based on a religious allegiance, divided up the country and warred amongst themselves. The marabouts of al-Dila' (i.e.), supported by the Berber population of the Middle and Central Atlas, some of whom began to move down into the Atlantic plains, seemed to be on the point of establishing a Šūhādīl domination in Morocco. Morocco needed rehabilitation, organization, and also pacification, because anarchy and brigandage continued to spread. The 'Alawids, if they were not faced with the task of overcoming the preceding dynasty, had to meet difficult problems on every side.

The establishment of the dynasty. The 'Alawids, of Hasanid descent, had come from Arabia to Tāhālt at the end of the 13th century. For a long time they played no part in politics. But, in the anarchy which marked the decline of the Sa'fīd dynasty, the inhabitants of Tāhālt, threatened simultaneously by Abu 'l-Hasan al-Samālī and by the marabouts of al-Dila', adopted as their leader Mawlay al-Sharīf. His son Mawlay Maḥammad (sic), who succeeded him during his lifetime in 1035/1655-6, strove for a period of twenty years to organize a small principality in eastern Morocco, but left no permanent structure. Maḥammad's brother, Mawlay al-Rašīd [s.v.], took up his task with greater foresight and determination. The moment was favourable; the country was tired of anarchy and the great marabout organisations were beginning to decline. It was in order to escape from his brother Mawlay Maḥammad that Mawlay al-Rašīd, after the death of their father, al-Sharīf, in 1069/1659, sought his fortune in Morocco. He had managed to collect a small force and, after obtaining funds by killing a rich Jew, Ibn Maḥ'al, he succeeded in establishing himself in eastern Morocco with the aid of the Ma'kil Arabs and the Ayt Inassen Berbers. Gradually he extended his kingdom, and made Tāra his provisional capital. In 1076/1666 he seized Fez; from then on he assumed the role of sultan and applied himself to the subjugation of the marabout powers which shared the Atlantic seaboard of Morocco. First he conquered northern Morocco, and then he defeated the Dila'ites and took possession of their *ziyāya*. In 1079/1669 he entered Marrākūsh, and occupied Sūs and the Anti-Atlas. But he died at Marrākūsh in 1082/1672 without having consolidated his achievements.

Thus the Filālī Sharifs had achieved power as a result of a personal venture which for long was situated half-way between banditry and war, and which reached its climax with the conquest of the Morocco of the plains and oases. With a few Arab tribes forming his only genuine support, Mawlay al-Rašīd, thanks to the weak state of the country and the decline of the great marabout organizations, had successfully carried out the task of regrouping and of imposing law and order. But, in this country, practically everything had still to be put in order. Although the marabout crisis had suddenly ended, the Arab problem, always serious, was about to find a parallel in a formidable Berber problem, the essential phase of which was to be the push of the Šūhādīl of the Atlas towards the north and west. The tasks of organizing an army, re-forming a government, and of establishing the place which



Morocco intended to hold in the Mediterranean theatre, still remained.

Mawlay Ismā'īl (1082-1139/1672-1727) and the consolidation of the dynasty The work of pacification accomplished by al-Raḥmān proved imperfect. His brother and successor Ismā'īl (g.s.) (1672-1727) had to face two rival claimants to the throne and to suppress numerous revolts both in the towns and among the tribes. He deprived Fez and Marrākush, to which he had been obliged to lay siege, of their status as capital cities, and installed himself with his government at Mīknaa. Mawlay Ismā'īl had first of all to solve the problem of the army. He had recourse first to the old expedition of the Arab gīḥ, to which he added the Ma'kūl Arabs of the oases and to which he gave the name of gīḥ of the Uḍayya. But more especially he pressed into service the descendants of the black slaves who had been imported in large numbers by the Sa'ādiyya; these were the 'ahid al-Buḥārī; but this black militia never had any great military value.

Mawlay Ismā'īl, who from the beginning of his reign had been unsuccessful in his Algerian ventures and had had to conclude peace with the Turks on the usual terms, succeeded in recovering from the Spanish Ma'nūna, Mahdiyya and al-Ara'ish (Larache). The British evacuated Tangier. Mazagan, Ceuta and Melilla remained in Christian hands.

Nearly the whole of his long reign was devoted to the suppression of internal revolts, risings by pretenders, and rebellions on the part of the tribes. The task was a heavy one; the country had a long tradition of anarchy, and the crushing financial burdens which the sovereign imposed on conquered territory were a clear incentive to revolt. The hardest campaigns were those against the Siḥbiyya Berbers. With the aid of some of these, Mawlay Ismā'īl pacified for a time the Middle Atlas. But he never succeeded in occupying the whole of Morocco. Mawlay Ismā'īl's diplomatic relations with Europe have often given rise to misconceptions. The sovereign hated the Christian world. His European policy, based on a desire for holy war and on cupidity, and implemented with reluctance, was fundamentally negative. In spite of the efforts of the European nations, the crying problem of the captives was not settled. Foreign trade continued to be negligible. Morocco isolated itself to an increasing extent from Europe and also from Turkish Algeria; the seeds of revival could not be planted from without.

At home, Ismā'īl had strengthened the dynasty's position and pacified part of the country, but he had failed to resolve either the Arab or the Berber problem. After his death the black militia proved to be the principal fomenters of trouble. Ismā'īl had not remedied Morocco's deep-rooted disorders, nor had he set the country on a new path. At his death, the ensuing anarchy was worse than ever.

The period of anarchy (1139-70/1727-57). For a period of thirty years, various sons of Mawlay Ismā'īl were elected and deposed by the 'ahid, the gīḥ and even by the Berber tribes, who had come down into the plains. Seven rulers came to the throne. One of them, Abū al-Ḍaḥabī, reigned twice, and 'Abd Allāh (g.s.), on four different occasions. This was one of the darkest periods in Moroccan history. Anarchy and brigandage laid waste the subject territory and the large towns.

The rehabilitation under Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh (1170-1204/1757-90). Muhammad, when he was elected sūltān in 1170/1757, had already, as *ahid* of his father at Marrākush, accomplished

work of importance. Muhammad had no more ability than his predecessors or his successors to devise new solutions or to undertake a real reorganization of the country. He failed to settle any of the major problems which confronted him. Conscious of the limitations of his resources, he gave his kingdom, as far as he was able and as far as the country itself allowed him, peace and prosperity. He organized the collection of taxes, minted a sound currency, and built up a small army from the remnants of the gīḥ and the 'ahid, and a few contingents from subject tribes. Despite his alliances with the Berbers, he was unable to check the encroachment of the Siḥbiyya tribes on the plains, the road from Fez to Marrākush via the Tādla was cut.

He had the good fortune to recapture Mazagan, which the Portuguese evacuated in 1182/1769. After two defeats at Ceuta and Melilla, he made peace with Spain. He realised that a certain minimum of foreign trade was indispensable to Morocco; accordingly he signed treaties of trade and friendship with the principal European powers. He tried in vain to concentrate the majority of the European merchants and consular officials in the new town of Mogador, planned by European architects, which was commenced in 1179/1765.

The end of the reign of Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh was marred by the rebellions of his son and heir apparent, al-Yazīd.

The conservative policy of the 'Alawids: prelude to the Moroccan crisis (1204-1311/1790-1894). The short reign of al-Yazīd (1204-6/1790-2) was marked by conflict with Spain and a serious revolt in southern Morocco. On the death of this fanatical and bloodthirsty sultan, his brother Sulaymān rid himself of two rivals and gave Morocco a brief respite from warfare. Up to the end of the 19th century, Morocco was spared crises concerning the succession; in each case the heir designate succeeded to the throne without difficulty.

The Sultān Sulaymān 1206-38/1792-1822 (g.s.), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥishām (1238-70/1822-59) (g.s.), Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (1276-90/1859-73), and Mawlay al-Ḥasan (1290-1311/1872-94) (g.s.) were practical rulers endowed with common sense. But their policies, though persevering and flexible in detail, were not progressive. Throughout this period the internal problems of Morocco remained the same. The army was weak: the 'ahid had been suppressed but the gīḥ, restored to a position of supremacy, remained undisciplined and largely ineffective. The best troops were the contingents of the adherent tribes, which were mustered on the eve of an expedition. The energies of the sultans were entirely directed, not always with success, to levying the taxes in the subject territories. They had given up all pretensions to the pacification of the *biḥd al-siba* (g.s.), which gradually increased in size.

In order to put down local revolts and to secure payment of the taxes, the 'Alawid sultans of the 19th century spent part of their time conducting *harak* over their territories; the effect of these was often limited and temporary. Diplomacy was employed rather than force; and attempts were made to secure the aloof homage of the tribes which lived in actual independence. By all these means, the *mahḥan* endeavoured to save face, if not at home, at least in the eyes of Europe. It avoided headlong collision with the powerful unsubdued

groups; the latter were, for their part, incapable of uniting against the central power. At the end of the 19th century, however, Mawlay al-Ḥasan had the good fortune to bring within his orbit the powerful *ahid* who had established themselves in southern Morocco.

Both the military and political activities of the sultans were limited in scope and exhausting. Their financial resources, though administered with care, remained exiguous; the smallness of the sums at the disposal of the *mahḥan* precluded any works of a lasting character.

In a Morocco which clung obstinately to a sort of paradoxical mediaevalism, European interventions steadily became more pressing, and questions of foreign policy eventually, at the beginning of the 20th century, took pride of place over domestic matters. The fate of Morocco, the last Mediterranean country to stand aloof from the modern world, was not settled either because rivalries between the powers and above all the desire of France, the country principally interested, for peace, long preserved it in its existing condition. Morocco, however, imprudently provoked two wars with European powers. 'Abd al-Raḥmān gave his support to 'Abd al-Kādir b. Muḥyī'l-Dīn (g.s.) in his conflict with France. The Moroccan troops were defeated on the 14th (28 Djumādā I 1260/15 July 1844) and the forts of Taza and Mogador were captured by the French fleet. The sultan hastened to conclude peace. His son and successor, Muhammad, as a result of frontier incidents, declared war on Spain. The Spanish army, marching from Ceuta, occupied Tetuan and was advancing on Tangier when Great Britain negotiated peace. The 'Alawid dynasty emerged unscathed from these two adventures into which it had been led by its xenophobia and its attachment to the holy war. Nevertheless European penetration increased during the reign of Mawlay al-Ḥasan (g.s.). In 1287/1880 the Convention of Madrid gave rulings on questions of trade and protection; European trade in the ports expanded. Every endeavour of Mawlay al-Ḥasan was directed towards the maintenance of his authority in the subject territory, and the preservation of an independence which was in increasing jeopardy. This unstable and paradoxical position could only last so long as the diplomatic façade constituted by the Sharīfian empire remained intact.

The Moroccan crisis and the establishment of the French Protectorate (1311-30/1894-1912). The internal disintegration of Morocco grew more rapid during the first years of the 20th century. 'Abd al-'Azīz (g.s.) was only fourteen when he succeeded his father Mawlay al-Ḥasan. Until 1900, the vizier Bā Ahmad exercised the real authority and in all respects continued the practices of the preceding reign. Despite the blundering good intentions of the sultan and his attempts at reform, the *biḥd al-mahḥan* itself was breaking up; a pretender unrelated to the dynasty, the *rigī* Bū Ḥinād (Abū Ḥanūza), installed himself at Tādla and defied the Sharīfian armies. The dynasty was tottering. Thus Morocco advanced involuntarily to the forefront of the diplomatic stage. Mounting confusion in the country set at naught the agreements concluded by the chancelleries of Europe with a view to the preservation of peace. The main episodes in this crisis had their origin in military or other moves on the part of Germany, which was trying to prevent the expansion of French influence in Morocco. The final act of the Conference of Algiers, convened to

resolve the first of these clashes, proclaimed the independence of the sultan, the inviolability of his empire, and economic equality among the Powers, while, however, recognizing a certain privileged position for France.

The murder of French dependents and agitation on the Algerian border induced France to pacify the Oujda region and to occupy the Chaouia. A new diplomatic crisis ended with the Franco-German agreement of 1909. France and Spain increased their activities in Morocco.

During all these events the 'Alawid dynasty, engrossed in domestic disorders and preoccupied with its own defence, was singularly inactive. 'Abd al-'Azīz was replaced by his brother Mawlay 'Abd al-Ḥafīz, who had rebelled against him at Marrākush. Finally the incident at Agadir, which for a moment threatened the peace of Europe, led to a new Franco-German agreement which gave the Reich compensations in Equatorial Africa and made possible the signature of the Protectorate agreement (11 Rabī' II 1330/30 March 1912). The 'Alawid dynasty, which had seemed on the point of collapse, could thus, under French protection, maintain its position and enter a new phase. Mawlay 'Abd al-Ḥafīz, who showed extreme ill will in promulgating the reforms anticipated in the Protectorate agreements, abdicated in 1913 and was replaced by his brother, Mawlay Yūsuf, who was succeeded in 1927 by his son Sīdī Muḥammad; the latter was replaced in Dhū 'l-Hijja 1272/Agust 1923 by Sīdī Muḥammad b. Mawlay 'Arafa.

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In October 1935, Sidi Muhammad b. Mawlay 'Alfara went to reside in Tangiers, and a Council of the Throne was instituted in the Sharfian Empire; Sidi Muhammad b. Yusuf was installed on the throne again on 16th November 1955. (Ed.)

ALAWITES (see MUSAYR).

ALAY, a Turkish word probably derived from the Greek *alagion*, which was applied to certain divisions of the Byzantine army (cf. Köprülüzaade Mehmet Fuat, *Bizans Müesseselerinde Osmanlı Müesseselerine Te'viri*, *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, I, 277), signifying in Ottoman usage "a troop", "a parade", and hence "a crowd", "a large quantity", and used from the time of the 19th century military reforms to denote "a regiment". The most important parades to which the name was given were the *hıld alay*, held on the occasion of the sultan's visit to Eyyûb in his girding with the sword of 'Othmân; the *alay-ı hümayûn*, held on his departure from or return to the capital whether in connection with a campaign or for some other reason; the *siyer alay*, held at the early on the despatch of his annual gift to the Holy Cities; the *Mevlid* and *Bayram alayları*, held for his visitation of mosques on the Prophet's Birthday and the two 'ids; and the *valide alay*, held on the translation of a new Valide Sultan from the Old to the New Sarây. The word also figures in designations such as *alay beyi*, applied to officers commanding the feudal cavalry of a *sandjak* or *vilâyet* and themselves *fel-holders*, and *alay sarayları*, applied either to *forwards* whose duty it was to clear the route for processions or to those who conveyed commands in battle by shouting. The Alay Köhüsi was a pavilion in the Topkapı Sarây built in the reign of Murâd III from which sultans might view parades.

*Bibliography*: I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Saray Teşkilâtı*, index; IÂ, sv. (by the same); Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, II, index. (H. BOWEN)

'ALĀYA (see 'ALANVA).

ALBAIGIN (see GHARBĀTA).

ALBARACIN (see KAZIR, BASO).

ALBISTAN (see ELBISTAN).

ALBUFERA (see BALANSHIVA).

ALBURZ (now usually pronounced Elburz), in Old Persian *Harā Berezaiti* or "High Mountain", is a mountain chain which, besides separating the Persian central plateau from the Caspian depression, links the Caucasus range with the Paropamisus. The average height of the western portion is just under 10,000 feet, culminating in Dāmāwād (q.v.), which is 18,600 feet high. The northern slopes of the range are densely wooded, but vegetation is scanty on the southern side because of the much lower rainfall.

Firdaws gives the name Alburz to a mythical mountain in India. The first Persian geographer to apply the name to the range was Hāmid Alīsh Mustawfī.

Alburz or Elburz is not to be confused with Elbruz, the Caucasian peak. Cf. *Le Strange*, 368 note. (L. LOCKHART)

ALGACER DO SAL (see KASR AB DANIS).

ALGALA (see AL-KA'Ā').

ALGANTARA (see AL-KANTARA).

ALGAZAR, Spanish (from Arab. *al-baṣ*) : castle, citadel (Portug. *Alcazar*). Famous are the Alcazars of Seville, Cordova, Segovia, Toledo etc. Alcazar is also a frequent name of places, e.g.: Alcazar de San Juan, a town in the Spanish province of Ciudad-Real; Alcazarquivir, the Spanish name of Bājir al-Kabir (q.v.), a town in Morocco.

ALGAZARQUIVIR (see AL-EASR AL-KABIR).

ALCHEMY (see AL-KIMIYĀ).

ALCIRA (see AL-ĀZIRAT *SHUKK*).

ALDEBARAN (see NUGRĀM).

ALEMERIC (see AL-ANĀK).

ALEPPO (see HALAB).

ALEXANDER THE GREAT (see *ḤU* 'L-EAR-NAVY, AL-ISKANDAR).

ALEXANDER OF APHRODISIAS (see AL-ISKANDAR AL-APHRŪSĪ).

ALEXANDRETTA (see ISKANDARĪ).

ALEXANDRIA (see AL-ISKANDARIYA).

ALF LAYLA wa-LAYLA, "Thousand nights and one night" is the title of the most famous Arabian collection of fairy-tales and other stories. One often reads or hears nowadays "like a fairy-tale from the thousand-and-one nights", and, indeed, the fairy-tales are the most striking part of the collection. Like all Orientals the Arabs from the earliest times enjoyed imaginative stories; but since the intellectual horizon of the true Arabs in ancient times before the rise of Islam was rather narrow the material for these entertainments was borrowed mainly from elsewhere, from Persia and from India, as we gather from the accounts of the Prophet's competitor, the merchant al-Nadr. In later times when Arab civilization had grown richer and more comprehensive the literary influence from other countries was, of course, much stronger. An attentive reader of the "Nights" will soon be astonished by the manifold variety of their contents: they resemble in a way an Oriental meadow with many different beautiful flowers interspersed with a few weeds. On the other hand, the reader will notice that these stories comprise a very wide field: there are stories of King Solomon, of the kings of

ancient Persia, of Alexander the Great, of the caliphs and the sultans on one side, and stories in which guns, coffee and tobacco are mentioned on the other side.

Its appearance in Europe. The entire work is enclosed in a "frame-story", and this was known in Italy in the Middle Ages. Traces of it are to be found in a novel by Giovanni Sercambi (1347-1424) and in the story of Astolfo and Giocundo which is told in the 28th canto of *Orlando Furioso* by Ariosto (beginning of the 16th century); travellers who had been in the East may have brought this knowledge to Italy. But the whole *Alf Layla wa-Layla* came to Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. The French scholar and traveller Jean Antoine Galland (1646-1715) published it for the first time. Travelling in the Near East at first as a secretary of the French ambassador, then as a collector of objects for museums commissioned by amateurs, he had known the world of the Orient, and his attention was directed to the great number of stories and fables told there. After his return to France he began in 1704 to publish his volumes *Les mille et une Nuits contes arabes traduits en Français*. By 1706 seven vols. had appeared; vol. viii appeared in 1709, vols. ix and x in 1712, vols. xi and xii in 1717, two years after Galland's death. This delay in the appearance of the later vols. is significant for Galland's difficulties as to material and also for his indifference to this side of his work as a scholar.

He was a born story-teller; he had a flair for a good story and a knack of re-telling it well. Thus he adapted his translation to the taste of his European readers, changing sometimes the wording of the Arabic text and paraphrasing things that were foreign to Europeans. Hence the great success of his "Nights". But he was also fortunate in the material which fell into his hands. He began by translating Sindbād the Sailor from an unidentified MS; then he learned that this was part of a great collection of stories called "The Thousand and One Nights"; then he had the luck to have sent to him from Syria four vols. of a MS of that work which, except for a small fragment found by Nāḥid Abbott, the oldest known, and contains the best surviving text. The first three of his vols. are still in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but the fourth is lost. In the first seven vols. of his translation he exhausted his three vols. of Arabic text which we still have and added Sindbād and Camalzaman (Kamar al-Zamān) from unidentified MSS. Then for lack of material he stopped for three years until his publisher forced his hand by issuing, without authority, vol. viii containing Ganem (Ghānim), translated by Galland from an unidentified MS, and two stories, Zayn Alasnam (Zayn al-Anām) and Codadad (Khaddād), translated by Pétis de la Croix and intended for his *Mille et un jours*. Again Galland was completely out of material and stopped; he was also tired and disgusted for the whole matter. But in 1709 he met a certain Maronite from Aleppo, Hannā, brought to Paris by the traveller Paul Lucas, and at once recognized that he had got an oral source of the story material. Hannā told him stories in Arabic, and Galland inserted in his *Journal* abstracts of some of these. But Hannā also gave him transcripts of some. In this way the last four vols. of Galland's translation were put out; his *Journal* gives full details. Hannā's transcripts have vanished, but two Arabic MSS of Aladdin have since come to light and one of Ali Baba. This, then, is the origin of the book which made the "Nights" known to

Europe and which in the French text and in very many translations from the French became the "Arabian Nights" for the great multitude of readers. For details see H. Zotenberg, *Histoire d'Alf Layla wa-Layla*, avec *Notice sur quelques manuscrits des Mille et une nuits et la traduction de Galland*, Paris 1888. This contains the Arabic text of Aladdin ('Alī al-Dīn) and a study of certain MSS of the Nights and of the entries in Galland's *Journal*. See also V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie arabe*, iv, Liège 1900, and D. B. Macdonald, *A bibliographical and literary study of the first appearance of the Arabian Nights in Europe*, *The Library Quarterly*, vol. II, no. 4, Oct. 1932, 387-420.

For more than a century Galland's French version meant the Nights for Europe, and two of his stories whose original Arabic texts were not known were even translated into Oriental languages. But meanwhile other MSS, more or less connected with the Nights, were brought to light and, from these, various supplements to Galland were translated and published. Just as the MSS of the Nights themselves varied enormously as to the stories which they contained, so these translators were prepared to attach to the Nights any story that existed in Arabic. The following supplements, partly separate and partly attached to editions of Galland, are of importance in themselves and as signs of the interests of their times. For further details on all of them see Chauvin's *Bibliographie*, iv, 82-120.

In 1788 there appeared as a supplement to the *Cabinet des Fées*, vols 38-41, a series of tales translated from the Arabic by Denis Chaviv. It is significant for the interest at the time in the whole subject of the Nights that there appeared, 1798-1799, three separate English translations of this supplement. In 1795 William Beloe published in the third vol. of his *Miscellaneous* some Arabic stories which had been translated for him orally by Patrick Russell, the author of *The Natural History of Aleppo* (1794). In 1800 Jonathan Scott translated in his *Tales, Anecdotes and Letters* certain stories from the MS of the Nights brought from India by James Anderson, and in 1811 to his edition of an English version of Galland he added a vol. of new stories from another MS, the Wortley Montague MS now in Oxford. In 1806 Causin de Perceval had already added two vols. of supplement to his edition of Galland. But Edouard Gauttiev in his *proposed* edition of Galland (1822-1823) went much farther: besides two vols. of new tales drawn from all manner of sources he freely inserted others in the course of Galland's Nights. Von Hammer in his *Die noch nicht überlieferten Erzählungen der Tausend und einen Nacht*, Stuttgart 1823, had a much firmer foundation and used a real recension of the Nights. He had acquired in Egypt a MS of the recension now known as Zotenberg's Egyptian Recension, which through numerous editions has become the Vulgate text of the Nights; see the editions, below. Von Hammer's French translation of a number of stories not in Galland is lost, but Zinsinger (1823) translated it into German, and this version was rendered in English by Lamb (1826) and in French by Trébutien (1828). In 1825 M. Habicht began to publish 15 volumes professing to be a new translation but consisting really of Galland's text with some supplements from Causin, Gauttiev and Scott, and an ending from a so-called Tunisian MS. He began also to publish an Arabic text. From this text, later on also from Galland, from Gotha MSS and from a text printed in Egypt, Weil published his translation within the years 1837-1867.



Editions and translations. The main editions of the Arabic *Alf Layla wa-Layla* are the following.

1. The first Calcutta Edition: *The Arabian Nights Entertainments; In the Original Arabic, published under the Patronage of the College of Fort William*; By Shoukht Uthud bin Moosumund Shirwanee of Yumunee, Calcutta, vol. I 1814; vol. II 1818. It contains only the first two hundred Nights and the story of Sindbad the Sailor.

2. The first Bâlik Edition, a complete Arabic edition, printed in 1251/1835 (from MSS found in Egypt) in the State Printing Office at Bâlik near Cairo founded by Muhammad 'Alî.

3. The Second Calcutta Edition: *The Alf Laila or the Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*, Commonly known as "*The Arabian Nights Entertainments*", now, for the first time, published complete in the original Arabic, from an Egyptian manuscript brought to India by the late Major Turner, editor of the *Shah-Namâh*. Edited by W. H. Macnaghten, Esq. In four volumes, Calcutta 1839-42.

4. The Breslau Edition: *Tausend und Eine Nacht Arabisch. Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis herausgegeben von Dr. Maximilian Habicht*, Professor an der Königl. Universität zu Breslau (etc.), nach seinem Tode fortgesetzt von M. Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, ordentlichem Prof. der norddeutschen Sprachen an der Universität Leipzig, Breslau 1825-43. D. B. Macdonald, in his article on Habicht's Recension in *JRAS*, 1909, 685-704, and in his article *A Preliminary Classification of some MSS of the Arabian Nights*, in the *E. G. Browne Volume*, Cambridge 1922, 304, discussed the value of this edition. His expert opinion is that Habicht willfully created a literary myth and enormously confused the history of the Nights because a Tunisian recension of the Nights never existed, and out of many stories which had come to him from many sources he constructed a new recension of the Nights much in the same way that he had constructed his translation described above. However, Macdonald acknowledged that Habicht's texts are given verbatim without any attempt at correction, and are, therefore, "vulgar" in the exact sense whereas all other texts have been grammatically and lexicographically "improved" by learned shaykhs.

5. Later Bâlik and Cairo Editions. In the latter half of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century the complete text of the first Bâlik edition, in the main the same as the second Calcutta edition, was several times reprinted. They are representatives of Zotenberg's "Egyptian Recension", which is the result of a compilation made by a certain shaykh in the 18th century, according to a notice in U. J. Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabien, Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*, Berlin 1854-5, iii, 188; the name of the shaykh is not known, but this notice confirms Zotenberg's hypothesis. The Jesuit Press at Bayrūt has published an independent but expurgated edition from another MS of the same recension (1889-90).

From the Egyptian Recension have been made all the modern western translations. Lane's translation, incomplete but with a very valuable and full commentary, began to appear in parts in 1839 and was finished in 1841. It was made from the first Bâlik edition. Payne's translation from the Macnaghten edition, complete and privately printed, appeared in 9 vols. 1882-84. Three additional vols. contained tales in the Breslau and 1st Calcutta editions (1884), and a 13th vol.

(1889) contained Aladdin and Zayn al-Ashraf. Since Payne's death in 1916 there have been a number of complete reprints. The translation by Sir Richard Burton, also from the Macnaghten edition, is very largely dependent upon that of Payne and often reproduces Payne verbatim (10 vols., 1885; 6 supplementary vols., 1886-8). Besides the Sinners' edition (12 vols., 1894) and Lady Tennyson's edition (6 vols., 1886-8) it has been completely reprinted several times. On the strange relation between the versions of Payne and of Burton see Thomas Wright, *Life of Sir Richard Burton* (2 vols., London 1906) and *Life of John Payne* (London 1919), and for an attempt at a comparative estimate of the above English translations see Macdonald's *On translating the Arabian Nights*, *The Nation*, New York, Aug. 29 and Sept. 6, 1900. In *Kielian's Universal-Bibliothek* (1893-97) Max Henning published a German translation, 24 small vols.; it is somewhat expurgated and rather prosaic and gives only half the verses. The first 17 vols. give the Nights from the Bâlik edition and vols. 18-24 various supplements, largely translated from Burton. In 1899 J. C. Mardrus gave a French translation of the Nights published from the Bâlik edition of 1835. His translation is not very trustworthy, and it incorporates tales from all manner of other collections than the Nights. Moreover there are translations of the Nights in Spanish, English, Polish, German, Danish, Russian, Italian. The Spanish translation is by Vicente Blasco Ibañez; the English by E. Powys Mathers; the Polish translation is incomplete. The German translation by E. Littmann appeared in Leipzig, 6 vols., 1918; first re-edition Wiesbaden 1923, second re-edition third, 1924. It contains the complete translation of the second Calcutta edition and the following stories: "*Alif al-Din and the Magic Lamp*", from the Paris MS edited by Zotenberg (cf. above); "*Ali Baba and the Forty Robbers*", from the Oxford MS edited by Macdonald (*JRAS*, 1910, 221 ff., 1913, 41 ff.); "*Prince Ahmad and Pari Banu*", from Burton, i.e. an English rendering of a Hindustani version derived from Galland; "*Abu'l-Hasan or the Sleeper Awakened*", from the Breslau edition; "*The Craft of Women*", from the first Calcutta edition; and the end of Sindbad's sixth journey and his seventh journey, from the first Calcutta edition; supplement in the *Story of the Brass City*; the end of the *Story of Sindbad* and the *Seven Viziers*; *The Story of al-Mas'ûdî*; the *Story of al-Din Baybars*; *al-Banadhar* and the *Sixteen Guardians*, from the Breslau edition; *The Jealous Sisters*, from Burton-Galland; *Zayn al-Ashraf*, from a Paris MS edited by F. Groff; *The Nocturnal Adventure of the Caliph, Khudâkâd and his Brothers*, "*Ali Khawidja and the Merchant of Baghdad*", from Burton-Galland.—The Danish translation by J. Oestrup was published at Copenhagen in 1927. The Russian translation by I. Kozlovsky appeared in 1914, the Italian translation by F. Gabrieli in 1949.

Problems of origin and evolution. When the Arabian Nights first became known in Europe they served only for the entertainment of European readers; but at the beginning of the 19th century western scholars began to take an interest in the question of their origin. Silvestre de Sacy, the founder of modern Arabian philology, discussed this question in several dissertations: *Journal des savants*, 1817, 678; *Recherches sur l'origine du recueil des contes intitulés les Mille et une nuits*, Paris 1820; in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*, x, 1833, 30. He denied, correctly, the possible authorship of one single writer and believed

that the book was written at a very late period without Persian and Indian elements; therefore, he regarded as spurious a passage in *Murâdj al-Dhahab* of al-Mas'ûdî (written in 336/947 and re-edited in 346/957) referring to these elements. This passage, published by Barbier de Meynard in Arabic and French (*Les papyrus d'or*, iv, 89), reads in English: "The case with them (viz. some legendary stories) is similar to that of the books that have come to us from the Persian, Indian (one MS has here: Pahlaw) and the Greek and have been translated for us, and that originated in the way that we have described, such as for example the book *Hasir Afina*, which in Arabic means "thousand tales", for "*afina*" is in Persian *afsinâ*. The people call this book "Thousand Nights" (two MSS have here: Thousand Nights and One Night). This is the story of the king and the vizier and his daughter and her servant-girl; these two are called *Shirâzâd* and *Dinâzâd* (in other MSS: and her nurse; in again other MSS: and his two daughters)".

In *al-Fihrist* by Muhammad b. Ishâk b. Abi Ya'qûb al-Nadîm (written in 377/987, ed. Flügel, I, 104), the *Hasir Afina* are mentioned as a recension of the frame-work story is given. The *Fihrist* adds that *Abû 'Abd Allâh b. 'Abdûl al-Djâhizî* (d. 331/942), the author of the *Book of the Viziers*, began to write a book in which he selected a thousand stories from the stories of the Arabs, the Persians, the Greek and other peoples. He collected four hundred and eighty stories, but he died before he had attained his purpose, i.e. to complete a thousand stories.

Contrary to de Sacy, Joseph von Hammer (*Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1819, 236; *JA*, 2e série, x; 3e série, viii; Preface to his *Die noch nicht übersetzten Erzählungen* (see above) maintained the genuineness of the passage in al-Mas'ûdî with all its consequences. William Lane tried to prove that the whole book was the work of one single author and had been written in the period 1475-1525 (Preface to *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*, London 1891-41).

The discussion was resumed by de Goëje (*De Arabische Nachtverhalen*, *De Gids*, 1886, iii, 385, and *The Thousand and One Nights* in the *Encycl. Britannica*, xxii, 316). He collated the passage in the *Fihrist* (see above), in which the *Hasir Afina* are said to have been written for Humayr (var.: Humâni), the daughter of King Bahman. With a passage in *al-Tahiri* (9th century), i, 688, where Esther is called the mother of Bahman and the name *Shahrazâd* is assigned to Humayr; and consequently tried to show that the frame-work story of the Nights was connected with the Book of Esther. August Müller seems to have been the pioneer towards a freer attitude to his *Sandukchreiben* on the subject to de Goëje (*Bussenberger Beiträge*, xii, 222) and in his article in *Die deutsche Rundschau*, xlii, July 10, 1887, 77-96. He distinguished various layers in the work, one of which he supposed to have been written in Baghdad, whereas to another and larger one he assigned an Egyptian origin. The idea of various layers was worked out with greater accuracy by Th. Nöldeke (*Zu den ägyptischen Märchen*, *ZDMG*, 1886, 68) who gave an approximate definition of the texts, by which each could be recognized.

The contents of the Nights were described and considered by Nöldeke several times. In this respect Oestrup's *Studier over 1001 Nat.*, Copenhagen 1891, are of special importance; they were translated into Russian by Krymski (*Istledovanie o 1001 nodi*,

Moscow 1905, with a long introduction) and into German by Rescher, "*Oestrup's Studien über 1001 Nacht*" aus dem Dänischen (nebst einigen Zusätzen), Stuttgart 1925, and a French résumé with notes was published by Galtier, Cairo 1912. Other ingenious discussions of the subject were given by Horowitz, mainly in his article *Die Entstehung von Tausendundeiner Nacht*, *Die Review d'Enschon*, no. 4, April 1927; idem, in *IC*, 1917; See also Littmann, *Tausendundeine Nacht in der arabischen Literatur*, Tübingen 1923, and *Die Entstehung und Geschichte von Tausendundeiner Nacht in der Anhang* to Littmann's translation (mentioned above).

The earliest testimony to the existence of the book of the Thousand Nights was discovered by Nabia Abbott, *A Ninth-Century Fragment of the "Thousand Nights"*, *New Light on the Early History of the Arabian Nights*, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 1940. After that the work is mentioned by al-Mas'ûdî and in the *Fihrist* (see above). In the 12th century a collection of tales called "*The Thousand Nights and one Night*" was known in Egypt as we learn from a certain al-Kurtî who wrote a history of Egypt under the last Fatimid caliph (1160-71) and al-Ghazâlî, who died in 505/1112, transmitted in his anthology a tale of the Nights, as Torrey recognized (*JAGS*, 1894, 42 f.). A MS discovered by H. Ritter in Istanbul which is of the 13th or 14th century contains four stories that are in the Egyptian recension. These stories are not stated to be a part of the Nights; they will be published and translated by H. Wehr on the basis of preliminary studies by A. von Bulmerincz. Then follow Galland's MS and a number of other MSS of the Nights which cover the period from the 15th to the 18th centuries.

We know then that in the common form of the Nights there are a *Baghdâd* and an Egyptian part. Oestrup grouped the separate tales into three layers of which the first one was to comprehend the fairy-tales from the Persian *Hasir Afina* with the frame-work of the book, the second those which had come from Baghdad, and the third the stories which had been added to the body of the work; certain tales, as for example the extensive chivalric romance of 'Umar b. al-Nu'mân, were inserted when the number row was taken in its literal sense. But the *Story of Sal and Shams* in a Tübingen MS, which is professedly a part of the Nights and which was edited as such by Seybold, certainly never was an integral part of them, because in it a Muslim is converted to Christianity; in the true Nights Christians, Zoroastrians and pagans often adopt Islam, but a Muslim never adopts another religion.

The following forms of the Nights were established by Macdonald (*The earlier history of the Arabian Nights*, *JRAS*, 1904, 353 ff.)—meaning by that any collection of stories fitted into the frame-work which we know: i. The original Persian *Hasir Afina*, "Thousand Stories". ii. An Arabic version of the *Hasir Afina*, iii. The frame-work story of *Hasir Afina*, followed by stories of Arabic origin. iv. The Nights of the late Fatimid period; to its popularity al-Kurtî testifies. v. The recension of the Galland MS. From notes in it that MS was in Syrian Tripoli in 943/1536 and at Aleppo in 1500/1592; it may, of course, be older. But it was written in Egypt. There remains the at present still unsolved problem of the relations between it and the other old and independent MSS; there are according to Macdonald at least six such MSS which must be considered.

Nabia Abbott (see above) stated the following six



forms. I. An eighth-century translation of the *Hasid Afsana*. According to her belief this was most probably a complete and literal translation, perhaps entitled *Alf Khowala*. II. An eighth-century Islamic version of the *Hasid Afsana* entitled *Alf Layla*. This could have been either partial or complete. III. A ninth-century composite *Alf Layla* containing both Persian and Arabic materials. While most of the former came undoubtedly from the *Hasid Afsana*, other current story-books, especially the *Book of Sindbad* and the *Book of Shams*, are not improbable sources. The Arabic materials, as Littmann had already pointed out, were not so slight or insignificant as Macdonald believed them to be. IV. The tenth-century *Alf Sagar* of Ibn 'Abdū. Whether this was meant to include, among other materials, all the current *Alf Layla* and to supersede it, is not clear. V. A twelfth-century collection augmented by materials from IV and by Asiatic and Egyptian tales of local Egyptian composition. The change of title to *Alf Layla wa-Layla* belongs, in all probability, to this period. VI. The final stages of the growing collection extending to the early sixteenth century. Heroic tales of the Islamic rounder-circades are among the most prominent additions. Persia and 'Irak may have contributed some of the later predominantly Far Eastern tales in the wake of the thirteenth-century Mongol conquest of those lands. The final conquest of Mamlūk Syria and Egypt by the Ottoman Salīm I (1512-20) closed the first chapter of the history of the Arabian Nights in its oriental homeland.

The title "Thousand Stories" may have been changed to "Thousand Nights" when, with the Arabs, the frame-work story and other stories were combined; that cannot have been done later than the 9th century. Originally "1000 stories" meant only a very large number of stories; in the same way it is said of Shahrāzād that she had collected "a thousand books". For the simple mind even 100 is a high number, and "before 100 years" means—even for Oriental historians—the same as "a long time ago"; therefore the number 100 must not be taken in its exact sense. But 1000 is almost the same as "innumerable". And the Book of the Thousand Nights which was known at Baghdad scarcely contained a thousand separate nights. But why was 1000 changed to 1001? This change may partly owe its origin to the superstitious aversion to round numbers common among the Arabs as among other peoples. But it is very likely that it was also influenced by the Turkish idiomatic use of *bin bir* "thousand and one" for a large number; in Anatolia there is a ruin called *Bin-bir-kilise* "1001 Churches", but there are, of course, not nearly so many there. In Istanbul there is a place called *Bin-bir-direk* "1001 columns"; but there are only a few dozens of them there. The Turkish alliteration *bin bir* points to the origin of the Persian idiom *hasid yek* "1001" and of the title *alf layla wa-layla*. Since the 12th century Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria and the other countries of Eastern Islam were under the influence of the Turks. Thus the title "1001 Nights" at the beginning meant only a large number of nights, but later on the number was taken in its literal meaning, and it became necessary to add a great many stories in order to complete the number 1001.

The various component elements. If then India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt and in some way the Turkish materials in the frame-work of the Nights we must assume that materials derived from all these countries and peoples are to be found

in them. The first outer tests might be the proper names. There are Indian names like Sindbad, Turkish names like 'Alī Baba and *Kāshān*; the names Shahrāzād, Dīnāzād, Shāhrazād are Persian and occur, as do Goiege has shown, in Persian legends; so also Bahārīn, Rustan, Ardāghī, Shāhīr and many others are Persian. However, by far the majority of names are Arabic, i.e. old Arabic names used among the Arabian bedouin and later Islamic names. Greek and European names occur in a few cases in stories treating of the relations between Muslims and Byzantines and Franks. Egyptian names refer to places and to months in their Coptic forms. Of Hebrew names chiefly Solomon and David occur; both play an important rôle in Islamic tradition. Besides them Asaf, Barakhiyā, Bulūkiyā and others are named. But since in very many cases stories are transferred to other persons and frequently persons without names act in them the question of the names must not be stressed.

However, the frame-work system, which is very common in India but very rare in other countries, is a test of the Indian origin of certain parts of the Arabian Nights. In the Indian popular books it usually runs like this: "You may not do such and such a thing or else you will go the same way as so and so."—"How was that?" asks the other, and then the admonisher begins his story.

The foreign elements in the Nights have been carefully studied by Oestrup. One of the interesting statements he made was that in the Iranian fairy-tales the demons or supernatural powers act on their own account and independently, whereas in the more recent tales, especially in those from Egypt, they are always subject to some talisman or magic object; hence its outer decides the development of the action, not the Djinn and 'Ifrits themselves. Only a short summary of the foreign elements in the Nights can be given here.

The frame-story is of Indian origin. That it consists of three different parts which originally were independent stories was shown by Emmanuël Cosquin in *Études folkloriques*, Paris 1922, 265. These parts are: 1. The story of a man who was grieved by a diabolical wife, whose grief was alleviated when he saw that a high personality had the same misfortune. 2. The story of a demon or a giant who his wife or his captive betrayed with many other men in the most audacious manner. This is the same as the tale told by the seventh vizier in the *Story of Sindbad the Wise*. 3. The story of a clever girl who by her skillful telling of stories averts an evil threatening her or her father or both of them. Of these three parts only the third one seems to have belonged to the original frame-work story, as indicated by al-Mas'ūdī and by the *Fikrīst*; in it, then, only the cruel king, the clever daughter of the vizier and her true old nurse were known. It is probable that the story of the clever daughter of the vizier came at an early date from India to Persia, where it was "nationalized" and combined with the other two parts of the frame-story. A number of tales in the Nights are of Indian origin; such are the stories of pious men that remind us of Buddhist and Jainist saints, the fables of animals, the story-cycles of Sindbad [g.v.] *the Wise*, and of *Djalād* and *Shimān*. Indian motifs are to be found in different passages of the Nights; such are, e.g., the *Story of the Magic Horse*; the poisoning by means of the leaves of a tree (by the physician Dībān), a practice which points to Indian customs (cf. Gildemeister, *Scriptura Arabum De Rebus Indicis loci et opuscula*, Bonn

1838, 89). All this passed through Persian before it reached the Arabs.

Quite a number of tales are of Persian origin, especially those fairy-tales in which the ghosts and the fairies act independently; see above. The tales which Oestrup enumerates as being of Indian-Persian origin are the following: 1) *The Story of the Magic Horse*; 2) *The Story of Hasan of Basra*; 3) *The Story of Sayf al-Mulūk*; 4) *The Story of Rāmar al-Zamān and of Princess Budūr*; 5) *The Story of Prince Badr and of Princess Dīnawar of Samand*; 6) *The Story of Ardāghī and Hayāt al-Nafas*. And according to him the relation between the *Story of 'Alī Shāh* and the Persian original, the former containing many details which occur in the probably later narrative of Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī and the *Girdle-girl*, also to be found in the Nights, is uncertain. The *Story of the Jealous Sisters* and the *Story of Ahmad and Parī Dānā* that are found only in Galland give a strong impression of being originally Persian, but Persian prototypes of them have not become known as yet.

Baghdād is situated in the region of ancient Babylonia; it is, therefore, probable that ancient Babylonian ideas should have survived there until Islamic times and might be reflected in the Nights. Even a whole story, the *Story of Haykār the Wise*, in which an MSS appears as a part of the Nights, is of Old Mesopotamian origin; it probably dates back to the 7th century B.C., and it found its way through the Jewish and Christian literatures into Arabic literature. Bihār the Ever-Youthful, has a Babylonian prototype; the journeys of Bulūkiyā and the water of life fetched by Prince Ahmad may reflect motifs of the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh. But Nāzīr and the water of life were probably transmitted to the Arabs by the Romance of Alexander, and the journeys of Bulūkiyā became known to them through Jewish literature. Above all, the frequent anecdotes about the 'Abbasid caliphs and their court and also some anecdotes about their subjects belong to the Baghdad recension of the Nights. The *Story of Sindbad* [g.v.] *the Sailor* found its definite shape probably in Baghdad, the romance of 'Umar b. al-Nu'mān [g.v.] contains Persian, Mesopotamian and Syrian materials; the romance of 'Aḡlīb and Ghārīb points to Mesopotamia and to Persia; the story of the clever slave-girl *Tawaddūd* [g.v.] originated in Baghdad and was in some respects reshaped in Egypt. The Stories of Bulūkiyā, of Sindbad [g.v.] *the Wise*, and of *Djalād* and *Wird Khān* were certainly known in Baghdad. But there is no certain proof that all these tales were parts of the Baghdad recension. The same is to be said of the four stories of the Istanbul MS found by H. Ritter (see above); it contains four of our Nights stories but does not refer to *Alf Layla wa-Layla*. These stories are: 1) *The Story of the Six Men*, i.e. of the six brothers of the barber of Baghdad; 2) *The Story of Dīwanār the Sea-girl*; 3) *The Story of Budūr and 'Umayr b. Dīhawar*; 4) *The Story of Abū Muhammad the Slave*.

Egyptian origin is to be postulated of the stories in which the tricks of clever thieves and rogues are related, of the tales in which the ghosts and demons appear as servants of talismans and of magic objects, and of stories that might be called "bourgeois novels", some of which resemble modern romances of adultery. All these stories date, of course, in their present form from the time of the Mamlūk sultans and must have been composed in Egypt. But some of the motifs go back to Ancient Egypt. The clever rogue 'Alī al-Zaybak and his companion Ahmad al-Danaf

have their prototype in the bold *condottieri* Ananiā, and the treasure of Rhampsinit is found in the story of 'Alī al-Zaybak, as Nöldeke pointed out. The monkey-scribe in the story of the three dames of Baghdad may have his prototype in Thot, the scribe of the Egyptian gods who is often represented as a monkey, or in Hanuman the monkey-leader of the Indian *Ramayana*. It has also been suggested that the ancient story of the Egyptian shipwrecked person is to be connected with Sindbad's journeys, and that the story of the capture of Jaffa by Egyptian warriors hidden in sacks recurs in the story of 'Alī Baba; but these connections are not very likely; see Littmann, *Tausendundeine Nacht in der arabischen Literatur*, 22.

For possible Greek influences in the Nights see von Grunbaum, *Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1946, Chapter Nine, *Greece in the Arabian Nights*.

The various literary genres. It remains to give a summary account of the different classes of literature represented in the Nights; it is here, of course, impossible to mention every one of all the stories, as has been done in the *Anhang* to Littmann's translation. There six main groups were distinguished: 1) Fairy-tales; 2) Romances and novels; 3) Legends; 4) Didactic stories; 5) Humorous tales; 6) Anecdotes. A few examples of each group must suffice here.

1. The frame-story consists of three Indian fairy-tales. The tales which come first in all manuscripts (*The Merchant and the Djinn*; *The Fisherman and the Djinn*; *The Porter*; *The Three Calenders* and *The Three Dames in Baghdad*; *The Hunchback*) belong to this class; they are themselves examples of the frame-work system and contain some traits which remind us of Indian prototypes and even of some motifs which have parallels in stories from farther east. The best known fairy-tales are those of 'Alī al-Dīn and the Magic Lamp and 'Alī Baba. Other examples are *Kamar al-Zamān and Budūr*, *The Jealous Sisters*, *Prince Ahmad and Parī Dānā*, *Sayf al-Mulūk*, *Hasan al-Basri*, *Zayn al-Aynān*.

2. The longest romance is that of 'Umar b. al-Nu'mān [g.v.] and his Sons; it has been discussed by Paret (*Der Ritterroman von 'Umar an-Nu'mān*, Tübingen 1927), and by H. Geigroire and R. Goossens (*EDM 1934*, 213). Byzantine *Ephe* and *Arabische Ritterromane*. The Story of 'Aḡlīb and Ghārīb is the model of an Islamic popular romance. The stories of *The Porter* and *The Three Dames*, of 'Alī al-Dīn *Abū 'L-Shāmāl*, of Nūr al-Dīn and Shamī al-Dīn, of Nūr al-Dīn and Maryam the *Girdle-girl* might be called "bourgeois" romances or novels, as also the story of *Abū K'ir* and *Abū Šir*.

Here the love-stories may be added. There are a great many of them in the Nights, and they comprise three groups: a) ancient Arabian life before Islam; b) urban life in Baghdad and Basra, love-affairs with girls or slave-girls in the cities or in the palace of the caliphs; c) love-novels from Cairo which are sometimes frivolous and lascivious. See Paret, *Frühislamische Liebesgeschichten*, Bern 1927.

Also the stories of rogues and of seafarers are to be mentioned here. For 'Alī al-Zaybak see above; many short stories of the guardians are told before the rulers of Egypt. The famous story of Sindbad [g.v.] *the Sailor* is based on a book *The Wonders of India*, which contained adventures and sailors' yarns collected by a Persian sea captain at Basra in the 10th century. The first part of the story of *Abū Muhammad the Slave* is composed of sailors' stories and motifs of fairy-tales.



3. There are a few ancient Arabian legends inserted in the Nights: *Īlām al-Jāhīl*, from the City of Columns; *The Brass City*; *The City of Latta*, which refers to the conquest of North-western Africa by the Arabs. Other legends refer to pious men and women, among them to pious Israelites (these need not necessarily be due to Jewish authors); the legend of *The Pious Prince*, who was a son of Harūn al-Rašīd and became a dervish, is reminiscent of the famous legend of Alexius.

4. Didactic stories, fables and parables, especially of animals, are known to many peoples and have found their way into the Nights also, where most of them seem to have originated in India, as e.g. the two long cycles of *Sinbad* (q.v.) the Wise (*Sinbad*) and of *Qabā'id* and *Wird Khān*, and many of the fables of animals, but they were sometimes remodelled in their Arabic forms. The long story of the clever slave-girl *Tawaddad* (q.v.) (in Spain *la doncella Todor*, in Abyssinia *Taudad*) with its probable Greek prototype correctly discussed by Horowitz belongs in this category.

5. Humorous tales are the stories of *Ahū 'l-Ḥasan* or *The Sleeper Awakened*, of *Khālifa the Fisherman*, of *Dī'āfar the Barmakid* and the Old Bedouin, and of *Alī the Persian*; the latter is a typical story of lies. In the stories of *Mā'rūf the Cobbler* and of the *Hunchback* there are many humorous traits.

6. The group of anecdotes comprises here all the stories that are not classified in the preceding groups. Collections of anecdotes are the stories of the *Hunchback* and of the *Barber and his Brothers*, and they are combined to a comedy of great style. The other anecdotes are to be divided into three groups: those of rulers and their circles, those of munificent men, those taken from general human life. Those of rulers begin with Alexander the Great and end with the Mamlūk sultans: a few of them refer to the Persian kings, a very large number of them refer to the 'Abbāsid caliphs, above all to Harūn al-Rašīd who became the ideal ruler in the opinion of later Muslims. Some of these anecdotes may not originate from Baghdad but from Egypt where they were ascribed to him. The munificent men about whom the Nights tell are mainly *Īlām al-Jāhīl*, *Mā'rūf the Barmakid* and the *Barmakids*. The anecdotes from general human life are of several kinds: they tell of rich and poor, of young and old, of sexual abnormalities (*Wardān and the Woman with the Bear*; *The Princess and the Monkey*), of bad eunuchs, of unjust and of clever judges, of stupid schoolmasters (a type known in Greek and Roman literature as well as in modern Egyptian Arabic tales). The *Naturalist's Adventure of the Caliph* transmitted only by Galland contains three long anecdotes told at large and intermingled with motifs from fairy-tales.

There are about 1420 poems or fragments of poetry in the 2nd Calcutta edition, according to Horowitz (in *Festschrift Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 375-9). Of these a number of 170 repetitions must be deducted, so 1250 insertions of poetry remain. Horowitz has been able to prove that these insertions whose authors he could discover are to be dated from the 12th to the 14th centuries, i.e. from the Egyptian period of the history of the Nights. These poems and verses are mostly of the kind that they might be omitted without disturbing the course of the prose texts, and, therefore, have been later added to them. Bibliography: Has been given in the course of the article. Here special attention should be called to Oestrup's *Studier* and their annotated translation by Rescher (see above), to N. Elisséeff,

*Thèmes et Motifs des Mille et Une Nuits*, Beirut 1949, and to the full bibliography given by Brockelmann, II, 72-4, S II, 59-63. For the influence of the Arabian Nights on European literature cf. *The Legacy of Islam*, 199 ff.; Cassel's *Encyclopaedia of literature*, s.v. (E. LITMANN).

ALFARD (see *NUṢṢ*).

ALFONSHO, the transcription adopted by the majority of the Arab chroniclers of al-Andalus for Alfonso, the name of several monarchs of Christian Spain in the Middle Ages. The forms *Ighfōnshu* and *al-Ighfōnshu*, however, which correspond to the old Latin-Gothic form *Ilfedonso*, are also occasionally found.

ALGARVE (see *CHARD AL-ANDALUS*).

ALGAZEL (see *AL-ḤAZẒAL*).

ALGEBRA (see *AL-JABR WA'L-MUḤABABA*).

ALGECIRAS (see *AL-JAZIRA AL-ḤADIR*).

ALGEDI (see *NUṢṢ*).

ALGERIA (Ar. *BAḤR AL-DJAZĀ'IR*), modern term indicating the central part of northern Africa between Morocco in the West, and Tunisia in the East.

(i) — Geography.

(ii) — History:

(1) To the 16th century.

(2) The Turkish period.

(3) After 1830.

(iii) — The population.

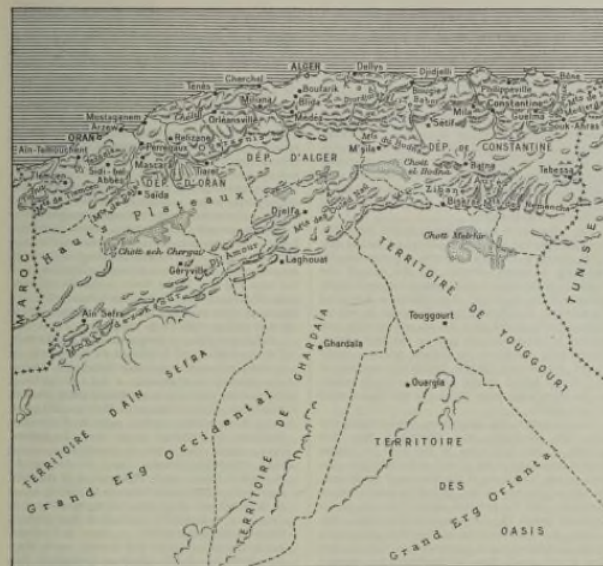
(iv) — The institutions.

(v) — Languages.

(i) GEOGRAPHY.

Algeria comprises the central section of North Africa (also called Maghrib, Barbary, Africa Minor, the Atlas region [cf. MAGREB]) and a large part of the Sahara, and has an area of 2,191,464 sq. km. Situated between latitudes 37° and 19° N., it is bounded by Morocco and Spanish Río de Oro in the West, by French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa in the South, and by Libya and Tunisia in the East. Algeria proper, which extends roughly to the southern slopes of the Saharan Atlas, covers only 14.6% of this area, or 320,000 sq. km. It is 1000 km. long, with 1,300 km. of coastline; it is 350 km. in breadth at the Moroccan frontier and 240 km. at the Tunisian, and extends from lat. 32° 1' to 35° 1' in the West, and from lat. 34° 9' to 37° 1' in the East. Tlemcen is at the same latitude as the oasis of Biskra. Algeria proper is a plateau with a mean altitude of 900 m. It is traversed by the Atlas Mts., a southern branch of the Alpine chain, which were thrown up in a series of folds during the tertiary and at the beginning of the quaternary period, on the edge of the hard Saharo-African platform. They are divided into two main groups, the Tell Atlas in the North and the Saharan Atlas in the South, which come together in the east and enclose upland plains.

The Tell. The Tell Atlas in relief presents a complex picture, by reason of its excessively folded structure and of the extensive erosion caused by the Mediterranean rains and by the fact that its coastline is near sea level. The successive ridges rise parallel to or at an angle to the coast, cut by deep transverse valleys and separated, in the West, by longitudinal depressions. South of the hills of the Sāhil (Sāhil) of Oran, Dahmā, and Beni Mender, and the mountains of Zaccar (1,579 m.) stretches a depression 350 km. in length, following the line of the Sebkhā of Oran, the low marshy plains of the Mactā and the Mina, and the valley of the lower Chéfil (Sāhil). It is



bounded in the South by lines of hills which rarely exceed 2000 m.: the Tessala, Ouled Ali, and Beni Chougman mountains, and the great massif of the Ouassenis (Wangharts) and the Matmata which rises between the Chéfil valley and the high plains. To the West of the valley of the Mina, the inner plains are dominated to the South by table-like limestone and sandstone formations, which rise to between 2000-1500 m.: these are the plateaus of Oran.

To the East of Algiers and the hills of the Sāhil the mountain formations are higher and more massive. Between the plains of the Mitidja and Bône (Bône) there is no important depression, except that of the Wādī Sāhil-Soummam with its western extension. The mountains of Kabylia, between the Mitidja and the Edough, are of great size and are dominated by a "limestone spine" formed by the Djurdjura (highest peak Lilla Khadidja, 2,308 m.) (see KABYLIA), the Babar (Bābar) (2,004 m.), and the highest peaks of the Numidian chain. To the South, the Mitidja and the Medea mountains, the Biblis ranges, and the Constantine and Medjerda mountains, composed of non-durable mud and schistose material, have comparatively soft or deeply-furrowed contours. The littoral, precipitous and rocky nearly everywhere, affords scant natural

shelter against the N-W gales; the bays of Mers el Kebir-Oran (Mars al-Kabir), Arzew, Algiers, Bougie (Bijlāya) and Bône face East.

The High Plains. The high plains, wrongly termed high plateaus, are monotonous expanses broken by isolated rocky humps whose moderately-folded structure makes them similar to the Saharan Atlas. Situated below the Tell Atlas, and subject to a climate which is already arid, they form a succession of enclosed basins: the wādīs discharge their alluvia and their waters into *sebkhas* (or *sahras*), whose surface in summer sparkles with salt, while their margins (*ghoff*) have a covering of salt-loving plants. The high plains of the West, with the Gharbi (gharbi) and Cherqui (gharbi) shotts (2000 m.), the Zaires (800 m.) and the shallow basin of the Hodna (q.v.) (400 m.), drain partially into the sea. East of the mountains of the Hodna (1,590 m.) and the Belemra (2,094 m.), the high plains of Constantine are 900-1200 m. above in mountain masses which are extensions of the mountain chains of the Hodna, the Belemra and the Aurès.

The Saharan Atlas is formed, from Morocco to Biskra, by a group of asymmetrical minor ranges running SW-NE, the debris of moderately-folded ranges; they are separated by large depressions and



are half-buried under their own detritus. The Ksour (Kštr; 2,236 m.), the Amour ('Amūr [g.s.]; 2,008 m.) the Ouled Nail and the Zibān (or Zāb) mountains drop towards the NE.; they are easily negotiated. East of Biskra, the Aurès (see AWRĀS) is the largest and highest Algerian massif (Djebel Chella, 2,129 m.), and is a succession of peaks and depressions running SW-NE.

**The Desert.** The varied terrain of the Atlas region contrasts with the extremely monotonous expanse of the desert; for instance its severe plateaus or *hamada*, its immense plains which constitute enclosed basins and which are partly covered with sandy or pebbly *reg*, and finally its *erg*, vast agglomerations of sand-dunes which cover only 1/3 of its surface (see AL-SAHRĀ').

The climate is Mediterranean in the Tell Atlas, but it deteriorates in the high plains and the Saharan Atlas where it becomes an arid without actually becoming a desert climate. On the littoral the variation in the mean monthly temperatures is small, because of the humidity. The climate is becoming continental; considerable heat has been known in depressions sheltered from the sea winds, with cold winters in the mountains and on the high plains. Everywhere, except on the littoral, where it rarely occurs, the *sirocco* (*shēllū*) brings temperatures of 104° F and higher several times a year; in winter, on the other hand, snow covers the principal massifs for 2-3 weeks.

The summer is dry, apart from a few storms, and rain falls principally from October to May. The massifs of the Tell Atlas to the East of Algiers receive more than 31 ins. of rain, and sometimes more than 39 ins. The plains of the West, and the Hodna, receive only some 7-11 ins., except on their northern boundary, and the Saharan Atlas 11-15 ins. on its northern slopes. The desert receives less than 7 ins.

Only the main rivers of the Tell Atlas have water all the year round, and even then their summer flow is very small; these are Mediterranean torrents whose spate is sudden and violent. Such are the Tafna, the Macta (formed by the confluence of the Sig and the Halra), the Sphal (Chellū), the Sebū (Sebān), the Wādī Sūq, the al-Wādī al-Kabīr, the Seybīs (Seybouse), the Mergēra and its tributary, and the Wādī Melleg (the lower courses of the last two belong to Tunisia). Not one of them is navigable; some are used for irrigation. On the high plains and in the Saharan Atlas the *wadī* contain water for only part of the year, and then only in their upper courses; many only contain water after heavy rains.

The vegetation has been much impaired by man. Thin forests of non-deciduous and resinous trees still cover the Tell mountains and certain more arid massifs; there are cork-trees on the siliceous and well-watered mountains of the Kabylas and the Bône region; evergreen oaks, or holm-oaks, indigenous to the soil, even in the Aurès; Aleppo pines on the limestone of the Aurès; cypresses on mountains already dry; Barbary thorn and Kermes oaks in the Oran Tell, and thorny-sown junipers on the drier slopes. A few well-watered peaks still support plantations of cedars. Agricultural expansion and the demand for timber and charcoal have caused the forests to recede; the area under cultivation has chiefly increased at the expense of dense thickets of wild olive and manna trees. Only the more important episodes in its history will be mentioned here.

In the middle of the 15th century, North Africa was invaded by the Arabs, the propagators of Islam. The military power of Byzantium rapidly

annually are the regions of the steppe, a formation characterized by the scarcity of bushes and trees, especially of the latter, and by the presence of perennial herbaceous plants such as alfalfa (10 million usable acres) and esparto, of small ligneous plants such as the artemisia, salt-loving plants growing on the saline soil of the *ghārs*, and of an annual herbaceous vegetation which burgeons every spring. The desert is only an open steppe without alfalfa.

Algeria, therefore, comprises two great natural regions in addition to the desert: a Mediterranean region, where the cultivation of cereals, wheat and barley, and trees like the olive, the fig and the almond is practicable without irrigation, and consequently where a sedentary mode of existence possible: it is known to the indigenous peoples as the Tell; and, secondly, the steppes, where cultivation is not practicable without irrigation or flood waters, and which is devoted to the breeding of livestock on a migratory basis, and to nomadism: natives know this area and that of the desert under the common name of Sahara. This distinction between Tell and Sahara is a fundamental one in the history of the country no less than in its geography.

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### (II) HISTORY.

#### (1) To the 16th century.

The region which later became known as Algeria presents a framework not readily acceptable to the historian of Muslim North Africa. The frontiers which are shown on the map cannot set bounds to his field of study; they only assume any significance with the establishment of the Turkish regime in Algiers in the course of the 16th century. During the nine hundred years prior to this event, the future Algeria, which comprises what the Arab writers call central Maghrib (al-Maghrib al-Awsat) together with part of Ifrikiya (or near Maghrib), was closely linked with the two neighbouring countries, being almost always a vassal state subject to rulers coming from these countries or in fear of their domination. Although, in comparison with the two other subdivisions of Ifrikiya or Maghrib, this central region appears to be a large rural area with few towns, populated by nomadic shepherds and hill farmers, it has nevertheless through the centuries played a not inconsiderable part in the history of the Muslim West. Only the more important episodes in its history will be mentioned here.

In the middle of the 15th century, North Africa was invaded by the Arabs, the propagators of Islam. The military power of Byzantium rapidly

disintegrated; but the reduction of the Berbers was a more difficult task. Resistance was primarily organized in central Maghrib; inspired, it is said, by Kusayla (g.s.), chief of the Awrāba, native bands among which, near Biskra, engaged Ukba b. Nāh' (g.s.)—a battle in which the latter lost his life (56/582). The Awrāba in particular seems to have been used as a strongpoint in the struggle against the Arabs; it was in the foothills of this mountain massif that the Kāhina (g.s.), legendary queen of the country, witnessed, after a brilliant success, the destruction of Berber independence (74/693).

The central Maghrib again became the centre of autochthonous resistance in the 2nd/8th century, when the Berbers had become converted en masse to Khāridjism. Tlemcen, where Abū Kurā, chief of the Banū Ifran (g.s.) (148/765), was in command, was at first their chief centre. In the 3rd/9th century Thiert (near the modern Tiaret), capital of the Rustamids (g.s.) *umma*, became the centre of Berber Khāridjism.

The position of this central region, on the borders of the territory which the Agglabids of al-Kayrawān held in the name of the 'Abbāsids, explains how the Fātimids (g.s.) power was engendered there among the Kutāma (g.s.) Berbers of Lesser Kabylia at the end of the 3rd/9th century. These new masters, however, were not accepted without a struggle; the Awrāba and its environs witnessed the terrible revolt of the Man with the Donkey, in which the Fātimid cause was nearly lost (see ABŪ YAẒĪD AL-NURKĀN).

Taking over the role of the Kutāma, the Šinhādja (g.s.; see also ZIKRIS) of central Maghrib became, in the 4th/10th century, the most useful allies of the Fātimids and supported their policy of opposition to the Zanāta (g.s.), who were vassals of the Umayyads of Spain. The Zanāta were for the most part nomads, and frequented the central and western plains. The Šinhādja were settled tribes, and inhabited the central and eastern mountain regions; they founded or developed towns, such as Aghir and the Ka'fa, capital of the Šinhādja Banū Hammād (see HAMMĀDĪS). This latter kingdom experienced the repercussions of the serious events which occurred in Ifrikiya. The invasion of the Banū Hūl (g.s.) Arabs in the middle of the 5th/11th century, which destroyed the kingdom of al-Kayrawān, caused an influx into the Ka'fa of merchants and artisans, and palaces were built there which betrayed the influence of Fātimid Egypt and of Persia. But it was not long before the Arab scourge menaced; in their turn, the Banū Hammād, who engaged in a Būdjīya (Bougie). While, in what was later the province of Constantine, the power and prosperity of the former rulers increased, the future provinces of Oran and Algiers acquired new masters. Emerging from Morocco, the Almoravids (5th/11th century) (see AL-MURĀVIṬŪN) overran the country as far as Algiers; the Almohads (6th/12th century) (see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN) and Mu'wīnids extended their sway over the whole of North Africa. Both dynasties, which had in addition annexed Muslim Spain, enriched the cities of their Berber dominions, particularly Tlemcen, with the products of the magnificent civilization of al-Andalus.

At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the great Almohad empire collapsed, and Tlemcen, which had escaped ravages at the hands of the Arabs and the Almoravids Banū Ghāniya (g.s.), became the capital of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād (see 'ABD AL-WĀDĪS), formerly Zanāta nomads. This new kingdom achieved real economic prosperity; but it was constantly

threatened by the Marinids, its Moroccan neighbours, and, at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, it was annexed by the Turks of Algiers.

It was the appearance of the Spanish off the small Berber port of Algiers which led to Turkish intervention in the central region of North Africa. For made Algiers the centre of a vassal State. For nearly three centuries piracy, a substitute for holy war, provided the Regency of Algiers with important resources. The country itself, which later became Algeria, and which was divided into three provinces, to some extent evaded the control of its Levantine masters, and its nomadic and settled populations pursued in relative independence an archaic mode of existence, the history of which is, and will doubtless long remain, obscure to us.

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#### (2) The Turkish period.

The establishment of the Turks in Algiers was not the result of a deliberate policy of expansion planned and carried out by the Ottomans. It was, on the contrary, at least at its inception, a private venture by two Turkish corsairs, known as Western sources as the Barbarossa brothers, 'Arūḍ (g.s.) and 'Iskayr al-Dīn (g.s.). These two, with a great reputation for valour gained in hunting down Christian vessels in the Mediterranean, came to the rescue of Islam in



Africa, which they saved from the hands of the Spaniards. In 921/1516, the inhabitants of Algiers appealed to 'Arbi, who proclaimed himself sultan, and occupied Miliana, Medea, Tunes and Tlemcen. He was killed at Tlemcen after resisting siege by the Spanish for six months (924/1518). Khayr al-Din restored the situation, which had been reversed momentarily critical by the death of his brother, by presenting the Ottoman Sultan Selim with the newly-acquired territories, thus gaining both increased prestige and the military and financial aid which he needed. He extended his authority over Collo, Bône, Constantine and Cherchell, and 1529 forced the surrender of the Peñon of Algiers, a fort which the Spanish had erected on an inlet some 300 yards from the shore. In 940/1533, Khayr al-Din was appointed commander-in-chief of the Ottoman fleet, and was replaced at Algiers by *heylerbeyis* who administered the country either directly or through lieutenants until 995/1587. Aspirations to independence on the part of some of these officials led the Ottoman Government, in 1587, to replace them by *pašas* appointed for a term of three years. The *pašas* were eclipsed, after 1070/1659, by the *aghas* of the army corps, who were in turn succeeded by a new power, that of the *deys*, who ruled until the capture of Algiers by France. The triennial *pašas*, *aghas* and *deys* were more often than not tools in the hands either of the army corps (*odja*), recruited primarily from the townsmen of Anatolia, or of the *pašas* of *al-ru'us*, a guild of corsair captains which, for three centuries, furnished the Algerian treasury with the greater part of its resources. The four *aghas* who reigned successively from 1659-71 were all assassinated, and fourteen of the twenty-eight *deys* met the same fate.

The internal organization of the Algerian State is obscure; the scant information of a reliable nature which is available to-day deals for the most part with the era of the *deys*. The *deys*, when they managed to stay in power, governed as absolute sovereigns assisted by a council (*divan*) composed of the *khaznadars* or *khaznads* (treasurers), the *aghas* of the camp (commander of the troops), the *başı al-harbi* (head of naval administration), the *başı al-maldit* (trustee of vacant estates), and the *khadij al-hayat* or *al-khadjas* (receiver of tribute).

With the exception of the district of Algiers itself which constituted the *dār al-sultān* and was divided into seven regions (*ustan*) administered by Turkish *kādīs* under the direct control of the *dey*, the whole country was divided into three provinces (*beylik*), each under a *key*, which anticipated the later French provinces. These were the province of Tifarit, with Medea as its chief town; the eastern province with Constantine as its centre; and the western province, the capital of which was successively Māzina, Mascara and, after 1792, Oran. The *keys*, appointed and dismissed by the *dey*, ruled their provinces with absolute authority, assisted by *kādīs*. In the eyes of the central government, they were no more than revenue collectors, tax-farmers who contracted, usually having bought their offices, to pay into the state coffers large sums, the size of which was determined in Algiers. The sum contracted was payable during the financial year, the commencement of which coincided with the appointment of the *key*, in several instalments, effected by the *key*, his lieutenant and a courier. The *key* appeared in person at Algiers during the spring following his appointment and thereafter every three years. His lieutenant travelled to Algiers twice a year, spring

and autumn, and the courier, whose office was occasionally discharged by an official described in the archives at Algiers as *wakil-i sūphāyān*, went to the capital regularly every month, or every two or three months. The sums remitted to the Treasury by each official remained constant, but each official remitted a different amount. This organization seems to have been designed solely to enable the *dey* to exercise the closest supervision of the provincial governors, and to dismiss them at the slightest sign of any shortcoming.

This preoccupation with financial matters was apparent throughout the internal organization of Algeria under the Turks. All commissions and offices involving the collection of taxes, dues, imposts or fines were farmed out by the State for sums payable, according to circumstances, in one or more annual instalments. Such a system gave rise to a host of abuses and led to exploitation of the people on such a scale as to render any attempt at winning their sympathies impossible. Moreover, Turkish ascendancy existed more in theory than in fact, and in the garrison-towns in the interior of the country (Bijāya, Bordj Lehaou, Constantine, Medea, Miliana, Māzina, Mascara, Tlemcen) the Anatolian *yoldaks* had often the appearance of troops under siege. In order to maintain their own position, the Turks were obliged to inflame tribal rivalries; the *mağhzen* tribes, when they espoused the Turkish cause, secured not only various financial advantages but also the right to oppress subject tribes (*ra'ida*) and to exterminate rebel tribes. At the same time, the Turks established military colonies (*rumeli*) on all the main communication routes. Thus the Kabylia massif was ringed with posts responsible for ensuring the free passage of troops. Finally the Turks endeavoured to conciliate the religious orders. But they were not entirely successful, and the revolts which broke out at the beginning of the 19th century in the province of Oran and in the Babir Kabylia were the work of the powerful Dārkaia order encouraged and supported by the Sharifs of Fez.

The Turks had no thought of improving the territories they conquered. The future of Algeria, they considered, did not lie in its hinterland. They had come by sea, and they continued to look seawards, and Mediterranean piracy provided the major part of their revenue. The 17th century was the golden age of privateering. In Algiers, about 1650, there were nearly 35,000 captives in the city prisons. Spain made several unavailing attempts to capture Algiers (1541, 1565, 1775). But thereafter French and British naval demonstrations checked the Algerian mariners' piratical career, and their power declined. Their crews became less audacious. Only one *ra'ida*, Hamidā, deserves mention in the 18th century for the temerity of his exploits. After the middle of the century Algiers, impoverished and shorn of its former importance, suffered a decline in population, a decline hastened by famine and plague. In 1836, after the Congress of Vienna, when Lord Exmouth and the Dutch admiral Van der Capellen, the representatives of Europe, arrived to bombard the town, there were only 1,200 slaves in the prisons. On the eve of the French invasion, Algiers, which had at one time had 100,000 inhabitants, had been reduced to barely 40,000.

To sum up, little is known even now of the history of Algeria under the Turks: it is a period which has not aroused much interest. At that time, however, the frontiers of the region situated between present day Morocco and Tunisia, corresponded for the

first time with the frontiers drawn on the map of Barbary as we know it to-day. Moreover, the fusion between the Arab and Berber elements of the population had become more complete. Algeria entered on its career as an up-state, and Algiers attained the status of a capital.

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### (3) After 1830.

Following a dispute concerning the supply of wheat, the *dey* of Algiers Husayn insulted Deval, the French Consul. The Government of Charles X instructed the fleet to blockade the old pirate stronghold. In 1830, influenced by considerations of internal policy, Polignac, the chief minister, decided, despite British objections, to send an expeditionary force to Algiers. The *dey* surrendered on 5th July and embarked with the majority of his janissaries. France, which did not aim at permanent occupation, entered into negotiation with the other powers. At first the July Monarchy was perplexed by the 'embarrassing legacy' of the previous régime of Algeria, and began with to confine itself to a limited and temporary occupation. It was not until 1834 that a Governor-General was appointed following the report of an 'African Commission'. Until 1841 the French occupation, frowned on by the Chambers, was limited to possession of the principal ports and their environs.

Meanwhile, the situation had changed in the interior. The Turks, the *bul-oghles*, and the former *mağhzen* were harassed by the Arabs, and various native states came into being. The *hey* of Constantine, Ahmad, consolidated his power within his province. In the west, after a period of anarchy, the people accepted or were subjected to the rule of the marabout 'Abd al-Kādir [s.], who was conspicuous for his bravery, his diplomacy and his organizing ability. French policy vacillated between collaboration with the former *mağhzen* and dealings with the new Arab chiefs. But although 'Abd al-Kādir twice agreed to sign treaties which strengthened his position, Ahmad refused, and repulsed a French army before Constantine in 1836. The following year a new expedition captured the town, and France decided to effect a definitive occupation of the eastern province. In 1839 'Abd al-Kādir declared war on France. The conduct of operations during Marshal Valée's governorship was apathe-

tic. General Bugeaud was despatched to Algeria with a large force and, by employing new tactics, he succeeded, between 1841 and 1847, in crippling the power of 'Abd al-Kādir, in suppressing the risings organized in the mountains by religious agitators, in defeating in 1844 the army of the Sultan of Morocco, who supported the rebels, and in beginning the subjugation of the nomads of the south. He put in hand the organization of indirect rule through 'Arab bureaux', and encouraged European colonization in the coastal plains by populating villages, virtually military colonies, which were designed to consolidate his work.

These colonies were reinforced in 1848 by an influx of Parisian workers who formed forty-two new villages, followed by colonists of all kinds, who were given small grants of land by the State or who set themselves up on their own account.

The occupation of the country proceeded under the Second Republic, and at the beginning of the Second Empire, by the annexation of the oases and of Kabylia. In order to protect Algeria from the nomads of the south, and to control the desert trade routes, fortified posts were established on the plateaus, and columns scoured the Saharan borders. Kabylia, which was independent during the Turkish era, had already been penetrated by two expeditions under Bugeaud, and by the campaigns of Saint-Arnaud and Randon. France was thus enabled to extend her control over the Kabylia of the Babors, the Oued Sahel region and the Sébaou valley. The Kabylia confederations of Djurdjura held out longer, and were subjugated by Marshal Randon in 1857. France allowed the people to retain their municipal organization and their customs. Since that time peace in Algeria has not been disturbed by any general uprising. The insurrection of 1871 was the result of Germany's defeat of France, of the reduction in the strength of the garrisons, and the discontent of the great Mokran family. The Medjana, both the Kabylia, parts of the department of Algiers, and the southern half of the department of Constantine, rebelled. The rebels massacred colonists, and threatened the Mitidja. Admiral de Goydon, appointed Governor-General of Algeria, restored order. The rebels were heavily fined, and over a million acres of land were confiscated and set aside for colonization. Again in 1881 a comparatively serious revolt broke out in the south of the department of Oran, led by Bū 'Amāma. This led to the establishment of a line of permanent posts on the southern edge of the plateaus. A revolt in the Selt (Selt) and Guelma (Kālamā) areas in 1945 caused the death of about 100 Europeans, but was of short duration and was severely repressed.

The organization and colonization of Algeria since the time of Bugeaud have passed through several phases characterized by the application of quite distinct methods. The Second Republic favoured a policy of assimilation and of French colonization. The civil territory of the three departments was placed under prefects responsible for the administration of the colonists. The remainder was in the hands of the military authority under the control of the Governor-General, the supreme head of the 'Arab bureaux'. The native population was governed by Muslim chiefs, appointed and supervised by the military administration. This organization continued to exist under the Second Empire. Under Randon's governorship, European colonization was increased and the economic framework of the country was built up. Algeria was visualized as a source of



tropical foodstuffs; but the crop which succeeded best was corn, the colonists' crop until about 1881. An economic crisis and the increasing claims of the colonists, who were handicapped by the limited scope of their concessions and who wished to acquire land made available through the establishment of cantonnements, led the Government to renew the policy of assimilation. From 1858-60, the country was governed from Paris by a Ministry for Algeria and the Colonies, entrusted at first to Prince Napoleon, and then to the Comte de Chasseloup-Laubat. The disorder of the administration forced Napoleon III to restore military government under Marshal Fillesieu and, after the latter's death in 1864, under Marshal MacMahon. During this period, despite opposition from the colonists, the Emperor tried to make Algeria an "Arab Kingdom". He protected the tribal collective lands by the *senatus consultum* of 1863; by that of 1865, Muslims were allowed to adopt French nationality.

In 1870 the colonists expelled the imperial agents and set up the revolutionary government of the "commune" of Algiers. The Government headed by Thiers decided on the establishment of a civil administration. From that time, although the first two governors, Admiral de Gueydon and General Chanzy, came from the armed forces, the civil territory increased steadily in extent and the "Arab bureaus" gave way to "mixed communes".

Complete administrative and financial autonomy was achieved in 1900. The powers of the Governor General were increased, and the budget was henceforth voted by the "Délégations financières", a body representing the various economic interests in the country. Algeria was empowered to raise loans in order to improve its industrial plant, ports, roads, railways, dams etc. An era of prosperity was inaugurated. More varied types of crops were grown, and over an ever-increasing area. European colonization was stimulated; the outlay necessitated by increasingly scientific agricultural methods gave it a capitalist character unknown before the large-scale cultivation of the grape and of citrus fruits. New mines of iron, zinc and phosphates were developed. The native population increased as the result of a high birth-rate coupled with a decreased mortality rate, the product of more hygienic methods. The economic achievement was very considerable, but social policy continued to be paternal in spirit.

Algeria played a prominent part in the 1939-45 war. After the Anglo-American landings in 1942, a French liberation force was organized there which took part in driving the Germans and Italians out of Tunisia, and participated in the Italian campaign and in the fighting in France. In recognition of the services rendered by Muslims during this common effort, the political régime was improved by the creation of an Algerian Assembly, elected by universal suffrage and consisting of two houses, European and Muslim, with equal rights. The work of economic development was resumed on a more generous scale; a comprehensive scheme for the education of Muslims was drawn up, and an era of social reform was ushered in.

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### (iii) POPULATION.

**Demography.** The total population of Algeria, according to the census of 31 Oct. 1948, is 8,681,785, which represents a large increase as compared with previous censuses. It comprises 7,721,678 Muslims and 960,107 non-Muslims; the latter include 576,686 French and 45,586 other Europeans, of whom  $\frac{1}{2}$  are Spanish. More than 75% of the Europeans live in the cities. In the country they are found chiefly in the Tell, especially in the wine-growing and market gardening districts. In the department of Oran most of the French are of Spanish origin.

The majority of the Muslims live in the rural areas, and the movement to the towns is a recent phenomenon:  $\frac{1}{5}$  of them now live in them. They form the majority everywhere except in Algiers and Oran. The population of the largest towns (1948) is as follows:

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Algiers (incl. suburbs)	225,539	247,722	473,261
Oran (incl. suburbs)	99,672	174,036	273,708
Constantine	77,089	37,249	114,338
Bône	56,614	44,541	101,155

There are five other cities of from 50-100,000 inhabitants: Tlemcen, Philippeville, Sidi-bel-Abbes, Mostaganem, and Sétif, all situated in the Tell. The distribution of the population in the administrative districts and its density per sq. km. are as follows:

Department of Oran	1,990,729	density 30
Department of Algiers	2,275,896	density 50
Department of Constantine	3,108,165	density 35
Southern Territories	186,993	density 0.4

The most populous regions are those of the Tell Atlas where the density per sq. km. generally exceeds 50 and sometimes 60 (Tizi, the Algiers district, the Kabylia); it reaches 114 in the purely rural and mountainous *arrondissement* of Tizi Ouzou, but drops to between 10 and 30 on the high plains of Constantine (except in the NW) and in the Awra and the Hodna, to less than 10 on the steppes, and less than 1 in the desert.

**Ethnography.** The Muslim peoples of Algeria, the Berbers (q.v.), have an obscure origin. Of white race, they are, and apparently have been since remote antiquity, of various physical types. The influx of foreigners has not been on a large scale in the course of the centuries, except for that of the Arabs (i.e., Muslims from the East) in certain

regions, and of Mediterranean elements in the cities, where the most recent arrivals are the Andalus (Muslims returning from Spain), Turks and Europeans. But although most of the population calls itself Arab because it speaks Arabic, although the descendants of Turks who married Algerian women call themselves *hal-d-egle* (*hal-d-eghli*), although the older citizens, of considerably mixed origin, pride themselves in the term *hadjar* while others boast of being "Andalus", the bulk of the population has changed little, anthropologically, and has remained Berber. In the Saharan oases the coloured Haratin (see HARTATIN) cultivate the soil, and the coloured races of the Sudan were for long sold as slaves (*ghid*) in the towns. In practice, the terms "Arabs" and "Berbers" are used for Arabic-speakers and Berber-speakers.

25% of Algerian Muslims still speak Berber; they are chiefly the Shāwīya (Chaouia), who spill over extensively from the Awra, and the Kabyles (*ahab'ud*) west of Djidjelli; there are also the Beni Menacer of the mountains between Tunes and Cherchell, and small groups in the Mitidja Atlas, the Wardaras (Ouarsenis Mountains and, in the South, the mountains of the Ksour. In the Sahara Berber is spoken by the Tuareg (q.v.), by the Māzites (q.v.) and some Ksourians (villagers) of the Saoura, Gourara, Wargla and the Wadi Righ (Oued Righ). The Berber dialects, which vary from district to district, do not constitute a literary language; Berber is not written, and its literature is transmitted orally. From the 13th century onwards, Arabic was propagated far more by the nomads than by the towns. The sedentary Arab dialects are localised in the cities, in eastern Kabylia and the Trāra; everywhere else Berber was pushed back by the bedouin dialects.

The Arabs, who have thus furnished 71% of Algerians with dialects derived from their language, have gradually converted them all to Islam (except for 130,000 Jews, at the present day). Virtually the only rite practised in Algeria is the Mālikite; there are a few followers of the Hanafī rite among people of Turkish descent in Algiers and Tlemcen. The Māzites (q.v.) and the Khāridjites heretics, form a separate community.

Of the fundamental practices of Islam, which are the same everywhere, the five daily prayers are regularly performed in Algeria only by a minority of the population; the pilgrimage to Mecca, to which people now travel by sea or air, is performed by about a thousand believers a year; and the Ramadan fast is the most universally respected religious obligation.

Islam in North Africa is characterised by the development there of religious brotherhoods and of the cult of saints or marabouts. The religious brotherhoods once played a considerable part in political affairs, as a result of their moral authority in an Algeria in which law and order had not yet been fully established. Their importance has since greatly diminished; they maintain, on the whole, good relations with the French authorities, but they are strongly criticised by the townspeople. It is impossible to state the number of their adherents with any accuracy (250 to 450,000?). The most important is the Rahnāniyya which comprises more than half the *shāwīya*, notably in eastern Algeria; next come the Tayfāviyya, still active in the province of Oran; the Shābābiyya, whose adherents are primarily recruited in the department of Algiers; the Tighāniyya in department of Constantine; and the Kādiriyya; there are also a few Dārkwā in Oran, and 'Isāwa and

'Amāriyya in Constantine. [Cf. the articles on these orders.]

The saints, or marabouts (cf. Wāli), are not necessarily members of the brotherhoods. In former days some of them played a considerable moral and political role, especially in western Algeria where numerous marabout families or tribes still survive, such as the Awlad Sidi Shaykh (Ouled Sidi Sheikh) of Southern Oran. Some of them trace their origin to the Prophet's family (though 'Ali and Fātima); these are the *ghawā'iz* (*ghawā'iz*) (cf. *Shāwīya*). At the end of the Middle Ages, and later, many are said to have come from Morocco and Sakīyat al-Hamra' (Saguiet el Hamra, Rio de Oro), but the majority pass as natives of the country. They all transmit the *baraka* to their descendants, if any. But many marabouts have never existed, and their cult is proof of the persistence of pre-Islamic nature cults involving trees, springs, rocks, and mountains (for instance Lalla Khadija at the highest point of the Djurdjura). The marabout cult has sometimes gained non-Muslim adherents. Pre-Islamic practices survive in various rites involving magic and sorcery; in the belief in the evil eye, and in sundry agricultural rites. All the non-orthodox popular practices are still widespread in certain country districts, especially among the women.

Islam, in Algeria as elsewhere, has permeated social life. Although the life of the Kabyles in the West, and of the inhabitants of the Awra and of the Tuareg of the Sahara, remains faithful to customs which owe nothing to Muslim law, the private life of the majority of native Algerians is regulated by this law, especially as regards the law of succession, which, in detail, is extremely complex, and personal status. Polygamy, although of course authorized, is in fact not prevalent, particularly in the towns. Mālikite law does not forbid child marriage, and the young girl's consent to their own marriage, which is arranged by their father, is not required (the right of *diyar*); women can be repudiated by their husbands without any formality or indemnity, a practice which encourages "successive polygamy". Agrarian law in Algeria has undergone a radical transformation through the influence of French law.

**Ways of life.** Social life and economic activity are bound up with the way of life of the various elements of the population.

The tribes of the steppes and the desert, consisting of shepherds who breed sheep, goats, camels and horses, are still more or less nomadic. Omitting the Tuareg and the Shāwīya who are pure Saharans (see AL-SAHARA), only those tribes will be mentioned which roam between the desert and Algeria proper. Some still spend the summer in the Tell. The Arab (Lahra) of the Laghwa region, and the Said Aba of the Wargla neighbourhood are almost solely pastoral in their way of life, and spend the summer in the Serson and on the southern slopes of the Wangharis. The nomads of the Touggourt Territory, owners of palm-trees and with fewer flocks, spend the summer in the high plains of Constantine; they include the Ouled Djedi and Bouzard of the Oued Djedi, the Arab Shērāka (Cheraga), the 'Amir and Ouled Sidi Salāh of the dependency of Biskra and the Arab Gheraba and the Ouled Moulet of the dependency of Touggourt. Other tribes, which live in the valleys of the Saharan foot-hills, cultivating a certain amount of grain and grazing the pastures, spend the summer with their flocks in the Saharan Atlas; for instance the Awlad Sidi Shaykh, the Awlad Nail of the south and the Nememcha in the east.



The steppes are the province of the semi-nomads who, for 6-8 months of the year, remain close to their barley and wheat fields and their winter pasture grounds. The 'Amr and the Awlad Naïl of the north use the pasture grounds of the southern valleys of the Saharan Atlas and the folds of the high steppes, and spend the summer in the Atlas. The semi-nomads of the high steppes, cultivators of grain crops and collectors of alfalfa, spend the summer with their flocks on the southern slopes of the Tell Atlas. The Hamian, to the west, are former camel nomads. The tribes of the Hodna have no alfalfa and in the summer migrate with their flocks and as labourers to the high plains of Constantine.

The breeding of the horse, formerly used in battle, is on the decline; so also is that of the camel, the beast of burden and trade, owing to the competition of rail and road. Sheep breeding, which flourished between 1880 and 1920, is giving way to the cultivation of cereals. The collective ownership of agricultural land is developing into family ownership and even into private ownership; the tents, made of camel hair, goat's hair and wool, formerly grouped in great *douars*, are dwindling; they are only used as temporary dwellings by the semi-nomads, who spend the winter in huts or houses. The economic and social unit, which among the nomads is the tribe or a subdivision of the tribe, is a smaller subdivision or the patriarchal family among the semi-nomads.

In the principal mountain masses the inhabitants often still retain their Berber dialects and customs; but their way of life depends on local conditions. The Awlalis is the stronghold of the Shāwīya, who are both agriculturalists and breeders of sheep and goats. Their terraced fields, usually irrigated, support cereals and, depending on the altitude, date-palms, figs, apricots and nuts. Although principally village dwellers, they undertake a winter migration, and to some extent follow a semi-nomadic existence, in the direction of the plains of the north and south; they spend the summer on the upland pasture grounds with the exclusively pastoral people. Their lofty villages, surrounded by fortified granaries (see AGADIR), are still under the effective authority of *djemā'as*. Among the Kabyles, only those of the Tell (Djurdjura, Soummam, Biskra, Guegouga) have retained their traditional dialects and customs. Their terraced fields chiefly support olive and fig trees; they lack cereals and livestock. For want of space they are emigrating in increasing numbers; principally to the towns of Algeria and to France. The village (*ladrar*), whether its quarters (*gharraba*) are combined, separate or scattered, runs the economic, social and political unit; the *djemā'a* officially maintains its traditional authority in Kabylia of the Djurdjura. The Kabyles of the east are Arabised. Like their non-Kabyle neighbours of the Dône region, they live in large clearings where they cultivate barley, sorghum and a few fruit trees; they breed cattle and sheep etc., and work in the forests, mainly stripping cork. Their neighbours have huts made with branches; they live in houses grouped in hamlets and are emigrating in large numbers. In western Algeria the way of life of the Beni Meneker (Berber-speaking) and of the Trāra (Arabised) recalls that of the Kabyles of the west. The inhabitants of the high valleys of the Wanzharis and the Oran plateaus, once almost all semi-nomads, now have no more than a few tents.

The fertile plains and hills of the Tell, formerly coveted and menaced by both nomads and mountain

dwellers, and only insufficiently exploited by people living in huts and tents and gaining a livelihood from the cultivation of cereals and extensive stock-breeding, have greatly changed in appearance. In the areas of dense colonization, some of the former *fellahs* have become agricultural labourers while others have profited by the examples before their eyes. The local populations everywhere, whose numbers have greatly increased, have considerably extended the area devoted to the cultivation of cereals, at the expense of rearing of livestock. The old semi-nomad tribes of the high plains of Constantine are now bound to the soil. Tribal connections are forgotten; society is crumbling, but private ownership of property still remains vested in the family. French schooling, military service, and emigration—usually temporary—to the towns or to France accentuates individualism and family autonomy.

Individualism is getting the upper hand in the cities, without causing loss of solidarity between men of the same origin. The partly-Turkish bourgeoisie of the ancient cities of Algeria (Algiers, Constantine and Tlemcen) has been to a large extent regenerated by people of rural origin; artisans have gradually disappeared. Both old and new towns now have a prosperous or rich bourgeoisie of landed proprietors and a few business men, a middle class of civil servants, members of the liberal professions and various employees, and a large proletariat, burdened with an excessive number of rural immigrants with no manual skill and potentially only mediocre labourers.

Economy. The native elements remain the dominant factor in the Algerian economy. They cultivate nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the grain lands, sowing almost entirely barley and wheat, and nearly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the bearing olive trees and of land devoted to pulses and tobacco. They own more than 90% of the date palms and nearly all the fig trees. They own 95% of the sheep and goats. The colonists, on the other hand, cultivate the vine almost exclusively, and are almost alone in growing early vegetables and citrus fruits. A fundamental problem is how to increase the volume, still very low, of the native output, as a whole, and to improve the quality of livestock. Some Algerians have been trained in fishing by Frenchmen of Spanish or Italian origin. The native peoples provide only the labour force and fill a few lower grades in the mines (iron and phosphates, especially lead and zinc), but they are employed in large numbers in the transport services. Industry, still undeveloped despite recent efforts, finds in them an ample source of labour, both of skilled craftsmen and specialists. Short-term emigration to the industrial cities and to dockyards in France assures an abundant flow of money into the country.

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#### (iv) INSTITUTIONS.

Algeria is part of the French Union as defined by the constitution of 27 October 1946. In it Algeria holds a peculiar position, which was defined by the law of 20 September 1947 entitled "the Algerian Statute". At the head of Algeria, there is a Governor with wide powers. The inhabitants are represented by an elective Algerian assembly which not only has financial powers, as had the "Délégations financières" which it replaces, but also part in the initiation and adaptation to the country of the laws, the principal legislative body being the French Parliament.

Personal status had previously been defined by the law of 7 May 1946, an entirely new law which bears the name of its author, Lamine-Gueye, and which proclaimed the equality of the inhabitants of the country: "all subjects of French nationality of the departments of Algeria enjoy, without distinction of birth, race, language or religion, the rights attaching to the status of French citizens and are subject to the same obligations". But since alongside the Europeans, who are mainly French, lives a large Muslim majority, whose private life is largely regulated by Muslim law, it is laid down that "citizens who do not possess French civil status keep their personal status as long as they have not renounced it". The citizens of French status are French citizens by birth, Algerian-born Jews, who have been citizens since the Crémieux decree of 24 October 1870, a few Muslims who have applied for French citizenship as a result of the facilities given by the *senatus-consultum* of 14 July 1866 and by the law of 4 February 1919, and finally naturalised foreigners, especially pursuant to the law of 26 June 1889. Citizens of local status are all the other Muslims. For these, the following matters remain subject to Muslim law (and, for certain Berber-speaking areas, to customary law): "marriage, marital authority, married women's rights, divorce, repudiation, affiliation, paternal authority, majority, minority, deprivation of control over property, emancipation, and guardianship" (J. Lamberg). For foreigners the regulations are in general similar to those in force in France. Foreign Muslims, mainly Tunisians and Moroccans, have in certain cases, e.g. before the courts, the same status as Algerian Muslims.

**Political Organisation.** The Governor, General "represents the Government of the French Republic throughout Algeria... he resides at Algiers". The Algerian Assembly is composed of 120

members: 60 representatives of each of the two Colleges, elected for 6 years by universal suffrage, with two ballots on a single member basis, half the members being replaced every 3 years. The first College comprises citizens of French civil status. All other citizens of local status belong to the second College. The electoral laws are similar to those obtaining in France, but Muslim women do not vote. All citizens are eligible without distinction for election to one or other college.

The peoples of Algeria are represented in the Parliament of the Metropolis by 30 deputies in the National Assembly (15 per College), by 14 Councillors of the Republic (7 per College), and by 12 elected persons in the Assembly of the French Union, 6 of these being elected by the Algerian Assembly and 6 by the general councils.

**Administrative organisation.** The three departments (Algiers, Constantine and Oran), whose prefects have wider jurisdiction than in the metropolis, are divided into *arrondissements* (7, 7 and 6). Their general councils are made up of 2/3 of citizens of French status and 2/3 of elected Muslims. The communes are large and varied in character. Where the non-Muslim French are found in sufficient numbers, they are *Communes de plein exercice* (with full powers) in which both Colleges are represented (3/5 and 2/5); dependent on the mayor, where needed, are the *ba'ids* (*caids*) of the *douars* (sections of communes), subdivisions which have their own elected representatives, the *djemā'a* (*djemda*). The "mixed Communes", destined eventually to disappear, are headed by officials of the Algerian civil service. These preside over the municipal committee which consists of elected members, the *ba'ids*, and the presidents of the *djemā'a* of the various *douars*. In those areas with native populations which have reached a sufficient stage of development there have recently been set up "municipal centres" which, under the control of a civil servant, are undergoing their apprenticeship to public life.

The increase in the size of the departments has gradually pushed back towards the Sahara the former military districts, which have become the Southern Territories. Covering an enormous area, two of them, stretching on the Saharan Atlas and the high steppes of the west, the four Territories have at their centres Colomb-Béchar, Laghouat (Laghuât), Tougourt and Ourgla (Wargla). They are under the direct authority of the Governor General, acting in the capacity of a prefect; the military commanders who are subordinate to him have the administrative powers of a sub-prefect. The Territories used to be divided into dependencies (*ancesses*) which have become the basis of the present communes: 10 mixed communes under civil administrators, and 9 "native communes" under officers for Saharan affairs or administrators. The *ba'ids* of the *douars* are subordinate to them, and members of the *djemā'a* are elected representatives. The Algerian Statute provides for the gradual conversion of the Southern Territories into civil districts.

**The Judicial System.** The judicial system is closely modelled on that of the Metropolis. Algiers is the seat of a Court of Appeal; there are 17 assize courts (with French and Muslim jurors) and 17 courts of first instance. Questions concerning the personal status and the inheritance of French Muslims are dealt with by the *ba'ids* of the 84 principal *mahallas* (*mahalla*) and by the *ba'ids* (*ba'ids* (*ba'ids*)) of the 23 dependencies. But their jurisdiction is always optional and the interested parties can refer to the



justices of the peace, judges of common law in Muslim matters who apply the provisions of Muslim law, or to the French judicial authorities and to French law. The Kabyles of the west, the majority of whom have preserved their own customs, do not have *baḍū*. (Cf. also 'Kis').

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#### (v) LANGUAGES.

##### (i) The Arab dialects of Algeria.

The territory forming the present Algeria was arabised during two distinct periods, in common with North Africa in general. The first period commenced with the Muslim invasions at the end of the 1st/7th century. Although not important from the point of view of their ethnic contribution, these invasions had a considerable military, political, religious, and therefore linguistic, effect. They affected primarily the urban centres. The conquering Arabs established garrisons there, distributing units of the eastern *ḡana* throughout the countries which they wished to control and administer. Just as Idrisid Fez and Aghlabid al-Kayrawān arabised the rural and mountain regions around them, so Tlemcen and Constantine, in Algeria, caused the regions which lay between them and the sea, namely Trāra and eastern Kabylia, to forsake the native idiom and adopt the language of the conquerors. Later, the Shī'ite propaganda, by directly linking the Berber tribes to the Shī'a movement, very probably played a part in imposing Arabic on certain peoples in the north of the department of Constantine. The arabisation of this first period is responsible for the Arabic spoken in the old centres and in the adjacent mountainous regions; thus its various forms can be called "pre-Hillal dialects".

The invasion of the Banū Hilāl, the Sulaym and the Maḥal inaugurated the second period of arabisation. It began halfway through the 4th/11th century, unleashing the turbulent throng of Bedouin tribes against "perfidious Maghrib". This time the ethnic contribution was important. The movement of populations which was brought about by the invasion of these new-comers threw Barbary into a ferment, and resulted in the widespread diffusion of the language which they brought with them. Not merely small districts but vast areas abandoned Berber for Arabic; at first, no doubt, it was the steppes and high plains devoted to the pastoral life, where the nomads felt at home; then, as a result of the alliances which were offered to them or which they imposed, vast settled regions of the Tell and even of the Sahel. Important transfers of populations continued to take place up to the end of the 8th/14th century; for example the establishment of the Hillal Dawlida in northern Constantine province, and of the Maḥal (Uḡayy) Aḡlāḡ and the Hillal Zughba in 'Amir between Tlemcen and the sea. Through contact with the Bedouin Arabs or under their tutelage, entire Berber tribes, sharing a common mode of existence with the Bedouin, turned to Arabic; for example the Sadwiliḡ of western Constantine

province and sections of the Zanāta of northern Oran. Arabisation has continued until our own times, penetrating the mountain massifs and ancient Saharan centres which remained the strongholds of Berberism. An unpublished work of al-Sabbāḡ on the life of the great saint of the Chelīf, Sīdī Ahmad b. Yūsuf, gives us an idea of the linguistic state of this region in the 10th/16th century, and quotes phrases in *lughat zanādiyya*. Berber was still spoken in the Chelīf at that period, but now Arabic alone is spoken, except in the mountain massifs of the Banī Menqer and Wangharis which skirt the region. One is tempted to consider that the propagation of the conquerors' language was particularly encouraged by the Turks between the 9th/15th and the 13th/19th centuries. In the northern regions which they endeavoured to control, they executed large transfers of rural and Bedouin groups, on a scale surpassing that of the dynasties which preceded them in central Maghrib.

The upheaval of populations in the course of centuries has been so great that linguistics cannot provide any ethnic criteria. It is doubtless permissible to conjecture that the groups which have remained Berber-speaking include a large proportion of elements of Berber origin, but nothing enables us to assess the proportion of the elements of Arab origin among the Arab-speaking populations. It is more likely that the latter are largely composed of arabised Berbers. No shibboleth, or linguistic criterion, enables us to establish the ethnic origin of the various groups; no dialectal indication, as far as we know, makes it possible to identify the Berber groups converted to Arabic such as the Uḡlāḡ, the Huwāra, the Sindjāḡ, the Aḡlāḡ, the Luwāra or the Kutāma, etc.

As regards the Arabic dialects introduced by the invasions of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, it is generally considered that the territory of the Sulaym was definitely to the east, and that of the Maḥal more to the west. The territory of the Hillal cannot be defined exactly: it was certainly centrally situated, but probably encroached on the territories to the east and west. The dialectal variations of the language which they spoke or which they disseminated are known as "Bedouin dialects".

(A) Pre-Hillal dialects. Included in this category are village (or mountain) dialects, and urban dialects (Jewish and Muslim).

(a) Village dialects. These are represented by two groups which have been clearly identified but have not been the subject of equal study; namely, Oran dialects, and Constantine dialects. The former embrace the mountain massif of the Trāra, which extends from the *paḍlī* of Moghniyya (Marina) as far as the sea, and is bounded approximately by the course of the Tafna to the east, Nadrāma (Nédrona) is the urban centre. This region belongs to the Uḡlāḡ and the Kilmīyya, and is crossed by the route connecting Tlemcen with the ports of Hunayn and Araghīn (Rachgoun). Its arabisation dates probably from the Idrisid era. The second group corresponds to eastern Kabylia, and is completely mountainous, having the form of a triangle whose apexes are *Dijidjila*, Mila and Collo. Historically, the region represents the seaward expansion of Constantine and Mila, which were Arab garrisons towns in the Aghlabid period. This is the former Kutāma country, the centre of the Fātimid movement.

These dialects are characterised phonetically as follows: uvular *ḥ* is changed into velar *k*, e.g. *ḥalb* for *hāl* "heart"; *ḥ* is pronounced as a palatal,

and often, with a marked degree of palatalisation, *ky*, or as an affricate *ḫḫ*, *ḫḫ*, *ḫḫ*, as a fricative *ḫ*, with a voiceless *ḫ* (Trāra, e.g. *ḫḫḫ*, *ḫḫḫ* for *ḫḫḫ*, "dog"; the interdentals *ḫḫ*, *ḫḫ* disappear, confounded with *t*, *d*, *ḫ*; *t* becomes the affricate *ḫ*; *ḫ* often becomes *f*; the voiced sibilant is pronounced *ḫ* when it is single, *ḫḫ* when it is doubled; diphthongs with a short element are resolved, *ay* becoming *f*, *aw* becoming *ḫ*; there is a very marked decay of the short vowels especially in eastern Kabylia, where the neutral vowel *e* predominates; changes occur in the syllabic structure which derive, in words containing short vowels, from the phonetic influence of radical consonants, rather than from etymology; the labials *m* and *b*, and the uvular *ḫ*, have the ability to assimilate the *f* or the article, e.g. *ḫḫ-bāb*, "the door", *ḫḫ-bawḫ* "the corn".

Morphologically these dialects are characterised as follows: by the constant reconstruction of defective verbs, *nāḫ-nāḫ-nāḫ*, *yemāḫ-yemāḫ* "to forget", *ḫḫḫ-ḫḫḫ-ḫḫḫ*, *yehḫḫ-yehḫḫ* "to weep", and of verbs hampered on the first radical, *ḫḫḫ-ḫḫḫ-ḫḫḫ*, *yehḫḫ*, *ḫḫḫ* "to eat"; by the use of *-ayen* as a sign of the dual in nouns of measure, *yām-yāmāyēn* "two days", *ḫḫḫ-ḫḫḫāyēn* "two spans"; by the adoption of plural forms, *ḫḫḫḫ* "coffers" and of diminutives, *ḫḫḫḫ* "small key" (with a short vowel in the final syllable), for all quadriliterals; by the substitution in the case of diminutives for the form *feyl* (cl. *fayl*) of *feyyel* "small child", from *fel*, as in *feyyēn* (cl. *fayyēn*) "small garden", from *ḫḫḫ*; by the confusion of gender in the expression of the second person, both in the verbal endings and in the inflexions of the independent personal pronouns, *ḫḫḫ* "thou (m. or f.) hast struck", *ḫḫḫ* "thou (m. or f.) wilt strike", *ḫḫḫ* "thou" (m. or f.); by the frequent usage of the form *yām* for *āma* "I"; by the pronunciation *w* of the 3rd person masc. sing. pronominal affix, after a consonant, *ḫḫḫ* "he has struck him", *ḫḫḫ* "his son"; by the constant use of *-ayyāḫ-ayyāḫ*, *ḫḫḫ-ḫḫḫ*, etc. pronominal endings suffixed to the duals of nouns denoting parts of the body. On all these points of morphology, the dialects of Trāra and those of eastern Kabylia are analogous, but they differ in certain other respects; in the plural persons of the imperfect of sound verbs with radical stems, the Trāra dialects have a doubled form *yehḫḫḫḫ*, while the rural *Dijidjila* have the non-doubled form *ḫḫḫḫ*, from *ḫḫḫ* "to strike"; similarly in the case of nouns with a short vowel and final *-at*, the former have *reḫḫḫḫ*, the latter *reḫḫḫḫ* "thy neck", from *reḫḫḫ*; in the perfect of hollow verbs, the Trāra dialects follow the sequence, as regards the radical vowel, of short with changing quality, or long with pure quality, according as the vowel occurs in a closed syllable or not, *ḫḫḫḫ* *ḫḫḫḫ* "to sell", while the rural peoples of *Dijidjila* maintain the same vowel quality and follow the sequence semi-long/long, *ḫḫḫḫ* *ḫḫḫḫ*; to express the continuous or customary present, the Trāra use the imperfect of the verb, without any special verbal prefix, while the rural *Dijidjila* make free use of the prefix *ḫḫḫḫ* (probably derived from the verb *ḫḫḫḫ* *ḫḫḫḫ*, *ḫḫḫḫḫḫ* "he is writing, I am writing").

As regards syntax and vocabulary these dialects are characterised as follows: by the extensive use of an indefinite article *wāḫḫ* or *ḫḫ*; the latter is especially prevalent in eastern Kabylia; by the disappearance of the direct construct relationship (except in groups in which the idea of a possessive relationship impresses itself strongly on the speaker),

and by the expression of this relationship by means of the particles *ḫḫ*, *ḫḫḫ*, and especially in Collo, *ḫḫḫ*; by the impossibility, in the *Dijidjila* region, of expressing the noun of kinship unless it has a pronominal suffix denoting the person with whom the relationship is established: *amamū dāḫḫḫ* "his uncle (to him) of Keddūr". In both groups specifically Berber features have survived and been integrated into the grammatical system, such as the use of the genitive link *ḫḫḫḫ* among the Trāra, e.g. *ḫḫḫḫ* *ḫḫḫḫ* "the father of Fāḫḫḫ", or the use of the demonstrative *ḫḫ*, which in the *Dijidjila* region plays the role of a logical copula, as in *ḫḫḫḫ d-ḫḫḫḫ* "his brother (the one who) is the *ḫḫḫḫ*"; or again, the transference of the number and gender of the Berber word to the Arabic word which has superseded it, e.g. in eastern Kabylia, *ḫḫḫḫ*, a feminine treated as a masculine (Berber *adār* is masculine "foot", *ḫḫḫḫ*, masculine changed to feminine (Berber feminine *ḫḫḫḫ* "wool", *ma*, a singular considered as a plural (Berber plural *aman*) "water"; and finally, certain elements of vocabulary have survived, such as words of Berber forms with the prefix *ḫḫ* (not taking the Arabic definite article), or of the form *t...t*, most of them associated with rural life (dwellings, domestic life, domestic utensils, country life, agricultural implements, animals, plants, etc.).

These two types of village dialects unquestionably possess considerable points of difference; but they have certain features in common with the dialect of the Moroccan *Djibāla* to the west. The Oran group is nearer to the Moroccan group than to the Constantine. To the ears of townsmen, and with even more reason to those of the Bedouin, the speech of the *Djibāla*, the Trāra, and the rural *Dijidjila* sounds like a foreign tongue, whose sounds, syntax and vocabulary seem to them alien to Arabic. It is, however, Arabic, and even Arabic of an ancient stock, as is witnessed by certain archaisms, such as the preservation of the old monoliteral *ḫḫ* "mouth" in the Nedroma district, and of the final *ḫḫḫḫ* among the rural *Dijidjila*; but at the same time it is an Arabic in which appears the Berber method of presenting ideas, and through which the substratum of Berber vocabulary often emerges; an Arabic, finally, which, retaining the marks of the bilingualism which preceded the supersession of Berber by Arabic, is still handled by those, whose ancestors had adopted it, with a beginner's clumsiness.

(b) Urban dialects. These do not form a homogeneous group, and the listing and description of these dialects is far from complete. They are divided into two classes—Jewish and Muslim.

Jewish dialects. The North African Jews are almost entirely city-dwellers in Algeria. Apart from the semi-nomadic group of the Bahbiyya in the Souk-Ahras region, now dispersed, they all live in towns. Only those Jewish communities which, because of their populosity and strong social cohesion, constitute societies distinct from and virtually alien to the Muslim majority around them, possess any special form of Arabic; for instance the communities of Oran, Tlemcen, Miliana, Média, Algiers and Constantine. Although the Jewish dialects differ from one city to another, they share certain common characteristics.

The phonetic system is rather changed in these dialects, especially as spoken by women: loss of the interdentals *ḫḫ*, *ḫḫḫ*, which revert to *f*, *d*, *ḫ*; the unvoiced dental *t* becomes the affricate *ḫḫ*, in Oran and Tlemcen, a change which leads to confusion with the fricatives *ḫḫ* and *s* and the sibilants *f* (*ḫḫ*) and *s*;



the excessive rolling of *r*, very noticeable in Algiers; a general inability correctly to pronounce back consonants; thus *ʔ*, glottal check, for *h*, in Algiers, and, in Tiemcen and Oran (as in Jewish Fez), *h* for *ʔ*, and *ʔ* for *h*; the muting of the aspirate, especially in Algiers; the decay of the short vowels, in which the neutral sound *ə* predominates; an excessive syllabic curtailing which gives the impression that the language consists wholly of consonants, where the only vowels are those which are absolutely indispensable to the pronunciation of the consonants and to the definition of morphological groups; e.g. *yikbu* 'they write', *ɣabtu* 'she has struck him', *ɣebu* 'my neck', etc. Schematically, the morphology has forms analogous to, if not identical with, those described in respect of the village dialects, especially as regards the communalisation of paradigms and the strengthening of grammatical forms; it is characteristically Arabic.

The dialects used by the Jewish communities differ from those of the urban Muslims primarily in vocabulary. The vocabulary, largely Arabic, nevertheless contains a considerable foreign element—important borrowings from Spanish—some dating from the first period (imported in the 14th and 15th centuries by Spanish-speaking Jewish émigrés from Spain), and some from the second period (the Jews of Algeria, particularly of Algiers and Constantine, had continuous intercourse with the Jews of Leghorn), these last coinciding chronologically with the Spanish contribution of the second period; borrowing from Turkish, common to both the Jewish and the Muslim dialects; a few Berber loan words; and finally considerable borrowings from Hebrew, especially of words appertaining to the intellectual or religious life. It should be emphasised that the Jews of Algeria write their Judaeo-Arabic in a special cursive Hebrew, and not in Arabic characters. But their more rapid Europeanization, stimulated by the progressive dislocation of communities and the break-down of the division into quarters, is leading to the substitution of French for the traditional dialect among the younger generation, and also of the latin script for the Hebrew cursive.

Muslim dialects. The Muslim urban populations present great human, and therefore, linguistic, variety. Some of them preserved the use of the Arabic of the first stratum, such as is found in Tiemcen, Nédroma, Cherchell, Dellys, Djidjelli, and Collo. On the other hand, at Tenès, Milana, Médéa, Bida, Bougie, Mila, Philippeville, and Constantine, it is only discovered among the older generation, and seems doomed to early extinction, if, indeed, it has not already disappeared. The old cities everywhere bear the marks of the external influences to which they have been subjected in the course of centuries, and to which they are still subject; that of the rural populations and that of the Bedouin. The populations of certain towns are replenished by the contributions of their surrounding rural areas, as for instance in the cases of Nédroma, Djidjelli and Collo, where the dialect tends to conform to that of the surrounding villages. In other cases, the townsmen have borrowed the language of the neighbouring Bedouin collective, or sedentary Bedouin, groups; for instance, in Tiemcen, Tenès, Bida, Milana, Médéa, Mila, Philippeville, and Constantine. Although, on the whole, the language of these old centres has remained urban, there are others where the Bedouin dialect is almost completely dominant: for instance, in Great Montaganan, Mascara, Mascara, and Bône (and similarly, in the extreme east of the Maghrib, at

Tripoli and Benghazi). The case of Algiers and its environs, and that of Bougie, are more complex still. Algiers and the Fals form a melting-pot for urban elements, for old-established rural sedentary population, for newly-arrived rural elements, and for Bedouin who, after a period of acclimatisation in the Chélli and the Mitidja, flock to a city life which, although of a proletarian nature, attracts them; Kabylia, moreover, disgorges its emigrants there in an unending stream. The Kabylia element, indeed, has so far taken possession of Bougie as to render this ancient capital and mediaeval centre of Arab culture, a Berber-speaking city.

Phonetically, the urban Muslim dialects have on the whole the same characteristics as those of the village dialects and the Jewish dialects. Only the ancients in Tenès, Cherchell, Dellys and Constantine have preserved the interdental *ʔ*. In Médéa, Bida and Algiers both the fricative and the occlusive pronunciation are heard together. *ʔ* is everywhere converted to the affricate *ʃ*. The voiced sibilant is variously pronounced: *ʒ*, with an initial dental, in Tiemcen, Tenès, Cherchell, Médéa, Bida, Algiers, Dellys, Mila, and Constantine; elsewhere as *ʒ*. The exaggerated rolling of *r* could be said to be a typically urban 'articulatory disease'; its presence in the Jewish dialects has already been noted; it is common in Constantine, Djidjelli, Cherchell, Tiemcen and Nédroma (and similarly at Tunis and Fez). The use of *ʔ* for *h* is a simple glottal check, as in Tiemcen; at Djidjelli, a back *ʔ* is substituted for *ʔ*; but in all the other towns, it remains *ʔ*. Ibn Khaldun based the essential difference between the dialects of the sedentary peoples and the dialects of the Bedouin of the Maghrib on the contrast between the unvoiced *ʔ* voiced *ʒ*, in the back velar. This distinction still exists; but the flow of nomadic elements into the cities has introduced *ʒ* there; this has occurred at Tenès, Milana, Médéa, Algiers itself, Mila and Constantine (where the two sounds, in the same words, are sometimes heard from the same mouth). Elsewhere, the presence of a *g* in a word stamps it as a loan word from Bedouin dialects. Everywhere the aspirate *ʔ* is a weak consonant, liable to become mute, thus in Tiemcen *ʔim* is used from *ʔim* 'here they are', and at Nédroma, *maʔandā-ʔ* for *maʔandā-ʔ* 'she has not'.

The morphological forms contain both similar and dissimilar elements. Among the former should be noted reconstruction of defective verbs, for instance of *ʔhda* 'to take' and of *ʔhā* 'to eat'; the general use of the plural quadriliteral form *ʔaddeh* 'coffers' and the diminutive *ʔafek* 'small key', and of the trilateral diminutive *ʔafek* 'small child'; the frequent use (except at Constantine, Mila, Philippeville) of a sort of curious adjectival diminutive *ʔhber* 'somewhat large' from *ʔhī*, *ʔhīhīl* 'blackish' from *ʔhī*, already vouched for in al-Andalus; the pronunciation *w* or *s* of the pronominal affix of the 3rd person sing. masc., after a consonant. The feminine *ʔh* is peculiar to Cherchell; elsewhere it is invariably *ʔh*, for the 3rd person pronominal affix: *ʔh* is doubtless an importation from al-Andalus, and there is evidence of other such importations in the Cherchell dialect. In the 2nd and 3rd persons plural of the independent pronoun, the Cherchell dialect is also distinctive, using the forms *ʔastaman*, *ʔamān*, while elsewhere the forms always used are *ʔastam*, *ʔam*, or *ʔastamān*. Although used are *ʔastam*, *ʔam*, or *ʔastamān*, for Tenès, Bougie and Djidjelli make no distinction between the genders of the 2nd person sing. of pronouns or verbs, *ʔasta* 'thou'

(m. and f.), *ʔast* 'thou hast struck' (m. and f.), Milana, Cherchell, Médéa, Bida, Algiers and Dellys differentiate between them, *ʔasta* 'thou' (m), *ʔanti* 'thou' (f.), *ʔastu* 'thou (m.) hast struck', *ʔastu* 'thou (f.) hast struck'; differentiation of gender again disappears in the eastern dialects, in Collo, Mila, Philippeville and Constantine, but the feminine form *ʔanti*, *ʔastu*, is extended to both genders; in Tunis the form is confined to the independent pronoun. The syllabic treatment of the persons of the plural, in the first form of sound verbs, produces a remarkable variety of forms: for 'they strike' *ʔaddeh* is the form used in Tiemcen, Nédroma, Montaganan, Tenès, Milana, Cherchell, Médéa, Bida, Algiers, Dellys and Collo; but *ʔaddeh* is used at Bougie, Djidjelli, Philippeville, and occasionally in the suburbs of Algiers, and *ʔaddeh* (with the stress on the first syllable) at Mila and Constantine. The attachment of personal affixes with an initial vowel to feminine nouns of the form *ʔaʔaʔaʔa* poses the same problem of syllabic economy, to which according to dialect, the same solution is reached; for 'my neck' *ʔaddeh*, *ʔaddeh* and *ʔaddeh*, *ʔaddeh* - *ʔ* 'she has struck him', is pronounced throughout western and central urban Algeria *ʔaddeh*; in the Fals of Algiers it is sometimes *ʔaddeh*; throughout the east, *ʔaddeh* (as in the cities of Tunisia). In all the cities, the plural of nouns of colour admits of a prolongation of the vowel *u*, which is known in the village dialects: e.g. *ʔaddeh* 'red' (even expanded to *ʔaddeh* in Nédroma and Djidjelli), except in Dellys, where *ʔaddeh* is used, and in Collo, Mila, Constantine, and Philippeville, where the only form current is *ʔaddeh*, the form used in the urban and rural dialects of Tunisia. To indicate the possessive relationship, the urban dialects only use the method of direct connexion (*ʔaddeh*) to a limited extent; more often they have recourse to an analytical method, the governing word being linked to the governed by prepositions of dialectal origin, namely *di* (*ʔaddeh*), *ʔaddeh*, in use from Tiemcen to Djidjelli, or the rival *ʔaddeh* (*ʔaddeh* from Tiemcen to Dellys), which prevails in Constantine, Collo often uses the relative *ʔaddeh* as a particle of connexion: *ʔaddeh ʔaddeh ʔaddeh* 'the people of the *ʔaddeh*'. Every urban dialect possesses characteristics peculiar to itself, but the points of difference are becoming progressively less, only what is common to all being retained, and these dialects are gradually merging into a sort of *ʔaddeh* of the towns. The constant growth of relations between urban centre and urban centre inspires the desire, conscious or unconscious, to eliminate dialectal peculiarities, and to produce a language which will be understood everywhere, which will avoid ambiguities, and which will not occasion surprise or be the target for mirth. This tendency towards uniformity is perhaps strengthened by a certain concern for purism awakened by listening to wireless broadcasts, which are heard in many homes and in a still greater number of shops, and in every café and meeting-place. Feminine society, which has always constituted an important factor in linguistic conservatism, is being profoundly influenced by the radio, which brings into the home a 'universal Arabic' and effects its general adoption, and also by urban life, which affords ever greater freedom, and provides women with more and more opportunities for contact with the outside world. It seems that the time is not far off when the urban Muslim dialects of Algeria will have the featureless appearance of uniformity, and will no longer preserve traces of their original characteristics except those

fossilised in songs, proverbs, and a few ready-made expressions.

(B) Bedouin dialects. In so far as they are known (and knowledge of them is only approximate and incomplete), the Bedouin dialects of Algeria present the appearance of a composite and heterogeneous mass. The glosses which some have attempted to trace form a complex picture; the interpretation of this picture, if it seeks to take an overall view, ignores the diversity of the material and glosses over numerous contradictions.

The following are the identifying marks of a Bedouin dialect. (a) Phonetic. A fairly general retention of the interdental *ʔ*, *ʔ*, *ʔ*; an occlusive pronunciation of the unvoiced dental *ʔ*, except in certain oasis dialects in which it is affricated as at Beni Abbès in southern Oran, or Touggourt in southern Constantine; the voicing of the back velar, *g*, *h*, only appearing in loan words and especially in the vocabulary of law and religion; an occasional preservation of short vowels, often complicated by a change in quality attributable to the influence of adjacent consonants or, sometimes, to that of stress. (b) Morphological. A certain conservatism which preserves in the verbal and nominal forms traces of the ancient tongue; differentiation of gender in the second person singular of verbs and of the independent pronoun: *ʔaddeh* 'thou (m) hast struck', *ʔaddeh* 'thou (f.) hast struck', *ʔaddeh* 'thou (m), *ʔanti* 'thou (f.)'; a fairly widespread use of the dual, going beyond the limited use for nouns of measure and nouns denoting parts of the body which occur in pairs. (c) In syntax and vocabulary. A restricted use of the indefinite article *ʔaddeh*, the use of the undefined noun often being sufficient to indicate a state of indefiniteness; the frequent expression of the possessive relationship by the old method of direct connexion; the use of a vocabulary more exclusively Arabic than that of the sedentary populations.

This group of characteristic forms constitutes a common basis of the Bedouin dialects. They possess other peculiarities, but either they do not all possess them or they are not alone in possessing them: for instance the preservation of the diphthongs *ay*, *aw* their contraction to *ʔ*, the sedentary dialect usually resolving them into *ʔ*, to *ʔ*; the use of the form *ʔaddeh*, not *ʔaddeh* 'hand', and of the preposition *ʔaddeh* (*ʔaddeh*), to the exclusion of *ʔaddeh*, *ʔaddeh*; the use of the plural form *ʔaddeh* (not *ʔaddeh*) 'coffers' and of the diminutive *ʔaddeh* (not *ʔaddeh*) 'small key', for quadrilaterals, and of the diminutives *ʔaddeh*, *ʔaddeh* (not *ʔaddeh*) 'small child' for trilaterals with a short vowel; the existence of a plural form for trilaterals with a doubled medial consonant and short vowel, *ʔaddeh* from *ʔaddeh* 'old, tough', and of a plural *ʔaddeh* from *ʔaddeh*, e.g. *ʔaddeh* from *ʔaddeh* 'deceived, afflicted'; the preservation, in the numerals from 11-19, of the *ʔ* of *ʔaddeh*, e.g. *ʔaddeh* 'fifteen' (especially in southern Oran), the sedentary dialects habitually having *ʔaddeh* etc.

In order to attempt a provisional draft classification of the Bedouin group, only a limited number of these dialectal features which may properly be called distinctive will be selected, some phonetic, other morphological (but not distinctions of vocabulary, an enumeration of which would lead us too far afield).

(1) The pronunciation of the voiced sibilant: *ʔ* is the pronunciation of the Bedouin dialects of eastern Algeria. The line of demarcation *ʔ/ʔ* passes



to the east of Philippeville, Constantine and Ouled Rahmoun, curves south of Barika, keeps to the south of Hodna and veering north, reaches the neighbourhood of Mansoura des Bibans. It is also identical with that of the high plains and the Saharan regions of the centre and west of Algeria: the line of demarcation *dj* passes to north of Ain Bessem in the direction of Champagny, leaves Média, the Djebel and the Ouarensen to the south and, at the altitude of Teniet el-Haddj, crosses the Sersou, proceeds to the south of Trézel and north of Frenia and Saïda, and swings north towards Mercier-Lacombe, Saint Denis du Sig and the approaches of Tlemcen. *dj* therefore represents the pronunciation of the regions of Constantine, Saint Arnaud, Sétif, Bord Bou Arreridj, Barika, Média and the Hodna; of the Algerian Sahel, Mitidja, the valley of the Chélif, Dahra, the plateau of Mostaganem, the mountains of Mascara and the plain of Macta; constituting a more northerly Bedouin group.

(2) The change of the velar fricative *gh* to the occlusive back velar *k*. This characterises the Saharan Bedouin dialects (with the exception of certain oasis dialects), but also extends over a considerable area to the north towards the high Algerian plains: the line of demarcation *gh/k* commences south of Ain Sefra, passes to the east of Mecheria, turns back towards the Khrouf, follows the Cherqui chéfi, leaves Trézel to the west, crosses the Sersou, passes to the south of Teniet el-Haddj, Berronagha and Ain Bessem, passes over the Hodna at the altitude of Mella, skirts Barika, El Kantara and Biskra, and plunges southwards, leaving Mrakir, Djennat and Touggourt to the East.

(3) The pronunciation *ak* after a consonant of the 3rd person sing. masc. personal affix. This is characteristic of the Bedouin dialects of (i) Oran. The line of demarcation *ak/a* commences at Mostaganem, goes down towards Uzés-le-Duc, leaves Tizet and Trézel to the east, follows the eastern prong of the Cherqui chéfi, and passes approximately half-way between Gervilly and Aflou: the Ouled Sidi Cheikh use *ak*, but the Doui Menia and the sedentary peoples of the Saura use *a*; the Bedouin outskirts of Tlemcen and the region which lies towards Ain Temouchent and Oran also use *ak*. (ii) Eastern Constantine, comprising: to the north, the eastern outskirts of mountains of the Collo region, which are a continuation of the Kroumirs and Magdols of Tunisia; to the south, the nomads of western Soud and of the Saharan zone which skirts southern Tunisia (the *ak* frequently being curtailed to *a*); this form is found among a considerable proportion of the Bedouin of Tunisia, and throughout Libya; all the rest of Algeria, both north and south, uses the forms *a*, *u*.

(4) The structure of the 3rd person feminine of the perfect of sound verbs, when followed by a personal affix with an initial vowel, e.g. *dhaphet + k* "she has struck thee": (i) *dhaphet* is the pronunciation of north-eastern Constantine, as far as a line which starts to the east of Philippeville, reaches Jamnappe and the Khrouf, turns westwards, touches Chateaudun-du-Ramel, and proceeds in the direction of Périgotville; of the region situated to the south of this line, namely the high plains of Sétif as far as Bordj Bou Arreridj, and also of the eastern Sahara as far as the outskirts of Biskra and Touggourt; of the Algerian Tell where the voiced sibilant is pronounced as *dj*; and finally of north and west Oran, following a line which passes south of Annai-Mousa, swings southwards between Tizet and Frenia,

follows the Cherqui chéfi and again swerves south, leaving Mecheria and Ain Sefra to the east; (ii) *dhaphet* is the pronunciation of the Constantine region, of Ferdjona, and of the environs of Ferdj-Mzala as far as Gueorgour; (iii) *dhaphet* (with the stress on the first syllable) extends south of a line joining Bordj-Bou-Arredj and Colbert throughout the Hodna, south-west Constantine and the central Sahara; it is the pronunciation of all the Algerian nomads (including Teniet el-Haddj) who pronounce the voiced sibilant as *f*; and it is also the pronunciation which prevails in eastern and southern Oran.

(5) The syllabic structure of the imperfect of sound verbs, first form, in the plural: *yedhaph + u* "they have struck"; and that of the trilateral noun *fa'la'ti* with a suffix commencing with a vowel: *rakhal'ti* "my uncle"; (i) *yedhaph, rakhal'ti* with the stress on the first syllable is found throughout the Constantine region except in El-Kantara, on the high Algerian plains and in the whole of the east, central and west Sahara; the dialects of the south-east have a clearly-defined tendency to prolongate the vowel receiving the stress; (ii) *yedhaphu, rakhal'ti*, with doubling of the medial and stress of the second syllable, is prevalent in El-Kantara and the region of Philippeville; these are the forms in use in the north of Algeria, wherever the voiced sibilant is *dj*, including Teniet el-Haddj; they are also used throughout north and west Oran; the dividing line *yedhaphu/yedhaph* passes between Tizet and El-Ousseukh, follows the northern edge of the Cherqui chéfi, and swings south, leaving Mecheria to the west and Ain Sefra to the east.

(6) The conjugation of defective verbs (imperfect and imperfect *ai*): *mghā - yemghā* "to go" and *nsā - yensā* "to forget": (i) northern Constantine, from the Tunisian frontier as far as a line which drops rapidly from Bône towards Ain Bédia, and the eastern Sahara as far as Sidi Ouba and El-Oued, use the forms *mghā (mghā) - mghā - yemghā - yemghā*; *nsā (nsā) - nsā - yensā - tensā - yensā*; (ii) central Constantine, from the northern boundary delineated above as far as the outskirts of Biskra and Mdoakal, along a line which follows the Hodna depression and rises again towards Mansoura des Bibans as far as Kabylia, has forms which are completely resolved: *mghā - mghā - yemghā - yemghā*; *nsā - nsā - yensā - tensā - yensā*, analogous to those of the sedentary dialects; (iii) throughout Bedouin Algeria, from the Sahara to the sea, and in a large part of Oran, bounded on the east by a line which, starting from the outskirts of Oran itself, passes to the south of Saint Denis-du-Sig and to the north of Cacherou, leaves Frenia to the east and proceeds southwards, passing between Aflou and Gervilly, the conjugation of verbs with imperfect *i* and imperfect *a* is characterised by a peculiar usage: *yemghā - yemghā* on the one hand, *yensā - tensā - yensā* on the other; this usage is found again in western Oran, from a line running east of Tlemcen, passing east of the Horneyan, and curving westwards north of Ain Sefra; (iv) central Oran, comprising the regions of Ain Temouchent, Sidi bel-Abbès, Mascara, Saïda, Mécène, Gervilly, Ain Sefra and Ouled Sidi Sheikh, has the forms *yemghā, tensā, yensā*.

By drawing up a table of all the different characteristics, there emerge, despite the overlapping and contradictions which blur the boundaries and split up geographical areas, four, or perhaps five distinct basic groups.

(i) The Bedouin dialects of eastern Constantine, the region of La Calle and Souf (Cantineau's group

E); the pronunciations are *f, gh, ak, dhaphet, yedhaphu, rakhal'ti, mghā - yemghā, nsā - yensā - tensā - yensā*. The final *y* vowel tends to become *i* (*imāla*); diphthongs are generally reduced to *f, s*.

(ii) The Bedouin dialects of central and western Oran (Cantineau's group D); the pronunciations are *f, gh, ak, dhaphet, yedhaphu, rakhal'ti, yemghā, tensā - yensā*; diphthongs are either correctly preserved *ef, ou*, or reduced to *f, s*.

(iii) The Bedouin dialects of central and Saharan Algeria (Cantineau's group A); the pronunciations are *f, s* for *gh, u, dhaphet, yedhaphu, rakhal'ti*; diphthongs are either correctly preserved or reduced to *f, s*.

(iv) The Bedouin dialects of the Tell and of the Algerian-Oran Sahel (Cantineau's group B); the pronunciations are *dj, gh, u (n), dhaphet, yedhaphu, rakhal'ti*; diphthongs are sometimes preserved sometimes reduced to *f, s*, and final *u* is pronounced *o*.

These two last groups have the same conjugation of the defective verb: *mghā - mghā - yemghā; nsā - nsā - tensā - tensā - yensā*.

(v) The dialects of the high plains of Constantine, covering the north of Hodna and the belt which extends roughly from Bordj Bou Arreridj to the valley of the Seybouse, occupies an intermediary position between groups i, ii and iv, and the sedentary dialects (Cantineau's group C); the pronunciations are *dj, gh, u, dhaphet, yedhaphu, rakhal'ti*; the diphthongs are reduced to *f* and *u*, and the conjugation of the defective verb is completely restored, as in the urban and village dialects; these dialects can be regarded as a complementary group, if not as an independent one: they are the dialects of the old Zirid state of the Ka'fa, a centre of sedentary peoples buried beneath the mass of the Bedouin.

It cannot be pretended that any interpretation of this classification can be other than a hazardous and debatable undertaking. Having due regard to the delicacy of the task, it may be hazarded that group i is connected with the Tunisian group which W. Marçais considers Salaynit; following him let us call it group S. Group ii is probably an extension of the eastern Moroccan group, which G. S. Colin considers Ma'kili; let us call it group M. Group iii comprises the most truly Sahara Bedouin elements, at once the most imposing and the most united, including the Chaamba, the Larbaa, the Ouled Nail, the Arab Cheraga; the dialectal area of these nomads extends over a wide area of the north—more to the east than to the west—covering the nomad's pasture grounds and the grazing lands of the high plains. The northern part of their domain forms a large zone of transition shared with group iv. They are grouped in the valley of the Chélif, and stretch as far as the environs of Relizane and Mostaganem in the west, and into Mitidja and as far as Kabylia in the east. Let us call group iii H and group iv H', conjecturing a vast implantation there of Hilali Arabic, the Arab element (perhaps that of the Abijidj and the Zughba) intermixed with a Zenata element. The proportion of Arabised Berbers is doubtless more considerable in the north of the high plains and along the Tell Atlas. Group v, an extremely complex group, is inserted like a wedge between the still Berber-speaking groups of Kabylia and the Chaouia region; it is to be perhaps connected with an implantation of Hilali Arabic (Riyāh?) in the formerly 'Adijia and Kutāma territories; let us call it H'.

We do not profess to define the precise disposition of the zones of transition between the various groups, or to determine the possible preponderance in them

of one type of dialect as opposed to another. It is, however, suggested that group H' succeeded, in the course of centuries, in spreading further afield, to the detriment of groups H and H', as a result of the political superiority enjoyed by those forming that group: it was a case of warlike pastoral nomads, imbued with the spirit of conquest, confronting people who were at the same time small agriculturalists and semi-nomadic, semi-settled. In the same way group H' must have impinged strongly on the territories of the settled regions of western Constantine: hence the presence of sedentary dialectal forms emerging from the superimposed Bedouin dialect as surviving witnesses to a group of dialects which have been superseded. On the other hands, more recently we see that not only is Bedouin linguistic expansion being checked, owing to the decline of the pastoral life, to its geographical limitation and even, at many points, to its disappearance, but that the sedentary dialectal elements are gaining ground, especially in the northern areas.

Although any forecast must be risky, one is inclined to believe that the social changes whose effects are daily experienced by the Arabic-speaking peoples of Algeria can divert the spoken idiom into new channels. In the land in which they live, the towns, few in number, enclosed with walls whose gates were closed at nightfall, have remained, for thousands of years, alien intruders in a rural and pastoral, composite and inorganic world. The towns of modern Algeria, whether legacies of the past or recent creations, some of them populous centres, all of them centres of economic activity, exercise a magnetic influence on many a district of the former Regency, even the most distant, to which they represent labour markets and a source of livelihood; and, one might add, melting-pots in which is being produced a *hoise* of Algerian Arabic which is capable of causing the extinction of the old regional dialects. Bibliography: W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, Paris 1902; idem *Le dialecte arabe de l'État Brakim de Saïda*, Paris 1908; Ph. Marçais, *Contribution à l'étude du parler arabe de Bou Saïda*, Caïro 1915; idem, *Le parler arabe de Djidjida*, Paris 1914; M. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, Paris 1912; G. Delphin, *Recueil de textes pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé*, Paris-Alger 1891; A. Dhina, *Textes arabes du Sud algériens*, Algiers 1940; J. Desparmet, *Enseignement de l'arabe dialectal*, Algiers 1933; J. Cantineau, *Les parlers arabes du département d'Alger, de Constantine, d'Oran, des Territoires du Sud, Alger, R.A.F.*, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941. (PH. MARÇAIS)

(2) *The Berber dialects* [see BERBER].

ALGIERS (see AL-JAZĀ'IR).

ALGOL (see ALGOL).

ALGOMAZIA (see ALGOMAZIA).

ALGORITHMUS is the old name for the process of reckoning with Arabic numerals. In mediaeval treatises the word is spelt in various ways: e.g. *Algorismus, Alchorismus, Alchorismus*, etc., corruptions of the *nisha* of the oldest known writer on Arabic arithmetic: Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Kh̄wārizmī (q.v.). His book was translated into Latin in the 12th century by an unknown author, and the only known copy at Cambridge has been edited by B. Boncompagni (*Trattato d'arismetica* i, Rome 1857). It opens with the words: "dixit Algorithmus", the word is here correctly given in the form of an Arabic *nisha*, i.e. as a proper name; it is strange that it should afterwards have come to mean the new process of reckoning with Arabic figures, as contrasted



with the system of counting by the Greco-Roman abacus. Of the numerous attempts to explain the word it is enough to mention a derivation from a philosopher Algus, and a supposed origin from the Arabic article al combined with the Greek ἀριθμός, hence the form 'Algarithmus'. The right explanation was given by M. Reimond in his *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, 309-4. In the year 1840, before the Cambridge manuscript had been edited, but the false acception prevailed, and Algorithm (or Algorism) is still used in the sense of 'system of numeration, arithmetic'.

(H. SUTER)

ALHABOR (see *NUḤḤ*).

ALHAIOT (see *NUḤḤ*).

ALHAMA (see *AL-HAMMA*).

ALHAMIRA (see *GHARAFATA*).

ALHUCEMAS (see *AL-BUḤAFĀMA*).

'ĀLĪ, MUṬAṬṬA B. 'ABD AL-MAWLA CEMELI, one of the most outstanding representatives of Turkish literature of the 16th century. Born at Gallipoli in 948/1541, from the age of 10 he studied under Surlat, great expert in Persian language and literature, and then under the Arab poet Muḥyī 'l-Dīn. In 965/1557 he presented to the heir-apparent Selīm his work entitled *Mīrā' u-Mā*, a step which determined his future career (see Dory, *Cat. cod. or. bibl. Acad. Lucd. Bataviae*, i, 128). He became a member of the circle of his fellow-citizen Muṣṭafā, tutor to the prince, and was for a long time attached to this important figure as a private secretary. Selīm II, on his accession, confirmed him in this post, and about the same time he made the acquaintance of Niḡmāddīn, through whom he acquired knowledge of numerous events. In 976/1568 he accompanied Muṣṭafā to Egypt, but this visit was abruptly terminated by the latter's dismissal. In 1570, Muṣṭafā was placed in command of the army charged with the conquest of Cyprus, and 'ĀlĪ, as his secretary, witnessed the achievements of the Ottoman fleet and army. During the following years he lived in Rumelia, and in 980/1572 he compiled the *Heft Maḡlūḡ* or *Heft Duḡlān* (MS Laleli, Istanbul, no. 2174; printed edition in the collections of the *Ḥikān*) in which he described, in a pompous style, the end of the reign of Süleymān I and the accession of Selīm II. About the same time he compiled a collection of poetry in Turkish, consisting mainly of *ḡazels* and *ghazals*. He also produced a Persian *divān* (see Flügel, *Die arāb., pers., und türk. Hss. der K.K. Hofbibl. zu Wien*, i, 651).

'ĀlĪ is, however, only ranked as a second-rate poet, as his poetry shows little feeling or sensibility. In 1577, he was again Muṣṭafā's secretary when the latter was placed in command of an expedition to Persia; he was the author of numerous victory proclamations sent from the Caucasus. He took advantage of his stay in those areas to collect a mass of information on the customs and legends of the populations of the Caucasus, and especially those of Gilān, Shīrwān and Georgia. After the dismissal of Muṣṭafā, 'ĀlĪ returned to Istanbul, the sudden death of his protector placed him in a difficult position, but did not interfere with his literary activity. He dedicated to the Sultan his *Muḥāḡ al-'Aḡāḡ* which gives an account of the miracles of the Creation and the Prophets (MSS: Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, nos. 17397-96; Esad Efendi Kütüphanesi, no. 2407; cf. Flügel, *loc. cit.*, ii, 94; Pertsch, *Verz. d. türk. Hss. ... zu Berlin*, i, 36, 158). Some afterwards he completed the *Nurānī-nāme*, which deals with the expedition to Iran (Esad Ef. Kütüp., no. 3433; Rieu, *Cat. of the Turk. MSS.*

in the *Brit. Mus.*, p. 61). The ceremony of the circumcision of the heir-apparent Mehmed, one of the most magnificent ceremonies which took place in the Ottoman Empire, was the occasion of a descriptive work which gained him an introduction to the prince: *Diḡān al-Ḥabār der Maḡlūḡ al-Sār* (Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüp., no. 4318).

In 995/1586 he compiled the *Mandābīḡ al-Huḡarīn*, in which he collected important material on some hundreds of calligraphists, miniaturists, illuminators and bookbinders (see Flügel, *loc. cit.*, ii, 386; edited by İsmail Mahmūd Kemāl, Istanbul 1926). The *Zubdat al-Tawārīḡ*, the Turkish translation of an Arabic work, dates from the same period (Flügel, *ibid.*, ii, 90; 1st. Univ. Kütüp., nos. 2378-2386). Interested in mysticism and pantheism, he gave in the *Ḥilyat al-Ridḡāl* (Rieu, *loc. cit.*, p. 19; Pertsch, *Die türk. Hss. ... zu Göttingen*, 75; 1st. Univ. Kütüp., nos. 1329, 404) detailed information on the saints, their hierarchy and their influence; he also composed a *divān* entitled *Lā'ihāt al-Ḥabībāt* (Rieu, *loc. cit.*, 264; 1st. Univ. Kütüp., nos. 651, 1902). Appointed *kātib* of the Janissaries, then *deftār emīn*, he applied himself to tracing the course of history down to his own times; he wished, however, to produce his work at Cairo, then the greatest book centre of the Muslim world. Mehmed III who, on his accession, accorded him privileged treatment, appointed him *deftār* of Egypt, but the hostility of certain *wazīrs* caused him to lose this post. From 1000-1007/1592-9 he wrote his great work, *Kunūḡ al-Ḥabār*, in four parts (printed at Istanbul between 1277/1866 and 1285/1869 in 5 vols., covering the period up to the reign of Mehmed II; no printed edition of the remaining 150 years exists). In the first part, he recounts the ancient legends concerning the prophets. In the second, he treats of Muhammad and Islam. He was so convinced of the important role played by his nation in the development of Islam that he entitled the third part 'The Turko-Tatar chapter'. The fourth part is devoted to the formation of the states and to Ottoman history. A geographical dictionary is appended to the work. The *Kunūḡ al-Ḥabār* is among the most important Ottoman historical works. Although the information given by 'ĀlĪ on the pre-Islamic period is of no great value, on the subject of Ottoman history, especially that of the 16th century, he is extremely valuable. His passion for truth even leads him to criticize the actions of certain sultans, and in general he speaks favourably of non-Muslims. His style, poetical to begin with, becomes more simple as he proceeds. Later he wrote a historical summary of the Muslim World, entitled *Fuṣūḡ al-Hall wa 'l-'Asāl* (Istanbul, *Ḥikān*), which is one of the most popular works in Turkish (see, e.g., the MS in Nuruosmaniye Kütüp., no. 3399). As a reward for his literary activities he was appointed *paṣṣa* of Ḥabībīn in 1008/1500 he wrote his last work, *Ḥadīḡ al-Ḥabībīn min al-'Asāl* (Istanbul, MSS: Esad Ef. Kütüp., no. 2407; Cairo, *Ḥadīḡ al-Ḥabībīn*, *Cat. des ouvr. livres*, 1907), a short but significant work. He died the same year. 'ĀlĪ is a particularly attractive character: although, in the circles in which he moved, violence and intrigue seem to have the rule, he showed himself always to be loyal, kindly and upright. His intense and serious explanation why he failed to win the goodwill of the rough and unpollished men of that period; even the Grand Vizier Siyāwush Paṣṣa, a remarkable man, viewed him with contempt. On the other hand, every writer of the period was his friend.

**Bibliography:** His life and works have been described by J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. osman. Reiches*, iv, 308, 651 ff.; *idem*, *Gesch. d. osman. Dichtkunst*, iii, 115 ff.; by Mehmed Tāḡir b. Rif'at, *Muawwizhāt*, 'Oḡḡamāsyās

'ĀlĪ b. al-'ABBĀS AL-MAḡḤḤ, medieval medical writer, commonly known to the West as Haly Abbas. He was born in al-Aḡḡāḡ, the Fenn stock, as his title al-Maḡḡḡ shows. He probably moved to Shīrāz at an early date, for he made his medical studies under a physician of that city, Abū Māḡīr Mūsā b. Sayyār, and dedicated his magnūm opus to its ruler, 'Aḡḡad al-Dawla the Buwayhid. This book he named the *Kāmil al-Sīnā'a* or *K. al-Maḡḡ*; the medieval Latin translators named it the *Liber Regius*. It derives its title from the dedication to 'Aḡḡad al-Dawla. The exact date of 'ĀlĪ's death is not known. It occurred between 985 and 995 A.D.

The *Kāmil al-Sīnā'a*, upon which the importance of 'ĀlĪ b. 'Abbās depends, was deliberately written to fill mid-way between the lengthy al-Ḥabībī and the brief al-Manṣūrī, both works of al-Rāzī. It was immediately recognised as a master piece and was adapted as the chief textbook of medicine for students. Some hundred years later it was overshadowed by the *Kānūn* of Ibn Sīnā. But it remained sufficiently popular to be translated into Latin in full by Stephan of Antioch in 1127 and this translation to be printed in Venice on 1492 and in Lyons in 1523. The surgical section of the book had already been translated by Constantine the African in the 11th century and was used by the School of Salerno. (Printed in *Constantini Africani Opera Reliquia*, 1539). The Arabic text was reproduced in Cairo, Būlak 1294/1877, and in 1903 the anatomical section was translated into French (P. de Koning, *Trois traités d'anatomie arabe*, Leiden 1903, 90-127).

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(C. ELGOUT)

'ĀLĪ B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. AL-'ABBĀS was the ancestor of the 'Abbāsids. According to Muslim tradition, 'ĀlĪ was born in the year 40/661, the very same night in which the caliph 'ĀlĪ was assassinated; but there are also other statements concerning the year of his birth. His mother was called Zur'a bint Mīshrah. His grandfather al-'Abbās was the uncle of the Prophet, and on account of his high birth and his personal gifts 'ĀlĪ attained to great distinction. He was looked upon as the handsomest and most pious of his time, and received the surname of 'al-Saḡḡīddīn' (he who prostrates himself often) because of his constant praying. His piety did not prevent him from plotting secretly against the Umayyads, and was therefore banished from the capital by the caliph al-Walīd I. He went to live in the province of al-Shārah on the border between Arabia and Palestine. Here he died in 117/735, 6 or 12 in the village of Hunayma. This place remained the headquarters of the 'Abbāsid propaganda, after 'ĀlĪ's son Muḡammad, the father of the future

caliphs al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr, had been recognised as the head of the 'Abbāsids.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Sa'd, v, 229 ff.; Ya'qūbī (Houtsma), ii, 314 ff.; Tabarī, ii, 16 ff.; Ibn al-Aḡḡāḡ, ii, 16 ff.; Ibn Khallikān (transl. by de Slane), ii, 216 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Califen*, ii, 333 ff.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii, 444.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEDT)

'ĀLĪ B. ABĪ TĀLĪB, cousin and son-in-law of Muḡammad, and fourth caliph, was one of the first to believe in Muḡammad's mission. Whether he was the second after Khadīḡa, or the third after Khadīḡa and Abū Bakr, was much disputed between Shī'ites and Sunnis. He was at that time aged 10 or 11 at most, and Muḡammad had taken him into his own household to relieve the boy's father Abū Tālib, who had fallen into poverty. One narrative, which is open to criticism on several counts, represents 'ĀlĪ as having occupied the Prophet's bed on the night when the latter left Mecca for Medina, so that the conspirators, on entering the house in order to kill Muḡammad, were surprised to discover his young cousin sleeping there. After restoring to their owners the objects which Muḡammad was holding on trust, 'ĀlĪ rejoined the Prophet at Kubā. Some months later, he married Muḡammad's daughter Fāṭima (q.v.), and of their marriage were born al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (q.v.). During the lifetime of Fāṭima 'ĀlĪ took no other wife.

Military exploits. In Muḡammad's lifetime 'ĀlĪ took part in almost all the expeditions, often as standard-bearer, twice only as commander (at Fadak in 6/628, and in al-Yaman in 10/632). He always displayed a courage, which later on became legendary; at Badr he killed a large number of Kurayshites; at Khaybar he used a heavy door as a shield, and the victory of the Muslims over the Jews was due to his ardour; at Hunayn (8/630) he was one of those who stoutly defended the Prophet. After the Prophet's death, he took no part in any military expedition, for reasons unknown. 'Umar is said to have prevented the Kurayshites from going out to the provinces, but 'Uthmān removed all obstacles to their movements. It is possible that 'ĀlĪ himself had no wish to absent himself from Medina; perhaps it was simply his state of health which kept him from fighting, although several feats are attributed to him at the battles of the 'Camel' and Siffin, in 36/656 and 37/657, when he was already thirty years old.

In addition, 'ĀlĪ performed several other functions for the Prophet. He was one of his secretaries, and on occasion was charged with missions which might be called diplomatic; on two occasions he was deputed to destroy idols. He executed with his own hand enemies condemned to death by the Prophet, and with al-Zubayr supervised the massacre of the Banū Kurayya (3/627). In 9/631 he read to the assembled pilgrims at Mīnā the first seven verses of the *Sūra Baqara* (ix).

Dispute with Abū Bakr. During the election of Abū Bakr (q.v.) as Muḡammad's successor, 'ĀlĪ, with Talha, al-Zubayr, and several other Companions, remained apart in the Prophet's house to watch over his body and prepared for his burial. Although solicited to do so by al-'Abbās and also, it is said, by Abū Sufyān, he made no effort to keep the control of the Community in the hands of the Hāshimīyās. When those persons who had at first abstained from recognizing Abū Bakr gradually accepted his election, 'ĀlĪ maintained his refusal for six months. His position was complicated by a



question of inheritance; Fātima had asserted a claim to the lands held by her father, which Abū Bakr firmly rejected on the ground of Muhammad's saying that "Prophets have no heirs". Whether 'Alī really hoped to succeed Muhammad is doubtful. The Arabs as a rule chose as their chiefs men of mature age (in 11/635 'Alī was a little over thirty) and showed no inclination to legitimism. The 'Shī'ites, by inventing or interpreting in the light of their beliefs certain words said to have used by Muhammad concerning 'Alī (see Wessink, *Handbook*, s.v. 'Alī), have always maintained that the Prophet intended to transmit the succession to his son-in-law and cousin, but it is certain, in any case, that in his last illness he did not express this desire.

Relations with 'Umar. According to the Muslim authors, 'Alī was a valued counsellor of the caliphs who preceded him; but although it is probable that he was asked for advice on legal matters in view of his excellent knowledge of the Qur'ān and the *sunna*, it is doubtful whether his advice was accepted by 'Umar on political questions. In regard to the famous *dhimma*, at least, 'Alī held a view entirely opposed to that of the caliph, for on being questioned on this subject by 'Umar he recommended the distribution of the entire revenue without holding anything in reserve (al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, *Annals*, A.H. 40, § 275). During the lifetime of 'Umar (and of 'Alī), all military or political, either military or political, except the lieutenant of Medina during 'Umar's journey to Palestine and Syria (al-Tabarī, i, 2404, 2522); for this reason he alone was absent from the meeting at Dībāya (q.v.) at which the military commanders and leading personages convoked by 'Umar gave approval to measures of the greatest importance on the regulation of the conquests and the *dhimma*. Further evidence of 'Alī's lack of complete agreement with the policies of Abū Bakr and 'Umar is contained in the received tradition relating to the *gharā* (see 'UTHMĀN b. 'AFRĀS), according to which 'Alī, on being asked by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf whether he engaged himself to follow, together with the Qur'ān and the *sunna*, the word (*kalām*, *strat*) of the preceding caliphs, gave an evasive answer.

The Opposition to 'Uthmān. During the caliphate of 'Uthmān, 'Alī, with other Companions (notably Talha and al-Zubayr), frequently accused him of deviating from the Qur'ān and the *sunna* of Muhammad, particularly in the application of the *hadd* (see AL-HURMUZĀVĪ). 'Alī insisted upon the duty of applying the divine Law; he was among those who demanded that the legal punishment for drinking should be inflicted on al-Walīd b. 'Ukba, viceroy of Kūfa, and in some accounts is said to have carried out the whipping with his own hand. With 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf he reproached 'Uthmān with introducing *bida*, such as making four *ruk'as* at 'Arafāt and Miqāt in place of two (cf. Wessink, *Handbook*, s.v. 'Alī). But on political questions also he ranged himself with 'Uthmān's opponents and was denounced by them as their chief, or one of their chiefs, at least morally. E.g. (r) when Abū Uthayr al-Ghifārī (q.v.), who preached against the misdeeds of the powerful, was exiled from Medina, 'Alī with his sons went to salute him on his departure in spite of 'Uthmān's prohibition, and provoked thereby a violent dispute with 'Uthmān. (2) When the rebels who came from Egypt to Medina opened negotiations with 'Uthmān, 'Alī was their intermediary, or one of their intermediaries (see e.g. al-Tabarī, i, 2966). (3) When they returned

later on to Medina and besieged "the House," they asked 'Alī to put himself at their head (idem, i, 2965), although he refused. Nevertheless by his attitude he encouraged the rebels during the siege, and there are reasons for suspecting him to have been in agreement with them in demanding the caliph's abdication, at the same time that any participation by him in the bloody conclusion of the conflict is to be excluded. (4) After his election as caliph, his partisans included those persons who are known to have been hostile to the government on economic questions, such as al-Ash'ar (q.v.), Ibn al-Kawwā, Sa'sa'a and other (al-Mas'ūdī, iv, 561; al-Tabarī, i, 2916, 2908, etc.). His own programme in face of the various financial demands put forward by the *muhātala* (division of the surplus of the revenues, distribution of the domanial lands, etc.) is not known. It is recorded only that on becoming caliph he distributed the entire sums which he found in the *bayt al-mal* of Medina, Basra and Kūfa, and the whole of the provisions collected in the *bayt al-mal* (cf. also *Annals*, 40 A.H., § 276-80), an action which is to be regarded not simply as a demagogic gesture but as the consequence of the view that he had previously expressed to 'Umar. He is said also to have wished to distribute the Sawd (i.e. the domanial lands in al-'Irāq), but to have refrained through fear of legal disputes (al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, *Annals*, 40 A.H., § 276-80).

Apart from this, there is no statement which authorizes us to regard him as an extremist; on the contrary, he was hostile to the Saba'iyya, the followers of 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' (q.v.), and when they exalted him beyond measure he hid himself of them; he tried to cut himself loose from the *nawf*, the besiegers of "the House" (cf. 'Uthmān and their adherents, as seen at Medina and Kūfa). By his extreme attachment to Islam 'Alī was driven to attach an absolute superiority in merit to priority of conversion and to services rendered to Islam in its early days, over other claims such as nobility of birth and political or administrative ability. In his conflict with the government he continually appealed to the duty of applying the Qur'ān and the *sunna* of the Prophet, which in his view were being neglected. Whether by this policy, or because, aiming to defend the right of the Hāshimīd house to the caliphate, he was bound to oppose the principle which extended this right to the whole of Muhammad's tribe, he set the Quraysh against him, although himself of Quraysh; in return he had the support of most of the Ansār, of the other non-Qurayshite Arabs who had been amongst the Old Believers, of the *muhātala* in the provinces, and the depressed classes in general (*Agħābi*, xi, 31).

Election of 'Alī and early measures. When 'Uthmān was killed the Umayyads fled from Medina and the opposition remained masters of the situation. Since 'Alī was the person for whom they had most respect, he was invited to return to the caliphate. The traditions on the manner and circumstances of his election (the most commonly accepted date is 18 Dhū 'l-Hijja 35/17 June 656) are contradictory in regard to his willingness to accept it. His partisans on the other hand were ready to employ violence against those who refused to recognize him (including Talha and al-Zubayr); nevertheless there were some who would not yield and who left Medina, e.g. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Sa'd b. Abī Wakkās, al-Mughira b. Shu'ba, Muhammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī, Usama b. Zayd.

Mu'āwiya was therefore able to maintain that the election was invalid because made by a minority; to this 'Alī replied that the election of the caliph was a right of those persons (Ansār, Muhājirīn, or Badī-combatants) who were present in Medina at the relevant time. What is certain is that 'Alī allowed himself to be nominated also by the rebels who had 'Uthmān's blood on their hands. This was an error, in that it exposed him to accusations of complicity in their crime, although some traditions represent him as vainly endeavouring to rid himself of the most serious of his partisans. In spite of counsel by Ibn 'Abbās to go slowly, 'Alī at once took some of the measures demanded by the opposition from 'Uthmān: he removed the governors appointed by the latter and wherever possible replaced them by governors of his own party, and satisfied the populace by distributions of money, made with a laudable equity. The report of 'Uthmān's murder and of 'Alī's protection of those guilty of it had in the meantime provoked strong reactions in Mecca, Syria and Egypt. Mu'āwiya, governor of Syria and cousin of 'Uthmān, accused 'Alī of complicity with the murderers and refused to pay homage to him. 'Alī hastily collected troops to force him to obedience, but another serious rebellion compelled him to delay action in Syria, while Mu'āwiya for his part maintained a prudent waiting policy.

Rebellion of 'Āsh'ar, Talha and al-Zubayr. Although 'Alī had supported the opposition against 'Uthmān, she had gone on pilgrimage to Mecca during the siege of "the House". On her way back she learned of the events in Medina, and in consternation, especially at the news of 'Alī's election, returned to Mecca and engaged in active propaganda against the new caliph. Four months later she was joined by Talha and al-Zubayr, and shortly afterwards 'Alī learned that all three, with several hundred troops, were marching to al-'Irāq by sidetracks. He immediately set out in pursuit, but could not overtake them. The rebels expected to find in al-'Irāq the forces and the resources which they needed. 'Alī was absolutely compelled to prevent them from seizing this province, since Syria obeyed only Mu'āwiya. Egypt was in anarchy, and the loss of al-'Irāq would have involved also the loss of the eastern provinces dependent on it.

The three insurgents proclaimed that the *hadd* must be re-established for all alike, and that a "reform" (*islāh*) must be put into effect (al-Tabarī, i, 3093, 3131, 3132). Since these influential leaders were in part responsible for the fate of 'Uthmān, the reasons for their rising to demand vengeance for his murder, and the meaning which they attached to *islāh*, are obscure. Social and economic motives, inspired by fear of the possible influence of the extremists on 'Alī, seem to provide a more convincing explanation than personal feelings for their action, and especially for the effect which it produced. The moderates amongst those opposed to 'Uthmān had no doubt desired a change of policy, but not one so radical as that now foreshadowed.

While the insurgents occupied Basra, and there massacred many of the *nawf*, 'Alī sent his supporters to Kūfa to invite its population to take his part, and when he had collected an adequate force he marched towards Basra. Since both parties aimed at a peaceful settlement of the dispute, an agreement was negotiated according to which 'Alī should disengage himself from the *nawf* (while guaranteeing their lives), but this was not the conclusion of the affair which the extremists of his party meant to

reach. A brawl provoked by them developed into a battle, which became famous in Muslim annals as the "Battle of the Camel" (15 Dhu'l-Hijja 36/9 Dec. 656) (see AL-ḤAWARĪ), and in which Talha and al-Zubayr lost their lives, while 'Āsh'ar was promptly ordered by 'Alī to return to Medina under escort.

Conflict with Mu'āwiya. Following on this success, 'Alī had hopes of regaining the allegiance of the governor of Syria by opening negotiations with him, but in vain. Mu'āwiya demanded the surrender of the murderers of 'Uthmān in virtue of a verse of the Qur'ān (xvii, 32/35) which forbids the slaying of any person save for just cause (*illā bi-l-ḥakk*), at the same time according the right of vengeance in the case of anyone slain unjustly (*muzlīm*) to his *walī*, i.e. his near relative. Mu'āwiya maintained that 'Uthmān had been killed unjustly; consequently, he proposed to exercise the right accorded by God. In the meantime, he would hold to his refusal to pay homage to 'Alī. The sources pass vaguely over the thesis maintained by 'Alī in rejecting Mu'āwiya's demand, except for the explicit statement in the *Wak'at Siffin* of Nasr b. Mu'āwī al-Minkarī (570): since 'Uthmān was killed by the people, who were outraged by his arbitrary actions, the murderers should not be liable to the *lex talionis*. In reality the struggle had much deeper causes; what was at issue was the pre-eminence of Syria or of al-'Irāq, and probably also two different conceptions of the policy to be followed in the government of the Muslim State.

'Alī, finding that Mu'āwiya was not to be won over, passed to the offensive; the two armies, each some tens of thousands strong, faced one another on the plain of Siffin (q.v.). After some skirmishing, interrupted by a truce in Muharram 37/June-July 657 and some parleys, battle was joined; there was a week of combats between horsemen and foot-soldiers, followed by a violent conflict (the "night of clamour", *laylat al-harir*, 10 Safar 37/28 July 657). Mu'āwiya's star seemed to be sinking, when 'Amr b. al-'Ās advised him to have his soldiers hoist copies of the Qur'ān on their lances. This gesture, famous in Muslim history, did not imply surrender; by this means Mu'āwiya invited the combatants to resolve the question by consultation of the Qur'ān. Weary of fighting—the number of the killed is swollen in the sources to 70,000 or even more—the two armies laid down their arms. 'Alī was forced by his partisans to submit the difference to arbitration, as proposed by Mu'āwiya, and further to choose the arbitrator for his side from among the "neutrals". So sure were his followers that they were in the right! In these decisions the *ḥarā* (q.v.), of whom many were in his army (though they were represented in Mu'āwiya's army also), played a large part.

Appointment and task of the arbitrators (*ḥakīm*). A convention was drawn up at Siffin itself (Safar 37/657), by the terms of which the two arbitrators, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī (q.v.) for 'Alī and 'Amr b. al-'Ās (q.v.) for Mu'āwiya, would announce their decision at a place halfway between Syria and al-'Irāq in the presence of witnesses chosen by themselves; the date fixed for the meeting was Ramaḍān, but the arbitrators might advance it or postpone it until the end of the year 37. In the two versions of the convention which have come down to us the points to be examined by the arbitrators are not defined; all that is said is that they were to consult the Qur'ān "from the first to the last sūra" and, in default of clear indications in the sacred Book, the *sunna* of the Prophet, excluding what



might give rise to divergences, L. Vecchia Vaglieri (see the art. cited in the Bibliography) has shown that their task was to determine whether the acts of which 'Uthmān was accused were or were not *ahādith*, arbitrary actions at odds with the divine Law. If the caliph were guilty, his murder could be regarded as an act of justice; but if he had committed no errors, the conclusion must be that he had been killed unjustly (*mazlūm*). and in consequence Mu'āwīya was justified in claiming the right of vengeance. But this was not all, for a decision in favour of Mu'āwīya would inevitably involve, for 'Alī, the loss of the caliphate.

Protests against the arbitration. While awaiting the verdict, the armies returned to their bases. But already at Siffin certain individuals had protested against recourse to arbitration with the cry *lā ḥukmā illā li'Allāh*, literally "No decision save God's". The phrase implied that it was absolutely improper to apply to men for a decision since, for the case in dispute, there existed a divine ordinance in the Qur'ānic verse *alīs, Rūq'*: "If two parties of Believers fight with one another, make peace between them, but if one rebels (baghat) against the other, then fight against that one which rebels (allatī tabghit), until it returns to obedience to God...". In fighting against his opponents 'Alī had appealed to this verse, since in his view the "rebellious party" had been, firstly, that of 'Āṣidha, Talha and al-Zubayr, and now that of Mu'āwīya. The dissidents maintained, very logically, that it was his duty to continue to fight against Mu'āwīya, as no new fact had intervened to alter the situation.

During the return to Kūfa, those who had first raised the cry *lā ḥukmā illā li'Allāh* (hence called al-*muhakkima al-dā*) persuaded many other partisans of 'Alī that the arbitration was a sin against God, by substituting the judgment of men for His prescription. A group of some thousands proclaimed their repentance and stopped at Harūrā, near Kūfa (whence their name of Harūrīs [q.v.]). The caliph, on a personal visit to their camp, succeeded in reconciling the dissidents, all or in part, evidently by making concessions to them. After his return to Kūfa, however, he denied from the *misbah* the reports which asserted his intention to convene the convention of Siffin. When it was learned that he had sent Abū Mūsā to the meeting with 'Amr, a group of dissidents, 3,000 or 4,000, secretly left Kūfa, and some hundreds more left Basra. The rallying-point chosen by these dissidents, called, *Khawāridj* [Khāridjites (q.v.)], was al-Nahrāwān, on the canal of the same deriving from the Tigris.

The arbitration (*hakama*). Mu'āwīya, with his escort, was the first to arrive at the meeting place of the arbitrators (Ramaḍān 27/Feb. 658). 'Alī, excusing himself on the ground of the troubles caused by the dissidents, did no more than send Abū Mūsā with the escort and his cousin Ibn 'Abbās as his representative. The sources give vague or contradictory statements on the place and date of the meeting, some placing it at Dīmāt al-Djandal (now al-Djāf), approximately halfway between Syria and al-'Irāk, as stipulated in the convention, others at Adhruh, between Ma'an and Petra. There are many grounds (see the art. cited above) for believing that a first meeting in the presence of six persons only was held at Dīmāt al-Djandal, and a second meeting (see below) at Adhruh in Shā'ban 38. At the former, the arbitrators must have reached an agreement on the result of their investigations, and this result was that 'Uthmān had committed no breach of

his trust, since only on this ground can the later events be explained. A passage in *Wak'at Siffin* (618 f.) explains why their verdict is known to us only indirectly: as a measure of precaution, "the two men agreed at Dīmāt al-Djandal to say nothing". But though the verdict was not promulgated, it is certain that it became known to both parties; the Syrians, perhaps in the enthusiasm of the moment, took the *bay'a* to Mu'āwīya (Jihz 'I-Ka'da 37/April 658; al-Tabarī, ii, 199), while 'Alī publicly protested against both arbitrators, proclaimed that their sentence was contrary to the Qur'ān and the sunna, and that he was therefore under no obligation to submit to it. Thereupon he assembled his forces and set out to engage Mu'āwīya in battle again. On reaching al-Anḥar, he turned aside towards al-Nahrāwān, in the conviction that it was necessary first of all to destroy this centre of insurrection. Mu'āwīya, in the same month in which 'Alī was engaged with the Khāridjites, took possession of Egypt (Safar 38).

Battle of al-Nahrāwān. 'Alī first tried to re-enlist the Khāridjites in his forces by a declaration that he would take the field again against Mu'āwīya, but without effect. The dissidents demanded that he should confess himself guilty of an act of impiety (*kufr*), which he indignantly refused to do. After promising the *amān* to those who should submit—and there were some—he attacked the rebels (9 Safar 38/27 July 658). It was a massacre rather than a battle, and it seems that 'Alī was the first to regret it. This action, condemned by contemporary opinion,—for many sincere believers, of well-known piety, had fallen on the field—had very serious consequences for him; the defections, which had already begun, increased, and he was forced to return to Kūfa and to give up the campaign against Mu'āwīya.

Conference of Adhruh. The situation was completely changed after these events. Henceforward the opposing parties were no longer a caliph and a rebel governor, but two rivals for the supreme office in the State. While Mu'āwīya had gained ground, 'Alī was struggling in a morass of difficulties: he had been discredited in the eyes of the Muslim community by the verdict of the arbitrators, and he had lost many of his supporters by his refusal to submit to their decision after consenting to the *lakḥim*, by the massacre of the Khāridjites, and in general by his vacillating policy. This was the position when the arbitrators and many eminent persons (with the exclusion of 'Alī and also, it should seem, of his representatives) met at Adhruh in Shā'ban 38/January 659. In this conference the meetings attended only by the arbitrators and certain personages must be distinguished from the final plenary session. In the former the verdict of the arbitrators was promulgated (several sources assert that Abū Mūsā recognized that 'Uthmān had been killed unjustly), and the selection of a new caliph was discussed. The information given in the sources is rather discordant, except as regards the final scene. It can be gathered that 'Amr maintained the case of Mu'āwīya against Abū Mūsā's preference for 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, who for his part refused to stand for election in default of unanimity; Abū Mūsā then proposed, and 'Amr agreed, to declare both 'Alī and Mu'āwīya deposed and to remit the choice to a committee. In the public discourses that followed, Abū Mūsā observed this agreement, possibly adding some counsel in which he alluded to his preference for the son of 'Umar; 'Amr in his

turn declared 'Alī deposed and confirmed Mu'āwīya. Several modern historians have adjudged this scene entirely improbable, but this negative attitude towards traditions which are nevertheless explicit and fairly concordant on this point is due to an inadequate appreciation of the preceding events explained above. In the light of these the final scene at Adhruh can readily be accepted. The unexpected declaration of 'Amr seems to have been a strictly personal proposal on his part, which, as a man charged with a grave responsibility, he believed himself entitled, if not in duty bound, to advance. But this declaration, which obviously contravened the agreement previously reached (since Abū Mūsā reacted to it with indignation), was generally judged in later times as a treacherous trick, and was certainly a disloyal act. It is worthy of notice that even in the plenary assembly no voice was raised on behalf of 'Alī; the clash which followed 'Amr's declaration was a reaction against the Umayyads, not in favour of 'Alī. In any case the conference had entirely negative results, for the participants separated without taking any decision on the caliphate.

Last years, death and burial of 'Alī. 'Alī continued to be regarded as caliph by his partisans, though their numbers were daily diminishing, and Mu'āwīya by his. In 39/659 the situation was still uncertain. 'Alī, confined to Kūfa, remained passive even when Mu'āwīya made small expeditions into the heart of al-'Irāk and of Arabia. In Khurāsān and the East Arab rule was thrown off (see 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura), but a rising in Fārs was skillfully put down by Ziyād b. Abīhi [q.v.], as governor for 'Alī. In 40/660 'Alī enjoyed no authority in the two Holy Cities, and could not stop an attack by Mu'āwīya on al-Yaman. Finally, a Khāridjite, 'Abū al-Raḥmān b. Muljān al-Murādī (see *raḥ* MULJĀN), in revenge for the men slain at al-Nahrāwān, struck 'Alī with a poisoned sword before the door of the mosque of Kūfa. He died about two days later, being then 62 or 63 years of age. A questionable tradition asserts that Ibn Muljān was only one of a group of fanatics who plotted to rid Kūfa of the three persons regarded as responsible for the civil war, and that Mu'āwīya and 'Amr were to have been assassinated at the same time.

'Alī's burial place was kept secret, evidently for fear lest his body should be exhumed and profaned. It was not until the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd that it was announced that his tomb had been identified at a spot some miles from Kūfa, where a sanctuary subsequently arose; a mosque, al-Najāt [q.v.], grew up there, surrounded by an immense cemetery, due to the aspiration of pious Shi'ites to be buried in the vicinity of their Imāms.

Personal details. In person, 'Alī is represented as bald, affected by ophthalmia, stout, short-legged and broad-shouldered, with a hairy body and a long white beard covering his chest. In manner he was rough and brusque, apt to give offence and, unsovereign. He had two nicknames: *Haydar*, "lion", and *Abū Turāb*, "dustman", a name probably given to him contemptuously by his enemies, but which was afterwards interpreted as an honorific by invented episodes (see Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, 1898, 30). He had fourteen sons and nineteen daughters by nine wives and several concubines; of his sons, only three, al-Ḥasan al-Husaynī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanāfiyya, played a historical role, and five in all left descendants. He was reputed to have a profound knowledge of the Qur'ān, of which he was one of the best "readers"

(Suyūṭī, *Iḥāṣ* [Sprenger], 169, 171; the statement that he compiled a recension is to be rejected; *Geich*, des *Qur.*, ii, 8-15). Many political discourses, sermons, letters and wise sayings (*hiṣām*) have been ascribed to him; these can be read in *Nahḍ al-Balāgha*, a collection of the 5th/11th century, which includes here and there old historical texts and the passages of *adab* (see *al-Maḥārī al-Raḥīl*). On the *diwān* (in which some poems are perhaps authentic) and the prose works attributed to him, see Brockelmann, I, 43 f., S. I, 73 f. His gifts as an orator were doubtless remarkable, but the same cannot be said of his poetic art (H. Lammens, *À propos de 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, Études sur le siècle des Omeyyades*, 1930, 1-11).

Personality. The personality of 'Alī is difficult to define, since the historian finds no sure guide either in his actions or his discourses, or in the data supplied by the sources. His own will was paralysed or modified by events and the constraint of his partisans. His discourses are obscure in form, and it is not easy to distinguish the genuine from the forged. Since the conflicts in which he was involved were perpetuated for centuries, the sources are sometimes tendentious, and, though less idealizing or hostile than has been asserted, more often reticent. The hostile judgment of Lammens (especially in *Fāṣma* and *Mo'awana I'*), sometimes obtained by forcing the texts, is to be rejected. The milder presentation of Caetani which, while exposing the weaknesses of 'Alī, gives due weight to the pressure of circumstances upon him, remains vague in its general lines. Neither Lammens nor Caetani has brought out the religiosity of 'Alī and its reflections in his policy. There is an abundance of notices on his austerity, his rigorous observance of religious rites, his detachment from worldly goods, his scruples in regard to booty and retaliation; and there is no reason to suppose all these details invented or exaggerated, since all his actions were dominated by this religious spirit. Without attempting to decide whether his devotion to Islam was always wholly unmixt with other motives, this aspect of his personality cannot be disregarded for the understanding of his attitude towards his psychology. He engaged in warfare against "erring" Muslims as a matter of duty, in order "to sustain the Faith and to make the right way (al-ḥadā) triumphant" (al-Balādhuri in Caet., 40 A.H., § 235, d, etc.). After his victory at "the Camel", he tried to relieve the distresses of the vanquished by preventing the enslavement of their women and children, in face of the protest of a group of his partisans; when battles ended, he showed his grief, wept for the dead, and even prayed over his enemies. Even the apparent ambiguity of his attitude towards the Harūrīs can be explained by his fear of disobeying God; though persuaded by them that the arbitration was a sin, he recognized also that to infringe the convention of Siffin was equally a sin, and in this painful dilemma chose to allow the arbitration to proceed. Obedience to the divine Law was the keynote of his conduct, but his ideas were governed by an excessive rigorism, and it was perhaps for this reason that his enemies described him as *makhḍūf*, "narrow-minded". Imprisoned in his strict conformism, he could not adapt himself to the necessities of a situation which was very different from that of Mohammad's time; thus he lacked that political flexibility which was, on the other hand, one of the pre-eminent qualities of Mu'āwīya. His programme, rather than uncertain, was utopian;



probably he himself discovered the impossibility of realising it when the power came into his hands, and this may have contributed, along with the external events, to his discouragement in his last years. Caetani observed that the half-divine aureole which soon encircled the figure of 'Alī was derived not only from his relationship with the Prophet, but also from the personal impression which he left on his contemporaries; but he did not indicate the qualities which gave rise to the legend. If it is recognized that he was a profoundly religious spirit, and that he supported by his authority a programme of social and economic reforms, at the same time placing them on a religious basis, this question also may find its solution. [For Shi'ite doctrines and legends concerning 'Alī see 307a.]

**Bibliography:** The basic historical sources, with many additional texts *adab*, *hadith* and other works, are translated or summarized in Caetani, *Annali* (of which vols. ix and x (1926) are devoted to the caliphate of 'Alī). Further materials in Nasr b. Muḥsin al-Mimkāni, *Waḥid al-Sifīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Ḥabīb, Cairo 1971 (the lith. ed. Tehran 1302 and abridged ed. Bayrūt 1340 are much inferior), and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Taharī, *al-Riḍā' un-Nādira fī Manāḥib al-'Aḥbar*, Cairo 1327, ii, 153-249. Studies: A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885, I, 308-34; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, Berlin 1901 (A. K. G. W. Göttingen); id. *Arabische Reich*, Berlin 1909, 25-71; id. *Sāḥib al-Ḥudūd*, vi, Berlin 1909, 113-146; H. Lammens, *Études sur le Règne du calife omayyade Mu'awīya I<sup>er</sup>*, Paris 1908, index; id. *Adroḥ in EP*; G. Levi della Vida, *Il Califato di 'Alī secondo il Kitāb Ansāb al-Aḥād al-Balādhūri*, RSO, 1913, 427-507; W. Sarasin, *Das Bild Alis bei den Historikern der Sunna*, Basel 1907; F. Buhl, *Sifīn* in *EP*; idem, *Alī 101*; id. *Präsident und Kalif*, Copenhagen 1921; F. Gabrieli, *Sulle origini del movimento Ḥawāṣita*, *Rend. Lin.*, 1941, fasc. vi, 110-7; L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *Il conflitto 'Alī-Mu'awīya e la successione khārigita risemantizzata alla luce di fonti inedite*, *AIUN* 1952, 1-94; id. *Traduzione di passi riguardanti il conflitto 'Alī Mu'awīya e la successione khārigita*, *AIUN* 1953, 1-98; Muḥ. Kāṣirī, *The Rise of Khawārijism according to Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad*, ., al-Qadisi, in *B. Fac. Ar.*, xiv, 1957, 29-48; Ṭāḥ Ḥusayn, *al-Fitna al-Kubrā*, vol. ii, 'Alī, Cairo 1954 (contains some suggestive ideas). (L. VECCHIA VAGLIERI)

'ALĪ b. AL-DIAHM b. RABĪE b. AL-DIAHM al-Sāmī, Arab poet, of Banī Sāmā b. Lu'ayy, a tribe from Babrayn, whose claim to descent from Quraysh was disputed. His father al-Diahm moved from Khirāṣān to Baghdad and was appointed to various offices under al-Ma'mūn and al-Walīd; the poet's brothers also were prominent in official and literary circles. 'Alī was born probably c. 188/804, and received his education in Baghdad. Under al-Mu'tasim (228-27/833-42) he held *maḥallim* jurisdiction in Hulwān, but, perhaps because of his support of Ahmad b. Hanbal in opposition to the Ma'tazīa, did not become prominent as a court poet until the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61). For some time he enjoyed, as a *nadīm*, the intimacy of that caliph, but fell from favour owing to his freedom of speech and the jealousy of his rivals. After a year's imprisonment was sent to Khirāṣān, and suffered further punishment there before being released, when he returned to lead a disorganized life in Baghdad. After the murder of

al-Mutawakkil (which he lamented with fiery denunciation of all those involved) he set out to join the volunteer *ghāṣi* troops on the Syrian borders, and was killed on the way by a raiding party of Kalb, in 297/863.

Only a selection from his *diwān* has been preserved (ed. Khālīl Mardān Beg, Damascus 1949). It shows him to have been a gifted poet, whose verse is above all the simple expression of his own emotions, whether in praise or satire, in patient acceptance of adversity or reckless adventure. It is noteworthy also as displaying the attitudes of the Khurāsānī Arab supporters of the 'Abbāsid caliphate in opposition to Shi'ite and other unorthodox views. He was in friendly relations with Abū Tamīm (p.), who made him the subject of two poems, but was on the contrary coarsely satirized by al-Buḥārī (Istanbul 1300, ii, 99, 107) for his hostility to 'Alī b. Abī Talīb.

**Bibliography:** *Aghāni* ix, 104-120 and index; al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'wīḥ Baghdādī*, vii, 170; al-Furāt, *Diwan al-Muḥammad al-'Arab*, 163; Sūlī, *Aghāni Abī Tamīm* 61-63; idem, *Awṣāḥ*, 81; Ibn Khallikān, no. 435; Preface to the *Diwan*. (H. A. R. GIBB)

'ALĪ b. GHĀNĪYA (see GHĀNĪYA, BARČ).

'ALĪ b. HAMMŪD (see HAMMŪD).

'ALĪ b. AL-HASAN b. AL-MUḤLIMA (see Ibn al-Muḥallim).

'ALĪ b. HUSAYN (see 310f BA'Ṭ).

'ALĪ b. HUSAYN ZAYN AL-'ABIDIN (see ZAYN AL-'ABIDIN).

'ALĪ b. 'ISĀ b. DĀ'UD b. AL-DĪARĪRĪ, 'Abbāsid vizier, b. 245/859 into a family of Persian origin settled at Dayr Kunnān on the Tigris below Baghdad, who had probably turned Christian before the adoption of Islam. Many of his relatives, including his father and grandfather, were officials in the 'Abbāsid administration, and he himself seems to have received his first secretarial employment at the age of nineteen or twenty. In 278/892, on the formation of the *diwān al-dār* by Ahmad b. al-Furāt, both 'Alī and his uncle Muḥammad b. Dā'ud were employed in that department as secretaries under Ahmad's brother 'Alī, and some seven years later, when independent departments for the Western and Eastern provinces were created, 'Alī b. 'Isā and his uncle were appointed to manage them respectively. During the later years of al-Mu'tasim's caliphate, a feud developed between members of the family of al-Dīarīrī and the brothers Ahmad and 'Alī b. al-Furāt, and this came to a head on the death of al-Mu'tasim in 295/908, when, after the latter's brother al-Mu'tadid had succeeded as caliph largely owing to the exertions of Ibn al-Furāt, the Banu 'l-Dīarīrī engineered a conspiracy to depose him in favour of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'tazz (p.). 'Alī b. 'Isā was given control of the *diwān* in the short-lived government of Ibn al-Mu'tazz and was consequently fined and banished to Mecca on the restoration of al-Mu'tadid.

In Mecca, during the first vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt, 'Alī was kept under surveillance until Ibn al-Furāt's fall in 299/912. In 300/913 he was recalled at the suggestion of the general Muḥsin (p.), to succeed al-Khāṣānī as vizier. His first term in office lasted exactly four years, and was marked by strenuous efforts on his part to rehabilitate the state finances. Although he succeeded in augmenting the revenues, his reduction of expenditure earned him the dislike of the court, including the irresponsible and extravagant caliph. During his first year as

vizier he despatched an embassy to the Karīmīya, which secured the release of the 'Abbāsid prisoners of war; and since for some ten years, whether or not partly as a result of this approach (which was repeated in 303/916), the Karīmīya remained quiescent, this action later gave 'Alī's enemies a pretext for alleging that he was in league with the sectaries. The economy in military expenditure on this front was, however, offset by the cost of expeditions against the Fātimids in Egypt (301/914) and other rebels in 'Irāq (303/916); 'Alī found himself unable to pay certain troops at the capital, who mutinied; and in the next year Ibn al-Furāt, by promising to furnish supplies of money to the caliph and his mother, and engaging the influence of the powerful *kahramāna* Umm Mūsā, whom 'Alī had offended, was reappointed vizier. Although 'Alī was fined, imprisoned, and impeached (though unsuccessfully) for complicity in the rebellion of Yūsuf b. Abī 'l-Sāḍī, which broke out shortly before his dismissal, the caliph began, little more than a year later, to consult him on whom to appoint in his rival's place; and early in 306/July 918 Ibn al-Furāt was dismissed and Ḥāmid b. al-'Abbās made vizier. Shortly afterwards, on Ḥāmid's proving quite incompetent, 'Alī was induced to accept office as his deputy, and it was not long before he exercised all real power. An attempt by Ḥāmid to regain his position by undertaking to raise extra revenues from the Sawād, al-Ahwāz, and Isfahān, produced a sharp rise in the price of grain at Baghdad, followed in 308/920-1 by prolonged popular riots. 'Alī therefore managed affairs on his own, but refused the office of vizier in the following year. He again incurred unpopularity by his measures of economy, which was rendered more than ever necessary by heavy expenditures on expeditions for the second expulsion of the Fātimids from Egypt and the defeat of Ibn Abī 'l-Sāḍī, and in 311/923 Ibn al-Furāt was reappointed vizier for the third time.

'Alī, once more arrested and questioned on his management of the finances and his relations with the Karīmīya (who raided Bagra four days after his dismissal), was cleared on the second charge but forced into signing a bond for 300,000 *dirhams*, and was subsequently tortured, by Ibn al-Furāt's son al-Muḥsin. He was nevertheless helped to pay off his fine and again allowed to retire under surveillance to Mecca, whence, after more than one attempt on his life by his guardian, he was exiled to San'ā, remaining there until the summer of the following year, when, on the execution of Ibn Abī Usayfī, he was appointed Overseer of Egypt and Syria. Three years later, at the end of 314/beginning of 927, he was recalled and reappointed to the vizierate.

His second term of office lasted little more than a year. The 'Abbāsid government was by now hopelessly insolvent; the Byzantines were tempted by its evident weakness to advance into Muslim territory and took Samarra (Samarra); and the Karīmīya, after taking Kūfa and defeating Ibn Abī 'l-Sāḍī, advanced on Baghdad and came near to taking it too. 'Alī was forced to apply to the caliph and his mother for funds for the defence of the city and to raise the pay of the mutinous soldiery; and though, when he sought to resign in consequent despair over the finances, al-Mu'tadid refused to allow him to do so, he was dismissed shortly afterwards and imprisoned.

On al-Mu'tadid's second deposition nine months later, 'Alī was released; and on the caliph's restoration ('Alī's partisan Muḥsin then becoming all-

powerful) he was appointed to deal with *maḥallim* and subsequently, in 318/930, made head of the *diwān* and general adviser first to his cousin Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Maḥlād and then to the latter's successor in the vizierate, al-Kalwādī. Towards the end of 319/931, however, on the appointment of his second cousin and enemy al-Muḥsin b. al-Kāsim, he was again exiled, this time to his native Dayr Kunnān, though he was soon allowed to return to the capital. During the reign of al-Kāfir he held a minor fiscal office for some months; and after the accession of al-Rāḍī he was once more arrested, fined, and momentarily exiled to al-Sāfiya (near Dayr Kunnān), at the instance of Ibn Mukla, who, however, at the end of 323/935, was obliged to enlist his help in negotiating peace with al-Ḥasan b. Abī 'l-Ḥayḍī the Ḥamādīn (afterwards Nāṣir al-Dawla), with whom 'Alī had been accused of intriguing.

In the summer of 325/936, 'Alī, having as usual declined the vizierate for himself, acted as general assistant to his brother 'Abd al-Rahmān for three months. In 328/940, on the accession of al-Mutakī, he was again appointed to deal with *maḥallim*, and a few months later he again acted as assistant to 'Abd al-Rahmān, though for little more than a week. These were his last appearances; and apart from expressing the view, which was acted on, that the Christian relic known as the 'Image of Edessa' should be handed over to the Byzantines in exchange for an undertaking to refrain from attacking that city in 332/944, he played no further part in public affairs. Six months after the arrival of the Buwayhid Mu'izz al-Dawla in Baghdad, he died at the age of eighty-nine (29 Dhū 'l-Hijja 334/1 Aug. 946).

Comparatively little is known of 'Alī's private life. He had two sons, probably by different wives; Ibrahim, who became secretary to the caliph al-Mut'ī in 347/958-9 and died in 350/961; and 'Isā, b. 302/914-5, who likewise became secretary to al-Tāḥ, earned some reputation as a traditionalist and student of the 'Greek' sciences, and died in 391/901. 'Alī's ascetic tendencies in religion seem to have been intensified by an attraction to *siḥr*. He is known to have been a friend of the *shīf* al-Shūbī, and his dealings with al-Hallāj, whom, when the latter was accused of heresy in 303/917, he examined, but declined to try when he was further accused in 306/918, suggest that there existed a secret sympathy between them. Some of 'Alī's letters to al-Mu'tadid's Sībīan physician, Sīnā b. Ṭāḥit, are quoted by Ibn al-Kutīb and Ibn Abī Usayfī; according to the latter, also, the philosopher al-Rāḍī addressed a medical treatise to 'Alī, who displayed much interest in the improvement of public health, himself founding a hospital in the Harbiyya quarter of the capital. Other foundations of his were at least one mosque on his private estates, a well (called after him al-Dīarīrīyya) at Mecca, and another well and an *asṣudat* at San'ā. He was also the author of three, possibly four, books, none of which appear to be extant.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, index; Sūlī, *Awṣāḥ*, ed. Heyworth Dunne and transl. Canard, indices; Mas'ūdī, *Murājī*, viii, index; 'Arīb, index; Kindī, *Wulāt*, index; Hamaḥ al-Isfahānī, I, 203-7; Tārīkh, *al-Faraj* b. al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, Cairo 1905, I, 50, ii, 14; idem, *Niḥāyat*, index; Miskawayh, *Edifice of the Abbasid Caliphate*, index; Hūdā al-Sībī, *Wuṣṣāṭ*, index; *Fikrī*, 9, 31, 34, 82, 128-9, 136, 235, 298, 327; Ḥamādīnī, *Tahmīn*, MS Paris 1460, fols. 127, 567, 51, 897, 909-101; Ibn



al-Djawāl, *Muntazam*, Hyderabad 1357, index; Yāqūt, *Irbād*, i, v, vi, indexes; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Sibt b. al-Djawāl, *Mir'at al-Zamān*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 4619, fols. 159v-160, 56v, 59v, 62v, 63, 67r, 76r, 77, 81v, 82v-83r, 85v, 88r, 90v, 118v, 120v, 122r-126v, 137v, 138r, 139r; Weil, *Geschichte der Chaldäer*, II, 544 ff.; M. J. de Goeje, *Memoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrein*, 77, 79, 80, 88, 89, 90, 112, 139; L. Massigne, *al-Hallaq*, index; E. Bowen, *The Life and Times of 'Alī ibn 'Isā*, Cambridge 1928 (where other references are given).

(H. BOWEN)

'ALI b. 'ISA was the best known oculist (*khabbā*) of the Arabs. His work, the *Tadhkirat al-Khabbān*, deserves the greater claim to our attention from the point of view of the history of civilization in that it is the oldest Arabic work on ophthalmology, that is complete and survives in the original. The name of the author is also recorded in the inverted form: 'Isā b. 'Alī. Preference is to be given to the latter form as follows from a reference in Ibn Abī Usāib'a (*'Uyūn al-Anbā'*, i, 240) and from quotations in later authors such as al-Ghāfilī, Khāliq b. Abī T-Mahāsīn and Salāh al-Dīn. The uncertainty as to the form of the name is due to confusion with the court physician of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, 'Isā b. 'Alī, who lived some 130 years earlier (*Fihrist*, i, 297, 10; Ibn Abī Usāib'a, i, 203), and also wrote medical treatises. 'Alī b. 'Isā's life falls in the first half of the 5th/11th century; for (according to Ibn Abī Usāib'a, i, 240) he was a pupil of Abū 'l-Faraj b. al-Tayyib, the commentator on Galen, at Baghdad, who died in the third decade of the 5th/11th century (according to Ibn al-Kifī, ed. Lippert, 223). 'Alī, who, like his above mentioned teacher, professed the Christian religion, seems likewise to have practised at Baghdad. We know nothing of the external details of his life. As a physician he was full of foresight and prudence and of kindly feeling. This is evidenced by many a counsel given to the ophthalmic surgeon in the interests of the patient.

His *Tadhkirat al-Khabbān* (promptuary for oculists),—sometimes also designated *Kisālā* (epistle), on account of the introductory words— is a very detailed treatise. According to the Preface, it is the first book treats of the anatomy of the eye, the second of diseases externally visible and their treatment (diseases of the lid, of the corners of the eyes, of the conjunctiva, cornea, uvea, cataract and its operation), the third of hidden diseases and their treatment (visual illusions, diseases of the albumen, crystalline lens, spots of vision, long-sightedness, short-sightedness, blindness during the day, and during the night, diseases of the vitreous humour, of the retina, of the visual nerve, of the choroid, of the sclerotic, squinting and weak sight). After a chapter on the preservation of health, the work closes with an alphabetical treatment of 141 simple remedies and their particular action on the eye.—We cannot judge to what extent the work can lay claim to originality, since the older Arabic works on the subject are not preserved. 'Alī himself observes in his Preface: "I have searched the works of the Ancients throughout, and merely added the little of my own thereto, which I have learned publicly from the teachers of our own time and which I have acquired in the practice of this science". He mentions the work of Hunayn together with Galen as his principal sources. In addition he cites in the *Tadhkirat* the Alexandrians, Dioscorides, Hippocrates, Oribasius and Paulus.

The comprehensiveness of his work laid the

foundation of his fame (cf. 'AMMār); it has been considerably used by later Arab oculists—until the present day—both for the practical and theoretical portions (Ibn al-Kifī, *loc. cit.*; "the physicians of this branch work at all times in accordance with this"), and has frequently been quoted whole chapters at a time. A commentary on it, written by Dāniyāl b. Shā'ya, is mentioned by Khāliq b. Abī T-Mahāsīn (*q.v.*) in the introduction to his ophthalmological work. This commentary is not preserved; on the other hand a large number of manuscripts of the *Tadhkirat* itself have come down to us. Even in the Middle Ages it was translated into Hebrew and twice into Latin (*Tractatus de oculis Jesu b. Hali*, Venice 1497, 1499, 1500; edited once more by Pansier with a second translation, made from the Hebrew version, under the title *Epistola Theophrasti Italici de cognitione infirmitatum oculorum sive Memoriale oculiarum quod compilavit Ali b. Issa*, Paris 1903). That the great importance of the *Tadhkirat* in the history of medicine has been entirely unrecognized is due to the barbarous character of the Latin translation and the fact that whole sentences are frequently omitted therein. So the continuity is destroyed and the sense made unrecognizable.

A German translation of the *Manual for oculists* based on the Arabic manuscript is contained in vol. i of *Die arabischen Aquarellate nach Otto Neudörfer* by H. Hirschberg, J. Lippert and E. Mittwoch, Leipzig 1904.

**Bibliography:** cf. the introduction of the last-named work; Brockelmann, i, 635, S I, 884. (E. MITTWOCH)

'ALI b. MAHDI (see MAHDI).

'ALI b. MAS'UD (see 'ALI SHAMS).

'ALI b. MAYMUN b. Abī Bakr al-IDRISI AL-MAGHRIBI Moroccan mystic of Berber (though pretended 'Alid) origin, born about 854/1450. In his youth he is said to have been the *amir* of a *kabila* of the Banū Rāghid in the Jibal al-Ghumār, but to have relinquished that position because he was unable to enforce among his people the prohibition on wine-drinking. In 901/1495-6 he left Fez, visited Damascus, Mecca, Aleppo, and finally settled at Damascus where he died in 917/1511.

His mysticism was of a moderate character; in his *Bayān (Ghurāt al-Islām bi-Wasā'if Sin'ay al-Mulafakhiha wa 'l-Mulafakhiha min Abī Mīr wa 'l-Shām wa-mā yalīhi min Bulād al-'Ard)*, he inveighed against the religious and social abuses which he had noticed in the East (cf. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, 1874, 293 ff.). He wrote this work at an advanced age (he commenced it on 19 Muharram 916). On his mystical writings, among which an apology for Ibn 'Arabi calls for special comment, see Brockelmann, II, 124; S II, 132. See also Tāsh-köprü-zāde, *al-Shakā'ib al-Mu'maniyya* (in the margin of Ibn Khallikān, *Būlak* 1299), I, 540.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

'ALI b. MUHAMMAD (see SULAYMID).

'ALI b. MUHAMMAD AL-ZANDJĪ, known as SĀHIB AL-ZANDJ, was the leader of the Zandj (*q.v.*), the rebel negro slaves who for fifteen years (255-270/868-883) terrorised southern 'Irāk and the adjoining territories. He was born in Wazran, a village near Rayy, and is said by some authorities to have been of Arab origin, being descended from 'Abd al-Kays on his father's side and from Asad on his mother's. His name is generally given as 'Alī b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahīm. According to Ibn al-Djawāl (*al-Muntazam*, Hyderabad 1357, v, 2, 69) his real name was

Būhūdī, Al-Būhūdī (*Chronology*, 332; translation, 330) states that he was known as Al-Burkū' (the veiled one). He himself claimed to be an 'Alid, and gave his pedigree as 'Alī b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Isā b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (al-Būhūdī, *loc. cit.*; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 12; al-Tabarī, iii, 172; who gives a slightly different pedigree. On an 'Alid of this name, whose father died in prison under Abū-Musta'in, see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 404 and Abū 'l-Faraj al-Ishāfah, *Mahāfil al-Tālibiyyin*, Cairo 1949, 672 and 689). After a first attempt to win support in Bahrain, where he is said to have had family connexions, he sought to exploit the disturbed state of Basra in order to establish himself there. He failed, however, and only escaped imprisonment by fleeing to Baghdad. Not long afterwards new disturbances in Basra favoured his return. This time he sought for support among the negro slaves working in gangs on the salt-flats east of Basra. After a period of preparation he openly declared himself on 26 Rāmādān 255/5 September 866. Though claiming to be an 'Alid, and using the title of Mahdī, he did not adopt the Shi'ite doctrine, but instead professed the equilibrium creed of the Khāridjites. After a long period of military successes, including the temporary captures of Ubulā, Ahwāz, Basra and Wāsit, the Zandj armies were at last overcome by a major expeditionary force mounted by the regent Muwaffak, and besieged in their capital al-Mughāra. The Zandj leader refused the offer of a free pardon and a safe pension, and after the final assault on 2 Safar 270/11 August 883, his head was taken on a pole to Baghdad.

**Bibliography:** The fullest account is that of Tabarī, iii, 172-178; 1835-2103. Further details will also be found in Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, as well as in Yā'qūt, *Hamza Istahli* etc. For studies on the Zandj revolt see T. Noldike, *Sketches from Eastern History*, London-Edinburgh 1892, 146-175; Fayyāl al-Sinnir, *Tawarīkh al-Zandj*, Baghdad 1954; and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī, *Darādāt fi 'l-'Uṣūr al-'Abbāsiyya al-Mutakhkhkha*, Baghdad 1945, 75-106. On the coins of the Zandj see P. Casanova in *Revue Numismatique*, 1893, 510-6; and J. Walker, in *JRAS*, 1933, 651-6.

(B. LEWIS)

'ALI b. RABBAN AL-TABARĪ (see AL-TABARĪ).

'ALI b. SHAMS AL-DIN was the author of a history of Gilān entitled *Tārīkh al-Īlāhī*, and covering the years 850-920 (1475-1514). According to the introduction, the book would appear to have been written by Sultan Ahmad Khān, but 'Alī seems to be the real author. The work has been edited by B. Dorn, *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der sūd. Kustendänder des kaspiischen Meeres*, vol. II, Cf. the preface of this volume, 13 f.

'ALI b. YUSUF b. TASHUFIN, Almoravid amir and second sovereign of the Tāshufinid dynasty, who ruled over a large part of the Maghrib and of southern Spain from 500/1106 to 537/1143.

The reign of 'Alī, who succeeded his father Yūsuf b. Tāshufin at the moment when Almoravid power was at its greatest on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar, was marked by a series of events of which hitherto the main facts were known, but the exact course of which was not always clear, owing to a lack of detailed sources old enough to be reliable. To-day, there is available on the one hand the volume of the *Ḥamā al-Diyān* of Ibn al-Katān, and the *Memoirs* of the companion of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmār, al-Bayḍāq, on the disintegration of

Almoravid power before the onslaught of the Almohad rising, and on the other the unpublished fragments of the *al-Bayān al-Maghrib* of Ibn 'Idhārī on the reign of 'Alī b. Yūsuf, fragments which were to a large extent borrowed from the work of the historian Ibn al-Sayrafi (*q.v.*), the contemporary of the Almoravids. This information derived from the chronicles of the 5th/11th century has only a supplementary value; sometimes it must even be regarded with caution or even rejected, on account of its lack of objectivity and of its pro-Almoravid bias. This is particularly the case with the *al-Ma'djīb* of 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī, hitherto considered an essential source for the Almoravid period, which despite some picturesque and probably accurate accounts of the court at Marrākush, must be used with great care.

The reign of 'Alī b. Yūsuf lasted for 37 years, despite the difficulties which faced him from the beginning—difficulties which soon appeared to be of little consequence compared with the danger occasioned by the rising in the Atlantic mountain region and the preaching of *tauhid* by Ibn Tūmār (*q.v.*). The first danger which 'Alī had to face, from the time of his accession and in the years following, arose from disputes between members of his own family and the chiefs of the *murabit* movement, who belonged to two related, but not solitary clans, namely the Lamtūna, the clan of the ruling branch, and the Masfūda. Under the Almoravid régime, in which maternal relationship on the father's side was of less importance than uterine kinship, and in which legitimate Tāshufinid amirs were only designated by the name of their mother (Ibn 'Abīsha, Ibn Gannūma etc.), disputes over precedence and conspiracies against the reigning prince were, as was the case a few decades earlier at the Shīhājī courts of the Zīnids of Ifrīkiya and al-Andalus, mainly the work of the royal princesses (*ummahāt*), with the aid of their immediate kin and *muwallid*, in favour of their own sons.

Yūsuf b. Tāshufin had seen this danger so clearly that he was careful not to designate as his successor one of his sons by a Shīhājī wife, not even his eldest son, Abū 'l-Tāhir Tamīm, offspring of his marriage at Agadīt to the influential Ifrīkiyā Zaynab, who predeceased him by ten years. His choice fell on 'Alī, born at Ceuta of his union with a Christian captive from Spain, in 477/1084, two years before the battle of al-Zallāka. This young man of 23 years was enthroned without opposition at Marrākush on the death of his father, i. Muharram 500/2 September 1106, with the apparently disinterested support of his elder brother Tamīm. But he was obliged immediately to bring to his senses a son of his brother Abū Bakr b. Yūsuf, Yahyā, who was in command at Fez and who submitted without delay. Relying on the judgement of his Andalusian advisers, who had belonged to his father's entourage, 'Alī embarked on a policy of the pendulum swing, he was obliged to follow throughout his reign, namely, constantly to move, like pawns on a chess-board, the majority of the Almoravid amirs, including his brother, who held provincial governorships in the chief towns of Maghrib and Andalusia. The Almoravid governors received threatening letters of recall to the ruler's side, were dismissed or restored to favour, and were in addition assisted in their duties by administrative inspectors (*muwajir*) and secretaries of chancery, who were almost all Andalusians; such is the record of the greater part of the annals of his reign. It will not be recalled here in detail, but this



lack of continuity in the tenure of the important military and regional commands already shows that the structure inherited by 'Alī b. Yūsuf from his father was not resting securely on its foundations.

On the other hand, the fortunes of war for long smiled on the Almoravid sovereign in his *ghidād* expeditions against the Christians of Spain, led by himself or by one of his generals. The aged Alfonso VI had never abandoned the hope of revenging his defeat at al-Zalika; but he suffered a further humiliation in Shawwāl 501/end of May 1108, when Tamīm, the elder brother of 'Alī, defeated under the walls of the fortress of Uclés (*U'alīq*) the Castilian troops of Count García Ordóñez, accompanied by the infant Sancho, the son of Alfonso VI and Mora Zaida, the step-daughter of al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbad. The Christian general and the infant were overtaken and killed a few days later at Belinchón, not far from Uclés. Alfonso VI, aged and broken by this blow, had nothing to wait for but death, which overtook him barely a year later, on 30 June 1109. The throne of Castile was occupied until 1126 by his daughter Urraca. Meanwhile, the young kingdom of Portugal was becoming organised, and in Aragon, Alfonso the Warrior sited at the capture of Saragossa, which the Almoravids had finally taken from the Hūddids in 503/1110; Alfonso added it to his own dominions nine years later, in 512/1118.

All the chronicles mention the four successive crossings of 'Alī b. Yūsuf to al-Andalus; the first voyage, in the year of his accession, took him no further than Algeciras; the second was a *ghidād* expedition in the summer of 503/1109, which led to the temporary occupation of Talavera, on the Tago; the third, also inspired by the motive of holy war, was marked by a resounding success—the capture of Còlumbra in Safar 511/June 1117, after a siege of twenty days. On his fourth crossing, in 515/1121, 'Alī b. Yūsuf did not go beyond Cordova. But the operations of the Almoravid generals against Spanish Christendom continued without respite, both in Aragon and in New Castile. One of the last notable victories of the reign was that of Fraga, in the region of Lérida: this town, besieged by Alfonso the Warrior, was relieved by the Almoravid general Yahyā b. 'Alī b. Ghāniya, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the King of Aragon, 23 Ramaḍān 528/17 July 1134.

'Alī b. Yūsuf, despite some unadmitted good qualities, was far from possessing the stature of his father Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn. Although he spent the greater part of his reign in Morocco itself, he seems to have devoted his special attention to Spain and to have reserved the majority of his military forces for the *ghidād* against Christendom, only retaining, for the security of his capital and to guard the Moroccan mountain region, light forces usually composed of Christian mercenaries, under the command of the celebrated Catalan Reverer (*al-Rubayr*). This policy brought about the downfall of his kingdom. From the moment when the history of the reign of 'Alī b. Yūsuf became identical with that of the return of Ibn Tūmart (*q.v.*) to Morocco, the preaching of *fanā* and the first military ventures of the Almohad chiefs, the game was lost, in defiance of strong and immediate measures against the rebel movement. 'Alī b. Yūsuf was gradually forced to face the facts: he had been unable adequately to strengthen the structure bequeathed to him by his father, and had allowed ever larger cracks to appear in it. Soon it collapsed, but the son of Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn was not himself present at this dramatic

climax; he died on 8 Rabi' al-ṣavīr 537/8 January 1143, exactly five years before the capture of Marrakech by 'Abd al-Mu'izz, leaving his son Tāshufīn to succeed him on his tottering throne.

Despite these ultimate misfortunes, the reign of 'Alī b. Yūsuf must be considered one of the most brilliant periods in the history of the Muslim West. The pro-Almoravid historians (followed by Dozy) have tried in vain to disparage the Almoravids; to-day it must be admitted that the first third of the 6th/11th century coincided with a positive renaissance of Spanish civilisation, both in al-Andalus and the Maghrib. The sovereign's literary circle was of the same quality as during the era of the *Isa'īy*. Cordova once more became the intellectual and social capital of the kingdom. Ibn Kurrām gives us an attractive picture of it in his *saḍā*, and at Seville, the medieval Ibn 'Abdūn gives us information on the urban economy and the part played in it by the representatives of Almoravid authority.

At the same time, however, the hand of Mālikism in its most intransigent form continued to retard the wheels of society. The *ṭabā*, almost all of whom were natives of al-Andalus, were in a dominating position both at Marrakech and at Cordova. They promulgated *asāw-de-lā*, and burned the *Bayt* of al-Ghazzālī in the parvis of the great mosque of Cordova as early as 503/1109. They fulminated against the laxity of morals and against innovations, in the knowledge that the sovereign would lend them an attentive ear. But the other Almoravid nobles and their wives paid no heed to their sermons. A steadily widening rift developed between the Lamiṭian aristocracy and the population of the towns. 'Alī b. Yūsuf did not possess the necessary energy to seal it up in time.

**Bibliography:** Of the Arabic sources, the most important (*Nazm al-Djuman* of Ibn al-Kattān and *Bayān* of Ibn 'Idhārī) still unpublished are to be published by E. Lévi-Provençal. Documents *indépendants d'histoire almoravide*, Paris 1925, index. For details of the other sources, belonging to later historiography, and assessed at the beginning of the article ('Abd al-Wahid al-Marrākushī, al-*Ḥulal* al-Mawḡiyya, Ibn Khaldūn, the Khalkhān, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, al-Nuwayrī, al-Nāṣirī, etc.), see the bibliography of the article *al-Mawḡiyya*. Cf. also the short work, now out of-date, of F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almorávides en España*, Saragossa 1899; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Reflexions sur l'empire almoravide au début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Islam d'Occident*, I, Paris 1948, 230–56. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL) 'ALĪ b. SĀLĪH (see *wisā*) 'ALĪSĪ.

'ALĪ AKBAR KHITĀT, author of a description of China in Persian (*Khidāy-nāma*), which was finished in 922/1516, and originally intended for the sultan Selīm, but later dedicated to Sulaymān. The book is not a travel-book, but a systematic description in twenty chapters, based partly on observations by the author himself, partly on information collected by him in China. The work was translated into Turkish in the reign of Murād III, probably in 990/1581 (Istanbul 1270/1854); the translation served as the basis for the studies of Fleischer and Zenker.

**Bibliography:** Storey, I 431; H. L. Fleischer, in *Berichte der Kgl. Sachs. Ges. d. Wissensch.*, III, Leipzig 1851, 317–27; J. Th. Zenker, *Das chinesisches Reich nach dem türkischen Khatainame*, ZDMG, 1861, 785–803; Ch. Schefer, *Trois chapitres*

*de Chatsay-nama, Mélanges Orientaux*, Paris 1883, 31 ff.; P. Kahle, *Eine islamische Quelle über China um 1500*, AO, 1934, 91–110; IĀ, s.v. (by A. Zeki Velidi Toğan).

'ALĪ AMİRĪ, Turkish historian, b. in 1274/1857 at Dıyar Bahr, d. at Istanbul 21 December 1923 (1342). An official of the financial administration, he was primarily interested in the history of the Ottoman Empire, and he took advantage of his appointment to different towns to transcribe Arabic and Turkish inscriptions, to study local history and above all to seek out old documents and historical and poetical manuscripts. In this way he built up a library of unpublished and rare manuscripts, which later enriched the National Library of Istanbul. He published the review *Ta'ribh wa-Eḍbiyyāt*, edited the *Divān Luḡāt al-Turk* of Mahmūd Kāshghari, and was a member of various learned societies. He wrote historical and literary works, but is principally known as an editor of texts. He also helped to classify the archives of the Sublime Porte at Istanbul, and gave his name to one of the catalogues: *Alī Emiri ta'ribh*.

**Bibliography:** Ahmed Refik, 'Alī Emiri, *Hayāt ve-Ḥikāri* in *TOEM*, 14th year, No. 1 (78), January 1340/1924, 45–51; Reşad Ekrem Koçu, in *Istanbul Anstikolodisi*, s.v. Alī Emiri. The description of numerous MSS. in *Istanbul Kütüphanesi Türk-Coğrafya yazınları*, fasc. 1 to 10, Istanbul 1943–51, and *Istanbul Kütüphanesi Türkçe yazma eserleri kataloğu*, 2nd series, fasc. 1 (15th–16th centuries), Istanbul 1947.

(R. MANTRAN)

'ALĪ 'AZİZ EFENDİ, GIRIDILĪ, Turkish diplomat and writer, d. 19 Rabi' al-ṣavīr 1213/29 Oct. 1798. He was born in Crete, where his father Tāhidjī Mehmed Efendi was *hacı*. Son of a wealthy father, he lived a carefree life until circumstances constrained him to enter the service of the state (*muhassıl* of Chios, ca. 1792–93 in Belgrad). In 1211/1796–97, he was appointed ambassador to Prussia, arrived in Berlin early in June, 1797, and died there in the following year. Of his achievements as a diplomat little is known; he owes his fame to his writings. 'Alī Efendi, who knew Persian, French, and even some German, is an interesting forerunner of the 19th century Turkish movement of Westernization and self-interpretation. In his treatise *Wārādāt* (unpublished, MSS in Istanbul Üniverste Kütüphanesi, nos. T 3383, T 3470, T 1698, and Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, Ser'ye 1154/43) 'Alī Efendi defends the irrationalism of mystic religiousness (he himself was the disciple of a certain Shaykh Kārim Ibrahim of Abana near Sinop) with arguments tinged with 18th century rationalism. He accepts the vacillation of the God-searching soul between faith and scepticism, and offers the story of his own salvation, modestly admitting its inapplicability to others. An exposé of the ideas of mysticism, and, especially, of the supernatural powers of the *shaykh*, is also found in 'Alī Efendi's famous book of fairy tales, the *Muḥabbayyāt al-Ladīm-i Ilāhī* (written in 1211/1797–98, printed in Istanbul, 1268, 1282, 1290), based mainly on Petis de la Croix's *Les Mille et un jours* (first printed in 1710–12), but handling its material freely and adding many new stories of various character. This book, which was as the first modern educational novel in Turkish; beside fantastic tales, it contains also stories depicting life in 18th century Istanbul with charming realism. 'Alī Efendi has also left poems, mostly in

the 66th tradition. Finally, he is supposed to have written a (now lost) opus containing his discussions with European philosophers.

**Bibliography:** Saadeddin Nuhret Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, II, 620–2 (containing five poems); IĀ, s.v. (by M. Cavid Bayson and Ahmed Hamdi Tanspınar); A. Tietze, *'Asā Efendi Muḥabbayyāt, Oriens*, 1948, 248–329 (containing the translation of one of the tales); E. J. Gibb, *The Story of Iṣṣād, a romance by 'Alī 'Asā Efendi the Cretan*, Glasgow 1884 (translation of the second of the three parts of *Muḥabbayyāt*). (A. TIETZE)

'ALĪ BABA (see ALĪ LAYLA WA-LAYLA).

'ALĪ BEY, a Caucasian by birth, was for nearly 20 years the chief personage in Egypt. He had been brought there at an early age, and had been offered as a gift to Ibrahim Katkhuda, who was the real master of the country from 1156 to 68/1743–54. Before his death, the latter conferred on 'Alī the rank of *bey*, and made him a member of that curious council of "Powers", whose turbulent authority grew in proportion as the Pasha nominated by the Porte became a shadowy and passive spectator. This Ottoman governor, in order to survive, concerned himself with preserving an apparent neutrality in face of the sanguinary conflicts between the *beys*, a neutrality which he abandoned in order to hasten to the aid of the victor.

'Alī distinguished himself at the beginning of his career by the successful defence of a pilgrim caravan against Arab tribes. Appointed *bey*, he was plunged into an atmosphere of intrigue; each character in the drama was obliged to have recourse to murder, and was himself shadowed by assassins. At first, 'Alī Bey maintained an attitude of prudent watchfulness, confining his activities to enriching himself by every means, and was thus able to collect a substantial number of *mamlūks*. This policy bore fruit when, from the year 1177/1763, his peers recognised him as their leader. In the course of the following year he conferred the rank of *bey* on his *mamlūk* Muḥammad Abū 'l-Dhahab (*q.v.*), the man who was destined to overthrow him. This rise to power, not achieved without setbacks and disputes, was abruptly checked: 'Alī Bey, forced to take refuge in Syria, established relations with 'Umar al-Zāhir, the ruler of Acre. Through the good offices of the latter, 'Alī Bey returned to Egypt, with the support of the Porte, and again assumed his prerogatives as *shaykh al-balad*.

Two years later, 'Alī Bey had to flee again, but he returned to the capital at the head of an armed force in 1181/1767. A new Ottoman governor was obliged to confirm 'Alī Bey as *shaykh al-balad*; however, alarmed by the latter's independent attitude, he tried to provoke a rising against him. It was a failure, and the Pasha was forced to resign. 'Alī Bey did not trouble to leave his ambitious designs, and he refused to tolerate the presence of an officer who had any influence. He showed his hostility to the Porte and reduced the number of his Janissaries. Nevertheless he did not throw off the mask completely, and did not refuse the Sultan's request to send a contingent for the war against Russia. He was then denounced at the Porte as a traitor, and accused of having mobilised these troops to aid the Russians; a firman was issued at Constantinople condemning him to death.

Informed of this, 'Alī Bey replied with an arrogant declaration of independence. From then on, 'Alī Bey became entangled in a diabolical web and was



forced to keep his forces in the field without respite. First, he subdued the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt, and intervened at Mecca to install there a pretender to the shari'ate who had sought his protection. The expedition was under the command of his right hand man, Muhammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab.

Conscious of his power, 'Alī Bey struck coinage in his own name: the coins still bore the sultan's name, but the initials of the master of Egypt were inserted under a date which no longer represented the date of the sultan's accession.

He then proceeded to invade Syria with a huge army, again under the command of Muhammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab. Negotiations with the Egyptians set on foot but there was no time for them to yield results. The whole of Syria was speedily conquered, but events took an unexpected turn when Muhammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab, after his victorious entry into Damascus, led his army back to Egypt to seize possession of it from his master. 'Alī Bey decided to flee from Cairo in Muharram 1206/April 1722, and took refuge once more with the Pasha of Acre. He set about raising another army, with the help of some Russian equipment, and, after a series of successful skirmishes, confronted his rival at Silihiyya, in the eastern part of the Delta. His army was defeated, and 'Alī Bey, mortally wounded on the field of battle, died a few days later, 15 Safar 1207/8 May 1722.

It is difficult accurately to assess the autonomy of 'Alī Bey. As already noticed, the form of his coins was unusual, although 'Alī Bey had declared that the Ottomans had seized control of the country by force, aided by the treachery of the population. A document dated at the beginning of 1206 A.H., shortly before his final departure from Cairo, supplies evidence that he had not dared to proclaim himself officially sovereign of Egypt. It consists of a long inscription carved on the drum of the cupola of the tomb of al-Shāfi'ī; it makes no reference to the Ottoman Power, but does not mention 'Alī Bey either, merely stating that the order to restore this tomb was given by the "powerful master of Egypt, who has increased the prestige of this country by his authority".

From a personal al-Djāhizī, one gets the impression that 'Alī Bey was in many respects a repulsive character, but the morals of the time and the environment must be taken into consideration, and one could express agreement with a contemporary judgment: "He was an extraordinary man, who only lacked a different education and a larger state to have astonished the world".

**Bibliography:** Djāhizī, index, 248; S. Luisigian, *A History of the Revolt of Alī Bey*, London 1283; C. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, I; J. Marcel, *Histoire d'Égypte*, Paris 1834, 227-30; Dehérain, *L'Égypte turque*, 122-37; Wiet, *Inscr. du manuscrit de Shāfi'ī* in BIE, xv, 182-5; idem, *L'agonie de la domination ottomane en Égypte*, Cahiers d'Égyptologie, II, 496-7. (G. WETER)

'**ALĪ BEY** b. 'Uways al-'ABBĀSĪ, pseudonym of the Spanish traveller Domingo Badia y Leblich (Leyblich), b. 1766, d. 1818 in Syria, author of *Voyages d'Alī-Bey al-Abbasi en Afrique et en Asie pendant les années 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 et 1807, 3 vols.*; and *Atlas, Paris 1814; Travels of Alī Bey... between the years 1803 and 1807, 2 vols.*, London 1816.

**Bibliography:** P. Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, s.v. Badia y Leblich; U. J. Seetzen, *Reisen*, III, 373 f. (Eti.)

'**ALĪ CELEBI** [see wakā' al'ali].

'**ALĪ EFENDI** [see 'alī].

'**ALĪ B. SHIHAB AL-DIN B. MUHAMMAD AL-HAMADĀNĪ**, šūfī saint and the apostle of Kāshnir, born in Hamadān of a notable family of sayyids (claiming descent from 'Alī b. Husayn, grandson of the imam Zayn al-'Abidin), on 22 Rajab 714/22 Oct. 1314. His chain of initiation went back through two links to 'Alī al-Dawla al-Simnānī, and through him to Najm al-Din al-Kubrā. He led the itinerant life of a *darwīsh* and is said to have visited all parts of the Muslim world. He arrived for the first time in the valley of Kāshnir in 774/1372, during the reign of Shihab al-Din, accompanied by 700 sayyids; he remained for four months and then left for the Hūdūd. He came to Kāshnir for the second time in 781/1379, during the reign of Kutb al-Din, and remained for two years and a half. For the third time he visited Kāshnir in 785/1383, but left it after less than a year for Turkestan. He died however, after having passed through Faḡhā, near Kūnār, on 6 Dhū'l-Hijja 786/18 Jan. 1385; his body was carried to Ghutān, where his mausoleum is still extant in modern Kūbā (cf. Sufi, *Kashir*, I, 116 ff.). The *Khāshā-yi Shāh-i Hamadān* in Sīringar, reputedly built on the site where the saint performed his prayer, is a well-frequented place of pilgrimage (cf. R. Ch. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London 1931, 27 ff.). This *Khāshā* and the mosque in Tāsl, built by 'Alī's son, Muhammad (774/1278-84/1290), during the reign of Shihab al-Din, were centres of Islamic propaganda in Kāshnir. A favourite pupil of 'Alī was Ishāq Khattānī, who was in his turn the spiritual master of Muhammad Nūrbaḡhshī, founder of the Nūrbaḡhshīyya.

The best known of his works are the *Awad-i Fāṭhiyya*, a collection of prayers in Arabic, and the *Dhāḡirat al-Mulūk*, on political ethics (Lahore 1323; lit. Annistār) cf. also H. Ethé in *Gr. I. Ph.*, II, 340). His teachings have received as yet little attention; for a preliminary study (more especially of his theory of dreams) and a translation of his *Risāla-yi Manāwīyya*, see F. Meier, *Die Welt der Erbilder bei Alī Hamadān*, *Iranica Jahrbuch*, xvii, 1905, 115 ff.

**Bibliographie:** Nūr al-Din Dīnār Badakhshī (a pupil of the saint), *Khāshā al-Manāwīyya* for MSS see Storey, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, 315; Khāndamīr, *Habīb al-Siyar*, Teheran, II, 87; Nūr Allāh Shushtārī, *Madāris al-Ma'mūn*, Teheran, 311; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS Brit. Mus.*, II, 447; Brockelmann, II, 287, S II, 312; A. Hekmat, in *JA*, 1952, 53 ff.; G. M. D. Sufi, *Kashmir*, Lahore 1949, I, 85-94, 110 ff.; Storey, I, 946, note 4 (in the last named three works further references). For 'Alī's Persian transl. of Najm al-Din Kubrā's *Ushū*, see *Id.*, 1917, 17.

(S. M. STERN)

'**ALĪ ILĀHĪ** ('defilers of 'Alī'), a vague and popular designation of sects connected with, and issued from, Shī'a extremism (*ghulāt*, [g.u.]). In Persia and Kurdistan it covers chiefly the Ahl-i Hakā [g.u.] and Kīlī-bagh [g.u.], but may occasionally refer to such smaller communities as Sarī, Nāshak [g.u.] etc. (Eti.)

'**ALĪ KHĀN** b. AHMĀD b. MUHAMMAD MA'ŪM b. Ibrāhīm SADR AL-DIN AL-HUSAYNĪ AL-MADANĪ, author of biographical works and a book of travels, b. 13 Jumādā I 1052/12 August 1642 in Medina. His father was a descendant of Ghīyāth al-Din al-Shīrāzī. His father was since 1055/1644 in the service of the prince Shihāshāh 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Kutb Shāh. 'Alī joined him in Haydarābād in 1068/1657. His father died in 1083/1672, a year after the death

of his patron, Shihāshāh 'Abd Allāh, and 'Alī himself incurred the displeasure of the ruler, Abu 'l-Hasan. He succeeded, however, in escaping to the court of Awrangzīb, who made him *shāh* and *diwan* at Bārhūpūr. He went on the pilgrimage, and visited Baghdad, Najaf and Karbalā'. In Shirāz he taught at the Manṣūriyya madrasa and died in that town in 1117/1705 or 1120/1708.

In 1074/1663 he wrote a description of his journey from Mecca to Haydarābād, entitled *Sulwāt al-Ḥarīb wa-Umāt al-Arīb*. He is best known for his work on the poets of the 11th century A. H., which he wrote in 1084/1672 on a suggestion of 'Alī al-Kūhshīrī. *Kāshāna: sulwāt al-'Asr fī Mahāshīn A'yan al-'Asr*, Cairo 1324, 1334. As a supplement to the commentary on his own *Radīyya* he gives biographies of writers on rhetoric, and also wrote, in addition to various treatises and poems, a biographical collection of Imāmī Shī'a.

**Bibliography:** *Rasād al-Djāwād*, 415; *Hadībat al-'Alam*, lith. Hyderabad 1216, I, 363-5; Rieu, *Supplément*, no. 990; Brockelmann, II, 627, S II 554. (C. BROCKELMANN)

'**ALĪ KHĀN** [see MARDĪ 'ALĪ KHĀN].

'**ALĪ KUCŪK** [see BEGTEDİNS].

'**ALĪ B. MUHAMMAD AL-KŪSHDĪJĪ**, 'ALĀ' AL-DIN, astronomer and mathematician, b. in Samarkand, d. in Istanbul, on 3 Shābān 879/19 Dec. 1474. He received his surname from his father, who served as the *Lahawar* (*hukūdār*) of Ulugh Beg. He studied mathematics and astronomy in his native city under the *amir* Ulugh Beg [g.u.], who was at the same time an able astronomer, and Kādī-zāde-i Rūmī, one of the rectors of the celebrated madrasa in Samarkand which was especially favoured by the *amir*. 'Alī al-KūshdĪjī succeeded Kādī-zāde as director of the renowned observatory of Samarkand, and took part in the compilation of the *Zīj* *Gurkhān*, the principal author of which was the *amir* himself (cf. its preface). 'Alī al-KūshdĪjī is said to have left secretly for Kirmān, in order to perfect himself in his studies, and on his return to have presented his patron with his *Hall al-Aḡḡāl al-Kamar*.

After the murder of Ulugh Beg, 'Alī al-KūshdĪjī fled Samarkand and stayed in Tahrīz with the Ak Koyunlu ruler Urūn Ḥasan. He was sent by this ruler on an embassy to the Ottoman sultan Muḥammad II; he went back to Tahrīz to accomplish his political mission, but subsequently returned to Istanbul to establish himself there definitely. He was appointed as professor of sciences in the madrasa of the Aya Sofiya and greatly influenced the development of the sciences in Turkey. He composed in Kirmān a commentary, dedicated to Abū Sa'īd Khān, on Nāyir al-Din Tūsī's *Tadhīr al-Kalām*; he also wrote on grammar and rhetoric. His main works are the *Risāla fī 'l-Hay'a*, *Risāla fī 'l-Hisāb*, and a commentary on Ulugh Beg's *Zīj*. (The *Risāla al-Fāṭhiyya* and the *Risāla Muḥammadiyya* are Arabic translations of the *Risāla fī 'l-Hay'a* and the *Risāla fī 'l-Hisāb*.)

**Bibliography:** Tashghoprī-zāde, *al-Shāhīh al-Nu'māniyya*, 127-81; the catalogues of Krafft (Vienna), 139; Dorn (St. Petersburg), 304; Pertsch (Berlin), 351-2; Rieu (Brit. Mus.), II, 456-7; Wöpkle, in *JA*, 1862/3, 120 ff.; W. Barthold, *Ulug Beg und seine Zeit*, Leipzig 1903, 164 ff.; A. Adnan, *La science chez les Turcs Ottomans*, 331; idem, *Idem*, 32-4; Brockelmann, II, 208, S II 329 (add. *Shāh al-Tadhīr*, Univ. 82,016; *Ushū*, *Idem*, 2678; *Shāh al-'Aḡḡūhiyya*, Khāsh 1285, Univ. 1332; Lari's comm. on the *R. fī 'l-Hay'a*, Rāghib

926, Well al-Din 2307; Miran Celebi's comm. on the *R. al-Fāṭhiyya*, Bāyezīd 'Umūm 4614).

(A. ADNAN ADNAN)

'**ALĪ MARDĀN**, honorific title given to 'Alī b. B. 'Alī Tālīb by the Shī'ites, being an abbreviation of 'Alī *shāh-i mardān*, "Alī, king of mankind".

'**ALĪ MARDĀN**, a *Khāldījī* adventurer who acquired power in Bengal, centring upon the capital Lakhnawātī, in the first decade of the 7th/13th century. Appointed to the iqā' of Nārān-gō-e-Mālī, Khūtyār al-Din Muhammad Bahā'iyār Khāldījī, he took advantage of the latter's defeat by the Hindu Rai of Kānupur, says Minhāj al-Sirāj, to murder his master at Dīwot on a sick bed. This occurred in 602/1205-6. 'Alī Mardān, however, was later imprisoned by Muhammad Shīrān, putting him in the charge of the *ahwāl* of Nārān-gō-e. 'Alī Mardān, in collusion with the *ahwāl*, managed to escape to the court of Kutb al-Din Aybak and accompanied him to Ghazni where he became a captive of Tāj al-Din Yildūz when the latter captured Ghazni from Kutb al-Din Aybak (605/1208-9). After about a year 'Alī Mardān escaped and presented himself again before Aybak at Lahore. He was treated with favour and was assigned the territory of Lakhnawātī. According to the *Tahabāt-i Nāṣiri*, 'Alī Mardān proceeded to Dīwot, assumed power there and brought the whole of Lakhnawātī under his sway. On the death of Kutb al-Din Aybak in 607/1210, 'Alī Mardān had the *ahwāl* read in his own name and was styled Sultān 'Alī' al-Din. He brought the Khāldījī nobles of Lakhnawātī under control and overawed neighbouring Hindu chiefs. His overbearing behaviour caused discontent among the Khāldījī nobles and under the leadership of Malik Husayn al-Bīḍar, they conspired against him and slew him. 'Alī Mardān ruled for something over two years, the probable date of his death being 610/1213.

**Bibliography:** Minhāj al-Sirāj, *Tahabāt-i Nāṣiri*, trans. Raverty, I, 572-80; Sir Jadunath Sarkar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, II, Dacca 1948; *Cambridge History of India*, III, 50 ff.

(P. HAKOV)

'**ALĪ MARDĀN KHĀN**, a Bahā'iyārī chief who rose to prominence in the troubled period following the assassination of Nādir Shāh in 1747. In 1763/1750 he captured Isfahān, and, in conjunction with Karīm Khān Zād [g.u.], placed Ismā'īl, a grandson of Shāh Sultān Husayn, on the throne. 'Alī Mardān's oppressive measures led to an open breach with Karīm Khān, who, fearing for his life, attacked and defeated him. 'Alī Mardān Khān fled, and was subsequently assassinated by Muḥammad Khān who, according to Mirzā Sādk, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Gūtt-gūshā*, was a relative of Karīm Khān.

This 'Alī Mardān Khān is not to be confused with his contemporaries and namesakes (a) the wālī of Luristān, a Fāyīl Lur who was wounded at Guñābād in 1722 and later vainly endeavoured to relieve Isfahān, and (b) 'Alī Mardān Khān Shāmīl, whom Nādir Shāh sent as ambassador to Delhi and Constantinople.

**Bibliography:** Mirzā Sādk, *Tārīkh-i Gūtt-gūshā* (quoted by Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1825, II, 116-8); Rūḡ Kull Khān Hādīyāt, *Rasād al-Sulṭān-i Nāṣiri*, Teheran 1853, II, 7-9; Hammer-Purgstall, IV, 477, 478 (this authority's reference to 'Alī Mardān's earlier career, iv, 478 is inaccurate); O. Mann (ed.), *Maḡmūl al-Tārīkh-i ḥa'ndīdī*, 7, 8.

(L. LOCKHART)



'ALĪ MUHAMMAD SHIRAZĪ (see 348f).

'ALĪ PASHA 'ARABADJĪ, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born at Oğhri between 1620 and 1622, died at Rhodes 16 Sha'bān 1104/25 April 1693. At first *imam* to various eminent people, then *kethüdā*, he became *agha* of the Janissaries in 1701/02, and later *waṣir* and *baṣmāḥim* of the imperial stables. Through the support of the *hādī* *Ta'asher* Yahyā Efendi and the Shāykh al-Islām Abū Sa'īd-zāde Feyḍ Allāh Efendi, he succeeded Köprülü-zāde Muṣṭafā Paṣha, killed at Szalankamen as Grand Vizier, on 6 Dhū 'l-Hijja 1102/30 August 1691. Showing no desire to place himself at the head of the army against the Austrians, 'Alī Paṣha succeeded in dissuading his opponents either by bribery or by dissimulation. As a result of this policy he incurred the hostility of the sultan, who eventually dismissed him (28 March 1692), and replaced him by Hādījī 'Alī Paṣha. 'Alī Paṣha 'Arabadjī was exiled to Rhodes, but as he represented a possible source of trouble and conspiracy, his enemies obtained his death warrant, and shortly afterwards he was executed at Rhodes. His cognomen is derived from the fact that he sent off one of the officials whom he had dismissed in an *on-car*.

*Bibliography:* Rāḥiḥ, *Ta'riḥ*, II, 166 ff.; 'Oḡhman-zāde *Tā'ib*, *Hadīth al-Waṣar*, 118 ff.; Firdūllī *Mehm* *Agā*, *Silāḥat* *Ta'riḥ*, II, 596-634; *IA*, s.v. (by Reşad Ekrem Koçu).

(R. MANTRAN)

'ALĪ PASHA ÇANDARLI-ZADE (d. 1407), son of Çandarlı Khān al-Ṭā' Paṣha, was, like his father, *hādī*, then *hādī* *Ta'asher*, and finally Grand Vizier, and also combined the functions of *waṣir*, that is to say head of the administration and finance, and of army commander, perhaps after the death of his father in 1387. After having directed a campaign in Anatolia against the Karamānīd 'Alī Bey, he conducted the skilful operations in Bulgaria which led to the capture of several fortresses (Pravadi, Tırnova, Shēhirköy etc.) before the battle of Kosova (20 June 1389), in which he played a decisive part. Murād I was killed in the battle, and was succeeded by Yıldırım Bāyazīd I, who appointed 'Alī Paṣha Grand Vizier. 'Alī Paṣha accompanied the Sultan in the campaigns in Greece and Bosnia, and played an important part at the siege of Constantinople, commenced in 1391, but abandoned as the result of the invasion of eastern Anatolia by Timur. After the battle of Ankara (1402) in which Bāyazīd I was taken prisoner, 'Alī Paṣha saved the heir apparent Sulaymān and took him first to Bursa and then to Adrianople. Up to the time of his death in Rādjāb 809/January 1407, 'Alī Paṣha remained Grand Vizier to Sulaymān Çelebi, and his skilful diplomacy secured for the latter mastery over the Ottoman territory from Ankara to the Aegean Sea; deprived of his *waṣir*, Sulaymān Çelebi succumbed to the attacks of Mehmed Çelebi, later Mehmed I (1410).

'Alī Paṣha Çandarlı-zāde, like his father, made a contribution to the organisation of the Ottoman administration, notably by codifying the functions of the *hādīs*, by creating the corps of the *it'āghān*—pages from whom numerous imperial officials were recruited, and by making the *waṣirs* persons of influence and respect. The chroniclers have criticised his predilection for the pleasures of life—a taste which he communicated to Bāyazīd I, and have stated that he was not loved either by the people or by government personnel. 'Alī Paṣha was buried at Izak (Nivara) in his father's tomb. At Bursa, a quarter, a mosque and a convent bear his name.

*Bibliography:* *Agāh* *Paṣha-zāde*, *Ta'riḥ*, Istanbul 1332, 70, 71, 76, 77; Mehmed Neḡhī, *Ḍiḥān-nūmā*, Ankara 1940, I, 220 ff.; Sa'ād al-Dīn, *Tāḍī al-Tawārīḡ*, I, 138 ff.; Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, 173-2, 199-200, 234; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, I, 1-3, 262-77; I, 6, 116-20, 241; I, 8, 105, 125, 135-40; F. Tauscher and P. Wittek, *Die Vaisir-familie von Candarlizade*, Iul., 1929, 60-115, *IA*, s.v. (by I. H. Uzuncarilli). (R. MANTRAN)

'ALĪ PASHA ÇORLULU, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born about 1670, the son of a peasant or barber of Corlu, he was adopted for his good looks and intelligence by a courtier of Ahmed II and placed as a probationer in the Galata Sarayı, whence he entered the Palace service, rising by way of the *seferi nda* to be *siḥāḥ* under Muṣṭafā II. As *siḥāḥ* he greatly enhanced the importance of his office, whose occupant thereafter replaced the Dār al-Sa'ade Aghas as intermediary between the sultan and the Grand Vizier and the Bāb al-Sa'ade Aghas as controller of the *it'āghān*, and composed a *niḡm-nāme* re-defining the whole hierarchy of the *enderin*. At the onset of the revolution of 1703 he was ousted from this position by the influence of the Shāykh al-Islām Feyḍ Allāh and the Grand Vizier Rāim Mehmed and given the rank of *waṣir*. But on the accession of Ahmed III he was made a *hādī* *waṣir* and continued as such, except for a short interval during 1709, when he was appointed *waṣir* of Tripoli in Syria, until his elevation to the Grand Viceroy in May 1710.

Çorlulu was the first competent Grand Vizier of the reign, and for four years he enjoyed great favour with the sultan, becoming a *dāmād* in 1708 by marrying Emīne Sultān, a daughter of Muṣṭafā II. He devoted himself in particular to the redress of abuses in the standing and feudal armies, the reduction of state expenditure, and the improvement of the Arsenal and the fleet. But he was so far determined that the Porte should not be involved in war that he neglected not only the opportunity provided by the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession for a possible recovery of the Morea from Venice, but also that provided by the invasion of the Ukraine by Charles XII of Sweden, which might, if assisted by Ottoman forces, have obviated the threat offered to the Ottoman Empire by the designs of Peter the Great. He was criticised by his enemies on both counts; and after Charles's defeat at Poltava and his flight into Ottoman territory, the king himself refused to accept presents sent to him by Çorlulu or to deal with him, on the ground that he had been led to expect assistance from the Crimean Tatars that had not been forthcoming. This was perhaps due to a misunderstanding; but it was fatal to Çorlulu. Ahmed lost confidence in him, and he was accordingly dismissed in June 1710 and banished, whilst on his way to assume the governorship of Kefe in the Crimea, to Mitylene, where he was executed in December of the following year at the age of about forty.

Çorlulu 'Alī Paṣha was the founder of a number of fine monuments, notably two *ḡdām* mosques at Istanbul, at the Çarshī Kapı (where he is buried) and the Tersāne, and a school and fountain at his native Corlu.

*Bibliography:* 'Oḡhman-zāde *Tā'ib*, *Hadīth al-Waṣar*, I, 101; Tayyir-zāde 'Atā, *Enderin*, *Ta'riḥ*, I, 160 f., 285, II, 76-83; Rāḥiḥ, *Ta'riḥ*, I, 160 f., 285; A. N. Kurat, *İzmir Kırvalı Karı* (etc.), passim; A. N. Kurat, *İzmir Kırvalı Karı* (etc.), passim; *Index*, *Prut Sufiri* or *Barli*, *Index*; Hammer-Purgstall, VII, 116 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (by R. E. Koçu).

(H. ROWES)

'ALĪ PASHA DĀMĀD (1667-1716), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born at Sölüz near Nicaea in 1667/1669, he entered the Seraglio of Ahmed II, and filled successively the posts of *hādī*, *riḥāḥdār*, *ḡhāḥdār* and *siḥāḥ*; he exercised great influence over Sultan Ahmed III, who came to the throne in 1703, and who made him *waṣir* and gave him his daughter Fātima in marriage (Rabī' I 1121/May 1709); he had a hand in the appointment and dismissal of *waṣirs*, including Köprülü-zāde Nu'mān Paṣha and Balladī Mehmed Paṣha. The Grand Vizier Khodja Ibrahim Paṣha was condemned to death for attempting to assassinate Dāmād 'Alī Paṣha, and the latter then became Grand Vizier (Rabī' II 1125/April 1713). One of his first acts was to sign with Russia the peace of Adrianople, which fixed the frontier between the two countries between the Samara and the Orel (5 June 1713). Wishing to erase the treaty of Karlowitz, he undertook the Morean campaign, for which the motive was the attack by Venetians and Montenegros against Turkish vessels; in 1715, Dāmād 'Alī Paṣha occupied Napoli de Romania, Argos, Corin, Modon, Malvania, and, in Crete, La Suda and Spina Longa. At the same time he had to suppress the revolts of 'Oḡhman-oglu Naṣh Paṣha in Syria, of the bandit 'Abbās in Anatolia, and of Kayrās Bey in Egypt.

In 1716, he initiated an expedition against Corfu, but Venice and Austria concluded an offensive and defensive alliance which forced him to send his troops to Belgrade. The Austrian army, led by Prince Eugene, met the Ottomans at Peterwardein on 16 Sha'bān 1128/5 August 1716; Dāmād 'Alī Paṣha was mortally wounded by a bullet in the forehead during the battle, while the Turkish troops had already begun to retreat. He was buried in the garden of the mosque of Sulaymān I at Belgrade; 70 years later, when he captured this town, the Austrian general Landau transferred the tomb to the forest of Hadersdorf at Vienna. While the campaign against Austria was in progress, Turkish forces were disembarked at Corfu, but the news of the death of the Grand Vizier resulted in the evacuation of the Turkish troops from the island (July-August 1716).

Dāmād 'Alī Paṣha was at once a fine military leader and a great statesman; he displayed a shrewd political sense, suppressed a number of abuses, restricted and controlled the expense of the Seraglio, prohibited the system of giving presents, regulated the movements of government personnel, and restored to their former state estates which had been converted into *malikāne*. He patronised men of letters, especially the historian Rāḥiḥ, and displayed great interest in science and poetry. He reopened the school for *it'āghān* at Galatasaray, which had become a *madrasa*. He built a mosque at Ayvansaray.

*Bibliography:* Rāḥiḥ, *Ta'riḥ*, III and IV, passim; Farāḡi-zāde Mehmed Sa'īd, *Gulshān-i Ma'sarīf*, II; Muṣṭafā Paṣha, *Natā'ij al-Waḥā'id*, III, 22-6; Tayyir-zāde 'Atā, *Ta'riḥ*, II, 85-100, III, 208, v, 25-38; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, XIII, ch. 63; *IA*, s.v. (by M. Cadi Bayyus).

(R. MANTRAN)

'ALĪ PASHA GÜZELUDE ("the handsome"), (d. 1600) Ottoman Grand Admiral and Grand Vizier. Born at Istanbul (Ces), he was successively *bey* of Damiette, and *beyleheri* of the Yaman (1602), Tunis, Morea and Cyprus. In November 1617, he succeeded Khallāḥ Paṣha as *kapudan-ı deryā*; in August 1618, a storm off the Dalmatian Coast caused

the loss of eleven vessels of his fleet; dismissed at the accession of Muṣṭafā I, he again became *kapudan-ı deryā* shortly afterwards. On 16 Muharram 1029/23 December 1619, he succeeded Öküz Mehmed Paṣha as Grand Vizier following intrigues among the intimates of Sultan 'Oḡhman II, who loaded him with gifts. He became notorious for his confiscation of property and extortion of money, in which he spared neither Muslim nor Christian; the Venetian dragoman Boriss, being unable to pay the 100,000 taleros demanded, was strangled; the Greek Skarlati, provider of the *oḡḡak* to the Janissaries, was forced to pay an enormous sum; the Greek patriarch obtained his release by paying 30,000 ducats on top of the 100,000 demanded. 'Alī Paṣha was trying to incite the Sultan to a campaign against Poland, when he died of calculus (15 Rabī' I, 1030/8 March 1621). He was buried at Beḡhikāgh, near the tomb of Yahyā Efendi. He also received the cognomen of Çelebi ("the elegant").

*Bibliography:* Ibrahim Pelewi, *Ta'riḥ*, II, 371-3; Na'imā, *Ta'riḥ*, II, 133-86; 'Oḡhman-zāde *Tā'ib*, *Hadīth al-Waṣar*; Kāthi Çelebi, *Taḥṣāt al-Kibār fī Aṣṣār al-Bihār*, 105 ff.; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, VIII, I, 44, 251-3 and 267-72; *IA*, s.v. (by Reşad Ekrem Koçu).

(R. MANTRAN)

'ALĪ PASHA HAKİM-OḢULU, Grand Vizier under the Ottoman sultans Mahmūd I and 'Oḡhman III. His father, Nuh Efendi, the physician of Muṣṭafā II, was a Venetian renegade. 'Alī Paṣha was born on 15 Sha'bān 1100/4 June 1689; brought up in the seraglio, he held various administrative posts at Istanbul, and then in the provinces; in 1722 he was appointed as governor of Adana and subdued the tribes of Cilicia; in 1724 he became governor of Aleppo, and in the same year distinguished himself at the siege and capture of Tabriz. Appointed *waṣir* in 1725, he was successively *beyleheri* of Anatolia, *ser-āsher* of the East, governor of Siwas, and governor of Diyarbakir. In 1730, again *ser-āsher* of the East, he defeated Shāh Tahmāsp III at Kuridīn (15 Rabī' I 1144/15 September 1731), and captured Hamadīn, Urmīya and Tabriz. He became Grand Vizier soon after the peace called after Ahmed Paṣha, 15 Ramaḡān 1144/12 March 1732. His first term of office as *waṣir* was marked by wise administration and currency reform. In the field of foreign affairs, the Marquis de Villeneuve, the French ambassador, urged the Grand Vizier to conclude an alliance with France against Austria, but the conditions put forward by 'Alī Paṣha (and suggested by Ahmed Paṣha Bonneval) prevented the conclusion of the treaty. Dismissed on the resumption of hostilities with Persia (22 Safar 1148/14 July 1735) 'Alī Paṣha was exiled to Mitylene, then appointed governor of Bosnia, where he held the Austrians in check for three years, successfully defended Travnik, and, on 4 August 1737, defeated Marshal Hédberghausen near Banjaluka. In 1740 he was sent to Egypt, where he suppressed a *ma'mūlūk* revolt; in 1741 he was made *beyleheri* of Anatolia, and on 15 Safar 1152/22 April 1742 he became Grand Vizier for the second time. The following year he was dismissed for wishing to lead in person the eastern expedition against Nādir Shāh of Persia. Governor of Bosnia in 1744, then of Aleppo (1745), he was nominated commander-in-chief of the eastern army, but in the meantime peace was signed with Nādir Shāh (1746). Governor of Bosnia, then of Trebizond, he was made Grand Vizier by 'Oḡhman III on his accession 4 Rjūmāḡā 1158/16 February



1755; this third term of office as Grand Vizier only lasted 53 days; the *sittâde* Bîyîk 'Alî Âghâ succeeded in securing his dismissal and his exile to Cyprus; but in the course of the year he was appointed Governor of Egypt, and in 1756 *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia. Recalled in 1757, he retired to Kutahya, where he died 3 Eth. 1 Hicdja 1171/14 August 1758. He was buried in the tomb adjoining the mosque which he was responsible for building at İstanbul (1752-4). He was reputed to be a learned, shrewd and liberal man, but quick-tempered and extremely severe in his dealings with officials guilty of extortion.

**Bibliography:** Waili, *Ta'rikh*, i, 50 ff.; Kütüb-i Celebiyye, *Asim*, *Ta'rikh*, 301, 403, 566, 598; Dâwudî, *Ömer, Hadîth al-Wazara*, suppl. 4, 42-51; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, xiv, xv, xvi, passim; Comte de Bonneval, *Mémoires*, ii, passim; *LA*, s.v. (by Resad Ekrem Koçu). (R. MANTAN)

'**ALİ PASHA KHADIM**, OTTOMAN Grand Vizier. At first *âghâ*, then *beylerbeyi* of Karaman and subsequently of Rumelia, he distinguished himself in the course of a campaign in Wallachia (1485); *na'azir* in 1486, he defeated the Mamliks of Egypt at the battle of Aghîsâyir in Cilicia (1492), took the fortresses of Coron and Modon (1500), and was appointed Grand Vizier the following year in succession to Mesli Pasha. Dismissed in 1503, he again became Grand Vizier in 1506 and remained in office until his death. He strove to secure the succession of the *ghâzî* Ahmed, second son of Sultan Bâyezîd II, against the *ghâzî*-side Korkud, whom he defeated in 974/1508; he also defeated prince Selim, who had rebelled against his father, at Çorlu (1511). He died while engaged in suppressing the revolt of Kara Bîyîk-oglu, at Gökay, between Siwâs and Kayseri (1511): he was the first Grand Vizier to die on the field of battle; his death shattered the hopes of the *ghâzî*-side Ahmed. A skilful and upright statesman, esteemed by Sultan Bâyezîd II and by the people, 'Alî Pasha was in addition the patron of men of letters and of science, notably of the poet Meslî and the historian İdrîs Bîttâl. He built at İstanbul the mosque known as 'Alîk 'Alî Pasha (1496), together with the adjoining *medrese*, school and *şemsire*; he was also responsible for the *hamâm* at Karagümrük and a mosque at Yâsıncı, and it was he who converted the monastery church of Saint Saviour in Chora into a mosque, known as *Ka'riyye Dîvânî*.

**Bibliography:** 'Ashih-pasha-zâde, *Ta'rikh*, 223-9; 'Oghlân-zâde Tâ'ib, *Hadîth al-Wazara*, i, 20; Mehmed Hemsîdî Sokak-zâde, *İzâh*, 292 ff.; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, iv, 120, 14, 19, 24-6, 69, 95-114; *LA*, s.v. (by Resad Ekrem Koçu). (R. MANTAN)

'**ALİ PASHA MUBÂRAK**, EGYPTIAN statesman and man of letters. Born in 1209/1823 in Bîrinbâl (Dakahlîyya province) he gained admission to the recently founded government schools of Kasr al-'Ayni and of Abî Zâ'bal, and studied at the polytechnic (*maktaba khâssa*) of Bûlâk. In 1260/1844 he was sent to France as a member of the 'Mission égyptienne' and was trained as an officer and military engineer. On his return to Egypt in 1266/1849-50, he won the favour of 'Abbâs I and began a distinguished career first in the topographical department of the Ministry of War, then as Director of the military training college at Mîdiyat. During the Crimean War he held appointments in İstanbul, in the Crimea and in Gümüşkhâne. Under Sa'îd he resigned, but under İsmâ'il he occupied once after

another almost all the ministerial posts and other offices of state. Everywhere he introduced reforms, though often acting with well-meant zeal rather than with thorough understanding. To him is due the establishment of printing-offices and the printing of textbooks, especially technical ones, the construction of a barrage in the Nile, near Cairo (*al-banâdir al-khayriyya*) which was, however, not very successful, of railways and irrigation-works, the foundation of the Dâr al-'Ulûm, a teachers' training college on the model of the 'École normale supérieure' and of the Khedivial Library (1870). In matters of education he obtained the advice and cooperation of the Swiss educationalist Ed. Dor Bey (d. 1880). During his last tenure of office as Minister of Education in the government of Riyâd Pasha (from 1888 onwards), the defects of his administration became more and more apparent, and he had to resign, following the intervention of Sir Alfred (later Lord) Milner, in 1891. He died in Cairo on Djumâdî I 1311/14 Nov. 1893.

His publications are concerned with education, engineering, etc.; during his last period of office he published a reader for schools. His principal work, *al-Khitât al-Djadida al-Ta'rifîyya*, Bûlâk 1306/1888-9, in 20 parts, compiled with the help of numerous assistants, is intended to be a modern counterpart of al-Makrîsî's *Khitât*. It contains descriptions of Cairo (i-vi) and Alexandria (vii) with biographies of the famous men buried in these cities; descriptions of the other principal places of Egypt, with biographies (viii-xvii); descriptions of the Nilometer (xviii), of canals and dams (xix) and of the coinage (xx). Part xi, s.v. Bîrinbâl, contains his autobiography. His sources for the biographies are al-Sakhlâwî, al-Sha'rîfî, al-Suyûtî, al-Mubîbbî and al-Djannârî; for the historical and archaeological part he also uses European works, including the writings of de Sacy and Quatremère. It is a useful compilation but must be used with caution.

**Bibliography:** K. Vollers, in *ZDMG*, 1893, 720 ff.; I. Goldziner, in *WZKM*, 1890, 347 ff.; L. Cheikho, *La litt. arabe au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ii, 87; Dî Zayîdî, *Tarâfîq Mağâbil al-Shark*, i, 34 ff.; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, index; Brockelmann, II, 654, S II, 733. (K. VOLLERS\*)

'**ALİ PASHA MUHAMMAD AMİN**, OTTOMAN Grand Vizier, born in İstanbul in February 1815, his father being a shopkeeper of the Egyptian Market. At the age of fourteen he obtained his first government post in the secretariat of the imperial *divân* and, whether because of his short stature, or of his ability, acquired the nickname 'Alî. In 1833, having already learnt some French, he was appointed to the translation department of the *divân*, and three years later was sent with a mission, first to Vienna, where he remained some eighteen months, and then, in 1837, to St Petersburg. On his return he was appointed interpreter to the *divân*; in the following year he accompanied Mustafa Reşid Pasha (s.c.) to London as Counselor, on the latter's appointment as Ambassador; and in 1839, on the accession of 'Abd al-Medjîd, they returned together to İstanbul.

In 1840, 'Alî first deputized for the Counselor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and then replaced him. In 1841 he was appointed Ambassador in London. Returning in 1842, he was made a member of the *medjlis-i sulh*; and in 1843 he deputized for Şehîkî Endî, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, until his replacement by Reşid Pasha.

During Reşid Pasha's tenure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 'Alî, who then again became Counselor of that department, was also appointed *beşlikçi* of the *divân*; and when in 1846 Reşid was made Grand Vizier for the first time 'Alî replaced him as Foreign Minister. In April 1848, after 'Alî had been raised to the rank of vizier, both Reşid and he were simultaneously dismissed, but were restored four months later and remained in office until 1852, when, on Reşid's again being dismissed, 'Alî succeeded him as Grand Vizier, with Fu'âd Pasha as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

His first Grand Vizierate, however, lasted only two months; and it was not until November 1854, after the outbreak of the Crimean War, when Reşid again became Grand Vizier, that 'Alî returned to high office, as Foreign Minister. In the interval he had been appointed first *wâlî* of İzmir (January-July 1853) and then *wâlî* of Khûdâvendigâr (April-November 1854), also assuming whilst in the latter post, the presidency of the newly formed High Council of the *tanzimat* (s.c.). He continued to hold this position while Foreign Minister, as which in March 1855, at the conclusion of the war, he was appointed a delegate to the preliminary peace conference in Vienna. Then, in the same year, on Reşid's resigning the Grand Vizierate, 'Alî again replaced him in that office, so that it fell to him in February 1856 to draw up and promulgate the famous *ahd-i imzâ* of that year, and in the following month to sign the Treaty of Paris as first Ottoman delegate. Within the next two years, however, the disputes of the western Powers over the affairs of the Principalities led first to 'Alî's resignation and replacement by Reşid Pasha in November 1856 and then, in August 1857, to Reşid's dismissal and replacement by Mustafa Nâsîl Pasha, with 'Alî as Foreign Minister. 'Alî retained this post under Reşid during the latter's last tenure of the Grand Vizierate, and on Reşid's death in January 1858, replaced him in that office for the third time.

In 1859 'Alî was again dismissed for having suggested a cut in palace expenditure as one remedy for the financial crisis that then faced the Ottoman government. But after resigning the post of Grand Vizier Kibrîlî Mehmed Emin Pasha during the latter's tour of Rumelia in the summer of 1860 and then for Fu'âd Pasha as Foreign Minister during his absence in Syria, in July 1861 'Alî was once more first appointed Foreign Minister himself and then, after the accession of 'Abd al-'Azîz, Grand Vizier for the fourth time. The same month, later, in November 1861, although the new sultan, finding him too deliberate in action, dismissed him in favour of Fu'âd, 'Alî returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Moreover he continued in that office under successive Grand Viziers until February 1867, when, on the resignation of Muterjîm Rûşdî Pasha, he took his place. On this occasion he remained Grand Vizier (it was his fifth term) for as long as four years, until his death.

'Alî was more or less self-educated, poverty having obliged him, in order that he might earn his living, to forge the receipt of an *idjâz* sent by the Bâyezîd *medrese*, where he began the study of Arabic, later continued with Ahmed Djewdet Pasha (s.c.). But he was of a high natural intelligence; though shy and reserved, he was notably witty; he acquired a mastery of French; and from the date of the Paris peace conference he enjoyed a European reputation as an outstanding diplomatist of perfect

manners and rare integrity. Among his countrymen he became unpopular. He was in fact secretive, solemn, and overbearing, and was regarded as vindictive. During his final Grand Vizierate 'Abd al-'Azîz would have been glad to get rid of him, but recognized 'Alî's standing in Europe to be such that he could not afford to; and 'Alî profited by this security to insist on his correct treatment by the sultan, on his right to have all governmental matters of importance to be referred to him, and on the immunity of ministers and officials from banishment (in the bad old way) except after due trial.

Both 'Alî and Fu'âd owed all their official training and advancement to Reşid Pasha. But when in 1852 'Alî took Reşid's place as Grand Vizier, the latter was hurt; and from that time on a coolness, which was exacerbated by calculators, and even a certain rivalry, developed between 'Alî and Fu'âd on the one hand and Reşid on the other, although 'Alî was not thereby prevented from serving under Reşid on two further occasions. All three were regarded as pillars of the *tanzimat* movement. But whereas it was in part Reşid's object to educate the Ottoman public in self-government, 'Alî was of an authoritarian temperament and after Reşid's death was bent rather on the firm establishment of the rule of law and the consequent limitation of the sultans' autocracy. The maintenance of the Empire now depending on the goodwill of the Powers, it was above all his constant concern to forestall their complaints and intervention. But by devoting too little attention to the internal reforms by the promise of which their favour had been gained, he contributed to its decline. However, in 1868, during his last Grand Vizierate, the *medjlis-i sulh* was replaced by a Council of State (*shûrâ-yi devlet*) on the one hand and a High Court of Justice (*divân-i âhkâm-i âdiyye*) on the other, with the aim of separating the judicial from the executive powers of the government; soon after an Imperial School (*maktab-i sultânî*) was opened in the Ghalata Sarâyi, where the instruction, on European lines, was in French and the pupils were non-Muslim as well as Muslim; and in 1869 a Ministry of the Interior was created. During the same period education was also promoted by an increase in the number of the Rihâzîyya schools; the army and navy were overhauled; the fleet was enlarged; and an agreement was concluded for the construction of railways in Rumeli.

'Alî's most notable actions at this time were his agreement to the evacuation of the Serbian fortresses by Ottoman troops (1866); his visit to Crete in 1867 for the insurance of the island, as a result of which he formulated the *shûbâ-nâme* under which it was governed for the next thirty years (1868); his success in causing the Powers to oblige the Greek government to desist from aiding the Cretan rebels; his restraint of the Khîdvî Ismâ'il from exercising powers beyond those already conceded to him; and his opposition to the formation of the Bulgarian Exarchate, which was consequently delayed till 1870, and to the absorption by Rome of the Armenian Catholic Church.

Owing to his lack of interest in the movement for an Ottoman constitution, 'Alî was savagely attacked during the last years of his life by its most ardent advocates, the refugee Yeni Oghmaâlî (Yeni Tursî) party, of whom, however, he recognized after his death, that they had done him an injustice; and he was further successively distressed by the death in 1869 of Fu'âd Pasha, after which he made himself responsible for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as



1755; this third term of office as Grand Vizier only lasted 53 days; the *sittâde* Bîylîk 'Ali Âghâ succeeded in securing his dismissal and his exile to Cyprus; but in the course of the year he was appointed Governor of Egypt, and in 1756 *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia. Recalled in 1757, he retired to Kutahya, where he died 3 Eth 1126 (1774 August 1758). He was buried in the tomb adjoining the mosque which he was responsible for building at İstanbul (1752-4). He was reputed to be a learned, shrewd and liberal man, but quick-tempered and extremely severe in his dealings with officials guilty of extortion.

**Bibliography:** Waili, *Ta'rikh*, I, 50 ff.; Kütüb-i Celâleddin, *Asim*, *Ta'rikh*, 301, 403, 566, 598; Dölmezer-Zade, *Ömer, Hadîkat al-Wazara*, suppl. 4, 42-51; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, xiv, xv, xvi, passim; Comte de Bonneval, *Mémoires*, ii, passim; *LA*, s.v. (by Resad Ekrem Koçu). (R. MANTHAN)

'ALI PASHA KHADIM, OTTOMAN Grand Vizier. At first *âghâ*, then *beylerbeyi* of Karamân and subsequently of Rumelia, he distinguished himself in the course of a campaign in Wallachia (1485); *na'azir* in 1486, he defeated the Mamliks of Egypt at the battle of Aghîsâyir in Cilicia (1492), took the fortresses of Coron and Modon (1500), and was appointed Grand Vizier the following year in succession to Mesli Pasha. Dismissed in 1503, he again became Grand Vizier in 1506 and remained in office until his death. He strove to secure the succession of the *ghâzî* Ahmed, second son of Sultan Bâyezîd II, against the *ghâzî*-side Korkud, whom he defeated in 974/1508; he also defeated prince Selim, who had rebelled against his father, at Çorlu (1511). He died while engaged in suppressing the revolt of Kara Bîylîk-oghlu, at Gökay, between Siwâs and Kayserî (1511): he was the first Grand Vizier to die on the field of battle; his death shattered the hopes of the *ghâzî*-side Ahmed. A skilful and upright statesman, esteemed by Sultan Bâyezîd II and by the people, 'Ali Pasha was in addition the patron of men of letters and of science, notably of the poet Meslî and the historian İdrîs Bîllîl. He built at İstanbul the mosque known as 'Atik 'Ali Pasha (1496), together with the adjoining *medrese*, school and *şemsîye*; he was also responsible for the *hamâm* at Karagümrük and a mosque at Yâsîncîk, and it was he who converted the monastery church of Saint Saviour in Chora into a mosque, known as *Ka'riyye Dîvânî*.

**Bibliography:** 'Ashîk-pasha-zâde, *Ta'rikh*, 223-9; 'Oghlân-zâde Tâ'ib, *Hadîkat al-Wazara*, I, 20; Mehmed Hemsîdî Sokak-zâde, *126*, 292 ff.; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 17, 120, 14, 19, 24-6, 69, 95-114; *LA*, s.v. (by Resad Ekrem Koçu). (R. MANTHAN)

'ALI PASHA MUBÂRAK, EGYPTIAN statesman and man of letters. Born in 1239/1823 in Bîrînâh (Dakahlîyya province) he gained admission to the recently founded government schools of Kasr al-'Aynî and of Abî Za'bal, and studied at the polytechnic (*maktabe khâssâ*) of Bûlâk. In 1260/1844 he was sent to France as a member of the 'Mission égyptienne' and was trained as an officer and military engineer. On his return to Egypt in 1266/1849-50, he won the favour of 'Abbâs I and began a distinguished career first in the topographical department of the Ministry of War, then as Director of the military training college at Mîdiyat. During the Crimean War he held appointments in İstanbul, in the Crimea and in Gümüşhâhne. Under Sa'îd he resigned, but under İsmâ'il he occupied once after

another almost all the ministerial posts and other offices of state. Everywhere he introduced reforms, though often acting with well-meant zeal rather than with thorough understanding. To him is due the establishment of printing-offices and the printing of textbooks, especially technical ones, the construction of a barrage in the Nile, near Cairo (*al-banâdir al-khaysariya*) which was, however, not very successful, of railways and irrigation-works, the foundation of the Dâr al-'Ulûm, a teachers' training college on the model of the 'École normale supérieure' and of the Khedivial Library (1870). In matters of education he obtained the advice and cooperation of the Swiss educationalist Ed. Dor Bey (d. 1880). During his last tenure of office as Minister of Education in the government of Riyâd Pasha (from 1888 onwards), the defects of his administration became more and more apparent, and he had to resign, following the intervention of Sir Alfred (later Lord) Milner, in 1891. He died in Cairo on 12 Jumâdî I 1311/14 Nov. 1895.

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well as the Grand Vizierate; by the defeat in 1870 of France, on whom he had long particularly lent; and by the consequent denunciation by Russia of the Black-Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris. Exhausted by overwork and these calamities, he fell sick in the summer of 1872, and died after a three months' illness on 7th September, aged fifty-six, at his seaside villa at Bebek on the Bosphorus.

*Bibliography:* Lütfi, *Ta'rih*, vii, 46, 92, viii, 31, 72, 83, 115, 134, 139, 160; Memduh Paşa, *Mir'at Şu'ânî*, 40; Fâtima 'Aliyye, *Devlet Paşa ve Zâmânı*, 33-4, 42, 44, 47, 49, 135-3, 69, 76, 83-92, 92-99, 109-113, 115; Ali Fust, *Ricâi*, *Makâmât*, *Siyâsi*, 30-107; İbrahim M. K. İnal, *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamlar*, i, 4-58; E. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et Le Tanzimat*; Charles Miomer, *Souvenir du monde musulman*; I. H. Sevük, *Tanzimatın tarihi*, i, index; *İA*, s.v. (A. H. Öngürs). (H. BOWEN)

'ALİ PASHA RIZVÂN BEGOWIC (see RIZVÂN BEGOWIC).

'ALİ PASHA SEMİZ, Ottoman Grand Vizier, born at Brassa in Herzegovina, he was carried off at an early age during a *devşirme* operation to be brought up at Istanbul; in 1931/1546 he became *agha* of the Janissaries, and later *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia. Appointed governor of Egypt in 1549, he took part in Sulaymân I's Persian campaign, and succeeded Rustam Paşa as Grand Vizier on 26th July 1561, a post which he held until his death in Dhû 'l-Kâ'dî 972/June 1565. Immediately after his appointment, he negotiated with the Austrian ambassador Busbecq a peace treaty which was signed at Prague 1 June 1562. But the peace policy of 'Alî Paşa was wrecked by the new Emperor Maximilian II; on the death of the Grand Vizier, Sultan Sulaymân I had to undertake a fresh campaign against Austria. An intelligent and shrewd man, 'Alî Paşa was famous for his corpulence (hence his cognomen Semiz, "the fat") and his wit.

*Bibliography:* Mustafa Selimî, *Ta'rih*, 7-11; İbrahim Peçevi, *Ta'rih*, i, 24; 'Oğmân-zâde Tâ'ib, *Hadîth al-Wuzarâ*, 31 ff.; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vi, 16 ff., 146 ff., 199, 208; *IA*, s.v. (By Tayyib Gökalp).

(R. MANTRAN)

'ALİ PASHA SÜRMELİ, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born in Dimetoka, he entered the financial administration and was eventually appointed *defterdar* in 1688; he was dismissed the following year, but in 1703/1691 was again *defterdar* and *azîr*. Successfully governor of Cyprus and Tripoli in Syria, he became Grand Vizier on 16 Rajab 1101, 23 March 1694 in the place of Bozoklu Mustafa Paşa, and conducted the Hungarian campaign, during which he unsuccessfully besieged Peterwarden. Sultan Mustafa II, on his accession, retained 'Alî Paşa in his post, but forced him to

undertake a new campaign against Hungary; a revolt of the Janissaries led to his dismissal on 18 Ramadan 1106/22 April 1695; condemned at first to exile, 'Alî Paşa was later executed on 4 Shawwâl 1106/18 May 1695. He instituted the practice whereby the Council of Ministers met four days a week, and changed the Egyptian crown lands, let at fixed perpetual rents, into fiefs on a life tenure. He was extraordinarily extravagant, and loved luxury; he owed his cognomen to his habit of using combs.

*Bibliography:* Fındıklı Mehmed Agha, *Sülahâr Ta'rihi*, ii, 739-48; Râhid, *Ta'rih*, ii, passim; 'Oğmân-zâde Tâ'ib, *Hadîth al-Wuzarâ*, 121 ff.;

J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, xii, 323 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (By Reşad Ekrem Koçu).

(R. MANTRAN)

'ALİ PASHA TEPEDELENLİ, governor of Yanya (Janina). Born probably in 1744 of a family descended from a Melend *dervîş* of Kütahya, who migrated to Rumelia. His grandfather and father had in turn held the *muteslimlik* of Tepedelen in the Epirus; but being left fatherless as a child 'Alî was brought up by his bold and ambitious mother, a native of Koniza, in an atmosphere of constant warfare between rival chieftains of the region.

After attacking himself in turn to the Wardens of the Passes (*derband bağbashi*) and the *mutasarrıf* of Delvine (Delvino), of whom he facilitated the murder after marrying his daughter, in 1774 he was himself made *mutasarrıf* of Delvine with the rank of *mîr-i mirân*, and shortly afterwards, though only temporarily, that of Yanya as well. In the following year he was transferred to Tirhala (Trikala); in 1786 he was appointed Warden of the Passes in addition; and after the outbreak of war in 1787, having meanwhile exchanged Tirhala for Yanya, he fought with distinction on the Austrian front and afterwards took part in the suppression of a rising in Serbia. Although in 1790 he incurred the displeasure of the Porte so far as to be dismissed from the Wardenship, in view of his further prowess in the war, his conduct in continually adding without warrant to the territory under his control was overlooked; and in 1792, after the restoration of peace, he and his son Well al-Dîn were appointed joint Wardens for the specific purpose of preventing the passage of Albanians into Rumelia, where their employment for the suppression of outlaw bands had only added to the prevailing disorder. Shortly afterwards 'Alî Paşa's influence was increased by the appointment, as a reward for his efforts to overcome the rebel Paswan-oğlu, of another son, Muhtâr, to the *sandjak* of Eğriboz (Negropont) and Karli-ili.

One of 'Alî Paşa's main concerns during and after the war of 1787-92, which had encouraged the Orthodox inhabitants of Suli to rebel against Ottoman rule, was to reduce them to obedience, though he was unable to do so finally before 1802. In the meantime, after the transference of the Ionian Islands and the "four districts" of Preveze (Preveza), Parga, Vonitz (Vonitz) and Butrinto from Venetian to French sovereignty by the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797, 'Alî Paşa not only sent a contingent to assist the conquest by Russo-Ottoman forces of Corfu, but also occupied Butrinto and, after several successes against the French, took possession of Preveze and Vonitz as well. By the settlement of 1802 the "four districts" were to be incorporated in the *sandjak* of Yanya. But it was not until 1819 that the incorporation of Parga, after various vicissitudes, was in fact effected.

In April 1802 'Alî Paşa was appointed *mâfi* of Rumelia. The Albanian irregulars employed to suppress the brigandage and revolts that were again rife in the province at this time had themselves nurtured at Edirne; and it was thought that 'Alî Paşa was alone capable of pacifying them and overcoming the general disorder. However, his success in inducing many of the outlaws to return to their homes so far provoked the hostility of the many Rumelian *çetve* which interest it was to resist any thorough pacification, that in 1803 his appointment was revoked. He was then given the *sandjak* of Tirhala in addition to Yanya; but it was sought to counterbalance his influence in Albania

by replacing him in Rumelia by İbrahim Paşa, the *mutasarrıf* of İğkōdra (Scutar), whose authority among the Ghegs of the north was little less than 'Alî's own among the Tosks of the south.

After the resumption of the European war in 1803 close relations were established between 'Alî and the French, who supplied him with weapons, munitions, and even gunners. But after Tilsit in 1807, when the Ionian Islands were relinquished by Russia to the French, the latter then proposed regaining the "four districts", occupied Parga, and instigated a revolt of the Greeks of Tirhala against 'Alî's authority, which, however, was suppressed by his son Muhtâr.

In 1810, after first marrying two of his sons and a nephew to daughters of the *mutasarrıf* of Awlonya, and then contriving that the latter should be attacked in his capital, 'Alî Paşa was able to appropriate this *sandjak* as well, under the pretext of flying to the relief of a relative. Mahmūd II was enraged by this episode, but powerless to refuse the appointment of Muhtâr Paşa to Awlonya in place of the dismissed governor. No less unwelcome to the Porte were 'Alî's acquisition of Eğri (Argyrocrastron) in the following year, and still more his invasion of the Gheg country, where, after overcoming some local resistance, he was able to add the fortresses of Tirana and Pekin (Pekine) and the *sandjaks* of Ohrid and Elbasan to his dominions.

In the face of repeated protests from Istanbul 'Alî Paşa sought to excuse this high-handed conduct, and in the war with Russia resumed in 1809 sent a considerable force to the sultan's aid under the command of Muhtâr and Well Paşas. He also assisted the British forces in their occupation of the Ionian Islands; and in view of these services and his advanced age no attempt was made by the Porte to unseat him before 1820. Then, however, owing in the first place to his falling out with the all-powerful *reis* of Hâlet Efendi, and the latter's wish to divert Mahmūd from his intention of abolishing the Janissaries; in the second place to the intrigues of certain Phanariot Greeks, who saw that he constituted an obstacle to the already projected insurrection in the Morea; and finally to the attempted assassination contrived by 'Alî Paşa, of Paşa İsmâ'il Bey, a former *kâğız* of Well Paşa in Istanbul, in April 1820 he was dismissed from his Wardenship of the Passes and ordered to withdraw his troops from all regions outside the *sandjak* of Yanya, while Well Paşa was deprived of his governorship of Tirhala. Since there was little doubt that arms would be needed to secure his obedience, all the governors of adjacent provinces had previously been warned to hold themselves in readiness to apply it; Khurshid Ahmed Paşa, recently made governor of the Morea, was appointed to command all the troops engaged in operations against him; and a flotilla was ordered to the Albanian coast. 'Alî Paşa responded by concluding an agreement for mutual aid with the Greek rebel leaders and seeking to provoke revolts also in the Aegean islands, Serbia, and the Principalities; on which the Porte in turn deprived him of his vizirate, dismissed him from Yanya, and ordered him and his whole family to reside at Tepedelen.

'Alî Paşa was in fact deprived of all his acquisitions except Yanya itself, in the well stocked citadel of which he was then besieged, while three of his sons and a grandson, the governors of districts formerly in his control, surrendered. Owing to his

provocation of a mutiny by the Albanians of the besieging force, a rising of the Sulistes, and the outbreak of the Greek revolt, it was not until the siege had continued for two years that 'Alî Paşa could be induced to give in. He then died on condition that his life should be spared, retiring with a few supporters to a neighbouring monastery. But Khurshid Paşa's guarantee was repudiated by Hâlet Efendi, whose purposes it suited that the trouble at Yanya should continue. 'Alî Paşa, on learning that his execution had been ordered, decided to fight. He was accordingly attacked and died from a shot wound on 24 January 1822.

Tepedelenlî 'Alî Paşa attained some celebrity in Europe owing to his being visited by various writers, notably Lord Byron, and to his efforts to resist help from both the French and the British in the prosecution of his ambitions. He was brave, bold, and clever, but treacherous and wholly self-seeking. Having acquired great riches, he maintained a semi-royal state, surrounded by a strange entourage of European officers, Greek doctors, poets, *dervîşes*, astrologers, and the leaders of brigand bands. Of all the contemporary Muslim rebels against the Ottoman power he contrived to do it most harm, by facilitating the beginning of the Greek revolt.

*Bibliography:* 'Asim, *Ta'rih*, passim; Djevdet, *Ta'rih*, passim; Lütfi, *Ta'rih*, i, 13-30; Şems al-Dîn Sâmî, *Kâmis al-'Âlâm*, iv, 310-21; Juchereau de Saint-Deux, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, etc., Paris 1844, ii, 387, iii, 111; C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morie*, etc., Paris 1805, iii, index; idem *Histoire de la Génération de la Grèce*, Paris 1825, iv, index; J. C. Hobsbouse, *Journey through Albania*, etc., London 1813; T. S. Hughes, *Travels in Greece and Albania*, London 1830; Zinkeisen, vii, 83 ff.; İbnülîmia Mahmud Kenâî, *Mefhûd Hâdîk Paşa*, *TTM*, year 10; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Arşiv vesikâlatına göre Yedi Ada Cümhuriyeti*, *Böl.*, i, 627-639; R. A. Davenport, *Life of Ali Paşa*, 1837; A. Boppe, *L'Albanie et Napoléon*, Paris 1914; G. Remerand, *Ali de Tepelen*, Paris 1928; J. W. Bagally, *Ali Paşa and Great Britain*, Oxford 1937; *IA*, s.v. (H. BOWEN)

'ALÎ AL-RİDÂ, ABO 'L-HASAN B. MUSA AL-DÛR eighth Imam of the Twelver Shî'as, was born in Medina in 148/765 (al-Safadî) or, according to other and probably better informed authorities, in 151/768 or 153/770 (al-Nawbakhtî, Ibn Khallikân, Mirhâ'and). He died in Tûs in 203/818; the sources agree on the year, but differ as to the day and month and of Safad or Tabat, al-Safadî; Ramadan—al-Safadî; 13 Dhû 'l-Kâ'da or 5 Dhû 'l-Hijja—Ibn Khallikân. His father was the Imam Mûsâ al-Kârim, his mother a Nubian *umum walad* whose name is variously given (Shahd or Nadjîyya—al-Nawbakhtî; Sukayna—Ibn Khallikân; Khayzurâ—Ibn al-Jawzi). For the greater part of his life he played no political rôle, but was known for his piety and learning. He related traditions from his father and from 'Ubayd Allâh b. Artâb, and gave *fatâwâ* in the mosque of the Prophet in Medina. His first appearance on the political stage was in 201/816, when the Caliph al-Ma'mûn summoned him to Marw and appointed him as heir to the Caliphate, giving him the title of al-Rîdâ. The sources agree that 'Alî al-Rîdâ was reluctant to accept this nomination, owing only to the insistence of the Caliph. The 'Abbâsîd and 'Alid princes and dignitaries, led by al-Ma'mûn's son al-'Abbâs, took the *bay'a* to the new heir, who was dressed in green.







their descendants that the loyalties of the different groups of the *Shi'a* [g.s.] were given. The claims made by the *Shi'a* on behalf of the 'Alids were broadly of two kinds. For the extremist *Shi'a* the 'Alid Imāns were the spiritual as well as the religious and political heirs of the Prophet, whose spiritual inspiration they retained or resumed. For the moderate *Shi'a* they were the legitimate heirs of the Prophet as heads of the *Umma* of Islam, with a better claim to the succession than that of the reigning Caliphs, whom the *Shi'a* regarded as usurpers. The early 'Alids, with the possible exception of Muhammad b. al-Hanafīya and the more probable exception of his son Abū Ḥāshim, seem consistently to have refused to have any dealings with the extremists, or countenance their ideas (e.g. *al-Ḥusnā*, vii, 24 and viii, 33). On the other hand they seem to have acquiesced—if somewhat passively—in the political claims made on their behalf by the moderate *Shi'a*. The numerous traditions in which 'Alids reject and denounce the claims of their own supporters (e.g. Ibn Sa'd, v, 77, 158, 215, 218) are almost certainly due to Sunni propaganda, and a more accurate reflection of the political views and claims of the house of 'Alī will be found in the letter written by the Hasanid pretender Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh [g.s.] to the Caliph Ma'nūr in 147/86 (al-Tabarī, iii, 209 ff.), and in the verses of such pro-'Alid poets as Kumayy and Kutayyir. Muhammad's letter is also interesting in that the writer claims pure Arab descent on both sides, without admixture of foreign or slave blood—thus accepting the aristocratic Umayyad principle of succession, which had excluded sons of slave mothers like Maslama—and rejecting the Islamic rule followed by the Husaynids (several of whose Imāns had slave mothers), and, later, by the 'Abbāsids. In the early period the claims of the 'Alids were based on descent from 'Alī the Prophet's kinsman rather than from Fātima his daughter, since according to the ideas of the time kinship with the Prophet in the male line was more important than descent from him in the female line. (Thus in the revealing speech attributed to 'Alī at Siffin, he speaks of himself only as "cousin of the Prophet", *Murādī*, iv, 335). Claims based on kinship could thus be advanced on behalf of descendants of 'Alī by wives other than Fātima, and even of collateral descendants of Abū Tālib (see *ANL al-BAYT*). Only after the usurpation of 'Alid claims by their 'Abbāsid cousins was stress laid on direct descent from the Prophet via Fātima. In the development of this new claim, the sixth Imām Dījā' al-Sūkī seem to have played a role of some importance.

After the abortive rising of al-Husayn and the massacre of Kurbalā in 61/60, when most of the 'Alids were killed, the 'Alid pretenders remained politically inactive, giving recognition and sometimes even help to the ruling house (examples in al-Tabarī, ii, 3, 409, 420, 1138; al-Ya'qūbī, ii, 298 ff.; Ibn Sa'd, v, 83, 199; Buhl, 369). They preferred to reside in Mecca or Medina, far from the main political centres, and while maintaining their claims did little to advance them. Such action as they took may be qualified as litigious rather than rebellious, concerned with their estates rather than with their political rights (cf. I. Hrbek, *Muhammadi Nachlass und die 'Aliden*, Arch. Or., 1950, 41-9). In the tradition this passivity is naturally given a religious colouring, and appears as the prototype of the characteristic *Shi'a* practice of *taqiyya* [g.s.].

Towards the middle of the 8th century growing discontent brought new opportunities to the 'Alids.

In ca. 122/740 Zayd b. 'Alī b. Husayn [g.s.] led the first 'Alid bid for power since Kurbalā. After his death, closely followed by that of his son Yahyā [g.s.] in ca. 123-6/743-4, the 'Alid bolt was shot, and both the cause and the opportunity were taken over by the 'Abbāsids. The first major expression of 'Alid anger and disappointment at the 'Abbāsid victory was the revolt of the Hasanid brothers Muhammad and Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allāh [g.s.], in Medina and Basra, respectively. Both movements were choked in blood, and the Caliph Manṣūr adopted a policy of violent repression towards the 'Alids, great numbers of whom were arrested and put to death (cf. al-Tabarī, iii, 443-6; *Murādī*, vii, 404; *Mahāsil*, 178 ff.). Al-Mahdī dealt more kindly with the 'Alids, as part of a general policy of appeasement, but when this failed to gain 'Alid goodwill, it was abandoned by al-Hadi, whose harsh actions drove the 'Alids to open revolt. The rising of Husayn b. 'Alī [g.s.], known as Shihb Fakhkh (after the place of his death), in 160/786 was soon suppressed, (Tabarī, iii, 531-9; *Mahāsil* 431 ff.), but Idrīs [g.s.], a brother of the ill-fated Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh, escaped to Morocco where he founded the first 'Alid dynasty. Hārūn al-Raḡhīb eased the severities of al-Hadi, but after the revolt of Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh [g.s.] in 176/793-4 he resumed the strict surveillance of the 'Alids, and the Husaynid Mūsā al-Kāẓim [g.s.] died in prison. Meanwhile, in 175/791, some Zaydids (of the line of Zayd b. Hasan) took refuge in Daylām, where in 250/864 they were able to establish the first of a series of local dynasties. Al-Ma'nūn on his accession faced the pro-'Alid revolts of Abu 'Isa'rya [g.s.] in association with the Hasanid Muhammad b. Ibrahim, called Ibn Tabāṭaba [g.s.] in Mesopotamia in 199/814, and of Muhammad b. Izzā'far [g.s.] known as Muhammad al-Dībāḡī, in Mecca in 200/815-6. His subsequent nomination of the Husaynid 'Alī al-Riḡā [g.s.] as his heir and his adoption of a pro-'Alid policy brought some alleviation, but did not save him from a further 'Alid rising, that of 'Abd al-Raḡhīb b. Ahmad in the Yemen in 207/822-3. Under al-Ma'nūn's successors relations between 'Abbāsids and 'Alids again deteriorated, reaching their lowest point with the insults and persecutions of al-Mutawakkil. Al-Muntasir is reported to have treated the 'Alids with consideration, but the revolts continued. Most of them were suppressed, some few resulted in the appearance of local dynasties of 'Alid stock, in such remote places as Morocco, Yemen, and the Caspian provinces of Persia.

Most of the rebels and pretenders of the early 'Abbāsid period came from the line of al-Hasan, that of al-Husayn preferring a life of tranquil piety. It was however the latter that came to have the greatest influence. After the death in 148/765 of Izzā'far al-Sāḡīk [g.s.], the sixth Imām in the line of Husayn, the succession was disputed between his sons Ismā'īl and Mūsā al-Kāẓim [g.s.], Ismā'īl, whose claims were accepted by the sect known as Ismā'īliyya [g.s.], sired a line of Imāns from whom came the Fātimid Caliphs (some authorities however doubt the authenticity of their pedigree). Mūsā's line ended with their estates rather than their Imāns, known as Muhammad al-Mahdī ca. 260/871-4. After this the aspirations of their followers (see *ANL al-ASMA'IYYA*) became eschatological rather than political, since they could offer no real alternative to the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, which was therefore accepted even by *Shi'a*ite dynasties such as the Būyids.

Many dynasties claimed to be of 'Alid descent. They may be grouped as follows:

- 1) Hasanids: a) N.W. Africa—Idrīsids [g.s.], Sulaymānids [g.s.], Sharīfs (Sa'dūddīn [g.s.], Fāfāls, [see 'ALAWITS]). b) Yemen—Sulaymānids, Banū Uḡayyir, Rāssids [g.s.]. c) Mecca—Sulaymānids, Banū Uḡayyir, Banū Falaṣṣa, Banū Kaṭāda [see WAKKA]. d) N. Persia—Zaydids, 'Alids. e) Ghāna—Banū Sāḡīk [g.s.]. f) Āmul—Hasanids. g) Cordova and Malaga—Hammūnids [g.s.].
- 2) Husaynids: a) Hīrīkiya and Egypt—Fātimids [g.s.]. b) Medina—Banū Muhannā [g.s.].
- 3) Unknown: Mecca and Medina—Banū Mūsā.

**Bibliography:** Genealogies of the descendants of 'Alī were compiled from an early date. One of them was that of the 10th century 'Alid genealogist Akhū Mubsh, who wrote a "complete account" of all the progeny of 'Alī, in an attempt to disprove the legitimacy of the Fātimids. This work is lost, but is preserved in excerpts in Makrīfī's *Itihās al-Hawādī*, [Shayrawān], Cairo, 1948, 4 ff. and in Ibn Ayyub al-Dawādī, *Kanz al-Dīwar*, Vol. vi, MS Saray, Ahmed III, no. 2932, 5 ff. where the source is named. A parallel account of the descendants of 'Alī will be found in the *Sūhāb al-'Abbāsī* of Abū 'Ismā'īl Muhammad al-Maḡhūrīn (gh. 15th century), Cairo 1306. Slightly different versions are given by Tabarī (b. 3471 ff., followed by Ibn al-Aḡrī iii, 333-4), and by Ma'nūnī (*Tanbīh*, 28 and *Murādī*, v, 148). Among later works on 'Alid genealogy mention may be made of the *Umdat al-Tālib fi Anshā' al-Abī Tālib* of Ahmad b. 'Alī... b. Muhannā, Bombay, 1318. Biographies of 'Alids will be found in Abū 'I-Faraj al-Isfahānī's martyrology, *Mahāsil al-Jāhiliyyīn*, Cairo 1949, (cf. *Murādī*, vii, 404, where martyred 'Alids are listed), as well as in general works such as the *Tahabāt* of Ibn Sa'd and the *Anshā' al-Aḡraf* of Balāḡhūrī (the 'Alids appear in vol. 10). On the role of the 'Alids in the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid periods see Fr. Buhl, *Alidernes Stilling til de Shi'itische Begrunder under Umayyaderna, Österrigt ser det Kgl. Danske Videnskabsnens Selskabs Forhandlinger*, 1920, no. 5, 355 ff.; F. Gabrieli, *Al-Ma'mūn al-'Alidī*, Leipzig 1929; H. I. Hasan, *Ta'wīḡ al-'Alawī*, Cairo 1948, ii, 113 ff.; 'A. A. al-Dūrī, *Al-'Asir al-'Abbāsī al-'Awwal*, Baghdad 1945. Genealogical tables of the descendants of 'Alī, showing the interrelation of 'Alid dynasties, will be found in Zambar, ii, A-E. On the status and organisation of persons descended from the Prophet in later times see *SA'YIR* and *SHAMIR*.

**ALIF** (see *ANL al-'ĀL*).

**ALIGARH**, town (27° 53' N., 78° 4' E.) and district in the Meerut (Mīrat) division of Uttar Pradesh (formerly the United Provinces). In 1947 the district (1946 sq. miles = 5024.5 sq. km.) had 1,372,64 inhabitants (786,381 Muslims) and the town 112,625 (51,712 Muslims). The town was at first called Koil (Kol) and the citadel, built in 1542, was named Aligarh (high fort) when Nadīf Khān restored it in 1776; previously it had been called Ramgarh, occasionally Sābitgarh after one Sābit Khān or Muhammadgarh.

Koīl, which was certainly an old town, was captured towards the end of the 13th century by Kath al-Dīn Ayyub and was usually subject to Delhi, being a fief of Balhan's eldest son c. 1270. It was ruled from Dīwarpur in 1393 and was independent for a time from 1447. In 1785 Maharāts of the Scindia family captured it but were driven out by Lord Lake in 1803. It was often described by Muslim writers, e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 6).

Modern Aligarh owes its place to its university. In 1871 (Sir) Sayyid Ahmad Khān [g.s.] began to collect funds, some Hindus contributing, for a boys' school to be run more or less on English lines. In 1875 the high school was started and three years later it was raised to a second grade college. The institution then became a school and the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. Sir Sayyid kept the management in his own hands during his lifetime and had excellent helpers in the first principals, Th. Beck and (Sir) Theodore Morison. Finance was a trouble and there was opposition to this breach with traditional Muslim education. Entrance to the college was never restricted to Muslims and the language of instruction was English except in religious subjects. After the founder's death the management was put in the hands of Muslim trustees. In 1904 353 boys were in the school, 269 students in the college and 36 students of law; of the total 76 were Hindus. In 1909 there were eight teachers of European origin and for some years the professor of Arabic was a European. Later the number of teachers who were not Indians was much reduced. In 1920 the college was created a university and an intermediate college was established for the first two years of the university course, following the recommendations of the Calcutta Commission. At the same time the non-cooperation movement caused trouble, resulting in the foundation of the National University; this was active for two years or so and existed in name for some time longer. Aligarh University continued to develop; in 1929 teachers of Yūnānī (Unani) medicine appeared on the staff; in 1932 the intermediate college was absorbed in the university and new laboratories opened; in 1934 a college of Yūnānī medicine was started and in 1938 an institute of technology and electrical engineering and a Yūnānī hospital were opened. Women were admitted to some degrees in the same year and later further concessions were made to them. In 1945 an agricultural college was opened and in 1947 the staff is found grouped in four faculties, arts, science, engineering and technology, and theology. The separation of Pakistan from India caused a great upheaval and many of the staff left but their places were filled, the university survived and still flourishes. Aligarh has always upheld the Muslim ideal of opening the road to education to the needy; it is to be feared that the pursuit of this ideal may clash with the purpose of a university. In the year 1946-7 there were 3506 students of whom 775 were graduates and 501 first degrees were given in the faculties of arts, science, commerce and engineering; in the following year the numbers were 4285, 1186 and 305.

**Bibliography:** *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, v, 208-19; Th. Morison, *History of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh*, Allahabad 1903, summarised in RMM, I, 380 ff.

(A. S. TRISTON)

'ĀLIM (see 'ULAMĀ).

'ĀLIMA, in the Egyptian dialect of Arabic *'ālime*, *'ālime*, plural *'awālime*, literally "a learned,



expert performers, the name of a class of Egyptian female singers forming a sort of guild, according to the sources of the 18th and 19th centuries. They were engaged to perform in harems at celebrations of marriages or births, during Ramadan and on other occasions. Their art included the improvisation of poems of the *masnawi* (g.a.) type, singing and dancing. They withdrew from Cairo during the French expedition. Well-informed travellers were careful to distinguish them from the *ghawazi* (sing. *ghawize*) who sang and danced primarily in the streets, making a speciality of lascivious dances and often becoming prostitutes (the most accurate descriptions are those of Savary, *Lettres sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1766, I, 149 ff., and Villoteau, *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris 1825, XIV, 169-82; useful information is contained in Sonnini, *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte*, Paris, year VII, II, 372 ff.; Chabrol in *Deser. de l'Égypte*, Paris 1826, XVIII, I, 173 ff., 212 ff., 330; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London 1836-7, I, 226, 261; II, 65 ff., 270 ff., Laetzy-Hadji (Baron Taylor), *L'Égypte*, Paris 1836, 203-5. The Arabic word for them, as used by the travellers appears in French, from the time of Savary (loc. cit.; cf. *Journal encyclopédique*, 1787, II, 519 ff.), in the form *almd*, later *almd*, and in English (first recorded in 1814 by Byron, *Corsair*, II, 8) as *alma* or *almah*. But Baedeker, *Ägypten*, Leipzig 1877, I, 25-6 states that '*aulim* of the better class only survived in the harems of the most eminent houses, a debauched type was frequently to be seen in the streets accompanied by one or two, usually blond, musicians. Travellers regularly confused the *alimas* with the *ghawazi*, who were however expelled from Cairo to Upper Egypt in 1834 by Muhammad 'Alī. The latter were found in large numbers at Kene, Esne, Luxor (Baedeker, *Ägypten*, Leipzig 1901, II, 81 ff., 258). Flaubert in 1850 associated with them there, and refers to them as *almds* (*Voy. en Orient*, Paris 1949, 63 ff.). Most of the *aulim* and *ghawazi* held an annual reunion at Tantā on the occasion of the *masnawi* of Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi (Baedeker, loc. cit., I, 25, 245; cf., referring to the year 1865, A. Rhone, *L'Égypte à petites journées*, Paris 1877, 172-8, and, as late as 1913, the parade of prostitutes, in J. W. Mc Pherson, *The Mounds of Egypt*, Cairo 1913, 220 ff., s.v. *raby*; P. N. Hamond, *L'Égypte sous Méhémet Ali*, Paris 1843, I, 314-20; Prisse d'Avances, *Poëtes mémoires secrets sur la cour d'Égypte sous d'une étude sur les almds*, Paris 1920. Auriant, *Kendishah Harem, Calcutta de Flaubert*, Paris, 1943.

**ALINDJAK** or **ALINDJA** (in Armenian Erindjak, a district of the province Siunik\*), now ruins within the Naghshewā territory of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. The river Alindja flows into the Araxes near Old Djulfa. The ancient fortress Alindjak stood some 20 km. above its estuary on the right bank of the river, on the top of an extremely steep mountain (near the village Khānāskā). The fortress played a considerable role at the Timurid and Turkman period.

**Bibliography:** V. Minorsky, *Caucasica*, Jā, 1930, 93-4, 112. (V. MINORSKY)  
**ALISA** (or **ALVARA**) B. UGHU'U (or **YAGHU'U**), the biblical prophet Elisha. The Kur'an mentions him twice (VI, 86 and XXVIII, 26, second Meccan period) together with other apostles of Allah, without special comment. The Arabs have considered the first syllable as the article (discussion of variant

readings in al-Tabari, *Tafsir*, VII, 156 ff.). Muslim tradition identifies Alisa' with the son of the widow who sustained Elijah during the famine (I Kings XVII, 9 ff.). This son, a paralytic, was cured by Elisha (Elijah) and became his disciple, his companion and, eventually, his successor. Because of his parentage, some authors call him Ibn al-Adhū (son of the old woman), but others, including al-Tabari (loc. cit. and *Annals*, I, 515) give this sobriquet to Elisha (Ezekiel). In traditional Muslim chronology, Alisa' is placed much earlier in date than Tūlūt (Saul), and it is he who is said to have been evoked by the witch of Endor. His identification with one of the prophets of the Ark of the Covenant is a further detail derived from the history of Samuel. Some identify him with al-Bhūth (g.a.), or even with Dhū 'l-Kifl (g.a.), who is generally regarded as his successor.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references quoted in the article, see Tabari, I, 542 ff., 559; Kūnā' (Eisenberg), 248-50; Thālabī, *Asmā' al-Mudallāh*, Cairo 1370/1951, 239 ff.; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 152.

(M. SELIGSON-G. VAJDA)

**ALJAMIA**, Spanish transcription of the Arabic *al-ʿadamiyya* ("non-Arabic"), a term used by the Muslims of al-Andalus to denote the Romance dialects of their neighbours in the north of the Iberian peninsula—dialects now also called *al-ʿadamiyya*. It was only in the latter Middle Ages that the Spanish equivalent of this term, *aljama*, acquired the particular meaning which is attributed to it to-day, namely: a Hispanic Romance language (Portuguese, Galician, Castilian, Aragonese or Catalan, depending on the district) written, not in Latin, but in Arabic characters. The literature in *aljama* which has been preserved is therefore termed *aljama* literature.

This *aljama* literature, of which there exists a number of manuscripts, has been the subject of numerous studies in Spain itself, especially towards the end of the 19th century. It comprises a general works of a religious or legal nature in addition to poetical compositions, usually didactic in tone, and a few works of fiction in prose. In considering this literature, a distinction must be made between the works written in Spain itself, before the expulsion of the Moors by Philip III in 1609, and those, more numerous, written after that date, in particular by the Moorish communities established in Tunisia (see **MORISCO**). In the first group, the most important work, which apparently dates back to the 14th century, is the anonymous *Libro de Yūsuf*, by R. Menéndez Pidal, who has edited and commented on this poem (*Poema de Yūsuf: materiales para su estudio*, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, VIII, Madrid 1902; new edition, Granada 1952), thinks it is the work of an Aragonese Morisco. It consists of a version in Spanish verse of Kur'an, XII (*Surat Yūsuf*), embellished with elements borrowed from Muslim legends of the prophet. In the second group, the poetical compositions of another Aragonese Morisco, Muhammad Rabadān, a native of Rueda de Jalón, deserve special mention; composed about 1601, they consist of strophic poems which narrate,

following in general Abu'l-Hasan al-Bari, the various episodes of the *sira* of the Prophet. About the same period (beginning of the 17th century), an account of a pilgrimage to Arabia was composed, also in rhymed strophes, by a Morisco known as Albalchante (*al-baldhi*) of Puay Masadān. An anti-Christian polemical poem composed in 1627 by Juan Pérez, a Morisco from Alcalá de Henares, who had emigrated to Tunisia, and whose original name was Ibrahim Taybil, must also be mentioned.

Dating from the same period are the Muslim apologetics written in *aljama*, for instance that composed in 1615 by 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Allī Pérez. To this literature also belong some apocryphal narratives concerning the Prophet or one of his Companions (for instance Tamīm al-Dīrī). Others recount biblical episodes or are biographies of more or less legendary characters (especially Alexander *Dhū 'l-Karnayn*).

Finally attention must be drawn to the discovery of private letters written in *aljama*, the most characteristic—write, hardly later than the capture of Granada in 1492 by the Catholic Kings—has recently been published in facsimile by I. de Las Cagigas *Una Carta aljamíada granadina*, in *Arábica*, 1934, 271-5. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**Bibliography:** Manuscripts: There are scattered MSS at Paris, Algiers, Aix-en-Provence, Uppsala, the British Museum, Cambridge, the Escorial. For the few MSS at Toledo see: A. González Palencia, *Noticia y Extracto de MSS árabes y aljamíados*, in *Miscelánea de Estudios y Textos Árabes*, Madrid 1915. The three main collections are: (1) that of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (see F. Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de MSS árabes*, etc., Madrid 1889); (2) the "manuscritos de la Junta" now at the Escuela de Estudios Árabes, Madrid. This is particularly interesting as preserving almost intact a large hoard of MSS found at Almonacid in 1884 (see J. Ribera and M. Asín, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamíados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*, Madrid 1912, which also includes a description of MSS at Saragossa). (3) For the Gargayans collection at the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, the only description is in E. Saavedra, *Índice de la Literatura Aljamíada*, appendix to his *Discurso*, in *Memorias de la Real Academia Española*, VI, Madrid 1878, still a fundamental work, but made before the discovery at Almonacid. On the spelling of the text, see J. D. M. Ford, *Old Spanish Subjunctives*, Boston 1906. Published works in *aljama*: P. G. J. Ribera and M. M. Sánchez, *Selección de textos aljamíados*, Saragossa 1888; H. Morf, *Poema de José*, in *Gratulationschrift der Universität Zürich an die Universität Zürich*, Leipzig 1883; K. V. Zetterstéen, in *MO*, 1921, 1-174; R. Menéndez Pidal, and I. de Las Cagigas, see above. In accurate transliteration: J. Cantónau, in *Jā*, 1927, 9-17; J. N. Lincoln, in *American Geographical Review*, 1939, 183 ff.; idem, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1937, 651 ff.; A. R. Nykl, *A Compendium of Aljamíada Literature*, in *Revista Hispanica*, LXXVI; M. J. Müller, in *SBBayr. Ak.*, 1860, 201 ff.; M. Schmitt, in *Romanische Forschungen*, 1901, 315 ff.; D. Lopes, *Textos em aljamia portuguesa*, Lisbon 1897. In free transliteration: F. Guillén Robles, *Los aljamíados*, 3 vols. (Madrid 1883-6; idem, *Leyendas de José y de Alejandro Magno*, Saragossa 1888; *Historia de los amores de París y Viana*, in *Revista Histórica*, 10, XXII, Barcelona 1876; M. de Pano y Ruete, *Las Coplas del Peregrino de Puay*

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**'ALKAMA** B. 'ABADA AL-TAMIMI, surnamed al-Fahl, early Arab poet, was active in the first half of the 6th century. His poetry relates to the Lakhmid, which took place between the Lakhmid and the Ghassanids; as the spokesman of his tribe he is reported to have obtained, by reciting a *hujā* (no. 2, ed. W. Ahlwardt, *The Diwan of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870), the release of his brother Sha'n and the other Tamimites whom the Ghassanid king, al-Harith b. Djabala (ca. 529-569), had taken prisoner. Arab tradition connects 'Alkama with Imru' al-Kays (d. ca. 540), with whom he is supposed to have fought and won a literary contest as a result of which Imru' al-Kays divorced and 'Alkama married the empress Dujāna. The style of their work would bear out the suggestion of some sort of artistic association such as the anecdote implies. The oft-remarked similarities between 'Alkama (cf. Ahlwardt), and Imru' al-Kays, 4 (Ahlwardt), indicate a certain confusion of the two literary personalities on the part of the *ruwā*. Already Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen*, 68 ff., noted that in all likelihood 'Alkama is the older ode. 'Alkama shares with Imru' al-Kays a predilection for the longer and more tranquil meters. Stylistic and thematic kinship justifies the grouping of the two poets together as representatives of a distinct "school". A certain enrichment of the techniques of description may possibly be traced to 'Alkama. The poems Ahlwardt, 8 and 12, are spurious, so the chronological conclusions which Nöldeke (*Die Ghasanischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's Abh. Abad.*, D. Wissenau, Berlin 1887, 36) and, following him, Brockelmann (I, 48) have based on them must be dismissed. The Arab critics include 'Alkama among the *hujāl* or powerful poets (literally "stallions").

**Bibliography:** The *Diwan* of 'Alkama was first published, together with a German translation, by A. Socin, Leipzig 1867, then the text alone, by Ahlwardt in the edition mentioned above; text with commentary by al-'Alam al-Shantamari, by Muhammad Ben Cheneb (Algiers 1951); further references: *Aghād*, VII, 127-8; XXI, 271-3; de Slane, *Le Diwan d'Aswad 'Adhān*, Paris 1857, 80; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, II, 314; G. E. von Grunbaum, in *Orientalia*, 1930, 328-45. (G. E. VON GRUNBAUM)

**AL-'ALKAMĪ** is, on the authority of the geographers Kūdhama and al-Masūdī, the name used in the 3rd-4th/10th-11th centuries for the western branch of the Euphrates, between its bifurcation at or near the modern Hindiyya Barrage (44° 16' E, 36° 40' N) and its loss in the medieval Great Swamp. The proportion of Euphrates water using this or the eastern (al-Sūrā', or modern Hilla) channel, has



varied from period to period throughout medieval and modern times; the western branch has finally been dominant, and the eastern merely a controlled canal, since the early 20th century; but al-'Alkāmī, using a bed not necessarily identical with the modern "Hindiyā river", probably represented the main stream. It passed by the important towns of al-Kāntara (on both banks) and Kūfa (right bank). The name of the river Ibn al-'Alkāmī [e.g.] was taken from the river.

*Bibliography:* Le Strange, 74; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 311; cf. also al-FARĀHĪ (S. H. LONGRIGG).

ALKANNA [see al-HINNA?]

ALKĀS MIRZĀ (or ALKĀS, ALKĀSP), second son of Shāh Ismā'īl I of the Safawī dynasty, and younger brother of Shāh Tahmāsp I. Born Tabriz 921/1515-6, he fought a successful action at Astarābād against the Uzbeks in 939/1532-3. In 945/1538-9 he subdued Shirvān, and was made governor of that province by Tahmāsp. He rebelled soon afterwards, but was granted a conditional pardon through the intercession of his mother Khān Beg Khānum. At the instance of Tahmāsp, he fought an inconclusive campaign against the Circassians, but again rebelled, minting his own coinage and including his name in the *shāhī*. In 953/1546-7 Tahmāsp launched his second Georgian expedition, and from Gāndjā dispatched 300 men against Alkās, Alkās, worsted in several engagements, fled to Constantinople via the Kōpāsk plain and the Crimea (954/1547-8).

He incited Sulaymān I to send another expedition against Persia, and in 955/1548-9 he was sent ahead of the main Ottoman army which advanced on Tabriz via Sīwās and Erzurum. The success of Tahmāsp's policy of laying waste the countryside obliged Sulaymān to retire from Tabriz after only five days. Alkās accompanied Sulaymān at the capture of the fortress of Wān, and interceded for the garrison. But he had fallen in Sulaymān's estimation because his presence in Persia had not evoked the support promised, and Sulaymān willingly agreed that Alkās should leave Baghdad and raid Persia with a force of irregulars (he refused to allow him any Janissaries). Alkās marched to Hamadān, where he destroyed the palace of his brother Bāhrām and captured his son Bādī' al-Zamān Mirzā, and thence to Rum, Kāhīn and Isfahān. Then, instead of complying with Sulaymān's order to rejoin him, he went on to Shīrāz, and sent a conciliatory letter to Tahmāsp. (Ibn al-Hidjāz 955/January-1549). Proceeding towards Baghdad, he was opposed by Muhammad Pasha, Governor of Baghdad, and fled to Ardānā, where he was handed over to Tahmāsp by Sulaymān Beg, the ruler of Ardānā, on condition that his life was spared. According to Tahmāsp's own account, Alkās was imprisoned at Alandī, where he was killed a few days later, ostensibly as the result of a private feud, but probably by Tahmāsp's connivance.

*Bibliography:* *Tadhkirat-i Shāh Tahmāsp*, ed. Philott, Calcutta 1912 (P. Horn, *Denkverdi-heiten Shāh Tahmāsp des I.*, 36, 64 ff., 114); Hasan Rīmī, *Asmā al-Tawārikh*, Calcutta 1921; Sharaf Khān Bidlīs, *Sharaf-nāma*, St. Petersburg 1873; Polwet, 267 ff.; Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, vi, 7 ff.; Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, I, 309-10, 505 note.

(R. M. SAVORY)

ALLĀH, God the Unique one, the Creator and Lord of the Judgment, polarizes the thought of Islam; He is the sole reason for its existence.

ALLĀH was known to the pre-Islamic Arabs; he was one of the Meccan deities, possibly the supreme deity and certainly a creator-god (cf. Kur'ān, xlii, 16; xlix, 63, 65; xxxi, 23; xxxix, 38; xliii, 87). He was already known, by Antonomasia, as the God, al-*Ilāh* (the most likely etymology; another suggestion is the Aramaic *Alāhā*—For *Alāh* before Islam, as shown by archaeological sources and the Kur'ān, see *ilāh*).

But the vague notion of supreme (not sole) divinity, which *Alāh* seems to have connoted in Meccan religion, was to become both universal and transcendental; it was to be turned, by the Kur'ānic preaching, into the affirmation of the Living God, the Exalted One.

I. ALLĀH IS THE SUR'ĀN.

A Muslim tradition tells us that *shā* *surā* *xcvi* was the first to "come down" to the Prophet Muhammad; so the mission entrusted to him was from the first the preaching of the Word of *Alāh* ("Preach", *xcvi*, 1 and 3). *Alāh*, as is said to Muhammad in the first *surā*, is *thy Lord* (*rabbaka*, *xcvi*, 1), Creator of man, the Very Generous, "Who teaches man that which he knew not" (*xcvi*, 3). The great Kur'ānic leit-motiv, *bismillāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm*, "in the name of God, the merciful Benefactor" (cf. R. Blachère's translation), opens the announcement of the imparted message and is repeated at the head of each *surā*. It may be that it contains a reference to the *Rahmān* of pre-Islamic south Arabia, and that *Rahmān* should be taken as a divine proper name. The fact remains that the root *RHM* came to connote, in the course of the Islamic centuries, precisely the concept of benefaction, of clemency, of mercy, and that the expression *rahmat Allāh*, "God's mercy", was to become, in the spiritual writers, as it were an evocation of the mysterious profundities of divinity in its relations with man.—Hence, from the beginning of Muhammad's preaching, the affirmation of God, *Alāh*, as benefactor, creator, bountiful, imparting instruction to men through a messenger, of whom He is, in a special way, the Lord.

(A) *The great themes.*

From a historical point of view, we shall accept the distinctions generally admitted to exist (with some differences as to detail, see Nöldeke, Grime, Blachère) between the three Meccan periods and the Medinan period, distinctions which roughly agree with some Muslim traditions (cf. *sur* *lxv*). But although these various periods give us a multiplicity of perspectives and new flashes of illumination, there is strictly speaking no progressive revelation of *Alāh*. The Kur'ān is not a theological exposition of the existence, nature and attributes of God. Muslim faith has always regarded the text of the Kur'ān as God's Word made manifest to man, in which God says what He wishes about Himself, God is "the benefactor Who teaches the Preaching" (iv, 1-2), which is addressed to "the pious who believe in the Mystery" (*ghayb*) (ii, 2-3). God remains mysterious, unapproachable (xlii, 50-51). He is declared in His transcendent perfections and in His dealings with the world; and every action of the Almighty (*al-'Alīm al-'Alīm*) is the restatement of the inscrutable mystery, for "the sight cannot perceive Him, while He can perceive the sight" (vi, 103).

Without a risk of breaking the very rhythm of *suras* and verses, it is not easy to pick out, still less easy to classify, the themes concerning God. Three seem to us to predominate, but they must be taken as a whole.

1. *God of creation, judgment and retribution.* He is "creator (*khalīq*) of all things" (xlii, 16). He is the absolute originator (*hādī*). He creates what He wishes (xlii, 49; v, 17) by His command (*amr*), by the *kun* ("Be!") which causes existence (e.g. xxxvi, 82; xi, 117). He is the bestower of all good, the supreme judge (*hākim*) and "the justest judge" (*adl*, 8).

The oldest *suras* proclaim God's unlimited sovereignty (*rabbūbiyya*) over His creation, particularly His human creation, and His attributes of sovereign judge and king (*malik*). The final shock is given to minds and hearts by the news of the Judgment (*yawm al-dīn*; see all *suras* *lxvi*) and the imminence of the Hour (lii, 50-57; liv, 1, etc.), which is known to God alone (e.g. lxxix, 43-44; xliii, 85). The manner of this preaching may vary, but never its essential contents. For variations of theme relate less to God in Himself than to relations between God and the community of believers, depending on obstacles encountered or successive organizations. Thus, for example, the dichotomy of the Elect and the Damned (*lxxiv*) at the end of the first Meccan period, and the Medinan leit-motiv of the "hypocrites" (*munaḍḍikān*) "whom God will mock" (ii, 15).—The Meccan *suras* of the first two periods stress the eschatological advent of the Hour; in them, God appears essentially as the sovereign judge, having jurisdiction because He is the omnipotent creator of man (cf. lxxviii, 17-19, which follows logically on lxxiii, 6-8; lxxx, 18-21; xiv, 48, etc.). The theme of retribution is resumed however in the Medinan *suras* (xxxiii, 63; xiv, 25-26, etc.). Here and there perspective doubtless changes. At Mecca there is blunt teaching, intended to bring about an admission of faith in the mystery of God, the Judge and Creator, by means of the rhythmic rapping-out of asseverations. At Medina the same mystery is as it were recalled; presented to the heart's recollection (*dhikr*), as a witness to the eschatological value of daily life itself, urging the Muslim, whether he be "believer" or "hypocrite", to be constantly mindful of the Hour, in his every action; therefore urging the "hypocrite" to the "return", to conversion.

The same variations and resumptions of a single theme recur in the presentation of the divine management of human history. The Medinese *suras* relate in minute detail the story of Adam, proceed to the history of the prophets, from Noah to Jesus, and state what God's will is of the community of believers. But there it appears as a sequence of discontinuous interventions and revelations (cf. *hadar*) of God, which, as the Meccan preaching had already said, encompasses all things, both in and out of time. For God is "the King of life and death" (xcii, 13); a theme constantly reverted to later, e.g. xv, 23; ii, 258, etc.). From the very first *suras* Noah is evoked (liii, 52), and Abraham and Moses (lxxx, 19; liii, 36-37), and the tribes of Thamūd (xci, 17) and 'Ād (lxi, 51, etc.). In the second Meccan period, God's plans for the Nations, for Thamūd and 'Ād, mingled with intimations of the Judgment (cf. lix and lxxix); to the second and third Meccan periods belong the most fully developed accounts of the history of the prophets. Mixed with the theme of the judgment of peoples, that of the judgment of every individual human being is constantly stated.

2. *God, Unique and One in Himself.* In all of the earliest *suras*, God is *thy* Lord. Subsequently He is called Creator, Benefactor, Help, Judge. He is the Most High (lxxx, 1). He is given these names by virtue of those attributes of His godhead which have

some connection with man. The particular attribute of His godhead in which the faith of Islam was to have its focus is first stated as an answer to man's errors and impieties: God the One.

*Sūra* liii, 39 and 43, contain a condemnation of the Meccans who have been accustomed to ascribe partners and daughters to Allāh. For Allāh is *waḥid*, sole divinity. "Your God is One" (xxxvii, 4), the believers are told. The assertion is constantly repeated throughout the Book, constantly restated in the Medinan period (e.g. ii, 163). It is the very core of the preaching concerning God: "It has been revealed to me only that your God is One God"; Muhammad says again and again (e.g. xli, 5, etc.).

But in a verse of the first Meccan period is found what is perhaps a stronger affirmation that Allāh is One in Himself. In relation to man, sole divinity, *waḥid*; in Himself, One in His nature of deity, *ahad* (xcii, 1).—Sole and One, the two Names come together in the Unity, the *tawḥid*, and its absolute transcendence. Such is the meaning of the "witness" of Islam, the *shahāda*. As early as that 73rd *surā*, which, according to the traditions, gave rise to the conversion of 'Umar, the assertion appears: "There is no divinity—save Him (*ahwā*)!" (lxxiii, 9). The second Meccan period declares: *innam Allāh—ilā ilāh* *lā ilāh* *illā* *And*, "I, I am God—there is no divinity save Me" (lx, 14); and that the mystery of this divine "I" is the Real (*ḥaqīq*, xx, 114; xviii, 44).—Lastly, the short *surā* xcii, of uncertain date (referred by some to the Medinan period), is known as the *surā* of Unity (*tawḥid*) *par excellence*: God Alone, the Master, not begetting and not begotten; without equal: an assertion of the unity of the divine nature as such, its intrinsic mystery unfathomed (cf. xliii, 91).

3. *God omnipotent and merciful.* The twofold aspect of the mystery of God in relation to His creation: Lord of the worlds (lxxxiv, 29; a very frequent expression) in His unquestioned omnipotence and His forgiving benevolence, is found in all periods of the Kur'ān alike, with varying shades of expression and emphasis. The quality of omnipotence is the first enunciated. He is "the Lord of Easts and Wests" (lxx, 49; cf. lxxii, 9); but it is precisely this which encourages the believer to see in Him a protector, a surety (*waḥid*, lxxii, 9) and to exalt that power of mercy and forgiveness on which the text is so insistent. The names *rahmān*, *rahīm*, *ghafūr*, *ghabūr*, benefactor, merciful, forgiving, overlooking, are among those which occur most frequently. What is first brought into notice is, on the one hand, the inscrutable omnipotence of God and, on the other hand, the total and trusting committal of oneself which is demanded by night, by way of response to this omnipotence, of all who devote themselves to the Lord. A text of the Medinan period (iv, 3) makes the "committal to God" (*tdāw*) into the religion itself, but already in the eschatological *suras* of the first period, the believer is exhorted to entrust himself to the gracious bounty (*ni'ma*, xciii, 32) of the Lord. God is the refuge and the guide (xciii, 6-7); the whole of *surā* lv (of the second Meccan period, according to Grime; with later additions, according to Bell) proclaims the wrath of the Merciful, Lord of majesty (*djalāl*) and generosity (*ikrām*), against those who reject His benefactions.

(B) *The Signs and Names of Allāh.*

Thus God, through His prophets, is continually revealing to man the unexpressed mystery of His







for certain criticisms raised in Islam against its legitimacy). We shall take it in its established form, assuming a knowledge of its historical origins, the influences it underwent, the formation of the various schools (see *taḥṣīl*). A reminder: 1) under the Umayyads: the Muḥāḍites, Kadārites, Ḍabābites; 2) the Muḥāḍites, originally political (1st/2nd century), then doctrinal (2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries), who triumphed under Ma'mūn but were subsequently regarded as "heterodox" for centuries; 3) from the 4th/10th century onward, the official Aḡharite and Hanafite-Māturīdite lines. The conclusions vary with the diverse attitudes towards the relation of reason ('aql) and the Law (shar'), or of reason ('aql) and tradition (naql, taḥṣīl), or of rational ('aql) and authoritarian (naql) proofs.

The 'ilm al-halām came to sustain itself by means of two other "religious sciences": 1) the science of *ḥadīth* provided texts regarded as authoritative proofs, which took up one theme or another of the Kur'anic teaching, in a picturesque, even mythical, manner (cf. the six "authentic" collections, *ṣaḥīḥ*, particularly the *ṣaḥīḥ al-bayḥaqī* of Buḥārī or *corpus*). Numerous traditions relate, on the one hand, to God's mercy and forgiveness (e.g. "My mercy outweighs My wrath or takes precedence of it", Buḥārī, *Taḥṣīl*, 169, 175); on the other hand, to His absolute kingship ('I am the King; where are the kings of the earth?" id., 167, 181); on the one hand, to human responsibility (texts in Buḥārī or Muslim, chap. *Kadār*), on the other hand, to the preordained decree (e.g. these oft-quoted *ḥadīths*: "All the hearts of mankind are like one single heart between two of the fingers of the Merciful", and: "These for heaven, and I care not; those for hell, and I care not"). Many *ḥadīths* had great influence on the formation of current notions and the popular attitude concerning God.

2) The science of *tafsīr*, or exegetic interpretation, played a leading part in the use and understanding of those Kur'anic verses which speak of God, particularly the anthropomorphic passages.

*Ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* were employed in various ways by the schools of *ḥalām*.

If we refer to the problems of the *ḥalām* (which is, in its essentials, of Muḥāḍite origin), we find two great principles directly concerning God: 1) the principle of *taḥṣīl* or divine unity; 2) the principle of 'aql, or the justice of God in connection with the requital of human actions. As against the "free-thinkers" of their day, the Muḥāḍites had presented themselves as "the people of unity and justice", *aḥl al-taḥṣīl wa 'l-'aql*. These problems continued to inspire later schools. Only their titles changed. The great classic manuals of the Aḡharites and Māturīdites (e.g. *Sharḥ al-Mawāḍif* of Ḍurḍjānī, *Makṣid* of Taḥṣīlī, etc.) called the first principle *waḥdīyāt Allāh wa 'l-ṣifāt* ("the existence and attributes of God"), and the second *ḥukūmah al-'aql* ("the actions of the Exalted One"). Here are the main questions raised in connection with both.

#### (A) *Taḥṣīl*.

##### 1. The Existence of God (*waḥdīyāt Allāh*).

All schools agree in quoting those Kur'anic verses (cf. above) which bid the reason to "reflect on the signs of the universe", and "use them to the affirmation of the Creator. But: (a) according to the Muḥāḍites, there is involved in this an obligation inherent in the nature of reason, prior to the promul-

gation of the Law; (b) according to the Māturīdites, reason should, by rights, have been able to attain to the knowledge of its Creator, but was actually brought to it by the promulgation of the Law; (c) for the Aḡharites, the employment of the reason and of reasoning in order to rise to God, is a purely legal (revealed) obligation. Cf. al-Ḍurḍjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḍif*, Cairo 1325/1907, I, 251 ff. In other words: if the Law had not laid down the obligation, human reason could never have attained to the existence of God (cf. al-Ḍurḍjānī, *al-Makṣid*, Cairo, s.d., 77-8). The affirmation of the existence of God, for the Aḡharite school as a whole, is therefore the result of a rational ('aql) argument, prescribed by an argument of authority (here, *ḥadīth*).

Whatever the nature of this obligation, the schools are as one with regard to the rational argument itself. What is involved is a proof of the existence of God a *novissime* mundi, linked with the entirely contingent and perishable character of the world, as the Kur'ān teaches and reason can convince itself. For the *ḥalām*, the temporal beginning and end of the world are demonstrable truths. There is then an inference (*istidlāl*) which proceeds, with no universal middle term, from this utter inadequacy of the created to the necessary (*waḥdīyāt*) existence of the Creator, Who alone exists from all eternity and alone is self-subsistent (truth being *ḥaqīqīyāt*).

This inference, in the early days of the *ḥalām* (Muḥāḍites as well as Aḡharites) was set out as a piece of reasoning in two terms. Among the later *mutakallimīn*, more directly imbued with the Aristotelian logic, it frequently took the shape of a syllogistic deduction (both forms are found in al-Ḍurḍjānī). The argument is given in all the manuals as a "decision" (*ḥaḍf*) proof. Only rarely, under influences proceeding from the *jalāfa*, does it take the form of the proof a *contingentia mundi* in the strict sense. The world is *muḥdath*, and in the treatises of *ḥalām* this term stays very close to its etymological sense of "begun" in time (see the works of Wessink and S. de Beaucourt, cited in the bibliography, on the proofs of the existence of God).

#### 2. The Attributes of God (*ṣifāt Allāh*).

(a) *Relations between essence and attributes*. This was one of the most controversial topics. Some old traditionists held fast to the letter of the texts and set themselves against all research that might be called rational. Their opponents, exaggerating the rigidity of the position they were attacking, called them *magṣūḥīn* ("compensators"), who give bodily attributes to God, or again, contemptuously, *ḥaḡḡīyā*. They accused them of *ḡaḡḡ*: comparing God to the created.

In their anxiety to purify the concept of *taḥṣīl*, the Muḥāḍites extolled, on the contrary, *taḥṣīl*, "withdrawal", the *ṣifāt* *remotionis* which they applied with extreme rigour: one must deny God every created thing as the Kur'ān commands. The Ḍabābites, disciples of the Ḍabābīte Ḍahm b. Salwān, had practically denied the existence of the attributes, God being known only as an inscrutable omnipotence. The Muḥāḍite *taḥṣīl*, on the other hand, took the theistic standpoint of a ruling God. They recognized the divine attributes of knowledge, power, speech, etc., but asserted that they were "identical with the essence", a distinction which was, for them, hardly more than nominal.

The "orthodox" schools likewise practised *taḥṣīl*, i.e., they denied God any resemblance to anything:

He is neither body nor substance (*ḡṣarḡ*), in the sense of bounded substance) nor accidents, nor is He localized, etc. (It must be noted that the Karrāmites had recognized God as substance, by which they understood self-existent).—The Aḡharite reform, in the name of the "golden mean", held itself equally aloof from the Muḥāḍite tendency to prove everything rationally, and from the literalism of the *magṣūḥīn*. This was the famous principle *biḥāḡ hayf wa lā taḡḡḡ*, "without 'how' or comparison". It accused the Muḥāḍite *taḥṣīl* of amounting to the same as *taḡḡ*, divesting the attributes of all reality and making of God no more than an empty concept. The Aḡharites, for their part, while recognizing the entire reality of the attributes, since the Kur'ān informs us of them, yet affirmed that this reality can in no way compromise the perfect divine Unity. Simultaneously opposing Muḥāḍites and *jalāfa*, and following al-Ḡazālī, they later arrived at this approximation: "the attributes subsist in the divine essence; they are not God and are nothing other than He".

A kindred solution was advanced by certain Aḡharites who remained faithful to the conceptual theory of "modes" (*ahwāl*) of the Muḥāḍite Abū Ḥaḡhīm: e.g. al-Ḍurḍjānī (13th/14th century); on this point the so-called "modern" school (6th-7th/12th-13th century) of Faḡḡ al-Dīn al-Rādī, Ḍurḍjānī, etc. was at variance with him. The "mode" (*ḡḡ*) is an attribute which is attached to an existing thing but is itself qualified neither by existence nor by non-existence: that is how the relation between the divine essence and the attributes is to be understood.

This difficult theological problem was served by a philosophical instrument which went on striving to improve itself, and making progress, though not without occasionally stumbling. Thus, at the beginning of the Hanafite-Māturīdite line, we find in the *Fikḡ Akḡar II* (text of the time of Aḡḡarī), that God is a "thing" (*ḡḡ*). Much though this statement might later be ridiculed by some of the *mutakallimīn*, influenced by Greek thought, as used by the ancients it is clearly to be taken in the sense of "existing reality": "Allāh is thing, not as other things but in the sense of positive existence" (*Fikḡ Akḡar II*, Art. 41 of Wessink, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1902, 190). It was in this same sense that the term "body" or "bodily substance" (*ḡḡ*) was used in speaking of God; this practice of certain Karrāmites and Hanbalites was noted by Macdonald (EP).

The Māturīdites on the whole preferred not to distinguish God's attributes from Himself but to say: "God is knowing and has a knowledge which is attributed to Him in the sense of eternity", etc., thus laying stress on the divine Names (the Knowing, Willing, Powerful, Speaking, etc.).

(b) *List of attributes*. The guiding principle was to affirm no attribute not expressly indicated in the Kur'ān: the principle of *taḥṣīl*, "leaving it to God" to elucidate through scripture. The majority of the doctors of *ḥalām*, however, considered that it was not being false to the text to pass from the present participle, for example, to the noun, in accordance with the laws of language. Thus there evolved, in the course of the centuries, a list of attributes, enumerated in no particular order, to begin with (so in the *ḥalām* of al-Aḡḡarī), and then, especially from al-Ḍurḍjānī onward, sorted out and classified.

The order adopted, indeed, the appellations themselves, vary with the different schools (cf. *Sira*). To adhere to one commonly-held view, we offer the following list: 1) attribute of essence (*ṣifāt*

*al-ḡḡ*); *waḡḡḡ*, existence; in the case of God, not distinguished from essence; 2) "essential" (*ḡḡ* or *maḡḡ*) attributes, sometimes divided into (a) "negative" attributes which emphasize the divine transcendence: eternity (*ḡḡ*), permanence (*ḡḡ*), dissimilarity to the created (*al-muḡḡḡḡ al-ḡḡḡḡḡ*), self-subsistence (*ḡḡ* or *ḡḡ*),—and (b) *maḡḡ* attributes, "adding a concept to the essence": power (*ḡḡ*), will (*ḡḡ*), knowledge (*ḡḡ*), life (*ḡḡ*), speech (*ḡḡ*), hearing (*ḡḡ*), sight (*ḡḡ*), perception (*ḡḡ*): some denied that this was an attribute; 3) attributes of "qualification" (*maḡḡ*—*ḡḡ*), the *maḡḡ* attributes taken verbally: having power, willing, knowing, ... 4) attributes of action (*ḡḡ* or *ḡḡ*), designating not an intrinsic quality but a "possibility" of God, which God may or may not do: visibility (*ruḡḡat Allāh*), creation (*ḡḡ*), actual creation of the contingent world (the Māturīdite *ḡḡ*), command (*amr*), decree and predestination (*ḡḡ* and *ḡḡ*), whose relations with the divine knowledge and will vary according to the school, consent (*ḡḡ*: especially in Māturīdism), etc.

The Aḡharites and Māturīdites agree in taking the *maḡḡ* attributes as eternal, even if their object is contingent; against the Muḥāḍites who maintained, for example (school of Baḡra), that God has a "contingent" knowledge, with a beginning, of free human acts. On the other hand, Aḡharites and Māturīdites diverge over the "eternal" or "begun" character of the attributes of action: the Māturīdites generally regard them as eternal.

All but four of the attributes depend on the *ḡḡḡḡ*: they are taught by the Kur'ān but human reason can "prove" them. The other four, visibility, speech, hearing and sight ("perception" is sometimes included), depend on the *ḡḡḡḡḡḡ* and are knowable only because they have been revealed.

(c) *Two controversial attributes*. The "vision of God" (attribute of visibility) and Speech were hotly debated.

The vision of God (*ruḡḡat Allāh*) is understood as being through the eyesight, *bi 'l-ḡḡḡ*. The pious traditionists accepted it absolutely, interpreting in this sense Kur'ān, lxxv, 22-23, and numerous *ḡḡḡḡḡ*. The Muḥāḍites denied it no less absolutely, interpreting the Kur'anic text by a philosophical *laḡḡ* (cf. below). Aḡharites and Hanafite-Māturīdites upheld the vision of God, but emphasizing the *biḡḡ hayf*: every man will see God with his eyesight on the Day of Judgment, the elect will see Him (transiently) in Paradise,—but they will not see Him as one sees an object spatially situated and limited, and it is impossible to specify the manner of this vision (*ḡḡḡ*, Cairo 1348 h., 14, *Fikḡ Akḡar II*, 17).

The "traditional" (*ḡḡḡḡ*) attribute of Speech is of major importance, since by means of it God manifests Himself to men. The Muḥāḍites, precisely because of this manifestation in time, made of it a contingent "created" Speech (whence the thesis of the created, *muḡḡḡḡ*, Kur'ān). The Kur'ān is the Speech of God, but the latter is contingent. The Aḡharites, taking up that great affirmation which had earned Ibn Hanbal imprisonment and flogging, saw in it essential (*maḡḡ*) Speech, subsisting by the very existence of God. Hence the thesis of the "uncreated Kur'ān" (*ḡḡḡḡ muḡḡḡḡ*, *ḡḡḡ*, 20-22). But the school distinguished between it and its "created" expression, the Book and its recitation by human lips. In the 8/14th century, Ibn Taymiyya, meditating on and reviving the faith of the "pious ancients" (*ḡḡḡḡ*), found Muḥāḍites and Aḡharites equally



wanting: he reaffirmed the essential Speech of God, which expresses Him and sublimates in Him, and declared that this Speech, in its mystery, is Torah, Gospel, Qur'an (Futūḥ, Cairo 1329 b, v, 265-7).

### 3. *Mutaghābiḥ* Verses.

The veneration of the Qur'anic text, coupled with the inevitable mystery of the One God, soon confronted Muslim thought with the case of the "ambiguous" anthropomorphic (*mutaghābiḥ*) verses, which apparently liken God to the created. Are they to be accepted in pure faith, or should they be interpreted (*ta'wīl*) by exegesis (*tafsīr*)?

(a) The ancient traditionists took these verses at their face value. But it would be idle to bring against them an unqualified accusation of "corporealism", as their opponents did. The Ash'arites themselves declared valid the attitude of the "ancients" who, eschewing all *ta'wīl* or interpretation, took refuge in the *tafwīd* or commitment to God. God sits on His Throne (*istiwāʾ*), descends toward the earth, has eyes, has a hand, because the text says so. But no one knows the acceptation given by God to these terms; this attitude was attributed to Malik b. Anas in particular. It is hardly necessary to add that an attitude like this became "corporealist" only insofar as it tried to conceptualize itself and to justify itself discursively, but not insofar as it interiorizes itself in adherence to faith.

(b) But the Mu'tazilite schools, for their part, wished to justify dialectically the Muslim notion of God, in face of the Greek-inspired "God of the philosophers". On the one hand the emphasis placed on the Oneness of God, on the other their confidence in the rational criterion (*maʾnā ʾakhlī*), led the Mu'tazilites to an extensive use of *ta'wīl*. Their representative in *ta'wīl* was al-Zamakhshari, who adopted for his own purposes the philological method of al-Tabari. In this way "shining countenances, looking at their Lord" became, as al-Jubbaʾi suggested, "beautiful countenances, aspiring to the bounty of their Lord": the vision of God could be denied without contradicting the Qur'an.—Recourse may have to figures of speech, as well as to philology. The *miṭāḥ*, the covenant granted by God to the race of Adam in pre-eternity (vii, 172) was regarded as a metaphor (*maḥāṣ*), as were all the anthropomorphic passages.

(c) The first Ash'arites reacted against this use of reason in *tafsīr*. For them, the anthropomorphic terms, including the sitting on the throne and the motion in space, are just the expression of actions and attributes which are consistent with the divine Majesty but of which we can know neither the nature nor the manner, and which have nothing in common with the corresponding human actions or attributes. This was the *hiḍā kayf* attitude, often confused with that of the "ancients" and advanced by the master, al-Ash'ari himself.

(d) Later, under an influence picked up from the Mu'tazilites and especially from the *falāsifa* opposition, another attitude, known as that of the "moderate", was admitted into the *kalām*. *Ta'wīl* was permitted. Thus al-Djawayni, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, etc. The "hand" of God was interpreted as "the protection extended over mankind". His "eyes" denote "the intensity of His providence and watchfulness", etc. al-Rāzī, *Kitāb Asās al-Taḥḍīd*, Cairo 1327 b, 149f. A metaphorical interpretation, into which allegory may creep, if need be, and which comes very close to the Mu'tazilite legacy, with the following differences: *if* the attitude of the "an-

cients" is regarded as valid (cf. *Asās al-Taḥḍīd*, last chapter); 2) only the specifically anthropomorphic passages are accepted as metaphors; where the "apparent" (*zāhir*) sense would lead to a real impossibility: this was the position which Tabari had already taken up. But the vision of God, and the metaphorical fact of the covenant, were maintained in their strict sense, in conformity with the Ash'arite dogmatic.

### (B) *The actions of God (af'ālūhu ta'ālā).*

(The problem of justice and retribution.)

The Qur'an teaches the two great truths of divine omnipotence and human responsibility, good works rewarded, acts of "disobedience" punished. Muslim thinkers strove tirelessly to find the solution to this apparent conflict. This was the subject of the first controversies, as early as Damascus, between Ḍjābarites, Kadariites and Muḍḡirites. The great schools of *kalām* inherited it from them.

1. The Mu'tazilites affirm human freedom: man performs, as the Qur'an expressly states, and that He rewards or punishes him, as promised. Man receives the "acquisition", the attribution of his acts (*ḥaṣḥ*, *istihāḥ*: cf. Qur'an, ii, 281; lii, 21, etc.). At the end of the last century, Ḍjāḍūrī found this formula necessary: "man is a bound being, in the shape of a free being" (*Ḥaḍḥiyya ʿala ʾl-Ḍjāḍūrī*, Cairo 1324/1934, 62). On the empirical level, man must therefore continue to act as though he were free. But he must know that everything comes to him from God. If he acts well, it is because God in His Mercy has so decreed; if he acts badly, it is because God has so willed in His justice.

This negation of ontological liberty accords with the negation of the efficacy of what the causes (*ʿasāb*): as against the "comprehensible innovation" (*biʿāḥ*) of the Mu'tazilite thesis (efficacy of the *ʿasāb*), according to a "power" created by God, and against the absolute determinism of the causes ("cause" here rendered by *ʿilla*) taught in the *falāsifa*, a thesis tainted with *ḥur* (impety). (Cf. al-Sanūsī, *Muḥaddimāt*, Algiers 1908, 108-109; al-Ḍjāḍūrī, op. cit., 28).—For the Ash'arites, there is nothing efficacious about the second causes, because there is no conservation in being, on the part of God. There are discontinuous series of instantaneous creations, temporal existentializations of the eternal *ḥaḍḥ*. At every instant (*waḥḥ*), God creates and re-creates the world and the impermanent whole, extrinsically unified, which is man, and every act of man. The world of "free" acts, as well as the causes in its entirety, is a discontinuous sequence of insurmountable divine decrees. The "causes" are but the channels, the tokens, of this divine Will, and the "laws" are a "custom of God" (*ʿunwan Allāh*); the expression is still found in Muhammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-Taḥḍīd*, Cairo 1353, 7). It is a custom which God can always modify: as He does, for example, when He decides to give proof, by miracles (*muʾaʿjizāt*), of the mission of His prophets.

For most of the Ash'arites, though by no means all, there is an atomistic cosmology corresponding to the discontinuous view of things. Everything is but a concourse of atoms (*nukta*, *ḥurr*), connected, disconnected, reunited, by divine decrees. If it is true that al-Bisḥillān (4th/10th century) declared atomism to be "essential" (Massigron) with the Qur'anic dogma, it would, in our opinion, be going too far to see in this the pre-eminent characteristic aspect of Ash'arism, still more of all "orthodox" Muslim theology. This physico-theological atomism

an "attribute of contingent action", particularizing in time the things that are "begun", as they pass from non-being to being. As al-Ḍjāḍūrī says (*Taʾrīḥ al-ʿad*, Fligel, 1845, 181), "*ḥaḍḥ* is the relation of the essential Will to things in their individual realization"; and again: "*Kadār*, the passing of possible from non-being into being, one by one, in conformity with *ḥaḍḥ*. *Kaḍāʾ* is of the order of pre-emption (*ʿazāl*), *ḥaḍḥ* depends on the present order of things" (ibid.). It follows that one must distinguish between *irāda* and *amr*; it is the latter which is directly linked with man's obedience. God wishes the impety of the *irāda* and creates it in him, yet commands him to believe.

For man's "free" action, his *ihṭiyār*, is only a special case of more general principles. God is the creator of human acts, whatever they be. The text "God is creator of all that you do" is interpreted in the sense of a creation *ex nihilo*. True, man has a feeling of his own responsibility. This means that God sets down to his merit or demerit the action he performs, as the Qur'an expressly states, and that He rewards or punishes him, as promised. Man receives the "acquisition", the attribution of his acts (*ḥaṣḥ*, *istihāḥ*: cf. Qur'an, ii, 281; lii, 21, etc.). At the end of the last century, Ḍjāḍūrī found this formula necessary: "man is a bound being, in the shape of a free being" (*Ḥaḍḥiyya ʿala ʾl-Ḍjāḍūrī*, Cairo 1324/1934, 62). On the empirical level, man must therefore continue to act as though he were free. But he must know that everything comes to him from God. If he acts well, it is because God in His Mercy has so decreed; if he acts badly, it is because God has so willed in His justice.

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is actually of Mu'tazilite origin (Abu T-Hudhayf; cf. studies by Horten and S. Pines), and matched well then with the *ḥaḍḥ*, the "power" which man was recognized as having over his acts. An impressive line of Ash'arites, al-Bisḥillān al-Jāḍī, al-Ḍjāḍūrī (with some modifications), the "freedom conservatives" of such men as al-Sanūsī, al-Laḥnī and al-Ḍjāḍūrī, remained faithful to the occasionalist atomism as being the most favoured explanation of the divine omnipotence over the world. But another line, influenced to some small extent by the disputed theses of the *falāsifa*, passed over in its silence (al-Ḍjāḍūrī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) or greatly modified it (al-Shāh-rānī), although still affirming the useful theses on God's *ḥaḍḥ* and *ḥaḍḥ* and the simple human *ihṭiyār*.

3. Some Māturīdites (Abū Ḥafs al-Nasafī, al-Taḥḍīr) were atomists. But we wish to lay particular emphasis on the more directly psychological aspect in which the Hanafite-Māturīdite school as a whole regarded the relations between the divine decrees and human freedom. From the first, *ḥaḍḥ* and *ḥaḍḥ* were no longer related to the divine Will, but to the divine Knowledge:—and, counter to the Ash'arites, it was *ḥaḍḥ* that was to be eternal, while *ḥaḍḥ* was connected with existentialization in time. *Kadār* was therefore an eternal foreknowledge whereby God knows, from all eternity, the beautiful (good), ugly (bad) or harmful qualities of His creatures, while *ḥaḍḥ* was God's existentialization of these same things, created with wisdom and perfection (cf. 'Abd al-Rahīm b. 'Alī, *Naḥḥ al-Farāʾid*, and ed., Cairo n.d., 28-30; and al-Ḍjāḍūrī, *Ḍjāḥara*, 66).

For the majority of the Māturīdites, there exists in things a "rational" good (beautiful) and evil (ugly), on the plane of being, not directly on the moral plane (a thesis already noted in connection with the Ash'arite al-Rāzī). On the moral plane, it is God Who directly creates the basis (*asāḥ*) of man's "free" actions, but it is man's power which makes their qualification (*ḥiṣṣa*) good or bad. (It should be noted that al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Arḥān*, 227, and al-Ḍjāḍūrī, *Ḍjāḥ al-Manāḥil*, viii, 147 ascribe this thesis, whose tenor is Māturīdite, to al-Bisḥillān. All that happens is willed by God; but only the good depends on His consent (*irāda*). God is not bound to be just, as the Mu'tazilites say: His action is not just because He wishes it, as the Ash'arites say: He is above all justice by reason of His knowledge and wisdom. He is unable not to be just.

4. We have no need to follow here the abundant efforts of the doctors of the *kalām* to strengthen their arguments and to resolve the objections that were constantly cropping up. Those who were not satisfied with the Ash'arite theory of *ḥaḍḥ*, of acts imposed from outside, undertook more reconduct analyses: thus we have the theory (common to Ash'arites and Māturīdites) of *irāda ʿiṣā* or "capacity" (for an act), created by God previously or simultaneously (cf. al-Djawayni, *Irḥāḍ*, ed. Luciani, 1938, 122/196, 125/201; al-Ḍjāḍūrī, *Taʾrīḥ al-ʿad*, 18, etc.); the theory of *taḥḍīd* or *taḥḍīd* (i.e., which explains the "generation" of the transitive act by the divine occasionalism; and the theory of *taḥḍīd* (i.e., "facilitation" of acts, especially of good acts, faith and obedience, which is created in man by the divine favour (*ḥaḍḥ*), and its (positive) opposite, *ḥaḍḥ* or divine "abandonment" ("creation in man of the power to disobey", according to a definition by the Māturīdite al-Taḥḍīr, *Makḥḍ*, Istanbul ed., 118), etc.



We can see that these efforts of minute analysis, applied to problems of great complexity, may well have looked like disheartening intellectual games, to those who wished to remain true to the sense of mystery of the "pious ancestors", and who refused to "prove dogma" (cf. al-Djurgānī, *Shāhīd al-Manāḥif*, I, 34-35) as the later Ash'arites aspired to do. The *kalām* had its greatest opponents (apart from the *falāsifa* opposition) in the Hanbalite and Zāhirite systems of thought, which were wedded to tradition and mistrustful of the use of reason in matters of faith. Al-Ghazzālī too was very severe with the *kalām*, on occasion. Yet it is sometimes among these opponents that we find the most pertinent bases of analysis of the relations between the free act and the divine omnipotence.

Thus Ibn Haḥm (4th-5th/10th-11th century) the Zāhirite, who denied any criological capacity to the reason (one can speak of Ibn Haḥm's "nominalism"), but it is a nominalism centred on the effective value of language and its internal laws, and who meant to hold fast to the precise declarations of the scriptures: he rejected the Ash'arite *ḥash*, since the texts, he said (*Fisāḥ*, Cairo 1347 B., III, 48) allow neither a "creation" by man of his acts (Mu'tazilite) nor an "acquisition" conferred by God (Ash'arite); but his whole refutation, highly discursive, of the opposing theories (ch. 51-52) is pertinently developed; while a valuable personal analysis is outlined in connection with *ḥash*'s (pt. 21-26 and 31).

Al-Ghazzālī, not indeed the Ghazzālī of the *Iḥṣāʾ*, who confines himself to presenting or rather to improving the theses of the Ash'arites, minimizing, moreover, the scope of the *kalām* (7-8), but the al-Ghazzālī of the *Tahḥūṭ* and, above all, of the *Iḥṣāʾ* (Cairo 1352/1933, IV, 219) carries out an extremely shrewd psychological analysis on the subject of "choice" and the relations of intellect and will in the free act. He defends an irrational concept of freedom and maintains that God alone, who acts without motive (*ghayr gharaḥ*) is totally free, with a freedom conceived as a free human choice, subject to the power of infinity. What the *mudhalīmīn* called *ḥash* is an "intermediate stage" (*Iḥṣāʾ*, IV, 220) which is not at all a participation in the divine freedom. Man acts of necessity, in the sense that everything which happens in him comes not from him but from Another; he acts by free choice, in the sense that he is the place (*maḥall*) of the free act, which operates inevitably in him after the decision of the intellect, this last being only a matter of form. And al-Ghazzālī propounds this formula, which would be well not to interpret loosely: "Man is forced into free choice" (*ibid.*).

This concern with analysis was to dwindle to vanishing point in the later manuals, which, from the 13th century onward, hardly do more than repeat the formulas of the past. At the end of the 19th century, Muḥammad 'Abduh, wishing to free himself from the dialectic of the *kalām*, confined himself to saying: "As for seeking further, for wishing to reconcile God's omnipotence and will, which are proved by the Qur'ān and rational arguments, with the free activity of man, which is shown to us by the evidence [sensory, psychological]; that means seeking to penetrate the secrets of the divine decree. We are forbidden to plunge into this abyss and to concern ourselves with that which reason is scarcely capable of attaining" (*Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, 61).

### III. VARIOUS MUSLIM ATTITUDES TO GOD.

Some pointers, chosen from the most characteristic:

1. *Isma'īlī Theology*. There is much that could be said about the "schismatic" theologies, of Khārijīte Islam on the one hand, of Shī'ite on the other. We shall confine ourselves to the Isma'īlī system, which had so many cultural contacts with the Sunni majority. Integrated in it there is a twofold line of influence: Mu'tazilite (which continued to act on the Shī'a after the condemnation of the Mu'tazilites in the time of Mutaḥakkil) and Neoplatonic (consequently, a certain influence from *falāsifa*).

We know hardly anything of the very first phase of development or of its efforts to fix in an original direction such Muslim notions as *ḥaw*, *ḥadar*, etc. Not until Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Nasafī (4th/10th century) do we find these primitive conceptions given a new setting in a largely Neoplatonic, emanationist system. Speculation was pursued, and enriched by various trends, with Abū Hātim al-Rāzī, Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, Nāsir al-Khwarazmī (in whom S.M. Stern has found a probable influence of Fārābī: theory of the ten Intellects). Through the Khawān al-Safā, Isma'īlism was to influence many *falāsifa* and even Sunni theologians, up to the time of the conflict waged by Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭā'ī in favour of Ibn Sīnā.

The emphasis is on the inscrutable mystery of God. A whole "negative theology" developed. No name or attribute can be attached to God in His essence. The perfect *ṭawḥīd* does not even attribute existence (Persian: *ḥāṣṣ*) to Him, and the Qur'ānic Names signify only that those who hear them come from Him (cf. Idrīs al-Karāfī, 8/14th century). The Command (*amr*), the Speech or Word (*kalām*), the Act of Creation (*ibdā'*), the Absolute Knowledge (*ilm mahdī*) are hypostatized. God is neither eternal nor existing at present. What is eternal is His Command and His Speech; what exists at present is the creation, which emanated from Him at His Command (cf. al-Makrūzī, *Kāshif*, I, 395, quoted by G. Vajda, *Juda b. Nessim ben Malka*, Paris 1954, II, chap. 1). God remains, absolutely, the Unknowable (Nāsir al-Khwarazmī). The *taḥḥūṭ*-to-*ṭūl* dilemma is absorbed into a *via negationis*, which refers the affirmation of the attributes to the Word or the Command, or to the First or Universal Intellect.—Al-Kirmānī identifies the First Intellect with the Word, and makes the *ibdā'* (Act of Creation) one of its attributes.

The emanationist system of al-Nasafī and his successors set up, in fact, the intermediary of the Universal Intellect, from which the world is produced by way of successive emanations. The echoes are heard in the *Fuṣūṣ* fi 'l-Ḥikma (which, after the researches of S. Pines, REI, 1951, 121-124, is to be ascribed not to al-Fārābī but to Ibn Sīnā), and as far as al-Ghazzālī: the word of the *Muḥḥid al-Awḥād*.

Isma'īlī religious feeling attached itself to a group of Gnostic hypostases. The Will (*irāda*), Volition (*maḥḥa*) and Command (*amr*) are sometimes "spiritual grades" above the First Intellect; most often, Will, Command and Speech are identified with one another, and the Universal or First Intellect is itself, as the "manifestation" of God, unknowable and ineffable, operated by His Command. These speculations were rooted in an allegorical *ṭawḥīd* ("hidden", *ḥafīf*, meaning of Qur'ānic verses) and thrived readily on Iranian myths. They were later interiorized by certain Shī'ite, and even Sunni, Sūfīs.

2. *Falāsifa*. It was in *falāsifa* that the term *istāḥṣiyāt* (taken up by *kalām*) gained currency as denoting the whole mass of questions concerning God. The body of problems was no longer that of the *kalām*. It came from Greece, particularly from Aristotle, but was pervaded, at least in eastern *falāsifa* (especially al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā) by a considerable Neoplatonic inspiration (the pseudo-*Theology of Aristotle*). Qur'ānic influence had some effect on this body of problems (e.g. the problem of the divine knowledge of individuals), but the Qur'ān had ceased to be the chief source. We do not therefore need to set out the questions in detail, as we did in the case of the *kalām*. We shall note merely that Ibn Sīnā demonstrates the existence of God by the proof a *contingentia mundi* in the strict sense (not overlooking the proof by the "idea of being", *Iḥṣāʾ*, ed. Forget, 146). The more flexible philosophic instrument of the *falāsifa* enabled them to affirm the attributes, distinct from the divine essence, by a simple, reasonable (*ma'ānī*) distinction but with a basis in reality.

The Greek contribution led to an emphasis on the necessary acts of the divine essence. God is the Thought which thinks itself (cf. Aristotle). He is the supreme Good (cf. Plato), which necessarily loves itself. He is the Intelligence, exercising intellection on itself; He is Love and the object of love for Himself: *ḥāḥ, ḥāḥ, ma'ḥā, ḥāḥ, ḥāḥ, ma'ḥā, ḥāḥ* (cf. *Nadīd*, Cairo 1357/1938, 243, 245; corresponding passages of the *Shūḥ*, etc.). We should mention here an esoteric trend, still imperfectly known, which seems to take up several themes of the Isma'īlī *via negationis* (intermediaries: *Iḥṣāʾ al-Safā*, al-Tawḥīd); and, at an earlier date, the Isma'īlī tendency, pointed out by S. Pines, of certain recensions of the *Theology of Aristotle*; see REI, 1954, 7 ff.).

The *falāsifa* do not provide us with treatises on *ḥād* or *af'āl* *ṭawḥīd*. Contrary to the *kalām*, they affirm (and set out to prove) the production of the world by way of necessary and deliberate emanation (cf. Isma'īlism), and its temporal eternity: world without beginning or end, "possible" (*muḥḥid*) in itself, necessary by Another (*ṭawḥīd*); contingent in the order of essence, determined in the order of existence. Providence (*ināya*) is the law of emanation itself, necessarily willed by the eternal thought of God.

The second cause cannot fail to act on their effects. There is no longer any problem of human freedom as against divine omnipotence (cf. *Nadīd*, 322).

Whatever solution may be adopted as regards the personal survival of the soul, the Active Intellect (*ḥād fa'āl*) appears as an intermediary between God and man, both in the order of knowledge and in the order of emanation. There is a hierarchy of discrete intellects, up to the First Cause; embracing these, there is the Universal Intellect. For Ibn Sīnā, there is a corresponding hierarchy of Souls, rejected by Ibn Rushd; the latter seems to have been the only one of the *falāsifa* to come back, by way of philosophy, to the divine knowledge of the individual in its very individuality, so forcefully taught by the Qur'ān.

What is at stake is the whole attitude of faith with regard to God. Certainly the *falāsifa* were Muslims and remained Muslims. But even though their theses might be amended, and reconciled with the affirmations of the Qur'ān, the God they proclaim is exactly the God attained through reason, and, at the highest, through the flash of intellectual

intuition. They set out to prove (their notion of prophecy comes into it: a simple privileged moment of the universal determinism) that the God of reason and the God of the Qur'ān coincide in every respect. But it is not a question of a verity of faith corroborating reason on its own plane. They treat philosophy on the one hand, the Law on the other, as two sources of equal value; the point at issue is to show that they agree. They attain this end with the help of a rational *al-ḥād*, philosophic and at the same time allegorical. God is, first and foremost, the necessary Being, *al-udhūd al-udhūd*.

The God of the great *falāsifa* is a lofty concept of Being, necessary and perfect, supreme Intelligence and supreme Love, producing the world by a mode of necessary and deliberate emanation: in short, an object not so much of faith as of philosophic experience and real intellectual intuition. The seriousness with which they pursued their researches and reasonings (notwithstanding certain setbacks) led to the integration of real riches into Muslim culture; their analyses sometimes influenced religious thought itself. But here we find ourselves on a different plane from the inscrutable mystery of the Living God, which the Qur'ān presents for the adoration of the faithful.

3. *Kalām*. We return now to the schools of Sunni *kalām*. The *kalām* no doubt despised the dialectic of the *mudhalīmīn*, those people "who have broken the religious Law into pieces"; as Ibn Rushd put it (*Faṣṣ al-Mahāḥ*, ed. and tr. Gauthier, Algiers 1942, 29). Their subtleties and debates are often confused, their philosophic arguments questionable. But when they thus set out to defend the dogmas against "those who doubt", it is certainly the God of faith that is involved. The Mu'tazilites, just as much as the Ash'arites, are "men of religion first and philosophers second" (Ahmad Amin, *Duḥā al-Islām*, Cairo 1362/1943, III, 204).

The inner attitudes of the two *kalām*'s were nevertheless different. True, the Mu'tazilites took as their starting-point the Qur'ān and the sovereign Justice of Allāh. But their idea of *ḥād* as a criterion of the Law, and later the impact of the "foreign sciences", led them to fix the sum total of faith on an idea of God as being "justified" in the eyes of human reason. They meant to serve and to purify the affirmation of the transcendent Existence, but their drastic *ṭawḥīd* reached the pitch of attenuating the very notion of divine attributes; the Ash'arites were not wrong in accusing them of that. Their attitude the mystery of the divine Oneness, the *ṭawḥīd*, is as it were encircled by a human concept; expressed negatively, no doubt, but directly attainable on a discursive level. We find something corresponding to this in tasawwuf, in the experience of *ḍiyāwūt*. In correlation, and, at the same time, as a counterpart, the *ḥād*, the divine Justice, was in a way "humanized"; there was a touch of the idea of a just human judge, raised to the power of infinity.

In its origins, the Ash'arite reaction was by no means a pure renunciation on the part of the faithful of every elaboration of the data of faith. The "conversion" of al-Ash'arī was presented as a return to the inner attitude of the "ancients" and a profession of loyalty to Ibn Hanbal (*Iḥṣāʾ*, 9). Yet the Ash'arites accepted the challenge to dialectical combat. This led them far afield; it led them to refine incessantly, but also to complicate unceasingly, a body of problems which never came to an end, as a result of the multiplicity of objections and the rise of opposing schools. Amid the welter of arguments, it sometimes



becomes difficult to trace that complete resignation, in the nakedness of faith, to the One God, Creator and Judge, which we find in the *sūras* of the Kur'ān. The negation of human freedom in its ontological reality turned many lines of thought towards a divine voluntarism, conceptualized as such. This became still more marked after the 15th century, when the Ash'arite (or Māturīdite) *kalām*, instead of regenerating itself to keep pace with its contemporary opponents, as its primarily apologetic function would seem to demand, congealed in rather stereotyped manuals. This risk of sclerosis was no doubt one of the main considerations leading to the semi-agnosticism of Muḥammad 'Abdūh.

There, we believe, lies the explanation of the half-contempt for the *kalām* in a half-contempt which sometimes grows to violent opposition, which is shown alike by the successors of the "pious ancients", notably represented by the hanbalite trend, and the mystics of the *tasawwuf*.

4. *The tasawwuf*. We cannot hope to analyse here the theological bases of the diverse Sūfī schools or their attitudes, with all their line distinctions for the first centuries; see L. Massigron, *Passions d'al-Hallāj*, Paris 1922, and *Lexique technique*, ed. Paris 1954. The important thing to note is that we are no longer dealing with a rational endeavour towards the necessary Being, as in *falaḥa*, nor, as in *kalām*, with a discursive endeavour to find "decisive" or formal arguments for the Kur'ānic doctrine about God. What is involved here is a spiritual experience, a life with God, soon to be understood as an experience of oneness, an inner realization of the *taḥṣīb*.

There were some Sūfīs (al-Hallāj, al-Tirmīdī) who rethought for themselves the dogmatic bases of their era; some (Hasan al-Basrī) who could, by stretching a point, be called "semi-Mu'tazilite"; others (Ibn Karrām) who gave their name to a theological school; some were linked to the Hanbalite way of thought; there were many Shī'ite Sūfīs, and there were many Sūfī orders who in no way challenged the regular conclusions of the Ash'arite *kalām* (al-Makkī, the al-Ḡhazzālī of the *Iḥyā'*, many Shī'ite Sūfīs, etc.). Finally, a great many, especially from the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries onward, permitted themselves to be influenced by an existential mysticism of Neoplatonic tendencies. — From the point of view which concerns us, we shall confine ourselves to picking out two main lines of Sūfism, according to a distinction insisted on by L. Massigron:

(a) *wahdat al-shayḥ*, the oneness of Witness, of which al-Hallāj was the exponent. It seems also to have inspired every mystic of Hanbalite influence. The union with God is achieved in God's bearing witness to Himself and to His mystery of Unity, in the mystic's heart. The divine transcendence and its absolute Oneness in relation to all creation remain the central object of the act of faith. But the meeting with God is brought about by love ("in His Essence, love, *ḥubb*, is the Essence of the essence", said Hallāj); by love, the dialogue is established between the faithful heart and God, until the supreme "I", which consummates the dialogue in unity, without destroying it. It is well known how much the official Islam of the 3rd/9th century opposed this union of love (which claimed the support of Kur'ān, *fit*, 29 and v, 59), this oneness of the Witness in the duality of nature.

Two intermediate stages. The al-Ḡhazzālī of the *Iḥyā'* (5th/11th century), who gave the *tasawwuf* citizen-rights among the recognized religious sciences: uniting, not without some eclecticism, the dogmatic

values of developed Ash'arism and the spiritual values of the love of God (*mahabbah*), of dependence and trust (*iṣṭikṭāl*), and of the diverse ascetic-mystic virtues. Another and more important intermediate stage is that of the *isrāfī* movement and its emanationism, which is by no means purely monist. The great figure of the master of the *isrāfī*, al-Sulṭān al-Rāḍī of Aleppo (6th/12th century), so well studied by H. Corbin, illustrates a quest for unity which leads to identity in the order of knowledge; but the outer garb of Iranian myth permits him, on a plane of lofty poetic intuition, to leave the Witness its transcendence.

(b) *wahdat al-shayḥ*, the oneness of Existence. — This came to dominate later Sūfism, since Ibn 'Arabī (6th/12th-7th/13th century). Ibn Taymiyya saw (and condemned) in it the influence of Ibn Sīnā (discrimination to modify and to complete, not to reject). One may say that the Ḡhazzālī of the minor works of the last period, so deeply imbued with *falaḥa*, even with Ibn Sīnā, was the forerunner of it. In it, the Neoplatonic mysticism of the pseudo-*Theology of Aristotle* meets the Ash'arite tendency which, the better to affirm the One God, denied the creature all real ontological density. In contrast with God, "sole Being and sole Agent", the created world is but impermanence. The illusory empirical existence, says the mystic, must obliterate itself (*fanā'*) in the only Existence which subsists (*baqā'*) in God. Interpreting Kur'ān, xviii, 25, the Sūfī partisans of the monism of the Being said that the human spirit, the *rūḥ*, is a direct emanation from the divine Command (*amr*), and is therefore an emanation from God Himself. Cf. already the Ḡhazzālī trend (ascription discussed by W. Montgomery Watt, *Authenticity of works attributed to al-Ḡhazzālī*, *JRAS* 1952, 1 and 2) the *Risāla Ladunniyya* (Cairo 1353/1934, 23). Following some quite different references, we have here something like an echo of the "trace of the One in us" of Plotinus, even indeed — all question of historical channels aside — of the Indian "Thou art That". The supreme mystical experience is then an experience of unity (*ittihād*), understood as identification. It readily justifies its chosen course by an allegorical and gnostic *ta'wīl* of the scriptural texts.

The *wahdat al-shayḥ*, for reasons partly doctrinal, partly historical, never aroused among the *ṣūḥabā'* and the *mutaḥallimīn* the opposition encountered in the 3rd/9th century by the *wahdat al-shayḥ*. One cannot however forget how powerfully the latter might have led the *tasawwuf* — the total dependence of the believer upon God, sovereign Judge and sovereign Only — to spiritual experience in the strict sense of the term.

5) The "pious ancients". The adherence to faith of many Sūfīs of the first centuries was in complete accordance with that of the "pious ancients". In the first centuries, Sūfī and traditionist circles often overlapped. — There was no question of a school, in spite of the fact that these people frequently set themselves in the Hanbalite tradition; it was a question of an inner attitude. This reference to the "ancients" (*asāḥ*) must be understood as a choice, much more than a chronological distinction: we find it as much in the 14th century, with Ibn Taymiyya, as at the beginning of the 15th; we find it again, systematized and with a predominant anti-Shī'ite note, among the Wahābites and neo-Wahābites, among the modern Salafīyya and their contemporary disciples (including, in some measure, the *Iḥyā'* al-Muḥammīd).

This tendency raised itself many a time against the quibbles and subtleties of the *kalām*, against an excessive confidence in rational or dialectical proofs. In his *Ḥamm al-Kalām*, al-Anṣārī claimed for the Muslim the right not to seek for explanation (*tafṣīr*) of the divine attributes, not to proceed down the "blind alley" of the Ash'arites, glossing terms and distinguishing between the attribute and its *ḥaqq*, its "mode of being" (cf. quotation from al-Anṣārī in Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwā*, v, 275-78). The very personality of the mystic al-Anṣārī would suffice to show us that a tendency that is truly loyal to the "pious ancients" has no grounds for condemning *tasawwuf* wholesale, as it often does nowadays, too easily confusing the *wahdat al-shayḥ* with the *wahdat al-shayḥ*, and the latter with the deviations of the "brotherhoods".

What remains affirmed is the faith in God Most High, Who speaks to men by His prophets and apostles, revealing no more of Himself than the "most beautiful Names" to whereby He indicates and conceals Himself (*al-ḥayy al-ismī*): a faith which does not require God to be explicit about Himself, while it holds fast (to His Word) and resigns itself (to Him), — in a unique act which bears witness both to the divine omnipotence and to the responsibility of the "slaves". The inner attitude of the believer is rightly then a total and confident surrender of the self, in the night, to God, to Whom one puts one's questions, but Whom one knows, according to His Word, to be the just Judge and supreme Help.

It appears that this inner attitude which has been summed up is the most characteristic mark of the Muslim faith in God; that this, first and foremost, is what the Muslim has in his heart when he pronounces the name *Allāh*. — No enumeration is needed here. In every age there have been "free-thinkers", "doubtters and deniers". In every age, intellectual researches on the *ṭāḥīyāt*, and the discursive expression of them, have abounded in Islam. Contemporary thought seems harried on all sides by the diverse trends of the modern philosophies, as it was formerly by Greek or Iranian thought. It may be that a new *kalām* will be called into being, a new "defensive apologetics", that will carry out an extensive re-examination of the questions and problems of its treatises on *wahdūt* *Allāh* and *al-shayḥ al-ḥayy*, in the varying light of the idealism, pragmatism, dialectical atheism or existentialism of the moment. But maybe it will be able to avoid the mishaps that befell the ancient *kalām* only by going beyond the "contradictory" appearances of the problems posed — by a vital recourse to God, One, Living, Master of the worlds and of the retribution of mankind, *Allāh al-wāḥid*, *al-ḥayy*, *malik al-ḥayāt*, *malik yaum al-dīn*, whereby many sincere believers and "bearers of the Kur'ān" have always endeavoured to live.

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#### ALLĀHABĀD (see TANRĪ).

**ALLĀHABĀD** (Ilāhābād), an important town in the State of Uttar Pradesh and the seat of the State High Court, is situated on the confluence of the rivers Gangā and Yamunā. Population in 1951: town, 366, 127, including 90, 829 Muslims; district, 2,048,250, including 12.8% Muslims.

**History**: One of the most ancient towns in India, it was known as Prayāḡ and regarded as sacred by the Hindus. When the Ghōrid Turks occupied Banārās in 1194, the town came under the Sultanate of Delhi, but presumably continued under the administration of autonomous Hindu *rājās*, the nearest important military centre of the Sultanate being located at Karā (approx.) about 45 miles to the west. With the overthrow of the independent kingdom of Dīwānpur in the 16th century and the subsequent rise of the Afghāns, the usefulness of the ferry across Prayāḡ to Dīhāt began to be appreciated. In June 1567, Akbar crossed the Gangā at Prayāḡ after defeating Khān-i Zamān, the rebel Governor of Dīwānpur. In 1574, he again passed through the town on his way to Bengal. Realising its strategic importance he decided to make it a military centre. From a small township, it became a big city and was given by Akbar the name of Bībḥās (being changed to Ilāhābād through popular usage). In 1579-80, when Akbar reorganised the administrative divisions of the empire, it became the capital of the *ṣubā* (province) of the name, thus



superceding both Karā and Dīwanpur in importance. Most of the Indian writers and European travellers visiting India during the 17th and 18th centuries testify to its importance. In 1736 the Marhātās conquered it. After 1750 it changed hands several times, till the British partitioned the citadel in 1798 and the town in 1801.

**Monuments:** The citadel built by Akbar (with Asoka's pillar and its famous inscription), and the Khusrav Bāgh, with the tombs of Prince Khusrav, his mother and his sister, are the chief monuments of the Mughal period.

**Bibliography:** *Akbar-nāma* (Bib. Ind.), ii, 296; iii, 88, 114, etc.; *Āṭin-i Akbari* (tr. Sarkar), ii, 94, 169; *Tahāsh-i Akbari* (Bib. Ind.), ii, 217, 286, 379, etc.; De Laet 62; Bernier (1891), 457; Tavernier (1923), i, 15, 95; Thevenot, 92; Nevill, *Allahabad, a Gazetteer*. (NURU HASAN)

**ALLĀHUMMA** is an old Arabic formula of invocation: "Allāh!", for which also Lahumma is found (cf. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik d. clas. Arab.*, 9). Whether, as Wellhausen supposes in his *Reise arabischen Heidenam*, 224, it was originally meant for the god Allāh, higher than and different from the old Arabian gods, is rather doubtful, because every god might be invoked as "the God" (just as "the Lord"). It was used in praying, offering, concluding a treaty and blessing or cursing (see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen z. arab. Philol.*, i, 35 ff.; cf. also the expression *Allāhuma hayy* = much good may it do you, al-Aḥḥāl iii, 77). The phrase *ḥayyaka 'lāhūmma*, said to have been introduced by Umayyā b. Abī Ṭ-Ṣalt (according to a statement in *Aḥḥāl*, iii, 187) and used as an introduction in written treaties, has been replaced by others by Muḥammad as being a heathen expression (Ibn Hishām, i, 747; Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Forsch.*, iv, 264, 328). The simple Allāhūmma (Lāhūmma), on the other hand, was retained as ineffective (e.g. Kur'ān, iii, 26; xxxix, 46; *subhānaka 'lāhūmma*, s, 10), and in the same way *allāhūmma na'ām* = "certainly!", being in fact the answer on being conjured to tell the truth (al-Tabari, i, 1723). For the peculiar formula *allāhūmma minna wa-layla (o laha)* used at the family-offering, cf. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, 1894, 95 f. (F. BOCH)

**AL-'ALLĀKĪ**, name of a wādī in Lower Nubia between the Nile and the shore of the Red Sea, 62 miles south of Aswān.

In the Middle Ages, this small valley resembled a large populous and flourishing town, because it was a gold mining area, using black slave labour. "The nuggets of gold", wrote al-Ya'qūbī, "appear in the form of sulphide of arsenic, and are made into bars". Al-Idrīsī gives more curious information. The prospectors, he tells us, took up their positions at night in order to see the gold dust glistening in the darkness and to mark the sites so that they could be recognised the next day. The prospectors then proceeded to collect and transport the auriferous sand and to wash it in tubs of water to extract the metal, which was then blended with mercury and smelted.

These gold mines, exploited in early times, were abandoned at the end of the Middle Ages. The old workings can still be seen. Gold mining has recently been resumed in the area (Umm Gharyāṣ).

**Bibliography:** Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 35-36; Fr. trans. Wiet, 188-192; Ibn Rustah, 183, Fr. trans. Wiet, 211; Idrīsī, *Diwān* and de Goëje, 26-7; *Mémoires*, 413; Baudouin, *Égypte*, 1908 ed., 379, 381. (G. WIET)

**'ALLĀMĪ** (see ABŌ 'L-YAQL).

**ALLĀN** (see ALĀN).

**ALMA ATA** (formerly VERNUY), town, capital of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstan since 1929 and administrative centre of the oblast (province) of the same name. Established in 1854 on the site of a Kazakh settlement called Almaty, in 1867 it became the administrative centre of the Russian military governorate of Semirechya. By 1871 it had been largely rebuilt on Russian lines and had become a thriving trade centre with a mixed population of 12,000 composed of Kazakhs, Dzungars, Uyghurs, Tatars, Russians and Chinese. The population rose to 45,000 in 1926 and to 230,000 in 1939. Among the many educational and cultural establishments in the city are the Academy of Sciences, 50 schools, 4 theatres and 13 cinemas.

**Bibliography:** S. Djusumbekov and O. Kurnetsova, *Alma-Ata*, Alma-Ata 1939; D. D. Boragin and I. I. Belorotkovskiy, *Alma-Ata*, Moscow 1950; see also KAZAKHISTAN. (G. E. WHEELER)

**ALMA-DAGH** (see ELMA-DAGH).

**ALMADA** (see AL-MADĀ'IN).

**ALMADEN** (see AL-MADĀ'IN).

**ALMAGEST** (see BATLAMİYŪS).

**ALMALĪGH**, capital of a Muslim kingdom in the upper Il (qaz.) valley, founded in the 7th/13th century by Ūzr (Djawaynī, i, 57) or Būzr (Djāmāl Karḡhī, in W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russ. ed., i, 125 ff.), who is said to have previously been a brigand and horse-thief. According to Djāmāl, he assumed the title of Tughril Khān as ruler. Almaligh is first mentioned as the capital of this kingdom, and later as a great and wealthy commercial city. We owe our information about its site mainly to the Chinese (Bretschneider, *Med. Researches*, i, 69 f., ii, 33 ff. and index); it lay south of Lake Sayram and the Tarkī pass, north of the Il, probably northwest of the modern Kuldja.

Like other rulers of these regions, the king of Almaligh had dealings with Cingiz Khān, (whose hunting-ground was near Almaligh: Djawaynī, i, 27). He was surprised and killed while hunting by Kütlük, the governor of the kingdom of the Kara Khitay (q.v.); but Kütlük failed to capture the town of Almaligh. Ūzr's son and successor Sukhāl (or Sughūkh) Tigin married a granddaughter of Cingiz Khān (a daughter of Djūgh). On his death (851/1453-4, cf. Djawaynī, i, 58; 648/1250-1 in Djāmāl Karḡhī) he was succeeded by his son whose name (Dānīshmand Tigin) like the names of the other rulers of this line are given only by Djāmāl Karḡhī (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 140 f.). Almaligh in his time (beginning of the 8th/14th century) was still ruled by this dynasty. How long this line continued to reign is not known. The silver and copper coins struck at Almaligh in the 7th/13th century apparently belong to them. After Cingiz Khān's death the territory of Almaligh was under the suzerainty of Chaghatai, cf. B. Spuler, *Mongolen in Iran*, 277, note 2. The whole province to which belonged also the old Kuz Ordū = Balkhashin) was called in the 13th/14th centuries Il Arḡhū (cf. also the wāḥa Ilarghawī in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 138-40). Near Almaligh was situated the "hord" of Chaghatai and his successors, such as Ergene Khātūn and Tarmashghīn (Djawaynī, ii, 241, 243, 272 f.; iii, 97; Wassāf, lith. Bombay, 50; Ibn Battūta, iii, 41, 49 f.).

As a great commercial city on the main route through Central Asia to China, Almaligh is frequently mentioned by European travellers and missionaries (see I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient* etc., Göteborg 1906,

17 f.; Almalēch). In 1339 some Franciscan friars were murdered in the town (cf. A. van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, i, 510-1; G. Golubovich, *Biblioteka Bio-Bibliografica*, ii, 72, iv, 244-8, 310-1). Here was the seat of a Roman Catholic missionary bishop and, probably, of the Nestorian metropolitan (cf. Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, 38; Barthold, *Ostern istorii Semirečiya*, Voenyū 1898, 64-7; V. Rondale, in *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1951, 1-17; S. Dauvillier, in *Mélanges F. Cavallera*, Toulouse 1948, 305-7).

Like the towns on the Cū (q.v.), the Talas and elsewhere, Almaligh was completely ruined by the constant civil wars and other fighting in the 8th/14th century (cf. Bābūr, ed. Beveridge, i; Mirā Muhammad Haydar, *Tārīkh-i Raḡhādi*, tr. E. D. Ross, 364). Muhammad Haydar mentions the ruins of the tomb with the tomb of Tughril Khān (d. 764/1362-3; cf. Dugḡatari); these ruins (at present called Alimtu) lie between the Khorgos, the boundary river between the Soviet Union and China and the valley of Mažar and have been fully described by N. Pantuov, *Kavkazskiy Shornik*, Moscow 1910, 161 ff. Inscriptions from graves of Nestorian Christians have also been found there (see especially P. Kovokovos, in *Zp.*, xvi, 190 ff.).

A. N. Bernstam (*Pamyatniki staroy almalinoy oblasti po materialam ekspeditsii 1939*, *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk Kazakh SSR*, Archeol. series, i, Alma Ata 1948, 79-81) identifies Almaligh with a town (also called Alimtu = Chinese Al-i-t'u) near the modern Alma Ata; but in reality this is another, different, town having the same name (as an appellation, "apple town"); it is mentioned in 1390 in connection with Timur's campaign against Mughulistan (Yaśār, *Zafar-nāma*, i, 466 ff.; cf. F. Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire de Timur-bec*, ii, 66 ff.).

(W. BARTHOLD (B. SPULER AND O. PRITSACK))

**ALMANAG** (see ANWĀ'; TA'RIKH).

**ALMANZOR** (see AL-MANŠŪR).

**ALMĀS**—frequently regarded as a noun defined by the article (*al-mās*; correctly *al-Almās* according to Ibn al-Aḥḡir, in *L.J.*, viii, 97: the 'l' belongs to the root as in *ḥayā*), a corrupt form from the Greek ἀλμᾶς (i.e. "sea-laysal bi-'arabīyya"),—the diamond. According to the pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-Aḥḡir* which, on the basis of cognate Greek sources, agrees in the main with the statements of Pliny, the diamond cuts every solid except lead, by which it is itself destroyed. On the frontier of Burkūshān is a deep valley in which the diamonds lie guarded by poisonous snakes whose looks alone are enough to kill. Alexander the Great procured some of them by a trick: he had mirrors made in which the snakes saw themselves and died; then he had the flesh of sheep thrown down into the ravine so that the diamonds stuck to it and were brought up by vultures who seized the pieces of flesh. This story, already found in Epiphanius *De XII gemmis*, is generally known in the East (*Arabian Nights*). Al-Bīrūnī ridicules this story and asks why the snakes did not die when looking at one another, but only when seeing themselves in the mirrors. He takes the opportunity to make fun of other stories about the diamond, and also of stories retouching the death of people who looked at certain animals and stones. On the other hand, he has many valuable notices on the qualities, mining and use of the diamond. He also tells of a piece which Mu'izz al-Dawla Ahmad b. Būya presented to his brother Rukn al-Dawla al-Hasan weighing 3 mithqāl (12, 75 or even 14, 26 g.). But al-Dimashqī knows of no

diamonds heavier than 1 mithqāl. The sources differ widely about the places where diamonds are found. —Al-Thaḡhlī and al-Kawwālī relate that the pieces obtained through smashing the stone are all triangular (observation of the octagonal scissure!), and the former also says that the diamond attracts little feathers.—It is generally mentioned as being used for cutting and piercing other stones. Aristotle is said to have used it for destroying stones in the bladder. The powder of it must not touch the teeth; applied externally it is a good cure for colic and stomach-ache.

**Bibliography:** J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, 1912; Karwini (Wüstenf.), i, 236-7; Tīlāghī, *Aḡhār al-Aḡhār*, transl. by Reimer Bith, 2nd ed., 53-4; Clément-Mullet, in *J.A.* 6th series, xi, 127-8; Bīrūnī, *al-Djāwāhir fi Ma'rifat al-Djāwāhir*, 1335, 98-102; Ibn al-Aḡḡāl, *Nuḡhāb al-Iḡhāb* tr. J. Aḡḡāl, *al-Djāwāhir*, 1939, 20-25 (with many valuable remarks by the editor, P. Anastase-Marie de St-Élie, transl. by E. Wiedemann, *SB Phys. Med. Soc. Erlangen*, vol. 44, 218 f.); Dimashqī, *al-Iḡhār ila Maḡḡān al-Tījāra*, 1378, 15 f. (transl. by E. Wiedemann, *ibid.*, 235 f.); J. Ruska, *Der Diamant in der Medizin, Festschr. f. Herm. Baas*, 1908; B. Lauffer, *The Diamond*, 1915; *al-Maḡḡrī*, vi, 865-8.

(J. RUSKA-M. FLEISSNER)

**ALMEE** (see 'ĀLIMA).

**ALMERIA** (see AL-MARIYĀYA).

**ALMICANTARAT** (see MUŠANṬARĀT).

**ALMODOVAR** (see AL-MUDAWWAR).

**ALMOGÁVARES**, or *Almogávares*, a name, apparently derived from the Arabic *al-muḡāḡhar* "one who makes hostile incursions", which was given at the end of the Middle Ages to certain contingents of mercenaries levied from among the mountaineers of Aragón, a tough, sober but picturesque description of them. These were the troops, fighting on foot, in the service of the Kings of Aragón and Castile, who cut to pieces the French army of Philip III the Bold during his campaign of 1585, at Roussillon, and who later, under the name of the Grande Compagnie Catalana, made daring raids in the Eastern Mediterranean.

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(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

**ALMOHADS** (see AL-MUWAHHĪDŪN).

**ALMORAVIDS** (see AL-MURĀWĪDŪN).

**ALMUNECAR** (see AL-MUNAKKAR).

**ALP** (s), *alper*, a figure which played a great role in the warlike ancient Turkish society; synonym: *Asur* (*Bakdār* [q.v.], *Asken*, *Asar* [q.v.]). (Turkish heroic tradition survived in an Islamized form and appears in Anatolia in the stories of Dede Korkud [q.v.] as well as in the poetry of *Aḡhik Paḡha* and the history of Yazdğūghlū; cf. Fuad Köprülü, *Hik.*). The word *alp*, used since ancient times among the various Turkish peoples either as an element in compound proper names or as a title, occurs frequently in proper names also of the Islamic period (cf. the various persons called Alp Tigin, the Saldjuk *amir* Alp Kosh, Alp Aḡhājī, Alp Arḡu, the Saldjuk *amir* Alp Arslan, etc.). Another form is *Ahl* (cf. the Artukids *Nadīm al-Dīn* and *Ahl* Alp, *Imād al-Dīn* Alp); the word *alpaḡha* (*yūpaḡha*,



*alpagut, alparut*, found in various dialects and as the name of a tribe under the Ak Koyunlu and the Safavids, seems also to be related.

As a title, *alp* was used by Saljuq *amirs*, and together with other old Turkish titles such as *hanq, kuluq, bilge*, was adopted by the rulers of the states which succeeded the Saljuq empire. *Alp* alone is found in an inscription of Ak Sunkur of Aleppo; in the inscriptions of the Syrian and Mesopotamian *atabegs* and of the Artukids over the titles *alp bulduq, alp hanq bulduq, alp ghazi* (cf. *BOEA*, nos. 2764, 3021, 3072, 3085, 3117-2, 3123, 3146; Van Berchem, *Amida*, 76, 92, 104, 120, 122; idem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Armenien und Diarbekr*, Berlin 1910, 148 ff.; Ibn al-Kalānī, ed. Amedroz, 284; *alp ghazi* as title of Zengi; and the dedication of a translation of Dioscorides, in MS Maḥḥad, Cat. no. 27, to a prince with the title of *alp hanq bulduq*).

Under the Ghuzids we find Nāṣir al-Dīn Alp Ghāzī as governor of Harāt (cf. also Tabakāt-i Nāṣiri, Calcutta 1846, 121; Awli, *Lubāb*, 230, 121; *Ta'rikh-i Siyān*, ed. Bahār, 388; Muḥammad b. Kayṣ, *al-Mu'jam fi Ma'ayir al-Āḥād al-ʿAdām*, 346). In Rūmīya we find in 564/1168 a *ṣāḥib-i ḥabir* Alp Dīnāl al-Dīn (see Sachau-Ethé, *Cat. Pers. MS MSS of the Bodl. Libr.*, i, 1424). A Turkish chieftain near Dīnā in the 12th century bore the title of *alp āvān* (Djauyni, ii, 46 ff.); for an Anatolian Saljuq prince with that of *alp akh* see *Bell*, 1937, 288. In India we find *alp khān* (Barni, *Ta'rikh-i Firāzshāhi*, 240, 527; *Firāzshāh*, *Ta'rikh*, i, 176, 238; Badāʾunī, *Muntahab al-Tawārīkh*, 219).

**Bibliography:** M. van Berchem, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1920, 92; Z. Gomboc, *Arpādhori etc.*, 43 ff.; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Müslümanlar*, İstanbul 1918, 275 ff.; idem, *Les origines de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1935, index; idem, in *IA*, xv.

**ALP ARSLAN** ʿADUD AL-DAWLA ABD SHUJʿA MUHAMMAD B. DAʿUD CAĞRIBEG, celebrated Saljuq sultan, the second of the dynasty (455/1063-465/1073). Born probably in 427/1030, at an early age he led the armies of his father Çağrıbeg with great success, especially against the Ghaznavids, and in 450/1058 he saved his uncle, the sultan Tughrilbeg, from the revolt of İbrāhīm lān in Persia. Two or three years later he succeeded Çağrıbeg, who had been ill for a long time, and at the end of 453/1063 he succeeded Tughrilbeg, who died childless; he thus brought under his authority all the Saljuq territories. He rid himself without difficulty of his half-brother Sulaymān, who had probably been adopted by Tughrilbeg; the vizier al-Kunduri paid with his life for the indiscretion of having at first supported his nephew. Alp Arslan was recognized by the Caliph al-Kāʾim and invested with all his predecessor's prerogatives; he enforced the submission of his uncle Yahyā al-Harātī, and defeated Kurlumugh, a cousin of Çağrıbeg and Tughrilbeg, who had been in revolt for some years in the mountains south of the Caspian, and who met an accidental death in this battle. He created difficulties for his elder brother Kawurt of Kirmān, who aspired at least to a share in the succession, by supporting against him the Kurdish chief Fadlīyā; later (in 457/1065, 459/1067 and 461/1069) he took direct action against him, and brought Fārs firmly under his control by suppressing Fadlīyā, who had come to terms with Kawurt. The latter was allowed to retain Kirmān, but as a subordinate. A demonstration of force in

Karāghānd territory and up to the Aral Sea (457/1065) reinforced the authority which his father had previously exercised there. As regards the Ghaznavids, he kept the peace concluded during the last years of Çağrıbeg's rule.

His fame in the eyes of posterity rests on his activities on the western front. Like his predecessor Tughrilbeg and his successor Malikshāh, he had the ambition to march on Egypt to destroy the stronghold of Fātimid heresy. But he realised the necessity of maintaining his ascendancy over the Turks, who constituted the military strength of the dynasty, and who were primarily interested in the richly-rewarding campaigns of a holy war (*ghazwa*) on the Christian territories beyond Adharbāyğān, where they were concentrated. Shortly after his accession, therefore, Alp Arslan conducted a series of campaigns against the Byzantines and their Armenian and Georgian neighbours, while independent bands of Turkmen raided more deeply into their territories; these campaigns also had the effect of increasing his prestige in certain autochthonous Muslim circles. In 456/1064 he captured Ani and Kars, and extracted a pledge of submission from the tiny Georgian kingdom. A further expedition against Georgia, in which the Shaddādī prince of Arrān took part, became necessary in 460/1068. The main advantages accruing from these campaigns were that the security of the Adharbāyğān frontiers was ensured, and that the Turkmen had free access to the pasture lands on the Aras. It is difficult to assess to what extent the perignations of the Turkmen, who simultaneously penetrated to the heart of Byzantine Asia Minor and permeated Muslim Diyār Bakr and Diyār Madjar, were directed by Alp Arslan; the Turkmen opened the way for him, but withdrew after having gained their booty. Moreover, their activities provoked a Armenian counterattack against the Syrian and Armenian borders of the Muslim world (1068-9), following which terms were negotiated between the two empires.

Alp Arslan then considered himself sufficiently secure against the Byzantines to listen to the appeal from rebels in Egypt and to undertake an anti-Fātimid expedition to support orthodoxy and the caliph. He occupied en route Arghūl and Mantzikert held by the Byzantines, attacked Edessa, and pushed on without delay to secure the submission of the Mirdāsī Mahmūd at Aleppo, who attempted to save himself by a last-minute recognition of the ʿAbbāsī Caliphate. The sultan's intention was to advance into Southern Syria, where various Turkmen groups had preceded him, when he heard that the Byzantine Emperor Romanus Diogenes, at the head of a formidable force, was threatening his rear in Armenia, and he had to return with all possible speed. He nevertheless succeeded in regrouping sufficient forces to give battle to the Byzantine army at Mantzikert in 461/1068. The principal chronicles are those of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī (in al-Bundārī's version, ed. Houtsma, *Revue*, ii), the anonymous *ʿAkhbar al-Dawla al-Saljuqiyya* (ed. M. Iqbal, Lahore 1935), the *Rikāʾ al-Sūdār* of Rawandī, ed. M. Iqbal, 1927, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Aṭṭār, and a much-neglected work, the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzi (of which the relevant section will shortly be published). In other categories, the chief works are the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn al-Balāʾ and the *Siyasat-nāma* of Nizām al-Mulk. The Byzantine, Syrian, Armenian and Georgian sources should not be forgotten. Later Persian historical works should be distrusted. There is no good comprehensive

of Mantzikert laid open Asia Minor to Turkish conquest. In later years there was no princely family in Asia Minor but wished to boast an ancestor present on that glorious day.

Alp Arslan himself met an unworthy end not long after his triumph. At the other extremity of his empire, relations with the Karāghānids, despite marriage alliances, were again strained. At the beginning of 465/end of 1072 he invaded their territory. In the course of a quarrel with a prisoner, the latter mortally wounded him. He died in the prime of life, at the end of Rabīʿ I/beginning of January 1073. He had nominated his son Malikshāh his heir.

In the eyes of orthodox Muslims, Alp Arslan was a leader of men and a commander capable of enforcing strict discipline, generous, just, devout, with an aversion for informers. Christians, remembering massacres such as that at Ani, ascribed to him a reputation for brutality, in contrast to his son Malikshāh, who was regarded by them in a more favourable light. Space does not permit here an account of his administration, which was essentially the achievement of his vizier Nizām al-Mulk and which is discussed in the article on the latter and in the general article on the Saljuqids. To Alp Arslan belongs the credit for singling out the Khurasānī who rose rapidly to fame and who became, under Malikshāh, the real head of the State. The influence of his new vizier may have led to the execution of al-Kunduri. Even at the height of his power, Alp Arslan appears to have deliberately refrained from setting foot in Baghdad, in order to avoid being involved in embarrassing and futile disputes with the Caliph and the Arabs of ʿIrāq such as had complicated the last years of Tughrilbeg. On the other hand, he energetically enforced in ʿIrāq the rights of the Sultanate. He saw no objection to the continued existence on his frontiers of dependent principalities, such as those of the ʿUkaylids of Mawli and the Shaddādids of Arrān. The close watch which he kept, for example, on Hāzārāp of Basra shows that he would tolerate no defection from that source, too. It is in this light, and in the light of respect for family traditions inherited from a tribal organization, that one must consider the distribution by Alp Arslan among the more important princes of his family of various appanages in the original domains of the dynasty in Khurasān.

Culturally, the reign of Alp Arslan does not seem to have been of great importance, either from the traditional Islamic, or from the Turkish, point of view. It may be of some interest to mention that the *Malik-nāma*, an anonymous attempt to reconstruct the historical origins of the dynasty, was composed for Alp Arslan (cf. Cahen, in *Oriens*, 1949).

**Bibliography:** A more comprehensive list of sources will be found under SALJUQIDS. The principal chronicles are those of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī (in al-Bundārī's version, ed. Houtsma, *Revue*, ii), the anonymous *ʿAkhbar al-Dawla al-Saljuqiyya* (ed. M. Iqbal, Lahore 1935), the *Rikāʾ al-Sūdār* of Rawandī, ed. M. Iqbal, 1927, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Aṭṭār, and a much-neglected work, the *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzi (of which the relevant section will shortly be published). In other categories, the chief works are the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn al-Balāʾ and the *Siyasat-nāma* of Nizām al-Mulk. The Byzantine, Syrian, Armenian and Georgian sources should not be forgotten. Later Persian historical works should be distrusted. There is no good comprehensive

modern work either on Alp Arslan or on the Saljuqids. For their activities in the east, see the masterly account of V. Barthold, *Turkistan*, for their activities in the west see general guidance in E. Houtsman, *Die Oudgrens des byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935; Cf. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure*, in *Byzantion*, 1948; and V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, Cambridge 1953. A provisional survey of Saljuqid history has been contributed by Cf. Cahen to *History of the Crusades* (Philadelphia 1955), 133-176.

**ALP TAKIN** (ALP TIGIN), the founder of the Ghaznavid power. Like the majority of the praetorians of his time, he was a Turkish slave, purchased and enrolled in the Sāmānid body guard, who progressively rose to the rank of *hādhīq al-hudūd* (commander-in-chief of the guards). In this capacity he wielded the real power during the reign of the young Sāmānid ʿAbd al-Malik I; the vizier Abū ʿAlī al-Balʿami owed his appointment to him, and did not dare to take any action "without the knowledge and advice" of Alp Takin. In order to remove him from the capital, the sovereign invested him (Dhu ʿl-Hijja 349/Jan.-Feb. 961) with the post of Governor of Khurasān, the highest military office in the empire. Dismissed from this post by Mansūr b. Nūh, of whose elevation to the throne he had disapproved, Alp Takin withdrew to Balh; in Rabīʿ I, 351/April-May 962 he defeated an army sent against him by the Sāmānid ruler, and retired to Ghazna where, after overthrowing the local dynasty, he set up an independent empire. The records disagree as to the date of his death; according to some, he died before 352/963. His learned son Abū Ishāq İbrāhīm (on whom see Ibn Hawkal, 13, 14) could only maintain his position, in face of a revolt by the former ruler of Ghazna, with Sāmānid aid. Thus the Ghaznavid kingdom only existed at first as a Sāmānid vassal state. Abū Ishāq died childless, and the leaders of the army, on which the new state was based, selected as his successor first the commander of guard Bilgā Takin (Tigin) (355-64/966-974), who left a reputation for integrity, and then Piri Takin (Tigin). During the latter's reign a final revolt by the supporters of the former dynasty was crushed. But the victor, Subuk Takin, the son-in-law and former chief officer of Alp Takin, was forced to power by the troops (Shābān 366/April 977), and became the founder of the Ghaznavid (4-1) dynasty.

**Bibliography:** A concise but comprehensive history of Alp Takin and his immediate successors, with references to all the sources, is contained in Muḥammad Nizām, *The life and times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1937, ch. I. The chief sources are Gardizi, *Zayn al-Akhbar*, ed. Muḥammad Nizām, Berlin 1928, and Djauyni, *Tabakāt-i Nāṣiri*. Nizām al-Mulk's account in the *Siyasat-nāma* (Scheler), 95-101, is an idealized version designed to place Alp Takin and Subuk Takin in a more favourable light. On the effect on the frontiers of Sīstān of the foundation of the new kingdom of Ghazna, see now, in addition to Muḥammad Nizām's sources, the anonymous *Tawārīkh Sīstān* published by Bahār, Teheran 1314, 375 ff. (W. Barthold, *IA*, Cahen).

**ALPAMISH**, One of the most famous Turkish epics (*düştan*) of Central Asia, inspired by two classical themes, (1) the quest for the betrothed and the rivalry of the suitors; (2) the return of the husband on the day of his wife's remarriage (theme of the



return of Ulysses). The Örkek hero Alpamış of the Kungurat tribe repairs to Kalmuk territory in search of his fiancée and cousin Barčin. Alpamış triumphs over his Kalmuk rivals, marries Barčin and brings her back to his tribe. The second part is the account of a further expedition on the part of Alpamış to Kalmuk territory to rescue his wife's father. Alpamış is captured and held prisoner for seven years by the Kalmuk Khān, and is finally added to escape by the Khān's daughter; he returns to his native land the very day on which his wife is about to marry—against her will—the son of a slave who has usurped his authority. Alpamış kills the usurper and regains his position as head of the tribe.

It is difficult to determine accurately the date of the composition of Alpamış, although it cannot be before the beginning of the 16th century, or later than the end of the 17th. In the *dāstān*, the Kungurat tribe lives a nomadic existence around Lake Bayan near Tirmidh (now the Surkhāda Daryā district of southern Uzbekistan). The Kungurat only moved into this area with the armies of Shaybānī Khān, about 1500. Moreover, in the three versions, Örkek, Karak and Karakalpak, Alpamış and the Kungurat are called Örkek, which postulates an origin later than the Shaybānī conquests. On the other hand, the main theme of the epic, the struggle of the Muslim Turkish nomads against the "infidel" Kalmuks, places it between the 16th and the 17th centuries, the period when the Kalmuks of the Oyrat Empire were making a series of bloody raids in Central Asia.

Zürmüskiy and Zarifov believe that they can detect, beneath the existing versions of Alpamış, an older version, now lost, dating back to the 11th-12th century, a period when the ancestors of the Kungurat were nomads near the Aral Sea (analogy with the Uygur poem *Kamur-Kayseri* or to still earlier times when they dwelt in the fringes of the Altai (analogy with the Mongol poem *Khān Khurung*)).

All the Central Asian versions of Alpamış are in verse, the prose passages serving only to mark the divisions between the various episodes of the poem. The versification is simplified. The repetition of the same rhyme divides the verse into stanzas of different length (4, 4, and up to 10 and 13 lines). This simple poetic form is perfectly suited to the way in which the poem is transmitted, whether recited by a *bakhshi* ("bard"), or chanted by a *ghā'ir* ("minstrel") with accompaniment on the *obus* (two-string violon).

Several versions of Alpamış exist: Örkek, Kazak, and Karakalpak, which correspond fairly closely to one another, but have occasional but obvious differences of detail. The best and the most popular is the Örkek version of the *bakhshi* Fādlī (Fayzī) Yuldash (born in 1873 at Kishlakh Layk in the district of Bulungur near Samarkand), the text of which was published for the first time by Hāmid 'Alimjān at Tashkent in 1939, in a slightly abridged form, under the title *Yuldash ogly Fayzī: Alpamış*. The first part of this work in abridged form has been translated into Russian verse by V. V. Derzhavin and A. S. Koletov, and the second, in *extenso*, by L. M. Pen'kovskiy. These two translations, based on 'Alimjān's text and with a preface by V. M. Zürmüskiy, were published at Tashkent in 1944 under the title: "Fayzī Yuldash: Alpamış". Finally, in 1949, L. N. Pen'kovskiy published at Tashkent the first complete translation of the Yuldash version, with the title *Alpamış, azbekshiy epos*. There are other Örkek versions, by other *bakhshis*, which are still unpublished, and about which in certain details,

The Kazak version (2nd part only) was published by Shaykh ul-Islām at Kazan in 1896, and the complete text was edited by Divaev at Tashkent in 1922, and re-edited some years later at Alma-Ata in 1935. It appears under the title *Alpamış Bayır* in the collection *Butaylar Zırrı*, Alma-Ata 1939, 249-96.

The Karakalpak version (1st part only, with Russian translation) is based on the text of Dīya Murād Bek Muhammedov, *bakhshi* of Torkul (A. Divaev, *Alpamış-Bayır, Etnograficheskie materialy*, fasc. vii in *Sbornik materialov dlya statistiki Syr-Daryinskoy oblasti*, ix, Tashkent 1903). The complete Karakalpak version was published in Moscow in 1937 and again in 1947 at Torkul and Tashkent, under the title "Aimbet uly Kaly: Alpamış".

In addition there exist two prose versions, Bagkir and Altai, which are radically different from the central Asian versions. The Bagkir version, *Alpamış hem Daryn Khāyus*, was published by N. Dimi-trova, with Russian translation by A. G. Besonov, in *Bagkirskie Naranye Shazhi*, fasc. 10, Ufa 1941.

The text of the apparently earlier Altai version *Alp-Manash*, established by N. U. Ulagayev, appears in *Altay Bayır* (the Oyrat national epic, published by A. Koptev, Novosibirsk 1941, 79-126).

The longest version, that of Fayzī Yuldash, comprises 14,000 stanzas; the Karak and Karakalpak versions are shorter and comprise 2,500 and 3,000 stanzas respectively.

**Bibliography:** V. M. Zürmüskiy and Kh. T. Zarifov: *Uzbekshiy Narodniy Geroidicheskiy Epos*, Moscow 1947; *Antologiya Uzbekshiy Poëzii*, edited by M. Aibek, etc., Moscow 1950.

(A. BENNIGSEN and H. KARRER D'ENCAUSSE)

**ALPABET** [see AL-BIDĀ', BUKOP']

**ALPHARAS** [see AL-BURĪ]

**ALPUENTE** [see AL-BURĪ]

**ALPUJARRAS** [see AL-BUJARRA']

**ALRUCCABA** [see RUKBA]

**ALSH**, now Eloche, a small town in the Spanish Levant (*Shāh al-Andalus*) 12 m. S.W. of Alicante, noted for its palm groves, which still exist to-day, and which were described by Muslim authors such as Ibn al-Batūtā and al-Idrīsī. **Bibliography:** Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Him-yari, *Péninsule ibérique*, no. 26, text, 33, trans., 39; H. Péro, *Le palmier en Espagne musulmane*, in *Mélanges Godefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1938, 225-39; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. med.*, iii, 283-4.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**ALTAI**, mighty, ca. 1000 miles long mountain system in eastern Central Asia, stretching from the Saitan Sea in the southwest to the upper Selenga and the upper Orkhon, with the sources of the Ob', the Irtysh and the Yenisei. Here, and in the adjacent country to the north-east as far as the present-day Mongolia, was the oldest home of the Turks and the Mongols and their ancestors. The Turks had here for a long time after their "refuge" in the Otukan [?] mountains. The Turkish designation for the southern Altai, as it appears in the inscriptions of the Orkhon, is Altin-ysh ("gold mountain"), in Chinese Klu-shan (same meaning). The name of Ektag, however, mentioned by the Greeks (probably Ak Tagh, "white mountain"), seems to refer to the T'ien-shan (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-tou occidentaux*, 236-1). It is uncertain whether the modern name, which appears for the first time in the Kalmuk period, is connected with the Mongol *altan*, "gold"; the local population explains it by a false etymology as *altı ay*, "six months".

**Bibliography:** Cotta, *Der Altai*, Leipzig 1871; J. Grand, *Les formes du relief dans l'Altai russe*, Helsinki 1917; P. Fickler, *Der Altai*, 1925; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, ii, 136-57. For its role in Turkish civilization, cf. A. von Gabelen, *Störpe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken*, iiii, 1949, 30-62 and Text.

(B. SPULER)

**ALTAIANS** is the name of a Turkish tribe in the Altai mountains, partly professing, more or less nominally, Orthodox Christianity, partly Shamanistic; though Islam is not to be found amongst them, they had some contact, though possibly not an intimate one, with Islamic civilization (as attested by loan words such as *huda'y*, "God"; *shayan*, "the devil"). (Cf. for them G. Teich and H. Rüböl, *Völker ... der UdSSR*, Leipzig 1943, 28-43, 137-1, 142; W. Radloff, *Proben aus der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibirien*, i; idem, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 250-1; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, 141-1).

The name Altai has been substituted since about 1874, and more especially in the 20th century, following a proposal of M. A. Castrin, for the term Turanian [s.v.], coined by F. Max Müller, as the designation of the assumed community of the Turkish-Mongolian peoples; the even wider concept of Ural-Altaians comprises also the Samoyeds, Finno-Ugrians and Tungus. Cf. e.g. *Ural-Altaiische Jahrbücher*, Wiesbaden, since 1933; J. Benzing, *Einführung in das Studium der altaiischen Philologie und der Turkologie*, Wiesbaden 1933, with bibliography; W. K. Matthews, *Languages of the URRS*, Cambridge 1931. These peoples, however, with the exception of the Turks (s.v.), are not touched by Islam.

**Bibliography:** M. A. Castrin, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen über die altaiischen Völker*, St. Petersburg 1877; the partly fanciful works of H. Winkler, the last being *Die altaiischen Völker und ihre Sprachenwelt*, Leipzig 1921; O. Donner, *Die uralaltaischen Sprachen*, Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen, ii, 1901, 128; M. Cohen, *Les langues du monde*, Paris 1924, 153-143; P. Melioranskiy in Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar*, xxvii, 864 f.; *JA*, s.v. (by M. Tsaid Kopylov); O. Pritsak, *Stammennamen und Titulaturen der altaiischen Völker*, *Ural-Altaiische Jahrbücher*, 1953-4. Maps: A. Hermann, *Atlas of China*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1935, 66-7; *Völkerkarte der Sowjet-Union*, Europ. Teil, Berlin 1941.

(B. SPULER)

**ALTAIR** [see MUGULIM]

**ALTAMISH** [see ALTUMSH]

**ALTIN**, or AL-ALTIN, town, to the north of Baghdad, between 'Ukbara and Samarra, on the eastern bank of the old course of the Tigris. As the course of the Tigris has changed (cf. *BUJLA*), 'Altin is today on the western bank, on al-Shutayta. The extensive ruins of the town are known as 'Altin up to the present day, they lie about 4½ m. N.W. of the modern town of Balad. The town is already mentioned by Ptolemy (iv, 20) under the name of Altha. According to the medieval geographers the northern limit of the Sawād or al-'Irāk was formed by 'Altin on the eastern, Harba on the western side of the Tigris. The town was a *wakf* for the benefit of the descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (Yāqūt) and some distinguished traditions of the 6th and 7th centuries A.H. came from this town. A stone dam was built for the Tigris near 'Altin, but no trace of it remains. Near 'Altin lay the convent called Dayr al-'Altin or Dayr al-'Adhārā, described, among others, by the poet Djabādhā al-Barnakī.

**Bibliography:** Makdīd, 123; Yāqūt, iii, 211, ii, 679; Shābustī, *Diyārāt* (G. Awad), 62-3; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakk, *Marāsid*, ii, 275; 'Umari, *Masālik al-Ahḥār*, i, 258 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubb*, 181; *T.A.*, i, 634; A. Souss, *Rasy Samarra*, Baghdad 1948, 183-4, 218; J. F. Jones, *Memoirs*, Bombay 1857, 237; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach d. arab. Geographien*, ii, 224 f.; Le Strange, 50; M. Wagnier, in *Nachr. d. Göttinger Ges. d. Wissensch.*, 1902, 256. (G. AWAD)

**ALTĪ PARMĀK** ("the man with six toes"), MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD, Turkish scholar and translator. He was born in Üsküpe, where he studied and joined the *shūfī* *ḥarīq* of the Bayrūtīya [s.v.], became a preacher (*waḥīd*) and teacher in Istanbul and later in Cairo, where he died in 1033/1622-24. (1) His main work is the *Dalā'il-i Nuḥwawāt-i Muḥammadi wa-Shamā'il-i Fuḥwawāt-i Ahmadi*, a translation of the Persian *Ma'arīf-i al-Nuḥwawāt* by Muḥ' al-Dīn b. Shārah al-Dīn Farḥī, known as Mullā Miskīn (d. 907/1501-02); there are numerous manuscripts in Istanbul, Cairo and elsewhere, and printed editions of Istanbul 1257 and Böllük 1271 (see Storey, i, 188; Brockelmann, S II, 661). For a detailed account of the contents of this work, see Flügel, *Handschr.* Wien, ii, no. 1231. (2) He also translated from the Persian the *Nipāristān*, not the work of Dīlān (as in Brockelmann, ii, 590), but that of Ahmad b. Muhammad Ghāṣṣārī (d. 975/1567-68; cf. Storey, i, 214); the translation bears the title *Nuḥwāt-i Dīkārī wa-Nāḥiyyat-i Dānīn*, and exists in several manuscripts in Istanbul. (3) A further work of his is the translation of the *Kātib-i sūltān*, Dīlāmī *Lafḥ-i al-Balāḥīn*, a mystical interpretation, in sixty "sessions", of *sūra* xii by Abū Bakr b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Zayd Tūfī, an author of uncertain date (cf. Storey, i, 29, no. 10); a manuscript exists in the Köprülü Library in Istanbul. (4) Finally, there is his translation of a "commentary on an extract on rhetoric" (*Sharḥ Talḥīṣ al-Ma'ānī*), with the title *Kāhīl al-'Ulūm wa-Fāḥī al-Funūn*, preserved in a manuscript of the 'Usūl Library in Istanbul; this is presumably identical with his translation of the *Mufasssal* (Hādījī Khalīlī, ed. Flügel, ii, no. 3541) by Taṭṭālī (cf. Brockelmann, i, 354).

**Bibliography:** al-Muhibbi, *Khāṣṣat al-Aḥḥār*, iv, 174; Brunsal Meḥmed Tāhīr, *Uḥmūd al-Muḥallīfī*, i, 212 f.

(J. SCHACHT)

**ALTI SHAHR**, or ALTA SHAHR (the word "six" is always written *alta* in Chinese Turkistan), "six towns", a name for part of Chinese Turkistan (Sin-chin) comprising the towns of Kuia, Ak Su, Ue Turfan (or Ush Turfan), Kishghar, Yarkand and Khotan. It appears to have been first used in the 18th century (cf. M. Hartmann, *Der Islamische Orient*, i, 226, 278). Yangi Hishr, between Kishghar and Yarkand, is sometimes added as the seventh town (though it also frequently counted as one of the six, in which case either Kuia or Ue Turfan is omitted). On account of this the country is called in modern sources Dīst or Yūli Shahr, "seven towns"; cf. e.g. *Tārīkh-i Amāwīyeh*, written in 1211/1903 and printed by N. Pantason, Kazan 1905. [See the articles on each of the towns and TURKISTAN.]

(W. BARTHOLOMÆ)

**ALTILIK** [see SIKKA]

**ALTIN** or ALTUN (ʾr), Gold, also used of gold coins. The word is often met with in Turkish proper names of persons and places, e.g. Altūn Köprü, Altintash (Altuntash). See also SIKKA.



**ALTIN** (AARÖN) **KÖPRÜ**, a town of 'Irāk, built picturesque on a small rocky island in the Lesser Zab river (44° 5' E, 35° 42' N)—and in modern times overflowing on to both banks—serves as a *nāhiya* headquarters in the *ḥaḍā* of Kirkūk in the *lawa* (province) of that name, formerly in the *wilāyat* of Mosul. The Zab here forms the boundary between Kirkūk and the 'Irāk 'Irāk. Known locally in Arabic simply as al-Kanṭara, the Turkish name "Golden Bridge" is variously explained; some believe it to commemorate a Turkish or Kurdish lady of that name, others that it refers to the rich caravan-tolls of earlier days, since the place lies on the ageing Baghdad-Mosul highway; while others understand it as an abbreviation of Altın-Sö-Köprü, or the "Bridge of the Altın-Sö". But it is at least equally probable that the river name (now rarely used) itself merely reflects the town name.

The place, no more than an obscure and unrecorded village in medieval times, gained importance in and since the 11th/16th century, after the erection of the two bridges by it (it said) Sultān Murād IV and a period of settled administration. It was visited and has been described by many European travellers; and, now reckoned as healthy as well as highly picturesque, has in late years been greatly improved in cleanliness, amenities, and communications. The famous stone-built bridges, of which the southern contained an almost impracticably high central arch, were destroyed by the Turks in 1918 and later replaced by modern steel structures. The Kirkūk-Irbil branch of 'Irāk Railways crosses the Zab immediately upstream.

The inhabitants of Altın Köprü, some 3500, are mixed Kurdish, Turkoman and Arab; this applies also to the thirty villages within the *nāhiya*. Many of the latter lie within the area of the rich and extensive Kirkūk oilfield (discovered in 1340/1927, and in full development since 1353/1934); oilfield operations give employment to many of the inhabitants. Their other main occupations are those of agriculture (partly rain-fed, partly aided by modern irrigation), of services and supplies connected with road transport, of the characteristic *ḥallaḥ* (skin-supported raft) traffic on the Zab, and of wholesale and retail trade.

**Bibliography:** Turkish period, V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 825; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern 'Iraq*, Oxford 1925, and many travellers' records, such as Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreib.*, nach Arabien, Copenhagen 1778, ii, 340; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire Ottoman*, Paris 1801, ii, 372; Rousseau, *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1806, 85; C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon*, London 1839, ii, 10-2; Pehrman, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1865, ii, 319; Czernik, in *Petersmann's Geogr. Mittheilungen*, *Ergänzungsheft*, no. 44 (1872), 47; see also K. Rötter, *Erduunde*, ix, 637-9; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 425; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus 199. Alten pers. Martyren*, 1880, 258, 263. For the 20th century, S. H. Longrigg, *'Iraq* 1900 to 1950, London 1953. (S. H. LONGRIGG)

**ALTIN ORDU**, modern Turkish notation of the Russian term "Zolotaya Orda", "Golden Horde" [see ALTIN].

**ALTINTÄŞH** (also ALTUNTÄŞH, local pronunciation ALTINTİŞH), village in Anatolia, 39° 5' N, 30° 10' E, and a *nāhiya* in the *wilāyat* and *ḥaḍā* of Kütahya (though the capital of the *nāhiya* is not in the village, but in the village of Kündükyü, a little

to the west), on the small stream in the area of the sources of the Porsuk, somewhat to the west of the Atyön Kara Hisar—Kütahya road. The village contains a *ṭarḥ* of the 19th century and a modern mosque incorporating older fragments. It stands on the site of an older and larger mosque, the building of which (of which the Rīm Salḡūḡ 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykubād) is said to be in the museum of Ak Şehir. The inscription which is now above the porch refers to the building of a bridge and bears the date of 666/1267-8; the place has two small old bridges.

In the neighbouring Cakarsar (called by the inhabitants Cakarsar) is an early Ottoman *ḥān* (three ayes with five girders) with a remarkable porch, into which there are also built antique fragments.

Altintäşh was a stage on the highway from Bursa (and Uskudar) via Kütahya to Atyön Kara Hisar and Konya, forming the stage probably together with Cakarsar.

**Bibliography:** Cl. Hüner, *Koniat*, Paris 1897, 87, 254; 'Alī Dīnawād, *Memālik-i 'Oḡhānīyīyīn Ta'riḥ-i İne-Diğrāyā Luğāt*, 26; Fr. Terschner, *Das anatolische Wogenet*, Leipzig 1924-6, ii, index. (Fr. Terschner)

**ALTUNTÄŞH** AL-Hāḡīrī, Abū Sa'īd (his alleged second name Hārūn which occurs in a single passage of Ibn al-Aḡḡir, ix, 294, is probably due to an error of the author or of a copyist), Turkish slave, later general of the ḡhāznawī Sebük Tegin and his two successors and governor of Kh'ārim. Already under Sebük Tegin he attained the highest rank in the bodyguard, that of a "great *ḡhāḡīr*"; under Mahmūd he commanded the right wing in the great battle against the Karakhanids 128 Rabi' II 598/4 Jan. 1008, and in 401/1010 he is mentioned as governor of Harāt. After the conquest of Kh'ārim in 408/1017 he was appointed governor of the province with the title of Kh'ārim-shāh and maintained himself in this office until his death in 423/1032. Altuntäşh seems to have administered the advanced border-province with energy and foresight and to have effectively guarded it against the neighbouring Turkish tribes. As, however, by this means he established his own rule even more than that of the sultans, his measures were always regarded with suspicion both by Mahmūd and Ma'sūd, and it is said that both of them made attempts to remove the troublesome governor. For treachery. In the spring of 423/1032 Altuntäşh undertook, by order of the sultan Ma'sūd a campaign against 'Alī Tegin (cf. KARAKHANIDS) and received a mortal wound in the battle of Dabūsiyya. He succeeded as governor by his son Hārūn, but Ma'sūd bestowed the title of Kh'ārim-shāh on his own son Sa'īd and Hārūn administered the country only as Sa'īd's representative. In Ramadan 425/August 1032 Hārūn proclaimed himself independent, but was killed the very next year at the instigation of the ḡhāznawids. His brother and successor Isma'īl Khānān ruled the country till 434/1041, when he was ousted, by order of the ḡhāznawids, by Shāh Malik, the prince of Dīand. Thus the dynasty founded by Altuntäşh came to an end.

**Bibliography:** 'Uṭb. al-Ta'riḥ al-Yamīn, 490-6; Gualter, *Zayn al-Aḡḡir*, 73 ff.; Bayhaḡī (Morley), 50 ff., 91 ff., 380 ff., 419 ff., 499 ff., 834 ff.; the dates in Ibn al-Aḡḡir (cf. index) are to be rectified according to these authorities. Cf. also the anecdotes, which are probably derived from the lost portions of Bayhaḡī's great work, in Niḡām al-Mulk, *Siyasat-nāma* (Schefer), 206

and 'Awfī (in Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russian ed., i, 89; cf. M. Nizāmī 'D-dīn, *Introduction to the Jamā'at al-Hikāyat*, index). Barthold, *Turkestan*, 275-9; N. Nāḡim, *The life and times of Sultān Mahmūd of ḡhazna*, 36-60; B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, 113, 120. (W. Barthold)

**ALUDELI** (see AL-SUTRĀL).

**'ALCOK** (see AL-ḡURK).

**AL-ALCISI**, name of a family which included a large number of savants of Bagdad in the 10th and 20th centuries. The name is derived from Ālā, a place situated on the west bank of the Euphrates, between Abū Kamāl and Rumādī; according to family tradition, the ancestors of the Alci (whose descent is traced back to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn) fled there to escape from the Mongol conqueror Hūlāḡū; their descendants only returned to Bagdad in the 11th/17th century. Among the numerous representatives of this family who have added lustre to the cultural and political history of 'Irāk are:

(1) 'ABD ALLAH SALĀH AL-DIN, forefather of the family (d. 1246/1830).

(2) ABŪ 'L. DĪNAR, MAHMŪD SHĪHĀB AL-DIN (1247-70/1802-54), son of the preceding; he was *mufī* of Bagdad for several years, but was also an outstanding professor, thinker and polemist. Among his numerous works are: *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī* (commentary on the Qur'ān, Būlūk 1301-10/1883-1892, 9 vols.); commentaries on grammar and prosody and attempts at *maḥāḡ*; his doctrinal arguments are contained in *al-Riḡāla al-Lakariyya* (ed. 1301/1883) and *al-Aḡḡir* (ed. 1301/1883).

(3) 'ABD ALLAH SALĀH AL-DIN, brother of the preceding, (d. 1284/1867); a *ḡhāḡīr* at Bagdad, he was called "the Ibn al-Djāwī of his age and the Ibn Nabūta of his generation". (4) 'ABD AL-HAMĪD, brother of the preceding, (1232-1241/1816-1906), professor and wa'f, author of some verse and a *Naṭṭ al-La'ālī 'alā Naṣm al-Amāl*. (5) 'ABD ALLAH BAHĀ' AL-DIN, elder brother of (2) (1248-97/1832-74); *ḡhāḡī* of Basra, author of a small treatise on grammar, two texts on logic and a commentary on a treatise on mysticism.

(6) 'ABD AL-BAKI SA'ĪD AL-DIN, brother of the preceding, (1250-97/1834-79); *ḡhāḡī* of Kirkūk in 1292/1875; he wrote mainly commentaries on or adaptations of manuals on grammar or scansion, and a guide to the pilgrimage, *Awḡāḡ Manḡḡī ilā Ma'rifaḡ Manāḡī al-ḡhāḡī* (Dih. Cairo 1277).

(7) NU'ṢAḤ KHAYR AL-DIN ABŪ 'L. RABĀKĀT, brother of the preceding (1252-1317/1836-19), professor and wa'f; author of a defence of Ibn al-Aḡḡir, *Dīḡāl al-'Aynayn fi 'L-Maḡḡāma bayn al-Aḡḡir*, which caused a great sensation. He wrote two other polemical works, *al-Djāwāb al-Faḡīh* (against the Christians), and *Shāḡāḡh al-Nu'mān fi Radd Shāḡāḡhī Ibn Sulaymān*; his sermons and exhortations were collected in his *ḡhāḡīyāt al-Ma'ānī*, a work of great length which exists in several editions.

(8) MUHAMMAD ḤAMĪD, brother of the preceding (1262/1846-1290/1874-4).

(9) AHMAD SHĪKRI, brother of the preceding (1264/1848-1330/1911-2), *ḡhāḡī* of Bagra.

(10) MAHMŪD SHUKRĪ, known also as MAHMŪD AL-ḤADĪD-ZĀDA, son of (5) (29 Ramadan 1273/14 May 1857/3 Shawwāl 1342/8 May 1924); the best known of his family, a fact which is partly due to the zeal of Muḡammad Bahḡāt al-Aḡārī in publishing his works. He wrote some 10 works on history, *ḡhāḡī*, biography, lexicography, rhetoric and dogmatic controversy; on history, the most noteworthy are the *Riḡāḡ al-Arab* fi Ma'rifaḡ Aḡḡāl al-Arab (printed in 1313/1896), a history on the Arabs of the *ḡhāḡīyā* compiled in answer to a question raised at the 8th Oriental Congress (1889), and *Ta'riḡh Naḡḡā* (Cairo 1343); on biography, *al-Miḡā al-Aḡḡar* (Bagdad 1348/1930) on the savants of Bagdad in 12th-13th centuries; on dialectology, *Amḡāl al-'Aynayn fi Maḡān al-Salām*; on controversy, a series of violent polemics against Shī'ism, against the Rifa'īyya Order, in support of the neo-Hanbalite law reform, etc., notably the *ḡhāḡīyāt al-Amānī*, published under a pseudonym (Cairo 1327). He was one of the most vigorous representatives of modern Islam, striving by means of the written and spoken word and by his example to combat *ḡhāḡā*, and he may be regarded as one of the leaders of the Salafiyya movement.

(11) 'ALĀ' AL-DIN 'ALĪ, son of (7) (d. 1340/1921); a professor; his only work is a manual on grammar in verse; a collection of biographies was never completed.

(12) MUHAMMAD DARWĪḡ, son of (9) (d. after 1340/1921); professor and preacher; he wrote several unpublished works.

**Bibliography:** Mahmūd ShĪhāb al-Din al-Ālūsī, *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī*, i, Preface; Mahmūd Shukrī al-Ālūsī, *al-Miḡā al-Aḡḡar*, i, 3-59; Brockelmann, II, 498, S II, 785-80; Muḡammad Bahḡāt al-Aḡārī, *Al'ām al-'Irāk*, 7 ff., 57-68; Muḡammad ShĪh al-Suḡrawāḡī, *Lubb al-'Ilāḡ*, ii, 228-24; 360-2, 230-3; Sarkīs, col. 3-8; Zirkīl, *al-'Ālām*, iii, 1013-14; 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kittānī, *Fihrist*, i, 97, ii, 84; Dī. Zaydan, *Ta'riḡh Adāb al-Luḡa al-'Arabīyya* iv, 285; idem, *Maḡāḡir al-Shukr*, ii, 175-77; Saundbūt *A'yān al-Bayān*, 99-110; 'Umar al-Dusūḡī, *Fi 'L-Adāb al-ḡhāḡī*, i, 49-51; 139-41; L. Cheikh, *Litt. ar. et Isl. par les lettres*, 85-6, 91, 97; H. Perle, *Litt. ar. et Isl. par les lettres*, 75-81; L. Massigron, in *RMM*, 1924, 244-6 (see also XXXV, 320 ff. and LVIII, 254); *Luḡāt al-'Arab*, iv, 343-6, 399-402; *Maḡāḡ*, i, 865-66, 1066-71; I. Goldziher, *Zāḡir*, 188, 190; Na'īm al-Himḡī, *Ta'riḡh 'Iḡḡāḡ al-Kur'ān*, in *MMFA*, xxix, 420-22. (H. PERLE)

**'ALWA**, name of a Nubian people and kingdom. The kingdom was adjacent to that of Makura (q.v.), a little below the confluence of the White Nile and the Atbara and stretched southward well beyond the confluence of the White and Blue Nile; its capital was Sōba, near the modern Khartūm. The Christian kingdom preserved its independence even after the fall of the kingdom of the Makura and only disappeared in the beginning of the 19th century under the pressure of Arab tribes allied to the Funj. [See also NUBA, and al-NUBA.]

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Fakhīr, 78; Ya'qūḡ, 315; Ma'sūdī, *Murūḡī*, iii, 31; Ibn Sulaym al-Uḡānī, in Makrīḡ, *Khifāt* (transl. by G. Troupeau, in *Arabica*, 1954, 284); Yāḡūt, iv, 820; Dīmāḡī, *Nuḡḡā*, 296; J. Marquart, *Die Reisen Samu'el*, Leiden 1913, index; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, 72-3; U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, Rome 1938, index; O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951; 23 ff.; P. L. Shinnie, *Excavations at Soba*, Khartoum 1955. (S. M. STERN)



ALWĀH [see LAWH].

ALWAND [see AR. BUNJULK].

ALWAND KŪH or KŪH-ALWAND (ELWEND), is an isolated mountain-group lying to the south of Hamadān, and rising to a height of 15,727 feet. To the north and north-east the Alwand Kūh drops steeply off to the plain; to the north-west it is united to the Kūh-i Dā'm al-Barī, a mountain-mass of almost equal height, which is joined to the Kūh-i Alwand Kulāh by lower mountain-chains. The latter forms the north-western extremity of the entire Alwand system. The core of the real Alwand consists of granite, judging from the geological formation only at the base is there to be found isolated red clay of salt formation. Wild rocky precipices, bare cliffs and gorges alternate with fertile mountain pastures; up to nearly 7,500 feet the southern slopes are clad with groves of walnuts, mulberries and fruit trees. The Alwand Kūh is noted for its abundant water-supply. Mustawfi observes (*Nushah al-Kulāh*, Bombay 1311, 132) that in addition to the spring which rises on the highest peak, no fewer than 42 streams flow from this central portion of the mountain chain, some of which are tributaries of the Tigris, others turning eastwards, flow to the interior of Iran. As the result of the plentiful irrigation by the Alwand streams the plain of Hamadān has always been considered as the most highly favoured region of Iran. Hamadān itself, the old Ekbatana, which is built in terraces along the foot of the mountain was a favourite summer residence for the Achaemenid kings on account of its cool, lofty position (1860 metres). Two cuneiform inscriptions dating from Darius I and Xerxes I still remain as vestiges of ancient Persian times at a place named Gandi Namah (= treasure-house) on the slope of the Alwand Kūh at a height of 7,000 feet.

Oriental writers relate many legends but few facts concerning the Alwand Kūh. (They mention a source on the summit of the mountain as one of the sources of paradise—probably following old beliefs concerning the locality; cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, 146, 170-3.) Al-Karwini (682 = 1283) gives the best account; he names it Kūh Arwand. Yāqūt also uses the form Arwand, whereas other Arabic writers employ the later term Alwand (Mustawfi: Alwand Kūh). The Old Persian name Arwanda (Avesta and Pāliand: Arwand) appears in Greek writers (Polybius, Ptolemy, Diodorus) in the form *Opvῶν*. In Old Armenian the word is found as the name of persons in the form Erwand (Arwardi); cf. H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1897, I, 40, and in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1904, 426. The "white mountains" mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions are probably to be identified with the Alwand Kūh; cf. Streck in *ZA*, 1900, 372. Perhaps moreover, the "cedar-mountain" of the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh epic refers to the Alwand Kūh, as Jensen has conjectured in Schrader's *Keilschriftbibl. Biblioth.*, vi/1, Berlin 1900, 573.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, I, 225; Karwini (Wüstner), II, 236, 311; Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, s. v. *Arwand*; Le Strange, 22, 105; K. Ritter, *Erzkunde*, VIII, 48, 82-98; H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, Berlin 1878, 69; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 168 f.; Fr. Spiegel, *Ermanische Altertumskunde*, I, 103, 104-143 ff.; Justi, in *Gr I Ph*, II, 427 (on the places of worship of old Persian deities on the Alwand); C. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire Ottoman, l'Égypte et en Perse*, Paris 1801, II, 163; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient* Leipzig 1861, II, 252; Müll-

lunger der K. K. Geogr. Ger. Wien 1883, 72 f.; A. F. Stahl, in *Petermann's Geograph. Mittheilungen*, 1907, 205 (geological observations) and also 1909, 6. Map: Iran series, 1/4 inch Sheet no. 139, G (Hamadān) June 1902. (M. Streck, D. N. Wüstner.) ALWAR (OLWER in English spelling) was a "native" state in the east of Radjasthān, India, lying between 27° 3' and 28° 13' north and 76° 7' and 77° 13' east with an area of 3, 141 square miles and a population of 861, 993 (1931 census). The languages spoken are mainly Hindi and Mewāṭi; about one fourth of the inhabitants is Muslim.

The founder of the modern state of Alwar was Pratap Singh, 1740-1791, who, between 1771 and 1776, succeeded in carving out a principality which was recognised by the Mughal Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, and later, in 1811, by the British.

After the lapse of British paramountcy Alwar joined the Matsya Union with Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli; the Maharaja of Alwar became Uparajah of the new state. On the 12th May, 1949, Alwar and the other constituent states of the Matsya Union merged with the Union of Radjasthān.

The town of Alwar has some Islamic monuments, such as the mausolea of Bahādur Singh (the adopted son and successor of Pratap Singh) and of Faṭih Dījari (see Ferguson, *Indian Architecture*).

Bibliography: *The Imperial Gazetteer: The Rajputana Gazetteer*; Government of India Ministry of States, *White Paper on Indian States*, Delhi 1930. (P. HARDY)

AMA [see 'ARAB].

AL-'AMĀ AL-TUTULI, "the blind man of Tudela", ABU L-'ARRĀS (or ARB. DĪR'AR) AHMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. HURAYRA AL-'UTRĪ (or AL-KAYSI), Hispano-Arabic poet, b. in Tudela, but brought up in Seville; d. 525/1130-1. MSS of his *diwān*, containing classical poetry, are to be found in London and Cairo (see Brockelmann, I, 320, S. I, 480), but he is mainly famous as one of the great masters of *muwaṣṣṣah* poetry. His *muwaṣṣahs* are preserved, apart from occasional quotations in general works, in such special anthologies of the genre as Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's *Dīr al-Tirās* (ed. Rikāby, nos. 1, 39, 34), Ibn Bughār's *Uṣṣal al-Dīwān*, Ibn al-Khāṭib's *Diwān al-Tawāriḡ* (ch. II, no. 1), and al-Safadī's *Tawāriḡ al-Tawāriḡ* (nos. 149, 164; for the last two, cf. S. M. Stern, in *Arabica*, 1955, 150 ff.); cf. MUWAṢṢAH.

Bibliography: Ibn Bāssām, *Ḍahab*, II, Oxford 749, fol. 167 v ff.; Ibn Khāṭib, *Kalā'id al-'Iḥyān*, 271-8; Safadī, *Wafī*, II, Oxford 664, fol. 73 ff.; Maḳkārī, *Analeto*, II, 139 (= 262), 235, 275, 336, 362; Ibn Sa'd, in Ibn Khāṭib, *Muḥaddith*, II, 302; H. Perle, *Public address*, index, s. v. L'Avenue de Tudela.

(S. M. STERN)

'AMĀDIYA, a town in Kurdistan, at about 100 km. north of Mosul in the basin of the Gāra river (a right tributary of the Great Zab). The town stands on a hill and is dominated by the citadel built on a steep rock. The water supplying the citadel comes from cisterns hewn in the rock. The stronghold is situated at a point which, in the east, controls communications with valleys of the left affluents of the Zab (Shamānīn, Rā-Kuṣk, Rawāḍus) and, in the west, those within the Khābūr basin. The climate of 'Amādiya is hot and unhealthy.

According to Ibn al-Aṭṭar the fortress received its name from 'Imād al-Dīn Zang who built it in 537/1142 on the spot where a mosque of ancient date stood called Aḡāh (al-Kāmil, IV, 60) or al-Shābāniyya (Ta'arūḡ al-Aḥbābiyya, *Récueil des Hist. des croisades*,

II/2, 114-5). Less probable is its attribution to the Būyid 'Imād al-Dawla (d. in 338/949, see *Nuḥḥat al-Kulāh*, 105). The original form of the name is, therefore, 'Imādiyya, but the modern pronunciation is 'Amādiya.

'Amādiya had Kurdish princes of the Bahdīnī family, originary of a place called Tārīn (cf. Hoffmann, *Ausgabe*, 222) in the territory of the Shams al-Dīn (Shamānīn). Shams al-Dīn, I, 106-5, traces their arrival back to circa 600/1203. In its heyday the principality comprised a number of adjoining territories ('Akr Shūsh, Dabūk and even Zakho). The later Bahdīnīs shifted between the Safawids and the Ottomans and were finally incorporated by the latter, under whom 'Amādiya was reckoned now to the wilāyat of Wān and now to that of Mawul. Since the settlement of the Mosul question in 1926 'Amādiya has formed part of 'Irāk.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, III, 717; K. Ritter, *Erzkunde*, IX, 717-20, 727; XI, 390 ff.; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, IX, 430; G. Hoffmann, *Ausgabe aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, 209 ff.; M. Hartmann, *Reisen (= Mitteil. der Berliner Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft)*, 1897-1898, 10, note 2; 62, note 1, 107; (M. Roussau), *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 198 and elsewhere (see index, 235); H. A. Layard, *Nineveh and its remains* 1854, I, 137-62; Sandrecki, *Reise nach Mossul und Urmia*, III, 275 ff.; Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus*, 1875, 529; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II, 795; Le Strange, 92 f.; Sir A. Wilson, *Mesopotamia* 1917-20, London 1930, index.

(M. STRECK-V. MINORSKY)

'AMAL (A. I. 'Amal, performance, action, is usually discussed by the speculative theologians and philosophers only in connection with belief (see 'ILM, Iḥḥā) or with 'ilm and *nazar*. From Hellenistic tradition was known the definition of philosophy as the "knowledge of the nature of things and the doing of good" (cf. *Ma'āth*, ed. van Vloten, 131 f.). Many Muslim thinkers have emphasised the necessity or at least the desirability of this combination (cf. Goldziher, *Kiṭāb Ma'āni al-Nafs*, 54-60). But it is the intellectualism of the Greek philosophy, in ethics also, that explains how nine tenths of the philosophers and mystics influenced by it represented action if not of less importance than at least as dependent on knowledge. Plato placed wisdom (*sophia*) as first of his cardinal virtues, the Stoics and Neo-Platonists followed him. Aristotle also esteemed theoretical (dianoetic) virtue higher than ethical. This is the doctrine of the so-called "Theology of Aristotle", that the soul of man is elevated, not through actions but by cognition, to perceive and enjoy the intellectual world.

Different opinions on the relation between knowledge and action are given by al-Tawhīdī in his *Muḥāsibāt*, Cairo 1929, 262 ff. We shall here confine ourselves to the predominantly intellectual conception and take as an example the *Fuṣūṣ*, attributed to al-Fārābī, *Philosophische Abhandlungen*, 72 ff. [Arabic] ed. Dieterici; in reality by Ibn Sīnā, where we find the psychological and metaphysical basis of the author's teaching. He distinguishes three practical faculties of the soul, which are only briefly mentioned and two theoretical, which are discussed more fully. The activity of the vegetable and animal soul is practical as is that of the soul of man, i. e. the reasoning soul, in so far as the latter chooses not only the useful but also the

beautiful and prepares itself for the goals placed before it in this life. The theoretical faculties are of a higher rank. Beginning with sensual perception (animal soul) theoretical reason advances beyond the material world and rises to the intellectual sphere. Practical reason is only servile, theoretical however is independent (cf. al-Fārābī's *Maṣṣarāt*, [Arabic] ed. Dieterici, 47).

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the philosophers following Aristotle divided sciences into theoretical (*nazariyya*) and practical (*'amaliyya*). The latter are ethics, economics and politics.

Bibliography: A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, s. index, s. v. *Works*; and T. J. de Boer, *Ethics and Morality (Maslim)*, in *Hastings' Enc. of Religion and Ethics*.

(T. J. DE BOER)

2. 'Amal (and the pl. *'amāl*), "that which is practised" and, following the usage of Kur'ān and *hadīth*, "the works". It is opposed complementarily to *nazar* (q. v.), speculative knowledge, and must be distinguished from *'aṣ'āl* (pl. *'aṣ'āl*), acts. 'Amal signifies the moral action in its practical context and, secondarily, the practical domain of "acting". In the terminology of *talāfa*, al-'ilm al-'amālī is practical knowledge, which comprises, according to the list given by al-Khū'arizmi (*Ma'āth al-'Ulūm*), ethics, domestic economy and politics, thereby reproducing an Aristotelian distinction. This then is a notion which applies to the "foreign sciences". It was used and developed in *talāfa*, particularly in distinguishing the "practical" and the "theoretical intellect". Concurrently, the idea of *'amal ṣāliḥ*, a morally good action, synonymous with *ma'rāf*, became current in Islam. But the *Risāla al-Laduniyya* (a text usually attributed to al-Ghazālī) introduced the distinction between speculative knowledge (here 'ilm) and practical knowledge ('amal) as regards revealed knowledge ('ilm *shar'ī*) itself, and it is canon law (*fiqh*) which is called an *'amālī* science. When works on *kalām* consider the nature of faith (*īmān*) and its relationships to Islam, the "external works" required by the Law are commonly termed *'amāl*. Ibn Ḥazm does the same. (*Aṣ'āl*, on the other hand, is commonly used in order to describe the human acts when discussing the question of free will.) Al-Ghazālī, especially in the *Iḥyā'*, when speaking of the faith, follows the usage of *kalām* with regard to the meaning of the term 'amal and its plural *'amāl*. He considers as permissible the following definition: *īmān* is equivalent to the sum of inward assent (*iqdāḥ*), verbal confession (*kawf*) and works (*'amāl*).

Bibliography: *Ma'āth al-'Ulūm*, Cairo 1342, 79; al-Risāla al-Laduniyya, Cairo 1351/1934, 31; *Iḥyā'*, *Ulūm al-Dīn*, Cairo 1351, I, 103 ff.; see also the *Fuṣūṣ* of Ibn Ḥazm and the treatises of *kalām*, chap. on al-*asāmā'* wa'l-*akḥām*.

(L. GARDET)

3. 'Amal, "judicial practice". The problem of "jurisprudence" as a source of law has arisen at every period and in every province of Islam. But Morocco has provided the best facilities for studying it, since the discovery there by L. Millot in 1917 of an 'amal which has legislative force.

In Andalusia, despite controversy, there prevailed a tendency to require judges to follow "practice of Cordova". Jurisprudence entered into compendia of "formularies" (*waṭṭā'iq*), "responses" (*fatāwas*) and even "regulations" (*ḥukūm*). Part of this material was incorporated in a late manual, the *Taḥḥīṣ* of Ibn 'Āṣim (d. 829/1426), which was destined to have







In practice, letters of *amân* for individuals are attested from the late Umayyad period (104-108/723-728) onwards. The oldest grants of *amân* proper, given to whole groups for the purpose of travel or trade, are contained in the treaties between the Muslim administrators of Egypt and the Nubians and the Bedja, of 317/531-2 and 104-116/722-734 respectively. Formulations of a later period are found in al-Kalkaghānī, *Subh al-Ashā*, xii, 321 ff. (summarized in Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 170 f.). Al-Kalkaghānī mentions, too, the issue of letters of *amân* by the Muslim political authorities to Muslims and gives examples, mostly from the later period. These are free pardons issued to rebels, and they are, strictly speaking, superfluous or even incompatible with religious law. They were, nevertheless, issued frequently, and the historians provide numerous examples of this kind of *amân*, which was on occasion unscrupulously broken, from the early regular *amân*, on the other hand, made not only diplomatic relations (cf. M. Canard, *Deux épisodes des relations diplomatiques arabe-byzantines au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *B.E.O.*, xiii, 51-69) but also between the Islamic and the Christian world down to the middle of the 6th/12th century possible, and letters of *amân* were regularly granted to traders and pilgrims. It has been suggested that the Islamic doctrine of *amân* was elaborated, on an old Arabian and Islamic basis, under the influence of the corresponding rules of Roman Byzantine law. From the end of the 6th/12th century onwards, coinciding with the increase in trade across the Mediterranean, the institution of *amân* was in practice superseded by state treaties between Christian and Islamic powers, which gave the strangers more security and rights. There are natural similarities in details, even the term *amân* is sometimes used in the Arabic versions of the treaties, and the Muslim scholars, who called upon to give *fatāwā* on questions arising out of them, naturally thought only in terms of *amân* (cf. A. S. Atiya, *An Unpublished XV<sup>th</sup> Century Fatāwā*, in *Studies zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens* [P. Kahle, *Festschrift*], Leiden 1925, 55-68). Nevertheless, these treaties, which later gave rise to the Capitulations [cf. IMVIAE], did not develop out of the Islamic concept of *amân*, but represent a type of treaty which had already come into being between the trading cities of Italy and the Byzantine Empire and the states of the Crusaders (cf. R. Brunschwig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, i, Paris 1908, 439-40).

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*Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925 (supersedes the previous studies, but to be used with caution, cf. Bergersträsser, in *Id.*, xv, 312 ff.; contains extracts from Zaydī works); M. Hamīdullah, *Muslim Conduct of State*, revised ed., Lahore 1943, 127 ff., 192 f., 200-3; N. Kruse, *Islamische Völkerrechtslehre*, Göttingen 1953 (not seen); M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, Baltimore 1955, 162-169, 225 f., 243 f. (J. SCHACHT)

**AMÂN, MİR**, (commonly spelt in English Mir Amman, an Indian writer, born at Delhi, who was active at the beginning of the 18th century at the Fort William College, Calcutta. His fame as a graceful writer of Urdu prose rests almost entirely on *Bāgh o-Bakār*, which is an adaptation of the story of the four Dervishes, entitled *Nisya Qāḥir* Darwīsh in its Persian original. It was completed in 1217/1802; and thanks to its plain and perspicuous style, has been widely used as a text-book by Western students of Urdu, and has in consequence been repeatedly printed in India. It has also been translated into English by L. F. Smith under the title of *The Tale of the Four Darweshs*, Calcutta 1813. Other translations are due to Duncan Forbes, Hollings and Eastwick. There is also a French translation by Garcin de Tassy: *Bag o Behar, Le jardin et le printemps, poème hindoustani traduit en français*, Paris 1858. Another less-known work of Mir Amman is *Gangā'i Khāsh*, which is a free translation into Urdu of *Abhāṣ-i Maḥsinī*, an ethical treatise by Husayn Wā'iz Kashifī. The date of its composition is posterior to that of *Bāgh o-Bakār*. He was stimulated to this literary activity by the Director of the Fort William College, Dr. J. B. Gilchrist (d. 1841). The writings of Mir Amman are generally reckoned among those early works which have powerfully contributed to the development of a simple, natural and direct style in Urdu literature.

Mir Amman occasionally wrote poetry under the poetical name of Lūf; but he did not excel in it and his *ghazals* seem to have been lost.

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(SH. INAYATULLAH)

**AMÂN ALLĀH** [see AFGHANISTAN].

**AMÂNAT**, the poetical name of SAYYID ʿAMĀN ḤASAN (1231-75/1815-58), a poet of Muslim India, in whom the art of Urdu poetry reached its culminating point. He began by composing *marḥūṣas* or elegies on the tragic death of Husayn the son of 'Alī; but soon turned to the *ghazal*. His poetical compositions have been preserved in two collections, viz. *Gulastā-i Amānat*, compiled in 1260/1853, and his *Diwān*, also known as *Khāṣṣ-i al-Faṣlā*, collected in 1278 A. H. and published for the first time at Lucknow in 1285 A. H. He also wrote two *waṣṣṣas*, the second of which is longer (307 stanzas) and of a better literary quality. In the last days of his life, he became inordinately fond of composing

riddles and enigmas, which seem to have afforded him some sort of mental diversion. He is, however, chiefly remembered for his *Indar Sabā*, a musical comedy, completed in 1270/1853 and published the next year, along with *Shāh Indar Sabā*, lithographed on the margin. It took the Indian public by storm and became the prototype of many similar plays, written by various authors in subsequent years. In the *Shāh*, he reproduces the whole story and also describes the action scene by scene, for those unable to see the play on the stage.

**Bibliography:** Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustanie*, Paris 1870, i, 194; ii, 442; R. B. Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allahabad 1940, 121, 351; T. G. Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Calcutta 1932, 67; *Preface of Dīwān-i Amānat*, ed. Sayyid Hasan Latīfat, Lucknow; Lāla Sri Rām, *Ḥawāsh-i Zinatī*, Delhi 1908, i, 401-404; Abū 'Layth Siddiqī, *Lucknow ka Dabistā-i Shā'iri*, Aligarh 1944, 290 ff.

(SH. INAYATULLAH)

**AMĀNUS** [see KIMA DASH].

**AMĀRA** (47° 13' E, 31° 50' N), until 1333/1914 the capital of the Turkish *sancak* of that name in southern 'Irāk, has been since 1340/1921 the head-quarter town of a *lā* of the 'Irāk kingdom, containing also the dependent *lā*s of 'Alī al-Gharbī and Ka'fā Shāh. Pleasantly situated on the Tigris left bank thirty miles from the nearest Persian hills, and potentially rich from the great flood-canal, the abundant crops of rice and dates, and the sheep-breeding of its half marshy and half corn-land territory, 'Amāra was founded only in 1279/1862 as a Turkish military post to control the ever warring Band Lām and Āl Bā. Muḥammad tribes. It grew rapidly as a local market and entrepôt, as a centre for the civil administration, as a refuelling station for the river steamers, and as from 1308/1890 as a headquarters for administering the great estates acquired for Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid II. The town's main population elements were, and are, Shī'ī and (fewer) Sunni Muslim Arabs, with communities of Chaldean Christians, of resident Lurs and Persians, of the 'Sabahan' silver-smiths, and, until 1370/1950, of Jews. Under the British occupation and Mandate (1334/1915 to 1351/1952) and the 'Irāk Government the town has expanded and acquired modern buildings, communications and public services; but the particularly difficult problems presented by this district in tribal administration and land-tenure remain largely unsolved.

**Bibliography:** For Turkish period, V. Cuinet, *Le Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, ii, 279; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern 'Iraq*, Oxford 1925; J. G. Locimer, *Persian Gulf Gazetteer*, iii, Calcutta 1908. For 14th/20th Century, S. H. Longrigg, *'Iraq* 1900-1950, London 1953.

(S. H. LONGRIGG)

**AMARKOT**, town situated 25° 22' N and 69° 71' E, in the Tharparkar district of West Pakistan (population in 1951: 5,742, including 1,957 Muslims), was, according to tradition, founded by a branch of the Sūmra Rājapūts who embraced Islam during the reign of 'Alī al-Dīn Khāldī (694/1294-718/1316). The Sūmras left the town in 847/1443 to the Sodā Rājapūts, who were expelled in 737/1330 by the Sūmras. In 843/1439 the Sodās again came into power. In 949/1542, Humāyūn, after his defeat by Shēr Shāh, sought refuge in Amarkot with the Sodā prince, variously named Bīr Sāl, Prasād or Parsiyā. Akbar was born in Amarkot on 5 Rajab 949/23 Nov. 1542. In 999/1590, when 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān

Khānān conquered Sind, Amarkot became part of the Mughal Empire, but in 1008/1599 Abū 'Kāsim Sulṭān, an Arghūn prince, drove out the Mughal commander. In 1149/1736 Nūr Muḥammad Kālhorī, the ruler of Sind, expelled the last Sodā chief and took possession of the town. In 1252/1739 Nādir Shāh, on his way back to Persia after the sack of Delhi, forced Nūr Muḥammad into submission. Later one of the Kālhorīs sold the fort to the chief of Dīwdhūr from whom it was captured by the Tālpūrs in 1248/1813, after which it lost its strategic importance. It passed into British possession with the conquest of Sind in 1843. The old fort in which Akbar was born was demolished by Nūr Muḥammad in 1746, and it was he who built the present fort. The birth-place of Akbar, about half-a-mile to the north-west of the town, is marked by a stone-slab erected in 1898.

**Bibliography:** *Gazetteer of Sind*, B. vi, 341; *Imp. Gaz. of India*, xxv, 117-8; Gulshādī Begum, *Humāyūn-nāma*, 58; Abū 'L-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, i, 182; *Tārīkh-i Ma'āsim*, 177; *Dīwān-i Ālīshāhī*, *Tadhkirat al-Wāḥidī*, Urdu tr. Mu'īn al-Hakī (1955), 74-5; Erskine, *Hist. of India under Akbar and Humayun*, ii, 250; 'Alī Shēr Khān, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, iii, 36, 190; *Journal of the Sind Hist. Society*, ii, iv; Goldsmid, *Historical Memoirs on Shikharpur*, 17-8; H. T. Sotley, *Shāh Ashraf Laif of Bhd*, 30, *Tārīkh Rīgīstān* (in Sindhi), Karachi 1956, 60 ff.; V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, in J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, London 1914, ii, 253; D. Seton, *History of the Caloras*.

(A. S. BAZME ANSARI)

**AL-A'MASH**, ABŌ MUḤAMMAD SULAYMĀN b. MĪNĀS, traditionist and Qur'ān 'reader'. Born in 606/770-80, he so Muḥarram 670 October 681, of a Persian father, he lived at al-Kūfa and died probably in Rabi' I 148/May 763. He received traditions from al-Zuhri and Anas b. Mālik, and his instructors in *ḥadīṣ* were: Muḥammad al-Najshī, Yahyā b. Waṭṭihāb, 'Asim; Hamza was his disciple. His 'reading', which followed the tradition of Ibn Ma'īd and Ubayy, appeared in the list of 'the fourteen'.

A great admirer of 'Alī, he is supposed to have furnished the poet al-Sayyid al-Hinayār [q.v.] with the material for the eulogies which he composed in honour of that Caliph.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 214, 230, 239; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Kurrah*, index; al-Nawawī, *Tarḡīb*, 705; Ibn Abī Dawūd, *Ma'ārif*, 31; A. Jeffery, *Materials*, Leiden 1937, 314 ff.; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Canon*, 123, 127. (C. BROCKELMANN-(CH. PELLAT))

**AMASYA**, town in northern Anatolia and capital of a *wilāyet*. It preserves the name of Amaseia, under which it was known in antiquity (for its ancient history see Paul-Weissner, s.v.; F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, ii-iii; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, index). In 712 it was for a short time occupied by the Arabs (cf. Brooks, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, 191).

In the 11th century Amasya came under the dominion of the Dānişmandids, and was annexed with the rest of their territories by the Rūm Salḡīk Rūḡ al-Aḥlā II. At the division of his kingdom the Sodā Rājapūts, who were expelled in 737/1330 by the Sūmras, in 843/1439 the Sodās again came into power. In 949/1542, Humāyūn, after his defeat by Shēr Shāh, sought refuge in Amarkot with the Sodā prince, variously named Bīr Sāl, Prasād or Parsiyā. Akbar was born in Amarkot on 5 Rajab 949/23 Nov. 1542. In 999/1590, when 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān



then passed under the rule of Eretna and his successors. The amir Hādīdīl Shāhīdī seized Amasya from 'Alī Bey Eretna-oghli (Astarābād, *Baam u-Razm*, 100 ff., 137-40). Subsequently strife broke out between Shāhīdī and his confederate Malik Ahmad on the one side, and Kādī Burhān al-Dīn on the other, for the possession of the town (ibidem, 225, 235 ff.). After Shāhīdī's death, his son Ahmad managed, with the help of the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I, to hold Amasya against Burhān al-Dīn; finally it fell into the hands of Bāyezīd. After the latter's capture by Timur, his son, Mehmed Celebi, succeeded in escaping to Amasya, from which town he started on his campaign against his brothers. Under Ottoman rule Amasya enjoyed the special favour of the ruling house. Bāyezīd II when crown-prince was the governor of the town; Sulaymān I often stayed in it, and received there the Austrian ambassador, Busbecq. Amasya, which had been a cultural centre already in the Sāldjūq period, became one of the main seats of learning in Anatolia. In the 17th century it was described by Evliya Celebi and Kāthī Celebi. By the end of the 19th century Amasya, lying on the Samān-Siwā-Şāhrāpūt road, became an important centre of transit traffic; the Samān-Siwā railway was completed in 1930. At the end of the 19th century the town had 25,000-30,000 inhabitants (some of them Armenians), in 1940 13,732 (500 non-Turks); the whole *vilāyet* in 1950 had 165,494 inhabitants. Its economy is based on fruit, silk and textiles.

Amasya is situated on the main arm of the Yeşil Irmağ (called Toranil or Tokat Suyu), above the confluence of the Tersakan Çay, 400 m. above sea-level, in a narrow and rocky gorge, running from east to west; the gorge winds above and below the town, where its renowned orchards are to be found. The mountain on the right, southern, side of the river is called Farhād Dağı (local legend makes Farhād the founder of Amasya), while that on the opposite side contains the tombs of the kings of antiquity and the fortress. The most populous quarters and the greater part of the old buildings are on the southern side, which suffered greatly from a fire in 1915. The two sides are joined by five bridges.

The fortress, of Hellenistic origin, was restored in the Byzantine, Sāldjūq and Ottoman periods and is described by Evliya Celebi; now it is in ruins. In the fortress are the ruins of a *medrese* built by Kara Mehmed Ağa (890/1485) and of a school added by his son Mustafa Paşa (917/1511); also ruins of an 'imaret, or a *İşlavlut tekkiye* and two bays. The mosque called İsmail Mîrî was originally a Sāldjūq foundation; the inscription over the gate bears the name of Kaykubad II and the date 634/44-1237-47; but it was repeatedly restored and is now derelict. The same is true of the Gök Medrese, also belonging to the Sāldjūq period; it was built, together with the adjoining *tişbe*, by Sayf al-Dīn Turumtay, governor of Amasya, in 665/1267. Of the Ottoman mosques, those of Bāyezīd I Paşa (812/1419), of Yürük Paşa (854/1450), of Sultan Bāyezīd (892/1486), of Mehmed Paşa (921/1466), and the Pazar Džāmi'i (unknown date) deserve mention. There are, furthermore, a lunatic asylum (708/1308), the *tekkiye* of Pir İlyās (815/1412), the *medrese* of Kağıt Aghası (894/1488) and of Kōkūl Aghā; the *tekkiye* of Kāthī Celebi (824/1423), of Turumtay (677/1278), one attributed to Sultan Ma'ūd, those of Shāhīdī (783/1381), of 'Şehzade', and of various Ottoman princes; finally the

ruins of the palace built for some Ottoman princes (Beyler Sarayı). The monuments of the town have suffered from the earthquakes of 1734, 1825 and 1939. *Bibliography:* Abu 'l-Fidā' (Reinoud), *ii*, 138; Ibn Batūta, *ii*, 292; Evliya Celebi, *ii*, 135 ff.; Kāthī Celebi, *Diḡān-nisān*, 625 f.; W. J. Hatton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapesund*, 1860; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 603 ff.; K. Ritter, *Erkunde*, 18/1, 154 ff.; V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 741 f.; F. Tieschner, *Das anatolische Wegetum*, 199 ff.; Hüseyin Husameddin, *Amasya tarihi*, İstanbul 1330-2, 1927-35; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Asie mineure*, *ii*, Paris 1934, 134, s.v. (by B. Dackot and M. H. Vinacq). (Fr. TIESCHNER)

#### AMAZIGH (see BERBERE).

**AMBĀLA**, town in East Panjāb, India, situated 30° 21' N and 76° 52' E, 125 miles from Delhi on the way to Sirhind. The town consists of the old town and the cantonments, four miles away. The population in 1951 was 146,728. Though the neighbourhood of Ambāla played an important role in early Indian history, the town itself is first mentioned in the *Sāfar-nāma-i Kādī Tabī Muṭṭahī* (Bīdjanawr 1909, 2 ff.), according to which it was occupied by the Muslims at the time of the second invasion of India by Mu'izz al-Dīn b. Sam in 587/1192. Eutimius (668-33/1211-36) is reported to have appointed a *kādī* here in 783/1379. From Turkish occupation the town, together with Sāmāna and Shāhābād, Bābur camped here on his march to Pānpāt for the decisive battle of 933/1526. In 956/1545 Ambāla was the scene of a severe engagement between the Nizārī insurgents from the Panjāb and the Pathān troops under Iḡlān Shāh Sūr. During the Mughal period the town was a dependency of Sirhind and was a favourite camping ground of the Mughal sovereigns on their way to Lahore or Kashmir (the place of the camp is still known as Bādhāshī Bāgh). It was also a centre of cultural activity. Two of its learned men ('Abd al-Kādir and Nūr Muḥammad) are mentioned in the *Mahābhāt* of Ahmad Sirhindī (f. no. 254, ii, nos. 56, 63, 94, iii, no. 317). A number of *madrasas* flourished here in the days of Shāhābādīn. Sikḡ Murtazāh, the commander of the *Adāb-i 'Shāmīgiri*, a collection of Awrangzib's letters, was a native of Ambāla. In 1122/1710 the town was captured by the Sikhs under Banda Bāyragt. During the anarchy which followed the rout of the Marāṭhās at the hands of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in 1175/1761 and the decline of the Mughal empire, it was occupied in 1763 by the Sikh adventurer Sangat Singh. On his death it passed into the hands of his brother-in-law, Dhīyān Singh, who leased it to Gurbakhsh Singh Kabka; on the latter's death in 1198/1783 his widow, Ma'ī Dāya Kaur, succeeded him. She was ousted in 1808 by Ranjīt Singh, but re-instated by the British a year later. On her death in 1823 the town passed into the possession of the East India Company. During the Mutiny the town remained quiet. In 1856 it took place in 1854 the "Ambāla Trials", as an aftermath of the Ambeyla campaign against the followers of Ahmad Brīṭān. The town is a rail-head, an important military and air base, and has a busy grain market; it is famous for its "durries", or cotton carpets. It has a mosque of the Pathān period and some pillars erected by Shāh Shāh Sūr; also the shrines of Bāydar Shāh Lakshī and Shāh Tawakkul Shāh, and the congregational mosque, an imitation of the Masjid al-Aḡḡā, deserve mention.

*Bibliography:* *Gazetteer of the Ambala District*, 1892-3; *Imp. Gaz. of India*, 276, 287; Muhammad

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#### AMBASSADOR (see ELĀĪ, RASŪL).

**AMBON**, the central island of the South Molucces, Indonesia, nearly one half (ca. 25,000) of the population is Muslim, especially in the northern part. Already before the arrival of the Portuguese (1512 A.D.), Islam had been introduced in Ūtū, a supply station for the East Javanese spice trade, and in some other villages; according to local tradition, this was done by chiefs who had travelled East Java, Pānā and Mecca. After the turbulent times of the 16th and 17th centuries the Muslims have remained a stationary, neglected but prosperous community, where the original language and much of the old costumes are preserved.

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#### AMBRA (see 'ANBAR).

**AMĒDQJĪ** (r.), an official of the central administration of the Ottoman Empire; before the *tanzīmāt*, he was directly subordinate to the *Re'is al-Kuttāb*; he made copies of reports written by the latter, and also drafted reports on minor matters; in short, he performed all the clerical duties connected with the office of *Re'is al-Kuttāb*. Moreover, he was present at meetings between the *Re'is Efendi* and ambassadors, and kept official minutes of the proceedings. He like the *Re'is al-Kuttāb*, bore the title of *Kā'āḡāḡānī*. The name and origin of this office derives from the Persian word *amād* meaning "has come, has been obtained", an endorsement on documents acknowledging receipt of the dues payable to the *Re'is al-Kuttāb* by newly installed military personnel for their *fīnān* and *n'āmets*. The person making this endorsement was called the *Amēdqi*, and the administrative bureau where the formalities connected with these documents were completed, *Amēdī*. The terms *Amēdī Kātibī* (secretary to the *Amēdī*), and *Amēdī Kāleml* (the *Amēdī* department), were also used.

This office seems to have come into being later than the 17th century. After the *tanzīmāt*, the office of *Amēdqi* increased in importance and was also known as *Amēdī Dīwān-i Hāmāyūn*; its function was to make copies of the documents sent to the *sādrat* by other ministries and administrative departments which required the sanction of the *Pādīshāh*, after resolutions of the Council of Ministers or the *Sadr-i 'Ayyam*; in the case of documents which did not require this formality, its duty was to correct them, register them and send them to the Head Chamber-

lain; and, on the other hand, to register imperial decrees communicated to the *sādrat*. The *Amēdqi* supervised the secretaries whose duty it was to keep the minutes of the Council of Ministers. He was one of the five principal officials of the Sublime Porte; this department was more important and more distinguished than the other departments of the *sādrat*. After the proclamation of the Second Constitution, the name *Amēdī Dīwān-i Hāmāyūn* was changed to Secretariat of the Council and Interpreters' Deputations, under one official, but later (1912) it was restored. — See also my article in *J.A.* (M. TAYYIB GÖKBULGIN)

**AMĒNOKAL**, the current spelling of the Berber *amennūl*, meaning "any political leader not subordinate to anyone else"; it is applied to foreign rulers; to high-ranking European leaders, and to the male members of certain noble families; in some regions of the Sahara, the title of *amennūl* is given to the chiefs of small tribal groups, but in the Ahaggar (q.v.), it is only conferred on the overlord of a confederation of noble or subject tribes. The *amennūl* must be selected from among the Ihaggaron nobles, and his nomination is submitted for approval to an assembly of the nobles and the chiefs of the subject tribes; political succession is, in principle, transmitted, according to rules deriving from the matrilineal regime, to the eldest brother of the preceding *amennūl*, to the eldest son of his maternal aunt or to the eldest son of his eldest sister, but these rules are not always strictly observed. The *amennūl* has as a sign of rank a *drag* (*tebel*, see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. iv*, 1922-5), and receives tribute from subject tribal groups. His principal role was that of war leader, but in normal times, he applies the criminal law, settles disputes and concerns himself with relations with neighbouring tribes; he is always assisted by the assembly of notables which ratifies his decisions, and can dismiss him.

*Bibliography:* Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, Paris 1864, 307; Benhazera, *Sur moi chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, Algiers 1908, 107; E. F. Gautier, *La conquête du Sahara*, Paris 1910, 591; Seligman, *Les races de l'Afrique*, Paris 1935, 128; F. Nicolas, *Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik*, IFAN, i, 586; H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 154-6; G. Surdon, *Institutions et coutumes berbères du Maghreb*, Tangier-Fes 1938, 489-92; Ch. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-français*, Paris 1952, 1213-4. (Ch. FELLAT)

**AMGHAR**, Berber word corresponding to the Arabic *ghayyāh* (q.v.), and meaning "an elder (by virtue of age or authority)". Among the Touareg, it applies to chief of a tribal group who acts as an intermediary between the *amennūl* (q.v.) and his tribe (see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. touareg-français*, Paris 1952, iii, 1237; H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 157-8), or even to the chief of a confederation (cf. H. Bissau, *Les Touaregs de l'Ouest Algiers* 1888, 23). In Kabyla (see A. Hanoteau and A. Létourneau, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, Paris 1893, ii, 9) and among the Imazighen of Morocco (see G. Surdon, *Institutions et coutumes berbères du Maghreb*, Tangier-Fes 1938, 187-90), the *amghar* is both the president elected by the *djāmā'a* (q.v.) and its executive agent among the tribe or tribal groups which compose it. In the Shillū group in Morocco, the chief elected by the *djāmā'a* has the title of *mbādam* (*mukaddam*), and the *amghar* is more particularly the temporal ruler who over the authority to force and not to regular election (R.







subordinate tax collector in the provinces (Mantran and Sauvaget, *Réglements fiscaux ottomans* 20).

Muslim North Africa and Spain continued the Umayyad usage, and 'amil meant a governor or administrative officer, responsible for general administration and finance. This continued until the end of the Umayyad Caliphate (Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Maḡribī*, passim; cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I, 92).

**Bibliography:** the sources mentioned in the text, and Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*; F. Köprülü, in *IA*, s.v. (particularly useful for the later period).

(A. A. DONS)

'AMIL, (a): pl. 'awmil, derived from 'amila fi (= to act upon), signifies as a grammatical term a *regens*, or to express it in the way of the Arabic grammarians a word, which, by the syntactical influence which it exercises on a word that follows, causes a grammatical alteration of the last syllable of the latter, i.e. a change of case or mood. Two kinds of *regulae* are distinguished, one which can be recognized externally (*lafzi*) and one which is only to be supposed logically, but which is not expressed (*ma'nawi*).

The 'amil *lafzi* again is of two kinds: (1) the case where it concerns a whole series of mutually dependent words, which can be treated analogously according to the same rule (as for example in the *idghā* construction); (2) the case in which each *regens* requires special treatment (e.g. *b, bi, lam*); these two sub-divisions are named 'amil *hiyālī* and 'amil *sami* respectively. It makes no difference whether the *regens* is expressed as in *kama* *zayd*, or whether it must be supplied grammatically from the sentence as a form of the verb, as in *zayd fi l-dār*. Indeed the absence of a *regens* is a very frequent occurrence in Arabic grammar (cp. al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, index s.v. *if'āl* 'amil). This case must be distinguished from the complete absence of the *regens* in the case of the 'amil *ma'nawi*, for in this second kind it is impossible to supply the 'amil grammatically, although it can be done logically; grammarians usually cite as an example the subject of the nominal sentence, whose 'amil cannot possibly be supplied.

**Bibliography:** Sprenger, *Dict. de techn. terms*, 1045; [Djurdjānī, *Kutub al-Taṭīf* (Pittet), 150; 'Abd al-Kābir al-Djurdjānī, *Kutub al-'Asmā' al-Mi'ā' (ed. Erpenius)*. (G. WEIL)

'AMILA, an old tribe in North-Western Arabia. The reports concerning their past (al-Tabarī, I, 685; *Aghāni*, xi, 155) are unworthy of belief. In the later genealogical system the 'Amila are reckoned as belonging to the South-Arabian Kahlān (cf. *gūl*, 1204A). At the time of the Muslim invasion we find them settled S. E. of the Dead Sea; they are mentioned among the Syro-Arabian tribes which joined Heraclius (al-Baladhuri, 59; al-Tabarī, I, 2347); but do not appear again in the history of the conquest. Shortly afterwards we find them established in Upper Galilee, which is named after them [Djābil 'Amila (al-Ya'qūbī, 327; al-Makdisī, 162; al-Hamdānī, 129, 132). They play a very unimportant part and are almost completely absorbed by the Banū [Djurdjānī, 129]. 'Adī b. al-Rikāṣ, the poet of al-Walīd I, was their chief pride; he celebrated the [Djurdjānī Rawh b. Zuhā, as the *sayyid* of his tribe (*Aghāni*, vii, 179, 182); and thereby gives further proof of their importance. Ibn Durayd (*Iṭhāf*, 724-5; cf. *Idā*, ii, 86) finds few notable men among them; *sāṭir* rarely deals with them (e.g. *Hotay'a*, ix). After the 5th/11th

the 'Amila seem to have spread S. of the Lebanon, in the present district of Būd al-Shakī which is still called [Djābil 'Amila (Abu l-Fida', 228; al-Dimashqī, 221).

According to Yāqūt, iv, 291, they also occupied a part of the country of the lūmā, a day's journey to the S. of Aleppo, which he says was named after them 'Amila Mountain. This isolated reference (cf. *JA*, 1855, i, 48) is the more surprising in that the corresponding text of the *Marāṭib* gives 'Amira instead of 'Amila. To avoid the difficulty, G. le Strange (*Palestine*, 73) supposes an emigration towards the N. during the crusades, but without giving references. The Arabic historians of this period are ignorant of this change of place, and continue to use the synonymy 'Amila-Djābil (*Récueil des historiens des croisades, Hist. or.*, ii, 88 for Khallī read [Djābil; iii, 491, 543). The application to the 'Amila of the passage from the Qur'ān, lxxxviii, 3, by the poet [Djāzī is only a snare of the Tāmiṭiyya who was jealous of the favours enjoyed by Ibn al-Rikāṣ. The [Djābil 'Amila in the Lebanon was, and is, an important Shī'ite centre, and several eminent Shī'ite authors bear the *nishā* al-'Amīl. [For further details see MUYAWALLI.]

(H. LAMMERS-W. CASKE)

AL-'AMILĪ, MUHAMMAD b. HUSAYN RĪHĀ' AL-DĪN, was the *iqbal* of Bahā'ī, born in 95/1574, died 103/1619; author of several works in Arabic and Persian, on a variety of subjects. Originating from [Djābil 'Amila in Syria, he migrated to Persia, and eventually obtained an honoured place at the court of Shāh 'Abbās. The best-known of his works is the anthology *al-Kaḡhāli* ("the beggar's bowl"), frequently printed in the East; he also wrote an exposition of Shī'ite *fiqh* (in Persian), under the title of *Ḥusn al-'Alāhiyya* ('Abbās), and was the author of various works on astronomy and mathematics. As a Persian poet, he distinguished himself by a *maḡnawī* called *Nān u-Mahī* which, according to Ethé, formed a sort of introduction to the *Mathnawī* of [Djābil al-Dīn Rūmī. A second *maḡnawī* entitled *Shīr u-Shakar*, is less known.

**Bibliography:** Muhibbī, *Khatib al-Iḡār*, iii, 440-1; I. Goldziher in *SIFAC, Wien phil.-hist. Cl.*, lxxviii, 198-9; Brockmann, II, 414 S II, 395; Ethé, in the *Gr. I.* Ph. 301.

AL-'AMILĪ, AL-HURR (see AL-HURR AL-'AMILĪ). AMIN, "safe", "secure"; in this and the more frequent form *amin* (rarely *ammin*, rejected by grammarians) it is used like *amin* and (Syriac) *amin* with Jews and Christians as a confirmation or corroboration of prayers, in the meaning "answer Thou" or "so be it", see examples in al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 277 note 6; Ibn al-Djazarī, *al-Naḡh*, ii, Cairo 1245, 421-2, 447. Its efficacy is enhanced at especially pious prayers, e.g. those said at the Ka'ba or those said for the welfare of other Muslims, when also the angels are said to say *amin*. Especially it is said after *sūra* i, without being part of the *sūra*. According to a *hadīth* the prophet learned it from Gabriel when he ended that *sūra*, and Būkhārī added the prophet not to forget him with it. At the *ajlā* the *amin* says it loudly or, according to others, faintly after the *āhika*, and the congregation repeats it. It is called God's seal (*ṭāḡa* or *ḫatīm*) on the believers, because it prevents evil.

**Bibliography:** *LA*, s.v.; *Isfīr* to *sūra* i by Zamakhsharī and Baydāwī; Wessingh, *Concordance et Index de la tradition musulmane*, s.v.; Goldziher in *RSO*, 1907, 207-9. (J. PEDERSEN)

AMIN (Ar. pl. *amān*), "trustworthy, in whom one can place one's trust", whence al-Amīn, with the article, as an epithet of Muhammad in his youth. As a noun, it means "he to whom something is entrusted, overseer, administrator": e.g. *Amin al-Waqf*, "he who is entrusted with the revelation", i.e. the angel Gabriel. The word also frequently occurs in titles, e.g. *Amin al-Dawla* (e.g. Ibn al-Tilmāḡh others), *Amin al-Dīn* (e.g. Yāqūt), *Amin al-Mullā*, *Amin al-Saltān*.

In addition to these general and undefined uses of the word *amin*, there are other more technical uses, of importance in the history of Muslim institutions. Thus *amin* is used to denote the holders of various positions "of trust" particularly those whose functions entail economic or financial responsibility. In legal works the word denotes "legal representatives"; under the early 'Abbāsids the *amin al-hum* was the officer in charge of the administration of the effects of orphan minors (Iyān, *Organisation judiciaire*, I, 384). In a wider connotation the word applied to treasurers, customs officers, stewards of estates etc. (see Ibn Mammālī, *Kawānīn al-Dawādīn* (Atiyā), ch. 3, regarding Egypt, and for the West, Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. de l'Espagne musulmane*, ii, 40, 52; Le Tourneau, *Fils avant le Prétorialis*, index, and in particular 299 n. 3; etc.).

The most important technical meaning of the word *amin* is "head of a trade guild". In this sense the word often has the plural *amīnāt* (Le Tourneau *loc. cit.*). But the use of the word *amin* in this sense seems to have been always limited to the various countries of the Muslim west; the east, in pre-Ottoman times, preferred in general the term *'arif* (q.v.), and, in modern times, has employed a variety of terms. For general information on the heads of trade guilds, and for the bibliography, see 'ARIF, *SINR*. For the Ottoman period, see *EMİN*. (CL. CAHENS)

AL-AMIN, MUHAMMAD, 'Abbāsīd Caliph, reigned 19/880-13. Born in Shawwāl 170/April 787, of Harūn al-Rashīd and Zubayda, niece of al-Manṣūr, he was thus of pure Hāshimite stock both on his father's and his mother's side; hence he was given priority in the order of succession over his brother 'Abd Allāh (the future al-Ma'mūn), who was born six months before him but of a slave mother. In fact, the first *bay'a* as heir to the throne was accorded to him by al-Rashīd in 173/792, when he was barely five years old, and it was not until 183/799 that al-Ma'mūn was designated second successor. The whole question of the double succession was settled with due solemnity by al-Rashīd in 186/802, in the "Meccan documents", designed to eliminate all uncertainty and all conflict between the two heirs. In the first of these documents, al-Amīn acknowledged al-Ma'mūn's right of immediate succession to the empire; and his virtually absolute sovereignty over the eastern half of the empire; in the second document, al-Ma'mūn took cognizance of these rights, and declared in his turn his loyalty and obedience to his brother as caliph, whether or not the latter had respected his obligations. The system of obligations and counter-obligations by these documents shows clearly that al-Rashīd recognized the delicacy of the situation created by the double nomination and by the latent conflict between the two brothers (profoundly different both in character and interests), and tried to preserve a precarious equilibrium between them by these judicial and religious formulas.

When al-Rashīd died at Jūz, on 3 Djumād II 193/24 March 809, al-Amīn was recognized as caliph

at Baghdad and throughout the empire, while al-Ma'mūn hastened to return to his fief of Khurāsān. The following year (194/810) al-Amīn, by suddenly introducing the name of his own son Mūsā in the Friday Prayer after that of al-Ma'mūn, took a step which, without formally violating the Meccan agreement, revealed his intention of setting it aside, by placing alongside his brother a later successor who suited him better. There followed a brisk exchange of diplomatic correspondence between the two brothers (supported respectively by the *waṣir* al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī', and by the future *waṣir* al-Faḍl b. Saḥl), the text of which has been preserved by al-Tabarī, and which assumed the form of political manoeuvring or a "cold war" between Baghdad and Mawr preceding the armed conflict. Al-Amīn tried to entice his brother to Court, to persuade him to give up his right to the control of several important areas of Khurāsān, and to obtain his consent to a modification in the order of succession. The respectful and prudent, but firm, resistance of al-Ma'mūn induced him to precipitate matters and, at the beginning of rajab of 810, he formally violated the Meccan documents and substituted the name of his own son for that of al-Ma'mūn (and of the third brother al-Kāsim, the future al-Ma'asim), as direct heir to the throne. To smash the resistance of al-Ma'mūn, who was declared a rebel, 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Māhān was despatched at the head of an army, an act which marked the commencement of open hostilities between 'Irāk and Khurāsān ([Djumaḡ II 195/March 812).

The war was conducted for al-Ma'mūn by his redoubtable general Tāhir b. al-Husayn (q.v.); in the first clash near al-Rayy, the latter defeated and killed 'Alī b. 'Isā, and then 'Abd al-Rahmān b. [Djābil al-Abnāwī who was sent against him with a second army. The whole province of al-Djābil fell rapidly into the hands of the Khurāsānī troops, against whom al-Amīn vainly flung contingents levied from among the Syrian Arabs. The attempt to use this Arab element as a weapon against the Persian element, which supported al-Ma'mūn en bloc, failed completely, while in Syria grave disorders occurred, and in Baghdad itself, as the result of a coup effected by 'Alī b. 'Isā, al-Amīn was temporarily declared deposed and al-Ma'mūn was recognized as caliph; but the attempt failed (Radjab 196/March 812) and al-Amīn, restored to the throne, had to face the Khurāsānī armies which were then approaching the capital. Baghdad was invested in Dhū l-Hijja 196/August 812 by two corps under the command of Harthama b. A'yān and Tāhir, who had meanwhile completed the conquest of Khurāsān; throughout the remainder of the empire ('Irāk, Mesopotamia, Arabia) al-Amīn's authority waned; he was declared deposed (*maḡhūb*) and replaced by his brother. Despite this, the desperate defence of the capital lasted for more than a year, during which there grouped themselves around the Caliph, the most turbulent social elements of the metropolis (known as "the naked", *'urān*), who in the course of bloody fighting barred the path of the besiegers. The position was not clarified until Muharrar 198/September 813, when all resistance was overcome and al-Amīn requested Harthama for a safe-conduct. But while he was making his way towards that former loyal general of his father, who had promised him his life, he was intercepted by Tāhir's men, who feared that their prey might escape, and was captured and put to death (night of 24 of 25 Muharrar 198/24-5 September 813). It



appears that al-Ma'mūn was not directly responsible for the murder of his brother which, however, was not unwise to him and which left him *de facto* and *de jure* the sole ruler of the empire.

The war between the two brothers has been viewed by some as an aspect of the conflict between Arabism and Iranism at the beginning of the 'Abbasid dynasty; in fact, it was primarily a dynastic dispute, although admittedly there were certain ethnic factors in the origin of the two rival brothers and in the deployment of the forces on which they relied for their support; but although Khurāsān and Persia in general supported the al-Ma'mūn line, it cannot be asserted that al-Amin was the conscious champion of Arabism, or that the Arabs were solidly behind him. He had the superficiality and intolerance of the hedonist, ignorant of the complexities of political intrigue, and was concerned solely to secure supreme power for himself and his descendants; the policy necessary for the achievement of this aim, conducted, incidentally, without much serious consideration, was less his own work than that of his minister and councillor al-Faḍl b. al-Rabi' [q.v.], who is depicted by the sources as his evil genius and who, in the hour of danger, abandoned him to his fate in order to secure a pardon for himself from the victor. The loyalty and obstinate resistance of Baghdad during the siege was not due so much to legitimist and dynastic ideals as to the excessive liberality of the Caliph and to the belligerent instincts of the dregs of the city, who regarded the situation as an opportunity for licence and booty. Thus al-Amin had no one actually at his side except a small group of courtiers and poets, companions of his debauches, like Abū Nuwās, who remained faithfully at his side until the end and who sincerely lamented his death in his elegies. His memory, in Muslim historiography, is associated with that of the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd II and Walīd II, who were also libertines and hedonists, but who possessed political and artistic abilities altogether lacking in the frivolous 'Abbasids. During the four years of his reign (or three years if the year of the siege is not counted), there is no outstanding administrative or political measure with the exception of the cold (and later hot) war designed to eliminate his brother who, far superior in intellect and political acumen, in the end justly supplanted him.

**Bibliography:** The chief source is Tabarī, III, 603-974 (summarized in Ibn al-Aṭṭār, VI, 152-207); other sources are Ya'qūbī, II, 493 ff., 524-38; Dīnawarī, 388-97; *Præsentia Historiarum Arabum* (de Goede), 320-324; Ibn al-Tikrākī, 291-97; *more anecdotal*, but valuable for the siege of Baghdad, Mas'ūdī, *Murājī*, VI, 415-87. Western works, apart from general histories of the caliphate, include F. Gabrieli, *Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amin in al-Tabari*, in *Rend. Linc.*, 1927, 191-220, *idem*, *La successione di Hārūn al-Rashīd e la guerra fra al-Amin e al-Ma'mūn*, in *RSO*, 1928, 341-97. [F. GABRIELI.]

**AMINA**, a legendary wife of Solomon. He one day entrusted to her the ring, on which his dominion and his wisdom depended. She gave it to a demon who had assumed the form of Solomon, and it only returned to the king after many adventures.

**Bibliography:** Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur israelischen Sagekunde*, 22 ff.

**AMINA**, Muhammad's mother. Her father was Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf of the clan of Zuhra of the tribe of Kuraysh, and her mother Barra bint

'Abd al-'Uzzā of the clan of 'Abd al-Dār. It is said that she was the ward of her uncle Wuhayb b. 'Abd Manāf, and that on the day he betrothed her to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muttalib he also betrothed his own daughter Hāla to 'Abd al-Muttalib (Ibn Sa'd, VI, 38). If this report is correct it may be an example of some forgotten marriage-custom. Amina seems to have remained with her own family and to have been visited there by 'Abd Allāh, who is usually said to have died before Muhammad's birth. So long as Amina lived, Muhammad was under her charge, and hence presumably lived with her family (except when sent to a wet-nurse in a nomadic tribe). Amina's death when Muhammad was six is said to have taken place at al-Abwā', between Mecca and Medina, as she returned from a visit to Muhammad's kinsmen there. Though this visit to Medina is mysterious, there are no strong reasons for rejecting the above details. The same is not true of the stories connected with her pregnancy, such as her alleged statement that she saw a light going from her, which lit up the palaces of Baḡra (Bostra) in Syria.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, 70, 100-2, 107; Ibn Sa'd, VI, 60 f., 73 f.; Tabarī, I, 980, 1078-81; Caetani, *Annali*, I, 119 f., 150, 156 f.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**AMIR**, commander, governor, prince. The term seems to be basically Islamic (Nāḥiyya, 7, 964; Ibn Durayd, *Dijma*, III, 437. In the Kor'an, only the expression *shū'ā* 'Amir is found (Sūra IV, 59, 83), but *amir* occurs often in traditions (cf. Wessing, *Concordance*, s.v.).

The sources for the early period frequently use the terms 'amīl [q.v.] and *amir* as synonyms (cf. Hamidullah, *Documents*, 36, 38, 39, 83). In the reports on the meeting of the *shūrā*, *amir* is used for the head of the Muslim community (Tabarī, I, 1840, 1841; Ibn Sa'd, II, 1, 126, 129). During the caliphate of Medina, the commanders of armies, and occasionally divisions of an army were called *amir* (or *amir al-djāysh* or *amir al-djund*), and so were the governors who were initially the conquering generals (Tabarī, *Annales*, I, 1885-4, 2013, 2054, 2512, 2593, 2606, 2634, 2637, 2645, 2662, 2775, 2864, 3057; Kindī, *governors*, 12, 13, 31, 32, 390, 392, 395; Hamidullah, 207, 257).

The Umayyads began to distinguish between administrative and financial duties. Yet during most of this period, *amir* had full powers, administrative and financial, and felt that their authority in their province was equal to that of the caliph (Tabarī, *Annales*, II, 23; Kindī, *governors*, 35; Mas'ūdī, *Murājī*, V, 308-12). The local population in the Eastern provinces saw the *amir* as a *Kāḥḥād* (Lord) (Tabarī, II, 1636) or *Shāh* (King) (Tabarī, II, 300).

The *amir* organizes the army and appoints *ṣarifs* who keep the register of their units, maintain discipline, distribute pay and report incidents. He conducts expeditions personally or through his lieutenants, and concludes agreements. He leads prayers, builds mosques and sees to the establishment of Islam in conquered territories. The administration of justice is usually in his hands and, with a few exceptions, *amir* appoints *Kādīs*. The *amir* maintains peace and order through the prefect of police (*shāḥ al-shurā*) whom he appoints. He usually has a chamberlain (*shāḥ al-bayt*) and a bodyguard. He appoints a postmaster (*shāḥ al-barīd*) to report on his subordinates and generally on matters of interest. Representatives ('*amils* or *amirs*) in

important sub-provinces are appointed with the approval of the Caliph and at times directly by him (Tabarī, II, 120, 1201, 1504).

The *amir* supervises the mint and strikes silver coins, usually with his name on them. Some *amirs* were famous for their good dharmas. But the type of currency, its weights and minting places are at times regulated by the caliph.

The *amir* with full powers is responsible for financial policy. He issues instructions about the time and methods of levying taxes, the measures used and the amounts required. An *amir* could revise the system of taxation and revise the rates of pay of the troops. The *amir* pays his troops and officials, provides funds for public works such as the construction and repair of bridges, canals, roads, public buildings and fortresses, and sends the balance of the revenue to Damascus.

The powers of the *amir* are greatly reduced, however, when the caliph appoints an *amīl* for the *sharḥ*. Ibn al-Habbāb, *amīl* of Egypt under Hishām, could even have the *amir* changed (Kindī, 72, 76; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ misr*, 178).

The *amir* takes the *bay'a* or oath of allegiance in his province for the caliph or to the local designate. He may lead a delegation from his province to convey their views to the caliph or to offer their homage. He tries to influence public opinion in his province through tribal chiefs, poets, *qasās*, or money and threats (Balādhuri, *Anṣab*, IV/a, 101, 116-7; Pedersen, in *Mélanges Goldschmidt*, I, 232).

When the *amir* leaves his province or capital, he appoints a *shāḥ* to represent him (Kindī, 13, 35, 40, 62, 63; Tabarī, II, 1140).

*Amirs* receive salaries and administrative allowances ('*amāla*). Some *amirs* looked for other sources of wealth such as trade, appropriation of part of the revenue, speculation on the sale of crops taken in taxation, and presents. Some *amirs* amassed great wealth, and the caliphs tried to bring them to account; this degenerated to a system of tortuous investigation at the end of the appointment under the later Umayyads.

The caliph, especially in difficult times, takes the views of the Arabs of the provinces into consideration when appointing an *amir* (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 146; Dīshīyārī, 37). A new *amir* usually appoints new *amirs*, especially in the later Umayyad period.

Umayyad administrative traditions were carried by the 'Abbasids, but were gradually modified by new tendencies. The 'Abbasids created a bureaucracy to replace the tribal aristocracy and stressed centralization.

*Amirs* were frequently members of the 'Abbasid family, but generally they were members of the bureaucracy, and whereas they were generally Arabs under the Umayyads, many were now Persians and later Turks. The *asḥāb al-barīd* now played a prominent role and were expected to report regularly on the actions of the *amir* and the affairs of the province. The *Kādī*, too, became practically independent of the *amir* since he was appointed directly by the caliph. The *amir's* term of office is generally short.

A new official, the *shāḥ al-naḥḥ* *fi l-maḥall*, is appointed to consider complaints about injustices of the government officials, including the *amirs*.

Most *amirs* in the early 'Abbasid period continued to be responsible both for civil and financial administration, but soon it became customary to appoint a finance officer (*simīl*) together with the *amir* (Kindī, 185, 192, 221).

The *amir* was primarily concerned with main-

taining order and ensuring the collection of taxes. *Amirs* occasionally increased taxes, abolished them or exempted people from paying arrears. Local discontent with the *amir*, especially when it led to trouble, was at times investigated and could lead to his dismissal (Dīshīyārī, 99-100; Kindī, 192; Tabarī, III, 716-721).

New developments took place before the end of the first 'Abbasid period. Ma'mūn appointed his brother Abū Ishāq *amir* of Egypt, but he stayed at the capital and sent two representatives, one for *sharḥ* and the other for *shād*. Absentee *amirs* in Egypt followed until the rise of the Tulūnids (Kindī, 185 ff.).

Another development was the appearance of *amirs* who, appointed by the caliph, were given a free hand in their province against payment of tribute. Such *amirs* established dynasties and limited their relations with the caliph to receiving his *'ahd* (decree of appointment), recting his name in the *shurḥ* and striking coins in his name. This was the case of the Aglābids and the Tāhīrids. Others shared with the caliph the attributes of sovereignty by adding their own names to his in the *shurḥ* and on gold coins, for instance the Tulūnids, the Ikhshīdids, the Sāmānids and the Hamdanids.

We further notice the rise of *amirs* who conquered their territories by force and then sought the *'ahd* of the caliph, in order to acquire a legitimate basis of their authority. Such were the Saffārids and the Ghaznawids. These *amirs* were practically independent. The Buwayhids, *amirs* by conquest, went even further. They conquered Baghdad, usurped all authority from the caliph and made him their pensioner, appointed *waḥīds*, and interfered with the succession to the caliphate. Only the fact that the Caliph was still considered the source of all political authority by the people prevented the Buwayhids from overthrowing the 'Abbasids and made them seek the *'ahd* from them.

The Umayyads in Spain called themselves *amirs* until 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāḥir assumed the title of caliph. Their governors and the governors of the Fātimids were called not *amir* but *adīl*.

Al-Mawardi (d. 422/1031) reflects the full development of the institution. After distinguishing *amirs* with full powers from *amirs* with limited powers, he deals with the amirate acquired by force (*imārat al-ṭalāḥ*); he admits this as lawful in order to avoid rebellion and division, on condition that the *'ahd* given requires the *amir* to follow the *sharī'a* (cf. Gibb in *Isl. Cult.*, 1937).

On the other hand, during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries the traditional bureaucratic administration collapsed and was replaced by the rule of the military. This influenced the status of the amirate, and under the *Saldjūqs*, the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks, the title *amir* was given to military officers of all ranks (also to the smaller *Saldjūq* princes). The *Djāmi'a* (d. 733/1333) reflects this development when he states that in his days *amirs* were commanders who were given fields in order to maintain their troops, and that their primary duties were military (Isl. III, 369).

**Bibliography:** the main literary source for the ancient period is Tabarī, *Annales*, supplemented by the other historians, in particular Balādhuri, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Kindī, Makrīzī and Kāḥḥādī; the primary archaeological sources are the coins and (for Egypt under the Umayyads) the papyri. See also A. A. Duri, *al-Naḥḥ al-salāmiyya*, and the references given in the text. (A. A. DURI)



AL-AMIR b. ABKAM AṢṢĀH Abū 'ALT AL-MANṢŪR, the tenth Fātimid caliph, b. 13 Muharrar 490/ 31 Dec. 1096. He was proclaimed caliph as a mere child of five by the vizier al-Aḥḍal on the death of his father al-Musta'li (14 Safar 495/8 Dec. 1101). For the next twenty years the government was in the hands of al-Aḥḍal (q.v.). In 515/1121 al-Aḥḍal was assassinated by Nizārī emissaries, but the caliph was accused of complicity. Al-Ma'mūn b. al-Baṭā'ihī (q.v.) was made vizier, but was in his turn imprisoned on 4 Ramaḍān 519/1125 (and executed three years later). No new vizier was appointed, but the Christian chief collector of revenue, Abū Naḍḍāh b. Kana'ā, exercised great influence until his arrest and execution in 523/1129-30.

During al-Aḥḍal's vizierate a certain activity was shown against the crusaders and various expeditions were undertaken, under the command of Sa'd al-Dawla al-Tawāḥhī (495/1101); Sharaf al-Ma'mūn, al-Aḥḍal's son (496/1102); Ṭāḥ al-Adḥan and Ibn Rāḍī (497/1103); Ḥamīd al-Mulk (498/1104); Sa'ad al-Mulk al-Husayn, another son of al-Aḥḍal (499/1105); and later under that of al-A'azz (505/1112) and Ma'wūd (506/1113). (The main base in Palestine was 'Akkān). Nevertheless, the greater part of Palestine and the Syrian coast fell into the hands of the crusaders; Tartūs, 495/1102; 'Akkā, 497/1103; Tarsūs, 502/1109 (cf. 'AMMUN); Sayda, 504/1111; Sūr, 516/1124. Egypt itself was invaded in 511/1117 by Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, who took Farāmā and reached Tunīs; he was, however, forced to retreat because of his illness and died on the way.

A noteworthy event was the invasion by the Luṭāta in 517/1123, who reached as far as Alexandria, but were repelled by al-Ma'mūn.

During the reign of al-ʿAmir the Nizārī schism, which caused the Fātimids to lose the support of the greater part of the Ismā'īlī "diaspora", threatened Egypt itself. Al-Ma'mūn had to take police measures in order to prevent the infiltration of their agents, and a great public demonstration was held in Cairo (Shawwāl 516/1122) in order to publicize the falsity of the Nizārī claims and the legality of the Musta'li line. A document issued on this occasion has been preserved under the title of al-Ḥuday al-ʿAmīriyya (ed. A. A. Fyze, Oxford 1938).

In 522/1130 a heir, named al-Tayyib, was born to al-ʿAmir; his fate, however, is shrouded in obscurity. On 2 Dhū l-Ka'da 524/8 Oct. 1130 the caliph was assassinated by Nizārīs and a period of *confusio d'itit* followed (cf. AL-APDAL RUTAYFĀH, al-BĀḤĪ).

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Muwaynār, *al-Bihar* (Mansūf), 42-5, 56-7; some passages which are missing in the defective MS are preserved by al-Nuwayrī, chapter on the Fātimids; Ibn al-Aghfir, index; Ibn Khallikān, nos. 753, 280 (transl. de Sane, II, 455); Abū l-Fidā' (Renke-Adler), index; Ibn Khallikān, *Ḥār*, iv, 68-71; Ibn Taghribirdī, II, 326-31 passim; Ibn Dukmīk, *Faṭṭāh*, index; Makrīzī, *Ḍihā*, I, 468-9, II, 151, 276 ff.; Sayfī, *Ḥam al-Mubḥārā*, II, 16 ff.; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early medieval history* by Najm al-Dīn 'Qmār al-Bakamī, index; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Königreiches Jerusalem*, passim; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, I, passim (especially 218-84, 592-608); E. Wustenfeld, *Gesch. der Fātimiden*; Chailion, 280 ff.; S. Lane-Poole, *A hist. of Egypt*, index; B. Lewis, in *History of the Crusades*, Philadelphia 1926, I, 118-9; S. M. Stern, *The Epistle of the Fātimid caliph al-ʿAmir (al-Ḥuday al-ʿAmīriyya)*, JRAS, 1950, 20-31; idem, *The*

succession to the Fātimid caliph al-ʿAmir, Oriens 1951, 193 ff.; and cf. *Ḍihā*, to AL-APDAL, al-Ma'mūn b. al-Baṭā'ihī. (S. M. STERN)

'AMIR, the name of a South Arabian tribe (see *Ḍihā*).

BANU 'AMIR (BANI AMOR), a camel- and cattle-owning nomadic tribe, pop. approx. 60,000, in Western Eritrea and the adjacent area of the Sudan. The tribe is divided into 17 sections, some speaking Bedja (a hamitic language) others Tigre (a semitic one), though there is a firm tradition of common descent, traced in considerable detail to the ancestor 'Amir, some 10 generations ago. This applies only to the small ruling caste (*walid*), not to the heterogeneous and much more numerous serf population (called *kedarab* or *higir*), which seems to have come under Banī 'Amir domination at different times, either through conquest or voluntary submission. A few serf groups are subject only to the Paramount Chief, while the large majority live in hereditary bondage to particular *walid* families, tributary to them and charged with all the menial tasks, especially herding and milking. The masters, in turn, are bound to protect their serfs and care for their welfare. Though tempered by personal loyalties, the caste division is kept rigid by the prohibition of intermarriage and by certain taboos imposed on the serfs. Formerly there was also a class of slaves, who were the absolute property of their masters.

The whole tribe is Muslim, though the purity of the belief and adherence to observances vary widely not only individually but among the sections. Their political unity is a tenuous one, resting on a loose federation not infrequently threatened by secession. Tribal government is in the hands of a paramount chief (*digda*) and a council of headmen (*ghorfa*) elected by the different sections. Formerly elective, the chief's office became hereditary in 1829, and since 1957 separate chiefs, though close kin, have been ruling over the Eritrean and Sudanese branches of the tribe.

The relations of the tribe with neighbouring groups were, and still are, marked by frequent raids and blood feuds. Though internal conflicts were not infrequent they never followed class lines. The modern political and economic changes, however, which seriously weakened tribal prestige, also caused the serfs to show signs of restiveness, visible in sporadic acts of lawlessness and 'passive resistance'.

**Bibliography:** C. C. Rossini, *Principi di Diritto Consuetudinario dell' Eritrea*, 1916; A. Poltera, *Le Popolazioni indigene dell' Eritrea*, Bologna 1935; *Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1943; S. H. Longrigg, *Short History of Eritrea*, Oxford 1945; C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, *Note on the History and present condition of the Beni Amer*, Sudan Notes and Records, 1930; S. F. Nadel, *Notes on Beni Amer Society*, ibidem, 1945, 25-94; S. Hilse, *Aspects of Mohammedanism in Eastern Sudan*, JRAS, 1937; J. S. Trimmingham, *Islam in Eritrea*, Oxford 1952, 121-2, index.

'AMIR I. (al-Malik al-Zāfir Ṣāḥib al-Dīn) founded in Yemen the dynasty of the Banū Ṭāhir, after the fall of that of the Rāḥīdīs about the year 855/1451 in conjunction with his brother 'Alī (al-Malik al-Muḥḍib Shams al-Dīn). He lost his life during an unsuccessful attempt to capture the town of San'a' in 870/1466.

**Bibliography:** see the following art.

'AMIR II. (b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, al-Malik al-Zāfir Ṣāḥib al-Dīn), was the last prince of the house of the Banū Ṭāhir; he ruled in Yemen 894/1488-923/1517. Already in 922/1516, the Egyptian admiral Husayn occupied the capital of Yemen, Zabīd, because 'Amir refused to supply the fleet sent out against the Portuguese with provisions. Husayn left his brother Barsbay behind in the city; and in the following year 'Amir, who had taken flight together with his brother 'Abd al-Malik, fell in a battle with Barsbay. As in the interval the Manlikī dynasty had been overthrown by Selīm, the Ottoman Sultan, Yemen also fell into the power of the Ottomans.

**Bibliography:** Kutb al-Dīn, in *Notices d'Extraits*, iv, 421; C. Th. Johannsen, *Historia Jemanae*, 1828, 186 f.; 229 f.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, v, 398 f.; Zambaur 121; O. Löfgren, *Arab. Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden*, index; Khallīd Edhem, *Duwal-i Islāmiyye*, 133 f.

'AMIR b. 'ABD AL-KAYS (later 'ABD ALLAH AL-'ANBARī, *Lib'*) and ascetic of Basra. His way of life attracted the attention of the agent of 'Ughmān, Ḥamrān b. Abīn, who denounced him to the Caliph; 'Amir was interrogated by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir and exiled to Damascus where he died, probably during the caliphate of Mu'awiya. His way of life seems to have consisted of various kinds of abstinence (he despised wealth and women) and pious works, and it is possible that the measures taken against him were dictated by the desire to prevent the advocacy of celibacy at a time when Islam needed fighting men; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 194, states on the other hand that his puritanism led to him being suspected of Khārījism, even though these events happened between 29-35/650-6. In the eyes of posterity, 'Amir b. 'Abd al-Kays is not only an eloquent man whose sayings have been preserved, but Sūfism, which includes him among the "eight" principal *sukhād*, still recognizes him as a forerunner and attributes to him a number of miracles.

**Bibliography:** *Ḍihā*, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn*, I, 308, II, 370, III, 284; Balādhuri, *Asnād*, v, 37-8; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaḥat*, VIII, 73-80; Tabarī, *Ibn al-Aghfir*, index; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, II, 87-95, no. 163; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taba*, no. 624; Massington, *Essai*, index; Pellat, *Mélanges syriens*, 96 (Cf. Pellat).

'AMIR b. SA'SA'SA, a large group of tribes in Western Central Arabia. It is mentioned first in a South Arabian inscription of Abrahā in 547 or 544-45 (G. Ryckmans, No. 506, in *Le Muséon*, 1953; J. Ryckmans, *ibid.*, 339-42; Casel, *Entdeckungen in Arabien*, 1954, 27-31). Judging by that inscription and by the later area of the 'Amir, their original area began to the west of the Tarāba oasis and extended towards the east, past Ranya, to the upland south of the Riyāḍ-Mecca road. Here it ended at about the 44th degree of longitude, but the north-western borderline can not be ascertained. From this area the tribe of Kilāb (b. Rabī'a b. 'Amir) advanced to the north and northeast into that territory in which the *hima* Dārīyya (q.v.) was later founded, and into the adjacent southern district as far as Siyy to the west; the tribe of Ka'b (b. Rabī'a b. 'Amir) advanced to the east and northeast into the southern Tuwayk. Only the *Hilāl* (b. 'Amir) never left their territory, Harrat Banī Hilāl = Harrat al-Nawāsif. Earlier inhabitants of the *hima*, such as a part of the Muḥārib, the *ḡ*-anī and the Kumayr (who are counted among the 'Amir in later genealogies, cf. however 'Amir b. al-Tufayl, XII, 1)

became more or less dependent on the Kilāb, whilst the Ka'b assimilated the little-known inhabitants of the Tuwayk oases, and later on settled there themselves, particularly the sub-tribes of *Ḍja'da* and *Harīḥ*. Of the sub-tribes of the Kilāb, the *Ḍibāb* migrated between the centre of the *hima* and their old villages near Turāba, the 'Abd Allāh along what is today known as 'Aḥḍ al-Sūḥayf', the *Abū Bakr* migrated from the southern *hima* in a south-easterly direction to Karīḥ = Karān on the Riyāḍ-Mecca road, and the 'Amir from the south-eastern *hima* to Damīḥ, whence both turned to the southwest into the above mentioned upland. The sub-tribes of Ka'b also migrated between their old and their new areas: the Kūshayr north of the Wādī Birk (= Birk) Surra towards the road, the 'Aḍlān went there along that Wādī, the 'Ukayl migrated from the Wādī Dawāḥir-Wādī Kanya northwards to the upland, but they also went south in the direction of Najrān. Thus the two areas of migration touched along a considerable stretch. This fact and also the fact their migrating areas were large, explains the remarkable solidarity of the Ka'b and the Kilāb, while their internal unity, as usual, left much to be desired. The Kilāb had the Ribāb and Tanīm as neighbours in the east, the Asad in the northeast and tribes of the *Ḡhātān* in the north and northwest. There was a latent state of war with all these, whilst relationships with the Sulaym, and especially the Hawāzin, in the south-west were amicable. To the south, Kilāb and Ka'b had a feud with the tribes on the border, especially with the *Khath'am*, but also with South Arabian tribes like the Murīd, Sudāḥ and *Ḍjū'n* (of Sa'd al-'Aḥḍra) which had been bedomized for some time and were pressing towards the north. They did, however, live in peace with the Bal-Hārīḥ b. Ka'b and their satellites Naḥd and *Ḍjurn* in the Najrān region, until that peace was broken by 'Amir b. al-Tufayl's marauding expeditions. Noteworthy among the "days" of 'Amir are the battle of Shīb al-Jabala (on the eastern border of the *hima*), where they repulsed an army of Asad, *Ḍhabyān* and *Dārīn-Tanīm* ca. 580).

The house of *Ḍja'far* (rather a family than a subtribe before the times of Islām) had some vague authority over the Kilāb. It held this position thanks to a pact with the 'Amir b. (b. Rabī'a), according to the later genealogy a "brother" of the Kilāb and Ka'b, without always being a match for the *Abū Bakr*, the strongest Kilāb tribe.

The 'Amir, as *Hums* (q.v.), was on good terms with the inhabitants of Mecca. Nevertheless, the relations with the rising community of the Muslims in Medina were peaceful, since both were opposed to the *Ḡhātān*. These relations were not seriously threatened—not even by the incident of Bīr Ma'ūna—until the prophet demanded not only the political, but also the religious, union of the tribes. In 629, a gang of marauding Muslims penetrated as far as Siyy; soon afterwards, the head of the older line of the *Ḍja'far*, 'Alkama b. 'Uḍāba, embraced Islam. 'Amir b. al-Tufayl, however, his opponent, remained unregenerate. After Muḥammad's victory over the Hawāzin near Hunayn (8/630), the 'Amir effected their union without further friction. There was hardly any fighting against the 'Amir in the *ribāḍ*.

The part played in the war of conquest by the 'Amir was not considerable. Yet the 'Ukayl reached Spain with the Syrian armies, and the *Ḍja'da* and Kūshayr reached Persia with those of Kūfa and Basra. Other groups followed after the conquests.



Some 'Amir settled in Northern Syria and others on the far side of the Euphrates. There they settled on the land, whilst those on this side of the Euphrates slowly reverted to a nomad existence. Here we meet of the old units of 'Amir: Kilāb, Kūlaya, 'Ajlān, 'Ukayl, as well as Numayr. The Kilāb remained on the Syrian side. From them sprang the Mirdāsid [q.v.] dynasty. The Numayr and 'Ukayl, however, went over to the Dī'fār between 940 and 955. Some decades later, their leaders attained political power there [cf. NUMAYRIS, 'UKAYLIS].

There was little immediate change amongst those 'Amir who had stayed in Arabia. Through the establishing of the *Himā*, the existing discussions between the Dī'fār on the one side and the Dībāb and Abū Bakr on the other grew worse, while the 'Ukayl temporarily occupied areas near Bīgha and Tā'fīth which had been left empty after emigration. Larger displacements did not occur until after the first 'Abbasids. The Kūlaya advanced into the steppes to the northwest until the Numayr stopped them. The Kilāb were also concerned, in the Central Arabian risings shortly before the middle of the 9th century (defeated 846). After the annihilation of the Numayr (847), the Kilāb began to advance from the west, and the 'Ukayl from the south, into areas which had been swamped by the former for so long. The expeditions of the East-Arabian Karīm al-Tamīm started a new wave of migrations: in the east, the Khafā'jā [q.v.], 'Ukayl and later the Muntalīk [q.v.], reached 'Irāk, the 'Ukayl in the west reached Palestine, and the Kilāb Transjordania.

There were no important poets among the Kilāb before the last quarter of the 6th century (Labīd, 'Amir b. al-Tufayl); among the Ka'b until shortly before the *al-Nabīgha* al-Dī'fārī. Of the poets of early Islam Tadmūn must be mentioned among the Kilāb, Ibn Muḥallab al-'Ajlānī and Muḥallab al-'Ukaylī among the Ka'b.

**Bibliography:** The *Diwan* of the poets mentioned above [cf. articles on each]: *Nabīgha Dī'fārī wa'l-Farānabī*, ed. Bevan, passim; Wāḥidī, transl. Wellhausen, 368; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv, 113, 142-6; the Arabic Geographers; Max Froehner von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, i, 38 f., 222-7, 281, ii, 374, iii, 12-8, 127-37, 208 ff. [cf. also HILāl, KUGAYE, NUMAYR, 'UKAYL].

(W. CASKEL)

'AMIR B. al-TUFAYL, ancient Arab hero and poet, sprung from the Mālik, the younger line of the Dī'fār b. Kilāb, belonging to 'Amir b. Sa'sa'a. In the nineties and past the threshold of the 7th century he took part in many marauding expeditions, sometimes leading his own men. After the death of his father, who appears to have fallen in the south fighting against the Khazā'am, he took over the conduct of the war until the loss of an eye at the battle of Fayl al-Rīb (against the Khazā'am, ca. 614) rendered him unsuited for this post. In the beginning he suffered some setbacks, and he himself lost sight or use of his relatives. In one battle other tribes of the 'Amir b. Sa'sa'a must have suffered grievously, for bitter reproaches were made to him from their side. The unfortunate result of Fayl al-Rīb was not his fault; nevertheless the Dī'fār held him responsible for the loss of men and horses. It is possible that this discussion formed the basis for the legal contest, or the struggle for precedence, which broke out a short time after between 'Amir and the head of the older line, 'Alkama b. 'Alīgha. Though the arbiter gave no verdict, 'Amir recovered his good reputation through this suit; the

poet al-A'ghā seems to have provided essential help in accomplishing this. After the death of his uncle 'Amir Abū Barā' (ca. 450-451), he became, formally, the head of the Dī'fār, the mightiest Beduīn leader of Central Arabia, as before he had been the greatest warrior.

Legend connects 'Amir several times with the Prophet and depicts him as his bitterest Beduīn opponent. He is supposed to have attacked Muslim missionaries treacherously at Bī' Ma'ūna and have organised a plot to assassinate the Prophet. This is true to the extent that he did not submit to the sovereignty of Medina and died a heathen, probably shortly before the taking of Mecca. The accusation of treachery goes back to an exchange of *hiǧā'a* between the poets of Medina and those of the Dī'fār (the verses of whom have been lost or suppressed). In this 'Amir was accused of occasioning the catastrophe of Ma'ūna by breaking the covenant of protection. It is true that there was an engagement of protection entered into by his uncle, only that 'Amir could not fulfil it among the Sulaym, who had killed the "holy band", in reality a pillaging expedition; cf. Lyall, *Diwan*, 84-91.

The fragmentary impression left by the *diwan* of 'Amir is caused not only by the unsatisfactory tradition. 'Amir appears really to have cultivated only the small forms of *ǧahīlī* poetry. In the case of no. 39 he created a perfect work of art through the expansion of a framework which also occurs elsewhere; no. 21 is moving through its humanity, the complaint about the loss of his eye. In no. 16 he shows himself, uplifted by a recently won victory, equal to the hurtful scorn of al-Nābigha.

**Bibliography:** The *Diwan* of 'Abid Ibn al-Abras and 'Amir Ibn al-Tufayl, ed. Sir Charles Lyall, 1913; A'ghā (Geyer), nos. 15, 19; Labīd (Bruckelmann), nos. 45, 51; *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* (Lyall), no. 5; *Aghāni*, xv, 50-4, 232; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 482 f., 484 f.; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iḍā*, iii, 495, nos. 15, 16; *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, 30-4, 704 ff.; *Nabīgha* (Bevan), 469-72 and index. (The prose texts have no independent historical value and can serve only in helping to understand the poems.)

(W. CASKEL)

AMIR AKHUR, in Persian MIR AGHUR, "high equestrian", one of the highest officials in the court of Oriental princes. Under the Mandūkā the *amir akhur* was the supervisor of the royal stables. He was generally an *amir* of a thousand and had under his orders three *amirs* of fourty. In the Cossanian period he occupied the fourth place among the grand *amirs*, cf. A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, etc.*, London 1939, 30; D. Ayalon, *Studies on the Structure of the Mamlūk Army, BSOAS*, 1954, 63, 68.

(D. AYALON)

AMIR 'ALI, SAYYID (1519-1528), Indian jurist and writer, descended from a Shī'ite family which had come from Khurāsān with Nadir Shāh and remained in India, finding service with successively the Mughal and Awadh courts and finally the East India Company. He was educated at the Muḥsinīya ("Hooghly") College near Calcutta, where he learned Arabic and also came into close contact with the English and their literature, as well as studying their law (see his *Memoirs*, in *IC*, 1931-2). He was in England in 1761, when he called to the Bar in 1783, and settled there permanently with his English wife (née Isabelle Ida Konstam) on retirement from the Bengal High Court in 1804. His activities were significant in many fields: as a professor of

Islamic Law, at the Bar, on the Bench, in social service, government administration, politics, and as a writer. Some of his works became, and have remained, standard authorities for Anglo-Mohamedan Law. In 1883 he became one of the three Indian members (and the only Muslim) on the Viceroy's Council, and in 1909 he was appointed the first Indian member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. In the field of social service he sponsored a juvenile reformatory in Calcutta (Calcutta), and in London he was a protagonist in the British Red Crescent Society.

On the political front he founded in 1877 a "National Mohammedan [sic] Association", which presently was a nation-wide organization with 34 branches from Madras to Karachi; its programme was "primarily to promote good feeling and fellowship between the Indian races and creeds, at the same time to protect and safeguard Mohammedan interests and help their political training" (*Memoirs*, 1932, 20). Amir 'Ali sinned, expressed and fostered a nascent political self-consciousness in Indian Islam, disagreeing with the then conviction of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān [see AHMAD KHAN] as to the adequacy of modern (western) education for the Indian-Muslim community as a guarantee of its position in the country. After moving to England he was instrumental in setting up the London branch of the Muslim League (speech in *IC*, 1932, 335 ff.); his loyalty to and real affection for Britain led him, however, to resign in 1913 when the League joined with the Indian National Congress in talk of "Home Rule." He was involved in negotiations in London over the projects for political reforms in India. After the First World War he came into prominence as London champion of the *khilafat* movement; a letter to 'Ismet Paşa signed by him and the Agha Khān, being published in Istanbul before reaching the government in Ankara, roused drastic opposition in Turkey, where the *khilāfa* was presently abolished altogether.

It is, however, as a writer that his basic contribution was made. While a student at the Inner Temple, he wrote in answer to a western account of Islam a study of Muhammad's life and message, which was published in London (1873). This became the basis of a developing work which he subsequently kept revising and republishing throughout his life, under the eventual title of *The Spirit of Islam* (editions in 1897, 1922, 1932). This liberal modernist interpretation of Islam was favourably received and has remained influential in the West; its influence in the Muslim world, not least outside of India, has also been marked, and it has been translated into Turkish.

His other major book (apart from legal works), *A Short History of the Saracens* (London 1899; 10th repr. [revised] 1921; also in Urdu transl.), also contributed to a new attitude towards the Islamic past on the part of many, both western and Muslim. These two books, and the other smaller presentations on Islam which he proffered, were supplemented by a steady stream of articles, both in India and especially in Britain (chiefly in the *Nineteenth Century*), in which he pleaded the cause of Islam before the bar of world opinion. His historical significance lies in considerable part in his role in the creation of favourable appreciation of Islam in the West, and perhaps also in awakening or facilitating such a favourable appreciation of Islam among westernized Muslims.

**Bibliography:** In addition to works mentioned in the article; Bibliography of Amir 'Ali's

writings, by W. C. Smith, *Islamic Review*, London; *Eminent Muslims*, Madras c. 1922, 145-76; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, London 1927, index; H. R. A. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947, index. (W. CANTWELL SMITH)

AMIR DĀD, "amir of justice", minister of justice during the Saldjūk rule, especially in Asia Minor; other *amirs* bore this name as a fixed title (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, index s.v.).

AMIR AL-HĀDJJ, leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca. In 970, after which date non-Muslims were excluded from the *ḥajj*, the Prophet nominated Abū Bakr to conduct the pilgrimage and to prevent pagans from taking part in it. In 1053 he presided over it himself. Thereafter this duty belonged directly to the caliphs, who either undertook it themselves or nominated an official to act in their place (e.g. the Governor of Mecca or Medina, a high official etc.). When the authority of the Caliph was disputed, there were sometimes several rival leaders of pilgrimages to the Holy Places (e.g. in 68/689 there were four, of whom one was 'Abd Allāh b. Zubayr). Great importance was attached to the function of presiding at the ceremonies, which entailed authority over all the assembled pilgrims (*ḥādīja* b. 'awā). When this president came from the seat of the caliphate, the sources sometimes underlined his role as leader of a particular caravan, for example by calling him *amir al-ḥādīja al-'Irāqī*. Under the shadowy 'Abbasid Caliphs of Cairo (after 660/1262) the office became secularized and nominations were made by the Mamlūk sultans. The *amir al-ḥādīja* al-Miṣrī, usually a commander of a thousand appointed annually, claimed pre-eminence at the Holy Places. The title of *amir al-ḥādīja* was sometimes used for the leaders of other caravans (Damascus, 'Irāk). Each of these had absolute authority over his own pilgrims (supply organization, travel arrangements, protection of merchants, the sick and the poor, police duties, application of Qur'anic penalties). He was assisted by a specialized staff, and took any measures necessary to avoid attack by Beduīn. The Mamlūk sultans of Cairo used their *amir al-ḥādīja* to support their policy of establishing gradual control over the *ḥijāz*, symbolized by the *maḥmal* [q.v.], and to distribute gifts or *sawā* [q.v.]. The Ottoman sultans did the same after 923/1517, but their *amir al-ḥādīja* (Cairo, Damascus and, for short periods, Yemen), were appointed for a period of years until recalled. In Egypt under the Ottomans, up to the end of the 18th century, one of the principal keys held the post. The discharge of their duties necessitated heavy expenditure, a large part of which was met by the sultans; but as a result of the fact they received many gifts; that the effects of those who died on the way without heirs legally reverted to them, and that they carried on trade on their own account, the holders of this office could make a handsome profit. It was a great honour to be required to fill the post. Ibn Sa'ūd, who ruled the *ḥijāz* from 1924-5, prohibited any practice which recalled former Egyptian or Ottoman control of the Holy Places. The military escorts and the *maḥmal* which formerly accompanied the *amir al-ḥādīja* could no longer appear in Sa'ūdī Arabia. The *amir al-ḥādīja* had now only a diplomatic role, and he ministers of their respective countries dealt with the material organization of the pilgrimages. In 1934, Egypt abolished the title of *amir al-ḥādīja*, replacing it by *ra'īs al-ḥādīja* (Head of the Pilgrimage Mission).



*Bibliography:* J. Jomier, *Le Mahmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de La Mecque*, Cairo 1953 and references quoted. (J. JOMIER)

**AMIR HAMZA** (see HAMZA), 'ABD AL-MUTTALIB, al-AMIR al-KABIR, "great amir", title which had originally been granted in the Mamluk kingdom to "all those who had seniority in service and in years". Consequently there was a whole group of *amirs* of which every individual was called al-*amir al-habir*. In the days of Shihab al-Din al-Umari (752/1352) the title became reserved for the commander-in-chief (*atabak al-shahi*) of the kingdom. From that date onward it became the most common title of the commander-in-chief beside that of his rank.

*Bibliography:* M. van Berchem, *CIA, L'Égypte*, 276, 290, 455, 593; Makrid, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, transl. Quatremère, I, 3; Poliak and Ayalon, as quoted in AMIR AYALON.

(D. AYALON)

**AMIR KHAN**, 1768-1834, the famous Pathan predatory chief and associate of Durrani Rāh Holkar, was born at Sambhal in the Murshidabad district of Rohilkhand. As a young man he and his adherents were employed by various *saimandis* and Marāṭha officials as *ikhanda* troops for the collection of the revenues. He rapidly developed into a leader of banditti and as such was successively employed by the rulers of Bhopāl, Indore and Dharwar. In 1798 he received the title of *sahib* from Durrani Rāh Holkar. The following year he plundered Sagar and the surrounding country. In 1809, in combination with the Pindaris, he planned to attack Berar but his designs were frustrated by Lord Minto's despatch of troops to that area. By the year 1817 the strength of his army had increased to 8,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 200 guns. In the same year, realising the strength of the British, he concluded a treaty with Lord Hastings, the governor-general, by which, provided he disbanded his army, he was guaranteed in the possession of his territories. He thus became the founder of the state of Tonk [q.v.], which, since 1948, has been merged into the Union of Rājāstān.

*Bibliography:* Buzawaṇ Lal, *Memoirs of the Pathan Soldier of Fortune the Nawab Amir-ud-Dowlah Muhammad Amer Khan* compiled in Persian, translated into English by H. T. Prinsep, Calcutta 1852; J. Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*, London 1823; M. S. Mehta, *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*, Bombay 1930; H. T. Prinsep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions during the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings*, 1845; *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* (ed. C. U. Aitchison, 1909) Vol. III, No. xcix.

(C. COLIN DAVIES)

**AMIR KHUSRAW** Dihlawī, the great Indo-Persian poet, was born in 651/1253 at Patiyālī in the district of Etah, Uttar Pradesh, India. His father, Sayf al-Din Mahmūd, was a Turk who had entered India in the time of Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish under whom he took service as an army officer. His mother was a daughter of 'Imād al-Mulk, master master of the kingdom. Amir Khusrāw, according to his own statements, early showed great promise as a poet. From the age of eight when his father died, Amir Khusrāw was cared for by his maternal grandfather. After the latter's death, Amir Khusrāw took service under 'Alī al-Dīn Khwāh Khān, nephew of Sultan Balban and then with Nāṣir al-Dīn Bughrā Khān, son of the sultan, when he was appointed governor of Sāmāna. After accompanying Bughrā Khān to

Bengal, Amir Khusrāw returned to Dihli and accepted the patronage of the sultan's eldest son, Muhammad Kā'ān Malik and accompanied him to Multān. In 683/1284, Muhammad was killed in battle with the Mongols and Amir Khusrāw himself was captured only to escape soon after. He returned to Dihli and attached himself to Malik 'Alī Sarāḡdār Hātam Khān and went with him to Oudh when Sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Kaykubād went to meet his father Bughrā Khān in 686/1287. Hātam Khān was appointed governor of Oudh and Amir Khusrāw remained with him for two years before seeking permission to return to Dihli, where he accepted the patronage of the Sultan.

In the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Khālji 689/1290-695/1295, Amir Khusrāw was given a royal pension of twelve hundred tankahs annually and, according to Ibrāhīm, was a great favourite of the Sultan. But on the murder of Jalāl al-Dīn Khālji the poet transferred his allegiance to his assassin 'Alā' al-Dīn Khālji who confirmed him in his pension but proved an exacting patron. 'Alā' al-Dīn Khālji's reign, 695/1295 to 715/1315, saw Amir Khusrāw's most prolific period. Amir Khusrāw also enjoyed favour under Sultan Kutb al-Dīn Mubarak Shāh 716/1316-720/1320 and Ghīyāth al-Dīn Tughluq, 720/1320-725/1325.

During his lifetime, Amir Khusrāw became a disciple of the Sūfī saint Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā of Ghīyāthpūr and when the poet died in 725/1325, a few months after the accession of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, he was buried at the foot of Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā's grave.

The following works of Amir Khusrāw are extant.

- (1) *Five dhawns*, viz., (a) *Tahsil al-Sighah*, poems of adolescence collected about 671/1272; (b) *Waqf al-Nasab*, poems of middle life collected originally about 683/1284; (c) *Ghazal al-Kamāl*, poems of maturity collected originally about 693/1293; (d) *Bahiyat Nahiyya*, collected about 716/1316; (e) *Nihāyat al-Kamāl*, collected about 725/1325.
- (2) *The Khamsa*, viz., (a) *Maṭla' al-Amr*, 698/1298; (b) *Sāṭir al-Khusrāw*, 698/1298; (c) *Khamsa-i-Sikandarī*, 699/1299; (d) *Haḡḡ Bihāḡ*, 701/1301; (e) *Madḡniyya*, 701/1301.
- (3) *The Ghazaliyyāt*, or lyrical poems.

- (4) *The Prose Works*, viz., (a) *Khāṣṣa' al-Futūḡ*, the victories of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Khālji; (b) *Aḡḡ al-Fawā'id*, a collection of the sayings of Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā presented to the saint in 719/1319; (c) *Fāḡḡ al-Khusrāw*, completed in 719/1319, specimens of elegant prose composition.

- (5) *The historical poems*, viz., (a) *Kirān al-Sa'dayn*, completed in 688/1289, a *maṭnawī* on the meeting of Sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Kaykubād and his father Nāṣir al-Dīn Bughrā Khān on the banks of the Sarḡj in Oudh; (b) *Mu'āḡḡ al-Futūḡ*, a *maṭnawī* on four victories of Jalāl al-Dīn Firuz Khālji, completed in 690/1291 and forming part of the *Ghazal al-Kamāl*; (c) *Qusṣa-i-Khāḡḡ Khān* or 'Aḡḡa, a *maṭnawī* completed in 715/1315 on the love story of Khāḡḡ Khān, son of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Khālji, and Devalī, the daughter of Rājā Karn of Nahrwāla, with a later continuation telling of Khāḡḡ Khān's estrangement from his father, his confinement in the fortress of Gwalior, his blinding and eventual murder at the instigation of Malik Kāḡḡ; (d) *Nasb Suprā*, a *maṭnawī* describing the glories of Sultan Kutb al-Dīn Mubarak Shāh Khālji's time, completed in 718/1218; (e) *Tughluq-nāma*, a *maṭnawī* on the victory of Ghīyāth al-Dīn Tughluq over Khusrāw Khān in 720/1320.

Amir Khusrāw and the History of his Times. The works of Amir Khusrāw provide the fullest single expression extant of medieval Indo-Muslim civilisation. They reveal, as perhaps does no other surviving body of Indo-Persian literature of the time, the religious, ethical, cultural and aesthetic ideas of courtly, educated and wealthy Indian Muslims of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries.

Amir Khusrāw was not a historian. No more in his "historical poems" than in his *dhawns* and *ghazals* does he attempt a critical account of the human past. Amir Khusrāw went to please his patrons by appealing to their imaginations, emotions and to their vanity as courtly educated Muslims. For Amir Khusrāw the life of man in history is a pageant of stereotyped formal action by god-like sultans and great men, who personify Muslim ideals of conduct.

*Bibliography:* Storey, Section II, Fasciculus 3. M. History of India, London 1939; Muhammad Wahid Mirza, *Life and Times of Amir Khusrāw*, Calcutta 1935.

(P. HARDY)

**AMIR MADJLIS**, master of audiences or ceremonies, one of the highest dignitaries of the Saldjūqs of Asia Minor (see SALJŪQ). In the Mamlūk kingdom the *amir madjlis* had charge of the physicians, oculists and the like. The sources do not elucidate the connection between the rank of *amir madjlis* and this particular task, which seems to be of no special importance. Although the rank of *amir madjlis* was in the early Mamlūk period superior to that of *amir silāh* [q.v.], neither of them was of great significance at that time. In the Cossanian period the *amir madjlis*, though inferior to the *amir silāh*, was third in importance amongst the highest *amirs* of the kingdom.

*Bibliography:* Makrid, *Histoire des Sultans mamlouks* (transl. Quatremère), 67, 97; M. van Berchem, *CIA, L'Égypte*, 274, 585; M. Gaudet-Demonbynes, *La Syrie etc.*, p. 140; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 69, 101 etc.; D. Ayalon, in *ISLAS*, 1934, 59, 60.

(D. AYALON)

**AMIR al-MU'MININ**, "Commander of the Believers" (the translation "Prince of the Believers" is neither philologically nor historically correct), title adopted by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb on his election as caliph. *Amir*, as a term designating a person invested with command (*amr*), and more especially military command, it is in this general sense compounded with *al-mu'minin* to designate the leaders of various Muslim expeditions both in the lifetime of the Prophet and after, e.g. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ [q.v.], the commander of the Muslim army against the Persians at Kādisiyya. Its adoption as a title by 'Umar may more probably, however, be connected with the Kur'ānic verse "Obey God and obey the Apostle and those invested with command" (vi, 58/62). From this time until the end of the Caliphate as an institution, *amir al-mu'minin* was employed exclusively as the protocollary title of a caliph, and among the Sunnīs its adoption by a ruler implied a claim to the office of caliph (see *IGAL*), whether in its universal significance (as by the Unayyads, 'Abbāsids, and the Shī'ite Fatimids) or as implying independent Islamic authority (as by the Unayyads in al-Andalus from 576/928 [see 'ABD AL-RAHMAN III], the Mu'minids in the Maghrib [see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Troisième septième officiales almohades*, *Revue*, 1944, 11 f.], and several of the minor dynasties in al-Andalus before and after the Muwahhid conquest). The Mu'minid caliphate was claimed from 650/1253

by the Hafsids *amirs* of Ifrīqiya, and was after the extinction of the 'Abbāsid caliphate at Bagdad in 656/1258 fleetingly recognized as the universal caliphate by the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt, until their establishment of the new line of 'Abbāsid caliphs in Cairo [see 'ABBAKIDS]. In the Maghrib itself the Hafsids claim was contested by the Marīnids in Morocco, who also adopted the title of *amir al-mu'minin* in the 10th/14th century, and were followed by all the succeeding dynasties in Morocco.

By the political jurists the title *amir al-mu'minin* was interpreted in a general sense, without special reference to command in the Holy War, except in so far as the proclamation of *ghidāh* remained a prerogative of the caliphate. In other Muslim circles, however, especially among the Zaydis (see below), its association with active provocation of the *ghidāh* still survived. In this sense it was occasionally employed by the early Ottoman sultans (see H. A. R. Gibb, in *BIM*); but it was never formally adopted by their successors as implying a claim to the universal caliphate, even after the occupation of Egypt by Salīm I in 922/1517. In the same sense it was assumed by various leaders of Muslim armies in West Africa [see AHMAD AL-GHAYE and AHMAD LOHIO], and is still employed as the style of their successors in N. Nigeria.

Among the Shī'as, the Imāms in general limit the title to 'Alī b. Abi Tālib exclusively; the Imāds apply it to such of the Fātimid caliphs as each sect recognizes; while the Zaydis regard it as legitimately claimed by any 'Alid who seeks to establish his claim by force of arms (hence its present use by the Imāms of al-Yaman). Among the Khawārij the title was rarely used, except by the Rustamids [q.v.] of Tabāst.

Very occasionally the term is applied in a figurative sense to outstanding scholars; e.g. the traditionist Shū'ba b. al-Hajjāj is described as *amir al-mu'minin* in *Ṭarīḡ* (Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*, vii, 144), and the grammarian Abū Hayyān al-Gharnāṣī as *amir al-mu'minin* in *Ṭ-ṭaḡḡ* (Makkar, *Analyses*, 826).

*Bibliography:* M. van Berchem, *Titres califien d'Occident*, *JA* 1907/8, 245-335; E. Tyan, *Institutions de Droit public musulman*, I, *Le Califat*, Paris 1924, esp. 198 ff.; H. A. R. Gibb, *Some Considerations etc.*, *Archives d'Histoire et de Droit oriental*, iii, Wetteren 1948, 401-10. See also general works under *IGAL*.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

**AMIR al-MULIMIN**, i.e. lord of the Muslims, a title which the Almoravids first assumed, in contra-distinction to *Amir al-Mu'minin* [q.v.]. The latter title was born by the independent dynasties; the Almoravids, however, recognized the supremacy of the 'Abbāsids and did not wish to arrogate to themselves this title of the Caliphs. So they established a kind of sub-caliphate with a title of their own. Afterwards the African and Spanish princes bore either the one or the other of these, according as they sought after the independent caliphate or recognized any supremacy.

*Bibliography:* M. van Berchem, *Titres califien d'Occident* (Journ. As., series 10, ix, 245-335).

(A. J. WENINK)

**AMIR SILAH**, grand master of the armour. In the Mamlūk kingdom he was in charge of the armour-bearers (*silāḡḡdriyya*) and supervised the arsenal (*silāḡḡkhāna*). It was his duty to bear the sultan's arms in public ceremonies and to convey them to him in battle and other occasions. In the early Mamlūk period the office of *amir silāh* was not



very high (cf. *AMIR MAJLIS*); under the Circassians it was the second office among the highest *amirs* of the kingdom. The *amir silah* had the right of sitting at the *ra's al-ma'ayana* in the sultan's presence.

**Bibliography:** L. A. Mayer, *Suzani's Heraldry*, index; D. Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, 1924, 60, 66, 69.

**AMIR AL-UMARA'**, chief Emir, commander-in-chief of the army. As the name shows this dignity was originally confined to the military command. But the pretorians continued to become more powerful, and already the first bearer of the title, the eunuch Müni, soon became the real ruler, for it was to him that the weak and incapable Caliph al-Mu'tazz owed his rescue on the occasion of the conspiracy on behalf of 'Abd Allah b. al-Mu'tazz in 296 (908). After the appointment of Muhammad b. Bal'ak the governor of Wasit in 324 (Nov. 936) as *Amir al-Umarā'* by the Caliph al-Rādi, this desperate ruler could not but hand over to him the entire civil authority, and his name was even mentioned in the public prayer together with that of the Caliph. So the Emir became in reality virtuous rulers, while the Caliphs sank more and more to mere shadows of their former power.

This title is very rarely met with in Mamlūk sources. According to one source it was synonymous with *kabakbār*, a title given to the *adib al-'asābir*. It seems, however, that other *amirs* also bore the same title. Cf. D. Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 59.

In Ottoman usage *amir al-umara'* and its equivalent *mir-i mirān* are common synonyms for *beylerbeyi* [q.v.].

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Adīr (ed. Tornb.), viii, 10 *et seq.*; Weil, *Geogr. d. Chalifen*, ii, 543 *et seq.*; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 532 *et seq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall* (3rd ed.), 368; *Defensory, Mémoires relatifs aux Emirs al-Omdra*, (K. V. ZETTERSTERN\*)

**AMIRGHANIYYA** (see *AMIRGHANIYYA*).

**'AMIRI** (not *Amiri*, as often implied in literature), territory of the 'Amir, a sub-tribe of the *Quda'a*, forming one of the 'nine cantons' in the Western Aden Protectorate, with some 27,000 inhabitants (Brit. Agency, 1948). The sultan (*amir*) resides at *Dālī* (Dhāl), a small town on the south-eastern slope of *Ḍabal Dhībat*, about 10 miles south of Ka'taba and the border of Yaman. According to von Maltzan the name *Shāhī* was applied not only to the country and the capital (*Bilād Shāhī*) but also to the reigning sultan, a *mamlūk* of the *Zaydi* Imāms of Yaman who had made himself independent and created fairly good order in the district. A treaty with the British was signed in 1904 and supplemented in 1924 by an adviser agreement with the Government of Aden, which gives instructions to the tribal guards of the *amir*. *Dālī* has a permanent military landing ground for aircraft. A sub-grade school has an average of 30 pupils.

**Bibliography:** v. Maltzan, *Reise*, 153 ff. (with full details); Abdullah Mansūr (Wymann Bury), *The Land of Us*, 1911, 17 ff.; and the references given in 'ALAWI.

(O. LÖFGREN)  
**'AMIRIDS**, the descendants (and clients) of al-Mansūr b. Abi 'Amir (q.v.), in the first place his sons 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-Rahmān (q.v.). 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mansūr, a son of 'Abd al-Rahmān, founded the dynasty of the 'Amirids in Valencia where he ruled 422-53/1022-63. He was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Malik al-Mansūr (q.v.), 453-7/1061-5. After a ten years' interval under al-Ma'mūn of Toledo, 'Abd al-Malik's brother, Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz

ruled in Valencia 468-78/1075-85. In this last year the city was wrested from Abū Bakr's son, the *hādī* 'Uthmān b. Abi Bakr, and fell into the power of al-Rādi, who had been dethroned in Toledo. (For further details, see *AL-ALAWI*). — To the former clients of the house belong Muḥarrak and Muḥarrak, who ruled Valencia for a short time from 407/1010-1 onwards, and Muḥammad al-'Amirī (q.v.), who became the ruler of Denia and the Balearic Islands.

(C. F. SEVONEN\*)

**AL-'AMK**, large alluvial plain of northern Syria, situated N-E of Antioch and framed in the tectonic depression which separates the Efrās Daḡh, or Amanus, from the Kurd Daḡh, and which stretches as far as the lower spurs of the Taurus. With a mean elevation of 250 ft. above sea level, it is largely covered by a lake fringed with marshes, called *Buhayrat Anṭakiyya* ('the lake of Antioch') or *Buhayrat Yaḡrā*, and in Turkish *Al Denir*; fed from the north by the 'Afrin (q.v.) and the Kara Su, streams which are violent when in spate, the lake discharges its waters in the direction of the Orontes which, before receiving this outlet, the *Kūṭūk 'Asī*, follows the depression without discharging its waters into it; it flows several metres above the depression and is separated from it by an alluvial or rocky shelf. The marsh, which varies in size with the season, lends itself to the raising of buffalo and to fishing (tele and silurids); see the alternative name *Buhayrat al-Sillaw*, which appears in the 'Casal Sallor' (of the Crusaders), while the perpetually flooded areas bordering the marsh are reserved for the extensive cultivation of cereals.

About the 9th century before Christ, Assyrian inscriptions point to a kingdom centred on the plain of Antioch, the lake being perhaps of less consequence than now, named 'Unki; the toponym, Semitic in origin and vouched for by the Aramaic stele of King Zakir, derives from a common noun which still has the meaning in Arabic of 'depression', or more exactly, according to Ibn Khurraḍādhbih (97), 'any prairie surrounded by mountains'; this explains the title 'amk Thirā formerly given by historians to this country, at distinct from the 'amk Mar'aḡh (q.v.) further north.

As a corridor region connecting the approaches to Antioch, the plain of the 'Amk, under the name of Amīyūs Pedion, was the site of important battles in the Hellenistic era. After the Muslim conquest, it became part of the disputed zone between the Arabs and the Byzantines, to whom it was given by the treaty of 591/606. Guarded by various forts which cut it off from the Syrian hinterland (Artāsh, 'Imm, Hārim, Tifn), it was, like Antioch, momentarily reconquered by the Muslims; the latter had to cede it to the Crusaders, and it was only finally recovered by Nūr al-Dīn in 543/1149 after the battle fought near Yaḡrā, a place situated north of the lake where the sultan Kayr-bā later camped during his famous tour of inspection of the Syrian territories. During the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, the 'Amk formed part of the province of Aleppo, and was crossed by the routes from Antioch to Aleppo (via *Ḍijar al-Hādī*, south of the lake) and from Antioch to Mar'aḡh, and by the post road Ayyas-Baḡhras-Aleppo, which passed to the north of the marsh after crossing the Amanus by the Baytān pass (see *AL-ALAWI*). The numerous projects under the French mandate, designed to increase the value of the plain and to drain the lake, all failed to provide a satisfactory solution. The return to Turkey in 1939 of the *sandjak* of Alexandretta, which included the 'Amk, deprived

the plain of its position as a corridor region, which was one of the main reasons for the interest displayed in it, and explains its present neglected state.

**Bibliography:** Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 161-2, Taḡrīḥ, ii, 2016; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zuhā* (Dahan), i, 292; Ibn al-Adīr, xi, 89 and *Hist. Or. Cr.*, ii, 104; Yāqūt, i, 316, 314, 316, 727; Abū 'l-Fida', *Tahṣīm*, 41-2, 49, 261; Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1906, *Suppl.*, i, 721; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 66, 71-2 (seriously makes a distinction between the lake of Antioch and that of Yaḡrā), 301; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, index (particularly 423 and 435-9); M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des Hāmidides de Jastān et de Syrie*, i, Algiers 1951, 229, 831 ff.; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, index (particularly 131-8); M. Gaudesroy-Demonfau, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 22; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. Archéol.*, or. iii, 253; J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux*, Paris 1941, 96; J. Weulersse, *L'Oronte*, Tours 1940, 77-80. (D. SOURDIS\*)

**AL-'AMMA wa'-KHASSA** (see *AL-ERASSA*).  
**'AMMÂN**, capital of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Population (1953) approximately 208,304 plus a small floating population, chiefly refugees from Palestine of about 30,000.

The site has been occupied since earliest pre-historic times. The Citadel Hill (*Ḍjabal al-Kāfa*) is undoubtedly the site of the ancient city often referred to in the Old Testament as *Rabbath Ammon*, 'Rabba of Ammon'. Of this ancient city little now remains save some tombs on the hill sides, and a short stretch of Iron Age city wall, perhaps 9th or 8th century B.C. The early Israelites (c. 1300 B.C.) failed to secure control of either the city or the district until the determined assault of David in the 11th century B.C. During this attack occurred the episode of Uriah the Hittite, whose name was still traditionally associated with the site in the 10th century A.D. (al-Makdisi, 173). Under Solomon 'Amman regained its independence. In common with the rest of the country it became a vassal of Assyria during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., but maintained a precarious independence during the Babylonian period. When Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) conquered the town he renamed it Philadelphia, by which name it was known in Roman and Byzantine times. The Seleucid King Antiochus III captured it about 218 B.C. In the first century B.C. 'Amman joined the league of the Decapolis, and the Nabateans occupied the city for a short time, but were driven out by Herod the Great about 30 B.C. From him the Romans took over and rebuilt it on the standard Roman provincial plan, with theatres, temples, forum, nymphaeum and a main street with columns. Some of these monuments still exist. In Byzantine times 'Amman was the seat of the Bishopric of Philadelphia and Petra, one of the sees of Palestina Tertia under Bostra. This title is still held by the Greek Catholic Bishop. (For details of ancient history, see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Philadelphia.)

Excavation on the Citadel on the site of the present Museum have shown that it was still flourishing when it was captured by the Arab general Yazīd b. Abi Sufyān in 14/635, almost immediately after the fall of Damascus, and on the Citadel at least there were some fine private houses of the Umayyad period. These are of some importance archaeologically, as only the palaces of the Omayyad Caliphs have so far been excavated, and they give us the

first evidence of how the ordinary man lived in this period. There is also a square Ghassānid or Umayyad building on the Citadel.

In common with the rest of Jordan, a decline apparently set in with the removal of the Caliphate from Damascus to Baghdad. Ibn al-Fakih, 105, writing in 292/903, mentions 'Amman as belonging to Damascus. Al-Makdisi, writing some 80 years later (373/983) gives a rather full account of the city as it then was (175); quoted by Yāqūt, iii, 760. Al-Makdisi puts the town in the district of Filastin and calls it the capital of the Balāḡ district (156; cf. also 180, 184).

Yāqūt, iii, 710, in 622/1225 refers to it as the city of *Dalīyanus* or the Emperor Decius, and connects the legend of Lot and his daughters with 'Amman. He still calls it one of the fruitful towns of Filastin and capital of the Balāḡ. But al-Dimashqi, 213, writing about 699/1300, assigns it to the Kingdom of Karak and says that only ruins remain. Abū 'l-Fida', 247, writing a mere 20 years later says 'it is very ancient town, and was ruined before the days of Islam'.

It is difficult to account for this sudden drop in the town's fortunes, for no historical or natural catastrophe has been recorded from this period. Therafter writers are silent on the subject of 'Amman, and when the first western travellers started to penetrate east of the Jordan in the early 19th century, it was no more than a very small village. In 1825/1828 a group of Circassians were settled there by the Turkish authorities, but it remained a mere handful of houses for many more years.

The first systematic exploration of the town and its environs was that made by Major Conder and his party in 1881, when the ruins of the mosque with a square minaret, perhaps the one mentioned by the al-Makdisi, were still standing. They were still there when the much fuller survey of Butler was carried out in 1907, but he considers the main wall to have been either Roman or Byzantine. Exactly when it was destroyed cannot be ascertained probably soon after the first World War.

In 1340/1921 'Abd Allah b. al-Ḥusayn (q.v.) made it the capital of Transjordan, and it has grown steadily ever since. Its greatest period of prosperity came during and immediately after World War II since the end of which the city has increased in size at least 50%. It is now the capital and administrative centre for the Kingdom on both sides of the Jordan, and contains the Royal Palace, Houses of Parliament and head offices of all the Ministries. Some new Government buildings, including a Museum, and Schools have been erected during the last few years, but in the early days of its growth many monuments of the past have disappeared.

**Bibliography:** Balādhuri, 126; Brinon and Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, ii, 216; J. S. Buckingham, *Travels among Arab Tribes*, 68-9; H. C. Butler, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, Div. II, Sec. A, Pt. 1, 34 ff.; Major Conder, *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, 19 ff.; idem, *Hist. and Mod.*, 152 ff.; Laborde, *Voyage de la Syrie*, 1857, 99 ff., pl. LXXXII; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*; *Letters of Lord Lindsay*, ii, 189, 190 ff.; A. S. Marmaridji, *Bulandiyat Filastin al-'Arabiyah*, 1948; S. Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 1882, 309 ff.; Puchstein, in *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1902, 108; Saller and Bagatti, *Town of Nebo*, 225; J. Strzykowski, in



*Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1904; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, iii; H. B. Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 535; M. van Berchem, in *Journal des Savants*, 1905, 476; *Annuaire du Département de Antiquities of Jordan*, i, 7 ff.; *Bulletin de l'Art*, Dec. 1934; *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, i, xi, 20, xiv; Khayt al-Din al-Zarakî *'Amîn fi 'Amman*, Cairo 1925. (G. LANKESTER HARDING)

'AMMÂN, MÎR (see AMÂN, MÎR).

'AMMÂR, BAKR, a family of kâids who governed the principality of Tripoli (in Syria) for forty years preceding the capture of the town by the Crusaders in 1102/109.

The first ruler of the family, Amin al-Dawla Abû Tâlib al-Hasan b. 'Amâr, who had been kâid of the town, declared himself independent after the death of the Fâtîmid governor, Muḥammad al-Dawla b. Bazzâl in 462/1070. He made the town an important intellectual centre and founded a rich library.

On his death in 474/1072 his two nephews quarrelled about the succession. Djalâl al-Mulk 'Alî b. Muhammad succeeded in evicting his brother. The authority of Djalâl al-Mulk must have been considerable, as he maintained himself for almost thirty years. In 473/1081 he took Djabala from the Byzantines. He manoeuvred as well as he could between the Fâtîmids and the Saljûkîds, as Ibn al-Kalînî has pointed out: "The towns on the sea, Tyre and Tripoli, were in the hands of their kâids who were their independent rulers. Not satisfied with renouncing the authority of the *amir* of the armies Baḥr al-Djannâlî, they tried to obtain the good will of the Turks by diplomacy and presents".

The last ruler, Faḡhr al-Mulk 'Amâr (brother of the preceding), succeeded in 497/1099, and for some years withstood the attacks of the Crusader Raymond of St. Gilles and his successor. In 501, however, he decided to leave the town in order to seek help against the Franks. The inhabitants, however, faithful to the Fâtîmid dynasty, called in the Egyptians, but in spite of the great efforts made by the Fâtîmids, they were driven in Tyre eight days after the fall of Tripoli. Faḡhr al-Mulk passed first into the service of the Saljûkîds, then of the princes of Mosul, and finally that of the 'Abbasid caliph and died in 512/1118-9.

A fragmentary inscription by Djalâl al-Mulk is extant, in which his name figures alone. One can therefore conclude that the Banû 'Amâr had detached themselves from the Fâtîmids and that this action drove them towards the caliphate of Bagdad; they proceeded, however, with caution, as their subjects showed 'Alid sympathies.

*Bibliography*: M. Sobornheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Syrie du Nord*, 36 ff.; Ibn al-Kalînî, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, Arabic text and translations of Gibb and Le Tourneau, ind.; Wiet, *Inscription d'un prince de Tripoli*, *Mémorial Henri Basset*, ii, 279, 84; R. Grosset, *Histoire des Croisades*, iii, 785; *A History of the Crusades*, Univ. of Pennsylvania, i, 660. (G. WERT)

'AMMÂR, BAKR (or BAKR) ṬĀBĪT, dynasty which ruled in Tripoli (of the West) 727/1322-803/1400. Its founder, Ṭābīt b. 'Amâr, a Hawwâra Berber, died after a rule of a few months, and was succeeded by his son Muhammad. During the reign of Muhammad's son, Ṭābīt, the Genoese surprised and plundered Tripoli (756/1355); Ṭābīt was killed by the neighbouring Arab chiefs with

whom he was seeking refuge. In 771/1370 or 772/1371 Abû Bakr b. Muhammad expelled from Tripoli the governor of the Banu Maḥdî of Kâbi (Gadès), Abû Bakr died in 792/1392 and was followed by his nephew 'Alî b. 'Amâr. In 802/1398 the Hafsid Abû Fâris succeeded in arresting 'Alî whom he replaced by two members of the same family, Yaḥyâ b. Abû Bakr and his brother 'Abd al-Wâḥid. On 6 Rajab 803/1 May 1401 Abû Fâris captured Tripoli, imprisoned the brothers and brought to an end the dominion of the 'Amârîds.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Khaldûn, *Kitâb al-'Ibar*, i, 106 ff.; M. Mûnadjjidînî, ii, 295, 297; R. Brunschwig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, i, 150, 171, 191, 205-7, 212-3, ii, 206 (with further references).

(G. WERT)

'AMMÂR b. YÂSIR b. 'AMIR b. MAJIK, ARU 'c-YASZÂN, a Companion of the Prophet, had a partisan of 'Alî. His father, a *mawla* of the Muḥabbidite Abû Hudhayfa, had married one of his master's slaves, Sunayya, who was manumitted, but Yâsir and his family remained with Abû Hudhayfa. They were early converts to Islâm, and suffered severe tortures. 'Amâr is said eventually to have emigrated to Abyssinia; after the *hijra* he returned to Medina. He took part in the early campaigns, and fought at Badr, at Uhud, and, in general, in all the battles of Islam, who at the time of the *saḥâba* between the Muḥadjirîn and the Ansâr, paired him with Hudhayfa b. al-Yamân. Under Abû Bakr, he lost an ear at the battle of Yamama; in 21/641 he was made governor of Kûfa by 'Umar; in this capacity he took part in the conquest of Khuzistân. He was from the first a partisan of 'Alî; from 35/656 onwards, 'Alî placed exceptional confidence in him. He was the owner of the Camel (see AL-DJANAK), he helped to rally the population of Kûfa to 'Alî, and he was one of those who led the Prophet's widow 'Âṣṣa prisoner to Basra. He lost his life at Siffin (37/657) at an extremely advanced age. Several centuries later, his tomb near Siffin was still pointed out.

'Amâr was considered to have an excellent knowledge of the Traditions of the Prophet, and in addition owed his renown to his great piety and to his devotion to Islâm. Later, writers hostile to the Umayyads did not fail to glorify him by inventing *hadîths* in his favour, and by discovering in the Qur'ân allusions referring to him, 127: iii, 62; vi, 52, 122; xvi, 43, 108, 114; xxvii, 4, 61; xxxvi, 1; xxxix, 121; a notable prophecy attributed to Muhammad concerns the death of 'Amâr at the hands of the "rebel band", which he condemns to Hell.

'Amâr had a son, Muhammad, also famous for his knowledge of *hadîth*, and a daughter, Umm al-Hakam.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Sa'd, *luc.*, 176 ff.; Ibn Kutayba, *Maḥab*, 48, 112-3, 239, 252; Nawawî, *Taḥḍîb*, 285-7; Ibn Hadjar, *Jah*, no. 5704; Ḍāḥirî, *'Uḡmâniyya* (ed. by Pellat, in preparation), index.

(H. RECKENDORF)

'AMMÂR AL-MAWSILÎ, ARU 'c-KASIN 'AMMÂR b. 'Alî, one of the most famous, and certainly the most original of Arab oculists. He lived first in 'Irâq, then in Egypt; he travelled widely, as he himself informs us in his book, and on his travels, which took him to Khwârizm in one direction, to Palestine and Egypt in the other, he practised his profession and performed operations. His work on ophthalmology was composed in Egypt, in the reign of al-Hâkim (969/1020); thus he was a contemporary

of the more famous, but less original, oculist 'Alî b. 'Iṣṭāḡ [q.v.]. If 'Alî's *Taḡḥîr* became for the Arabs the standard work on ophthalmology and overshadowed 'Amâr's work, the reason lies in the greater completeness of the former. 'Amâr's book has a strictly logical arrangement and is extremely succinct, as even the title shows: *al-Musṭahabb fi 'Ilâḡ al-'Ayn*. After a preface containing an account of its compilation, the book deals first with the anatomy of the eye, then with diseases of the eyelid, the corner of the eye, the conjunctiva, the cornea, the pupil, the albugenae, and the visual nerves. The descriptions of the diseases and of their treatment are in general very clear, and often, especially when he describes operations which he performed himself, of a dramatic vividness. This is more especially the case in the six cases of operation for cataract described by 'Amâr; in effect, his most significant achievement was the radical operation for soft cataract by suction through a hollow metal tube invented by him. Salâh al-Din of Hamât (end of 7th/13th century) has borrowed that part of 'Amâr's book almost verbatim in his *Nûr al-'Uyûn*. At an earlier date al-Ghâṣikî (6th/12th century) made considerable use of 'Amâr's book in his medical work *al-Murâḡ*.

The Arabic original is preserved in MSS of the Escorial. There is a Hebrew translation of a slightly different version by Nathan ha-Meahlî (13th century). The Latin *tractatus de oculis Cananensium* is, however, a forgery. German transl. by J. Hirschberg, J. Lippert and E. Mittwoch, *Die arabischen Augenärzte nach dem Quellen bearbeitet*, Leipzig 1905, ii.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Abî Usayb'a, i, 89; J. Hirschberg, etc., op. cit., introduction; Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übersetzungen d. Mittelalters*, 667; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the Hist. of Science*, i, 729; Brockelmann, S I, 425.

(E. MITTWOCH)

'AMMÂRIYYA, Algerian religious order deriving its name from Amâr Bî Senna, born about 1712; his tomb is situated at Bâ Hamâm in the province of Constantine, which is also the site of the parent foundation (*adwya*) of the order. Actually, the order was only founded in 1822 by al-Hâḡḡî Mubârak (Embârek) al-Maghribî al-Bukhârî. According to Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 356-7, the order comprised, at the end of the 19th century, 26 *adwiyas* and 6,435 adherents.

'AMMURIYA, Arabic form of the name of the famous stronghold of Amorium (Syria: Amûrîn) in Phrygia, situated on the great Byzantine military road from Constantinople to Cilicia, S-E of Dorylaeum, S-W of Ankara, and S. of the Upper Sangarios (Sakarya). The site of the town for long remained unknown. Its ruins were discovered by the English traveller Hamilton about 7½ m. E. of Emirdağ (formerly 'Ashtly) near the village of Hamza Haçîl and Hisar, at a place which, he said, was called by the inhabitants Hergan Kale. The name Hergan Kale is unknown to-day, and the ruins are called Asar (or, according to Murray's plan, Asar Kale). The name Hergan Kale was also recorded by Texier, and was reproduced along with that of Asar Kale on Kiepert's map (scale 1: 400,000, sheet B III Angora). The name Amorium, according to Ramsay, survived in the name of the plain which stretches to the east: Haḡḡîḡî 'Umar (Haçîmîr)-owa.

Amorium, fortified by Zenon (474-91) as Ma'sûd, *Murâḡ*, ii, 337, says that it was built by Anastasius (491-518) — was on several occasions

threatened, besieged or captured by the Arabs. Mu'awwiya reached it in 25/646; 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Khlîd b. al-Walîd forced it to capitulate in 46/66; it was occupied in 49/66 in the course of Yazîd's expedition against Constantinople, but was retaken by Andreas, the general of Constans. In 89/708, Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik defeated a Byzantine army before Amorium. In 98/716, at the time of Maslama's expedition against Constantinople, it was besieged by one of his lieutenants, and relieved by the future emperor Leo the Isaurian. Leo subsequently made it a formidable stronghold, which successfully resisted al-Hasan b. Kaḥḥaba in 162/779, in the reign of al-Mahdî, then in 181/797, in the reign of Hârûn al-Rashîd. It only fell in 223/838 to the powerful forces of al-Mu'tasim, whose Turkish troops besieged it for twelve days, and who finally took it only as the result of treachery.

The capture of Amorium was the subject of a famous poem of Abû Tamîm. Forty-two of the prisoners taken to Sâmarra were executed there on 6 March 845. Their martyrdom is celebrated in the *Acta XLII martyrum Amoriensium*. The town destroyed by al-Mu'tasim was rebuilt, but was again burnt down in 159/931 by Ṭamal, *amir* of Tarsûs. Thereafter it does not seem to have played a part in history, although in the 12th and 14th centuries it was still an important place, according to the geographers al-Idrîsî and Hamd Allâh Mustawfî.

*Bibliography*: W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, i, 1842, 408 ff.; Ch. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, 1849, 471; W. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, 1890, 230-1; Pauly-Wisowa, 1894, p. 1876; Murray's *Handbook for travellers in Asia Minor*, 1895, 16; Le Strange, 137-9, 133; Yâkût, i, 501, 508, 928; ii, 805, 804; iii, 264, 692, 730; iv, 35; v, 25. — For the Arab expeditions, see E. Brooks, *The Arabs in Asia Minor*, 621-750; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, 182-208; idem, *The campaign of 716-18 from Arabic sources*, *ibid.*, 1899, 19-33; idem, *Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the Early Abbasids*, *English Historical Review*, 1900, 728-47, 1901, 84-92; J. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern in der Zeit der Umayyaden*, *NGW Göt.*, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1901, 414 ff.; A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Fr. ed., i, *La dynastie d'Amorium* 1935, 124-74; Arabic transl., al-'Arab wa 'l-'Rûm, Cairo 52, 130-57; Fr. ed., ii, *La dynastie macédonienne*, 2nd part, *Extraits des sources arabes* 1950, 152, 238; Russian ed., 232-3. (M. CANARD)

AMORIUM (see 'AMMURIYA).

AMR, a term which occurs in many verses of the Qur'ân in the sense of command, viz. of God. (A paper by J. M. S. Buljon, *The use of god in the Koran*, is to appear in *Acta Orientalia*.) These Qur'anic passages formed the point of departure for speculations of theologians and philosophers, in which the Muslim element is often so contaminated, with doctrines of Hellenistic origin, that it loses all distinctive character. Nevertheless, the term itself does not seem to have an exact parallel in the relevant Greek terminology, so that it seems that the various theological notions about the divine command were originally conceived by Muslims.

This conclusion supports the hypothesis according to which the longer version of the *Theology of Aristotle*, the one which forms the basis of the Latin translation and of which the Arabic original has been discovered by Borisov, was elaborated in a



Muslim environment. In effect, there are in that version passages dealing with the theory of the *amr*. On the other hand, the fact that the doctrine as it appears in that version seems to be identical with the teaching of certain Ismā'īlī theologians, is suggestive: it is very probable that the Ismā'īlī authors and the author of the longer version of the *Theology* used a common source, which cannot, however, be identified.

According to the longer version of the *Theology*, the *amr* is one of the designations of the word (*kalima*) of God, also called His will, which is an intermediary between the Creator and the first intelligence and the immediate cause of the latter. In a certain sense it can be qualified as the cause of causes. It also can be called "nothing" (*laya*), as it transcends movement and rest. Intellect, which is the first created thing, is so intimately united with the word that it is identical with it.

This theory recurs in an identical, or almost identical, form among the Ismā'īlīs, for instance in the *Kāfī* attributed to Nāṣir al-Khwarazmī. Other writings which go under the name of Nāṣir al-Khwarazmī, however, show doctrinal divergences. The *Ḍid al-Muḍawwif* does not regard as correct the thesis expounded in the *Kāfī* according to which the *amr* is identical with the *shāh*, the creative act of God; and the *Ghāṣṣ* al-*ṣāḥib* calls the *amr*, which in the *Kāfī* al-*ṣāḥib* is qualified as "non-being", "the first being".

Another Ismā'īlī author, Ḥamid al-Dīn al-Kirmīnī, seems to have regarded the *amr* as an influx (this seems to be the meaning which ought to be attributed, in this context, to the term *ḥadda*) coming from God and united to the intellect. In his view, the *amr* is not a principle superior to the intellect; in common with other Ismā'īlī theologians, he considers it identical with the divine will.

In the *Kawḍal al-Tasīm*, or *Tasawwuf* (ed. W. Ivanow, 54 f., cf. 29), an Ismā'īlī work attributed to Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, the doctrine of the divine *amr* is connected with the notion that at the psychic level the ascension marked by the stages of the sense-perception, estimation (*waḥm*), soul (*nafs*) and intellect, ends in the *amr*.

There is a certain similarity between these Ismā'īlī doctrines and the concept of *amr* found in the theological dialogue commonly called *Kutari*, by the Jewish thinker Judah Halevi. On the one hand he seems to postulate, or at least to consider as admissible, the identity of the *amr* with the will (ed. Hirschfeld, 76), on the other, he calls divine *amr* the power which is given to the prophet as an intellectual faculty and which is superior to the intellect (e.g. 42 ff.).

On the basis of Kur'ān, vii, 53, *amr* is sometimes opposed to *ḥukm*: the first then designates the creation of the spiritual substances, or these substances themselves, while the second refers to the creation of the material substances, or the material substances themselves (cf. TALAM, for the contrast between *amr* and *ḥukm* according to Ibn Ḥanbal, see Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallaj*, ii, 627, n. 2). This idea recurs in some Ismā'īlī writings, such as the *Tasawwuf* (53), where it interferes with the concept of *amr* in the sense explained above; in texts related to Ismā'īlism, such as the *Kawḍal al-Tasīm* (cf. Goldziher, in *REL*, 1905, 38 n. 4), and in the "dispute of the Sābians and the Hanifiyya". This last is found in the *al-Muḥṣi* or *Ṭ-Nihāl* of al-Shahrastāni (ed. Ahmad Fahmī Muḥammad, Cairo 1948, ii, 118), a Sunni author; nevertheless,

in the discourse of the representative of the Hanifiyya one finds notions current among the Ismā'īlīs, but put in a form which avoids giving offence to Sunni orthodoxy. In the *Ḍawā* al-*ḥikmat* attributed to Nāṣir al-Khwarazmī (ed. Corbin, 154) the "world of the *amr*" is the Ismā'īlī hierarchy, while the "world of the *ḥukm*" is the physical world.

Another theme, often treated by the Sūfīs, is the contradiction, assumed by some as possible, between the *amr*, God's command to perform an action, and the divine will which prevents it.

*Bibliography*: A. BOECHE, *Le takwīn waṭ-ṭakwīn*, Solémnia Ibn Gabirolia, *Bulletin de l'Académie de l'U.R.S.S.*, 1933, 755-68; H. CORBIN, in his ed. of the *Ḍawā* al-*ḥikmat*, *Étude Préliminaire*, 73; I. GOLDZHER, *La amr idm* (*ḥukm* *ha-idm*) chez Juda Halevi, *REL*, 1905, 32-41; L. MASSIGNON, *La passion d'al-Hallaj*, ii, 624 ff.; S. PINES, *Nathan ben Al-Fayyūm et la théologie ismaïnite*, *Bulletin des Études Historiques Juives*, Cairo 1946, 7 ff.; idem, *La longue recension de la "Théologie d'Aristote" dans ses rapports avec la doctrine ismaïnite*, *REL*, 1954; J. M. S. BALYON, Jr., *Amr in the Koran*, *AO*, 1931. On the concept of *amr* in *ṭ-maṣṣaf* wa *ṭ-nakhi* 'an al-munkar, see *MUḤTAṢIL*. (S. PINES)

'AMR B. 'ADĪS, NASSIR B. RASAF, first Lakhmid King of al-Hira. His father 'Adī employed a rose, which frequently appears in Arab legend, cf. the story of 'Abbas bint al-Mahdi to win the hand of Rakāsh, sister of Ḍaḍḍima al-Abrash (g.e.), whose favourite he was; 'Amr, the offspring of this union, succeeded in winning the favour of Ḍaḍḍima, but was then carried off by the *ḍiwn*, was considered lost, and was finally restored to his uncle. After al-Zabāḥ (identified with Zenobia, queen of Palmyra) had seduced and killed Ḍaḍḍima, 'Amr succeeded the latter on the Lakhmid throne and established his capital at al-Hira; then, with the aid of the sage Kusayr, he succeeded, by means of a stratagem related at length in the historical sources, in avenging his uncle's death and in killing al-Zabāḥ. Such is the account of the Arabic sources, and it is difficult to doubt the existence of 'Amr b. 'Adī, who lived in the 3rd century A.D. (Cassius de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, 35, gives the dates of his reigns as 268-88, but the historians credit him with a reign of 218 years); moreover, his name appears in the inscription of al-Namra. On the other hand, the fact that he is mentioned in the commentary on numerous proverbs proves that, as the historical reality of this personage and of the events involving Zenobia became blurred, legend made use of his name to fix the time of events displaced from their historical sequence, and of stories invented to explain proverbs which had become unintelligible; thus, in representing him as the conqueror of Zenobia, legend attributes to him the role played by Aurelianus in 270-3, seized possession of the Kingdom of Palmyra.

*Bibliography*: *Ḍihlī*, *Hayawana*, i, 302, v, 279, vi, 209; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'arīf*, Cairo 1353/1934, 202; Tabari, *Ibn al-Aḥḍar*, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūḍ*, iii, 183 ff.; Marzubānī, *Ma'āḍim*, 203; Tha'alibī, *Ḍiḥḍar al-Kulūb*, 505; Maydānī, *Cairo*, 1352, i, 243-7; ii, 83-5, 145; Cassius de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, 18-40; G. Rothstein, *Lakhmid*, Berlin, 1899, index.

'AMR B. AL-ĀHTAM (SINAY) b. SEMAYI

TAMIM AL-MINAYI, an eminent Talmite famous for his poetic and oratorical talent, and also for his physical beauty which earned him the surname of al-Mukabbal ("anointed with corymbium").

Born a few years before the *hijra*, he made his way to Medina in 96/90 with a delegation from the tribes; in 116/32, he was a follower of the prophet; Saḍḍīhī (g.e.), but he was converted to Islam and took part in the wars of conquest; he conveyed the news of the capture of Raghāh to 'Umar in verse; he is said to have died in 57/676. His poems, some of which have come down to us, are superficially brilliant rather than profound; according to tradition eloquence provoked the famous comment by the Prophet: *inna min al-bayān la-ahm*.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Kutayba, *Sh'ir*, 401-3; al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī, *Mufaḍḍalīyyat*, (Lyalī), 245-54, 830-7; *Aghāṣ*, iv, 8-10, xii, 44, xxi, 174; Balāḍhūrī, *Futūḥ*, 387; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 476; Tabari, i, 1711-16, 1919; *Ḥamāsa* (Freitag), i, 72; Ibn al-Aḥḍar, *Uḍ*, Cairo 1286, iv, 87 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Isāba*, no. 5707; Ibn Nubāṭa, *Sarḥ al-'Uyūn*, Alexandria 1290, 77 ff.; Marzubānī, *Ma'āḍim*, 262. (A. J. WENSINCK-CH. PELLAT)

'AMR B. AL-'ĀS (al-'Āṣ) AL-SAHM, a contemporary of Muhammad of Kurayshite birth. The part which he played in Islamic history begins with his conversion in the year 8/629-630. At that time he must already have been of middle age, for at his death which took place circa 42/663 he was over ninety years old. He passed for one of the most wily politicians of his time, and we must endorse this verdict. The more clear-sighted inhabitants of Mecca already foresaw shortly after the unsuccessful siege of Medina that this fact was the turning-point in Muhammad's career. It is not strange therefore that men like Khālid b. al-Walīd, 'Uḡmīn b. Ṭāḥa and 'Amr b. al-'Ās went over to Islam even before the capture of Mecca. Not much importance is to be attached to the story of their conversion. That of 'Amr is said to have taken place in Abyssinia under the influence of the Christian Negus — Muhammad at once made use of his newly-gained assistance: after a few small expeditions he sent 'Amr to 'Uḡmīn, where he entered into negotiations with the two brothers who ruled there, Ḍayfār and 'Abḥād b. Ḍulanda, and they accepted Islam. He was not to the Prophet again. The news of the latter's death reached him in 'Uḡmīn, and occasioned his return to Medina. But he did not remain there long. Probably in the year 12/633 Abū Bakr sent him with an army into Palestine. The accounts of the conquest of this country (see *FIḤRIST*) are known to be somewhat confused (cf. also Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, A. H. 12); but this is certain, that in this undertaking 'Amr played a most prominent part. The subjugation of the country west of the Jordan especially was his achievement, and he was also present at the battles of Ajnādāyn and the Yarmūk as at the capture of Damascus.

Yet his real fame is due to his conquest of Egypt. According to some sources he betook himself there with his troops on his own responsibility. It is more probable, however, that 'Uḡmīn was informed of the matter (cf. Wellhausen, *Sizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, p. 93) or even that he was undertaken under his orders. It is certain that re-inforcements were soon sent out to him, under al-Zubayr. For the history of the conquest of the article *MSK*; only the following need be mentioned here: In the summer of 19/640 the Greeks were defeated at Heliopolis. In 20/641 Babylonia was occupied by the Arabs, in 21/642 Alexandria lay in their power (see *MUḤAWWIḤ*).

But not only the conquest of Egypt was the work of the genius of 'Amr; he also regulated the government of the country, administration of justice and the imposition of taxes. He founded Fustāt, which was later called *Ḥiṣr* and in the 4th/10th century al-Kāhira.

We can understand that 'Amr felt himself wronged, when the Caliph 'Uḡmīn recalled him in favour of 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd, shortly after his accession to the throne. He retired in disgust from active life, occasionally giving utterance to his mortification. When circumstances became threatening to 'Uḡmīn, 'Amr was wise enough not to commit himself as a partisan of his enemies; but he secretly incited 'Aḥ, Ṭāḥa and al-Zubayr against him. From his estates of al-Saḥ' (Beer-Sheva) and 'Aḍḍī he waited the development of events with the greatest anxiety. Yet it was not till after the Battle of the Camel (see al-*ḌJAMAL*), when only the two opponents 'Aḥ and Mu'āwīya survived, that he once more came to the front, associating himself with Mu'āwīya. At the battle of Siffin he commanded the Syrian cavalry. When the battle turned in favour of 'Aḥ, he conserved the clever device of placing leaves of the Kur'ān on the lances. The ruse was successful and the battle remained undecided. A court of arbitration was agreed upon, which was to consist of Abū Mūsā 'Aḥḍarī and 'Amr b. al-'Ās. Before the day appointed came, 'Amr rendered Mu'āwīya the important service of occupying Egypt for him. It was an easy task to dispose of the youthful 'Aḥḍar governor, Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr; he defeated him (early in 38/658) and put him to death.

In the same year (38/658) 'Amr proceeded to Aḍḍarūb (g.e.) to the court of arbitration (according to al-Wāḥidī's chronology in Tabari, i, 3407). Here again he gave a brilliant proof of his political talent. He succeeded in conducting matters so far that Abū Mūsā declared both 'Aḥ and Mu'āwīya unworthy of the highest office. 'Aḥ lost thereby his title of Caliph, Mu'āwīya however, who had only fought for "Uḡmīn's blood", lost nothing. Until his death (see above) 'Amr remained Governor of Egypt. On 15 Ramaḍān 40/22 January 661 he escaped by mere chance assassination at the hands of Zaidawāh, one of the three Khāridjites who are said to have chosen the three leaders, 'Aḥ, Mu'āwīya, and 'Amr, as the victims of their fanaticism. 'Amr felt unwell on that day and left the leadership of the *Ṣalāt* to Khāridja b. Huḍāfa. So the latter was mortally wounded. "I meant 'Amr, but God meant Khāridja"; the assassin is reported to have said after accomplishing his deed.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Isāba*, ii, 1 et seq.; Ibn al-Aḥḍar, *Uḍ al-Ḍāḥa* (Cairo, 1286), iv, 115; Nawawī (ed. Wustenfeld), 478 et seq.; Balāḍhūrī (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Tabari (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Ibn Sa'd (iii, 21; Wustenfeld, *Die Staatshistorie von Ägypten* (Abk. d. Geschichte d. Wissenschaften, 18); Wellhausen, *Sizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 31 et seq. 89 et seq.; Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), see Index; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, see Index; Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt* (London, 1902); S. Lane Poole, *A History of Egypt* (London 1901) vi. (A. J. WENSINCK)

'AMR B. HIND, son of the Lakhmid prince al-Mundhir and of the Kindite woman Hind after the death of his father, he became "king" of al-Hira (524-70 A.D.). He was a warlike and cruel prince; the story of how he sent the poets al-Mutalim and Tarafa to the governor of Bahrain with letters



containing their own death warrants, is well-known. The severity of his character earned him the surname of *Muḥarrir* al-*Ḥijāra* ('he who makes his stone emit sounds'). He was also called *Muḥarrir* ('burner'); in explanation of this surname, the Arabs recount that in order to avenge the death of one of his brothers, he had ten *Ḥanzalites* seized and burnt. However, as several other *Lahmids* were also called *Muḥarrir*, this surname could well be the name of an ancient idiom (see Rothstein, *Lahmidien*, 48 ff.). He was assassinated while dining by the poet 'Amr b. Kulthūm (q.v.), because the latter's mother had been offended by the mother of 'Amr b. Hind.

**Bibliography:** G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Ḥira*, 94 ff.; Noldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 107 ff.; Cussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, 6, 115 ff.; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, (de Goeje), index, *Ma'sharif*, (Winteler), *Āghāni*, ix, 178 ff.; xxi, 186-207; *Muḥarrar*, *Kāmil*, i, 97-8; Tabari, i, 900; Ibn Nuḥdā, *Ṣarḥ al-'Uyūn*, Alexandria 1290, 240 ff.; Ya'qūbi, i, 239-40; *Ḥamza al-Isfahāni*, (Gottwald), i, 109-20; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, i, 404 ff.

(A. J. WESSING)

'AMR b. KAMPA b. DUḤḤA (Dihast) b. Sa'd al-Du'a'a', pre-Islamic Arab poet of the Bakr tribe of Kays b. Thālab. The only biographical details we possess concern his disputes with his uncle Marḡab b. Sa'd, whose wife had tried to seduce him, and his journey to Byzantium with Imru' al-Qays (q.v.). According to Ibn Kutayba (*Shi'r*, 45), he lived in the entourage of Ḥudayr, father of Imru' al-Qays, but according to Ibn al-Arabi (xvi, 105-6), the two poets met when 'Amr had already reached an advanced age, and 'Amr died in Byzantine territory (between 530-540 A.D.), thereby gaining the sobriquet of 'Amr al-Dā'i'. His poems, collected by the philologists of the 2nd/8th century, have often been quoted by critics who appreciate their delicacy and simplicity; they have been edited and translated into English by Ch. Lyaṭ, *The Poems of 'Amr son of Qamḥah*, Cambridge 1919.

As he is commonly called Ibn Kamī'a, he must not be confounded with others possessing the same *nasab*, notably 'Abd Allāh (or Ma'mar) b. Kamī'a, father of Djamāl al-Uḍri (q.v.), and the poet Rābi' b. Kamī'a al-Sa'bi (see Āmidī, *Muḥallaḥ*, 368).

**Bibliography:** Among the sources quoted in the edition of the *diwān*, the following can be mentioned: Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 222-3; *Āghāni*, xvi, 163-6; Baghdādī, *Khizma*, ii, 247-50; Cheikh, *Najm al-Dīn*, 207-7; See also: G. Rothstein, *Lahmidien*, Berlin 1899, 76-7; O. Rescher, *Abriß*, i, 71-3; Brockelmann, S. I, 58. (Ch. PELLAT)

'AMR b. KULTHŪM, pre-Islamic *sayyid* and poet; through his mother he was the grandson of the *sayyid* and poet al-Muḥallab (q.v.). While still a youth he became chief of his tribe, the *Dijham* branch of the Taghlib (q.v.) of the Middle Euphrates. What we know of his life is confined to a few traditions (*ḥikāyah*); one describes the circumstances of his assassination of the King of al-Ḥira, 'Amr b. Hind, about 568 A.D.; another serves as a commentary on some epigrams against another ruler of that town, al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir (560-602 A.D.). To his Taghlibite fellow-tribesman at the end of the 1st/8th century, 'Amr b. Kulthūm seemed a man weighty in years (he was included among the *mu'ammarrūn*) surrounded by an aura of prestige derived from his resistance to the domination of the kings of al-Ḥira,

and from his being an incarnation of the virtues of the *dijāhiliyya*. Above all, they proudly attributed to him a poem celebrating their deeds in their conflict with the Bakr. Inserted several generations later in the anthology of the *Mu'allafāt* (q.v.), this poem, in so far as it is not a pastiche, bears the mark of a later hand; see T. Husayn. In addition to this poem, there are several fragments attributed to 'Amr, forming a small *diwān* edited by Krenkow in *Mache*, 1922, 591-611. These pieces, all of pre-Islamic inspiration, are notable for their impetuosity of style and simplicity of language.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r* (de Goeje), 117-20; *Āghāni*, xi, 42-5, 52-60 (reproduced by Cheikh, *Poltes Chrétiens* 197-220 and followed by Cussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1847, ii, 363-5, 373-84; Marzubān, *Ma'jam* (Krenkow), 202; Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in Ḥira*, Berlin 1899, 100; Noldeke, *Fünf Mu'allafāt*, Vienna 1899, i, T. Husayn, *Fi 'l-Adab al-Dijāhili*, Cairo 1345/1927, 236-47. Translations of the *Mu'allafāt* by Kosegarten 1819; Cussin de Perceval 1847; see Brockelmann, S. I, 52. (R. BLACHE)

'AMR b. AL-LAYTH, Persian general, brother and successor of Ya'qūb b. al-Layth (q.v.), the founder of the Saffarid dynasty in Sijistān. Said to have been a mule-driver in his youth, and later on a mason, he was associated with his brother's campaigns and in 259/873 captured for Ya'qūb the Tāhīrid capital Naysābūr. After Ya'qūb's defeat at Dayr al-Akūl and subsequent death (*Shawāl* 265/ June 879), 'Amr was elected by the army as his successor. He made his submission to the caliph, and was invested with the provinces of the former Tāhīrid principality in Eastern Persia and Sind, together with Fārs, and the command of the *ghurra* in Baghdād and Sāmarrā (*Safar* 266/Oct. 879). He recaptured Fārs in 268/882, but obtained effective control of Khūzān only in 280/893, after a long struggle with Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khūzistānī (d. 268/882) and Rāfi' b. Harthama. In the interval, he was twice dismissed from the command of the *ghurra* and formally divested of his provinces (in 271/885, after a severe defeat by the caliph's forces under Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Aziz b. Abi Du'af, and again in 278/890), and also lost Fārs in 274/887. Confirmed for the third time as governor of Khūzān and Sijistān in 279/893, he finally reestablished his control of the former in 283/896, after a transient reconquest by Rāfi' b. Harthama. Thereafter, at his own request (arising out of his ambition to restore in his own favour the former Tāhīrid suzerainty over the Sāmānid family in Transoxiana) he was granted the *lashīya* of *Mā warā' al-Nahr*, in 285/898. His attempt to enforce his rights of suzerainty was, however, cut short when Rāfi' II, 287/April 900 the Sāmānid Ismā'īl (q.v.) defeated his forces and captured him at Balḥ. 'Amr was sent to Baghdād and after remaining in captivity there for over a year was executed on 8 Dhu'l-ḥijja I, 289/20 April 902. For his organization of government and the general significance of his campaigns in the history of Persia, see the art. *SAFFARIDS*.

**Bibliography:** Tabari, iii, 1910-208 *passim*; Ma'sharif, vi, 46, 125, 144, 180, 193, 200-90; Gardizi, *Zayn al-Akḥbar*, London 1928, 24-10; *Tarikh al-Sittin*, Teheran 1314, 233-60 and index; *Narshahī, History of Tukharān* (trans. R. N. Frye), Cambridge Mass. 1954, index; Ibn Khallikān (Wüstenfeld), no. 838 (Cairo) no. 790; Th. Noldeke, *Orientalische Studien* (Berlin 1887, 187-212 (Eng.

trans., *Sketches from Eastern History*, London-Edinburgh 1862, 176-201; W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, 216-22; id., *Zur Geschichte der Saffariden*, *Festschrift Nöldeke*, i, Gießen 1906, 177-101; B. Spuler, *Iran in Früh-Islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 69-81 and index. (W. BARTHOLO)

'AMR b. LUBAYY, the legendary founder of polytheism in Arabia and the ancestor of the *Khuz'a* (q.v.) at Mecca. The *Kufā* being, according to the *Kur'ān* (in, 96:10), 'the first sanctuary appointed for mankind', it was necessary to believe that polytheism was a later corruption. Neither the *Djurihum*, Ismā'īl's relatives, nor the Prophet's tribe, the *Kuraysh*, were likely to be responsible for it. So the blame was laid on 'Amr b. Lubayy, the leader of the *Khuz'a*, who was said to have expelled the *Djurihum* from Mecca. He soon succeeded in 'changing' either from Hitt in Mesopotamia or from Ma'āh in the Balak<sup>3</sup> and placing them around the Ka'ba. Others maintained that he latched the five idols of Noah's contemporaries (mentioned in *Kur'ān*, lxxi, 23) from *Didda* and distributed them amongst the Arabs over whom by dint of his wealth and liberality he was believed to have an absolute command. He also accused of setting free certain rams in honour of the idols, a superstition denounced in *Kur'ān*, v, 103/2 as an invention of the unbelievers. He was made responsible for the divination by arrows, for the pagan *talhiya*, in short for everything heathen. It was even told, that the Prophet had seen him in hell and that he closely resembled in appearance to one of Muhammad's followers (showing that appearances are deceiving). The Prophet is also made to decide the dispute about the genealogy of *Khuz'a* by stating that "'Amr b. Lubayy b. Kama' b. Khindil is the father of *Khuz'a*' in contradistinction to the prevailing opinion of the genealogists that the *Khuz'a* are of Yamani origin and that 'Amr's father Lubayy was Rab'a b. Haritha b. 'Amr b. 'Amir al-Azdi. These differences and the fact that 'Amr's name does not occur in any ancient poem, point to the conclusion that even if he be a historical personality, no reliable information about him exists.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, 50 f.; Ibn Kabbī, *Asmān*, 8 (and *Nyberg, Runes and Runes*); *Die Götzenbilder*, *Schrift etc. of Svenska Institut*, i Rom, 1930, 355; Azraqi (index); Ya'qūbi, i, 263, 295; Ibn Durayd, *Ighthāḥ*, 276; Ma'sharif, *Murādī*, ii, 114 f.; iv, 416; *Shahastānī*, ii, 430 f.; Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, i, 61 f.; Ya'qūbi, index — *Bukhārī*, *Manāhib*, 8 q; Muslim, *Ḍiḥāna*, 550, 551; *Kawāṣir*, 83, 9; 'Alā' al-Dīn, *Kanz al-'Imān*, vi, 21; Wüstenfeld, *Reise arabischen Heidentums*, 72. (J. W. FECK)

'AMR b. MA'DIKARIB b. 'ABD ALLAH AL-ZUBAYD, AḤḤAD, famous Arab warrior and *mushaddad* poet. Born of a noble Yamaniite family, he is depicted as a fighter of uncommon strength who, armed with his legendary sword al-Samāna, took part in many battles during the *dijāhiliyya*. In 10/631, he went to Medina and was converted to Islam, without, however, making any radical change in his way of life, on the death of the Prophet, he apostatized and took part in the rebellion of al-Aswad al-'Ansī (q.v.); taken prisoner in the course of the suppression of the *rida* by Abi Bakr, he was freed by the caliph and fought at the battle of the Yarmūk (15/636) and was distinguished at that of al-Kādisiyya (probably 16/637). The sources differ regarding the date of his death, some, relying on the legends which grew up about his exceptional

longevity, place his death in the caliphate of Mu'awiyah; but it is more likely that he lost his life either at al-Kādisiyya or at the battle of Nihāwand (21/641), as stated by the most reliable authorities. His poetry, devoted to fighting, seems to have been characterised by its brevity and clarity of expression, but only a few examples of it have come down to us.

**Bibliography:** Verses and appreciation can be found in: *Abkharis, Rawdat al-Adab* 239-43; F. E. Bustānī, *al-Madāni al-Hadith*, i, Beirut 1946, 309-114; *Dijābi, Bayān* and *Hayān*, index; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r* (de Goeje), 219-22; *Buhārī*, *Ḥamā*, index; Ibn Durayd, *Ighthāḥ*, 245; Ibn Hishām, index; *Āghāni*, index (especially xiv, 23-41); Marzubān, *Ma'jam*, 208-9; Baghdādī, *Khizma*, ii, 445; Āmidī, *Muḥallaḥ*, 156; Ibn Ḥudayr, *Isḥā*, no. 5590; see also: C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura* (= *Scritti*), vii 48 (Fr. Trans. 76-7); O. Rescher, *Abriß*, i, 117. (Ch. PELLAT)

'AMR b. MAS'ADA b. Sa'd b. Sūl, secretary of al-Ma'mūn, was of Turkish origin, and was a relative of Ḥarūn b. al-'Abbās al-Sūl (q.v.). His father had been secretary of chancellery under al-Mansūr. He himself served the Barmakides, and was later for many years one of al-Ma'mūn's chief assistants, in charge of the Chancellery and also of various financial posts which seem to have brought him substantial profits, but he never received the title of *wazir*. He accompanied the caliph to Damascus and on his expedition into Byzantine territory, and died at Adana in 217/832. He was noted for his epistolary talent, and the Arab authors have preserved several specimens of his work.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Tayfūr, index; Ya'qūbi, index, Tabari, index; *Dijāhīyāt*, *Wuzarā'*, index and D. Sourdel, in *Mélanges Manstein*; Bayhaqī, *Makhsūm*, (Schwally), particularly 472-76; Ma'sharif, *Tanbih*, 352; *Āghāni*, Tables; *Tarikh*, *Faradī*, Cairo 1938, i, 74-5, 105, ii, 25-6, 58-45; *Yāqūt*, *Iḥḥād*, vi, 88-91; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, iii, 145-8; Mub. Kurd 'Alī, in *MMIA*, 1927, 193-218. (D. SOURDEL)

'AMR b. SA'ID b. AL-'ĀS b. UMAYYA AL-UMAWI, known as AL-AḤḤADAK, Umayyad governor and general. Governor of Mecca when Yazīd b. Mu'awiyah came to the throne (60/686), he was the same year appointed governor of Medina. On Yazīd's orders, he sent an army to Mecca to subdue the anti-Caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and entrusted the command to a brother of the latter, 'Amr; but 'Amr was taken prisoner and, with his brother's consent, flogged to death by his personal enemies. At the end of the following year, al-Aḥḥad was dismissed. Later he went with the Caliph Marwān on his Egyptian expedition and, when Mus'ab b. al-Zubayr invaded Palestine in an attempt to reconquer Syria during the Caliph's absence, Marwān sent against him al-Aḥḥad, who forced him to withdraw. At the time of the conference after the death of Yazīd, 'Amr had been mentioned as a possible eventual successor to Marwān; he was the Caliph's nephew through his mother, and was also related to him on his father's side; since he was also well liked in Syria, he could have become a source of danger; but when Marwān had consolidated his position he enforced the *bay'a* in favour of his two sons 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Azīz. When 'Abd al-Malik came to the throne, he entertained fears of 'Amr which were not entirely without foundation; in fact, in 69/689, when the Caliph undertook a campaign against 'Irāk, al-Aḥḥad took advantage of his absence to assert his



right to the caliphate and to stir up a dangerous revolt at Damascus; 'Abd al-Malik had to return, and 'Amr only submitted after receiving a promise safeguarding his life and liberty. The Caliph, however, soon decided to remove this potential threat; he had al-Ashdaq brought to the palace where, according to tradition, he was killed by 'Abd al-Malik himself (760-69-90).

**Bibliography:** Balḡhūrī, *Asnād al-Aḡrāl*, IV/B, index; Ibn Sa'd, 176-7; Ya'qūbī, II, 54 ff.; Tabarī, I, 179 ff.; Ibn al-Aḡrāl, II, 318 ff.; Ma'sūdī, *Murūj*, V, 198 ff.; 206, 233 ff.; IX, 58, *Aḡrāl*, index; Marzubānī, *Mu'dam*, 231; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 208, 218; Buhl, *Die Kriese der Umayyadenherrschaft im Jahre 684*, in *ZdA*, XXVII, 50-64. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN\*)

'AMR b. 'UBAYD b. BĀR, one of the first of the Mu'tazila, and with the *Awraja* 'Abd 'Uḡḡmān. His grandfather Bār was captured by Muslims at Kāshūl. He himself was born at Balḡh in 86/99 and was a *mawālī* of a branch of Tamīm. His father apparently moved to Basra, and 'Amr seems for a time to have been a member of the school of al-Hasan al-Ba'ir, though al-Dāhībī also speaks of him as a pupil of al-Faḍl b. 'Isā al-Rakāhī. He also had some connexion with Ya'qūb III. He gained a reputation as an ascetic, and was known at the court of al-Manṣūr, to whom he apparently spoke fearlessly on religious and moral questions, while refusing all reward. For his strength of character al-Manṣūr respected him highly, and on his death composed a eulogy of him in verse. He died in or about 144/761.

There is some obscurity about his precise relationship to Wāsil b. 'Aḡḡ and the respective parts in founding the Mu'tazila. The story of how Wāsil went apart ('*faṣala*) from the circle of al-Hasan is also told of 'Amr both with al-Hasan and with his pupil Kaṭāda; and the early writer Ibn Kutayba (d. about 270/884) knows of 'Amr but not of Wāsil. Bīḡrī b. al-Mu'tamir (d. 210/825) speaks of his own party as followers of 'Amr and some opponents as followers of ḡḡmān (*Intiqāḡ*, 124). 'Amr's views are usually said to be similar to Wāsil's, apart from a slight difference in attitude towards the parties at the battle of the Camel; and Wāsil had married 'Amr's sister. So there was doubtless some relation between them, but it is possible that 'Amr did more than Wāsil, who died thirteen years earlier, to create the later Mu'tazila, especially as Abu 'l-Ḥajjaj al-'Alīf was 'Amr's pupil (*Intiqāḡ*, 67).

**Bibliography:** Khayyāṭ, *Intiqāḡ* (Nyberg), 67, 97 f., 134, 206; Aḡḡārī, *Mahādī*, 16, 148, 222 f.; Nawbakhtī, *Firāk al-Sa'ā*, 71; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'dirī*, 243, 303; al-Sayyid al-Murtadā, *Munya*, 18, 22-24; Ḍāhībī, *Bayān* (Cairo, 1345/1926), I, 202, 243; Baghdādī, *Faḡh*, 15, 98-101, 224, 306; Shahrastānī, *Mīṣāl*, 17, 31 f.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Zuhād*, VI, 208-12, 221; VII, 231-6; Ibn Khallikān, no. 514; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London, 1947, 59, 60-62 with further references. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT\*)

**AMRITSAR**, capital of a district in the Panjāb (India). Pop. (1951), town-325,747, district-1,567,047, of whom 4,385 Muslims. The population of the Muslims in the district declined sharply after Partition. It was founded by the fourth guru of the Sikhs (g.e.), Rām Dās (1574-81), upon a site granted by the emperor Akbar, where he excavated the holy tank from which the town derives its name (*amrita saras*, 'pool of immortality'); initially it was called *guru ka chak* or *chak guru* and Rāmāḍipura. The next guru, Arjan (1581-1606) completed the

*Harmandir* (in English, the 'Golden Temple'), the chief worshipping place of the Sikhs. In 1764, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī destroyed the temple and the tank, but it was quickly rebuilt by the Sikhs. With the establishment of independent Sikh power after 1766, the importance of the town increased, and the Sikh rulers, especially Ranḡit Singh, endowed the temple heavily. The town passed under British rule in 1849. For about two centuries the town has been important for its entrepôt trade.

**Bibliography:** Imperial Gazetteer, VI/10 ff.; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, VI/17 ff.; H. R. Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Punjab*; Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*; Gurmukh Singh, *A brief History of the Harmandir or Golden Temple of Amritsar* (1894); Ratan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parash* (1830, in Gurmukhi). Cf. also *Bibliog.* under *AMRITSAR*.

(NURUL HASAN)

'AMS (see SUSAYRIS).

**'AMU DARYĀ**, the river OXUS.

Names. The river was known in antiquity as 'Oξος (also 'Oξος, Latin Oxus); length 2494-2540 kms. The present Iranian designation is traceable to the town of Amul (g.e.), later Amū, where the route from Khurāsān to Transoxiana crossed the river as long ago as the early Islamic period. The Greek name is, according to W. Geiger and J. Markwart (*Wehrst.*, 3, 89) derived from the Iranian root *wahsh*, 'to increase'; a derivation from the homonymous root meaning 'to sprinkle' is also possible. (Cf. the name of the *Walshshāb*, a tributary of the Amū Daryā.) In Sāsānian times the river was called *Wehr-rōd* or *Behr-rōd* (Markwart, *Wehrst.*, 16, 35). The Arabs and Islamized Persians for a long time called it, especially in learned works, *ḡayyūn* (used by Gardīzī in the 11th century as an appellation for a river in general); this name derives from the Biblical Gihon, one of the rivers of Paradise. In Chinese it is known as *Kui-shui*, *Wu-chu* or *Po-tsu*. The region north of the Amū Daryā is called by the Muslims *Mā warā' al-Nahr* (g.e.), 'land on the other side of the river', Transoxiana.

The upper course of the river. The Amū Daryā rises from several rapid headwaters. The most southerly of these, the Panḡ (rising from the *Walshshāb*—in the Middle Ages *Turkshāb*, cf. Markwart, *Wehrst.*, 52; Barthold, *Darjistan*, 65—and the *Pāmīr Daryā*), has its source in the *Pāmīr*. After following initially a course from East to West, it turns North near Takhāshān and receives on the right (E.) the *ḡhīnd* and the *Al-Su* (g.e.), and flows from there once more westwards. There follow as tributaries on the right bank the *Yāḡulān* and the *Wanḡāb*, and lastly the *Kūlib Daryā*. All these rivers as well as those to be named later are fed by several headwaters and tributaries.

The most important and largest tributary of the Panḡ on the right bank is the *Walshshāb* (also known as *Kūlib Su* or *Surghāb*), which is regarded as the upper course of the Amū Daryā in the *Zafar-nāma* of 'Alī Yāzīdī (1424-5, ed. M. Iḡlādī, Calcutta 1885-8, I, 179 ff.). On the other hand the inhabitants of today, as well as the mediaeval geographers, consider the Panḡ as the upper course proper; modern geography favours the *Al-Su*.

The area of the source of the Amū Daryā began to become known from the 19th century onwards (cf. the map in A. Schultz, *Landeshandliche Forschungen im Pamir*, Homburg 1916, 24-5; details in PAMIR). The Arabic geographers did not entirely grasp the true state of affairs; moreover, the inter-

pretation of the names of the headwaters given by them is controversial. Al-Ḥabībī, II, 147-148 (= Ibn Hawkal (Kramers), 475), names five headwaters of the Amū Daryā; the co-ordination of these names with the designations in use today proposed by W. Barthold, with which, in general, V. Minorsky associates himself, appears the most plausible. (See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 68 ff.; Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 208, 360; different interpretations were proposed by Ma'marī *Ḥudūd*, 233 f.; and *Wehrst.*, 53, and Le Strange, 425.) The area of confluence of these streams was known in the 13th century as *Arhan* (in the *Zafar-nāma* Arhang), in al-Bīrūnī *Huḡbshāra*. Al-Makdisī, 22, counts as sixth headwater the *Kawḡshān* river. The *Kūka* and the *Kunduz river* are other left-hand tributaries mentioned by the Arabs (Tabarī, II, 1590; Ibn Khurādādhbih, 33; Ibn al-Fakḡh, 324; Ibn Kusta, 93; Minorsky *Hudūd*, 333 f.). From the right enter the *Kāfirnāh* (260 kms.; in the Middle Ages *Rāmīd*), in Ibn Rusta, 93, *Zāmīl*, today the name of one of its headwaters) and the *Surghān* (200 kms.; in the Middle Ages and in the 14th century *Caḡhān Rōd*). It is from the mouth of the *Kāfirnāh* at *Paṅḡāb* (Aywagh of today; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72) that some geographers consider the *Oxus* proper to begin. The last (right-hand) tributary before the mouth (1175 kms. distant) is the *Surghān Daryā*, as the *Shīrābād* and *Kāfīl* rivers do not, under normal circumstances reach the Amū Daryā, and the *Zarāghān* (g.e.) too loses its waters and does not join the *Oxus*. Similarly numerous rivers, on the left-hand side run out in the sand before reaching the Amū Daryā. The lower *Murghāb* did not in Islamic times reach it; it remains doubtful how far Greek sources, which indicate that this did occur in their time, are correct (Ptolemy, VI, 10 (cf. *Mueḡḡāb*); the *Harī Rōd* (g.e.), Arius, ran out in the sands of the *Kara Kum* (Strabo, XI, 58; Ptolemy, VI, 17, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, II, 623 f.).

In the upper region of the Amū Daryā lie the districts of *Wakhān* (on the Panḡ), then *Badakḡhān* (on both sides) and *Shughnān* with *ḡhārān* (*ḡhārān* S. and S.E. of the junction of the Panḡ with the upper *Murghāb*, further N. Darwāz. Between the Amū Daryā and the *Walshshāb* lies *ḡhuttān*. The *Wakhāb* flows through the *Pāmīr* region (the name *Pāmīr* occurs already in al-Ya'qūbī, al-Bīrūnī, 290-92 and al-Dimashqī) and then touches *Zashḡ* (thus correctly in Gardīzī, ed. Nāzīm, 35) and *Kumūd*. Between the *Wakhāb* and *Kāfirnāh* lay in mediaeval times *Wāḡḡīd* (the *Fayḡābād* of today) and *Kuḡāḡshān* (the *Kahādīyān* of today). The *Surghān* valley contained the province of *Caḡhānīyān* (Arabic *Saghānīyān*). On the left bank lay, W. from *Badakḡhān*, the province of *Tukḡshān* (approximately up to Balḡh). At this point the Amū Daryā enters the desert tract between the *Kara Kum* of the present day (on the left) and the *Kūlib Kum* (on the right) where it loses a considerable proportion of its waters through evaporation. It skirts the ancient *Sogdīa* and finally reaches *Kh\**ārim.

In the 19th and 20th centuries the Amirates of *Bukḡhān* and *Khiva* lay here, while towards the S. since the frontier adjustment of 1856-63, the Amū Daryā forms the N. frontier of *Afḡānistān* for 1100 kms. from the *Pāmīr Daryā* past *Kālā-yi Panḡ* to *Bosaga* below *Kāfīl*. Since 1924 the Amū Daryā forms the southern boundary of *Tājīkistān* and, since the latest revision of provincial frontiers (1930) in the Soviet Union, in its lower course approximately separates *Uzbekistān* (with *Kara-kūpak* which embraces the whole delta) from *Turkmenistān*.

Historical maps for the mediaeval period in *Minorsky, Hudūd*, 339; Le Strange, maps ix and x; *Atlas Istori SSSR*, I, Moscow 1949, 6, 12, 20; A. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1935, 24, 32, 49, 60; for later times cf. *Atlas Istori SSSR*, II, Moscow 1949, 13, 17 right bottom, 18; *Burhān al-Dīn Khān Kūshkaki, Kanqas-i Budakhshān*, transl. from Persian into Russian by A. A. Semenov, Tashkent 1926; A. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, 60 (distribution of nationalities); *Westermanns Atlas zur Weltgeschichte*, III, Brunswick 1953, 134, 135.

The following were places of particular importance on the Amū Daryā in the Middle Ages: *Tirmīdh*, *Kāfīl*, *Zāmū* (*Karkhī*; left), opposite to which lies *Aḡshshāb*, *Amul* (*Caḡḡūy*; left), opposite to which is *Tīrāz*, finally various towns of *Kh\**ārim. (Cf. the article).

The water of the Amū Daryā rises in its middle course, which is 3570-5700 ms. broad and 1, 3-8 ms. deep, in April-May, and becomes low again in July. It frequently floods the areas on its banks, particularly to the right, hence from time to time a more luxuriant growth of bushes and vegetation is produced there. The river is in this neighbourhood not directly tapped for irrigation; nevertheless there ran along its left bank in the Middle Ages a strip used for agricultural purposes; from the 14th century on it apparently began to turn into a steppe (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 81 f.).

The lower course and its changes. From the middle course onwards, somewhat beyond *Kāfīl*, the course of the Amū Daryā shifted in various directions in prehistoric or even in historical times. According to Ptolemy the course of the Amū Daryā in the area between *Kāfīl* and *Zāmū* (*Karkhī*) turned in approximately a W. direction (as opposed to the NW direction of the present day) and ran into the region of the *Kara Kum* desert. Al-Bīrūnī too assumed such a course for the river in a previous epoch (cf. A. Z. Y. Togan, *Bīrūnī's Picture*). In actual fact it is possible to trace a former bed which branches off at *Karkhī*, goes between *Repetek* and *Ūḡ Hādḡī* and finds its continuation in the (former) *Ungur* river bed. Between 1928 and 1940 for instance the Amū Daryā showed a tendency to flow S. in this vicinity, so that from the geological point of view a similar course is not out of the question. The theory of a bed in *Ungur* (in spite of the malices which al-Bīrūnī reports having found there) requires further geological research before further conclusions can be drawn from the extremely uncertain reports of the old geographers. Al-Bīrūnī's account is that the Amū Daryā/Ungur flowed into a great desert lake but did not reach the Caspian. On the other hand Strabo (XI, 50) reports a discharge into the Caspian Sea. The culture of *Kh\**ārim, however, which has ten centuries' history behind it, and which would have been impossible without irrigation from the Amū Daryā, is a sure indication that in that time the *Ungur* cannot have been the sole lower course of the Amū Daryā.

Al-Bīrūnī supposes that as a result of obstructions of the riverbed, the Amū Daryā later, instead of flowing into the *Ungur*, squeezed through the narrow river-gorge (360 m.) between the *Dūldūl* Adḡlāḡh and the *Tāye Muvayn* (at the present day *Atīnagh*, 384 kms. from its mouth); it is called *Dahān*, *Shīr* = *Fān* al-*Asad*, 'lion's mouth'). But geological research here too indicates that this break-through must have come about already in prehistoric times. Below this pass there branch off the large side canals which render possible the oasis culture of *Kh\**ārim.



The Arabic geographers of the 10th century give Tabiriyā, S. of the river-gorge, as the southern limit of this area of irrigation. In the 11th century Daughān, further NW (S. of the gorge) was generally regarded as the limit (Bayhaḡī, ed. Morley, 859). The S. boundary of the Khānate of Khīwa was first fixed further S. (S. of Pūnyak) after the Russian conquest of 1873.

Opposite the present-day Sadwar (three *farsāḡs* on the other side of the gorge) there branch off to the right the Goshgīrā, and after five more *farsāḡs* the Kīrya canal. They extended, respectively, N. to the Sulṭān Uways Daḡhī chain and E. from it to the same latitude and formed the base of the rich cultural development during and preceding the Islamic era on the lower right bank of the Amu Daryā N. of the present-day Dörtkü (Turkuli), the capital of the province of Karakalpakia. (Cf. Tolstov, in *IBid.*, and Khā'arizm).

Further NW and N. the main bed of the Amu Daryā has repeatedly shifted in historical times and does so even at the present day. The question has been thoroughly debated whether the Amu Daryā had in earlier times a different lower course. De Goeje quoted historical sources to the effect that this river has always in historical times emptied itself—albeit in separate main branches—into the Aral Sea. W. Barthold opposed this view and supposed that the Mongols by piercing a main dam with the object of conquering the town of (Old) Urgandj [9.5.] in 1221, diverted the river towards the W., so that it flowed into the depression and the sea and marsh tracts of the Sarī Kamīsh and finally into the Caspian, along the eastern edge of the Gīn (Gīn) ridge and further through the Ōzboy (Fousai, Ubozy) until the end of the 16th century. Barthold quotes in support of his thesis statements by Ḥamd Allāh Muṭawīl (1213 transl., 206; 117, transl. 170), Ḥāfi'ī-ā Abrū (see W. Barthold, *Arak*, 481), and Zāhr al-Dīn Mar'ashī. The latter (ed. B. Dorn, *Mohammed. Sources etc.*, 1, St. Petersburg 1856, 436, transl. 436) speaks of a fleet which travelled up on the Caspian from the mouth of the Ōzboy in the Daryā. Khā'āndamīr (iii, 244-6) reports that the sultan Ḥusayn Baykara travelled from Aghrīḡa (the Balghān mountains) to Adḡak (now Ak Aḡhā) and crossed the Amu Daryā "after seven days". But most of this evidence is subject to doubt, and Khā'āndamīr himself in his geographical appendix definitely makes the Amu Daryā flow into the Aral Sea. Everything considered, the evidence adduced by de Goeje seems to have more weight than that relied on by Barthold.

Barthold's views, however, found widespread support among historians and Le Strange, A. Herrmann and A. Zeki Velidi Toḡan (*Biruni's Picture*; recapitulated in *LA*, 1, 423-6) contended that the Amu Daryā flew into the Caspian even at an earlier period.

Barthold, and following him Toḡan, viewed the 16th century as the time of the shifting back of the mouth of the Amu Daryā to the Aral Sea. Both refer in this connection to the reports of the English traveller Anthony Jenkinson in 1558 (in R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations etc.*, 1, London 1927, 449) and of the Ottoman traveller Sayfī in 1591/1582 (Barthold, *Arak*, 71; idem, *Orosheniy*, 93) as well as to Abu 'l-Ghāzī (b. 1603), who dates a shifting of the Amu Daryā 30 years before his birth (thus ca. 1573). The Khā'arizmī writer Aḡhī and the chronicle of Khīwa by Mu'nis (10th century) place this event in the year 1578 (Barthold, *Arak*, 69-74).

Thus the discharge of the Amu Daryā into the Aral Sea is unequivocally established for the period following the 16th century.

Although the question of the course of the lower Amu Daryā seemed to be settled to the satisfaction of the historians by the theory that the Ōzboy up till the 16th century formed the lower bed of the river (cf. A. Herrmann, *Gibt es noch ein Oxus-Problem?*, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1930, 286 ff.), yet geographers and geologists have always rejected this view (see A. S. Keš, I. P. Gerasimov and K. K. Markov, and S. P. Tolstov, in *Bibliogr.*). At the present state of geological research, it appears that a temporary diversion of the Amu Daryā into the Sarī Kamīsh has been established; on the other hand, the Ōzboy was clearly not the river-bed of the Amu Daryā on its way to the Caspian in historical times.

Shifting of the channels of the Amu Daryā in the delta proper is not a matter of doubt either in historical times or at present. The early Islamic capital of Khā'arizm, Kāḡ [9.5.] gradually decayed owing to shifting of the bed of the river. The interpretation of the reports of the 10th century geographers is, however, uncertain. They speak of a series of lakes [Kāḡdān]; according to Ibn Rūsta, 92, these were on the edge of the Sīyā Kūh (Cin), but according to al-Isṭakhrī, 303, and Ibn Khaldūn (Kramers), 486, on the Aral Sea; al-Makhdī, 288, 343 f., gives no details. (Cf. also Barthold, *Turkistan*, 152; idem, *Orosheniy*, 84; idem, *Arak*, 22). The town of (Old) Urgandj lay after the Mongol conquest "on the right bank of the river" (i.e. the Daryālik). The breaking off of the connection to the Sarī Kamīsh in the 16th century may be accepted as a fact; possibly the resumed intensive irrigation took away the necessary water. At all events (Old) Urgandj lost its water-supply and was replaced by the towns of Waḡr (since ca. 1450, ruined in the 17th century, ruins near the present day fortress of Dēw Ka'fa) and (New) Urgandj. Finally the emergence of Khīwa as capital of the province is to be attributed to these shifts. The delta "island" (Aral) now took on importance. From here a new system of canals going to the left was constructed in the 19th century, and (Old) Urgandj was once again enabled to regain some kind of existence.

For the settlement and the population in the area of the mouth of the Amu Daryā, cf. Khā'arizmī, *gīlwa*, *akāl*, *ḡajr*, *ogūz*, *turkmen*, *uzbek*, *karakalpak*, *bart*.

In the delta and in the lower reaches of the Amu Daryā occurs a covering of ice, which on the average holds from the end of December to the end of March, and which caused astonishment to the Arab geographers and travellers (Ibn Battūṭa, ii, 450 f., iii, 11 f.). It nearly cost Yāḡūt his life in 1219 during his flight from the Mongols. In particularly severe winters it is up to 12 in. thick. The upper reaches also frequently freeze over in the mountainous regions.

In recent times there have been various projects for the diversion of the Amu Daryā into the Caspian. In 1716 Peter the Great commissioned Prince Alexander Bekovīč-Cerkasskiy (actually Dewlet Kidān Mirā, cf. Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklop. Slovar*, 1, 356 f.; *Bo'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklop.*, iv, 406, with references) to investigate the possibilities of establishing a waterway almost right up to the frontiers of India. In 1873 the project was once more explored and pronounced basically feasible. It appeared that the way from Čārḡdyūz through

the Ungus was the most suitable, since it would thus not be necessary to await the protracted filling up of the Sarī Kamīsh depression (cf. A. I. Gīulovskiy, *Prospok vod v Amu-Dar'ya po staromu yeyu rasla o Kaspiyskoye More*, St. Petersburg 1893). After an extensive flood in 1952 the Soviet Government is said to have tackled anew in 1953 the project for a diversion of the powerful and incalculable Amu Daryā through a part of the protected area of the Sarī Kamīsh depression at Taghī and Tagh, on the old course of the river. The main portion of the water however would be led off by a canal 1700 kms. long into the lower Ōzboy, and would fall into the Caspian at Kīrlī Suw (Krasnovodsk). Two barrages with large lakes are to produce further electricity and in addition ensure the irrigation of 1.3 million hectares of land for cotton-growing. In order to provide for the settlements thus brought into being two fresh-water canals are to be constructed. It is impossible to ascertain how far this project has actually been put into effect, or when if ever its completion is to be expected.

**Bibliography:** General: For the pre-Islamic period cf. A. Herrmann, in Pauly-Wissowa, xviii/2 (1942), 2005-7; W. Barthold, in *EP*, s.v.; A. Zeki Velidi Toḡan, in *JA*, s.v. (the information given by these two scholars has been used in the text); *Entsiklop. Slovar* of Brockhaus-Efron, i (1896), 676 f., xxxiv (1902), 610, 742 (Urbozy, Ungus); *Bo'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, ii (1950), 304-6 (with a map of the lower course); Geographical F. Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch-Turkestan*, Stuttgart 1921; *Trudy karakumskoy ekspeditsii*, Leningrad 1934, iv; W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1930, 110 f.; Th. Shabad, *Geography of the USSR*, New York 1951, 364-408 (cf. index).—Geographical-geological examination of the river-bed, etc.: *Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Ob.-na po obshchey geogr.*, iv (R. E. Leuz), ix, xvii (A. V. von Kaulbars), xiv (Zubov), xv (A. V. Obruchev, *Zakaspiyskaya nizmennost'*), xxiii (A. Konshin, *Ras'yasneniye voprosa o drevnem techenii Amu-Dar'ya*); *Trudy Amu-Dar'inskoy ekspeditsii*, ii-iv, St. Petersburg 1877-81; A. I. Tikhonchevskiy, *Amu-Dar'ya melnizh e. Kerkī*, St. Petersburg 1916; L. A. Molchanov, *Preissledovaniye preissledovaniy ozer Ubozya*, *Izv. Gos. Gidrol. Instituta*, 1929, 43-57; A. S. Keš, *Raslo Ubozy i ego genetiz*, *Trudy instituta geografii Ak. Nauk SSSR*, 1939; I. P. Gerasimov and K. K. Markov, *Cetvertichnaya geologiya*, Moscow 1939; idem, *Lednikovyy period na territorii SSSR*, Moscow-Leningrad 1939.—General historical geography: W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen 1882 (especially 10-30); W. Barthold, *Turkistan* (especially 64-82, 142-53); idem, *Istoriya Orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914; J. Marquart, *Eränlake*, Berlin 1901; *Hudūd al-'Alam*, index (also maps); A. Z. Velidi Toḡan, *Biruni's Picture of the World*, New Delhi 1940; S. P. Tolstov, *Drevniy Khorezm*, Moscow 1948; idem, *Po sledam drevnekhorazmiyskoy tsivilizatsii*, Moscow-Leningrad 1948 (German transl. by O. Mehlitz, *Auf den Spuren der alt-chorasmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953)—cf. for the last two works S. P. Tolstov, *Die Arbeits-ergebnisse der sowjetischen Expedition zur Erforschung des alten Choresm*, *Sowjetwissenschaft*, Geisteswiss. Abt., 1950, 103-30 and B. Spuler, *Chudrismi (Chorasmiens) Kultur nach S. P.*

*Tolstovs Forschungen*, *Historia*, 1950, 601-15; S. P. Tolstov, *Die archäol. Forschungen der Choresm-Expedition vom Jahre 1952*, *Sowjetwissenschaft*, Geisteswiss. Abt., 1954, 267-80.—The upper course of the Oxus: J. Wood, *A journey to the source of the River Oxus*, London 1872 (with historical geographical introduction by H. Yule); J. Markwart, *Wehrst und Arang*, Leiden 1938 (especially 32 ff.; cf. also index).—The Oxus-Ōzboy problem: M. J. de Goeje, *Das alte Bild des Oxus*, Leiden 1875; Barthold, *Soldboyia ob arak'shem more i nizov'yakh Amu-dar'ya*, Taghkent 1902 (in German: *Nachrichten über den Aralsee und den unteren Lauf des Amudaria*, Leipzig 1910); V. Lohittin, *Rika Amu-Dar'ya i yea drevney sotsializatsii i Kaspiyskoy Morem*, St. Petersburg 1879; Le Strange, 433-45, 453-58 and index; D. D. Bukinich, *Staraya rusla Oksa i amu-dar'inskaya problema*, Moscow 1906; A. Herrmann, *Alle Geographie des unteren Oxusgebietes* (Abh. G. W. Gött., N.F. xvi/4), Berlin 1914; F. Koláček, *États l'Oxus pendant les temps historiques ou ancien état de l'Amu-Dar'ya*, *Spisy vydané p'rirodovědného fakultátu Masarykovy University*, 1927 (with map); W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1938, 491-3.

(B. SPULER, shortened by the Editors).

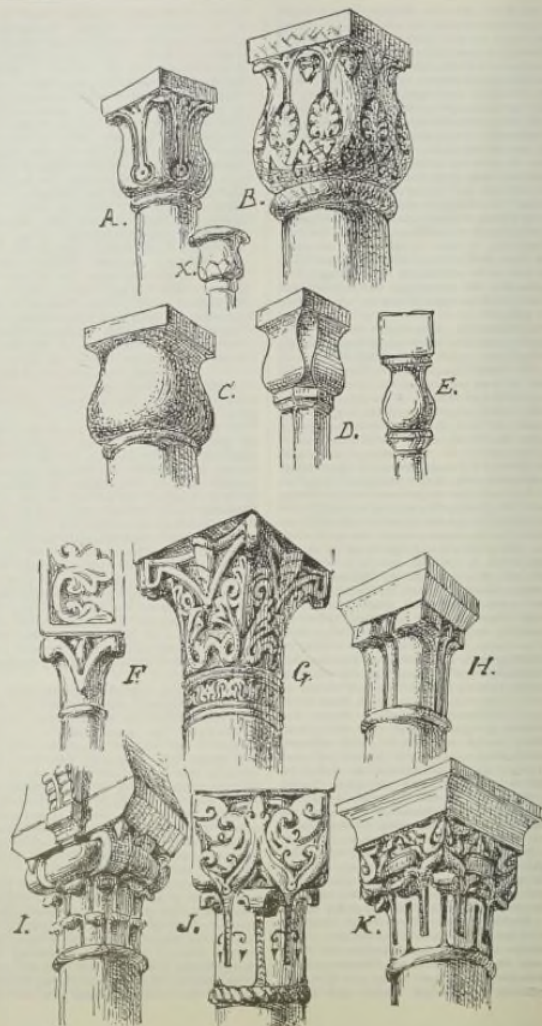
'AMÜD (Ar.) (tent pole, hence a monolithic column and capital; less commonly, a constructed pillar).

The use of the column and the capital in Muslim art, and in particular in religious architecture, is connected with the adoption by the builders of mosques of the oratory with multiple aisles and of the court surrounded by galleries. The column, like this type of oratory and peristyle, appears to be a Hellenistic legacy, especially since in Syria, Egypt, Ifrikiya and Spain the columns of the early mosques are constructed of used materials. However, after a period of more or less faithful imitation of earlier models, types which are characteristically Muslim emerge, with a more simple outline. The shaft of the column is no longer slightly convex, and its diameter is equal throughout its length, the plan being circular or polygonal. The capital assumes various forms which can be classified in two main groups, both perhaps derived from the Corinthian capital, but each possessing a distinctly localized development and descent.

The first group consists of capitals whose campanula or lyre-shaped outline (Herrfeld) has perhaps been contaminated by the lotus-bud capital of ancient Egypt. This capital appears in the 3rd/4th century in the 'Abbasid monuments of Sāmarrā and Raḡḡa (A). It passes, with many other elements, into the Tūlūnid architecture at Cairo (end of 3rd/4th century) (B), and is preserved in Egypt under the Burḡī (C) and Circassian (D) Mamlūks. The base has a similar, though inverted, outline. This bell-shaped capital is also found in Persia, whose brick and tile architecture admits of few real columns. It crosses the small imitation columns of the *faience mikhrās* (E).

The general outline of the second group of capitals is rather that of the Corinthian corbel; it appears as a simplified form of the latter, by eliminating the vigorous relief of the Corinthian and its local variants, and predominates in western Islam. In the 3rd/4th century, al-Kayrawān possessed small capitals related to Coptic models, with four smooth leaves joined at the bottom and curving inwards at the point like a hook (F). From them derived, in





the same region, the Fatimid capitals of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, with a line of flowing floral designs surmounting shafts decorated with whorls or inscriptions in scroll form (G), and, from the 7th/13th century onwards, the Tunisian capitals (H). About the same period, the monuments of the Umayyads of Spain were ornamented with capitals copied from the two classical models: Corinthian and Composite (I), rounded off, as in the Great Mosque at Cordova, or scored with deep grooves as at Madinat al-Zahra (2nd half of the 4th/10th century). These were the prototypes of the many beautiful variants offered by the Aljaferia of Saragossa (5th/11th century) and the Almohad mosques of Tinnisi (J) and Marrakush (6th/12th century). In the 7th/13th century there emerged the Hispano-Morisco capital with a cylindrical lower portion and a parallelepiped upper portion (K), which is recognizably a development from the Corinthian corbel which is both logical and in harmony with the Islamic plastic ideal. Various types can be found in the mosques and *madrasas* of North Africa and in the Alhambra at Granada. The latter has also some capitals in the shape of stalactites, probably an imitation of Persian originals. (G. MARÇAIS)

**AMUL**, name of two towns: (1) A town in the south-west corner of the east Mázandarán plain; it stands on the west bank of the Harhá river, 12 miles south of the Caspian Sea, in the district which, according to the Classical writers, was the home of the *Máspoi* (*Ámušpo*) (Amul may be the Modern Persian form of the hypothetical Old Persian *Amartha*). Ibn Isfandiyyar (*Ta'rikh-i Tabaristán*, Teheran 1941, 62 f.) states that Amul was founded by Amula, daughter of a Daylamite chieftain and wife of King Firúz of Balh, while Hamid Alláh Mustawfi (*Nushat al-Kulub*, 159) maintains that King Tahmúrah was the founder, but these are mere legends. In the Sásanid era, the district of Amul, together with Gilán (the modern Gilán), formed a Nestorian episcopal see (ZDMG, xliii, 407); the town is also mentioned several times in the *Sháh-náma*. In Muslim times Amul became an important industrial and trading centre. The great historian al-Tabari and the famous jurist Abu 'l-Tayyib al-Tabari were born there. The anonymous author of the *Hadud al-'Asm* (114, 135) described Amul as a great town and the capital of Tabaristán. It was then very prosperous, and many merchants and scholars resided there. It had a number of industries, and the surrounding district produced large quantities of fruit of various kinds. Writing at much the same time, Ibn Hawkal stated that Amul was larger than Kázwán.

Amul was sacked by Mas'úd, the son of Mahmúd of Ghazna, in 426/1035-36, and again by Tímür some 350 years later. Sir Thomas Herbert, who visited Amul in 1628, described it as being "fruitful and blessed", and as having "three thousand houses and those not builded in the meanest fashion" (*A Relation of a Journey begun in 1610*, London 1632, 106-7). Amul has been devastated by earthquakes and floods several times; despite these disasters, it is still a considerable town (modern Amul, however, stands a little to the east of the old town, the site of which is marked by extensive ruins).

Its houses of burnt brick, with their red-tiled roofs, give Amul a picturesque appearance. It is connected with its suburb on the east bank of the Harhá by a fine twelve-arched bridge. It is linked by roads with the small port of Mahmúddáhd on the Caspian, with Bárbul (Barfurúh) to the East, and

with Cálús and Raght to the west. In 1941 Amul had a population of 14,166 (but the number of inhabitants undergoes seasonal variations, as many retire to the mountains in summer to escape from the heat and the mosquitoes).

**Bibliography:** Yáköf, i, 68; Le Strange, 370; Sir W. Ouseley, *Travels in various countries of the East*, London 1819, 296-316; B. Dorn, *Ausszug aus muhammed. Schriftstellern betreffend des Gesch. und Geogr. der südl. Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*, St. Petersburg 1858, 382; F. Spiegel, *Iranische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig 1871, i, 70; E. Reclus, *Nouv. géogr. univ.*, ix, 235, 237; Pauly-Wissowa, s.vv. *Amardoi* and *Amarusa*; H. L. Rabino, *Mazandaran and Astabad*, London 1928, 33-40. (L. LOCKHART)

(2) A town situated at 39° 5' N. Lat. and 65° 41' east of Greenwich, 3 miles from the left bank of the Oxus (*Amü Daryá*). In the Arabic Middle Ages, Amul belonged to the large province of Khurásán; it is now (under the name of *Cárgü* or *Cárgüj*) in the Turkmen S. S. R. Although surrounded on all sides by desert, Amul was once of great importance for the caravan trade, as the meeting place of the roads connecting Khurásán with Transoxiana and Khiva. The Sámánid Isma'íl routed the 'Alid Muhammad b. Baghlr and his army near Amul in 287/900. The town is frequently mentioned in the sources dealing with the Mongol invasion and Tímür's campaigns. The name Amul (like that of Amul no. 1) may be connected with the *Máspoi* (*Ámušpo*), more especially with an eastern branch (cf. Ptoiy vi, 47). In order to distinguish the town from Amul no. 1, definitions were sometimes added to the name, as Yáköf points out, and it was called either Amul Zamín (cf. e.g. al-Baládhuri, ed. de Goeje, 410 and 420), i.e. the Amul near Zamín (the modern Kerkí, 125 miles to the south-east), or Amul Džayhún, i.e. the Amul on the Džayhún (Oxus), or Amul al-Shatt, i.e. the Amul on the river. Yet another name of the town, which occurs already in the Middle Ages, is *Amüya* (cp. especially al-Baládhuri, 410; Yáköf, i, 365) or *Amü* (Yáköf, i, 70); this last is perhaps merely a dialectical form of Amul, from which the later medieval name of the Oxus, *Amü Daryá* ('river of Amul') may have been derived (thus Barthold, cf. *AMÜ DARYÁ*); it seems more likely, however, that *Amüya* may be derived from *Amü*, an ancient local name of the Oxus. The modern name, *Cárgüj*, "the four streams", refers to the important ford over the Oxus near by. *Cárgüj* is now connected by rail with Marw and Krasnovodsk to the west, and with Bulhárá, Samarkand and Tashkent to the north-east; the railway crosses the Oxus by a long bridge on the north-east of the town.

**Bibliography:** Yáköf, i, 66, 70, 365; Le Strange, 403 f., 434; Marquart, *Iranische A. d. Geogr. d. Pseudo-Moses-Xorena's*, Berlin 1901, 136, 311; id. *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. von Iran*, Leipzig 1895, ii, 57. (M. SZECSEY)

The town appears to have received its present name of *Cárgüj* in the time of the Tímürids; in his account of the events of 903/1477-8, Bábur (*Bábur-náma*, ed. Beveridge, l. 58) mentions the passage of the river at *Cárgüj* (*Cárgüj gúzari*). In 910/1504 the fortress of *Cárgüj* (in Muhammad Sálub, *Shaybani-náma* (Melioranski), 197; *Cárgüj ka'ast*, in Bani's Persian *Shaybani-náma*, quoted by Samuilovici, *Exp. Ind. Old. Arkh. Obsh.*, xix, 175; *Ka'as'a-yi Chahardiz*) had to surrender to the Uzbeks.

During the period of Uzbek domination, as in the Middle Ages, the most important passage of the



Oxus at Čärğöy; boats were always kept in readiness for this purpose; bridges of boats were occasionally built for the passage of large armies, as, for example, for Nādir Shāh's army in 1153/1740. Čärğöy is, however as far as is known, nowhere mentioned in any authority as a large town in this period, still less as the residence of a prince or governor of importance. (Cf. Burnes, *Travels*, III, 7 ff.) [visited the town in 1832; more reliable than J. Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara*, 1844, 164 ff.; Mushketov, *Turkestan*, St. Petersburg 1886, 66 ff. (visit of 1879)].

In 1884, the Turkmen of Marw had to submit to the Russians; the old caravan route was replaced by a railway which reached the Āmūd Daryā in 1886. The importance of Čärğöy, as a result, rapidly increased; the town, which was the residence of a *beg* of Bughara, had before the Revolution about 15,000 inhabitants.

10 miles from Old Čärğöy near the Āmūd Daryā railway station, on ground ceded to the *amir* of Bughārā to the Russian Government, a new town arose which was the seat of a Russian military commandant and which had a population in 1914 of 45,000. In 1901 a railway bridge was built across the Āmūd Daryā thus ensuring railway communication between Čärğöy-Bughārā and Tashkent.

Under the Soviet regime new Čärğöy has become an important administrative and, since 1924, industrial centre. In 1926, its population increased to 13,659, of whom 8,069 were Russians, 846 Armenians, 525 Uzbeks and only 458 Turkmen; in 1933 it rose to 34,500, the Turkmen always forming a small minority. In 1935 it was the second town of the Soviet Republic of Turkmenistan, and for a time (before 1939) there was a proposal to make it the capital of the Republic. Since 21 Nov. 1939 New Čärğöy has been the chief town of the oblast' of the same name. It is a modern town designed on a rectilinear plan, and the town-planning scheme visualises an eventual population of about 200,000. It is the home of numerous industries, and an important centre of communications—rail (Krasnovodsk-Tashkent and Čärğöy-Kangrat lines); road (the Čärğöy-Būghāra motor road); and river, the Āmūd Daryā being navigable from Termez (Timāh) to the Aral Sea.

Old Čärğöy (now Kaganovitsk) is now a small workers' town situated 5 miles from the outskirts of Čärğöy, and has retained its character as an ancient indigenous town. In 1931 its population was only 2,042, mainly Turkmen of the Salor tribe, and Uzbeks.

The district (*oblast'*) of Čärğöy, created on 21 Nov. 1939, has a total area of 36,000 sq.m. and is situated in Eastern Turkmenistan. The oasis of Čärğöy, which stretches between the Āmūd Daryā and the Kara Kum desert, forms the centre of this district; it is a rich agricultural area (cultivation of silk, horticulture, cotton plantations, vine-growing, breeding of *karabul* sheep). (A. BENGTSEN).

**AMULETS** (see HAMAH).

**'AMCŪR** (Jabal), a mountain massif in southern Algeria. The mountains of the 'Amūr, named after a section of the people who live there form part of the Saharan Atlas of Algeria, together with the mountains of the Kūfir and the Rāmla, which form a continuation to the S-W and N-E. Nearly all over 3,000 ft., they rise slightly above the high steppes of Oran (3,275-3,900 ft.), and drop sharply down to the Saharan foothills (2,975-3,275 ft.).

Between the ranges, which run S-W to N-E, stretch large synclinal watercourses with flat beds, with the occasional contrast of deep valleys which form scarped plateaus such as that of El-Gā'da. The altitude gives the region cold winters, temperate summers and a relatively heavy rainfall. Thus the mountains of the 'Amūr, are still covered with forests, especially in the north-western ranges (4,920-5375 ft.) and on El-Gā'da (3,935-4590 ft.). These forests are mainly of juniper. Mediterranean flora mingles with that of the steppe, such as alga, which prevails on the southern slopes.

Inhabited from very early times, as is witnessed by the rock carvings and graves scattered over the massif, the Djabal 'Amūr was for long ignored by the historians. The earliest inhabitants mentioned are the Rashid Berbers who have given their name to the massif. They were to some extent superseded, in the course of the 8th/14th century, by the Arabised nomads of the Sahara, the 'Amūr, perhaps partly of Hittite origin, who settled in the mountain massif, and the name Djabal 'Amūr was substituted for that of Djabal Rashid.

Numerous traces of villages (*kūfir*) point to the early existence of agricultural life on a wider scale than to-day. The Djabal 'Amūr is primarily a pastoral mountain region; flocks of sheep and goats move from the north to the south of the massif and along its fringes, and the inhabitants live in tents often carried on the back of oxen. The 'Amūr make excellent knotted carpets. Adou, the administrative and economic centre, has developed at the expense of the four surviving *biā*.

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**'AMWAS** or 'AMAWAS, the ancient Emmaüs, still marked by a large village, was situated in the plain of Judaea at the foot of the mountains, some 19 miles from Jerusalem, and commanding one of the principal approach routes to the latter. The site of a victory won by Judas Maccabaeus in 166 B.C., it was fortified by the Seleucid general in 100 B.C. and became under Caesar the chief town of a tetrarchy, only to decline to the size of a small market-town after being burnt by Varus in 4 B.C. Its strategic importance, however, led to its being selected by Vespasian as the site of a fortified camp, and it had again grown to the size of a small city when it was obtained from Elagabalus in 212 A.D. the title of Nicopolis, its Christian colony embellished it with a basilica which, as excavations have discovered, was rebuilt successively by the Byzantines and the Crusaders.

The conquest of the area by the Arabs, which according to the sources occurred in 1063, after the victory of Ajlūdayn, or in 1268 after that of the Yarmūk, marked its final decline; it was chiefly known as the source of the notorious "'Amwas plague" which left its tragic record in contemporary annals and which claimed 25,000 victims including the famous chiefs Abū 'Ubayda, Mu'ayyid b. Djabal and Yazid b. Abī Sulaym. Its position as administrative capital was taken over by Ludd and then by Ramla, founded in Umayyad times; the Arab geographers confined themselves to mentioning the small town, which played no part even during the period of the Crusades, when it experienced the same fortunes as Jerusalem down to the temporary

retrocession to the Franks under the treaty of Jaffa between al-Malik al-Kāmil and Frederick II.

**Bibliography:** Ya'qūt, I, 172; Balhūrī, *Futūh*, 138; Tabari, I, 2376-20; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, II, 388-9; Makdīsī, 176; Bakrī, *Mu'jam* (Wüstenfeld), II, 669; Harawī, *Siyaḍat*, Damascus 1953, 34; Yāqūt, II, 720; Cantani, *Cronographia islamica*, 209, *Amwās*, II, A.H. 13, 206, 17, 141; IV, A.H. 18, 4 and 47; G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 393; A.S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 150-1; Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, Paris 1932; F. M. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, Paris 1924, I, 136-9, 167, 411-13; II, 6, 187-9, 393-406; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1934-6, II, 308. (J. SOUVREY-THOMINE).

**ANA** (see SIKKA).

**'ANA**—in the Middle Ages also 'Asat, and in Turkish official usage 'Awa—is a town of modern 'Irāk situated on the Euphrates right bank (41° 58' E, 34° 28' N), some 245 kilometres southeast of Dayr al-Zūr and 248 north-west of Hit. The river, not here navigable by steamers (in spite of attempts a century ago), is used by skimmers (wooden rafts), downstream only; and the traditional caravan-road from central 'Irāk to northern Syria, passing through 'Ana—a main element in its early importance—is little used since the appearance of trans-desert motor traffic. The town is flanked to the west by the tribal area of the 'Aniza sections in the Syrian desert, and to the east by the Shammur District in the Djazira, while the river banks are the area of the settled cultivating and sheep-breeding Dulaym. It is, under the 'Irāk Government, the headquarters of a *hadd* in the *hadd* of Dulaym (headquarters, Ramād), and contains the additional *hadd* of al-Kāim, Djubba, and Hadhā. The townspeople, practically all Sunnī Arabs—with small Jewish communities till 1369/70/1049-50—were for centuries at bitter enmity with those of Rāwa, immediately across the river: the feud was composed in 1340/1921.

'Ana, utilising the thin strip of land between the river and the line of low cliffs to the west, has the singular form of great length—some 7 miles—and extreme narrowness. The buildings lie within a dense date-belt, irrigated by water wheels (*sa'ir*, pl. *sa'ar*); there is also cultivation, and dwellings, on the mid-stream islands in the river. The town is reckoned as healthy and picturesque.

The women of 'Ana are famed for their beauty, and for their weaving of cotton-cloth and woollen mats and cloaks; the men, who lack of space for expansion forces largely to emigrate, are known for their skill as Euphrate boatmen, and in earlier days for their monopoly of water-carrying in Baghdad. The educational standard, with eight schools in 1946, is relatively high.

The modern 'Ana is the heir of a history disappearing into remote antiquity. Its name, recorded in cuneiform inscriptions as Anat or Kānat, was identical with the Greek Anath ('Avāna) (see Paulys *Wissensz.*, I, 406, Suppl. I, 77; M. Streck, in ZA, xix, 25; idem, in Klio, vi, 197; ZDMG, lxi, 701) and occupation (probably with minor variations of site) has apparently been continuous, as a centre of cultivation, trading-post, and at times military headquarters; the islands, and sites on high ground west of the town, have at various periods been important strong points or places of refuge. In 'Abbasid times 'Ana belonged to Djazira province, lying close to the frontier of al-'Irāk; it was known to travellers as a prosperous town with extensive date and fruit

gardens, and a reputation for wine-making. Its wine is already praised by the old poets; cf. S. Frankel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 257; G. Jacob, *Aljarah. Studien zur Arabistik*, 98, 248. The caliph al-Kā'im took refuge here in 450/1058 from the contemporary Daylami ruler of 'Irāk. In early modern times, 8th/14th to 11th/17th centuries, it was the headquarters of tribal rulers, who about 1750 were replaced by first a rudimentary and later (after about 1267/1850) an organised Turkish administration; under the latter 'Ana was the headquarters of a *hadd* grouped directly under the *vilāyat* of Baghdad. The town and district were occupied by the British in 1337/1918, and became part of the Kingdom of 'Irāk, with their present administrative grouping, in 1340/1921.

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**ANADOLU**, Anatolia, Asia Minor.

(i) — The name.

(ii) — Physical geography.

(iii) — Historical geography of Turkish Anatolia.

1. The conquest of Anatolia by the Turks, first phase, and the state of the Saljuqs of Rūm.
2. The conquest of Anatolia, second phase, and the beginnings of the Ottoman empire.
3. The political divisions of Anatolia.
4. Population.
5. Communications.
6. Economy.

#### (i) THE NAME

Anadolu (Arabic spelling *أَنْدَلُوس*, *Anatōlī* i.e. Greek 'Avatōlī in Byzantine pronunciation), Anatolia, Asia Minor, the mountainous peninsula—including its base—proceeding from the southern part of the Asiatic continent towards Europe (Balkan peninsula—known as Asia Minor (*Musḡat* 'Anā) in antiquity—is situated between 36° and 42° N and 26° and 45° E. Together with the Balkan peninsula it has formed a bridge between Central Europe and Western Asia throughout its history. Arab geographers in the Middle Ages, and Turks until far into Ottoman times, called the country *Bilād al-Rūm* (country of the Romans).

The name 'Avatōlī ('rising' of the sun) is used first and foremost as a geographical term by the Byzantines, as 'Orient' or 'Levant', to denote all that lies east of Constantinople, i.e. especially Asia Minor and Egypt. A prefecture 'per Orientem' (ἐπαρχία τῆς 'Avatōlīs) appears, however, in the reorganisation of the administration by Diocletian and Constantine as one of the four large sections of the empire; it consists of the five dioceses of Aegyptus, Oriens ('Avatōlī in the stricter sense), Pontus, Asiana and Thracia, that is to say, the Middle East, Thrace, Egypt and Libya. The administrative term 'Avatōlī disappears with the introduction of the division into themes (at the beginning of the first half of the 7th century); the name 'Avatōlīōn or ἡμέρα τῶν 'Avatōlīōn is now applied to the theme (administrative area) around Amorium and Iconium. This considerably smaller administrative unit is called al-Nātōlīs, or some-



thing similar, explained as *al-maḡribī*, "the east" by Ibn Khuradādhbih (107, transl. 70); *al-Nāṭolīk* (explained as *al-maḡribī*, "the eastern") by Kudāma, (ed. de Goeje, 258, transl., 198); cf. H. Göler, *Die Genese der byzantinischen Themen-Verfassung*, Leipzig 1899, 83; F. W. Brooks, *Arabic Lists of Byzantine Themes*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1901, 17-177. The name of the theme Anatolikon disappears again with the Turkish conquest. The general geographical term *Anatōlōs* reappears, however, and gradually becomes Anatoli with the Turks. To begin with, this meant only western Anatolia. The large Ottoman province (*eyalet* or *vilâyet*) of this name embraced the area of the former western Anatolian Turkish principalities (see next article). The term Anatoli as name of a province disappeared at the time of the reorganisation of the provinces during the *tanzimat* (middle of the 19th century). From then on "Anatolia", used geographically, came to mean the whole peninsula (roughly as far as the line Trebizond (Trebzon) Erzingian-Birejik-Alexandretta) which today forms the main part of the area of the Turkish republic, "Anadolı", as it is used today in Turkish, is the whole Asiatic part of modern Turkey, including those areas which geographically belong to upper Mesopotamia: *al-Djazira* (Diyārbaḡir), Kurdistan (Van and Bitlis), as well as to Armenia (Kars). It is in this sense that the term is used in the present article (the islands in the Aegean Sea are not taken into account). In 1950 the overall area of Turkey was stated to be 765,120 km. Of these, Thrace has 21,485 sq. km, and Anatolia 743,634 sq. km. The number of inhabitants in the whole of Turkey was 20,934,670 in 1950; of these, 1,628,329 lived in the European part of Turkey, and 19,306,341 lived in Anatolia.

[For pre-Turkish Anatolia, see *BÖM*].

(F. TIESCHNER)

#### (ii) PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

General survey of the nature of the country. Anatolia consists of a spacious high plateau, ringed by longitudinal and even higher mountain ranges to the north and south. The central plateau contains Central Anatolia. The northern part of this ring may best be collectively called the northern Anatolian border mountains; the southern section is formed by the Taurus system. Central Anatolia is ringed off by hills to the east and west as well, where the northern and southern ranges come into contact. Thus there is the mountainous ridge of western Anatolia, with the Aegean coast-lands lying beyond it. In the east, there are the chains of mountains of the upper Euphrates region and—as a sort of outpost of Anatolia—the high plateau of Mount Ararat.

As might be expected from the geographical position, the winter temperatures along the coast of Anatolia are mild, ranging from an average of over 5° C. on the Black Sea coast to over 10° C. on the southern coast during January. A large part of the country lies within the reach of the system of low atmospheric pressure which moves from west to east and influences the weather in western and central Europe throughout the year. Hence humidity in Anatolia is comparatively high during the winter. In summer, the coastal areas become oppressively hot, with average temperatures for July and August of 22° in the north and over 27° C. in the south. Northern winds prevail and bring a dryness, typical of the mediterranean climate, to the west and south coast in summer, whilst, coming from the sea, they

bring rainfall even in summer to the northern coast. On the south and west coast, natural vegetation is largely of the evergreen variety common in mediterranean countries. In many places it has been made into arable land, whilst the rest has deteriorated into shrubs and sparse grazing ground. More luxuriant vegetation appears along the northern coast, which is more humid in the summer and where plants which need more water grow in woods, bushes and cultivated fields.

The border mountains naturally have colder—in parts extremely cold—winters, their summers are less hot, and the humidity is higher than along the coast. The sides of the mountains are naturally wooded. In the case of the western, southern, and eastern rims, these woods consist largely of "dry forest", particularly oak and coniferous trees. Many of them had to be sacrificed in the drive for arable and grazing land. In the northern mountain chains nearer the coast, "damp forest" prevails, in which the beech and the pine play a large part in the higher regions. "Dry forest" replaces "damp forest" even in northern Anatolia on the inner mountain ranges, owing to the decreased humidity. "Damp forest" has great resilience and is therefore less threatened by human activity.

The central Anatolian plateau—ringed by its border mountains—is cold in winter, with average temperatures for January below freezing point, whilst it is very hot in the summer, the July/August average reaching 24° C. Since there is considerably less rainfall here than there is in the coastal areas and their mountains, it is a steppe. Despite erroneous information on some maps, there are no stretches of desert in central Anatolia. Even in the driest districts it is possible to grow barley and wheat without artificial irrigation, relying solely on natural rainfall, with moderate success.

There are steppes on the southern edge of the eastern Taurus where Anatolia and Mesopotamia meet. Although they are not much above sea level, they are a long way from the sea, and as a result winters are less mild and less humid than along the mediterranean coast, and summers very hot and dry.

The Northern Anatolian border mountains. The range of north Anatolian border mountains (often known as the Pontic Mountains in Europe) consists of comparatively straight parallel mountain ranges from 1200 m. to 1500 m. in height, often rising to over 2000 m. These are fairly broad and some have plateaux. To the east, in the so-called Zigana mountains (called after the Zigana pass south of Trabzon) there is a long stretch over 3000 m. in height, and here one finds alpine formations. The mountains are made up largely of slate, sandstone, marl, volcanic stone, and crystalline substances. In the west one can trace—through the mountains south of the Sea of Marmara—a relation to the lower Dinaric mountain ranges of the Balkan peninsula. In the east, the southern Caucasian mountains form the link with the northern Iranian mountain ranges.

On the plateaux of the naturally wooded northern Anatolian mountain ranges, especially in the middle part, woodland has been turned into arable land up to a height of 1500 m. Growing of grain and raising of sheep and goats (in the east also cattle) form its economic basis. The long spacious valleys between the ridges, where hot summers and the presence of water make agriculture possible, are the main areas of settlement. Of these the most important is the row of basins of Bolu-Gerede-Cerğözü-Iğaz-Tosya

in the eastern part of the ancient Bithynia, the basin area of Safranbolu-Kastamonu-Bayazıt, the centre of the ancient Paphlagonia, and, in the regions of the ancient Pontus, the basins on the upper Yeğhil İrmak (İris) around Amasya, Zile and Tokat, and in the east, the Kelkit-Coruh furrow which is over 100 km. long.

On the north coast, mountains rise steeply out of the Black Sea; there are few bays. The coastal strip is very narrow and much cut up by valleys; it is densely populated, especially in the east, and maize, beans, and particularly hazelnuts are grown around Giresun [g.r.] (Cerasus), Trabzon [t.r.] (Trapezus, Trebizond, modern Trabzon), and Rize [r.] [r.] The only larger flats are in the deltas of the rivers Yeğhil İrmak [g.r.] (İris) and the Kizil İrmak [k.r.] (Halys), but these are partly swamp. The more fertile soil produces excellent tobacco. The peninsula of Kodja-eli [k.e.] and the Thracian peninsula are flat, and the plains of Adapazarı [a.p.] on the lower Sakarya (Sangarius) are very fertile.

A part from the Bosphorus, there is only one harbour which is protected against the north-westerly gales of the Black Sea, and that is Sinop [s.] which, however, because of its unfavourable hinterland, is at present of little importance. Samsun [s.] (Amisus) has the best access—both rail and road—to central Anatolia. The coal-mining and industrial areas of Zonguldak [z.] and Ereğli [e.r.] (Heraclea Pontica) are now being greatly developed. In the past, the silver, lead, and copper mines in the Zigana mountains were of some importance (Gümüşkhane [g.k.], Morgul near Borçka, and others).

The subsidence of land which has created the Aegean between Anatolia and the Balkan peninsula, has also affected the northern Anatolian mountain ranges in the Marmara region. As a result, there are hilly districts and plains around the Sea of Marmara (the basin of which is only deep in parts). These have a very favourable mediterranean climate. Silkworm is cultivated near Bursa [b.] (Brusa), and wine produced around Tekir Dağı [t.d.] (Rodostol). Owing to its unique geographical position, the city of Byzantium, Constantinople, Istanbul [i.s.] grew up and retained its importance for thousands of years. Situated on the bridge between Anatolia and the Balkan peninsula, the most important times of the city were naturally those in which it played the rôle of the natural capital of an empire stretching over both areas. Yet even today, it is Turkey's gate to the world and her principal import harbour. The straits here are obviously not a borderline of continents or cultures. Such a boundary might rather be found in the sparsely populated steppes and heather regions in eastern Thrace.

The Taurus (Toros) System. On the whole, the Taurus system in southern Anatolia is considerably higher than the northern Anatolian border ranges. For long stretches, the mountain chains and broad waves of elevations rise to more than 2000 m. and at times to more than 3000 m. To the south-east of Lake Van (Wân) there are even heights up to 4176 m. In the ice-covered Dillo Dağı, Limestone predominates in these mountains. The mountain ranges are often strongly bow-shaped, thereby making clear sections to the west of the Gulf of Antalya (Adalia, Attalia) the mighty ranges of limestone mountains of the Western Taurus—the highest of which are sometimes referred to as Lycian Taurus—point outwards in a S and SW direction towards the sea and towards Rhodes, Crete and the outer fringes of the Dinaric Mountains of the Balkan peninsula. Between the

Gulf of Antalya and the Adana plain stretches the mighty arc of the Central Taurus. The name Cilician Taurus, which often occurs, refers to its better known eastern wing. The Taurus system continues in two parallel chains to the east of the Gulf of Alexandretta. An outer chain stretches from the Amanus Mountains to the chains south of Lake Van by way of the chain south of Malatya and south of the Murd River. An inner chain—the western section of which is sometimes called Anti-Taurus (a name given with little justification)—runs from the ridges of the upper Seyhan region north of Adana to the Urmiya area by way of the chains south of the upper Euphrates (Kara Su) and the upper Aras (Araxes). Between these two there are a number of basins, those of Elbistan, of Malatya-Elaşığ (Elaşığ, Kharpūt), of Çapakçür, Muş and Van. This whole mountain system is best called the Eastern Taurus. (In earlier works, nomenclature varied: in addition to Anti-Taurus, other names for parts of the system were employed, such as Armenian Taurus and Kurdish Taurus, without determining the precise use of each). The above-mentioned row of basins separates the chains of the inner from those of the outer Taurus. Thus, seen as a whole, the eastern Taurus system (with these two ranges) describes an arc towards the north, and its southern end merges into the southern Iranian border ranges.

There are considerable longitudinal basins between the mountain ranges in the Western and the western part of the Central Taurus. Several of them contain lakes, the famous lakes of the old districts of Pisidia and Isauria. These basins are the main centres of habitation. In some places there are valuable special cultures, as for instance near Isparta [i.p.] and Burdur [b.d.]. The limestone mountains are thinly populated because of the scarcity of water. Grazing ground of a poor quality—used by goats and sheep in summer—has largely replaced the former "dry forest". Habitation in the Central Taurus, which is really one large massif, is restricted to the few narrow valleys. Here, too, the higher regions serve chiefly as grazing ground (*çaylak*) for sheep and goats in summer. The eastern Taurus, which, as we have seen, stretches out more broadly, has a larger area in its basins which could be inhabited, but at present they are only thinly populated. As far as rainfall—which decreases with the distance from the mountains—permits agriculture exclusively based on rain water, habitation is also possible in the as yet thinly populated southern foothills of the eastern Taurus. It is possible in the vicinity of the ancient centres of Diyarbakır (Diyār Bakr [d.b.], Diyarbekir, Amid), Urfa (see AL-RUHA) (Edessa), Gaziantep (Aynül [a.y.], Halab [h.] (Aleppo), but not much further to the south. The most propitious area of these eastern foothills is the Hatay [h.t.] in the west around Antakya [a.t.] (Antioch), where the nearby Mediterranean makes the growing of citrus fruits and other mediterranean crops possible.

On the whole, the coastal strip of the Taurus offers only a narrow stretch of alluvial land and few hills which invite habitation. These few make possible the cultivation of mediterranean plants, and in parts of citrus plants. There is, however, danger from malaria. Generally we find limestone mountains (with little water) rising at a small distance from the sea. The only really large arable area is the Adana [a.d.] plain—in which also Tarsus [t.r.] lies—the Cilician plain of antiquity, formed by deposits from the rivers Sayhān [s.y.] (Saron) and Dayhān [d.y.] (Pyramos). In recent years cotton growing in this



area has increased considerably. The tufaceous limestone plain of Antalya [g.e.] with sheer drops of 30 m. to the sea, is less favourable.

Anatolia's southern coast—in as much as it is a longitudinal one—has no protected landing places for larger ships. Iskandarun [g.e.] (Alexandretta) and Mersin [g.e.] have some importance as harbours of the Adana plain and the Hatay and as the harbours for shipping the chromium ore of the eastern Taurus. This part is played more to the west by the small harbour of Fethiye for the western Taurus.

Aegean Anatolia (Ege region). The areas between the two bordering mountain systems show less relief. There are several distinguishable units. In the west, there is Aegean Anatolia, in modern Turkish called the "Ege region", between the southern Marmara mountains in the north, and the western Taurus in the south, which corresponds roughly to the area of Ionian colonisation of the ancient Greeks. Here the broad valleys of the Bakır Çay (Caicus), Gediz (Hermus), the greater and lesser Menderes (Kaysir, Maeander), penetrate to a depth of 200 km. into the peninsula, in an area of crystalline rocks (called Lydian-Carian rock by Philippon), between the mountain peaks running from west to east at heights between 1000 m. and 2000 m. Thanks to these valleys, the mediterranean climate can penetrate deeply into the country. This area is densely populated. Tobacco, olives, figs, and grapes—largely dried for raisins—are grown here. More recently, cotton growing has gained some importance.

The coast, running at right angles to the mountain ranges, has many bays, coves and good natural harbours. The larger rivers, however, carry a great deal of sediment and gradually fill in the bays. Ephesus and Miletus, which were harbours in antiquity, are today several kilometres inland, and the otherwise excellent harbour of Izmir (Smyrna) is only saved from being filled up by diversion of the river Gediz Çay. Izmir [g.e.] is linked by railway to all the above mentioned valleys, and has thus become the economical centre of the region and the principal harbour for exporting the agricultural produce of Turkey. Bergama [g.e.] (Pergamon), Manisa [g.e.] (Magnesia), Tire [g.e.] Aydınlık [g.e.] (Güzel Hisar) and Denizli [g.e.] are local centres of this area.

The Western Anatolian Ridge. Where in the east the valleys of Aegean Anatolia come to an end, a huge ridge rises between the re-entrant angle of the Taurus system on the one hand, and the southern border chains of the sea of Marmara on the other hand, in the area around Afyon Kışlacı-Kütahya-Uşak. This is formed by huge plateaux which reach a height of 1200 m. to 1500 m. Massive ranges rise above these which frequently exceed 2000 m. There is a gradual decline in height to 1100 m. towards the northeast and the upper Sakarya (Sangarus). This large rise is the western Anatolian ridge. The plateaux consist largely of flat tertiary deposits of clay and sand which had once risen and were later cut into by the valleys we see today. They are steeply sloping. Only the higher mountains reach the natural tree-line, but most of the woods have been cut down.

The growing of grain and the raising of sheep and goats form the livelihood of the scanty population. Several roads and railways lead to the inland plateau on the one hand and branch off near Afyon Kışlacı [g.e.] (Afyonkarahisar) to the basins in the western Taurus, to the lowlands of the Ege region and to the sea of Marmara on the other.

Central Anatolia. The inland plateau of central Anatolia comprises large stretches of flat country at a height of 800 m. to 1200 m. These were formed by recent sedimentation in the bottoms of the landlocked basins of Konya (Iconium), such as the Tuz Gölü ("salt lake"), a huge flat salt pan at a height of 600 m. often erroneously marked down as Tuz Çölü ("salt desert") on our maps. They also exist on the upper Sakarya and in certain places on the Kızıl İrmak. There are also other broad plateaux of horizontal new tertiary deposits, and flat plains over creased subsoil.

Mountains of considerable height are, however, also found in central Anatolia. They rise from 500 m. to 1500 m. above the surrounding plateau. There are some gigantic recent volcanoes which are, however, not active at present, such as the Erilgiyas Dağı [g.e.] (3916 m.), the Argaeus of antiquity, near Kayseri, and the Hasan Dağı (3258 m.) near Nigde.

The mountains are of vital importance to human existence. In dry central Anatolia, surrounded by high mountains, the lowest areas are the driest, while the high mountains catch the rain. Hence the most favourable regions for settlement are, on the one hand, on the highest plateaux, such as for instance in the area of the bend of the Kızıl İrmak, in the Cappadocia of antiquity, and on the other hand at the foot of the surrounding mountains, where fast rivulets come forth. Most of the important towns are in the latter of these two positions, such as Ankara [g.e.] (Ancyra, Angora), Eskişehir [g.e.], Konya [g.e.] (Iconium), Nigde [g.e.] Kayseri [g.e.] (Caesarea), and Sivas [g.e.] (Sebasteia). All these have—or had—land that can easily be irrigated. There is little population in the steppes, where the basis of livelihood is the growing of wheat and barley and the raising of sheep and angora goats, although thanks to recent mechanisation the cultivated areas have been increased and improved; there is lack of all in the particularly dry basin of the Tuz Gölü and of Konya, the Lycania of antiquity, with a great deal of "Artemisian steppe".

Traffic is easier through the central plateau than through the mountainous borders. For this reason this plateau, which has always been the centre of Anatolia, has become even more important since the capital shifted to Ankara and the road and rail network of Turkey was extended.

The upper Euphrates area and the Ararat highlands. Geographically, the eastern limit of Anatolia is to be found on the upper Euphrates, where the mountain chains of the northern Anatolian border mountains and the eastern Taurus are joined by the rising of new mountains between the two systems. In this region of mighty chains of high mountains, where peaks generally exceed an altitude of 2500 m. (often 3000 m.), the scanty population is found only in the valleys, more especially in the longitudinal ones. Along these, too, run the roads from Anatolia to Ağharbaydjan and Iran. The role of the towns of Erzinjan [g.e.] and Erzurum [g.e.] (Erzerum) has always been to guard these roads.

The eastern Taurus, on the one hand, and the northern Anatolian border mountains on the other, divide again east of the meridian of Erzurum, thus forming a highland which, at 1500 m. to 1700 m., is an even higher basin than that of Central Anatolia. There are considerable volcanic deposits of recent formation over a creased base. Huge recent (at present inactive) volcanoes, such as Ararat (Aghdagh [g.e.]) (5172 m.), Alagöz Dağı (4094 m.),

Sühbân Dağı (4434 m.) rise above the highlands, and in places, such as at Lake Van, have led to a damming up of basins.

This rough highland with low winter temperatures is used chiefly for grazing, since somewhat more favourable conditions for agriculture and habitation exist only in the comparatively small basins. It is generally known as Armenia. Historical events have resulted in the fact that there have been no Armenians living there for a generation. The scanty population speaks either Turkish or Kurdish. Thus it seems appropriate to give this eastern border region of Turkey—which is actually outside the geographical Anatolia—the name of the Ararat Highlands. This name would be neutral, yet geographically characteristic.

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(H. LOUIS)

#### (III) HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF TURKISH ANATOLIA

(1) *The conquest of Anatolia by the Turks, first phase, and the state of the Seldjûks of Rûm.*

The main part of Anatolia remained untouched by the conquests of the Muslim Arabs. The boundaries of the Byzantine empire remained: in the north-east, the Christian states of Armenia and Georgia; to the south of these, Kâllâh (formerly Theodosiopolis, then Arzan al-Rûm, Erzurum) and—at times—Kamâh—were the furthest outposts of the empire of the caliphs; thence the Taurus, the "land of the passes" (*bilâd al-darûb*), formed the boundary as far as the Mediterranean. Although frequent raids into Byzantine territory were made, the Arabs never occupied the land. These border regions, comprising the outermost parts of Northern

Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, were the "military area of the protecting fortresses" (*djûd al-'usûd*), or simply al-'usûd, (g.e.); Manbij or Antiochia (Antioch) was the capital of this region, whilst the armed fortresses of the "Syrian marches" (*ḡhar al-'sha'm*) with Tarsûs as its centre, and the "Mesopotamian marches" (*ḡhar al-'Djazira*) with Malatya (Melitene) as their centre, formed the outer border. In the centuries that have passed between Byzantines and Arabs, these border areas suffered greatly, but they remained, on the whole, in the possession of the Arabs. Not until the conquests of the great emperors Nicephorus II Phocas (963-69), John Tzimiskes (969-76), and Basil II (976-1025) did these areas return to Byzantine ownership. At the time of the death of the last of these three, the whole of the territory of Turkey as we know it today, with the exception of Amidâ (Diyâr Bakr) and its surroundings, was Byzantine (compare E. Honigsmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* von 363 bis 1071, Brussels 1935). Then, however, the rivalries between the military nobility and the nobility of civil servants began in Byzantium. These, particularly the latter, were in power, led to a weakening along the borders.

The Turkish conquerors of the house of Seldjûk found the Byzantine borders in one of these weak periods, when, after conquering the whole of the Middle East, they sent their Turkish warriors against the frontier, in order to fight the holy war (*djihad*). They did, in fact, achieve several breaks through into Byzantine Anatolia (145/1074 conquest of Ant in the Byzantine-Armenian border area, laying waste Cilicia and storming Caesarea (Kaysariya). After the death of emperor Constantine X Ducas, a champion of the civilian nobility (May 1067), Romanus IV Diogenes, a member of the military nobility, was raised to the throne on the battlefield (1 Jan. 1068) because of the desperate position which had arisen. To begin with, he fought the Turks successfully, so that the Seldjûk sultan Alp Arslan was obliged to go against him in person. The numerically superior Byzantine army was routed by Alp Arslan near Mantzikert (Malâzgirt) in the vicinity of Lake Van, (463/19 August 1071) because of lack of discipline among the mercenaries and treachery by the opponents of the emperor. The emperor was captured, but he was freed by the sultan after a lenient treaty had been concluded. The defeat, however, caused a revolution in Constantinople, which brought the opposing party to power. Romanus IV lost his throne and was blinded. He died soon afterwards (summer 1072).

With the fall of the Emperor Romanus, the treaties between him and Alp Arslan became void, and the Turks renewed the holy war against Byzantium. This was fought not by regular Seldjûk troops, but by individual leaders, the most successful of whom was Malik Dânişmand [g.e.] Ahmad Ghâzi who operated in north-eastern Anatolia. Bands of Turkish warriors roamed the countryside and interrupted communications between towns, paralysing Byzantine administration. Even so, the successes of Alp Arslan, sultan Malikghâzi (since 463/1072), dispatched a member of the house of Seldjûk, Sulaymân b. Kutlumûsh, to lead the Turkish cavalry in Anatolia in the war being waged against Byzantium. His task was facilitated by the existing confusion over the succession to the throne in Byzantium. Emperor Michael VII Ducas and—after his abdication (1078)—Nicephorus III Botaniates, obtained Sulaymân's assistance to gain their aims. On their



part, they had to recognise his rights to those parts of the country which the Turks had occupied, and to hand over the recently conquered cities of Cyzicus and Nicaea (1081). Sulaymān established his headquarters in Nicaea (Turkish İznik). The Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, who began his reign in 1081, confirmed Sulaymān's rights to settle his Turkish troops in the occupied territory, whilst nominally retaining Byzantine suzerainty. In actual fact, Sulaymān ruled over practically the whole of Anatolia through his troops which roamed the country. Byzantine administration was virtually superseded.

After his successes in Anatolia, Sulaymān turned to the east, to extend his rule in this direction. He did succeed in capturing Antioch (Antakya), which was still Byzantine, but met with heavy opposition from the Saldjūk amirs, especially from Tutuḡ, the brother of Malikshāh, when advancing towards Aleppo. He was beaten and fell in battle (1086).

In the meantime, Turkish bands fighting the holy war in Aḡbaraydīn had conquered the Christian kingdom of the Buzarids in Armenia (475/1080). Following this, the Bagratid Ruben and his faithful followers founded a new state in Cilicia, known as the kingdom of 'Lesser Armenia'. It survived until the 14th century (1375) under his successors, the Rubenids. (See *sts.*)

After the death of Sulaymān, Anatolia was left to its own devices for some time. Other Turkish leaders settled in the country together with their troops and founded dominions there: the aforementioned Malik Dāniḡmand Ahmad Ghāzi in the north-east, with Sebastia (Sivas) as headquarters; the amir Mengüdjek [g.s.] Ghāzi with Tephrike (Divriği) and Erzinjān; and in the west, in Smyrna, a certain amir called Trachas by the Byzantines. Only after the death of sultan Malikshāh (1092) did his successor, Barkiyāruk, permit the son of Sulaymān, Kılıdī Arslan, to return to Anatolia, but he found it difficult to establish himself among the Turkish princes. Trachas, who was advancing against Constantinople by sea, was repelled with Byzantine aid.

At the beginning of the first crusade, the allied Byzantines and crusaders gained a victory over the Turks under Kılıdī Arslan and Malik Dāniḡmand (or his son, Ghāzi Gümüştegin) near Nicaea. The Turkish headquarters at Nicaea was besieged and taken on 20 June 1097. On 1 July 1097, the victory of the crusaders near Dorylaeum, near the Eskişehir of today, decided the fate of western Anatolia and opened the way for the crusaders through the rest of the Turkish territories. They reached Antioch, which was taken after a long siege (3 June 1098). Here the principality of Antioch, the first crusader state, was founded under the suzerainty of Byzantium. The county of Edessa (today Urfa), in Mesopotamia, was founded in the same year. After these successes by the crusaders, the Emperor Alexius found little difficulty in driving the Turks from western Anatolia and in re-incorporating this area into the Byzantine empire. He also re-inforced the border—running straight through the middle of Anatolia—against the region remaining under Turkish occupation. This, for the time being, checked the Turkish conquests.

After this set-back, the area of Turkish conquest remained limited to central Anatolia for over a century. The whole of the west (roughly from Dorylaeum), and the Black Sea and Mediterranean coasts remained in Byzantine possession, Cilicia became

the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia, and the regions of Antioch and Edessa formed the aforementioned crusader states. Amūd (Diyār Bakr) was the seat of the *alaḡek* dynasty of the Artukids [g.s.]. Later (1144), Edessa was conquered by the *alaḡek* Zengī of Mosul; later still (1268), Antioch was taken by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars. Kılıdī Arslan had to share the centre of the country, occupied by Turks, with Malik Dāniḡmand, or his son, and Mengüdjek. The former retained the steppe in Central Anatolia, with Konya—the Iconium of antiquity—as his capital; the latter retained the mountainous north-east with Sivas and Erzinjān respectively. There was a heated quarrel over some places, especially Melitene (Malatya), which Kılıdī Arslan eventually managed to decide in his own favour (1106 or 1108). Kılıdī Arslan failed, however, in his attempt to make conquests further to the east, in Mesopotamia (Mosul). He was beaten by the confederated Saldjūk amirs on the banks of the Euphrates, and died during the retreat (9 Shawwāl 500/3 June 1107). Concerning events at this period, see also Cl. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure*, *Byzantion*, 1946, 5-67.

Thus the Rüm Saldjūk state [see *sak.ḡ.ḡ.ḡ.*] or the Sultanate of Iconium, as the crusaders called it, was a rather limited territory in the poorest part of Anatolia. The Rüm Saldjūks under Maḡdī I retained this area and, having beaten the crusaders of the second crusade in the second battle near Dorylaeum (Oct. 1147), forced them to continue their way through Byzantine instead of Turkish territory. The Rüm Saldjūk state was considerably extended when Kılıdī Arslan II succeeded in incorporating the Dāniḡmandid state (1174), which he secured against the claims of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus by the victory in the Phrygian mountain passes, near Myrioccephalon (pass of Cardak, 17 Sept. 1176), in which he surrounded and routed the Byzantine army. The aged Sultan Kılıdī Arslan II was involved in the disputes which arose after he had divided his land among his sons. Owing to this, the German Emperor Frederic Barbarossa was able to take the route through Turkish Anatolia and even capture its capital Konya (18 May 1190), but this had no lasting consequences, particularly as the emperor himself was slain only a few days afterwards (10 June 1190) in the river Saleph (Calycadnus in antiquity, Gökusu today).

The crusaders of the so-called fourth crusade conquered Constantinople (1204) and erected a Latin Empire there, at the instigation of the Doge Enrico Dandolo of Venice; the Byzantines, under Theodore Lascaris, founded a Greek Counter-Empire in western Anatolia with Nicaea for its capital; and the brothers David and Alexis, of the imperial house of the Comneni, had, with the help of Queen Thamar of Georgia, formed the empire of the so-called 'Great Comneni' in Trebizond. The Rüm Saldjūk sultan Ghıyāṡ al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I, the youngest son of Kılıdī Arslan II, succeeded in conquering Attaleia (Antalya) and in re-incorporating this area into the Mediterranean for his kingdom (1207). He was not, however, successful in advancing further into western Anatolia. He was beaten by Theodor Laskaris near Honas, in 1210, and fell in battle (possibly in single combat with his adversary). Theodor Laskaris and his successors protected the eastern border of their Nicaean empire with a strong system of fortifications which, for the time being, made it impossible for the Turks to advance in that region. In 1214, Kaykhusraw's son and successor

'Izz al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I, forced the emperor of Trebizond to cede Sinope (Sinch), and so the Rüm Saldjūk Kingdom also gained access to the Black Sea. This extension meant traffic with the outside world. Connections were made with the Italian trading republics, trade flourished and brought undreamed-of prosperity to the country. 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykubād, the brother and successor of Kaykhusraw, and the greatest of the Rüm Saldjūk sultans, extended the frontier of his empire on the mediterranean and took the fort of Galenos (ḡalvōn ḡnos), which he expanded into a sizable harbour town, to which he gave the name 'Alā'ıyya (now Alaya or Alanya), and where he had his winter residence. In the east, in upper Mesopotamia, he also won territory from the Artukids of Amūd and Hıw Kayfā and forced them to recognise his supremacy. In 625/1228, he annexed the Mengüdjek principality of Erzinjān, and in the east he also made further conquests (Erzerum 1230, Aḡhlāt 1231, Bḡharḡ 1234). Under his rule, Rüm Saldjūk culture and power reached their peak. His son and successor Ghıyāṡ al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (acc. 634/1237) succeeded in incorporating Amūd into his empire, and at that time in the eastern borders of the Rüm Saldjūk kingdom were roughly those of Turkey today.

(2) *The conquest of Anatolia, second phase, and the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire.*

Two things in the middle of the 13th century brought about a change of conditions. The first of these was the Mongol invasion of the Middle East, which also affected Anatolia. Although the Rüm Saldjūk army was defeated by the Mongols under Bayḡḡ Noyon near Köse Daḡ in eastern Anatolia (6 Muharram 641/26 June 1243), there was no actual conquest of the Rüm Saldjūk Kingdom, but the Mongols advanced as far as Kayserıyya and did much plundering. The Kingdom grew more and more into the role of a vassal state of the Mongols, first of Batı, the conqueror of eastern Europe, then of the Mongol rulers of Persia, the Ilkhāns. A new stream of Turkmens came to Anatolia with the Mongols, partly as their followers, partly because they had been driven by them from their original homes. They increased the partly-nomad Turkmens already present in Anatolia, and played an important part. Those of most immediate importance were the hordes led by Karaman (g.s.) b. Nōra Süfi (thus probably a member of a *dawıḡ* family). He founded a state on the border of Lycania and Cilicia around Ermenik (the ancient Germanicopolis) in the Taurus foothills. In 1277, Karaman's son, Muhammad Beg, tried to gain the dominion over the Rüm Saldjūk Kingdom by means of a pretender, by name of Dīmrī, and he conquered Konya for his protégé. But the town was re-taken by a Mongol retaliatory expedition, and Muhammad Beg had to retreat into the mountains with his Turkmens. Dīmrī escaped to the north-west, but he was beaten by Saldjūk troops on the Sakarya (Muharram 676/June 1277), taken prisoner, and executed.

The other important event was the reconquest of Constantinople by the Byzantines under the Emperor Michael VII Palaeologus, and the restoration of the Byzantine Empire. The power of the empire was, however, past. The emperors of the house of Palaeologus were increasingly engaged in the Balkan peninsula, and they had to ward off the conquests of the Latins. The remaining strength of the empire was taken up with this. The emperors were unable to devote the necessary attention to

conditions in Anatolia, and allowed the defensive system—built up by the Lascaris—to fall into decay. This made it easy for the Turkmens, who were pouring into Anatolia to pursue the holy war and to gain a hold on the western parts. These, with their greater fertility as compared with the inner region, had already tempted them. The Palaeologi were thus forced progressively to surrender their Anatolian territories, and the Turks—especially in the open country—met with hardly any resistance. By about 1300 most of western Anatolia was in Turkish hands, and there was now hardly a district in which there were no Turks among the non-Turkish inhabitants. Eventually, only a few fortresses such as Prusa, Nicaea and Nicomedia in Bithynia; Sardes, Philadelphia and Magnesia in Lydia and some ports such as Smyrna and Phocaea on the Aegean and Heraclea on the Black Sea remained in Byzantine possession, as isolated Byzantine possessions in Turkish territory.

The Turkish hordes generally operated independently of each other under their leaders who founded principalities (amirates) in the conquered districts. We know little about their early history, although one gathers that there were quite a number of such small semi-nomadic states, of which some were of only ephemeral importance. By about 1300, a small number of principalities had emerged. The most powerful of these was, to begin with, Germiyan [g.s.] in Phrygia, with Kütiyya (the ancient Cotteyaeum) as its capital. According to al-Umari, the Turkish amir of western Anatolia paid tribute to the Germiyan at some periods, and according to Ibn Batıṡṡa they were feared by them. Temporarily they extended their power into central Anatolia, in 1300 as far as Ankara (according to an inscription). Incidentally, they do not seem to have been Turkmens originally, but possibly Yazdı Kurds (compare Cahen, *Notes sur l'histoire des Turcomans d'Asie Mineure au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* in *JA*, 1951, 335-34; concerning the origin of the Germiyan, especially 349 ff.). A whole circle of principalities grew up around Germiyan and some of the founders of these seem to have come from Germiyan. The second greatest of these western Anatolian principalities at that time, was Dīndār [g.s.] in Paphlagonia, which was also in Anatolia (Castrum Comneni, today Kastamonu) as its capital, and the harbour town of Sinch (Sinop) also belonging to it. To the west of it, in northern Phrygia (around Eskişehir-Dorylaeum), was the principality of 'Oḡmūn with Söğüt as its centre. After the conquest of some fortresses there, it soon expanded as far as the Sea of Marmara. Still further west, in Mysia, was Karas [g.s.] with Balıkesir for its capital, and Bergiana (Prezanon), which included the coastal area of the Sea of Marmara as far as the Hellespont (Dardanelles). Next to this, in the Aegean coastal region, were Şarūkhān [g.s.] in northern Lydia, with Magnisia (Magnesia, now Manisa); Aydıñ [g.s.] in southern Lydia and the hinterland of Smyrna with Tire; and Menteghe [g.s.] in Caria, with Milas (Mylassa) and Muḡla. Later, in further south-western Anatolia, were Tokat [g.s.] in Lycia and Pamphylia with Adalia (Antalya), and Hamid [g.s.] in Pisidia with İsbarta.

At about the same time, the Rüm Saldjūk state ceased to exist. For some time past, the importance of the reigning sultans had been replaced by that of the Mongol governors who resided in Sivas. After the death of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III (707/1307 or 708/1308), the last of the shadow sultans, the empire simply became a province of



the Mongol Ilkhan Empire of Persia. By exploiting this condition, the Karamans [g.o.] tried to extend their territory from their Taurus foothills; they succeeded in conquering the town of Laranda (now Karaman), which they made their capital. They did not, however, succeed in taking Konya, as this was held by the Ilkhan governor Cöpin and his son Temürtaş. The latter actually extended the domain of the Ilkhan Empire by conquests in the west, where he fought with the Turkish petty princes. In the twenties, unrat in the Ilkhan Empire spread to Anatolia (Temürtaş fled to Egypt in 728/1328). The conquered territories were lost, and the Karamans succeeded in capturing Konya; but they kept Laranda as their capital. During the course of the 14th century, the Karamans extended their rule westwards in southern Anatolia, and thereby came into contact with the Turkish states which were developing in western Anatolia.

With the continuing decay of the Ilkhan Empire, the Mongol governors declared themselves independent as *amirs* (or *sultans*) of Rüm, and sought the support of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt. In 1375 the latter brought the kingdom of Lesser Armenia to an end, and a Turkmen dynasty, named Karaman [g.o.], founded a new state in its Cilician territory some afterwards, with Adana as capital, under Egyptian supremacy. Another family of Turkmen, the Dughdigh (Arabicised as Dhu 'l-Kadr [g.o.]) settled in the Eastern Taurus area including Elbistan, also under Egyptian supremacy.

In the west, the principality of Ghâzî 'Oghlân, and his descendants, the Ottomans (see 'Oghlân), extended more and more at the expense of the remaining Byzantine territory. After northern Phrygia and the territory as far as the Sea of Marmara had become Ottoman, the towns of Pруса (Brusa, Bursa, 6 April 1326), Nicæa (Iznik, 2 March 1331) and Nicomedia (İznik, now İzmit, 1337) fell into the hands of Orghân, the son of 'Oghlân. Brusa became his capital. Turning quarrels over the succession in the neighbouring principality of Karas to his advantage, Orghân annexed its territory (736/1336). Thus the whole southern coast of the Sea of Marmara became Ottoman territory, including the access to the Dardanelles. Acquisitions in Anatolia—usually peaceful ones—ended with the conquests on the Balkan peninsula under Murâd I. Soon after his accession (761/1360), he gained Ankara, which was nominally under the Mongol governors—and later under their successors the *amirs* of Rüm (Sivas)—but governed in actual fact by the heads of the guilds forming the *ahâl* [g.o.] union and practically independent. Some time later, he obtained the principality of Hamid (785/1381), thereby extending Ottoman territory considerably to the east and south. Murâd's son and successor Bâyezîd I simply annexed all Anatolian Turkmen principalities shortly after his accession (792/1389), including Karaman and the territory of the Mongol governors. This, however, resulted in an attack by Timûr, and Bâyezîd I was beaten in the battle near Ankara (79 Ebn 'l-Midjâs, 20 July 1402). Timûr reinstated the deposed Anatolian rulers, and, apart from the original Ottoman territory, only the original Mongol territory in the northeast of Anatolia remained in Ottoman hands. From there, Mehmed II unified the empire once more, and under Murâd II the western Anatolian principalities gradually merged with the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans' only remaining rival was Karaman. Murâd's son, Mehmed II, completed the rounding off of Ottoman

territory in Anatolia after having given it a natural centre by conquering Constantinople (29 May 1453). He put an end to the empire of Trebizond in 1461, and to the principality of Karaman in 1467, incorporating both into the Ottoman Empire. The attempt of the Turkmen ruler Uzun Hasan, of the House of the Ak Koyunlu, to force Mehmed II to cede the annexed provinces failed with the loss of the battle of Tercidân (east of Erzurûm, 878/1473). Ottoman rule in Anatolia was completed in the east when Mehmed's grandson, Selim I (921/1515) incorporated the principality of Dughdigh into the empire and conquered Diyar Bakr, and when he reduced the principality of the Ramadânogullarî (in Cilicia) to vassalage and gained the allegiance of the Sunnite Kurdish chieftains. In the north-east, his rule was further extended into the Caucasian foothills by campaigns of the Ottoman Sultans and their generals against Persia. These were generally directed towards the north-east (Süleymân, 940/1534, 955-56/1548-49, the *ser-asker* Mustafâ Pasha, 986/1578, against Georgia, and Murâd IV, 1045/1634, against Erivan). The whole of Anatolia henceforth remained undisputedly in Ottoman possession and has been taken over by the Turkish Republic in our day.

The only change in more recent years has been the transfer of the districts (*sandjaks*) of Karv, Ardahan and Batum which went to Russia in accordance with the Berlin Treaty of 13 July 1878, which in this respect confirmed the peace of San Stefano (3 March 1878). But the peace of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) returned this territory to Turkey. This was finally ratified (with the exception of the town of Batum and a small hinterland, today known as Abkhazistan) by the USSR in the Treaty of Moscow (16 March 1921), and by the then still nominally independent—Soviet Republics of Georgia, Armenia and Aghharbaydjan in the Treaty of Karv (13 Oct. 1921) (cf. G. Jäschke, *Geschichte der russisch-türkischen Kaukasusgrenze, Archiv des Völkerrechts*, 1955, 198-206). In the Franco-Turkish Treaty of 23 June 1939, Syria ceded the *sandjak* of Iskandariya to Turkey, and it was incorporated into her territory as the (63rd) *wilâyet* of Hatay.

### (3) Political division of Anatolia.

The earlier Ottoman organisation. The Ottoman Empire extended so quickly that it soon became necessary to divide it up into political regions. In the beginning these were simply districts of the feudal cavalry, 'standards' (*sandjaks* [g.o.] or *huyûd*) which were under a district commander of the 'standard' (*sandjak begi* or *mir-huyûd*). Under Orghân, the second Ottoman ruler, there were already four of these. (1) Sultan-uyûgi [g.o.] which incorporated the original territory of the Ottomans around Eskişehir and Söğüt; (2) Khudawendîkari (eli) 'the ruler's (land)', administered by the ruler himself, with Brusa and Iznik; (3) Kodja-eli [g.o.], the feudal tenure which Orghân had bestowed upon his general Akie Kodja, the Bithynian peninsula with Iznik; and (4) Karas-eli [g.o.] the former principality of Karas, with Balıkesir and Bergama. Under Murâd I, when the empire extended still further after the conquests in the Balkan peninsula and further regions of Anatolia, Ottoman territories were united into one province on each side of the straits (*eyâlet*, later *wilâyet*), each under a *paşa* with the title of *beglerbeg* (later *vali*). Thus, to begin with, there were two provinces, with the names of Anatolia (Anatoli), later pronounced

Anadolu) and Rumelia (Rûm-eli). Each of these was subdivided into districts of the feudal militia (*sandjak* or *huyûd*). When the Turkish principalities in Anatolia became part of the Ottoman Empire, they were made into such *sandjaks*, but retained their original names. The gradual growth of the empire is thus shown in its political divisions. Later on, when the Ottomans penetrated further to the east, under Bâyezîd I and particularly under Mehmed II and Selim I, newly acquired areas no longer became *sandjaks* of the *eyâlet* of Anadolu, but became provinces in their own right. Independent of this division into provinces and *sandjaks* was a separate division into judicial districts (*hukûd*), each of which was under a judge (*hâkim*). Furthermore, there were domains (*kâimiyat*) ruled by local dynasties, direct vassals to the Sublime Porte. This whole system was finally fixed by the laws of Sultan Süleymân I Kânî. According to this, (cf. the printed edition of Kâthî Çelebi, *Djâhân-nâmâ*; cf. also J. v. Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung* II, 249 ff. and P. A. v. Tschiedner, *Das Leben in den muslimischen Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, 62 ff.), there were the following *eyâlets* in Anatolia: (1) Adana (cf. also mentioned as *sandjak* of Aleppo); (2) Anadolu (630; cf. also ANADOLU the following art.); (3) part of Cilidî (408, later Akhiska in Transcaucasia); (4) Diyar Bakr (436); (5) Arzan-i Rûm (Erzerum, 422); (6) Karamân (Konya, 614); (7) Karv (407); (8) Dhaulakdiyya (Mar'ash, 598); (9) Rakka (Urfa, 443); (10) Siwas (also simply called Rûm 622); (11) Trabzon (Trebizond, 429); (12) Wîn (411); (13) *eyâlet* of Halab (Aleppo) the *sandjak* Antakya (505, the modern Hatay), Bire (Birejik, 597) and Kilis (598); (14) the western Anatolian *sandjaks* Hıfzâ (667), Karas (661) and Sughla (Izmir, 667), and the areas of İdel (Selefk) and Alaya with the island of Kubrus (Cyprus) on the south coast, which were under the Kapudûk Paşas. (See individual articles for each of the preceding.)

Basically, this division was adhered to until the beginning of the 19th century, although, at times of weak central governments, some local *paşas* rose and attempted to extend their rule beyond their original provinces. Such governors who acquired independent power and founded dynasties were known as 'Princes of the Valleys' (*devletler* [g.o.]). They were no longer civil servants, but vassals of the Sublime Porte, and—reluctantly—recognised as such, contributed troops to the sultan. Because they had an interest in the prosperity of their regions, their rule was generally a beneficial one, whilst the governors sent from the Porte changed frequently, and their main interest was to amass wealth for themselves as quickly as possible. The 18th century in particular saw the development of several such dominions in Anatolia, e.g. that of the Kara 'Oghman in the Aegean region, and that of the Çapan (or Çapar) in the area of the middle Kili İrmak (Halys).

*Tanzîmât*. In the course of his reforms, Mahmûd II abolished the dominions of the *derbeyes*. During the subsequent times of reform (*İzâmlat*), a new division of the empire on European lines was made by the law of 7 Jumâdî II 1241/8 Nov. 1864. Now there were provinces (*wilâyet*), administrative areas (*sandjaks*) and districts (*hukûd*); many of the old *sandjaks*, especially those of the *eyâlet* of Anadolu—later (1875) also those of the *eyâlet* of Erzerum—were raised to the status of *wilâyet*s and then subdivided into smaller *sandjaks*. Some other *eyâlets* of smaller size were assigned to a *wilâyet* as *sandjaks*. After some vacillation, Anatolia consisted of the following

*wilâyet*s (according to Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1896): (1) Adana; (2) Ankara; (3) Aydin (Smyrna/Izmir); (4) Bitlis; (5) Diyar Bakr; (6) Erzurûm; (7) the *sandjaks* of Mar'ash and Urfa of the *wilâyet* of Halab (Aleppo), as well as some *hukûd*; (8) some *hukûd* and *nâhiy*es of the *wilâyet* of Istanbul; (9) Kastamûn; (10) Khudawendîkari (Brusa); (11) Konya; (12) Ma'nûret al-'Azîz (Kharpûz, since 1880); (13) Siwas; (14) Trabzon; (15) Van; and the two independent *sandjaks*; (16) Hıfzâ; (17) İznid. [Articles on each of the preceding.] This division was kept—with some alterations—until after the First World War.

Under the Turkish Republic, the *wilâyet*s were abolished, and *sandjaks* were raised to *wilâyet*s. These were called it in the course of the language reform. Their number varied. On 30 October 1935, there were only 57 *wilâyet*s, at the end of 1935, a further 5 were formed (from the districts, *hukûd*, now *ilâle*, of the neighbouring *wilâyet*s); in 1939, Hatay was added (ceded by the French mandate of Syria, see above) as the 63rd. (The 65 provinces of January 1st 1940 with their districts at that time are enumerated by G. Jäschke, *Turkey*, Berlin 1941, 22-41. In 1953 Iraq was added as the 64th *wilâyet*. On January 4th 1954 the overall area of the Turkish state consisted of 64 provinces (of which only 4 are in the European part of Turkey, the other 60 in Anatolia) and 523 districts. Of the Anatolian provinces, however, Çankakkale is partly on European ground; the province of Istanbul, on the other hand, is mainly in Europe.

Geographically the provinces are grouped into the following 8 zones (*hâlze*) (the names in the modern spelling): (1) the Black Sea Coast: the provinces of Trabzon, Ordu, Rize, Zonguldak, Giresun, Samsun, Sinop, Kastamonu, Bolu, Çoruh; (2) the coast of the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean Sea: the Asiatic parts of the provinces of Istanbul (districts Üsküdar, Kadiköy, Beykoz, Adalar, Kartal, Sile, Yalova) and Çankakkale (districts Çankakkale, Ayvacık, Biga, Bayramic, Bozcaada, Ezine, Lapseki, Yenice), and the provinces Izmir, Kocaeli (Izmit), Aydin, Balıkesir, Bursa, Manisa, Muğla; (3) the Mediterranean coast, the provinces of Hatay (İskenderun), Seyhan (Adana), İgel (Selâfk), Antalya; (4) European Turkey: the European provinces of Istanbul (districts Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş, Sarıyer, Fatih, Eyüp, Eminönü, Bakırköy, Cankaya, Silivri) and Çankakkale (districts Eceabat, Gelibolu, Imroz), and the provinces Kırklareli, Tekirdağ, Edirne; (5) western Anatolia: the provinces of Denizli, Bilecik, Kütahya, Afyonkarahisar, Isparta, Burdur, Eskişehir—and since 1953—İşkil; (6) central Anatolia, the provinces Tokat, Çorum, Amasya, Kayseri, Malatya, Ankara, Çankırı, Yozgat, Sivas, Maraz, Niğde, Kırışehir, Konya; (7) south-eastern Anatolia: the provinces Gaziantep, Mardin, Urfa; (8) eastern Anatolia: the provinces Karv, Elazığ, Diyarbakır, Gümüşane, Erzurum, Erzurum, Siirt, Bitlis, Tunceli, Ağrı, Mus, Bingöl, Van, Hakkâri.

### (4) Population.

Turks and non-Turks. At the time of the Turkish conquest of Anatolia, it had already been Hellenised. The Hellenisation of the various old-Anatolian peoples (begun in Greek and Roman times) was completed during the course of Christianisation. Now, remnants of the old peoples (for example the Lazes), remain only in the mountains, especially those near the Caucasian foothills. Such areas are at the same time refuges in which ancient



religious communities, such as the Paulicians, survived as sects. By the time the Turks came, Anatolia was, however, on the whole Greek speaking and mainly adhered to the Byzantine Orthodox Church. Only the Armenians in the east, who were Monophysites (Gregorians), remained ecclesiastically apart from the Greeks and were not Hellenised. Being merchants, Armenians had probably spread towards the west as far as the capital, even in pre-Turkish times.

A new central-Asiatic race with a new religion, Islam, came to Anatolia with the Turks. In the beginning it may well have been a minority, compared with the Greeks, but, since it consisted of the ruling classes in the Turkish occupied territories, it succeeded in spreading. The reason for this was probably that many members of the old population, who had lost contact with their spiritual centre in Constantinople, felt this spiritual isolation, turned to Islam and were thereby assimilated to the Turks. Initially, this process was a very slow one. In any case, at the time when Marco Polo travelled through Anatolia in 1272, the inhabitants do not appear to have been Turkicised (cf. E. Oberhammer, *Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich*, Leipzig-Berlin 1917, 42). On the other hand, the documents of the Patriarchate of Constantinople prove clearly, as A. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien um XIV. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1903 shows, that, especially in the 14th century, when increased numbers of Turks occupied Anatolia, the Orthodox Christianity gradually receded, and with it the land gradually lost its Greek character. This may be due, on the one hand, to emigration from the Turkish occupied areas, but on the other hand also to assimilation to the Turks. Here one must distinguish, however, between the regions with long established Greek inhabitants, such as the western Anatolian coastal regions, which held on to Greek culture and Christianity with great tenacity (as also did those areas which had been under Greek rule for a long time, like Trebizond), and the central Anatolian regions with their only superficially Hellenised and Christianised population (especially in northeastern Anatolia, where the Persian Mongols, the Ilkhāns—who themselves had only taken to Islam since Ghāzān—ruled for some time with the true ardour of renegades). Christianity in Anatolia was hard hit by Timur, who—as everywhere else he appeared—let the Christian population feel his hardness and cruelty with a special severity.

The position of the Christians improved when Mehmed II granted the Greek Orthodox Church a secure position in the Ottoman state for political reasons after the conquest of Constantinople, and made it into a pillar of his empire side by side with Sunnite Islam. Thus the Christian communities, Greek (see 186f) as well as Armenian (see 186a) in Anatolia were freed from their spiritual isolation, and held their own until this day. The so-called system of the *millet*s [g.r.] according to which non-Muslim religious communities within the Ottoman Empire enjoyed considerable autonomy, saved these from further shrinking. In this manner, a *modus vivendi* evolved during the flowering of this empire which did justice to both Muslims and non-Muslims. In the 18th and 19th centuries, there was a positive revival of Anatolian Hellenism, and Armenians were still referred to as "The faithful nation" [i.e. faithful to the state] (*millet-i sadika*) in the 19th century. On the whole, linguistic and religious areas were identical, except in central Anatolia (in Konya and Kayseri), where the Greeks adopted Turkish as the

language of social intercourse and of the house (partly in Greek script), whilst the Armenians by and large accepted Turkish as the language of social intercourse (partly in Armenian script), whilst retaining Armenian—their ecclesiastical language—as the language spoken at home.

Apart from Turkish inhabitants, either city dwellers or peasants, there are—or were—nomad and semi-nomad elements as well as migrating shepherds in Anatolia, who belonged to Islam but were of differing languages and races: Turks, Kurds and Circassians. In the case of Turks (so-called Yürüks and Turkmens [g.r.]), their origin is debatable: they may be Turkmens who kept to their nomadic way of life, or remnants of races of varying origin which became Turkicised. By religion they are mostly 'Alawites, i.e. they confess to Shī'ite of some type or have at least Shī'ite leanings. The Kurds [g.r.] who are for the most part Sunnite Muslims, have a closed area of settlement in the south-eastern provinces. The Circassians (Çerkes [g.r.]), lastly, had mostly immigrated from the Caucasus at the time when Russo-Christian rule spread over the Caucasus. Apart from these, one frequently meets returned Muslim emigrants (*muhâdîrler*) all over Turkey especially from the Balkan countries, who preferred to leave a country with a Christian government and to seek a new home in Turkey which belongs to the *dâr al-islâm*. Those people are, however, not nomads but are assimilated by the town or country area in which they settle.

The comparatively amicable relations between Muslims and non-Muslims deteriorated when the western powers began to meddle in the affairs of Turkey in the 19th century. On the grounds of the treaty of Küçük Kaynardja (1774), Russia claimed the protectorate over the Christian Orthodox inhabitants of Turkey, and awakened anti-Turkish feelings in them. Coming from western Europe, nationalism gained ground amongst the Christian part of the population. The Turkish reaction to this was a dislike for these Christians which soon became hatred. The Armenians felt this most strongly, since they, as neighbours of Russia, were particularly under the suspicion of being in Russian service. The insistence on effecting the reforms laid down in the Berlin Treaty (1878) led to bloody clashes with the Kurds in the years 1894-96. In the First World War, following the Russian Revolution, the Caucasian army into the Van region, during which—according to Turkish opinion—the Armenian population behaved disloyally, the whole population was forcibly moved to Mesopotamia, and many of them perished. The remainder emigrated after the war. There was a war against the Greeks in 1919, when, supported by Great Britain, they occupied Smyrna and advanced as far as the Sakarya in 1921. The Turks under Mustafa Kemal Paşa beat the Greek army which retreated from Anatolia, and the greater part of the Greek population retreated with it. The remainder was exchanged by treaty (30 January 1923) for the Muslim inhabitants of Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace and the Greeks in Istanbul). Through this action Anatolia became a 99% Turkish and 99% Muslim country. With the exception of the Arabs living on the Syrian border, the small non-Turkish Muslim pockets will hardly be able to withstand Turkish influence indefinitely. One may also expect a gradual Turkicisation through military service and the influence of the schools among the Kurds, who have no cultural tradition of their own.

End of the 19th century. The statistics on p. 472 show the population of Anatolia during the last decade of the last century according to their religions, as given in the work of V. Cuiñet (see Bibl.) on the basis of the imperial and provincial *sâl-nâmes*. As there was no official census in Turkey at that time, the numbers are largely based on estimates and only to a small extent on actual figures. Additional inaccuracies come from the fact that the principle on which these statistics were based was not consistent throughout the various *vilâyet*s. For some of them we have detailed figures (in certain cases, even separate data for men and women), in others only summary ones. Thus, for example, the fact that Shī'ites and Yazdids are mentioned separately only in some *vilâyet*s, does not necessarily mean that there were none in some others. The statistics may, nevertheless, serve to give at least a rough picture of the composition of the population of Anatolia before the First World War.

Abbreviations:

w = *vilâyet*, s = *sandjâh*, k = *kadâ*,  
n = *nâhiye*, i.s. = independent *sandjâh*.

In the case of the administrative areas belonging to the *vilâyet*s of Istanbul and Halab (Aleppo), Ist. and Hal. respectively is added in brackets.

	Turks	Kurds	Arabs	Circassians	Total
w. Adana . . . . .	93,200	39,600	12,000	13,200	158,000
w. Diyarbakr . . . . .	310,644	—	8,000	10,000	328,644
Anat. districts of w. Halab . . . . .	177,048	119,588	123,536	4,500	424,672
w. Ma'mûret al-'Azîz . . . . .	267,616	54,650	—	—	322,266
w. Van . . . . .	30,500	210,000	—	500	240,000
	879,008	424,138	143,536	27,500	

If one adds up the members of non-Islamic religions, then the composition of the population—according to religious—appears as follows for the time of Cuiñet (actual figures and percentages):

Muslims	9,676,714	78.9 %
Non-Muslims	2,577,745	21.1 %
Total	12,254,459	100.00 %

Of the non-Muslims, 2,410,272 were Christians of various denominations.

These statistics show some peculiarities which need explanation. Particularly obvious is the high number of "Copts" (2,867), but only a very small number of these are actual Copts (i.e. Christian Egyptians); by Copts (Kibit), the Turks usually mean the non-Muslim gipsies. These "Copts" should therefore be added to the number of gipsies (2,867 + 37,752 = 40,619). The Column "foreigners" includes

	Syrian Orthodox	Syrian United	Chald. United	United Maronites	Total
w. Adana . . . . .	20,900	—	—	4,539	25,439
w. Diyarbakr . . . . .	4,990	—	—	—	4,990
w. Bitlis . . . . .	—	—	2,600	—	2,600
Anat. distr. of w. Halab . . . . .	—	13,687	9,865	—	23,552
w. Van . . . . .	—	—	6,002	—	6,002
Total . . . . .	25,890	13,687	18,467	4,539	62,583

not only real "foreigners" (*edinebi*) but also immigrated Ottoman citizens (*yahangîl*), whose home is not in the *vilâyet* in question. The two categories are mentioned separately only for the *vilâyet* of Erzurum (1,220 *edinebi* + 4,986 *yahangîl* = 6,206).

The proportion prevailing there (1:4) might also prove right for the other *vilâyet*s.

Concerning the races, the statistics show clearly that at that time the Armenians (Gregorian, Catholic and Protestant Armenians together 1,142,775) were concentrated in some eastern *vilâyet*s (Erzurum, Bitlis and Sivas, to a lesser extent also in Van, Ma'mûret al-'Azîz, Diyar Bakr and Adana), although even there they were a minority in comparison with the Muslim part of the population (Turks and Kurds). In the case of the Greeks, one must add to the Orthodox (1,042,612—25,890 Syrian Orthodox = 1,016,722 Greek Orthodox) the Uniates (16,811), who were included under Catholics in these statistics; their total was thus 1,033,533. They were concentrated in the districts belonging to the *vilâyet* of Istanbul, and in the *vilâyet*s of Khudâvendigâr, Aydin (Isair) and Trabzon, to a lesser extent in Sivas, Konya, and Adana. They also, were a minority everywhere compared with the Muslims (and in Sivas and Adana also as compared with the Armenians). It is more difficult to arrive at the racial composition of those elements of the population which are described as Muslims, because the statistics generally give merely a total figure. Only for some eastern *vilâyet*s are the races for the Sunnite Muslims given as follows:

	Kurds	Arabs	Circassians	Total
w. Adana . . . . .	39,600	12,000	13,200	158,000
w. Diyarbakr . . . . .	—	8,000	10,000	328,644
Anat. districts of w. Halab . . . . .	119,588	123,536	4,500	424,672
w. Ma'mûret al-'Azîz . . . . .	54,650	—	—	322,266
w. Van . . . . .	210,000	—	500	240,000
	424,138	143,536	27,500	

One can only surmise to which race the occasionally separately mentioned members of Muslim sects (usually Shī'ites) belonged (total number 533,677). In Van and Bitlis they are given as Yazdids (5,400 + 3,863 = 9,263), and in the case of Diyar Bakr it is stated that the figure 6,000 for members of different sects also includes Yazdids. We may assume that these were on the whole Kurds. Of the others, by far the greater part probably consisted of Shī'ite Turks, in Arab areas probably also Nusayrî Arabs. If one deducts the figures for Shī'ites and Yazdids as well as those of Arabs, Kurds and Circassians there remains the figure 8,537,863 for supposedly Sunnite Turks, which still contains small elements of Shī'ites, non-Turkish Sunnites, and also Lazs, and emigrants from former Ottoman provinces which had come under Christian rule (*muhâdîr*). To the number of Arabs a considerable number of Christians of various denominations should be added as follows:

	Syrian Orthodox	Syrian United	Chald. United	United Maronites	Total
w. Adana . . . . .	20,900	—	—	4,539	25,439
w. Diyarbakr . . . . .	4,990	—	—	—	4,990
w. Bitlis . . . . .	—	—	2,600	—	2,600
Anat. distr. of w. Halab . . . . .	—	13,687	9,865	—	23,552
w. Van . . . . .	—	—	6,002	—	6,002
Total . . . . .	25,890	13,687	18,467	4,539	62,583

With the addition of the total of the non-Uniate Jacobites, Chaldeans and Nestorians (168,706) one arrives at the total of 231,486 for Christian Arabs of differing denominations; of these, however, some Chaldeans and Nestorians, as well as Uniate



	Muslims (* Shi'ites and Yaqdils)	Greek Catholics and Syr. Orthodox	Armens, Gregorian	Armens, Catholic	Armens, Protest.	Other Catholics (Union and Latin)	Sun-Unitate Jacobines and Nestorians	Jews	*Coptic*	Gypsies	Others (For- eigners)	Total
a. Adalar (Isl.)	2,990	5,010	1,500	300	—	993	—	—	—	—	—	16,503
w. Adana	135,000	67,100	69,300	—	16,600	4,339	—	—	16,650	—	4,400	403,539
w. Adana	788,310	34,000	81,061	8,784	2,431	—	—	478	992	—	—	892,994
w. Antakya	45,000	1,000	2,084	2,100	2,431	6,500	4,500	266	—	992	—	62,850
w. Antalya (Hail.)	1,092,334	208,283	14,103	717	265	1,127	—	22,316	—	—	56,062	1,399,477
k. Aydin (Imari)	65,085	4,000	2,000	2,000	—	6,500	5,906	857	—	—	—	86,088
k. Aynab (Hail.)	5,444	2,150	1,000	—	60	92	—	2,938	—	—	494	8,484
k. Beykoz (Isl.)	106,583	17,583	1,636	—	—	—	2,600	6,190	—	—	—	129,438
w. Beldibi	244,000	210	125,600	3,840	2,950	—	—	372	—	—	—	398,645
w. Bilis	328,644	14,240	57,590	10,170	11,069	206	38,974	1,269	—	3,000	—	477,462
w. Diyar Bakr	16,000	3,725	120,273	12,022	2,072	—	—	6	16	—	6,206	14,792
w. Erzurum	300,782	5,100	85,354	3,033	604	4,146	3,000	3,225	—	—	150	310,230
k. Gebze (Isl.)	14,000	1,000	1,142	1,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	75,319	17,159
w. Kizilirmak (Broua)	1,295,593	310,711	1,442	2,017	—	—	—	2,500	1,315	—	—	2,313,339
w. Iskenderun (Hail.)	12,500	4,000	10,480	200	100	—	—	450	—	—	—	222,760
w. Kadifioy (Isl.)	159,745	8,715	10,480	200	100	—	—	120	—	—	3,800	32,411
w. Kadioglu (Isl.)	16,799	3,187	4,060	—	—	—	—	290	—	—	—	45,183
k. Kartal (Isl.)	10,870	5,000	2,200	180	—	—	—	180	—	—	50	18,300
k. Kastamonu	992,679	41,507	2,617	1,300	—	2,274	3,000	747	2,079	—	—	1,015,912
k. Kilis (Hail.)	713,520	1,000	1,547	1,300	—	—	—	600	400	—	100	1,088,000
w. Konya	959,200	73,000	9,700	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,088,000
w. Mankiret	325,566	650	61,683	1,675	6,060	—	—	—	—	—	—	375,314
w. Marash (Islamist)	345,566	650	61,683	1,675	6,060	—	—	—	—	—	—	375,314
w. Marash (Hail.)	334,348	5,595	1,890	2,461	7,806	18,595	8,918	368	—	—	—	179,853
w. Sivas	559,680	76,068	129,313	10,477	30,433	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,086,015
k. Shile (Isl.)	11,750	3,200	800	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,750
w. Trabzon	806,700	193,000	44,100	2,300	800	400	—	400	—	—	—	1,042,700
w. Urfis (Hail.)	122,095	5,060	2,000	2,437	2,000	2,738	6,218	307	—	—	—	137,855
w. Uskudar (Isl.)	71,420	12,180	15,000	230	210	—	—	5,100	700	—	200	103,690
w. Van	—	—	79,000	708	290	6,002	91,000	5,000	600	—	—	430,000
Total	9,676,744 (9,142,037)*	1,042,612	977,079	19,749	85,347	56,179	168,706	47,269	2,867	37,752	796,555	12,254,459

Chaldeans have to be added to the Kurds. In these statistics, one may assume that the 2,675 Catholics not contained in the number of the Uniates were largely Latins, i.e. occidentals (missionaries etc.) with or without Ottoman nationality, who had not been included under the heading "foreigners".

Thus, for the time of Cuinet we have roughly the following picture of the ethnic composition of Anatolia:

	Sunnites	Sh'ites	Yazidis	Christians	Jews	unknown and foreigners	Total
Turks	8,547,863	462,414 ?	—	—	—	—	9,010,277
Kurds	424,138	—	9,263 ?	?	—	—	433,401
Arabs	143,536	62,000 ?	—	233,280 ?	—	—	436,816
Chirassians	27,500	—	—	—	—	—	27,500
Greeks	—	—	—	1,031,533	—	—	1,033,533
Armenians	—	—	—	1,142,775	—	—	1,142,775
Jews	—	—	—	—	47,299	—	47,299
Gipsies	—	—	—	—	—	40,619	40,619
Unknown and foreigners	—	—	—	2,675	—	70,555	82,230
Total	9,143,937	524,414	9,263	2,410,272	47,299	120,174	12,254,459

The figures for several official censuses for the Turkish Republic are already available; namely, those of 1927, 1935, 1940, 1945, and 1950, but the last of these is given as only "provisional" (*muvakkat*). The particular figures can be found in the individual articles on the capitals of the various *ils* (*vilâyet*), enumerated above, ch. 3, last paragraph.

The total for 1945 is 18,790,174 and 20,934,670 for 1950: 1,496,612 and 17,293,362 in European Turkey and Anatolia respectively in 1945; 1,598,255 and 19,336,415 in European Turkey and Anatolia respectively in 1950.

Definite figures for some towns exist for 1950. According to these, there are 5 towns of over 100,000 inhabitants: Istanbul (1,000,022), Ankara (286,781), Izmir (230,508), Adana (117,799), and Bursa (100,007); and the following 6 towns between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants: Eskişehir (88,459), Gaziantep (72,743), Kayseri (65,489), Konya (64,509), Erzurum (54,360), Sivas (32,269).

There are also figures for the distribution of the town and the country population for 1945 and 1950. The percentage rate, worked out for the purpose of this article, is:

	1945	1950
in towns . . . . .	4,687,102 : 25.06 %	5,267,695 : 25.16 %
in the country . . . . .	14,103,074 : 74.94 %	15,666,975 : 74.84 %
	18,790,174 : 100.00 %	20,934,975 : 100.00 %

At Turkey's overall area of 767,119 sq. km., this produces a density of population of 24.49 per sq. km. in 1945 and 27 in 1950. The official percentage of towns and country population (both as a whole and according to individual *wilayets*) is only available for 1935. According to this, there were then 55% of the population in towns and 45% in the country. When these figures are put into the country's population figures, one must be in mind that according to the law of 1930, every place with a municipal government (*belediye teşkilatı*) counts as a town. Such a body is to be set up both in all places of more than 2,000 inhabitants and also (irrespective of this minimum figure) in all *kazas* centers, where some have had a population of less than 2,000. If judged by these standards, the proportion would alter in favour of the country population.

H. Louis, *Die Bevölkerungskarte der Türkei*, Berlin 1940, bases his work on the publication of the census in Turkey in 1935. It can be seen from the map that the three most densely populated areas in Anatolia are the following: 1) the western Anatolian coastal strips together with the river valleys, leading into the interior, especially that of the Maeander (Büyük Menderes Cay), 2) the coastal area of the Black Sea, 3) Cilicia, the new sandjak of

Idia	Christians	Jews	unknown and foreigners	Total
10637	7	—	—	9,010,277
	231,289?	—	—	433,401
	—	—	—	436,845
	—	—	—	37,560
	1,033,533	—	—	1,033,533
	1,142,775	—	—	1,142,775
	—	47,299	—	47,299
	—	—	40,619	40,619
	2,675	—	79,555	82,230
263	2,410,272	47,299	120,174	12,254,459

Hatay, and the plain towards the Euphrates, which, geographically, belongs to northern Syria; compared with this, the centre with its steppes and the mountainous north-east show the lowest density of population. The distribution is caused by the nature of the country, and has probably always been roughly the same—at least since the Middle Ages—and should remain so at any rate in the near future. Figures for religious and linguistic divisions are only available for 1943 (21 *Ehim 1945 Genel Nüfus Sayımı, Recensement général de la population du 21 octobre 1945, Türkiye Nüfusu, Population de la Turquie*, vol. 65, Ankara 1950). According to these, Turkey can be divided up linguistically as follows:

people with	
Turkish as mother-tongue	16,598,017 : 88.14 %
a non-Turkish language as mother-tongue	2,192,006 : 11.66 %
Unknown	131 : —
Total	18,790,174 : 100.00 %

1945	1950
4,687,102 : 25.06 %	5,267,695 : 28.16 %
14,103,072 : 74.94 %	13,666,975 : 74.84 %
18,790,174 : 100.00 %	20,934,075 : 100.00 %

According to religions:

Islam	18,497,801 : 98.45 %
non-Islamic religion	292,152 : 1.55 %
unknown denomination	221 : —
Total	18,790,174 : 100.00 %

Of the non-Muslims there were:

Christians	202,044 : 69.16 %
Jews	76,965 : 26.34 %
Without religion	361 : 0.12 %
Other denominations	12,352 : 4.31 %
Total	292,152 : 100.00 %



These rough statistics, when compared with those at the end of the last century as given by Cuinet, clearly show an enormous change which was caused by the events during and shortly after the First World War.

More detailed information can be gained from the following division into both categories which is reproduced here in shortened form.

Language	Muslims	Catholics	Orthodox	Protestants	Gregorians	Christians of unknown denomination	Jews	Without religion	Others	Unknown	Total
Turkish	16,546,681	4,935	10,705	1,099	17,581	3,847	11,836	298	1,017	18	16,598,017
Kurdish	1,469,370	21	57	—	43	16	23	9	5,408	3	1,476,562
Arabic	235,668	964	7,071	637	92	617	1,027	1	1,517	3	247,204
Greek	9,898	4,546	73,083	6	177	460	290	2	80	3	88,680
Circassian	66,681	1	5	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	66,691
Armenian	3,396	2,295	2,880	979	42,019	4,301	124	40	136	9	56,179
Yiddish	602	22	57	14	43	16	50,216	5	42	2	51,019
Laz	46,979	2	3	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	46,987
Georgian	39,879	21	23	—	—	1	159	—	—	2	40,076
Other languages											
Albanian											
Bosnian											
Judeo-Spanish	78,447	11,214	19,951	2,342	305	10,712	13,286	196	4,582	181	118,608
Tatar etc.											
Unknown	47	8	4	2	—	70	—	—	—	—	131
Total	18,497,801	21,950	103,839	5,243	60,260	10,782	76,995	561	12,582	221	18,790,174

With regard to the totals of the division into languages, the following facts stand out from the figures given for individual *uluslar*, (the numbers are again given in round figures). The Kurdish speaking people live together densely in the south-eastern *vilayets*, and form the large majority in the *vilayets* of Aghl (80,000), Bingöl (42,000), Bitlis (43,000), Diyar Bakr (180,000), Hakkari (30,000), Mardin (155,000), Mus (33,000), Siirt (100,000), and Van (79,000). In Tunceli (48,000) and Urfa (123,000) they have a slight majority over the Turks (43,000 and 103,000), and in Elazığ (82,000), Kars (66,000), and Malatya (141,000), they form a large minority. The Arabic speaking people are everywhere in the minority compared with the Kurds; 60,000 in Mardin compared with 155,000 Kurds, but in the majority compared with the Turks (15,000); 40,000 in Urfa compared with 123,000 Kurds and 103,000 Turks; 100,000 in Hatay, where the largest number of Arabs live, compared with 130,000 Turks. The smallest number of Turks is found in the *vilayets* of Mardin and Siirt (in each ca. 15,000) and in Hakkari (4,000). Greeks, Armenians and Jews (including ca. 10,000 who speak Judeo-Spanish) live almost exclusively in Istanbul. There are also some 7000 Greeks in Çanakkale and some 12,000 Jews in Izmir; there are only extremely small groups elsewhere. Other small racial groups, such as the Circassians (most of these in the *vilayet* of Kayseri), Lazs, and Georgians (both of these especially in the eastern Black Sea provinces), form a very small minority in all these places in comparison with the Turks.

The division into religions is also very informative. Above all, it is worth noting that all those religious groups which have Turkish as their mother tongue have increased. In the case of Islam, no distinction is made between Sunnites and Shī'ites. But those

mentioned under "other denominations"—with the exception of a few foreigners of unusual religious denominations—are largely Kurds (probably of extreme Shī'ite sects or Yazidis) who either do not count themselves members of Islam or are not recognised as such by the Sunnites and Moderate Shī'ites. Those giving Georgian as their mother-tongue are Lazs, and not real Georgians—who are

Christians—as can be seen clearly from the fact that most of them give Islam as their religion. The relatively high figure for Catholics and Protestants under "other languages" obviously refers to foreigners. The number of Jews under "other languages" includes the 10,866 who speak Judeo-Spanish. The Gipsies, who in Cuinet's statistics were given with the rather large figure of 40,000, have disappeared altogether from the new statistics. As they do not speak a different language from that of the people amongst whom they live, nor profess a different religion, one may assume that they are present, unrecognised, in the various groups of the statistics.

#### (5) Development of Communications.

Being a thinly populated peninsula with steeples in the centre and few usable harbours, Anatolia has little traffic. Long distance traffic from Istanbul to the east mostly tries to bypass Anatolia, preferring the difficult overland roads the easier sea routes to Trabzon on the Black Sea, or to Ayas at the mouth of the Djeyhan in the Middle Ages, to Payas in the Gulf of Issus under the Ottomans, and to Iskenderun (Alexandretta) in recent times. Throughout the ages the main caravan tracks led from these harbours to the interior of Asia. Traffic inside Anatolia was generally only of local importance. There were always through-roads, usually leading to or from Istanbul which was regarded as the undisputed metropolis even at times when Anatolia did not regard it as its political capital.

Three types of such roads can be distinguished in Turkish times: (1) Military roads; (2) Caravan routes; (3) Postal routes. All three types follow the nature of the country and circumvent the interior steppes, passing through adjoining regions, but keeping to the inside of the border-mountains. They prefer the edges of the steppe where animals

can graze and where the towns are situated. The routes follow roughly the same lines, though they do not coincide altogether.

The main Military road (on which the armies of the sultans moved in the 16th and 17th centuries against Persia and Caucasus) described a large arc south of the central Anatolian steppe from Üsküdar via Izmit, Eskişehir, Akgözü, to Konya and from there via Ereğli, Niğde, Kayseri to Sivas, then via Erzurum and Erzurum to the east. When Selim I moved against Syria, he too went to Kayseri and only from there through the Ant-Taurus to Elbistan and Mar'ash. The route from Ereğli through the Cilician Gate (Gölek Boğazı) to Adana and further into Syria was usually avoided, particularly for difficult transports, and especially because the Gölek Boğazı is easy to block. In 1618, for instance, Murad IV sent the artillery he needed for the capture of Baghdad by sea as far as Payas, only transporting it overland from there onwards with the aid of buffaloes. The northern Caravan route (to be mentioned below) was used for small detachments only. The reports of the Imperial armies often give the sites of the camps on the main Military road, but these are frequently at a considerable distance from the inhabited places along the route.

The most important of the Caravan routes is the one leading diagonally across from Üsküdar via Gebze, then, after crossing the Gulf of Izmit from Dil to Iznik, following roughly the Military route via Eskişehir to Konya and Ereğli, then through the Cilician Gate (Gölek Boğazı) to Adana and thence to Syria or Mesopotamia. The route via Antakya to Syria is, at the same time, the route which pilgrims took (via Damascus) to Mecca and Medina, the holy places of Islam, and it is often mentioned in this capacity. There is also a northern caravan route of some importance which goes from Üsküdar to Amasya via Izmit, Bolu and Tosya (or, bypassing Amasya, via Niksar), and thence to Erzurum and Erzurum and further to the east; alternately, from Amasya via Tokat, Sivas and Malatya to Diyarbakır and further to Mosul and Baghdad; from Üsküdar onwards this route is called Baghdad Yolu. An older variant of this—used by Busbeque in 1555—follows the diagonal route as far as Eskişehir and then goes on to Amasya via Ankara. Lastly, the north-south route which bypasses the central Anatolian steppe to the east is of some importance. In Seljuk times, this route branched off at Konya, the capital, and went right across the steppe, past the beautiful Sultan Kham and Aksaray to Kayseri and on to Sivas, where it connected with the northern route as well as with those leading to the east (Erzurum and Erzurum). In Karahan and Ottoman times it went from places at the foot of the Taurus, Laranda (Karaman), or Ulukışla via Niğde to Kayseri. In western Anatolia, only roads leading from Izmir seem to have had some local importance and little is reported of them.

Postal routes, like the caravan routes, were divided into three "arms" (*kol*), for this term, which is also used as a technical term in administrative language, cf. Reibowicz, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1942; H. W. Duda, *Balkanische Studien*, Vienna 1949, 98 ff. note 8). In the 17th century, according to the *Divân-nümâ*, the middle one of these "arms" embraced the entire length of the diagonal route together with its offshoots as far as Damascus; the right one, the whole west Anatolian network, and the left, the northern caravan route

with its extension as far as Baghdad. According to reports of postal routes in the 19th century, the diagonal route forms the right arm together with the western Anatolian network, the northern caravan route the central one, whilst the left one does not leave the central one until Tokat, whence it embraces the eastern network to Erzurum. (Concerning the development of road and route-nets in Anatolia prior to the 19th century, cf. F. Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegnetz nach Osmanischen Quellen*, Leipzig 1924; *idem*, *Die Verkehrs- und das Wegnetz Anatoliens im Wandel der Zeiten*, *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, 1926, 202-6).

The word "roads" can be applied to these routes only in a limited sense, as roads were not built with foundations; except where Roman roads could still be employed, they are simply much used and well-trodden tracks, along which caravans, wells, and bridges have been erected by benefactors for the comfort of the travellers.

This tripartite route-system has been gradually falling into disuse with the expansion of railways in the 19th and 20th centuries, though the railway follows roughly the track of the old routes—at least in the case of the diagonal road.

The building of railways naturally did not replace the building of roads, which also has been encouraged (to a certain extent) since the *langavut* period. (For the means devised to finance the building of the roads: *corvée* and road-tax, "*yol parası*", see G. Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, IV, Oxford 1906, 245 ff., "Routes et Prestations").

The history of railway building in Anatolia began with the granting of a concession to a British company for a railway from Smyrna (Izmir) to Aydin in 1856, and the line was opened 10 years later. In the last decades of the Ottoman Empire the following sections were opened in Anatolia:

- (1) British Company: Smyrna (Izmir)—Aydın 1866.—Dinar 1889. (with branchlines to Ödemiş, Tire, Söke, Denizli and Çeşme)—Eğirdir 1912;
- (2) Franco-Belgian Company (British until 1893): Smyrna (Izmir)—Manisa—Kasaba 1866.—Ağaçlı 1873 (?).—Aydın Kara Hisar 1897; Manisa—Soma 1890.—Ballıoğlu—Bandırma 1912; (3) Narrow Gauge Railway Mudanya-Brusa (Bursa) 1875, rebuilt by a Franco-Belgian Company in 1892 (not in use now); (4) German Company (since 1888) Anatolian Railway: Haydar Paşa—Izmit 1875 (with a branchline to Adapazarı)—Eskişehir—Ankara 1892; Eskişehir—Aydın Kara Hisar (with a branchline from Aylavut to Kütahya)—Konya 1896; Baghdad Railway: Konya—Bulgurlu 1904; Toprakale—Iskenderun 1913; Bulgurlu—Adana—Toprakale—Aleppo (Halep)—Nusaybin 1918 (with a branchline to Mardin); (5) British Company: Mersin—Adana 1886 (1906 taken over by the Baghdad Railway Company).

Thus the railways consisted—with the exception of the short stretches which linked Adana and Brusa with their harbours—on the one hand of a network based on Smyrna (Izmir) and opening up the rich agricultural districts of western Anatolia, on the other hand of a diagonal line, with a branch to Ankara, which linked the capital to the far-distant Arab provinces of Mesopotamia, Iraq and Syria. Plans for a railway system in the Black Sea area and in north-eastern Anatolia broke down because of Russian opposition.

Existing railways were nationalised at the beginning of the Turkish Republic in 1920 ("Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Demiryolları"), and the system has since been extended and based on Ankara as



its centre. This extension began as early as 1912 with a narrow-gauge railway Ankara—İrmak—Yahol Han 1915—Yerköy and in the Kayseri direction 1925. This was later extended in wide gauge.

There are the following lines: (1) Ankara-Kayseri 1927—Sivas 1930—Erzincan 1938—Erzurum 1939—Horasan 1950—Sarıkamış under construction. Here it will link up with the broad gauge railways which the Russians built in 1896: Gümrük (Alexandropol, now Leninakan) via Kars to Sarıkamış. The line was continued in narrow gauge from there to Mamahatın via Erzurum during the First World War. (2) Ilıca (in the Gulf of Edremit)—Edremit—Palamutluk (narrow gauge) 1924 (unused since 1953); (3) Fevziye (on the Adana—Aleppo line)—Malatya 1917—Diyarbakır (Diyarbakır) 1915 (with a branchline to Elazığ)—Kurtalan 1941; (4) Samsun—Çarşamba (narrow gauge) 1926 (no longer in use); Samsun—Amasya—Sivas 1932; (5) Kütahya—Balıkesir 1932; (6) Kayseri—Uludağ (more specifically: Boğazköprü—Kardedeş) 1933 (since then through-trains to Syria and Iran—the Taurus Express—go via Ankara and no longer via Konya); (7) Irmak—Filyos 1935—Zonguldak 1937—Kozlu 1943—Ereğli planned, under construction; (8) Işık as Çamlı; (8) Afyon Karahisar—Karakaya (near Dinar), Baladiz (near Egridir)—Burdur, and Bozdoğan (also near Egridir)—İsparta 1936; (9) Çetinkaya (on the Sivas—Erzincan line)—Malatya 1937; (10) Elazığ—Genç 1947; — Muş under construction — Tavan (on Lake Van) planned; (11) Köprübaşı (near Fevziye)—Maras 1948; (12) Nallı (near Fevziye)—Gaziantep 1953 — Karkamış, formerly Döğüşbaba (on the Euphrates, on the Aleppo—Nusaybin line) under construction. (Cf. G. Jäschke, *Geschichte und Bedeutung der türkischen Eisenbahnen*, Zeitschrift für Politik, 1942, 559-566; concerning the Baghdad railway in particular, cf. H. Bode, *Der Kampf um die Bagdadbahn* 1903-1914, Breslau 1941; K. Huber, *Die Bagdadbahn*, Berlin 1942.)

The increased use of motor-transport and the consequent decrease in rail-transport, has already resulted in the closing of local lines (Mudanya—Brusa, Ilıca—Edremit—Palamutluk) and threatens to outdo rail-transport in Turkey. As a result there has been a fresh emphasis on road construction (Mabul Gökdoğan, *Straßenbau und Verkehrspolitik in der Türkei*, Stuttgart 1938). In recent years the road network in Turkey has been greatly expanded—partly with American aid—and there are now numerous bus lines (cf. R. W. Kerwin, *The Turkish Roads Programme*, The Middle East Journal, 1950).

Since the Anatolian rivers are not navigable, there is no real inland shipping (except in the case of the greater rivers just above their mouths, and the use of rafts of inflated skins (*balık* [g.s.] on the Tigris). Nor are there any artificial waterways. The project of linking the Sabandja lake with the Sakarya on the one side and the Gulf of İzmit on the other by canal has been considered twice (1909/1910-1911 and 1964/1965), but on neither occasion did it get past the preliminary stages (see SABANDJA).

Conditions for sea shipping are not very favourable either: the north and south coasts have few natural harbours, and the many bays along the west coast are of little use because the river estuaries are silted up by the rivers (cf. above, ii, "Aegean Anatolia"). Apart from Smyrna (İzmir [g.s.]), the most important harbour, there are a few—admittedly unimportant—harbours along the west coast, such as Foça [g.s.] (Phocaea); in ancient times

and in the Middle Ages it was a considerable rival of the port of Smyrna, because it jutted further out into the sea; Bodrum (Halicarnassus), and Fethiye (Makri), which are only of importance for coastal shipping. In recent times only Smyrna has had any importance as an overseas harbour, though Foça also held a similar position in the Middle Ages.

Unlike the ports on the western coast which can be easily reached by the river valleys from the centre of Anatolia, the few ports on the north and south coasts are difficult to reach. On the north coast, Sinop (Sinope) [g.s.]—rather inaccessible because of its mountainous hinterland—and Samsun [g.s.] (Amisus) are of some importance, particularly in traffic with the Crimea which lies opposite. Samsun, situated in the plain between the mouths of the rivers Kizil Irmak (Halyk) and Yeşil Irmak (Irta), has grown more important than Sinop, particularly in the 19th century. On the south coast, the ports of Antalya [g.s.] (Adalya, the ancient Attaleia and Satalia of the Crusaders) and Alanya [g.s.] ('Alā'īyya, Galeson in Byzantine times, the Candelier of the European merchants in the Middle Ages) have been of importance ever since the Middle Ages. More recently, the harbour of Mersin (now İmran [g.s.]) has also been of importance since it was built in 1832. The only points for landing which would link up with traffic across the continent were actually those at the "base" of the Anatolian peninsula: La Tarabun [g.s.] (Trebizond) on the Black Sea, and one on the Mediterranean (in the Middle Ages Ayas [g.s.], Laiaze of the crusaders, Payas in Ottoman times, now Iskenderun, Alexandretta); caravans from Trebizond went to Ağharbaydjan and Persia, and from the above-mentioned Mediterranean ports to northern Syria (Aleppo), Mesopotamia (Mosul) and 'Irak (Baghdad).

#### (6) Economy.

Anatolia has always been an agricultural country and it has largely remained one in spite of the considerable incipient industrialisation. In the centre—wherever the land is fit for more than grazing—the main crop is grain, whilst fruit and vegetables are cultivated in the coastal areas and near rivers where gardens can be watered with the aid of water-wheels. Fruit-growing is characteristic particularly of the districts on the Black Sea (apples from Amasya are famous throughout the country, and Çarşu, now Giresun, is supposed to be the original home of the cherry); hazelnuts are grown in many areas. Along the Aegean Sea (with its Mediterranean vegetation) figs, olives, melons (watermelon, *karpuz* and sweet melon, *kavun*), and mulberry trees and vines are grown. The woods in the Black Sea area (especially the "Wood Sea", *aghaş denizi*, of former times, near Sabandja) were extensive enough to meet not only the local demands for timber for building, wood for burning and charcoal but also part of the need of the capital, which got the remainder of its supply from woods on the European side.

The steppes in the centre of the country are most propitious for the raising of cattle. Various types of sheep and goats are found here, including Angora. Anatolian horses have been famous since the Middle Ages. The 'Akzitiye stud farm in Phrygia used to breed the horses for the Ottoman cavalry. The growing of silkworms is a speciality of north-west Anatolia thanks to the cultivation of the mulberry tree. Brusa is the centre for this and for the silk-spinning industry.

The silver mines of Gümüş-khâne between Trabzon and Erzurum, and those of Gümüş Hâğdji Köy near Amasya, must be mentioned as the oldest; here, too, were the mints for silver coins. Copper was found in Küre (between İnebolu and Kastamonu) and in Ergani Ma'den (near Diyarbakır). Near Eskişehir is the only area in the world where "Meerschaum" is found. This was in great demand in the 19th century for pipes (*hile*) and similar articles, but since "Meerschaum" is no longer in fashion now, production is much reduced.

Arts and crafts have been playing a considerable part, especially ceramics (introduced from Persia as early as the Saldjûk period). Magnificent examples of Rûm Saldjûk ceramics are found, especially in buildings in Konya. The golden age of Ottoman ceramics began when Selim I brought craftsmen back from Tabriz during his Persian campaign (1514), and settled them in Istanbul and Izmit. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Izmit was the centre for the production of the classical Ottoman pottery with blue and green as the main colours, contrasting effectively with the interperennial bright "Bols-red". The tiles produced in Izmit adorn mosques and *türbes* in Istanbul, as well as the Topkapı Sarayı. Of vessels, the plates (known as "Rhodes plates" to the trade) are the best known and most exported product of the potteries. In later years (under Ahmed III) potteries were founded in the Tekir Sarayı in Istanbul and in Kütahya (concerning Turkish Pottery manufacture in Izmit and other places, cf. K. Otto-Dorn, *Das islamische Izmit*, Berlin 1941, 109 ff., and the list of sources by R. Anhegger, *ibid.*, 165 ff.). (Cf. also KHAZAFI).

Besides pottery, textile goods form a characteristic part of Anatolia's produce, particularly rugs. The Turks brought this skill from the east and developed it (mainly in Istanbul, Kula, Gökdeğir and others) partly in the Persian tradition, partly in a more popular style. The rugs best known in Europe are those made in the 19th century, which are loosely knotted, with long threads and known as "Smyrna" rugs after their harbour of export, although they were actually made in the Uşak area. The Anatolian silk industry was also of great renown; the centre for which was in Brusa. Its products, of which the brocades with woven gold and silver threads are of an especially high artistic quality, were chiefly woven for the court and for higher society. (Concerning Turkish textile production cf. Tabin Öz, *Türk Kumay ve Kadifeleri*, Istanbul 1946-51; İden, *Türk Textiles and Velvets*, Ankara 1950). Lastly, mentioned, such mats cover the mosque floors in winter. (Cf. also BİŞAT, NASTIJI).

Trades in towns were organised into guilds. These guilds (*şeyh*, from the singular *şeyh* [g.s.]) which were "fraternities" somewhat similar in character to a darwish order, maintained and guarded traditions, quality and integrity. In cases of accident, their members were protected against loss by the spirit of comradeship, and the resultant esprit de corps gave them a power to which—at times—even the government had to yield. The guilds were supervised by the clerk of the market (*muhatab*), who, in turn, was subordinate to the Kâdî—an institution belonging to the *şar'ia*. (Concerning Turkish guilds cf. Osman Nuri, *Mecidi-i Umur-i Beldiyehi*, I, Istanbul 1922, chap. *Esnaf*, 479-788; Taeschner, *Die Zünfte in der Türkei, Leipzig Vierteljahrsschrift für Südosteuropäer*, 1941, 172-88; and Sivar; concerning economy in early Ottoman times in general, cf. Afet İnan,

*Aperçu général sur l'Histoire économique de l'Empire Turc-Ottoman*, Istanbul 1941.)

The ancient guilds began to disintegrate in the 19th century when state reform (*tanzimat*) opened the way to commercial reforms on western European lines and to a western legal code (partly by direct adoption of European legal codes). Finally the guilds were formally dissolved on 13 Febr. 1325 M./26 Febr. 1910 (the *Gedik* on 16 Febr. 1328 M./1 March 1913). Modern organisations (grouped into trade unions in 1943) took their place. Improvements were made in agriculture, as for instance the irrigation to bring water to the Konya plain carried out by the Bagdad Railway (1907-1913), and new cultivations (e.g. cotton in the Cilician plain) were introduced.

Attempts to bring Anatolia into line economically with European countries have been particularly marked since the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Cf. (amongst others): Orhan Conker and Emile Witout, *Kreditelement économique et industrialisation de la Nouvelle Turquie*, Paris 1937; Ahmed Oguz, *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung in der Türkei*, Berlin 1940; Schweickert Raschid, *Die türkische Landwirtschaft als Grundlage der türk. Volkswirtschaft*, Berlin-Leipzig 1932; M. Thornburg, G. Spy, G. Soule, Turkey, *An Economic Appraisal*, New York 1949; *The Economy of Turkey. An Analysis and Recommendations of a Development Program*, Baltimore 1951.

*Bibliography*: al-Idrisi, *Kitab Rüdîr ve Nushat al-Muhtâş* (K. Müller, *Mappe Arabica*, iv, Stuttgart 1927, plates 35, 45, 55; *Edrisi Geographia Arabica*, Rome 1592, fol. 113v-114v, 139r-142r, 153v-154v; P. Amélie Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Paris 1896-40, II, 129, 302, 301); Yâkûti, *Ma'djam al-Buldân* and al-Kawâbir, *Ağâr al-Buldân*, s.v. al-Rûm; Abu 'l-Fida', *Takwim al-Buldân* (*Geographie d'Abou'l-fida*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840; French translation by Reinaud, Paris 1848, continued by St. Guyard, Paris 1883); Ibn Batûta (Arabic text with French translation: *Voyages d'Ibn Batûta*, by Delémery and Saguenet, II, Paris 1877, 254-354; French translation with annotations by Delémery in *Nouvelle Année des Voyages*, Dec. 1850-April 1851; English translation by H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Battûta, Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, London 1953, 123-66); al-'Umarî, *Masâlik al-Ahâr* (F. Taeschner, *Al-'Umarî's Bericht über Anatolien*, Leipzig 1929; incomplete translation by Quatremère in *Notice d'Extraits*, xlii, Paris 1858, 251-284); Hamûd Allâh Mustawfî, *Nushat al-Kulûb*, (*The geographical part of Nushat al-gulub*, ed. by G. le Strange, Leyden-London 1915, English translation 1919); G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 127-58; F. Taeschner, *Ein altemannischer Bericht über das vorislamische Konstantinopel*, in *Anadolu* (Ist. Univ. Or. Nâzîli, N. S. I, Rome 1949, 185-5, 1st Univ. Or. Nâzîli, N. S. I, Rome 1949, 185-5); Muhammad 'Ashkîr's *Mansûr al-'Adâim* (1006/1398) brings to an end the geographical literature of the mediaeval type. In the geographical section, he begins with a Turkish translation of what older authors—al-Idrisi, Abu 'l-Fida' and others—have said; in the case of places which he himself has visited, this is followed by an account of what he has seen. These reports, which are interspersed throughout the work, are of the greatest importance and would merit an edition, especially since they were used as a basis for later works.

Those original works by Ottoman writers which have survived are more revealing than any of the



above-mentioned ones: Piri Râis, *Kütâb-i Bahriyye*, İstanbul 1935, Facsimile edition, from p. 746; Kâtib Çelebi (or Hâdîdî) *Kıllıfı*, *Dişân-nümâ*, of which there are two recensions (cf. Tauschner, *Zur Geschichte des Dişân-nümâ*, MSOS, 1926, II, 99-111; idem, *Das Hauptwerk der geographischen Literatur der Osmanen, Kâtib Çelebi's Dişân-nümâ*, *Imago Mundi* 1933, 44-7). The former exists only as an unfinished fragment in a series of manuscripts of which the Viennese one, Mss. 359 (Cat. Flügél, II, No. 1282) is the most important because it seems to have been the working copy of the great scholar. Abû Bakr b. Bahrâm al-Dimashqî (d. 1102/1691) continued Kâtib Çelebi's work and wrote a description of Anatolia, a manuscript of which is in London (Brit. Mus., Or. 1038). İbrâhîm Mutaferrika printed the *Dişân-nümâ* (10 Muh. 1145/23rd July 1732; an inaccurate translation into Latin by Matth. Norberg, *Gühan Numa, Geographia Orientalis*, 2 vols, Lund 1818; French translation by Armin, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, in Louis Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Histoire des découvertes géographiques*, III, Paris 1846, 637 ff.), in which he completed the part left unfinished by Kâtib Çelebi from the work of Abû Bakr (p. 422 ff., Norberg, I, 618 ff.). Thus this book—which is one of the incunabula of Turkish printing—became a geographical description of Asia. Of Anatolia, however, (Norberg, I, 359 ff.) only the parts on the *eyâlet* of Van (p. 411) are actually by Kâtib Çelebi, everything else, i.e. the description of the *eyâlets* Kars (inserted, p. 407), Erzurum (422), Tîrâbon (429), Diyarbakır (436; from here onwards Norberg, II, Cülcia (1661, 610) Karaman (614), Sivas (622), and Anadolu (631), is by Abû Bakr.

Further sources of information on Anatolia in Ottoman times are the few reports of travellers in Turkish and in Arabic. Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhat-nâme* (i-vi, badly edited in İstanbul 1374/6, vii and viii slightly better in 1928, ix and x (in Latin script) in 1933 and 1938; the first two volumes were rather inadequately translated into English from a bad manuscript by Joseph von Hammer, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, London 1834, 1846 and 1850), which we have only as a rough sketch. Those parts of the work which relate to Anatolia (vols ii-v) are brought together in Tauschner, *Das Anatolische Wegennetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, 3, Leipzig 1924, 37-39, 44. Further, there are the travel guides for pilgrims going to Mecca, such as Muhammad Adib's work of 1193/1779 (printed in İstanbul 1232/1817, French translation by Bianchi, *Histoire de Constantinople à la Mecque*, Paris 1825, in which the date of writing is erroneously given as 1093/1682, cf. Tauschner, *Wegennetz*, I, 82).

To complete the picture given by the above-mentioned Oriental travel accounts, there are those by Europeans (the older ones listed by L. Vivien de Saint-Martin in *Histoire des découvertes géographiques*, III, 743-808; vi, Bibliographie; the more recent by Selâk Trak, *Türkiye'ye ait Coğrafî eserler genel bibliyografyası*, I, Ankara 1942, 38-9).

A wealth of information may be expected from documents kept in Turkish archives, but research into these is only in its beginning (Ömer Lütfî Barkan, *Türkische Imperatorluk devletlerinin nüfus ve arazi tahkiri ve Hukuk maksus defterleri*, İstanbul 1941, and XV ve XVI'inci asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda aile tahkimi hususî ve mülk esasları, *Kanunlar*, İstanbul 1943).

Finally, the official handbooks (*Devlet-i 'Alîyye-i 'Osmâniyye Sâli-nâmesi*) which are available for the 68 years from 1263 H/1847 to 1334 Mâliyye/1918 and the *Sâli-nâmesi* of the individual *vilâyet*s may be used as sources of information for the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. (The Imperial and Provincial *Sâli-nâmesi* of that time, together with other sources, are exploited in the important work by V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris III, 1892, III/IV, 1894). Under the Turkish Republic, a similar series was started (*Türkiye Dişân-nâmesi Devlet Sâli-nâmesi*), but only 5 volumes have appeared so far (I, 1926; II, 1927; III, 1928; IV, 1929; V, 1930), and they do not contain nearly as much material as the earlier *sâli-nâmesi* of Ottoman times. Lastly, the lists of place-names may serve as sources for the most recent period, for instance: *Son teşkilât-ı mülkiyye Köylerimizin adları*, İstanbul 1928; *İdare Taksimatı*, 1942, İstanbul 1942; *Türkiye'de Meskun Yerler Kılavuzu*, 2 vols., Ankara 1946 and 1950.

#### Key to the map of Anatolia in the 17th century.

This map is based on the *Bevölkerungskarte der Türkei*, 1 : 4,000,000, by H. Louis, 1938. The entries are mainly taken from the *Dişân-nümâ* of Kâtib Çelebi, and therefore reflect conditions in Anatolia in the 17th century. The map shows the approximate limits of the *eyâlets* (within the present-day boundary of Turkey) as red broken lines, and in some cases those of the *hüdud* (or *sandjak*), within the *eyâlets*, as red dotted lines. It further shows the more important roads indicated by Kâtib Çelebi, Ewliyâ Çelebi and other sources, the main communication routes as double red lines, other routes as single red lines. The names of towns (in red) and of mountain peaks (in black, with heights in metres) are abbreviated, and the following list explains these abbreviations; first comes the name as it appears in the *Dişân-nümâ* and in the other sources of the 17th century, then, in brackets, the antique or Byzantine name (if known), the modern name (if different from the old one), the administrative district (except in the case of towns which have gained importance only later and therefore do not occur in the ancient sources; these have been put in brackets on the map), and finally the reference to the squares of the map. The names of the capitals of *eyâlets* are printed in small capitals, those of the capitals of *hüdud* in italics. General abbreviations: E. = Büyükk; G. = Çay, Çaylı; D. = Dağ, Dağlı; E. = Eyyalet; G. = Göç, Göçü; I. = İrmak; L. = Liwa; N. = Nehir, Nehri. For practical reasons, the transliteration has been based on modern Turkish orthography.

A D = Ağrı Dağı (Ararat : I 3)  
A d = Adana (E. Adana : F 4)  
A d c = Adilcevaz (E. Van : K 3)  
(A d p) = Adapazarı (D 2)  
A D y = Amid/Diyarbakır (Diyarbakır; E. Diyarbakır : I 4)  
A E = Akşehir (Enderes : L. Karahisar-ı Şarki : H 2)  
A h = Ahiska (K 2)  
A h l = Ahlat (E. Van : K 3)  
A k = Antakya (Antiochia; L. Antakya : G 4)  
A k h = Afyon Karahisar (L. Karahisar-ı Şahid : D 3)  
A k s = Aksaray (E. Karaman : E 3)  
A l = Alaya (\*Ala'ya, Alanya, Kalonoros; L. Işel : E 4)  
A l a = Ala Dağı (F 4)  
A h s = Alapehr (Philadelphia; L. Aydin : C 3)

A m = Amasya (Amaseia; E. Sivas : F 2)  
A m r = Amara (Amastis; L. Bolu : F 2)  
A n k = Ankara (Ankyra, Angora; L. Ankara : E 3)  
A n t = Antalya (Attaleia, Adalya : L. Tekke : D 4)  
A r d = Ardahan (E. Çıldır : K 2)  
A s = Ayaş (E. Adana : F 4)  
A ş = Akşehir (Philomelion; E. Karaman : D 3)  
A t b = Aynab (Gastanep; E. Mar'as : G 4)  
A t p = Ahlat (L. Gerniyan : D 3)  
A v = Artvin (E. Çıldır : I 2)  
A y = Ayas (L. Ankara : E 2)  
A y a = Ayasoluk (Ephesos, Hagios Theologos, Selçuk; L. Aydin : B 4)  
B b = Bayburt (E. Erzurum : I 2)  
B b D = Binboğa Dağı (G 3)  
B d = Bodrum (Halkarnassos; L. Menteşe : B 4)  
B d r = Burdur (L. Hamid : D 4)  
B e = Bendeğeli (Heraclea Pontica, Ereğli; S. Bolu : D 2)  
B g = Biga (L. Biga : B 2)  
B i r = Bire (Birecik; L. Bire : H 4)  
B k = Balıkesir (Balikesir; L. Karat : B 3)  
B l = Bolu (L. Bolu : D 2)  
B l e = Bilecik (L. Sultan Öyüğü : C 2)  
B o s D = Boz Dağı (Tmolos; C 3)  
B p = Bıyaz (L. Ankara : D 2)  
B r = Brusa (Prusa, Bursa; L. Hudavendigar : C 2)  
B r g = Bergama (Pergamon; L. Karat : B 3)  
B s = Bitlis (E. Van : K 3)  
B s = Beyşehir (E. Karaman : D 4)  
B t = Batum (I 1)  
B u z D = Boz Dağı (H 3)  
B y = Bolvadın (L. Karahisar-ı Sahib : D 3)  
B y = Bayezid (Doğu Bayazit; E. Kars : L 3)  
Ç a y = Çay (L. Karahisar-ı Sahib : D 3)  
Ç k = Çerkeş (L. Kankir : E 2)  
Ç l = Çıldır (E. Çıldır : K 2)  
Ç l a = Çaldıran (E. Van : K 3)  
Ç m = Çorum (E. Sivas : F 2)  
Ç m k = Çölemerik (E. Van : K 4)  
Ç r l = Çorlu (Teurillon : B 2)  
D g = Divriği (Tephrike; E. Sivas : H 3)  
D n = Denizli (L. Gerniyan : C 4)  
D v = Develi-Karahisar (Develi; E. Karaman : F 3)  
D z = Düzce (L. Bolu : D 2)  
E c = Erzurum (E. Van : K 3)  
E d = Edirne (Adrianopolis; B 2)  
E d r = Edremit (L. Karat : B 3)  
E g a = Ergani (E. Diyarbakır : H 3)  
E g r = Eğirdir (L. Hamid : D 4)  
E k = Ermenek (L. Işel : E 4)  
E k b = Elbistan (E. Mar'as : G 3)  
E l a D = Elma Dağı (E 3)  
E l m = Elmalı (L. Tekke : C 4)  
E m = Erzurum (Arzan al-Röm, Erzurum; E. Erzurum : I 3)  
E m = Erzincan (E. Erzurum : H 3)  
E r = Ereğli (Heracleia; E. Karaman : F 4)  
E r D = Erciyes Dağı (Argaios; F 3)  
E ş = Eskişehir (L. Sultan Öyüğü : D 3)  
F c = Foça (Phokaia; L. Saruhan : B 3)  
F n = Finike (L. Tekke : D 4)  
G b z = Gëğbüze (Dakilyaza, Gebze; L. Kocaeli : C 2)  
G D = Geyik Dağı (E 4)  
G d s = Gürdes (L. Saruhan : C 3)  
G h = Gümüşhane (Gümüşane; E. Erzurum : H 2)  
G h A = Güzelhisar-Aydin (Aydin; L. Aydin : B 4)  
G k = Çelebi Kalesi (E. Adana : F 4)  
G l = Gemlik (L. Hudavendigar : C 2)

G l b = Gelibolu (Gallipoli, Kallipolis : B 2)  
G n = Gönen (L. Biga : B 2)  
G n k = Gönysuk (L. Sultan Öyüğü : D 2)  
G r = Gerde (L. Bolu : E 2)  
G r s = Giresun (Kerasus; E. Trabzon : H 2)  
G r u = Gümri (Alexandropol, Leninakan : K 2)  
G y = Geyve (L. Sultan Öyüğü : D 2)  
G z = Gediz (L. Gerniyan : C 3)  
H b = Hacı Bektaş (E. Karaman : F 3)  
H d = Hasan Dağı (F 3)  
H h = Hekim Hanı (E. Sivas : F 3)  
H k = Hisn Kef (Hisn Kayfa, Hasankeyf; E. Diyarbakır : I 4)  
H k = Hersek (L. Hudavendigar : C 2)  
H l = Halep (Aleppo : G 4)  
H m = Hisn-i Mansur (Hüsünmansur, Adliyan; E. Mar'as : H 4)  
H m = Hamâ (G 2)  
H n s = Hırs (E. Erzurum : I 3)  
H o y = Hıy (L 3)  
H p = Harput (Hartbirt, Elazığ; E. Diyarbakır : H 3)  
H r = Harrân (Karrhai; E. Rakka : H 4)  
H r s = Horasan (E. Erzurum : K 2)  
H s = Hims (Emesa, Hims : C 3)  
H s k = Hasanakale (Pasinler; E. Erzurum : I 2)  
I b = İnebolu (L. Kastamonu : E 2)  
I D = Ilgaz Dağı (E 2)  
I g = Iğdır (E. Karaman : D 3)  
I m = İznik/İznik (Nikomedeia, İzmit; L. Kocaeli : C 2)  
I n = İznik (Nikaia; L. Kocaeli : C 2)  
I o = İnönü (L. Sultan Öyüğü : D 3)  
I r = İzmir (Smyrna; L. Suğla : B 3)  
I s = Işel (E. Sivas : F 2)  
I s k = Iskenderun (Alexandria, Alexandretta; L. Antakya : G 4)  
I s p = İsparta (L. Hamid : D 4)  
K a = Kız adası (Scala nuova; L. Aydin : B 4)  
K b = Karabufar (Karapınar; E. Karaman : E 4)  
K c = Kalecik (L. Kankir : E 2)  
K D = Kolu Dağı (C 4)  
K g = Kığı (E. Erzurum : I 3)  
K g l = Kangal (E. Sivas : G 3)  
K H = Kadın Hanı (E. Karaman : E 3)  
K h = Kemah (E. Erzurum : H 3)  
K h s = Karahisar-ı Şarki (Şahin Karahisar; L. Karahisar-ı Şarki : H 2)  
K k = Kırkin (E. Sivas : E 3)  
K k l = Kırkiliş (Kırkiliş; B 2)  
K k r = Kankir (Çankir; L. Kankir : E 2)  
K l = Kula (L. Gerniyan : C 4)  
K l h = Koyulhisar (L. Karahisar-ı Şarki : G 2)  
K l s = Kils (L. Kils : G 4)  
K i t = Kilit (E. Erzurum : H 2)  
K m = Kastamonu (L. Kastamonu : E 2)  
K m t = Kirmastı (L. Hudavendigar : C 4)  
K v = Konya (Ikonia; E. Karaman : E 4)  
K r = Kure (L. Kastamonu : E 2)  
K S = Kal'at Sultanîye (Çanak Kalesi; L. Biga : B 2)  
K s = Kars (E. Kars : K 2)  
K s r = Kayseri (Kaisareia, Kayseri; E. Karaman : F 3)  
K s r = Kostantiniye (Konstantinopolis, İstanbul : C 2)  
K ş = Kışehir (E. Karaman : F 3)  
K ş D = Keşiş Dağı (Ulu Dağ, Olympos of Bithynia : C 2)  
K ş D = Keşiş Dağı (H 3)  
K t = Kütahya (Kotayna; E. Anadolu, L. Gerniyan : C 3)



Km = Kaşman (E. Kars : K 2)  
 Lb = Lüleburgaz (B 2)  
 Ld = Laranda (Karaman : E. Karaman : E 4)  
 Lf = Lefke (Luska, Osmanlı; L. Sultan Öyüğü : C 2)  
 Lt = Latakiye (Ladikeia : G 5)  
 Mb = Membiç (G 4)  
 Mc = Mucur (E. Karaman : F 3)  
 Md = Medetsiz Dağı (F 4)  
 Md = Muduru (L. Bolu : D 2)  
 Mdn = Mudanya (L. Hüdavendigar : C 2)  
 Mi = Meyâfrikto (Silvan : E. Diyarbeker : I 3)  
 Mg = Muğla (L. Menteşe : C 4)  
 Mgn = Magnesia (Magnesia, Manisa : L. Saruhan : B 3)  
 Mhç = Mihaliç (Karacabey : L. Hüdavendigar : C 2)  
 Mk = Mahri (Fethiye; L. Menteşe : C 4)  
 Mi = Milas (L. Menteşe : D 4)  
 Mik = Malkara (B 2)  
 MB = Malatya (Melitene; E. Mar'as : H 3)  
 Mla = Malazgird (E. Van : K 3)  
 MN = Ma'sarrat an-Nu'mân (G 5)  
 Ma = Mar'as (Maras; E. Mar'as : G 4)  
 Md = Mardin (E. Diyarbeker : I 4)  
 (Msi) = Mersin (F 4)  
 Mas = Musul (K 4)  
 Mss = Misis (Mopsuestia; E. Adana : F 4)  
 Mus = Mus (E. Van : I 3)  
 Mv = Manavgat (L. İçel : D 4)  
 Mz = Merzifun (E. Sivas : F 2)  
 Nb = Nusaybin (Nisibis; E. Diyarbeker : I 4)  
 Nğd = Niğde (E. Karaman : F 4)  
 Na = Niksar (Neokaisaria; L. Karahisar-ı şarki : G 2)  
 (Nv) = Nevşehir (F 3)  
 Oc = Osmancık (E. Sivas : F 2)  
 Or = Ordu (E. Trabzon : G 2)  
 Ps = Payas (Baia; E. Adana : G 4)  
 Ra = Ra's ul-'ayn (E. Rakka : I 4)  
 RU = Rohi'ul (Edessa; E. Rakka : H 4)  
 Rv = Revan (Erivan : L 2)  
 Rz = Rize (E. Trabzon : I 2)  
 Sb = Sabanca (Sapanca; L. Kocaeli : D 2)  
 Sc = Sürüş (E. Rakka : H 4)  
 SD = Sultan Dağı (D 3)  
 Sf = Selefke (Seleukeia; Silifke; L. İçel : E 4)  
 SG = Seydi Gazi (Nakoleia; L. Sultan Öyüğü : D 3)  
 Sg = Söğüt (L. Sultan Öyüğü : D 3)  
 Sh = Sivrihisar (L. Ankara : D 3)  
 Sis = Sis (E. Adana : F 4)  
 Sk = Siverek (E. Diyarbeker : H 4)  
 Sp = Sinop (L. Kastamonu : F 1)  
 Ss = Samsun (Amisus; E. Sivas : G 2)  
 Sol = Söğür (Samsun; L. Kars : C 3)  
 St = Sirt (Sirt; E. Diyarbeker : I 4)  
 Sv = Sivas (Sebastia; E. Sivas : G 3)  
 Şk = Şarkışla (E. Sivas : F 3)  
 Şl = Şile (L. Kocaeli : C 2)  
 Tc = Tercan (Manabatur; E. Erzurum : I 3)  
 TD = Tekeli Dağı (G 2)  
 Td = Tadmur (Palmyra : H 3)  
 Tf = Tefen (L. Hamid : D 4)  
 Trk = Tiflis (L 2)  
 Th = Turhal (E. Sivas : G 2)  
 Tk = Tokat (E. Sivas : G 2)  
 Tkd = Tekirdağ (Rhaidestos, Rodosto : B 2)  
 Tr = Tire (L. Aydın : B 3)  
 Tks = Trabzon (Trapezus; E. Trabzon : H 2)  
 Trş = Tarabulus-ı Şim (Tripolis : G 3)  
 Ts = Tosya (L. Kankir : F 2)

Tss = Tarsus (Tarsos; E. Adana : F 4)  
 Tş = Tavşanlı (L. Gerniyan : C 3)  
 Tt = Tortum (E. Erzurum : I 2)  
 Tv = Taivan (E. Van : K 3)  
 Ub = Ulubarda (L. Hamid : D 3)  
 Uk = Ulukışla (E. Karaman : F 4)  
 Ur = Urmiya (L 4)  
 Uy = Usak (L. Gerniyan : C 3)  
 Ük = Üsküdar (Skutari; C 2)  
 Vst = Vostan (E. Van : K 3)  
 YD = Yıldız Dağı (G 2)  
 Yş = Yenisehir (L. Hüdavendigar : C 2)  
 Yv = Yalova (L. Hamid : D 3)  
 (Y4) = Yozgat (F 3)  
 Zb = Zafraholu (L. Kastamonu : E 2)  
 (Zd) = Zonguldak (D 2)  
 Zl = Zile (E. Sivas : F 2)  
 Zr = Zara (E. Sivas : G 3)

(F. TAESCHNER)

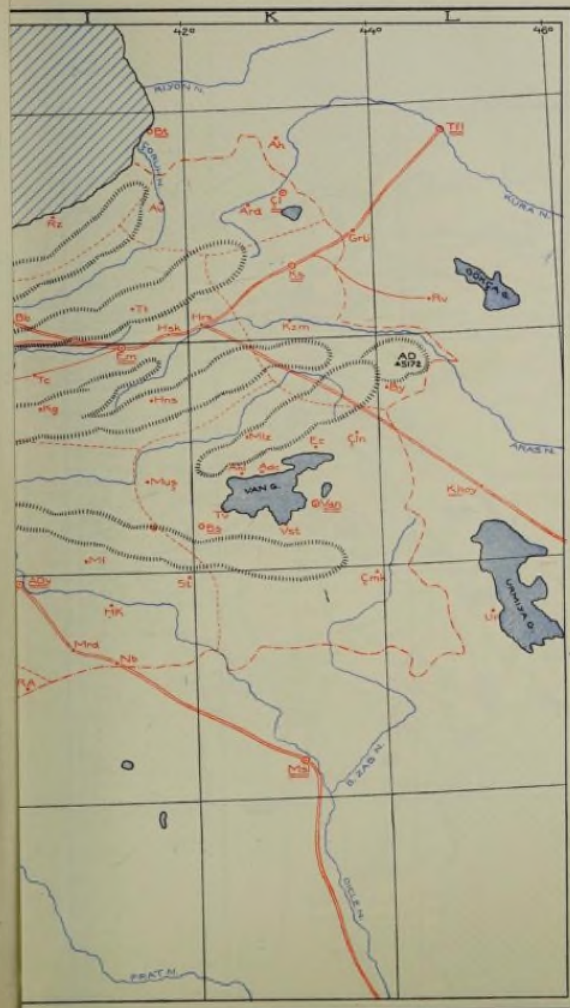
ANADOLU. In the time between the 15th and the 18th century, this was the name applied to the province (*eyâlet*) comprising the western half of Anatolia [cf. preceding article] and embracing largely the western Anatolian Turkish principalities. At the beginning, Ankara was the capital and the seat of the governor (*beglerbeg*), later it was Kütahya. The *eyâlet* of Anadolu contained the following military districts (*sandjak* or *liud*) which were partly former principalities (in the order given by Katib Celebi in *Dihân-nümâ*): 1) Gerniyan with Kütahya as its capital; 2) Sarukhan with Magnesia (now Manisa); 3) Aydin with Tire; 4) Menteşe with Muğla; 5) Tekke with Antälyä; 6) Hamid with İsbarta; 7) Karahisar-ı Şâhib with the capital of the same name (later Atıyan Kara Hisâr); 8) Sultan Öyüğü (often in the corrupted form of Sultan Öni) with Eskişehir; 9) Ankara with the capital of the same name (also called Engürü); 10) Kankir with the capital of the same name (now Çankir); 11) Kastamonu with the capital of the same name (now Kastamonu); 12) Bolu with the capital of the same name (now Bolu); 13) Khudâwendigar with Bursa (Bursa); 14) Kodja-eli with Izniomid (later Izmit, Izmit). In addition there were the following *sandjaks* which were under the Kapudan Pasha: 1) Karas with Balıkesir; 2) Bığla with the capital of the same name and Ka'le-i Sultaniyye (or Çanak Ka'lesi); 3) Sığla with Izmir. [Cf. individual articles on each of the preceding.]

When other *eyâlets* besides Anadolu were formed in the Asiatic part of Turkey, the term Anadolu was loosely applied to the whole Asiatic half of the empire, inasmuch as there was in addition to the "Military Judge" (*kâdi 'asker*, pronounced *kazasker*) of Rumelia as highest judge in the European part of the empire, also such a one for the Asiatic half. The latter had to accompany the Pâdişâh on his campaigns into Asia. Besides the "accountant" (*defterdar*), i.e. the Minister of Finance, in Rumelia there was also one in Anatolia whose post, however, became a mere sinecure in comparison with the former.

The law of 7 Djumâdâ 1281/5 Nov. 1864, concerning *wilâyet*s, dissolves the excessively large *eyâlet* of Anadolu, raised the *sandjaks* of Khudâwendigar, Aydin, Ankara and Kastamonu to the status of *wilâyet*s, and assigned the remaining *sandjaks* to these.

Bibliography: Kâtib Celebi, *Dihân-nümâ*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 630 H. For further bibliography cf. ANADOLU, preceding article.

(F. TAESCHNER)





**ANADOLU HIŞÂRİ**, a fortress (also known Güneşli Hisâr, Yenî, or *Alâ Hüsrî*) the narrowest part of the Bosphorus, built by Süleyman I in 1527/1528 in order to cut off communications between Byzantium and the Black Sea. I. 'Aşîkpaşa-zâde, ed. Giese, Leipzig 1928, 61, 11, 131; Negri, ed. Taeschner, 1, Leipzig 1951, 90; Bihaghi, *Ta'rih*; Solak-zâde, *Ta'rih*, Istanbul 1908, 64; Sa'd al-Din, *Tadh al-Fa'wâ'id*, Istanbul 1279, 1, 128; Müneddim-başı, *Şahâ'ir al-Âkâ'id*, Istanbul 1285, 110. Some improvements were made by Mehmed II during the erection of Rümeli Hisârî [q.v.] in 1452/1453 (hence he is wrongly named the founder of Anadolu Hisârî cf. Kâtib Çelebi, *Siyâhat-nâme*, 1, 664). Anadolu Hisârî played an important role before the battle of Varna, during the passage of Murâd II's army from the Anatolian to the European shore (cf. Negri, loc. cit.; Sa'd al-Din, 379; Müneddim-başı, 358; Lutfi Paşa, *Amîrîkâ-âli-â-Othmân*, Istanbul 1311, 117). After the conquest of Istanbul, the fortress lost its military importance, and when further changes in political power made it necessary to protect the Bosphorus again, Murâd IV built fortifications at Rümeli Kavagı and Anadolu Kavagı in order to repel the incursions of the Cossacks. The fortress is described by Ewliyâ Çelebi (*Siyâhat-nâme*, loc. cit.); after a long period of neglect, it was thoroughly restored in 1928. The sub-district called Anadolu Hisârî (already mentioned by Ewliyâ Çelebi), has about 1000 inhabitants (including Kanlıca and Çubuklu). The rivulets Güneş and Kâğız Su, known as the Sweet Waters of Europe, were formerly one of the most popular places for excursions from Istanbul, often mentioned in literature. Here, between the fortress and Kanlıca, stands the "maison de plaisance", the only surviving part of a villa built by Amîdî-zâde Husayn Paşa towards 1695, and one of the few remaining examples of early Ottoman civil architecture.

**Bibliography:** S. Top, *The Castles on the Bosphorus*, Oxford 1930, 125 ff.; H. Hogg, *Türken-Burgen am Bosphorus und Hellespont*, Dresden 1932, 9 ff.; A. Gabriel, *Châteaux Turcs du Bosphore*, Paris 1943, 9 ff.; *IA*, s.v. (R. ANNEGGER)

**ANÂHID** [see ZUHARA].

**ANÂK**, name given by the Arabs to the daughter of Adam, the twin sister of Seth, wife of Cain and mother of 'Qd [q.v.]; see *Djâhid*, *Tarîk* (Pellat) index.—In zoology, 'anâk denotes a kind of lynx, the caracal (from the Turkish *bara bulak* "black-ear", Persian *siyâk gâh*) found in much of Asia and Africa, which is thought to walk in front of the lion and, by its cry, to announce the latter's approach.—In astronomy, 'Anâk al-Band is the 7 of the Great Bear, and 'Anâk al-'Arâ, 7 Andromedae; see A. Benhamouda, *Les Noms arabes des étoiles*, in *IEO*, Algiers, ix, 1951, 84, 97. (Ed.)

**ANAMUR**, small town and harbour on the southern coast of Anatolia, 36° 6' N, 32° 10' E, capital of a *hüdâ* in the wilâyet of İöel, with 2734 inhabitants (1945); the *hüdâ* has 25,725 inhabitants. It is situated in a plain formed by the mouth of a little river, ca. 5 km. from the promontory of Anamur Burnu which forms the southernmost point of Anatolia. The town is called in medieval cartularies Stallimuri, Stalemura, etc. On the coast, at the foot and on the slopes of the Anamur Burnu are the extensive ruins of the late antique and early Christian town of Anemurium or Anemurion. At the east end of the plain of Anamur, close to the shore, lies Ma'mûriyye Kalfesi, a well-preserved

medieval fortress, which was made use of and repaired by the Ottomans; this is recorded by an inscription from 874/1469-70. Inside there is a small mosque.

**Bibliography:** V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II, 811; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, Vienna 1891, 20. (F. TAESCHNER)

**ANÂNİYYA**, Jewish sect of the adepts of 'Anân b. David (c. 760 A.D.), rather incorrectly considered to be the founder of the Karaites schismatic faction; his schism was only one of many which affected Rabbinical Judaism during the 8th-9th centuries. The Muslim authors seem to have taken most of their information about 'Anân and his sect from Karaites sources, especially Kirîshânî, but they have only used a small part of the mass of information supplied by him. The author of the *al-Badr* wa 'l-Ta'wîh represents 'Anân as a sort of Mu'tazilite, who professes the divine unity and justice and rejects anthropomorphism. The 'Anânîyya of Ibn Hazm are in fact the Karaites. Al-Bîrûnî is interested in their particular views regarding the calendar. Al-Shahrastânî, in addition to briefly mentioning their calendar and their prohibitions concerning food (M. Badran has rejected the correct reading into the footnote) comments on their favourable attitude to the person of Jesus. The later Muslim sources throw no fresh light on the subject. No Muslim author mentions the alleged meeting between 'Anân and Abû Hanîfa in the prisons of al-Manûsir. Although *siyâh* is recognized as a source of the law both by the Karaites and by the Hanafis, there is nothing to suggest that the latter influenced the former.

**Bibliography:** Abû Ya'kûb al-Kirîshânî, *al-Anûr wa 'l-Marâhib*, ed. L. Nemoj, New York 1939-45, index, s.v. Anan and Ananites; *Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire*, ed. and trans. by Cl. Huart, IV, Paris 1907, text 34-6, trans. 32-3; Ibn Hazm, *Fisal*, Cairo 1317, I, 99 (1247, 82); Bîrûnî, *Âkâr = The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. and trans. by E. Sachau, text 58-9, cf. 284, trans. 68-9, cf. 278; Shahrastânî, *Mûlal*, ed. Cureton, 167-8, ed. M. Badran, 303-5. The most recent statement of the problems concerning 'Anân and the origins of Karaism is contained in the articles of Leon Nemoj: *Anan ben David. A re-appraisal of the historical data, Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*, Budapest 1947, 230-48; idem, *Yivo-Bleter*, 1949, 95-112; *JQR*, 1950, 307-15: the essentials of the earlier bibliography will be found there. (G. VAJDA)

**ANAPA**, a former fortress on the Black Sea, situated on the Bugur river 40 km. S.W. of the Kuban estuary. Built by French engineers for Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid I in 1781, it was unsuccessfully attacked by the Russians in 1787 and 1790, but stormed by Gen. Gudovich in 1791. Returned to Turkey by the treaty of Yassy (1791), it was in 1808 taken by the Russians but returned to Turkey in 1812. In 1828 it was blockaded by Admiral Greig and Prince Menshikov and ceded to Russia by the treaty of Adrianople of 1829 (article 4). In 1846 a town was built at Anapa. During the Crimean war it was first blown up by the Russians, then recaptured in 1856. In 1866 the inhabitants of Anapa were transferred to Temruk. In recent decades Anapa was used as a beach and rest home for children. It was destroyed by enemy action in 1942-3, and is now restored.



*Bibliography:* Novitsky, *Anapa, Zap. Kavk. Otd. Imp. Geogr. Obsh.*, 1853, II, 14-43; P. P. Semenov, *Geogr. Russ. Imperii*, I, 66; Russkaya i Sovetskaya Encyclopaedia.

ANAS a. MĀLIK Abd HANZA, one of the most prolific traditionalists. After the *hidja* his mother gave him to the prophet as servant; according to his own statement he was then ten years of age. He was present at Badr, but took no part in the battle, and is therefore not counted among the combatants. He remained in Muhammad's service up to the time of the Prophet's death; later he took part in the wars of conquest. He also played small parts in the civil wars. In the year 55/64 he officiated as *imām* of the *ṣalāt* at Basra on behalf of the rival caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. When 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash'ath revolted, al-Hajjāj charged Anas with being a partisan of the rebel just as he had formerly taken the part of the enemies of the Umayyads, 'Alī and Ibn al-Zubayr; and although Anas was highly respected as a Companion of the Prophet, al-Hajjāj had no scruples in putting round his neck a cord with his seal (72/90). It is said however that the caliph 'Abd al-Malik apologised for al-Hajjāj's disrespectful act. Anas died at Basra at a very advanced age, which is variously given as from 97 to 107 years, the dates most frequently mentioned are 91-93/99-711.

Traditions attributed to Anas are found, collected together, in the *Musnad* of al-Tayālīsī (Haydarābād 1342, Nos. 1959-2150) and in the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal (Cairo 1313, iii, 98-292). Al-Dhahabī states that al-Buḥārī and Muslim record between them 278 traditions from Anas, of which he occurs in al-Buḥārī alone, 70 in Muslim alone, of 128 are common to both. It is not surprising that many traditions were attributed to the servant of the Prophet but while they may contain some genuine material, it is likely that they are mainly attributions of a later age; so Anas should not be blamed for all the strange statements given currency on his authority.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaḥāt*, vii, 10 ff.; Buḥārī, *al-Ta'rikh al-Kabir*, Haydarābād 1361, no. 1579; Baladī, *Futūḥ*, index; Tabarī, *Annals*, index; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif* (Wienfeld), 152; Nawawī, *Biographical Dictionary*, 165 ff.; Dhahabī, *Taḥḥīṭ al-Huffayr*, I, 42; Ibn al-Aṣṣir, *Uṣṣalāḥ*, I, 127 ff.; Ibn al-Dīnār, *Ṣaḥāb* (Cairo 1358/1959), no. 277; *Taḥḥīṭ al-Taḥḥīṭ*, I, 276 ff.; San'ānī, *Anas*, I, 253 ff.; Yāqūt, *Ma'dīnāt* (Wienfeld), index; Ibn Khallikān, *transl. de Sams*, I, 587 f.; Damirī, *Ḥayāt al-Hayawān*, 350 (quoted by Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Introd., § 26, note 1). (A. J. WENSSEN: J. ROSSON)

ANATOLIA [see ANADOLU].

ANATOMY [see TAGHRIL].

'ANAZA, short spear or staff (LA, vii, 231), usually synonymous with *barba*. In the Muslim ritual the 'anaza first appears in the year 2/62. When Muhammad first celebrated the 'id al-ḥar, Bilāl carried a spear (reportedly the gift of al-Zubayr, who had received it from the Najdī) before him on his way to the *muṣallā* [q.v.]; during the service this spear was planted in the ground and served as *sutra* and *hība* [q.v.]. The same was done on the 'id al-*anḥa*. This custom or carrying a spear or staff on ceremonial occasions was observed and expanded by the early caliphs. It became the rule for the preacher to hold in his hand, or to lean upon, a staff (*ḥaḥīb*), sword or bow when he ascends the pulpit at the Friday service. All these are symbols

expressing the same idea as the 'anaza, essentially that of authority (cf. the spear of Marduk). Among the ancient Arabs staff and pulpit were attributes of judge and orator.

The word survives as an architectural term in the Maghrib, where it signifies an external *mīhrāb* for those praying in the court of the mosque; see *Kirjās* (Tornberg), 30, 31, 32, 37 (inscript. dated 324 H.; cf. *RCIA*, no. 3031); E. Pauty, in *Repos*, 1923, 515-6.

*Bibliography:* Buḥārī, I, 107, 135-6, 241; Ibn Sa'd, *ibid.*, 167 ff.; Saḥīḥ, *Bulāḥ*, 1285, 187 = Wiestfeldt transl., 127-8; Wiestfeldt, *Handbuch*, v, *sutra*; idem, *Mohammed von Joden*, 162, 163, 141 ff.; Juybol, *Handbuch*, 84, 87-8; Schwarze, *Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 21 ff.; G. C. Miles, *Mīhrāb and 'anaza*, *Archaeologia orientalia in memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, N.Y. 1952, 156-171 (early iconographical representation, full references).

'ANAZA, a very ancient, but still existing, Arab tribe. The classical genealogical scheme 'Anaza b. Rabī'a (Wienfeldt, Tab. A 6) has in recent times been changed in the same way as in the case of other tribes such as the Banū 'Atīyya in Northern Hijāz and Wā'il, the ancestor of the Bakr and Taghlib, is taken to be their tribal ancestor; in the most recent genealogies Kuraysh appears above Wā'il. Whether or the Rabī'a group are inter-related, as implied in the genealogy, they were in any case connected by neighbourly and other ties in their home, the Yamāma. The 'Anaza were living in the Tuwayk to the south of the Wādī Naḥb; there, in Haddā, a remnant of them, the Banu Hizzān, remain to this day. Settlements in al-Falāḥ were disappeared and 'Anaza villages south of Tā'if were destroyed by the plague in about 1200. The Banū 'Othā/Oṭhā, to which the ruling houses of Kuwayt and Bahrayn belong, also come from Haddā.

Accompanying some migrating Bakr, 'Anaza elements reached as far as the Euphrates in the second half of the 6th century, and like them, eventually stayed there. As allies of the Kays b. Tā'aḥaba, whose area was to the south of Basra, they took part in the East Arabian *ridā*. It is not known how and when they, and the 'Anaza who had remained behind, went over to Islam. It is said that they had previously worshipped the god Su'ayr/Sa'ir, and together with the 'Rabī'a', Mularrik, whose image stood in Salmān, to the south of Hira.

Some 'Anaza settled in Kufa, others migrated together with a group of Shaybān (Dairi to the region of Mosul, where they can be traced up to the second half of the 9th century. The ancestors of the present-day 'Anaza appear in the Harra of Khaybar in the 12th century. We do not know exactly whence they came: perhaps from the Tuwayk, perhaps from the area between 'Ayn al-Tamr and al-Anḥir (Ibn Sa'd quoted by Ibn Khallikān, *Hist. des Berbères*, I, 14). This new emigration must be Arabian Karmatians which completely changed the face of Bedouin Arabia. In the 16th century they extended as far as the Kaḥm in the east, to Dīār 'Anaza (= Wāḥis) f. east of al-'Ula in the north. Later they occupy that oasis itself and Madīn Salīh. The tribal division we find today begins to be recognizable as early as 1700: the Dī'els (Ruwall) moved to the south of the Harra Khaybar from Medina via Hanakīya to Samīra, the Sha'ba in the Wādī 'l-Ruma, as far as the Kaḥm; the 'Amārik in the Shammar mountains and in Eastern Arabia. The Fad'n may have been to the north of the Harra

where we find today the Wād Sulaymān, who are closely connected with them. The Wād 'Alī were to the west of Khaybar, and their close relatives, the Hesene, were most probably there too.

The new migration of the 'Anaza, the first stage of which lasts for over a century (ending with the arrival of the Dī'els (Ruwall) in Syria in the second half of the 18th century), began before 1700. In 1703 there is mention of them in Ma'nā, in 1705 on the Euphrates. This migration showed its aim because of the power of the *amirs* of the Mawālī in the north of the Syrian desert had been waning since the end of the 17th century, and because the tribe of Ghazīya was about to vacate the hinterland of Karballā and go over the Euphrates. The second stage of immigration into Syria and Mesopotamia began about 1800 and was due to the Wahābīs: the 'Anaza were partly on their side ('Amārik), and partly fled from their tax-collectors. In the 19th century the history of the 'Anaza is governed by their relations with the Turkish authorities and the house of Rashīd, the Shammar *amirs* of Hāyil. At the turn of the 20th century the Ruwall and their hereditary *ghayshs*, the Sha'lin, play an important part (the oasis of Dī'el was in the possession of the Sha'lin from 1900 to 1921). In the first World War, the 'Amārik joined the English after the fall of Baghdad (21 March 17). The Ruwall did not take part in allied operations until September 1918. Their *ghaysh*, al-Nūrī b. Sha'lin, entered Damascus with the British and Arab troops in October 1918. In the post-war troubles the 'Anaza frequently changed sides. The political reorganisation in the Middle East distributed the 'Anaza over Syria, 'Irāk, Transjordan and Saudi Arabia. The Fad'n, Sha'ba and Ruwall are regarded as Syrian, the 'Amārik (with the exception of those who stay permanently in the Naḥḥ), are regarded as 'Irākī citizens, although they periodically leave the territory of that state during their migrations.

There have always been two opposing groups within the 'Anaza: the Danā Muslim (Hesene, Wād 'Alī, Dī'els/Ruwall) and the Bīḥr (Fad'n, Sha'ba and 'Amārik). The last flare-up of this old animosity was quelled by the French in 1929. The Shammar, especially since the 'Anaza's advance to the north, and the inhabitants of the Saḥā and the Hawrān, particularly the Druze, are the hereditary enemies of the 'Anaza. This is the reason why the 'Anaza sided with the government in all Druze risings.

The 'Anaza's modern grazing areas are as follows. The Fad'n: in summer the area east of Aleppo and Hamā, especially to the east of the Euphrates; in winter the Syrian desert (al-Bīḥr—al-Ka'ra, at times as far as al-Rōda). The Sha'ba: in summer to the east and northeast of Hamā; in winter in the Syrian desert to the south of the Syria-Irāk border. The 'Amārik: in summer in the Dī'el, southeast of the Khābīr, mostly on 'Irākī territory, in winter in the south-eastern Syrian desert (al-Wudayn). The Hesene: in summer to the east of Hama; in winter in the Syrian desert close to the Syria-Irāk border. The Wād 'Alī: in summer to the northeast of Damascus and in the Hawrān plain; in winter in the heart of the Syrian desert as far as Dī'el and Taymā. Of the sections which remained in Arabia, the Fukār and the Wād 'Alī (both Danā Muslim) have their tents between the Harra of al-'Uwayrid and that of Khaybar; the Wād Sulaymān (Bīḥr) migrate between the Harra of Khaybar and the southern border of the Naḥḥ as far as Bēḥā Naḥḥ (to the southwest of Hāyil), where a *hadda* settlement of the *hadda* was founded in the twenties.

The northern 'Anaza are camel breeders. Sheep breeding is the main occupation of the Hesene and the Wād 'Alī (since 1900), and since 1920 the Fad'n and Ruwall have also increasingly taken to this. The Hesene and Wād 'Alī—also, more recently, the Sha'ba—have for some time been farming the land. In former times the 'Anaza had a right to part of the harvest of Khaybar; the tribes living there have retained that right. In Ottoman times the 'Anaza had a right to the *ḥara*, a payment for protecting the pilgrims' caravan in their area. If this was not, or only partly, paid, then they reimbursed themselves by plundering the *Madḥi* (as e.g. in 1700, 1703, 1757). A further source of income was the tolls raised from the caravans, and the *ḥisra* (protection money) collected from the settled population. The more prominent families among whom the office of *shaykh* is held, have considerable property in land, some of which dates back to donations of 'Abd al-Hamīd. In the Dī'el this is partly cultivated, following American methods, in partnership with town-dwellers.

*Bibliography:* Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, in collaboration with E. Bräunlich and W. Casel, *Die Beduinens*, I, Leipzig 1939, 62-130, 305 (Mawālī); E. Leipzig 1943, 342-51; II (compiled and edited by W. Casel), Wiesbaden 1952, 351, 412 (Ghazīya), with full bibliography; A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Ruḥala Beduinens*, New York 1925; Ahmad, Wasīl Zakarīya: 'Aḥdār al-Sha'ba, Damascus 1945-47; 'Abbas al-Aḥdārī, *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq bayn al-Falāḥ*, Baghdad 1955-59, index xvi; 'Anaza. Ashkenazi, *The Anazāh Tribes*, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, New Mexico, 1948, 222-39. [See also RUWALL.] (E. GRAY)

ANBADUKLIS, the Arabic form of the name of Empedocles (often corrupted into Abiduklis, etc.). Some authentic information about his doctrines came down to the Muslims by way of such channels as the works of Aristotle, the doxography of P. Flutarch (e.g. I, 3, c. d. ed. Badawi); also quoted in Abū Sulaymān al-Mantrikī, *Sūnān al-Hikma*, introduction; al-Makdisī, *al-Badā'*, I, 139, II, 75), etc. The authentic Empedocles, however, plays no role in Islamic philosophy; on the other hand, his figure was appropriated by late Neoplatonic circles, and treatises in which Neoplatonic speculations were put into his mouth were translated into Arabic. The main representative of this literature is the *Book of the Five Substances*, the Arabic translation of which is lost, but parts of which are preserved in excerpts from a Hebrew translation made from the Arabic (see D. Kaufmann, *Studien über Salomon b. Gabirol*, Budapest 1909, I f.). It seems that the quotations in Ps.-Majritī, *Ghāyāt al-Hakīm*, 285, 290, 293-4, are from some closely related source (289 = ed. Kaufmann, § 13). Various Neoplatonic ideas are attributed to Empedocles in Ammonius, *Arā' al-Falāsifa* (MS Aya Sofia 2450; see fols. 109v ff., 130r), in which Neoplatonic doctrines are distributed among a number of ancient Greek philosophers. This work, quoted in al-Bīrūnī, *India*, 41-2, transl. 83 (the passage from Empedocles = MS Aya Sofia, fol. 130r), was also the main source of al-Shahrastānī's account of the ancient philosophers and also of that of Empedocles (al-Mīṭal, 230 ff.). In addition, however, al-Shahrastānī reproduces another text by "Empedocles" (262 L. 1-263 L. 18) from some other source. Al-Shahrastānī, in his *Ḥawādī* al-Aḥbāb, though mainly basing himself on al-Shahrastānī and Ibn al-Kifī, also has some additional passages (extracts in *Asin Palacios*).







*Bibliography:* Ibn al-Kūfī, *Tabāh al-Ru'ād*, ii, 269-71; Ibn Khallikān, 469; Kutubī, *Fawā'id*, i, 262; Subhī, *Tabāhāt*, iv, 248; Brockelmann, I, 334, S 1494.

AL-ANBĀRĪ, ABU MUHAMMAD AL-KĀSĪM B. MUḤ. b. BAḤSĀW, traditionalist and philologist, d. 394/1003 or 395/1004. He wrote a commentary on the *Maḥādīd al-Yūṣuf* which was revised by his son, Muhammad: *The Maḥādīd al-Yūṣuf... according to the revision and with the commentary of Abū M. al-Q.* b. M. al-Anbārī, ed. Ch. J. Lyaal, Oxford 1918-21.

*Bibliography:* Fihrist, 75; Zubaydī, *Tabāhāt*, 144; al-Khaṣīb al-Baḥdādī, *Ta'ribh Baḥdādī*, xii, 440-1; Yāqūt, *Iṣṣāh*, iv, 196-8; Ibn al-Kūfī, *Tabāh al-Ru'ād*, iii, 285; A. Haffner, in *WZKM*, xiv, 334 ff.; F. Kern, in *MSOS*, xiv, 262 ff.; Brockelmann, S I, 37.

AL-ANBĪR, in medieval Latin Alambic, is the name for that part of the distilling apparatus which is also called "head" or "cap". The word was borrowed from Greek ἀμβίς. *Al-anbīr* occurs as early as the 10th century in a translation of Dioscorides, in the *Maḥādīd al-Yūṣuf* and in al-Rāzī. The *anbīr* is often referred to as "one of the apparatuses used in distilling rose-water".

The complete distilling apparatus consists of three parts: the "cucurbit" (*karā*), the "head" or "cap" (*anbīr*) and the "receiver" (*balḥā*). Modern retorts have the "cup" and the "cucurbit" made into one. —Illustrations of distilling apparatuses in Arabian manuscripts are to be found in al-Dīmīshqī's *Compendium* (Mehren) 194 ff. Whereas usually however the cucurbit is surmounted by the cap, here it is placed in front of it. In the former case the cap has the shape of a cupping-glass, as it is represented in the *Maḥādīd* (ed. van Vloten, 227). The *anbīr* is described by Ibn al-'Awwām (transl. Clément Mullet, ii, 344) where he explains how rose-water is distilled. But in this description the name does not always refer to the entire "cap", but often to the additional faucet-pipe only, which fits onto it (that is, if the text is not corrupt). The *anbīr* is also called the *ra's* (head) of the cucurbit.

The *anbīr* is mentioned in the various lists of chemical apparatuses, amongst others in the *Maḥādīd al-Yūṣuf*, in the *Kutub al-Aṣṣar* of al-Rāzī, where different kinds are enumerated and described, and in a text written in Karshūnī, which has been published by Berthelot and shows close similarity to al-Rāzī's account.

Special kinds of *anbīr* are the blind *anbīr*, which has no additional faucet and is consequently closed, the *anbīr* with a beak, and others of various shapes. In Ibn al-'Awwām the appendix is also called *qanāḥ* (as Cl. Mullet prefers to read it) or *qanāḥ* as the text has it and as Dozy would like to retain, because he combines the additional faucet with a worm-pipe used in condensing (but no illustrations of the latter can be found).

As the Arabian alchemists mainly depend on the Greek alchemists, the illustrations which are found in the works of the ancients can be turned to account. Some also occur in the Latin translations of the latter can be found.

*Bibliography:* E. Wiedemann, in *ZDMG*, xxiii, 575; idem, in *Diogenes, Beitr. aus d. Gesch. d. Chemie*, 1908, 234; M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au moyen âge*, ii, xiv, 66, 105 ff.; J. Ruska, *Al-Rāzī's Buch der Geheimnisse* (1927), index x, v; A. Niggel, *Arab.-deutsches Wörterbuch der Stoffe*, 1950, 150. [H. WIEDMANN-M. PLESSNER]

AL-ANDALUS, or QAZIRAT AL-ANDALUS, geographical term which, in the Islamic world up to the end of the Middle Ages, denoted the Iberian peninsula, that is, modern Spain and Portugal.

(i) Toponymic significance of the term al-Andalus; (ii) Geographical survey; (iii) Outline of its historical geography; (iv) Population of al-Andalus; (v) Development; (vi) Survey of the history of al-Andalus; Appendix: *The Andalus in North Africa*; (vii) Islam in al-Andalus; (viii) Andalusian literature and culture; (ix) Andalusian art; (x) Spanish Arabic.

#### (i) TOPONYMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERM AL-ANDALUS

The name al-Andalus is hypothetically connected with that of the Vandals (al-Andaliq), who named Baetica "Vandalia" when they crossed the Iberian Peninsula before their invasion of North Africa; al-Andalus is mentioned as early as 98/716 on a bilingual *dirar*, the Latin inscription giving as its equivalent the term "Spania". The latter term, or its doublet "Hispania", were the only ones by the earliest Spanish Latin chroniclers to denote the Iberian Peninsula as a whole, that is, the two Spains, Christian and Muslim. On the other hand, the use of the term al-Andalus by Arab writers appears always to have been confined to Muslim Spain, whatever its territorial extent, which was progressively reduced in size by the Christian Reconquest (the Spanish equivalent "Reconquista" will always be used in this article). Even when Islamic power in the Peninsula was restricted to the tiny Nasrid principality of Granada, the term al-Andalus was used to denote the territory of this small Kingdom alone. On the other hand, there had been in existence for some time in the Muslim chroniclers the names (in Arabic form) of Ighāniya (Hispania, España) and the Christian principalities formed as a result of the Reconquista: Liryūn (Leon), Kaṣṭilla or Kaṣṭilla (Castilla, Castile), Burtukāl (Portugal, Aragón) (Aragón), Nabārra (Navarre).

From the name al-Andalus—the form al-Andalus is sometimes found, especially in Ibn Kurrūm—derive the ethnic form *andalusi* and the collective form *ahl al-Andalus*. This term is retained in modern usage to denote the geographical area formed by the Sub-Mediterranean region (littoral zones and highlands) corresponding, from East to West, from the modern province of Almería to that of Huelva, to the natural region of Andalusia (Spain, Andalusia), the inhabitants of which are called Andalusians (sing. Andalusī).

*Bibliography:* Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, i, 71-3; idem, *Exp. musul.* x<sup>e</sup> siècle, 5-6; Ch. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, Paris 1955, 56, 57 and note 1.

#### (ii) GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

1. Physical situation. S-W of Europe, the Iberian Peninsula forms a massive promontory almost pentagonal in shape, joined to the continent by the range of the Pyrenees, and washed on the remaining sides by the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. It is situated between 43° 27' 25" and 35° 59' 30" N, and 9° 30' and 3° 19' E. Its surface area is about 229,000 sq. m., modern Portugal constituting less than a fifth of this total (modern Spain has an area of 195,000 sq. m.).

The situation of the peninsula at the western end of the Mediterranean basin, with a large Atlantic seaboard, explains many episodes in its history.

Cut off by the barrier of the Pyrenees from the rest of the continent of Europe, it is only separated from Africa by the narrow Straits of Gibraltar, bounded to the N. and S. by the bridgeheads of Tarifa and Ceuta. It has as a result acquired an insular character, which has for long isolated the Iberian bloc from trans-Pyrenean influences, while leaving it open to earliest stimuli by contact with influences via the classical Mediterranean approach route.

The Spanish Peninsula has one of the most broken terrains in Europe. A general examination of its structure reveals that it consists basically of a large central plateau which constitutes at least half of the total area, the Meseta, with a mean altitude of 1,965 ft., comprising the two Castles, Old (Castilla la Vieja) and New (Castilla la Nueva), and the Estramadura. The Meseta is bounded by high mountain escarpments; to the North, the Cantabrian range; to the North-East and East, the range of the Iberian Mts., to the South, the successive tiers of the Sierra Morena (Subbaetic range); to the West, the high table-lands of Galicia and Portugal. The plateau possesses three deep central depressions; those of the Ebro, the Guadalquivir and the lower Tago. To the South, the upheaval of the "Penibaetic system" has thrown up a mountain mass which comprises the greater part of Upper Andalusia and shows a confused series of ranges (Span. *sierra*, "saw"; Ar. *al-shārāt*), of which the highest is the Sierra Nevada (highest point; the Mulhacín, 11,420 ft.).

As a result of this tortuous orographic formation, the mean ground elevation of the Peninsula is not less than 2,160 ft. The additional fact that the proportion of lowlands, of an altitude of less than 1,645 ft., is only 40%, shows the difficulties which have always been encountered, over the greater part of the country, in exploiting a soil which, because of the inadequate rainfall and the meagre supply from the rivers, is generally arid.

2. Climate.—The Peninsula has a dry, generally temperate, climate, despite extreme variations of temperature in the high and mean altitude regions, which escape the moderating influence of the Atlantic or the Mediterranean. Here the winters are severe and the summers torrid. The sub-littoral zones are an exception, especially the largely exposed depression of maritime Andalusia.

As regards rainfall, a distinction must be drawn between dry Spain and wet Spain. The latter comprises, starting from the western prong of the Pyrenees, the Basque country, the Cantabrian coast and nearly all modern Portugal. Dry Spain, which covers nearly 2/3 of the Peninsula, has an essentially erratic rainfall, varying from the annual average of 23 ins. to less than 15 ins. In many cases, the beneficial effects of the rain are nullified by evaporation, wherever it is not possible, as in the Levant (the region of Valencia and Murcia), to remedy this state of affairs by the irrigation of parched lands.

The North and North-West of the Peninsula, and in general all the Atlantic seaboard, enjoy, as a result of the humidity and prevalence of clouds which are features of the region, comparatively mild weather. Similarly, in the Mediterranean zone, from Catalonia and Levante to the Andalusian coast, the winters are mild, with a characteristically high sunshine record and clear, bright atmospheric conditions.

3. Hydrography. The physical formation and climate of the country, and the frequently impermeable nature of the soil, explain the Peninsula's

water shortage and the irregularity of the supply from its rivers, which are nearly always dry during the dog-days, when evaporation is at its highest. These rivers have the same characteristics as North African *wadis*; they are either almost completely dry, or else sudden spates transform them into torrents, with the disastrous concomitant effects of erosion and removal by alluvium.

The rivers which flow towards the north and west are in general coastal rivers of no great length, the chief one being the Miño (Portuguese Minho), which forms the northern frontier of Portugal and discharges its waters into the Atlantic. Three other rivers, which have an extremely irregular supply of water and which drain the waters of the Meseta, also flow towards the Atlantic; the Duero (Port. Douro), the Tago (Span. Tago, Port. Tejo), and the Guadalquivir, whose estuary forms the southern frontier between Spain and Portugal. The most important river of the Peninsula is the Guadalquivir which, rising in one of the mountain groups in the South-East of the Meseta, is swelled by several tributaries, the most important being the Genil, which issues from the Sierra Nevada and is fed in summer by the melting snows from that massif. The Guadalquivir is the only river in the Peninsula whose lower course is navigable (over the last 75 miles). Several *wadis* of a torrential nature reach the Levantine coast; they issue from the edge of the Meseta and provide, by means of dams, rather uncertain reserves of water for irrigation. The chief of these are the Segura and the Júcar, to-day used for the improvement of the *huertas* of Valencia.

The Ebro, which rises in the Basque country, is fed by the southern slopes of the Pyrenees (Aragón, Segura), and, after a difficult course, during which the gentleness of the gradients gradually reduces the volume of its waters in its lower reaches, turns towards the Mediterranean, into which it discharges after crossing an alluvial delta of considerable size.

4. General characteristics. The subsoil of the Peninsula is especially rich in metalliferous strata: lead, silver, iron, copper, manganese, marble. It is also rich in the natural salts, saltpetre, magnesium and silicates. The vegetation varies completely between dry Spain and wet Spain. In the former, three types of vegetation, more often associated with the Mediterranean zone, predominate: the forests (non-deciduous trees, various kinds of pines and holm oaks or cork-trees), the foothills (Span. *monte bajo*), and the steppe (scrub, *esparto*). In wet Spain, on the other hand, the countryside is green all the year round, owing to the presence of forests and natural prairies.

As a result of this natural variety Spain is a country of the greatest possible contrast. It is a commonplace to state that it is frequently possible to pass almost without transition from a river valley (e.g., with its luxuriant vegetation, to the steppe burnt by the sun and the wind).

*Bibliography:* Geography manuals; in particular, M. Sorre, *La Péninsule ibérique*, vol. vii of the *Géographie universelle* by Vidal de Lablache and Galois.

#### (iii) OUTLINE OF THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF AL-ANDALUS

1. Descriptions of al-Andalus. The works of the Arab geographers, both eastern and western, which have come down to us constitute the essential part of our knowledge of al-Andalus in the Middle Ages, its development and the exploitation of its



natural resources. First, there are the Road Books (*masālik*) published by De Goeje in *BGA*, which only devote a limited amount of space to Spain: the oldest, those of Ibn Khurrādādhbih, al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn al-Fakih and Ibn Rusta, contain such brief descriptions that one assumes that up to the 4th/10th century al-Andalus was a province of Islam little known to the eastern world. From the time of the restoration of the Marwānid Caliphate at Cordova, the geographical documentation on al-Andalus becomes systematised, although still not elaborated in great detail. The expositions on al-Andalus by al-Isṭakhṛī (d. 322/934) concern agriculture and commerce, and describe fourteen itineraries in the interior of the Peninsula. His contemporary Ibn Hawkal had the advantage of having himself visited Spain and of having brought his documentation up to date by the interrogation of informants en route; the picture of al-Andalus revealed by the pen of this pro-Fatimid writer, is too often partial, but it is nevertheless the first rational description, at once full and coherent, of the Cordovan Kingdom, which has come down to us. Equally worthy of attention is the account of Ibn al-Mukāddasī (end of 10th century) who, although he had not himself visited the Peninsula, makes important statements, apparently based on good authority, concerning in particular the intellectual life, the language, the metrology and the trade of the country.

From the time of the Caliphate, and in the centuries following, all the descriptions of al-Andalus, written primarily in the West, were modelled on the description which the celebrated Cordovan chronicler of oriental origin Ahmad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955) placed at the head of his great history of al-Andalus, now lost, and which was used as a source for quotation, usually without acknowledgement, particularly by the compiler Yāqūt in his *Ma'ājam al-Bulad*. The "Description" of al-Rāzī is only known to us in a Castilian version, published in 1852 by F. de Goyanes and derived from a Portuguese version executed about the beginning of the 14th century at the order of King Denis of Portugal (1279-1325); the author of the present article has translated it into French and attempted to reconstruct the original Arabic (In *And.*, 1955, 51-108).

It is thus clear that the plan of the "Description" of Ahmad al-Rāzī, though on the whole only sketched in outline, has served as a framework for most later descriptions; among the latter pride of place must be given to the description of the Andalusian Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), which unfortunately is lost, but which can be largely reconstructed from the notices on al-Andalus in the *al-Rawḍ al-Mi'wār* of the Maghribī compiler of the 7th/14th century Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'izz al-Himyarī, who has also made use of material from al-Sharif al-Idrīsī. To this list must be added, in addition to the collections of *'adja'ib* relative to al-Andalus contained in the works of al-Kawṣinī and al-Dimashqī, the notices, sometimes of considerable length, collected by the Maghribī al-Makkārī (17th century) in the first volume of his *Nafh al-Th*.

**Bibliography:** General survey in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Exp. mar.*, p. 233-9. The description of Spain appearing in the *BGA*, are: Ibn Khurrādādhbih and Ibn Rusta (French trans. by G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 217-221), al-Isṭakhṛī, *BGA*, v, 37-46; Ibn Hawkal, *BGA*, ii, 74-9, to be studied in the new edition of J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, i, 208-17; al-Mukāddasī, *BGA*, iii, 215-48 (French trans. by Ch. Pellat, Algiers, 1950).

On the geographical literature of al-Andalus, the most complete work, despite many imperfections, is that of J. A. Menéndez Pidal, *La Geografía de la Península ibérica en los escritores árabes*, Granada 1921 (extract from the *Rev. del Centro de Est. hist. de Granada y su reino*). Cf. also al-Idrīsī, *Nuḥḥat al-Maghārib* (Drey and de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, Leiden, 1800, text 165-214, Fr. trans. 197-260); E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Península ibérique au moyen âge d'après le Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Mi'wār*, London 1958.

2. Physical geography of al-Andalus according to Muslim geographical tradition.—According to al-Rāzī, al-Andalus forms the extremity of the fourth rīd towards the West. It is a country mainly watered by numerous rivers and sweet water springs. The geographers, after this declaration, usually launch into panegyrics and devote much space to *laudes Hispaniae* rather in the manner of Isidore of Seville.

Al-Andalus is triangular in shape. Each of the angles of this triangle corresponds to a place famous in the traditions of Hispanic legend. On the angle at the apex, in the South-West, rises the temple of Cadiz, *Susana Yādī* (p. 4); the second angle is situated on the latitude of the Balearic Islands between Narbonne and Bordeaux (sic); the third, in the North-West, corresponds to the Tuerre de Hercules, near Corunna. These ideas are also partly illustrated by the maps of the Road Books, Ibn Hawkal and al-Idrīsī. al-Rāzī has clearly grasped one of the characteristics of the physical structure of the Peninsula: in his opinion, a distinction must be made between western Spain and eastern Spain, taking into account the differences in the direction of the winds, the rainfall and the course of the rivers. In western Spain, the rivers flow towards the Atlantic and rain is brought by the westerly winds. The opposite is true of eastern Spain, where easterly winds prevail and the rivers flow eastwards.

Other landmarks are often given to mark some of the points of the "triangle" formed by al-Andalus: Cape St. Vincent, at the south-western extremity of Portugal, in Arabic the "Church of the Crow" (Kansat al-Ḥurūb); the Temple of Venus, at the opposite extremity, Haykal al-Zahra (Port-Vendres).

On approaching al-Andalus from continental Europe, Gaul (Ḥishāq) or the "Great Land" (al-ard al-Kabira), one must cross the range of the Pyrenees by one or other of the passes (*abwāb*) or "gates" (*burāḥ*) in order to reach the land of the Gascons (al-Baḥḥānīsh) or that of the Franks (al-Ifrānḡ). From there, it is possible to reach the shores of the Atlantic, called the "Sea of Darkness" (*Bahr al-Zulmāt*) or the "green sea" (*al-Bahr al-Aḥḡar*) or the "Surrounding Sea" (*al-Bahr al-Maḥḡh*). In this dangerous ocean a number of intrepid mariners carried on coastal trade from the land of the Blacks and the Canary Islands, the "Fortunate Islands" (*al-Ḥāḡḡidāt*), as far as the confines of Great Britain (Britāniya). The Mediterranean is known as the "Great Sea" (*al-Bahr al-Kabir*), the "Middle Sea" (*al-Bahr al-Mutawassit*) or even the "Tyrrhenian Sea" (*Bahr Trān*).

In the opinion of al-Rāzī, there are only three mountain ranges in Spain, which traverse the Peninsula from one sea to the other, and none of which is crossed by a river. The first of these ranges is the Sierra Morena, called Mountains of Cordova (Ḥijāb Kurtuba), which rises from the Mediterranean coast of Levante and terminates in Algarve, on the Atlantic. The second is the Pyrenean range,

between Narbonne and Galicia. The third cuts Spain obliquely, from Tortosa to Lisbon. It corresponds to the transverse range called al-Sharrāt, according to al-Idrīsī. However, the geographer is obliged to mention in addition the Sierra Nevada (Ḥijāb Shulayr, "Mons Solaris") and the Serrania of Malaga (Ḥijāb Rayy) which extends as far as Algeciras.

The chief river of al-Andalus is the "Great River" (*al-Wādī 'l-Kabir*), Guadalquivir, also known as al-Nahr al-A'zam and Nahr Kurtuba "River of Cordova". It is sometimes referred to by its ancient name of Nahr Btī ("Baetis"). It is 310 miles in length. It is the river of Baetica, the richest part of the Peninsula, and waters Cordova and Seville. Its chief tributaries are the Genil (Wādī Sindil or Shandī), which flows through Granada, Loja and Ecija; the Guadajoz (Wādī Shūḡh); the Guadalquivir (al-Wādī 'l-Ahmār), thus named because of the reddish colour of its waters; and the Guadalbullón (Wādī Bullūn).

The Guadiana (Wādī Ānā) has a total length of 320 miles and rises not far from the source of the Guadalquivir. It runs underground for part of its course, and re-emerges in the Calatrava region. It discharges into the Atlantic at Osonoba.

The Tagus (Wādī Tāḡūḡ) rises in the mountains of Toledo and, after a course of 580 miles, flows into the Atlantic at Lisbon. Further north still is the Duero (Wādī Duwayro), 780 miles long, which is fed by several tributaries and flows into the Atlantic at Oporto (Burtāq). Another important river, also flowing into the Atlantic, is the Miño (Portuguese Minho), Nahr Mīnyo, which crosses Galicia from East to West and is 300 miles long.

Of the rivers which flow towards the Mediterranean, al-Rāzī only mentions the Segura (Wādī Shakra) which rises near the sources of the Guadalquivir and the Ebro (Río Ebro = Wādī Ibro); the latter rises at Fontibre, in Upper Castile and eventually reaches the sea not far from Tortosa, a distance of 204 miles. The Ebro has numerous tributaries, including the Río Gallego (Nahr Ḥillik), which comes down from the mountains of Cerdagne (Ḥijāb al-Sirtāniyyin).

3. Urban toponymy and territorial divisions of al-Andalus. Al-Andalus is notable, at all periods of its Muslim history, for the number of its cities, towns and villages, and for the contrast with the relative poverty of North Africa, as regards population centres of equal importance. Nearly all the towns of Roman Spain survived the Arab invasion and continued to prosper. On the other hand, the new towns founded by the conquerors were not numerous and were almost always built for strategic reasons or as coastal bases intended to neutralise the aggressive ambitions of the Fatimids in the western Mediterranean, for instance, Murcia (Mursiya) which replaced the old town of Ello, and Almería (al-Mariyya), which was at first simply a coastal observation post before being developed in the 10th century as an arsenal and naval station. In most cases, the old Latin place-names survived virtually intact, for instance, Cordoba (Kurtuba), Huelva (Ighbīla), Casarranaga (Sarakhata), Valencia (Balansiya), or else assumed a diminutive form, as Toledo, Toledo becoming Toletula/Tulaytula. Certain place-names of historical interest had their origin in puns, Ocili becoming Madinat Sālim/Madināsal, which gave rise to the mythical existence of a pseudo-found named Sālim. Towns with a descriptive Arabic name were the exception:

e.g. the "Green Island", al-Ḥijāzira al-Ḥadāḡ (Algeciras). Some places bore the name of the Arab or Berber tribe which had populated them after the conquest: Baly (Poley), Ḥāḡāfik north of Cordova, Miknasa (Mequinenza) in Aragón. In Levante, as evidence of a more profound Arab influence, many place-names were the names of "stages" coupled with an Arab forename (e.g. Manūl 'Atā' (Mislata), Manzil Naur (Masanasa), in the suburbs of Valencia. Many place-names of the Valencia region were formed like names of tribes, with *Bani* plus the name of the eponymous ancestor (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Exp. mar.*, iii, 326-8).

At the time when Ahmad al-Rāzī wrote his description of al-Andalus, Muslim Spain was already separated from Christian Spain by a boundary line, a sort of no man's land, flanked along its periphery by three Marches (ḥuḡḡūr): al-a'ā, al-awṣat, al-ādā. Already many regions of the Peninsula, long since evacuated under the pressure of the first manifestations of the Reconquista, had been finally severed from al-Andalus; the Hispanic March in the East, the Basque country in the centre, the Cantabrian coast in the West. The famous expedition led against Santiago de Compostela (Shant Yāḡāḡ) by the 'Amirid al-Manṣūr was no more than a spectacular raid without lasting effect. During the period of the Caliphate, therefore, Islam definitively lost part of Spain and did not seek to recover it. The provincial organisation of al-Andalus, however, remained unchanged.

This organisation dated from the 8th century, and was therefore prior to the Marwānid restoration. It was based on the provincial districts (*āras*), which had a chief town, a governor and a garrison. The lists of *āras* under the Caliphate differ widely; al-Mukāddasī gives an incomplete list of only 18 names. Yāqūt enumerates 47, a figure approached by al-Rāzī, who describes successively 37. Later, al-Idrīsī introduced a division not into *āras*, but into "climes" (*aklīm*), with no administrative significance and putting forward many names which must be firmly rejected as apocryphal. By utilising the information given by al-Rāzī, who follows a concentric order round the capital, and al-Bakrī, the principal features of each of the main *āras* of the provincial organisation under the Caliphate can easily be determined. The *āras* usually had the same name as their chief town, apart from a few exceptions noted below: the most important *āras* was that of Cordova, bounded to the north by that of the Falṣ al-Ballūḡ (Llano de los Pedroches, "plateau of the oaks"), whose chief place was Ḥāḡāfik (doubtless the modern Belalcázar; cf. F. Hernandez, in *And.*, 1944, 71-109). On the other side of the fluvial plain of Cordova (al-Kanbāniya, modern la Campiña), to the south of the Guadalquivir, lay the small *āras* of Caba (Kabira) and Ecija (Istidjā). Further west were the rich districts of Carmona (Karmāna), Seville (Ishbīliya) and Niebla (Labla). The *āras* of Osonoba (Uḡḡḡḡnuba), with Silves (Shībī) as its chief town, corresponded to Algarve (Ḥaḡḡar al-Andalus, i.e., the southern border of modern Portugal) on the Atlantic. North of this district lay that of Beja (Bādja). The southernmost part of al-Andalus was divided into four *āras*: Meron (Mawrūn), Sidona (Shadḡhūna), chief town Cabena (Kāshḡhāna), Algeciras and Tacaronna (Tākurrūna), chief town Ronda (Rūnda). Further east, the *āras* of Malaga (Māḡāla), which was called Rayyō, had as its first chief town Archidona (Urḡḡḡḡḡna); it was adjacent to the *āras* of Elvira (Ilbira, formerly Ilberria), a









state and contributed in no small measure to its rapid collapse.

The Berber, Arab and other Muslim foreign elements, important though they were, were numerically far inferior to the much more important group of the Spanish neo-Muslims, who were known in al-Andalus by the generic terms *musulima* or, more especially, *musuladun*. These were Spaniards who, during or after the Conquest, had adopted Islam in order to enjoy a better personal status than that of *dhimmi*. The complete and rapid arabicisation of all these converts to Islam, to which in the vast majority of cases they displayed a deep and sincere attachment, is a remarkable phenomenon. In a short time the *musuladun* became assimilated into Muslim society and enabled the rulers of the country, by the rational use of their services, to make good the lack of emigrants of old Muslim stock. Many *musuladun*, soon fused in the melting-pot of Andalusian society, lost even the memory of their Spanish (Iberian or Gothic) origin, although they often bore Romance names. The co-existence within Islam of elements of population of such diverse origin, led to their gradual fusion, a process which was aided by the adoption of an identical way and rhythm of life and by the bilingualism which, at least in everyday life, placed Spanish Arabic and the Romance tongue (*al-ʿadamiyya*) on the same footing.

The Muslim population of al-Andalus, which was so composite in origin, but which gradually became relatively homogeneous, was divided in the tenth century into a certain number of social classes, in the same way as the rest of the Islamic world: *khāṣṣa* and *ʿamma*. The former comprised the great noble families who were often hereditary grantees, while the middle class, composed of merchants and small land owners, soon became a sort of urban bourgeoisie, though without charters or immunities. In contrast, the plebs or *ʿamma*, in the towns and particularly in the country, constituted an obscure mass subjected to severe vexation by authority. As there is virtually no information on the agrarian law which was in force in al-Andalus, one is compelled to postulate the existence, undoubtedly necessary, of a rural proletariat, composed of day-labourers tied to the soil and leading a particularly wretched existence, mostly unable to escape their servile condition.

The tributaries (*muʿabidin*) in Andalusian society formed an important part of the population and comprised both Christians and Jews. The former, usually grouped under the general name of Mozarabes, all belonged to that part of the Spanish population which, at the time of the Conquest, had refused to renounce its faith in order to adopt that of the conquerors. In the large towns at least, notably in Cordova, Seville and Toledo, the Mozarab communities were organised under the protection and control of the Muslim central authority, with a leader responsible to that authority, the *comes* (*hāim*), sometimes also called *defensor* or *procurator*. He exercised over his community the powers of a police magistrate, and had the duty and responsibility of collecting the taxes; he was assisted by a special judge, *censor* or *hādī* *ʿl-ʿadām*, who settled disputes between the Mozarabs. The territory of al-Andalus, up to the end of the 11th century, remained divided into the same ecclesiastical districts as at the time of the Visigoths, namely, three metropolitan provinces (Toledo, Lusitania and Baetica), each with an archbishopric and several dioceses. The details have been preserved for us by al-Bakrī in

what he calls "Constantine's partition". The names have been preserved of some very rare church dignitaries of al-Andalus under the Caliphate. The Mozarab community about which we possess the most information, though not numerically the most important, is that of Cordova.

We have even less information as to the numbers and activities of the Jewish communities in the towns of al-Andalus, each of which had a Jewish quarter (*ḥarāt* or *madīnat al-Yahūd*, Span. *Judería*). At the same time, in the 11th century, and especially in the Zirid Kingdom of Granada, the part played by Jewish excise officials and treasurers, the importance of the Banu ʿI-Naghralā family, the pogrom unleashed in Granada following the murder of the Crown Prince Buluggin b. Bādīs b. Ḥabūs b. Zīrī, and the importance accorded in the economy of the small state of Granada to the large Jewish community which formed the bulk of the population in the town of Lucena (*al-Yusūdā*), give rise to the belief that the Jews of al-Andalus, at all stages of the Reconquista, in the service of Muslims or Christians, played an active part in the country as counsellors and ambassadors, and that they controlled the main commercial channels between al-Andalus and continental Europe on the one hand, and the Muslim East on the other. In this connection, much may be expected from the study of the documents obtained in particular from the Geniza of Cairo.

**Bibliography:** The material given above in outline will be found in greater detail, with references, in Lévy-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.* iii, 165-212. See also, *idem*, *Exp. musul.* X<sup>e</sup> siècle, 18-30 and *passim*; F. J. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozarabes de España*, Madrid 1897-1903; F. de las Cagigas, *Los Mozarabes*, Madrid 1947-49; H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vols. 5-7, Leipzig 1871-3; *idem*, *Les Juifs d'Espagne*, trans. into French by Stenke, Paris 1872; J. Amador de los Ríos, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal*, Madrid 1875.

#### (v) THE DEVELOPMENT OF AL-ANDALUS

It is primarily the geographers who have given us more or less detailed information on the manner in which the soil of al-Andalus was cultivated and its vegetable and mineral resources exploited. We also possess a fairly extensive technical literature, formed by agronomic works of various periods, notably those of al-Tighnārī, Ibn Wāṣil, Ibn Ḥaṣṣāl, Ibn Luyūn and Ibn al-ʿAwwām. Mention must also be made of the "Cordovan Calendar of the year 961", published in 1873 by Dozy, at the same time as a definitely later version, and attributed to the Cordovan chronicler ʿArīb b. Saʿd [q.v.]. Unfortunately, this technical literature gives us practically no information on the methods of cultivation and on contracts of lease, questions on which certain juridical works give us information which is too vague for complete reliance to be placed on it.

1. Agriculture. As to-day in Spain, there was a distinction between dry land (Span. *secano* = Ar. *ḥaʿl*) and irrigated land (Span. *regadío* = Ar. *saḥy*), the former being reserved for the cultivation of cereals. Owing to the poor quality of the soil and unfavourable climatic conditions, the cultivation of cereals was quite inadequate to provide the population with wheat and other bread grains; consequently al-Andalus, at certain periods of famine, had to rely on imports of North African wheat. Some varieties of Andalusian wheat (Toledo) were especi-



ally renowned. Millers used either horse-driven mills (*hāḥāna*) or water-mills (*raḥā*).

Vast stretches of country, especially in Andalusia and the Aljarafe region, were covered with olive-trees, and the olive oil industry was always extremely active there. Extraction methods were primitive, but the quantities of oil produced were sometimes in excess of local need, and the surplus was exported to the rest of the Islamic world.

The cultivation of the vine, like other forms of dry cultivation, seems to have been extensively practised. Raisins were used for cooking, and above all the consumption of wine was virtually tolerated and its sale regulated.

It was, however, in the sphere of crops needing suitable irrigation, that the Andalusians soon achieved an unchallenged supremacy, although it is not possible to attribute to them the invention of the system of irrigation which they used, in particular in the East of al-Andalus, and which still exists without substantial modification. The simplest form of irrigation was that practised with the aid of a network of irrigation channels (*al-ayya*, Span. *acequia*) which criss-crossed the littoral plains of the Murcia and Valencia regions, and in which the flow of water depended entirely on differences of level. Water rights were fixed by custom according to a code, patriarchal in character, which is also still in use to-day. On the higher ground and in the valleys of rivers such as the Guadiana, Tagus and Ebro, irrigation could only be carried out with the aid of pumping machines, named, according to their type and function, *na'irā* (Span. and Fr. *noría*) or *zāmiya* (Span. *acoria*). This irrigation was used for the cultivation of vegetables and trees. The geographers view with one another in their praises of the fruits of al-Andalus: cherries, apples and pears, almonds and pomegranates, and above all figs, of which numerous varieties were known in Spain. In some unusually sheltered coastal strips it was possible to grow crops of a sub-tropical nature: sugar-cane, bananas. The palm-groves of Elche (*Alfā* [g.a.]) were one of the sights of the country.

Finally, the cultivation of aromatic herbs and plants used for making cloth was also carried on to a considerable scale; saffron, safflower, cumin, coriander, madder and henna, on the one hand, flax and cotton on the other. Silk cultivation flourished, mainly between Granada and the Mediterranean.

The geographers, in their descriptions, have devoted little space to the rearing of saddle- and draught-animals or animals for meat. Horses were bred in the grass-lands of the lower Guadalquivir, and Andalusian mules were already celebrated by the time of Ibn Hawkal. Cattle, sheep and goats were reared everywhere, making use of the meagre pasture available. Apiculture, for the production of honey, was also practised.

The forest region of al-Andalus was exploited for the needs of the towns, notably charcoal. Pines, numerous on the edges of the Meseta, were felled for use as joints or ships' masts. The great steppe-like expanses of the south-east furnished an abundance of dwarf palms and esparto, used in basket-making and domestic purposes.

2. Mineral exploitation. The richness of the subsoil of al-Andalus justified mineral exploitation from earliest times, and the process continued during the Muslim era. Apart from gold, extracted from the gold-bearing sand of certain rivers, veins of silver and iron were mined north of Cordova, and

deposits of cinnabar were exploited at Almaden and Ovejo. Copper was produced from pyrite mines of the Huelva region. Alum, sulphate of iron, lead and galena were also extracted. Muslim Spain was also renowned for its marble and precious stones. Like the Romans before them, the Andalusians made use of many thermal springs, nearly all of which still retain their old name of *Alhama* (Ar. *al-hama*).

The exploitation of the rock-salt mines and the salt-deposits on the coast at Cadiz, Almeria and Alicante was a flourishing industry. Fishing was carried on, especially with string-nets and tunny-nets (Ar. *al-maḥraḥa*); sardines and tunny were caught in large quantities.

*Bibliography:* The preceding is developed at length in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, iii, 233-98; see also *idem*, *Exp. musul.*, x<sup>e</sup> siècle, 157-94. Cf., for the period 11th to 13th century, C. E. Dubler, *Über das Wirtschaftsleben auf der iberischen Halbinsel vom XI. zum XIII. Jahrhundert*, Geneva-Zürich 1943; A. Carbonel T.-F., *La minería y la metalurgia entre los Musulmanes en España*, Cordova 1929.

#### (VI) GENERAL SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF AL-ANDALUS

It is only possible to give here a brief outline of the development of the history of al-Andalus during the seven centuries of Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. For greater clarity, this outline will be divided into a number of chronological compartments, which will allow the presentation of a chronologically connected account without the necessity in most cases of going into events in greater detail.

1. The conquest of al-Andalus.
2. The history of al-Andalus up to the Marwanid restoration.
3. The Marwanid Kingdom of Cordova.
4. The Caliphate and the 'Amirid dictatorship.
5. The collapse of the Marwanid Caliphate and the partition of the Kingdom of al-Andalus.
6. The Kingdoms of the *al-far* up to the battle of al-Zalāḥa.
7. Spain under the Almoravids.
8. Spain under the Almohads and the progress of the Reconquista.
9. The Nasrid Kingdom of Granada and the conclusion of the Reconquista.

1. The conquest of al-Andalus. Of all the conquests undertaken by the Arabs in the first century of Islam, the conquest of al-Andalus is most remarkable for the speed and despatch with which it was accomplished. The accounts which have reached us of successive stages culminating in the extension of Muslim power over the whole of the Iberian Peninsula are particularly brief and unreliable; legend rapidly obscured historical reality with a veil which is nearly always impenetrable. It is clear that at the opportune moment the Arabs profited by the decayed state of the Visigothic Kingdom of Spain to turn their attention to it, and that they had the effective co-operation of many of the Spaniards themselves, desirous of throwing off a yoke which had become insupportable to them, to aid them in conquering it. The opportunity was tempting, at a moment when Arab power had just established itself firmly in North Morocco, and when the post of Governor of Ifrikiya and the Maghrib was in the hands of Mūsā b. Nusayr [g.a.]. To the latter, and to his lieutenant, the *muḥallif*

Tārik b. Ziyād [g.a.], belonged the glory of the conquest of al-Andalus.

It seems certain that Mūsā b. Nusayr himself took the decision to try to occupy new territories on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar before referring the matter to the Caliph at Damascus; Mūsā took this step as a result of promises of support which he had received from the exarch of the town of Septem (Ceuta), which had remained a Byzantine possession despite the recent fall of Carthage into Muslim hands. This dignitary, Count Julian, facilitated the first Muslim landing, which was merely a raid led by the Berber officer Tārik on the island of Tarifa (Djazīrat Tarf) in Ramadan 92/July 710. The success of Tārik's raid encouraged Tārik, the lieutenant of Mūsā b. Nusayr, to place on a war footing an assault force of 7,000 men, which, with the aid of Count Julian's flotilla, established itself on Andalusian soil in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar (Djabal Tārik) in Rajab or Sha'ban 92 April-May 711.

The decisive battle between the Muslim assault force and the regular troops of the Visigoth king, Roderic, which occurred a few weeks later, on 28 Ramadan 92/19 July 711, at Wādī Lago (Rio Barbate), ended in disaster for the Visigoths, who wavered and fled, while Tārik decided to advance further. The cities of the Gothic kingdom fell one after another. Cordova was taken by the freedman Muḥallif at the beginning of 93/Oct. 711, and Toledo fell without resistance. Mūsā b. Nusayr, anxious not to leave to Tārik alone all the prestige of the conquest, entered Spain shortly afterwards, in Ramadan 93/June 712, with a force of 18,000 men, mainly Arabs, and captured successively Seville and Mérida (Shawwāl 94/June-July 713). Mūsā effected a junction with Tārik at Toledo and from there marched to occupy Saragossa. At that moment he received the order of the Caliph al-Walid to return to Syria with Tārik. They both left Spain, which was almost completely conquered, never to return.

2. The history of al-Andalus up to the Marwanid restoration. The departure of Mūsā b. Nusayr to the East inaugurated a period during which a number of governors (*alif*) succeeded one another as rulers of the newly-conquered territory with powers delegated by the central authority at Damascus, or simply as delegates of the nominal governor at al-Kayrawān. It is an extremely obscure period during which the rivalry of the Arab clans re-awoke in Spain, resulting in the greatest political confusion, and only marked by various feeble attempts to extend Muslim power towards Gaulish territory (capture of Barcelona, Gerona and Narbonne), a raid against the Narbonne and Toulouse (100-2/719-721), and, in 725, an expedition to the valley of the Rhône as far as Burgundy. The last expedition of any size, led by the governor 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ghāfīqī, who was killed in action, ended in the defeat of the Muslims by the Duke of the Franks Charles Martel, at *Baldī al-Shahādā*, a battle more commonly known as the Battle of Poitiers (Ramadan 114/October 732).

#### List of governors of al-Andalus responsible to the Caliphs of Damascus

1. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mūsā b. Nusayr [g.a.], succeeded his father on the latter's death in 94/712-3. Assassinated in Rajab 97/March 716.
2. Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhnī (97/716), for six months.
3. al-Hurr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Thakafī [g.a.] (97-100/716-719).

4. al-Samī b. Mālik al-Jahāwī (Ramadan 100-101/719-721).
5. 'Anbasa b. Suhaym al-Kalbi (102-107/721-726).
6. 'Uthra b. 'Abd Allāh al-Fihri (107/726).
7. Yahyā b. Salama al-Kalbi (107-110/726-728).
8. Hudhayfa b. al-Aḥwas al-Kayd (110/728).
9. 'Uthmān b. Abi Nis'a al-Jahāwī (110-111/728-729).
10. al-Haytham b. 'Ubayd al-Kalbi (111/729-730).
11. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ashdijāfi (111-112/730).
12. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghāfīqī [g.a.], 112-114/730-732.
13. 'Abd al-Malik b. Kaṭan al-Fihri [g.a.] (114-116/732-734).
14. 'Ukba b. al-Hudhādī al-Salūfī (116-123/734-741).
15. 'Abd al-Malik b. Kaṭan (for the second time) to 123/741.
16. Baljū b. Bishr al-Kushayrī [g.a.] (123-124/741-742).
17. Thā'aba b. Salama al-'Amīlī (124-125/742-743).
18. Abu 'l-Khaṭīr al-Huṣām b. Dirār al-Kalbi (125-127/743-745).
19. Thawāba b. Salama al-Djūdhāfī (127-129/745-746).
20. Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri (129/746-136/756, date of the proclamation of 'Abd al-Rahmān I).

*Bibliography:* (For 1 and 2): Sources and bibliography listed in detail in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, i, p. 8, note 2. *Ibid.*, 2-89, contains a detailed account of the conquest and the period of the governors. Cf. also Dozy, *Recherches*, i, 1-83; E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los Arabes en España*, Madrid 1892.

3. The Marwanid Kingdom of Cordova. (138-300/756-912). The circumstances attending the arrival in Spain of the Marwanid pretender 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya, which enabled him to rally to his cause a large number of clients and partisans of his family and eventually defeated the governor Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri near Cordova, where he was proclaimed *amir* of al-Andalus on 10 Dhu'l-Hijja 138/15 May 756, are narrated in the article on this prince [see 'ABD AL-RAHMAN I].

#### List of amirs of al-Andalus up to the proclamation of 'Abd al-Rahmān III

1. 'Abd al-Rahmān I b. Mu'āwiya b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, born 113/731, *amir* of al-Andalus 138/756 to 172/788.
2. Hishām I b. 'Abd al-Rahmān I, born 139/757, *amir* 172/788 to his death, 3 Šafar 180/17 April 796.
3. al-Hakam I b. Hishām I, born 154/770, *amir* 180/796 to his death, 25 Dhu'l-Hijja 206/21 May 822.
4. 'Abd al-Rahmān II b. al-Hakam I, born 176/792, *amir* 206/822 to his death, 3 Rabi' II 238/82 September 852.
5. Muhammad I b. 'Abd al-Rahmān II, born 207/823, *amir* 238/852 to his death, 28 Šafar 273/4 August 886.
6. al-Muḥallif b. Muhammad I, born 229/844, *amir* 273/886 to his death, 15 Šafar 275/29 June 888.
7. 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad I, brother of the latter, born 229/844, *amir* from 275/888 to his death, 1 Rabi' I 300/16 Oct. 912.

Among the noteworthy features of this period of the Marwanid amirate of al-Andalus, which lasted more than a century and a half, are the introduction



of the Mālikī *madhhab* into Spain during the peaceful reign of Ḥishām I, and the efforts of the *amirs* throughout almost the entire period to deal with the revolts instigated in the Marches by the Berbers, the Arabs and the *muwallads*, and to wage a holy war on the frontiers of the Kingdom. The attempts made against al-Ḥakam I (in particular the famous "revolt of the Suburbs" on several occasions placed him in a dangerous position. Moreover the Reconquista, as a result of the aggressive spirit of the first Asturian-Leonese princes and the Franks of the Spanish March, gradually gained ground (final recapture of Barcelona).

The internal crisis was relieved for a time by 'Abd al-Rahmān II (g.a.), who fought simultaneously against the Franks, the Gascons and the Basque Kant (g.a.) of the Ebro valley, crushed the Mozarab revolt at Cordova (850-9), and threw back into the sea the Norsemen (*Urdumuniyān* or *Madjās*) who had landed on the coast of Seville. This great ruler, who broke with the "Syrian tradition" introduced into Spain by his great-grandfather 'Abd al-Rahmān I, organized the state of the 'Abbasid model.

His work was continued by his son Muhammad I, at the end of whose reign, however, occurred the renewed insurrection of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Marwān b. al-Jullid (g.a.) and the rising of the whole of southern Andalusia under 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ (g.a.), whose revolt continued during the following reigns; further, during the reign of the *amir* 'Abd Allāh, serious fighting broke out between Arabs and *muwallads* in the Elvira and Seville regions.

**Bibliography:** Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, I, 95-96, with details of sources and bibliography. Dozy's history, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, vol. II, is now out of date.

4. The Caliphate and the 'Amirid dictatorship. On the long and fruitful reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir, the restoration of the Cordovan Caliphate, and home and foreign policy, see 'Amr al-Kawmān III, and Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, II, 2-164.

His reign of fifty years represented not only the high-water mark of Marwānid rule in the Peninsula, but also the most flourishing period in the Muslim history of al-Andalus. On the death of 'Abd al-Rahmān, 22 Rāmādān 350/4 November 961, he was succeeded by his son al-Ḥakam II, who was already nearly fifty years old, and who reigned until his own death on 3 Safr 366/1, October 976. The latter's reign was also a successful and prosperous one. Cordova, in the words of the Saxon poetess Hroswitha, was the "ornament of the world", and at the same time, under the stimulus of a prince like al-Ḥakam II, who was a man of letters and a bibliophile, one of the most active centres of philological, literary and juridical culture in the entire Muslim world at that time. Christian Spain requested his arbitration, and the Reconquista seemed finally to be checked.

When he died, al-Ḥakam II only left as his successor a young son unfit to rule, Ḥishām II, born in 354/965 of the union of the Caliph with the Gascon *umma* *walad* Subh. Once the palace intrigues were frustrated, the way was clear for a man of ambition and energy, who soon seized the reins of power and directed the destinies of the Caliphate with a dictatorial hand: the celebrated "major-domo" Muhammad b. Abi 'Amir, the future al-Manṣūr (g.a.). The stages in the brilliant career of Ibn Abi 'Amir, which speedily led him to the highest honours, will not be recounted in detail here. But this highly-talented

politician showed himself also to be a general and a strategist who was both able and successful in his undertakings. He mounted successive attacks in the *ghihād* against the Christian kingdoms to the North, inflicted on them severe defeats and even succeeded in capturing and destroying the famous sanctuary of Saint James of Compostela (Santiago, *Shant Yāhū*) in the campaign of his campaign of 387/997 against Galicia. Al-Manṣūr died at Medina (Madinat Sālim), on his return from a final campaign to North Castle, on 27 Rāmādān 392/9 August 1002. He left Muslim Spain intact and, following 'Abd al-Rahmān III and al-Ḥakam II, had even been able to extend Andalusian political influence over the whole of western Barbary.

One of al-Manṣūr's most skilful achievements was to respect throughout his life the external trappings of the Caliphate and to keep intact certain of its prerogatives on behalf of his nominal master Ḥishām II. The latter bequeathed the same powers of "major-domo" or *hājib* to the favourite son of al-Manṣūr, 'Abd al-Malik, who succeeded his father and adopted the honorific surname of al-Muṣaffar. He remained in power until his death in 399/1008 see 'Abd al-Malik b. Abi 'Amir for the details of the history of his "septennate". The death of 'Abd al-Malik b. Abi 'Amir and his replacement by his brother 'Abd al-Rahmān ushered in a period of disastrous disorders in the Spanish Caliphate which soon brought about its downfall.

**Bibliography:** Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, II, 1-290.

5. The collapse of the Marwānid Caliphate and the partition of the Kingdom of al-Andalus. The military policy of al-Manṣūr had resulted in the introduction into Muslim Spain of a large number of mercenaries of North African Berber origin who, after his death and that of his successor, formed a centre of agitation against the Andalusians themselves, and against the powerful Slav bloc. The train was fired by the insane desire of 'Abd al-Rahmān Sanchuelo to have himself designated heir-presumptive to the throne by the Caliph Ḥishām II (Rabī' I 399/November 1008). This designation was extremely badly received at Cordova and, following a plot against him, the 'Amirid *hājib* was executed by the supporters of the Marwānid pretender Muhammad b. Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Djabbār near Cordova on 3 Raddjāb 399/3 March 1009 [see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abi 'Amir].

From then on, the Kingdom of Cordova went through a period which was fatal to its destinies: pretenders and counter-pretenders, supported by the Berbers or by the enemies of the Berbers, hastened the ultimate downfall of the Caliphate.

#### List of the last Caliphs of Cordova

1. Ḥishām II b. al-Ḥakam II al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh (366-399/976-1009: 400-403/1010-1013).
2. Muhammad II b. Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Djabbār al-Mahdī (399-1009).
3. Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Musta'in (399/1009: 403/1011).
4. 'Abd al-Rahmān IV b. Mub. b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Murtadā (408/1018).
5. 'Abd al-Rahmān V b. Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Djabbār al-Mustazhir (414/1023-24).
6. Muhammad III b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Mustakfi (414-416/1024-1025).
7. Ḥishām III b. Mub. b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Mu'tadd (420-442/1029-1031).

#### Hamūdīd Caliphs

1. 'Alī b. Hamūd (407-408/1016-1018).
  2. al-Kāsim b. Hamūd (408-413/1018-1023).
- The Andalusian, Slav and Berber "factions" (*al-fāq*, pl. *fāqā'if*) did not wait for the collapse of the Cordovan caliphate before splitting up the territory of al-Andalus into a multitude of small states, most of which had only an ephemeral existence and among which emerged only a few large political blocs, the Kingdoms of the 'Abbasids of Seville, the Atafids of Badajoz, the Zirids of Granada, the Uba' b. Nūmids of Toledo and the Hūdids of Saragossa.

**Bibliography:** Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, II, 291-341 (and bibliography quoted on p. 291, note 1); and see HAMŪDIDS. For 3-5 see UMAYYADS.

6. The Kingdoms of the *al-fāq* up to the battle of al-Zallāka. The history of Spain in the 11th century is characterized by the vigorous efforts of the Reconquista, stimulated by energetic and enterprising Christian monarchs who were more and more conscious of the necessity of re-establishing national unity at the expense of Islam. The internal history of the Kingdoms created by the dismemberment of the Spanish Caliphate is particularly dull and devoid of interest. As portrayed by the chroniclers, it presents a picture of constant turmoil—opposing interests, rivalries and perpetual disputes, through which it is not always possible to trace a guiding thread. The ethnic groups, to which belonged the dynasties which outlived those which were rapidly absorbed by their more powerful rivals, joined issue with one another. Andalusians fought against Berbers, and Slavs fought against both. Before long there was no hope of restoring the Caliphate, and the increasing weakness of each of these states only whetted the appetite of the Christian monarchs, who levied heavy tribute from them: this policy was followed particularly by King Alfonso VI, who succeeded, by skilful diplomacy, in effecting the peaceful occupation of Toledo (1085) and in making himself the arbiter in disputes between the *mulūk al-ta'wā'if*.

The danger became so great that, whether they wished to or not, the *mulūk al-ta'wā'if* were forced to seek help from the Almoravids. The turning-point came with the intervention of North African troops led by the *amir* Yūsuf b. Tāghūf, who defeated the forces of Alfonso VI at Sagrās (2 Raddjāb 476/10 on 22 Raddjāb 476/2 November 1086. This victory was not followed up, and Yūsuf b. Tāghūf, soon wearying of the spectacle of the disunion of the Andalusian kings and their compromises with the Christian monarch, dethroned them one after the other and simply annexed the greater part of al-Andalus to his dominion. From that moment, Muslim Spain was only the vassal of the Maghrib.

**Bibliography:** See the usually accurate lists given by A. Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas: estudio historico-numismatico de los musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la hégira* (XI de J. C.), Madrid 1926. See also Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, vol. III; A. Gonzales Palencia, *Hist. de la Esp. musul.*, 34-69; and *ANASTASIOS AFRASIAS*, 190-208, 209-210, 211-212, etc.; for a list of the dynasties of the *ta'wā'if* cf. MUKĀBIL al-TAWĀ'IF.

7. Al-Andalus under the Almoravids. The Almoravid occupation of Muslim Spain was completed by the recapture of Valencia (495/1102), which had fallen into the hands of the Cid Campeador Rodrigo Díaz in 478/1085, and by the surrender of

the Hūdīd capital of Saragossa on the death of al-Musta'in (503/1110). Al-Andalus then experienced, despite the domination of society by the *fahils*, several decades of prosperity, marked by the indisputable successes of Almoravid arms (victory of Uclés in 502/1108) which, however, were unable to recapture Toledo. Saragossa itself fell in 512/1118 into the hands of Alfonso the Warrior. Christian pressure on al-Andalus increased, and achieved the greater success because the son and successor of Yūsuf b. Tāghūf, 'Alī, threatened in Morocco itself by the Almohads, soon became incapable of offering serious resistance to the manifestations of revolt which were appearing on all sides. The time was ripe for another change of masters in al-Andalus. (See AL-MURĀBITŪN).

**Bibliography:** R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, definitive edition, Madrid 1927, F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almorávides en España*, Saragossa 1899.

8. Al-Andalus under the Almohads, and the progress of the Reconquista. After a period of thirty years, in the middle of the 12th century, during which certain movements took shape to weave a new pattern of "Kingdoms of *al-fāq*", al-Andalus submitted to the authority of the Ma'mūnid dynasty of Morocco. The Almohads maintained for nearly a century an increasingly precarious grasp on those parts of the Peninsula which still belonged to Islam. The Reconquista now back more territory each year. In Catalonia, Ramón Berenguer IV occupied successively Tortosa and Lerida, the chief architect of the Reconquista was King Alfonso VIII of Castile (1188-1214), who gained possession of Silves, Evora, and Cuenca. The Muslim victory at Alarcos (*al-Arah*), won by the Almohad Caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, 8 Sha'bān 591/18 July 1195, had no lasting effect. Less than fifteen years later, the Christian coalition, comprising troops from Castile, Leon, Navarre and Aragon, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Muslims at Las Navas de Tolosa (*al-Ibbāh*), 13 Safr 609/17 July 1212, which was followed by the fall of Ubeda and Baeza. The capture of Cordova occurred less than a quarter of a century later, followed by the capture of Valencia by Jacques I of Aragon (636/1238) and of Seville by Ferdinand III (646/1248).

**Bibliography:** See AL-AḤKĀM al-'Īḥān, Iḡlāl-ḥayā, BALANSUYA, KURVINA, MU'AMMARS.

9. The Nasrid Kingdom of Granada and the conclusion of the Reconquista. For a further two and a half centuries the "Kingdom of Granada", despite successive amputations, continued to be the only territory on the Iberian Peninsula still under the authority of a Muslim ruler; bounded by the Mediterranean from Gibraltar to Almería, this Kingdom did not extend inland beyond the mountain masses of the Serranía de Ronda and the Sierra d'Elvira. The ancestor and founder of the Nasrid dynasty (or Banu 'l-Ahmar), Muḥammad I al-Ḥishām bi'llāh, took possession of Granada in 635/1237-8 and organized the fortress called al-Hamra', the Alhambra, as a royal palace; at the same time, he agreed to become the tribute-paying vassal of the King of Castile, Ferdinand I, and then of his successor Alfonso X. Henceforth the policy of kings of Granada was to try to achieve a precarious balance in their alliances concluded either with the Christians, or with the Mārnids of Morocco, who intervened militarily on Andalusian territory and occupied certain points such as Tarifa. Moroccan co-operation was gradually proved to be illusory:



the sultan Abu 'l-Hasan suffered a grave defeat on the Rio Salado (747/1340). Granada still retained some of the prestige of a capital by virtue of its monuments and literary gatherings, in which men like Lisán al-Din b. al-Khatib were conspicuous. In the following century, with the advent of the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, the Christian offensive became increasingly aggressive and was conducted on a wider scale. Loja fell in 1486, Vélez-Málaga, Málaga and Almería the following year, Baza in 1489, and Granada eventually surrendered to the Catholic monarchs on 2 Rabī' I 897/3 January 1492.

**Bibliography:** See NASRIS. Also, on the fate of Spanish Muslims, whether converted to Christianity or not, after the conclusion of the Reconquista, MORRIS. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

#### Appendix: the 'Andalus' in North Africa

As a generic term *al-Andalus* is especially well known in the North African context where it denotes that element of the Islamic population which derives its origins from Spain. Generally speaking, the Andalusian element only appears in relief from about the end of the 13th century, but here we have to do with nothing more than the culmination of a long historical trend.

In the course of Hispano-Islamic history emigration to the Maghrib not infrequently served the inhabitants of al-Andalus as a means of escape from internal crisis. Andalusian commercial and external interests also played a great part in bringing Hispano-Islamic elements to the littoral of the Western and Central Maghrib.

From about the middle of the 12th century, when Muslim disasters in Western Andalus sent a stream of emigrants to Kar al-Kutāma (al-Kar al-Kabir), the advance of the Reconquista was to prove an increasingly important, though by no means the sole cause of emigration to North Africa. With the protracted disintegration of Islamic Spain emigration progressed sporadically until the 15th century when the critical events which foreshadowed the fall of Granada marked the beginning of what was to prove a veritable diaspora, of which North Africa experienced appreciable effects. By the end of the 16th century the number of Andalusian expatriates on Maghribi soil was such that they could be accounted an important minority of its population.

The advent of the 17th century brought new developments and it is not long before we see the outcome of the general expulsion of the Moriscos. From their ports of disembarkation large numbers are said to have made for Fez and Tlemcen, but of these a great proportion suffered death or spoliation at the hands of the Arab tribes. Many others succeeded in joining their compatriots at Algiers, and in Tunisia, where a policy of immigration was actively encouraged by 'Uthmān Dāy, the influx was considerable.

Of the Andalusians thus established in 17th century Tunisia a fairly detailed picture can be drawn. Their case is somewhat different from that of their 13th century precursors who are best known for their great political role in the Ifrīqiya state. Appearing as a highly organized and exclusive community under a supreme head (*shaykh al-Andalus*), they seem in their village communities to have enjoyed certain legal rights together with a large measure of independence in local government. The monopoly of a highly successful and well organized *shādhiya* industry enabled them so to modify

the economic system that the *amin al-shādhiya* became *de jure amin* of commerce, presiding over a commercial tribunal to which all corporations were subject and whose members were, with only two exceptions, recruited from the Andalusian *shādhiya*. In the agricultural field Andalusian skill, fostered by the enlightened 'Uthmān Dāy, was turned to the exploitation of the fertile north, where the Moriscos ably applied their knowledge of irrigation and the techniques of husbandry to arboriculture and market gardening. During the 16th and 17th centuries the production and traffic of raw silk as well as the manufacture of stuks, fabrics and embroidered goods were great specialities of the exiles. At Algiers, for instance, the silk industry was very much in their hands and contributed much to the wealth of the city. Much, on the other hand, that they might have contributed to the Maghrib was lost. In Morocco, for instance, the Sa'īdis sought mainly to exploit them as a military force. For the rest, their occupation with piracy, and the slave trade must have accounted for the disappearance of traditional skills. Their traces, however, still survive in many spheres of activity. Andalusians proudly proclaim their Andalusian origin which is in many cases apparent from their patronymics.

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#### (vii) ISLAM IN AL-ANDALUS

Al-Andalus was always a stronghold of Mālikism and a centre of orthodoxy from the beginning of the 9th century, when the *madhāb* of Medina was adopted and supplanted that of al-Awāzī. During the Marwīdī period, as the new *madhāb* had the official support of the rulers of the country, there was no possibility of the implantation of other rites, and all Shāfi'i or Shī'i tendencies were suppressed in their early stages; the Andalusians could only direct their legal and theological activity towards the elaboration of manuals of *fiqh*, and to a permanent attachment to the method of *taḥlīl*. In the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, however, there is apparent an infiltration, admittedly slight, of the Shāfi'i and Zāhiri schools, the latter represented in Spain by the *hāfī* al-Muḥḍib b. Sa'īd al-Balūṭī (d. 355/966) until it found its "standard-bearer" in the person of the famous Ibn Ḥazm (g.e.). Similarly, there is apparent at certain periods a certain spread of Mu'tazilism, which corresponded to a revival of ascetic tendencies, whose principal representative was the Cordovan philosopher Ibn Masarra (g.e.) (d. 379/931).

The representatives of Andalusian Mālikism whose names and sometimes works have come down to us are legion. Nearly all of them have received biographical notices in the collections printed in the *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*. After the fall of the Caliphate, jurisprudence was held in even greater esteem than before, and the social class of the *fakīhs* frequently formed the most influential and active section of the population, especially under the Almoravids. From a doctrinal point of view, al-Andalus was scarcely affected by Almohad propaganda, and Mālikism reigned supreme up to the end.

**Bibliography:** General survey in Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Exp. Mus.*, II, 455-88. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

#### (viii) ANDALUSIAN LITERATURE AND CULTURE

See 'ARABIC LITERATURE, II, Appendix.

#### (ix) ANDALUSIAN ART

The Iberian Peninsula, by virtue of its geographical position, which encloses the western end of the Mediterranean, and by reason of its predominantly Mediterranean characteristics, has been since ancient times an area favourable to the germination of Oriental influences. Possession of a common religion and a common language, the two factors, says Sartori, which constitute the strongest bond between peoples, strengthened relations between the two regions, relations which benefited also by the religious obligation of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Artistic trends and forms reached the Iberian Peninsula from the Orient over a period of eight centuries; some of these were developed to a greater degree and extent than in their country of origin. In Hispanic art there are echoes of the art of Byzantium and its cultural zones, of Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and Ifrīqiya. In Syria as on

Iberian soil, the art of the Middle Ages was modelled on the pattern of the art of Imperial Rome. The coincidence of certain forms in the works of these two countries points sometimes to their common origin and not to a direct relationship between the two. But, whereas in the eastern Mediterranean, civilisation developed without interruption from the first centuries of the Christian era and during the first centuries of Islam, the Iberian Peninsula, and the West as a whole, experienced grave crises and a considerable decline in its standard of civilisation.

We do not know many details of the transition from Visigothic Spain, whose lack of homogeneity and decadence are shown by its feeble resistance to the invaders, to Spain under Islamic domination. In the artistic sphere, works and remains of the obscure period and of the subsequent Islamic periods are lacking, with the result that in many cases the gaps must be filled by guesswork.

The art of al-Andalus developed with an original and distinctive character of its own. During the period of contact with the Orient, between the 2nd/8th and 9th/15th centuries, certain monuments of incomparable beauty, perfection and originality, such as have been preserved in no other Muslim country, were built there: the mosque at Cordova, unique both for its complex and skilful construction and for the richness of its decoration; the palaces of Madinat al-Zahrā', whose art and magnificence have never been surpassed; the Aljama of Saragosa, a palace of extraordinary originality and decorative profusion, the reconstruction of which is being undertaken at the present time; the Giralda tower, a monumental minaret which is one of the most beautiful in the Islamic world; and, finally, a huge palace, the Alhambra of Granada, wonderfully preserved despite its extreme fragility, in which architecture and the natural beauties of water and vegetation have combined to create one of the most inspiring scenes in the world.

#### Architecture

Umayyads. In default of older buildings, the study of Islamic architecture in al-Andalus must start from the oldest part of the Cordova mosque, built by 'Abd al-Rahmān I between 168 and 170/784-6, i.e. three-quarters of a century after the invasion and conquest of the Peninsula. By the time of the death of this *amir*, only the finishing touches remained, and these were executed by his son Hishām (172-180/788-96).

This early oratory occupies the N.-W. portion of the building, which is still preserved to-day. The mosque is rectangular, with stone walls, divided into eleven aisles running North to South, perpendicular to the *hība* wall, the central aisle being larger than the others. The aisles are separated by marble columns deriving from Roman or Visigothic buildings. On the capitals rest square impost blocks, which in their turn carry rectangular stone piers, the overhang being supported transversely by means of corbels and terminating above in an impost. The piers are linked longitudinally by two ranges of arches; the lower arches, horseshoe-shaped, are suspended and support nothing; above, a second range consisting of semi-circular arches, springs from the imposts and supports the walls. By this method of construction it was possible to erect a huge building on slender columns, making the maximum use of the interior space and, for the faithful, ensuring a good view of the *miḥrab* leading the prayer. Owing to the fact that the width of the supports was



increased in proportion to their height, it was possible to support the roofs and to place rain-water gutters in the thickness of the walls.

The method of construction with double superimposed arches, which gives the Cordova mosque an original beauty and a unique character in mediaeval architecture, is not found in any other mosque. In the other hypostyle mosques, the arches separating the aisles are supported by means of wooden beams which give them the appearance of temporary constructions. It is astonishing to find in Cordova in the second half of the 8th century such a perfect structure, in view of the apparent lack of architectural ability which is suggested by the use of columns originating from earlier buildings.

Repeated attempts have been made to establish the origin of these forms. The system of double arches could be inspired by Roman architectural works, for example aqueducts. Stone was used as constructional material in Syrian architecture, but also in Visigothic architecture in Spain. The arrangement of the ashlar alternately as stretchers or as piers is frequently found in Roman buildings of the East and the West, which have inherited it from Greek buildings. Visigothic architecture made more general use of the horseshoe arch, specimens of which are found in Roman and eastern Islamic architecture, although fewer than in the Peninsula. The alternate use of stone and brick in the voussoirs of the arches was frequent in Roman architecture, from which it passed into Byzantine architecture. The originality of the mosque of 'Abd al-Rahmān I resides in the plan and general arrangement of the building, with its numerous parallel aisles, the central aisle being larger, as in the eastern mosques, and perhaps also in the wall buttresses and probably in the stepped crenellations which crown them.

The growth of the population of Cordova, in the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān II (206-38/822-52), necessitated the enlargement of the mosque. By demolishing the *mihrāb* and piercing the *kibla* wall, the aisles were extended southwards. The portion added follows the lines of the earlier work, but, among a large number of capitals originating from earlier buildings, there are eleven which were finely cut for the purpose and were inspired by classical models, and four, from the *mihrāb*, which were later transferred to that of al-Hakam II. The latter are not inferior to the finest Roman capitals, and are evidence of the existence of a workshop of selected artisans. These works were commenced in 218/833; the first prayer before the new *mihrāb* took place in 234/848, but the work was incomplete at the death of 'Abd al-Rahmān II. His son and successor Muhammad I completed them in 241/855, a date which appears in an inscription on the St. Stephen door, whose bevelled decorations, inspired without doubt by Roman mosaic motifs, are of the Byzantine type.

'Abd al-Rahmān III (300-50/912-61), left in the Great Mosque a memorial of his long and glorious reign, by constructing in 340/953 a new and monumental minaret, of square section like the Syrian minarets.

In 326/936, 'Abd al-Rahmān III, proclaimed caliph, began the construction of the royal city of Madinat al-Zahra', at the foot of the Sierra, less than five miles from Cordova. The work proceeded until 365/976, a period of forty years during which the grandeur and power of the Andalusian caliphate reached their zenith, as is witnessed by the disfigured ruins of the palaces of this city, the seat of the court

and officialdom, and by the enlargement of the Cordova mosque on the initiative of al-Hakam II.

The portions of Madinat al-Zahra' until now brought to light are the ruins of stone buildings-dwellings, offices and reception halls, the last-named situated at the end of *patios* and consisting of several parallel aisles, separated by horseshoe arches on columns, following a basilica-type arrangement common in the East. For its decoration, the two caliphs, fired by the ambition to construct buildings of exceptional splendour and richness, imported materials and skilled craftsmen from the other end of the Mediterranean. The roofs and ceilings have gone—Madinat al-Zahra' was sacked and burnt several times during the early years of the 11th century and later served as a quarry up to a recent date—but there remains part of the stone and marble surfaces of the walls of many of the rooms, numerous columns and capitals of the same materials, and pavements of stone, marble and brick. The richly decorated surface of these buildings was entrusted to workshops of skilled craftsmen, some of whom came from the eastern Mediterranean; they possessed different training and different techniques for the working of stone and marble, but were especially familiar with the general characteristics of two-dimensional reliefs with vegetal motifs (there are a few simple geometrical motifs, of Byzantine origin), the majority far-removed from the vine and the acanthus motifs which derive from them. A magnificent hall, discovered in 1944, and at present in course of reconstruction because among its ruins were found many reliefs from the decorated surfaces of the inner walls, was decorated from 342 to 345/933-7.

The same craftsmen from the palaces of al-Zahra' worked on the enlargement of the Great Mosque at Cordova; this work, initiated by al-Hakam II, was put in hand in 350/961, and the principal part was completed in 355/966. Workers in mosaic, requested from the emperor of Byzantium, had a hand in its decoration. An Oriental influence is also noticeable in the four vaults of intersecting arches in the extension, although no comparable example of an earlier date has yet been discovered in the East. The increase in the height of the walls of some bays in order to form vaulted lanterns probably comes from the mosques of Ifrikiya of the 9th century, although the vaults of the latter are of Byzantine origin. The arches, intersecting equally, but in plan and not in space, form an open lattice-work which, by an ingenious and skilful constructional technique, supports the cupolas. Some of the arches are cusped and 'Abbasid in origin; there are also a number of broken arches. The former were, from then on, combined with intersecting arches, one of the favourite themes of Hispano-Muslim art, used purely as decoration. Following a process common to all Islamic art, but in al-Andalus carried to its ultimate conclusion.

In this extension, which dates from the reign of al-Hakam II, and which in fact constitutes a new mosque contiguous to the original, decorative forms of an incredible richness blend with a magnificent blaze of colour to cover the walls and the vaults, composed of vivid mosaics with arabesques (*ataurique*, *al-ta'arib*), the majority of cut stone, with the background painted red and inscriptions in other kinds of blue, and veined marble in the columns and pedestals. The mosque of al-Hakam II, like the hall of 'Abd al-Rahmān III at al-Zahra', illustrates an art utilising its resources to the full, at its peak,

which, without parallel in the contemporary West, is an expression of the grandeur of the Cordovan caliphate.

The third and final enlargement of the Great Mosque was due to the initiative of the powerful al-Mansur, the minister of Hishām II, and was carried out between 377-80/987-90. It maintained the unity of the whole by repeating the same mode, as regards the engaged piers and the arches, the construction of the originals, without any novel feature, and inferior in richness and style. The doorways reveal a process of unification of the great variety of decorative techniques displayed at Madinat al-Zahra', but the result is heavy and monotonous.

Few traces remain of the work executed during the period of the *al-Mu'tas* in the 5th/11th century. In the mosques, on the evidence of the texts and such traces as remain, the division into aisles perpendicular to the *kibla* wall by means of horseshoe arches on columns, is repeated. The piers of the *al-Mu'tas* built palaces rather than religious edifices. They could not rival their predecessors, rulers of a united Spain, in power or wealth but they tried to imitate, at least in appearance, their splendid residences. In place of the solid stone walls of Madinat al-Zahra' they erected walls of clay and brick. The surfaces of stone and marble covered with arabesques (*ataurique*) were replaced by decoration in plaster, and the columns of marble, as in the Alcazaba of Malaga, by wooden columns. The polychrome conveys the poverty of the interior under an ephemeral display of richness and luxury. The reduction in grandeur and solidity, and the lack of architectural greatness, were compensated for not only by the more agreeable and picturesque aspect of the 5th/11th century buildings, but also by the introduction of running water in the halls and patios, and by the use of plants in the patios, doubtless as a result of an Oriental influence, perhaps via Ifrikiya.

The decorative art which sought to conceal the structural poverty of these palaces was a direct successor of the art of the caliphate but with an evolution towards the baroque, essentially Hispanic, by the transformation of the architectural elements of Cordova and Madinat al-Zahra' into other purely decorative elements, consisting of involved and complex designs and profuse ornamentation.

A work which is highly characteristic of the art of the *al-Mu'tas* is the palace built in the immediate vicinity of Saragossa by al-Mu'tadid b. Hūd (441-74/1049-81).

The 6th/12th century, i.e., the period of Almoravid and Almohad domination in al-Andalus, was one of the most fruitful periods of Western Islamic art, and at the same time one of the periods in which there occurred the greatest assimilation of forms originating from the eastern Mediterranean.

The Almoravids, Berber nomads from Africa, without a cultural tradition, remained on the fringe of the artistic trend. But the political union of Muslim Spain and Barbary for a period of just over a century (6th/12th and the first years of the 7th/13th), at first under the Almoravids and then under the Almohads, resulted in the spread of Andalusian art across the Straits of Gibraltar, into regions with a mainly rural civilisation and without large urban centres. [Cf. *AL-MURĀBĪTŪN* (section on art)].

The construction of the Almoravid mosques shows changes as compared with the earlier Hispanic mosques, probably as the result of Mesopotamian influence. In place of the columns which had hitherto

separated the aisles, they built brick pillars; this resulted in increased stability, enabling them to do away with the wooden tie-beams, but also in a loss of space and in reduced visibility. Compared with a hypostyle oratory, an oratory with brick pillars always seems heavy and monotonous.

No Almoravid mosque has been preserved in al-Andalus. The Great Mosques of Tlemcen and Algiers, originally devoid of decoration, were built probably in the last years of the 5th/11th century, before Andalusian influence reached the African shore. This occurred during the reign of 'Alī b. Yūsuf (500-37/1106-43), during which the mosque at Tlemcen was enriched with splendid and profuse Hispanic decoration, which covers the surface of the *mihrāb* as well as the walls and the cupola of the bay which precedes it. This decoration, according to an inscription in cursive letters which forms part of it, was completed in 530/1136. About 529/1135, 'Alī b. Yūsuf enlarged the al-Karawiyyin Mosque at Fez, still closed to non-Muslims, in which there are intersecting arches obviously of Cordovan origin, and vaults formed by stalactites (called *muḥarab* in Spanish), originating from Persia or 'Irāq, which span some of the bays. Its amazing perfection shows that this was not one of the first experiments with these imported elements.

The most characteristic Almoravid work of the decorative style is the Kubbat al-Bardidiyyin of Marrākush, built probably between 514 and 526/1120-1130. The central portion of this small rectangular building is covered by a small cupola of curved brick. Within, eight arches intersect, in a fashion similar to those of the cupola which covers the bay before the *mihrāb* in the mosque at Cordova. The arches are mixtilinear in the Marrākush specimen, composed of cusps, curves and right-angles, and the surfaces contained between their springings are covered, like almost all the others, with delicate plaster arabesques, around large scallops. This is a Hispanic work of extraordinary richness and unusual imagination; it expresses in an eloquent manner the anti-classical tendency to fragmentation and decorative excess which breaks out periodically in the course of the history of Spanish art.

The Almohads who, like their predecessors, lacked a cultural tradition, and were governed by their fundamental asceticism which condemned all luxury and all excess, as befitted a movement purporting to restore the purity of early Islam, influenced artistic evolution by placing severe restrictions on ornamentation, which was reduced to basic essentials, with precise and well-defined lines, on large, plain backgrounds. [Cf. *AL-MU'AWAN* (section on art)]. As no Almohad oratory has survived in Spain, we do not know whether these characteristics extended to them also; the remains of the Great Mosque at Seville, completed during the reign of Ya'qūb al-Mansūr (572-94/1176-98), lead one to suppose that they displayed richer decoration than those preserved in the Maghrib.

The Almohads influenced artistic evolution in other respects as well. Inspired by the memory of the past greatness of the Cordovan caliphate, as witnessed by its buildings, they built huge, symmetrical and well-planned mosques, solid, tall minarets, and great city gates, veritable triumphal archways in honour of the dynasty.

In the remainder of the Almoravid and Almohad palaces there appear two types of patio which later reached an extraordinary pitch of development in the art of Granada: the court with two transverse



pathways forming four squares of vegetation, with projecting pavilions on the shorter sides (El Castillo), in the Vega of Murcia), and the type with a portico on one or two of its sides (the Yeso, in the Alcazar of Seville).

Almoahad military architecture uses, in al-Andalus, arrangements deriving from Byzantine architecture and as yet unknown in the West. For instance, the best gates (walls of Badajoz, Seville and Niebla); the barbicans; the polygonal towers (Cáceres, Badajoz, Seville) and the *albarrañes* or towers outside the walls (Cáceres, Badajoz, Écija). With the stables, there arrived from the Orient curvilinear epigraphy (plaster decorations of the Maunor at Granada, and of the Castillejo at Murcia), and glazed or varnished ceramics used for exterior architectural decoration, of which the first example known in Spain is in the Torre del Oro at Seville (812/1220-21).

After the collapse of the Almoahad empire, the last foothold of Islam in Spain was the tiny Kingdom of Granada, established a little before the middle of the 7th/13th century. The universally famous palace of the Alhambra at Granada, almost all of the other buildings remaining from this final period, are not earlier than the 8th/14th century.

Nasrid [see *NARRIDE*] or Granadan art, is a brilliant final phase of Islam in the Peninsula, which maintained its position partly on the fringes of official dynastic Almoahad art, enriched by the legacy of the latter and by a few importations from the East, without forgetting the changes wrought by the inexorable march of time. It also represented, in its decorative aspect, the revival of the national tradition of dense, flat and fine ornamentation, after the brief Almoahad deviation; the extent to which the latter spread through Spain is not known.

The craftsmen of Granada adorned the last days of a moribund civilisation with the most exquisite examples of what human genius and art can produce in the decorative field. With poor and fragile materials, they created large, strong, plain masses and severe, purely architectural volumes, like the Tower of Comares and the Gate of Justice, in the Alhambra, compositions as serene, harmonious and original as the patio of the Alhambra, and cleverly planned interiors, such as those which are arranged in echelon from the Lion's Court to the platform of Daraja, in the royal palace at Granada. At the same time they constructed fortifications which are more important than the Hispano-Almoahad ones which have been preserved, and Granada was enriched by public buildings, houses and palaces embellished with exquisite art. From modest residences to the royal palaces which surrounded the city, every building had its patios, fountains, cloisters, pavements of brilliant coloured tiles, plaster decoration and skilfully-assembled wooden roofs.

It is in the royal palace of the Alhambra, miraculously preserved despite its great fragility, that the art of Granada acquires its characteristics of magnificence and grandeur. The patios of the Alhambra and of the Lions, built in the middle of the 8th/14th century, are the development of the development of the type with portico built on the shorter sides and with two transverse pathways of the Almoravid era. The stalactites in the Alhambra form complex vaults, cover the extrados of the arches, serve as impostes and cover the surface of some capitals. Above the soles of the glittering *alicatados* [al-jalad]—mosaics of coloured tiles—the walls of the rooms are covered, as if hung with carpets, with plaster panels in which vegetal motifs—

leaves divided into small leaflets, in Almoravid tradition, and others smooth, derived from Almoahad decoration—are combined with complex geometrical outlines and inscriptions in Kufic and cursive. There is a tremendous wealth of ornamentation in the Alhambra, but the paucity of relief and the orderly arrangement on the walls within the panels obviate any sense of superabundance disorder. The whole is harmonious, light, and pleasant to look at.

At the time when these palaces were being built, Granada was being enriched by the construction of a series of important public buildings: a *funda*, the "Alhondiga nueva"; a *madrasa* completed in 750/1349; a *madrasa* or lunatic asylum (767/1365-7). These three buildings—only the first is preserved—conform to foreign plans, but their form represents the local style.

In the first half of the 9th/15th century, which coincided with the final political decadence, the art of Granada, failing to receive new contributions from the eastern Mediterranean, and exhausted by amazing but sterile refinements and subtleties, owing to self-repetition and dwelling exclusively in the past, became an empty formula. In a petrified form, it still survived in the Maghrib for several centuries, almost up to the present day.

#### Industrial Arts

Trade, mainly in the hands of the Jews and Syrians, distributed throughout al-Andalus many products of the decorative and industrial arts of the Orient, a number of which were easily transported. During the reigns of 'Abd al-Rahmān II and his son Hishām I, a taste for refined luxury and ostentation prevailed at Cordova, under the influence of Baghdad and Byzantium. There rapidly developed in al-Andalus the manufacture of textile, jewelry, productions in ivory and ceramics, furniture, etc., imitations of imported work, in order to satisfy the demands of a large clientele in Muslim territory and the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula and north of the Pyrenees. The copy was sometimes so faithful that it is difficult to say whether certain articles entered from countries at the other end of the Mediterranean, or whether they were made in al-Andalus. In the case of various bronze works in the Fatimid style, it is impossible to say definitely whether they were made in Egypt or Spain. It is only after a most careful scrutiny that one can say whether certain fabrics had their origin in the workshops of the 'Abbasids or al-Andalus.

The activity of the Hispanic workshops did not slacken in the 10th/11th century, but only in the following one, when the austerity of the first Almoahad caliphs imposed a check, particularly on the royal workshops. In the Kingdom of Granada, in contrast, in spite of its smallness, the industrial arts reached a magnificent and final peak of development. In addition to satisfying the needs of an extravagant court, the export of its products helped to support a large population, which was obliged to pay a heavy tribute to the King of Castile.

Religious furniture in al-Andalus, commencing at least from the 4th/10th century, was of extraordinary richness and perfection. "The most skilful craftsmen", wrote an 8th/14th century historian, "agree that the members of the mosque at Cordova and of the Kutubiyya at Marrakech are the finest in existence; Orientals, to judge from their work, are not experts in wood-carving". According to al-Iḍrī, the *mihrab* of the Great Mosque at Cordova is without equal in the world; it was made in the reign

of al-Hakam II. It is described as an incomparable example of the cabinet-maker's art, with inlays of ivory and fine woods.

The *mihrab* of the Kutubiyya was made at Cordova between 534/1139 and 538/1143. It is considered to be one of the finest specimens of the intersecting figures in marquetry, consisting of small pieces of rich woods of various colours, bordered by fine lamellae of ivory; exquisite wood-carving fill the spaces between the traceries.

One of the greatest artistic glories of the caliphate was the caskets and jars of ivory (*ḥaḍḍ*, [q.v.]), whose antecedents must be sought in the spheres of Egyptian culture. They were in the court workshops during the 4th/10th century and the first half of the 5th/11th, Arabesques are the predominant feature of their ornamentation, although there is no lack of representations of animals and human beings, whose Mesopotamian origins go back to eras well before Islam.

Ceramics also achieved a singular development in al-Andalus (cf. *KHARAF*). During the period of the caliphate were manufactured what are known as "ceramics of Madinat al-Zahrā", or of "Medina Elvira", because numerous examples have been found in the ruins of these two cities. On a white background, the decoration consisted of patterns in oxide of copper (used in dark brown [manganese]). These ceramics are of Byzantine origin, but they developed independently in al-Andalus.

From 'Irāq and Iran came the immensely rich gold *falcone*. There is evidence of its manufacture in al-Andalus from the 5th/11th century; it may be earlier still. This luxury technique reached its greatest development and perfection in the 8th/14th century, with productions which were exceptional for their shape and richness, such as the superb vases of Malaga, the pride of those museums and collections which possess the rare specimens which have been preserved. Some have only decoration in gold; in others, gold ornamentation is combined with blue. From the 4th/10th century, we have fragments of ceramics with the colours separated by thin outline plates (*cuadra seca*), which appear to be of Spanish manufacture; on the other hand, engraved pottery, without glazing, only appeared, it seems, in the 6th/12th century.

Several specimens of the famous "baldaquins", imported from Baghdad, which mark the peak of mediæval silk-manufacture, are preserved in Spain. Serice (Syrian) and *Grecian* (Byzantine) fabrics, mentioned in numerous documents of Christian Spain of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, are evidence that the rich fabrics emanating from the Orient reached Spain.

At Seville and Cordova, there were in the 4th/10th century workshops producing *firda*, i.e., silken fabrics and brocades designed for ceremonial robes. Fabrics and robes were among the best-appreciated gifts. At the time of the Almoravids, the looms of Almeria were famous. During that period, the Byzantine-Saracenic tradition of decoration was still in force; it consisted of tangential circles with representations of animals arranged symmetrically inside, following the technique and the style of the 'Abbasid capital. The Almoahad sovereigns suppressed the *firda*. The circle then disappeared from silks, and was replaced by geometric designs, traceries of straight and curved lines, rhombi, star-shaped polygons, etc.; from the 7th/13th century, decoration by means of multiple parallel bands bearing inscriptive and geometric

elements, finally prevailed. The silks of Granada are of this type.

We have already alluded to the bronzes of the caliphate—lamps, chandeliers, *handils*, waterpots in the form of animals, mortars, perfume-burners, etc.—and to the difficulty of establishing their place of origin because of their resemblance to the Fatimid bronzes. The perfection of the artistic metal-working technique in the 6th/12th century is illustrated by the plaques of engraved and chased bronze which cover the wooden leaves of the door of the patio of the Great Mosque at Seville, and its magnificent door-knocker, of cast and chased bronze, which remain on the very spot where they were made.

Museums and collections have preserved specimens of repoussé silver bracelets dating back to the period of the caliphate. The technique of *repoussage* is less commonly found in gold jewelry, in which there is a predominance of filigree-work and wire threads forming settings filled with precious stones or pieces of glass, a technique which survived until the last days of the Kingdom of Granada. Several swords are of this type, such as that of Boabdil in the Military Museum at Madrid, a masterpiece of the goldsmith's craft, of consummate elegance, whose hilt, of silver and ivory, has a decoration of filigree-work and polychrome enamel set in filigree. *Bibliography*: R. A. C. Crosswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, ii, Oxford 1940; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, *L'architecture*, i-ii, Paris 1926-27; M. Gomez Moreno, *El arte árabe español hasta los Almorávides*, *Arte mozarabe*, in *Arts Hispaniques*, iii, Madrid 1951; H. Terrasse, *L'art hispano-mauresque des origines au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Tours 1932; L. Torres Balbás, *Arte almorávide*, *Arte nazari*, *Arte mudjar*, in *Arts Hispaniques*, iv, Madrid 1949, and vol. iv of *Historia de España*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid 1957.

(L. TORRES BALBÁS)

#### (N) SPANISH ARABIC

1. Of all post-classical Arabic dialects, the Arabic spoken in the Iberian Peninsula is the best known, as regards the mediæval period.

As early as the 4th/10th century, the philologist al-Zuhayr al-Iḥḍilī wrote a treatise on the errors of speech of the common people in al-Andalus. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Kuzūma (q.v.) wrote some *adgāls* [q.v.] full of linguistic and sociological interest, the majority of which have been preserved. In the 7th/13th century, the mystic al-Shuḥṭārī (q.v.) also composed *adgāls* of which numerous collections are known. Unfortunately, the nature of the subjects dealt with in these dialect poems means that they are of less interest than those of the preceding poet.

In the middle of the 13th century, too, the reconquest of the Kingdom of Valencia by the Christians and the requirements of religious propaganda among the Muslim population, resulted in the production of a copious anonymous *Ucābūlita*, Arabic-Latin and Latin-Arabic, which has been published. At the end of the 6th/13th century, the reconquest of the Kingdom of Granada led Dr. Pedro de Alcalá to compile in his turn an *Arte* and a *Ucābūlita*, giving the Arabic in Roman transcription; the latter work is particularly valuable, but the prose texts of the *Arte* are often incorrect.

These are only the essential sources. Many secondary sources exist: minor composers of *adgāls*; several *ḥadīḥs* of *muwaḥḥab* [q.v.]. As regards







ANDARĀB "between the waters", a frequent toponymic in Iranian countries.

(1) A district in northern Afghanistan watered by the river Andarāb and its tributary Klān, al-Iṣṭāḥir 279 (Andarāb). Its present center is Bānū, see Burhān Khānkhāni, *Kullūghān wa-Bādakhshān*, Russian transl., Tashkent 1926, 28-34. The Khwākh pass connects it with the silver-mines of Panjshir (Panjshir). The mint of Andarāb was used by several dynasties, and especially by the local Abū Dāwūdīs (coins 264-370/877-921), see R. Vasser in *Wien. Num. Zeit.*, 1924, 48-53. The rulers of Andarāb bore the title of *shāhshāh*. See *Ḥudūd al-'Alam*, 109, 341; Le Strange, 427.

(2) A town (Andarāb) near Marw in which Sultan Saḡghar had a castle built, see Barthold, *Istoriya orgheniyi Turkestana*, 1914, 63.

(3) A place in Arrān, at one day's march from Barda'a, al-Iṣṭāḥir 182, probably identical with the present-day Lāmbārān on the Khācān river, which flows to the south of the Terek.

(4) According to the *Nuḥāl al-Kulūb*, 223, a place on the river of Arīdāb (now Balīghī-ān), where it flows north of Mt. Sawālān above its junction with the Ahar river. (V. MOROSKOV)

ANDARŪN [see ENDERŪN].

ANDAL. The term "Andi peoples" embraces eight small Ibero-Caucasian Muslim peoples, some 50,000 in number, ethnically akin but linguistically distinct from the Awar [s.v.]. They live in the basin of the Koysoy and Adul, which runs from north to south across the mountainous western portion of the Soviet Autonomous Republic of Daghjistan [s.v.].

The group comprises: (1) the Andi proper, numbering 8,896 in 1933, about 10,000 in 1954; (2) Akhkhāh (or Aḥwād); 4,610 in 1933; (3) Bagulā (or Kvanadā), 3,537 in 1933; (4) Botlūh, 2,864 in 1933; (5) Godoberi, 1,500 in 1946; (6) Camalā, 5,101 in 1933, about 7,000 in 1954; (7) Karatā (or Kirīf-Kālā), 6,235 in 1939; (8) Tindi (or Tindāl, Idēn), 4,777 in 1933.

The Andi peoples were converted to Islam by the Awar between the 13th and the 15th centuries, and are, like them, Sunnis of the Shāfi'ite school. Each Andi people has its own language, belonging to the Awar-Ando-Dido group of the Daghjistan branch of the Ibero-Caucasian languages, differing both from the language of the neighbouring people and from Awar; only the following people are able to understand the language of each other: Karatā-Akhkhāh, Bagulā-Tindi, and Godoberi-Botlūh. No language of the Andi group is fixed by writing. The Andi using Awar, or less commonly Russian, as the language of administration and education. Bilingualism (Awar and the local tongue) is general. On the eve of the 1918 Revolution Andi still had a pre-lexical system, and had never formed or belonged to a principality (despite the attempts of the Awar Khānate to subdue the Botlūh and the Akhkhāh in the 17th-18th centuries). They formed clans or "free societies", some of which combined as "federations". Each clan was governed by the assembly (*ḡamā'a*) of the *wādēn* (free peasants). Women had more freedom than among the other Daghjistan peoples (absence of the *ḡadra* and of polygamy). Before 1918, the economy of the Andi was linked with Cēfnyā, which imposed its authority on them [see *ḡēfnyā*], and with Central Caucasia. To-day, especially since the suppression of the Soviet Republic of Cēfnyā, Ingushlān in 1945, they incline politically and culturally towards the Awar, and constitute with the latter, the Dido [s.v.], and the Arēi [s.v.], a

single "Awar nation". The economy of the Andi peoples is still of the traditional type—based on sheep-breeding on the seasonal migration system, cultivation on the terrace system, and the existence of a skilled body of artisans. The end of Botlūh is an important market in the mountainous part of Daghjistan.

**Bibliography:** *Narody Daghjistanā*, Ac. of Sc., Moscow 1955; Z. A. Nikol'skaya, *Istorichesko-politicheskiy natsional'noy konvulsiatsii Avartsev, Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1953, 113-24; *Bolskaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition 11, Andit and Andudikhskiy Yul'skii; L. G. Ruzickiy, *Narodnaya noyest' S.S.S.R., Revolyutsiya Narodnaya*, 1926, 74-85; E. M. Shilling, *Daghjestskaia Khapditsiya* 1946 goda, *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Etnografii*, Moscow 1948, IV, 31-40; A. A. Bokarev, *Kratkie soobshcheniya o yastikhakh Daghjistanā*, Mahhā-Kala 1949; idem, *Očerki grammatiki dzhamskogo yazyka*, Moscow 1949; A. Ditt, *Kratkyy grammaticheskiy ocherk andijskogo yazyka*, *Sbornik Materialov dlya opisaniya mestnoy i plemennoy Kanakā*, XXX, Tiflis 1904; idem, *Materialy dlya izucheniya yazykov i narechiy andudikhskoy gruppy*, *Sbornik Materialov dlya opisaniya mestnoy i plemennoy Kanakā*, Tiflis 1909, fasc. 40; see also bibliographies to AWAR, DAGHJĀN, IDRO.

(H. CARBÈRE d'ENCASSI)

ANDIDJĀN, town in Fārgānā, 49°43' north, 72°45' east, on the left bank upper Jaxartes (Syr Darya). In the 4th/10th century the town—then known as Anduk(g)ān—was under the rule of the Karluks and later under their Karākhānid rulers; in the 11th century it was under the Saljuqs (Yāqūt, *Ṭabriz* ed., 1, 347). In the 12th century the town is mentioned as the centre of Fārgānā (cf. *Zap. Imp. Russk. geogr. ob-shch.* 1912, 72). Apparently the town suffered greatly from the Mongol raids and had to be rebuilt towards the end of the 13th century under the Chaghatay Khān Kaydā and Duwā (Hamid Allāh Mustawfī, 246). Since then the place has been inhabited almost exclusively by Turks whose separate tribes apparently settled in different quarters of the town (Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 221 following "the Anonymous of Iṣṭāḥir"). Their language became the model for the whole of Fārgānā. It was used by 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (according to the *Bāḥur-nāma*, Kazan 1857, 3). Andidjān remained the capital of Fārgānā and the centre of trade with Kāshghar throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. In the 15th century it became the capital of the Khānate of Khōkand [s.v.] and continued to be an important market for agricultural products.

In 1875, when the Khānate was subjected, it was conquered by the Russians (Russian form of the name: Andizān). At that time it had 30,620 inhabitants who lived largely by agriculture and horticulture. Since then, petroleum fields and iron mines have been opened in the district. On the 17th and 18th of May 1898 a nationalistic rising broke out under the title [s.v.] Madall from Mīn Tāpe (in the Marghān district) which Soviet historians attribute entirely to social motives, was put down after much bloodshed. (cf. such Soviet literature as *Revolutsiya v Sredney Azii*, 1, Tashkent 1928, in which: Sang-zhāda: *K 30-letiyu Andizānskogo sostaniya 1898 g.*; E. G. Fedorov, *Ocherki natsional'no-voevoditskogo dveniya v Sredney Azii*, Tashkent 1925; K. Rāzmi, *Revolutsiya v Sredney Azii i obratnaya k Ruzickiy*, Moscow 1928). In 1902 the town lost 4500 inhabitants (there were 49,682 in 1900) in an earthquake (F. N. Chernykh, et al., *Andizānshoe zemletрясение 1902 g.*

St. Petersburg 1914). After the suppression of the Basma'āl [s.v.] rising (since 1916) Andidjān became part of the Soviet Republic Uzbekistan in 1924 (number of inhabitants in 1939: 83,700; partly Russian) and it is now the centre of a separate district (since 6 March 1941: 3,400 sq.km.) and the centre of an important cotton-growing area. Since 1937/38 there have been petroleum finds in the area (comp. W. Leimbach: *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, 340 f., with map). Today the town has a teachers' training college, an agricultural college a training college for women, an Uzbek theatre, a regional museum etc.

**Bibliography:** *Bolskaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, II, Moscow 1926, 279-81, \* II, 1950, 423-6 (with map and plates); *Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Ob-shch.* 1912, 41-78, 435 ff., 496-502; W. Barthold, *Zwei Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Turken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, especially 141, 191, 221, (cf. index); A. Zaki Veldi Topan, *Tārīkh al-tārīkh*, Istanbul 1941, index; L. Kostenko, *Turkestan'skiy kray*, St. Petersburg 1880. (B. Sruken)

ANDJUMAN, a Persian word already in frequent use in the Shāh-nāma of Firdawsī (5th/11th century) in the sense of "meeting, assembly, army". In modern times, it denoted primarily religious or confessional associations; then, at the beginning of the 20th century, at the time of the establishment of the parliamentary régime in Irān, political groups. One of the most celebrated of these groups was the *andjuman-i millī* ("national club") of Tabriz, founded 1 Ramadan 1324/17 December 1906, by the leaders of the constitutional movement; other groups, moved by the same liberal tendencies, were then organised in the principal provincial towns (see IRAN). Later, other *andjumanes* were set up by Persians in Istanbul and Bombay, and in India by the inhabitants of those parts. To-day, the term is applied primarily to learned or professional societies: the *andjuman-i adabī-i Irān* ("Persian Literary Society") preceded the foundation of the Farhang-i Irān ("Iranian Academy") in 1355/1936; since 1346/1926, the *andjuman-i ādabī-i millī* ("Committee for National Monuments") has published scholarly editions of old texts (notably the works in Persian attributed to Avicenna). More recently, this term is also used for local associations, for example *andjuman-i Khurāsānīhā* ("Association of the People of Khurāsān resident in Tehran").

**Bibliography:** *As. Fr. B.*, May 1908, 175-6; *RMF* (National Club of Tabriz), May 1907, 1-9; *Asnam*, 116-7; *January*, 1908, 85, 164; *March*, 1907, May, 167; *Sept.*, 1907, Oct. 224; *Nov.*, 1907, *Women's Club*, August 1905, 145; *May*, 1907, 311, 379; *Nov.*, 1907, 569; *Muslim Associations of India*: *Nov.*, 1906, 77-8; *Nov.-Dec.*, 1907, 579; *Jan.*, 1908, 172; *March*, 1908.

The term is also used in Turkey, where it is pronounced *Endjūmen*. In 1267/1851 the first modern academy of letters and sciences in the Middle East was created in Istanbul, under the name of *Endjūmen-i Dāniḡ*. Inspired by Ahmed Djewdet Paḡhā [s.v.], it was modelled on the French Academy, with forty Turkish members and a number of corresponding members, including such European orientalists as Hammer, Bianchi, and Redhouse. Its programme included the encouragement of the letters and sciences in Turkey and the advancement of the Turkish language. The Academy was first mooted at the Council of Education [Medjlis-i Ma'arif] in 1261/1845, and was formally authorised by an irade of 27 Rajab 1267/26 May 1851. It was

publicly inaugurated on 19 Ramadan 1267-18 July 1851, with a speech by Muṣṭafā Reḡhīd Paḡhā, indicating that the academy was to play in the renovation of Turkey. Its work was however impeded by the political instability of the time, and it petered out in 1279/1862 without having accomplished much more than the sponsorship of a few books, which included the Ottoman Grammar of Djewdet and Fu'ād Paḡhā, part of the history of Djewdet Paḡhā and his Turkish translation of the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldūn. After the revolution of 1908 a number of learned societies appeared, the most important of which was the Ottoman Historical Society (*Tārīkh-i 'Oḡmāni Endjūmen*), founded in 1911.

The term *Endjūmen* was also used in Turkey for various parliamentary and administrative committees, for the standing provincial and municipal committees, and for certain educational committees operating under the Ministry of Education. Such were the *Endjūmen-i Tefhīh ve-Ma'ārif* (established 1299/1882, and the provincial and local educational committees (*Ma'ārif Endjūmen*)) established in 1328/1910 to initiate and supervise elementary education.—The word was also used for certain clubs founded on the European model, the first of which appears to have been the *Endjūmen-i Ulūd*, founded in Istanbul in 1287/1870. In recent years it has been replaced in most contexts by words of Western or Turkish origin.

**Bibliography:** Mahmūd Djewdet, *Ma'ārif-i 'Umūmiyye Nezdīre Tārīkhle-i Tefhīlāt ve İdrārāt*, Istanbul 1338, 44 ff. and 213; Lutfi, *Tanzimatdan sonra Türkiye'de Ma'ārif Tefhīlāt*, *T.D.E.M.*, 16th year, no. 94, p. 302; Cevdet Paḡhā, *T.D.E.M.* 1-12 (ed. Cavid Bayraktar), Ankara 1953, 5, 13; Server İskit, *Türkiye Nispeti Harshelleri Tarikine bir Bakış*, Istanbul 1939, 40-46; Evver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihī VI*, Ankara 1954, 170, 176-8; Ebu 'U'lā Mardin, *Medeni Hukuk Cephesinden Ahmet Cevdet Paḡa*, Istanbul, 1946, 37-41; A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, Paris 1853, Letter 9 and Document 15; Mehmet Zeki Pakalib, *Osmanlı Tarih Teşkilatı ve Terimleri I*, Istanbul 1946, 529-533. (B. LEWIS)

In India and Pakistan there have been and are several *andjumanes* in different fields; the two most important, influential, and enduring are:

(1) The *Andjuman-i Tarakki-i Urdu* which was founded in 1913 within the scientific section of the *Mohammadan Educational Conference* (itself established by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān) with Sir Thomas Arnold and Muhammad Shibli Nu'mānī as its first president and secretary respectively. Its aims were to defend the Urdu language against Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India, and to develop and enrich it. Under its impulse and auspices books were written in Urdu and various others were translated from the English. In 1912 the *Andjuman* moved its headquarters from Aligarh to Awarāghūh (Dewcan) since when it has been under the able and zealous secretaryship of Mawlawī 'Abd al-Hakīk. In its new seat, where it was supported by the Haydarābād State, the *Andjuman* showed vigorous activity not only in writing and editing Urdu works and classics but also in translating from the English (some translations were also made from the French, Arabic and Persian), works on history, philosophy, science and others of general interest. The *Andjuman*, thus, supplemented the work of the 'Uthmāniyya University (established 1918) which, in pursuance of its programme of giving all instruction in Urdu, concentrated on translating texts rather than general



works. But, besides issuing a learned quarterly called "Urdū" (which still continues) and another entitled "Science", and attempting to find means of improving Urdu script and print, perhaps the most important pioneering work has been the publication of the lists of translations of scientific, philosophical and professional technical terms, and the issuing of English-Urdu and Urdu-English Dictionaries, modelled on the Oxford Concise Dictionary of English. In 1936, the *Andjuman* moved to Delhi and in 1948 to Karachi, where an Urdu College has been established giving all instruction (including modern science) in Urdu and hoping to become a University.

[a] The *Andjuman-i-Himāyati Idāra* of Lahore, founded in 1884 under Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān's inspiration of spreading Western education among Muslims and working for their social welfare, established in 1912 the Islāmiyya College at Lahore (and since the creation of Pakistan, has acquired another, a formerly Hindu College), where, like Aligarh, Western education was given along with the compulsory instruction of Islamic theology. The *Andjuman* has played, through its institutions and its leaders, an important role in the awakening of the Muslims of the Panjāb. Besides High Schools for boys and girls, the *Andjuman* runs an Islāmiyya College for Women, an Industrial School, a Tibbiyya College and Dispensary (on traditional lines but with some blend of modern medicine), an orphanage etc., and had a missionary school (Iqbalīyat Islām College). It also issues a weekly paper called *Himāyati Idāra* and has its own press.

**Bibliography:** For (1) see a detailed account in *Oriente Moderno*, 1935, 331-45 and 536-48 by A. Bansaani, also *Ta'rikhi Adabi Urdū* by Rām Bāb Saksena (Urdū translation by Muḥammad 'Asfārī, Nawalkishore, Lucknow 1929, 392-4). For (2) see *Pakistan* by Dr. Gamāl-Eddīne Heyworth-Dunne, Cairo 1952, 38.

(F. KAHMAN)

**ANDEKŪY**, in Yākūt, i, 372, *Andekūhū*, also written *Addakūh* and *al-Nakhūd*, name of a town in Afghānistān situated in the northwestern province of Mazār-i Sharīf. Located on the steppes sloping north some 30 kilometers to the Amū Daryā (Oxus) river, this town of about 25,000 people is on the peninsula *Andekūy* river and along the motor road which joins Harāt, Mazār-i Sharīf and Kābul. Its modern fame is as a leading center of the *harabul* (lambskin) trade. The single structure of architectural interest and considerable antiquity is the domed shrine of Bābā Wall Šāhib, a local Muslim saint whose proper name may have been Bābā Shukr Allāh Abādī.

**Bibliography:** Le Strange, 426, with references M. N. Kūhī, *Armāghāni Maymana*, Maymana 1949, 474, 54.

(D. N. WILBER)

**ANEIZA** [see *SUNAYZA*].

**ANFĀ** the old name of Casablanca (Ar. *al-Dār al-Bayḍā'*, dial. *Dār I-Bēda*), often written as *Auale* in the Portuguese chronicles. The word, according to E. Laoust (*IREI*, 1939) is a variant of the Berber *aṣṣ* *remitt*, which induces one to place the early site on the hill now occupied by the residential quarter called *supper Anfā*, Marmol attributes the foundation to the Carthaginians, Leo to the Romans, but neither theory is supported by any text or archaeological remains. Al-Zayyālī ascribes it to the Zānāta *awira*, and places it at the end of the 12th century, but does not quote his sources. Al-Idrīsī mentions the port, already busy with the export of cereals. Nothing is known of the

part played by the town during the episode of the Baragwāt. Under the Marinids, it figures as the capital of the province of Tāmsān; it had fortifications, a governor, and a *hādī*; Abu l-Ḥasan built a *madrasa* there. In the anarchy which accompanied the decline of the dynasty, the town became virtually independent, and formed a small *cezaie* republic. The Portuguese decided to terminate the activities of the corsairs, and in 1468 or 1469, during the reign of Alfonso V, an expedition led by the *infante* D. Fernando captured Anfā, which had been evacuated by its inhabitants. The Portuguese destroyed the town, razed the ramparts and re-embarked. Several authors state that they returned in 1515 and occupied the town until the middle of the 16th century. This is a legend, probably having its origin in the plan actually conceived by the Portuguese in 1515 of reoccupying Anfā and building there a stronghold when they had completed that of al-Ma'mūra. Their setback at the latter place forced them to abandon their plan. Anfā remained deserted and in ruins until its reconstruction by the sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh in the 16th century, when it assumed the name of *al-Dār al-Bayḍā'* [22].

**Bibliography:** Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afr. et de l'Esp.*, ed. and tr. into French by Dozy and de Goeje, 1866, 84; Marmol, *L'Afrique*, trans. into French by Perrot d'Ablancourt, 1667, ii, 140; Le Africain, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, ed. Scheller, 1867, ii, 9-13; *The description géographique de Maroc* cf. *de Zuyder*, trans. into Fr. by Coufouteur, AM, 1906, 452; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un nouveau texte d'histoire mérinoise: le Mūsawā' d'Ibn Maršak*, Hesp. 1925, 69; David Lopes, in *História de Portugal*, edited by Damião Pires, 1932, iii, 536-7; Robert Ricard, *Sources inédites de l'histoire de Maroc*, 121 series, Dynastie sa'dienne, Portugal, v, 1933, pp. xv-xvi.

**ANGELS** [see *MALĀ'IKĀ*].

**ANGORA** [see *ANKARA*].

**ANHALWĀRA**, in Arabic and Persian literature *KARWĀLA*, modern Patan (pop., 1951 census, 43,044), situated 20° 51' N, 72° 11' E on the left bank of the Saraswatī in the Mīlsāna district of Bombay State, was the headquarters city of the Muslim *ahī* *ahī* of Godwāl from 699/1299, to 816-817/1411-1414 when Ahmad Šāh, grandson of Muḥammad Khān, the first of the independent sultāns of Guḍjarāt, made Ahmaddād his capital.

**History.** Hindu and Jain tradition ascribes the foundation of Anhalwāra to the Cālvādī ruler Vanarāja in either 128/746 or 148/765 (see K. M. Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjarāḍa*, II, Bombay, 1944). Capital of the Chaulukya-Solanki dynasty from the beginning of the 4th/middle of the 10th century, Anhalwāra was abandoned to Mahmūd of Ghaznī by Bīhmadeva in 416/1025, but Mahmūd, intent upon Somnāth, paused there only to replenish his supplies. Although Kutb al-Dīn Aybak plundered the city in 593/1196-7, the definitive Muslim conquest by the forces of the sultān of Dīlī did not occur until 699/1299, when Anhalwāra, ruled then by the Chaulukya-Vāḡhelas, was sacked by Ulugh Khān and Nurāt Khān, generals of Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khālījī. (See K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, Allahābād, 1950, on the date of this conquest). For a century Anhalwāra remained within Dīlī's area of paramountcy. Under the descendant of the well-known Khān, who formally proclaimed himself independent in 816/1407, Anhalwāra sank to a *diḡīr*; after Akbar's conquest of

Guḍjarāt in 980/1572, it became the centre of the *sarkār* of Pattan in the *shāh* of Guḍjarāt. (See Aḥmad-Akbar, ed. H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1879). **Buildings.** The Muslim remains at Anhalwāra date from the beginning of the 8th/14th century. The *Adina* or *Djāma'* Masjid, built of white marble c. 705/1305, was destroyed by the Mahrattas in the 12th/18th century and was used as a quarry for the modern town walls. The Gumada and Shāykh Dīwān *maḡāzī* still stand, but the most magnificent Muslim construction now at Anhalwāra is the Khān Sarowar, "a really noble sheet of water", 1228 ft 1273 feet, given its present form by Akbar's foster brother Mirā' 'Aḥd Kōka between 997/1589 and 1002/1594.

**Bibliography:** H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, Calcutta 1936; H. Cousens and J. Burgess, *Archaeological Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, Archaeological Survey of Western India, IX, 1903. *Bombay Gazetteer*, VII, (Baroda), Bombay 1883. M.S. Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat*, London 1938.

(P. HARVEY)

**ĀNL**, ancient Armenian capital, whose ruins lie on the right bank of the Arpa-Cay (called by the Armenians *Alghuyun*) at about 20 miles from the point where that river joins the Araxes. A suggestion has been made that the town may owe its name to a temple of the Iranian goddess Anāhīta (the Greek Anaitis). The site was inhabited in the pre-Christian period, for pagan tombs have been found in the immediate vicinity of the town. As a fortress Ānl is mentioned as early as the 5th century A.D. Its foundation was conditioned by its position between the ravine of Taalkotzador, through which a stream coming from the hills of Aladja flows towards the Arpa-Cay, and the steep bank of that river. In the ensuing centuries the princely house of the Kamsarakan (connected with the Arghakids) built a castle at Ānl, and the foundations of this building erected of stone blocks without mortar right on the rock, have been discovered. The oldest portion of the structure seems to be a little church which may have been built before the 7th century castle, and later used by the Kamsarakan as a house-chapel.

From the 8th century onward the district of Ānl, like the rest of Armenia, was under the suzerainty of the caliphs. During this period the dynasty of the Bagratids succeeded in gradually consolidating their possessions and establishing direct relations with the caliphs. In A.D. 887 the Bagratid Ashot, "prince of the princes of Armenia and Georgia", was proclaimed king by the nobles of his country and confirmed in this dignity by the caliph. The son of this first king, Smbat (called by Arabic authors *Sambā* b. *Ashbūl*), was crowned in the year 924 by the governor Yūsuf b. Abī l-Šāḡī, whose act is stigmatised as tyranny and rebellion against God and His Prophet" by Ibn Hawkal, 252. Even under Smbat the kingdom of the Bagratids is said to have included the whole region from Dwin (Arab. *Dabīl*) to Bardha'sa reaching southwards as far as the frontiers of Mopotamia (al-Jaḡra; *Genoa* al-*Yūghūt*, 188, 194). The son of the murdered king "the Iron" Ashot, succeeded, partly with Byzantine assistance, in reconquering his kingdom; as ruler of Armenia he bore the Persian title *shāhshāh* (king of kings) which had already been conferred on his predecessor and rival, Ashot, son of Shapuh, by Sabuk, the successor of Yūsuf.

In the first half of the 9th century the Bagratid Ashot, Master of the mountainous district of Ānl from the Kamsarakan; but only under Ashot

III (961-77) did Ānl become the royal capital. The wall which is still extant was built by Smbat II (1077-89); the site of an older wall erected in 964 has been fixed by the excavations of 1893, and a comparison of the areas enclosed by the two walls indicates the rapid growth of the population. At a later period, town life overstepped the comparatively narrow space within the walls. The Bagratids built several bridges over the Arpa-Cay thus enabling the trade between Trebizond and Persia to take the shorter route through Ānl instead of passing through Dwin. The zenith of the Bagratids and their capital was reached under Gagik I (990-1002): from 993 onwards Ānl was the residence of the Catholicos of Armenia. As numerous inscriptions prove, Gagik retained the Persian title of *shāhshāh* which also appears in an Armenian form (*ark'ayats ar'shā*); he was also styled "king of the Armenians and Georgians". The remains of a church erected by Gagik in 1007 were excavated in 1905 and 1906; among them was found a statue of the king, with the model of the temple in his hand, and wearing a Muslim turban; the same headgear is also found in a relief portrait of his predecessor Smbat II, preserved in the monastery of Hahat.

Under Gagik's successors the kingdom rapidly decayed and in 1044 it became a part of the Byzantine empire but the growth of the town of Ānl was further encouraged by the Byzantine governors (*catapani*): an Armenian inscription ascribes to the catapan Aaron the erection of a magnificent aqueduct conducting water from the hills of Aladja to the town.

The Greek rule was ended by the sultan Alp Arslan who conquered and destroyed Ānl in the year 1064; according to Ibn al-Athīr, x, 27, the town possessed at that time 300 churches. In 1072, a year after the defeat of the emperor Romanos Diogenes, the sultan sold Ānl to the Muslim dynasty of the Shaddādhids [22], and down to the end of the 12th century the town remained (apart from a few interruptions) the residence of a branch of that family. At that period the town had two mosques, one of which collapsed during the second half of the 16th century; the other, which had survived, was used (since 1907) as a museum for the objects discovered during the excavations. There are also Christian buildings belonging to the same period; the Shaddādhids acted as beneficent rulers even towards their Christian subjects, and being related by marriage with the Bagratids, they were recognised by the Christian population as native and lawful kings. The walls of the town were repaired and furnished with some towers during their rule.

Ānl was for the first time conquered by the Georgians in 1124, under David II, who laid the foundation of the power of the Georgian kings; the town was given as a fief to the Armenian family of the Zak'arids, (in Georgian: *Mkhargrdzeli* = Long-imani), who extended the walls of the town so as to reach the steep banks of the Arpa-Cay. The Armenian tradition ignores the fact that the Georgian rulers (like the Greek predecessors) favoured the Greek Orthodox tendency, which accordingly predominated in the architecture of the period. There was no religious persecution of Muslims during this period, just as there had been no persecution of Christians under the Shaddādhids; a Muslim contemporary, whose gloss is found in Ibn Hawkal, 245, confirms that the Georgian king protected Islam against injury and made no distinction between Muslim and Georgian. Probably in connection with the



foundation of the Trebizond Empire (1204), Ani became an important centre of international trade; see A. Manandian, *O torgole i gorodakh Armenii*, Erevan 1954, 278.

Ani was besieged unsuccessfully by the Kh'arizmshah Jalāl al-Dīn in 1226, and conquered by the Mongols in 1239; but even after this conquest the town remained for a time in the possession of the Zak'arids; an inscription on the main gate shows that at a later period it was considered the 'private domain' (*khān-i indū*) of the Mongol rulers of Persia; but it never regained its former importance. According to tradition, Ani was finally destroyed by an earthquake in the year 1319; but both inscriptions and coins of a later date have been found. A variety of copper coins struck at Ani by the Ilkhan Sulaymān (1339-1344) is called by the Turks 'monkey-coin' (*maymūn isken*), the coins bearing the image of a hairy figure. Coins bearing the name of Ani were struck as late as the 14th century by the Ilkhan, and even in the 15th century by the Kara Koyunlu, though actually the mint must have stood outside the town, perhaps in the fortress of Maghazaberd (less than 2 miles from Ani). The excavations have shown that, after the decay of the palaces and churches, a rude and miserable population had built their dwellings on the ruins. At the time of Ker Porter's visit (November 1817) it was possible to distinguish these houses and their separate rooms, as well as the streets of the later period, which are but 12-14 feet wide. Later the name of Ani was preserved only by a Muslim settlement standing near the ruins. After the war of 1877-8 Ani was incorporated in Russia, but restored to Turkey by the treaty of 1921. It is now in the *kāds* of Arpaçay in the *wilāyat* of Kars, and has a population of ca. 150.

**Bibliography:** Accounts of the history of Ani are chiefly found in Armenian sources, especially in Stephan Asolik, a contemporary of king Gagik I. The Arabic and Persian accounts are extremely scanty, and the town is not mentioned by the Arabic geographers of the 9th and 10th centuries; Yāqūt, *i*, 79, gives Ani as a small town, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nahar* 30, states merely that the district has a cold climate and produces much corn and little fruit. The only Islamic source containing firsthand material on Ani in the 6th/12th century is al-Fāhik's *Ta'wīd al-Maṣālik*, Br. Mus., Or. 5803 and Or. 6310; see also the didactic chronicle by the local scholar Burhān al-Dīn Anawāl (*Anis al-Kalā'id*), written in Persian in 601/1211, and described by F. Köprülü in *Bull.*, 1943, 279-551. Cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, *x*, 27 (not quite accurate). See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* 1953, 79-106.

The ruins were first visited in 1663 by Gemelli-Careri (*Collection de tous les voyages faits autour du monde*, ii, Paris 1768, 94) and described at length in 1817 by Ker Porter (*Travels*, i, London 1821, 172-3). In 1859 plans of the town were sketched by Texier (*Voyages en Arménie*, Paris 1842, *Atlas*, plate no. 74) and in 1844 by Abich (cf. M. Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie*, St. Petersburg 1851, *Atlas*, plate no. 23 and Brosset, *Les ruines d'Ani*, St. Petersburg 1850, *Atlas*, plate no. 30). The Christian monuments were described by Muraviev, *Gruzia i Armeniya*, St. Petersburg 1848; for the Muslim inscriptions see Khanykov (in 1848), cf. *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i, 70 ff. and M. Brosset, *Rapports etc.*, 3-6 *rapport*, 121-50; the Album

compiled by Kästner (1850) contains pictures of architectural monuments on 36 leaves, and a collection of Armenian, Arabic, Persian, and Georgian inscriptions on 11 leaves (cp. Brosset, *Les ruines d'Ani*, 10-63). Among Armenian writers Nerse Sarkisyan and Sarkis Djalalayan collected Armenian inscriptions, and their material was used in Alihan's historical work on the history of the town (Venice 1855, in Armenian, cp. Brosset in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iv, 392-412), now obsolete.

Russian excavations began in 1892 and were carried on systematically by Prof. N. Y. Marr in 1904-1917. Their results were published in numerous reports in Russian periodicals and in a special series (*Anitskaya seriya*) containing guide books and studies by Marr, J. Orbeli, Barthold etc. In more detail see N. Marr, *Ani. Krimiya istoriya* 4 i 5 *razskazy*, Moscow 1924, and architectural studies by T'oros T'oramanian (in Armenian), Erevan 1942-4. V. and I. Kratchkovsky, *Is arkhivy epigraphiki v Ani*, in the presentation volume to N. Y. Marr, Moscow 1935, 671-93.

(W. BARTHOLD [V. MINORSKY])

**ANIMALS** [see DAYANĀN].

**ANIS**, the pen-name of Mīr Hāshim 'Alī, Urdu poet of Lucknow, India, who was noted chiefly as a writer of *maṭhvi* or elegies on the tragic fate of Husayn b. 'Alī and other martyrs of Karbala. He was born at Fyzabad (Faydābād) in 1216/1801 or 1217/1802; but, in his early manhood, migrated to Lucknow, where he enjoyed the patronage of the Shī'ite rulers of Oudh and their nobles. When the kingdom of Oudh was annexed by the British in 1856, he left Lucknow and visited many other places like Patna, Besare, Allahabad and Hyderabad: Deccan; but ultimately returned to his favourite city in his old age and died there in 1291/1874.

The chief merits of his poetry lie in the beauty and appropriateness of his diction, the perfection of his art, his remarkable powers of description, his successful delineation of character and the striking use of rhetorical figures. The emotional effect of his *maṭhvi* was heightened by the forceful and dramatic manner in which he recited them in the presence of large audiences. In his special branch of poetry, Anis had a serious rival in the person of his contemporary Dabir [s.v.]. Each poet had thousands of enthusiastic partisans, who maintained that he was superior to his rival. The citizens of Lucknow were thus divided into two camps, the Anisites and the Dabirites, each extolling the qualities of its own favourite poet. Opinion is still divided on their relative merits; but there is general agreement that they share the honour of raising the Urdu *maṭhvi* to its greatest heights and that their cultivation of the poetic art undoubtedly contributed to the refinement and enrichment of the Urdu language.

The works of Anis were published under the title, *Maṭhvi Anis*, in four volumes at Lucknow in 1876, and have been reissued several times since then. There is another edition in three volumes by S. 'Alī Haydar Tabātabā'i (Badāyūn 1921-30). A good idea of his writings may also be obtained from *Wāḥid-i Karbala*, a volume of selections so arranged by S. Manthir 'Alī Kākarawāl as to make a single connected story (2nd ed., Lucknow 1947).

**Bibliography:** E. B. Sakseena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allahabad 1940, 126-130, 131-33; T. G. Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature*, No. 152, Calcutta 1932; M. Husayn 'Asād, *Ab-i Hayāt*, Lahore c. 1880; Shibli Nu'mānī, *Musā-*

*zama-i Anis o Dabir*, Agra 1906; S. Nazir al-Hasan Fawā, *al-Mīnān*, Aligarh, n.d.; Amjad 'Alī Ash-harī, *Hayāt-i Anis*, Agra 1907; Mir Mahdi Hasan Aḥsan, *Wāḥid-i Anis*, Lucknow 1908; L. Sri Rām, *Khushkhāna-i Jāwād*, vol. i, Delhi 1325; S. Mas'ūd Hasan Bidāwī, *Rūḥ-i Anis*, Allahabad 1931; Amir Ahmad 'Alawī, *Yād-dār-i Anis*, Lucknow 1333; S. 'Abd al-Hayy, *Gul-i Kāna*, Azamgarh 1370; Abu 'L-Ḥayy Sulṭānī, *Lakṣnaḥ al-Dabirīn-i Shī'ī*, Aligarh 1944; S. Muhammad 'Abbās, ed., *Rūḥ-i-yayy Mīr Anis*, Lucknow 1948. (SH. INAYATULLAH)

**'ANKĀ'** [often followed by *maghrīb* as an epithet or in *idfa*] a fabulous bird approximating to the phoenix, which was also located by the Greeks in the deserts of Arabia. The belief in this creature is of long-standing among the Arabs, who connect it with the Abḥās al-Ras [s.v.], but it received its confirmation in a *ḥadīth* reported by Ibn 'Abbās (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 19 ff.), which states that, created by God, the 'ankā', in the beginning endowed with all perfections, had become a plague; one of the prophets of the 'Interval' (*fatwa*), either Khālid b. Sīdān or Ḥanzala b. Salwān, is credited with having put an end to the havoc wrought by this species of bird. After Islam, the 'ankā' was definitely assimilated with the *simurg*, which plays some part in Iranian mythology, and probably with the Indian *garuda*, the mount of Vishnu; thus a Shī'ite group, the Shumayyīya (see al-Shahrastānī, in the margin of Ibn Harm, ii, 3), adopted it and included it among the attributes of the Hidden Imam. Some authors give precise descriptions of this bird, although recognizing that it is extinct, but others claim that the Fātimids possessed specimens of it in their zoological gardens; there is no doubt that it is a type of heron.

**Bibliography:** Ḥijābī, *Hayawānāt*, vii, 102 ff. and index; idem, *Tarāṭ* [ellat], index; Thā'illī, *Tizād*, 356-7; Rūḥ al-Muknīn al-Safā, ii, 190-1; Maydānī, *Aswāḥ*, Cairo 1352, i, 210; Kāẓimī (Wustenfeld), i, 419-20; Dāmīrī, s.v.

(CH. PELLAT)

**'ANKABŪT** (A.), the spider. Al-Kāẓimī and al-Dāmīrī mention several species, the most dangerous of which is the poisonous tarantula, *Rufūḥ al-Raḥīl* or *al-Raḥīl*. Al-Dāmīrī also describes a hell-spider of reddish colour with fine hair on its body; at the head it has four claws with which it bites; it digs a nest in the ground, and seizes its prey by night. The weaving spiders make their webs according to mathematical rules; according to some the male spins the warp and the female the weft; according to others the female only is capable of making a web; as material they use spittle. When the web is finished the spider sits down in a corner waiting for a fly to enter the web, and pounces on it at once. Others suspend themselves on threads, others sit motionless on the ground and catch their prey at a jump; after rendering it helpless by entangling it in their web they carry it off to their lair and suck its blood. According to al-Ejzī the spider is young among the most wonderful of existing things because they are able to spin without being taught. The spider lays eggs out of which come small worms which, after three days, change into spiders; the act of copulation lasts a very long time, Dāmīrī describes how the male approaches the female.—Spiders webs are applied to external wounds to stop the flow of blood; they are also used for polishing enriched silver. The spiders themselves when pounded, are said to be a good remedy against mucus fever etc.—According to the

tradition a spider once saved Muḥammad from a great danger. When during the Hijra he and Abū Bakr had sought refuge in a cave the Kuraish who pursued him found a spider web in its opening. They therefore gave up the search thinking that no one could have entered the cave a short time previously. This and similar legends are founded on the fact that the spider makes its web with extraordinary rapidity.—*Sīrat al-Ankabūt* is the title of sūra 29. See also ASTURKAN.

**Bibliography:** Ḥijābī, *Hayawān*, index; Kāẓimī, ed. Wustenfeld, i, 439; Dāmīrī, Cairo 1298, vi, 132 ff. (J. ROSKHA)

**ANKARA** (Greek and Latin Ankyra, modern Greek Angora; known as Ankara, Ankuriya and also as Kaḥ'at al-Salāl, 'fastness of the chains'), to the Arab geographers; in Turkish times formerly Engürīye, Engür, Engürü, forms which also occasionally appeared on coinage), town in the district of Galatia, in central Anatolia, capital of the Turkish Republic (at the same time of a *wālayat*); 38° 55' N, 32° 55' E; 835 m. above sea level. It is situated near the northern edge of the central Anatolian steppe where three small rivers (the Bent Deresi or Hatip Suyu, the Incesu (Ingle Su) and the Çubuk Suyu, which subsequently flow into the Sakarya under the name of Ankara [formerly Engürü] Suyu or Caylı). It is at the foot and on the slopes of a mountain which lies north to south and rises towards the north, being crowned at its summit by an extensive castle. This summit is 978 m. above sea level and 110 m. above the valley of the neighbouring Hatip Deresi. The other side of the valley is flanked by a second hill, called Hızır (Hızırlik).

Ankara has probably always been a centre for the caravans going through Anatolia in all directions, and thus also a political centre. The old town—dating back to prehistoric times—was situated on the plateau of the castle hill; it gradually spread over the slope outside the fortifications and even to the western side of the plain at its foot. The original layout of the castle itself may well date back to the prehistoric period. In its present form it dates back to Byzantine days, and it was frequently extended and restored in Seljuk times. Its walls contain many ancient remains. There are three distinct parts: the 'outer castle' (Dış Kale) which can be reached by the Hızır Kaplı, whose walls encircle the castle to the south and to the west; the 'inner castle' (İç Kale), a fairly regular rectangle; and, on the crest of the mountain to the north, the citadel, called Ak Kale ('white castle').

Ankara, at one time the capital of the Galatian tribe of the Tectosages, and later within the sphere of power of the Pontic King Mithridates, was finally incorporated into the Roman Empire in the year 25 B.C. It was then embellished with the buildings required by a Roman town. Of those which survive, the one deserving most mention is the temple of Roma and Augustus, erected on older foundations. On its walls we find the most famous of all antique inscriptions: the *Monsuementum Ancyranum*, an account (in Latin and in Greek) given by the Emperor Augustus of his reign. In Christian times the temple was converted into a church; in Muslim times, the building was the seat of a Dervish saint, Hacıdî Bayrāmî Walli, whose *hürle* and mosque stand beside the ruined temple. A column (Bâlkâ Müskesi) erected by Emperor Julian (or Jovian?) should also be mentioned. The foundations of a large Roman bath have recently been discovered on the road towards the north (to Cankırı).



In the year A.D. 51 Ancrea was visited by St. Paul, who founded one of the oldest Christian communities there—to which he addressed his *Epistle to the Galatians*. Christianity survived in this town until the First World War.

In A.D. 620 Ancrea was taken by the Persian King Khosrow II Parviz on his campaign against Asin Minor. After his defeat near Ninivah, A.D. 627 he had to withdraw from the country—hence also from Ancrea. Subsequently Ancrea—capital of the Hakkari region—frequently suffered at the hands of Arab raiders. As early as 654, the Arabs held the town for a short space of time. In 806, the Caliph Harūn al-Rashid besieged and plundered the town; as did his son, the Caliph al-Mu'tasim, in 838. In 871 the town was plundered by the Paulicians of Thophris (Diyadin), and in 931 it was threatened by the Arabs of Tarūs.

Ancrea came under Turkish supremacy after the Emperor Romanus IV was defeated by the Saljuq Sultan Alp Arslan, near Malazgird, in 1071 (the exact date is not known—the city was still Byzantine in 1073). During the First Crusade, however, it was re-conquered for the Byzantine Empire by Raymond of Toulouse in 1101. Soon afterwards (it is not known exactly when), the city reverted to the Turks: first the Saljuqs; then, in 1127, the Dānişmendids; and finally, after the death of the Dānişmendid Malik Muḥammad Ghāzī (1143), back to the Saljuqs. When the Rūm Saljuq empire was divided up under Kılıç Arslan II (1196), Ankara went to his son Muḥyī l-Dīn Maḥmūd. In 1204, however, it was taken from him by his brother Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān Shāh, who re-united the Rūm Saljuq empire. The oldest dateable work of Rūm Saljuq art is of the time of Prince Maḥmūd (Safar 594/Dec. 1197-Jan. 1198), a wooden *minbar* in the so-called 'Alā' al-Dīn mosque in the fortress of Ankara.

After the death of the Sultan Kaykhusraw I in 1210, his son 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaykubād—reverting against his elder brother, the Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykaws—obtained the fortress of Ankara. After a year's siege, however, the city had to surrender to the other brother and Kaykubād was imprisoned in Malatya, whence he returned only after the death of Kaykaws (in 1219) to succeed to the throne. His reign (1219-37) introduced the Golden Age of the Rūm Saljuq Empire. It is commemorated by Ankara's 'White Bridge' (Ak Köprü) over the Çubuk Suyu, of 619/1222, an hour's journey to the north-east of Ankara. This bridge connects Ankara with Baysaz and the west. It cannot be stated with any degree of certainty whether the beautiful bridge over the Kılıç Arslan near Köprüköy (to the south-east of Ankara) on the road to Kırşehir and Kayseri, the Çeşme-i Kaya, is of the same period. It bears no inscription but its name may well refer to the *amir* Sayf al-Dīn Aynā Çāhānqir who is repeatedly mentioned by Ibn Bibi, e.g. in connection with the handing over of Ankara to Kaykaws I (Ibn Bibi, ed. Houtsma, index).

The large so-called Arslan-Khāne mosque, outside the gate to the fortress (which may be regarded as the main Friday Mosque for the area of the city lying outside the fortress), dates from the late Saljuq period, when the empire had sunk to the position of a protectorate of the Mongol Ilkhan Empire of Iran. It is a mosque with wooden pillars and with open beam work, containing a beautiful wooden *minbar* which was donated by two brothers belonging to the Akhis in the year 689/1290. It also contains a *mihrāb* with beautiful faience facing. The

Kılıf Bey Dīnārī is of roughly the same period. Its *minbar* bears an inscription of 699/1299-1300 mentioning a certain *amir* Ya'qūb b. 'Alī Shīr as donor. He was possibly a member of the Turkmens of the Gerniyan-oghlu. Towards the end of the 13th century the Saljuq rule appears to have been merely nominal, whilst other rulers made their influence felt in Ankara, such as the Gerniyanid Ya'qūb and the members of the Akhi fraternity (p. 4).

In the beginning of the 14th century, after the collapse of the empire of the Saljuqs of Rūm, Ankara belonged to that part of Anatolia which was incorporated into the Mongol Ilkhan empire of Iran. There are coins made in Ankara for the Ilkhans from the year 703/1304 to 748/1344. There is also a Persian inscription of the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd (over the entrance to the fortress) dated 750/1350, in which the taxes payable by the population are recorded (cf. W. Hinz, in *Bell.*, 1949, 745 ff.). The Ilkhan rule extended over the area towards the west, beyond Ankara, as far as Siirt-bisr. After the collapse of the Ilkhan Empire, Ankara belonged to the territory of the *amir* (after 1341, Sultan) Eretna by Kaymak, and his descendants. It may be assumed, however, that the rule over Ankara of both the Ilkhans and the Eretnids, was merely one of military occupation and tax collection, whilst the actual government remained in the hands of rich merchants and craftsmen of the city who were able to exercise considerable influence through the Akhi organisation. Akhi Şehāz al-Dīn (d. 751/1350) appears to have been the most prominent personality. He made donations to the main mosque in Ankara, the Arslan-Khāne mosque, and he lies buried in a *türbe* beside this mosque. In the inscription on his wooden sarcophagus (now in the ethnographical museum in Ankara), he calls himself *akhi mu'azzam*.

According to John Cantacuzenus (ed. Bonn, II, 284), Ankara is supposed to have been occupied for the first time by the Ottomans in 1354 under Süleymān, the son of Orkhan, but the Ottoman chronicles make no mention of this. This occupation, if it occurred, can only have been a temporary one. It was not until the beginning of the reign of Murād I (762/1361) that Ankara became Ottoman. The early chronicler Negārī (ed. Tauscher, I, 52, II, 80 (52)) reports that Ankara was at that time in the hands of the Akhis, and that they handed it over to Murād Beg, Murād's rule in Ankara in the year 763/1361-2 is proved by an inscription in the 'Alā' al-Dīn mosque in the fortress. In the early days of Ottoman rule, the wealthy Akhi families seem to have retained some influence in Ankara, as we can gather from inscriptions in the mosques they built (such as that of a certain Akhi Ya'qūb of 794/1391 and a certain Akhi Evran of 810/1433). Later on there is no mention of them.

On July 20th 1402, there took place, on the Çubuk Ovası, north of Ankara, the battle in which Timur defeated Bayezid I and took him prisoner. During the time of the subsequent fights between Bayezid's sons, Ankara belonged to the area of Mehmed Çelebi. On various occasions he had to defend the city against his brothers, in 1404 against 'Isā Çelebi, in 1406 against the *amir* Süleymān. During the quarrels between Sultan Bayezid II and his brother Dīnār, the governor of Ankara decided in favour of Dīnār, until Bayezid succeeded in conquering the city. During the reign of Ahmed I, Ankara became the centre of a revolt led by a native of the town, a robber chieftain by name of Kalandar-

oghlu. This revolt spread over most of Anatolia (1607) until it was put down by the Grand Vizier Kuyucu Murād Paşa in 1608.

The most prominent figure in Ottoman Ankara is Hādīdī Bayram Wallī (d. 723/1322 to 833/1429-30), the founder of the darwish order of the Bayrāmīyya. His *türbe* and the mosque belonging to it (an attractive building with a tiled roof and a flat wooden ceiling inside, built in the beginning of the 15th century) are close up against the ruins of the temple of Augustus.

There are a number of small and medium sized mosques of Ottoman times in Ankara. Amongst these some are worthy of special mention, such as the 'imāret Dīnārī' (built in 833/1427-28 by a certain Karāğāz Beg, perhaps the one killed in the battle of Varna in 848/1445) in the style of an ancient Ottoman mosque on a  $\perp$  shaped plan, and the mosque of Dīnārī Ahmed Paşa, also called Yenī or Kırşulu Dīnārī. This was built in 973/1565-66 by Sinan, the greatest of Ottoman architects. It has one dome, and beside it stands the *türbe* of its founder (d. 969/1561-62); concerning mosque and *türbe* see Hikmet Turhan Dağlıoğlu and A. Saim Ölgün, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, II, 1945, 213-22; E. Egl, *Sinan, Der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, Stuttgart (1954), 66-8. Other ancient buildings of Ottoman times which deserve a mention here, are the *kāfī* (Kuşşulu Khān, *makbūre* of 1579-1580; see A. Galanti, II, 733) and the *bedesten* beside it, which are halfway up the fortress hill. Both these were in ruins until recently, when they were restored for use as a museum of antiquities.

In Ottoman times, Ankara was the capital of a *sandjak* (*livā*) of the *eyālet* of Anadolu. In the beginning it was at the same time the capital of the *eyālet*, until Kütahya took over this function. Under the re-organisation of the internal government in the *tanziimat* times (law of 7 Džumādā II 1281/7 Nov. 1864), Ankara became the capital of a *vilāyet* with the *sandjaks* of Ankara, Yozgad, Kırşehir and Kayseri. The *sandjak* of Ankara had the following *kāzas*: Ankara, Ayash, Balı, Zir, Baysaz, Döğüşahid, Haymana, Sırbişar, Mihallıçık, Nallihan, Yabanözü.

Ankara is famous under the name by which it was formerly known in Europe, Angora, as the home of the beautiful white long-haired goats, which are bred all over central Anatolia. Their silky hair (*mohair*, Turk. *İpek*) is a commodity in great demand. The long-haired Angora ('Persian') cats and rabbits also enjoy considerable fame.

Since 1892, the town has been connected by railway with Haydarpasha, opposite Istanbul. Before the First World War it was a small town; Cuinet gives 27,825 inhabitants for the time round about 1890, with a Christian minority of ca. 10%. Other reports about the number of inhabitants of Ankara agree with this. The figure 50,000, given by Saint Bey Fräghert, *Kamūs al-A'ām*, I, 439, is undoubtedly exaggerated.

After the meeting of the National Congress at Siwās in June 1919, that town remained for some months the centre of the revolutionary government. The seat of the government was moved to Ankara in October, and Mustafa Kemal entered it on 27 Dec. 1919. On 13 Oct. 1921, by a decision of the Great National Assembly, Ankara was declared the capital of Turkey. (Cf. Gazi Mustafa Kemal, *Nispet*, I, 240, 572; G. Jäschke, in *WI*, 1924, 262 ff.). In view of its increased importance and growing population Ankara underwent great and rapid changes after

1925. The town plan was designed by H. Jansen. The most important suburb, on a spur of the Elma Dağı, is Çankaya. The mausoleum of Atatürk, a work of the Turkish architect Emin Onan, stands on a hill in the SW. Ankara is the seat of a University and of other educational institutions. According to the preliminary returns for the census of 1955 Ankara had 453,151 inhabitants.

*Bibliography*: E. Mamoury, *Ankara, Guide touristique*; J. Deny and R. Marchand, *Prêt manuel de la Turquie nouvelle*, Paris 1934, 295-314 (bibliography by G. Vajdal); A. Galanti, *Ankara, Tarih*, Istanbul 1950-1; *IA*, s.v. (by B. Dasko); K. Ritter, *Erdoğru*, xviii, 472 ff.; Beclun, *Novelles géogr. univ.*, ix, 371; M. Galib, *Ankara*, Istanbul 1341/1923; Pauly-Wisnowski, s.v. Ankara; G. de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne MFOB*, 1928, 144 ff.; H. Grégoire, in *Byzantion*, IV, 437-61, v, 327-46; W. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890; P. Wittek, *Zur Geschichte Angoras im Mittelalter*, *Festschrift für G. Jacob*, 1912, 359-54; Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyāhatnâme*, II, 426-43; Hādīdī Khālifa, *İzāhin-nümā*, 633; the travel-books of Busbecq, Tavernier, Lucas, Poujoulat, Texier, Barth, A. D. Mordtmann, Humann-Puchstein (for titles see ANAOLU); W. Alauwerth, in *JRGZ*, 1840, 275 ff., 317 ff.; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842; V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I, 247 ff.; Sālnames of the *vilāyet* of Ankara; H. Louis, *Türkiye coğrafyasının bāzı esdaları*, *Birinci coğrafya kongresi*, 1941, 223 ff.; *Ankara şehrinin Jaussey, Jansen ve Hız taraflarından yapılan plan ve projelerine* al-*ıstak-nameler*, Ankara 1929. (F. TAUSCHER)

ANNA (see SIKKA)

AL-'ANNABA, the present town of Bône, on the Algerian coast, east of Algiers. It is not known when it received the name of al-'Annaba or, according to Leo Africanus, *Buld al-'Unabā*, 'city of the juubes', a reference to the fruit grown there. The early Arab geographers call it Būna, derived from its ancient name Hippona and testifying to its long history. It was successively a Phoenician settlement, a Punic city, a possession of the Numidian kings, and a Roman city named Hippo Regius, it played a major role during the Christian era when Saint Augustine was bishop there (395-430). Captured by the Vandals (430), retaken by the Byzantines, it became a Muslim possession at the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century.

The urban centre has occupied various sites in the course of the centuries. Al-Bakri is the most precise on the question. He distinguishes three settlements: the town made famous by 'Aghūllān, the doctor of the Christian religion', situated on an eminence, very probably that on which the basilica of Saint Augustine stands to-day. At its foot, stretches 'the city of Sibus', also called Madinat Zāwī, from the name of the Zīrid prince who had received it as his portion (?). This site of the old town, which is in the process of being uncovered by excavation, and of the first Muslim city which in the 5th/11th century was flourishing, must gradually have been abandoned, as being too exposed to raids from overseas, and disappeared under the silt of the Seybouse. Finally, three miles from Madinat Zāwī, rose New Bône, Būna al-Hādūba, in a more secure position and, after 450/1058, encircled by a rampart. This is the present Muslim quarter, which occupies the height overlooking the port and the European city. Since 425/1035 it has possessed a Great Mosque, certain



features of which recall the Great Mosques at al-Raywān and Tunis, and which later received the name of the holy man Sūfi Abū Marwān (died 305/1115).

Like al-Biḡḡaya, Bône was a base for active piracy, and was for this reason attacked by the Pisans and Genoese (1034). Roger II of Sicily captured it in 1153 and installed a Hammāddid prince there. In 1160, it was taken by the Almohads. In the middle of the 13th century, it was annexed to the Hāfṣid dominions; but, frequently independent of Tunis, it was furnished with governors, from al-Bayḡar or Constantine. In 1533, it appealed to Ḳhayr al-Dīn, the ruler of Algiers, and was occupied by a Turkish garrison, which remained there until 1830.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hawkal, French trans. by de Slane, *J.A.*, 1842, 1, 282; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, text (1911) 34, French trans. by de Slane (1913), 116-17; al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and trans. into French by Duzy and de Goeje, text, 116-17; trans. 136; Leo Africanus, ed. Ramusio (Venice 1837) 117, French trans. by Temporal, ed. Schefer, III, 107; Féraud, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de Bône*, *R. Afr.* 1873; G. Marçais, *La mosquée de Sidi ben Merwan, in Mélanges William Marçais*, 225-27, (G. Marçais).

**ANNĀZIDS** (ANĀZ <sup>3</sup>ANĀK), a dynasty (c. 382-517/991-1127) in the frontier region between Ḳirān and Iran, which was one of the manifestations of the period "between the Arabs and the Turks" when, in the wake of the westward expansion of the Būyids, numerous principalities of Iranian origin sprang up in Aḡharbāyḡdān and Kūrdistān.

As the rise of the Banū Ḳānizā was based on the Shāhādandīn Kurds, the dynasty should be considered as Kurdish, although the Arabic names and titles of the majority of the rulers indicate the Arab links of the ruling family. The organisation of the Banū Ḳānizā was typically semi-nomadic, in that it combined camps living in tents with strongholds serving as treasuries and refuges in time of danger. The characteristic feature of the Banū Ḳānizā dominion was the unusual flexibility of the organisation, now expanding and now shrinking. The existence of several rival branches of the family contributed even more to the vagueness of their territories and the constant displacement of their little-known centres.

There were two periods in the history of the Ḳānizāids. At first the external centres between which the family shifted were Baghdad, with its branch of the Būyids issued from Ḳādū al-Dawla, and Rayy, with its branch of descendants of Rukn al-Dawla. In the immediate west the Shāhādandīn were constantly involved in the tribal affairs of the Arabs Banū Ḳayāl and Banū Maryād. In the east, they were separated from Rayy by the dominions of the Kurdish Ḳasawayhids. In the second period, the appearance of the Salḡūks and their Turkish (Ghuzz) tribes completely disorganised the life of the Banū Ḳānizā who leaned now on the newcomers, now on the Būyid epigons, or fended for themselves in various tribal combinations.

The founder of the dynasty was (1) Abū Ḳānizā Muḥammad b. Ḳānizā, who ruled in Hulwān (at the foot of the pass leading up to the Iranian plateau). The fact that Hīlāl b. Muḥassin (*Edīpa*, ii, 422) calls him *ḡāḡib* and *naḡib* suggests that he was attacked by the administration of Bahā' al-Dawla (370-403/989-1013) and through that channel established himself in Hulwān where he ruled 20

years (382-403/991-1010). In 387/997 he temporarily seized Dabūkhā from the Ḳūkūl and then joined the commander Ḥaḡḡīdī b. Ḥurmīr in the campaign against the Banū Maryād. Later in the year he entered the service of Ḳānizā al-Dīn. In 389/999 he destroyed the family of Zahmīn b. Hīndī, lord of Ḳhānīn. In 397/1006 Badr b. Ḥasanīya temporarily dislodged him from Hulwān and he retired to Baghdad, though according to Ibn al-Aḡḡir, iii, 157, he died in Hulwān.

(2) His son Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Ḳānizā Fāris (401-37) succeeded him in the principal fief (Hulwān), but at the same time his brothers became autonomous: Muḥalḡil b. Muḥammad in Shahrāzūr [q.v.], and Surḡḡāb in Bāndandīn (Māndān), on the border of the southern Kurdish tribes and the Lurs [q.v.]. This division led to a number of complications. In 405/1014 the Būyid Ḳānizā al-Dawla (of Ḥamadān) clashed with the Ḳasawayhīd Hīlāl b. Badr who was killed and his son Ṭāḡir captured. During Ḳānizā al-Dawla's absence in Rayy Abū Ḳānizā occupied Kirmānshāḡ (Karmīn). Ḳānizā al-Dawla returned to Ḥamadān and released Ṭāḡir (in 405/1015) who rapidly defeated the Ḳānizāids. Abū Ḳānizā submitted to him and gave him his daughter, but then suddenly attacked and killed him. Ḳānizā al-Dawla himself marched against Abū Ḳānizā but in the battle fought near Kirmānshāḡ (and witnessed by Avicenna, see his autobiography in Ibn Ṭayyib's, ii, 4), lost the day (c. 406/1015).

The Būyids of Rayy were succeeded (in 398/1007) by their maternal relative the Kikkīnī Abū Ḳānizā al-Dawla. By that time Abū Ḳānizā had already expanded up to Daynawar (and Shāḡir-khast?), which Ḳānizā al-Dawla now occupied. In the struggle between the western Būyids Abū Ḳānizā and Ḳānizā al-Dawla, Abū Ḳānizā (420/1020) helped the latter but insisted on the reconciliation of the rivals. In the same year parties of Ghuzz occupied Mawṣil and Abū Ḳānizā was ready to assist Ḳānizā al-Dawla, but the Arabs lost the day. In 428/1037 Abū Ḳānizā sided with Abū Ḳānizā but he was besieging Ḳānizā al-Dawla. In 450/1059 he again occupied Kirmānshāḡ and the castles Ḳhānīn and Arānā (probably Ḳhānīn and Arānā near Kangāwar?) which belonged to the Kūht Kurds (i.e. the Kurds of the Ḳasawayhīd federation).

In 437/1045 a war broke out in the region of Daynawar between his son Abū Ḳānizā and Muḥalḡil, who took Abū Ḳānizā prisoner. Abū Ḳānizā marched against his brother (in Shahrāzūr). But Muḥalḡil appealed to the Kakkīnī Ḳānizā al-Dawla who arrived and annexed Kirmānshāḡ and Daynawar (432/1040). When his other brother, Surḡḡāb, made a pact with the Ḳānizā (now Ḳānizā) Kurds, Abū Ḳānizā turned for help to Ḳānizā al-Dawla. Meanwhile Ḳānizā al-Dawla pushed on to Marḡī (Kerend?) and Abū Ḳānizā took refuge in the castle of Sirwān (on the Diyālā?). Finally Ḳānizā al-Dawla contented himself with Daynawar and then suddenly died in 433/1041. In 434/1042 Abū Ḳānizā again attacked Muḥalḡil who fled to Snda (perhaps Sennar?). Abū Ḳānizā had died in captivity and the brothers made peace.

In 435/1043 Ḳānizā al-Dawla died and at the same time a new enemy threatened the Ḳānizāids. In 437/1045 Tughril sent his half-brother Ibrahim Yinal to the west, and Abū Ḳānizā fortified himself in the castle of Sirwān (see above), while the Ghuzz devastated his dominions. He died in Ramaḡān 437/ April 1046.

The Kurds rallied now round (3) Muḥalḡil who succeeded to recover Kirmānshāḡ and Daynawar (438/1047), whence he ousted Badr b. Hīlāl appointed by Ibrahim Yinal. It is possible that Muḥalḡil relied on some local tribes of Shahrāzūr, for his nephew (4) Saḡdī (Saḡdā?) b. Abū Ḳānizā felt disappointed by his uncle's neglect of himself and the Shāhādandīn. He went to join Ibrahim Yinal (438/Sept. 1046), who reinforced his Shāhādandīn by a troop of Ghuzz. In Hulwān Saḡdī read the *ḡāḡib* for Ibrahim. He also occupied Bāndandīn, and his uncle Surḡḡāb sought refuge in Dīzī-Dēlōya (cf. the name of the Kurdish tribe Dēlō between Shahrāb and Khamīn), but then defeated and captured Saḡdī and his ally, the chief of the Ḳānizā tribe. Soon, however, the Lurs, who were Surḡḡāb's subjects, extradited their master to Ibrahim who had one of his eyes blinded. By that time, Saḡdī had been liberated by a rebel son of Surḡḡāb. As Saḡdī was not too favourably received by Ibrahim, he returned to Daskara (near Shahrābān) and sought the help of Daskarid.

Ibrahim appointed a relation of his to occupy Surḡḡāb's dominions and remitted Surḡḡāb to him to facilitate the surrender (Ḳānizā ii, 439/Oct. 1047), but the envoy was defeated by Saḡdī's ally Abū Ḳānizā b. Warīm (<Warīm < Bahrām?) Ḳānizā. Then the Ghuzz defeated Saḡdī and spread on the left bank of the Tigris. Saḡdī sought refuge among the Banū Maryād Arabs and Ibrahim captured the last important castle of the Ḳānizāids, Kaḡat al-Sirwān (see above). Muḥalḡil had to flee to Shahrāzūr (439/1047). During the siege of Trānshāḡ (Trānshā?) by the Ghuzz, plague broke out among them and in 440/1048 Ibrahim Yinal recalled them to Māḡḡadī (west of Kirmānshāḡ).

Muḥalḡil re-occupied Shahrāzūr but in 442/1050 he felt obliged to pay homage to Tughril-bek, who received him kindly and re-instated the Ḳānizāids: Muḥalḡil in Sirwān, Dakkūḡ, Shahrāzūr and Sīnḡhān (Zimkha?) a left affluents of the Diyālā; Surḡḡāb in Dīzī Māḡḡī (cf. the Kurds Māḡḡī in north-western Luristan) and Saḡdī in the two Rīwānds (near Nihāwand). In 444/March 1053 Saḡdī was placed in command of Tughril's van and advanced to Nuḡmīniya, clashed with his uncle Muḥalḡil and made him prisoner.

Meanwhile Baghdad was occupied by al-Basāḡī (q.v.). Muḥalḡil's son (5) Badr went to ask Tughril to intervene for the liberation of his father. Tughril offered to exchange Muḥalḡil for one of Saḡdī's sons kept by him as a hostage. Saḡdī disliked the offer and suddenly revolted against Tughril and sided with al-Malik al-Rāḡhīn, the Būyid. He was defeated by Tughril's generals and Badr, Muḥalḡil must have died at that time. Badr proceeded to Shahrāzūr, while Saḡdī remained in the castle of Rawḡḡan-Ḳūḡḡān (on the right bank of the Diyālā?), and even in 446/1054 the Ghuzz were unable to dislodge him.

After the occupation of Baghdad by Tughril (447/18 December 1055) the sources are silent on the Ḳānizāids but some survivors of the dynasty can be traced even at a considerably later time. Under 495/1102, Ibn al-Aḡḡir, x, 238, reports on the attack of Karabālī (a Salḡur Turkman) on (6) Surḡḡāb b. Badr. The commanders in Ḳhūḡḡīdḡān (Yāḡūḡ, ii, 436, Khutīyān Surḡḡāb, which G. Hoffmann, *Asiatica*, 1886, 264, identifies with Koy-sandjak?), seized his treasure, out of which they sent a present to Sultan Bark-yaruk. The Turkman occupied Surḡḡāb's dominions, except Dakkūḡā and

Shahrāzūr. Ḳhūḡḡīdḡān was also restored to Surḡḡāb, who died in 500/1106 and was succeeded by his son (7) Abū Mānṡūr. On this occasion Ibn al-Aḡḡir, x, 305, mentions Surḡḡāb's great wealth and great number of horsemen adding that (up to that date) the family had ruled for 130 years. Nothing is known of Abū Mānṡūr but from the *Tārīḡh-i Ḳasḡā*, 547 (clearer in the *Shahrānūma*, 32-4) we learn that in the second half of the 6th/12th century under the Aḡḡār ruler of Ḳhūḡḡīdḡān called Shūḡlā (read: \*Shūḡlā? (cf. *Asḡḡāḡ*)) there existed a ruler in Luristan called (8) Surḡḡāb b. Ḳānizā (mis-spelt: \*Ayyār). After \*Shūḡlā's death (in 570/1174, Ibn al-Aḡḡir, xi, 280) the founder of the dynasty of Lesser Lur [q.v.] Ḳhūḡḡīdḡān (Sīḡḡīr) curtailed Surḡḡāb's possessions, until the latter contented himself with being a mere *shāḡḡā* on his behalf in Māḡḡīd (near the Munḡḡer range in Central Luristan). Finally the whole of Māḡḡīd was incorporated by Ḳhūḡḡīdḡān. This Surḡḡāb was undoubtedly a descendant of Surḡḡāb, lord of Bāndandīn and Māḡḡī, and with him the last scion of the Ḳānizāids must have disappeared.

**Bibliography:** Hīlāl b. Muḡḡadī, in Margāḡīnī, *The Edīpa*, iii; *Muḡḡadī al-Tawḡḡīdī* (written in 520/1126), Teheran, 1318/1935; this book adds some interesting details to our principal source Ibn al-Aḡḡir, ix-x, who repeats some of Ibn al-Djāwārī's data in *al-Muntazam*, Haydarābād, viii-ix, but is much more explicit. Shahrāzūr, *Shahrāzūr-nāma* (Vellamānī-Zernoff), 22-3; Muncḡḡīdīm-bāḡḡī, *Sakḡī' al-Aḡḡār*, Turk. translation, ii, 503; C. Huart, *Les Banu Ḳānizā*, Syria, 1921, 265-79, and 1922, 66-79 (based mainly on Ibn al-Aḡḡir, ix). See also Bergmann, *Beiträge z. māk. Numismatik*, in WNZ, 1873, 25. An undated coin struck by Ḳānizā al-Dawla Abū Ḳānizā (or one of his vassals?) under the caliph al-Kāḡīm (422-07) belongs to the American Numismatic Society (information by G. C. Miles). (V. Moxosovsk).

**ANNĪYYA**, an abstract term formed from the conjunct particle 'an or 'anna, "that", is the literal translation of the Aristotelian term τὸ ὄν and means therefore the fact that a thing is, its "thatness" (the particle 'anna is used also substantively and al-'anna has the same meaning as al-'annīyya). The principal passage where Aristotle employs this term is in *Anal. Post. II. 1* and the important distinction he makes there between the fact that a thing is (τὸ ὄν) and the question what it is (τὸ τί ὅτι) is the fundamental source of the later discussions about *existentia* and *essentia*. Indeed, the most pregnant sense in which the term 'annīyya is used by the Muslim philosophers is the meaning of *existence*, i.e. the existence in reality of a particular individual in opposition to its *essentia*, its intrinsic nature, its "whatness", *māḡḡīyya*, *quidditas* in the Latin translations. When, for instance, ḡhāḡḡālī in his *Makāḡīd al-falāḡīya* expounds the general doctrine of the Muslim philosophers that in God existence and essence are unified, he uses the terms 'annīyya and māḡḡīyya. Since, however, in philosophy existence and non-existence being are often confused—in Greek philosophy the terms *by* and *ēvōv* serve to express both meanings and Aristotle himself uses (*Met. VII. 17*, 1021<sup>a</sup> 15) τὸ ὄν and τὸ ὅτι as synonyms (the Arabic translation of these terms here, in the edition of Bouvyes p. 1006g, is *al-'anna* and *al-'annīyya*)—we find the term al-'annīyya used also for non-existence being. For instance in a passage in Aristotle's *Metaphysics IX. 10.1051<sup>a</sup> 23* the non-existence being of truth and falsehood is rendered



by 'annīyya (the Greek has ἀννίησις) and Averroës in his comment on this passage explains the term by *annīyya*.

A special feature of the pseudo-Aristotelian neoplatonic treatises the "Theology of Aristotle" and the *liber de causis* in which *ἔν* and *ἐξ* are constantly translated by 'annīyya, is the introduction of Plotinus' five intelligible categories (cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* VI, 2); the category *ἔν* (being) is translated here by 'annīyya, whereas the category *ἐξ* (beingness) is rendered by *hūwīyya*. But in other translations e.g. the translation of Aristotle's Metaphysics *ἔν* is often translated by *hūwīyya* (e.g. in Book V, 7, where a definition of *ἔν* is given) and we find the terms, 'annīyya, *uwwād* and *hūwīyya* often used interchangeably.

It may be remarked that the fanciful derivation of 'annīyya from 'annī, ego, given by some Persian mystics and which has been adopted also by some modern European scholars, cannot be maintained, if only for grammatical reasons. The correct derivations from 'annī: 'annīyya and 'annīyya are both found in later Arabic philosophy for instance in Šihābī (17th Century).

**Bibliography:** We do not possess a satisfactory lexicon of Arabic philosophical terms. However, the examples given by Bouyges in the accurate indexes to his edition of Aristotle's Metaphysics with Averroës' Commentary may be studied with profit. Although the term is frequently used by Avicenna, it is found neither in *Ḥazāli's Tahkūt* nor in Averroës' *Tahkūt al-Tahkūt* (S. van den Haegen).

**AL-ANŠĀR**, the 'helpers', the usual designation of those men of Medina who supported Muḥammad, in distinction from the Muhājirūn or 'emigrants' i.e. his Meccan followers. After the general conversion of the Arabs to Islam the old name of al-Aws and al-Ḥazraǧ jointly, Banī Kayl, fell out of use and was replaced by Anšār, the individual being known as an Anšārī (cf. Kur'ān, ix, 100/101, 117/118). In this way the early services of the men of Medina to the cause of Islam were honourably commemorated. Anšār is presumably the plural of *ansār*, but the latter is never used as a technical term. The verb *ansara* has the connotation of helping a person wronged against his enemy. This is sufficient to explain why the Muslims of Medina were called al-Anšār (sometimes *ansār al-madīna*, "the helpers of the Prophet"), but the choice of the name may have been influenced by the resemblance to Našārā, "Christians"; e.g. Kur'ān, lxi, 14, "By helpers of God as 'Isā b. Maryam said to the disciples, Who are my helpers towards God?" (cf. iii, 52/53).

Muḥammad's first effective contacts with Medina were at the pilgrimage of 620 A.D. with six men of the Ḥazraǧ. As the reconciliation of the Aws and the Ḥazraǧ, however, was part of his aim, he seems to have insisted on the Aws being represented at the negotiations; and in the traditional accounts of "the first and second 'Akaba" (p. 6) about a sixth of those who pledged themselves to Muḥammad were men of the Aws. Medina had suffered so much from the feuds of the two tribes (see al-Aws, al-Ḥazraǧ, al-Madīna), that the ready acceptance of Muḥammad's claims must have been partly due to the hope that he would be able to restore and maintain peace. While there is much obscurity about the details, it is clear that most of the inhabitants of Medina, apart from the Jews, had entered into the agreement with him. The chief exceptions were four clans of

the Aws, called Ǧahma, Wāḥ, Wāḥf and Umayya b. Zayd, and part of a fifth, 'Aṣr b. 'Awf, all of which had close relations with the Jews. These non-Muslims are to be distinguished from the Muṣāḥibīn or 'hypocrites', since the latter were parties to the agreement with Muḥammad who afterwards disapproved of him. Despite these defections, the Aws were important among the Anšār, and indeed the leading Anšārī, until his death in 562, was Sa'd b. Mu'adh, chief of the clan of 'Abd al-Aḥbal of the Aws.

The following table shows the number of men of the various clans present at "the first 'Akaba" (A 1), "the second 'Akaba" (A 2), and the battle of Badr (B). The last column (W) gives the number of women of the clan who are given notices in Ibn Sa'd, viii; this may be taken as a rough indication of the total strength of the clan.

Clan	A1	A2	B	W
'Abd al-Aḥbal	1	3	15	35
Zafar	—	—	5	23
Ḥiribha	—	3	3	23
'Aṣr b. 'Awf	1	5	40	28
Aws Manāt (Ǧahma)	—	—	—	12
al-Aws (total)	2	11	63	121
al-Naǧǧār	3	11	56	83
al-Ḥabāṣa	—	7	19	30
Banu 'l-Ḥubāl, al-Kawākila	3	6	25	17
Sa'd b. Mu'adh	—	2	9	12
Salima	2	29	43	54
Zurayk	2	4	16	16
Bay'ada	—	3	7	12
al-Ḥazraǧ (total)	10	62	175	228

These figures suggest that a leading part in the approach to Muḥammad was played by clans like al-Naǧǧār and Salima, which had many members but had produced no great leaders in war. The two chief men of Medina at this time, Sa'd b. Mu'adh and 'Abd Allah b. Ubayy were not at al-'Akaba, and their clans ('Abd al-Aḥbal and Banu 'l-Ḥubāl) seem to be relatively badly represented.

It is disputed in the primary sources whether the Anšār took part in any of the first small Muslim expeditions. They constituted, however, about three quarters of the Muslim force at Badr. Of the leaders Sa'd b. Mu'adh was the most zealous in the cause of Islam; not merely 'Abd Allah b. Ubayy, but Usayd b. Hudayr (a rival of Sa'd b. Mu'adh for the chieftaincy of 'Abd al-Aḥbal) and Sa'd b. 'Ubayy were absent from Badr. At least until the siege of Medina in 562 'Abd Allah b. Ubayy was trying to prevent the growth of Muḥammad's power; but the others threw in their lot with Muḥammad after Badr. At the meeting to deal with "the affair of the lie (*al-bai'a*)" against 'Aḥḥa's chastity, it was clear that a first man among the Ḥazraǧ, was now Sa'd b. 'Ubayy. Indeed, shortly afterwards, on the death of Sa'd b. Mu'adh, he was recognized as the leader of the Anšār as a whole. These continued to be one of the main foundations of Muḥammad's power, though about the time of the expedition to Tabūk in 630 a small section became disaffected.

Throughout Muḥammad's residence at Medina the old feuds were slowly being forgotten, and the

Anšār were coming to feel themselves a unity, especially in contrast to the Muhājirūn or "emigrants", with whom they rarely intermarried. The cleavage between the Aws and the Ḥazraǧ was a factor of occasional importance as late as the meeting after Muḥammad's death at which Abū Bakr was made caliph; but nothing is heard of it subsequently. After the wars of conquest the Anšār, despite their honourable position in the new Islamic nobility, declined in influence. They mostly opposed 'Uthmān and supported 'Alī. Later they constituted a "pious opposition" to the Umayyads and took the side of the 'Abbāsids. Before the 'Abbāsids came to power, however, the Anšār had largely become merged with members of Quraysh and other tribes who had settled in Medina.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām; Ibn Sa'd, iii/2; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 11/1; F. Buhl, *Muḥammad*, Leipzig, 1930; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**'ANŠĀRA**, the name of a festival. Ibn al-Ḥaǧǧī (*Taǧdī al-Mulūk*, Cairo 1312) derives the word from the Arabic root *ṣ-ṣ-r*. For more than three quarters of a century, Dozy, on the one hand, and Equilaz y Yancas on the other, have attributed it to the Hebrew *šāṣra* (*šāṣereth*) "an assembly of the people to celebrate religious festivals, especially Pentecost". Among the Copts, it is still the name for Pentecost (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii, 365). In Spain, existing in the forms *anšara*, *anšara*, *anšara*, it is the feast of St. John, among both Christians and Muslims (cf. Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire*, 125-7; Equilaz y Yancas, *Glossaire*, 187-8). In the Maghrib, *anšara* (with the variants *anšara*, *anšara*, *anšara*, depending on the district) denotes the festival of the summer solstice, celebrated on the 24th June in the Julian calendar, or the 5th/6th July in the Gregorian. Though known throughout Morocco, and almost everywhere in Algeria, it is not known, it appears, in Tunisia. The magico-religious character of the acts which make up its popular ritual is not in doubt: (a) fire rites intended perhaps to give greater strength to the sun at the time of the solstice; the burning of braziers full of plants, of hives, or of huts, thus producing copious smoke which is supposed to have virtue of purification and fecundation; (b) water rites, ablutions, sprinklings, the mingling of water with the ashes of the ritual brazier, by virtue of which the fructifying humidity is brought to combine itself with warmth, at the beginning of a new period of the solar cycle. It is reasonable to accept as clearly established the relationship between the rite of the *anšara* of the Maghrib and those of the Middle Eastern *anšara* (p. 6), and also the transference of the popular practices of the *anšara* to another festival, that of *šāṣra* (p. 6).

**Bibliography:** Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire de mots espagnols dérivés de l'arabe*, 135-7, with a summary of the information provided by the early European travellers to the Maghrib; Equilaz y Yancas, *Glossaire de palabras españolas de origen oriental*, 187-8, with numerous references to Spanish sources; Destaing, *Fêtes et coutumes saisonnières chez les Beni Snou*, R.Afr., 1907, with an abstract of the principal Arab authors who have referred to the *anšara* (Makrīdī, Ibn al-Ḥaǧǧī, 562, Maǧāwī, Warzī, Hūd, Yāqūt, *Midwimmer*, *Glossaire de l'arabe*, in F. Buhl, 1905; *idem*, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, ii, 182-207; E. Doutté, *Marrakech*, 277-82; *idem*, *Magie et*

*religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 505 ff.; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 152 ff., and 192; A. Bel, *Feux et rites du solstice d'été en Berbérie*, *Mélanges Gauthier-Demombynes*, Cairo 1925/43, 48-83; G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 205; E. Laoust, *Noms et cérémonies des feux de jour chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas*, *Hesperis* 1921.

(P. MARÇAIS)

**AL-ANŠĀRĪ AL-HARAWĪ**, Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥ. b. 'Alī b. Muḥ. b. Ahmad b. 'Alī b. Dī'āfar b. Maṣūf b. Maṭṭ al-Anšārī al-Harawī al-Hanbalī, born at Kuḥandir, the citadel of Harāt, on 2 Šahbān 360/4 May 1005. An infant prodigy, he was at a very early age the pupil of Abū Maṣūf al-Aḥlī, of Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dīrādī and of Yaḥyā b. 'Annās, who instructed him in *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*. Although commencing under Šāfi'ī teachers, he soon adopted Hanbalism with enthusiasm, because of its devotion to the Kur'ān and the Sunna. In 417/1026, he went to continue his studies to Nišāpūr, where he frequented the disciples of al-Aṣamm, and then to Tūs and Bīstām. In 423/1031, he made the pilgrimage, breaking his journey at Bagdād in order to attend the lectures of Abū Muḥammad al-Khālīl; on his return he met Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Kharrābī, who had a decisive influence on his mystical career, on which he had first embarked under the guidance of his own father Abū Maṣūf, the *murīd* of the *ghurī* al-'Aḥlī of Balkh. He finally settled at Harāt, and divided his time between teaching his disciples and polemics against the theologians; as a result of the latter activity he was threatened with death on five occasions, and was three exiled. He died, honoured with the title of Shaykh al-Islām, in the city of his birth, on 22 Dhu 'l-Hijja 481/8 March 1089.

His biographers are unanimous in praising his piety, the breadth of his knowledge in all branches of the religious sciences, and the indomitable fervour of his devotion to the Kur'ān, the Sunna, and the school of Ibn Hanbal, which led him to be accused by his enemies of bigoted fanaticism and anthropomorphism.

His works are the exact expression of the varied aspects of his rich personality: in the field of mysticism, he bore his soul in the *Maṣnū'āt* and other writings in *naḡ* or in verse, which are considered to be among the masterpieces of Persian literature; the *Maṣnū'āt al-Sāfi'īya*, a valuable spiritual guide, impresses by its originality, its conciseness and its masterly psychological analyses (the number of the commentators on this work alone places it in an eminent position in the history of Sūfism). The *Taḥkūt al-Sūfīyya*, forming a link between al-Sulmī's work and the *Nafahāt* of Dīlāmī, is valuable both as a biographical document and as evidence of the dialect spoken at Harāt in the 5th/11th century. Finally, the *Dhann al-Kalīm wa-Aḥlā* is a principal source for the history of the struggle against rational theology in Islam.

Among his chief disciples, the following are worthy of note: Abū 'l-Wakī' 'Abd al-Awwal al-Sajīd, Muṭamīn al-Sajīd and, above all, Yūsuf al-Hamadghānī, the inheritor of his ideas.

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tropical plants such as bananas) and because of its beautiful countryside. There are many waterfalls, and the Lycian mountains range on the western shores of the bay rise to a height of 2000 m. like a backcloth. The mountains are inhabited by a primitive population of *Shū'ite* religion, called the *Takhtādīls* "woodcutters" (98).

*Bibliography*: Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Attaleia, Kithi Celebi, *Çiklönsmä*, 538 f.; Ewliya Celebi, *Siyah-näme*, ix, 285-90; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 705 ff.; K. Ritter, *Edkunda*, XIX, 624 ff., 640 ff.; E. Reclus, *Nouvelles géogr. univ.*, ix, 650; V. Caillet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, I, 853-63; R. M. Rieftahl, *Turkish architecture in south-western Anatolia*, 47-53 (inscriptions by P. Wittek, 78-90); Tabari, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn Hibb (Houtsma), 23 ff.; 51 ff.; 97, 103 ff.; 112 ff., 137 ff., 142, 147, 153, 182, 199, 212, 273, 284, 287 ff.; Chaladon, *Les Commanes*, I, 197-234; ii, 38, 48, 113, 181 ff. 198; de Mas Latrie, *Hist. de l'île de Chypre*, Paris 1867, I, 174, ii, 13 ff., 365 ff.; Süleyman Fikri, *Antalya Ta'rihi*, İstanbul 1339-40; S. Fikri Erten, *Antalya Vilayeti Tarihi*, İstanbul 1940; idem, *Antalya Tarihi, Çukuncu Kısım*, Antalya 1948; *IA*, s.v. (by B. Darokot); also *tesse-ogutlu*, *Antalya*, F. Tasciuten.

SIRAT 'ANTAR, the romance of 'Antar, rightly considered the model of the Arabic romance of chivalry. This *sira* surveys five hundred years of Arab history and includes a wealth of older traditions. The story in the *Kutub al-Aghani* of how 'Antar, the son of a slave-girl, was adopted into the tribe of Banu 'Abs for saving them at a time of great crisis bears the stamp of a flourishing but already legendary tradition. The *Sirat 'Antar* far transcends the unconscious development of a legend. By a bold stroke 'Antar, the solitary hero, is raised to be the representative of all that is Arab, 'Antar the pagan is made the champion of Islam. The romance thus comes to reflect the vicissitudes of the Arabs and Islam through half a millennium; the tribal feuds of the old Arabs; the wars against Ethiopian rule in Arabia; the subjection of Arabia and especially of 'Irak to Persian suzerainty; the victories of the rising Islam over Persia; the remarkable historical position of the Jews in Arabia down to the seventh century; the conquests from Christianity by the Arabs, especially in Syria; the continuous wars of the Persian and later of the Muslim East against Byzantium; the victorious advance of Islam in North Africa and in Europe; the influence of the Crusader is also undeniable. The contacts between East and West are numerous. The romance is written in smooth rhymed prose into which have been interwoven some 10,000 verses. The editions printed in the East since 1286 A.D. divide the *Sira* into 32 little volumes, none of which, like the separate nights of the *One Thousand and One Nights*, ever ends at the conclusion of a tale.

Contents. The romance brings us through numerous legendary stories from early times down to the period when King Zubayr is ruling over the Banu 'Abs. The 'Abul hero Shaddad on a raid captures the negro slave-girl Zabiba (not till the xviii book do we get the denouement that she is a king's daughter, who had been carried off from the Sūdān), who becomes the mistress of 'Antar. As an infant, 'Antar tears the strongest swaddling clothes, when two years old pulls down the tent, at four slays a large dog, at nine a wolf and as a young shepherd a lion. Soon he comes to the rescue of his oppressed tribe, for which

he is acknowledged by his father and adopted into his tribe. He seeks 'Abba, his uncle's daughter, in marriage; the latter promises her to him in an hour of need; but after 'Antar has averted the danger, he imposes the most dangerous conditions to be carried out before the marriage. 'Antar fulfils them all but is only allowed to marry 'Abba after ten volumes of wonderful exploits. The area of his exploits widens continually. In his own tribe 'Antar has first to overcome the resistance of his father, then the hostility of 'Abba's relatives, to win over his rivals including the poet 'Urwa b. al-Ward, to put an end to the feuds of the Banu Ziyād, Rabi' and 'Umayra. In the feuds between the sister-tribes of 'Abs and Fajhāra, 'Antar proves himself the saviour of the Banu 'Abs; outside of his tribe, he fights and overthrows the strongest heroes and makes them his friends; such are Durayd al-b-Sinma, 'Amr al-'Umayr, Hani' b. Mas'ūd, the victor over the Persians at Dhū Kār, 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib, 'Amir b. al-Tufayl, 'Amr b. Wudd, the knight of the Harām, Rabi'a b. Mukaddam, the pattern of Arab chivalry and many others. He hangs up his *ma'dād* in the Haram of Mecca after defeating the other *ma'dād*-kaba-poets in a competition, overcoming all his rivals in duels and passing an examination in Arab synonyms set by Amru 'l-Kais. From Mecca he goes to Khaybar and destroys the town of the Jews. But 'Antar is also taken beyond the bounds of Arabia. The *Sira* does not lack reasons for this. 'Abba's father demands *ajdā* from him as a bride gift, which are only brood by Mundhir, King of Hira. 'Antar takes 'Antar to 'Irak. From there he is summoned to Persia to fight the Greek champion Badramit. Next we find him in constant association with the kings of 'Irak, Mundhir, Nu'mān, Aswad, 'Amr b. Hind, Iyas b. Kabisa and their viziers, notably 'Amr b. Bukayya. He also has constant dealings with the Sāsāns. His name is found in the *Shāh-nāma* (no *shāh* of this raw Anoshirwān, Rhodriwān (no *shāh* of this name is found in the Sāsānian history), Kawādī (probably Kawādī *Shīro*) sometimes as a dreaded opponent, sometimes as a most welcome ally. The son of the king of Syria woos the promised bride of a friend of 'Antar. The latter goes to Syria, kills his friend's rival, defeats King Hārith al-Wahhāb (Aretas), but becomes his friend and after the death of Aretas at the request of the princess Hāluma becomes guardian of the new king 'Amr b. Hārith, who is still a minor, and as such ruler of Syria. Here 'Antar comes into contact with the Franks, sometimes as an enemy and sometimes as their ally against the Persians. Syria is under Byzantine suzerainty. For the services which 'Antar renders the Christians here, he is invited to Constantinople and entertained and honoured. Laylāmīn, the king of the Franks, objects to this and demands that the emperor should hand over 'Antar to him. 'Antar along with Heracles, the emperor's son, then leads the Byzantine army into the land of the Franks, subjects them to the emperor, reaches Spain, defeats King Santiago, pursues his victorious march through his provinces in North Africa from Morocco to Egypt. When he returns from these conquests on behalf of Byzantium to Constantinople, an equestrian statue of him is erected out of gratitude; the statues of his two brothers, who had accompanied him to Byzantium, are placed at the side of his. Shortly before his death, 'Antar comes to Rome. The king of Rome, Balkām b. Markas is hard

pressed by Bohemund; 'Antar kills Bohemund and liberates Rome. On a campaign of reprisal against the Sūdānes, 'Antar goes from kingdom to kingdom deeper into Africa till he reaches the land of the Negus. Here he discovers in the Negus the grandfather of his mother Zabiba. Even more fantastic are the campaigns against Hind-Sind, against the Christian king Laylāmīn in the land of Baydā, in the land of the demons. 'Antar's death is brought about by Wizr b. Dīlā called 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Antar had repeatedly defeated him and taken him prisoner but always set him free again. Wizr feels humiliated by this magnanimity and continually renews his attack. Finally 'Antar blinds him. Though blinded, Wizr learns to shoot birds and gazelles with bow and arrow from their sound. 'Antar is struck by one of his poisoned arrows, but Wizr dies before 'Antar has the delusion that he has missed. While dying, and indeed when dead, still sitting on his steed Abdjār, 'Antar still wards the enemy off from his people. 'Antar's marriage with 'Abba was childless but from his secret marriages and love-affairs, several children were born including two Christians, and indeed Crusaders, Ghadānfar, Coeur-de-Lion, son of 'Antar and the sister of the king of Rome whom 'Antar had married in Rome and left in Constantinople, and Djufrān (i.e. Geoffroi, Godfrey), the son of 'Antar and a Frankish princess. 'Antar's children avenge and lament the death of their heroic father. Ghadānfar and Djufrān then return to Europe. 'Abs becomes a convert to Islam.

Analysis. The following are the main elements that have contributed to the growth of the *Sira*: 1. Arab paganism; 2. Islam; 3. Persian history and epic; 4. The Crusades. 1. To Arab paganism it owes the chivalrous and knightly Bedouin spirit of the work, the majority of the characters in it, who often have historical features, the feuds between the sister tribes of 'Abs and Fajhāra; in connection with the race between Dābis and Zabāra, the most powerful of the *Abd al-Rahmān*, like King Zubayr's marriage with Tumādīr, Zubayr's death, Malik b. Zubayr's death, Hārith and Lubna, Djaida and Khalid, anecdotes of Hālīm Tayyī, the splendid figure of Rabi'a b. Mukaddam etc. 2. To Islam belong the introduction with a long midrash of Abraham, repeated legends of Muhammad and 'Ali, the conclusion of the work which forms a transition to Islamic literature, the tendency of the book to make 'Antar really prepare the way for Islam; 'Antar's victorious campaigns through Arabia, Persia, Syria, North Africa and Spain are modelled on the conquests of Islam. Certain details give the *Sira* a slightly *Shū'ite* colouring. 3. Persian influence is found in the knowledge of Persian history and the Persian epic, in places of Persian language, in the conception of kingship by grace of God, in the knowledge of Persian court life and ceremonial (throne, crowns, imperial carpet, court-hunts (falcons, cheetahs), pigeon-post, Persian offices and ranks (vizier, mōbedān mōbed, marzpan, pahlawān, eyes and ears of the *Shāh*) even the *sakridja* (gentleman-carvers). 4. Christianity and the Crusades. The *Sira* assumes that Christians in the Syria of the Sāsānians, in Byzantium and among the Franks. The Franks appear as Crusaders (the romance even mentions the cross worn on the breast), fighting for Shiloe and Jerusalem. Djufrān (Godfrey) besieges Damascus and sends troops against Antioch. The *Sira* mentions the cross, the dress of the priests and friars, the girdle

of the order (which in the *Sira* is the most important symbol of Christianity next to the cross), the crozier, the bell (clapper), incense, holy water, prayers for the dead, unctio, sacrament and of holy-days, Christmas, Palm-Sunday, is aware that among the Franks the clergy are first in Church and state, that marriages between cousins are illegal, seems also to know of excommunication and describes a Spanish place of pilgrimage and day of pilgrimage. The Christian saviour by Jesus, Mary, the Gospels, John the Baptist (Māri Hannā al-Ma'madīn, Yūghnā), by Luke (Lūka), Thomas (Mar Tōma) and Simon. The Emperor Radfīm rules in Byzantium and his son is called Heracles; Balkām b. Markas is king of Rome. The Christian rulers of North Africa have names which end with the -i, common in Greek and Latin, e.g. Martos, Kardus, Hernes, Ibn al-'Umayr, Kindaryas b. Kirmā, Sindaris, Theodoros. The king of Spain is called Santiago; of the names of Frankish kings and princes that of Bohemund alone is certain. The names of his brothers Mübert, Söbert, Kübert and that of the prince "Shübert of the Sea" show what is perhaps the commonest ending in personal names in Old French. 'Antar's son by the Frankish princess is called Djufrān, which conceals the old French form [Jofroi, Jelfroi, Gelfroi] of the name of Godfrey of Bouillon. As the romance of 'Antar knows nothing of Europe, but a good deal about Europeans, the author must have become acquainted with them outside of Europe, of course at the period of the Crusades; Bohemund is slain by 'Antar. Godfrey is the son of 'Antar, who comes as a Crusader to Asia, learns his paternity there, avenges the death of his father and then returns to Europe. Even the name "Taufur" of the king of the beggars in the army of Peter of Armenia, seems to be preserved in the *Sira*: "Dāfir" is the name of the usurper who drives the infant prince 'Amr from the throne of Syria but is overthrown by 'Antar. In regard to intelligent sympathy with and toleration of Christianity, the picture we get from the *Sirat 'Antar* is far in advance of that which the mediaeval Christian epic reveals of Islam, where the Muslims are made to worship idols, like Apollo, Cabu, Gonnellu, Jupiter, Margot, Malquedant, Tervagant etc. The romance of 'Antar regards the Crusades not with sympathy and admiration. It is true that Crusaders are mentioned, who go to the Holy Land to seek plunder and to escape punishment; but the Franks are fighting for God the Father, for the Son and for the spread of religion.

Folk-lore and literary parallels. There is remarkably little folk-lore in the *Sirat 'Antar* but it includes several noteworthy features: splendid witches' kitchen, fine examples of allegorical speech, of omens, life-taken. Most of the agreements with other narrative poetry may be regarded as commonplaces of the epic; the strength and growth of the hero, his exploits, the killing of a lion, *mu'ammārīn* (longevity) is as common in the 'Antar as in the *Shāh-nāma*, dreams, visions, Amazons, fights between father and son in the *Sira* have their parallel in the motif of the stupid man. There are very few borrowings: Nu'mān's lucky and unlucky day, Khuraw's bell of justice (the motif of the legend of the Emperor Charles and the snake), a flight to heaven in a box borne by eagles, several African traditions (probably taken from geographical works on Africa). There are also links with



European legends. The marvelous signs at the birth of Charlemagne (in Pseudo-Turpin) resemble those recorded in our romance at the birth of Muhammad, but Pseudo-Turpin undoubtedly borrowed from an older source. Artificial birds made of metal, which sing in various tunes by means of bells and organ pipes are described in French and German epics and also in the *Sirat 'Antar*. But here we have to deal with the historical marvel of the Chrysotriklinos in Constantinople, and with a similar thing in the Ctesiphon of the Sāsānids and also in the capital of the Tatar Khāns. Some coincidences are very striking. Hārith al-Zālim beats his sword Dhu 'l-Hiyāt against a rock, so that it may not fall into the enemy's hands; the rock is broken but the sword is unscathed, just as in the case with Roland's Durandal. 'Antar instructs his son Ghadhān, who wishes to slay Khurraw and seize the power for himself, on the subject of kingship by God's grace just as Girard de Viane does his nephew Almeri who wants to kill Charlemagne. 'Antar's horse Abdir takes flight to the desert after 'Antar's death, so that he may not serve another master, just as Renaud de Montauban's Baiart escapes to the forests of the Ardennes. Very remarkable is the parallel between the duel between Roland and Oliver and that of 'Antar and Rabi'a b. Mukaddam; the sword of the one combatant breaks in two and his magnanimous opponent gets him another; the duellists are reconciled and become brothers-in-law. But such poetical developments have their origin in a similar chivalrous outlook, the relation of the knight to his sword, to his horse, to his overlord and to his opponent.

Chivalry in the *Sirat 'Antar*. The *Sira* is rightly recognised to be a romance of chivalry. In the pagan period among the Arabs the ideal of masculine virtue was *murawwa*, *furuwwa*; alongside of this we have more frequently in the *Sirat 'Antar* *furuwwi* along with *farāda* and *fatāwana*. The knight is called *fāris*. 'Antar is called "a father of knights", *Abū 'l-Fāris*; sometimes *Abū 'l-Farṣān*, *Alā 'l-Farṣān*, *Fāris al-Farṣān*, *Afrān*. Not everyone who rides a horse is a knight. The knight's qualities are courage, fidelity, love of truth, protection of widows, orphans and the poor ('Antar arranges special meals for them), magnanimity, reverence for men ('Antar begins and ends his heroic career protecting women; he swears by 'Abila, by 'Abila's eye, conquers in 'Abila's name), liberality, especially to poets. The knights are also poets, especially poets of the Hujjās, who are found in hundreds in the *Sirat 'Antar*. The *Sira* also knows the institutions of chivalry. We meet pages and squires, not only the *shahīd* of Ctesiphon; 'Antar himself trains several thousand squires. The *Sira* even describes tournaments on a great scale, in the Hujjās, in Hira, in Ctesiphon, the most splendid in Byzantium where 'Antar's lance strikes the ring 476 times. These tournaments have many features in common with those of Europe, fighting with blunted weapons, tilting at the ring, decorating and beflagging the lists, the presence of ladies and girls. These agreements have been explained in the most diverse ways. On the one hand Delcure saw in 'Antar the model of the European knight, in the *Sirat 'Antar*, the source from which Europe had obtained all its ideas of chivalry, while on the other hand Reinaud simply found European ideas, customs and institutions imitated

in the *Sira* [JA, 1833, I. 102-105]. In this sense have seen the starting point for the study of the question of the origin of the *Sirat 'Antar*.

Origin. The *Sirat 'Antar* itself frequently and readily talks about itself and its origin. It professes to have been composed by al-Asma' in the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd at his court in Baghdad; Asma' lived for 670 years, of which 400 were in the Dihlīyah; he was personally acquainted with 'Antar and his contemporaries, concluded the composition in the year 473/1080 and recorded traditions from the mouths of 'Antar, Hanza, Abū Tālib, Hātim Tayyī, Amru 'l-Kais, Hānī b. Mus'ūd, Hāzīm of Mecca, 'Ubayd, 'Amr b. Wudd, Durayd b. al-Shimma, 'Amir b. al-Tufayl. In fact we have a regular romance regarding the origin of the romance. The repeatedly mentioned *raḥal*, *raḥl*, *muḥammī*, *raḥl al-ḥarā*, *Asma'* and other authorities have the same significance for the *Sirat 'Antar* as the Dihkās, Pehlavi books and the hoary authorities in Firdawsī, or as the chronicles of St. Denis for the French epic. It is simply fiction when the *Sirat 'Antar* tells us that it exists in two versions, one for the Hujjās and the other for 'Irāk. The invention of the Hujjās is intended to encourage the belief that Asma' collected from 'Antar and his companions in the Hujjās the information, which was utilised in the romance. The Hujjās as the home of the romance is a pure invention. On the other hand 'Irāk may really have made a considerable contribution to the composition of the *Sirat 'Antar*. For the date of origin of the *Sirat 'Antar* we have the following clues: 1. In a religious dialogue between a monk and a Muslim (Das Religionsgespräch von Jerusalem um 800 A.D. aus dem Arabischen übersetzt von K. Vollers, *Zuschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, xxix, 49) the monk mentions the exploits of 'Antar. 2. About the middle of the sixth century the former Jew Samaw'al b. Yahyā al-Magribī, a convert to Islam, describes his career and mentions that in his youth he was fond of long tales like that of 'Antar (MGWJ, 1898, xlii, 127, 418). 3. The evidence contained in the book itself. The appearance of Bohemund, Djurjān (Godfrey of Bouillon), perhaps also of the king of the beggars, Tufur, brings us to the period after the first Crusade, that is at the earliest in the first half of the sixth century. The composition of histories of 'Antar must therefore have already begun in the sixth century—on the evidence of the religious dialogue above mentioned. According to Samaw'al b. Yahyā a book of 'Antar of considerable size was actually in existence in the middle of the sixth century and if Bohemund and Djurjān already appeared in it, it must have been completed at the beginning of the sixth century. At the same time the meddlys may have continued to add a great deal to it and in particular continued its islamisation. The midrash of Abraham which is quite an inorganic addition and the legends of Muhammad and 'Alī could belong to any period. An original 'Antar can be reconstructed with philological probability. In vol. xxvii, the dying 'Antar reviews his heroic career in his and girls. These agreements have been explained in the most diverse ways. On the one hand Delcure saw in 'Antar the model of the European knight, in the *Sirat 'Antar*, the source from which Europe had obtained all its ideas of chivalry, while on the other hand Reinaud simply found European ideas, customs and institutions imitated

in the *Sira* [JA, 1833, I. 102-105]. In this sense have seen the starting point for the study of the question of the origin of the *Sirat 'Antar*.

no mention of children, and knows of only one love of 'Antar. This original 'Antar, therefore, should be called 'Antar and 'Abila. Following a genealogical stimulus, the later epic made royal ancestors be found in the Sūdān and royal descendants in Arabia, Byzantium, Rome, and the land of the Franks. The Crusades next found an echo and a reaction in the 'Antar story. The Crusaders came from the land of the Franks via Byzantium to Syria. 'Antar goes in a kind of reversed crusade from Syria via Byzantium to the land of the Franks and brings about the victory, if not yet of Islam, at least of Arab ideals and culture over European Christianity. The whole geographical area and historical range of the novel is filled with the exploits of 'Antar.

The romance of 'Antar seems to be first mentioned in Europe in 1777 in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans* [JA, 1834, xlii, 236]; it was first introduced to European scholarship in 1819 by Hammer-Purgstall and to comparative literature in 1857 by Dunlop-Liebrecht (*Geschichte der Prosa-dichtungen*, xiii-xvi). The study of the problem of scholarship raised by the *Sirat 'Antar* was begun by Goldziher (mainly in his Hungarian works). The *Sirat 'Antar* was for long a favourite subject of study in France. In the *Journal Asiatique* the work was often discussed and partly translated. Lamartine went into raptures of admiration and enthusiasm for 'Antar (*Voyages en Orient: Vie des grands hommes* I. *Premières Méditations Poétiques*, *Première Préface*). Taine places 'Antar beside the greatest epic of his century, Roland, the Cid, Rostam, Odysseus and Achilles (*Philosophie de l'Art*, ii, 297). These tributes are not unmerited. The *Sirat 'Antar* unfolds before us the ever changing, glowing panorama of a particularly attractive period with an extravagant power of imagination, a skill in narration which never palls throughout the 32 volumes, and a poetical style of inexhaustible richness.

*Bibliography*. A very full collection of references to the manuscripts, editions, translations of and treatises on the *Sirat 'Antar* is given in V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*, etc., iii; *Loumāni et les fabulistes*, Harlaam 'Antar et les Romans de chevalerie, Leipzig-Leipzig 1898, 133. Cf. also: L. Goldziher, *Die arabischen Held 'Antar in der geographischen Nomenclatur* (Gloßes, 1893, lixv, no. 4, 65-67); do., *Ein orientalisches Ritterroman*, Peter Lloyd, Mai 18, 1918; B. Heller, *Der arabische 'Antarroman*, *Ungarische Rundschau*, v. 83-107; do., *As arab 'Antarregny*, Budapest 1918; do., *Der arabische 'Antarroman*, ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte, Hannover 1925.

'ANTARA, "the valiant" (see LA, vi, 283, which also gives the meaning "blue-bottle"); the word is probably derived from the root 'ar which expresses the idea of violence. Several warrior-poets of Pre-Islam bore this name; see Amidi, 151-2.

'Antara b. Shaddād, warrior-poet of the 6th century A.D., belonged to the 'Abi tribe of central Arabia (see MGWJ, 1898, 133). The short notice by al-Ishādī, in the *Aghāni*, suggests that by the 4th/10th century responsible people tended to dismiss exaggerated popular accounts which had already made 'Antara a hero of fiction. Restricted to positive facts, the biography of this man is extremely sketchy. Born of an Arab father and a black slave, 'Antara, in his youth, lived in slavery as a shepherd;

in the course of the conflicts between the 'Abi and their Central Arabian neighbours, he had opportunity to display his prowess; in the "War of Dhānis and al-Ghāḥrā" especially between the 'Abi and the Dhūbyān, then the Tamīm, he seems to have particularly distinguished himself (see Cheikh, 803 f. and the scholia on *Diwān* nos. 13 ff.; see also *Diwān* nos. 12 and 26, distiches against other poets). It is probable that 'Antara was emancipated as a result of these exploits and that, at an advanced age, he fell into a raid against the Tayyī (see the *Aghāni* for the different versions of his death). Legend soon clothed this bare outline, under the influence of 'Abi particularism and Kharijite equalitarianism. 'Antara provided proof that a person of mixed race could, in the pre-Islamic era, achieve the status of a pure-blooded Arab. The embellishments were concerned with a limited number of themes: the valiant achievements of the hero, his passion for his cousin 'Abila, his vain efforts to overcome her scorn and to be worthy of this heartless beauty. These developments eventually resulted in the composition of a celebrated epic entitled *Sirat 'Antar* (see the preceding article). As is frequently the case, fragments and sections of the sub-stratum of the biographical legend. At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the collection of these poetic works was undertaken by the scholars of Bagra, notably by al-Asma' [q.v.]; in a recension with commentary by the Spaniard al-'Alam al-Shantamari (d. 476/1083), there are 27 poems and fragments: one of these, the *Kasida* in *mim* also appears in the *Mu'allakah* anthology; numerous fragments, often of considerable length, attributed to 'Antara, and appearing in various works, have been assembled by Cheikh, 816-82 (without exact references). On the whole, these last texts appear to be clumsy pastiches; see for example the fragments given by Cheikh, 812, 820, 829, 855; scholars—or forgers—have too often been led to attribute to 'Antara any poem containing the name of 'Abila (see Cheikh, 826, 828-9 where a poet addresses himself to 'Abila and celebrates his exploits against the Persians); many of the items attributed to 'Antara are dubious (see Cheikh, 853 and *Agh*, 235); the *Mu'allakah*, suspect on account of its length, is composed to begin with of elements in juxtaposition. Taken as a whole, the poems and fragments placed under the name of 'Antar, which do not betray too obviously the forger's hand are generally short; poems introduced by a *nasīb* are rare (see *Diwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, nos. 13, 21; and Cheikh, 817, poem in 84). With the exception of a threnody (*Diwān*, no. 24) and a few fragments of invective like *Diwān* no. 11, the majority of the poems celebrate the poet's valour, his exploits, and the claim which these give him the love of 'Abila. Those which have some chance of not being clumsy forgeries are distinguished by their simplicity of language and style.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Sa'llīm, *Tabahāt al-shu'arā'*, ed. Shāh, 128; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, ed. De Goeje, 130-4; *Aghāni*, viii, 237-46 (taken up again by Cheikh, *Shu'arā'* al-Nasāmiyya, Beirut 1890, i, 794-882, who reproduces in an expurgated form the *Diwān* (ed. Ahlwardt) and numerous poetic texts); Cassin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1847, ii, 441ff., 514-21; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Ibd*, ed. 'Uryūn, *Index*; Amidi *Mu'allaf*, 151, Nöldeke, *Fünf Mu'allafāt*, ii, 1-49; Thorebecke, *Antarab*, Leipzig 1867 followed by Derenbourg, *Le Poète antislamique Antar*, in *Œuvres d'un Arabisant*, Paris 1905, 3-9; Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen*



über die Ähnlichkeit der alten arab. Gedichte, Greifswald 1872, 50-7; Nallino, *La letteratura araba*, tr. Pellat, Paris 1950, 44-5; Iskender Agha, *Munyat al-Nahî fi Ashâr 'Antara al-'Ashi*, Beirut 1864. The *Diwan* has been edited by Ahlwardt, *The Diwan of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870, 33-2 + additions, 1781; other editions at Cairo, 1315 and at Beirut, 1888, 1901, upon which see Brockelmann, S. I, 45.

'ANTARI (a), noun derived from 'Antar (q.v.), denoting in Egypt: 1) a story-teller who narrates the *Sirat 'Antar*; 2) a short garment worn under the *haṭṭān*. The latter usage, assimilated by popular etymology to 'Antari, derives from the Turkish *Antari*, a word of Greek origin.

*Bibliography*: Dozy, Suppl. II, 180 and references quoted. (Ed.)

ANTARTÔS (see ANTÔS).

ANTEMURU, tribe of south-eastern Madagascar, comprising 55,000 sedentary agriculturalists living in the low river valleys, from the Matatana in the south to the Namurana in the north, and eking out their livelihood by fishing. Of their number, 25,000 members of certain clans claim to come from Rimaka, a region which they liken to Mecca. According to their written traditions, some *silama* 'Muslims', accompanied by *hafra* 'pagans', passing through the Comores and the north-east of Madagascar, settled, during the 7th/13th century, near their present territory. They found there, and assimilated, other groups of the same origins.

It seems likely that an Indonesian community was augmented by an influx of groups which had in varying degree been Islamised, and came probably from the east coast of Africa, which had been penetrated by the descendants of immigrants from the Persian Gulf. The prestige of these 'Islamised' elements was such that the Indonesian dynasties and some clans ascribed to themselves an Arab origin.

It is possible to distinguish two successive waves of immigrants: the earlier introduced divination based on geomancy, while the Antelatra of the recent influx introduced writing in Arabic characters and paper-making. The Islamised elements introduced in addition: plants (the vine, pomegranate, hemp, the copal-tree), the game of chess, a few prayers, a period of comparative fasting, some words of Arabic origin, and above all a calendar.

Since the 10th/16th century, the fame of the Antemuru magicians has extended their influence throughout Madagascar. Isolated from the Muslim world, they look upon writing not as a vehicle of communication, but as a means of preserving their magico-religious secrets. The development of the occult sciences has represented a corresponding decline of the Islamic tradition. The astrological calendar has supplanted the Muslim lunar calendar; prayers, their meaning not understood, have become magic formulas. This decadence is most marked in the tribe which dwells to the north of the Antemuru, namely the 12,000 Antamboko or Antambawaka.

Since the beginning of the 19th century the overpopulation of Temuru territory has led to a temporary exodus to the north-west of Madagascar. There, they live with the Comorian Muslims. This has given rise since 1913, and especially between 1926 and 1939, to an Islamic revival among some of the 2,000 literates belonging to the class of the Antelatra group.

After 1924, the development of coffee-planting, which created new resources, checked the migration to the north-west. Relations with true Muslims again

came to an end. The Islamic revival, opposed by the Christians as well as by the traditionalist magicians, declined, despite several attempts by Pâkistân Khodjas to make converts.

*Bibliography*: Flacourt *Histoire de la grande île de Madagascar*, Paris 1661, republished in the Grandier collection *Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, Paris 1931; G. Ferrand, *Les musulmans à Madagascar, des îles Comores 1* et 2, Paris-Algers 1891-93; E. F. Gautier, *Madagascar*, Paris 1904; G. Ferrand, *La légende de Ramina*, in *JA*, 1902; idem, *Un texte arabico-malgache du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Recueil de l'École sup. des lettres*, Algiers 1905; idem, *Un chapitre d'astrologie arabico-malgache*, in *JA*, 1905; idem, *Un texte arabico-malgache ancien*, Algiers 1905; idem, *Textes magiques malgaches*, in *Revue de l'Histoire des religions*, 1907; E. F. Gautier and Froidevaux, *Un manuscrit arabico-malgache sur les campagnes de La Case dans l'Imoro de 1659 à 1663*, Paris 1907; G. Ferrand, *Un vocabulaire malgache arabe*, in *Mémoires de la société de linguistique*, 1908-9; A. and G. Grandier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, I, Paris 1908, III, Paris 1917; G. Ferrand, *Les usages des Javanais à Madagascar*, in *JA*, 1910; G. Mondaino, *L'histoire des tribus de l'Imoro au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après un manuscrit historique arabico-malgache*, Paris-Algers 1910; Ardant du Picq, *Le samantay, jeu d'échec des Tanala de l'Imoro*, in *Bull. de l'Acad. malgache*, 1912; G. H. Julien, *Pages arabico-malgaches* in *Annales de l'Acad. des sciences coloniales*, III, Paris 1929, VI, Paris 1931; Perrier de la Bâtie, *Les plantes introduites à Madagascar*, Toulouse 1933; J. P. Rombaka, *tantarano-dranao antaimoro-antony* (in Malagasy), Antananarivo 1933; H. Berthier, *Notes et impressions sur les mœurs et coutumes du peuple malgache*, Antananarivo 1933; F. Kasanga, *tantarano-ny Antemoro Anahara loto Amerina* (in Malagasy), Antananarivo 1956. (J. FAUREL)

ANTIOCH (see ANTAKYA).

ANTŒN FARAH (see FARAH).

ANŒSHIRWÂN, Arabic form of the surname of Chosroës I (al-Tabarî, I, 862) (see KISRA), in Pahlavi *anoshah-rwân*, in Pārsan *anosh-rwân* 'possessed of an immortal soul', then in Persian *Nôshirwân* (Nôshirwân), which is popularly explained as *nôshir-rwân* 'possessed of sweet soul' (*burhân-i Kāfi*). Several persons in Islam bore this name (Zambaur mentions four), particularly one son of Manûshir and of a daughter of Mahmûd al-Ghaznawî, who was *amir* of Djurdân from 420/1029 to 434/1042 (Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 262), and AnŒshirwân b. Khâlid b. Muhammad al-Kâshânî (see the following art.).

*Bibliography*: A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, chapter VIII; Zambaur, index, s.v. (H. MACÉ)

ANŒSHIRWÂN b. KHÂLID b. MUHAMMAD AL-KÂSHÂNÎ, SHARAF AL-DIN ANŒ NÂSIR, was treasurer and *qâdî* al-diyâra to the Saljûqî sultan, Muhammad b. Malikshâh. After being succeeded by Shams al-Mulk b. Nîghm al-Mulk as *qâdî* al-diyâra he went to Baghdad. He was imprisoned during the reign of Malûkshâh b. Malikshâh for a short period but subsequently appointed *naîb* by Malûkshâh (514/1121-522/1128). From 520/1127-528/1134 he was *naîb* to the caliph, al-Mustashîd. In 520/1134 he became *naîb* to Mas'ûd b. Muhammad and held office until 530/1135-6. He died in Baghdad in 533/1138-9 according to Ibn al-Athîr, but according to the *Tadhkirah* al-Salaf of Hindû Shâh b. Sanjâr in 532/1137-8. He composed a work in Persian on the

events of his time, entitled *Futûr Zamin al-Sudûr* or *Sudûr Zamin al-Futûr*, which was later translated into Arabic by 'Imâd al-Dîn (q.v.). al-Bundârî's abridged version of this translation has been edited by Houtsma (*Recueil de textes relat. à l'hist. des Seldjûcides*, II). Majdî Khalfâ mentions another work by him, entitled *Nafhat al-Masûdî*, but this is probably the same as the *Futûr Zamin al-Sudûr* mentioned above (see Mirza Muhammad Kuwîwî, *Makhlâs Ta'rikh wa Intihâb*, Tehran, 1308 solar). AnŒshirwân was praised by various contemporary poets. It was he who encouraged al-Harîrî to compose his *maḥzâns*.

*Bibliography*: *Recueil de textes relat. à l'hist. des Seldjûcides*, II; Ibn al-Athîr, x, 31; Sibî b. al-Djarrî; Hindû Shâh b. Sanjâr, *Tadhkirah* al-Salaf. (A. K. S. LAWATOS)

ANWÂ' (a.), a system of computation among the early Arabs. The singular *nawâ*, connected with the root *nâ'a* 'to rise with difficulty, to lean, to support a load with difficulty' (cf. Kur'ân, xxvii, 76), denotes the acronychal setting of a star or constellation and heliacal rising of its opposite (q.v.); by extension, it is applied to a period of twilight, in the language of the later Middle Ages and the modern era, it has come to mean 'cloud, rain, storm, tempest' (see Dozy, Suppl., s.v.; Bousset, s.v.; H. Wehr, *Arab. Wörterbuch*, s.v.), on account of the pluvial role ascribed to the stars contemplated. In the plural, *anwâ'* denotes the whole system based on the acronychal setting and heliacal rising of a series of stars or constellations; it also appears the title of a number of works which constitute a separate class of their own.

1. The system of the *anwâ'*.—To estimate the passage of time, the early Arabs possessed a primitive system—perhaps already influenced by the 'Calendar of the Pleiades' (cf. J. Henninger, *Sternkunde*, 114 and references quoted)—which can be summarized as follows:—(a) in the one hand, the acronychal setting of a series of stars or constellations marked the beginning of periods called *nawâ*, but within which the duration of the *nawâ* proper was from 1-7 days. The stars themselves were responsible for rain and were invoked during the *istisâh* (q.v.); knowledge of these *anwâ'* enabled Bedouin trained in this science to foresee the state of the weather during a given period; (b) on the other hand, the heliacal rising of the same series of stars or constellations, at six monthly intervals, marked out the solar year by fixing a number of periods probably about 28. Such maxims as have survived suggest that this was the very basis of the calendar.

Some time before Islam (cf. Kur'ân x, 3; xxxvi, 39) the Arabs learnt from the Indians to distinguish the 'stations' or 'mansions' (*manzil*, pl. *manâzil* (q.v.)) of the moon, numbering 28. Perceiving that the list of these mansions corresponded *grasso modo* with their own list of *anwâ'*, they proceeded to combine the two ideas and to adjust their *anwâ'* to make them coincide with the *manâzil*, by dividing the solar zodiac into 28 equal parts of approx. 1° 55'; thus the 28 *anwâ'* identified with the 28 *manâzil* (see list in the article *MANZIL*) are determined by 28 stars or constellations constituting 14 pairs (the acronychal setting of the one corresponding to the heliacal rising of the other) and marking the beginning of 27 periods of 23 days and one of 24. These modifications, the date of which cannot be fixed accurately, were definitely completed after Islam, the passage from one system to the

other being favoured by the development of astronomy, and by the anathema hurled by the Prophet against the *anwâ'*, which are not mentioned in the Kur'ân. The old system, however, still survived, on the one hand empirically among the Bedouin tribes (cf. for example the *nawâ*, pl. *nawâs* of the Marâzî of southern Tunisia in G. Boris, *Documents linguistiques*... Paris 1951, 208-11), on the other hand traditionally, and with complete identification of the *anwâ'* with the mansions, in the specialised works which have perpetuated it among certain rural populations (see Ed. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926, II, 177, and *Wisdom in Morocco*, London 1930, 315-17).

2. The *anwâ'* in Arabic Literature.—As might be expected, it was the lexicographers who first assembled Bedouin ideas on the subject of the *anwâ'* and published them in lexicographical works of which we shall consider only those entitled *K. al-Anwâ'*, leaving aside the *K. al-Azma* and others which fall into the same category. The following are the principal writers mentioned as being authors of works entitled *K. al-Anwâ'*, none of which has as yet come into our possession: Ibn Kullîb (d. 207/822), Mu'arrirî (d. 193/810-11), al-Nadr b. Shumayl (d. about 245/859), al-Aḡma' (d. 213/828), Ibn al-A'arabî (d. 233/846), al-Shaybânî (d. about 245/859), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898). On the other hand, we have the *K. al-Anwâ'* of Ibn Kutayba (d. about 276/886) which has recently (1957) been printed at Haydarâbâd, and we have fragments of that of Abû Hanîfa al-Dinawarî (d. after 282/895); the works of al-Aḡhâsh al-Aḡharî (d. 315/927), al-Zadîdjîdî (d. 310/922), Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), the *hâfî* Wakt' (d. 330/941) and others are also lost. Basically these works contain an explanation of the system of the *anwâ'*, a list of the mansions (i.e. the modified *anwâ'*), a table of the dates of the rising and setting of the stars which determine them, the system of the winds and the rains, etc.; the explanation is accompanied by maxims and poetry, usually with a commentary.

From the 3rd/9th century, however, astronomers in their turn showed interest in the *anwâ'*: al-Hasan b. Sahl b. Nawbakht, Abû Ma'shar al-Balḥî (d. 272/885-6), Ṭhâbit b. Kurra (d. 289/902), and Ibn Khurrahshâh (d. 300/912-3), wrote *K. al-Anwâ'* while al-Bîrûnî (d. 440/1048) devoted to this subject a chapter of his *Āthâr* and reproduced in part (243-75) the *K. al-Anwâ'* of Sinân b. Ṭhâbit b. Kurra (d. 331/943), which is an almanac.

One would expect, indeed, to see Arab authors producing almanacs on the lines of those which they found in conquered territories, and, although we only have the almanac of Sinân for 'Irâq, it is probable that Egyptian authors composed them at an early stage, as is proved by certain chapters of Ibn al-Mammâtî and al-Makrizî, and by the names of the Coptic months which appear in the calendars produced in Spain. For the latter country, we in fact possess an almanac published by Dozy under the title of *Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961* (Leiden 1873) and still entitled *K. al-Anwâ'*, as is that of the mathematician of Marrâkush, Ibn al-Bannâ' (d. 721/1321) which has been published by H. P. J. Renard (Paris 1948); other *K. al-Anwâ'*, now lost, are attributed to al-Gharbâlî (d. 403/1012-13) and al-Khatîb al-Umawî al-Kurṭubî (d. 602/1205-6). These calendars are solar and, under each day, of the day and night, agricultural practices, etc., with, in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, notification of



the Christian festivals. The modern popular calendars (*shāhiyya, tabakhim* etc.) are a final re-incarnation of the *K. al-Anwā'*.

**Bibliography:** Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. and trans. C. A. Nallino, Milan 1909 ff., index; Farghānī, *K. fi 'l-Harakāt al-Samāwiyya wa-Diawimī al-Najdīn*, ed. and trans. J. Gollus (Elementa astronomica), Amsterdam 1666; Abū al-Kāsim al-Sūfī, *K. al-Samā' al-Samāwiyya*, Haydarābād; Ibn Sīdā, *Muḥāsana*, ix, 98 f.; Brūnī, *Chronologie orient.*, Völkner, ed. C. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1878; Ibn Māǧīdī, *K. al-Fawā'id fi 'Ulūl 'Ilm al-Bihar wa 'l-Kawā'id*, ed. G. Ferrand, Paris 1921-23; Kazwīnī, *ʿAghā'ib al-Maḥallāt*, ed. Wustenfeld; Hādīdī Khālīfā, ed. Fligel, v, 23-4; *Lā. s.v. nu'ā'*; Marāṣīnī, *R. al-Arminia wa 'l-Ashmā*, Baylānābād 1332; Reinoud, *Introduction générale à la géographie des Orientaux* (vol. 1 of the *Géographie et Aboulféda*), Paris 1848, cxxxiii ff.; G. Ferrand, *Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe*, Paris 1928; Motylinski, *Les Mammous lunaires des Arabes*, Algiers 1899; J. Henninger, *Über Sternkunde und Sternhülle in Nord- und Zentralarabien*, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1954, 82-127; Ch. Pellat, *Dictionnaire, anwā' et mawāṣim lunaires chez les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, 1955/6, 37-41. (CH. PELLAT)

**ANWĀR**, the *tabakhim* of ANWAD AL-DIN MUB. or MUB. (?) or (ALI B. MAHMUD) KHAWARĀNĪ, proclaimed in a well-known bayt to be master of the Persian *bayda*. Of his life little is known for certain except that he became one of the court poets of the Saljuqī sultan Sanǧār (d. 1157) at some period towards the end of the prince's life and that he was writing *baydān* in 540/1145—two of them being thus dated—when he must still have been quite young. He was born in the district of Khawārān in Khurāsān and received part of his education at the Mansuriyya madrasa in Tūs. Either while he was there or subsequently his studies embraced astrology, his skill in which brought him renown, though it also, if legend can be trusted, led to his downfall. This was in 581/1185, when an extraordinary conjunction of the planets failed to produce the upheaval of the elements which he had foretold. He died a few years afterwards, probably in 585/1189 or in 587/1191, being buried at Balḫ (thus Dawlatshāh) or at Tabriz, in the Poets' Cemetery alongside Khakān and Zābir al-Farūqī (cf. Mustawfī, *Nawā' al-Kawā'id*, 78), the former seeming more probable. His literary powers are considerable, as shown in his famous lament over the ruin caused by the Ghuzz tribesmen in Khurāsān, and his exercises in irony and ridicule make pungent reading. He shows little of self-criticism, being satisfied that he is an adept in astrology and superior to his contemporaries in logic, music, theology, mathematics and all other intellectual pursuits. It appears that his patrons after Sanǧār failed to value his services as highly as he did himself; at any rate he considered their rewards inadequate. Either that fact or jealousy of his rivals caused him to renounce the writing of eulogies and of *ghazals*, although it is difficult to decide at what point in his career this took place. His satire doubtless brought him enemies and declining fortunes led to persistent complaint against capricious Fate. In style and language he is sometimes obscure, so that Dawlatshāh declares that he needs a commentary. That obscurity, and a change in literary taste, may be reasons for his comparative neglect in recent times.

**Bibliography:** Browne, ii, 365 ff., incidentally epitomising V. Zhukovskii's Russian monograph,

*Ali Anwad al-Din Anwari; Materials for a Biography* etc., St. Petersburg 1883; Dawlatshāh (Browne), 83-86; 'Awfi, *Lubb al-Aḥbāb* (Browne), ii, 125-138; Dhīdā, *Tahriz* 1266/1850; Kuliyadi, Lucknow 1880 and 1889 (both deficient).

(R. LEVY)  
**ANWĀR**, al-Hāǧid Sa'ūdīlār (see ENWĀR).  
**ANWĀR**, i. SUBHĀTIL, title of the Persian version of *Kalīla wa Dīmna* by Rāghifī (q.v.).

**APAMEA** (see APĀMIVA).

**APOLLONIUS OF TYANA** (see BALINOS).

**AL-'ĀRA**, a place on the S. shore of Yaman, W. of 'Ādan, on Subayhī territory, between 'Umayra (Khor Umaira) and Sukyā (Sukayya). Ibn al-Khujawī (ca. 600/1200) makes it the starting point of several routes. Al-Sharīfī (d. 893/1488) still calls this headquarters of the Banū Muḥammīn 'a big village' (cf. Abū Maḥmūd Ta'rikh *Thaghr 'Ādan*, ii, 91 f., in the biography of Sa'īd b. Muḥ. Muḥammir). Since then, with the diminishing caravan trade, there has been a steady decline. The place is still on the map of von Maltzan (ca. two miles from the coast), but nowadays the name seems to survive only in Bīr 'Āra and Rās 'Āra, which is the utmost Southern point of Arabia, the Promontorium Amnūmūl of the ancients.

**Bibliography:** Hamdānī, 52, 74, 79; 'Umīra (Kay) 8/11; Makdīsī, 85; Shārdī, *Tabakh al-Khawān*, 194; Ibn al-Muǧāwir, *Ta'rikh al-Muṭahhir*, 101 ff.; Sprenger, *Alt. Geogr. Arabien*, 72; *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Pilot*, 1032, 130. (O. LÖFGREN)

**AL-'ARAB**, the Arabs.

(i) The ancient history of the Arabs.

(ii) The expansion of the Arabs; general, and the "fertile crescent".

(iii) The expansion of the Arabs: Iran in early Islamic times; Appendix: The Arabs in Central Asia.

(iv) The expansion of the Arabs: Egypt.

(v) The expansion of the Arabs: North Africa.

(See also **AL-'ARAB**, **AL-ʿARAB**, as well as **'ARABIYA** and the articles on the several Arab countries.)

#### (i) THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE ARABS

(For the ethnic origins of the Arabs cf. **AL-'ARAB** (**AL-ʿARAB**), section on Ethnology, cf. also part b, below.)

The early history of the Arabs is still obscure; their origin and the events governing their early years are equally unknown to us. Probably we would know a good deal more about them, if Uranus' five books of *ʿAḥzāʿ*, which constituted a special monograph on the Arabs, had been preserved. What we know about them is derived chiefly from the Assyrian records, the classical writers, and, as far as the history of the last three centuries before Islam is concerned, from Muslim tradition and some pre-Islamic Nabataean and Arabic inscriptions.

Possibly "the Aramaean Bedouins", who in 880 B.C. interfered in the affairs of Bet-Zamāni on the upper Euphrates and helped to overthrow the local vassal of the Assyrian king, were their predecessors of the Arabs. Their anti-Assyrian policy was subsequently followed by the Arabs, who first appear in the light of history in 854 B.C.: Gindibu, the Arab with 2000 camel troops from Arbi territory, joined Bir-Adri of Damascus (the biblical Benhadad II) against Salmanassar III. at the battle of Karkar in which, it is said the Assyrian king was successful. Perhaps the camp of Gindibu

was situated somewhere south-east of Damascus. Certainly the bedouin element of the Arabian Peninsula—for which Aram, Eber, and Khābiru are probably synonyms—was to be found originally in the area which extended between Syria and Mesopotamia and which, including Syria, was the oldest centre of the Semites.

If the hypothesis, presented by F. Hommel (*Ethnologie*, 350), that the land of Magan corresponds to Arabic Maʿān and forms the starting point for the foundation of the South-Arabian kingdom of Maʿīn, were established—though it would be difficult to prove it—the South-Arabian tribe of the Minaeans must have detached themselves from Arab nomads settled in this country, which had already been included in the Babylonian Empire by Naram-Sin (1330 to 1284 B.C.). The traditional pro-Babylonian policy of the Arabs would, therefore, be understandable because of their old political and cultural relations with Babylonia.

The geographical position of the land of Arbi between Syria and Mesopotamia, and the rôle of the Arabs in the traffic on the commercial routes leading from the Persian Gulf to Syria, from Syria to Egypt and Southern Arabia, and along the Wādi Dawshir through the highlands of Naḥd to Maʿīn, influenced historical events in the Near East. The struggle for the possession of these important high roads characterises the course of history during the last two millennia B.C. and the Roman period.

Already in 738 B.C., during the reign of Tiglat-Pileser III (745 to 726 B.C.), who had occupied Gaza, the terminal point of the "incense" road, Southern Arabia to the Mediterranean Sea, Zābir, the queen of the Arbi region, sent tribute to the Assyrian king. She probably ruled the oasis of Adumu (Dāmat al-Djandal) and was high priestess of the Kedar tribe, to which the oasis paid tribute. In 734 B.C. Tiglat appointed the Arab Idibaʿil as his representative in the land of Musī (Midian and Northern Hijāz), through which the "incense" road passed, and in 732 B.C. he subdued another queen of Arbi, Samś—who had apparently joined a coalition of the king of Damascus and several Arab tribes, among them Maʿa (Massa in Genesis xxv, 13 f.), Tema (Taymāʾ), Khayyapa (ʿEla, a Midianite tribe in the territory of Hesma, east of Taymāʾ), the Badana (south-east of the oasis of al-ʿEla), Davidu and Saʿaʿa (the Sabaeans)—conquered two of her cities and besieged her camp, so that she sent white camels as a tribute; the aforementioned Arab tribes were also compelled to pay tribute, and Idibaʿil (the Adbeʿil of Genesis xxv, 13), who resided near Gaza, was forced to recognise Assyrian suzerainty. In order to be sure of the loyalty of Queen Samś's land, Tiglat-Pileser III appointed a resident at her court. As the cities subdued by the Assyrian king were situated on the caravan road in southern Hawrān and northern Hijāz, it is obvious that the object of the struggle was the possession of the northern part of the caravan road from Māhīh to Gaza (Gharza). Nevertheless his success in subduing these people was neither complete nor lasting, for in 715 B.C. King Sargon II (722 to 705 B.C.) again defeated the Khayyapa as well as the Tamdī (Ḥamūdī, west of the oasis of Taymāʾ) and the Mansimāni (south of al-Akaba), and Samś, queen of Arbi, and the Sabaeans are again recorded as paying tribute. In 703 B.C. the Arabs (Yātū) were then queen of Arbi) helped the Babylonian king Marduk-apal-Idin against Sennacherib, king of Assyria (705 to 681 B.C.); but the Arab troops were

taken prisoner by the Assyrians, and Sennacherib seems to have possessed considerable influence over the Arabs, as Herodotus (ii, 141) calls him "king of the Arabs and Assyrians" (F. Hommel, *Ethnologie*, 374). In 689 B.C., after the defeat of Babylon, Sennacherib attacked the camps of the Arab clans subject to queen Teʿlḥinnu, routed them and pursued them into the inner desert around Adumātu (Dūmāt al-Djandal). The settlers of this large oasis were dependent upon the Kedar tribe which had control over Northern Arabia (the Palmyrene). The queen and priestess of Adumātu, Teʿlḥinnu, and her lieutenant Khazāʾī, king of Arbi, had taken refuge here; the latter, after a dispute with the queen, fled into the inner desert, but was pardoned by Assarhaddon, Sennacherib's successor, who recognised him as chief of all the Kedar. Khazāʾī died in 675 B.C., and his son Uaiṭe (Yātū) succeeded him, paying a heavy tribute to the Assyrian king, who had sent back Teʿlḥinnu's daughter Tabuʾa to Khazāʾī as queen and priestess. In 676 B.C. Assarhaddon made an expedition against the Bāzu (Būz) and Khazū (Khānū) in the depression of the Wādi Sirhān. When Shamash-shum-ukīn, the king of Babylon, revolted against Assarhaddon, the Kedar under Uaiṭe began hostilities against him and plundered the western borders of the country between Hamāʾ and Edom, but were driven back to the desert; when they again plundered the Assyrian provinces, they were forced to flee to Hawrān, while king Uaiṭe, expelled by his own subjects, who were enraged by the devastation of their lands during the campaign, was captured and brought to Ninveh. The Nabayati and the Kedar, settled in the Palmyrene and south of Damascus, and the Harar in the southern Sirhān valley were also subdued by Assyrian forces coming from Damascus, while an auxiliary detachment, which fought in Babylon on the side of the Babylonian king, was completely destroyed after the capture of that capital. Arbi and the tribes of the Nabayati and Kedar again recognized Assyrian suzerainty. About 580 B.C. the Kedar are mentioned as having been subdued by Babylon.

Strenuous efforts had been made during the Assyrian period to restore order in Arabia, but as a whole this was an impossible task. The utmost that could be achieved, was the protection of the important trade routes and the punishment of razzias, undertaken by the independent or rebellious tribes. If the title of "kings" reappears frequently in the Assyrian records, this title scarcely meant more than a local chief or shaykh, and it is much later before a really kinglike power is exercised by these Arabian chiefs. So "the kings of Arabia and all the kings of the Arabs, who live in the desert", of whom Jeremiah xxv, 23 f. foretells the ruin, are the nomad chiefs. The kings of Arabia are the chiefs of the settlements, e.g. the inhabitants of the oasis of Būz in the depression of Wādi Sirhān. Some of these settlements are occupied by the Neo-Babylonian kings, e.g. Taymāʾ, which was occupied by Nabonid (552 to 545 B.C.). Some years later (539 B.C.) Arab warriors helped King Cyrus II to take Babylonia (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, vii, 4, 16; v, 13).

When the Near East was annexed to the Achaemenid Empire, the Arabs again furnished camel troops to the Great King of Persia, e.g. to Xerxes (Herodotus, vi, 86), but sometimes the Arabs also joined the kings of Asia Minor in their struggle against Persia; for instance their king Artages (of Maragdes, Khārdjā?) was a confederate of Croesus



(Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, II, 1, 5). The "King of the Arabs" mentioned in Herodotus (III, 4) may be a king of the Libyānites (the Laianites of Agatharchides); the latter had occupied the Northern Hijāz, i.e. the colony of the Musānans known as Musāra ("border-land") in the land of Midian, with the centre of Agra-Hijra, between 500 and 300 B.C., and were followed by the Nabataeans.

When Alexander the Great had conquered the Achaemenid Empire, he also subdued Arabia according to Levy (xiv 9) and Piny (*Nat. Hist.* xii, 62). The Arabs now had to supply clothes and arms to the Greek army, and they participated in military actions, e.g. in the defence of Gaza (Arrian, *Anabasis*, II, 25, 4; Curtius Rufus, *Memoriae*, IV, 5, 30) and in the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.) on the side of Antioch III. Although the western part of Arabia was occupied by Ptolemy after the death of Alexander, the majority of the Arabs joined Antiochus (Polybius, V, 71); presumably these Arabs are the predecessors of the Nabataeans. Arab colonies, established at the foot of the Lebanon and in Syria, mainly served the traffic on the great commercial route Petra-Damascus-Mesopotamia (Piny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 142; Strabo, xvi, 749, 755, 756), as nomad Arabs (Ἀραβες Νομαδῖται) were also settled by Tigranes with the end in view (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 21; Piny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 142). In the Mithridatid war Arabs fought along side the Romans, but in the Syrian war they harassed the Roman army under Pompey and were defeated by him. Arabs served with Cassius (53 B.C.) and Crassus, against the Parthians. The Roman policy of winning over Arabs as confederates and auxiliaries against their own kindred in the Arabian-Syrian desert and against the Parthians was continued and extended by the Eastern Roman Emperors. The Arabian-Syrian border-land was under the rule of the Ghassānids (q.v.) as phylarchs, as was the border-land of the Euphrates in Southern Babylonia (al-Hira) which remained under the rule of the Lakhmids (q.v.) until 602 A.D.

In the meantime Arabs had even infiltrated in the 4th century A.D. into Southern Arabia apparently in connection with camel-breeding and traffic on the "incense" road. They are mentioned in the Sabaean inscriptions as Ḥārāb and form a notable part of the population, along with the ancestral sedentary population. Their importance is emphasised by the mention of these Ḥārāb in the title and style of the Sabaean ruler. But this political position did not prevent their kindred in North-West Arabia from entering into warlike disputes with the South Arabian kings. King Amr al-Kays b. 'Amr besieged Najdān, which belonged to the king Shammar Yusr'ib, and it may have been this Amr al-Kays who put an end to the prevailing influence of South Arabia in the region of 'Asir and Southern Hijāz.

At the beginning of the fourth century, the aforementioned Amr al-Kays b. 'Amr, who succeeded in gaining power over the tribes of Asad and Nisār and called himself "king of all the Arabs", put a detachment of Arab cavalry at the disposal of the Romans. This fact is clearly stated in the Nabataean inscription of al-Namira dated 328 A.D.

From the end of the fourth century A.D. for about a hundred years the princes of the family of Dadī'mina, the leaders of the tribe of Banī Šāhī, were vassals of the Byzantine Empire on the Syrian border, and held territories there which were gradually yielded to the Ghassānids in the second half of the fifth century A.D. Unfortunately we do not learn very much about them from Arabic sources.

About the middle of the 4th century A.D., the tribe of Kinda (q.v.), which after a long struggle with Hadramūt, to which it was inferior, had to leave the Yaman, and migrated to the country of Ma'add, where it settled at Ḥajr al-Hijl Kinda in the south-western corner of Najd, two days' journey from Makkah. Although the leaders of Kinda, as kings of the tribes of Rabī'a and Mudjar, may have possessed a certain influence on the Bedouin tribes in Najd from the time when they settled there, the real kingdom of Kinda, governing a coalition of Arabian tribes in close connection with the Himyarite power in the Yaman, actually began with Hudjir Aḥil al-Murār. Yamanī tradition says that he was made king of Ma'add, when Tubā'a ibn al-Karib invaded al-'Irāk, but possibly the attacks, directed against Persia or its vassals in al-Hira, were made by the Kindites supported by the Himyarites. It is further said that Hudjir made military expeditions with the tribes of Rabī'a to al-Bahrayn and at the head of the Banī Bakr attacked the frontiers of the Lakhmids, depriving them of their possessions in the country of Bahrā, so that Hudjir is called "King of the Arabs in Najd and of the border-lands of al-'Irāk". His dominion probably comprised most of Central Arabia including al-Yamāna, and he died after a long and successful reign; he was buried in Baṭn 'Aḥl on the road between Makkah and al-Baṭra south of the Wādī al-Rumma. After his death about 478 A.D., the tribe of Rabī'a, divided into 'Amr al-Makhr, son of Hudjir, the dominions of his father; we find the tribe of Rabī'a now under the guidance of Kulayb Wā'il, leader of the Banī Taghlib, and at war with the Himyarites, who supported 'Amr b. Hudjir. Kulayb as well as 'Amr were killed in these struggles about the last decade of the fifth century (c. 490 A.D.). With al-Hārith ibn 'Amr the dynasty of Kinda attained its greatest power. He is known to the Byzantine historians as Arēthas, chief of the Saracens, and concluded an alliance with the Romans, directed against Persia and the Lakhmids of al-Hira. In the struggles and expeditions against the latter, the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib played the most important rôle (about 503 A.D.).

At any rate al-Hārith succeeded in uniting the tribes of the Najd into a great kingdom and made invasions into Roman as well as Persian territory. The statement that al-Hārith subjugated Syria and the Ghassānid kings may be an exaggeration. The peace of 502 A.D. put an end to the war against the Romans, and in the following year (503 A.D.) al-Hārith's troops attacked al-Hira, doubtless with the consent and help of the Romans. Al-Hārith became master of all the Arabs in al-'Irāk (503-506 A.D.), and the Lakhmid al-Mundhir, who got so assistance at all from his suzerain, the Persian king Kūbād, submitted to al-Hārith and married his daughter Hūd. However, the domination of the Lakhmid country was not complete; according to a South Arabian tradition, by an agreement between Kūbād and al-Hārith, the Euphrates or the canal al-Sāra near the Tigris not far from Baghdad was fixed as the northern boundary of al-Hārith's territory, and it is said, that, after King Anūshīrwan had restored al-Mundhir to power in al-Hira, al-Hārith kept what was on the other side of "the river of al-Sawād" until 527-28 A.D. So the Kindite interregnum in al-Hira may have lasted some time between the years 525 to 528 A.D. When the Persian Empire was weakened by the Madakite movement, it seems, that al-Hārith, for some period even ruled

over al-'Irāk as far as 'Uman, possibly as a feeble of the Persian king Kūbād. After the fall of the Madakites al-Hārith had to flee; he lost all his property and 48 members of his family were put to death by al-Mundhir. He nevertheless could again approach the Romans and was even appointed as a phylarch of the Arabs, on the side of East-Roman Empire. In 528 A.D., the date of his death, he is mentioned in this position by Byzantine sources. With his death the second climax of the Kindite power in Arabia came to an end. Al-Hārith had divided his dominion, comprising all Najd, great parts of al-Hijāz, al-Bahrayn and al-Yamāna, between his sons, who had been placed as chiefs over the tribes of Ma'add. His eldest son Hudjir, who had a certain supremacy over the whole kingdom of Kinda, was killed in a rebellion of the tribe of Asad. Between Šurābīl and Salama, ruler the tribes of Rabī'a and Yamin, and possessing the eastern half of the kingdom of Kinda, a discord arose concerning the division of power after their father's death, and Šurābīl was killed in the battle of al-Kulab (a few years after 530 A.D.); it is highly probable that this dissension was caused or nourished by the intrigues of al-Mundhir, whom the Banī Taghlib as well as the Bakr joined after the expulsion of the victors from Salama. Ma'dikarib, the chief of the Kays-'Avlān, went mad, or fell in the battle of Uḥra, and the fifth son of Hudjir, 'Abdallāh, who ruled over the Rabī'a tribe of 'Abd al-Kays, in al-Bahrayn, is not mentioned further. So the kingdom of the family of Hudjir Aḥil al-Murār broke down, and the Kinda, or considerable parts of them, migrated to Hadramūt, where they settled about 543 A.D. according to a Sabaean inscription at the dam of Mārīb. Hudjir's son, the famous poet Imra' al-Kays, tried in vain to regain the power of his father with the help of the Byzantine Emperor, and died in Ankara perhaps before the year 554 A.D. A cousin of Imra' al-Kays, Kays ibn Salama, chief of the Kinda and Ma'add, is possibly identical with Kaysan (Kaisan), who received from the Emperor the governorship of Palestine and defeated the Lakhmid al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān, who died in 554 A.D.

The disputes and struggles between the nomad tribes in Arabia are listed under the well known "Ayyām al-'Arab", and an expedition to Ḥaybar in 567 A.D. is referred to in the Arabic inscription of al-Hira (dated c. 568 A.D.). The then existing "kingdoms of individual tribes along with those mentioned here is proved by a Nabataean inscription found in Umm al-Djimal and dating from about 250 A.D., in which a king of Tanūkh is mentioned.

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#### (II) THE EXPANSION OF THE ARABS: GENERAL, AND THE "FERTILE CRESCENT"

If the expansion of the Arabs is regarded as a continuous process, certain permanent features can be detected: the expansion consists usually in the emigration of large or small nomadic groups, rarely in that of groups with permanent habitations; it may be military, by means of service in foreign armies or in their own army which has set out for conquest; or through the founding of trading colonies. Apart from this last case, the extent of emigration depends partly on particular coincidences, partly on a recurrent, but incalculable, factor, the increase in the pressure of population in Arabia. This is brought about by the decline of cultivation (in South Arabia also of industry) and of the caravan trade (in Islamic times also of the pilgrim traffic); there is a corresponding increase in the nomadic population. The expansion was preceded by the immigration into the central parts of the peninsula, which had been sparsely occupied by an earlier population. It was facilitated by the taming of the camel in the second (?) half of the second millennium B.C. Nor is it likely that the occupation of South Arabia took place earlier, to judge from the philological, ethnological and archeological evidence. The forefathers of these immigrants into South Arabia were presumably traders who followed the ancient trade routes into the land of incense and myrrh. A little later the Arabs began to expand in the North, at first in the direction of Sinai and Transjordan. The evidence of the inscriptions shows that in 853 they were present in the north of the Syrian desert, shortly afterwards on both edges of the Fertile Crescent; they were camel-breeders, oasis-dwellers, traders. This formed the chief objective of the Arab expansion. It did not, however, remain the only one, as the emigration of the Sabaeans into Ethiopia (about 400?) shows. It depended on the strength of the various states of the Fertile Crescent whether this immigration could be canalised in the form of colonisation, and on the borders of semi-nomadic life, or whether it led to the flooding of the cultivated land by nomads. In the 1st century B.C. the nomads (Scenites) on the near side of the Euphrates crossed the border of the arabic land as far as the line Apamea-Thapsacus, while in the Hijāz they roved as far as the border of the arabic



land in the south of the Khābūr and the Sindjār. We cannot here examine exceptional developments, like that of the trading state of the Nabataeans which expanded in the same century, in the north to the Hawrān, in the south to N.-W. Arabia.

The incorporation of the Syrian part of the Nabataean kingdom in 105 A.D., and the abandonment of the Roman sphere of interest in N.-W. Arabia some sixty years later, shook the security of these countries. It is, however, impossible to discern what were the consequences of the incursions of the "Saracens" in the west and of the Tayyī settled in the central mountain ridges of North Arabia (al-Jabal). Different is the case of the entry of two tribes into the steppe lying between the Lower Euphrates and the sandy desert, which was perhaps originated by Ardashir I, the first Sāsānid (d. 241). They were the Taghlib and Asad (s), who came from East Arabia; and they were followed by Nizār from Middle and Western Arabia. The Nizār, with the exception of Iyād, were absorbed by the population of the Euphrates frontiers; the Taghlib and the Asad, on the other hand, continued their wanderings, the Taghlib, for the most part, to Northern Syria and the Asad to the south of the Hawrān. Since the 4th century these countries saw also the arrival of tribes from West Arabia. In the meantime, the recession in the income trade (from the 3rd century 7) and its extinction (at the latest in the 5th century) had led to the bedouinisation of part of the population of South Arabia. Groups of such tribes, taking part in military expeditions of the Hīmalīte kings, reached the district of Najrān and also Central Arabia (e.g. Kinda). All through the 6th century we can observe an advance into the north, sped forward initially by the campaigns of the kings of Kinda; its path lay along the northerly 'Ard = Tuwayk to the steppe on the lower Euphrates (Bakr, Tamīm), from Bihā to the Wādī al-Rama ('Amīr), from the country north of Medina in the direction of Palmyra (Bahak', Kaib). The Taghlib, dwelling formerly on the lower Euphrates, moved upstream and settled at the beginning of Islam in the Dījāzra to the north of the Sindjār.

The expansion at the beginning of the Islam came about in the first place through enlistment in the armies and auxiliary troops which were sent by Medina to the Euphrates, in Transjordan and to Southern Palestine and after that conquered al-'Irāk, Syria and al-Dījāzra; later through participation in the campaigns which led, across the Persian Gulf or from the garrison cities of Kūfa and Basra, to Iran, from Damascus to Egypt, North Africa and Spain. It occurred further through the displacement of tribes from Transjordan to Palestine (in the north 'Amīl and Dīwānīn, in the south Lakhm); the emigration of parts of Bakr and Dīwānīn from the Hūdūd to Egypt; through continuous infiltration of families and groups into the garrison towns and the Dījāzra; and through resettlement of the people of Kūfa and Basra in Khurāsān. With the enrolment of 400 families of the Sulaym and other West Arabian Kayisites as colonists for Lower Egypt, followed spontaneously by three times their number, the first period of expansion in Islamic times ends. The curtain between the Fertile Crescent and Arabia falls again.

It took a considerable time before the loss which the population of Arabia incurred by the emigration during and after the campaigns of conquests was made good again. The first new movement led from

the Dījāzra towards the north-east: before the middle of the 9th century the Asad (1) began to advance along the pilgrims' road of Kūfa, and Tayyī followed close on their heels. In the second half of the 10th century, quarrels under the Buwayhids allowed the Asad to penetrate into the cultivated land; a part of them wandered on to Khūstān, where already before Islam a small Arab island (Tamīm) had been formed. In the meanwhile the campaigns of the Karmatians of East Arabia into 'Irāk (111-25/29-37), Syria and Egypt (355-68/94-78/9), had driven new waves of migration to the north: Khāladīya ('Uhayl) moved out of East Arabia into the steppe on the lower Euphrates, followed in the 11th century by Muntafik (also of 'Uhayl). Their place in East Arabia was filled by tribes which immigrated from 'Uman; part of these too later moved to 'Irāk. Some Tayyī settled in southern Transjordan, and subsequently acquired the overlordship over the older immigrants of the same tribe in Palestine. The stream of tribes from South Palestine to Egypt, which began in early Islamic times, began again in the middle of the 11th century (originated by orders of the government), and in the late Middle Ages it was brought to a halt by a movement in the opposite direction. Since the end of the 12th century there is a trickle of Dīwānīn from Northern Hūdūd over Sinai to Egypt and particularly to Transjordan, until in the 13th century this source dries up. They are followed by Balī. Finally since the end of the 13th century groups of the parish tribe of Hūtaym penetrate into the same districts from the territory east of Khaybar. Meanwhile a new expansion had begun in the Dījāzra. Around 1200 the Ghazīyā (Tayyī) appeared in the north between Transjordan and 'Irāk, the Banu Līm (also of Tayyī) in the south between Medina and the Kašim. Since the 15th century Ghazīyā camped on the Euphrates, but did not cross it for good till around 1800. The Banu Līm penetrated at the end of the 15th century to the northern frontier of the Hūdūd, but were repelled by the Ottomans, and following their ancient route turned in the middle of the 16th century to the east, and on to the lower Tigris and Khūstān.

The last great migration, that of Shammār and 'Anaza, commenced in the same district. At the end of the 17th century the Shammār came from the Dījāzra to the frontier of 'Irāk. 'Anaza (whose territory had been till that time from Madīn to Sīlīb to the Kašim) penetrated at the same time, accompanied by the Banu Saḥr, as far as Transjordan. In the 18th century 'Anaza, coming from S.-W. and S.-E., occupied the Syrian desert. Into the midst of this movement burst the campaigns of the Wahhābīs. In the nineties the Shammār Dījāzra left their homeland occupied by the Wahhābīs and went to the Euphrates. At the beginning of 1802 they crossed it with the agreement of the government and soon pushed on into the Dījāzra up to the edge of the mountains of Asia Minor. Other parts of 'Anaza reached the Syrian Desert together with the troops of the Wahhābīs or in the course of flight from their tax-collectors.

As the result of the progress of agriculture in North Arabia since 1911 and the exploitation of the oil resources in the last two decades, the expansion of the Arabs has ended for the moment.

Some features of the expansion must still be mentioned, which it was not possible to fit into this article: the settlement on the Iranian coast of the

Persian Gulf (which had pre-Islamic antecedents); the foundation of trading colonies on the coasts and the islands of the Indian Ocean from the early to the late Middle Ages: Malabar, Madagascar, East Africa (Pata-Kilwa, with antecedents in the ancient South Arabian period); the more recent colonial policy of 'Uman; the continuous emigration from Hadramawt, which in the 19th century was principally, but not exclusively, directed towards Indonesia (mercenaries in Haydarābād); and infiltration into Upper Egypt across the Red Sea. (W. CASSELL)

#### (iii) THE EXPANSION OF THE ARABS: IRAN IN EARLY ISLAMIC TIMES

The Arab conquest of Iran brought a part of the Arab people to that country. There appear to be two separate developments in settlement. (1) The immigration from the opposite Arab coast to the south coast of Iran along the Persian Gulf. The Arabs also spread in a south-easterly direction along the coast from the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris. Apparently Arab settlements could be found here already in pre-Islamic times (see A. Christensen: *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 87, 128). The number of Arabs increased considerably here in early Islamic times; there is, for example, explicit mention as settlers of the 'Abd al-Kays from the coast of 'Uman (al-Balādhūri, 386, 392; al-Isṭakhri, 142; Ibn al-Aṭṭīr (Būlāki), 149). From then on Arab settlements remained along the coast and at some places inland (e.g. Māhān, in the district of Bardīz, 985 A.D.; al-Makhdī, iii, 462) until at least the times of the Mongols (B. Spuler: *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 'Leipzig 1955, 142, 149 f., 164). It seems reasonable to suppose that there is a connection between those settlements and the ones of today, in view of the continued migration of Arabs across the Persian Gulf and from Basra. (2) There was a second influx of Arab settlers into Iran from Mesopotamia. In the 7th century Arab colonies were formed in several towns such as Kāshān, Hamadān and Isfahān; Kumm became a predominantly Arab (and Shī'ite) town, and remained so for a considerable time (al-Balādhūri, 314, 409, 416, 426; Nārshakhi (Seifeder), 52; Ibn al-Aṭṭīr (Būlāki), v, 15; F. G. Browne, *Account of a rare ms. hist. of Isfahan*, Hertford 1901, 27 [offprint from JRAS, 1901]; B. Spuler: *Iran* [see Bibl.] 179). The number of Arab settlers in Ādharbaydīn (al-Balādhūri, 328, 331; al-Tabarī, i, 280 f. 1; Ibn Hawkal, 353; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'wīḥ*, ii, 446; *Aḥḥādīḥ*, xi, 59) was apparently much smaller. Khurāsān, however, remained the main goal throughout all these migrations. The actual settlement was partly made by large groups: there are reports of 25,000 from Basra and an equal number from Kūfa, who arrived in 52/672; a further batch reached the country in 683. On the basis of this number of men capable of bearing arms (50,000) and in view of the strictness of recruiting, J. W. Hauer (cf. *Bibl.*) estimates the number of Arab settlers in the beginning of the 8th century at 200,000. They did not live only in the towns—where in some cases quarters were put at their disposal after the conquest—but were scattered all over the country, as for example in the oasis of Marw, where they acquired possessions and adapted themselves to the *dikhān* way of living. The geographical contours of Khurāsān suited the Arabs very well: they could easily travel across the large plains and the steppes, although they were somewhat more awkward than the natives both at crossing rivers and in the mountains (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 182).

The main body of Arabs in Khurāsān had come from Basra. Of the tribes settled there, the Kays (especially in the 8th century: al-Tabarī, ii, 1029) were in the majority in the west, while the Tamīm and Bakr were mixed together in the east and in Sīstān; thus the outcome of inter-tribal feuds was varied. Ibn al-Aṭṭīr (Būlāki, v, 6) states their numbers for 715 as follows: Basra 9,000, Bakr 7,000, Tamīm 10,000, 'Abd al-Kays 4,000, Asad 10,000, Kūfāns 7,000 (= 47,000 which tallies almost exactly with the above mentioned number for Kūfāns and Basra); in addition altogether 7,000 *mawālī* of these tribes. In this list the people from Basra and from Kūfa must stand for elements from the two towns which could not be reckoned among the tribes mentioned. The tribal divisions valid in Basra were taken over into Khurāsān. On the one side were the Rabi'a (= Bakr and 'Abd al-Kays) and the Yamānite Asd (who had arrived later), and on the other the Tamīm and Kays (collectively known as "Mudar"), who were very proud of their descent (cf. articles on these). The bloody battle between these began in connexion with the great civil war for the Caliphate in 683; a static war raged outside Marw for one year, 64-3/684-5 between Bakr and Tamīm (al-Tabarī, ii, 490-6), which eventually came to an end because of internal dissensions among the Tamīm. In spite of the fact that a neutral Kurayshī became governor in 74/693-4, fighting continued until 81/700 (al-Tabarī, ii, 859-62). The attitude of the governor often made the difference between victory and defeat, and his attitude, in turn, depended to a great extent on the party divisions in the west (Syria and Mesopotamia). In 85-6/704-5, the ascendancy of the Asd and Rabi'a was temporarily checked by a change of governor. Kūṭayba b. Muslim, the conqueror of Transoxania, who was not linked to either of the powerful groups by descent, tried to remain neutral. It was thanks to him that the Arabs had the chance of spreading to Samarkand, Bukhārā and Khāzīm, often moving into specially cleared quarters (al-Balādhūri, 410, 421 f.; al-Tabarī, ii, 126; Ibn al-Aṭṭīr (Būlāki), iii, 104; Nārshakhi, 52). After his death the Asd resumed power under Yazīd II, until the Tamīm took over in 720. The misrule of the latter and of the Kays brought Umayyad rule in Khurāsān into such disrepute that even the open-minded governor Naṣr b. Sayyār could not find a way to settle the disputes of the opposing groups after 744. The 'Abbāsid revolution, caused largely by the behaviour of the Arabs, passed them by. Its victory in 748-50 brought about new conditions for the Arabs in the east.

A few of the Arabs had, of course, entered into friendly relations with the Iranians soon after the conquest of Khurāsān. Some of the *mawālīs* and *dikhāns* had come quickly to terms with the Arab rule and the Arabs frequently took part in the cultural life of the Iranians (especially the celebrations of the *nasrāz* and the *mīhr-gāz*, as, similarly, they had also done in Egypt on the occasion of Coptic festivities). There were mixed marriages (mentioned expressly only where more prominent persons were concerned, yet even more likely to have taken place among the ordinary people) and the descendants of such unions in Iran were undoubtedly inclined to attach themselves to, and disappear among, the islamized Iranians. In addition, there were cases of Arabs (as, for instance, Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzīm in Tirmīdī) who quarrelled with the government and joined forces politically with the natives. Furthermore, since the time of 'Umar II



197-20, there was a growing religious consciousness among some Arabs (such as Harīḡ b. Surayj) which demanded—with increasing insistence—equal treatment for the Iranian Muslims (cf. Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 280). Hence the many attempts to come to a reasonable solution of the question of the personal and land taxes where converted Iranians were concerned. In any case, one has the impression that the tribal feeling was more and more superseded by a new, predominantly religious, grouping from round about 720 onwards, when a new process of assimilation began which became important for the general feeling of pan-Arab unity. From this time onwards, political events can no longer be explained as deriving their main spring from tribal feuds.

Because of this Umayyad politics, which had been built up on the tribal structure, were doomed, and the future belonged to the 'Abbāsid movement (and also to that of the 'Alids connected with the former in the beginning) which worked on a different basis. The collaboration between the Arabs, who often took a leading part in the 'Abbāsid movement, on the one hand, and the Iranians on the other, went smoothly—at least until the fall of the Umayyads (nor was there much friction of the years 746-50; subsequently). Hence the victory of the years 746-50: at that time, however, the greater part of Arabs in Abū Muslim's army spoke Persian (al-Tabarī, iii, 51, 64 f.).

There were, however, Arabs, who took no part in this process of assimilation. The greater part of these were pushed out of Khurāsān in the course of the 'Abbāsid campaign. The remaining settlers, towards whom the Iranians showed no more animosity, were politically (i.e. as Arabs) of little importance. Tribal warfare now ceased completely, although some tribes are still mentioned in the 10th century (cf. the authorities quoted below). Assimilation continued, however, without interruption so that many Arabs eventually merged completely with the Iranians: more quickly, certainly, where they lived in isolation on their estates (as for instance in the oasis of Marw). One must also take into account a further distribution of the Arab element all over the country during the 'Abbāsid period, and further immigration from the west. Consequently there were places which had a partly Arab population as late as the 11th and 12th century, though the gradual decrease in their numbers is already recognisable in the 10th century. Detailed statements regarding this are rather rare; compare for Isfahān: al-Yā'qubī, *Buldān*, 274, for various places in Khurāsān, ibid., 294; al-Istakhrī 322/123, Ibn Hawkal, 499; al-Makdīf, 292, 303; for Kāshān: *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 133, and ibid. 104, 108, 216 (Djūdān); al-Djāhiz, *Twa opuscula*, (van Vloten), 40; *al-Ghāṣi*, xiv, 102, xvi, 69; Dihwānī, ii, 46, (read *manligāh-i 'Arabā*); S. A. Volin, *K istorii sredneaziaticheskikh arabov*, in the *Trudy storoy sessii asociatsii arabistov*, Moscow and Leningrad 1947, 124; B. Spuler, *Iran*, 250. The family histories in Ibn al-Balḫī, *Fārī-nāma*, xix f., = 216 f., and Kumānī, *Ta'riḫ-i Kumm* (Tihān), 266-305 (family of al-Aḡḡār) are most illuminating for the gradual assimilation of Arab families of civil servants into the Persian people.

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*früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 20-45, 247-50, 335 f. and index.

(B. SPULER)

#### APPENDIX: ARABS IN CENTRAL ASIA AT THE PRESENT DAY

The origin of the Arabs living at the present day in Central Asia, and apparently also in Afghān Turkistān (where they speak Persian: *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, V, Oxford 1908, 68; without mentioning of places) can not (or not yet) be fixed with certainty. According to their own tradition, they were brought there by Timūr, and they mention the Andkhūy [g.] district in Afghānistān and the nearby Akā (in the province of Mazār-i Sharīf) as the site of their original settlement, and Karshī, Buḡhārā and Hīdr as places through which they had passed. There is, however, no mention of Timūr re-settling Arabs, in the sources concerning his life, nor can his son-in-law, Mir Haydar, who is frequently mentioned in the oral tradition, be identified. On the other hand there is proof that inhabitants of Marw were transplanted to Buḡhārā, and those of Balḫ, Shaburghān and Andkhūy into the Zarafshān valley in the year 1513 ('Ubayd Allāh, *Zafar al-Afghān*, the *Zap. Vostochno Otdeleniya*, XV, 202 f.). We know, furthermore, that migration of "Arabs" was still possible in the first half of the 16th century between (Persian) 'Irāk on the one side, and the areas of Buḡhārā, Samarkand and the valley of the Kāshka Daryā on the other ('Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī: *Tarāṣuṣ*, quoted by Volin 122-3; cf. also H. R. Hammer, *Staatsgeschichte der Timuriden*, Wiesbaden 1932, 94 f., 177, with facsimile 389-392 (without the factual part of the document)).

Thus it appears that the Arabs living in Central Asia today are not the immediate descendants of the immigrants of early Islamic times (see above III), although one must allow for the possibility of an association with these settlers, who had already been Iranian in the 11th and 12th centuries. In the 16th century, the Central Asian Arabs were under a *mir hāzir* who collected taxes for the government; they were generally known as nomads (*a'rāb*) (in addition to the above mentioned document cf. also an *inshā*-collection of Samarkand of ca. 1530, published by Volin 117-20). In the 17th and 18th centuries there is no information concerning them; already there is mention of them in the beginning of the 19th century, especially in various travel reports (quoted by Volin). Here we must distinguish two concepts:

(1) A close group marked by strict endogamy, who are, however, in their physical appearance hardly different from their Iranian neighbours; they call themselves "Arabs" but accepted the language of the country they live in. There is a group of Tadjiks and a group of Uzbek-speaking "Arabs" in the Samarkand area. Travellers mention similar groups of "Arabs" in Turkenistan, Kāshka, Fārgāna and mountain Tadjikistan. In the 19th century their number was assessed at between 50 and 60,000; Vinnikov (see *ibid.*), 9, sticks to these numbers (in spite of the result of the census) in 1926. In the 19th century these "Arabs" were still under a *mir hāzir*, but by this time he no longer exercised any fiscal function. The figure mentioned in a Soviet census of 1926 is 28,978, that of 1939, 27,793. According to this it would appear that these groups of "Arabs" who already spoke the language of their area, were absorbed more and more into their Uzbek or Tadjik surroundings. Their economic situation is also like that of their neighbours. As

survivals of the patriarchal system, however, we still find the institution of the "avunculate" (a special connection between the nephew and his maternal uncle and the marriage of first cousins), in which at least one third of these "Arabs" lived before the revolution. (Compare M. O. Kosven, *Avunculat in Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1948, no. 1).

(2) From these self-styled "Arabs" (obviously in a historical sense) we must distinguish groups which still speak Arabic. According to the above mentioned documents, it appears that this distinction goes back as far as the 16th century. This would mean that the settlement of these Arabs must have taken place some generations earlier, otherwise there could have been (in the case of nomads) no possibility of a partial linguistic assimilation. The Soviet census of 1926 gives the figure 4,665 for these Arabs, who can be divided into the dialectally different tribes of Sa'nūnī and Sa'būnī. They live largely in Uzbekistan (2,170) and in Tadjikistan (2,274). In 1939, Arab speaking inhabitants of Uzbekistan numbered about 1,750. It would appear that the Russian census of 1897, mentioning 1696 Arabs, had only the Arab speaking ones in mind; yet some doubt about this figure is still to be seen, in view of the numbers mentioned in later years. Apparently this group, too, is in the process of being assimilated by its surroundings.

The language of these Arabs has developed from a Mesopotamian dialect but has (like Maltese) developed into an independent branch of Arabic, and has split in two. The Central Asian Arabs developed *p* and *t* even in pure Arabic words, on the other hand it lost the *th*, *dh* and partly the *kāma*. *F* often disappeared, and *ḍ* often became *g*; the *ā* usually became *ā*, the *w* in the personal suffix *wa* (*wa*): *u*. Stress vacillates; assimilation, inversion, and elision are frequent. The 2nd and 3rd person fem. pl. retain their endings (as in the bedouin dialects). One of the two dialects developed the prefix *mi* in the imperfect tense (would this correspond to Iranian, or to Syrian and Egyptian Arabic?). A *durative* *presentis* developed under the influence of Turkish. As in the Caucasian languages (e.g. Old Georgian), the direct object is taken up again by a personal suffix in the verb (cf. also the Syrian development). "*Kāna*" is often used as an auxiliary verb (originally with a perfect meaning). The infinitive ends regularly in either *-ān* or *-in*. The nōnātion of the nouns is almost completely absent; plurals end in *-in*/*-āt* (this also frequently in the case of masculine nouns), while broken plurals are rare. Arabic numerals have been replaced by Tadjik ones almost completely. *Status Constructus* is retained, but even in the Indo-Germanic type are frequent (*Ḥalāq mīlīk*, "wood-seller"). Usual word order: subject, object, predicate. Vocabulary largely Semitic, leaning to 'Irākī and occasionally to peninsular Arabic.

**Bibliography:** (a) Historical: M. S. Andreev, in *Izvestiya Turkest. otdela. Russk. geogr. ob-va*, 1924, 126-37; N. Burykina and M. Izmaylova, *Nekotoryye dannye po yazyku arabov kishlaka Dityaryi Kharkhoshogo obzaga i kishlaka Dityaryn Kakhadar'skogo obzaga Uzbekoy SSR*, Zap. Kolegii Vostokovedov, 1931, 527-49; S. L. Volin, *K istorii sredneaziaticheskikh arabov*, *Trudy storoy sessii asociatsii arabistov*, Moscow and Leningrad 1947, 121-26; I. N. Vinnikov, *Araby v SSSR*, *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1940, no. IV, 3-22; D. N. Logofet, *Rukhshahskiy khandaq pod russkim predokhtom*, I, 1910; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya*

*Entsiklopediya*, II, 598. (b) Language: Burykina and Izmaylova as above; G. V. Cseré's, *K kharakteristike yazyka sredneaziaticheskikh arabov*, *Trudy storoy sessii asociatsii arabistov*, Moscow and Leningrad 1947, 133-48; idem, *Materialy dlya izucheniya arabicheskikh dialektov Sredney Azii*, Zap. Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1939, 254-83. (Not seen: Zarubina: *Spisok narodov*, SSSR, Leningrad 1937; N. N. Arkhipov, *Sredne-aziaticheskie respubliky*, Leningrad 1930).

(B. SPULER)

#### (IV) EXPANSION OF THE ARABS IN EGYPT

At the end of the year 18/639, an Arab army appeared on the Syro-Egyptian frontier and commenced the conquest of Egypt. On 20 Rabī' II 20/9 April 641, a treaty was signed which wrested Egypt from the Greek or, more precisely the autochthonous population, from Byzantine domination. Alexandria still held out, and only surrendered eighteen months later. Viewed as a whole, the operations give the impression of an advance carried out not doubt with enthusiasm, but also of a carefully planned offensive. Certain papers of this period assume particular importance. We possess requisition orders for the billeting and provisioning of Arab troops, and we learn that the expenses incurred by the villages were remitted from the taxes for the following year. From information supplied by the same documents, we see advancing into the country a well-equipped army: armed cavalry and infantry, accompanied by a *butilla* for operations in Upper Egypt. Teams of blacksmiths and armours were formed for the repair of weapons. This information is based on Greek texts, some of which are indeed accompanied by an Arabic translation, but if the initiation of similar measures was the duty of the Coptic civil administrators, it is a fact that the Arab military leaders were fully aware of them. All this indicates training and discipline, and we may suppose that Bedouin elements did not form the major part of the Arab army. 'Amr b. al-'Ās relied in the main on a first contingent of Yeminite origin, nearly all from the 'Alak tribe, and it is apparent from the names of the districts of Fustāt that the majority of the groups were Yeminite. On the other hand, contingents of the Djūdān and Laḡīn tribes, who had formed part of the population of the Ghassanid Kingdom and had remained neutral at the battle of the Yarmūk, had joined the army of Egypt. The largest figure recorded of the numbers of the Arab warriors is 15,000 men; this seems to be a maximum figure, but not an impossible one.

After the conquest the Arabs remained in their tribal groups; in this connection, the names of the districts of Fustāt are again revealing. It may be questioned whether, in the beginning, the Arabs thought of anything but exploitation of the country by the military, who formed a *de facto* aristocracy which did not admit to its ranks any native of the country or mix with the inhabitants since it was forbidden to acquire land. The army of occupation was distributed between Fustāt, Alexandria, and various posts scattered along the Mediterranean coast, on the desert frontiers of the Delta, and on the Nubian borders. We lack any critical basis on which to form an estimate of the numbers of these garrisons, which were heavily reinforced, since in 43/663 12,000 men were needed in Alexandria alone. With a view to increasing their cohesion, these elements were organised in tribes. The members of each tribe were divided into sections of seven or ten,



under the control of a *syndic*, who received their pay, and also administered orphan's pensions under the supervision of the *hadd*. Every morning an official visited the tribes and registered new births.

In 709/727, the Comptroller of Finance in Egypt installed an important part of the *Kays* tribe in the region of Bilbais: the figure 3,000, which we are given, seems to include women and children. These *Kays*, who, as camel-drivers, participated in the traffic on the Fustat-Kalzuin route, were probably liable to military service, since they were registered on the pay-rolls. These reinforcements had been to some extent necessitated by the first revolt of the Copts, which occurred in 709/725. When the Christian historian of the Alexandrian patriarchate is describing this, he writes "One tribe was stationed in the eastern desert of Egypt, between Bilbais and Kalzuin on the coast; these were Muslims, who were known as Arabs". This mode of expression seems to postulate that the indigenous Muslims, doubtless a minority of the whole population, were at that time more numerous than the Arabs.

These Arabs preserved for more than two centuries the memory of their tribe of origin, and in the majority of the funeral stelae, in the cemeteries at Aswan and Fustat, the name of the deceased is habitually followed by the ethnic appellation indicating the tribe. It was the Arab title of nobility, and Coptic converts were, in the beginning, second-class Muslims. Some of the latter aspired further, and a judicial scandal which took place in 194/570-2 proves that the Arab tribes were still strong enough to appeal to Baghdad against the judgement of a *hadd* of dubious integrity which conferred on Copts the status of pure-bred Arabs. We observe that in the course of the 3rd/9th century surnames relating to tribes give way gradually to surnames of geographical significance; here, too the funeral stelae are documents of the greatest value, and furnish us with toponymic surnames.

The Muslims of Fustat, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, must have been mainly autochthonous elements, installed in all types of sedentary employment, in government service or in trade; the Arabs, occupied in suppressing revolts in the Delta in the course of the preceding century, were then struck off the military rolls as a result of the influx of *ghurabshahs*, and later of Turanians, who had probably resumed in the country side the principal occupation of their ancestors, the raising of live-stock. At all events, from then on they are not mentioned in the towns. Descendants of former soldiers, moreover, acquired land: we find the proof of this in the fact that the government claimed from them the *khirad*, or land tax. They thus became mingled with the indigenous population, which, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, was mainly Muslim; on the other hand, the Arabic language was used to an increasing extent by the Copts. The majority of the army, of Turkish stock, could not have made any distinction between the truly autochthonous elements and the descendants of Arab immigrants.

Finally, in 219/834, groups of the Lakhm and Du'dham tribes rebelled in the Delta; they were easily dispersed, and no further mention is made of their rights. The Arabs re-appear, even frequently, in the history of Egypt: they remained organised in tribes, some of which retained their nomad habits. They were mobilised as reserve troops in times of crisis, for example at the time of the landing by the Crusaders at Damietta. Later governments were obliged periodically to exercise their authority against

them, either to collect taxes, or to suppress banditry. In general, these interventions were bloody affairs, and were virtually punitive expeditions.

The most significant events were set in train by the temporary migration, in the 5th/11th century, of the Banu Hilal and the Banu Sulaym before their destructive onslaught on North Africa. It should not be forgotten that a group of Bedouin from the Arabian Peninsula tried to resist the advance of French troops in Upper Egypt in 1799.

Recent censuses have been vague in the extreme: it is estimated that the Bedouin scattered among the deserts of Egypt number about 50,000.

**Bibliography:** Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futuh Misr*, ed. by Torrey; Kindi, *Wafat Misr*, ed. by Goust; Makrisi, *Khatat*, Böslk ed. and the Institut français ed.; Kalkashandî, *Nahyat al-Arab fi ma'rifat habib'il-'Arab*; Quatremère, *Mémoires sur les tribus arabes nomades en Egypte*, in *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte* ed. and trans. by G. Wiet; G. Wiet, *Précis d'Histoire d'Egypte*, II; idem, *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, vol. IV; Ibn Ishaq. (G. Wiet)

#### (V) EXPANSION OF THE ARABS IN NORTH AFRICA

It is extremely difficult to enumerate the Arab elements which, from the year 27/647 onwards, entered North Africa. We can only accept with the usual reservations the first number of 20,000, representing the fighting men from the Hijaz, furnished by the tribes and grouped round their chiefs, reinforced by contingents taken from the army of Egypt. The first expeditions were nothing more than long-distance raids, without any intention of settling in the country. This ambition appears with 'Uthba b. Nafi', who founded al-Kayrawan (q.v.) in 50/670. The death of this chief and the occupation of al-Kayrawan by the Berbers led to the despatch of fresh contingents. From then on, every serious failure on the part of the invaders, every Berber rising, every new phase in the arduous task of conquest, occasioned the arrival of reinforcements. Under the Umayyads, elements derived from the *diwan*, detached from the Syrian garrisons, and constituting regiments which already had an individual character, took the place of the fighting men recruited in Arabia. Under the Abbasids, the Egyptian militia joined forces with the Syrians, or relieved them. All these elements, living in groups as in the East, were distributed among the towns of the conquered territory. As is well known, their haughtiness as conquerors, their demands and their lack of discipline were a source of the gravest embarrassment to the governors of Ifrikiya, and the Aghlabid amirs, obliged to subdue them with great bloodshed, found them employment in Sicily.

Along with the fighting men intended to effect the first occupation of the country, the Arab world sent civilian elements. Apart from the governors and their entourage, kinsmen and clients, there were men of a religious character, who, from the time of the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (99-101/717-20), undertook the methodical conversion of the Berbers. There were also merchants, who, from the start, saw in North Africa a field for their commerce, and prospered in fresh territory reputedly rich in resources.

These Arab immigrants constituted exclusively urban elements. The towns, where they formed a considerable proportion of the population, were centres of arabisation. By virtue of the prestige enjoyed by the conquerors, through the education given in the Qur'anic schools and the mosques, and through economic relations and mutual contact in

the markets, the Arabic language spread simultaneously with Islam in the cities and their environs. Al-Kayrawan played an important part in this process, but the other garrisons of Ifrikiya and its western marches were also able to spread their influence over a limited area.

The Arab immigration of which the Hilali invasion was the first phase was very different from the Muslim conquest and its consequences, both as regards those who took part in it and their role in the history of Barbary. The initial cause of this disaster was as follows:—in the middle of the 5th/11th century, the amir al-Mu'izz of the Banu Ziri (see *zfrns*) branch of the *Sanhaja*, which governed Ifrikiya in the name of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir, broke with his suzerain in Cairo, and the latter, on the advice of his minister al-Yaziri, despatched against the rebel kingdom the Arab nomads then encamped east of the Nile, recognised in advance their title to any towns and rural districts which they could conquer.

The Banu Hilal (see *hilals*), who formed the first wave of this "westward movement" (*taghrif*), and also the Banu Sulaym, who came on the scene later, were connected through their common ancestor as-Sayid b. Kays with the powerful line of Mudar. Both had previously dwelt in Najd, and groups of the two families continued to live there. Brought late within the pale of Islam, they had migrated in considerable numbers to Upper Mesopotamia and the Syrian desert. Their independent nature revealed itself immediately after the death of the Prophet. The Umayyads, and the 'Abbasids even more, had to punish their plundering activities conducted in particular at the expense of Meccan pilgrims. In the 4th/10th century they took part in the Carmathian revolt. The Fatimid caliph al-'Aziz crushed the movement (368/978) and forced the Arabs who had supported it to transfer themselves to Upper Egypt. It was from there that they set out to conquer Ifrikiya.

At the moment when their first bands, which could have numbered barely a million, reached the Zird kingdom of al-Kayrawan and caused its downfall, the most powerful of the Banu Hilal were the Riyah, who occupied the plains of Tunisia. Further east, the kingdom of the Hammalids (q.v.) and the Zab [q.v.] received the Aghlabids. This Arab expansion, whose limits in the 6th/12th century are described by the *Tabat*, caused the exodus of Hammalids, and the Ka'is to al-Bijaya and drove the Zanata nomads towards the plains of Oran.

The arrival of fresh bands led subsequently to an extension of the territory and to alterations in the distribution of the Arabs. The most important of these waves of immigrants was, starting from the end of the 12th century, that of the Banu Sulaym, who came from Tripolitania. At that period, the Armenian adventurer Karakogh, then to the Banu Ghaniya who attempted to revive Almoravid power, they placed themselves at the service of the Hafsids, the Almohad governors of Ifrikiya, who assured the fortunes of this great tribe. Thus Ifrikiya, the first domain of the Banu Hilal, remained, with the Sulaym, the region where the Arabs were the most numerous and most powerful. But one part of North Africa escaped what was considered by Ibn Khaldun to be an irreparable disaster. The quest by new arrivals for lands as yet unoccupied and for sedentary populations to exploit, the repulse of the weak by the strong, the advance of certain tribes, such as the Ma'kil of Southern Morocco, from the western boundaries of the desert, were the quasi-normal causes of their "westward movement". To these must

be added the mass transfers effected by the Maghribi rulers within their own territories of Arab contingents on whose collaboration they rashly counted. For example the transfer in 583/1187 of the tribes of Ifrikiya by the Almohad al-Manсур, who, wishing to use them in Spain, granted them the sub-atlantic plains of Morocco where they were then uninhabited.

The whole economy of Barbary was overthrown by this expansion. With their North African territory, where they lived during the summer, these pastoral nomads combined the corresponding Saharan territories, where they migrated in autumn with their families and where they found new pastures for their camels. At the two extremities of the annual migration, they possessed a source of income: by right of protection they claimed taxes in kind from the people of the oases, cultivators of date-palms, on the sedentary population of the north they levied imposts which the rulers had assigned to them in the form of *shat* (q.v.), or as part of the tax (*diya*) for whose collection they were responsible.

Intimately associated with Berber life, these eastern Bedouin naturally played a large part in the propagation of the Arabic language, and it has been thought possible still to recognise in dialect characteristics which seem to mark the difference between the contributions of the great tribes, Hilal, Sulaym, and Ma'kil. Simultaneously, however, with arabisation of the Berbers, one must take into account the berberisation of the Arabs, the progressive tendency towards a sedentary form of existence, and the gradual evolution of the way of life of the autochthones by groups of immigrants who had become irremediably impoverished.

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(G. MARCAIS)

**DIJAZAT AL-ARAB**, "the Island of the Arabs", the name given by the Arabs to the Arabian Peninsula.

- (i) Preliminary remarks.
- (ii) Physical structure and principal geographical features.
- (iii) Climate, drainage, and water resources.
- (iv) Political divisions.
- (v) Flora and fauna.
- (vi) Ethnography.
- (vii) History:

1. Pre-Islamic.
2. Islamic Middle Ages.
3. The making of modern Arabia—from the 10th/16th century to the present.



## (I) PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Although the Peninsula may not be the original cradle of the Arab people, they have lived there for thousands of years and regard it in a very special sense as their homeland. For students of Islam, Western Arabia occupies a unique position as the land in which the Prophet Muhammad was born, lived, and died. It was there that the inspiration of Allah descended upon the Prophet, and to this Holy Land come many thousands of Muslims every year from all parts of the Islamic world to make the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba, the House of Allah in Mecca (Makkah), and to visit the Prophet's tomb in Medina (al-Madina al-Munawwara).

The Peninsula has the shape of a rough quadrilateral with a length of c. 2200 km. from north-west to south-east and a breadth of c. 1200 km. The symmetry of the quadrilateral is marred by the bulge of Oman ('Uman) on the eastern side reaching out close to the Iranian coast. On the west, south, and east the Peninsula is clearly defined by the Red Sea (al-Bahr al-Ahmar), the Gulf of Aden (al-Baḥr al-'Adani), the Arabian Sea (al-Baḥr al-'Arab), the Gulf of Oman, and the Persian Gulf (al-Khalij al-Farsi). In the north, the Arabs themselves have often disagreed as to where Arabia ends and Syria (in the broad sense) begins. A vast steppe unrolls northwards from the Great Nafud with no natural features suitable as a limit for the Peninsula. For the purposes of this article the Peninsula is considered as extending only to the borders separating Saudi Arabia and Kuwait from Jordan and 'Iraq, even though these borders represent little more than artificial political concepts. This definition places the northernmost point of the Peninsula at 'Uman, a low mesa in the desert farther north than either Jerusalem or Baghdad. From 'Uman, the borders between Saudi Arabia and Jordan, not yet fully agreed upon, reach the sea near the head of the Gulf of al-'Akaba, while the borders between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait on the one hand and 'Iraq on the other run to the head of the Persian Gulf south of al-Basra. Along these eastern borders lie two small neutral zones, in one of which Saudi Arabia and 'Iraq and in the other Saudi Arabia and Kuwait share undivided full interests.

It is impossible to make a reasonably reliable estimate of the size of Arabia's population. All figures found in reference works are highly suspect, as none is based on proper statistics or sufficient familiarity with the whole Peninsula. In view of the extensive areas inhabited solely by scattered nomads and the relatively light density of population in most of the settled areas, one may doubt whether the total approaches 10,000,000, and it may well fall several millions short of this figure. The most densely populated country is the Yaman (al-Yaman). In Saudi Arabia the main concentrations are in a few cities of al-Hijaz, the well watered mountains and plains of 'Asir and the Tihama, some of the valleys of Najd, and the eastern coast of al-Hasa and al-Qatif. Hadramawt and Oman both contain many towns and Bedouin tribes.

Present state of knowledge. The inhabitants of Arabia have naturally always known much about the land, but each man's knowledge is restricted to a certain region, being detailed and particularistic rather than general and comprehensive. No single work in Arabic gives a full and accurate description of Arabia. The best volume in the language is still *Siḥat Dijazir al-'Arab* by al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945-46), which, though rich in information, fails to provide a coherent panoramic view of the whole Peninsula.

The serious scientific exploration of Arabia began with Carsten Niebuhr and the Danish expedition of 1762. While travellers of different nationalities pressed on with the penetration of the interior during the 19th century, British officers of the Indian Government undertook technical surveys of the surrounding seas and stretches of the coast. Technical surveying in the interior had to wait for the 20th century, when it began with an investigation of the southern border of the Yaman and preliminary studies for the Hijaz Railway. In recent years oil companies have surveyed large parts of Eastern Arabia, using the highly refined methods of modern geological and geophysical exploration, besides engaging in extensive reconnaissance in other regions.

By 1374/1955 travellers—both Western and Arab—had visited virtually all of the remoter places, so that none of the old major mysteries regarding the surface of the land had been left unsolved. Travellers' reports, however, are often incomplete and sometimes inaccurate, and much remains to be done in checking and correlating those now available. A number of important reports remain unpublished or buried in archives.

Recent years have also seen the introduction of aerial photography as an indispensable procedure in mapmaking. By 1954 a good part of the Peninsula had been photographed for cartographic purposes, and some of the results had already been transferred to maps. Aerial photographs, however, are of maximum value only if supported by ground control, i.e., the establishment of fixed points on the ground whose relationship to the photographs is precisely determined. For much of Arabia such control is still lacking.

The general outlines and main features of the map of Arabia have now been delineated with a fair degree—and in a few instances a high degree—of reliability, but years of study lie ahead before all the details can be filled in. Surveys done in the earlier days, such as those of the Persian Gulf, are now being redone in the interests of greater thoroughness and accuracy. Errors of the past, many of which have become established on maps, are being corrected, but the process is long drawn out.

Arabian governments are now making available information about their countries in a growing body of official publications, and modern Arab authors keep producing books and articles dealing with different parts of the Peninsula. Interest in such diverse things as oil and South Arabian antiquities has called forth a flood of material by Western authors, part of which is sound but much of which is superficial, misleading, or flagrantly contradictory to fact. Arabic sources likewise are often unreliable, so that the student of Arabia must constantly be on the lookout for pitfalls along his path.

(II) PHYSICAL STRUCTURE  
AND PRINCIPAL GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

Lying between Asia and Africa, Arabia is of such size and individuality of character as almost to justify its classification as a sub-continent. Usually considered an appendage of Asia, it also joins Africa through Sinai, which, though politically a part of Egypt, is closer to Arabia in both physical environment and the nature of its human life. Before the development of rift valleys provided a bed for the Red Sea, Western Arabia formed a part of the African land mass, and the southern half of Western Arabia still has a greater affinity in many ways with

Somalia-Ethiopia than with Northern Arabia or the rest of Asia. Northern Arabia, on the other hand, merges imperceptibly with Arab Asia through the Syrian steppe, and the Oman bulge contains a mountainous area closely resembling the ranges of Iran.

Geomorphologically the Peninsula consists of two main provinces: the ancient Arabian Shield of igneous and metamorphic rocks in the west, and the more recent sedimentary areas sloping away from the Shield to the north-east, east, and south-east into the vast basin consisting of Mesopotamia, the Persian Gulf, and the eastern part of al-Rub' al-Khali. The Arabian Shield is actually only the eastern part of the Arabian-Nubian Shield, an immense mass of basement rocks—granitoids, schists, granite, gneiss, &c.—which have thrust upwards to form bare and forbidding mountains, with the whole mass split into two by the rift valleys running southwards from the Dead Sea and along the course of the Red Sea. The older igneous rocks of the Arabian part represent primarily plutonic activity of the more remote past, while more recent volcanoes have blanketed the surrounding ground with fields of lava (*harra*, pl. *hirar*) often imposing in extent. Regions of igneous and metamorphic rocks may be rich in minerals and precious stones, but only insignificant quantities of these have so far been found in Arabia.

To the north and south the eastern limit of the Arabian Shield lies not far inland from the Red Sea. Between these two extremities the limit sweeps around in a rough bulge reaching as far east as the vicinity of al-Dawadimi, less than 200 km. west of the western wall of Tuwayk. The geomorphologically confused mountains of the Yaman, though composed of similar rocks, are physiographically highly different from the remainder of the Shield. Volcanic areas occur in the Yaman as well as in the mountains fringing the southern coast and those of the Oman bulge.

Valleys drop sharply westwards to the coast plain of Tihama from the high mountains paralleling the Red Sea. The gentler eastward slope to the Persian Gulf is interrupted by escarpments in Najd and 'Asir and al-'Arara, whose steep escarpments face westwards and whose backs then resume the downward trend. From the highlands of Hadramawt and Zufar the slope southwards to the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea is short, while a longer slope runs northwards to al-Rub' al-Khali. The Oman bulge has a short descent north-eastwards to the Gulf of Oman and a much longer descent south-westwards to the same sand sea, though the mountains here, unlike those elsewhere near the coast, are steep on both sides, forming a hogback range.

The sedimentary province consists predominantly of limestone, along with an abundance of sandstone and shale. These rocks are products of sediments left behind by seas that in the distant past spread out as far west as the Shield. The sedimentary deposits reach a depth of over several kilometers in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf. Organic matter from the plants and animals that lived in the old seas is the source of the enormous accumulations of petroleum discovered in Eastern Arabia during the 20th century.

Islands. The islands, islets, and coral reefs (*dhār*, pl. *dhārāt*) off the Arabian coast are numerous, as one proceeds southwards down the Red Sea. The Faraasan Bank parallels the coast for nearly 500 km., its southern part including the Faraasan [g.s.] Archipelago, where the largest islands on the eastern side

of the Red Sea are found. Kamaran [g.s.] Island lies close to the coast of the Yaman. West of Kamaran the volcanic peak of Jabal al-Tayr in the fairway of the sea is reported to have been in eruption as late as the early 19th century. Also in the fairway is al-Zuhur, the highest island in the Red Sea (nearly 700 m.). The island of Perim [g.s.] (Mayayin) in the straits of Bab al-Mandab, the entrance to the Red Sea, stands nearer Arabia than Africa.

The island of Sukutra [g.s.], c. 210 km. long and nearly 400 km. distant from the mainland on the southern side of the entrance to the Gulf of Aden, must for both political and ethnographic reasons be regarded as belonging to the Peninsula. The Kuria Muria Islands stand off the mainland in the large bay east of Ra's Naws. The Arabic name for the group, Khūriyya Mūriyya [g.s.], is seldom used today, the more familiar names being al-Hallāniyya, al-Hāsiikiyya, and al-Sawdā', which belong to individual islands. Separated from Oman by a narrow channel is Maḥra, the only island of considerable size lying along the whole southern coast. The Arabian side of the Gulf of Oman is also almost entirely devoid of islands worthy of the name; one encounters only rocky islets standing alone, such as al-Faḥl north-west of Muscat, or in clusters, such as al-Daymāniyyāt a little farther towards the west.

The mountains of Oman end abruptly at the Strait of Hormuz, the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and some of the peaks detached from the main range form inescapable islands, the northern tip of one of which is Ra's Musandam. Abū Mūsa, an island in the Persian Gulf north-west of the port of al-Shūrikha, has deposits of iron oxide which are worked commercially. Close to the southernmost shore of the Gulf are a number of sandy islands, the largest of which is Mukayyāt (shown on most charts as Abū al-Abyad, the name of its northern part). In the western half of the embayment between the Trucial Coast and the Katar Peninsula are islands presumed to be salt domes rising above the sea, among which are Str Banī Yās [g.s.], Dalmā', Zarakkūh, Dās, and Hāḍil. The main island of Bahrain (al-Baḥrayn) has a scattering of attendant islets and a dependency of fair size, Hawār, which almost touches Katar. Tiḍrī, Abū 'Alī, and other islands hug the coast of Saudi Arabia, while al-'Arabiyya [g.s.] and al-Fāsiyya [g.s.] lie out near the middle of the Gulf.

The Great Pearl Banks (*ḥaṣr*, pl. *ḥaṣarāt*) stretch along nearly the entire length of the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, with the richer banks in the central portion. The term *ḥaṣr* is not used for a reef in this Gulf, its place being taken by *ḥaṣr* (pl. *ḥaṣarāt*), *naḡḡa*, and *ḥuṣ'a*. A *ḥidd* (pl. *ḥudūd*) is a sand bank, a *ḥāla* (pl. *ḥawāl*) is a low sandy islet which may be covered at high tide, and a *ḥaṣar* is a projecting rock. *Rubb* is the common word for a shoal, while an area of deep water—13 fathoms (ḡṣ, pl. *ḡṣāt*) or *ḡṣān*, the Arab fathom being a little less than the English fathom of 6 feet) or more—is called a *ḡhabba* (pl. *ḡhabīb*). The Persian Gulf is a shallow sea, with few depths greater than 90 m., in contrast to the Red Sea, the depth of which in places is in excess of 2,000 m.

Bays and Coasts. The coasts of the Peninsula on the three sides facing the sea are relatively unmarked by major bendings or indentations; no other great land mass on the surface of the globe provides such a paucity of shelter for ships. The Red Sea has few bays on the Arabian side, but many narrow inlets of the type called *ḡhar*, which penetrate



some distance inland and then broaden out into lagoons in which small sailing vessels can anchor. The one good natural harbour along the southern coast is Aden. Between Ra's Fartak and Ra's al-Hadd there are four large bays, here called *ghubba* (cf. the use of this term in the Persian Gulf mentioned above), but all are as open to the sea that they give no protection. Muscat on the Gulf of Oman offers a hill-enriched bay large enough for steamers of medium size. Excellent harbours exist in the diff-walled inlets in the vicinity of Musandam, but they are so hot and inaccessible from the interior that good use has never been made of them. The Persian Gulf has a proportionally larger number of bays, here called *daaba*, but their waters are almost without exception extremely shallow. Inlets in the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf go by the name of *hawr*, a term also used here for a submarine valley. One of the best examples of these inlets is Khawr al-'Udayd, which pierces the coast on the eastern side of the base of the Qatar Peninsula.

Mountains, Plateaux, and Plains. The chain or chains of mountains paralleling the coast of the Gulf of al-'Akaba and the Red Sea are known collectively as al-Sarāt (s.c.), though use of this name is not particularly widespread. In many places a lower range lies close to the coast and is separated by a plateau from a higher range farther inland. The average height of al-Sarāt is considerably below 2,000 m. Between the region of Madyan and Medina only the famous crags of Radwā (s.c.) west of Mecca and a few other mountains reach noteworthy heights. South-east of Mecca several peaks go up to over 2,500 m., and thence the chain rises to its greatest heights in southern 'Asir and the Yaman (Hadīr Shu'ayb west of San'a', c. 3,760 m.). The more precipitous western slopes are generally the higher, but many bold features are also met with along the inner eastern slopes. The range of Hāḡn east of Mecca, the historic boundary between al-Hijāz and Najd, appears to have lost this distinction in the popular mind, though the dividing line is considered to be along the eastern slopes or among the foothills of al-Sarāt. Passes across al-Sarāt, called *'abaha* in 'Asir and *naḡil* in the Yaman, are few and far between, and are usually difficult to travel. Notable gaps in the chain are those leading through to Medina and Mecca.

Interspersed among the mountains and occurring frequently along their eastern slopes are plateaux, among the most fertile of which are those in 'Asir and those surrounding San'a' and Dhahar in the Yaman. The plateaux are often capped with a bed of lava, and in places the lava has spilled down the western slopes to reach the verge of the Red Sea.

The highlands of the Yaman present a steep face towards the south, the eastern stretch of which is al-Kawr, called after its indigenous tribes Kawr al-'Awāḡil in the west and Kawr al-'Awāḡil in the east. Northeast of Kawr al-'Awāḡil is the highly dissected limestone plateau of al-Djawl which is split in twain by the eastward-trending channel of Wādī Hadramawt. The southern part of al-Djawl reaches heights of nearly 2,000 m., while the higher elevations of the northern part do not greatly exceed 1,000 m. The cliffs along the edges of al-Djawl are often awe-inspiring in their sheerness.

Farther east in the region of Zufar are the mountains of the tribe of al-Karā with peaks well over 1,500 m. in height. The growth of trees and grasses on the range is so thick that the residents often call it the Black Mountain. North-eastwards of

Ra's Nases the mountains paralleling the coast begin to dwindle in size and number, and the coast from Ra's Sawkira to Ra's al-Hadd has generally low-lying country behind it.

Mountains reappear again overlooking the Arabian shore of the Gulf of Oman, along which the range of al-Hadjar runs from Ra's al-Hadd to Ra's Musandam. The towering peaks of al-Hadjar are in the central portion, in the vicinity of Djabal al-Akhḡar, the highest exceeding 3,000 m. by a bare margin. Northwest of Djabal al-Akhḡar the mountains called al-Kawr form a part of the main range, while Djabal Haft rears its formidable hogbacked ridge in the open country west of the northern half of the range.

In the interior the range of al-Tuwayk lies in the borderland between Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Just south of the Great Nafūd the parallel ranges of Adjā' (s.c.) and Salmā are together known as Djabal Shammar. The hills of al-Nir lie in the central bulge of the Arabian Shield, near its eastern edge.

East of the Shield a series of roughly parallel cuestas curve around from north to south, following the contour of the crystalline bulge. The most striking of these is Tuwayk (s.c.), the backbone of Najd, with a length of c. 1,000 km. from Khazim Djarra to Khazim Khataima, where the sands of al-Rub' al-Khālī encompass its southern end. Just east of the sands of al-Dahna' is the low rocky plateau of al-Summan (classical al-Samman (s.c.)).

Mesas, buttes, and ridges often rise singly or in groups above the plateaux and plains. The Bedouins use the term *djabal* for rocky hillocks as well as massive mountains, and other terms in common use are *diḡ* (pl. *diḡa*) or *diḡān*, a general synonym for *djabal*, not necessarily a rib-shaped hill, *hazm* (usually lower than a *djabal*), *abrah* (pl. *abrahā*), whence the name of the great old field of Kawayt, al-Burāḡin, and *barḡ* (pl. *barḡ*), the last two being applied to hills whose sides are mottled with patches of sand. The promontories jutting out from the inland escarpments are called *ḡhām* (pl. *ḡhāmā*), the word for nose.

Within the northern border of Arabia lies the southernmost portion of al-Hamīd, a stony plain stretching on northwards into the steppe, and south-east thereof is al-Hadjar, another stony plain. Among the major *badabas*—plains with a mantle of gravel—are al-Dibdiba in the north-eastern corner of the Peninsula and Abū Bahr and Rayḡd south of the southern end of al-Dahna'. The plain of al-Djalada south-west of Rayḡd is completely ringed about by the sands of al-Rub' al-Khālī. Other plains are found along the southern and eastern edges of al-Rub' al-Khālī, all sloping towards the basin occupied by the sands.

The coast plains in the west and south are confined within a fairly narrow space nearly everywhere by the mountains crowding down towards the sea. Tibāma (s.c.), the general name for the coast plain along the Red Sea, is sometimes subdivided into Tibāmat al-Hijāz, Tibāmat al-'Asir, and Tibāmat al-Yaman. On the Gulf of Oman no more than faint traces of plains exist between Ra's al-Hadd and Muscat, but between Muscat and Shihāḡ the plain broadens out into al-Bāṭina (s.c.), one of the great date-producing districts of Arabia. Salt pans are particularly common along the southern shore of the Persian Gulf, and much of the low ground in this region is covered with sand.

Sandy Deserts. Dunes may be star-shaped, dome-shaped, or crescent-shaped (the crescentic or

barchane dune = *mashawī*, pl. *mashāwī*). Dunes bare of vegetation are called *ḡāḡ* (sing. *ḡāḡ*, probably from classical *ḡāḡ*), with the term *naḡil* (pl. *nāḡil*) being used for the larger ones. Masses of sand may form long single or parallel veins (*'irḡ*, pl. *'awrah*) or more complex arrangements underlying which an orderly pattern can often be discerned. Wide expanses of ground are covered with relatively thin sheets of drift sand. Barchane dunes occur in sizes ranging from c. 2 m. to c. 200 m. in height, and the largest are several km. or more in length. Almost all of the dunes consist of pure sand, with no core of rock or other substances. The colour and composition of the sand itself vary from place to place, with the predominant colour in the interior approaching red.

A sandy area is generally called a *naḡid* (pl. *naḡid*, pl. *naḡid*, pl. *naḡid*) in the north and *ramla* (pl. *rimla*) in the south. The term *'irḡ* may be applied to a whole area containing a number of *'awrah*, e.g., 'Irḡ al-Maḡhūr embraces seven major veins. As frequently happens with the Arabs, these common nouns are transformed into proper names applied to the most noteworthy examples of their categories: the northern desert known to Westerners as the Great Nafūd is called by the Arabs simply al-Nafūd, the whole southern desert known to Westerners as al-Rub' al-Khālī is ordinarily referred to simply as al-Ramla, while al-Urayk is a sandy area south of Katar.

Almost all of the principal sandy deserts lie in the sedimentary province, where they curve around the base of the crystalline Shield in the same fashion as the cuestas along the western bases of which many of them lie. The two largest are the Great Nafūd (s.c.), with an area estimated at c. 70,000 km<sup>2</sup>, and al-Rub' al-Khālī (s.c.), with an area estimated at over 500,000 km<sup>2</sup>, making the latter the largest continuous body of sand in the world. These two are connected by the long thin arc of al-Dahna' (s.c.) lying east of Tuwayk and al-'Arama. A similar arc runs west of Tuwayk between the two main sandy deserts, but its continuity is broken in several places. This lesser arc begins with 'Irḡ al-Maḡhūr, which leaves the Great Nafūd south of the point of departure of al-Dahna' and merges into three parallel fingers of sand, which from east to west are Nafūd al-Thawra, Nafūd al-Sirr, and al-Shuwaykha. The southern extension of al-Thawra is named Nafūd al-Balāḡin after the towns of the district of al-Waḡm lining its south-western edge. Almost connected with al-Sirr is Nafūd Kunayfīḡa, the south-eastern end of which nestles under the western wall of Tuwayk. South of Kunayfīḡa occurs a major interruption in the arc, after which the sands reappear in 'Irḡ al-Dahā which ends north of Wādī al-Dawair. The principal direction in which the sands migrate is southwards; in other words, they are slowly but steadily forsaking the Great Nafūd and working their way along the two arcs towards al-Rub' al-Khālī.

Although on the map al-Rub' al-Khālī appears to have two long arms extending northwards, the western of these, al-Dibdiba, is regarded by the Arabs as constituting a separate desert cut off from al-Rub' al-Khālī by the low ground of al-Djawl (Djawl Yabrin). The eastern of the two arms, also regarded as a separate region, penetrates deep into the hinterland of the Trucial Coast.

Ramat al-Sab'atayn south of the south-western corner of al-Rub' al-Khālī lies outside the system just described. Perhaps the largest accumulation of

sand on the Arabian Shield is 'Irḡ Subay' in the southern part of the central bulge.

Various geographical features associated with drainage and water resources are discussed in the following section.

### (iii) CLIMATE, DRAINAGE, AND WATER RESOURCES

The Tropic of Cancer bisects Arabia, passing between Medina and Mecca, between the districts of al-Khazij and al-Aḡḡāḡ, and between Muscat and Ra's al-Hadd, so that most of the land enjoys a generally temperate climate. Even in the south, where the tip of the Peninsula approaches 12° N. lat., much of the country is sufficiently elevated to avoid the rigours of tropical heat. Only the lowlands along parts of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Arabian Sea have a semitropical rather than a temperate environment.

Meteorological records, though improved in recent years, are still too scanty to provide a completely detailed picture of Arabian weather. The summer heat (*ḡayr*) is intense throughout the Peninsula, reaching over 50° C. in the hottest places. The dryness of much of the interior makes the heat tolerable there, but along the coast and in the southern highlands the humidity in summer is high and debilitating. Fogs and dews are common in the humid regions, but over Inner Arabia the sun shines the year round, obscured only by an occasional sandstorm or even rarer shower. Although not the happiest on earth, the Arabian climate has often been damned more violently than it deserves. Many days in fall and spring are fresh or mild. The winters are invigoratingly cool, with bitter cold occurring only at the higher altitudes, where snow crowns some of the peaks, and in the far north, where the winds are biting.

The winds vary greatly in different parts, being subject in particular to the influence of the surrounding seas. In Eastern Arabia the wind tends to blow from the same quarter, but on occasion it suddenly shifts halfway round the full circle, the prevailing *ghamāl* from c. NNW yielding to the *ḡaws* from c. SE. Winds whipping up into sandstorms may subside quickly or go on for days. In Najd the wind may box the compass, with drastic changes sometimes taking place every half hour. The monsoons of the Indian Ocean reaching parts of Southern Arabia profoundly affect the character of the country and the life of the people there.

Most of Arabia has been made and kept a desert by the scarcity of rainfall. In portions of al-Rub' al-Khālī no rain at all may fall for ten years on end, and in many other parts of the Peninsula the annual fall seldom if ever exceeds 50 mm. When rain does fall over the desert, it may come as a torrential downpour, providing enough moisture to carpet the ground with wild flowers. Periods of drought sometimes last for several years, bringing misery and even death to the people and causing some to migrate abroad. Higher areas tend to catch more rain than lower areas nearby: heavy winter rains may fall on the plateaux and plains in the north while the depression of Wādī al-Sirbā remains completely dry. Only the areas where the monsoons blow receive fairly ample rains.

Although Arabia contains no large perennial rivers, in the monsoon zone water may be found throughout the year in some stretches of the valleys (called *ḡayr*) in the south-west. A few of the valleys descending to the sea blend their fresh water with the salt, but most of them dissipate it throughout



their alluvial fans on the coast plains. In the dry zone rainwater from the higher areas occasionally comes down in spate through the stream channels (*wadī*, pl. *wadīyāt*, or *gha'ib*, pl. *gha'ibāt*), which otherwise contain only a few pools or none at all. These flash floods (*sayl*, pl. *saylāt*) sometimes cause great damage, and much of their precious water may flow away unused. Other floods come in sheets over flat surfaces such as gravel plains or the fans at channel mouths. Part of the water that seeps underground is recovered by man through wells and springs.

Although the courses of some valleys can be traced for considerable distances, bodies of sand or silt thwart them in places tend to prevent through drainage. A characteristic feature of the Arabian drainage system is the local enclosed basin, varying in size from very large to very small. Wādī al-Sirhān is not a true *wadī* but a depression c. 300 km. long and 50-70 km. broad into which many *wadīs* on both sides empty their *saylāt*. Types of smaller basins are the *khābā'*, a hollow with an impervious bottom holding water for a while after rain, and the *rawḍa* (called *ḥayḍa* in the north), whose bottom does not hold water, so that wild vegetation may be fairly abundant there. Another type of basin is the salt pan or saline flat (*sahḥa*, pron. *sahḥā*), which occurs with great frequency along the coasts and also in the interior, where it is fully enclosed.

The eastern tributaries of Wādī al-Hamḍ, which runs down to the Red Sea, originate in Harrat Khaybar. A short distance farther east are the headwaters of Wādī al-Rumāh (al-Rumma in al-Hamḍān), which through its extension al-Bāṭin runs to the Persian Gulf basin in the vicinity of al-Baṣra, though the connecting link between al-Rumāh and al-Bāṭin is choked with sands of al-Dahna'. The small area in Harrat Khaybar between the sources of al-Hamḍ and those of al-Rumāh is the one place in the whole Peninsula from which an easy slope to the sea on both sides can clearly be discerned.

Descending from the eastern slope of al-Sarāt, the three large valleys of Kanya, Biḡha (*g.u.*), and Taghlīb converge on the upper reaches of Wādī al-Dawḥar (*g.u.*), which receives their waters in times of exceptional floods only to lose them again as it fans out against the sands of al-Rub' al-Khālī after piercing through the wall of Tuwayk. Habawna (Habawana in al-Hamḍān) and Naḡrīn (*g.u.*) are valleys coursing eastwards to the sands which lie south of the southern end of Tuwayk. From the highlands of the Yaman the valley of al-Jāḥil (*g.u.*) flows down into the basin of al-Djāwī (*g.u.*) (Djāwī Ibn Nāṣir), the home of the ancient Minaeans.

The mountains of the Yaman send water southwards towards the coast in the vicinity of Aden through Tuban, Banā, and other valleys. Water from Banā is used for an extensive development of agriculture at Abyan. The southern outliers of al-Djāwī give rise to Wādī Mayfa'a and Wādī Ḥaḡḡar. Ḥaḡḡar is the one truly perennial river in Arabia, but its total length probably does not exceed 100 km. Its water, part of which comes from the hot springs of al-Sidra in the uplands, supports cultivation in the area of Mayfa'a at the river delta (not to be confused with Wādī Mayfa'a to the west).

Wādī Ḥadramawt (*g.u.*), the principal artery of a great drainage system, is fed by valleys coming from both the southern and the northern parts of al-Djāwī, those from the south being far more thickly settled than those from the north, just beyond the

town of Tarīm the Valley of Ḥadramawt assumes the name of al-Masila, which it bears for the remainder of its course to the sea.

Sana'il, one of the valleys flung out by the range of al-Ḥaḡḡar towards the Gulf of Oman, provides passage for the main road from the coast to Inner Oman. The chief valleys of al-Bāṭin are named after the tribes inhabiting their banks, al-Ma'awil and others. Going up Wādī al-Dijaz and Wādī al-Kawr, one comes to passes leading over the mountains to the Trucial Coast.

In the region east of al-Dahna' between al-Bāṭin and al-Sabha' the insufficiency of surface water has militated against the formation of true *wadīs* of any size. Wādī al-Miyāh northwest of al-Kaṭīf is a basin rather than a stream channel, deriving its name from the numerous wells and springs found within its confines. Other large basins are al-Farūḡ south of Wādī al-Miyāh and al-Shakk southwest of the city of Kuwait.

In the far north a series of valleys known as al-Widya' (Widya' 'Amara) runs north-eastward towards the Euphrates; among these are Tubal, 'Ar'ar, and al-Khurr. In Naḡḡa a number of valleys between al-Rumāh and Wādī al-Dawḥar cut through Tuwayk; al-'Atk (*g.u.*) is the northernmost of these. Wādī Hanḡa (*g.u.*), rising on the crest of Tuwayk rather than making a gap in the escarpment, twists down to the basin of al-Khāḡḡi where several important valleys empty into al-Sabha' (*g.u.*), the course of which can be traced across al-Dahna' and al-Djāḡira into the Persian Gulf basin. The valley of Birk cleaves through the wall of Tuwayk via a picturesque gorge and turns northwards under the name of al-'Akīm to follow a course towards al-Sabha'.

Arabia contains no large permanent lakes. Deep pools occur in places, with the most unusual ones being those in the districts of al-Khāḡḡi and al-Aḡḡāḡ. In oases such as al-Ḥaḡḡa big ponds may be formed by the run-off from irrigation. Dry lakes in the north may be filled with water over an area of 10 or more km<sup>2</sup> after a rain.

The thousands of wells (*biḡh*, pron. *biḡ*, pl. *biḡyāt*, or *ḡāḡ*, pl. *ḡāḡāt*) in the desert, some of them even in the central regions of al-Rub' al-Khālī, make possible the nomadic life of the Bedouins. The deepest is reported to descend c. 170 m. into the earth, and depths in excess of 70 m. are not uncommon. The wells may be steyned or unsteined; they may be frequently visited or seldom seen by man. Other watering places are spots in the sand or in valley bottoms where exiguous water is secured by digging down a meter or more. Blowing sand rapidly fills in these shallow holes, so that finding them may tax even the navigational skill of Bedouins bred in the wild. The water in some of the desert wells is too salty for humans (such a well is called a *ḡhawḡ*, pl. *ḡhawḡāt*), but camels drink it and furnish milk to sustain their masters.

Around most of the flowing springs (*'ayn*, pl. *'ayyāt*) oasis settlements or towns have grown. Other communities draw their water only from dug wells, while sometimes tanks and cisterns are used to catch rainwater. The larger oases consist of several or more villages or towns grouped close together, each with its own belt of date groves. The oasis name may apply to the whole group, which may cover tens or hundreds of square kilometers, rather than to any single community within its confines, e.g., al-Ḥaḡḡa with its chief towns al-Huḡḡif and al-Mubarrāz, and Biḡha with al-Rawḡhan and Nimrān.

Various methods of irrigation are used wherever there is sufficient water. Terracing is much practised in the south with water being led from enclosure to enclosure. In some regions an old system of underground aqueducts (*ḡalāḡ*, pl. *ḡalāḡāt*) similar to the *bandis* of Iran is common, while in others it is not known. In large oases such as al-Ḥaḡḡa and in Tihāma the rules governing the distribution of water for irrigation are elaborate and firmly fixed by custom. The building of dams, once an art in which the Arabs excelled, has been neglected in more recent times, but now, with a growing population and higher standards of life demanding an expansion of agriculture, it is being revived.

#### (iv) POLITICAL DIVISIONS

Political divisions in Arabia are often ill defined. Few international boundaries have been agreed upon by the parties concerned, and none has been properly demarcated throughout its full length. A rapid survey of the main political divisions as they existed in 1374/1954-5 will furnish examples of the truth of these statements.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia occupies the whole northern half of the Peninsula—with the exception of the small states of Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar, and parts of Oman—and a good share of the southern half as well. Stretching from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, it incorporates the large regions of al-Ḥijāz (*g.u.*), 'Asir (*g.u.*), and Naḡḡa (*g.u.*), and also most if not all of al-Rub' al-Khālī. Saudi Arabia and the Yaman agreed in 1354/1936 upon a boundary running from the Red Sea coast to a point short of al-Rub' al-Khālī, but no serious attempt has since been made to extend the line southwards from this point over a gap between 100 and 200 km. in breadth. No land boundaries have been fixed between Saudi Arabia and any of the following states, all of which may be assumed to have territories abutting on the Kingdom: the Aden Protectorate, the Sultanate of Muscat, the Imamate of Oman, the Amirate of Abū Zāḡi (the southernmost of the Trucial States), and the Amirate of Qatar. The boundary between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and the boundaries of their neutral zone have been agreed upon in a general way. [See further SA'UDIYA, AL-'AFḡĀḡ, AL-'ARID, AL-ḤAḡḡA, AL-YAMAMA.]

The Mutawakkilite Kingdom of the Yaman lies along the Red Sea between Saudi Arabia and the Aden hinterland. The British and Yamanite Governments have a not entirely satisfactory working arrangement regarding the boundary between the Yaman and the Aden Protectorate, and the joint commission provided for in the Agreement of 1370/1951 to demarcate boundary locations and to recommend solutions to disputes arising from conflicting positions has not yet been constituted. [See further AL-YAMAN.]

The British Crown Colony of Aden, the only possession of a Western power on the Arabian mainland, occupies a tiny area c. 160 km. east of the south-western tip of the Peninsula. Perim Island forms a part on the Colony, and Kamarān is subject to its administration. The Governor of Aden Colony is also Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Aden Protectorate, which runs c. 4200 km. along the southern coast from Bab al-Mandab to Ra's Darbat 'Alī and reaches inland an undetermined distance. [See further 'ADAN, ḤADRAMAWT.]

The Sultanate of Muscat (Maskat (*g.u.*)) provides an outstanding example of the peculiarities of the political scene in Arabia. The ruler, who styles

himself Sultan of Muscat and Oman, lays claim to virtually all the territory east of the eastern edge of al-Rub' al-Khālī, a space roughly 1200 km. long and 500 km. broad. Within this space, however, the Sultan administers only three relatively small areas, the remaining areas coming under the Imam of Oman or other independent chieftains. The Sultan's foothold on the southern coast—Zufār, which abuts on the Eastern Aden Protectorate—is separated from the main base of his power—the towns of Muscat and Maṭrah and the coast of the Gulf of Oman, including al-Bāṭin—by some 1,000 km. of coastline with its hinterland. Again, his domains on the coast of the Gulf of Oman are interrupted in the north by territories belonging to the Trucial States around Kalbā and al-Fudḡayra before the third centre of his authority appears near Ra's Musandam. The Sultan is of the line of Āl Bū Sa'īd, an Ibadī dynasty which first came into power c. 1157/1744. Unlike his neighbours on both sides, the Sultan is not formally under British protection, though he does have special ties with the British Government.

Another Ibadī ruler, the Imam of Oman, whose authority rests more firmly on a religious foundation than does that of the Sultan, directs the destinies of the interior region occupied by the Ibadī community. No clear dividing line exists between the territories of the Imamate and the Sultanate; those of the Imam reach the crests of the main mountain range of al-Ḥaḡḡar throughout much of its length, and a few of his governors (*wadīs*) are established on the seaward slopes. The Imam, whose theocratic realm is a continuation of the Khāḡḡi state founded in Oman c. 713/6750, has his capital at Naxwā, and some of his principal lieutenants reside at Tanāḡ in Inner Oman and al-Kāḡil in the district of al-Sharḡiya. Of all the major rulers in Arabia, the Imam, who maintains no formal diplomatic relations with any other power, is the most self-sufficient and the least known to the outside world. [See further 'OMAN.]

The Trucial Coast (Sāḡil 'Uḡāin or simply al-Sāḡil) is the southern shore of the Persian Gulf running southwards and then westwards for an undetermined distance towards Qatar. When the Arabs living there in the early 19th century were preying vigorously on shipping in the Gulf, the region was known as the Pirate Coast; after the British forcibly stopped the marauding and imposed a maritime truce on the rulers of the ports, it came to be called the Trucial Coast. The Trucial States, all of which are in special treaty relations with the British Government, are regarded as being under that government's protection, though without having the formal status of protectorates. [See further BAḡR FĀRIS.]

The Sultan of Muscat claims a part of the oasis of al-Buraym, but Saudi Arabia challenges this claim on the basis of its own connections with the place. Saudi Arabia likewise challenges the claim of the Trucial State Abū Zāḡi to al-Djāwī? Saudi Arabia claims an outlet to the Persian Gulf on the coast between Abū Zāḡi and Qatar, but the British Government, which by treaty controls the foreign relations of these two states, disputes this claim. In 1373/1954 the two parties agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration.

The Qatar (*g.u.*) Peninsula, jutting northwards into the Persian Gulf about halfway between its mouth and its head, is the seat of an Amirate under the rule of Āl Thānī, a dynasty of recent origin, with its capital in the port of al-Dawḡa. The boundary



between the Amirate and Saudi Arabia in the vicinity of the base of the peninsula has not been agreed upon, and the Amir of Bahrayn claims a piece of territory around al-Zubāra in the north-western part of the peninsula.

The archipelago of Bahrayn (q.v.) between Qatar and the Saudi Arabian mainland constitutes an Amirate under the rule of Al Khalifa, a family from Najd which established itself in the islands in 1197/1783 and has ruled there ever since, with its capital in the port of al-Manāma on the main island. British interests in the Persian Gulf come under the supervision of a Political Resident with headquarters in al-Manāma. Also subject to his administration are the Kuria Muria islands, which belong to Great Britain.

On the Arabian mainland at the head of the Persian Gulf is the small roughly triangular Amirate of Kuwait, partially separated from Saudi Arabia by a neutral zone and bounded on the north and west by 'Irāq. Al Sabāb, a family related to Al Khalifa of Bahrayn, has ruled Kuwait for over two centuries (see kuwait).

Katar, Bahrayn, and Kuwait have all granted the British Government by treaty the right to conduct their foreign affairs and have agreed not to enter into relations with other powers without the consent of that government. Questions dealing with water boundaries and the appurtenance of a number of islands in the Persian Gulf remain to be settled between Bahrayn and Kuwait on one hand and Saudi Arabia on the other.

#### (V) FLORA AND FAUNA

Throughout most of the Peninsula a sharp contrast exists between the untitled stretches of desert and the green patches of cultivation in the oases. In places, particularly along the margins of the Peninsula where rain falls more frequently or where stream channels bring sufficient water down from the highlands, cultivation is more widespread, sometimes climbing the heights in skillfully built terraces and sometimes carpeting the narrow plains between the mountains and the sea. Arabia, however, boasts no endless prairies or pampas tamed by the plough, nor does it boast any rich belt of forests—the best it can offer are the juniper woods of High 'Asir. The plant beyond compare in the oases is the date palm (*nakhlā* (q.v.)), so much in a class by itself that the Arab tends to think of it as a thing apart from all other trees. Not only is the date the most important staple food, but the branches and bark of the palm are also used in building huts, in making baskets and mats, and for a myriad other purposes. The date palm does not flourish at the highest altitudes, so that the villagers there depend on grain. In Zufā and a few other spots coconut palms grow in place of or alongside the date, which is also replaced on occasion by the *dawm* palm (gingerbread tree).

Wheat, barley, and the millets are the chief grains. Alfalfa (lucerne = *hatt* or *hath* or *harim*) is a common crop raised in the shade of the date palms, and cotton, rice, and tobacco are cultivated on a small scale.

On high terraces in the Yaman and 'Asir grows the coffee which made Mocha a goal for Western traders after the Portuguese found the way around Africa to India. Introduced only about five centuries ago into Arabia, coffee gave its Arabic name (*kahwa* (q.v.)) to the world, but the world now goes to Brazil for its everyday bean, the bean of the Yaman having become an exotic luxury. On many terraces coffee

has yielded place to the more profitable *hād* (q.v.), whose slightly narcotic leaves are chewed by people of all classes in the Yaman and other parts of the south.

Frankincense (*lubān* (q.v.)) and other aromatics, exported to the West over two thousand years ago by the Incense Road from South Arabia to the Mediterranean, still grow in the south, especially in the land of Mahra, but as articles of commerce they are now of virtually no value. Of greater use today is indigo, much favored as a dye in the south (the tree is called *hawr* and the dye *nīl* (q.v.)). Other common dyes are the yellowish *sars* and the reddish *henna*.

Among the larger trees are tamarisks—sometimes planted in a row as a wind break or to stop the advance of drifting sand—acacias, mimosa, and carobs. The jujube (*Zizyphus spina christi* = *sār* (q.v.)) in the north, *'sib* in the south) bears an edible fruit, called *dawm* (a homonym of the name of the palm) by the Bedouins and *hawr* by the townsmen. The aloe and the euphorbia often grow to a considerable height, and some varieties of euphorbia closely resemble cactus.

Arid though Arabia is, it is not without flowers and fruits. For roses and pomegranates al-Jā'ir is famed, al-Jharj for watermelons (*dīkh* in Najd, *habbāb* in al-Hijāz, and *dīkh* in the north), and al-Buraym for mangoes (*anbā* or *kanb*). Figs, grapes, peaches, bananas, and other fruits sometimes vary the monotonous diet of the townsman, but the Bedouin seldom savours anything more than his milk and dates.

In the cool season the Bedouins roam far afield, sometimes going for months without resort to water wells—the forage supports the camels, whose milk supports their masters. The most sought after plants for forage are the annuals (*'uḡb*, pron. *'uḡb*)—grasses, wild flowers, and herbs which spring up green after a rain, especially in the *raḥ*, the season of plenty following the first and best rains (*saḥm*). The sands provide favorable soil for the growth of such annuals and so are reckoned by the nomads as among the most attractive types of desert terrain. Perennial shrubs and bushes (*ḥadjar*) eaten by camels are *nāt*, *hādīdh*, and *sahāb* (pron. *sahāb*), as well as others too numerous to mention. From time to time camels hanker after bushes of the category called *hamd*, a prime source of the salt needed by their system. Among the many plants falling in this category are *rawḥa*, *rimḥ*, *'arād*, *'uḡrum*, *sūwād*, *ḥinān*, *ghadā*, and *hādīdh* (not *hād* as in classical Arabic). Dry bushes are also essential to the Bedouins for firewood (*ḥafāḥ*), among the best for this purpose being *'ah*, *ghadā*, and *rimḥ*. Burning with a fragrant scent, these woods help to make the ceremony of brewing coffee for a guest at the open door of the tent one of the chief pleasures of life. The Bedouin likes truffles (*ḥab'*) and eats other desert plants, though by preference and philosophy there is little of the vegetarian in his being. Twigs of the *arak* (pron. *arak*) are in common use as a toothbrush (*misḥak*), and *senna* (*sand*) is chewed as a purgative.

Vegetation would be more abundant in the deserts were it not for the migrating dunes, some of which move 20 in. in a year. In many places, however, bushes have taken root and fixed the sand, a hummock of which is built up around each bush. An area of such hummocks may extend for many kilometers, making very rough country known as *'afḍā*. Less difficult types of sandy terrain with vegetation are called *marḥāḥ* or *dihāḥ* (pl. *dihāḥ*, cf. class.



*dakh*, pl. *dikhāh*; and *dakhak* = flat surface, sandy plain).

Among animals the camel occupies a place analogous to that of the date palm among plants. The vast majority of Bedouins in Arabia depend on the camel above all other material possessions. The tribes which herd sheep rather than camels range over the steppes north of Arabia, close to the great rivers of Mesopotamia, and do not pass beyond the territory of Kuwait in their southward migrations. Milk is the camel's most precious product, but its meat, hide, and wool are also put to good use, its dung (*diwan*) is collected to be burned as fuel, and the tail of a dead camel makes a strong rope. Camels are sometimes harnessed for ploughing or drawing water from wells, and the nomads sell part of their stock to secure money for clothing and other necessities. In time of great thirst a Bedouin may slaughter a camel to drink the water stored in its stomach (*harāh*) and the urine in its bladder (*miḥḥāḥ*).

The general term for camels is *ishl* (q.v.) (often pronounced *hū*), with *hawāh* being common in the south. A riding camel is a *ḥalāl* (pl. *ḥawayh*); the plural *rikāb* is used for both those that are ridden and those that are not. The most highly desired camels are the thoroughbreds (*asā'il*), whose pedigree has been controlled and recorded over a number of generations. Many of these are from the breeds of Oman ('Uḥmāyiyāt), among which the Bawāṭin of al-Bāṭina are particularly well known, though these have the disadvantage of wanting to drink every day and of not being adapted to rough country. The camels of the sands tend to be smaller and lighter in color than those raised in the mountains of the Yaman. Among the multitudinous names in the special vocabulary reserved for camels are ones describing beasts which graze on certain plants, e.g. *hawārim* (fem. sing. *hawārim*) from the *hawm* bush, and *awārik* (fem. sing. *awārik*) from the *arāk* tree. Along the coasts camels are often fed on dried sardines.

Along with camels, most of the nomads keep sheep and goats (*ghanaḥ*), though not in great flocks like those of the northern steppes. Sheep and goats are valued for their milk, fleece, and skins. Sheep are in demand as the *poix de résistance* of the Arab banquet; even royalty can offer nothing more appetizing than a young lamb (*lāl*, pl. *lalyān*) baked in a pot with *sams* and served on a platter heaped high with rice. *Sams*, clarified butter for cooking and greasing made from the milk of the ewe (*na'dīn*) or she-goat (*anā*), is considered superior to *ḡhabāb* from the milk of the she-camel (*nāka*) or *awāḥ* from the fat of camels, sheep, or cattle.

The Arabian horse, the ancestor of the Western thoroughbred and once the pride of the Peninsula, is a disappearing strain. Few Bedouins own own horses, and the export of stock to India, Egypt, and the West, formerly an important item in the Arabian economy, has dwindled away to insignificance. An occasional man of rank still maintains a stud, but even this is likely to be neglected. The speed of the motor car has captured the Arab's fancy; cars are now used in place of horses for hunting and as cavalry in some of the Arabian military forces.

Fine breeds of donkeys are raised, particularly the large white ones of Bahrayn and al-Ḥaṣā. Donkeys are used for riding, drawing water, and as pack animals in the mountains, where their surefootedness makes them more reliable than camels. Cattle, which in most places are not numerous, are usually of the small humped variety, except in Sukutā, where the humpless kind is found.

The gazelle (*saby*), which in days past used to speed across the plain in great herds, is rapidly being thinned out by rifles in the hands of hunters hurtling by in trucks or cars. The three common types are the *ri'm* (pron. *rim*), the *'ifri* (cf. class. *ya'fūr*), and the *idm*; the term *ghazāl* is used only for the newly born kid. The swift greyhound (*salāhī*) of the Bedouins can on rare occasions outrun even the gazelle. Of the oryx (*awdayhī*) in the south, *ṣahar* (*waḥh* in the north), a larger antelope, small numbers survive in the remoter parts of al-Rub' al-Ḥālī but none or almost none is now left in the Great Nafūd. The ibex or mountain goat (*wa'ī* or *hadan*) also seeks refuge in distant retreats on higher cliffs. Other large wild beasts are the hyena (*daḥī*), jackal (*awṭī*), wolf (*dhī'ā*, pron. *dhīb*, pl. *dhayābal*), and cheetah (*simr*). The lion has long been extinct in Arabia. In the mountains of the south baboons are common, often chattering along in troops; they are fond of raiding the millet fields. Smaller animals are the fox (*ḥa'lab* or *ḥa'ī* or *hūnī*), the ratel (*jarinḥūn*, class. *zaribān*), the cony or hyrax (*waḥr*), and the hare (*arnāb*). The hedgehog (*ḥanfuḍh*) with its short quills is much commoner than the unrelated long-quilled porcupine (*inā*). The jerboa (*ḡarba'*, cf. class. *yarbā'*) hops about the desert on its long hind legs, resembling a miniature kangaroo; its cousin the *ḡūrīhī* (cf. class. *ḡurādh*), on the other hand, runs on all fours.

Snakes live in the sands and rocks, though seldom seen because of their nocturnal habits. Some are poisonous, including the horned viper, as well as a species of Arabian cobra (= Egyptian *aspi*) and a large snake called the *aym* (cf. class. *aym*), which the Bedouins say has the power of flying or leaping over a considerable distance. According to popular report, perhaps the most deadly of all is the *baḥḥ*, a small innocent-looking snake living in the sands. The striped seasnakes of the Persian Gulf are poisonous, but they rarely if ever bite human beings. The two large lizards are the *daḥb* and the Arabian or desert monitor (*maṣāl*), the first of which is eaten by all the Bedouins with relish, while the second is ordinarily shunned. Among the smaller lizards of the sands are the fierce-looking *ḥawayhī* and the slippery sand-swimming skink (*damḥūsa*).

The ostrich appears to have become extinct in Arabia during the past few years. Fragments of ostrich eggshells are often found in the desert, and the word *na'daw* and other terms relating to ostriches occur frequently in place names. Trained falcons, often called simply *fuyūr*, are much used in the chase, their chief game among other birds being the lesser bustard (*ḥubāra*). Species of the sand grouse such as the *baḥā* and the *ḡhalāl* are too fast for trained falcons, though they can be overtaken by the wild variety. The presence of wild falcons is attested to by the number of high places called *maṣbara* = nesting-place of the falcon (*sabr*). Among the larger birds of the desert are the eagle, the vulture (*naṣr*), and the owl, while the flamingo, the egret, and the pelican are found along the coasts. Smaller birds are commoner in the cultivated regions, among them being the cuckoo, the thrush, the swallow, the wagtail, the Syrian nightingale (*ḥulbāl*), and the hoopoe (*ḥudūd*). The bifasciated lark (*umm ṣāṭim*) is ubiquitous in the desert, and the courser (*ḥarādī*) nearly so. The pigeons of the Great Mosque in Mecca are famous throughout Islam.

The seas embracing the Peninsula are rich in fish, many of which, such as the king mackerel (*ḥaw'ad*) and the grouper (*ḥamūd*) of the Persian Gulf, are tasty and nutritious, but are not eaten as much by



the Arabs as might be expected. Whales occasionally enter the Persian Gulf from the Indian Ocean. Both sharks and sardines are caught in great numbers off the southern coast, and the Persian Gulf produces delicious shrimps.

The most disastrous plague visited upon Arabia by living creatures is that of the locusts (*ghazāl*). The solitary mitigaating aspect of a locust invasion is that a number of the invaders themselves are eaten by the people they afflict. Minor plagues by comparison are those of flies, camel ticks, and similar vermin, which are no worse in Arabia than in many other countries, even though the Bedouin may describe his life as *al ramī wa-hamī* (sand and lice). A more agreeable insect, even in spite of its sting, is the bee, kept for its honey.

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#### (vi) ETHNOGRAPHY

In the study of the ethnography of the Peninsula an array of formidable problems remain unsolved. Who were the first inhabitants? Did they arise from the soil or did they come from abroad? If immigrants, what was their original home? What was the environment in which they lived—did it differ greatly from the Arabia of today? What intrusive elements intermingled with the earliest dwellers as time went by? Who were the first people to deserve the name of Arab, and where did they come from?

A measure of progress has been made in the attempt to elicit answers to these and similar questions, but far more work must be done before any of the more likely hypotheses can achieve the status of historical fact. Much more needs to be known about the geology and geography of the Peninsula, many promising archaeological sites need to be excavated, and an exhaustive investigation must be made of the various segments of the present population and their history. Moreover, the solution of Arabian problems may well depend to a considerable degree on the success of work relating to other areas. The problem of the identity of the Arabs, for example, dovetails inextricably into the broader problem of the identity of the Semites, the host of people speaking languages of the family to which Arabic belongs.

Space does not permit a review of the numerous hypotheses receiving serious consideration with respect to the early history of man in Arabia. Suffice it to say that available evidence indicates that the highlanders of the Yaman may form the least adulterated large group anywhere in the world now representing what anthropologists call the Negrito race. East of the territory of these highlanders a Veddoid tribe is said to appear, particularly among the tribe of Mahra and other tribes in the south speaking their own Semitic languages, which are distinct from Arabic. This Veddoid strain and other data suggest an ancient connection with lands farther east, perhaps India or Ceylon. The Bedouin of the north, to most Westerners the classic Arab type, is also basically Mediterranean, though not quite as characteristically so as the mountaineer of the Yaman. All along the coasts and with less frequency in the interior, other strains occur, sometimes in easily recognisable forms and at other times lying so far below the surface as almost to defy identification.

The unravelling of these mysteries is the concern of the archaeologist and the anthropologist [cf. also



BAUW). More important for the student of Islam is the concept the Arab—especially the Muslim Arab—has had, and in many cases still has, of his ethnographical development, a concept so prevalent and tenaciously held that it merits the careful consideration of the anthropologist as well.

The seeds of the Arab's own concept go far back into his past; how far can not be determined because of the relative lateness of the sources available, though the basic particulars of the concept had developed before the appearance of Islam. In weighing data pertaining to pre-Islamic times, however, one must use caution, bearing in mind the fact that most of the existing sources were recorded not only long after the event but also subsequent to the introduction of Islam with its new ways of looking at many aspects of life, so that the complete genuineness of these data may often be open to question. Furthermore, various refinements of the Arab concept were still being made in the time of the Prophet, and other refinements came even later. Finally, Islam with its doctrine of the brotherhood of Muslims and the equality of Arab and non-Arab presented a fundamental challenge to the validity of the Arab concept as a guiding principle for the life of the community.

Muslim genealogists have worked out an elaborate and ingenious system for the illustration and application of the Arab concept. Although this system has weaknesses—obscurities in the early stages, obvious gaps, unexplained riddles, inconsistencies, and contradictions—on the whole it hangs together well. Most important, its primary thesis—the core of the Arab concept—have been by no means the exclusive property of scholars; they have belonged to the people, and their influence on the politics and social life of Arabia has been penetrating and pervasive.

According to the Arab concept, the Arabs constitute a race, not simply a community of people speaking the same language. This race is made up of innumerable men and women each descending in a direct line from one or the other of two ancestors, who probably were not closely related (the connection between these two eponyms is one of the major unresolved aspects of the system). Greater homogeneity could have been attained only by insisting on the descent of all Arabs from a single ancestor. That the Arabs recognized in their clear and undisputed tradition the duality of their origin is a significant fact, and its effect on the history of the Arabs and Islam has been far-reaching.

The system of the genealogists begins with a nod at those whom the Arabs regarded as the original inhabitants of the Peninsula, tribes such as 'Ad, Thamud, Iram, Jurhum, Tamm, and 'Ijda' (pp. 2), all of which are believed to have disappeared before the beginning of Islam. Some of these, such as 'Ad and Iram, may well have been entirely legendary, while the historicity of others, such as Thamud, is not in doubt. Nothing certain is known about the identity of these tribes, though they are generally reckoned to have been Arabs, the Lost Arabs (*al-'Arab al-'Adiyya*). Sometimes they are even called the True Arabs (*al-'Arab al-'Adiyya*), though this has little meaning, as in the Arab concept they are mainly a historical curiosity and an example of the terrible fate visited on people who heeded not their prophets. Although in later times there were men who claimed descent from these ancients or even tribes reputed to have sprung from them, the conclusion of the genealogist Ibn Hazzam (d. 436/1054) was that 'on

the face of the earth there is no one whose descent from them is verified' (ed. Lévi-Provençal, 8).

Disposing of the autochthons in this fashion, the Arab concept concentrates on the two great ancestors—Kahtān and 'Adnān (pp. 2)—and the two great divisions of the Arab race they fathered. As all men go back to Adam, these two must have been at least remotely related. The question of a closer relationship depends on whether Kahtān was a descendant of Ismā'īl, who was recognised as an ancestor of 'Adnān. One opinion commonly held opposes such a descent for Kahtān, whose presumed line from Noah's son Shem (Sām b. Nuh) is separately traced. Kahtān's offspring are generally denominated the True Arabs (*al-'Arab al-'Adiyya* or *al-'Arab al-'Adiyya*), the Arabised Arabs (*al-'Arab al-'Adiyya* or *al-'Adiyya*), though the uncertainty of this classification is revealed by the existence of other versions, one of which brackets the Lost Arabs with Kahtān as the True Arabs, while another reserves the title of True Arabs for the Lost Arabs, designating the people of Kahtān as *muta'arriba* and those of 'Adnān as *muḍarriba*. In any event, Kahtān clearly comes out closer than 'Adnān to genuine Arabs.

The descendants of Kahtān are the Southern Arabs, Kahtān al-Yaman, whose origin is traditionally assigned to the south-western corner of the Peninsula, while the descendants of 'Adnān are the Northern Arabs, held to have made their first appearance in the northern half of the Peninsula. Whether this traditional division has a basis in truth is open to question. Certain data, for example, suggest that Saba' came from the north into the Yaman, though in the scheme of the Arab genealogists Saba' is the great-grandson of Kahtān and the father of Himyar and Kahtān, the eponyms of the two main branches of the Southern Arabs.

The peoples of the ancient South Arabian states—Sabaeans, Minaeans (pp. 2), and others—were regarded as descendants of Himyar, so that Himyar in Arabic became the comprehensive term embracing the civilisation of these states. Few of those recognised without qualification as descendants of Himyar played an important role during the Islamic period, the centre of the stage having by then been occupied by the sons of Kahtān, among whom were numbered Tayyīl, Ma'dhijīl, Hamdān, and al-'Ad. Among the sub-divisions of al-'Ad were al-'Aws and al-'Ijda' (pp. 2), residents of Medina who rose to fame in Islam as the Prophet's Ansār. Laḥm, Ghassān, Kūda, and other tribes of Kahtān became solidly established in the north and centre long before the beginning of Islam, so that a tribal map of Arabia in the 6th and early 7th centuries reveals a curious patchwork in which the ranges of many Arabs of Southern descent lie north of those belonging to Arabs of Northern descent.

'Adnān, the putative progenitor of the Northern Arabs, appears to have been even more of a misty figure than Kahtān, so that the Northern Arabs in popular practice often trace their descent back no further than 'Adnān's son Ma'add or even his grandson Nizar. Mudar and Ma'add, sons of Nizar, were the eponyms of the two main branches of the Northern Arabs, the descendants of a third son, Iyād, having largely sunk out of sight by the time of Islam. Kays 'Aylān, one of the two major divisions of Mudar, was of such importance that the term Kaysi was often used for all Northern Arabs. This division embraced Hawāzin and Sulaym, and Hawāzin alone included such notable tribes as Thakīf and the whole group of 'Amir b. Sa'sa'a

(Kushayr, 'Ukayl, Dja'sa, Kūda, and Hīlā). Khilaf, the other major division of Mudar, numbered in its ranks Hudhayl and Tamīm and above all Kindān, the tribe of which Quraysh formed a subdivision. Although the Northern Arabs by origin lacked the same identification with Arabdom that their Southern cousins enjoyed, the fact that the Seal of the Prophets came from the Northern tribe of Quraysh has redeemed their prestige under Islam in ample measure.

From Kahtān sprang the tribes of 'Anaza, 'Abd al-Kays, al-Namir, Taghlib, and the strong group of Bakr b. Wa'il, one of whose members was Hanifa. Well before Islam the original groups of Mudar and Kahtān dissolved, early folk of Mudar moving to the territory on the Euphrates called after them Diyār Mudar and early folk of Kahtān to the territory on the Tigris called Diyār Rabi'a. Many of their offshoots, however, remained behind in the Peninsula: Hudhayl in the vicinity of al-Jāfil; Sulaym in the mountains between Mecca and Medina; Tamīm and Hanifa and various members of 'Amir b. Sa'sa'a in the centre; and 'Abd al-Kays in the east.

An attitude of hostility between Kahtān and 'Adnān, which went far back into the past, was enhanced by the rivalry that developed between the Ansār of Medina and Quraysh of Mecca, so that it became a factor of extraordinary significance in the history of the early Islamic dynasties, the effect of which extended as far afield as Spain. The struggle between South and North finally came to an end, the twisting consequence with the eclipse of the Arab element in the Islamic world. Only in one section of the Peninsula—'Uman—has the ancient hostility endured down to the present as a vital force. For centuries the Northerners were known in 'Uman as Nizāri, and the Southerners as Yama'is. As the result of a civil war there in the early 11th century, the Northerners came to be called Ghāfir and the Southerners Hiniwī, a distinction which still carries weight.

A major anomaly in the system appears in the case of Kūda'a. A number of tribes—Bahrā, Dhuḥayna, Ifāl, Tanūkh, Kalb, and others—recognised a common ancestor named Kūda'a, but agreement was lacking as to whether he was a Southerner or a Northerner. Some said he was a son of 'Adnān, while others said he was a grandson or later descendant of Himyar. The genealogists also resorted to the device of declaring that all the Arabs were descended from three men—Kahtān, 'Adnān, and Kūda'a—but without the suggestion that Kūda'a represented a third element, neither Southerner nor Northerner.

In the conflict between the Southerners and the Northerners during the early period of Islam, the tribes of Kūda'a tended to side with the Southerners; genealogy was used for political purposes, the attribution to Kūda'a of a descent from Kahtān through Himyar prevailed, and the tribe of Kalb of Kūda'a advanced to the fore as champions of the Southern Arabs in the days of the Umayyads.

In studying the history of Arabia from 'Abbasid times to the present, one encounters great difficulty in determining the links between the tribes of a thousand years ago and the tribes of today. Oppenheim, Bräunlich, and Caskel in their work *Die Beduinen* have made the most ambitious attempt so far with respect to the tribes of northern and central Arabia, but much remains to be done in spite of the laudable degree of success they have achieved. Information on the tribes during the time when

the government of Islam was in or near Arabia is fairly abundant, and the same is true of the last two centuries or so, but for hundreds of years in between their story remains for the most part concealed from view. Great migrations took place of which only trifling records have been recovered. Elements broke off from one tribe to join another, or whole tribes reshuffled themselves into new groupings. Popular tradition among the Beduins has preserved some recollection of the changes, but this tradition is often far from trustworthy. In the 14th/10th century al-Hamdānī remarked on the tendency of tribes bearing a given name to associate themselves with stronger or more renowned tribes of the same name, and this tendency still holds true. In the time of the Caliph Abū Bakr the appearance of the false prophet Musayyina among Hanifa brought this tribe into disrepute; descendants of Hanifa in Najd today prefer to name as their ancestor Rabi'a, from whom Hanifa sprang, but so many other tribes have been named Rabi'a and popular knowledge of the traditional genealogical system is so scant that the result is often complete confusion. The modern tribe of al-Dawwār has a tradition that its ancestor was named 'Umar; the ordinary Dawwār today glibly identifies him as 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb without knowing who 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was. The modern tribe of Banī Ghāfir in al-Bāṭina of 'Uman provides an example of the often unstable status of the tribes; although the Northern Arabs of 'Uman are now called Ghāfir after this tribe, the tribe itself is notorious for the way in which it has shifted its allegiance back and forth between the Northerners and the Southerners.

Some of the great tribes of the present, such as Tamīm in the centre and Hamdān in the southwest, apparently represent in a generally faithful manner the ancient entities which bore these names, though many members of each have in the course of time broken away and lost their identity, while outsiders have attached themselves to this tribe or that and become completely absorbed into the community. The modern tribe of Kahtān may be the residue of one or more segments of the original nation of Southern Arabs, or the connexion may be even more tenuous than this, despite the fact that the Beduins of Arabia still associate this tribe with the father of all Southerners. To follow the vicissitudes of the tribe of Quraysh since the beginning of Islam, one would have to investigate—among other things—the history and current status of the many thousands of real and reputed sayyids and ghāfis scattered not only throughout Arabia, but from one end of the Islamic world to the other.

Members of one modern tribe may tenaciously insist on their homogeneity in descent from a single ancestor, while members of another tribe readily admit that they are a confederation of diverse elements. The tribes of al-'Uḍayn and al-Murra, which migrated from the vicinity of Najrān to Eastern Arabia about two centuries ago, maintain that they share a common descent from Hamdān of the Southern Arabs through Yām. Their physical characteristics, their speech, and other facets of their life and history lend credence to this claim. On the other hand, large tribes such as 'Uyayba and Mutayr in Inner Arabia are closely knit companies the original components of which probably first coalesced not more than five or six centuries ago. These confederations may be transitory, e.g., the confederation of Nu'aym in 'Uman appears at present to be in the process of breaking down into its two



main constituents, *Al Bū Khuraybān* and *Al Bū Shāhīn*, with the old name of Nu'aym frequently being applied to *Al Bū Khuraybān* alone, while other members of Nu'aym, living c. 500 km. to the west, are no longer in close contact with the main body.

Despite all the genealogical vagaries and uncertainties, it is impressive how much importance is attached by most of the Arabs of Arabia to purity of descent. Mankind is divided into those whose race is universally recognised as purely Arab (*ajūl*) and those of a lower category whose blood is mixed or impure (*ghayy ajūl*). The Bedouins who know his immediate forebears through no more than six or eight generations is still profoundly convinced of his own nobility; his membership in a tribe of acknowledged purity of descent is sufficient guarantee that the line further back is without taint. Purity of blood is preserved by strict rules governing marriage, which among the Bedouins at least are seldom violated. The distinction between pure and impure, strongest among the Bedouins, is carried over to a considerable extent into the oases and towns, particularly those away from the coast, where many of the townspeople keep alive their sense of affiliation with one tribe or another. Other townspeople are grouped together in *Naǧd* under the appellation of *Bān Khādir*, a generic term for those whose origin can not be traced back to a specific tribe.

In the desert a few nomadic tribes by general consent bear the stigma of non-Arab descent. Among these is the tribe of al-Sulāhā (*q-r*) in the north, the physical characteristics of whose members, as well as the popular traditions regarding them, suggest an origin hidden in an unusual aura of mystery, though there is no foundation for the oft-repeated legend that they are the offspring of wandering Crusaders. Others of this category in the north are Hutaym and al-Sharāṭ. The tribe of al-'Aẓẓīm in the east has succeeded in rising somewhat above its inferior status as a result of its prowess in battle during the past forty years in the ranks of King 'Abd al-'Azīz of Saudi Arabia.

Along the coasts, in the seaports, and in towns not far inland are found the greatest infusions of foreign or nondescript racial elements. In some cases these are well defined types from abroad, such as Somalis and Indians along the southern coast and on the Red Sea, bantians or Indian merchants are also numerous in the ports of the Sultanate of Muscat and on the Persian Gulf. In other cases people of obscure origin are classified primarily on the basis of their occupations, such as the servants in Southern Arabia called *Sibyan* and *Akhdam*. Because many Muslims from distant lands desire to live and die on hallowed ground, Mecca contains a strikingly heterogeneous population, in which the so-called *Javanese* and *Bughāran* colonies (made up respectively of settlers from Indonesia and Central Asia) are among the largest. Certain foreign elements, such as the Abyssinians from the west and the Persians from the east, have a history in Arabia going back two millennia or more, yet they have never immigrated in great force and as few as the places where the majority of the population has not retained its basic Arab character, at least in such important aspects as language and religion. Other foreign elements, such as some of the Baluchis settled in the interior of 'Uman, have become so thoroughly Arabised that they are now considered by their Arab neighbors as *ajūl*.

Racial matters in Arabia are often intermingled with religious considerations. Descendants of the Prophet, who usually bear the title of *ḡharīf* in al-Hijāz and *sayyid* in the Yaman and Hadramawt, sometimes form a privileged caste in the community, while at other times they lead the life of simple nomads in the desert. The numerous *sayyids* of Hadramawt, who enjoy exceptional prestige, all claim descent from a small group of families who emigrated from 'Irāk to Hadramawt in the first half of the 4th/10th century. In 'Uman the title *sayyid* is popularly accorded to the Sultan of Muscat, who does not claim descent from the Prophet, and in *Naǧd* the incidence of *ḡharīfs* is remarkably low. In Eastern Arabia most of the *sayyids* are found among the Shī'ites, a fact which prompts the Sunni Bedouins to question the authenticity of their descent. The Jews, whose history in Arabia goes back well into the pre-Islamic period, may have been in the beginning Israelites who moved southwards or Arabs converted to the Judaic religion or a combination of the two. Once fairly numerous in the south-west, almost all of the Jews have departed within the last few years for Israel.

Slavery as an institution sanctioned by Islam flourished in the Peninsula until very recent times, though now it appears to be slowly dying out. The great majority of the slaves came from Central Africa, and Negro blood is found even in villages of al-Aḥlāḥ in the heart of Arabia. Like other Islamic lands, Arabia has remained uncursed by a colour bar, and emancipated slaves have on occasion attained positions of influence in society. Another Negro element exists in the so-called *Takānira*, who come halfway across Africa, often on foot, to make the pilgrimage; some of these stay on to eke out a living in the Holy Land, where their huts stand in the outskirts of *Ḍidda*.

Although migrations of persons and tribes from place to place within the Peninsula and from the Peninsula to the fertile lands farther north have been common throughout the centuries, only a relatively small proportion of the Arabs of Arabia have shown a fondness for crossing the seas to settle in foreign lands. Chief among these have been the people of 'Uman, who since ancient times have moved down along the coast of East Africa and into southern islands such as *Zanzibar*, and the people of Hadramawt, many of whom have more recently established themselves in the Indonesian Archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, and India, where they have been influential in the domains of the *Niḡām* of *Haydarābād*. Arabs of Eastern Arabia have moved across the Persian Gulf to occupy much of the Iranian coast, and seafarers from the Yaman have founded tiny colonies in such distant spots as Cardiff in Wales.

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## (vii) HISTORY

### 1. — Pre-Islamic

*Arabia before the First Millennium B.C.* — The Arabian Peninsula has as yet no history earlier than the first millennium B.C., though future investigations will certainly bring many new facts to light. Excavations have been few and limited in extent, and even the surface in many regions has not been scrutinised by trained searchers.

Scattered finds indicate that the Peninsula was inhabited in both Palaeolithic and Neolithic times, but nothing is known about who the people were or where they came from. The problem of the site of the original home of the Semites is still a matter of speculation. The Semite nomads who began filtering into the Fertile Crescent from the adjacent deserts in the fourth millennium B.C. relied chiefly on the donkey, a beast not as well adapted as the camel to wide ranging in waterless tracts.

The cuneiform inscriptions of Mesopotamia contain numerous references to Magan, Melukhha, and Dilmun, places which may have lain in Arabia, though much of the geography of the time remains

vague. The Egyptian records relating to Punt are similarly imprecise. Egypt's connections with Sinai and the Red Sea are very ancient, and the availability of frankincense in Southern Arabia led to indirect or even direct intercourse at an early period.

A development of vast importance in the later history of Arabia and the Islamic world occurred, probably in the early second millennium B.C., with the devising of a system of alphabetic writing from which later Semitic alphabets, including South Arabic and North Arabic, derived. Tribal migrations about which little is yet known took place inside Arabia; in this millennium many of the 'sons of Kaḥlān' may have gone south to their new homes. The last centuries of this millennium were a time of change, with the Iron Age beginning in the Near East and the Semitic Aramaeans entering the Fertile Crescent in strength. The domestication of the camel appears to have been achieved during this period in Arabia, the first contribution of the Peninsula to the material progress of mankind.

*Arabia during the First Millennium B.C.* — The tenth chapter of Genesis, believed to belong to about the 10th century B.C., mentions Joktan and Hazarmaveth, who may be identified with Kaḥlān and Hadramawt. In the same century Solomon sent vessels into the Red Sea from the port of Eilat-geber, while his caravans traded with Northern Arabia. The location of Ophir, from which Solomon received gold and other products, continues to be a mystery. From the 9th century on, Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions make frequent mention of the Arab, named-cowling inhabitants of Northern Arabia who paid tribute to the masters of Mesopotamia.

In recent years knowledge of the ancient civilisation of Southern Arabia has expanded tremendously. So many new inscriptions and other traces are coming to hand that current conclusions must often be regarded as tentative. An intensive review of the chronology is in progress, with the general tendency favouring a downward revision of dates. Available information suggests that organised states came into being in Southern Arabia during the second half of the first millennium B.C.

The four chief states—Saba' of the Sabaeans, Ma'in of the Minaeans, Katabān, and Hadramawt—throve on agriculture and commerce. The Ma'in dam in Saba' was the most imposing structure in an elaborate system of irrigation. For centuries the Southern Arabian merchants monopolised the frankincense trade and controlled traffic between India and the West, sending their goods by overland routes which traversed Arabia from south to north. Colonies were established in Northern Arabia, and evidence of business activity has been found in Egypt, the Aegean, and the Persian Gulf region. Strong Graeco-Roman influence on Southern Arabian culture is shown by archaeological discoveries. Southern Arabians migrated to Abyssinia, to which they gave its name, and their influence reached along the eastern coast of Africa.

Many impressive buildings in Southern Arabia were temples dedicated to pagan deities. The earlier rulers of Saba', who bore the title of Mukarrib, combined the functions of priest and king; later they gave way to the more secular rule of kings. [For details see AL-YAMAN.]

In the north, Aramaean influence was strong in the oasis of Taymā', briefly the capital of the Nabataean Empire under Nabonidus (regn. B.C. 536-529). Dedan, near modern al-'Ulā, became the center of a culture now called Lihyanite, using an



alphabet derived from South Arabic. Ṭhamūd, mentioned as a tribe in an Assyrian inscription of the 8th century B.C., held Egra (al-Hijr or Maḍā'in Ṣābiḥ) just north of Dedan. The recent finding of widely dispersed Ṭhamūdī inscriptions has raised new questions regarding the spread of this derivative of the South Arabic script and those who used it.

After the Persian capture of Babylon in B.C. 539, a short-lived satrapy called Arabiyyā was created in Northern Arabia. Darius I (regn. 521-485), who sought to stimulate trade via the Persian Gulf, sent out Scylax of Caryanda, who sailed from India to the northern end of the Red Sea. The world's knowledge of Arabia increased through Alexander's expeditions and the reconnaissance of the Persian Gulf carried out by Nearchus the Cretan. Alexander died in 323 just as he was planning the circumnavigation of the Peninsula and the subjugation of its peoples. Not long afterwards the Greek naturalist Theophrastus wrote an account of Southern Arabia and its products.

The Ptolemies of Egypt, who often pursued a forward policy in the Red Sea, threatened the trade monopoly held by the Arabs, while the Seleucids of Syria promoted the use of the northern routes from India. The establishment of the Parthian state in the mid-3rd century B.C. weakened the Seleucids, but Antiochus III was still strong enough to conduct an expedition in 205-204 against Gerrha on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf.

Late in the millennium the Nabataeans, a people of Arab stock with their capital at Petra, began playing a considerable role in the affairs of Syria, and Arabs appeared as rulers in various places in the Fertile Crescent, such as Charax Spasinai at the head of the Persian Gulf. Arab vassal chiefs enjoyed a large measure of autonomy under Parthian rule, and the immigration of Arabs into Mesopotamia went steadily on.

Towards the end of the 2nd century B.C. Eudoxus of Cyzicus sailed from Egypt to India, and in time Westerners learned the secret of using the south-west and north-east monsoons for voyaging across open water. The growing competition of the West seriously undermined the commercial dominance of the Southern Arabians, in whose homeland radical changes were taking place. An important event near the close of the 2nd century, later taken as the starting point of the "Islamic era", has been plausibly connected with the assumption of royal power in Saba' by the mountain tribe of Ḥamḍān. Both the kingdoms of Ma'in and Katabān came to an end in the 1st century B.C., and the Katabānian capital Timna' in Bayḥān was destroyed. Rome, which had made a client state of Petra in B.C. 60, coveted the wealth of Arabia Felix. Augustus sent the Prefect of Egypt, Aelius Gallus, supported by Nabataeans from Petra, on a long march in B.C. 24 towards the incense country, but the expedition, finding the deserts inhospitable and its Arab allies treacherous, did not get beyond Saba'. [For details see *AL-YAMAN*.]

*Arabia during the First Six Christian Centuries.* — About A.D. 50 an unknown author wrote in Greek the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, an invaluable account of trade in the Red Sea and along the southern coast of Arabia. The King of Ḥadramawt in his capital Ṣābawā controlled the whole territory from Bayḥān in the west to Zuḥār in the east, while the "King of Saba' and of Dhū Rayḥān" (a recently assumed title) sat in Zaḥār in the mountains of the Yaman, where the power of Ḥimyar was growing.

In A.D. 105 or 106 the Roman province of Arabia was created in the old Nabataean domain, stretching from Ayla (al-'Akaba) in the south to al-Namāra in the northeast, with its capital first at Petra and later at Bostra. Merchants were encouraged to trade via the Red Sea through the port of Ayla, and Bedouin raids were warded off by the building of a line along the desert borders. Roman knowledge of the Peninsula in the mid-2nd century was summarized by the geographer Claudius Ptolemy.

Ardashīr I, the first Sāsānid (A.D. 224), is said to have founded a city in Eastern Arabia and to have induced the tribe of al-'Azd to settle in 'Uman. Sāsānid authority on one flank of Northern Arabia and Roman authority on the other were challenged by the Arab rulers of Palmyra, but the Roman Emperor Aurelian defeated Queen Zenobia and captured her desert stronghold in 272.

Something of the old glory of Saba' and Dhū Rayḥān was regained by Ṣhammar (or Ṣhamir) Yuhar'ish, who signified his triumphs about the end of the 3rd century by adding the names of Ḥadramawt and Yamanat to his royal title. His reign was followed by a relapse into weakness, during which Naḡrīn and the northern border was seized by the Lakhmīd Ma' (= Imru') al-Kays, extravagantly described as "King of all the Arabs" in the oldest North Arabic inscription known (al-Namāra 328). Later Kings of Saba' made their title even longer by appending "and of their Arabs in the mountains and the lowlands".

One of the most obscure periods in Arabian history fell in the 4th and 5th centuries. The decline and impoverishment of the Roman Empire affected the Peninsula, where urban civilisation waned and the simpler ways of nomadism attracted more adherents. Christianity with its promise of a better life in the hereafter made headway in Arabia as elsewhere. The Arabs proved particularly susceptible to the doctrines of Nestorianism, coming from Mesopotamia, and Monophysitism, coming from Egypt and Abyssinia. The Abyssinians occupied the Yaman for a brief period in the 4th century, with 'Ezānā, the first Christian King of Aksum, proclaiming himself ruler of Ḥimyar, Rayḍān, Saba', etc. Ṣhāḥrī II (regn. 370-79), called Dhū 'l-Aḥḥād by the Arabs, subjugated Eastern Arabia; the Sāsānid yoke was later removed, only to be reimposed shortly before the dawn of Islam. Judaism also made a successful appeal in Arabia, among its reputed converts being the King of Saba' in the early 5th century, Abkarīb As'ad, known to Arab tradition as Tubba' As'ad Kāmil, and one of its centres being the oasis of Yaḥrib (later Medina).

Both the Sāsānids and the Byzantine successors of Rome found it necessary to protect their territories from the unruly folk of Arabia by relying on buffer states ruled by Arab princes, the Lakhmīds [g.n.] standing guard on the edge of Mesopotamia and the Ḥassānīds [g.n.] shielding Syria. The two client states, like their suzerains, often came into conflict. In the first half of the 6th century al-Ḥārith b. Djabāla, the greatest of the Ḥassānīds, proved stronger than al-Mundhir b. Ma' al-Samā', the most famous of the Lakhmīds. In the late 5th century the chief of the Southern Arab tribe of Kinda [g.n.], Ḥudrī Ḥāl al-Murār, assumed the leadership of a confederacy of tribes in Central Arabia, but this loosely knit Kingdom of Kinda lasted only about half a century before it was overthrown by al-Mundhir the Lakhmīd.

In the 6th century Southern Arabia lay open to

attack by the Christian Kings of Aksum and the Sāsānid Khosrow I Anāshīrwan (regn. A.D. 531-79). Persecution of the Christians of Naḡrīn by the Judaizing Arab Dhū Nuwās [g.n.] led to a new Abyssinian occupation of the Yaman c. 522. The Abyssinian Abrahā [g.n.] as ruler of the Yaman carried out the last repair of the dam of Marīb before its final abandonment, marched into the heart of Naḡd on a campaign against the Arabs of Ma'ad, clients of the Lakhmīds, and, according to Islamic tradition, undertook an unsuccessful expedition against Mecca in the Year of the Elephant (c. 570). Under Khosrow the Persians evicted the Abyssinians, and the Yaman was Persian territory at the rise of Islam.

Mecca, a town of some antiquity on the main route paralleling the Red Sea, achieved greater prominence and prosperity in the late 6th century, aided by foreign domination of the Yaman and chaotic conditions along the northern routes resulting from the long drawn out wars between Persia and Byzantium. The Meccan merchants of Quraysh showed astuteness and industry in profiting from their participation in international trade.

The last centuries of this period gave birth to the form of Arabic now called classical, the dialectal sources and the exact process of the development of which remain uncertain. Used by the poets of the *al-Jahiliyya*, many of whom were Bedouins and some Christians or Jews by faith, this language became the instrument of expression for the supreme masterpiece of Islam, the Qur'ān, and the great works of Arabic literature in succeeding ages (see *'ARABIYYA*).

## 2. — Islamic Middle Ages

*Muhammad and the Rise of Islam (A.D. c. 570-632).* — About A.D. 570 Muhammad [g.n.] b. 'Abd Allāh of Quraysh was born in Mecca, then a principal centre of pagan worship. Only traditional accounts survive of Muhammad's early years, during which he became well acquainted with the tribal structure of both urban and nomadic life and saw something of the world outside Arabia while accompanying merchant caravans to Syria. About 610 he received his first revelation: two or three years later he began preaching in public, after which the nature of Islam was elaborated open in a series of revelations during the rest of his career as God's Messenger and Prophet.

The men in authority in Mecca did not welcome Muhammad's message. A small body of Muslims went into exile in Christian Abyssinia; later the whole Muslim community migrated northwards from Mecca to Yaḥrib, an event taken afterwards as having marked the beginning of the Islamic era (A.H. 1/A.D. 622). During the ten years Muhammad maintained his capital at Medina, he erected a state guided in all its functions by the precepts of Islam. Two revolutionary concepts emerged which transformed the face of Arabia. The Qur'ān, as emphasised by the divine revelations of which it consisted, was Arabic, a standard under which all Arabs could unite. Arabia had never before known an entity larger than relatively petty states or independent tribes and tribal confederations, usually at loggerheads with each other if not openly at war. At the same time, the Qur'ān and Islam were not limited to the Arabs: the Qur'ān is a revelation to all men, and under Islam the noblest man is the most Godfearing, not the one of highest lineage. This

universal appeal opened the way for Islam to go far beyond the borders of Arabia.

Muhammad's efforts during the Medinan period were devoted in large measure to settling affairs with Mecca, which was finally incorporated in the Islamic state in 8/630. Before this a fair number of tribes had been won over to Islam, but the great flood of applications to join Islam from tribes all over the Peninsula did not come until 9/630-3, the Year of the Delegations. Muhammad died in 11/632, before there had been time to anchor the Qur'ānic religion in the hearts of all who had taken the name of Muslim. Neither had there been time to carry Islam abroad, though a halting attempt had been made in that direction, and the moment was indeed ripe for shattering the fragile shells of Byzantine and Sāsānid defences in the Fertile Crescent.

*The First Three Caliphs (11-35/632-66).* — Soon after Abū Bakr (regn. 11-13/632-4) succeeded Muhammad as head of the Islamic state, many tribes reasserted their independence, with prophets in several cases preaching doctrines contrary to Islam. Abū Bakr reacted vigorously, dispatching Muslim columns to Central Arabia, Bahrain, 'Uman, and the Yaman. When Ḥadramawt, which held out the longest, was subdued, the Arabian Peninsula for the first and last time in history was effectively united throughout its length and breadth.

The other great achievement of Abū Bakr's brief rule was the inauguration of the grand programme of Muslim conquests outside Arabia. After invading 'Irāq Khālid b. al-Walīd marched across the Syrian Desert in 13/634 to participate in a victory over the Byzantines.

The conquests started by Abū Bakr were carried forward with verve during the rule of 'Umar (13-23/644-4). 'Irāq was taken from the Sāsānids, and Arabs from both the Northern and the Southern tribes peopled the newly founded military settlements of al-Baḥra and al-Kūfa. After a decisive victory over the Byzantines at al-Yarmūk and the capture of Jerusalem, 'Umar came to visit this holy city, the first journey of a Caliph beyond the confines of Arabia. Islam next advanced into Egypt, the occupation of which brought about stronger economic and cultural ties with Western Arabia. Although 'Umar is reputed to have ordered the expulsion of all Christians and Jews from the Peninsula, numbers of them lived on there for a long time to come.

In the days of 'Uḡmān (regn. 23-35/644-56) of the House of Umayyā, wealth and luxury abounded in Medina and Mecca, into which poured booty from the lands recently subdued. 'Uḡmān had no ear for the voice of Abū Dharr decrying the decay of the stern and frugal virtues of earlier Islam. Even more dangerous to the future of Arabia and Islam was the rift developing between the most powerful figures in the state, which led to the murder of 'Uḡmān in Medina.

*The Struggle over the Caliphate (35-73/656-692).* — The rift in high circles widened into a chasm when 'Alī, Muhammad's son-in-law and cousin, came to the fore as Caliph on the death of 'Uḡmān. Muhammad's wife 'A'isha and his Companions al-Zubayr and Talha rose in opposition to 'Alī, who left Medina to march against them in 35/656. In the Battle of the Camel 'Alī overthrew his rivals and won 'Irāq, only to find himself faced with a more formidable adversary in 'Uḡmān's Umayyad kinsman Mu'āwīya, the governor of Syria. When 'Alī fixed his capital at al-Kūfa in order to marshal strength against Mu'āwīya, Medina lost



the preeminence it had held since the Prophet's migration.

'Alī's tactics against Mu'āwīya so exacerbated the extremists among his own followers that they turned against him as the *Khawārij*. Despite the crushing victory 'Alī gained over these seceders at al-Nahrawān in 38/659, their party survived, Arabia long providing a fertile field for its propaganda. Mu'āwīya was proclaimed rival Caliph in Jerusalem, and his forces clashed with 'Alī's in Western Arabia from Medina to Najrān and the Yaman. When a *Khawārij* assassinated 'Alī in 40/661, the 'Alids set up his son al-Hasan as Caliph in al-Kūfa, but he soon renounced his claims in favor of Mu'āwīya, who thus temporarily reunited the community of Islam.

For the rest of Mu'āwīya's life no serious rising took place against the new Syrian Caliphate, but resentment was stirred up by his advocacy of hereditary succession. After the accession of Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya (regn. 60-4/680-3), 'Alī's second son al-Husayn left Mecca to rally support in 'Irāq, only to fall a martyr at Karbalā' in 61/686. His death cleared the field for a stronger candidate, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the foremost representative of the sons of the Prophet's Companions. Yazīd's army defeated the rebellious Medinans in the battle of Harrat Wāḳin and laid siege to Mecca, Ibn al-Zubayr's stronghold, where the Ka'ba caught fire, but Yazīd's death brought a pause in the hostilities. Ibn al-Zubayr won recognition as Caliph in nearly every quarter of Islam; in fact, had he proceeded to Syria immediately, he might well have destroyed the Umayyad power forever. While Ibn al-Zubayr lingered on in Mecca, 'Abd al-Malik (regn. 65-86/685-705) of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads gradually regained ground outside Arabia. The *Khawārij*, who had at first leagued themselves with Ibn al-Zubayr, turned against him, the *Khawārij* Naḍīda b. 'Amr of Banū Ḥanīf making himself master of much of Arabia, only to be overthrown by another *Khawārij*, Abū Fudayk. 'Abd al-Malik gave al-Ḥaḍḍraḍī b. Yūsuf command of an army which captured Mecca in 73/692 after a long siege. Ibn al-Zubayr fell in the struggle, leaving the Holy Land of Islam in the hands of the Umayyads. Another Umayyad army marched to Eastern Arabia and put an end to Abū Fudayk.

*Arabia under the Umayyads (73-132/692-750).* — The Umayyads of Syria regularly appointed governors for Medina and Mecca, and exercised a measure of control, often shadowy, over other parts of Arabia. Powerful Umayyad governors of al-Basra such as al-Ḥaḍḍraḍī and Yazīd b. al-Muhallab made their word law in the Persian Gulf and along its Arabian shore.

The Umayyad Caliphs honored the sanctity of the Holy Cities in Arabia and lavished large sums on their shrines, even while favouring at times the claim of Jerusalem, which was easier of access, to an equal or higher rank. During much of this period Western Arabia was at peace, enjoying a prosperity such as it was not to know among the dissensions of later ages. The Umayyads developed the irrigation system, and many personages of Islam lived in their days of retirement on estates near Medina, Mecca, or al-Tā'if. The Holy Cities became renowned not only for Islamic learning but also for indulgent living, poetry, and singing.

The intense rivalry in Umayyad politics between the Northern Arabs and the Southern Arabs had its repercussions in Arabia, where Kalb, the principal

tribe among the Southerners, owned land in Wādī al-Kur' near Medina.

Towards the end of the Umayyad period an alliance of *Khawārij* was formed under the leadership of 'Abd Allāh b. Yahyā Ṭālib al-Ḥakḥ of Kinda and Abū Hamza of al-Azd. Abū Hamza took Mecca, won a victory at Kudayr in 130/747, and then entered Medina, while Ṭālib al-Ḥakḥ supported him from their base in Ḥadramawt and the Yaman. Despite the waning might of the Umayyads, Marwān II summoned sufficient strength to overcome these *Khawārij* chiefs, but only after they had contributed to his final undoing. Mecca was also used by the 'Abbasids as a centre for their plot aiming at the supersession of the Syrian Caliphs.

*Arabia under the Early 'Abbasids (132-266/750-875).* — The 'Abbasid transfer of the Caliphate to 'Irāq enhanced the importance of the Persian Gulf as a seaway for trade reaching out to China and East Africa. Wares bound to and from the 'Abbasid capital passed through al-Baḡra, while in the Gulf itself Sirāf on the Persian side in the 3rd/9th century became the busiest port.

'Abbasid authority in Arabia kept its strength for more than a century, during which time governors were sent to the Holy Cities and the Yaman, and on occasion to the central and eastern regions. The earlier Caliphs, notably al-Mahdī and Hārūn, and their wives, notably Zubayda, were diligent in making the pilgrimage and encouraging their subjects to do so by improving communications and the amenities of the route.

A sect of the *Khawārij* known as the Thābiyya set up its own Imamate in 'Uman under al-Djundāḍī b. Ma'ūd of al-Azd, but an 'Abbasid expedition under Khāzim b. Khurayma defeated and killed al-Djundāḍī in 134/752. Soon afterwards this Imamate was revived to endure with few interruptions for the next four centuries. 'Uman, however, was an out of the way region, and the *Khawārij* on the whole gave the 'Abbasids little trouble. (Cf. 604x.)

Taking the place of the *Khawārij* as a thorn in the Caliphs' flesh were the 'Alids (g.e.), both Hasanids and Husaynids. Through skilful propaganda the 'Abbasids in their campaign against the Umayyads had forestalled the 'Alids and usurped the leadership they regarded as rightfully theirs. For this the 'Alids never forgave them, and one after another they contested the 'Abbasid title to rule. Even though the 'Abbasids themselves came from a Meccan ancestor close to the Prophet, the 'Alids almost invariably found ready followers in Arabia; in the Holy Cities their rallying cry inspired the hope of regaining the place lost to Damascus and Baghdad.

The first 'Alid pretender in Arabia was the Hasanid Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, who appeared as the Mahdī in Medina and had his claim to the Caliphate certified by no less a scholar than Mālik b. Anas, but all to no avail when he fell in 145/762 before the troops of al-Mansūr.

A major split took place among the 'Alids following the death of their sixth Imam, Dī'fār al-Sāḍī, in 188/796. The main body, giving loyalty to Dī'fār's son Mūsā al-Kāsim and five of his descendants, came to be known as the Twelvers. Others, the Seveners, advocated the cause of Ismā'īl b. Dī'fār and his son Muhammad, for whom they worked, often in secret, in the movement of Ismā'īlism. As time went by the Ismā'īlīs in particular tended to attract to their side the discontented and oppressed elements of society, enemies of the ruling classes.

Another Hasanid pretender, al-Husayn b. 'Alī, met a martyr's death fighting against an 'Abbasid army at Faḡhīh near Mecca in 165/786. The 'Alid cause, however, made progress in the Yaman, where it received the support of the great jurist al-Shāfi'ī, who finally won a pardon after being delivered as a prisoner to Hārūn's presence.

The end of the 2nd century H. saw a new upsurge of 'Alid strength in Western Arabia: in Mecca the Husaynid al-Husayn al-Aṭṭa' put forward Muhammad al-Dībādī, a son of Dī'fār al-Sāḍī, while the Hasanid Muhammad b. Sulaymān established himself in Medina. These pretenders did not hold their ground against the 'Abbasids, but greater success was achieved by Ibrāhīm al-Djazzār, a grandson of Dī'fār al-Sāḍī, in the Yaman. Yielding to the tide of pro-'Alid sentiment, the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn designated 'Alī al-Riḍā, the eighth Imam of the Twelvers, as his heir apparent and substituted 'Alid green for 'Abbasid black as the royal colour, but this change evaporated with 'Alī's death in 203/818.

To cope with the 'Alid threat in the Yaman, al-Ma'mūn appointed as his governor there one Muhammad, who claimed descent from Mu'āwīya's lieutenant Zayd b. Abī Ḥafṣa. The city of Zabīd in 204/820 and carving out a domain for himself, Muhammad established the dynasty of the Ziyādiyya (g.e.), which, while according nominal allegiance to the 'Abbasids, was actually the first of the numerous independent dynasties to spring up in Arabia as the Caliphate disintegrated.

Although not a strong Caliph, al-Wāḡhī (regn. 227-232/842-47) executed a vigorous policy in Arabia. When Bedouins of Sulaym made the region around the Holy Cities unsafe with their depredations, al-Wāḡhī dispatched the Turkish general Bughā the Elder to bring the culprits to heel. For the next two years Bughā campaigned against other tribes, climaxing his operations in 232/847 with a hard won victory over Numayr at Baṭn al-Sir deep in the interior, after which a man of Uḡlāh in Najd was appointed governor of al-Yamāma, Eastern Arabia, and the pilgrim route to Mecca.

Following the death of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, the career of the 'Abbasids both at home and in Arabia took a turn for the worse. The dynasty of the Ya'furids (g.e.), claiming descent from the ancestor al-Ba'ḥā of Hims, arose in the highlands of the Yaman with Sa'ā' b. al-Ba'ḥā as capital. Ḥadramawt secured its independence, and local rulers set themselves up in the east, where 'Alī b. Muhammad—either a genuine Husaynid, as he gave himself out to be, or a member of 'Abd al-Kays—began an agitation among the nomadic tribes. Another Hasanid revolt in Mecca, inaugurated by Ismā'īl b. Yūsuf al-Uḡhayrī, led to the establishment under Ismā'īl's brother Muhammad of a new state in al-Yamāma, where these Uḡhayrīds maintained themselves until submerged by the onrush of Karmanianism.

Another blow was dealt the 'Abbasid empire by the recalcitrant governor of Egypt, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, who by occupying Syria broke down the control once exercised over the tribes of the Syrian Desert. The most direct menace to the empire, however, came from the agitator in Eastern Arabia, 'Alī b. Muhammad, who transferred his activities to Southern 'Irāq, where he stirred up the Zandī, the negro slaves laboring in the salt marshes, in a massive insurrection (255-70/863-85) extending as far as the Holy Cities.

*Ismā'īlīs and Karmanians in Arabia (266-567/879-1171).* — At this juncture in 'Abbasid affairs

the rapidly spreading movement of Ismā'īlism (see ISMĀ'ĪLIYAT) took full advantage of its opportunities. Ismā'īlī missionaries carried out a well laid plan of penetration, with the Persian Gulf coast and the Yaman as the principal foci for their activity in Arabia. As these two parts of Arabia remained relatively isolated from each other, the connexion between later developments in them was slight.

Ismā'īlism was first introduced into the Yaman by Ibn Hawṣal (Maṣṣar al-Yaman) and 'Alī b. al-Faḍl in 260/875-80. Collaborating closely, these two won many followers, and 'Alī occupied both Sa'ā' and Zabīd for brief periods. The Ziyādiyya and the Ya'furids fought the Ismā'īlīs, and a new opponent arose against them in 280/893 with the arrival in the Yaman of the first Zaydī Imam, al-Mahdī Yahyā, a grandson of the Hasanid al-Kāsim al-Raḍī (d. 248/860), who had fashioned legal foundations for a Zaydī government closer to Sunnism than to the extreme Shi'ism of the Ismā'īlīs. The two Ismā'īlī leaders eventually fell out, and by 303/915 both were dead, but their doctrines did not die with them.

Ismā'īlism appeared c. 286/899 in Eastern Arabia, where under Abū Sa'ād al-Hasan al-Djannābī and his son Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān a strong state was organised. The name Karmanīan, the origin and meaning of which are still in doubt, remains the popular designation for this particular aspect of Ismā'īlism, though its application is not restricted to this region. The 'Abbasids were too feeble to prevent these Karmanians from sacking al-Baḡra and al-Kūfa, and in 317/930 they entered Mecca and carried off the Black Stone to their new capital al-Aḥsā' (al-Ḥaṣā). With the conquest of 'Uman soon thereafter the Karmanians held the greater part of Arabia. These disturbances prompted the Husaynid Aḥmad b. 'Isā, the most famous ancestor of the *sayyids* of Southern Arabia, to leave al-Basra on a migration ending in Ḥadramawt, where Ḍabīs from 'Uman then held the upper hand.

New threats to the 'Abbasids came from the Būyids of Iran and the Ikhshīdīs of Egypt, who reached out at times to Mecca, though neither got a lasting foothold there. The Būyids, who by taking Baghdad in 334/945 assumed *de facto* authority over the 'Abbasid realm, also brought 'Uman within their sphere.

Abū Ṭāhir died in 332/944, and the Karmanians at the behest of the Ismā'īlī Fātimids of North Africa restored the Black Stone to Mecca in 339/950-1. Under al-Hasan al-A'sam, a nephew of Abū Ṭāhir, the Karmanians joined the Fātimids in a pincer movement on Syria and Egypt, the former exerting pressure from the east as the latter advanced from the west. However, after the Fātimids occupied Egypt in 358/969, the Karmanians broke with them and sided with the Būyids in resisting their designs on Syria. Damascus was captured by al-Hasan in 350/971, but he was repulsed on two expeditions against Egypt before reaching the newly founded Fātimid city of Cairo.

Following the death of al-Hasan, the Karmanian government was placed in the hands of a Council of six *sayyids*. The Fātimids won a military victory over the Karmanians, but had to pay a large sum to induce them to return to al-Aḥsā'. The Karmanians lost 'Uman in 372/985-6, were checked by the Būyids in 'Irāq and defeated in their own territory by a chief of al-Muntadik, who plundered al-Kaṭīf. (Cf. also KARMANIANS.)



About the mid-4th/10th century the Sharīʿate of Mecca (for which see *MAKKA*), destined to last a thousand years, was established by a family of Hasanids known as the Mūsawids. The most prominent member of this family was Abū al-Futūḥ al-Ḥasan, who in 402/1012 tried to make himself Caliph, only to be thwarted by the Fāṭimids, large lords of the *sharīʿa*. Contemporary with the early Mūsawids were Husaynids descended from al-Husayn al-Aḡḡar, a younger brother of the fifth Shīʿite Imam, who began ruling as *amirs* of Medina. This line, which lasted until the 9th/15th century, came later to be known as the House of Muḥannā.

An offshoot of Ismāʿīlism was the Druze movement, which had its origins during the reign of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥakīm. The Druze al-Mukṭanā sent a letter to the Karāmīyah *sayyids* of Eastern Arabia, proposing that they combine forces on the basis that they shared a common doctrine, but nothing concrete came of this.

Early in the 5th/11th century the Maʿnids (q.v.) came to power in Aden and Hadramawt, and the Zaydids in the Yaman gave way before the Naḡībids (q.v.), originally their own Abyssinian slaves. Ismāʿīlism in the Yaman enjoyed a revival under the Sulayyids (q.v.), rulers sprung from the tribe of Yām who held *Sanʿāʾ* as nominal vassals of the Fāṭimids, while the Zaydī Imams kept their base at *Sanʿāʾ*.

In 443/1051 Nāsir al-Kunūṣ visited al-Ḥabṣāʾ, where he found the Council of Six still in control. The details of his eyewitness account of the Karāmīyah state in its later days are unfortunately not supported by corroborating testimony.

The Shīʿism of the Būyids, Karāmīyah, and Fāṭimids aroused a Sunnite reaction championed by the Salḡūḡ Turks, whose leader Tuḡhril took Baghdad in 447/1055. A Salḡūḡ of Kirmān, Kāwurd Karā Arslān, brought ʿUḡmān under his sway. About this time Shīʿī was yielding its place as the chief port of the Persian Gulf to the island of Kays, the rulers of which made themselves also lords of ʿUḡmān, where in the mid-5th/11th century a break came in the line of Iḡdāl Imams. For the next three and a half centuries records survive of only one Imam.

The Sulayyids of the Yaman seized Aden from the Maʿnids and also expanded northwards, the authority of the Mūsawid *sharīʿa* over Mecca having faded away. In 453/1063 the Sulayyid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad installed an agnate branch of *sharīʿa*, the Ḥāḡīmids, in Mecca. Under Malik Shāh in Baghdad the Salḡūḡs reached the zenith of their power, and thanks to him the shadowy ʿAbbāsids of the day had lipservice paid to him in the Holy Cities as the Caliph of Islam. Malik Shāh and his minister Nūr al-Mulk concerned themselves with the affairs of the pilgrimage, spending freely to put them to rights.

About 470/1077-8 the Karāmīyahs of al-Ḥabṣāʾ met their final defeat at the hands of a native dynasty, the ʿUyūnids (q.v.) of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Kays. There is no trace of Karāmīyah left today among the Arabian people. The Shīʿites of al-Kaṭīf and modern al-Ḥaṣā, sometimes described as the remnants of the Karāmīyahs, are in fact orthodox Dīʿāfaris of the Twelver persuasion or Shīykhīs.

In 461/1068-9 Aden was granted as a dowry to a remarkable woman of the Sulayyid house, Sayyida bint Ahmad, upon her marriage to al-Mukarram Ahmad b. ʿAlī al-Sulayyī, and soon afterwards the government of the town was transferred from the Maʿnids to the Zurayyids (q.v.), who like the Sulayyids were Ismāʿīlīs of the stock of Yām. The Zurayyids

ruled Aden for nearly a century, gradually acquiring a larger measure of independence. Under Sayyida, into whose hands al-Mukarram placed the authority of the state so that she was recognized by the Fāṭimid Imam as Suzerain of the Kings of the Yaman, the Sulayyids enjoyed their last days of real dominion. Her death in 521/1127-8 marked the effective end of the dynasty, the succeeding representatives of which were a feeble lot.

Upon the death of the Fāṭimid Imam of Egypt al-Mustansir in 487/1094, two parties arose among the Ismāʿīlīs which have persisted to the present day. From the party supporting al-Mustansir's eldest son Nizār descended the Ismāʿīlī Assassins of Alamūt and the Khwāḡīs, the head of many of whom is the Aḡḡā Khān. The party favoring al-Mustansir's youngest son al-Mustaʿīn Ahmad, allied with the Sulayyids through Queen Sayyida, was strong in the Yaman.

The rule of Ahmad b. Sulaymān, one of the greatest of the earlier Zaydī Imams, ran from 532 to 566/1137-71, during which time he held *Sanʿāʾ*, Naḡīb, and al-Ḥajawī, occupied *Sanʿāʾ* and Zabīd, and made his influence felt as far north as Ḥaybar and Yanbuʾ.

Like the Sulayyids, the Naḡībids also produced a queen to rule during the dynasty's declining years, ʿAlam, originally a slave girl, whose death in 545/1150-1 was followed about a decade later by the ephemeral sway of the Maḡdīs (q.v.), who called themselves Hīmīyahs and were accused of being Khawāḡīs.

The Fāṭimids of Egypt succumbed to the Ayyūbids in 567/1171, and a plot to restore them was nipped in the bud in 569/1174 by Salāḡīn, who executed the poet and historian ʿUḡmān b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakamī of the Yaman. The center of the Musṭaʿīyah party was transferred from Egypt to the Yaman, where it stayed until the 10th/16th century, when it shifted to India, after which a split divided the party into the Dīʿāfaris of India and the Sulaymānīs of Southern Arabia (see *SONAKA*). Extensive secular dominion in Arabia eluded the grasp of the Ismāʿīlīs until the reign of the Sulaymānī Makramīds (q.v.) of Naḡīb in the 12th/18th century.

*Arabia in the Later Middle Ages (567-end of 9th Century/1171-end of 15th Century).* The advent of the Ayyūbids meant the triumph of Sunnism over Shīʿism in Arabia as well as in Egypt. Salāḡīn, recognized as sovereign in Mecca, sent his brother Tārīn Shāh to depose the third and last Maḡdīd and occupy the Yaman in 569/1173. During the half century or so of Ayyūbīd rule there members of collateral branches of the dynasty sat on the southern throne. Hadramawt was conquered, but did not become an integral part of the Ayyūbīd domain. Closer home the Ayyūbīds had their hands full with the Crusaders from the West, one of the boldest of whom, Renaud de Châtillon, raided Taymāʾ, sent his men cruising against the Muslims in the Red Sea, and even thought of attacking Medina.

About 598/1200 the Hasanid Katāda b. Iḡrīs moved from Yanbuʾ to Mecca, where he founded the dynasty of all the later *sharīʿa*. Endeavoring to build a strong independent state in al-Ḥijāz, he found the rivalries of the day too great to overcome. Katāda died in 617/1220-1, and soon afterwards al-Malik al-Masʿūd Yūsuf, the last Ayyūbīd in the Yaman, took Mecca and appointed the founder of the Rasūlīds, who claimed descent from the ʿHasanīds, his governor there.

On the other side of the Peninsula the Salḡūḡs, Atḡab of Fīz, Abū Bakr b. Saʿīd, the patron of the poet Saʿdī of Shīrāz, annexed islands in the Persian Gulf and set foot on the mainland at al-Kaṭīf and al-Ḥaṣā. The local dynasty of the ʿUyūnids gave way before the Salḡūḡ pressure and that of the tribe of ʿUḡmān, which supplied a new dynasty in the ʿUyūnīds (q.v.).

Succeeding the Ayyūbīds, the Rasūlīds (q.v.) reigned in Taʿāz and Zabīd from 621 to 810/1223-1446 as the most illustrious house in mediaeval Yaman. Islamic architecture reached one of its higher points, and scholars received the stimulus of royal approbation, some of the Rasūlīd Sultans themselves being authors of note. Embassies came to the court from China and other distant lands.

ʿUmar b. ʿAlī (regn. 628-67/1229-50) ruled from Mecca to Hadramawt, and after Ḥulāḡ executed the last ʿAbbāsīd in Baghdad in 656/1258 ʿUmar's son Yūsuf styled himself Caliph of Islam, but full enjoyment of such rank lay beyond the capabilities of the Rasūlīd state.

Baybars, the first great Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt, assumed nominal overlordship of the Holy Cities, leaving Meccan affairs in charge of the *sharīʿ* Abū Nuwayrī I Muḥammad (regn. 652-70/1254-1301), who strengthened the foundations of Katādan rule. Bedouins of ʿAl Mīrā and other tribes roamed through the Syrian Desert, exacting large fees from pilgrim caravans and penetrating into Naḡīb on their raids. In Damascus the religious reformer Ibn Taymīyya (d. 728/1328) laid the theological basis for the Wahhābī movement of the 12th/18th century.

About the beginning of the 8th/14th century the port of Hormuz on the Persian mainland at the entrance to the Persian Gulf was moved to a nearby island, after which it grew apace and in time surpassed its rival the island of Kays in attracting to its warehouses the merchandise of the East.

Political disturbances in Mecca during the reign of the *sharīʿ* ʿAdīlān b. Ruma-yibā (746-77/1345-75) provoked interference by the Mamlūks of Egypt, who took the Rasūlīd Sultan of the Yaman prisoner in a battle at ʿArafā in 751/1351. Rasūlīd fortunes were temporarily restored by Ahmad b. Ismāʿīl (regn. 803-27/1400-24), who held the Red Sea coast as far north as Haly, but after his death the state swiftly disintegrated. The later Rasūlīds carried on a lively competition with merchants in Egypt for Indian trade via the Red Sea.

In the early years of the 9th/15th century the Iḡdālī community of ʿUḡmān returned to its old practice of electing Imams, who succeeded one another in a series lasting over 150 years. About the same time the House of Kaḡīr under ʿAlī b. ʿUmar set out on its long course through the tortured politics of Hadramawt and Zūfār, while Hadramī missionaries carried the gospel of Islam into Somaliland.

In the mid-9th/15th century Maḡī b. Rabʿa al-Murayyid, the ancestor of ʿAl Saʿūd, migrated from the vicinity of al-Kaṭīf to Naḡīb, where he settled in Wādī Hanṣa. In the latter half of the century Adwād al-Zāmil of the Dīʿābrīd branch of the ʿUyūnīds ruled as lord of al-Kaṭīf and Bahrayn, making his name a byword for generosity in Eastern Arabia. Mecca prospered under the *sharīʿ* Muḥammad b. Barakāt and the Mamlūk Sultan Kāṭībāy, who erected many buildings there, while the Thāḡīrīs (q.v.) in Zabīd and Aden supplanted the Rasūlīds in the south.

### 3. — *The Making of Modern Arabia (from the 10th/16th century to the present).*

In the late 9th/15th century Portuguese explorers made their way from the Mediterranean down the Red Sea, and in 903/1498 Vasco da Gama, after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, was guided to India by an Arab pilot, probably the Naḡīb Ahmad b. Maḡīd. Portuguese vessels soon appeared in the Red Sea, and under Afonso de Albuquerque the invaders seized Arabian ports on the Gulf of ʿUḡmān and the great mart of Hormuz. Pedro, Afonso's nephew, toured the Persian Gulf in 920/1514, but Afonso died the following year without having achieved his ambitions of reducing Aden and launching an expedition against Mecca.

About 912/1506-7 a new line of Zaydī Imams was inaugurated by Shāraʾ al-Dīn Yahyā, and from then onwards the Zaydīs tended to fix their capital, if possible, at *Sanʿāʾ*. Coffee appears to have been introduced into the Yaman from Abyssinia about this time, and the use of *bāt* and tobacco spread among the people.

Badr Abū Tawayrik of ʿAl Kaṭīr (regn. 926-70/1516-68), whose authority in his palmier days reached from the land of al-ʿAwwālīk through Hadramawt to Saybūt, did not hesitate to offer fealty to the Ottoman Sultan. Before Badr died he lost all his territories and suffered long imprisonment at the hands of his Hadramī enemies.

Salīm I, the Ottoman conqueror of Egypt in 927/1517, assumed the high title of Servant of the Holy Cities, and the reign of Sulaymān the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66) fenced other regions within the empire. The Portuguese in alliance with the King of Hormuz attacked Bahrayn, where Mukrīn, the uncle and successor of Adwād the Dīʿābrīd, lost his life defending the island in 927/1521. Reacting to the aggressive policy of the Portuguese, the Turks bestirred themselves in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Sulaymān at Baghdad in 941/1534 received the homage of the Arab chiefs of al-Kaṭīf and Bahrayn, and later his troops pressed up into the mountains of the Yaman, Aden and Muscat were occupied briefly, and an Ottoman governor was installed in al-Ḥaṣā.

For a period of some sixty years after c. 968/1560 the weak and feeble Imams of ʿUḡmān, where the secular Naḡībīd (q.v.) princes in their mountain fastnesses reached the climax of their power.

The slow receding of the Ottoman tide from the highwater mark reached under Sulaymān was observable in Arabia as elsewhere. The diversion of trade from the overland routes to the sea route round Africa contributed to the serious economic depression which beset the Near East during the early modern age. Besides the Austrians and other foes in Europe, the Turks had to face the Safawids, the strongest of whom, Shāh ʿAbbās I, pursued an expansionist policy in the Persian Gulf, where he subjected Bahrayn in 1017/1602. In the Yaman the Zaydī Imams kept alive resistance to the Turks, and Muʿayyad Muḥammad succeeded in expelling them completely in 1043/1635.

The formation of the East India Company in 1600/1600 was the prelude to a burst of activity by English traders in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Allying themselves with the Persians, the newcomers drove the Portuguese out of Hormuz in 1037/1622. Once the Portuguese monopoly had been broken, the English found themselves involved in competition with the Dutch, who secured commercial



preeminence during the second half of the 11th/17th century.

After the election of Nāsir b. Muṣṣid of the Ya'rubids of al-Azd c. 1034/1624 as Ḥabīb al-Imām, this Imām remained in his family for more than a century. The Ya'rubids in their early days drove the Portuguese out of Muscat and all other *biḍā-terre*, and in their later days extended their authority overseas to Mombasa, Pemba, and Kilwa in East Africa.

Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, the third and last Pasha of the House of Afrāsiyāb, under whom al-Baṣra in the early 11th/17th century had become virtually independent of Qum, was killed in 1070/1660. His nephew of the tribe of Banī Ḥabīb al-Imām, the Ottoman governor of al-Haṣā in 1074/1663-4, these Bedouin chiefs kept the oases and grazing grounds of Eastern Arabia subject to their will until the Wabbāḥs advanced to the Persian Gulf in the early 13th century H.

In Ḥadramawt the Zaydis of the Yaman encouraged the spread of their version of Islam at the expense of Shāfi'ism. About 1070/1660 Ahmad b. al-Ḥasan, a nephew of the reigning Zaydi Imam, led into the main valley of Ḥadramawt a terrifying force known as the Night Flood (*sayd al-layl*) which undermined the position of the House of Kaḥḥir, but Zaydism failed to secure a permanent triumph over Shāfi'ism in this region.

In the 12th/18th century a new era began in Arabia with the spread of the reforming movement inspired by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wabbāḥ of Naḡdī, in a sense this also marked the beginning of the modern history of the whole Near East. Placing the unity of God above all else and demanding that the popular faith be cleansed of innovations, Ibn 'Abd al-Wabbāḥ's call reverberated throughout the Islamic world from West Africa to the East Indies and moved the spirits of the modernists of the Salafīyya in Muslim countries closer than Arabia to the encroaching lands of the West. As an Arab movement opposed to the remote and vitiated rule of the Ottomans, Wabbāḥism (q.v.) influenced the nationalistic tendencies developing among the Arabs in the 19th and 20th centuries. Within Arabia political unity supplanted petty partitioning, and orderly Islamic government functioned as it seldom had before.

Soon after first preaching in public in 1153/1742, Ibn 'Abd al-Wabbāḥ concluded a basic alliance with Muhammad b. Sa'ūd, ruler of the insignificant town of al-Dīrīyya. When Muhammad died, his son 'Abd al-'Azīz carried on, and by 1202/1788 all Naḡdī had accepted the doctrines and ways of the reformers, who had withstood three expeditions directed against them by the Ismā'īlī Makramids of Naḡdī, then a power in their corner of Arabia. [Cf. also SA'UDISM.]

In 1256/1743 the Ya'rubid line of Imams died out in 'Uman while the Persians were trying to establish themselves there. Ahmad b. Sa'ūd of Āl Bū Sa'ūd expelled the invaders from the Bāḥina coast and won election as Imam. After Ahmad's death the electors chose his son, but he proved such an obscure figure that even the date of his death is unknown. Later rulers of Āl Bū Sa'ūd (q.v.) made Muscat their capital and gave up the title of *imām*, calling themselves at first simply *sayyid* (though they claimed no descent from the Prophet) and afterwards *shaykh*. The Persians also held suzerainty over Bahrain for about thirty years until the occupation of the islands by Āl Khālidī in 1297/1781, since which date no part of Arabia has been subject to Persian dominion.

The rapidly expanding puritan state of Naḡdī came into conflict with the *ghazis* of Mecca in a war lasting fifteen years (1203-1220/1791-1806), with the Sa'ūdīs occupying Mecca for the first time in 1218/1803. Shortly after the death of Ibn 'Abd al-Wabbāḥ (1206/1792) Sa'ūdī authority flowed eastwards to the Persian Gulf, although it extended to 'Uman. In the south the reformers reached the Yaman and Ḥadramawt, while in the north their forces threatened to overrun Syria and Iraq. The Ottoman government, unable itself to dam the flood, turned in desperation to the new Viceroy of Egypt, Muhammad 'Alī.

In the 13th/19th century foreign intervention in Arabia, both Muslim and Christian, became more effective and extensive than ever before. Muhammad 'Alī annihilated the first Sa'ūdī state when his army captured al-Dīrīyya in 1233/1818. The British, at first welcoming and then fearing the advent of the Egyptians, carried out military actions against the Persian Gulf Arabs and in Inner 'Uman and occupied Aden in 1254/1839, after which their influence gradually advanced along the southern and eastern coasts and penetrated into the hinterland.

Sa'ūd b. Sulṭān, the most famous ruler of Āl Bū Sa'ūd (regn. 1221-1273/1806-1856), wielded little or no authority in Inner 'Uman, where he was hard pressed by the Sa'ūdīs, to whom he often paid tribute. In the latter part of his reign he devoted most of his attention to his East African possessions, but five years after his death the British established Zanbarā as a Sultanate independent of Muscat. The only Ḥabīb Imam elected during the century, 'Azān b. Kays, failed to win recognition by the British and was overthrown in 1287/1871 after two years of rule. The Sultans who followed him depended upon British support for the maintenance of their position in Muscat in the face of the hostile Ḥabībī tribes of the interior.

During the century internecine warfare was common in Ḥadramawt, where much power rested in the hands of mercenaries imported from the mountains behind Aden, particularly of the tribe Yanī'. In 1283/1867 the Ku'aytīs of this tribe occupied al-Shīr and fourteen years later acquired full possession of al-Makallā.

Proving resilient in recovering from disastrous blows struck by Muhammad 'Alī's forces, the Sa'ūdī state rebuilt its strength under Turki b. 'Abd Allāh, who fixed his capital at al-Riyāḍ, and later his son Faysal, though al-Ḥijāz was not occupied again. Civil war between Faysal's sons after his death in 1282/1865 caused another decline in Sa'ūdī fortunes, facilitating the reimposition of Ottoman sovereignty over part of Eastern Arabia and the rise of Āl Rashīd [q.v.] of ḤA'N to dominance in Naḡdī, where al-Riyāḍ itself was made subject. The Ottomans also reestablished themselves in the highlands of the Yaman with headquarters at Sa'nā'a, but they failed to crush the resistance of the Zaydi Imams. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1286/1869, making communications between Istanbul and Djidda easier, and faster, helped the Turks to exercise more control in al-Ḥijāz.

Āl Sa'ūd, thrice crushed to earth, rose once more under the leadership of Faysal's grandson 'Abd al-'Azīz, who took al-Riyāḍ from its Rashīdī government in 1319/1902. 'Abd al-'Azīz fought for twenty years before finally overcoming Āl Rashīd in the north. In 1317/1903 he drove the Turks out of al-Haṣā and then lent the British sympathetic support during the First World War. Although the Ḥijāz Railway from Damascus to Medina had been inaugurated in

1326/1908, the Turks had to yield Mecca when *ghazī* al-Husayn b. 'Alī, encouraged by the British, proclaimed the Arab Revolt in 1334/1916. The end of the war brought the end of Ottoman sovereignty in Arabia, the Zaydi Imam al-Mutawakkil Yamin and the Sultan's government should abstain from interference in each other's internal affairs, but in 1373/1954-5 the Sultan's forces, trained and led by British officers, occupied points not held before, hemming the Imamate in on all sides.

Although homage was paid to *ghazī* al-Husayn as King of the Arabs and later as Caliph of Islam, successor of the Ottomans, he was defeated by 'Abd al-'Azīz Āl Sa'ūd when war broke out between the two. Following the conquest of al-Ḥijāz, 'Abd al-'Azīz annexed the territories of the minor dynasties of Āl 'Aḍid and the Idrīsids in 'Asīr and its Thāma, received the title of King of Saudi Arabia in 1351/1932, and defeated Imam Yahyā of the Yaman in a brief war in 1357/1934, as a result of which Naḡdī was recognized as belonging to Saudi Arabia.

Killed in an abortive insurrection in 1367/1948, Imam Yahyā was succeeded by his son Ahmad. Dying in 1373/1953, 'Abd al-'Azīz was succeeded by his son Sa'ūd. Thus passed from the scene two monarchs who did far more than simply bequeath their names to the realms they wrought and guided for half a century.

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ARABA. I. — The Turkish word *araba* (*araba*, *abra*), meaning "wagon" or "cart", is as old as the 14th cent. A.D. but it does not look like a pure Turkish word; neither does it have an obvious Arabic or Persian etymology. In Ottoman the usual spelling was *araba* with an 'ayn; and although Sîmi Frashî tried to prove the purely Turkish nature of the word, described this spelling as a "shocking solecism", it is in fact the more correct. The etymology of the word was correctly explained in the 18th cent.) *Sanglâh* of Mirza Mahdi Khân (folio 36 v. of the Gibb Memorial Trust MS.) in the following words: "*araba*, which rhymes with *âzarâba*, is a corruption (mashhur) of '*arârida*, also called '*ârida*, in Arabic, '*Arârida* means '*ballista*, a military siege weapon'. Admittedly a ballista is not a wagon, but the word came to mean "a gun, a mobile gun, a carriage carrying a gun", from which the transition to "wagon, cart" was an easy one. The transitional stage is seen in the Emperor Babur's *Memoirs* (Gibb Memorial

Series, I, fol. 336 v., l. 2), where the phrase *darûdîsh arâridârî* ("cavalier carts" in Beveridge's translation) occurs. There is at present no direct evidence of the date of the transition from '*arârida* to *araba*, but the guess may be hazarded that the word was adopted as a technical term in the Mongol army during the invasion of Persia early in the 13th cent. and that the change took place there. It had certainly taken place before the 14th cent., since there is no trace of '*arârida* in Turkish at that date and *araba* occurs in both the Italian and the German sections of the Codex Cumanicus (early 14th cent., with a late 13th cent. substratum); on the other hand there is no trace of either word in such 12th cent. authorities as Kâshgharî's *Divân Lughat al-Turk* or the *Kutâb al-Bilâg*. It is interesting to note that *araba*, in one form or another, occurs in practically every modern Turkish dialect, except apparently Yakut and Çuvash, which corroborates the general belief that these dialects had broken away from "common Turkish" before the 13th cent., and establishes the less generally accepted fact that the other peripheral dialects in Siberia, Chinese Turkestan and Europe had not yet broken away by that date. (G. L. M. Clavens)

II. — It appears that the plains and steppes of Central Asia, inhabited by the Turco-Mongols, were the centre where, about the beginning of the Christian era, a type of vehicle with two wheels and with shafts (carts), earlier developed in China, was furnished with a yoke of modern type relying on traction by the shoulders (A. G. Haudricourt and M. Jean-Berthelot, *L'économie de la charrette*, Paris 1955, 173 ff.). From there the use of this vehicle spread in both directions, towards China and towards Europe. These carts play an important part in the history of the peoples of the Steppe, particularly in the period of the Mongol empire.

The word *araba* appears in the 8th/14th century in the *Codex Cumanicus*, where it is glossed by *curtus*, and in Ibn Batûta. The latter describes, in the Crimea, a vehicle called by the inhabitants '*araba*, which had four wheels, carried a *yurt*, was pulled by two or more horses, by oxen or by camels, and controlled by a driver mounted on one of the animals. He travelled from Sarâ to Khâzîm on an '*araba* pulled by camels (II, 361-2; 385; 389, 431 etc.; III, 11). This is therefore a different vehicle, at least in the first case, from that of Central Asia, and is of a type (wagon) which probably had a pole (with old-fashioned yoke; traction by the neck), invented in the Danube region of Europe or in the Ukraine in pre-historic era, and perpetuated among the Tatars of the same region under the same name (P. S. Pallat, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Slawenländer des russischen Reichs*, Leipzig 1799-1801, I, 144 s. and pl. 6). In the 14th century also '*arabas* appeared in the Mamlûk Empire as a "Turkish custom" (al-Makrizî, *Sulâk*, ed. M. M. Ziyâdd, II, 1, Cairo 1943, 232, concerning an event in 721/1321). The word, in the form '*araba* or '*araba*, considered to be Ottoman by Ibn Iyâs (*Die Chronik ...* ed. F. Kahle, etc., v. = *Bibl. Islamica*, v. 5, Istanbul 1912, 321; trans. by H. Salomon, London 1922, 200 ff.), was introduced into Arabic and denoted wooden vehicles, on wheels, pulled by camels, horses, mules or oxen, used to transport people and principally, it seems, articles, and possessing an astonishing turn of speed (al-Nuwayrî, *Nûkhat al-Arab*, *apud* Halîb Zayrî, article quoted below). The Mamlûks' army sent against Selim I included one hundred wooden '*arabas*, each carrying

a culverin and pulled by two oxen (Ibn Iyâs, *loc. cit.*).

In Central Asia, where wheeled transport lost its importance after the 15th century as a result of the economic decline of the nomad world, the word *araba*, *araba* denotes chiefly a vehicle with two extremely large spoked wheels (diameter from 2 m. to 2 m. 30 cm.), with a reel floor which acts to some extent as a shock absorber; the vehicle is often covered with a sort of hood, decorated in varying degree, and is pulled by a horse between two shafts (sometimes by an ox or camel). Often one of the wheels is fixed to the axle while the other revolves on it, a factor which facilitates turning. It is considered to be extremely practical because its height from the ground enables it easily to cross fords, canals, and rivers in spite (the best description, with excellent photographs, is to be found in O. Olufsen, *The Emir of Bokhara and his Country*, Copenhagen 1911, 231-3; on the wood used in its construction, see *Asiatickaya Rossiya*, St. Petersburg 1914, II, 402, with a good photo of a Sart '*araba*, I, 166; cf. A. Woeikof, *La Turkestan russe*, Paris 1914, 139-40 and pl. IXA). When heavy loads are carried, the number of horses is increased (P. Grenard, *Géographie universelle*, VIII, 316). There are two distinct types of '*araba*: the '*araba* of Khâzîm and Kâshghar, in which the driver sits in the vehicle and steers with reins, and the common '*araba* of Turkistan, called the *Khokand*, in which the driver sits on the horse's withers, his feet resting on the end of the shafts, and steers with a short bridle (A. D. Kalmykov, *Proskolny sadaneti i sootklovenia Genov Turkestana*, 1906; Delmatians, *Archéologie*, XIII, 1908, Tashkent, 1909, 41). At Tovuia, the '*araba* is described as having four wheels (A. A. Pal'makh, *Russko-turkiskii slovar*, Moscow 1953, 25), and in Kirghiz the word is so common that a locomotive is termed "fire '*araba*" (ot *araba*) (K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgiz sklovi*, tr. A. Taymas, Ankara 1945, 39).

The word has infiltrated into the Slav and Balkan languages: Rumanian (*Araba*); Russian *arba*; Ukrainian *arba*; Bulgarian, Serbian *araba* (K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europ. Wörter orient. Ursprungs*, Heidelberg 1927, no. 90). The word has also been borrowed by Iranian: Persian *arâbe*, Tadjik *araba*.

In Ottoman Turkish, the word, usually written '*araba* in Arabic characters, is the generic term for all types of carriages. In Ottoman Istanbul, people always went about the town on horseback. This was also the normal mode of travel for the sultans when they left their residences. When they were indisposed, however, and on various other occasions they travelled by '*araba*. Sulaymân the Magnificent, an invalid at the time of his departure for his last campaign, passed through Istanbul on horseback, but had to transfer to an '*araba* in the plain of Dâ'dîd Pâgh and never left this vehicle (with four wheels and a pole), the driver remaining seated on one of the two horses even during the sultan's conferences with his viziers (Hammer-Purgstall, III, 439; illustration based on a MS. in the article in *Camburiz* quoted in the bibl.), etc. etc. The '*arabas* of the sultans, princes and important personages were highly decorated (*ibid.*, v. 413; cf. the vehicle of the sultan *valide* depicted in F. Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben, ein Türkisches Miniaturenalbum aus dem 17. Jhrdt.*, Hanover 1925, pl. 28). They were especially used in royal marriage processions. In 1048/1658, the guild of '*araba*-makers at Istanbul numbered 40 members and possessed 15 shops (Ewliya Celebi, I, 628; tr. Hammer, I, 231).



In the 18th century, the drivers' corporation at Istanbul was organized on regular lines. The profusion of vehicles was at its height at the beginning of the 18th century during the "tulip epoch" (*lâle devri*) (Ahmed Refik, *Lâle devri*, Istanbul 1931, 47). Later the sumptuary laws restricted this luxury, and the vogue of the *araba* declined (Ahmed Refik, *Hicri on üçüncü asrda İstanbul hayatı*, Istanbul 1930, 175, no. 210).

Apart from these luxury vehicles, the rural type of *araba* drawn by oxen (*ot araba*) circulated in the streets of the capital. It was a disgrace for a high personage to ride in one, and the Grand Vizier 'Ali Paşa (1102-3/1691-2) was nicknamed '*Arabacı*' because he inflicted this ignominious treatment on his political enemies, a treatment to which he himself was in the end subjected (Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 566 ff.).

Up to the beginning of the 19th century, the right to use *arabas* in Istanbul was restricted to very important functionaries (*Şer'îh ü'l-İslâm*, Grand Vizier; *Djeldet*, *Ta'rih*, x, Istanbul 1909, 183 ff.). At this period the importation of European carriages was in its initial stages. The number of vehicles increased, and they were increasingly adapted to conform to European fashions. In 1852 Théophile Gautier wrote: "Paris and Vienna send the masterpieces of their coach-builders to Constantinople, from whose streets the *talabas* with their brightly-painted and gilded coachwork, the typical *arabas* (carriages with shafts used by ladies for their drives in company and properly called *kaş*) pulled by huge grey oxen, will soon completely disappear" (*Constantinople*, Paris 1853, 318). But in 1861 Emmanuel Scherer, living at Hamidiye, a suburb of Istanbul, built coupés, victorias, omnibuses and every kind of carriage to order (*Tayir-i Efkâr*, no. 193, 3 *İhtisâs-ı Hakkı* 1280/26 April 1864). Standing-places for *arabas* were provided at many points. Their number, combined with the narrowness of the streets, caused congestion. The *Tayir-i Efkâr* of 12 November 1909 complains about this, and demands that the constitutional régime should no longer tolerate the inconvenience caused by the arrogance of the pashas and the beys.

*Arabas* made their appearance in Turkish literature with the exile to Keshân of 'Izzet Molla in 1238/1823; his celebrated poem *Mihnet-keşân* was composed in the *araba* which conveyed him there, the author conversing with his reflection in the mirrors which decorated its interior (Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 308, 314). In his novel '*Araba serâsırı*' (1905), Redjâ'zâde Mahmûd Ekrem describes a snob with a passionate love of carriages. To-day the rural four-wheeled vehicles are divided into *yayıl* "with (double) springs", and *yarım yayıl* "semi-sprung", that is to say with a single spring for each axle-tree (cf. *İstanbul Anıtkolâzı*, iii, Ankara 1949, 194-6); they are framed by wooden uprights, covered by a semi-circular tilt; as they are not provided with seats, a mattress is used to sit on. Freight vehicles (*yâk arabası*) are often unsprung (but some are "semi-sprung"; this category in particular is subject to decoration in various styles. The *talaba* (sometimes written *talaba* by false Arabic etymology, but in fact from the Slav word *talaga*, *telega*, etc., itself derived from the Mongol *targa*) provided greater amenities for the comfort of passengers. This carriage, widely used in the 19th century and still in use, especially on the Asiatic coast of the Bosphorus, is a sort of open fiacre; it has no door, but a footboard, surmounted by a small platform; the equally com-

fortable "long carriage" (*arab* '*araba*'), a sort of benched carriage, is also open, with a door to the rear, and is equipped with curtains and two benches placed lengthwise inside.

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'ARABA, (WADI 'ARABA), is the southern extension of the Jordan fault, which includes the deep depression of the Dead Sea. The term 'Araba in the Old Testament refers also to the Jordan Valley. From approximately three to five miles in width, the Wadi 'Araba extends for about 110 miles between the south end of the Dead Sea and the north end of the Gulf of 'Akaba, which is the east arm of the Red Sea. Along much of its length are numerous ancient copper mining and smelting sites. They were probably worked by the Kenites and were intensively exploited in King Solomon's times. There are also extensive hematite deposits in the Wadi 'Araba.

The route of the Exodus led in part through the Wadi 'Araba. The few springs in the Wadi 'Araba attracted settlements as early as Middle Bronze I (21st-19th centuries B.C.), Iron II (10th-6th centuries B.C.) and particularly in Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine times. Near the centre of the north shore of the Gulf of 'Akaba, at the south end of the Wadi 'Araba, is Tell el-Khaleife, which has been identified with Solomon's port-city and industrial center of Elion-geber: Elath. The Nabataean to Byzantine site of Ayla [g.v.] is situated near the east side of this shore, with the modern village of 'Akaba [g.v.] immediately east of it, and the modern Israeli town of Elath is located on the west side of the shore.

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**ARABESQUE.** For a long time this term was used in literature devoted to art to designate several kinds of typical Islamic ornament: geometric, vegetal, calligraphic and even figural. In the first edition of the *El*, E. Herzfeld still took into account this wider interpretation of the arabesque, which however was already antiquated since the time when A. Riegl had defined in his *Stilfragen* its distinctive character as being a particular, and exclusively Islamic, form of denaturalised vegetal ornament consisting of shoots or split or bifurcated leaves on inorganic tendrils. The leaves may be flat or curved, pointed or round or rolled, smooth or rough, feathered or pierced, but never isolated and always joined to the stalk for which it serves as an adjunct or a terminal. The stalk itself may be undulating, spiral or interlaced, going through the leaf or issuing again from it, but always intimately connected with it. To quote Herzfeld's definition: stalk and leaf are completely grown into each other, the leaves forming additions growing from the main stalk.

The principles which regulate the arabesque are reciprocal repetition, the formation of palmette or calice forms by pairs of split leaves, the insertion of geometric interlacings, medallions or cartouches compartments. In every instance, two aesthetic rules are scrupulously observed: the rhythmical alternation of movement always rendered with harmonious effect, and the desire to fill the entire surface with ornament. By its balanced and serene

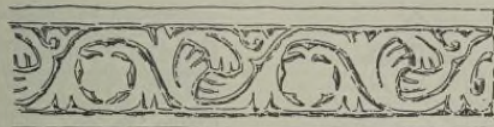


Fig. 1. Mosque of 'Amr in Fustât ca. 800 (after E. Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra*, fig. 49a)

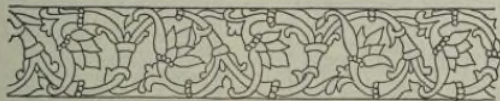


Fig. 2. Mosque of Sidi 'Ukba in al-Kayrawân (after G. Marçais, *Coupoles et Plafonds de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, Paris 1925)

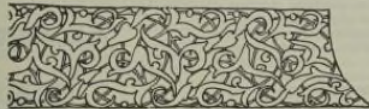


Fig. 3. From a Kur'an, Granada 15th century (in the Islamicische Abteilung, Berlin Museum)



Fig. 4. Wood-carving, Egypt 13th century (after Bourgoin, *Précis de l'Art arabe*, Paris 1892, iii, pl. 88)



convolution, the arabesque avoids the dynamic excitement, the restless whirling and violent twisting of the nordic ornament with which it otherwise has much in common. The effect of contrast is obtained by



Fig. 5. Fayence mosaic in the türbe of Fakhr al-Din 'Ali, Konya, 13th century (after F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, fig. 185)

differences in density, the stalk sometimes nearly disappearing beneath an abundance of foliage, at other times vigorously dominating the pattern.

The denaturalized vegetal ornament conforming to the rules described above is termed "arabesque"



Fig. 6. Stucco tile, Persia 13th century (in Islamicische Abteilung, Berlin)

with good reason, because its invention was certainly the outcome of a particular Arab attitude and parallel developments occur in Arabic poetry and music. The Arabic term *zawraq* (zawraq), clearly implies that the description was restricted to foliage; it

is preserved in *atawraq*, a term commonly used by Spanish authors to designate the genuine arabesque as understood by Riegl.



Fig. 7. Wood carving, Egypt 13th century (in Arab Museum, Cairo)

The arabesque may be combined with every kind of geometric decoration. In epigraphy, it may form a background to the calligraphy, or the letters



Fig. 8. H. Holbein the Younger, 1537 (after Jensen, *Der Ornamentbuch*, Berlin 1920, fig. 72)

may terminate in arabesques, or letters and arabesque may be interwoven. Animals may be drawn in the form of arabesques, which may also be combined

with human figures; the animals and the human figures may then be rendered more, or less, recognizable. Sometimes, an Islamic "grotesque" decoration occurs in which masks and prototypes of animals are combined with an arabesque scheme. It seems unnecessary to emphasise that the arabesque never has any symbolic significance but is merely one ornament from a large stock which includes other vegetal forms such as palmettes, rosettes and naturalistic flowers, and abstract forms such as cloud-bands. At certain periods, however, it played a predominant role.

The arabesque has its prototype in certain acanthus, vine leaf and cornucopia forms of late antiquity which tend to progress in undulations or with bifurcations. It is not yet completely developed in the Umayyad period, acquires its typical shape in the 9th century under the 'Abbasids and in Islamic Spain and appears fully developed in the 11th century under the Seldjûks, Fâtîmids and Moors. From then on it occurs throughout the Islamic world in countless variations, so that it is impossible to classify the various forms according to a chronological order or according to national or dynastic predilections. Persian, Turkish and Indian artists understood the language of the arabesque quite as well as Arabic-speaking artists, and through the centuries they competed one against the other in creating ever more varieties and combinations. Its use is not restricted to any one material, but is used in architectural decoration as well as carved or painted decoration, in pottery and glass and metalwork, and above all in book illumination.

In Hispano-Moresque art of the 12th century and later the arabesque predominates almost to the exclusion of other ornamental forms, and from Islamic Spain it found its way in the late 15th century to the Christian countries. Known as *moresque* it became fashionable in the first half of the 16th century and was introduced into Italy by Francesco Pelligrino, into France by the unknown master G. J., and into Germany by Hans Holbein and Peter Plattner. Like them, other artists tried to imitate, with more or less understanding, the particular character of the arabesque, principally in their pattern-books for jewellers and armourers (e.g. the *Livre de moresques*, Paris 1546).

(See also ORNAMENT).

**Bibliography:** A. Riegl, *Stilfragen*, Berlin 1893; E. Kühnel, *Die Arabeske*, Wiesbaden 1949. (E. KÜHNEL)

**'ARABFAKIH**, Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Kādir, chronicler of 16th century Muslim Ethiopia. He personally took part in the war between the imām Ahmad b. Ibrahim, lord of Harar, and the Negus Lebna Denghel; but, when he wrote his chronicle, he had already left Ethiopia for Djibuti in Arabia. His (Harari) surname 'Arab-Fakih "the Arab doctor" can be explained either as the sobriquet of an Ethiopian who was particularly well-versed in the Arabic language and *fiqh*, or as the local *labak* of an Arab who emigrated at first to Ethiopia (and who later returned to his native country). His chronicle bears the title (in its colophon) of *Futūḥ al-Zaman*, but it is given in the MSS. as *Futūḥ al-Habasha* "Conquests of Ethiopia". The narrative closes with the events of the year 1537; but the colophon describes the work as the "First Part". A second part, however, has never been found, and it is quite possible that the author was never able to complete his work as planned.

The *Futūḥ al-Habasha*, of which we possess only a few MSS., all recent, is also quoted and to a large extent summarised in the (Arabic) Chronicle of Gujarat (*Zafar al-Wāḥ bi-Muḥannad wa-Āḥḥa*) by al-Uṭugh-Kāhī, also an Arab writer, who emigrated to Muslim India during the second half of the 16th century.

**Bibliography:** René Basset, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Arabie* (Arabic text and French translation) 2 vols., Paris 1897; E. Denison Ross, *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, 2 vols., London 1910-25. (E. CERULLI)

**'ARĀBĪ PASHA** (see 'ARĀBĪ PASHA).

**ARABIAN NIGHTS** (see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA).

**ARABIC WRITING** (see KHATT).

**'ARABISTĀN**, "the Arab country", a term much in use until recently to denote the Persian province of Khūzistān; the latter name was revived during the reign of Rīdā Shāh Pahlawī. For further particulars see KHUZISTĀN. Following Persian usage, 'Arabistān denotes occasionally the Arabian peninsula. In Ottoman administrative documents from the 16th century it is occasionally applied to the Arabic-speaking provinces of the Empire, more especially to Syria. (Ed.)

**'ARABIYYA**. ARABIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

A. The Arabic Language (al-'Arabiyya).

(i) Pre-classical Arabic.

(1) The position of Arabic among the Semitic languages; (2) Old Arabic ("Proto-Arabic"); (3) Early Arabic (3rd-6th centuries A.D.).

(ii) The Literary Language.

(1) Classical Arabic; (2) Early Middle Arabic; (3) Middle Arabic; (4) Modern Arabic.

(iii) The Vernaculars.

(1) General survey; (2) The Eastern dialects; (3) The Western Dialects.

B. Arabic Literature.

AL-'Arabiyya, sc. *luḡha*, also *lisān al-'arab*, is:

(1) The Arabic language in all its forms. This use is pre-Islamic, as is shown by the appearance of *luḡha* 'arabiyya in third-century Hebrew sources, *arabica lingua* in St. Jerome's *Prologus in Danieli*; this probably is also the sense of *lisān 'arabi* (*muḥib*) in Kur'ān, xvi, 103 (109); xvi, 105; xvi, 12 (21).

(2) Technically, the Classical Arabic language (Cl. Ar.) of early poetry, Kur'ān, etc., and the Literary Arabic of Islamic literature. This may be distinguished from 'arabiyya in the wider sense as al-'arabiyya al-faṣiḥa or al-'arabiyya al-fuṣḥā, from *fasuḥa* "to be clear, pure" (cf. Assy. *piṣā* "pure, bright", Aram. *paṣiṣā* "bright, radiant"); it means "clear", i.e. "universally intelligible" Arabic, not "pure Arabic", as is shown by *afḥa* (*al-halima*) "to speak clearly" (LA, iii, 377), cf. also *a'raḥa* "to speak clearly, intelligibly" and "to use correct Arabic".

Cl. Ar. is the chief literary dialect of Arabic, though not the only written one (cf. Old Arabic and some modern colloquials, notably Maltese). The other forms of Arabic known to us belong to three distinct stages: 1) Old Arabic, also called Proto-Arabic (though this term would better be reserved for the hypothetical common ancestor of all Arabic dialects), German *altmordarabisch*; 2) The Early Dialects (*luḡhāt*); 3) The Colloquials (medieval *luḡha al-'amma*, modern al-*luḡha al-'ammiyya* or al-*dārījīya*, or *lahjījī*).

(i) Pre-classical Arabic

(1) The Position of Arabic among the Semitic Languages

Arabic belongs to the Semitic language family, which is part of a wider Hamito-Semitic family



including, inter alia, also Ancient Egyptian. Within that family, it belongs to the South-Semitic or South-West-Semitic branch, which includes two further sub-groups: (a) South-Arabian (comprising ancient Sabaean, Minaean, Katabanian, Hadramitic, etc. in Yemen and Southern Hadramawt and modern Mehri, Shihahuri etc. in Northern Hadramawt and the language of the island of Sokatra); contrary to a widespread assumption, ancient South-Arabian is a language-group quite different from Arabic; (b) Ethiopian (comprising ancient Ethiopic or Ge'ez, modern Tigre, Tigrinya, Amharic, Harari, Gurage, etc.); it is not yet quite clear whether Ethiopian originally derived from some form of South-Arabian (cf. E. Ullendorff, *Sem. Languages of Ethiopia*, 1955). The common traits of the S.-Sem. branch (partly obscured in the modern forms) are: almost complete preservation of the proto-Sem. sound system, except for *p* becoming *f* and *gh* coalescing with *s* (Arabic *ش* is proto-Sem. *š*); plural of nouns formed by internal vowel changes; *h*'aia and *u*'aiafa patterns in the verb, S.-Ar. and Eth., however, have some features in common with Accadian which Arabic does not share (W. Leslau, in *JAOS*, 1944, 53-8).

On the other hand Arabic shares with North-West Semitic (Hebrew, Ugaritic, Aramaic) certain traits not found in S.-Ar. and Eth.: the pl. masc. suffix *-ūn*, the internal passive (W. Christian, in *WZKM*, 1907, 201; for S.-Ar. see M. Hölzer, *Altisrabian Grammatik*, 82), and the *pu*-ayal diminutive (F. Praetorius, in *ZDMG*, 1903, 524-9), see also I. al-Yasini, *Lexical Relation between Ugaritic and Arabic*, 1952. Some forms of Arabic had closer connection with N.W.-Sem.: Old Arabic had, like Hebrew, a definite article *ka-* with doubling of the following consonant (as in אֲרָמָא; *arāmā*); names like אֲרָמָא (3rd cent. B.C.) and אֲרָמָא (3rd cent. A.D.) show that *āh* had the construct *āh* in all cases, as in Hebrew. Among the Early Dialects, the Taysi<sup>1</sup> rel. pron. *dhā* corresponds to poetical Hebrew *dhā*, while the *dh* of other Western dialects has its equivalent in older Aramaic; the W. dialects also sounded long *a* as *ā*, like Canaanite and W.-Syriac, and changed *iya* to *ā*, like Hebrew. The Eastern dialects, on the other hand, had *i* prefixes with the *a*-imperfect, like Canaanite and W.-Syriac (cf. C. Rabin, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 1950, 22-6).

Arabic as a whole thus stands between S.-Sem. and N.W.-Sem., having contacts with both. There existed perhaps dialects intermediate between N.W.-Sem. and Arabic: this has been claimed for the local dialect which influenced the Hebrew book of Job (cf. B. Moritz, in *ZATW* 1926, 81-93; Foster, in *Am. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1932, 21-45).

#### (2) Old Arabic ("Proto-Arabic")

The oldest record of Arabic are some 40 proper names in Assyrian accounts of fighting against the Arabi (Arabi, Urbī, cf. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, 95) during the years 853-626 B.C., collected by T. Weiss-Rosmarin, in *JSOR*, 1932, 1-37, and F. Hommel, *Ethnologia u. Geogr. d. alten Orient*, 1926, 378-89. Almost all can be identified as Arabic: the view of Landsberger and Bauer (in *EA*, 1927, 97-8) that the Arabi were Aramaeans has little foundation as that of B. Moritz (*Or. Studies* ... *Paul Haupt*, 1926, 184-212) that the Aramum mentioned in texts of the same period were Arabs. The Gaimbulu were closely allied with the Arabi (Assurbanipal's Rassam Prism iii, 65); among their chiefs (Sargon's Annals 254-3) were Hamdanu,

Zabidu, and Haza'bu, as well as some bearing Aramaic names. Most had Assyrian names, however, showing that some of these tribes had undergone the influence of the higher culture.

Assyrian influence also marks the earliest texts written by Arabs, in the 8th-7th cent. B.C., in a North-Arabian script close to the Dedanite, but in the Accadian language, except for the mixed form *yab*, which is Accadian *yab* 'he carried' with West-Semitic *y*-prefix. These include two short inscriptions found at Ur (Burrows, in *JRAS* 1927, 795-806) and some seal cylinders (W. F. Albright, in *Bull. Am. School. J. Or. Res.*, no. 128, 39-45). Albright identified the group from which these texts originated as the Chaldeans.

The Dedanite inscriptions at al-'Ula are probably only slightly later (H. Grimme, *Bruch u. Schrift*, iv, 19-28; id., in *OLZ*, 1932, 753-8). At the same locality, but later, are the Libyānite inscriptions. The latest are about 150 A.D., and show Early Arabic features. About this time (see, however, Bonesei, in *RSO*, 1951, 1-15) "Mas'ūd king of Libyān" put up inscriptions in archaic Nabataean Aramaic.

**Bibliography:** Texts: Janssen & Savigneau, *Mission archéol. en Arabie*, 1904-12, iii, 363-53; Grammar: Winnett, *Study of the Liby. and Thamudic Inscr.*, 1937; id., in *Mus.*, 1938, 299-310; W. Caskel, *Libyan u. Libyanisch*, 1954.

Grave inscriptions in Libyānic script exist in al-Hayā (G. Ryckmans, in *Mus.*, 1937, 291; Cornwall, in *GJ*, 1946, 434; Winnett, *Bull. Am. School. J. Or. Res.*, no. 102, 4-6; S. Smith (in *BSOAS* 1954, 442) thinks they emanate from the people of al-Hira.

Thamudic is represented by inscriptions in northern Hijāz, Sinai, Transjordan, southern Palestine (1,000 in A. v. d. Branden, *Inscriptions thomoudiques*, 1924; 524 in Harding & Littmann, *Some Th. Inscr. from ... Jordan*, 1952), Asir (9,000 discovered by G. Ryckmans in 1952), and Egypt (Kensade, in *Mus.*, 1952, 285-90). For grammar see v. d. Branden, op. cit., E. Littmann, *Thamud u. Safit*, 1943; id., in *ZDMG* 1950, 168-80. The latest Thamudic texts occur in conjunction with Early Ar. (one line on the stele of Hadrā of 207 A.D. (in Nabataean script), some graffiti on the temple of Ramm in Sinai, ca. 300 A.D., next to the oldest graffiti in Arabic script). The language hardly changed during the 600 years of its use; this suggests some literary tradition (constructive diagram in Harding & Littmann, op. cit., 50). They preserve obsolete forms into Cl. Ar., as in *Udā* (al-Tabari, iii, 236) = *ʾUdāʾu*, Safat. *ʾid* (i.e. *ʾOda*), which in Cl. Ar. would be *\*ʾAwad*, and give valuable information on the vocabulary of Old Arabic.

**Bibliography:** Texts: 396 in M. de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale. Inscr. Sémit.*, 1868-71; 904 in Dussaud & Macler, *Missions dans la Syrie moyenne*, 1935; 136 in E. Littmann, *Publ. Amer. Arch. Exp. iv, Semitic Inscriptions*, 1904; 300 in H. Grimme, *Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Safar. Arab. Religion*, 1929; 1302 in E. Littmann, *Safaitic Inscr. = Syria, Publ. of the Princeton Archaeol. Exp.*, iv, C, 1943, with best sketch of grammar, cf. also id., *Thamud u. Safit*; 5380 in Corp. Inscr. Sem., vi, 1950. See also R. Dussaud, *Arabes en Syrie avant*

*l'islam*, 1907; id., *Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'islam*, 1955.

For further bibliography, cf. G. Ryckmans, in *Revue Biblique*, 1932, 89-95; id., in *Med. Kon. Vlaamsche Acad.*, 1941, 12-13; id., in *Mus.*, 1948, 137-213.

Since graffiti mostly consist of names, our knowledge of all these idioms is scanty. It is probable that the method of elucidating them by reference to the Arabic lexicon makes them appear more similar to Cl. Ar. than they really were. The transliteration of the Arabi names shows that *ʾayn* was sounded weakly, *ghim* was like Accadian *g*, *hā* like *h*, *thā* like *t*, and *dhā* like *p*. Greek transliterations of names from the Safatene area show a vowel-system reminiscent of Hebrew or Colloquial Arabic, e.g. *Oeobou* = *Uwayd*. Spellings like *bay* = *ب* and *ngy* = *ن* suggest that all defective verbs ended in *-iya*, as in Hebrew.

While all these peoples wrote their own languages in varieties of a script closely related to Old S.-Arabian, the Nabataeans (100 B.C.-4th cent. A.D.) and the Palmyrenians (1st-3rd cent. A.D.) used local varieties of Imperial Aramaic (the *lingua franca* of the Achaemenian empire) and Aramaic script, but their names show that the Nabataeans were wholly Arab, and at Palmyra there was an important Arab element (cf. Goldmann, *Palmyr. Personennamen*, 1937). In Palmyrenian, Arabic words are few (J. Cantaneau, *gr. du Palm. épigr.*, 1935, 150-1; even fewer in F. Rosenthal, *Sprache d. Palmyr. Inscr.*, 1937, 94-6). Nabataean has many *ʾayns*; their number increases sharply in later texts (Cantaneau, op. cit., ii, 172-80; id., *AIEO*, 1934, 77-97; see also F. Rosenthal, *Aramäische Forschungen*, 1939, 89-92). This Arabic substrate—which was probably different in various regions—includes Thamudic *ʾdh* 'legitimate hair'; in contrast to the epigraphic Old Arabic dialects it had the art. article (*Shyʾ* 'Yam against Safat. *Shyʾ* *ahem*, name of a god; *ʾghre* = *ghra*); long *a* was sounded *ā* as in the Early Western Dialects.

A source of Old Arabic hardly tapped is the study of the personal names, thousands of which are known. These show a striking continuity from the Arabi to present-day bedouins and form a common stock in various Old Arabic idioms (constructive diagram in Harding & Littmann, op. cit., 50). They preserve obsolete forms into Cl. Ar., as in *Udā* (al-Tabari, iii, 236) = *ʾUdāʾu*, Safat. *ʾid* (i.e. *ʾOda*), which in Cl. Ar. would be *\*ʾAwad*, and give valuable information on the vocabulary of Old Arabic.

**Bibliography:** G. Ryckmans, *Noms propres sémitiques*, 1934; Withnaw, *Sem. Menschen-namen i. d. griech. Inscr. u. Papyri d. Vorderen Orient*, 1930; Gratzl, *Arab. Frauennamen*, 1906; Briu, *Altnord. kultische Personennamen*, *WZKM*, 1925, 31-59, 85-115.

Another valuable source for reconstructing the phonetic history of Arabic is the geographical names preserved in texts in Accadian (cf. under Arabi above), Hebrew (J. A. Montgomery, *Arabs and the Bible*, 1924; id., in *Harvard Symposium on Archaeol. and Bible*, 1938, 188-201), and Greek and Latin (A. Sprenger, *Alte Geogr. Arabien*, 1875; Glaser, *Sätze*, etc., 1889-90; A. Mouil, *Topographical Itineraries*, ii, Appendix 3; cf. on all the material F. Hommel, *Ethnologie*, etc., 538-634). O. Blau, *Altharab. Sprachschichten*, *ZDMG*, 1871, 525-92, is methodically unsatisfactory.

Possibly Old Arabic was the dialect of Djourim,

from which Abū 'Ubayd (d. 223/838) gives ca. 30 words in his monograph on dialect words in the Kurʾān (cf. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 7; ed. by S. al-Munajjid as a work of Ismaʿīl b. 'Amr al-Mukri', Cairo 1946). The Djourim, of course, belong to the *'Arab al-ʾshira* (q.v.) or *al-bāʾida*, from whom, according to the Arab historians, the *'Arab al-mustaʾriba*, the tribes making up the bulk of the population in the 6th cent. A.D., took over the country and the language. More specifically we learn that the Taysi<sup>1</sup> adopted the language of the Shabī (Yāskūt, i, 127). We must ask (1) whether the *'shira* tribes were identical with the known speakers of Old Arabic, 2) what language the *mustaʾriba* tribes spoke before they adopted Arabic. To neither question have we any answer. The matter is further bound up with the cleavage between Eastern and Western Early dialects: on the whole the latter appear to have been somewhat closer to Old Arabic, but it is likely that the real successor of Old Arabic were the Kudāʾa dialects, spoken over the same area as the former, our knowledge of which is practically nil; on the other hand we possess practically no epigraphic material from those areas where either the Eastern or the Western dialects were spoken, and the speech of those regions during the Old Arabic period may have been quite different from the Old Ar. dialects perpetuated by inscriptions.

#### (3) Early Arabic (3rd-6th centuries A.D.)

Following precedents in the nomenclature of English and German, we may give this name to the period from the 3rd to the 6th cent. A.D., when over a large part of Arabia dialects quite distinct from Old Arabic, but approaching Cl. Ar. were spoken, and during which Cl. Ar. itself must have evolved.

Outside evidence for this period is scarce, but we possess a number of quotations in contemporary Jewish sources (partly coll. by A. Cohen, in *JQR*, 1912/13, 221-33), including even sentences, e.g. *לֹא יָדָעְתִּי מִשְׁכָּח מִלֵּב מִלֵּב מִלֵּב* 'make room for thy throne' (*Midrash Rabbah* on Canticles, iv, 1).

This is the period during which hundreds of Aramaic loan-words entered the language through Christian and Jewish contacts (S. Fraemkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, 1886); their phonological study throws some light on the Arabic of the period. Thus there is an older layer where *Arām* = *ʾr* (e.g. *ʾr* and a younger one where it = *ʾr*), due no doubt to a sound-change in Arabic (D. H. Müller, *Acts VII Or. Congr.*, 1888, 229-48; Brockelmann, *Grundr. Vergl. Gr.*, i, 129-30). Other words penetrated during this period from South-Arabian (H. Grimme, in *EA*, 1912, 158-68; cf. also F. Krenkow, in *WZKM*, 1913, 127-8) and Ethiopic (Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 31-66; but see Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 109, on *tābāt* and *mishkāt*) — owing to our restricted knowledge of S.-Ar., the two sources cannot always be clearly distinguished. Some Persian loan-words, found in the Kurʾān and poetry, entered during this period, though the great influx of Persian words took place in the first Islamic centuries (A. Siddiqi, *Studies in the d. pers. Fremdwörter*, 1919). Greek words entered mainly via Aramaic, Latin words via Greek and Aramaic: thus *ḥinḥā* < Syr. *hantā* < Lat. *centenarius*; *mandil* < Syr. *mandilā* < Gk. *μανδύλη* (with typical late Gk. soundchange) < Lat. *mandile*. Some military terms, e.g. *ḥarā* < *arab* or *harp* < *cavata* (cf., however, Palest. Jew. Aram. *ḥarā*) may have come directly from Latin.



*Bibliography:* Djawālikī, *Mu'arrab* (Sachau), 1867; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 23-30; A. Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an*, 1938; A. Salomon, *Alt-Sabäer und Kultursprachen im Arab.*, 1939 (= *St. Or. Soc. Or. Fennica*, xvii, 2).

It must be assumed that these words originally entered some specific dialect area in contact with the culture in question and then spread into Cl. Ar. We hear of foreign words used only at Medina (Rabin, *op. cit.*, 96; Fück, *Arabiya*, 10).

Arab philological literature preserves much material about the Early Dialects of Najd (Tamin, Asad, Bahr, Tayyī, Kayy), Hijāz and the highland area of the south-west (Husayn, Asad, Yaman), very little about those of other areas. The information seems to have been gathered during the 2nd-3rd Islamic centuries—when these dialects were probably rapidly disintegrating—partly from tribesmen in the *amṣār*; it is distorted by the scholastic approach and by the use made of it for elucidating difficulties in texts which had nothing to do with the dialects cited. Interest in the dialects for their own sake developed only late, and many data are preserved only in late works whose sources we cannot check.

A sharp cleavage clearly emerges between an Eastern group centred on the Persian Gulf, and a Western one, including besides the south-western and Hijāz dialects also that of Tayyī. Within the latter the characteristic features are most clearly marked in Yaman and Tayyī, while Hudhayl and Hijāz show evidence of Eastern influence. The differences are in rhythm (vowel-elisions and assimilations in the East), phonetics (e.g. West distinguished ā—sounded ē—and ē, while in the East both coalesced into one ā, sounded *āi*; *hama* was strongly sounded in East and even became *haya*, but was completely elided in the West), grammar (e.g. Eastern *al-ladhi*; Western *dhā*, *dhā*; E. passive *bilā*; W. *hā*; E. imper. *raddū*; W. *uraddū*), syntax (e.g. the 'Hijāzī *mā*' = E. *dhā*/'(n) *r-riddā*: W. *dhā*/' *r-riddā*) and vocabulary.

It cannot be determined whether this cleavage had but recently developed or was old-inherited; the possibility must be taken into account that the inhabitants of Arabia had come from different parts of the Semitic world and that the common 'Arabic' features were produced by mutual influence or by a common substrate after their settlement in Arabia.

The dialects of Yaman hold a special place: owing to the lexica of Ibn Durayd and Nashwān b. Sa'īd information is plentiful, and can be evaluated because the modern colloquial here continues the ancient dialect (cf. data in C. de Landberg, *Parfane*, 1909-13; idem, *Glossaire Dajani*, 1920-27). The dialect of 'Himyar' as described by the philologists was an archaic Western Arabic idiom strongly influenced by South-Arabian. We possess some rhymes and sayings in it, as well as a number of 'inscriptions' (*Musnads*) forged by Nashwān and al-Ḥamdānī in the belief that the South-Arabian kings of ancient Himyar and Saba spoke the language of the 7th-cent. A.D. 'Himyar'.

*Bibliography:* Older literature (to be used with caution): G. W. Freytag, *Einführung etc.*, 1861, 65-125; P. Anastase Marie, in *Mash.*, vi, 329-36; Näslil al-Yazīdī, in *Acta VII Or. Congr.*, 1888, ii, 69-104; K. Vollers, *Volkssprache*, 1906. Modern research begins with Sarauw, *Die älteren Dialekte*, *Zeitschr.*, 1908, 17-49; H. Koller, *Reise al-Habash*, *Dialekte*, WZKM, 1920, 61-130, 233-62; 1921, 32-88, 247-74; 1922, 15-30, 234-36; I. Anb, *Al-*

*Lahadjāt al-'Arabiyya*, ca. 1926; E. Littmann, *B. Fac. Ar.*, 1928, 1-56; C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 1931; K. Petráček, *ARO*, 1934, 406-6.

To the Early Arabic period belong two inscriptions in Nabataean characters but practically pure Arabic language: One is at *Hiḍra* (Arabic *al-Hiḍr*, near Madā'in Sāhib), northern Hijāz, dated 467 A.D. (M. Lidbarski, in *ZA*, 1909, 194-7; Jaussen & Savignac, in *Rev. Biblique*, 1908, 241-50; Chabot, in *Comptes Rend. Ac. Ins.*, 1908 269-72; 1. Cantineau, *Nabataen*, ii, 38), with a line in Thāmidic; the other the inscription of Imra' al-Kays 'king of all Arabs' at al-Namara, dated 328 A.D. (R. Dussaud, in *Riv. Arch.*, 1922, 109-21; id. *Mission*, i, 375; *Syrie Moysenne*, 314; M. Lidbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii, 24; *IRP. Epigr. Sém.*, no. 485; Cantineau, ii, 49). M. Hartmann (*OLZ* 1906, 573); *Arab. Fragm.*, 1908, 501; now also Dussaud, *Pénétration etc.*, 64 50q) thought Imra' al-Kays to have been a king of al-Hira, but the language of the inscription is shown to be a Western dialect by the pronouns *fy* fem. sg. demonstr. and *dhā* relat.

#### (ii) The literary language

##### (i) Classical Arabic

The oldest texts in Arabic script are three graffiti on the wall of the temple of Ramm in Sinai, dating from ca. 300 A.D. (H. Grunme, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1935, 270; 1936, 90-5). Christian inscriptions, accompanied by Greek versions, are at Zabād, dated 512 A.D. (E. Sachau, in *Mith. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1881, 169-90; id., in *ZDMG*, 1882, 345-52), and at Harrān in the Lejḍā dated 568 A.D. (Schneider, in *ZDMG*, 1884, 34; Dussaud, *Mission*, i, 375; *Syrie Moysenne*, 324; Cantineau, *Nabataen*, ii, 50; on both inscr. E. Littmann, in *RSO* 1917/18, 195-8). The text of an inscription on the church of Hind at al-Hira, about 560 A.D., is recorded by Muslim historians (al-Bukhārī, 1964; G. Rothstein, *Laḡmiden*, 1899, 24). An undated graffiti is at Umm al-Djīmāl (E. Littmann, in *ZS*, 1929, 197-204). All four inscriptions in N. Abbott, *Rise of the North-Arabian Script*, 1939, plate 1.

The Christian character of the dated inscriptions suggests that the Arabic script was invented by Christian missionaries, as were so many Eastern alphabets. Abbott (*op. cit.*, 5) localises its invention, with much probability, at Hira or Anbār.

It is probable that at least partial Bible translations into Arabic existed before Islam. Stylistic reminiscences of the Old and New Testaments are found in the Qur'ān (W. Rudolph, *Abhängigkeit d. K. v. Judentum u. Christentum*, 1922; T. Andrieu, *Ursprung d. Islams u. d. Christentum*, 1926; A. Mingana, *Bull. J. Rylands Library*, 1927, 77-89; Ahrens, in *ZDMG*, 1930, 15-68, 148-90). A Baumstark claimed pre-Islamic date for the text of some Arabic Bible MSS (*Islamica*, 1931, 562-75; *BZ* 1929/30, 350-9; *OC*, 1934, 35-66; against this Graf, *Gesch. d. Chr.-Arab. Lit.*, i, 142-6). There also is a fragment of the Psalms in Arabic-Greek characters (Vissiet, in *OLZ*, 1901, 384-403). Examination of this and of two of Baumstark's texts (B. Levin, *Griech.-Arab. Evang. Ueberr.*, 1918) shows a language slightly deviating from Cl. Ar. towards the colloquials. This is typical for Chr.-Arab. literature (Graf, *Sprachgebrauch d. älteren Chr.-Arab. Liter.*, 1905), for early papyri and for the language of scientific writing; it may be early colloquial influence, but also a Cl. Ar. not yet standardised by grammarians.

The Arabian Jews are less likely to have participated in the literary formation of Cl. Ar., since

at that period written translations of the O.T. were not being made by Jews (though a Jewish translation is mentioned Birkhäuser, 1931). The Jewish traditions in Umayya b. Abi 'l-Salt (J. W. Hirschberg, *Jud. u. Chr. Lehren im vor- u. frühislam. Arabien*, 1930) and in the Qur'ān (cf., e.g., Torrey, *Jewish Foundations of Islam*, 1933; A. Katsh, *Judaism in Islam*, 1951), show all signs of oral transmission. Jews, however, used Cl. Ar. before Islam, as e.g. Saṇaw'al b. 'Adiyā' (cf. also I. Guidi, *Arabic antedil.*, 1927, 145-6; Hirschberg, *Dissein des ar-S. b. 'A.*, 1932, Intro.), and are said to have taught the Muslims to write at Medina (Birkhäuser, *Fulāḥ*, 473).

Wellhausen (*Reise arab. Heidentums*), 1927, 232) plausibly suggested that Cl. Ar. was developed by Christians at al-Hira. Muslim tradition names among the first persons who wrote Arabic Zayd b. Ḥamīd (ca. 300 A.D.) and his son, the poet 'Adī, both Christians of Hira (*Aghānī*, ii, 200-2). 'Adī's language was not considered fully *faṣḥ*, which may be taken as meaning that Cl. Ar. was still in course of evolution. Al-Mufaḍḍal (*apud* al-Marzubānī, *Mawāḍiḥ*, Cairo 1343, 73) says that 'Adī drew on many tribal dialects, a procedure alleged by other scholars to account for the excellence of the Quraysh dialect. This statement gains in substance if we recall that nowadays the poetry of settled Arabs is often couched in bedouin dialects, and that the oldest genuine bits of poetry, those connected with the War of Bāsis, come from the Euphrates region. The court of Hira remained a centre for bedouin poets: this helped in developing and unifying the language of poetry; its written use at al-Hira also furthered its standardisation.

As to the origins of that poetical language itself, early Muslim tradition sought it in various tribes, while later scholars, no doubt for theological reasons, identified it with the dialect of Quraysh. This view was accepted by Grunme (*Mohammed*, 1904, 23), Taha Husayn (*Al-Adab al-Djāhili*, 1927), and Dhorme (*Langues et écritures sémit.*, 1930, 53). Most western scholars agree in seeking its home among the bedouins of Najd—as did in practice the Muslim philologists of the 2nd-4th centuries who would only accept Najdī bedouins as authoritative informants. Some believe it to have been originally the language of one definite tribe, others a compromise between various dialects; others again think it acquired some purely artificial characteristics. An important feature is its archaic character, both in phonetics (it lacks the contractions typical for the Eastern Dialects) and in syntax, where it keeps alive constructions lost in early prose (Bloch, *Fers und Sprache im Altarab.*, 1946). It is beyond doubt, however, that in the late 4th cent. A.D. it was a purely literary dialect, distinct from all spoken idioms and super-trial. It is today often referred to as the 'poetical koine'. Its continuity was assured by the professional reciters, or *rhōfīs*. The language was practically uniform throughout Arabia: even allegedly local features like the *dhā* *TA*-*Arabiyya* and *mā* *Hijāziyya* occur in poetry from outside those regions. There may have been differences in the choice of words: Prof. F. Krenkow, in a letter to the present writer, suggested that northern poets used *asad* for 'lion', southern ones *layḥ*. The main differences, as in the case of other standard languages, were no doubt in pronunciation; it is interesting that Abu 'l-ʿAswad al-Du'ālī of 'Abd al-Kays chose from thirty men an 'Abkāsh as the one with the best pronunciation (al-Anbārī, *Nawāḥ*, 11) and the Hijāzī 'Uḡmān thought

a Hudhāl the best person to dictate to a scribe (*Gesch. d. Qur.*, ii, 2). It is, however, likely that some regionalisms and archaisms in the poems were eliminated by editors, for it is not rare to find that a verse is quoted by a grammarian for some peculiarity which is absent in the *dhūn* of the poet, the verse being slightly recast.

*Bibliography:* K. Vollers, in *ZA*, 1897, 125-39; I. Guidi, *Una somiglianza fra la storia dell' arabo e del latino*, *Miscelanea linguist.*, i, G. Ascoli, Torino 1901, 325-6; id., *Arabic antedil.*, 1927, 42-4; A. Fischer, in *Verhandl. d. Philologengesellschaft zu Halle*, 1905, 154; Nöldeke, *Beitr.*, 2. Sem. *Sprachwiss.*, 1904, 1-14; C. de Landberg, *La langue arabe et ses dialectes*, 1905; C. Brockelmann, *Grundr.*, d. vergl. *Gramm.*, i, 23; M. Hartmann, in *OLZ*, 1909, 19-28; R. Geyer, in *GGA*, 1909, 20-50; Nallino, in *Idid.*, Oct. 1917 = *Script.*, vi, 181-90; J. H. Kramers, *Taal van den Koran*, 1940; H. Fleisch, *Introd. à l'étude des langues sémit.*, 1947, 96-104; H. Birkeland, *Språk og religion hos Jøder og Arabere*, 1949; J. Fück, *Arabiya*, 1950, 55; R. Blachère, *Hist. de la litt. arab.*, i, 1952, ch. iii; W. Caskel, in *ZDMG* 1953, \*28\*-316 = *Amer. Anthrop. Assoc. Memoir*, no. 76, 1954; C. Brockelmann, *Handbuch d. Orientalistik*, ii/3, 1954, 217-7; Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 1951, ch. iii; idem, in *Stud. Isl.*, 1955, 19-37.

Our sources for the investigation of Cl. Ar. proper are: (1) pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry; (2) the Qur'ān; (3) the official correspondence of Muḥammad and the first caliphs, as recorded by historians, and the early papyri; (4) the Hadith; (5) the prose portions of the *Ayyām al-'Arab*.

Utilisation of pre-Islamic poetry for the study of Arabic would, of course, be pointless if we were to reject all these poems as forged, as did A. Mingana (*Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, ii, 1920, 125) and D. S. Margoliouth (in *JRAS*, 1925, 415-49)—Taha Husayn, who in *al-Adab al-Djāhili* rejects most of them, admits at least those by Hudhāl as genuine—, though even then the language of the earlier Islamic poets would still be evidence of a bedouin tradition distinct from the Qur'ān.

In assessing the language of the Qur'ān, we must distinguish between the consonantal skeleton, unaltered since the revision under 'Uḡmān, and the vowels, inserted considerably later. The genuine Qur'ān spelling (*Gesch. d. Qur.*, ii, 19-37)—unfortunately 'corrected' in the Fligel edition—differs in some respects from the current orthography; the difference was already felt in the time of Mālik b. Anas (al-Suyūṭī, *Iḥṣān*, *nuṣṣ*, 76/2). Some of these peculiarities are no doubt pure spelling archaisms (e.g. the omission of *sh* when = *dh*), others probably represent grammatical deviations (P. Schwarz, in *ZA*, 1915/6, 46-59), not always amenable to interpretation, e.g. تَقَاتَل for *tataḥallat*, which some Readers pronounce *tahattalat*, others *tahattalat*. The diacritic points and vowels differ according to the *biṣṭ* (4/1). Readers differ not only in interpreting the polysyllabic consonantal outline, but also in grammar and pronunciation. Some readings agree, or are said by commentators to agree, with Early Dialects (cf. Hammūda, *al-Kirā'at wa 'l-Lahjāt*, 1948), others resemble the colloquials.

In 1906 K. Vollers (*Volkssprache u. Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*) asserted that these colloquial readings represented the townsmen's speech, Muḥammad, while the *ṣayḥa* of the official, 'canonical' reading systems was the result of a



revision in accordance with bedouin language. This theory found little acceptance; it has partly been revived by P. Kahle (in *Goldstern Memorial Volume*, i, 1948, 263-82, etc.) who sees in a saying of al-Farrā' promising reward to those reciting the K. with *ʿrāb* support for Volz's view that the original Kurʿān had no *ʿrāb*. Fück (*Arabiyya*, 2-3) cites verses which would have been ambiguous without *ʿrāb*; the dialect variants prove that Readers sometimes did not have command of Cl. Ar. or were slovenly. There is thus no proof for a revision by adding *ʿrāb*, though we know of another revision: the introduction of the *hamsa* into a spelling based on its absence. We learn, however, that the *hamsa* sign was added later than the vowels and at first written in a different colour (al-Dānī, al-Nuḥāj [Pretel], 113-4) and there was opposition to it (Tā, ii, 553), while we hear of no hesitation with regard to *ʿrāb*.

As far as we can see, the language of the Kurʿān stands somewhere between the poetical standard *koine* and the Hǫǫǫǫ dialect. A slightly different mixture of the same elements marks the style of the Meccan poet ʿUmar b. al-Rabʿi (P. Schwarz, *Diwan* *U. b. A.R.*, iv, 1909). Even their command of the ʿArabiyya was not perfect, or Muhammad used Meccan dialect, but was influenced by the Cl. Ar. used by the *ādīms* or soothsayers (Brochmann, in *Handb. d. Orient*, iii/23, 216-20) not of the poets whom he detested, or then adopted elements from Muhammad a Meccan variety of Cl. Ar. used perhaps in writing (e.g., commercial accounts and letters) and public speaking. The differences from the poetical language may be partly due to the needs of prose expression; here, too, some of the developments may well antedate Muhammad.

*Bibliography:* Nöldeke, *Sprache d. Korans*, in *Neue Beiträge*, 1-30, trsl. by G. H. Bonquet as *Remarques critiques sur le style et la syntaxe du Coran*, 1953; G. Bergsträsser, *Vernünŕungs- u. Fragepartikeln im K.*, 1914; T. Sakhag, *La mythologie dans le K.*, 1943; Zayāt, *Les néologismes arabes au début de l'islam*; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, 1947, 156-81; G. E. v. Grunbaum, in *WZKM*, 1937, 29-50.

The language of Ḥadīth, especially in dialogue, often deviates from Cl. Ar., mostly in the direction of colloquial Arabic, but sometimes in that of the Hǫǫǫǫ dialect. In traditions invented about 100 AH such features may show, at least, that at that time a more "popular" variety of Cl. Ar. existed (cf. our remarks above on Christian Arabic), but in fact the earliest recordings of traditions, in Ibn Waḥb and Mālik, are much freer from these peculiarities: unless we assume that they corrected the style of the texts they noted down, we must admit the likelihood that these stylistic artifices were introduced later in order to create "atmosphere". The value of H. for linguistic research is thus a complex problem.

The language of the *Ayyām al-ʿArab*, which were handed down by philologists, shows only few aberrant features (W. Caskel, in *Islamica*, 1931, 43).

Cl. Ar. had an extremely rich vocabulary, due partly to the bedouin's power of observation and partly to poetic exuberance; some of the wealth may be due to dialect mixture. It was not rich in forms or constructions, but sufficiently flexible to survive the adaptation to the needs of a highly urbanised and articulate culture without a disruption of its structure.

Already in Pre-Islamic Arabia, the *koine* had to be learnt, and the men who preserved and taught it, the *rāwīs*, were ready when the need arose for non-Arabs to acquire it under the Umayyads and Abbāsids. Abu ʿI-ʿAswad al-Duʿālī and Khalīl b. Ahmad belonged to that class, but they were soon joined by men who had inherited the habits of thinking taught in the Hellenistic Schools of Rhetoric, and who systematised the traditional lore of the *rāwīs* and applied the science thus created not only to poetry but also to the Kurʿān, harmonising wherever the texts "deviated" from the before turning into the Literary Arabic of the Islamic period. Cl. Ar. thus underwent a process of sifting and systematisation, with subsequent refurbishing of the old sources, poetry and Kurʿān, according to the new stricter standards.

*Bibliography:* (see J. Fück, *Arab. Studien*, in *Europa vom 12. bis ... 19. Jahrh., Beiträge zur Arabistik*, Leipzig 1944, 85-253).

The history of the European study of Arabic is at first one of increasingly effective utilisation of the Arab philologists' work. The first grammars, by Postel (1538) and Erpenius (1613), were based on late school manuals. The first systematically to use older and more advanced Arabic works was S. de Sacy (1810). C. P. Caspari (1848) was based on Zamakhsharī; in the 3rd edition of W. Wright's translation (1896) and reprint (1905) S. de Sacy's emended D. Vernier (1807-2) utilized Sibawayh; M. S. Howell (1880-1911) digested all Arab grammars. In lexicography, the evolution goes from Rapphegius (1813) and Giggeus (1832), based on the *Kawāṣ* of al-Firuzābādī, via Golius (1653), based on the *Saḥāḥ* of al-Jawharī to E. W. Lane's gigantic translation and rearrangement of the *Tā* (1883-91; parts 6-8, ed. by S. Lane Poole, are less useful) and the practical dictionaries of Belot and Hava, based on *Lā*.

In its second stage, European scholarship attempted to improve on the achievements of the Arabs by direct reference to texts and independent analysis. In grammar, the process begins with H. L. Fleischer's notes (S. de Sacy, *Al-Kawāṣ* *Schriften* i/v, 1886-8), further of special importance Th. Nöldeke, *Zur Gramm. d. klassischen Arabisch*, SBdK. Wien, 1897, ii; H. Ruckendorf, *Systematische Verhältnisse d. Arab.*, 1895-8; id., *Arabische Syntax*, 1921; C. Brockelmann, *Grundr. d. vergl. Gramm.*, ii, 1913; M. Gauderoy-Demonbynes and R. Blachère, *Gramm. de l'Arabe Classique*, 1937. In lexicography, the principal fault of the Arab works is that—apart from some specialist vocabularies and al-Fayyūmī's *Muḥāḥ al-Munir*—they largely neglect the post-classical accretions to the language. Texts were utilised already by G. W. Freytag (1830-7) and A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski (1860). In spite of the *Supplement* of R. Dozy (1881), the *Addition* of E. Fagnault (1923), the glossaries added to the Leiden Tabarī edn. (1901) and vols. iv, v, vii of the *BdA*, etc., the vocabulary of medieval Arabic is still far from fully recorded. I. Krachkovsky, Neustadt and Shusser (1947), and H. Wehr (1952) deal with modern Arabic. Yet even for Cl. Ar. there is still much work to be done. Some gaps are closed by glossaries with editions of poets, e.g., that of A. Müller to Nöldeke's *Delectus* etc. (1890). A. A. Bevan to C. J. Lyaal's edn. of the *Mufaḥḥalīyāt* (ii, 1924), and those added by Ch. Lyaal to *ʿAbid* and *ʿAmir b. Tufail* (1913) and F. Krenkow to *Tufail and Terimāḥ* (1927). The Hebrew University of

Jerusalem has prepared a card-index concordance to Pre-Islamic poetry. Publication is planned at Cairo of the lexicon of A. Fischer; the edition by J. Krenkow of Nöldeke's *Belegwörterbuch* (incorporating collections by Bevan and others) began in 1952. No scientific dictionary exists as yet for the Kurʿān, those by F. Dieterici (1881) and Penrice (1873) being unsatisfactory.

(C. RABIN)

#### (a) Early Middle Arabic

The Arabic literary language has been academically standardised since the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Its grammar, syntax, vocabulary and literary usages were clearly defined after systematic and laborious research. Since that time and down to the present it has had a continuous and uninterrupted existence. Although every Arabic-speaking country has developed its own colloquial language for everyday life, they have all continued to use the standard literary language for purposes of writing.

The scholars of the early centuries of Islam—who were responsible for that remarkable achievement of linguistic standardisation—made their starting point the historically authentic text of the Kurʿān which described itself as a "Clear Arabic Book", and which was recorded, put together, and officially circulated in the 7th century. Collections of the traditions, epistles and speeches of the Prophet; sayings and speeches of the Caliphs and the famous orators of the early Islamic period, and anthologies of Arabic poetry were also used as references and textual examples of the literary language. But the greatest efforts of the scholars in the 2nd/8th, 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries were directed towards the collecting, reviving and verifying what was still kept in the memories of *rāwīs* and bedouins of pre-Islamic literature. The poetry as well as proverbs and speeches of the last hundred and fifty years of the *ḡhāḡiyya* period were collected, studied and commented upon, and were used as explanations of Kurʿānic usages and as proofs of linguistic and literary correctness.

The assumption on which this work of reconstruction and standardisation was built was the identity of pre-Islamic and post-Islamic literary language. This assumption is borne out by many historical and literary data. The Kurʿān claimed to have spoken to the Arabs in their own tongue as was God's way with every Divine mission ("We have never sent any messenger except in his people's tongue"; xiv, 4). When the Arabs heard the Kurʿān they understood it, appreciated its literary excellence, and were greatly struck by its superior eloquence (Ibn Hishām, Cairo 1914, i, 201, 216-7).

Many references could be quoted to strengthen the claim to authenticity of what was retrieved of the *ḡhāḡiyya* poetry, and the reality of its construction, style and language with the text of the Kurʿān and the manner of composition of post-Islamic poetry. The second fact upon which historical references are agreed is that the *ḡhāḡiyya* poetry as it has been collected and handed down to us was recited and appreciated all over Arabia. The poetic language heard in the courts of the *Lakhmids* in al-Iraq and the *Ghassanids* in Syria was the same as that heard and applauded in Najd and Ḥijāz.

Claims for priority in evolving the literary language were advanced for different tribes. A statement often quoted in Islamic books advances the theory that pre-Islamic poetry began in Rabīʿa with Muḥallī; thus shifted to *Kays* where the two Nabighas and

Zuhayr flourished, and finally reached Tamīm where it remained till the days of Islam (al-Muḥḡir, ii, 476, 477). Light on the subject may be sought in the many attempts at explaining the tradition "The Kurʿān was revealed in seven *ʿarab* (tongues or languages)". According to Ibn ʿAbbās those were the seven dialects of Upper Ḥawāḡin and Lower Tamīm. This may be taken to mean that these seven dialects, being the clearest and the most eloquent, contributed largely to the formation of the literary language (al-Suyūṡī, al-Ḥibās, Cairo 1935, 47). Al-Tabarī raises the question as to whether the Kurʿān was revealed in all or some only of the Arab dialects, and uses the tradition referred to above to argue that the Kurʿān was revealed in some only (seven) as the Arab dialects were too numerous to count. (*Tafsīr*, Cairo 1323, i, 13).

The second stage in the development and spread of literary Arabic begins with the rise of Islam. The new religion chose to make its challenge to the poetically-minded Arabs through a literary composition, the new Holy Book, by its excellence, proved to the Arabs as miraculous as the turning of a stick into a snake, or the healing of the sick was to former peoples. The whole revolution in the life, belief and practical philosophy of the Arabs was embodied in the chapters of this new Book. From the beginning of the revelation it was being learnt by heart by the Muslims and recorded in writing by the special scribes employed by the Prophet (al-ḡhāḡiyyā, al-Wuḡarā, s. ʿI-Kuṡṡib, ed. Sakā and others, Cairo 1938).

The general practice was that a Muslim would learn a few verses (ten for example) and would not exceed them until he knew their meaning and followed their precepts in practical life (al-Tabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-Bayān*, i, 27, 28). It was not long before a group of companions (e.g. Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Maʿūd, ʿIkrima, and ʿAlī) became specialists in the interpretation of the Kurʿānic text. Thus a new branch of literary and linguistic learning started which became later an important factor in the standardisation of literary Arabic. But there was another important aspect of Kurʿānic reading which had some bearing on the development of literary Arabic, namely the variants which caused concern to many a faithful believer.

The danger of this variation in the reading of the Kurʿānic text was removed only by the preparation of standard copies at the command of the third Caliph, ʿUḡmān (see *Kurʿān*).

Thus the first and foremost Islamic literary work in the Arabic language became the most authentic model for literary usage. Wherever the Islamic faith went in its rapid spread, it carried with it this religious and literary constitution. Every believer learnt part or all of it by heart, and was influenced in his literary activities by its diction and modes of expression.

Many of the variant readings of the Kurʿān, however, were preserved to us through the *Kirāʿat* literature and have proved valuable in the reconstruction of Arabic dialects.

The Kurʿān had, yet, another aspect in which it influenced the course of the literary language, namely its unsurpassable excellence. The literary Arab celebrities admitted impotence before its challenge, and Muslims down the ages looked up to it as their literary guide and linguistic authority. The study of the secrets of Kurʿānic eloquence (*ʿIḡdā*) has given Arab literary criticism a special approach and a wealth of material (see M. Khalā-



fallah, *Qur'anic Studies as an Important Factor in the Development of Arabic Literary Criticism, Faculty of Arts Bulletin*, Alexandria 1952).

During the Prophet's life-time and some time after, poetical activities among the Arabs gave way to the propagation of the new faith by word and by sword. Some devout Muslims found better occupation in learning the Qur'ān and pondering on the beauty of its style, others joined the invading Muslim armies in Syria, 'Irāk and Persia. The art of public speaking, for a period, took the place of the art of poetry. The literary language now was turning more and more into a language of religious guidance, moral uplifting and legislation for the new order. New shades of meaning and literary usages began to develop within the framework of the pre-Islamic literary language. "The Arabs in their *ḡhāḡiyya* days", says Ibn Fāris, "had inherited from their ancestors a heritage of dialects, literature, rituals and sacrificial practices. But when Islam came conditions changed, religious beliefs were discarded, practices abolished, some linguistic terms were shifted from one usage to another, because of matters added, commandments imposed, and rules established". Examples of these changes are given by al-Suyūṭī, Ibn al-Khalawāṭi, al-Tha'ālibī and Ibn Durayd, see, *al-Mashir*, i, 294, 295, 296, 298, 301, 302).

Thus the second stage in the development of the Arabic literary language has brought in new important factors, religious and social, and introduced many necessary linguistic changes. But that was not all. The scene was considerably widening and shifting. The Arabs were no longer contained in their Peninsula, but were spreading out with the rapidly sweeping conquests of Islam. Wherever they went they carried with them not only their new Arabic Holy Book with its polished and appealing language, but they carried also their tribal linguistic characteristics, and their traditionally inherited literature (poetry, proverbs, narratives, and oratorical speeches) which they stored in their memories.

These conquests were an important factor in the process of Arab linguistic unification. Several of the big invading armies were composed of mixtures of tribes, many of whom were accompanied by their women and children. Thus a good deal of inter-mixing and intermarriage between the tribes took place in the conquered cities. Newly established settlements—such as *al-Kūfa*—had in them elements from North as well as from South-Arabia, and from Hīdžāz as well as from Naḡd.

The Arabs were now passing from the tribal stage to the stage of cities and countries. Their social units were no longer tribal, but urban, as in Basra or Kūfa, and regional, as in Syria or Egypt. This new regrouping of the Arabs must have reduced considerably the differences of the dialects, and reinforced the unifying processes already begun in pre-Islamic times.

With those conquests, Arabic was now spreading to new non-Arab territories. Its fortunes in the different units of the vast Islamic empire were varied. In some countries like Syria and Egypt it became—and is still at the present—the national language of the country. In others like Persia it remained for a few centuries the language of culture, but with time it gave way to the native Persian language. The story of this spread in its early stages, and the emergence of the colloquial languages in the Arabic-speaking countries is a long and interesting one. (See, S. Fayyāl, *al-Muḡallamaṭ*

*al-Islamiyya*, Cairo 1952, Vol. II). The spread and establishment of Arabic in some countries as a national language was aided by various factors. In Syria Arab elements had already settled, Arabic poetry had been welcomed at the ḡhassānids' courts, and many of the inhabitants spoke Aramaic, a kindred language. In 'Irāk, too, Arab tribes had already settled from pre-Islamic times, and an Arab state had established itself in al-Hira. In those regions of 'Irāk where Persian was prevalent, the long-established neighbourhood of Arabs and Persians paved the way for the conquering language. Some Persian kings—such as Bahānūr Gūr—are said to have been brought up in the Arabic courts and to have composed Arabic poetry. H. C. Wooler in *Language in History and Politics* states that Persian was influenced in the seventh century A.D. by a strong Aramaic current which prepared the way for the spread of Arabic. Another form of that influence came through Syriac which occupied an important position as a cultural medium in Persia.

In Egypt, Greek had been, since Ptolemaic times, the language of culture, politics, administration, and later of the Church, while Coptic was the vehicle for daily intercourse among the population. Yet the adoption of classical Arabic as a state language, and of colloquial Arabic as a conversational medium among the Egyptians was accomplished within a century after the conquest. Authorities state that Coptic disappeared almost completely after that period from most parts of Egypt, and could only be found among the scholars who specialised in studying it (A. Amin, *Faḡir al-Islām*, 259). When Islam entered North Africa it found three languages there; Latin, which was the language of administration and culture; a mixed language composed of Greek, Latin and semitic elements which was bequeathed by Carthage; and Berber in the interior of the country. Arabic became the dominant language in the cities through the spread of the new religion and the arrival of wave after wave of Arab settlers. The Berber language, however resisted the spread of Arabic in its strongholds in the interior.

These conquests, then acted as carriers of Arabic both as a literary and as a colloquial language in many different lands. As many Arabs migrated to these new territories, taking their language with them, so did great numbers of non-Arab migrants to the opposite direction; many as slaves, migrants and clients (*mawālī*), and they settled in the big Arab centres of Mecca, Medina, al-Basra and al-Kūfa. They naturally adopted Arabic as their medium of intercourse, and some of them mastered literary Arabic and became famous writers and poets. Some of the Persian *mawālī* found in the two capitals of Hīdžāz a fertile soil for their music and singing. Thus a movement of interaction between Arabs and non-Arabs was taking place all through the Islamic empire during the 1st/7th century. This movement produced a great civilisation which became known as Arab-Islamic civilisation. The contribution of the conquered races to this civilisation consisted in culture, learning, and administration, while the purely Arabian contribution lay in the linguistic and the religious fields. The ancient Aramaic and Iranian cultures, under the aegis of the Caliphate, were woven into a new pattern and expressed through the medium of the Arabic tongue. Arabic was thus invigorated by new elements of ideas and images, stimulated by fresh conceptions of excellence and eloquence, and enriched even with a new vocabulary. Persians, in particular, was responsible for the introduction

of new terms in the fields of luxury, ornaments, handicrafts, fine arts, government administration, and public registers (A. Amin, *Faḡir al-Islām*, Section iii). (M. KHALAFALLAH)

### (3) Middle Arabic

The creation of an Arabic Empire stretching at the height of its power from the Pyrenees and the Atlantic to the shores of the Sīr Daryā and the Indus had far-reaching consequences on the development of the Arabic language. Arabic, hitherto spoken in Arabia proper and its immediate neighbourhood, went with the Muslim armies to the farthest ends of the far-flung empire. Life in camp and on expedition brought men of different tribes into close contact and the vicinity of the tribal quarters (*ahḡāṭ*) in the great cities soon led to a levelling of their dialects. In addition to these dialects, some forms of interdialectal speech were in existence, notably the language of oratory used by the tribal spokesmen (*ahḡāṭ*) in his harangues, and the poetical language, both of which had been cultivated in pre-Islamic days and were now enriched by the language of the Qur'ān. The poetical language was characterised by certain peculiarities of metre and rhyme, vocabulary and phraseology, figures of speech and imagery inherited from the ancient Arabs, but otherwise it was presumably still close to the language of everyday conversation; verses were still improvised on the spur of the moment, nor did their understanding require any sort of education on the part of their hearers.

It is only in the latter half of the first century that we find new linguistic traits in the love-poetry of the Hīdžāz. These poets, whose surroundings gave them leisure to reflect upon their emotional experiences, felt the conventions of bedouin poetry inadequate for their purposes and began to use the conversational style of the new aristocracy, which was modified by the Hīdžāz dialect as well as by the exigencies of settled city-life (see Paul Schwarz, *Der Dīwan des 'Uṭayyib b. al-Hakīm*, iv, 109, pp. 164-172).

In the new provinces—except perhaps Syria—the Arabs were considerably outnumbered by the indigenous population who continued to use their mother-tongues, but had in their dealings with government to adapt themselves to the idiom of the conquerors, though at the beginning they used some sort of makeshift language. Then there were those non-Arabs who had been taken prisoner and were brought into the houses and harems of their Arab masters. They quickly adopted Arabic and as a rule embraced Islam. Many of them or their descendants were freed from bondage and played as freedmen (*mawālī*) an important rôle in the economic life of the empire, especially in the cities where they formed the bulk of the population. They spoke Arabic with many alterations, due partly to the influence of the language of their forebears, partly to the dialect of their Arab patrons and neighbours, and last but not least to the rapid changes in their economic and social environment. These widely differing idioms were the forerunners of the Middle-Arabic local dialects, which were spoken by the lower classes in the towns of the various provinces. They were characterised by a simplified pronunciation; the glottal stop was dropped; *h*, voiced in bedouin speech became voiceless; emphatic and non-emphatic sounds and also *ḡīd* and *ḡā'* were confused; in the areas where Aramaic was formerly dominant, the interdialectal spirants were replaced by the corresponding occlusives. But the most telling feature

of Middle Arabic was the weakening and loss of the short final vowels and along with it the abandonment of the desinential inflexion (*ʿarab*), which had momentous consequences for the structure of the language (J. Cantin, *Bulletin de la société linguistique*, 1952, 112). The old system of inflexion fell into disuse; cases, status, moods were no longer distinguished. Their functions had to be taken over by word order, periphrastic expressions, and other means common in languages of an analytical type. Middle-Arabic was also adopted by the Christians of Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia and by the oriental Jews, and from the 2nd/8th century onwards used by them for literary purposes, whilst with the Arab Muslims the classical language remained the proper medium for literary activities. In this appreciation of the language of the Qur'ān and of the ancient Arabic poetry they were followed by the *mawālī*, who from the first tried to conform to the higher standards of Arabic and were already in the 1st/7th century contributing to Arabic poetry (e.g. Ziyād al-Aḡḡānī). By the end of the 1st/7th century the *mawālī* felt the necessity for some sort of training in the classical language, thus giving an impetus to the beginnings of grammatical studies, whilst the Arabs grew apprehensive of unidiomatic speech and realised the necessity for preserving the purity of their language.

Once taken up by the *mawālī*, the classical language survived the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty and continued to be the medium of Islamic culture throughout the Muslim world, not only in those provinces where Arabic was dominant or gaining ground but even in countries where it was never to gain a firm footing. In the schools of Basra and Kūfa the rules of the "Arabiyya" were standardised according to the idioms of those bedouins who were credited with the purest language. This standard language was used at court and in good society, and to master it was one of the first accomplishments of a man of letters or learning. Its application to literary purposes shows a great variety of types. All narratives referring to Arabic and bedouin life (e.g. the *amḡāl al-'Arab*, *ayyām al-'Arab*, but also the *maḡāzī* and the *ṣīra*) preserved to some extent the uncouth originality and artless naïveté of the old language. In the literature of *ḡadīḡ* (traditions) and *ḡāḡ* (jurisprudence) the social and economic changes left their marks on the vocabulary, phraseology, and even morphology. Of a quite different type is the language of the secular prose-writers of the early 'Abbasid period (e.g. Ibn al-Mukāḡḡa). Here the changes in Muslim society brought about by the ascendancy of the non-Arab races, the pre-Islamic heritage and the revival of Oriental Hellenism, came full aflour. It is polished, lucid, flexible and well adapted to the expression of thought in a precise manner; its vocabulary, though lacking the exuberant abundance of the bedouin language (as witnessed e.g. by the *urḡḡāṭ*-poetry), is rich and expressive, and its grammatical structure free from the cumbersome overgrowth of nominal and verbal forms so conspicuous in the bedouin language. The same simplicity and smoothness is found also in the verses of the so-called "modern" (*muḡallath*) poets of the same period (e.g. Abū 'l-'Aḡḡiyya), although in poetry as a rule the imitation of the old patterns has always been closest.

On the language of every-day life and the dialects spoken by the different strata of Muslim society during this period very little is known. How complicated the linguistic situation had grown by the



end of the 20th century we can gather from occasional remarks of al-Dhābi (165-235) not only about the correct language of true bedouins, its gradual corruption through the vicinity of towns and intercourse with the peasantry, about the patois of the lower orders, the cant of pedlars, the argot of beggars, the technical terms of trades and professions, but also about mispronunciation and faulty speech on the one hand and euphemism and mannerism on the other.

These divergent tendencies soon affected the written language. The translators and scientists who made the legacy of Greek philosophy, medicine, mathematics, and other sciences accessible to the Muslim world, enriched the vocabulary considerably by innumerable technical terms. But they were often Christians (e.g. Hunayn b. Ishāq) or Jews, and had neither a good grounding in Arabic grammar nor any aptitude for literary perfection and accomplished style. Their translations, therefore, show as a rule some Middle Arabic features (see G. Bergsträsser, *Hunayn b. Ishāq und seine Schule*, Leiden 1913, 28-35).

The decline of the 'Abbasid power and the ascendancy of the Turkish soldiery in the course of the 10th century led to a general lowering of the standards of education; hence the court-language no longer preserved its former purity but became marred by vulgarisms. About the year 900/12 the classical language ceased to be used in the conversation of good society, in the law-courts and colleges, and froze into a literary idiom; to stick to the rules of the *ḥudūd* was considered a sign of pedantry and affectation. At the same time the former enthusiasm for the bedouins began to wane, and their language—the dialects of which had in the meantime undergone many changes—was no longer looked upon as the best representative of Arabic speech. The classical language was spoken only on solemn occasions, otherwise its use was restricted to the domain of literature. Here its application was mainly a problem of style. Henceforward the term 'arabiyya meant an unalterable system of words, phrases, grammatical forms and syntactical structures, which was strictly regulated by the rules of grammarians and lexicographers and could not—at least theoretically—be improved upon. In applying this artistic language to his theme—which in its turn he had to select from a limited number of topics (*ma'ād*)—an author had a choice between different styles, differing in the employment of rhyme, rhythm, figures of speech and other embellishments. But once he had chosen his theme and its style he was committed to the traditional patterns (see G. E. von Grunebaum, *Die Ästhetik des Islams*, *Comparative Literature*, 1932, 325-40). It is for this reason that a writer had not only to possess a thorough knowledge of the intricacies of Arabic grammar and lexicography, but had also to study and learn by heart the best pieces of classical prose and poetry (though the question as to what authors were of classical rank was often hotly debated). In these circumstances the 'arabiyya was bound to become a learned medium, and its study was cultivated by Arabs and non-Arabs alike. The non-Arab races contributed even some of the best prose-writers (e.g. al-Ḥāḥī 'āzami, and Badī' al-Zamān) and philologists (e.g. Abū Ḥilāl al-ʿAskarī). High literature was the privilege of an élite and required sometimes a commentary either by the author (e.g. Abū 'Alā' al-Maʿarrī) or by his admirers (e.g. al-Mutanabbī) in order that it might

be understood by the hearers. Occasionally vulgarisms were used for artistic purposes (in *ṣawāḥib al-ṣaḥāb*, *ṣaḥāb*) and even the argot of the beggars and swindlers was made use of by Abū Ḍalaf in his *al-Kaṣida al-Sāsaniyya*; but on the whole the vocabulary of high literature was choice and exquisite.

These high standards, however, were required in high poetry and ornate prose only. In the other branches of literature there is a great variety in language and style. Often it is only the preface which is written in rhymed prose and in choice wording, whilst the bulk of the book betrays the Middle-Arabic character of the author's speech. In books written for practical purposes the technical terms of the subject had to be used. If the author had no proper knowledge of the grammar, faulty speech was unavoidable; the worst example is perhaps the *Qaṣṣa 'Adībiyya al-Hind* by Buzurg b. Shahrīyār al-Rāmhurmūzī written after 342/953 (*Le Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, éd. par P. A. van der Lith et L. M. Devic, Leiden 1893-6). It is full of vulgarisms (see de Goeje's remarks in van der Lith's edition, 205), some of which are common in Middle-Arabic whilst others are probably due to the author's non-Arab mother-tongue and his profession.

These disrupting tendencies were fostered by the disintegration of the 'Abbasid empire. Already in 375/985 al-Maḥdī could in his description of the Muslim world attempt to characterise each country by the peculiarities of its language. It appears from his account that in his days in all Arabic-speaking countries the conversational language of the upper classes had suffered considerably under the inroads of local dialects and that the most correct Arabic was heard in the Eastern (Iranian) countries where much attention was paid to the study of grammar.

Already in the days of al-Maḥdī the increasing independence of the Sāmānid dynasty led to the revival of New-Persian literature, which had momentous consequences on the position of Arabic as the Islamic language in the Eastern regions. Outside the Arabic-speaking world, Arabic was in the dominions of the Sālsūks gradually superseded by New-Persian not only as the language of court, society, diplomacy and administration, but also in poetry, belles-lettres and other branches of secular—and later on even religious—literature. At the same time the rise of independent dynasties in the Arabic-speaking countries gave a new impetus to the development of the dialects spoken in their dominions and increased the already existing tension between literary language and colloquial. Thus the picture of the Arabic language as reflected in the literature of the Sālsūk period (311/1118-1218 centuries) is of a bewildering complexity. There are masterpieces of ornate prose, written in a faultless style like the *Maknāt* of al-Ḥarfī (d. 516/1122), which could be appreciated only by a small group of connoisseurs. In high poetry the imitation of the time-honoured patterns continued, but some poets succeeded in modernising the poetical diction by adapting it to the conversational style of their contemporaries, e.g. Ḥabīb al-Dīn Zuhayr (d. 656/1253). Others even made use of the local dialects, e.g. Ibn Kuzmān (d. 555/1160) and Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 693/1294). Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188) composed verses in the conventional fashion, but his famous memoirs are written in an unpretentious style which savours of the dialect of Syria. Some grammarians grew lenient in admitting vulgarisms which were formerly excluded from correct speech,

whilst others, like Ibn Yaʿqūb (d. 643/1245) (see G. Jahn in the preface to his edition, I, 10-12) wrote in a slovenly style, without regard for the rules of grammar they were expounding. In ordinary prose, offences against grammar are rather the rule than the exception, as witnessed by the works of Yāqūt (d. 686/1299) (see Wustenfeld in vol. v, 58-65 of his edition) and al-Kawfī (d. 682/1283) (see Wustenfeld in vol. II, 15 of his edition). Works written outside the Arabic-speaking countries sometimes betray the fact that their authors had not a full command over the language; Persian (and later Turkish) writers e.g. Ibn al-Muḍāwirī (d. 690/1291) (see Löfgren, *Arab. Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, II/2, 21) were apt to disregard the differences of gender, the concord of gender and number, and the rules concerning the article. There are further works of a popular character, such as the epic romances (e.g. the *Sirat 'Antar*, *Sirat Banī Ḥilāl*), the *Maḥāḥil*-legends (e.g. by Abū 'I-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, c. 693/1294) and the mystic poems of the religious orders; they were destined for the edification and entertainment of the middle and lower classes and were therefore written in a rather vulgar language and style. Similar vulgarisms are found in the writings of the *Druses* (see de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe* II, 236, n. 9, etc.) and the religious poetry of the *Yāzīdīs* (see R. Frank, *Scheich 'Adī*, 107 ff.). Naturally the writers of other denominations, as e.g. the Christians, the Jews (see J. Friedländer, *Der Sprachgebrauch der Maimonides*, I, Frankfurt a.M. 1902) and the Samaritans (see Abū 'I-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, *Samariyya*, ed. E. Vilmar 1865) had no part in the literary traditions of the Arabs, though men like Maimonides were otherwise deeply imbued with Islamic culture. But many more inquiries into the language of individual authors will have to be made before the development of literary Arabic in these centuries can be elucidated. For this studies a perusal of autographs or at least of contemporary manuscripts will be necessary, for our editions are as likely as not 'corrected' by oriental printers (see August Müller in the preface to his *Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a*, Königsberg 1864, VII-VIII) or European editors (see S. L. Skoos in the preface to his edition of al-Fāsi, *Ḍiḍmā* al-*al-Fāsi*, I, 1936, CXL-CXLII).

After the devastation of the Asiatic countries—and later on even religious—literature. At the same time the rise of independent dynasties in the Arabic-speaking countries gave a new impetus to the development of the dialects spoken in their dominions and increased the already existing tension between literary language and colloquial. Thus the picture of the Arabic language as reflected in the literature of the Sālsūk period (311/1118-1218 centuries) is of a bewildering complexity. There are masterpieces of ornate prose, written in a faultless style like the *Maknāt* of al-Ḥarfī (d. 516/1122), which could be appreciated only by a small group of connoisseurs. In high poetry the imitation of the time-honoured patterns continued, but some poets succeeded in modernising the poetical diction by adapting it to the conversational style of their contemporaries, e.g. Ḥabīb al-Dīn Zuhayr (d. 656/1253). Others even made use of the local dialects, e.g. Ibn Kuzmān (d. 555/1160) and Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 693/1294). Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188) composed verses in the conventional fashion, but his famous memoirs are written in an unpretentious style which savours of the dialect of Syria. Some grammarians grew lenient in admitting vulgarisms which were formerly excluded from correct speech,

The great changes which took place in the world from the end of the 9th/13th century deeply affected

literary Arabic. After the capture of Granada in 897/1492 and the expulsion of the Moors the Arabic language vanished from the Iberian peninsula. In the Maghrib, where the classical language had always stood in sharp contrast to the local dialects, there sprang from the latter a new poetical language, the so-called *malūn*, which since the 10th/16th century has enjoyed an ever-increasing popularity in Morocco. The other Arabic-speaking countries were sooner or later conquered by the Ottoman Sultans who were not primarily concerned with the cultivation of the Arabic language and literature. Even in Egypt, hitherto the mainstay of Arabic culture, literary activity sank to its lowest ebb. Literary Arabic was the prerogative of an élite. The dialect was occasionally utilised for literary purposes (e.g. by al-Shirbīnī, c. 1098/1687, in his *Ḥaṣṣ al-Buḥārī*). Already in the 10th/16th century poems were composed in the vernacular (see M. U. Bouriant, *Chansons populaires arabes*, Paris 1891, and Fuad Hasanain Ali, *Aegyptische Volkslieder*, I, 1939). In Syria, the Maronite archbishop of Aleppo, Germanus Farḥāt (s.d. c. 1145/1732) did much to revive the study of Arabic grammar, lexicology and rhetoric amongst his countrymen. Outside the Arabic countries Arabic continued to be used by scholars, especially in theology, jurisprudence and kindred subjects; but though its sphere comprised by now parts of North and East Africa, Zanzibar, Malaya, and the Indonesian Archipelago, yet it was less influential than in the preceding period. This period of stagnation and decay lasted till the beginning of the 13th/19th century.

**Bibliography:** References are already given in the article. Many observations on the classical and postclassical usage are found in the prefaces to editions of Arabic texts, in grammars and dictionaries and especially in H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, I-III, Leipzig 1885-8; Th. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*, Wien 1896; see also J. Fück, *Arabiya, Untersuchungen zur arabischen Sprach- und Stilgeschichte*, Berlin 1950 (Arabic translation by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Nadīdjār, Cairo 1951; French translation by C. Denizeau, 1955). (J. W. Fück)

#### (4) Modern written Arabic

The intrusion of Europe into the range of vision of the Arab world begins with Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798. The adoption of innumerable elements of Western civilisation had far-reaching effects on the written language. This began already with Muḥammad 'Alī's programme of reform which set out deliberately to take over Western achievements and was focussed on France, which everywhere remained too modest until after the first World War. As a result of the sending of student missions to study in France, the formation of schools on European lines and the foundation of an Arabic press, and, above all, of the translation of numerous European books, the necessity of finding expressions for a host of foreign ideas was felt first in Egypt and then too in other countries—foreign ideas for which at first only foreign words were available. Even the works of early translators in Egypt, of whom the most notable was al-Taḥṭāwī (1801-1873; cf. Brockelmann, II 481, S II 731, W. Braune in *MSOS XXXVI* 2, 119-125, J. Heyworth-Dunne in *BSOS IX* 961-7, N 399-413) already contain, side by side with numerous foreign words taken over indiscriminately, pure Arabic neologisms to express Western concepts.



But a real counter-movement against the excessive use of foreign words did not begin until the second half of the 19th century. The question of how to meet the ever-growing need for new expressions in Arabic became one of the major problems of intellectual life. The impact of Europe in itself awoke among the Arabs, after an interval of centuries, reconsideration of their own linguistic and literary tradition. The revival of the old philological learning was facilitated by the printing of many old literary works and especially of native dictionaries and grammars. The dogma that the 'Arabiyya as the oldest literary form of the language was better and more 'correct' than any later forms and that it must therefore be the highest authority for linguistic correctness at the present day too became the guiding idea for the whole language movement, even if there were voices in opposition. Thus the old purism was revived again, and with it the tendency artificially to control the development of the language, with recourse wherever possible to the old model language. This movement started in the Syrian-Lebanese area. Outstanding among the earlier language critics was Ibrahim al-Yāzīdī (1847-1906; Brockelmann, S II 766), who criticised the language of the journalists of his time in *Lughat al-Qur'ān* (published in book form, Cairo 1919). The inevitable modernisation and expansion of the vocabulary of the 'Arabiyya ought, according to the wishes of the purists, to be effected not by drawing to the greatest possible extent on the wealth of words, roots and forms in the 'Arabiyya. The question of how to proceed in detail and how far European words should be employed has been actively discussed again and again. In innumerable essays in nearly all periodicals and in many separate publications right up to the present moment, immense quantities of neologisms have been proposed, although it must be said that only a small percentage pass into general usage. Extending far beyond the circle of professional philologists, this movement has also affected large circles of the general educated public. The struggle with technical terms (*muṣṭalahāt*) is a difficult problem for every specialist in any technical or scientific branch and gives many of them the impetus themselves to become linguistically creative and to publish their own technical terms. The literature on this subject written in Arabic is very vast and scattered, and cannot be treated here more than generally. There are large collections of the terminology for many special fields (Ahmed 'Isā, *Mu'djam Asmā' al-Nabīl*, Cairo 1930; Amin al-Ma'nūf, *Mu'djam al-Hayawān*, Cairo 1932; Muṣṭafā al-Shāhīd, *Mu'djam al-ʿIlm*, Cairo 1932; Danasus 1933; M. Ashraf, *English-Arabic Dictionary of Medicine, Biology and Allied Sciences*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1940—to mention only a few). But such works do not confine themselves to listing expressions which are already in current use; they also introduce suggestions of their own; they cannot therefore be considered as descriptive scientific material but are contributions to the establishment of terminology. The idea of coordinating these efforts and of establishing language academies for the standardisation of vocabulary dates from the 80's of the last century (cf. Braune Lc. 735). After several unsuccessful attempts, a scientific academy (*al-Majma' al-ʿIlm al-ʿArabī*) was founded in Damascus in 1919, which also devoted itself to the reform of the language and published many contributions to the language problem in its review, which first appeared in 1921. In 1932 the Egyptian *Royal Academy of*

the Arabic Language (now *Majma' al-Lughat al-ʿArabiyya*) came into existence. Apart from the study of the old language and literature its main concern is the regulation and expansion of the modern vocabulary. In its review (*Majma' al-Lughat al-ʿArabiyya*, Vol. I-VII, 1934-1951) and since 1942 in a sequence of special publications, the use of a great many *muṣṭalahāt* has been recommended, so far without the anticipated and desired effect being achieved. The official principles on which the Academy works can also be gathered from the minutes of meetings (*Mahādīr*, since 1936). Even in Iraq, where formerly the review *Lughat al-ʿArabī* (Vol. I-IX, 1917-1921) of F. Anstase al-Karmālī was the leading organ of the purist trend, an Academy was formed in 1947 (*al-Majma' al-ʿIlm al-ʿIrāqī*) which, *inter alia*, is also concerned with the problems of terminology. The real difficulty, however, with all these official attempts at creating standard terminologies for technical and scientific fields lies not so much in coining new expressions, as in securing their general use among the specialists concerned. Although the possibility of popularising newly-coined technical terms in specialist circles has often been overestimated, the practical effect of the purist movement on actual language usage cannot be denied. In many individual cases one can observe how artificially created words have quickly entered into the general stock of words of journalists and writers. The efforts of the purists, however, are concentrated almost entirely on the isolated word, that is, on the extrinsic elements of the language.

Turning to the linguistic facts, the striking feature is the infiltration of English and French phraseology, translated into Arabic (so-called loan translation or 'calques') and the change in the inner form. In particular the language of daily communication (press and radio) and of writers with little or no classical education has a distinct European touch. Phraseology and style are far more difficult to check than terminology. This development is therefore inevitable and must be accepted as a fact. In the field of *belles lettres*, on the other hand, we find in many cases a strong attachment to tradition. Authors with a classical education are still today able to keep close to the ideal of the 'Arabiyya in their style; they sometimes make use of uncommon words and phrases of the old literature and especially of the Qur'ān as artistic stylistic devices. But no-one can completely escape the influence of European phraseology.

Grammar, on the other hand, which can be defined in rules and which is much more subject to conscious control, gives quite a different picture. The written language has remained untouched by the sound-change, and the morphology has remained constant from the earliest times till the present day; the same is true of the syntax at least in its basic features. Here the conservative attachment to the past has proved itself astonishingly effective. In vocabulary a considerable basic stock has remained alive since the earliest times. Post-classical words, including those from the later Middle Ages, form a further element of the modern vocabulary. A host of generally accepted expressions are available to express ideas which come from Europe, most of which are in full accordance with the above-mentioned wishes of the purists. Forgotten words of the 'Arabiyya have been revived and are used without formal alteration but with meanings more or less modified (e.g. *ḥīṭ* = train of camels drawn up one

behind the other > railway train); words of the 'Arabiyya still in use have been given a new additional meaning (e.g. *ḥark* = lightning > telegraph); sometimes the change of meaning is made by analogy with the foreign word, which served as model (e.g. *ṣunḍūḥ* = box > cash-box, cash office, after the French 'caisse'). Moreover a large number of completely new nouns formed from old roots with the help of the Arabic nominal forms (most frequent: *maṣāl*, -a, *maṣāl*, -a, *faṣāl*, -a) have passed into general usage (e.g. *maṣāl* = museum, *maṣā'il* = jet-plane); likewise verbal nouns and participial forms are used for new expressions (e.g. *idhā'a* = broadcasting, *muḥarrir* = motor). The *nishā'*-ending is widely employed in the formation of new words (e.g. *ishārāh* = socialist, *ishārāhiyya* = socialism); by the expansion of its use many new adjectives have been derived from nouns, and with them European compounds can easily be reproduced (e.g. *al-ḥarīd al-djāwī* = airmail); genuine compound forms are still confined to those with the negation *lā* (e.g. *lā-sihl* = wireless). Until the first World War the majority of foreign words were borrowed from French, others from Italian. English became an influence after the first World War, especially in Egypt and Iraq. The decrease of foreign words in Arabic is a considerable achievement of purist efforts. Words of Turkish origin have disappeared almost entirely in the last decades. We may consider as loan-words such as correspond to an Arabic nominal form or can easily be assimilated to it, and for which broken plurals are formed (e.g. *bank-bawik*, *film-afim*, *duḥūr-dahīra*) and such as are assimilated through the addition of the ending -*riyya* which serves as abstract ending (*dimāḥiyya* = democracy).

The numerous accepted new words are still not sufficient. Very specialised scientific and technical details to the present day still cannot be expressed in Arabic in a form understood by all concerned. The anarchy in the field of specialised terminology even within one country is far from being at an end. The situation is aggravated by the fact that Greek and Latin technical terms which so often help specialists towards an international understanding even on complicated matters, are translated into Arabic. There are often several terms in circulation for the same thing; the same terms may occur where the same term means different things to different authors. Nevertheless the standardisation of technical terminology which is the basic problem of present-day Arabic has undoubtedly made considerable progress and thus we can also expect further favourable developments in the future.

The fact that there exists a basically uniform written language in all Arabic countries from Iraq to Morocco is of great value, ideal and practical, to the Arabic peoples. It is the symbol of their old cultural unity and their political union in the present day. Thus we can conclude that there is no reason to anticipate that the written language will anywhere be replaced by a local dialect and forced out of practical use.

**Bibliography:** W. Braune, in *MSOS* xxxv, 2, 139-40; H. Wehr, *ibid.* xxxvii, 2, 1-64, and *ZDMG* xcvi, 16-40; D. V. Semyonov, *Sintaksis sovremennoy arabskogo yazika*, Moscow-Leningrad 1941; Brockelmann, S III 5-7; J. Fück, 'Arabiyya xiv; R. B. Winder and F. J. Ziadeh, *An Introduction to Modern Arabic*, Ithaca 1955; Ch. Pellat, *Introduction à l'arabe moderne*, Paris 1956. — Dictionaries and most important contributions to

lexicography: Ch. K. Baranov, *Arabisch-Russisch Slovar*, Moscow-Leningrad 1940-6 (with Preface by I. Kratkovskiy with further references); L. Berber, *Lexique Arabe-Français*, 2nd ed., Algiers 1944 (Supplement); M. Brill, D. Neustadt and P. Schuster, *The basic word list of the Arabic Daily Newspaper*, Jerusalem 1940; Elias, *Modern Dictionary Arabic-English* 4th ed., Cairo 1947; D. Neustadt and P. Schuster, *Muḥim 'Arabi*, Jerusalem 1947; Ch. Pellat, *L'arabe vivant*, Paris 1952; H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1952, 1956. (H. Wehr)

## (ii) The Vernaculars

### (1) General survey

#### AREA IN WHICH ARABIC IS USED

Arabic is spoken to-day by about 60 million people ranging from Hitler Asia to North Africa, from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean; these regions are: Arabia with the Fertile Crescent up to the Persian and Turkish frontiers; Egypt and most of the Sudan (from the Nile to the Chad); Tripolitania; Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco; Mauritania, French West Sudan, and the northern Sahara. In addition to this continuous geographical area, there exist isolated pockets; in Africa: Djibouti and Zanzibar; in Europe: Malta (formerly with the Balearic Is., Sicily, Pantellaria up to the 18th century), Spain (up to the 15th century [see AL-ANDALUS]). Finally, attention should be drawn to the Syro-Lebanese diaspora in North and South America and French West Africa.

Within the limits of the geographical area mentioned above, Arabic has found itself in contact with a series of foreign languages which it has tended to supplant, although some have still retained great vitality side by side with Arabic (e.g. Berber), but it is characteristic that Arabic has only succeeded in replacing indigenous languages when the latter have possessed structural features akin to its own; this has been the case in Egypt, where Coptic ceased to be spoken in the Middle Ages, while the Indo-European sphere has successfully resisted it, despite the implantation of Islam.

#### ORIGIN

The Arabic spoken to-day is derived basically from old dialects of Central and Northern Arabia. To the limited extent to which one can form an idea of them, these dialects, although differentiated, do not seem to have presented any essential points of difference, because the classical philologists, who remain the most important source, only note variations in pronunciation and vocabulary, while the structure of the languages seems to have been homogeneous. The same philologists, using *faṣḥa* [q.v.] as their criterion, divided the old dialects into three main groups: those of the Hijāz, considered the purest, those of the Naǧd, and finally those of the neighbouring tribes, considered to be contaminated to a greater extent by other Semitic or by non-Semitic languages. This distinction, always a fine one, is no longer tenable to-day, because the dialects concerned have developed markedly. Of all the classifications worthy of consideration, the most convenient, although it is based on a geographical division rather than on linguistic criteria (which are: the formation of the 3rd person 's, and pl. of the imperfect of the verb, and the treatment of short vowels in open syllables), consists of distinguishing two major groups, the



first (see below, section II) comprising the Eastern dialects, east of a line running approximately from Sollum to Chad, the second being formed by the Maghribi dialects, situated geographically west of the above line.

The dialect of the *Hijāz*, and more particularly that of the *Kuraysh* of Mecca, is known to have been one of the pre-Islamic Arabic dialects; it was elevated to the status of a literary language, not, however, without some interference with the pre-Islamic poetic *kuwa*. But the old dialects remained none the less alive, not only in their own country, but also outside the Arabian Peninsula, because they were spread abroad by the Arabs in the territories which they conquered. Organised in their traditional groups, the Arab conquerors preserved for some time their own tongue, but dialectal peculiarities tended to become less marked as the result of the blending of tribes within the fighting units. It was this sort of *kuwa*, rather military in character, which constituted the language of the conquered or newly-founded towns, but a contrary development soon occurred, with the appearance of indigenous elements and elements from the linguistic substratum, which resulted in an ever greater differentiation between the urban dialects, although on the whole the dialects of the large cities of the Arab world still displayed common characteristics. It is therefore possible, in order to rely on a sociological rather than a geographical criterion, to distinguish on the one hand the dialects of the urban and settled populations (because the role of the large cities had aided the rapid spread of the urban dialects in concentric circles), and on the other the Bedouin dialects. The latter were the dialects of more or less homogeneous and nomadic tribes which had emigrated from the Arabian peninsula either before or after the conquests. In general, the boundaries between the two major groups defined above are not fixed absolutely, and it is even possible to discern the existence of an intermediate group of dialects which display both urban and Bedouin characteristics. The criteria which enable one to distinguish between urban and Bedouin dialects are set forth in sections II and III below, but it should be noted here that, in general, the Bedouin dialects exhibit more conservative tendencies, and greater homogeneity within the framework of the tribe. The urban dialects display pronounced evolutive tendencies; they have introduced morphological and syntactical innovations and, further, differentiated dialects quite often appear within the same urban area, not only between the following of different religions (Muslims, Jews and Christians for example), but also between the social classes and even between the sexes and different generations.

If Classical Arabic is compared, in the most general terms, with present-day dialectal Arabic, the main point to be noted is the early abandonment, by spoken Arabic, of case endings and the inflections of the verb. Perhaps less characteristic, in the phonetic sphere, are the loss of the phoneme represented by *ay* and the tendency of short vowels in open syllables to disappear; further, short internal vowels, even in stressed syllables, have become weakened in the most developed dialects. Morphologically, in addition to the disappearance of terminations, one notes the almost complete disappearance of the passive with vowel change, the decreased use of the dual and the feminine plural. On the other hand the phonetic system is richer than that of classical Arabic and the vowel range greater; a

present indicative *a*, in a number of dialects spoken by settled populations, was derived from the imperfect by means of various preverbs; the syntax, less synthetic, used an analytical construction simultaneously with the relationship of association (*idāla*). Finally, as regards vocabulary, the basic vocabulary is also found in classical Arabic, with losses due to the disuse of a large number of special terms (notably those relative to Bedouin life, in the case of the settled populations), but also with gains due to loan words from foreign languages which continued to co-exist with Arabic.

#### DIACLECTAL LITERATURE

The religious prestige of classical Arabic naturally prevented dialectal Arabic from playing the part of a literary language, at least among Muslims; further, with the exception of a certain number of proverbs and poems (see especially *Zajal*) dialectal literature is fundamentally oral; it consists of songs and poems, which treat of the same themes—epic, religious, lyric, satiric, elegiac, erotic etc.—as classical Arabic, of tales, legends and even epics. When, exceptionally, a dialectal work of importance has been set down in writing, it has never preserved its original form, but has been transformed into more or less correct literary Arabic, which deprives us of documentary evidence which would otherwise be of great interest. The most typical example is that of the Thousand and One Nights (see *ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA*). For the attempts made in recent years to create a dialectal literature, and for the use of colloquial Arabic in novels and plays, see *Arabic Literature* below.

Christian Arabic literature should not be overlooked (see G. Graf, *Geschichte der Christlich-Arabischen Literatur und Der Sprachgebrauch der ältesten christlich-arabischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1905); nor that, in Roman script, which developed, but without great originality, at Malta, nor the Judaeo-Arabic writings. On these last, which until the present time form a vast branch of literature, see the article *TUMINIA*, and E. Vassie, *La littérature populaire des Juifs tunisiens*, in *RT*, 1904; G. Vajda, *Un Recueil de textes historiques judéo-marocains*, Paris 1951; M. Steinschneider, *Arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfurt 1902.

No complete work has yet been devoted to dialectal literature, but the reader is referred to the references given in Ch. Pellat, *Langue et littérature arabes*, Paris 1952, 54. For North Africa, H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Paris 1920, deals with a subject which is closely connected with Arabic dialectal literature.

*Sources*: — The works of modern Orientalists, who often give texts in dialectal Arabic and help to give a fixed form to popular literature, are enumerated in sections II and III below, which are specially devoted to the modern dialects. For a historical study, apart from the references of the Arab philologists and the glossaries quoted in the article *AL-ANDALUS*, special reference should be made to the transcriptions of Arabic texts in Coptic or Greek script (see especially the ancient psalm fragment given by Violet in *OLZ*, 1901), to the early Egyptian papyri and to the Sicilian documents edited by S. Cusa (*I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, I, Palermo 1868).

#### (2) The Eastern dialects

##### THE ARABIAN AND NORTH ARABIAN DIALECTS

The geographical area covered by these dialects extends from Egypt to Syria in the case of the

former, and in the case of the latter, comprises on the one hand the Arabian Peninsula, and on the other the Syrian desert and 'Irāk.

The non-Arab languages represented are as follows: in Egypt, the Siwa Berber group. In Syria-Lebanon, the Aramaic dialect of Ma'olā, *Ḍjubbā'dīn* and *Bakh'ā*; the language of the Circassians living in villages in various parts of Syria: *Kunaytira*, *Alin Zā*, *Tell Amērī*, *Khansūr*, *Manbij*, and in Jordan *Ḍjarrāb*; the Armenian (or Turkish) of about 200,000 Armenians (principal centres Beirut, Aleppo); the language of about 230,000 Kurds living in the region of Hassetché, *Ḍjarrābūs*, *Ḍjabbal Akhrād* and certain cities, notably Beirut and Damascus. In 'Irāk, these Kurds constitute a quarter of the population; in addition, there is the neo-Syriac of the Masāḍīn plain. In Arabia, Kumzīrī (peninsula of Masādān, in 'Umān), a Persian dialect; the modern South Arabian languages, between the Hadramawt and 'Umān: Mahri, Karawī, Harsūf, and Botahari. In Israel, modern Hebrew.

Egyptian Arabic (nomad dialects) has penetrated into the republic of Sudan among the Nigritic and Kushiic languages, and then, with Maghribi influences, among the Negro-African languages in the region of Lake Chad. Yemenite Arabic is used as the second language in Africa among the Somalis. The Arabic of 'Umān has found its way to Zanzibar. In Turkmenistān, *Khazaristān*, *Tādjikistān* traces have been found of Arabic nomadic dialects. Finally, in America, there is the Syro-Lebanese diaspora.

The eastern dialects, in Egypt, Sudan, and elsewhere, are well-known, that of Alexandria less well, that of the *fallāḥs* very little, and that of the nomads and the whole of Upper Egypt hardly at all. In Palestine, a tripartite division must be carefully observed between sedentary urban-dwellers, the sedentary rural population (*fallāḥs*), and nomads. In Syria-Lebanon, the dialects of the sedentary urban and rural populations are indeed indistinguishable, but their differences are less marked; they contrast with the nomad dialects; the dialects of the large towns (Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem) are curiously similar to one another. The Mountain region of Lebanon, divided into separate districts, introduces local variations, and anti-Lebanon still more. In 'Irāk, the urban and rural dialects are more strongly subordinated by the dialects of the North Arabian nomads; this has resulted in blending and compromise in varying degree between the two types of dialect, even in the large towns. Only assiduous linguistic research can show what remains of the dialects of the sedentary populations. In general, nomad dialects are linguistically dominant; thus 'Irāk remains within the sphere of the North Arabian dialects. A study of the dialects of the Jews of Baghdad and Basra would be most useful; recent migrations have disorganised these communities. It is interesting to note the use of dialect in a literary context, in Egypt (*al-Hiǧǧ Darwish*, plays for the theatre), and in the Lebanon (*Fīmānūs*, *Ḍjinnūn*); see J. Locort, *Littérature dialectale et renouveau arabe moderne*, in *REOD*, II, 1952, 179-258; III, 1953, 43-175.

The eastern dialects have not received equal treatment as regards actual publications. A concise bibliography will be given here, within the limits of this general outline (for convenience, 'Irāk will be included here):

At least six works deal primarily with the Arabic of Cairo, the following will suffice: W. Spitta-Bey, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Ägypten*,

Leipzig 1880, xv+519 pp. in 8vo. (Texts 447-516; K. Vollers, *Lehrbuch der ägyptisch-arabischen Umgangssprache, mit Übungen und einem Glossar*, Cairo 1890, xi+231 pp. small 8vo. (English ed. by F. R. Burkitt, Cambridge 1895); C. A. Nallino, *L'arabo parlato in Egitto, grammatica, dialoghi e raccolta di circa 6,000 vocaboli*, Milan 1900, xxviii+386 pp. small 8vo., 2 ed. Milan 1913; D. C. Phillott and A. Powell, *Manual of Egyptian Arabic*, Cairo 1926, xxix+911 pp. small 8vo. In addition: Spitta-Bey, *Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Arabic of Egypt*, 3rd ed., Cairo 1929, xvi+518 pp. in 8vo. (arranged in purely alphabetical order). For Upper Egypt there are only the *Contes arabes* . . . . . published by H. Dulac, *Jā*, 8th series, v, 5-38 (in Arabic characters with translation but without transcription) [the *Chansons populaires*, collected by G. Maqsoo (*Ann. Serv. Ant. Égypte*, xiv, 97-109) are inadequate for a linguistic inquiry. For the nomads of Lower Egypt a number of the *Lieder der libyschen Wüste* of M. Hartmann, Leipzig 1899; it should be used with caution.

The Sudan is hardly better known, nor is the Lake Chad area. For the former A. Worsley, *Sudanese Grammar*, London 1925, vi+30 pp. in 8vo.; S. Hillebrand, *Sudan Arabic, English-Arabic Vocabulary* (p. 205-18, Cambridge 1935, xiv+219 pp. in 8vo., see especially pp. xi-xliv of the Introduction; idem, *Sudan Arabic, English-Arabic Vocabulary* [with transcription] and ed., London 1930, xxviii+351 pp. in 2vols.). For the latter: G. J. Lethem, *Colloquial Arabic, Shuwa Dialect of Borneo, Nigeria and the region of Lake Chad*, London 1920, xv+48 pp. in 8vo. (Part III English-Arabic Vocabulary, 235-487). Lethem gives good conservative Bedouin Arabic; a form of Arabic which already shows changes (disappearance of the emphatics) is found in *Méthode pratique pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé au Ouaday et à Fés du Tchad* by H. Carbou, Paris 1911, 251 pp. (reprinted, 1954). Narrative texts: C. G. Howard, *Shuwa Arabic Stories*, with an Introduction and Vocabulary (p. 83-115), Oxford 1921, 116 pp. in 2vols.; J. R. Patterson has published the *Stories of Abu Zeid the Hilali in Shuwa Arabic*, London 1930, Arabic text with translation but without transcription.

For linguistic geography, we are indebted to G. Bergsträsser's *Sprachkarte von Syrien und Palästina* (incl. the Lebanon and Jordan), *ZDPV*, xxviii, 169-222, 42 maps. This *Sprachkarte* is an excellent beginning. J. Cantineau has added his *Remarques sur les parlers de sédentaires Syro-Libano-Paléstiens*, *BSL*, no. 118, 80-8, in which he proposes a classification; his article on *Le Parler des Drûs de la montagne Utranassi*, *AfEO*, Algiers, iv, 157-84, in which he shows that a dialect of the sedentary population of the Lebanon is involved; his profound study of Hawrān, *Les parlers arabes du Hôrān, Notions générales, Grammaire*, Paris 1946, x+75 pp. in 8vo. (Publ. SL, Iii), and an *Atlas* of 60 maps, *ibid.* 1940. Haim Blanc has studied the dialects of the Drûses in northern Galilee and on Mt. Carmel in his *Studies in North Palestinian Arabic*, Jerusalem 1953, 139 pp. in small 8vo. (Or. Notes and St. Ist. Or. Soc., No. 4), phonological and phonetic survey 22-78; texts 79-108.

For Syria-Lebanon, Palestine, the following should be mentioned: (1) General descriptive works: A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, 5 fasc., Paris 1935-34 (the last two published by H. Fleischer, 943 pp. in large 8vo. (deals exhaustively with the vocabulary of Aleppo (1900), and gives the elements



of the Lebanon, Damascus and Jerusalem). G. R. Driver, *A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine*, London 1925, x-257 pp. in 8vo. L. Bauer, *Das palästinensische Arabisch, die Dialekte des Städtischen und des Fellachen, Grammatik, Übungen und Chrestomathie* p. 164-256, 3rd edition, Leipzig 1913, viii-264 pp. in 8vo., 4th edition, Leipzig 1926, and *Wörterbuch des Palästinensischen Arabisch*, Leipzig 1926, viii-432 pp. in 8vo. Feghali (Mgr. Michel), *Syntaxe des parlers actuels du Liban*, Paris 1928, xxv-633 pp. in small 8vo. (PELOV), *La Grammaire du dialecte Libano-Syrien* of R. Nakhla, Beirut 1937, does not describe a fixed dialect, (2) Monographs: a) on the Lebanon: M. T. Feghali, *Le parler de Kfar'Abida* (Lebanon-Syria), Paris 1919, xv-204 pp. in 8vo.; this type of dialect only obtains in part of the Lebanon. H. Fleisch, *Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Zahlé (Liban)*, MUSJ, xxvii, 75-116, in part a monograph on an important dialect of the Bekaa. H. El-Hajjé, *Le Parler arabe de Tripoli (Liban)*, Paris 1934, 203 pp. in 8vo. (Text in transcription and translation pp. 276-99). b) on Syria: J. Cantineau, *Le dialecte arabe de Palmyre*, I, Grammaire, x-287 pp. in 8vo., II, Vocabulaire and Texts, vii-149 pp. in 8vo., Beirut 1934 (Mém. Inst. Fr. Damas, II), which describes a dialect of the settled population. The only works dealing with Damascus are the phonetic survey of Bergerstrasser (see below), the *Manuel élémentaire d'arabe oriental (Damas musulman)* of J. Cantineau and Y. Helboua, Paris 1933, 124 pp. in 8vo., and the elements given by J. Oestrup in his *Concise du Dialecte de Damas* 1897, 153 pp. in 8 vo., pp. 122-135. (3) Useful texts: for Palestine, it is sufficient to mention here the *Chrestomathie* of L. Bauer; for the Lebanon, the *Contes, Légendes et Contes populaires du Liban et de Syrie* of M. Feghali, Arabic text, transcription, translation and notes, Paris 1933, xiii-195-87 pp. in 8vo.; for Damascus (Christian), *Zum arabischen Dialekt von Damaskus* of G. Bergerstrasser, I *Phonetik* (p. 2-50), *Prosodie*, Hannover 1924, 111 pp. in 8vo. (*Zeits. z. sem. Phil. u. Ling.*, No. 1), Arabic text in transcription with translation; for Hamā, the story (*in* transcription, with translation) *Muhammad al-hadabi*, published by E. Littmann, ZS, ii, 20-30. Little is known about 'Irāk: the *Neu-arabische Geschichte aus dem Irak* of B. Meissner, Leipzig 1903, lvi-118 pp. in 8vo., and the *Reise zur Kunde des Irak-Arabisches* of F. H. Weisbach, I, *Prosodie*, Leipzig 1908, xvi-208 pp. in 8vo., II, *Poetische Texte*, Leipzig 1930, 357 pp. in 8vo. (Leip. sem. St., iv, 1 and iv, 2), deal with the same dialect of the rural population of northern 'Irāk; Meissner's work contains a substantial section on grammar, pp. vii-lviii, and a short vocabulary, pp. 112-48. For Masad and Mardin, we have only the texts collected by A. Socin, ZDMG, xxxvi, *Der Dialekt von Mosul*, 4-12; *Der Dialekt von Mardin*, 22-53 and 238-77, in transcription with translation, accompanied in part by the Arabic text, without study of the grammar or vocabulary. L. Massignon, in his *Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Bagdad* (reprinted from *Bull. IFAO*, xi, 24 pp. in 8vo.) has emphasised the linguistic complexity of Baghdad, where he has distinguished "at least seven stable indigenous groups, all of the Arabic language, but differing in dialect" (p. 2). A survey of Baghdad, which will be a particularly difficult task, is still awaited. The *Bagdadische Sprichwörter*, published by A. S. Yahuda in *Or. Studien* (collection of studies dedicated to Th. Nöldeke, Giessen 1906), pp. 399-416, deals with Jewish Baghdad. The two works: J. van Ess,

*The Spoken Arabic of Iraq* (above all Basra), 2nd ed. Oxford 1936, and M. Y. van Wagoner, *Spoken Iraqi Arabic* (Baghdad), Ling. Soc. of America, 1949, are a medley of dialects and are not so far of use as linguistic information.

The western dialects bear a certain family likeness, and the same can be said for the eastern dialects. For the purpose of this comparison the more conservative nomad dialects (this does not exclude the facts of their own evolution), which are much less well-known, will be disregarded. We are concerned with the dialects of the settled populations of east and west. We will consider first the elements which link them (and also those which distinguish them): G. S. Colin, *L'arabe vulgaire*, 190th anniversary of ELO (Paris 1948), pp. 100-1.

Phonetically: 1) The disappearance of the velarised latero-interdental phoneme represented by the old (س), replaced in general by d (emphatic); dh (emphatic) among the fellahs of P. and at T.; 2) The development of the three interdental fricatives (dh, th, dh emphatic) into dental occlusives (d, t then ts in M. and Alg., d emphatic except among the fellahs of P. and at T.); 3) The tendency of the short vowels to disappear in open syllables, particularly when they are not stressed (especially i, u, a). 4) The tendency to reduce the diphthongs ay, au to the simple sounds e, o (even i, u in Oc.), except in a large part of the Lebanon.

Morphologically: 1) The disappearance of the old inflexional vowels (a'rah); as a result the dialect becomes less synthetic, and makes greater use of grammatical instruments. Word order assumes importance in denoting relationship (construct state), the subject and the complement of the direct object. 2) The dual retrogressively becoming a survival without influence as such as regards grammatical concord. 3) The periphrastic expression of relationship (determinative complement of the noun), in place of the construct state, for various reasons: Eg. *hala'*; P., S.-L. *hala'*; (M. *ayal*, TL *ayal*, T. *ayal*). 4) The use of an indeclinable simplified relative pronoun: *elli* (similarly *di*, *addi* in M. and in several Arabic dialects (W. Marçais, *Tlemcen*, 175). 5) The formation of a new interrogative pronoun for things: Eg. *ya'*; P., S.-L. *ya'*, *ya'*, *ya'* (M. *ayal*, TL *ayal*, T. *ayal*). 6) The abandonment of a special form for the feminine plural of personal pronouns and verbs. 7) The abandonment of the passive formed by change of vowel: *hatala'* 'he has killed', *hatala'* 'he has been killed' (except in Oman). 8) A form indicating duration: Eg. *'ammāl*, 'amm; P., S.-L. *'am* (M. *hā*, verb expressing duration or habitual action). 9) The formation of an indicative by means of various auxiliary words prefixed to the old imperfect: 10) The conjugation of the imperfect of doubled verbs with the intercalation of a phoneme of the number of types of broken plurals and still more of the types of infinitive (*majdār*).

The Eastern and Western dialects, over and above these common characteristics, give respectively a certain impression of unity, in so far as evolutionary tendencies have culminated, in each of the two groups, in different results. They can only be contrasted when, on both sides, the different result is identically constant. For example the method of

\* Abbreviations used: Alg. = Algeria; Eg. = Egypt; Ir. = 'Irāk; L. = Lebanon; M. = Morocco; Oc. = Occidental; Or. = Oriental; P. = Palestine; S. = Syria; T. = Tunis; TL = Tlemcen.

forming the first persons of the imperfect of the verb. The Eastern dialects have formed an indicative: imperfect with *h-* being contrasted in general with the subjunctive-jussive (without *h-*): L. *hirid yikhib* 'he wishes to write'. This indicative has in the 1st pers. s. a preformative *h-*: L. *hikhib* 'I write', *nahkhib* 'we write', whereas the Western dialects have a preformative *n-* and secondarily *bi-* as usual: *nahkhib* 'we write', a distinctive plural form in *-u* e.g.: T. *nakhib* 'I write', *nakhibu* 'we write'; this is an excellent and characteristic example of contrast between the Eastern and the Western dialects; but it is not absolute: a preformative *n-* of the 1st pers. s. impf. is found in the Najd (Socin, *Drazen*, Part II, 1336 and 1948) and is confused in the Hadramawt (de Landberg, *Anasrah*, iii, 53). The loss of short vowels in open syllables, largely complete in the Western dialects, is a much less reliable indication: in fact in the Lebanon at Kfar'Abida, all short vowels in open unstressed syllables disappear; at Palmyra, there is a fairly general disappearance of *a* and *e*, even when stressed, if they occur in an open syllable (this is one of the dialects called 'differential' by J. Cantineau, *Études*, in *AIEO*, ii, 49).

The dialects also reveal a certain individuality, by comparison with the Western dialects, by virtue of the presence of grammatical characteristics which are lacking in the latter. Note for instance, in Eg., P., S.-L.: 1) In the vocalisation of the simple verb, the retention of vowel contrasts reduced to a pattern *hatal* *hatal* or *hatal* and *hatal* *hatal* (in Eg. the pattern is not quite so clear). 2) The formation of the plural of the demonstrative pronouns in a similar manner: the addition to the singular of the old demonstrative form of the pl. *'ul* (cl. *'ul*, *'ul*, *'ul*): Eg. *da* + *'ul* > *dāl*; P., S. *hāda* + *'ul* > *hādāl*; L. *heyda* + *'ul* > *heydāl*, Ba'albek *ha* + *'ul* > *hāl*; and other forms. These two phenomena, however, also obtain in the case of a number of North Arabian nomad dialects (Cantineau, *Études*, Ann. II, 79 and 107) and their 'Irāk extension; in addition, a form *hādābā* occurs at T. (which seems to have been brought in by an 'Irāk dialect, according to Barthelmy, *Dict.*, 876 [n. 3]). 3) The frequent use of the present participle in Eg., P., S.-L., as a present perfect: *shayy?* 'do you see?' ('have you seen and do you still see?'). But 'Uman presents similar features and in the Maghreb certain participles serve as a present-perfect.

As regards vocabulary (here 'Irāk is included), a distinction must be made between: 1) The vocabulary of the dialects at the time of their formation. This consists of the Arabic basis brought by the invaders and words taken from the languages of the conquered and arabised peoples (substratum): Coptic in Eg., Aramaic-Syriac in P., S.-L.; Syriac in 'Irāk. L. only has been made the subject of study: M. Feghali, *Étude sur les emprunts syriaques dans les parlers arabes du Liban*, Paris 1918. 2) Vocabulary borrowed from the dialects of the districts: Pallavi, Persian, Aramaic-Syriac, Greek and Latin (by various routes) have given words to literary Arabic, received through it and with it into the dialects at the time of their formation (such words form part of the Arabic basis) or received from it after their formation. The history of these borrowings from within is completely unknown to us. The loan-words proper are the distinguished Persian words in 'Irāk, Turkish, Turkish, Persian and Turkish-Italian words, throughout the whole area from 'Irāk to Egypt; Italian words in Eg., P., S.-L.; French words (recent borrowings) in

Eg., P., S.-L.; English words (recent borrowings) in Eg.

The co-existence of Arabic and Aramaic-Syriac in the Lebanon, and of Arabic and Coptic in Eg. has provided the occasion for a certain amount of borrowing. But how can the loan-words be distinguished from the vocabulary of the substratum?

The Turkish contribution (in its different forms) is very important at Mas'ad, Baghdad, Aleppo, and slightly less so at Damascus, in P. and in Eg. A study has been made, for Damascus, by E. Saussey, *Mélanges Inst. Fr. Damas* (Section des arabistes), i, 77-129, and for Eg., by E. Littmann in *Festschrift Tschudi* (Wiesbaden 1954), 107-27. The *Dict. Ar.-Fr.* of A. Barthelmy, deals with all the loan-words in its etymologies; there is a systematic study for Aleppo in the *Introduction*, (to appear shortly) Part 2, Section 3, B.

Greek can have given certain liturgical terms directly to the dialects; its contribution is primarily indirect through literary Arabic, Syriac and Coptic. A peculiarity of the substratum: *baḥ* 'mosquito' at Aleppo, 'bug' in L. and Alg. (literary Arabic *bahḥ* = 'bug'). Aleppo has retained the meaning of the Syriac *baḥā* 'mosquito'. *Ḍān* 'chin, beard', in L., perpetuates two different words: the literary Arabic *ḍānānu* 'chin' and the Syriac *ḍānā* 'beard'. The etymology, however, is complicated; the Syriac *ḍānā* also has the meaning of 'chin'. Certain loan-words pose questions: how did the Persian *kaḥḥān* 'thimble', which is not known in literary Arabic or in Turkish, reach S.-L.? How did the Fahlawi *randāq* 'plane', an early loan-word, of which there is no evidence in literary Arabic or Turkish (Persian *randā*), reach Aleppo, and by what route? The comparative study of vocabulary has not yet been pursued sufficiently to enable us to dwell further on this subject here.

The Arabian and North Arabian dialects. The North Arabian dialects have been studied by J. Cantineau: *Études sur quelques parlers de nomades d'Orient*, in *AIEO*, Algiers, ii, 1936, 1-118, iii, 1937, 117-137; these studies in linguistic geography have enabled him to make a classification which he considers allows at least the main points of the subject to be clearly defined. There is not space here to repeat the critical appreciation made by J. Cantineau, at the beginning of his 1st *Étude*, of the publications of G. A. Wallin, I. G. Wetzelstein, A. Socin, E. Littmann, C. de Landberg (Anasrah), A. Musil (Kwala), J. J. Hess and A. de Bonchouan (complete references, Cantineau, *AIEO*, iii, 126). In addition, R. Montagne *Contes poétiques, Ghazal* (critical appreciation and references, J. Cantineau, *ibid.*). The following should also be mentioned: R. Montagne, *Sāliḥ Shāyḥ* *Alamāl* *ghad ʿarḥāl*, in *Mé. Gaudry-Demombynes*, Cairo 1939, 125-30; H. Charles, *Tribus montagnardes du Moyenne-Euphrate* *ʿAḥḥāl*, *Inst. Fr. Damas*, *Doc. Et. Or.*, viii, 1939, an ethnographical study containing several phrases, vocabulary and 14 lines of narrative. H. Charles, *Quelques travaux de femmes chez les nomades montagnards de la région de Hama-Hama* *ʿUmār* and *Bani Kāḥlād*, an ethnographical and dialectal study, *BEOD*, vii-viii, 1937-38, 195-213; 3 texts of considerable length and a short passage of 6 lines, transcribed and translated. For the other regions:—

1) The nomads of Arabia Petraea are only known through the ethnographical study by A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii, Vienna 1908; these texts must be used judiciously.



Hidjās: only the *Mekhanische Sprachwörter und Redensarten* of Snouck-Hurgronje, The Hague 1886.

Yemen: S. D. F. Goitein, *Jemenica*, 1432 *Sprachwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen* (Jews of San'a), Leipzig 1934, xxiii-194 pp. in 8vo, grammatical study pp. vii-xxiii. E. Rossi, *L'arabe parlé à San'a, grammatica, lessico* (Ital.-ar., 190-246), Rome 1939, vi-250 pp. in 8vo. (Pub. Is. Or.); see particularly by the same author *RSO*, xvii, 230-65 and 460-72 (a classification of the dialects, p. 472). Aden: E. V. Stace, *An English-Arabic Vocabulary for the use of the students of the Collège d'Aden*, 188 pp. in 8vo., London 1893, in printed Arabic characters without transcription.

Dahīnāh: Count C. de Landberg, *Glossaire Dahīnāh*, I, xi-1038 pp., Leiden 1920; II, vii-1039 to 1814, *ibid.* 1923; III (published by K. V. Zetterstéen), xxxiv-1815 to 2976 pp. in 8vo.; *idem*, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, II, *Dahīnāh*, Leiden 1905, ix-772 to 1440; III *Dahīnāh*, *ibid.* 1913, xv-1440 to 1802 pp. in 8vo.

Hadramawt: Count C. de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, I, *Hadramawt*, *ibid.*, 1901, xvii-774 pp. in 8vo. (Glossary 517-748).

Zīār: N. Rhodokanakis, *Der vulgärrabische Dialekt im Dofār (Zīār)*, I, *Prosaische und poetische Texte*, Wien 1908, II, *Einleitung, Glossar, Grammatik*, Wien 1911, xxxiv-219 pp. in 4vo. (*Südarabische Exp.* viii and xi).

ʿUman (and Zanūbar): C. Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in ʿUman und Zanūbar*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1894, xxv-428 pp. in 8vo. (Lehrbücher des Seminars f. Or. Spr., Berlin); texts 297-428.

J. Cantineau, *Remarques* (*BISL*, no. 118) has indicated (p. 81-2) the main general characteristics which enable a distinction to be drawn between the dialects of the settled populations of the East and the dialects of the Arab nomads. The sole effective criterion is the unvoiced pronunciation of ʿ (irrespective of what might otherwise be the articulation-point): all the dialects of the settled populations, and only the dialects of the settled populations have this pronunciation; the voiced pronunciation of ʿ is the mark of a nomad dialect (as it is in the case of western dialects).

We owe our present knowledge of the classification of the dialects of the Arabian nomads to J. Cantineau in his *Études*, in *AEO*, III, 222 f. The brief summary which follows is based on him:

As regards the North-Arabian dialects, he distinguishes dialects A (ʿAnāzā, dialects B (Shammar), dialects C (Syro-Mesopotamian); ʿAnāzā dialects: Ḥāne, Rūwā, Shāʿa, Wād, ʿAlī, etc.; Shammar dialects: ʿAbde, Khroise, Rmāl, etc.; are linguistically akin to the Shammar dialects, group Bc: in ʿIrāq probably the Tayyī, in Syria and Jordan: ʿAmīr, Sīlī, Sardiyya, Sirhān, in part the Banū Khālid of Jordan and the Banū Saḥār; Syro-Mesopotamian dialects: the population of the town of Raqqa and the tribes: Ḥadīdī, Mawālī, Nʿēm of Dīqlān, Fadīl (these last two forming a sub-group), which fall into the category of lesser nomads called *ghāwya* or *raʿya*. The case of the Dīqlān dialect is a separate question; the dialect of ar-Rass (Kasīm) is to some extent a Ba dialect.

It is difficult to demarcate, even approximately, the southern limit of the North Arabian dialects; their existence is definitely confirmed in Khādm, al-Haḥā, and probably in the ʿArid, the Waghm and the Sadr. Of the dialects of the Hūdīya very little

is known, and nothing of those of ʿAsīr. The dialects of the Hadramawt and the Daḥīnā, known through Landberg's texts, seem to be related, distantly it is true, to the dialect of the North Arabian nomads, and it is possible that the dialects of the nomads of the Rubʿ al-Khālī are connected with the same group. On the other hand, through the efforts of C. Reinhardt, E. Rossi, H. Dürchardt, and S. D. Goitein, we know that the dialects of ʿUman and the Yemen are of a completely different type.

*Bibliography:* In the body of the article. Works treating of the dialects as a whole: C. de Landberg, *La langue arabe et ses dialectes*, Leiden 1895; C. Brockelmann, *Das Arabische und seine Mundarten in Handbuch der Orientalistik*, III, Semitistik (1954), 207-45; J. Cantineau, *La Dialectologie arabe*, in *Orbis*, IV, 1953, 149-69; this gives additional bibliography and information on the current position as regards studies in Arabic dialectology. (H. FLEISCH)

### (3) The Western Dialects

The Arabic language is widely used in North Africa, but is by no means the only language in use. Berber is extensively used (see HERNERS), and the Berber language, though losing ground in some instances, can for the most part be considered to be in an extremely flourishing state and not on the retreat.

The elimination of the old autochthonous language naturally has taken place in those cases and in those countries in which the tide of Arabic spread without meeting any obstacles: first of all, in the towns which the Arab conquerors rebuilt, colonised or founded, and their environs; then in Cyrenaica and above all in Tunisia, which were reached by the first and largest waves; finally in those regions of the Maghrib, probably Zenata, where the old pastoral life prepared the way for Bedouin Arabism: the Sahara, the Saharan fringe, the high plains of Algeria and Constantine, the valleys of the Tell, and practically the whole of Orania. This Arabic tide surrounded but did not submerge the settled centres of the Saharan oases, and similarly the mountainous regions in the interior and on the coast, which were difficult of access. In Morocco, arabisation followed the Atlantic seaboard, reached the Fez and Taza corridor, flooded the Gharb, and left almost intact the riparian massifs of the Mediterranean and the interior, the Berber mountains.—The area in which Arabic is dominant in the Maghrib is thus immense. Nearly fifteen million people there speak it. They are to be found in widely-differing regions, and following very dissimilar ways of life: all town-dwellers, nearly all the agriculturalists and semi-pastoral peoples of the plains, plateaux and steppes, a large number of villagers, several groups of the settled population of the oases, and hill peoples arabised by the neighbouring towns. This geographic diversity (which, unlike that of the Iberian dialects, is still in progress) and the diversity of these modes of existence are the result both of the complex configuration of the country and of the historical circumstances of its arabisation. These two aspects will not be dealt with here. It will be sufficient to emphasise that, given physical and human conditions such as these, it is not surprising to discover great diversity in the spoken Arabic; variations so great that it seems difficult to define the Arabic dialects as a whole by common, specific characteristics; and that it is perhaps rash to employ the term 'Maghribi Arabic'. It will never-

theless be employed, if only for the convenience of this *exposé*.

C. Brockelmann, at a time when few documents on the various Arabic idioms spoken in North Africa were in our possession, said in his *Grundriss* that the Maghribi dialects were mainly of the Bedouin type. He doubtless based this on the accentuation of the verb in the 1st form, which he considered as the primitive form in all Semitic languages: *faʿala*, *faʿila*, *faʿūla* culminating in *faʿal*, *faʿil*. This syllabic reduction, doubtless attributable to stress, can already be found in Andalusian, but it is not Maltese. And it is far from being the only example which is found in the Maghrib, on the one hand, nor is it on the other hand exclusively Bedouin. This appreciation by Brockelmann, without doubt open to dispute in principle, is clearly completely inaccurate when one compares it with the extraordinarily complex reality of the dialectal facts.

This is a phonetic characteristic which applies to the great majority of the Maghribi dialects, without being common to them all or being confined to them alone (since it is found in certain Middle East dialects): a considerable loss of vocalic content, and consequently a marked tendency towards the neutral tones of the short vowel system. Obviously such a general statement takes no account of dialectal variations. In order to try to justify it, the actual facts must be examined more closely. In all the dialects of northern Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and in all the dialects of the western Sahara, the short vowel drops out in an open syllable *v + e + v*. The articulatory effort is directed towards the end of the word and disregards the beginning: the word, from being a disyllable, becomes a monosyllable. Thus *darab* becomes *ḍab* 'he has hit', *farab* becomes *frāb* 'joy'. Naturally the reduction also operates, and in the same sense, when the root of the word is followed by a suffix or an inflexion, or is preceded by a prefix. Thus *darabu* becomes *ḍarbu* 'they have hit', *ḍaribuhu* becomes *ḍarbu* or *ḍarbu* 'thou hast hit him', *ḍarjara* becomes *ḍarja* 'tree', *maḥama* becomes *maḥma* or *maḥma* 'court of a ḥādī', etc. The concentration of elements is sometimes so strong that the whole vocalic element disappears, the articulation of series of consonants being made possible by a consonant with a vocalic function, with an ultra-short vocalic point. Thus *qāba* 'reed', *qāba* 'who is taking you?'. These are the dialects of Morocco, especially the extremely degenerate dialects of the towns (for example, Fez), where this feature can be readily observed. In this evolution, which leads to a semi-spoken idiom to reduce the elements of the language (thus taking the line of least resistance), it has often been noticed that the short vowels of quality *i* and *u* are most in danger. Being of small aperture, they seem to be by nature extremely vulnerable: the slightest relaxation of the organs of speech alters the nature of their original quality, if it does not cause their disappearance pure and simple. One is tempted to think that the loss of the short vowels in open syllables started with the vowels of quality *i* and *u*. This is what emerges from the position of the Syrian dialects, on which J. Cantineau has written some excellent monographs (one, in particular, devoted to Palmyra): the conjugation of sound verbs in the basic form differs according as the radical vowel is *i* or *u*, or *a*; the former have become monosyllabic, the latter have remained disyllabic. This is similarly the case in a considerable number of the dialects of Fezzan-Cyrenaica and in the extreme south of Tunisia, which constitute, from

this point of view, the link between the eastern and the Maghribi dialects: some trace of the vowel *a* always remains, whether it is a well-preserved qualitative element, as in *darab* 'he has hit', *ḥalīb* 'milk', or an element with a different form, as in *raḥab* 'he has joined', *ḥabab* 'basket', etc.

Morphologically, there are also traits which can be in differing degrees considered to be typically Maghribi. The most characteristic, it appears, is the presence of the sign *n*—in the first person singular of the imperfect of the verb, replacing the initial *hamza* which is general throughout Middle East dialects. This morpheme *n*—is, to the exclusion of all others, that of all the dialects, without exception, of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, the Sahara, Fezzan, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Malta. Egypt seems indeed to form the eastern limit of its use. Ch. Kuentz, during recent years, has precisely defined the extreme limits (dialects of Alexandria and of certain settled populations of the Delta). The substitution of *n* for *ʿ*, already reported by Ibn Khaldūn in the Hīlālī popular songs which he collected, is recorded by Ibn Kūmān for Almoravid Andalusia, and recurs in mediaeval Norman Sicily. It can be considered as a morphological innovation proper to the Muslim West; it consists in the creation of a personal sign of the singular, clearly on the analogy of the signs of the plural: *naʿala* from *naʿala* *naʿala*. The purely Maghribi creation (all the dialects give evidence of this, including Maltese) of a verbal derived form *fʿal*, originating perhaps from the old forms IX-XI, must also be accounted an innovation. It expresses a resultative meaning: *ḥād* 'he has become black', *ḥād* 'he has become white', *ḥād* 'he has become one-eyed', *ḥād* 'he has become rough-skinned', *ḥād* 'he has become tall', *ḥād* 'he has become fat', *ḥād* 'he has become complacent', *ḥād* 'he has become handsome', etc. The presence of a long vowel *a* between the 2nd and 3rd radical, creates a phonetic problem of conjugation which the dialects answer in different ways (L. Brunot, *Sur le thème verbal fāl en dialecte marocain*, in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, Paris-Maisonneuve 1930, 35-62).—On the analogy of the derived forms with a reflexive and middle-passive significance, with a prefix *t* (V *tʿal* originating from II *tʿal*, VI *tʿal* from III *tʿal*), Maghribi has formed, like certain eastern dialects, a *tʿal* (which recalls the very old *thpʿel*) as opposed to the 1st form *faʿal*; it uses it by preference, often to the detriment of *naʿal*; then, carrying this further still, it arrives at a combination of *tʿal* and *naʿal* and produces *naʿtʿal* and *naʿtʿal*, for instance *naʿtʿal* 'he is wounded', *naʿtʿal* 'he is burnt'.—The old system, for forming nouns of action corresponding to verbs of the basic form, resorted freely to the subtle interplay of contrasts of vocalic quality: *jaʿ*, *faʿal*, *faʿil*, *faʿl* etc. It is the decay of the short vowel system, fairly general in the Maghrib (and the syllabic upheavals which accompany it), which has doubtless induced the all-told to display a preference, in the case of verbal nouns, for nominal forms with long vowels. Among them, there is one which recognises an unusual prolongation, which can be held to be specifically Maghribi (Malta also uses it): namely, *fʿul*. Formerly a *masdar* form of limited application (verbs denoting a noise, a cry), to-day it constitutes the most frequently used *masdar* of verbs of action, especially those denoting material operations: *ḡib* 'act of dancing', *ḡib* 'act of washing', *ḡib* 'act of cooking', *ḡib* 'act of flying', etc. This form *fʿul* perhaps owes its success to the analogical influence of *tuʿul*, *maḡdar* of the 2nd form, a characteristic of







in Fezzan.—'To send' is *yfot* (*yfot, yfot, yfot*, etc.) in Morocco and a considerable part of Orania, *yaf* in Algeria, *seyeb* in the South, *dezz* in Tunisia and Libya, *ziel* representing a term of educated speech.—'For' 'to lift, remove', *yfoi* is the verb of the west, Moroccan, Oranian and Algerian, and of part of Constantine; *kazz* is the word of eastern Constantine and Tunisia, *yfoi* that of Suf, Tripolitania and Fezzan.—'To do' is a vague idea expressed by a variety of verbs: *'mad* is the most general; *dār-dār*, essentially Bedouin, has everywhere infiltrated into the urban dialects; *asaw* (and its metathesis *asaf*) as well as *'addel*, *saawel* prevail in the western Maghrib, *lūl-yēlū* extends into the north-west of Orania, *ahām* in northern Constantine.

Whatever the difference between the dialects of the Maghrib, they remain closely akin to one another and are in varying degrees peculiarly Arabic. From the Arabic system proceeds the vast majority of the sounds of the language, the grammatical forms, the lexicographical material and the methods of presenting ideas. The dialectal variations found in the Maghrib seem, in general, scarcely more palpable than those which appear in the dialects of the Middle East. They can, to some extent, be attributed to influences alien to Arabic: 1) that of the Berber substratum which clearly gained new strength in certain regions and in certain fields of expression (those concerning the things of the material life, especially rural); but there are also areas where the memory of Berber has almost entirely disappeared from the language; 2) that of the languages of the coloured races in the northern zones bordering on the Negro lands; 3) that of the Romance languages; of Latin, often transmitted through the medium of Andalusian, and also of Spanish and Italian;—4) that of Turkish, particularly in Algeria and Tunisia;—5) finally, that of French, an influence which is still exerted to-day.

The part played by inherited or loan elements, however, does not seem to be the only reason to put forward to explain the original and motley character of Maghribi. There is the diversity of the Arabic dialects, which were already differentiated when they were imported by the conqueror at various periods during the process of establishing himself in the Maghrib. There is also, and perhaps this is the most important differentiating factor, the carrier of innovations, spontaneous or conditioned, which have come into being and have spread in different directions, sometimes propagating themselves throughout vast geographical groups, sometimes confining themselves in districts divided into rigid compartments.

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## B. Arabic Literature

- (I) Early Arabian Literature.
  - (a) Pre-Islamic; (ii) Poetry; (b) First-Century Poetry.
- (II) Second-Century Literature.
  - (i) Poetry; (ii) Prose.
- (III) Third to Fifth Centuries.
  - (i) Prose; (ii) Poetry.
- (IV) Sixth to Twelfth Centuries.
- (V) Modern Arabic Literature.
  - (a) To 1914; (b) Since 1914.

**General Bibliography:** No complete history of Arabic literature has yet been written. Many important works still exist only in manuscript, critical studies of individual poets and writers are relatively few, and several periods and regions have not yet received monographic treatment. The fullest bibliographical details are to be found in C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Literatur und Supplementbände*. Outline surveys are given by F. Gabrieli, *Storia della Letteratura araba*, Milan (1955); H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature*, London 1926; R. A. Nicholson, *Arabic History of the Arabs*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1930; Ch. Pellat, *Langue et Littérature arabes*, Paris 1952; O. Reuchert, *Abriß der arab. Literaturgeschichte*, i, ii, Stuttgart 1925; Djirdil Zaydān, *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughā al-'Arabiyya*, 4 vols., Cairo 1911; Ahmad al-Iskandarī and M. 'Isānī, *al-Waṣṣṣ fi 'l-Adāb al-'Arabi*, Cairo 1919 etc.; and numerous other textbooks in Arabic. Monographs on separate periods are cited in the sectional bibliographies below; those of particular writers will be found in the relevant articles.

## (I) Early Arabian Literature

### (a) Pre-Islamic

(i) Poetry. The history of Arabic literature begins with the emergence, towards the end of the 5th century A.D., of a school of Arab poets in

N.E. Arabia and the Euphrates border, of whose productions more or less extensive fragments have survived. The second generation of poets of this school, of whom the most outstanding was Imru' al-Kays, brought its technical and artistic methods to a high degree of perfection. Their odes, technically called *ḥajda* (pl. *ḥajdāt*, coll. *ḥajdāt*), served as standards and models for later generations of Arabian poets, whose odes were, almost without exception, cast in the same structural mould, with some variation in content and treatment of the themes. The productions of this school spread with great rapidity in Arabia and the regions of Arab settlement in Syria and Mesopotamia, and found in all parts imitators and practitioners, who in some regions gave rise to local schools. The poets of the third generation (middle of the 6th century A.D.) already represented widely diverse regions; those of the fourth (end of the 6th century), drawn from all tribes and regions, are beginning to show characteristic epigonic features. With the rise of Islam and the consequent shift in tribal interests, this type of poetry was temporarily eclipsed.

The *ḥajda*, the distinctive artistic production of this poetic literature, is essentially an art-form, which has little in common with the forms of artistic poetry in other literatures. Its main theme is boasting or panegyric, led up to by a journey theme. The latter is elaborated: (i) by an elegiac-erotic prelude (*naḥb*), recalling a former attachment to a woman of another tribe, leading to or connected with the journey-theme; (ii) by description and praise of the poet's camel or horse, more especially (iii) by comparing it with a beast of the chase, developed into a finely-executed tableau of animal life in the desert. The main theme is similarly elaborated by the introduction of idealised pictures of beduin hospitality or drinking, thunderstorms, war and battle scenes, and satire of rivals. The whole poem runs from 60 to 100 lines in length, being composed throughout in the same metre ending in the same rhyming syllable [see further *ḥajda*].

The pre-history of the *ḥajda*, i.e. the origins of Arabic poetry in general, are lost in obscurity and apparently irrecoverable. The Arabic philological tradition (which constitutes almost the only source of information) itself knows nothing earlier than the rise of the *ḥajda*-poets. It can scarcely be doubted that the poets of this school stood on the shoulders of a long chain of predecessors, who perfected its diverse metrical systems [see 'ARABIC] and who laid the foundations of the special literary idiom ('*Arabiyya* [see above, ARABIC LANGUAGE, ii (1)] and) of the artistic devices utilised by them. The hypothesis (put forward by al-Babbitt, v. *Bibl.*) of an earlier production of lengthy homogeneous odes, reconstructed fragments of which supplied the model for the *ḥajda*, is purely speculative and improbable. The rise of the new school contemporaneously with the kingdom of Kinda [g.e. in N.E. Arabia, and its relations with the princes of Hira and Ghassan, suggest the possibility of a stimulus from the Fertile Crescent, but nothing has been adduced in evidence for this supposition. In any case, it seems reasonably certain that the *ḥajda* constituted a new departure in Arabic poetic art, consisting of the combination of a number of existing themes of Arabic poetry into a subjectively related pattern, and that (prefiguring a characteristic often to be seen in later Arabic literature) such a pattern, once established, became normative for future generations of poets and by reason of its combination of different







in all probability this style which furnished the models for the first literary art of Arabic written prose, at the hands of the *katib*, the secretaries of the Umayyad caliphs and governors, of which, however, there are few authentic examples until the papyrus documents of the period of Sulaymān and the chancery records of 'Umar II at the end of the 1st century (between 715 and 720 A.D.).

#### (b) First-Century Poetry

The Arabic poetry of the 1st/7th century closely reflects the social and economic changes resulting from the Islamic movement and the Arab conquests, the military settlements of the Arabs outside Arabia, the growth of luxury and a money economy, the rise of an imperial government and the imposition of its authority over the tribesmen, and the emergence of religious and political parties and tribal factions. The results of these changes are most clearly seen in the transformation of the occasional poem, and the cultivation of particular themes or types by individuals or schools. The old satire (*hiǧāz*) loses its aura of supernatural influence and develops either into a string of indecencies or a theatrical display of mutual taunting by poets of rival groups (see below). The *hamd* poem becomes the vehicle of religious exaltation and defiance among the *ḫalīdīyā* [q.v.]. The most remarkable new development is the rise of the independent love-poem (*ghazal* [q.v.]) in the wealthy and luxurious cities of the *Ḥijāz*, using a simplified linguistic structure influenced by *Ḥijāzī* conversational style, and, through its close association with the rise of a new medical profession (see *ḥunṭāʾ*), metrically adapted to the needs of singing. This *ghazal* was of two kinds: one, connected more especially with Mecca (see 'UMAR B. ABI RAB'Ā), realistic, urbane, and gay; the other, connected especially with Medina (see *ḤAMIL* and *ḤUMRA*), depicting an idealising and hopeless love, with beduin protagonists. New themes of politico-religious poetry were inspired by the disasters and aspirations of the 'Alid *gh̃*'s (see AL-KUNAYT and KULIYAVVIR), and the *radīas* poem, a simple iambic piece formerly used especially to rouse the ardour of combatants, was made into an instrument for displays of linguistic virtuosity in lengthy and consciously archaising *basīdas* by a school of beduin poets (see AL-'ANṢARĪYĀ).

All these give evidence of the new vigour and plasticity which had been imparted to the literary arts of the Arabs by the Islamic movement and its political and social consequences. Poetry, without losing any of its artistic qualities, becomes less formal and more functional; style and content complement and harmonise with one another. The *basīda* also, revived after a short intermission during the conquests, was shaken out of the rigid, formulaic and obligatory canons of style which had circumscribed it in the old tribal society. During the 1st century it was cultivated almost exclusively by a group of beduin extraction in al-'Irāq and Mesopotamia, represented especially by al-Aḥḡḡal, Dīārī, al-Farazdak, and Ḍhu 'l-Rumma. Al-Aḡḡal, the authentic representative of the schools of 'Amr b. Kulthūm and al-Nabīḡa, stands closest to the spirit of pre-Islamic poetry, both in his tribal odas and his panegyrics of the Umayyad caliphs. For the poets of al-'Irāq, on the other hand, the *basīda*, while preserving the traditional external structure, changes both in inner content and in function. Al-Farazdak in his boasting odas may celebrate the renown of his ancestors, but for him, as for Dīārī, beduin life is poor and brutish, and the *basīda* an

instrument to gain riches from the powerful and wealthy at the price of often hypocritical adulation, no longer phrased in terms of tribal virtues, but of political and religious controversy. Alternatively inter-tribal *maḥabbara* is overlaid by a flood of personal taunts in slanging matches on parallel themes (*maḥabb* [q.v.]), of considerable ingenuity and virtuosity, for the debilitation of the tribesmen of Kofa and Basra. Both of these developments went far towards changing the original art-form of the *basīda* into an artificial convention; and in language also the poets sought the suffrages of the rising philological schools in al-'Irāq by conscious exhibitions of luxuriant and sonorous vocabulary. This is still further developed in the special art of Ḍhu 'l-Rumma, devoted mainly to descriptions of desert scenery and life, emotionalised by a *ghazal* theme.

The outstanding difference between the pre-Islamic poetry and that of the Umayyad age in general is, however, psychological. The passions of the pre-Islamic age were strong, but moved within narrow limits; and the poets held them to a high moral plane. Those of the Umayyad age were multiple and conflicting, and the poets shared in the general psychological instability and conflict of principles and parties. The emotional foundation of the *ghazal* is self-evident; but emotion enters also into the traditional themes, bringing them closer to the popular taste and giving them a sharper and coarser tone, which lowers the ethical plane, in spite of a copious sprinkling of Qur'anic phraseology and pious sentiment. The political role also of much of this poetry required the poets to play to the gallery and pander to the debased taste and love of excitement of the masses, especially in their *nabā'id*.

As regards the authenticity and transmission of Umayyad poetry, it is evident from the relatively complete state of the *diwān*, as compared with those of the pre-Islamic poets, that they were written down either during the poet's lifetime or immediately afterwards. Specific references are found to a written corpus of the poetry of al-Farazdak, kept by a secretary (Aḡḡal, xiv, 22), and also to that of Ḍhu 'l-Rumma (al-Dīdhī, *Ḥunayyir*, i, 41), and to a written text of the *nabā'id* (ed. Beyran, 190).

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#### (ii) Second-Century Literature

(i) Poetry. The Arabic literature of the 2nd/8th century is sharply distinguished from that of the 1st/7th century by two main features. It was, with few exceptions, the literature of an urban society, concentrated for the most part in al-'Irāq; and the majority of its producers were half-Arab or non-Arabs, converts or descendants of converts from the original Aramaean and Persian population. The resulting changes and developments in literary production are more marked in prose than in verse production, but are clearly to be seen also in the poetry of this period.

In contrast to the new prose literature, however, the transition to the early 'Abbāsid age made no

violent breach in the tradition of Arabic poetry. Metrical systems and technique evolved within the older framework, and structural innovations met with little or no success (see ante 'A-ḡḡḡḡḡ). The permissible metres and deviations were ingeniously systematised by al-Khālīl b. Ahmad (d. 175/791) and strictly adhered to. In language also the poets are as precise and meticulous in their pursuit of 'arabiyya as their predecessors, but begin to aim at smoothness and simplicity in place of the sonorous beduin poets. These changes are marked to a certain extent by the continued cultivation of the *basīda*, which now, however, even more than in the Umayyad age, acquired a ceremonial function. The poet who presented himself at the court of the caliphs or of lesser authorities was required to demonstrate his qualities by his *basīdas* and was rewarded accordingly. Since it was by their patronage that the poet gained his livelihood, he was compelled to conform to their expectations, especially when the reward was not infrequently proportioned to the length of his ode. To these factors must be added the natural conservatism of the Arab, which tended to restrict the poet to conventional forms, and of the poets themselves, for whom (as for their critics in the rising philological schools) poetry was the guarantor of the pure tradition of Arabic linguistic art, and the *basīda* the highest proof of the poet's mastery of it. Internally, in spite of the conventionality of its form and matter, the *basīda* shows a development away from the old beduin themes, and both panegyric and satire are handled with considerable diversity and originality, while at the same time the newer types of postal production affect to some extent the traditional modes of expression.

It is, however, in these newer types that the social changes and currents in the new age found their fullest expression. The first impulses came from the *ghazal* poetry of the *Ḥijāz* and its musical accompaniment, both directly and through Syria, where they were combined with the (probably native Syrian) tradition of wine-songs by the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd II (d. 126/744), with whom tradition connects the first representatives of the new school in al-'Irāq (see *ḡḡḡḡ* n. IVAs). Their witty, uninhibited, and often scandalous verses met with a delighted reception in the new secular and pleasure-seeking society of Basra and Baghdad, and were even set to music, enjoyed in the private entertainments in caliph's palaces. The general intellectual effervescence resulting from the contact of Islamic society with Persian and Aramaean culture stimulated, both by attraction and by repulsion, a wide range of emotional attitudes and reactions, which were freely exposed in verse, and at the same time created a social atmosphere which, in spite of the opposition of the nascent legal and theological schools, encouraged freedom of thought and expression. Together with the new trends of urban poetry, several of the movements of the Umayyad age (notably *ḡḡḡḡ*) still continued to furnish themes for poetic elaboration, and the old 'Irāki tradition of secular and satirical verse was revived by the Mu'taḡīl Bighr b. al-Mu'tamir, Abu 'l-'Atāshīya, and others. Two other lesser poets also were originators of new literary genres: 'Abbas b. al-Aḡḡal (d. c. 192/807), the inventor of the court-*ghazal*, short poems on themes of chivalrous love; and Abū b. 'Abd al-Hamīd (d.c. 200/815), who first used the rhymed *radīas* couplet (*muḡḡḡḡḡḡ*) for verse romances and didactic poems. In sum, therefore, the output of

Arabic poetry in this century was enormous, and characterised for the most part by an originality, achieved not so much by breaking out along new lines as by fusing new elements with the traditional themes in such a way that the effect is almost that of a wholly new art.

Yet, for all this, the poetry of the 2nd century prefigures, if it does not itself illustrate, the decline of the true poetic art and the growth of artificiality in Arabic poetry. The freshness and sincerity of the *Ḥijāzī* *ghazal* were not compensated for by wit and cynicism; and the pursuit of wit led to a straining after verbal brilliance and originality in metaphor. This was the origin of the so-called *badī'* [q.v.], the embellishment of verse by tropes and antitheses and ingenious exploitation of Arabic morphology. The earliest exponent of this "new style"—not as yet exaggerated or formalised—was the blind poet Baḡḡḡḡ b. Burd (d. 168/784), of Iranian extraction, and the first major Arabic poet of non-Arab origin. The elaboration of the traditional *basīda* with *badī'* devices is generally ascribed to one of the poets of the next generation, Muslim b. al-Walīd, who was in consequence highly esteemed by some critics and condemned by others as "the first who corrupted poetry". There is, in contrast, little trace of these artifices in the work of his greater contemporary Abū Nuwās (d.c. 198/803), who in poetic genius, fecundity, many-sidedness and command of language has few rivals in Arabic literature. Witty, gay, cynical and foul-mouthed, he was at his best in his incompensable wine-songs, most virulent and coarsest in satire and *ghazal*, versatile in pansyerie, and a linguistic virtuoso in the beduin style of hunting poems (*ardīyīyī*), the fashion for which he revived.

On the other hand, Abū Nuwās and the other poets of the latter half of the century exemplify a new development which was soon to affect all Arabic poetry, not generally to its advantage. Hitherto the poets had learned their art exclusively by association with their predecessors. With the rise of the philological schools, particularly at Basra, they began to perfect their training by systematic instruction from and association with the philologists. The common ground of this association has already been noted above, but its effect was to imbue the poets themselves (exclusive of the purely popular poets) with a more or less philological approach to their art and the acceptance of philological criteria of poetic merit. To this, probably, is due, more than to any other cause, the increasing formalisation of Arabic poetry in later centuries, and its degeneration, in the hands of the less gifted, to an almost mechanical recapitulation of well-worn themes with a surface decoration of *badī'*.

Transmission. Paradoxically the situation in regard to the texts of the early 'Abbāsid poets is often much worse than to those of the Umayyad poets, since the philologists (who did not regard them as reliable authorities for linguistic usage) made no efforts to collect their *diwān*s. Some have never been collected, and such *diwān*s as survive in later MSS (including that of Abū Nuwās) are far from reliable. The authorship of single verses and even of whole poems is sometimes in question, and later collectors of *badī'* figures have caused much confusion by lack of care in citation and attribution (see I. Kratchkowsky, *Abū 'l-Faraj al-Waḡḡḡ*, Petrograd 1914, Introduction, 68-96).

(ii) Prose. As already mentioned (i) (ii) above, ad fin.), the first essays in Arabic prose were made by the *katib*, the chancery secretaries of the



Umayyad caliphs, in a style based on that of the official *khawāṣṣ*. In the earliest known literary productions, those of 'Abd al-Hamid b. Yahyā (d. 152/750), however, in which the matter called for a logical expansion of general principles in complex detail, the adaptation of Arabic syntax to these unfamiliar demands could be met only by ingenious experiment. As in other literatures, flexibility in prose style was first acquired by the process of translation, in this instance from the Pahlavi court-literature of Sāsānid Persia, initiated by 'Abd al-Hamid's disciple Ibn al-Mukaffā' (d. 139/757). In their existing forms, the extant works of Ibn al-Mukaffā' have probably undergone some rehandling in subsequent decades; but it is clear that he posed the problem which was gradually solved by his successors: that of creating a smooth and palatable prose style which was capable of expressing systematic thought, within the limits of the available vocabulary. The function of this literature was didactic and ceremonial; it laid down rules of conduct for princes, court officers, secretaries and administrators of all kinds, and supplied the general knowledge required for the performance of their duties, in the form of manuals, anecdotes and romances, the whole being comprised under the general head of *adab* [q.v.]. Their agreeable literary style and diverting contents procured a wide popularity for these works in the new urban society, and for several decades the translations from and imitations of Persian literature held a dominant place in Arabic prose literature.

In the meantime, native forms of Arabic prose were being developed. The primitive narrative arts were organised into conscious literary styles, such as the *basar*, the combination of a number of *ḥadīṭ* into a connected story (exemplified in the *Sīrat al-Nabī* of Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151/768), the *ḥissa* [q.v.] or anecdote, and *ḥikāṣ* [q.v.] or narration, particularly in the romances of beduin lovers ('*uṣṣāḥā*) and of the "battle-days" (*ayyām al-arab*) [see I (a) (ii) above]. In contrast to these narrative genres, which preserved in a greater or less degree their original Arabian structure, the rapid expansion of intellectual energies in Basra and Kūfa, especially in the schools of philology and law, was creating, with the help of Greek logic, a new argumentative prose which was far more flexible and close-knit than either the new narrative forms or the translations of the secretaries. At the same time, the philologists, consciously opposing the increasing degeneration and impoverishment of Arabic in the mixed society of the 'Irāqī cities, and with the support of Islamic religious circles, set themselves to define the correct modalities of Arabic speech and to preserve both the extensive vocabulary (*ḥajḥ*) and the pure idiomatic usage (*ḥayḥa*) of the peninsula. Thus, in opposition both to the jurists and to the secretaries, for whom the Arabic language was primarily an instrument, they reasserted—in a new context—the old Arabian insistence on the importance of form, and thereby contributed to maintain the concept of the 'arabiyya as an undisturbed and unchanging artistic structure, which remained unaffected by the varieties and evolution of spoken Arabic. Closely related to these activities, and also in conscious opposition to the secretarial school, was their activity in searching for and preserving the memorials of the old Arabic culture, such as poems, proverbs and tribal traditions, to serve (in conjunction with the Kur'ān and all the materials relating to the Islamic movement) as the basis of the "Arabic

humanities". Except for technical monographs, mainly on philological subjects—the most important of which are the dictionary, *K. al-ṣāḥih*, of al-Jaḥḥil b. Ahmad (d. 175/791), the grammar, *al-Kaṣb*, of his pupil Sibawayh (d.c. 180/796), and the monographs of Abū 'Ubayda (d. 210/825) and al-Asma'ī (d.c. 218/831)—few original literary works, in the strict sense, had been produced in philological circles by the end of the century, and it was only in the 3rd/9th century that the Arabic humanities came into full fruition.

Much the same may be said of the associated field of historical studies (see TA'RIKH), in which, except for the rather conscious adaptation of the *ayyām*-technique in the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāq, the activities of historical students were devoted mainly to the compilation of source-materials in the form of monographs on particular episodes of Arab or Islamic history (see ARḌ MITHQAF, AL-MADĀ'IN, AL-WARĪD) or on tribal genealogies (see MITHMAM b. MUHAMMAD AL-KALBI).

The legal schools, on the other hand, had already attained the stage of producing major works, both expository and controversial (see FIQH). The lead was taken by the Hanafī school of al-ʿIrāq with Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804), while the school of al-Madīna produced the first important corpus of legal *ḥadīṭ* in al-Muṣaḥḥa' of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795). As early as the next generation, al-Shāfi'ī was able to set out and defend in a series of tracts (*al-Umm*) the principles which were henceforth to govern legal reasoning in Sunni Islam.

Finally, in regard to Kur'ānic studies, the practice of oral transmission still predominated, and the first collected work on exegesis appears to have been made by the above-mentioned Abū 'Ubayda.

**Bibliography** (in addition to works cited at the end of § I): Ch. Pellat, *Le Milieu Basrien et la Formation de Ḥadīṭ*, Paris 1952; Ahmad Anīn, *Dahā' al-Islām*, i, Cairo 1933; A. F. RIESE, 'Arḥ al-Ma'mūn, ii, Cairo 1927; Tāḥa Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīṭ al-Arḥā'*, i, ii, Cairo 1925, 1926; J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950.

### (III) Third to Fifth Centuries

#### (i) Prose

By the opening of the 3rd/9th century, the philological, historical, legal and Kur'ānic studies just described had laid the foundations for an Arabic-Islamic prose literature, which could challenge the predominance hitherto enjoyed by the secretarial school in the field of public letters (*adab*). The problem that remained to be solved was that of mobilisation, or how to bring these studies out of their scholastic or technical isolation into a positive relation with the public interests and social issues of the day. This problem was illuminated, rather than solved, by the genius of al-Djābir (d. 255/869), who brought them to bear on all aspects of contemporary life in a serious, learned and witty style, of unequalled linguistic vigour and variety, but too individual to serve as a stylistic model for general literature. The final solution was found by his later contemporaries who blended the clarity of the secretarial style with the traditional art-language and the argumentative prose of the philological and legal schools, in a medium capable of expressing all varieties of factual, imaginative and abstract subjects with great refine-

ment and precision, though at some cost to the wealth and vigour of the ancient idiom cultivated by the philologists. One of the first results of this "modernised" prose medium, with its superior flexibility and adaptation to social changes, was to restrict and ultimately to displace poetry from its former social function, and to relegate it more and more to a purely aesthetic role in social and literary life.

The success achieved by the writings of al-Djābir and his successors was not due solely, however, to their command of the Arabic sciences and a more flexible linguistic instrument. The schools of Basra, with their rationalising tendencies, had already been attracted (especially in the theological groups of the Mu'tazila [q.v.]) by the surviving elements of Hellenistic culture in Western Asia. Early in the 3rd/9th century the revival of Hellenistic learning received a strong impulse from the establishment by al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33) of the *bayt al-hikma* [q.v.] for the translation of Greek philosophical and scientific works. During the whole period treated in this section, the dominant feature of Arabic culture is the fruitful interaction of the Arabic and Greek traditions which is already illustrated in the writings of al-Djābir, and was subsequently displayed in almost all branches of Arabic literature, both secular and religious. These internal developments were further expanded and accelerated by the vast extension of literary activities, which, hitherto all but confined to al-ʿIrāq, began in the 3rd century to be revived in a large number of centres, from the Samarqand to Kayrawān and al-Andalus. The material foundation of this expansion was the rapid economic development of the Islamic empire, supplemented by the introduction of paper (*ṣawāḥ* [q.v.]) manufacture from the Far East in the second half of the 2nd century.

The range and extent of these new literary movements rapidly overcame the Sāsānid tradition of the *ḥadīṭ*, in spite of their rearguard movement of resistance (see MU'AMMAYYA) and denigration of the Arabs and their culture. A reconciliation was effected by Ibn Kutayba (d. 276/889-90), who in a long series of works furnished the secretaries with compendia and extracts from all branches of Arabic learning, but incorporated in them also such elements of the recent historical and literary traditions as had established themselves at the court and could be harmonised with the Arabic-Islamic humanities. Henceforward, *adab*, in the strict sense, was confined to treatises and other literary works based on this widened Arabic-Islamic tradition, including both the Persian and the Hellenistic components.

Simultaneously, the widening of general intellectual interests was displayed in the cultivation of a great variety of specialist disciplines, the cumulative productions of which constitute the climax of the mediaeval Islamic culture, and for this reason cannot be entirely excluded from any general survey of Arabic literature. In the 3rd century the Hellenistic contribution was greatly expanded by the many translations of Greek works made by Kustā b. Lūḳā (fl. 220/835), Hunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 260/873), his son Isḥāq b. Hunayn (d. 298/910), and other translators. Already before the middle of the century, the first independent Arabic works on philosophy were being written by Yaḥyā al-Kināfi (d.c. 256/850), to be followed in the next century by the Turk Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) and the Persian Abū 'Alī Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037),

to mention only the most prominent names (see FALSAFA); on mathematics by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi (fl. 230/841) and Thābit b. Kurra al-Sābi' (d. 268/901) [see RIVĀḌA]; on astronomy by al-Farghānī, Abū Ma'shar al-Balḥī (d. 272/885), and al-Battānī (d. 317/929) [see TANQID]; and on medicine by Ibn Māsawayh (d. 243/859) and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d.c. 317/923) [see FIBR]. Although the technical literature of the sciences cannot be dealt with here, yet the importance of these studies, and of other popular works on Hellenistic origin (such as *Sirr al-Aṣṣār*, attributed to Yahyā b. al-Bṭrīk, c. 200/815), in determining or at least influencing the intellectual climate of the period must not be underrated. In geography, in particular, they not only directly inspired the "revision" of Ptolemy's geography by the above-mentioned al-Khwarizmi, but also indirectly contributed to the first road-book, by the postmaster Ibn Khuradādhbih (fl. 230/844), and in conjunction both with the older philological interest in the place-names of Arabia and with Indian materials (see SINDHIND) and old Persian concepts, stimulated the intellectual curiosity which produced the rich geographical literature of the following century (see GUGRAPHIYA).

The opposition to these hellenising tendencies was led by those "orthodox" students of theology and law who rejected the rationalist principles of the Mu'tazila. The search for Prophetic Tradition (*ḥadīṭ* [q.v.]), which had developed in the 2nd century as a weapon against the pragmatic tendencies of the local schools of Law, was vigorously cultivated in the 3rd by the orthodox everywhere, partly (as in the famous "Six Books" of al-Buḥārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dā'ūd, Ibn Māḍja, and al-Nasā'ī) in order to consolidate the dominant place which it had gained in the juristic sciences, but partly also (as in the more comprehensive *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal, d. 241/855) against the critical attitudes of the Mu'tazila. So potent a force did the *ḥadīṭ* prove to be, with its appeal to simple piety and veneration for the Prophet, that in the next century the Shī'īs also, both among the Ismā'īlīs (*Dā'ir al-Islām* of the 3rd al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad, d. 363/974) and in Imānī circles (the "Four Books" of al-Kulaynī, d. 328/939, and others [see MU'ṬA]), aimed to rival the achievement of the Sunnīs by the collection and attribution of *ḥadīṭ* to the Imāms.

Nevertheless, although the schools of law, thanks to the early standardisation of their methodology, seem to have been little affected by the hellenistic revival and continued to produce an extensive literature of their own, both theology and popular religion could not but be coloured by their environment. Orthodox theologians, in the schools of al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935) and al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), reconciled Greek physics with the data of the Kur'ān and the *Ḥadīṭ* by a skilful dialectic (see KALĀM), which by the end of the 5th century had established itself as the universal scholastic theology of Sunni Islam; while Shī'ī theology, especially in the Ismā'īlī schools, was still more strongly influenced by the neoplatonism expounded, together with the Greek sciences in general, in the popular encyclopaedia of the 4th/10th century called the *Epistles of the Sincere Brethren* [see IḤṢWĀN AL-SĀFA]. The literature of theological polemics also, as well as that on "comparative religion" (i.e. on the differences between the Muslim and the non-Muslim religions), is clearly aware of the general positions of



Greek philosophy and prepared on occasion to discuss them in detail. The most celebrated work in these two fields is the incisive *K. al-Faṣl* by the Andalusian Zuhri Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064), equally noted for his delicate anatomy of love under the title of *The Dove's Neckring*.

While popular religion was less affected by theological problems as such, it had from the first been influenced by the older religious movements in Western Asia and North Africa. By the 3rd century most of these accretions had been pruned away, except for gnosticism and Syrian mysticism (itself incorporating many Stoic and Neoplatonic elements), which were exercising an increasingly profound influence upon ascetic and pietist circles, and trans-forming piety and asceticism into mystical *ṣūfism* (see TAKAWUṬ). Already in the 3rd and 4th centuries a new *ṣūfī* literature was fully developed, ranging from systematic treatises (beginning with al-Muḥāsibī, d. 213/837) and *raṣāʾid* (al-Dīnawarī, d. 297/910) to collections of aphorisms, mystical poetry (see AL-HALLĀǦ), and stanzas by ʿIḥwān (d. 245/859) and al-Niffārī (d. 354/965).

The total result of these specialist literary activities was immensely to expand the range of mediaeval Arabic as a linguistic instrument. Not only in the technical vocabulary of the various sciences, but also as a medium for expressing fine shades of philosophical and psychological analysis, it had developed capacities far beyond the old classical language. But this must not be taken to imply that the range of literary *adab*, or even its expressiveness, was widened in an equal degree. Much of this technical and analytical vocabulary was probably little understood outside the restricted circles of specialists. No doubt (indeed, it could hardly have been otherwise), some of these wider intellectual horizons were occasionally reflected in works of polite letters. Nevertheless, the *adab* works also demonstrate very clearly the marginal position of the purely Hellenistic elements and of the special sciences dependent on them (as distinguished from the generalized influence of Hellenistic culture) in relation to the main body of Arabic and Islamic elements in the mediaeval Islamic culture. A few *uṣul*<sup>1</sup> show in their writings an interest in metaphysical and scientific disciplines, e.g. Ahmad b. al-Tayyib al-Buhārī (d. 286/899), Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī (d. 414/1021) and Abū ʿAlī Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) [see also ʿAṢḤĀṬ]. But such works are on the whole exceptional. The mainstream of Arabic letters after Ibn Kutayba runs through miscellaneous topics drawn from Arab poetry and history, politics and rhetoric, anthologies and collections of anecdotes, and popular ethics, illustrated by such writers as Ibn ʿIḥwān (d. 287/894), Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), the Andalusian Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī (d. 328/940), Abū Bakr al-Sūlī (d. 335/946), Abū ʿI-Faraj al-Isfahānī (d. 356/967), author of the *K. al-Aḥqānī*, al-Muḥassin al-Tawhīdī (d. 384/994), collector of 'table-talk' and anecdotal literature, and Abū Mansūr al-Dīnawarī (d. 429/1038 [see below]). The huge output and popularity of such works show how sharply, on the whole, the social and intellectual interests of literary circles were circumscribed, and the consequent limitation of the concept of *adab*. On a more technical level of *adab*, but essentially of the same kind, were the 'sessions' (*maḥallāt*) and 'dictations' (*imānāt*) of the professional philologists (e.g. al-Muḥarrarī, d. 285/898, al-Faṣṣāḥ, d. 292/899, Ibn Durayd, d. 311/924, al-Kāfī, d. 356/967), in distinction from their pedagogical works on philology

proper, which included the first major dictionaries of the classical language by Ibn Durayd, al-Dīnawarī (d. c. 393/1002) and Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004-5).

This intense absorption in literary and linguistic production was bound to produce in due course a considerable volume of technical literary criticism. Although as late as the *K. al-Aḥqānī* criticism seems to consist mostly of subjective judgments on the relative merits of given poets or verses, the first steps towards a more systematic criticism had already been taken by al-Dīlālī, from a different angle, by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who in his *K. al-Badʿ* classified the figures of speech employed in the 'newer' poetry. Kullūbā b. ʿIṣṣāʿ (d. 310/922) introduced the practice of classifying poetic 'beauties' and 'faults', and by the end of the 4th/10th century the *K. al-Sināʾatayn* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005) offers a complete critical analysis of poetry and prose in terms of structure, rhetorical devices, and figures of speech. The significant feature of most of this discussion was the insistence upon form rather than matter as the decisive criterion of quality; the declared assumption is that little if anything new can be originated in poetry, and that the only difference between one poet and another lies in his manner of expression. The balance was to some extent redressed by ʿAbd al-Kāfir al-Dīrdjānī (d. 471/1078), who supplemented the excessively formal analysis of his predecessors by a system of logical and psychological analysis which demanded an at least equal consideration for the 'ideas' expressed. Additional point was given to the argument on literary aesthetics by its bearing on the doctrine of the incomparability (*ʿidghāz*) of the Qurʾān; inevitably, in spite of protests in theological circles and by al-Dīrdjānī, the prevailing concentration of literary criticism upon form tended to emphasize unduly its supreme verbal qualities in terms of the current stylistic theories.

A further consequence, equally inevitable, was that rhetorical and literary prose began to be affected by the same theories and to display the same pursuit of verbal elaboration. The virtuosity of the *adab* was displayed in 'Paragraphs' (*ḥuṣūl*) and describing scenes, persons, emotions, events, and objects, or in Epistles (*rasāʾid*) addressed to friends or colleagues on a variety of occasions. Ibn al-Muʿtazz seems to have been, if not the inventor, at least the populariser of this art, which in the 4th century swept over the whole field of Arabic letters. The secretarial class fell victim to it almost at once; in the intense competition for office every refinement of literary style was eagerly exploited. The technique of secretarial correspondence was elaborated into art (*maḥāṣin* [g.e.]), based upon admired models of elegant, florid, insinuating or pungent writing, and it was not long before rhyming prose (*saḍʿ*), which the best stylists had hitherto used only as occasional ornament, became inseparable from official style. By the middle of the 4th century the vizier Abū ʿI-Faḍl b. al-ʿAskarī (d. 350/967-70) style composing his correspondence in *saḍʿ*; with his disciple and successor Ibn ʿAḥḥād, known as 'the Šāḥib' (d. 385/995), its use had become a mania. Contemporary literateurs, the most celebrated of whom are Abū Bakr al-Kh̄ẓarīmī (d. 383/993) and al-Hamaḍīnī, known by the sobriquet of Badīʿ al-Zaman (d. 398/1007), developed the new style more freely and freely in their *raṣāʾid*, which often resemble a kind of uncanonised verse rather than prose. From then onwards every writer with a reputation to make or to maintain had perforce to

follow their example; and industrious compilers like al-Thaʿālibī, in his *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, and Abū Ishāq al-Huṣṭī of Kayrawān (d. 453/1061), in his *Zahr al-ʿAdab*, were quick to compose anthologies and treasuries of the most successful verses and *ḥuṣūl* and the most approved metaphorical descriptions and imagery. The additional premium which this placed on wit and agility produced, it is true, not a few masterpieces of artistic invention by those who possessed a natural gift for this style, but exacted in return a heavy price. The enforced cult of rhyming prose not only contorted the style of men of natural but more ponderous genius like Abū ʿI-ʿAlī al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057), but by rewarding artificiality it contributed to turning Arabic writers still further away from the solid ground of real life and living issues and to sap the vitality of Arabic literature.

For the moment, however, the revival of *saḍʿ* coincided with a search for new or original methods of presenting literary themes. Badīʿ al-Zaman found a new setting (or revived a Hellenistic genre) in the popular theme of the witty vagabond, and created the dramatic anecdote or *maḥla* (g.e.). About 416/1025 the Andalusian Ibn al-Shaybānī, in *ʿI-Ṭawṣīf* and *ʿI-Zawāʾid* imagined a series of interviews with the *ḡinn* who had inspired the great poets of the past. Eight years later Abū ʿI-ʿAlī al-Maʿarrī wrote his *Kisāʾil al-ḡhurān*, in which, more daringly, he imagined a visit to heaven and hell to interview the poets themselves. These extravaganzas, however, were less appreciated by literary taste in their respective times than the witty anecdotal *maḥla*. Ibn Zaydīn of Cordova (d. 463/1070), satirising his rival Ibn ʿAḥḥād, and the letters in tightly-knit and decorated *saḍʿ* of Kābūs b. Waḥmīr, prince of Tabaristān (d. 403/1012), collected under the title of *Kumāl al-Balāgha*. Even the *maḥallāt* of al-Hamaḍīnī seem to have found few imitators until the end of the 5th century, when they were revived by al-Ḥarīrī of Basra (d. 376/1122), with the same motif as that of his predecessor, but with a refinement of philological subtlety and wit equalling the most ingenious of the *raṣāʾid* and a striking poetical gift in addition. It is something of a paradox that with all their formal perfection and qualities of erudition and wit, the *maḥallāt*, *ḡinn*, *ḡhurān*, *ḡinn*, and *ḡinn* of al-Hamaḍīnī are firmly rooted in the common life of the Islamic city, and portray its manners and its humours so realistically as to constitute one of the most precious social documents of the Islamic Middle Ages.

Historical composition, though properly distinct from *adab*, was to some extent affected by the same influences. At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the continued association of history with religious studies is seen in the histories of Mecca by al-Aʿrakī (d. after 217/832) and al-Fākhī (d. after 272/885), and in the biographical and genealogical works on the Companions by Muḥammad b. Saʿd (d. 230/845), the secretary of al-Wāḥidī, and on Kuraish by al-Zuhayrī (d. 233/848). It is still present in the first (and last) attempt to compile a comprehensive Universal History based on the corpus of Islamic materials (which by now incorporated the Sāsānid tradition) and significantly entitled 'The History of the Prophets and Kings', by Muḥammad b. Dīrār al-Tabarī (d. 310/923), as a complement to his Commentary on the Qurʾān, and more freely and freely in their *raṣāʾid*, which often resemble a kind of uncanonised verse rather than prose. From then onwards every writer with a reputation to make or to maintain had perforce to

as an independent branch of study and of literary activity begins to appear in such diverse forms as the historical encyclopaedia of al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 284/897) and the history of Baghdad by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Tayfūr (d. 280/893). By the 4th century historical writing not only flourished luxuriantly, but took in a wide range and variety of subjects: universal history (combined by the traveller al-Maʿarrī, d. 345/956, with a hellenistic curiosity about all things terrestrial and celestial, local histories of regions and cities from Central Asia to Spain, antiquarian research, memoirs on current events, histories of viziers and kads, biographies of individuals, biographical dictionaries of different classes and professions, even historical pseudographs and forgeries. History became an essential part of the equipment of an educated man, and as such entered into the general concept of *adab*.

It is possible, generally speaking, to draw a broad line of division between two attitudes to history among the educated classes. On the one side stand the scientific or serious historians, whose writings conform to certain standards of accuracy and veracity. By the 5th century these were mostly, though not exclusively, officials and courtiers, such as Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) and Hilāl al-Šāḥibī (d. 448/1056) in al-ʿIrāq, al-Musabbihī (d. 420/1029) in Egypt, and Ibn Ḥayyān al-Kurtubī (d. 469/1076-7) in Spain, together with a few independent scholars, of whom the mathematician and astronomer Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) is the most outstanding. On the same side of the line stand the compilers of biographical dictionaries of scholars, notably al-Khatīb al-Balāḥī (d. 463/1071). On the other side are those for whom history is no more than a branch of *adab*, a quarry for ethical or entertaining anecdotes, or an instrument of propaganda, as in the biographies of saints, the literature of ʿAlid martyrdom, and the largely forged collection of ʿAlī's letters and speeches known as *Nahḍ al-Balāgha* [see AL-ŠARAF AL-BADĪ].

The elaboration of literary prose also, in time, invaded the field of historical writing, but only, it seems, in the composition of eulogistic dynastic annals. The example was set by Ibrāhīm al-Šāḥibī (d. 459/994) in his last work *al-ʿIḍāḥ* on the history of the Buwayhids, and was followed by al-ʿUṭbī (d. 427/1035) in its counterpart *al-Yamīn* on the history of the early ʿĠhannawids. It may be more than coincidence that these works are contemporary with the revival of the old Persian historical tradition and the Persian epic. At all events, no other examples of this style seem to be known until the later Saldjūq period (see § IV below).

#### (ii) Poetry

It has been pointed out at the beginning of the preceding section that from the 3rd century onwards poetry was displaced from its former social function by the new prose literature. Partly this was due to the adaptation of the artistic tradition of the *ʿArabīya* to produce a vigorous prose style, which deprived poetry of its previous aesthetic monopoly. But to a far greater extent it was the result of the wide expansion of intellectual interests, with which the poets were unable to keep pace. As at the end of the pre-Islamic age, they were prisoners of their own conventions, broadened out and diversified with a difference as these conventions had been during the 1st and 2nd centuries. To a certain extent also they were the prisoners of their society. In his private verse the poet was no doubt free to amuse



himself as he pleased, but the doctrine which finally prevailed was that his major function was to "immortalise" his patron by his panegyric *hauḍas*: a curious and remarkable revival of the tribal function of the pre-Islamic poet.

From the literary-historical angle, one of the most interesting features of 3rd century poetry is the effort made, but without substantial success, to break through these conventions in different ways. Abū Tammām (d. 231/846), a self-taught Syrian, tried to revive the weighty sonority of *beḥn* poetry and to marry it to the *badīʿ* ornamentation of the poets of al-ʿIrāq; at the same time he attempted to make his verse the vehicle of a more complex structure of thought. His poetry is in consequence often strained and overloaded, or alternatively relaxed to an excessive degree, although it has found warm admirers in both mediaeval and modern times. His fellow-townsmen and disciple, al-Buḥārī (d. 284/897), with a more natural gift, remained closer to the ʿIrāqī tradition in his smoother and more polished verse. In al-ʿIrāq, on the other hand, the al-Buḥārī (d. 283/897) attempted to create a new introspective and analytical poetry, in which each poem develops a single theme in an organic unity, and which has sometimes, but doubtfully, been genetically linked with his "Greek" origin. The originality of this poetry (though marred by an excessive sense of grievance) was appreciated, but not imitated; and the more typical and influential representative of the ʿIrāqī tradition was the ʿAbbāsid prince Ibn al-Muʿazz (d. 296/908), who freely adapted traditional themes and metres to poetical *raʿāʾid* and descriptive verse, corresponding to the prose *fayḍ*. His innovations in technique and ingenuity (including a historical poem in 450 *raʿāʾid* couplets celebrating the reign of his cousin, the caliph al-Muʿtadid) rest, however, on the established conventions of Arabic poetry; they revise, rather than reform, its characteristic methods and outlook.

From the 4th/10th century on, such pieces of natural description, epistles, poems on social occasions and the like constitute, together with epigrams and ceremonial *hauḍas*, the stock-in-trade of all minor poets in every part of the Muslim world, and in varying degrees of excellence. By the use of *hauḍ* had become so universal in poetry as to be a natural constituent of the finished poetic imagination; in the *ghazal* or wine-song it might be allowed to play only a minor part, but no poem with any pretensions could be composed without it. It required, however, the genius of a greater poet to blend in just proportions the Arabian *hauḍ* of the Syrian school and the smoothness and technical ingenuity of the ʿIrāqī school. This was accomplished by Abū ʿIṣṣāq al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), of Kūfān origin and an admirer of Ibn al-Rūmī and Ibn al-Muʿazz, but Syrian in his poetical apprenticeship, and the brightest ornament of the "Circle of Sayf al-Dawla". For skill in construction, felicity of language, and mastery of the lapidary phrase, al-Mutanabbī has no equal among the later *hauḍ* poets, although his chief rival in Aleppo, the Hamdanid prince Abū Fīrās (d. 357/968) may have surpassed him in the direct emotional appeal of his best poems. A greater rival was his contemporary Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī (d. 362/973), the panegyrist of the Fātimid caliph al-Muʿizz, whose *hauḍas* (sometimes unjustly depreciated on sectarian grounds) are more faithful to the pre-Islamic models.

Little need be said of the later poets in the eastern provinces, whose production remains on the

whole within the frame of subjects, conventions and techniques established in the 3rd and 4th centuries. The leading poets in al-ʿIrāq were the ʿAbbāsid al-Shāfiʿ al-Rādī (d. 406/1015) and Mihyār al-Daylāmī (d. 428/1037), who seem, however, to have been less appreciated in their own time than a number of writers of popular poetry (in the literary language), of which only a few fragments have survived. The most notable of 5th century poets was the Syrian Abū ʿIṣṣāq al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057); a follower of al-Mutanabbī in his earlier *diwān* (*Siḥr al-Zandī*), he broke with convention in his later collection of short pieces (*Luḥūḥ wa-lam Yaḍam*), the tone of which, however, probably owes less to their poetical quality and elaboration of technique than to the unorthodox freedom of the ideas which they expressed.

In the Maghrib and al-Andalus also, the mainstream of poetry, like that of Arabic letters in general, still flowed in the channels dug for it in the East, distinguished only by local colouring. As Ibn Hānī took Abū Tammām and the pre-Islamic *hauḍ* for his models, so Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1071) followed al-Buḥārī—but with an elegance and freshness that sometimes surpasses his model—and Ibn Darrājī (d. 421/1030), the panegyrist of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿAmīr, followed al-Mutanabbī. With these may be mentioned, though of later date, the Sicilian Ibn Kharrūb (d. 527/1132), and among the many minor poets the ʿAbbāsid prince al-Muʿtadid (d. 488/1095). During the 5th/11th century, however, a new strophic type of poetry, of local inspiration, began to be cultivated in Spanish-Arab literary circles, but did not reach its full development until the following century (see § IV below).

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#### (IV) Sixth to Twelfth Centuries

The beginning of the 6th/12th century witnessed the triumph of the two forces which were henceforth to dominate the intellectual life of the Arab countries: scholasticism and *ʿulūm*. Both of these movements were associated in the Sunnī revival under the Salḡūks (g.s.) which, beginning in Khurāsān in the middle of the 5th century, spread to ʿIrāq under the Salḡūk sultanate, and to Syria and Egypt under the Zankid and Ayyūbid *ulūm*. In the West a similar movement, led by the Berber Muhammad b. Tūmart (d. 524/1130) on his return from Baghdad, was associated with the Muwāhid (Almohad) regime in the 6th century, and their parallel development in the two halves of the Arab world was maintained by multiple contacts and interactions.

The chief material factor in the spread of scholasticism was the gradual concentration of all literary education in the *madrasa* (g.s.), the new type of organised college introduced by the vizier Niḡm al-Mulk (g.s.; d. 485/1092) into Baghdad for the training of *ʿulūm* and administrators, and thence spread over the entire Muslim world. The formation of education involved also the formalisation of the disciplines taught, and contributed powerfully to the substitution of text-book and encyclopaedic compilation for original composition. This tendency is already visible in the first generation of leading scholars at the Niḡmīya *madrasa*: in the philologist al-Thirīfī (d. 502/1109), a pupil of Abū ʿIṣṣāq al-Maʿarrī, whose production was confined to schoolworks and commentaries, as also was that of his successor al-Djāwīdī (d. 539/1145); and in the Shāfiʿī theologians al-Djawnī Imām al-Haramayn (d. 478/1085) and his pupil Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), whose earlier works were devoted to methodology and the scholastic defence of orthodoxy against Hellenistic philosophy and Gnostic heresy. In their footsteps followed a long and immense majority of Sunnī theologians and jurists of the later generations, producing a vast literature of doctrinal summaries (*ʿabḍā* [g.s.], pl. *ʿabḍāʾid*) (the most reputed being those of the Hanafī Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasāfi (d. 537/1132), ʿAḥmad al-Dīn al-Djī (d. 736/1355), and Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Sanūfī (d. 824/1486))—works on *ḥadīṡ* (especially the supplement to the "Books" by Ibn al-Haytham (d. 1027/1140)), and the comprehensive *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* of the Indian ʿAlī al-Muttaḥī (d. 975/1567)—school textbooks of law and collections of *fatāwā*, as well as handbooks on special branches of it (see XIX)—commentaries on the Qurʾān or on particular sections of it (see TAPIRI) or on the *ḥiṣṣ* (g.s.)—and on all of these and similar works a prodigious structure of commentary (*sharḥ*) and super-commentary (*ḥāshiyah*). The Shiʿa, in turn, on the basis of the 4th and 5th century works, produced similar theological and dogmatic compendia (especially by al-Mutahhar al-Hillī, d. 726/1326, and Muhammad Bakr al-Madīlī, d. 1110/1700), textbooks of law, and Qurʾān-commentaries.

The exceptions to this increasing stratification and narrowing down of scholastic thought are few but important. The outstanding original religious thinker and reformer, the Hanbalite Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), and his pupil Ibn Kayyim al-Djauziyya (d. 751/1350) engaged in a vigorous polemic against both the inertia of the schools and the *shīf* cults, but with little success until the revival of his teaching by Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1791) in Central Arabia. In India, an important and little-studied school of religious philosophy, founded at Djawpur by Mahmūd al-Djawnī (d. 1062/1652), remained active for several generations, and influenced the work of the religious reformer (Shāh) Wali Allāh al-Dihlī (d. 1176/1766). In law, original contributions were made to the study of legal principles by the Shāfiʿī Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) and the Hanafī Ibn Nudjāy al-Mīrī (d. 970/1563). In philology also, fresh minds were occasionally brought to the study of the congealed schooltexts, as, for example, by the Andalusian Abū Ḥayyān (who, amongst other works, composed grammars of Turkish, Persian, and Ethiopic; d. 745/1344) and his Egyptian pupil Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360).

The effects of scholasticism were not, however, confined to the religious and philosophical sciences. It affected every branch of literary composition,

not even excluding poetry, by encouraging an intellectual tendency to standardisation on the part of both writers and readers. Originality of thought, though not stifled, reaped little reward, and was less valued than the ability to refurbish familiar themes in a more pointed or elegant manner. The output was enormous, yet characterised in every field by a sameness of method and treatment which reduces any survey of the literature of this period to little more than lists of names. But there was also another factor which contributed its share to this levelling process. In the vast new territories added to the Islamic world between the 7th/13th and 9th/15th centuries, as indeed already in Persia and Central Asia, although the parallel extension of the *madrasa* system carried with it an extension of the area of Arabic scholastic studies, the medium of *belles lettres* and poetry was no longer Arabic, but Persian or Turkish. These new literatures, while drawing to a greater or less extent on the traditions of Arabic literature, not only contributed nothing to Arabic letters, but siphoned off the talents which might otherwise have rejuvenated Arabic literature and opened it up to new experiences. When it is recalled how much that had given variety and resilience to the literature of the preceding centuries was produced or initiated in the Persian provinces, the effect of their loss to Arabic letters can be readily appreciated.

At the same time, the intellectual energy and literary taste that displayed themselves in this period must not be underrated. Original works of *belles lettres* may be few, but the same vigour and freshness of mind that broke through even in the scholastic disciplines found other fields of exercise, especially in the first four centuries. It was in the continuing impulse of the Hellenistic tradition, in the immense development of historical composition, and under the growing stimulus of *ḡifān* that they were most active; yet from time to time certain writers found ways and means to express their interests and personalities in works which bear an individual stamp. Amongst memoirs, there are some which throw a vivid light upon the authors and their times, especially the reminiscences of war and the chase of the Syrian Ḥusayn b. Munḡiḥ (d. 584/1188), the more literary narrative of ʿUmar al-Yaman (d. 569/1175), and the autobiography of the Tunisian historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406). Among the books of travel, which were stimulated more especially by the Pilgrimage, there are some which betray a lively interest in the observation of manners and customs of other countries; of the travellers from the West the most remarkable are Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1109-70), Ibn Djibār (d. 614/1217), and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa of Tangier (d. 779/1377), and of those from the East ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr, "the shaykh of Harāt" (d. 612/1214). Memoirs and travels, it is true, succumbed in most cases to the prevailing scholasticism and *ʿulūm*, being reduced to little more than lists of teachers and books, or of visitations to religious personages and shrines. But even to a few later travellers we owe interesting narratives of missions to different parts, such as those of the Moroccan Abū Ḥasan al-Tamghūrtī (fl. 1000/1591) and Abū ʿIṣṣāq al-Zaynī (fl. 1249/1843), and there is even a journal of a visit of a Chaldean priest, Ilyās b. Yuhannā, to America (1668-83).

A third and still newer branch of letters which flourished for a time was devoted to the arts of war, stimulated especially by the Crusades. During the following two or three centuries there was a







known as al-maḥṭabī, in opposition to the Aristotelian school; but another Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar (d. 632/1234) issued a more orthodox exposition of iḡrābī mysticism in 'Aḥdīr al-Ma'ārīf. Both works had a deep and lasting influence in the East, but much less in the Arab world. Here the new monistic mysticism (wahd al-waḥdān) was founded, on a basis of neoplatonism and Moroccan ṣūfism, by the Moroccan Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabi (d. in Damascus 638/1240), carried to Anatolia by this pupil al-Konawī (d. 672/1273), and spread still more widely by the ordered exposition of its metaphysics in al-Isḥāq al-Kāmil of Kutb al-Dīn al-Qūṭb (d. 632/1248).

The prose literature of Arabic ṣūfism down to the 10th/16th century offers little that calls for remark. Paraenetic in function, it gradually became affected by the scholasticism of the madrasa, especially as in course of time the 'ulama themselves were increasingly drawn into the ranks of the ṣūfī orders. At a more popular level it produced a voluminous body of hagiography, more interested in the miracles of the saints than in their teachings, illustrated at one extreme by al-Shaifanawī's (d. 713/1314) *manāḥib* of 'Abd al-Kādir al-Qūṭbī (*Ḥaḍrat al-Arār*), at the other by the lives of the saints of the Moroccan *rif* (al-Mahjād) by 'Abd al-Hakīm al-Bāḍī (d. after 722/1322). More important was its poetical output, which, though never rising to the heights of the great ṣūfī poetry of Persia, played a considerable role in stimulating and conserving the religious enthusiasm of its adepts among both the literate and the illiterate. Its chief characteristic was the adaptation of the themes of love and wine songs, whether in the ornate styles of the traditional art-poetry or in popular verse, to those of Divine Love and ecstasy. The most gifted representative of the former is the Egyptian 'Umar b. al-Farid (d. 632/1235), but in bulk of output he is far surpassed by Ibn al-'Arabi himself, who displayed an astonishing virtuosity in modelling his mystical poems not only on pre-Islamic and 'Abbasid odes, but also in the form of *muwaḥḥabāt*. His most highly esteemed successors in this art were the disciple of his pupil al-Konawī, 'Alī al-Dīn al-Filāsīnī (d. 699/1291), and the latter's son Shams al-Dīn, known as al-Shāḥib al-Za'ī (d. 688/1289).

The rapid dedication of most other branches of literary activity which followed the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt at the beginning of the 10th/16th century gave an added impulse to ṣūfī activity, which almost alone displayed an element of vigour, though often expressed in extravagant and even fantastic terms as in the writings of the Egyptian 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565). The outstanding figure in the Arabic literature of the Ottoman period was 'Abd al-Qāṣim al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731), not only for his theological and ṣūfī treatises, but also as a poet and the originator of a new kind of mystical travel-literature in rhyming prose. Almost all the later 18th-century writers of Egypt and Syria came directly or indirectly under his influence, which reached even to the Maghrib. In the East, the prevailing ṣūfī philosophy continued to follow the iḡrābī school, which through the Persians Sadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640) and his pupil Fayḍ al-Kāshī (d. after 1090/1679) influenced both the Indian schools of ṣūfism and the founder of the reformist Shī'ite school of the Shaykhīyah, Ahmad al-Ahsā'ī (d. 1242/1827). Only at the end of this period there appeared the first indications of a return to earlier orthodox ṣūfism, with the writings

of Murtadā al-Zabīdī, of Indian birth but domiciled in Egypt (d. 1205/1791), and among the Shādhilīyah in the Maghrib.

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#### (V) Modern Arabic Literature

##### (a) To 1914

The term "modern Arabic literature" implies a development differing from and to a degree of change greater than, a simple revival of literary activity, whether within the narrower circle of the philological arts or in the wider humanistic range of the 3rd and following centuries. Such minor local revivals had occurred from time to time, as, for example, in Aleppo under the influence of the Maronite archbishop Dīnārīnīs Farhāt (1670-1732), and in Baghdad in the first half of the 12th/18th century (see al-Aḥmad al-Misk al-Adhhar, Baghdad 1948/1950). In the 13th/19th century also, the rise of a new literature was preluded by a sustained movement for the revival of classical Arabic and an output of literary works directly or indirectly inspired by classical models. The first object of the leaders of this movement was to rescue the Arabic language from its degeneration in the preceding centuries and to restore the heritage of classical literary art; in its purest form it is represented by Naṣīf al-Yāzīdī (1800-1871) among the Syrians, by Naṣr al-Hūdīnī (d. 1874) and 'Alī Paṣha Muḥarrak (1823-93) in Egypt, and by Mahmūd Shukrī al-Aḥūd (1857-1923) in 'Irāk. All of these, and many others, were consciously ambitious to revive the classical traditions, both in their pedagogical work, and in their original productions, e.g. al-Yāzīdī's *mahmūdāt* (*Madīna* al-Bahrayn) in the manner of al-Harīrī, 'Alī Paṣha's al-*Khīṣṣat al-Tawfīhiyya* in continuation of al-Makrīfī, and al-Aḥūd's *adab* collection *Ḥuḍḥ al-Arab*.

Alongside these, but also fundamentally sharing their aims, was another group of writers who were led by circumstances or personal choice into closer contact with the literature and the ideas of the western world. The first major impulse in this direction was given by the needs of the military academies set up by the viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī, for translations of technical works from the French, together with the establishment of a printing press in Egypt in 1828, and others soon afterwards in Syria. The chief of the Egyptian translators was Rūḥ al-Bay Rūḥ al-Taḥṭāwī (d. 1872), whose original works included a novel of his experiences in France as *imām* of the Egyptian educational mission, and many later educational handbooks. It is questionable how widely the large body of translated technical works of this period circulated, or how far they affected the outlook of men of letters; but it seems clear that for Rūḥ al-Bay and others like him the western materials which they used in their literary works were simply adjuncts embedded in the framework of the established Islamic categories or (in the case of their translations from French literature) supplements to them. The literary productions of the contemporary Lebanese scholars who were in contact with the western educational missions in Syria, and in particular Butrus al-Bustānī (1819-83), Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāk (1801-87), and Naṣīf's son Ibrāhīm al-Yāzīdī (1847-1906), as also of the

Tunisian Muḥammad Bayram (1840-89), were to a large extent similarly motivated; but along with all these men were also among the creators of the new Arabic periodical press and experimenting in the formation of a modern journalistic medium.

The development of the new periodical press in Egypt, at first largely under Syrian direction but soon followed by a vigorous native Egyptian production, provided the real forcing-bed of modern Arabic literature. During the last decades of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th, the press was the theatre in which (except for poetry) literary reputations were made and literary Arabic was adapted to modern social themes and currents of ideas. This did not exclude the widest diversity in literary styles: the strict but vigorous classicism of Muḥammad 'Abdūh (1849-1905), the modernised *maḥmūdāt* of Muḥammad al-Muwayyilī (1868-1930), the elegant neoclassicism of Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūtī (1876-1924), the functional prose of Dīnārīnīs Zaydān (1861-1914), Ya'qūb Sarraf (1852-1927) and Kāsim Amīn (1865-1908), the fiery rhetoric of Wall al-Dīn Yakan (1873-1921) and Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874-1908), the satirical colloquialism of Ya'qūb Samīrī ('Abd Naḍḍīra' (1839-1912) and 'Abd Allāh Naḍīm (1844-96). At the same time the Syrian press transported to America was producing a type of literary essay and Whitmanesque "prose poems" which entirely discarded the classical traditions and even sought to remodel the linguistic structure in part; its leading figures were Dībārīn Khālī Dībārīn (1883-1931) and Amīn al-Rayḥānī (1857-1940).

This stylistic experimentation in the press in the treatment of modern themes was reinforced by a very extensive output of translations of European works of literature, often by the same hands. Of the translations so made few have much claim to literary distinction, except those made by al-Manfalūtī and perhaps one or two others. But the activity in translation played a vital part in the development of modern Arabic literature. "It may be said that, just as the works of an Ibn al-Mukaffa' or an al-Dīḥlī would have been impossible without the translators of the 'Abbasid period, so without the translators of the 19th century modern Arabic literature could never have been called into existence" (Kratchkowsky). The translated works served not only as exercises in expanding the range of Arabic literary expression, but also as models. Not a few translators themselves tried their hands at original works of a similar kind, and many others were stimulated to original composition by them. In the former group, the most interesting are the attempts to develop a dramatic literature. The earliest of these were made by the Syrian Muḥammad al-Nakkāsh (1817-55), inspired by Molière; he was followed by Naḍḍī al-Haddād (1867-99), in the style of Corneille, Hugo, A. Dumas and Shakespeare, and more successfully, by the Egyptian Muḥammad 'Ughmān Dīḥlī (1828-98), who adapted Molière to Egyptian settings and speech, besides producing a remarkable adaptation in literary Arabic of *Pand al Foyez*. In spite of this, however, it cannot be said that the Arabic drama achieved much success in the 19th century. On the other hand, some progress was made with the novel, particularly in the series of historical novels written in the manner of Scott by Dīnārīnīs Zaydān and the psychological novel *Uruḥ al-Dīḥlī* by Farah Antūn (1874-1922). Many other original compositions also depend largely on European materials, e.g. the politico-social writings of

'Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawākībī (1849-1903), while the literature of the nascent Egyptian feminist movement, illustrated by 'Aṣgha al-Taymuriyya (1840-1902), Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1886-1918), and Kāsim Amīn, betrays its original inspiration even though adapted to its own social and literary environment.

In the sphere of poetry, on the other hand, the continuing classical tradition far outweighed any literary influences from the west down to 1914. With the rise of nationalism, its range was widened by patriotic themes, developed first by Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī (1819-1904), then with more classical polish by Ahmad Shawkī (1868-1932) and more depth of social feeling by Muḥammad Ḥafīz Ibrāhīm (1871-1932). But neither the new themes, whether patriotic or social or individual, nor the techniques of western poetry affected to any marked extent the long-established structure, genres, and modes of expression of Arabic poetry (in the hands, at least, of its most competent artists). The only outstanding exceptions are found in 'Irāk, where the native Arabic poetic tradition had remained more vigorous and less cramped by artifice than in Syria and Egypt in the previous centuries. In more unconventional forms and freer language, Dīḥlīnī Sulṭān al-Zahīdī (1867-1936), and with more classical restraint Ma'rūf al-Ruḥānī (1875-1945), both achieved an authentic expression of current ideas and aspiration. An isolated attempt to acclimatise Greek poetry in Arabic was made by Sulaymān al-Bustānī (1856-1925) with his translation of the *Iliad* (1904); in itself not unsuccessful as a translation, it nevertheless failed to make much impression.

##### (b) Since 1914

In contrast to the preceding period, which was on the whole a period of experiment and imitation in modern Arabic prose, the decades since 1914 have seen the beginnings of a new and original Arabic literature which to a much greater extent reflects the social and intellectual interests of the Arab peoples. A leading part in this development was taken by the "liberal" group of Egyptian writers, inspired by Muḥammad 'Abdūh, who were associated with the journal al-*Qarida* (issued from 1907, edited by Ahmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid) and its successor al-*Sayra* (from 1922, edited by Muḥ. Husayn Haykal); but the movement itself soon extended widely beyond this circle. The principal types of production were at first the short story (followed by the novel) and the literary essay; later on these were followed by the literary drama.

The first major work of the new school was *Zaynab*, a novel of Egyptian village life, published anonymously in 1914 by M. H. Haykal (b. 1888). In spite of its merits, the technical weaknesses of the work threw a sharp light on the deficiencies of literary Arabic at that time for the adequate presentation of the novel of manners. During the decade 1920-30 these were largely surmounted by a growing output of realistic short stories of contemporary life, beginning with the sketches (*Mā Tarāḥ al-Uṣṣān*) of the talented Muḥammad Taymūr (1867-1921), and continued with increasing skill and success by his brother Mahmūd Taymūr (b. 1894) and by several others ('Asā 'Ubayd, Shihāṭa 'Ubayd, Tāhir Lāḥib, etc.). The most brilliant stylist in this field was Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Kādir al-Māmin (1899-1949), who eventually produced also the first successful novel of manners (*Ibrāhīm al-Kāhī*, 1931). From 1930 the output of novels slowly increased, among the more notable of the earlier works being 'Asad



al-Rûb (by Tawfîk al-Hakîm, 1933), *Sûra* (by 'Abbas Mahmûd al-Akkâd, 1938), and *Nida al-Madhalil* (by Mahmûd Taymûr, 1939). The historical novel had already been recreated by Muḥammad Farîd Abû Ḥadiḍ with *Ḥinat al-Manzil* (1926). The psychological novel also was successfully attempted on a smaller scale by Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn (b. 1896), who in his autobiographical work *al-ʿAyyām* (1926) endowed modern Egyptian literature with one of its masterpieces in content and literary style. Innumerable short stories have been produced also in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and America, with the variations in subject, style and technique which one would expect. The output of novels, on the other hand, has been more fluctuating, and is still relatively small in proportion to the total literary production.

The literary essay envisaged a different purpose. It aimed not only at the critical evaluation of both classical Arabic and modern western literature (extending sometimes even to classical Greek and Latin literature) and social criticism in general, but also at the valorisation of the Arabic cultural tradition, in the widest sense, in the circumstances of the modern world. The rapid increase in daily, weekly and monthly journals after 1920 provided endless opportunities for the publication of such essays, and the representation of all points of view. The collected essays of many writers were subsequently reissued as separate works, whose very profusion makes it difficult and inadvisable to single out individual names. It must suffice to mention, from among the older generation of writers, Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn and al-Akkâd as particularly influential thinkers and critics on the modernist wing; Shaykh Raḡhib Riḍā (the editor of the reformist religious journal *al-Manār*, 1865-1935) and Farîd Waḡḍī as equally influential in conservative and religious circles; Muṣṭafā Ṣāliḥ al-Khidr (1880-1937), who carried neo-classicism to the verge of preciosity; in Syria, the classicist Muḥammad Bey Kurd 'Alī (president of the Arab Academy of Damascus, 1876-1952); and of the Syro-Americans Miḥdī Nū'ayma (b. 1889). Out of this more or less ephemeral production there gradually arose a more developed literature of literary and social criticism, with a dominantly academic bias, but also with a certain amount of creative verve, and in some hands (e.g. Tawfîk al-Hakîm) the technique of the novel, and even other literary media, as in the scientific travel narrative *al-Sinḍiḥ al-ʿAṣrī* by Ḥusayn Fawwā (1938). Another noteworthy later development was the application of these newer literary methods to the early history of Islam, exemplified by M. H. Haykal, Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn, and al-Akkâd, and in dramatic form, somewhat earlier, by Tawfîk al-Hakîm.

The technical advance made in the presentation of the realistic narrative and novel was reflected also in dramatic literature. With few exceptions, the lead was taken by Egyptian authors, beginning again with Muḥammad Taymûr, and continued more especially by Tawfîk al-Hakîm, who, after some experiments in literary drama in themes drawn from Islamic literature (*Al-ʿAkāḍ*, *Muḥammad, Shaḥrazād*), has shown himself a major dramatist on modern social themes. Together with these may be mentioned the experiments made by the poet Ahmad Shawkī to create a literary genre of 'classical tragedy', based on traditional Arab themes, followed more recently by Muḥammad Taymûr.

Among the technical problems confronted by the Arabic drama, and to a lesser degree by the short story and novel, the question of language constitutes

a peculiar difficulty. In the purely literary drama and in historical plays generally the use of the written language needs no justification; but in the contemporary realistic drama this involves a degree of artificiality which tends to destroy the theatrical effect. Whereas, however, the popular theatre has always flourished on plays in the colloquial language, the attempts made to produce a more developed drama in colloquial speech have neither been markedly successful on the stage nor met with much approbation in literary circles. Even in the short story the introduction of colloquial speech in dialogue (attempted in their earlier works by Mahmûd Taymûr and Tawfîk al-Hakîm) was felt to involve a stylistic dislocation, and has not been commonly practiced. Even less consideration has been given to more ambitious attempts to produce literary works in the colloquial throughout, chiefly by Lebanese writers and poets. A definite solution of this problem is not yet in sight, but for the time being a working compromise is provided by the use of a simplified form of the literary language for dialogue both on the stage and in the novel.

At the same time, and in the opposite direction, one consequence of the vogue of the literary essay has been to mobilise more effectively the resources of classical Arabic, and to facilitate the growth of a neo-classical style in the novel and general literature since 1940. With the richer and more flexible range of vocabulary and construction thus made available, together with the more technical concentration of meaning in modern Arabic (in contrast to the conceptual looseness of the older literary language), the contemporary writer has at his disposal an instrument which can express with grace and precision all normal aspects of contemporary Arab life and thought. Behind this range, however, neo-classical Arabic is still deficient in both the fine nuances and the contextual associations which are the product only of long use and habit. For this reason, the attempt (first made by Biḡrī Fāris, in his play *Maṭrah al-Turk*, 1938) to create a symbolist or impressionist style in modern Arabic must be considered premature.

This applies even more especially to the poetical production of recent years. Since 1914, the situation of prose and poetry have been reversed. Whereas in prose writing Arabic authors, after the period of translation and imitation, moved on to original composition, Arabic poetry has moved towards the freedom of western poetry and the imitation of its techniques. On the one hand, the intensity of political aspirations and frustrations could not fail to inspire many poets in the Arab countries (particular mention may be made of the Tunisian Abū 'Iḥsān al-Shābbāḥ, 1909-31), who have applied traditional themes and imagery to modern situations with great effect, most of the younger poets have been experimenting with the creation of a psychological poetry in new strophic and rhetorical forms, and wrestling with the traditional linguistic structure and its associations. The Syro-Arabian poets were the first to challenge the traditional formalism, and have been followed particularly by the Lebanese poets in Brazil (Raḡhib Salīm al-Rihlī and Fawwā Ma'ūd, 1899-1939), in North America (Ilyās Abū Maḡdī), and in Lebanon itself (Ilyās Abū Shaḥabā, 1903-47, and others). The leader of the 'new school' in Egypt was Ahmad Zaki Abū Shāhī (1892-1953), whose mature work, over a short time (1922-3) provided a forum for the younger poets, in competition with the older 'modernising' school represented by the Lebanese Khālīl Matrūn

(1871-1949), and with greater freedom by al-Akkâd, which, though no less contemporary in subject and psychological approach, made a less violent breach with the formal and linguistic traditions of Arabic poetry. Much the same may be said also of the contemporary poetry of Iraq, within the framework of its own tradition.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, S III; El-Zaylaḥ, *Tawfîk al-Hakîm al-Arabīyya*, iv, Cairo 1914; L. Cheikh, *Tawfîk al-Hakîm al-Arabīyya fi 'l-Karn al-Tāsiṣ*, Beirut 1924-26; ibid., *T. al-A. al-A. fi 'l-Rub' al-awwal min al-Karn al-ʿAshir*, Beirut 1926; 'Umar al-Dasūqī, *Fi 'l-Adab al-Hadīth*, Cairo 1930; Anīs al-Maklūdī, *al-Aʿwāmil al-Fa'ʿila fi 'l-Adab al-Arabī al-Hadīth*, Cairo 1939; idem, *al-Indikāl al-ʿArabīyya fi 'l-ʿIlam al-Arabī al-Hadīth*, Beirut 1932; Tawfîk al-Shābbāḥ *al-Arabīyya*, I-II, Beirut 1913, III, Beirut 1914, iv, Beirut 1933; 'Abd al-Latif Ḥamza, *Adab al-Mahalla al-Sabāʿiyya fi Miṣr*, Cairo 1949-53; I. Kratichowsky, *EP, Supplement* (enlarged Russian ed. in *Zap.*, 1934); idem, *Die Literatur der arabischen Emigranten in Amerika*, 1927, 1928-29; idem, *Der hist. Roman in d. neuere arab. Literatur*, WI, 1930, 31-87; H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature*, I-IV, BOS 1928, 1929, 1933; T. Khemiri and G. Kampffmeyer, *Leaders in Contemporary Arabic Literature*, WI, 1930, 1-40 (with Arabic texts); J. Locert, *La Litt. arabe moderne*, RA, 1931; idem, *Litt. dialectale et Renaissance arabe moderne*, BEO, 1932-3; C. C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, London 1933; H. Péro, *Les premières Manifestations de la Renaissance arabe en Orient au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, AEO 1935; idem, *Le Roman etc. dans la litt. arabe moderne*, AEO 1937; idem, *La litt. arabe et l'Islam par les textes, les XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 4th ed., Algiers 1949 (full bibliography); N. Barbour, *The Arabic Theatre in Egypt*, BOS 1935-7; F. Gabrieli, *Corrente e figure della lett. araba contemporanea*, OM 1939; L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *Natività bibliografiche su autori arabi moderni*, AISON 1940; A. J. Arberry, *Modern Arabic Poetry*, London 1950; Yūsuf As'ad Dāḡhīr, *Muḥdīr al-Dirdī al-Arabīyya*, II, Beirut 1956.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

#### Appendix—Arabic Literature in Spain\*

**General bibliography:** Apart from the general histories of Arabic literature (see above, B), which devote one or more chapters to Muslim Spain, the work of A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura árabe-española*, Barcelona, Madrid, etc., 1928, 2nd. ed. 1943 (a recent edition, with an extensive bibliography) is the only comprehensive work which exists on Arabic literature in Al-Andalus. A brief general account will be found in: Elias Terés Sadaba, *La Literatura Árabe-española*, apud F. M. Pareja, *Islamología*, II, Madrid 1954, 979 ff. Apart from a few monographs on authors (see under the names of these authors) and, fewer still, on periods, Spanish has written monographs concerned with the production of short studies (such as are to be found in the journal *al-Andalus* in particular); the following, however, should be mentioned; for poetry: E. García Gómez, *Poemas arábigo-andaluces*, Madrid 1930, 1940, 1943; idem, *Poesía arábigo-andalusí, breve*

\* Circumstances beyond our control have obliged us to insert here an article which, in a more expanded form, was originally designed to form part of the article *AL-ANDALUS*. [Editors' note.]

*sinthesis histórica*, Madrid 1952; for history and geography: F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayos bibliográficos sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898; in addition: E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Civilisation arabe en Espagne. Vue générale*, Cairo 1938, 1948 (Spanish translation, Buenos Aires-Mexico 1953); Dory, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la litt. de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge*, Leiden 1849, 1860, 1881.

1.—Down to the Almoravids (92-485/711-1092).

2.—From the Almoravids to the end of the period of Arab domination (485-897/1092-1492).

It would certainly be possible, if not desirable, in a more detailed account of the history of Arabic literature in Spain, to distinguish five or six periods corresponding to the political history of the country under Arab domination, but, for the purposes of this article, it seemed simpler to keep to a division into two long periods of four centuries each, in order to take into account two facts: first, up to the time of the Almoravids, Spain was governed by amirs, caliphs and kings who, although defenders of Islam, did not act in the name of strict religious principles, while the Almoravids and Almohads were prisoners of an ideology; secondly and reciprocally, up to the end of the kingdoms of the *Tauqīq*, profane literature, especially poetry, predominated over religious literature proper, whereas after the Almoravids, the religious sciences—and, through a shift of emphasis, science pure and simple—took precedence over profane literature. In addition, the Arabic literature of Spain seems scarcely to have experienced any sudden setbacks, despite an unusually turbulent political and military history; it appears on the contrary to have pursued a steadily upwards path until the 5th/11th century; it then altered course somewhat, and came to an abrupt end when the last Arabs were driven out of Spain.

#### (1) Down to the Almoravids (92-485/711-1092)

When the conquerors set foot on Spanish soil, at the end of the 1st/beginning of the 8th century, Arabic literature was still only represented, in the east, by the Qurʾān and the religious sciences, as yet in their infancy, and by a lively poetic muse. It is therefore probable that the Arab warriors, who were poets to a greater or lesser degree, respected the old tradition, but probably confined their literary activity to the composition of a few poems designed to extol their tribe, celebrate their military exploits, lament their dead, or bewail their exile from the homeland, in the same way as their fellow-Muslims sent to conquer other parts of the world (cf. C. A. Nallino, *Literatura — Scritti*, VI, 51, 110-4; French trans., 81-2, 170-7). None of this has been preserved; a late notation states however that in ancient times, 'the inhabitants of Al-Andalus sang in the style of Christians or of Arab caliphs' (apud E. García Gómez, *Poesía*, 30-1).

Nevertheless, the foundation of the Umayyad amirate brought about the establishment of close contact with the East, which did not fail to send religious nobilities to catechise Spain, and the rapid blamisation of a considerable part of the indigenous population required the development of juristic-religious studies. From 200/80 onwards, the substitution, in the Umayyads, of political motives, of Malikiism for the *maḥbal* as *al-Awḍāʿ* (see *AL-ANDALUS*, VII, soon bore fruit in the formation of a school of jurists who, to a varying



but not inconsiderable degree, contributed to the propagation of the *Muwattaʿ* of Malik. In his defence of Muslim Spain, Ibn Hazm (see *Al-Andalus* 1954/7) cites in the first place ʿIsā b. Dīnār (m. 212/827), Ibn Ḥabīb (180-238/796-852), al-ʿUṭfi (m. 235/869), Ibrāhīm b. Muzayn (m. 238/872), Mālik b. ʿAbī Kāsim (m. 258/882); these studies were pursued with enthusiasm by the successors of these pioneers, Muḥ. b. ʿUmar b. Lubāba (225-314/840-920), Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ayyam (252-330/866-942), Kāsim b. Asbagh (247-340/861-951), Ahmad b. Saʿīd (284-350/897-961) and especially the great *ḥāfiḥ*, traditionist and man of letters Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (368-463/978-1070). The attempt made by Bāḥ b. Maḥdī (201-268/817-890), on his return from the East (his meeting there with Ibn Ḥanbal is worth special mention), to introduce into Spain the *Shāfiʿī madhhab*, had little effect, but this traditionist is the author of a collection of *ḥadīṭ*s presented in the combined form of a *mujaṣṣaf* and a *muṣṣaf*, of a work on the Companions of the Prophet, and above all of a commentary on the Qurʾān which Ibn Hazm considers to be superior to that of al-Tabarī. Zāsim, on the other hand, was introduced by ʿAbd Allāh b. Kāsim (d. 272/885-6) and supported by Muḥdīr b. Saʿīd al-Balḥī (d. 355/962), before being made famous by Ibn Ḥazm (384-456/994-1064) who dominates, in nearly every sphere, the intellectual activity of the first half of the 5th/11th century, and whose *K. al-Fisal*, going beyond the strict limits of Islam, set forth the history of religious ideas in terms of Islamic thought. Muʿtazilism itself was not unknown; among its supporters were Khālī Ḥafīf (390/10th century), Yahyā b. al-Samīn (d. 315/927), and Mūsā b. Ḥudayr (d. 320/932). Finally, philosophy appeared on the scene with the mystic Ibn Masarra (d. 310/931) and his school (see Asín Palacios, *Ahimsasara y su escuela*, Madrid 1914).

The disciplines connected with the religious sciences developed on parallel lines. From the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 8th century, the first oriental works on grammar were introduced into Spain and a course of instruction was devoted to them, but it appears that philological and lexicographical studies received their greatest stimulus from the arrival at Cordova, in 350/961, of the ʿIrāqī philologist Abū ʿAlī al-Kāḍī (288-350/900-7), whose *ʿAmāl* are not a reflection of the knowledge which he disseminated there, because he also composed, *inter alia*, the *K. al-Nawādir* and an important work on lexicography, the *K. al-Bārīʿ*; his contemporary Muḥ. b. Yahyā al-Riyāḥī (d. 358/968) and Muḥ. b. ʿĀsim (d. 382/992) are considered by Ibn Hazm to be the equals of the great disciples of al-Mubarrad. Ibn al-Kūṭīyā (d. 367/977) also devoted himself to the study of grammar, while a disciple of al-Kāḍī, Ibn al-Sayyīd (d. 385/995) produced a lexicon, which was followed by that of Ibn al-Tayyibī (d. 436/1044) and above all by the mastery work of Ibn Sīda (Sīd) (398-458/1007-66), al-Muḥḥasayy.

As regards history, the Andalusians were not averse to retracing the course of universal history, as for instance Ibn Ḥabīb, already mentioned, who did not make any clear distinction between history and legend, or ʿArb b. Saʿīd (d. 370/980), who took up again and continued the *Annals* of al-Tabarī, but they applied themselves in determined fashion to the history of Spain, in the form either of dynastic chronicles—in particular the ʿĀmirids, but also of the Zīrīds of Granada by the last king of that dynasty, ʿAbd Allāh (447-after 481/1056-after 1090)—or of biographies of jurists and traditionists (Ibn

al-Farajī, 351-403/962-1013), of *kāfīs* (al-Khushand, d. 361/971), of physicians (Ibn Dīnādī, d. after 372/982), of secretaries (Sakan b. Saʿīd, d. 457/1065), or of chronicles covering the period from the conquest to the author's own times. This last genre was the particular concern of Ahmad b. Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Rāzī (279-344/888-952) and his son ʿIsā, whose work is quoted in part in the *Al-ḥabīb Maḥmūd* (s.c.), by Ibn al-Kūṭīyā—or at all events by the editor of the book published under his name—and above all by the great historian Ibn Ḥayyān (374-469/987-1075), whose important chronicle, *al-Muḥabbi*, has been partially recovered. An apt disciple of Ibn Ḥazm—who by himself also took an interest in history, preferring mainly the genealogical genre, recently edited by the Andalusians—Sāʿīd of Toledo (410-63/1020-69), wrote his *Tahkīk al-Umam*, in which both the Greeks and the Romans figured. In the realm of geography, apart from al-Rāzī (Ahmad b. Muḥ.), whose description of Spain has been partially reconstructed, the principal author is Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094).

As a result of the beneficent influence of al-Hakam II, a school of mathematicians and astronomers arose under the leadership of Maṣlama al-Maḥḍīrī (d. about 398/1007) and continued under Ibn al-Samhī (370-426/980-1034) of Granada, while in the following century there flourished at Toledo al-Zarkāl and, at Saragossa, the Hūdīd kings themselves. Finally, the study of medicine and botany received a powerful stimulus as a result of the arrival at Cordova, in the reign of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III, of the work of Dioscorides. After Ibn Dīnādī, who has already been mentioned, and Muḥ. b. al-Ḥasan al-Maḥdīdī (d. about 420/1029), Abū ʿI-Kāsim Khāḍaf b. ʿAbbās al-Zahrāwī (325-404/936-1013), known to Europe in the Middle Ages as Abulcasis, and Ibn Wāḥid (388-466/988-1074) were the first of a series of great physicians and botanists who achieved fame during the era which followed.

According to customary practice when dealing with Arabic literature, it has been necessary up to this point to give an account of disciplines and *genres* which the historian of most other literatures would certainly disregard, and an attempt has been made to make a rapid list of works which for the most part bear a characteristic imprint of Islam and which differ little from similar works written in the East. The same consideration obtains when one embarks on a study of the first literary works proper, whether in prose or verse. It is nevertheless astonishing that it was not until the 4th/10th century that there appeared in Spain an *adab* work written by an Andalusian, the famous *ʿIḥḍ* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940), the contents of which are still specifically oriental; it is equally remarkable that this *genre* had no great success in Spain and that Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih had few imitators during the first period with which we are dealing. Yet for more than a century, the country had been “*trickier*”, from the time of the arrival at Cordova, at the beginning of the amirate of ʿAbd al-Rahmān II, of the celebrated ʿIrāqī satirist Ziryāb (727-242/789-857), who brought to Spain the fashions of the ʿAbbāsīd court (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Civilisation*, 69 ff.). Baghdad was indeed still a model to be imitated, but an event of the utmost importance had occurred, of a kind which gave to the Arabic literature of Spain an orientation slightly different from that which obtained in the East. In fact, from the 3rd/9th century, the two systems of disconcerting ethnic elements which populated the Peninsula had,

after a long period of mutual ignorance, been gradually drawn closer together and had finally achieved a sort of fusion eminently favourable to the production of an original literature.

Our information on the Arabic poetry written during the early centuries of Muslim domination is very scanty, and the loss of the oldest collections—especially the *K. al-Hadīq* of Ahmad b. Farajī (d. 344/976)—deprives us of essential documentation. Perhaps Yahyā al-Kāṣṣālī (d. 257/864), who was sent by ʿAbd al-Rahmān II on an embassy to Constantinople (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d'Occident*, 81 ff.), wrote poetry of merit; it is known that he favoured a minor epic form, by his use of the *urjūḍa*, and this form was also employed by Tammām b. ʿĀmir (184-283/801-96) and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. It is not the epic, however, but the *muṣawwḥ* (s.c.), which is the most typical Spanish poem. From the end of the 3rd/9th century dates the creation, attributed to a poet of Calera named Mukaddam b. Muʿāṭa (d. at the beginning of the 4th/10th century) of this new verse-form; its fundamental characteristics were the arrangement in strophes, an arrangement virtually unknown to the Arab lyric, and the addition of an *enwei* (*ḥijāz*) not in Arabic, but in Romance, as has recently been revealed by S. M. Stern (*Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muṣawwḥs hispano-hébraïques* . . . , in *al-And.*, 1945, 299-346): we have here a unique example of the combination of the two languages and the two systems. As long as there are manuscript collections of *muṣawwḥ*s still unpublished (see S. M. Stern, in *Arabica*, 1955/2), it would be more the less the author of a list which, if not exhaustive, would at least be fairly comprehensive, of authors of poems of this type; in any case, some of them are later than the period under review.

The importance attributed in recent years to the *ḥazān* can be explained on the one hand by the attraction of a novelty and, on the other, by the renewed controversy on the relationship between Spanish poetry and that of the troubadours, but it must be admitted that the *muṣawwḥ*s, however much appreciated by the Andalusians, even by Orientals, constituted no more than a minor literary category which could in no way supersede the other poetic forms esteemed in the Muslim Orient, and the necessary concomitant of the establishment of the western caliphate was an original poetic form which neither showed clearly signs of indigenous influence, nor followed too closely oriental forms. Nevertheless, oriental works were well known in Spain, from the pre-Islamic *ḥayḍas*—studied as relics of a bygone age but not imitated—to the *diwāns* of “modern” and neo-classical poets, in particular al-Mutanabbī—who was the subject of commentaries by al-Fihri (352/413/961-1049), al-ʿĀṣim al-Shantamārī (410-76/1019-53), and Ibn Sīda—and it was these works which inspired Andalusian poets when Cordova, the metropolis of the Muslim West, possessed all the conditions favourable to the production of poetry of a characteristic flavour. As was to be expected, this poetry passed through various phases: somewhat official to begin with, it later became progressively independent and free, and finally blossomed in the 5th/11th century with incomparable richness.

Without going so far as to claim that the Umayyad caliphs were the centre of literary circles, one may legitimately affirm that they regularly played their part as patrons of letters by promoting Arab culture—notably by creating libraries, including the cele-

brated library of al-Hakam II—and by granting pensions to poets commissioned to sing their praises and to give, through their compositions, the customary lustre to the various solemn functions of official life: the *maṣrif* of al-Hakam II and Ḥishām II, al-Muḥabbi (d. 372/982) is the perfect example of such poets (see E. García Gómez, *La Poesía política en el califato de Cordoue*, in *REI*, 1949, 5-21).

Although this type of poet did not hesitate on occasion to embark on other kinds of poetry than the political, it was under al-Mansūr—who had ordered the burning of those books on philosophy, astronomy and other sciences which were considered to be contrary to the interests of Islam—that truly urban poetry came into being with Ibn Darrīdj al-Kāṣṣālī (347-421/958-1030), Sāʿid of Baghdad (d. 418/1026), al-Rāḥimī (d. 403 or 413/1013 or 1022). Moreover, from the end of the period of the caliphate, a literary group was established which, aristocratic in origin, but revolutionary in its ideas, was hostile to the *muṣawwḥ* *genre* which was considered too popular, stoutly defended arabism without however submitting wholly to oriental influence, and proclaimed that the production of good literature depended on the genius of the authors and not on tradition or imitation. The leader of this school was Ibn Shuhayd (382-426/992-1035), who developed his ideas in a prose work of undoubted originality, the *Risālat al-Tawḥīd* wa ʿI-Zawāʿid (see García Gómez, *Ibn Hazm de Córdoba y El Collar de la Paloma*, Madrid 1952, 6 ff.); his natural heir was Ibn Hazm who, although he did not give evidence of superior poetic talent, was none the less the author of a charming analysis of ʿUḡhrīe love, the *Tawḥ* al-*Ḥamīma* which, unique of its kind, belonged henceforth to universal literature.

The momentous events which led to the fall of the caliphate and the establishment of the kingdoms of the *taifa*s (*Tawāʾif* (s.c.)) did not appear to have a fatal effect on the future of poetry, and it was precisely in the 5th/11th century that poetry reached its peak—a “false” peak, according to E. García Gómez, *Poesía*, 65 ff. It is no mere chance that we possess, on this period, not only anthologies and *diwāns*, but also the most important monograph which has been devoted to the literary history of Muslim Spain, *La Poesía andalusí, en arabe classique, en arabe médiéval*, Paris 1937, and ed. 1953, by H. Pirené who, while seeking to bring out its documentary value, has at the same time painted an overall picture of the poetry of this period. Although it is possible to distinguish at each of the courts which came into being a kind of specialisation in some branch of knowledge, poetry dominates all literary activities; everywhere it reigns supreme. It opens its doors and “an extempore poem can be worth a viciership” (García Gómez). For the most part in neo-classical verse, and in the form of *ḥayḍas*, which is an indication of a recrudescence of oriental influence, every imaginable theme is dealt with; satires, elegies, acrostic poems, songs of love and war, panegyrics, songs of wine and passion. Every *genre* is found, and the 721 trivial incidents of daily life are recounted in verse; nevertheless the poets show a certain preference for descriptions, whether of nature, cities, gardens, animals or human beings.

At Cordova flourished Ibn Zaydīn (393-463/1003-70), who sang the praises of the princess Wallīda; at Seville the sovereign himself, al-Muʿtamid (d. 488/1095), whose life was “pure poetry in its essence” (García Gómez, *Poesía*, 70), gave inspiration to a court which attracted not only



Spanish poets like Ibn 'Annār (d. 477/1084) and Ibn al-Labbān (d. 507/1113) but even the Sicilian poet Ibn Hamdān (447-527/1055-1132) (see S. Khalis, *La Vie littéraire à Séville au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Sorbonne thesis 1955, unpublished); at Almería, al-Mu'tasim (d. 484/1091) received Ibn Sīd al-Qatīf (1052-1092), while at Granada, flourished the relatives al-Andalusī, al-Ishkī al-Ishkī (d. 474/1089), and at Badajoz Ibn 'Abdūn (d. 529/1134).

[2] *From the Almoravids to the end of the period of Arab domination* (488-892/1092-1492).

The Almoravid conquest, which there and there brought the careers of these poets to an abrupt close, for a time reversed the fragments of al-Andalus. It was unfavourable to the development of poetry, because the new rulers lacked the refinement and the taste of the *reyes de taifas*, and showed less interest in literature than in religion. While a wholly conventional type of poetry flourished at court, only Valencia maintained the tradition of the preceding century with the 'landscape-painters' Ibn Khafā' (420-533/1028-1138) and Ibn al-Zālikā (d. 529/1135), who did not despise, respectively, erotic poems and baroque songs. Under the Almohads, the only names of any note are those of al-Buṣṣī (d. 572/1177) and Ibn Sahl (d. 649/1251); later, up to the fall of Granada, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khathīb (713-761/1313-74) and Ibn Zayrūn (713-96/1313-93) merely maintained the tradition. Their contemporaries did not fail to note the decline of poetry and, thinking that the time had come to gather together the legacy of the past in order to save it from oblivion, they compiled anthologies: Ibn Bassām (d. 542/1147) his *Ḍakhira*, al-Faṭḥ b. al-Khānī (d. 529/1134) his *Kalīd al-ʿIḥyān* and *Matn al-ʿAnus*, while Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 692/1274), in extracting from his *Magribī* the *Riḥat al-Muharrir*, seemed to be writing "the last testament of Arabo-Andalusian poetry" (García Gómez, *Poesía*, 86).

It, however, noble or classical poetry shone with but a feeble lustre, the *muṣawwaba*, which the most aristocratic poets had continued to produce in the preceding century (see *Arabiya*, 1955/2), again flourished with singular brilliance through the efforts of al-Amīn al-Tuḥfī (d. 520/1126), Ibn Bāḥ (d. 500/1105) and many others. In addition, the *saḍā* [40], whose origin is attributed, perhaps erroneously to the 13th century, came truly to life with "one of the highest poetic peaks of the entire Middle Ages" (García Gómez, *Poesía*, 81), Ibn Kuzāmī (555/1159), and a host of popular poets mastered this form and kept it alive until the end of the period of Arab domination.

Prose literature, which had made such a promising beginning with Ibn Shuhayd and Ibn Ḥazm, again became orientated with the *Sirāḡ al-Mulūk* of al-Tuḥfī (451-520/1059-1126), the encyclopaedia of Ibn al-Shaykh al-Balawī (570-640/1132-1207), and the several imitations of the *Makāmil* of al-Hafḍī which found their most prolific commentator in Spain in the person of al-Sharīf (d. 619/1222). While particularly unfavourable to poetry and literature properly so-called, the Almoravid conquest was, on the other hand, an advantage to the sciences, both religious and profane, which developed to a considerable degree from then on. Space will not be devoted here to the religious disciplines which, though they had innumerable devotees, produced few noteworthy works apart from the *Taḥṣīs* of Ibn 'Asim (760-849/1359-1430), or to philology or lexicography, because, apart from Ibn al-Sid al-

Batalyawī (508-86/1114-83), the masters of these sciences, Ibn Mālik (605-72/1208-74) and Abū Bayyān (655-744/1257-1344), preferred to go and give the fruits of their knowledge to the peoples of the East.

As regards history, the biographical genre achieved great success, with the *ḥaḍī* 'Iḍā (478-544/1085-1149), Ibn al-Baḥḥālī (493-578/1108-83), al-Dabbī (d. 599/1202), Ibn al-Abbār (595-658/1198-1260), Ibn al-Zuhayr (628-708/1231-1293); to the dynastic chronicles was added a great work by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, a continuation of the *Muṣhif* of al-Hijāzī (500-63/1106-35), the *Magribī*, which made extensive use of earlier historians including once again Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khathīb. In the sphere of geography, the greatest name is, of course, al-Iḍrī (493-564/1100-69), while the Maghribis, and especially Andalusians, applied themselves successfully to the genre of narratives of travel: Abū Ḥāmid al-Iḥmāḍī (473-565/1080-1169), Ibn al-Zuhayr (560-641/1145-1217), al-'Abdārī (708/13th century).

The 6th and 7th and the 7th-11th centuries were for Andalus the golden age of science: mathematics, astronomy, medicine, pharmacology, botany. There is no need to repeat here the names of those who achieved fame in these sciences (see above, B, from the 6th to the 12th century); the names of the principal philosophers and mystics of the period under review will also be found in that section.

For *aljamiado* literature, see *Aljamiado*. On the question of the possible influence of the Arabic poetry of Spain on European works of the Middle Ages, see MUHAMMADIAN and ZAGJAL.

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**AL-'ARABIYYA**, *Ḍajīrat*, island in the Persian Gulf in Lat. 27° 46' N, Long. 50° 10' E, about 50 miles from the Saudi Arabian mainland and 60 miles from that of Iran. It is one of a five-island group—the others being Bārkhūl, al-Farisiyya, Karak, and Kurayn—on the Arabian side of the Gulf. Al-'Arabiyya is less than a mile square and is normally uninhabited, but it is claimed by three of the Gulf states: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iran.

(W. E. MULLIGAN)

**'ARABKIR**, (taken to mean 'Arabkir, i.e. 'conquest of the Arabs'), in modern Turkish orthography Arapkir, in Armenian Arapkir, in the Byzantine sources Arakesh, a town in eastern Anatolia, 19° 5' north, 38° 30' east, about 70 km. north of Malatya, situated on the Arapkir Su, a tributary of the Karas, which later becomes the northern Euphrates, 1200 m. above sea-level. Capital of a *hādī* in the *ulāyat* of Malatya, with 6,684 inhabitants (1945); the *hādī* itself has 23,612 inhabitants.

The town is situated on a hill in a lowland which is surrounded by steeply rising walls of basalt. Because of the altitude, the climate of the town is harsh. Extensive orchards which surround the town are worthy of special mention. The town, as we find it at present, dates back only to the beginning of the 19th century, and is consequently of a modern appearance. Until then, the town had been situated at a place half an hour further to the north, which is still called Koldighebir ('old city') and still shows traces of buildings.

The town is not mentioned by any of the older Arabic geographers; it is, however, mentioned several times in the *Saldūki* Geography of Ibn Iḥdī (written 680/1281, ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1902). In the year 1839, whilst the British Consul General, J. Brant, who travelled a few years earlier, mentioned 6,000 houses (4,800 inhabited by Turks, 1,200 by Armenians), from which one might assume a higher total of inhabitants. Taylor mentions 35,000 inhabitants in the year 1868 and Cusick 20,000 towards 1890 (11,000 Muslims, 8,500 Georgian Armenians). A considerable part of them, particularly Armenian families, made its living by weaving cotton goods

from English yarn. Every year, emigrants come down from the mountains of Arapkir to try and make their fortune in Istanbul, Diyarbakir, Damascus, Aleppo and the sea-ports. In former days one used to find a servant from Arapkir in most houses in Aleppo.

In the First World War 1914-18, the town suffered greatly, most of the houses and their famous gardens were destroyed, and trade died off. In post-war years, it recovered and began to flourish again. *Bibliography:* Le Strange, 110; Hādijī Khallīl, *Ḍajīrat-nūmā*, 624; Ewliya Celebi, *Seyahat-nāme* iii, 213 ff.; St. Martin, *Mémoires histor. et géogr. sur l'Arménie* (Paris 1818), I, 289; Ritter, *Erkunde*, 3, 793-9; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie univers.*, ix, 371; J. Brant in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vi (1836), 207 ff.; Moltke, *Ursatz über Zustände und Verhältnisse in der Türkei im den Jahren 1835-1839* (Berlin 1841), 357; W. Ainsworth, *Travels and researches in Asia Minor etc.*, London 1842, ii, 5; Taylor's report in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, London 1865; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 359 f.; *Vite Suisse*, *La Turquie d'Asie* ii, 358-62; *Saldūki*, the *ulāyat* of Ma'nīrat al-'Asīz 1340; *Id.*, i, 553 f. (Besim Darkest).

(M. STRECK-F. TAESHCHER)

**'ARAB SHAHIDS** (see *SHAHIDS*).

**'ARAB**, translation of the Aristotelian term *συσταστικός*, accident is defined as that which cannot subsist by itself but only in a substance (*ḡashar* [g.s.]) of which it is both the opposite and the complement. Thus, anything that is asserted of a subject is an accident, by which term the Muslim philosophers understand the Aristotelian categories (*ma'kūlāt*, [g.s.]) except that of the substance. The theologians (*mutakallimūn*) held different views on the subject (e.g., some believed that there can be substances without qualities and vice versa etc.) which cannot be described here (see e.g. al-Ġṣrī, *Mabāḥāt al-Ilāmiyya*, vol. ii). Some held the doctrine of *ahwāl* [states] (g.s.) which they described as qualities which are neither existent nor non-existent. An important tenet held by the *mutakallimūn* was the thesis that an accident cannot subsist in another accident.

In another sense *'arab* is the opposite of *malūḡa* (quiddity) or *ḡaḥ* (essence) [g.s.] and denotes an attribute which is not a constituent element of an essence. Two kinds of *'arab* are distinguished: (a) that which, though it is not a part of an essence, is its necessary concomitant (*'arab lāzim*) e.g., laughing with regard to man *συσταστικός καὶ ἀνά τὸν ἄνθρωπον* (in Aristotle, *Met.*, iv, 1) (b) that which is found in some members of a species but not in others (*'arab ḥāḥ* or *al-ḥāḥ*) e.g., writing with regard to man (*συσταστικός*, in Aristotle). An essential attribute, on the other hand, is e.g., rationality in relation to man.

Discussions on *'arab* will be found in Muslim works on logic. For the views of the *mutakallimūn* see *Mabāḥāt al-Ilāmiyya* of al-Ġṣrī, ed. G. Ritter, II: *Dict. of Technical Terms*, 8, 7; S. Pines, *Debate sur islamisme Atomisme*, etc. (F. RABMAN)

**AL-'ARĀF** (A.), plur. of *'arī*, "elevated place", "crest". In an eschatological judgement scene in *Ku'fān*, vii, 46 a dividing wall is spoken of which separates the dwellers in Paradise from the dwellers in Hell, and men, "who are on the *'arāf* and recognise such a wall by its marks" (v. 48: "those of the *'arāf*"). The interpretation of this passage is disputed. Bell makes the doubtful conjecture *'arāf* and translates:



"(Presiding) over the recognition are men, who recognise . . .". According to T. Andrae the "Men on the elevated places" are probably the dwellers in the highest degrees of Paradise; "who are able to look down both on Hell and on Paradise". Perhaps the reference is in particular to the messengers of God, who come into action again at the Last Judgement in order to separate the good from the bad.

According to the traditional explanation "those of the elevated places" are to be supplied as subject of the sentence at the end of v. 46 (*lam yadhkhalūhū*) and in v. 47. According to this they would be—at any rate provisionally—either in Paradise nor in Hell, but in an intermediate place or condition. As a result of this explanation al-ʿarāf was given the meaning "Limbo" (see BARZAEEL).

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(R. PARKER)

**ʿARAFĀ**, or ʿARAFĀT, plain about 21 km. (13 miles) east of Mecca, on the road to Tāʾif, bounded on the north by a mountain-ridge of the same name. The plain is the site of the central ceremonies of the annual Pilgrimage to Mecca; these are focused on a conical granite hill in its N.E. corner, under 200 feet in height, and detached from the main ridge; this hill also is called ʿArafā, but more commonly Dīḥ al-Rahma (Hill of Mercy). On its eastern flank, broad stone steps (constructed by order of Dīḥ al-Dīn al-Djāwad, vizier of the atābek Zankī) lead to the top, which is surmounted by a minaret; on the sixteenth step there is a platform containing the pulpit from which the ritual *khutba*, the Pilgrimage address, is delivered on the afternoon of the "Day of ʿArafā" (9 ḥu ʾl-Hiǧǧa). On the top there stood formerly a *kuḥba* named after Umm Salama (Ibn Dīḥayr 173), which was destroyed by the Wahhābīs. The hill is also said to have been called ʾIlā, but this name is more probably to be regarded as that of a shrine or perhaps of the deity worshipped on the spot in the pre-Islamic period (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, 82-3).

The plain of ʿArafāt (about 4 miles in breadth from E. to W. and 7-8 miles in length) lies outside the ḥaram or sacred territory of Mecca; the pilgrim coming from Mecca emerges through a defile called Maʿzama and passes the pillars which delimit the ḥaram; to the east of these is a depression called ʿUraṇa, at the further edge of which is a mosque called by the names of ʾIbrāhīm or Namiṣ or ʿArafāt. The mosque or place of assembly extends immediately to the east of this mosque and southwards from the Dīḥ al-Rahma, and is bounded on the east by the mountain-chain of Tāʾif. In the early centuries of Islam, a number of wells were dug in the plain and several plantations and dwellinghouses are mentioned. The aqueduct built by order of Zubayda to bring water from the region of Tāʾif to Mecca also runs at the base of the ridge of ʿArafāt. The plain is now covered with rough herbage and normally unpopulated, and is filled with life only on the "Day of ʿArafāt", when the pilgrims pitch their camp for the celebration of the prescribed *waḥd* or festival assembly. This begins after the midday *khutba* and prayer and lasts until just after sunset. For further details of the ceremonies see the art. *ḤAǧǧA*.

The origin of the name ʿArafāt is unknown. The legendary explanation is that Adam and Eve, separated after their expulsion from Paradise, met

again at this spot and recognised each other (*baʿdraba*). Arabic writers mention also other etymologies of a similar kind.

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**ARAGHON** (see SUPPLEMENT).

**AL-ʿARĀʾISH** ("the trolleys of grape vines"), in French and Spanish orthography *Larache*, town on the Moroccan seaboard situated on the Atlantic coast, about 44 m. S.-W. of Tangier and 83 m. N.-W. of Fās. Astronomical position: 35° 13' lat. N., 8° 28' 22" long. W. (of Paris).

Larache occupies the slopes of a hill which juts out into the sea in the form of a headland and dominates the left bank of the Wādī Lūkkas at the point where this river discharges into the sea. The Muslim town is insignificant, and has no feature of interest except the *sib*, quadrilateral in form, which is lined with arcades and presents a vaguely monumental appearance. As a legacy of the first Spanish occupation (1610-89), there remains a fortress called *Castillo de las Cipriotas* (of the storks) or *Santa María de Europa*. To the S. and S.-W. of the Muslim town, the Spanish, who re-occupied Larache in 1911, built a European town, the centre of which in 1955 was a circular area called *Plaza de España*. The alluvial deposits of the Wādī Lūkkas have formed a bar which renders the harbour inaccessible to vessels of large tonnage. The population of Larache in 1955 numbered just under 15,000, of whom (in rounded figures) 20,000 were Muslims, 1,500 Jews and 13,000 Europeans, almost all Spanish. In the neighbourhood of Larache potatoes and fruit trees are chiefly cultivated. Industry is of little importance, but fishing has increased to some extent (more than 250 small craft in 1955). The patron of Larache is Lālī Maḥmūd, whose *hubbā* marks the beginning of the *Madīna* as one approaches it from inland.

Al-ʿArāʾish is not a very old town. Al-Idrīsī does not mention it, and the Arab authors do not mention it before the 7th/13th century. Further, it only occurs infrequently in texts. It was apparently founded by the Banū ʿArīs tribe, who gave it, on account of the abundance of vines in the neighbourhood, the name of al-ʿArīsh mātʾ Būl ʿArīs. The Almohad sultan Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr built a fort at the mouth of the Wādī Lūkkas, and, in 1270, Spanish Christians carried out a successful surprise attack on the place. However, as is often the case with places of secondary importance on the Moroccan coast, the history of Larache is only known with any certainty from the time that the Portuguese set foot in Morocco. In the years immediately following their occupation of Ceuta (1415), the Portuguese launched a successful attack against the town, but the results of this victory were short-lived. The occupation of

Arzila and Tangier by King Alfonso V of Portugal in 1472 led to the evacuation of Larache, which the peace treaty included in the zone of Portuguese influence and which remained depopulated for twenty years. In 1489, King John II of Portugal took advantage of this circumstance to consolidate his position in northern Morocco and to constitute a more direct threat to Fās and al-Kayr al-Kibīr, by erecting a fort named *la Graciosa* on the right bank of the Lūkkas a little below the confluence of that river with the Wādī Mīḥāzen. Besieged by the Moroccans, decimated by marsh-fever, ill-supplied and ill-informed because the river was barely navigable, the Portuguese garrison, after a long resistance, was obliged to accept an honourable surrender, which enabled it to retire unmolested. Al-ʿArāʾish was restored by Mawlay al-Nāṣir, son of the Waṭṭīd Sultan Muḥammad al-Shaykh. Leo Africanus, who gives an account of the town at the beginning of the 16th century, informs us that large numbers of eels were caught there, that a plentiful supply of game was to be found there, and that on the banks of the Lūkkas there were woods abounding in wild animals. The inhabitants made charcoal which they sent to Arzila and Tangier. But they lived in fear of the Portuguese, who continually raided the area and who attacked the port itself in 1504 (there was also an unsuccessful attack by the Spanish from Cadix in 1546). This insecurity did not prevent the development of a certain amount of maritime trade due to the fact that al-ʿArāʾish was then the only port in northern Morocco not occupied by the Christians, and that it was one of the channels through which passed the trade of Fās, to which it was relatively near. The Portuguese maintained a commercial agent there (*factor*); Genoese merchants visited it regularly, and a castle situated at the entrance to the harbour became known as "Genoese Castle". From then on, Larache became a pirates' lair, and piracy increased after the evacuation of Arzila by the Portuguese in 1530. The havoc wrought by the pirates on the Spanish coast led Philip III to occupy Larache in 1610, following an agreement with the Saʿdī Sultan Mawlay Muḥammad al-Shaykh. The town was retained by the Moroccans in 1689 during the reign of the ʿAlawid Sultan Mawlay Ismāʾīl, and was repopulated by the Dīḥāla and the tribes of the Rif. From that date until 1911, the operations of the European powers against Larache were confined to bombardments or to more or less successful attacks from the sea. In 1705, the French Admiral Du Chaffault suffered a heavy defeat there. In 1860, during the Spanish-Moroccan war, Larache was bombarded by a Spanish squadron. During the "Moroccan crisis", Spanish troops landed at Larache on 8 June 1911, and the town remained within the Spanish zone of influence until the proclamation of the independence of Morocco in 1956.

Opposite Larache, on the other bank of the Wādī Lūkkas, on the Spanish coast, there stand the ruins of the Punic town of Lixos or Lixus, where many excavations have been made.

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(G. VYER—R. RICARD)

**AL-ARAK**, to-day Santa María de Alarcos, a small citadel in the district of Calatrava la Vieja, situated about seven miles S.-W. of Ciudad Real, on the summit of a mountain whose spurs descend to the Rio Guadiana. In the undulating plain which lies at its feet, the famous battle between Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr and the Castilians, which ended in the rout of Alfonso VIII (see the article *and* *Yūsuf* *yaʿqūb*, for details of events immediately prior to the battle).

We have little information on the details of the actual battle, because we only have at our disposal on the Muslim side accounts which are rather fragmentary. The Christian sources are more objective, although briefer. It seems that the Castilians launched a surprise attack on the Almohad advance guard, commanded by the Vizier Abū Yahyā, grandson of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Intī [g.c.], but only achieved a partial success. Yaʿqūb, with his own force, attacked the flank of the Christians who, as the struggle became prolonged, were forced, exhausted by the heat and by thirst, to take refuge in the castle of Alarcos or to flee with their King in the direction of Toledo. Moreover the Castilian Pedro Fernández de Castro, a personal enemy of Alfonso VIII, contributed with his own squadron of cavalry to the success of the Almohad ruler, on whom he lavished advice. Don Diego Lopez de Haro, the great *almojarif* of Castile, took refuge with the royal standard in the castle, but was soon forced to surrender.

The Muslim chroniclers, on the subject of this battle, have absurdly exaggerated the numbers of the troops on either side, that of the Christian dead and that of the prisoners taken in the castle. At all events, the army of Alfonso VII suffered heavy losses and experienced such a severe blow that, in the years following, despite the aid of the King of Aragon, it did not dare to risk a further engagement with Yaʿqūb when the latter penetrated into its territory. The battle of Alarcos took place under the most favourable conditions for the Almohads. Alfonso VIII was at war with Leo and Navarre. Accustomed to easy and fruitful raids into Andalusia, where his troops did not meet with serious resistance, he completely underestimated the strength of the Muslim forces and the strategic ability of Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr.

**Bibliography:** To the references given by E. Lévi-Provençal in *La Péninsule ibérique d'après*



al-Ra'id al-mu'ayyir, 18, no. 1, the following should be added: Ibn 'Udhayr, *Bayān*, iv, trans. Huet, 155 ff.; al-Sharīf al-Gharātibī, *Sharh Mahabirāt* Hāsim al-Karḡāḡānī, Cairo 1344, ii, 153-6; *Primer Crónica General*, ed. by R. Menéndez Pidal, i, 680; *Chronique des Rois de Castille*, ed. by Ciesci, 41, app. 45; A. Huet, *Les grandes batailles de la Reconquête*, 137 ff. (A. Huet, *Manuscrits*, 137 ff.).

**ARAKAN.** The most westerly Division of Lower Burma, lying between the Arakan Yoma range and the Bay of Bengal. Until 1197/1284, Arakan was an independent kingdom, and thereafter formed part of Burma, under British administration from 1243/1820. From the 9th/14th to the 13th/18th century the history of Arakan was closely linked with that of Muslim Bengal.

From the 13th century Arakan was Buddhist, but in 809/1406 King Naramekhla, defeated by the Burmese, took refuge with the Muslim ruler of Bengal. He was restored to his throne, in 813/1419, by troops of the Bengal sultan, whose tributary he became. (For the identity of this sultan see Phayre, 76-77; Collis, 34-35; *History of Bengal* ii, 120-20).

If Naramekhla's connection with Bengal had

Arakanese fleets and taking Čittagong in 1076/1666. (The Portuguese had been won over for the previous year, and the Mughals were accompanied by Kamāl, son of Prince Mangat Rai, the governor of Čittagong who had fled to Dhākā in 1048/1638).

This ended the Arakanese ascendancy in Eastern Bengal, though slave raiding continued far into the 12th/18th century. Moreover, in 1101/1692 Muslim soldiers of fortune, combining with the many captive Bengalis, rose in the capital and for twenty years had made the mastery in Arakan. The Bengali Muslim poets Dawlat Kāfi and Sayyid al-Awwal, who wrote at the courts of Kings Thiruthudamma and Sandathudamma, were under the patronage of such Muslim officers and officials at the court. Descendants of these Muslim soldiers still live in the Ramri and Akyah areas, and are called Kaman (Pers. *kamān*—a bow). (Biswasvar Bhattacharya, *Bengal Past and Present* No. 63, 1927, 139-41).

The Arakanese connexion with Muslim Bengal found expression in the assumption of Muslim titles by the Buddhist kings and in the issue of coins on which appear those titles, or the *kalima*, in the Persian script.

Arakanese title	Regnal years	Muslim title	Coinage
Naramekhla	813/1430—837/1434		Tributary of sultan
Meung Khari	837-8/1424—863-7/1459	‘Alī Khān	
Basawpya	863-4/1459—887-1482	Kalima Shāh	<i>kalima</i>
Kasabadi	929-30/1523—931-2/1525	Ilyās Shāh Sultān	<i>kalima</i> & title
Thatasta	931-2/1525—937-8/1532	‘Alī Shāh	<i>kalima</i> & title
Minbin	937-8/1532—961-6/1535	Zabuk Shāh	title
Minpalaung	978-9/1572—1001-02/1593	Sikandar Shāh	title
Minyazaung	1001-02/1593—1021-02/1612	Husayn Shāh	title
Minthakaung	1021-02/1612—1031-02/1622	Salim Shāh	Persian lettering
Thiruthudamma	1031-02/1622—1047-8/1628		
Sandathudamma	1062-3/1652—1096-7/1683	No Muslim title or coinage	

been that of a tributary, that of his nephew, Basawpya, was a conqueror's, for he took the important port of Čittagong. Lost about 918/1512 to the Tippera *rajdā*, recaptured by King Minyaza, and then in the hands of the Husayn Shāhs from 923/1517 until 946/1530, Čittagong was absorbed into the Arakan kingdom from the time of King Minbin until that of King Sandathudamma.

The naval forces of Arakan based on Čittagong, working with those of Portuguese freebooters settled in the head of the Bay, now dominated the riverine tracts of Bengal. The Noakhali and Backergunge districts were swept for plunder and slaves, (see *Travels of Father Manrique*, ed. C. E. Luard for the large numbers involved), and, indeed, for some years they were virtually Arakanese possessions. In 1034/1625 even Dhākā, the Mughal provincial capital was sacked.

In 1076/1660, Shāh Shujā'ī, defeated in Bengal by the forces of his brother, the emperor Aurangzib, sailed with an Arakanese flotilla which had operated in his support, and sought asylum with King Sandathudamma at Mrohaung. The Mughals offered the King large sums for his extradition, while Shujā'ī, denied shipping in which to leave, intrigued with the many Muslims in Arakan. On 6 Jumādā II 1072/7 Feb. 1661 Arakanese troops surrounded his house, and the Prince was probably killed in the struggle which followed. (See G. H. Harvey, *four, Burma Research Soc.* 1922/3, 107-15).

Aurangzib's viceroy, Shāyista Khān, avenged the death and curbed Arakanese raids by destroying two

It is clear that the Arakanese coins are modelled upon those of Bengal. Thus in Bengal the use of the *kalima* begins about the time when Naramekhla was restored by the sultan to the Arakan throne, and in both countries a clumsy Kufic is used. (See Phayre, *Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma*, in *International Numismatic Orientalist*, 1882; M. S. Collis, *Jour. Burma Research Soc.* 1925/6, 34-35; J. W. Laidley, *J.A.S.B.* 1846 pl. IV no. 12; H. F. Blochman, *J.A.S.B.* 1873/3, 209-309).

Muslims in Arakan left their traces in the Sandikhān mosque at Mrohaung, and in the Buddemokan at Akyah and Sandoway—shrines of Badr al-Din Aylwā, whose most famous shrine is at Čittagong. He is the guardian saint of salutes of Arakan and Bengal. (See E. Forchhammer, *Monograph on Arakan Antiquities*, and Sir R. C. Temple, *Jour. Burma Research Soc.* 1925, 1-31).

**Bibliography:** Sir A. P. Phayre, *History of Burma*, 76-81, 171-84; G. H. Harvey, *History of Burma*, 137-49; *History of Bengal* ii, ed. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Decca 1948; Sir J. Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, 1933, 101-213.

(J. B. HARRISON)

**ARAL**, a large, slightly salty lake in west Turkistān, 46° 45' to 43° 45' N and 76° to 79° 27' E, with a surface area of (1942) 66,438 sq.km.; of this 2345 sq.km. are islands. (The largest islands are the Tokmak Ata in front of the mouth of the Āmū Daryā, Ostrov Vorodeniya, "Island of the Resurrection", formerly Nicholas Island, discovered in 1848, 216 sq.km.; Barsa Kelmez, "arrival without

return", 135 sq.km.; and finally Kug Aral, in the north, eastward in front of the Kara Top peninsula, 273 sq.km.) The maximum length from NE to SW is 428 km., the breadth at 45° N 284 sq.km. The average depth of the lake is 16 m., in the middle it is up to 20-25 m., in the west up to 68 m. The lake has today in the N, E and S numerous bays, and particularly in the SE, rocky islands offshore. Only the western shore, which borders on the Ūst Yurt plain partly with cliffs up to 120 m. high, has no bays. The east bank is flat and sandy.

In prehistoric times (diluvium and ice ages) the level of Lake Aral stood some 4 m. above the present waterline; hence the lake had (particularly in the bays in the NE and NW) a considerably larger extension and was besides (through the Ōzboy (cf. Aral DARVA) connected with the Caspian Sea and through this, at the time, with the Ocean. Since the production of the present geological conditions it has no longer any outlet. (Cf. Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'*, ii, 10-12, and *Bo'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, 33, 326.) In historical times also the water-level fluctuated by several meters, and the banks altered because of this, especially in the E and SE; but there is no evidence of significant changes at this time. In fact the description of the delta of the Āmū Daryā by al-Makdisi, 288: two days from Mirdākhān to the Kerder, one day and four *farsāḡhs* to Paratagin (B[if]aratagin) and a further day to the bank of the lake, corresponds as well with modern conditions as Ibn Hawkal's account (ed. Kratzers, 512). He says that the place Dibi-Naw-Archieh (cf. *al-Mas'ūdī* al-Hadīthā = Turkish Yedi Keat (al-Mas'ūdī) Naw Karḡa?), identical with the present ruins of Djankeet, some 22 km. SW of the modern Kazalinsk (Ül), in S. A. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der alt-choresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 254; further details, *ibid.*, 266) is two days distant from the bank of the lake (both 10th century accounts, Barthold, *Turkistan*, 178). In the 19th-20th centuries the level fell and rose alternately: 1860-80 it fell, then the waterline rose till 1915 by 2 m.; within the period 1874 to 1931 it fluctuated by 3.1 m. Accordingly its height above sea-level is given variously as 49 m. (as an average: *Bo'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, 32 m. (Leimbach), and as its highest point in 1931: as 51 m.). This evidence also corresponds to the estimation of its depth. The lake, whose salt content (1.03-1.08%) is considerably lower than that of the Ocean, scarcely ever freezes up completely. Mostly only the bays in the north turn solid, or the whole northern part (as far as the Barsa Kelmez island).

To this northern part (some 5500 sq.km.) the Kazakhs have given the special name Kūsh Tēñiz ("small sea"); so the main southern part is called Ūlu Tēñiz ("great sea").

The Āmū Daryā (g.e.) concerning the possible change of its course) and the Sīr Daryā run into the Aral Sea. Of the Sīr Daryā al-Umari (1301-48) claims in his *Musālik al-Abyār* (reproduced by W. von Tiesenhausen, *Materialy etnograficheskoy k istorii Zolotoy Ordy*, i, 1884, 215, transl. 217), following the account of the merchant Badr al-Dīn al-Rūmī, that it changed its direction three travelling days below Dīand, and Hāfiẓ-i Abrū (1424-5), who disputes the existence of the Aral Sea, makes it join the Āmū Daryā. Finally in the *Bābur-nāma* the great conqueror of India (d. 1530) reports that the Sīr Daryā subsides into the sands in the west. One should not attach much weight to these accounts, of which that of Hāfiẓ-i Abrū may be

regarded as legendary and that of al-Umari conveys nothing conclusive; Abu T-ḡhāzī too knows nothing of the Sīr Daryā at one time not reaching the Aral Sea (cf. also Sīr DARVA).

It is uncertain whether the Aral Sea was known to classical antiquity. A. Hermann does not refer the reports about the 'Oξεαυή λίμνη (palus Oxiaria) to the Aral Sea; on the other hand he sees in the palus Oxiaria of Amianthus Marcellinus, xviii, 6, 39 the Aral Sea (Pauli-Wanson, xviii, 2, 1942, 2004-5). Also the quite general accounts of the Chinese and the *Shiyue* of the Byzantine ambassador Zenkhoros, 568 A.D. (Menander Protector, *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*, xviii, 238 f.; C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv, 229) cannot be interpreted with any certainty.

In Islamic times Ibn Rusta, 92, is the first to describe the lake, without naming it. He gives its circumference as 80 *farsāḡhs*; al-Istakhṡir, 304, makes it 100, the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 53, 300 *farsāḡhs*. Whether the earlier report in Ibn Khurādādhbih, 173, about the lake of Kerder (for this form instead of Kurdar cf. A. Zeki Velidi Togan in *Türkiye İktisadi Mecmuası*, ii, 340) can be referred to the Aral Sea, is questionable. At that time the Oguz (Oghuz) and the Pecheng nomads round the lake, except on the southern bank (Kū'arizim).

The Aral Sea was called by al-Istakhṡir, the *Ḥudūd*, and the later geographers, Buhayrat Kū'arizim and rightly described as a closed salty lake, which lay to the right on the journey from Gurgandj (Old Urgandj) to the Pecheng (so Gardizī, reproduced in W. Barthold, *Öldir & komandirovsk v Srednyaya Azia*, 1897, 95) al-Umari (cf. *al-Mas'ūdī* al-Sarī Kanāhū [see Aral DARVA]). On the other hand al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, 65; in more general terms also in *Murādī*, i, 211) says that the "Lake of Dīand-nūya" is connected with the Caspian Sea. Dīand (d. 861/1476-7), following the *Dīand-nūma* (from the beginning of the 13th century), calls it also "Lake of Dīand" after the city on the lower reaches of the Sīr Daryā. Finally, Hāfiẓ-i Abrū claims (in 820/1427) that the lake has vanished (and furnishes thus new proof of the fact that one must by no means blindly trust isolated accounts by Islamic geographers of the Middle Ages).

Between the 13th and 16th century no report about the Aral Sea has been handed down. Abu T-ḡhāzī and al-Istakhṡir Khān speaks in the *Shajarat al-Abrāh* (Desmoussin), 338, for the first time of Aral ("island") as the place where the Āmū Daryā runs into the lake. After this "island" (which in the 18th century formed a separate state with the capital Kungrāt [g.e.] and was not re-united with Khiva until the reign of Muhammad Rahīm Khān, 1806-26) the lake later received the name of Aral Teñiz, "Aral Sea", among the Kazaks. Following this the Russians call it Aral'skoe More, "Aral Sea" (first occurrence in 1697). Previously the Russian work *Kniga bol'shogo tēñiza* (finished in 1626) called it Since More, "Blue Sea"—it does in fact have a deep blue colour. This name appeared in 1697 also on the Dutch map in Witten, *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, 1687, while J. N. de Hōle, in 1723, uses the modern name (Barthold, *Aral*, 77 f.).

The Russians erected first in 1847 a fortress Raimskoe (the name probably derives from Ralim) on the right bank of the lower Sīr Daryā, 60-65 km. from its mouth. Already from 1819 several expeditions had more closely explored the lake and furnished descriptions (1819 N. N. Murav'ev; 1820: A. F. Negri and A. K. Baron Meyendorff; 1823-6 F. W. H. Berg; 1833-5 G. von Helmsen; 1839 V. A. Conant



Perovskiy; 1840 M. M. Zembulnikov; 1840-4 Antov; 1841 I. P. Blaraberg and D. I. Romanov; 1842-3 Danilevskiy; 1843 Schulz and Lemm; then in 1848 A. I. Butakov and A. I. Makheyev. Between 1853 and 1853 the Russians kept a flotilla on the Aral Sea, which was stationed in the beginning in Aral'sk, then in Kazalinsk (see the lower Sir Darya). It was disbanded after the Aral Sea had become a Russian inland lake with the conquest of the Khānate of Khiva in 1873. Since 1906 the lake is reached by the railway line Orenburg-Tashkent at the NE corner near Aral'sk. Otherwise the lake is still to-day situated inconveniently for traffic.—During the civil war of 1918-21 a flotilla was formed again on the Aral Sea. Since the reorganisation of territories in 1924 and 1926 the southern part of the lake belongs to the autonomous republic of Karakalpakia in the framework of the Uzbek SSR, the northern part to Kazakhstan. The lake is of importance for the surrounding population and altogether for the USSR principally because of its fishing industry.

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**ARAR** (see *HARAR*).

**ARARAT** (see *ARABAL AL-ARAB*).

**ARAS** (see *AL-RAS*).

**'ARBAN**, site of ruins in Mesopotamia, on the Western bank of the Khābūr, to the South of the 'Ababal 'Abd al-'Aziz, situated under 36° 10' N. Lat. and 40° 50' E. Long. (Greenw.). The remains of the old town are hidden under several hills, after one of which the site is also called Tell 'Arbāba. It was here that H. A. Layard found several winged bulls with human heads, products of the genuinely Mesopotamian civilization which is closely related to that of ancient Babylonia. 'Arban is probably identical with the Gar (Shal)-dikana of the cuneiform inscriptions. During the later Roman period the town, then called Arabana, possessed considerable military importance as the principal station on the line of frontier against the Parthians. In the Arab period 'Arban played an important part as the centre of the Khābūr district and as place of storage for the cotton cultivated in the Khābūr valley. Geographers (cf. e.g. Yāqūt s.v. 'Arabān) and historians refer to it frequently as a flourishing town. The date of its destruction is unknown; possibly it took place during the Mongol invasion under Timur.

**Bibliography:** K. Ritter, *Erdbüch*, II, 371; H. A. Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon* (German

transl. by Zenker), 208 ff.; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* (Berlin 1900) II, 19-21; idem, in *EG Erdkunde* xxxvi, (1901), 69 ff.; Streck, in the *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie* xviii, 1901, 18; Strang, 97. (M. SPULER)

**ARBONA**, the name by which the Arab historians designated the town of Narbonne. Reached by the early Muslim expeditions, it was taken in 96/715 under 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Mūsā b. Nusayr, was probably then lost or abandoned, and was retaken in 100/719 by al-Samh b. Malik al-Khawlānī. In 116/734, two years after the battle of Poitiers (see *BALAT AL-GHURARA*), the Duke of Provence concluded a treaty with the governor of Narbonne, Yusuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, whereby the latter was allowed to occupy a certain number of places in the valley of the Rhône, in order to protect Provence against the attempts of Charles Martel and to procure a new invasion route to the north; Charles Martel reacted at once, took Avignon in 119/737 and invested Narbonne, but without success. It was not until 142/759 that the town, after a long siege, was finally taken from the Muslims by Pepin the Short. In 177/791, 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad advanced as far as Narbonne, set fire to the outskirts, defeated the Duke of Toulouse not far from the city, and withdrew with considerable booty; another expedition, which was unsuccessful, took place in 226/840. Narbonne and its region still maintained relations with the Umayyad court. Jewish merchants being particularly active in this respect.

**Bibliography:** E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, I (see index), gives the main facts and enumerates (8, n. 2, 30-1 and 54, n. 1) the sources and studies, amongst which should be noted: Codera, *Narbona, Gerona y Barcelona bajo la dominación musulmana* in *Est. crit. hist. dr. esp.* (VII); M. Reinoud, *Invasions des Sarasins en France*, Paris 1836 (Eng. tr. by H. K. Sherwani in *Islamic Culture*, iv/1930, 100 ff., 251 ff., 197 ff., 588 ff., v/1931, 71 ff., 472 ff., 651 ff.); A. Molinier and H. Zotenberg, *Invasions des Sarasins dans le Languedoc d'après les historiens musulmans* in *Devie and Vaisette, Histoire générale du Languedoc*, II, Toulouse 1875. There is also the *Chronicon Fridiparti*, the *Chronicon Minsianense*, the *Chronicon Fundanlensis*, and other Latin chronicles (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Les Sarasins en Aragon*, in *En Terre d'Israhel*, 1944/IV, 178-90). (Ed.)

**ARCHIDONA** (see *URRUḤḤONA*).

## ARCHITECTURE.

### I. EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE

#### (1) The Time of the Prophet

Arabia, at the rise of Islam, does not appear to have possessed anything worthy of the name of architecture. Only a small proportion of the population was settled, and these lived in dwellings which were scarcely more than hovels. Those who lived in mud-brick houses were called *ahl al-madar*, and the Bedawin, from their tents of camel's-hair cloth, *ahl al-madar*.

The sanctuary at Mecca, in the time of Muḥammad, merely consisted of a small roofless enclosure, oblong in shape, formed by four walls a little higher than a man, built of rough stones laid dry. Within this enclosure was the sacred well of Zamzam. This little sanctuary, known as the Ka'ba, lay at the bottom of a valley surrounded by the houses of Mecca, which came close up to it, and we are expressly told that when 'Umar wanted to surround it by an open space, large enough to contain the Faithful, he

had to demolish many houses (al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 46).

The Ka'ba, being in a bad state, was demolished and reconstructed by the Quraysh, when Muḥammad was in his thirty-fifth year, i.e. in A.D. 608. The Quraysh took the wood of a ship which had been wrecked, and employed a carpenter and builder named Bāḳim, who had been on the ship, to help them in the rebuilding. Arrakt (Wüstenfeld's ed., *Chronicon der Stadt Mekka*, I, 110, last line—112, L 12) says that the new Ka'ba was built with a course of stone alternating with a course of wood up to the roof, there being sixteen courses of stone and fifteen of wood. The door, which had previously been at ground level, was now placed with its sill four cubits and a span from the ground. The roof rested on six pillars (columns), 17 of silver arranged in two rows of three each. Total height of structure 18 cubits. Arrakt says that on the ceiling, walls and columns were pictures (nawar) of the Prophets, trees and angels. (Cf. Creswell, in *Archæologia*, 94, Oxford 1951, 97-102).

This curious style of architecture, of alternate courses of stone and wood, resembles the style practised in Abyssinia in early times (see Krencker, in the *Deutsche Islam-Expedition*, II, 168-94) and Bāḳim is probably an abbreviation of 'Enbāḳim, the Abyssinian form of Habakkuk, that is to say the "carpenter and builder" employed was most probably an Abyssinian (see my *Ka'ba in A.D. 608*, in *Archæologia*, XCIV (1951), 97-102).

When Muḥammad migrated to Medina he built a house for himself and his family. It consisted of an enclosure about 100 cubits square of mud brick, with a portion on the south side made of palm trunks used as columns to support a roof of palm leaves and mud. Against the outer side of the east wall were built small huts (*hujra*) for the Prophet's wives. All opened into the courtyard. We have the description (preserved in Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaḳāt*, I, 280) of these huts, due to a man named 'Abd Allāh b. Yazid who saw them just before they were demolished by order of al-Walid: "There were four houses of mud brick, with apartments partitioned off by palm branches, and five houses made of palm branches plastered with mud and not divided into rooms. Over the doors were curtains of black hair-cloth. Each curtain measured 3 x 3 cubits. One could reach the roof with the hand".

Such was the house of the leader of the community at Medina. Nor did Muḥammad wish to alter these conditions; and Ibn Sa'd records the following saying of his: "The most unprofitable thing that I have heard up to the wealth of a Believer is building" (*Tabaḳāt*, I, 181, II, 7-8; also VIII, 120, L 1). At this time Ṭā'if was the only town in the Hijāz that possessed a wall. When Medina was attacked in 5/627 it had no wall, so Muḥammad had a ditch dug to defend it; the idea is said to have been due to a Persian slave named Salimān, and it created a great sensation for nobody had ever heard of such a thing before. The word *khandaq* given to it is Persian. Medina was first surrounded by a wall in 63/682-3; (Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 305, L 4).

#### (2) The Patriarchal and Umayyad Caliphates

The men who formed the Arab armies of conquest were mainly Bedouin, but even those who came from permanent settlements, such as Mecca and Medina, knew nothing of art or architecture. They soon found themselves in two totally different

cultural environments, one of which had been under Hellenistic influence for a thousand years, the other under Persian influence for even longer.

And not only were the cultural conditions different, the material conditions were different also. Syria was a country of splendid building materials. Syrian limestone was the best of its kind, resisting weathering and taking a beautiful amber luster on exposure, and cedar wood was plentiful, for the Lebanon had not yet been deforested. So the seventh-century invaders found themselves in a country of splendid buildings—churches of cut stone, some of ashlar in courses 90 cm. high, with arcades on marble columns, gable roofs of cedar wood and large surfaces decorated with coloured glass mosaics on a glistening gold background.

In the other cultural sphere they met with buildings of brick, sometimes only of mud brick, sometimes vaulted and sometimes with flat roofs of palm trunks, palm leaves and mud.

In these early days, the Muslims, when they conquered a town in Syria, usually took one of the churches and used it as a mosque, or merely divided one of the churches if the town had surrendered without resistance. At Hims, for example, they took a fourth part of the Church of St. John. How was a church converted into a mosque? One can easily guess. In Syria the *babā* (direction of Mecca) is due south, whereas churches are turned towards the east. Under these circumstances it was only necessary to close the western entrance (or three entrances), pierce new entrances in the north wall and pray across the aisles. That this is exactly what happened can be verified in the Great Mosque of Hama where the west front of the *Kanīsat al-'Uymā* (Great Church) which was converted into a mosque in 15/636-7, now forms the west end of the sanctuary. Its three western doors have been converted into windows and it is now entered from the north.

At Jerusalem they made use of the remains of the basilical hall of Herod, ruined by the army of Titus, which ran along the south side of the Temple Enclosure. This primitive mosque was seen by Arculf about A.D. 670 (Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, I, 145). In Persia, at Persepolis and Karvin, they appear to have taken *apadāna*, or hypostyle audience-halls of the Persian kings, with flat roofs resting on columns with double bull-headed capitals.

But the situation was different in 'Irāq, for here the Arabs founded new towns (which they did not do in Syria) so pre-existing buildings could not be employed, and they had to construct some sort of place for themselves. What manner of buildings were the first mosques of the earliest towns in Islam?

The following is a list of those Umayyad Friday mosques the essential features of which are known from literary or archaeological evidence:

1. — Basra, reconstructed in 45/665.
2. — Kufa, reconstructed in 50/670.
3. — Damascus, construction begun in 87/706.
4. — Medina, reconstructed 88/706-9/710.
5. — al-Masjid al-Akṣā, Jerusalem, built under Walid I, 86/705-96/715.
6. — Aleppo, built under Walid I or Sulaymān, 86/705-99/717.
7. — Fustāt, reconstructed 92/710-93/714.
8. — Kāmīla, completed 95/712-102/720.
9. — Bāḥrā, built in 102/720-1.
10. — Kair al-Harr al-Sharī (identified by Sauvaget as Rusafa, the residence of Hishām) built in 110/728.



11. — Harrân, built in 126/744-133/750.
12. — Hamât, reconstructed, date uncertain.
13. — Dar'a, date uncertain (?).

At Basra, founded about 14/635, the first mosque (according to al-Balâdhuri, *Futuh*, 343, 342 and 346-7) was simply marked out (*ihstâfa*) and the people prayed there without any building. According to another version, also given by al-Balâdhuri (346 and 350), it was enclosed by a fence of reeds. At Kûfa, founded in 17/638, the first mosque was equally primitive. Its boundaries were fixed by a man who threw an arrow towards the *hîbla*, then another towards the north, another to the west and a fourth to the east (al-Balâdhuri, 275-6; al-Tabari, i, 248r, ll. 12-13). A square with each side two arrow-casts in length was thus obtained. This area was not enclosed by walls but by a ditch only, and the sole architectural feature was a covered colonnade (*milâ*), 200 cubits long, which ran the whole length of the south side.

The columns were of marble, taken from some buildings of the Lakhmid Princes at Hira, about 4 miles away. This *milâ* was open on all sides so that, in the words of al-Tabari (i, 249a), a man praying in it could see the convent known as Dayr Hind and the gate of the town known as Bab Dîr. On the *hîbla* side and only separated from the praying place by a narrow street was built a dwelling for Sa'd the Commander-in-Chief.

The first mosque in Egypt, the Mosque of 'Amr, built at Fustât in the winter of 641/2, was equally primitive. It measured 50 x 30 cubits and had two doors on each side except on the *hîbla* side. (Makrizi, *Khawâss*, ii, 247). The roof was very low and probably consisted of palm trunks resting on palm-trunk columns as in Muhammad's house at Medina.

The first mosques to be worthy of the name of architecture were the second Great Mosques at Basra (45/665) and Kûfa (50/670). Regarding the latter al-Tabari (i, 249c) says that Ziyâd b. Abîhi summoned "Masons of the Days of Ignorance" (i.e. non-Muslims). Then a man who had been one of the builders of Khawâss, came forward and described how columns of stone from Bâbâh Ahrâr should be used to carry a roof 30 cubits high. Ibn 'Ubayy, who saw this mosque, says (de Goeje's ed., 217) that "the *hîbla* side has five aisles whereas the rest have two only; the aisles are supported on columns like masts, . . . extremely high and not surmounted by arches" (Fig. 1). It is obvious that the roofing system resembled that of an *apadana*, or Hall of Columns of the Achaemenian kings, exactly as was the case in the first Great Mosque at Baghdad.

The Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, the oldest existing monument of Muslim architecture, was built by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik and completed in 72/691. It is an annular building and consists in its simplest analysis of wooden dome 20.44 m. in diameter, set on a high drum, pierced with sixteen windows and resting on four piers and twelve columns, placed in a circle and so arranged that three columns alternate with each pier. This circle of supports is placed in the centre of a large octagon averaging 20.60 m. a side, formed by eight walls 9 1/2 m. high (excluding the parapet which adds 2.60 m.) each pierced in their upper half by five windows (Plate IIIa and Fig. 2).

There is a door 2.60 m. wide and 4.30 high in each of the four sides which face the four cardinal points, and on these sides the central window above the door is consequently much reduced. The space

between the circle and the octagon being too great to be conveniently spanned by single beams, an intermediate octagon, consisting of arches borne by eight piers and sixteen columns, so arranged that two columns alternate with each pier, has been placed between the two to provide the necessary support for the roof (Plate IVa). The two concentric ambulatories thus formed were of course used for the *taawûf* or ceremonial circumambulation of the sacred object, the Rock.

The exterior was always panelled with marble for half its height, as it is to-day, but the upper part was originally covered with glass mosaic (*fayyâsh*) like the inner arcades. This was replaced by the present coating of fayence by Sultan Sulaymân in 959/1552. The vaults of the four entrance porches were also decorated with mosaic, but it has only been preserved in the eastern porch. The lintels of the four doorways are decorated on their under side with sheet metal, either copper or bronze, worked *en repoussé* and exhibiting a variety of designs, chiefly vine leaves, bunches of grapes and acanthus. The raised parts of the design are gilt, the background of the central part is painted black and the outer border bright green. The inner side of the outer wall is panelled with marble from top to bottom, likewise all the piers. The tie beams of the arches of the octagonal arcade are decorated beneath with a bronze sheathing like the door soffits (Plate IIIb-c), but their inner faces are treated like a Corinthian entablature. The arcades above are covered with glass mosaic on both faces and their soffits also (Plate IVb, V and VI). The arcades of the central circle are also decorated with glass mosaic on their outer faces, but their soffits and inner faces have been given a coating of marble at some unknown date, but before A.D. 1340. The drum above is also decorated with mosaic. The ceiling of the outer ambulatory is probably the work of Sultan al-Nâsir Muhammad in 715/1315 like the present lining of the dome. The ceiling of the inner ambulatory dates from the end of the 18th century. The original dome, until it fell in 1407/1617, was covered with sheets of lead, over which were placed 10,210 plates of brass gilt (Ibn 'Abd Rahîm, *al-Fih*, iii, 367). The harmony of its proportions and the richness of its decoration make the Dome of the Rock one of the most beautiful buildings in the world.

The Great Mosque of Damascus. Al-Walid began the construction of the Great Mosque of Damascus immediately after his accession in 86/705. A curious situation had prevailed here since the conquest. A great sanctuary of a Syrian god existed here, consisting of a *temenos*, or sacred enclosure, measuring 100 m. from N. to S. and 150 m. from E. to W., set in an outer enclosure over 300 m. square.

At each corner of the inner enclosure, which had pilastered walls nearly 13 m. high resting on a socle of at least 4 m., was a square tower, and all round the interior ran a double colonnade. There were four axial entrances and in the centre, or a little to the west of it, was the temple, its entrance facing east. In the 4th century Christianity became the state religion and Theodosius (A.D. 379-395) converted the temple into a church (Malalas, *Chronographia*, 344-5). After the Arab conquest the *temenos* was divided between Muslims and Christians. Ibn Shikhr says that they both "entered by the same door, placed on the south side where is now the great *mihrab*. Then the Christians turned to the west towards their church (i.e. the converted temple), and the Muslims to the right to reach their mosque".

Where? Opposite the traditional "*mihrab* of the Companions of the Prophet", i.e. under that part of the interior colonnade which was to the east of the entrance. As for the corner towers, Ibn al-Fakhri (p. 108) says: "The minarets (*miḍḍana*) which are in the Damascus Mosque were originally watch-towers in the Greek days . . . when al-Walid turned the whole area into a mosque, he left these in their old condition". Al-Mas'ûdi (*Murûj*, iv, 90-91)

then built the sanctuary with three aisles running parallel to the south wall and cut through its centre by a transept about 8 m. higher. The arcades are in two tiers, the lower of large arches being 10.35 m. high, the upper, in which two small arches correspond to each one below, is nearly 5 m. high. Similar arcades form porticoes on the three sides of the court. The aisles of the sanctuary have gable roofs covered with sheets of lead, and so has the transept, but

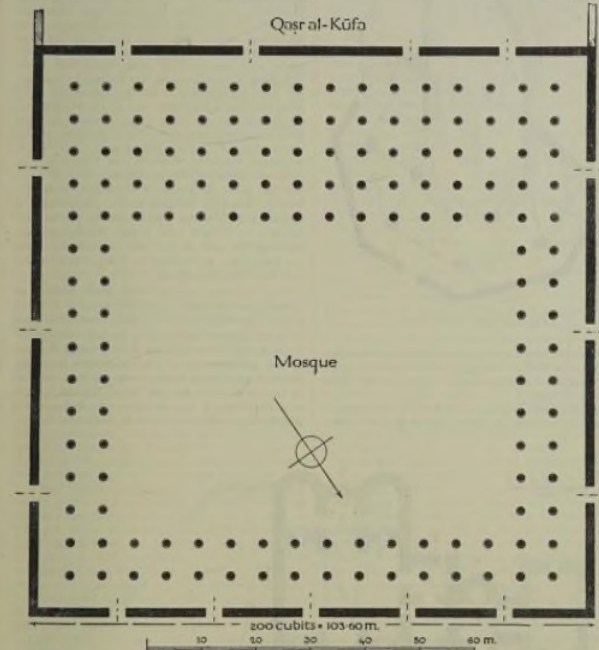


Fig. 1. Plan of Great Mosque of Kûfa.

says: "Then came Christianity and it became a Church; then came Islam and it became a mosque. Al-Walid built it solidly and the *sandmî* (the four corner towers) were not changed, they serve for the call to prayer at the present day".

This state of affairs lasted until al-Walid, after bargaining with the Christians, demolished everything except the outer walls and the corner towers and built the present mosque. He first of all reduced the interior of the enclosure into a rectangle by building the long rooms to east and west, leaving a vestibule in front of the east and west entrances. He

the porticoes on the three sides of the court have roofs which slope slightly inwards (Plate VIIa-b). On the transept was a wooden dome, very high and conspicuous.

The decoration consisted of marble paneling (some parts of the original paneling exist next the east entrance) above which ran a golden *harna* or vine-scroll frieze, and above that was glass mosaic (*fayyâsh*) right up to the ceiling. A considerable amount has survived the three fires of 1069, 1401, and 1595, and may still be seen under the west portico, where the famous panorama of the Baradâ



(the river of Damascus) is over 34 m. in length and nearly 7 m. high (Plate VIIIa). When intact the surface of the *ḥusayfā* must have been greater than in any other building in existence! There were also six marble window-grilles (Plate VIIIb) which

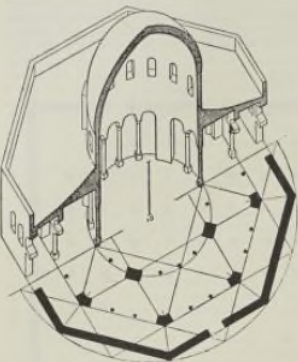


Fig. 2. Dome of the Rock.

constitute the earliest geometrical designs in Islam. The Great Mosque of Damascus was rightly regarded by medieval Muslims as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

Another building due to al-Walid is the audience hall and *ḥammām*, known to-day as *Kuṣayr 'Amra*,

in Transjordan. It consists of an audience hall about 10 m. square, with two slightly pointed transverse arches supporting three tunnel-vaults (Plate IX and Fig. 3). There is a vaulted recess on the side opposite the entrance, with a small vaulted room on either side of it. A door on the east side gives access to the *ḥammām*, which consists of three small rooms covered by a tunnel vault, a cross vault and a dome. The latter was the *calidarium*, under the floor are hypocausts exactly as in a Roman bath. But most remarkable of all are the paintings which cover the walls (Plate X), mostly scenes from daily life, a hunting scene and figures symbolising History, Poetry and Philosophy with the words in Greek above their heads. The dome of the *calidarium* was painted to represent the vault of heaven, with the Great Bear, the Little Bear, the signs of the Zodiac, etc. But most important of all was the painting of the enemies of Islam defeated by the Umayyads, with their names written above them in Greek and Arabic: *Kaysar* (the Byzantine Emperor), *Rōdork* (the Visigothic King of Spain), *Chorros*, *Negus* (the King of Abyssinia), and two more the names of which have been obliterated. Painting, contrary to the popular idea, is not forbidden by any passage in the *Kur'ān*, and hostility to it only took proper theological form towards the end of the 8th century A.D. (see my *Lampbrush of Painting in Early Islam*, in *Art Islamica*, XI-XII, 159-66).

The Umayyad Caliphs were great builders of palaces. Their external fortified appearance, although built in the heart of their Empire, hundreds of miles from the nearest frontier, is to be explained by the route taken by the armies of the conquest. They passed a long series of Roman frontier forts, the *castra* of the Roman *limes*, which ran from the Gulf of 'Akaba to Damascus and thence to Palmyra. The most important of these (for which see Brünnow and von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*) are:

Uḡḡruh	built by Trajan
Da'ḡanilya	probably Trajanic
Ladidjun	probably Trajanic
Bḡhayr	inscription of Diocletian (A.D. 284-304)
Dumayr	A.D. 162.

Some of these frontier forts were lived in by Umayyad princes. For example, Walid II sometimes lived at Azrak, which was rebuilt in 634/1236-7, but which in his day (A.D. 744) was a Roman fort of Diocletian and Maximian. When he was attacked by conspirators he fled north to the Kasr al-Balḡhā, which is the Arabic name of a Roman fort about 15 miles S.-W. of Palmyra.

Now the result of this was twofold. It not only gave the Umayyad Caliphs the necessary knowledge when they wanted to build fortresses on the Byzantine frontier, e.g. *Massifa* in 834/702-3, *al-Muḡakkab*, *Katargish*, *Mira*, *Būka* and *Baghas*, all in 105/724 (see *al-Balḡḡḡ*, 165-7), but it affected the design of their palaces. Here is a list of them:

1. — al-Walid's palace at *Minyā* on Lake Tiberias, A.D. 705/75.
2. — al-Walid's *ḡayr* at *ḡabal Seis*, A.D. 705/15.
3. — Hishām's palace of *Kasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi*, c. 727.
4. — Hishām's palace of *Kasr al-Hayr al-Sharḡi*, 110/729.
5. — Hishām's palace at *ḡharbat al-Mafḡjar*, 4 miles N. of Jericho.
6. — Walid II's palace of *Mḡḡḡḡ*, c. A.D. 744.
7. — Walid II's palace of *Kasr al-Tūba*, c. A.D. 744.

All these palaces, although built in the midst of Muslim territory, look externally like forts, for they are stone enclosures with round flanking towers. Nos. 1-5 are approximately 70 m. square externally, No. 7 is twice as large, 70 × 140 m. and No. 6 is four times as large, i.e. 145 m. square. Why this fortified appearance when it was not necessary? It would seem that having been in the habit of occupying forts belonging to the Roman *limes*, they came to look upon a rectangular enclosure flanked by towers as a necessary feature of a princely residence.

When Hishām about 727 A.D. built his palace, known to-day as *Kasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi*, he chose a site on a small mound about 40 miles to the west of Palmyra, where there was a monastery built by the ḡhassānid *Arethas* (= *al-Hārith*) under Justinian in A.D. 559. He incorporated the tower of this monastery, which had a door protected by a *māchicolis* (of one opening only) high above it, so that it formed a tall watch-tower at the north-west corner of his 70 m. square *ḡayr*. This is how the *māchicolis* first passed into Muslim architecture.

*Kasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi* has been admirably excavated by M. Daniel Schlumberger, (see *Syria*, XX, 195-238 and 324-73). The entrance was found to consist of two great stone door-posts and a lintel decorated with vine ornament, which must have been taken from Palmyra. He has also brought to light masses of stucco ornament, wall panelling, window grilles and frames, and human figures, part of which has been skilfully assembled and put together in the Museum at Damascus. Two large fresco paintings were also discovered, one representing the Caliph on horseback hunting with bow and arrow and using stirrups, which is almost the oldest known record of their use.

Two years later Hishām built another palace, known to-day as *Kasr al-Hayr al-Sharḡi*, together with a small walled city provided with a mosque of

three aisles, cut through the centre by a transept of greater height, exactly as at Damascus (Plate XIIa and Fig. 4).

As for the Palace Enclosure it averages nearly 67 m. a side internally and 71 m. externally with walls of stone flanked by 32 round towers, of which the total height must have been at least 14 m. There is only one entrance in the centre of the west side; it is defended by a *māchicolis* as are the four gates of the *Madīna* alongside. The walls are decorated with a string-course of brickwork at the level of the rampart walk and each tower was crowned by a room with a brick dome. The tops of the pair which flank the entrance are decorated with arched panels of stucco, acanthus leaves and also apparently vine leaves and grapes (Plate XI). The interior consisted of an open court, which must have measured about 37 × 45 m., surrounded by two tiers of rooms, the lower tunnel vaulted, the upper with flat wooden ceilings. It awaits excavation.

Another palace of Hishām at *ḡharbat al-Mafḡjar*, 4 miles north of Jericho, has also been excavated in recent years. It consists of a palace enclosure about 70 m. square with its own mosque, a large forecourt, a tank with a little open octagonal pavilion in the centre, another mosque with aisles (two) on the *bīḡla* side only, and to north a very large *ḡammām*, consisting of nine domed bays arranged three by three, with a small annex on the north side containing the most beautiful floor mosaic ever discovered in Palestine. It consists of a fine tree executed in three shades of green, with two gazelles grazing on the left and a lion pouncing on another on the right. In Muslim palaces the staircases are generally narrow and inconspicuously tucked away, but here there are five broad staircases which led to the upper floor. Here again masses of stucco ornament have been recovered and put together in the Palestine Museum at Jerusalem. It consists of panels decorated with geometrical ornament, window grilles, human heads and dancing girls (see the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities*, V, VI, VIII and X-XII).

These three palaces each had an enclosure which is *Kasr al-Hayr al-Sharḡi* is about 1½ km. wide and 7 km. long, with walls of stone to the height of a metre and a half and above that at least 2 m. more of mud brick. There are half-round buttresses at intervals, first on one side of the wall and then on the other alternately. Traces of a similar wall exist at *Mafḡjar*. Such an enclosure was called a *ḡayr*, and here is the proof. *Va'ḡḡḡḡ (Uḡḡḡḡ)*, p. 263, describing the foundation of *Simsārā* by the Caliph al-Muḡḡḡḡ in A.D. 836 says: "And wherever these streets of al-Hayr touched land granted to other people, he would order the wall [of al-Hayr] to be built further back. Behind the wall were wild animals, gazelles, wild asses, deer, hares and ostriches, kept in by an enclosing wall in a fine broad open tract". And *Miskawayhi* (*Margolouth's* text, I, 159) under the year 113/25-6, says: "This year there was a rising of the disbanded cavalry, who went out to the Oratory, plundered the palace called al-Thurayyā (the palace of the *Pleiades* at *Baghdād*), and slaughtered the game in the *ḡayr*".

*Mḡḡḡḡḡ*, about 4 miles from *Zīza* and about 20 miles south of *Amḡḡḡḡ*, is the largest of all the Umayyad palaces, measuring about 145 m. each way, but it was never finished. The outer walls with their half round towers are of well dressed limestone, but all the walls of the interior are of red bricks resting of three or four courses of cut stone. The bricks are of two sizes, 6½ cm. square and 28 cm. sq., and 6½ cm. thick.

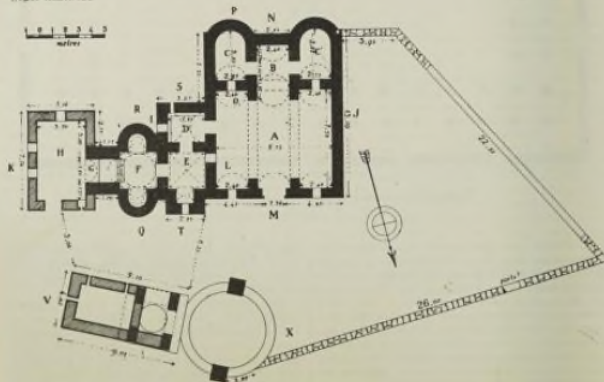


Fig. 3. Kuṣayr 'Amra, plan.



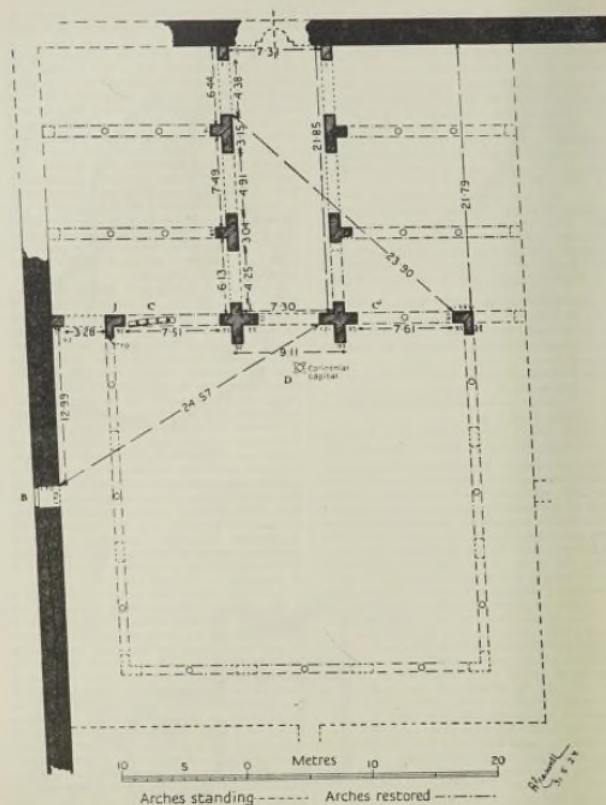


Fig. 4. Kasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi, mosque.

The entrance is in the centre of the south side. Internally it is divided into three tracts running from north to south, the central one being 37 m. in width and the lateral ones about 42 m. The buildings intended to occupy the lateral tracts have never been begun, and even those projected for the central tract have never been finished. Of the latter, however, the group at the north end must have been very nearly finished, and the plan of the group at the south end can be clearly seen, for a great stone

grid is visible formed by the stone foundation course (Fig. 5). The part immediately behind the gateway was obviously intended to be an entrance hall 17.40 m. long, leading into a court 27.14 m. broad and 23 m. deep; these two elements were flanked by other rooms and courts. This group may be called the Gateway Block. Beyond the court just mentioned is an enormous central court, just over 57 m. sq. on the north side of which is a triple-arched entrance (the

arches have fallen) leading into a great basilical hall, 21.60 m. deep, ending in a triple apse (Plate XIII-c and Fig. 6). This basilical hall, which presumably was the Throne Room, is flanked by two symmetrical complexes composed as follows: on either side of an oblong court, placed perpendicular to the basilical hall, is another court at right angles to it, flanked on each side by a pair of vaulted chambers. These rooms were intended to have a marble panelling, for great block of a fine green stone (looking like marble, but really a calc-schist),

a vine leaf and a bunch of grapes. The wall-surface is divided into twenty upright and twenty inverted triangles by a cornice-like moulding, which runs up and down zig-zag fashion from the socle to the entablature. The triangles are about 2.85 m. in height and 2.30 in width at the base. Exactly in the centre of each is a rosette, those in the upright triangles being lobed hexagons, those in the inverted triangles straight-sided octagons. The kernels of all the rosettes vary. The surface of the upright triangles is decorated with extraordinary richness in high

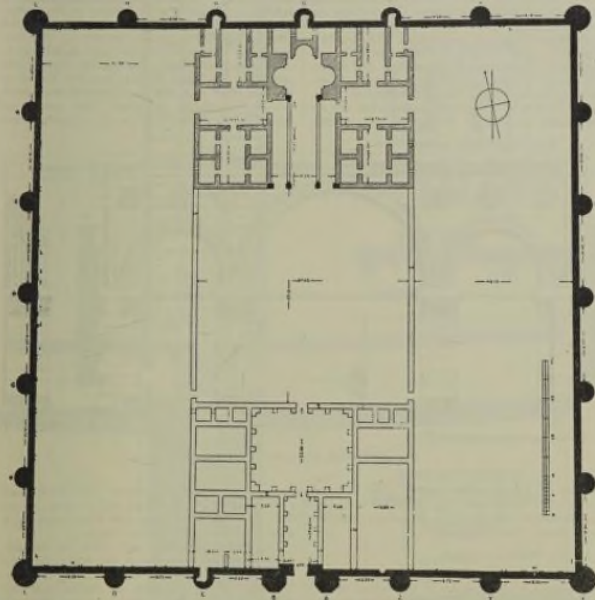


Fig. 5. Mshatta, plan.

some already sawn into slabs 3 cm. thick, were once to be seen lying in the east side tract.

But Mshatta really owes its fame to the marvellous carving on its south facade, or rather on the two half-octagonal towers that flank the entrance and the first length of curtain wall to right (13.20 m.) and left (13.50 m.). It consists of a plain socle 47 cm. high, a richly decorated base 1.25 m. in height, a decorated wall-face 2.95 m. in height and an entablature, 90.4 cm. The base consists of a torus moulding with a hollow moulding above and below. The torus moulding is decorated with a network of interlacing vine tendrils which form loops, each occupied by

relief, vine tendrils, bunches of grapes, birds which pluck at the fruit, etc. In the lower part of some of the triangles is a chalice, out of which two animals drink (Plate XIII). On the right hand side of the facade there are neither animals nor birds and the ornament is on a much smaller scale, in fact the differences are sufficient to justify the suggestion that it was executed by a different school of craftsmen.

**Summary:** The monuments of Umayyad architecture are really splendid structures of cut stone with arcades resting on marble columns and richly decorated internally with marble panelling and



mosaic (*ḥusayfā*). The mosques are nearly always covered with a gable roof (*djamālān*). The minarets were tall square towers, derived from the church towers of pre-Muslim Syria, and the triple-apsed sanctuaries were due to the same influence. Umayyad monuments exhibit a mixture of influences, Syria occupying the first place and Persia the second, and Egyptian influence is definitely demonstrable at the end of this period in Mshattā. Umayyad architecture employed the following devices: the semi-circular, the horse-shoe and the pointed arch, flat arches or lintels with a semi-circular relieving arch above, joggled voussoirs, tunnel-vaults in stone and brick, wooden domes and stone domes on true spherical-triangle pendentives. The squinch does not appear to have been employed. But we know from descriptions of early authors that a type of mosque prevailed in 'Irāk and Persia quite different from the Syrian type. It was square in plan, had walls of brick (sometimes of mud brick) and its flat timber roof rested directly on the columns

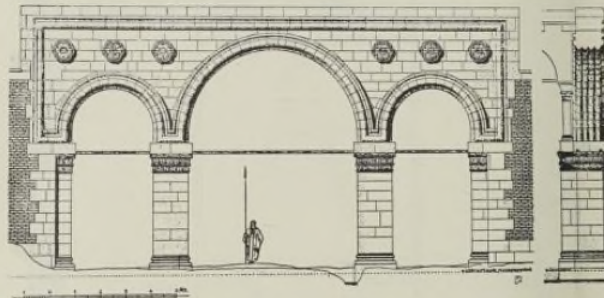


Fig. 6. Mshattā, triple-arched entrance.

without the intermediary of arches. Here we have a direct link between the ancient Persian audience-hall (*apadāna*) and the flat-roofed portico (*ḥallār*) of more recent Persian palaces.

### (3) The 'Abbasid Caliphate

The effect of the foundation of Baghdad was as far reaching as the transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople. The whole centre of gravity of the Empire was changed; hitherto its capital had been in territory which since the time of Alexander had been in the sphere of Hellenistic culture. The transfer resulted in the weakening of this influence and its replacement by the cultural influences of Sāsānian Persia, to which sphere 'Irāk belonged. This made itself felt in the design of the new city, for which we possess such detailed accounts in al-Ya'qūbī and al-Khāṭib that its form can be reconstructed, although no trace of the Baghdad of al-Manṣūr has survived. The foundation took place in A.D. 762 and everything was finished in 766.

It was a circular city with an outer and inner wall, and a *faṣṣ* or *intervalum*, about 35.40 m. wide between. The outer wall was about 14 m. high and

4 m. thick, the inner about 17 m. high including the crenellations and about 5 m. thick; the towers, of which there were 28 between each gate, rose about 2½ m. higher. There were four equidistant gateways. al-Khāṭib says that "each was composed of two gateways, one in front of the other, separated by a *dihliz* and a *rababa* opening on the *faṣṣ* between the two walls. When one entered by the Khurāsān Gate one first turned to the left in an oblong passage (*dihliz ḥaṣṣī*) with a vault of brick, 20 cubits wide and 30 long, the entrance of which was in the width and the exit in the length and passed out into a *rababa* . . . 40 cubits wide leading to the second gateway. At the far end of this court was the second gateway which was that of the city . . . The four gates were constructed on the same model". It is clear from the words of al-Khāṭib—"when one entered by the Khurāsān Gate, one first turned to the left, etc." that the outer gateway was a bent entrance. Al-Khāṭib continues: "The second or inner gate, which was that of the city . . . gave access

to an oblong corridor, vaulted with bricks and gypsum (*ḡipsūm*) 20 cubits long and 12 wide. Above the vault was an audience hall . . . covered by a gigantic dome 50 cubits high" (Fig. 7).

The Muslim historians insist that the circular form of the city was a feature that had never been known before, but such is far from being the case, for many earlier examples are known, e.g. the Hittite city of Sinjerli, Abra, Agbatana, Parthian Ctesiphon and Takht-i Sulaymān, Dārābajird in Fārs and also Firūzābād.

A mosque was built in the centre of the new city. According to al-Khāṭib it was 200 cubits (roughly 100 m.) square and had a roof supported by wooden columns. There were 17 aisles from right to left, and the side aisles were two deep, the sanctuary was probably five deep as at Kōfa and Wāsit. It was rebuilt by Hārūn al-Rashīd with burnt bricks and teak-wood, in 193/808-9.

The palace of al-Manṣūr measured 400 cubits each way. It was on the *ḥibla* side of the mosque and in contact (*mudhārib*) with it, as was the practice in early Islam, e.g. at Damascus about 10 A.H., at Bayra in 45 A.H., at Koyrawīn in 50 A.H., at Wāsit in 83 or 84 A.H., at Merv in 132-6 A.H., and (if we count

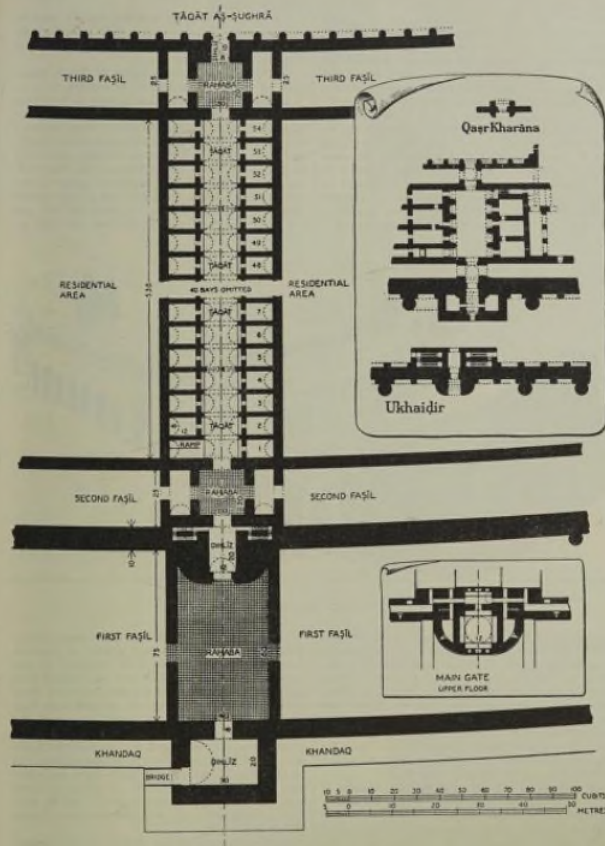


Fig. 7. Baghdad, *ṭāqāt*.



the, Dār al-Imāra as a palace) in the mosque of Ibn Tulūn at Cairo, in 265 A.H.

Palace and Mosque have long since disappeared but fortunately a fairly well preserved 'Abbasid palace of this period has survived, viz: Uḡhayḍir, on the Wādī 'Ubayd about 30 miles west of Karbalā'. It consists of a fortified rectangular enclosure measuring 175 × 260 m. with a gateway in the centre of each side. There are four round corner towers and ten intermediate half-round towers, not counting the peculiar gateway towers, on each side (Plate XIV a-b).

Within the great enclosure and in contact with its northern face, is the Palace proper, measuring 111 m. from north to south and 82 from east to west. It also is provided with half round towers. Its main entrance forms one with the northern entrance of the main enclosure. The masonry is composed of roughly shaped slabs of limestone set in gypsum mortar. The walls with the parapet must have been about 19 m. high. The palace proper consists of a

between. It must have been intended to contain a fire, for the vault next the outer wall is pierced by a pair of terra-cotta pipes, so it must have been a kitchen.

The palace was also provided with a mosque 24.20 m. wide and 15.15 deep, with a portico one aisle deep on the east, south and west sides, but without one on the north.

Uḡhayḍir was probably begun by 'Isā b. Mūsā, uncle of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, in 161/778.

At about this time the Akṣā Mosque at Jerusalem was partly rebuilt by the Caliph al-Mahdī. Recent research enables us to affirm that it then consisted of a central aisle 17.50 wide with seven aisles to right and seven to left about 6.25 m. in width, all covered by gable roofs and all perpendicular to the *qibla* wall. There was a great wooden dome at the end of the central aisle. On the north side was a large central door with seven smaller ones to right and left, and ten "unornamented" ones on the east side (Fig. 9).

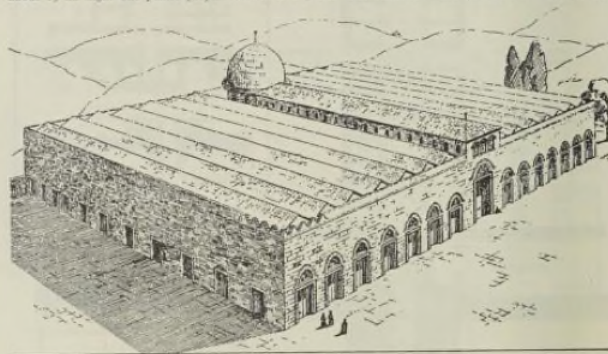


Fig. 9. The Akṣā Mosque in A.D. 780.

great court of honour, with a *ḥaḍra* for the Hall of Public Audience and a square room behind it, presumably a hall of private audience. On either side are other vaulted rooms. A great vaulted corridor about 3½ m. wide runs completely round this group of rooms and the court of honour, and on the east and west sides of it are four isolated and self-contained sets of vaulted chambers, each with its own courtyard, which I regard as four *ḥayts* for the four lawful wives of the Muslim prince for whom it was built, as at Mshattā (Fig. 8).

In these *ḥayts* the side next the great corridor is bounded by a blind arcade of five arches, the central arch being occupied by the door. On the far side was a portico 2.80 m. deep of five arches resting on four round piers, and covered by a tunnel vault. The north and south sides are occupied by a triple-arched façade. These arches form a portico, behind which are three parallel tunnel-vaulted rooms. A passage leads from the courtyard to a room 17.60 m. long and 3½ wide, placed transversely behind the three tunnel-vaulted rooms. It is covered by two lengths of tunnel-vault with a space open to the sky

There can be no doubt that this mosque had a great influence on the Great Mosque of Cordova built by 'Abd al-Rahmān I in 170/780-7. It was added to on three occasions but this earliest part still exists; as at Jerusalem the aisles, of which there are eleven, run perpendicular to the back wall, they are all covered by parallel gable roofs, and the central one is wider than the rest. The influence of Syria in Spain at this time is not surprising for Spain was full of Syrian refugees. The arcades each consist of twelve arches with twelve more above, an ingenious device whereby a height of ceiling of about 9.80 m. was obtained with columns which, with their capitals and bases, only measure 3.80 m. (Plate XIVc and XVa).

Another building of this period, of great importance for the history of architecture, is the Cistern of Ramla in Palestine, for it consists of a subterranean excavation 8 m. deep divided into six aisles by five arcades of four arches each, all of which are pointed and appear to be struck from two centres, varying from one seventh to one fifth of the span apart (Plate XVb and Fig. 10). And there can be







no doubt about the date for on the plaster of the vault is a Kufic inscription of Dhū 'l-Hiddja 172/May 789. It is therefore centuries earlier than the earliest pointed arches in Europe.

In 212/827 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir, the Governor of Egypt, ordered the Mosque of 'Amr at Fusṭāṭ to be doubled in size by the addition to the west of its exact area in the same shape. Makrūf (*Kāṣaf*, II, 253) says that the part added included the great *mihrāb* and all that is to the west of it. The number of doors was now thirteen: five on the N.-E., three on the N.-W., four on the S.-W., and one for the *ḥiṣṣa* on the *ḥiḍba* side. This is the last recorded extension of the mosque, and its significance is of far reaching importance for it follows that no part of the present structure lying to the right of a line drawn through its centre can possibly be older than 212 A.H. The Mosque then measured internally (as it does to-day) 109 m. on the S.-E. side, 105.25 on the N.-W., 120.55 on the N.-E. and 117.25 on the S.W. As a result of a number of trial trenches made

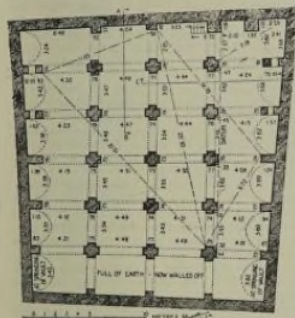


Fig. 10. Ramla, cistern, plan.

between 1926 and 1933, we now know from the foundations that there were 7 arcades running from right to left on the *ḥiḍba* side and the same number on the side opposite, and four on the S.-W. side. On the N.-E. side the arcades ran perpendicular to the wall. The outer walls were about 10.50 m. high without their cresting, about which we know nothing. There were seventy-eight windows very interesting construction. The span was about 2.70 m. There were engaged colonnettes at the inner and outer corners and a pair of dwarf marble columns placed on either side of the opening. A transverse beam resting on the latter reduced the span to about 1.90 m. The springing of the arch began about 1.40 m. above the sill, and the rise was about 1.40. These arches which have survived are considerably stilted and very slightly pointed, and the broken edge of a stucco grille is visible along their intrados. A beam ran across the opening at the springing of the arch, and nailed to its inner side was a strip of carved woodwork which continued along the face of the wall. The decoration consists of a flowing acanthus frieze in which four-leaved

whorls alternate with five-lobed leaves (Fig. 11). This is of fundamental importance, for it is derived from the Hellenistic art of Syria and it shows that the 'Abbasid art of 'Irāq, which we find fifty years later in the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn, had not yet reached Egypt.

The Great Mosque of Kayrawān is another famous mosque, founded in the early days of Islam, of which no part (excepting the minaret only) is earlier than the IXth century A.D. The oldest part of the present mosque dates from the rebuilding carried out by the 'Aghlabid Ziyādāt Allāh in 228/836.

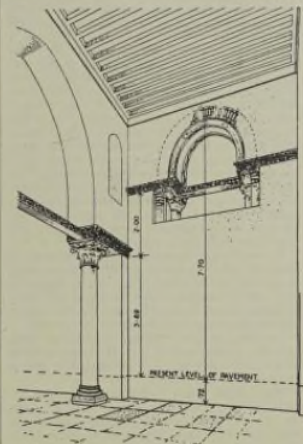


Fig. 11. Mosque of 'Amr, bay.

The measurements of the mosque are as follows: N. 65.60 m., S. 70.25, E. 121.80, W. 120.50. The sanctuary consisted of sixteen arcades of seven arches each, running perpendicular to the *ḥiḍba* wall, but without reaching it, for a transverse arcade runs at a distance of about 6 m. from it and it is against this arcade that the sixteen arcades abut. The side aisles are 3.30 m. in width against 5.40 for the central aisle, which must have measured 6.60 m. originally, for its width has been subsequently reduced by two arcades built in contact with the old ones, without any bond or liaison of any sort. The columnseve have their own impost blocks instead of each pair being tied together by a common impost block, and the arches of the "lining arcade" are pointed horse-shoe arches instead of round horse-shoe arches like all the rest (Plate XVII). There is no doubt that they are the work of Ibrāhīm II b. Ahmad, 261-89 A.H. (see below). The whole was covered by a flat roof of uniform height, even over the central aisle, for the latter was only raised during the extensive works of Ibrāhīm II. There were no *riads* on the three sides of *ḥiḍba* until the time



of Ibrahim III. The outer walls were of stone, strengthened at intervals by buttresses.

This same year 221/836 was marked by an event of great importance — the foundation of Sāmarrā. The palace was built on the edge of the plateau, which is about 17 m. above the alluvial valley of the Tigris. In the valley itself is a great basin, 127 m. square, from which a great flight of steps, 60 m. broad, gently ascended to the terrace in front of the Bāb al-'Amma. The latter consists of a great triple-arched façade, about 22 m. high, with three parallel tunnel-vaulted rooms behind it (Plate XVIIa). This is the best preserved part of the whole palace; nearly everywhere else the walls either only rise a metre or two or have been exposed by excavation. Behind the Bāb al-'Amma were six transverse halls, then a square court. To the north one reached the rooms of the Caliph, on the south was the *Harim*. But going directly forward led to an oblong Court of Honour, with the triple entrance of the Throne Room beyond it. The latter consisted of four T-shaped halls arranged in a cruciform fashion. Each one resembled a three-aisled basilica so as to obtain light from the clerestory.

Crosses are smaller rooms with marble dados, also a mosque for the Caliph with a *mihrāb*. Beyond this again is the Great Esplanade, a great court or garden, 180 m. wide and 350 m. deep, intersected by little canals. Beyond again was the polo-ground, and the distance from the great basin to the race-course must have been nearly 1200 m.

The decoration consisted of stucco, generally of moulded stucco, except in the Throne Room group where they are of marble slabs. The upper part of the walls in the *Harim* were decorated with fresco paintings, which included living forms and foliage. All woodwork was of teak, carved and painted.

The Great Mosque of this period has not survived, as it was entirely rebuilt in 234/7 H. Before describing it we must speak of the Great Mosque of Sāsa in Tunisia built in 236/850-1.

The mosque proper, excluding its annexes, is a perfectly regular rectangle built of stone in courses about 1/2 m. high and measuring internally 49.39 m. deep and 37.16 wide. The *sahn*, which measures 41 × 24 1/2 m., is surrounded by low arcades of slightly horse-shoe form, rising on squat T-shaped piers. There are eleven arches to north and south and six to east and west, and the height of the façade is about 6 1/2 m. It is perfectly plain except for a splay-face moulding, immediately above which is a fine inscription frieze in simple undecorated Kufic, the maximum height of the characters being 28 cm. The band on which they are carved curves forward slightly to compensate for foreshortening and thus help the observer at ground level. This is the earliest known example of this treatment, which passed into Egypt with the Fatimids and appears in the Mosque of al-Hākim, 350-403/990-1013. The three *riwāḥs* vary in depth from 4.08-4.27 m. and each is covered by a tunnel-vault (Plate XVIIIa).

The sanctuary consists of thirteen aisles formed by twelve arcades of six arches each running towards the *qibla* wall. Each aisle is divided into six bays by other arcades running from east to west. All these arches, which rest on squat cruciform piers, are of horse-shoe form. The first three bays going south are covered by tunnel-vaults, with one exception, the third bay in the central aisle, which is covered by a dome on an octagonal drum with slightly incurved faces.

The next three bays going south are covered by

cross-vaults at a slightly higher level. Here again the third bay in the central aisle is covered by a dome on squinches. It is obvious that the mosque has been extended towards the south, that the first three bays are the original part and that the first dome marks the bay in front of the original *mihrāb* (Plate XVIIIb), which has been removed together with the original back wall. Before that the depth of the mosque must have been 44 m. The date of the original work is given by the great Kufic inscription as 236/850-1.

The Great Mosque of Sāmarrā was rebuilt by Mutawakkil; the work was begun in 234/848-9 and finished in Ramaḍān 237/Feb.-March, 852. It is the largest mosque ever built, for its outer walls form an immense rectangle of kiln-baked bricks measuring roughly 240 m. deep internally by 156 m. wide (proportion approximately as 3:2); its area therefore is nearly 38,000 sq. m. Only the enclosing walls have been preserved; they are 2.65 m. thick, strengthened by half round towers averaging 5.60 m. in diameter with a projection of 2.15 m., and the curtain walls between them average 15 m. in length. There are four corner towers, twelve intermediate towers to east and west and eight to north and south making forty-four in all. There were sixteen rectangular doorways spanned by beams with a relieving arch above.

The towers are perfectly plain, but each curtain wall is decorated with a frieze of six recessed squares with bevelled edges; in each square is a shallow corner of about a metre in diameter and 25 cm. deep. The total height of the walls is now about 10.50. In spite of its simplicity the whole effect is truly monumental (Plate XVIIb).

The south wall is pierced by twenty-four windows placed on the axis of the twenty-five aisles of the sanctuary, except the central one, for there was no room above the *mihrāb*. There were two more windows on each side making 28 in all. Externally they are narrow rectangular openings, but internally they are splayed and covered by scalloped arches of five lobes resting on little engaged columns, the whole being set in a sunk rectangular frame.

Herfied's excavations showed that the roof rested directly on octagonal piers of brick, with marble colonnettes at the four corners, making a support 2.07 m. square. The clear height within was 10.35. There were no arches.

The mosque proper was surrounded by an outer enclosure, or *siyāda*, on the east, north and west sides, and air photographs show that the great rectangle thus formed stood in a still greater enclosure measuring 376 × 444 m.

The minaret, the famous Malūwiyya, stands free at a distance of 27 1/2 m. from the north wall of the mosque. There is a square socle, 33 m. a side and about 3 m. high, on which rests a spiral tower with a ramp about 2.30 m. wide, which winds round in an anti-clockwise direction until it has made five complete turns. The rise for each turn is 0.10 m., but as the length of each turn is less than the previous one it follows that the slope inevitably becomes steeper and steeper. At the summit of this spiral part is a set in a shallow frame (Plate XVIIIc). The southern niche frames a doorway at which the ramp ends; it opens on to a steep staircase, at first straight then spiral, leading to the top platform which is 50 m. above the socle. From eight holes to be seen Herfied concluded that there was probably a little pavilion on wooden columns here.

A few years later, between A.D. 860 and 861, another immense mosque was built by the same Caliph at Abū Dulaf to the north of Sāmarrā. It measures internally 213 m. from north to south and 135 from east to west. Here the outer walls are of mud brick about 1.60 m. thick strengthened by half-round buttresses, but the roof rested on arcades of burnt brick running from north to south; it was apparently about 8 m. high. The sanctuary is divided into seventeen aisles by sixteen arcades of five arches each with an average span of 3.13 m. The two outer arcades are carried right through to the north end of the mosque, forming side *riwāḥs* 14 m. in depth. The northern *riwāḥ* resembles the southern one, except that it is only three arches deep. On the north side are about 9.50 m. from the mosque is a miniature Malūwiyya on a socle about 11.20 m. square, above which is the much damaged spiral part which barely makes three turns.

Ten years later important works were carried out in the Great Mosque of Kayrawān by Abū Ibrahim Ahmad, who reduced the width of the central aisle by about 1.20 m. by constructing two new arcades with the old ones. The result was that the side arcades are pointed horse-shoe arches instead of round horse-shoe arches like those they are in contact with. He also built three free-standing arches and one wall-arch of the same type to carry a fluted dome in front of the *mihrāb*. They rise to a height of 9.15 m., and the square thus formed is terminated above by a cornice, its top edge being 10.83 m. from the ground. On it rests the octagonal zone of the minaret, 2.15 m. in height, which is formed by eight semi-circular arches springing from colonnettes resting on little corbels inserted in the cornice just mentioned. The drum is composed of eight arched windows and sixteen arched panels arranged in pairs between the windows. The dome, which is 5.80 m. in diameter, has twenty-four ribs, each springing from a little corbel. Between the ribs are concave segments, 30 cm. deep at the base and diminishing to nothing at the apex. The whole composition is charming. Externally the dome resembles a cantaloup melon, with 24 convex ribs (corresponding to the 24 concave segments) which taper to nothing at the apex (Plate XIXa and XX). Abū Ibrahim's work was carried out in 248/862-3. He also lived in the *mihrāb* with a support of very beautiful carved marble panels assembled in four tiers of seven panels each; total height 2.72 m. He also decorated the face of the *mihrāb* and the wall surrounding it with lustre tiles about 21 cm. square (Plate XIXb). The marble panels and the tiles had been imported by him from 'Irāk, and the latter constitute the oldest examples of lustre pottery of certain date.

#### The Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn

In 265 A.H. Ahmad b. Tūlūn decided to build a new mosque on an outcrop of rock called *Djabal Yaḥshūr*. The scheme of the mosque can be seen from the plan (Fig. 12) and the general view (Plate XXI) taken from the minaret of the Madrasa of Saḥlūmūdī. It consists of a *sahn* of about 92 m. square surrounded by *riwāḥs*, five aisles deep on the *qibla* side and two aisles only on the other sides. This part—the mosque proper—is enclosed by a wall with a remarkable cresting, and forms a great rectangle measuring 122.26 m. in width and 140.33 in width. It is surrounded by a great outer court or *siyāda*, except on the south-eastern (*qibla*) side which was occupied by a private apartment of the amir, the Dār al-Imra. This outer *siyāda* is roughly 19 m. broad

and its outer walls are lower than those of the mosque proper. The whole forms a great rectangle almost exactly square, measuring 162 m. in depth and 162.46 in width, constructed of red bricks, measuring roughly 18 × 8 × 4 cm., coated with a very hard stucco in which the ornament is cut. No wooden ties are used anywhere, except at the tops of the piers.

It results from careful measurements that the unit employed for setting out the mosque was the Nubian cubit of 54.04 cm., for the principal dimensions are almost exact multiples of it.

The scheme of the façade of the mosque proper is as follows. It would seem that the architect set out his design by bisecting the façade as regards its height and then took this median line for the level of the window sills. Then the plain lower part was pierced by seven rectangular doorways, and the upper part by thirty-one pointed-arched windows, with their sills from 5.70 to 5.86 m. above the floor. The window-arches rest on stumpy engaged colonnettes of brick exactly as in that part of the Mosque of 'Amr which dates from 212 A.H. The walls are 10.03 m. in height up to the roof level, above which is a row of pierced circles in squares and then a curious row of work cresting, making a total height of 13.03 m. above the sills of the doorways (Plate XXIIa). The latter are perfectly plain except for the carved wooden soffits, of which four original ones remain. In addition to the seventeen large and two small doors leading from the *siyādas* into the mosque proper there are four in the *qibla* wall, one of which leads into the room behind the *mihrāb*. This must be the door mentioned by Makrizī (II, 269, l. 22 ff.) which enabled Ibn Tūlūn to go directly from the Dār al-Imra to the *maḥsūra* next the *mihrāb* and the *mihrāb*, as was the practice during the first three centuries of Islam.

The *sahn* is roughly 92 m. square with thirteen pointed arches on each side (Plate XXIIb). The sanctuary is formed by five arcades of seventeen arches each, and the *riwāḥ* opposite by two arcades. These seven arcades are carried right through to the side walls. The arcades of the lateral *riwāḥs*, however, abut against the outer arcades of the sanctuary and N.-W. *riwāḥ* and consequently consist of thirteen arches only. The arches rest on piers 2.40 m. wide and 1.37 m. deep, with engaged brick columns at the corners. They are placed about 4.60 m. apart. Dove-tailed wooden plates are used round the tops of these piers to strengthen them. The pier-capitals are derived from late Corinthian capitals, the two tiers of acanthus being replaced by conventionalized Sāmarrā vine leaves (Plate XXIIIa).

The soffits of the arches are decorated with bands of stucco ornament, of which about ten are fairly well preserved (Plate XXIV). All consist of a very broad central strip between narrow double borders. The central strip in every case consists of a geometrical frame-work, the interstices of which are filled with various elements according to style B of Sāmarrā (Fig. 13). In addition to this a continuous border of ornament, 46 cm. wide, runs round the arches on both faces, turns at right angles at the springing, runs across the top of the pier, and then turns again at right angles to run round the next arch. A frieze of stucco ornament runs along just above the band of ornament running round the arches. About 20 cm. above this ran the famous Kufic inscription carved on wood, of which a fair amount still remains, running along about 30 cm. below the beams of the ceiling. Calculation shows that this frieze, which must have been over 2 km. long, may have contained about one seventeenth part of the Qur'ān.



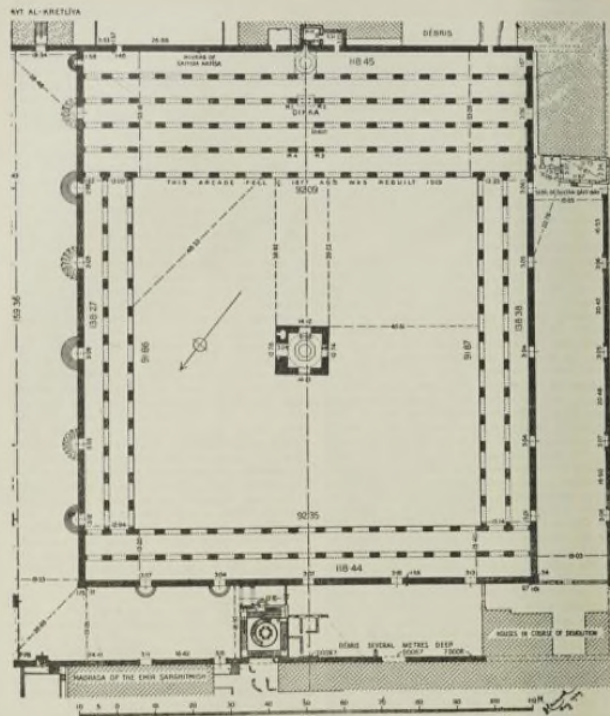


Fig. 12. Mosque of Ibn Tulūn, plan.

The windows, in the shadow of the aisles, stand out against the sky like delicate lacework and form one of the most beautiful features of the mosque. There are 128 in all. Each consists of a pointed arch springing from a pair of engaged dwarf columns with stucco capitals, and a border of stucco ornament runs round each, turns at right angles at the springing and runs along horizontally to the next window (Plate XXIII b-c). Unfortunately only three, or at most four, of the window-grilles are original. These are mainly composed of compass work, i.e. intersecting circles and segments of circles; two have been set out by a method similar to that employed for one of the marble grilles in the Great Mosque at Damascus (Plate VIII b), the third on a network of equilateral triangles (Fig. 14).

The pendentives of the present wooden dome in front of the *mihrāb*, on stylistic grounds, are undoubtedly the work of Lādjīn in 696 A.H., and the dome is much later. I very much doubt if there was a dome here originally. The present minaret is likewise the work of Lādjīn, the original one (seen by Mukaddas) was probably fairly similar to the Malwiyya of Samarra.

The statement of al-Ḳudāʿī, quoted by Ibn Duqmāḳ and Makrizī, that the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn was built after the style (*ʿald bnaʿ*) of the Mosque of Samarra (unless it refers to the general impression produced by the minaret) is certainly not correct, for its plan does not in the least resemble either of the two mosques of Samarra, except that all three are surrounded by *siyḍas*. It differs from

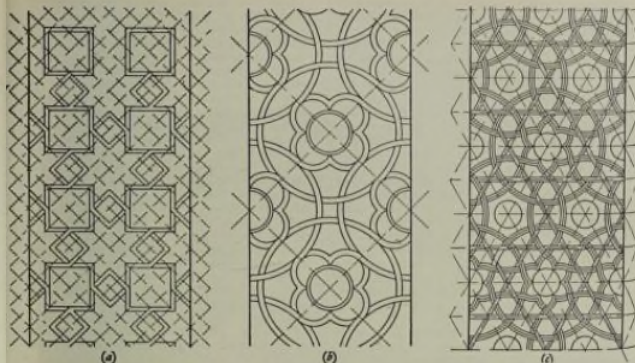


Fig. 13. Mosque of Ibn Tulūn, analysis of soffits of arches (see Plate XXIV).

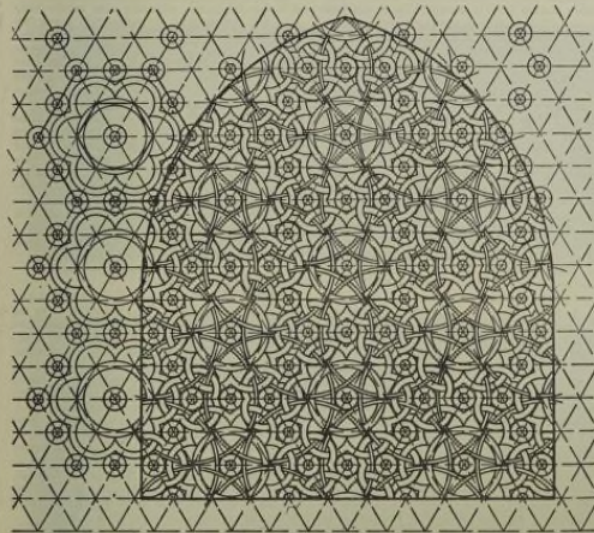


Fig. 14. Mosque of Ibn Tulūn, analysis of window-grille (see Plate XXIII c).



the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā in the number of its aisles 5, 2, 2, 2 instead of 9, 4, 4, 3. As for the Mosque of Abū Dulaf, its aisles run perpendicular to the *hība* wall instead of parallel to it. It also differs from the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā in that its roof rests on arcades instead of directly on the piers. Its piers alone recall those of Sāmarrā, but whereas the piers at Sāmarrā are square and have engaged marble columns at the corners, those of Ibn Tulūn are oblong and the columns at the corners are only counterfeited in the brickwork. Neither does the scheme of the façade recall either of the mosques of Sāmarrā for it has no bastions. The sole feature of the façade that recalls Sāmarrā is the row of circles in squares below the cresting. Its windows in no way resemble those of the Great Mosque, which are few in number, have lobed arches internally and are treated externally like arrow-slits, but they do resemble those of the mosque of 'Amr of 212 A.H., except that they lack the transverse beam and carved wooden frieze. In other words, Ibn Tulūn's façade is derived from that of the Mosque of 'Amr of 212/227 and, as no such façade is known elsewhere, must be regarded as Egyptian.

As regards the ornament, everybody now agrees that it is derived from Sāmarrā, but whereas at Sāmarrā the three styles, A, B and C, occur separately, in the mosque of Ibn Tulūn they are combined and mixed. By its ornament and in certain other respects the mosque may be regarded as a foreign, 'Irāki building planted down on the soil of Egypt, and large numbers of 'Irāki craftsmen must have been employed for its decoration in wood and stucco. Its ornament and that of the Dayr al-Suryān in the Wādī Natrūn are the two most westerly examples of the art of the 'Abbāsid Empire, which prevailed over a large area from Babrayn and Nīshāpūr to Samarkand.

**Summary:** Under the 'Abbāsids the Hellenistic influences of Syria were replaced by the surviving influences of Sassanid Persia, which profoundly modified the art and architecture, and this gave birth to the art of Sāmarrā, the influence of which extended to Egypt under Ibn Tulūn, to Nīshāpūr and Babrayn. In palace architecture there was a vast difference between that of the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids, partly due to the adoption of Persian ideas of royalty which almost deified the king. Hence elaborate throne-rooms, generally domed, for private audience, preceded by a vaulted *hūḍā* (or four radiating *hūḍā*) for public audience. The *hūḍā* also were different, following the type of Ka'bi Shīrīn and not the Syrian type of Mahāfiḍ and Kayr al-Tūba. The scale was immense and axial planning is a marked feature. But all are built of brick and a great part of that faced with materials — mud brick — hidden by thick coats of stucco. A new type of pointed arch appears, the four-centred arch. The earliest existing squinches in Islam date from this period. An important innovation was the introduction of lustre tiles, the earliest examples being those brought to Kayrawān from 'Irāq in 248 A.H. Bands of inscription were usually made to stand out on a blue background. But the widespread influence of 'Abbāsid art did not extend to Spain, where Umayyad art, brought thither by Syrian refugees, was still full of life.

**Bibliography:** de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, 1864; E. T. Richmond, *The Dome of the Rock*, 1924; idem, *Muslim Architecture* (Forlong Fund, III), 1926; J. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, 1947; Walzinger and Walzinger, *Damaskus*, 2 vols., 1921-4; A. Musil, *Expedition 'Amra*,

2 vols., 1907; Schulz and Strykowski, *Mishatta*, in the *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1904, 205-373; Herzfeld, *Die Genesis der islamischen Kunst und das Mshatta Problem*, *Der Islam*, I, 1-61; O. Patrich-Reignard, *Die Palastanlage von Khirbet Mīnir, Palästina-Hefte des Deutschen Vereins vom Heiligen Lande*, Heft 17-20, 1939; articles on Khirbet al-Mafrit by R. W. Hamilton, Baranek and others, in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, vols. v-xiv; C. Nizet, *La Mosquée de Cordoue*, 1905; Oscar Reuther, *Okheidir*, Leipzig 1902; Gertrude L. Bell, *Okheidir*, Oxford, 1914; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, 4 vols., 1901-20; E. Herzfeld, *Samarra: Der Wandgemäch*, 1923; idem, *Die Malereien*, 1927; idem, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, 1948; G. Marçais, *Coupe de Plafonds de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, Paris 1925; idem *L'Art de l'Islam*, 1947; idem, *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1955; G. T. Rivoira, *Moslem Architecture*, Kuchert's translation, Oxford 1918; R. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols., Oxford 1932-40.

(K. A. C. CRESWELL).

II. For later architectural developments, see the articles on individual countries, cities, and dynasties.

III. For the types of buildings, see *BIKAT*.

**ARCHIVES** [see BAIBERKAT ARSIV, DAFTAR, DĀR AL-MAHFŪZĀT AL-'UMŪMIYYA, WAĞİFĀK].

**ARCI** (ARĠIAHĠIRIN), a small Caucasian nation of Upper Daghistan, ethnically akin to the Awar (q.v.), but distinct from the Ando-Dido group (see ANDI, DIDO). In 1933 it comprised 2,930 people, living in the high valley of the Kara-Koyun (Soviet Autonomous Republic of Daghistan). The Arci have their own language, which belong to the Daghistan branch of the Ibero-Caucasian languages, and which represents an intermediate stage between Awar (q.v.) and Lak (q.v.); it is not fixed by writing, and the Arci use Awar and, less commonly, Russian and Lak, as the languages of civilisation. Since the 1918 Revolution, they have been merged in the Awar nation. Converted to Islam by the Awar, towards the end of the 15th century, the Arci are, like the former, Sunnis of the Shāfi'ī rite.

**Bibliography:** A. Ditt, *Arzinskiy yazyk*, in *Sbornik Materialov dlya opisanii mestnostey i plemen Kavkaza*, xxxix, Tiflis 1908. See also AWAR, ANDI, DĠGHISTĀN, LAK.

(H. CARRERE D'ENCAUSSE)

**ARCOS** [see ARKŪSH].

**ARCOT** (Ārkāt), a town in North Arcot district of Madras, on the right bank of the Palar. From the Tamil *Ārkāt*—'forest of Ar', or *Āru-kāḍu*—'six forests'. A Cōla foundation, the *Arkalas* of Ptolemy, it is much earlier than is suggested by the tradition of its foundation by a son of Kolātunga Cōla, and the building of its fort and refoundation by Timūr Reddī. (See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, 1935; R. Sewell, *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, 196). In the 12th/18th century it became the capital of the Muslim Nawab of Ārkāt.

During the previous century, Ārkāt had passed from Vijayanagar to Bijāpūr and Golkonda, to the Marāṭhas, and then to the Mughals. In 1109/1698, Awrangzib formed a new province, the Carnatic, and Dā'ūd Khān, its governor from 1115/1703, made Ārkāt the capital.

His successor, Muḥammad Sayyid Sa'īdat Allāh Khān, was a Nawābat, who parcelled out the whole province of Ārkāt among his relatives. His nephew succeeded him and extended the province. His son



a. THE DOME OF THE ROCK. General view from the south-west.

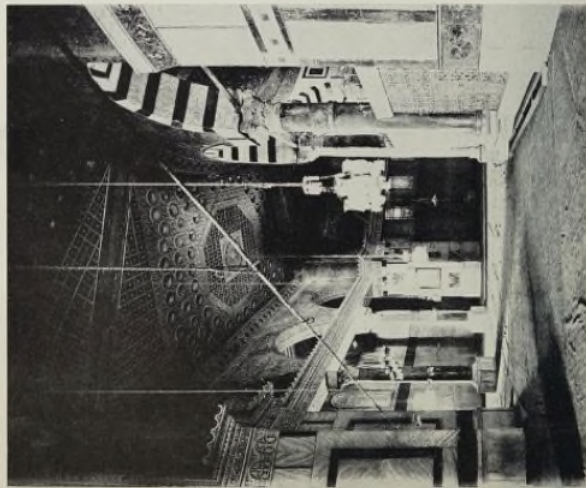


b. THE DOME OF THE ROCK. Bronze covering on under-side of tie-beams.



c. THE DOME OF THE ROCK. Bronze covering on under-side of tie-beams.

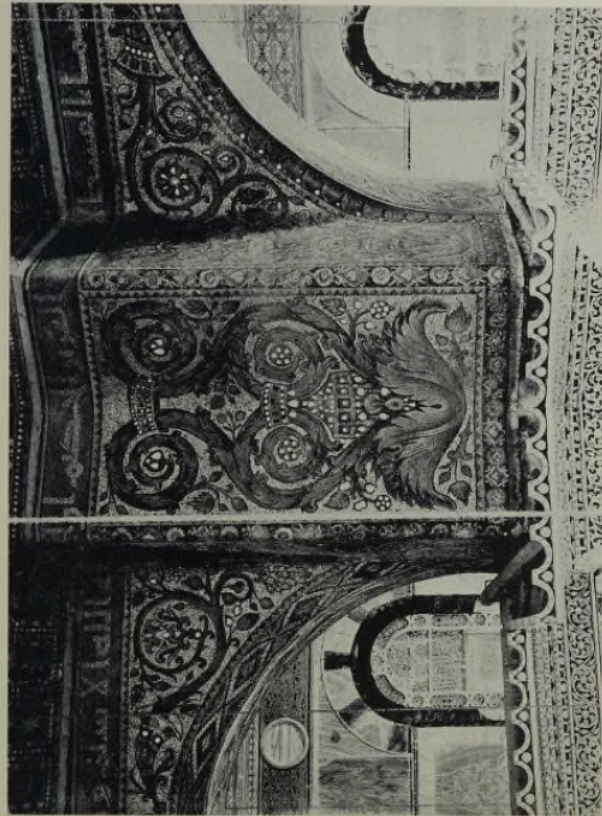




a. THE DOME OF THE ROCK. Inner ambulatory, ring of dome-bearing supports on right.



b. THE DOME OF THE ROCK. Decoration on flanks of piers which strengthen the inner corners of the octagonal arcade. To right: soffit of arch.



THE DOME OF THE ROCK. Mosaic decoration of inner face of octagonal arcade.





b.

THE DOME OF THE ROCK. Mosaic decoration on soffits of octagonal arcade.



a.

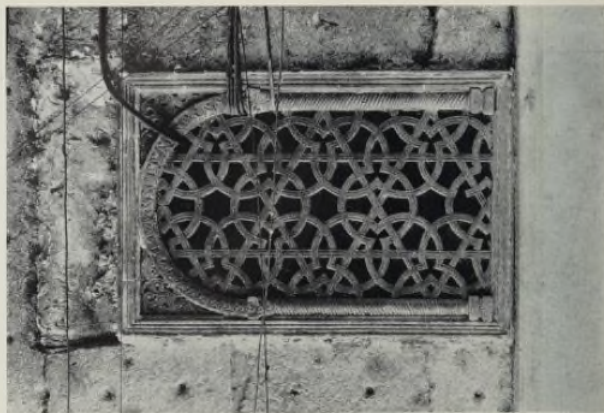


a. THE GREAT MOSQUE OF DAMASCUS. View of sahn taken from roof of east riwāḥ.

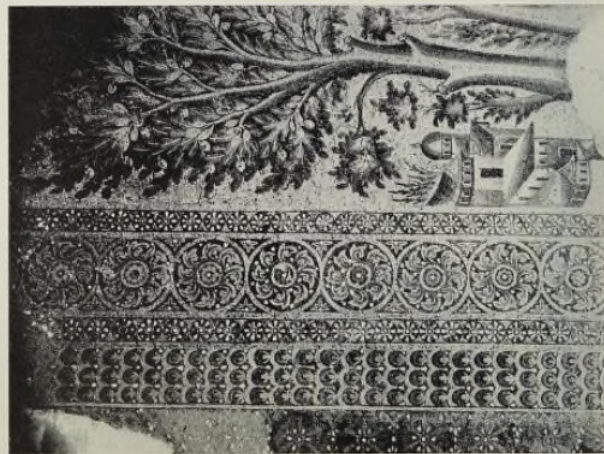


b. THE GREAT MOSQUE OF DAMASCUS. Façade of sanctuary.





*b.* THE GREAT MOSQUE OF DAMASCUS. Marble window grille.



*a.* THE GREAT MOSQUE OF DAMASCUS. Part of mosaic panel under western riwâb.



*a.* KUṢAYR 'AMRA. West side.



*b.* KUṢAYR 'AMRA. East side.





a. KUṢAYR 'AMRA. Painting on vault.



b. KUṢAYR 'AMRA. Painting of the Enemies of Islam.

(after A. Musil)



a. KAṢR AL-HAYR AL-SHARRIL. Royal enclosure from the S.W.



b. KAṢR AL-HAYR AL-SHARRIL. Entrance of royal enclosure, defended by a māchleoullis.





a. KASH AL-HAYR AL-SHARBI. REMAINS of mosque.



b. MSHATTÄ. The main building.



c. MSHATTÄ. The triple-apsed Throne Room.



MSHATTÄ. Decoration of tower of façade.





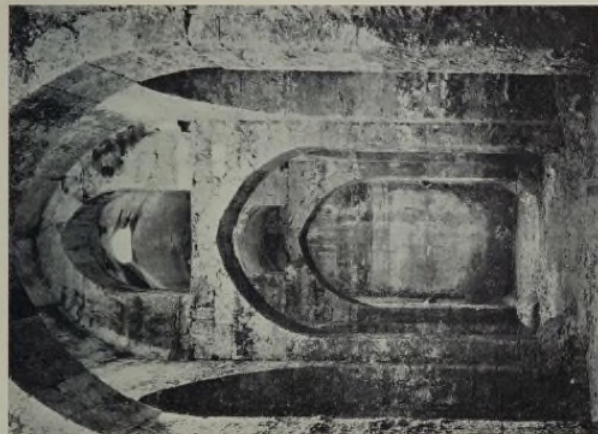
a. UĞAYYIR. From the north-east.



b. UĞAYYIR. Walled-up entrance in centre of east side.



c. CORDOVA, THE GREAT MOSQUE. View of sanctuary from campanile.



d. RAWLA. Cistern, entirely built with pointed arches and dated 177/789.



e. CORDOVA, THE GREAT MOSQUE. Interior looking west.





a. KAIRUWÂN, THE GREAT MOSQUE. From the minaret.



b. KAIRUWÂN, THE GREAT MOSQUE. Interior of sanctuary, looking east.



a. SÂMARRÂ. The Bayt al-Khalifa.



b. SÂMARRÂ. The Great Mosque.





a. Sêsa, THE GREAT MOSQUE. From the Ribât nearby.



b. Sêsa, THE GREAT MOSQUE. Part under first dome.



c. SÂNARRA. The Malwiyya.



b. KARAWÂN, THE GREAT MOSQUE. Marble panelling of mihrab.



a. KARAWÂN, THE GREAT MOSQUE. The mihrab and its surroundings.

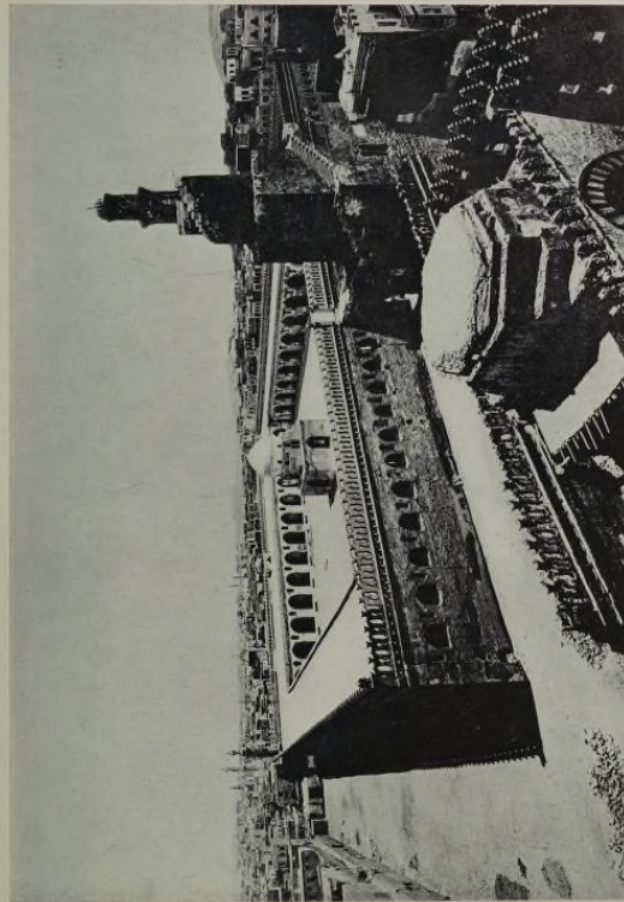




a. KAIRAWÂN, THE GREAT MOSQUE. Dome in front of mihrâb.



b. KAIRAWÂN, THE GREAT MOSQUE. Setting of dome.



CAIRO, THE MOSQUE OF IBN TULÛN. General view.





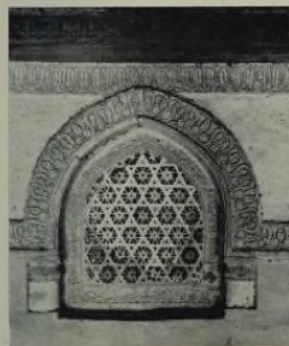
a. CAIRO, THE MOSQUE OF IBN TULÜN. Façade.



b. CAIRO, THE MOSQUE OF IBN TULÜN. Arcades of south-west side of saḥn.



a. CAIRO, THE MOSQUE OF IBN TULÜN. The sanctuary.

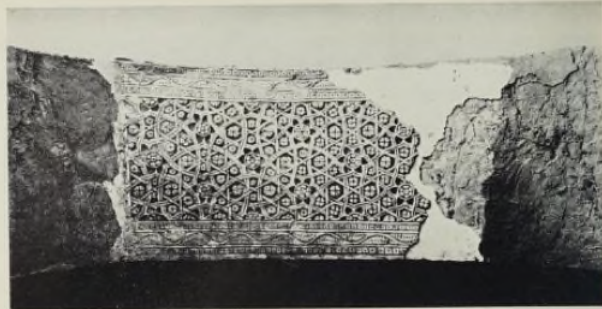


b. CAIRO, THE MOSQUE OF IBN TULÜN. One of the original windows and Kufic inscription on wood below ceiling.

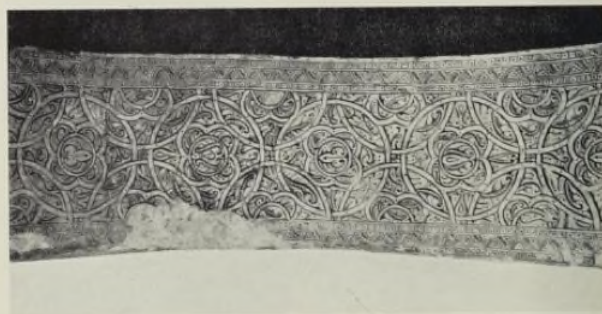


c. CAIRO, THE MOSQUE OF IBN TULÜN. One of the original windows.

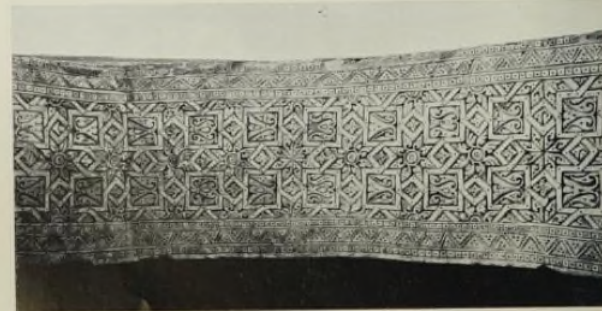




c.  
CURIO, THE MOSQUE OF LAW TULCIN. Decoration of soffits of arches.



b.



a.

Şafdar 'Alī attacked Marāṭha Tanjore, while his son-in-law Husayn Dōst Khān, (Candā Šāhib) took Trichinopoly by a trick.

This aggression brought the Marāṭhas down upon Ārkāt in 1155/1740. The Nawwāb was killed at the Damalcherry pass, Ārkāt sacked, and Candā Šāhib carried off prisoner to Satara.

Şafdar 'Alī succeeded to power but was murdered in 1155/1742. The *pāḥadār* of the Dakhan thereupon appointed an outsider, Anwār al-Dīn, a move resented by the many Nawwāys who held subordinate posts in the province.

Their hostility allowed Duplex, governor of Pondicherry, to intervene. In 1161/1748 Duplex assisted the release of Candā Šāhib, the Nawwāy candidate for Ārkāt. Next year French troops under Candā Šāhib slew Anwār al-Dīn at Ambur, and in 1164/1750 when the *pāḥadār* of the Dakhan was killed, Candā Šāhib was proclaimed Nawwāb of Ārkāt.

In the next eleven years Ārkāt was a pawn in the Anglo-French struggle, now taken and held by Clive, now lost to Lally. The war ended with the British protégé, Muhammad 'Alī, established as Nawwāb. His troops twice surrendered Ārkāt to Haydar 'Alī of Mysūr, he became deeply involved in debts, but his line continued till 1272/1855, when the estate escheated to the Company on failure of male heirs. (The administration of the province of *ārkāt* had passed to the British in 1216/1801.)

The palace and fort, and the fortifications of the town, elaborately constructed on European lines by Muhammad 'Alī, are now in ruins. There are numerous mosques, a fine tomb of Sa'adāt Allāh Khān, and the shrine of Tipū Mastān Awliya, after whom Tipū Sultān of Mysūr (Mysore) was named. (L. B. Bowering, *Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan*, 117-18 ss.)

**Bibliography:** M. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*; Sewell, op. cit. i, 165; ii, 198-9; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, v, 419, 1908; *Cambridge History of India*, v, ch. viii and bibl.; S. K. Aiyangar, *Jour. of Indian Hist.*, 1930, 173-217; S. M. H. Nainar, *Sources of the History of the Narmada of the Carnatic*, 4 vols., 1934-44; C. S. Srinivasachari, *A History of Gingee*.

(J. B. HARRISON)

**ARD**, earth, land. For the terrestrial globe, see KURAT AL-ARD. For land law, see İKTĀ', KATĪ'A, ŞHĀLSA, KHARĀJ, KHĀSS, MAHLŪL, MATRUK, MAWĀT, MISĀSA, MUSĀSAMA, MUKĀTĀ', MULE, SOYURGHĀL, TIMAR, TUGHS, WAKF, WĀ'AMET.

**ARD**, [see 251'840.]

**ARD HĀL**, petition. In the Ottoman Empire of the 18th century, the writing of petitions was the prerogative of the *'Arđ-hāldīs* (*Arzvalı*). Admission to their number was regulated by the *'Arđ-hāldī-hāshī*, the *Çavuşlar emini*, and the *Çavuşlar hāshī*, the qualifications required being personal respectability, proficiency in calligraphy, and a knowledge of *şer'ī'a* and *hukūms*. Petitions were considered by the *Çavuşhāshī* on behalf of the Grand Vizier, and answers to them were drafted by the two *Tağhīredīs* (known as *Tağhīre-i ewvel* and *thānī*).

**Bibliography:** Ahmet Refik, *Hicri 12inci asrda İstanbul hayatı* (Istanbul 1930), 207; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray teşkilâtı* (Ankara 1945), 417, 419.

(G. L. LEWIS.)

**ARDABB** [see KAYL].  
**ARDABİL** (Turkish Erdebil). A district and a town in eastern Āğharbāyījān. The town is located

at 48° 12' E. long. (Greenw.) and 38° 15' N. lat. The distance to Tabriz is 210 km. by road, and it is 40 km. to the Soviet frontier. The altitude of the town is 4,500 ft. above sea level, and it is situated on a circular plateau surrounded by mountains. The district (*ghābistān*), of which the town is the capital, comprises four counties (*bāghān*), capital county, Nāndū, Āttākā, and Garml.

There are few trees around the town and irrigation is necessary for cultivation. Some 20 n. west of the town is Mt. Savālūs (Sablūs of Arabic geographers) 15,784 ft. at the summit, with perennial snow. The climate of the town and capital county is cold in winter (average monthly temp. below freezing) and the town is assigned to the cold districts (*sardār*). The other three counties, however, are reckoned in the warm districts (*garmār*). The river Bālīkhūlū or Bālīkū (or *chāy*), a tributary of the Karāsū, flows through the southern part of the town. In the vicinity of the town are warm springs which have attracted visitors throughout history.

The etymology of the name is uncertain, but Minorkey in *J.A.*, 217 (1930), 68, proposes a meaning "willows of the sacred law". The pre-Islamic history of Ardabil is unknown, for we find the name only in Islamic times. San'ād vocalises the name as Ardabīl, while the *Ḥadād al-ʿĀlam* writes Ardawīl. In Armenian we find Artavēt (Gheved) and later Artavel, Firdawī and Yākhīt say the town was founded by Pēroz the Sāsānian king (457-484 A.D.), hence it was called Bīdān Pēroz or Bāghān Payrūz. Kazwīnī in his *Nasbat al-Kulūb* attributes its founding to a much earlier monarch.

It is uncertain whether the mint mark ATRA, on Sāsānian and pre-reform 'Umayyad coins (Āghar-bāyījān?) refers to Ardabil, but it was the residence of the *marzbān* at the time of the Arab conquest of Āghar-bāyījān, according to al-Balādhurī. The city was taken by treaty, and under the caliph 'Alī his governor al-ʿAṣṣāthī made Ardabil his capital. It probably did not remain the capital continuously throughout the 'Umayyad Caliphate; for example in 112/730 the Khazars captured it. Marāgha may have been a second capital of Āghar-bāyījān, for the seat of authority seems to have shifted between it and Ardabil.

The district of Ardabil suffered from the uprising of Bābak (q.v.). Ardabil was in the domain of the independent Sājjid governors at the beginning of the 10th century A.D., and the district suffered from internecine struggles of local rulers, as well as from the invasions of the Rūs in the first half of the 10th century. We find dirhems with the name Ardabil on them for the first time in 286/899.

The town of Ardabil was captured and destroyed by the Mongols in 617/1220. It lost its former importance until the rise of the Safawids. Shāykh Saif al-Dīn had made Ardabil the centre of his Šīfī order at the end of the 13th century. In 1499 Ismāʿīl, his descendant, returned from exile in Gilās to Ardabil where he started the Safawid dynasty, and shortly thereafter he became *shāh* in Tabriz.

Ardabil became a Safawid shrine and Shāh 'Abbās especially enriched the mausoleum and mosque of Shāykh Saif by gifts, among them Chinese porcelains and rugs. The city was held by the Ottomans for a short time at the end of Safawid rule, but Nādir Shāh retook it and was crowned *shāh* in the nearby Mughān steppe in 1736. During the Ottoman occupation a survey of population and land was made for the city and province; a copy of this is preserved



in the Baycekalat Arşivi [p. 2] in Istanbul. In the time of Napoleon Gen. Gardanne fortified the city and built ramparts, and 'Abbas Mirzā established court there.

European visitors who visited the town and briefly described it were Pietro della Valle (1619), Adam Olearius (1657, with a pictorial map of the town), J. B. Tavernier, Comte de Maure (1703), and James Morier (1821). Much of the library of the shrine of Shaykh Sa'ī, as well as art objects, were carried to St. Petersburg by the Russians after 1827.

Morier (*Second Journey*) estimated the population of the town at 4,000; now it is ca. 23,000. Historical sources include the shrine of Shaykh Sa'ī, the *masjid-i dīnawā* (built in 1382) and the mausoleum of Shaykh Dīlārāwī (father of Shaykh Sa'ī) 6 km. to the north of Ardabil.

**Bibliography:** P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* 8 (1935), 1026-47, where references to Islamic sources are given in footnotes; F. Saare, *Ardabil Grabmosaiken des Schah Sa'ī, Denkmäler persischer Kunst*, Teil II, Berlin 1925; J. A. Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardabil Shrine*, Washington D.C. 1936; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, above sea level; Farmanfarmaei, *Dīwān-i Ardabil*, 4, Tehran 1952, 11-13; Dīkhādā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1950, 1290-2; *Kāhnamā-yi Irān* (Ministry of War map service, Tehran, 1952), 10-12 (where a sketch map of the town appears). (R. N. FRYE)

**ARDAHAN**, town in the remote north-east of Turkey, 42° 18' north, 42° 42' east, on the Kuraçay, which becomes the Kura, 1,800 m. above sea level. At one time capital of a *sandjak* in the 1940s of Kars. By the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, the town, its surrounding district and Kars were ceded to Russia. On Feb. 23rd 1921, it was ceded back to Georgia; it has since remained Turkish, and is the capital of a *bağd* in the *wilāyet* of Kars. In 1945, the town had 6,182 inhabitants, and the *kada* 29,099.

**Bibliography:** Hādījī Khāfī (Kābil Celebi), *Dīkhādā-nāma*, 407. (F. TSCHERNIK)

**ARDAKAN** (dialect Erdēkhān), town in Persia situated 32° 18' N. Lat. and 53° 50' E. Long. (Greenw.) on the present route from Nā'īn to Yazd. It is located on the edge of the desert. To the north is the district (*buluk*) of 'Akhā, and to the south Maybūd.

It is located at a height of 3260 ft. above sea level. The identification with Ptolemy's Ἀρδακάν (Tomaschek, in *Paddy-Watson*, s.v.) is open to doubt, and there are no ancient ruins in the town. Ibn Hawkal (Kramers), 263, mentions a town Adharkān on the edge of the desert near Yazd which may be identical with Ardaḳān. There is no certain mention of the town until the 7th/13th century when a Süfī Ḍikrkhān was erected there; cf. 'Abd al-Husayn Ayyat, *Ta'wīḍ-i Yazd*, Yazd 1939, 50, who also lists the famous people from this town. The name Ardaḳān appears on European maps beginning in the early 18th century. Today the town is the centre of a district with 5 villages and 10,430 population (in 1930), according to Ma'ūd Kaykhān, *Dīwān-i Ardabil*, 11, Tehran 1933, 438. Some of the population are Zoroastrians. The people are known for their metal work and sweets. The former flourishing cloth and carpet industry is now unimportant.

**Bibliography:** 'All Akbar Dīkhādā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1950, 1774; General Razmārā, *Dīwān-i Ardabil-yi Nizām-yi Irān*, Tehran 1945; for references to European travellers cf. A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 58 (von Poser), 188 (Ruhos), 304 (Baier); Stahl in *Petersmann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, Supplement 118 (1985), 29.

Another Ardaḳān, in Fārs, 30° 16' N. Lat. 51° 50' E. Long. (Greenw.) is a Kaḡhāḡ tribal centre. (R. N. FRYE)

**ARDALĀN**. This name was formerly used for the ill-defined province of Persian Kurdistan, the major part of which at present is the district (*dahmad*) of Sanandāq (formerly Senna). For the geography see *ARMENIA* (Persian).

Usually the name refers to the Banū Ardālān who were rulers of much of Kurdistan from the 14th century A.D. The origin of this extended family is unknown, but according to the *Shāraf-nāma*, Bābā Ardālān was a descendant of the Marwānids of Diyār Bakr, who settled among the Gūlān in Kurdistan. Another source (R. Nikitine, *Les Fides*) says Ardālān was a descendant of Ardashīr the first Sāsānian king. Several histories of the rulers of Ardālān were written in Persian in the 19th century which are primarily biographies of the rulers (Storey, 369, 1300). The rulers received the title *wilā* from the Safawid shahs, but sometimes they declared their allegiance to the Ottomans.

One of the most illustrious of the rulers was Amin Allāh Khān who ruled at the beginning of the 19th century, and his son married the daughter of Fath 'All Shāh. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh appointed a Kājār prince as governor of Kurdistan and the rule of the Ardālān family came to an end. (See KURDISTĀN, SENNA).

**Bibliography:** R. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, Paris 1936, 346, 107-109; *Les Fides Iraniennes*, in *RMF*, 49 (1922), 70-104; Dīkhādā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1948, 1775; For the *Shāraf-nāma* and other sources cf. Storey, 366-9.

(R. N. FRYE)

**ARDASHĪR**, old Persian: Artakshashtra, Greek Ἀρταξέρξης, well-known name of Persian kings. Muslim tradition has certain knowledge only of the later Sāsānid kings of that name, viz. Ardashīr I (226-241), Ardashīr II (379-383) and Ardashīr III (628-629). (See SĀSĀNIDS).

**Bibliography:** A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides* (Introd., II, 2: Littérature arabe et persane, and index, s.v. Ardashīr).

(H. MASSÉ)

**ARDASHĪR KĪURRA** (see *ARDAKĀN*).

**ARDĪSHĪT** (see *ARDAKĀN*).

**ARDĪSTĀN** (dialect Ardhān), a town in Persia located on the edge of the desert east of the present road from Nā'īn to Nā'īn, at a height of 3575 ft. and 35° 25' N. Lat., 52° 24' E. Long. (Greenw.). It was a well known town in the Middle Ages. Arabic and Persian histories say a fire temple was erected by Ardashīr the first Sāsānid (226-42 A.D.) and Khuraw I Anshārawān (531-79) was born here. On the early (14th century) mosque here cf. A. Godard, in *Atchārd Irān*, 1936, 285. Zawāra, NE and near Ardīstān, has an old mosque and pre-Islamic ruins. The population of the district of 30 villages (1930) was ca. 27,000.

**Bibliography:** Schwarz, *Iran*, v, 635; Le Strange, 208; 'All Akbar Dīkhādā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran 1950, 1692; Ma'ūd Kaykhān, *Dīwān-i Ardabil*, 11, Tehran 1933, 425; for a town plan and information on the present town, cf. *Kāhnamā-yi Irān* (Ministry of War map service), Tehran 1952, pt. II, 74.

(R. N. FRYE)

**AL-'ARDJĪ** 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, great-grandson of the Caliph 'Uthmān, and a poet regarded as the best of those who belonged to the Umayyad family. Of a generous but violent disposition, he tried to play a part in politics and took part in several

expeditions (especially with Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, against the Byzantines), but, thwarted of power, he retired to the Hīlāz, dividing his time between Mecca and one of his estates near al-Jā'if, al-'Arjī, from which he took his *nisba*. Reduced to a life of idleness, like so many of the aristocracy of the Hīlāz, he turned to amusements, frivolous or satirical, and joined the poetic poets who flourished at that time in the two Holy Cities. Doubtless moved by jealousy, he satirised the Governor of Mecca, Muḥammad b. Hishām, the maternal uncle of the Caliph Hishām, and went so far as to compose, in order to discredit him, erotic verse regarding his mother 'Dāyā'ī. His behaviour led to his being arrested, placed in the pillory and thrown into prison, where he died, probably about 120/738.

**Bibliography:** *His āwān* was recently printed in Baghdad (1956) with an Introduction. See also Ibn Kutayba, *Shīr*, 363-6; idem, *Ma'ārif*, Cairo 1353/1934, 86; Dīlāz, *Hayawān*, index; Aghānī, I, 147-60 and index; Baghdādī, *Khawān*, I, 99; Yāqūt, s.v. al-'Arjī; Brockelmann, I, 49; Tāhā Husayn, *Hadīth al-'arab*, II, 72-81; O. Bescherer, *Ahris*, 3, 146-7; C. A. Nallino, *Scritti*, VI (= *Lectura*, 61; French trans. 67-8); F. Gabrieli, *Un poeta minore omayyade: al-'Arjī*, in *Studi Orient. in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, 361-70, with bibl. (Ch. PELLAT)

**ARDJĪSH**, a small and ancient town situated on the north-eastern bank of Lake Van, which in the Middle Ages was still called the Lake of Ardjīsh. Its existence seems to be vouched for since the Urartean period, and more expressly by the Graeco-Roman geographers. It was occupied for a time by the Arabs during the time of 'Uthmān, but remained an integral part of the Armenian principalities up to the 8th century A.D.; from 772 onwards, it was incorporated into the Kayse emirate of Aghlāt [p. 2]. In the 10th century A.D., it belonged to the Marwānids, but about 1025 it was taken by the Byzantines, who proceeded to annex southern Armenia. In 1054, it was retaken by the Saljūkid sultan Tuğrīl Beg [p. 2], and, when the Saljūkid empire was divided up at the end of the 11th/12th century, it was incorporated in the principality of the Shāhs of Armenia of Aghlāt and, at the beginning of the 12th/13th century, in that of their Ayyūbid successors. Pillaged repeatedly in the 13th century by the Georgians and the Mongols, it was nevertheless of sufficient importance for the Ilghādī *waṣī* 'All Shāh to fortify it at the beginning of the 8th/14th century (it does not appear to have been fortified before). Later, it suffered from the devastations of Timur and during the disorders associated with the Perso-Ottoman wars. It was still the chief town of an Ottoman district in the 17th century; but the growth of Van, and the northward movement of the lake waters, acted to its detriment. The last inhabitants left the town about the middle of the 19th century, and to-day the ruins are mainly under water. A small modern township has sprung up half an hour's journey to the north.

**Bibliography:** See ARMENIA and AKHLAT. To the Arabic sources (al-Balādhūrī, Ibn al-Azrak al-Fārīqī studied by Amédour in *JRAS*, 1902, 785-812; Ibn al-Athīr, etc.), should be added the Armenian sources used in R. Grousset, *Histoire d'Arménie*, Paris 1948, and F. X. de Nève, *Histoire des Guerres de l'Arménie d'après Thomas de Madoz*, Brussels 1860, in Persian, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nusha*, and, in Turkish, the *İlghādī-nāma* of Hādījī Khāfī and the *Travels of*

Ewliyā Celebi, vol. IV, cf. also M. Canard, *Les Hachmides*, I, 188 and 473 ff.; E. Honigman, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935; and Rosim Darhot, article *Erci* in *IA*, which gives the references to the earlier modern works (Hübbschman, Markwart). (CL. CAHEN)

**ARDJĪSH-DAGH** (see ERGAYĪSH DAGH).

**ARGAN** (Berb.), argan-tree (*argania spinosa* or *argania adenocaulis*), a tree of the family *Sapotaceae*, which grows on the southern coast of Morocco. A shrub with hard, tough wood, it produces a stone whose kernel, when ground, yields a much-valued oil; the oil-cakes are given to cattle.

The word is also known to some of the Arabic-speakers of Morocco, but they took upon it a loan-word.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 1248; L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, II, Glossary, Paris 1952, 6-7; V. Montell, *Contribution à l'étude de la flore du Sahara occidental*, II, Paris 1953, no. 409 (with a bibl.); A. Roux, *La vie herbivore par les textes*, I, Paris 1955, 34-6. (En)

**ARGHĪNĀ** (see ERGAYĪSH).

**ARGHĪŪN**, name of a Mongol dynasty claiming descent from Hülagū. (Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, 586, refuses to accept this claim). The Arghūns rose to prominence towards the end of the 15th century when Sultān Husayn Bāyqārā of Harāt appointed Dīlā 'Nān Beg Arghūn governor of Kandahār. He soon began to assume an independent attitude and resisted all attempts of the ruler of Harāt to coerce him. As early as 884/1479 he occupied the highlands of Pīshān, Shāl and Mustang which now form part of Baluchistan. In 890/1485 his two sons, Shāh Beg and Muḥammad Mukīm Khān, descended the Bolān Pass and temporarily wrested Sīst (Sibi) from Dīlā Nānda, the Sammā ruler of Sind. In 903/1497 he espoused the cause of Badī' al-Zamān, the rebel son of Husayn Bāyqārā, and gave him his daughter in marriage. He was killed at the battle of Marādak, in 913/1507, during the invasion of Khurāsān by Shaybānī Khān the Uzbek leader. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Shāh Beg, who was forced to acknowledge the overlordship of Shaybānī Khān in order to maintain his position at Kandahār. After the defeat and death of the redoubtable Uzbek leader at Marw, in 1510, he was threatened by Bābur who had established himself at Kābil and by Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī who had annexed Harāt. He was saved for a time by Shāh Ismā'īl's wars against the Ottomans and by Bābur's attempt to recover Samarkand. Realising that his expulsion from Kandahār was merely a matter of time, he sought to establish his power in the Baluch country and Sind. In Sind, Dīlā Nānda had been succeeded by his son Dīlām Firz who held over the country was weakened by faction fights. In 926/1520 Shāh Beg entered Sind, defeated Dīlām Firz's army and sacked Thatta, the capital of Southern Sind. A treaty was made by which upper Sind was surrendered to Shāh Beg while lower Sind was to remain under the Sammā. This agreement was almost immediately repudiated by the Sammā as a result of which they were once more defeated. Shāh Beg now dethroned Dīlām Firz and founded the Arghūn dynasty of Sind. After the complete loss of Kandahār to Bābur, in 928/1522, Shāh Beg died Bākhār on the Indus at his capital. He died in 936/1524 and was succeeded by his son, Shāh Husayn, who had the *khutba* read in Bābur's name, and immediately, probably by arrangement with Bābur, proceeded to attack the Langāh kingdom of



Multān. In 1528, after a long siege, Multān capitulated. Shāh Husayn, after appointing a governor, retired to Thatta. When, shortly afterwards, his governor was expelled, he made no attempt to retake the city. After a brief period of independence those in authority in Multān deemed it expedient to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor. Shāh Husayn was reigning in 1471/1540 when Humāyūn, after his defeat and expulsion from northern India by Shīr Shāh Sūr, sought refuge in Sind. Probably because he did not wish to be drawn into a war with Shīr Shāh, the Arghūn ruler refused to help Humāyūn. This was followed by Humāyūn's attempt to seize the strong fortresses of Balghar and Shīwān for which he lacked the necessary resources, energy and generalship. In 1530/1543, Humāyūn was granted an unannounced passage through Sind to Kandahār. Towards the end of his days Shāh Husayn's character degenerated. As a result his nobles deserted him and elected as their sovereign Mirzā Muhammad ʿIsā Tarḡhān, a member of the elder branch of the Arghūn clan. Shāh Husayn died childless in 1556 and with him ended the Arghūn dynasty.

The Arghūn Tarḡhān dynasty lasted from 1356 to 1591. Muhammad ʿIsā Tarḡhān was forced to come to terms with a rival claimant, Sulṭān Mahmūd Gokaldāgh. It was arranged that Muhammad ʿIsā Tarḡhān kept lower Sind with his capital at Thatta, and Sulṭān Mahmūd upper Sind with his capital at Balghar. In 1582/1573 upper Sind was annexed by Akbar. ʿIsā Khān died in 1567 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Bāgh who committed suicide in 1585. During the reign of his successor, Dīlāz Beg, Akbar, in 1591, sent ʿAbd al-Rahīm Khān, Khān Khānān, to annex lower Sind. Dīlāz Beg was defeated and lower Sind incorporated in the Mughal empire. Dīlāz Beg died of delirium tremens in 1599.

**Bibliography:** Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaʾiḥ-i Akbari* (Bibl. Ind.); Muhammad Kāsim Firsihta, *Gulistan-i Ibrākīm*, Bombay 1882; Muhammad ʿAlī Krāfi, *Caḥ-nāma: Dabār-nāma*, (Deveridge); H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (i, Sayyid Dīnāl's *Tarḡhān-nāma* or *Arghūn-nāma* based without acknowledgment on Mir Muhammad Maʿsūm's *Taʾrīkh al-Sūd*); W. Erskine, *A History of India under Babur and Humayun*, London 1854; M. K. Firdunbeg, *A History of Sind*, i, Karachi 1902; M. R. Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, London 1894; H. G. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and Part of Baluchistan*, London 1888.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

ARGHŪN (see IL-BĀNDIS).

ARGYROCASSTRO (see ERBERG).

ʿARIB b. SAʿD AL-KĀTIB AL-KURTUBI, an Andalusian *mawālī* who held various official posts (he was in particular *ʿāmil* of the district of Osumā in 335/943), lived in the entourage of al-Muḥafī [g.c.] and Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (see AL-MANẒŪR) and was the secretary of the Umayyad caliph al-Hakam II (350-66/961-76); the date of his death is not known, but is put by Pons Boigues at about 370/980.

A man of wide learning, ʿArif distinguished himself as physician and poet, but is primarily known for his work as a historian. He was in fact the author of a résumé of the Annals of al-Tabarī, which he continued down to his own times; the section relating to the Orient has been published by M. J. De Goeje, *ʿArif, Tabarī continuatus*, Leiden 1897, while R. Dozy added to his edition of the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿUdhārī (Leiden 1848-51) the fragments

relating to Spain (from 291 to 320), which constitute the principal source for the reign of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 506 and index). ʿArif probably also wrote a work on obitaries (*K. Khāl al-Dīnār wa Tabār al-Habīb* see ʿI-Mawālīd, a MS. of which has been preserved; see H. Denenbourg-H. P. J. Kenaan, *Mss. ar. de l'Égypte*, ii, Paris 1941, 41-2; No. 823) dedicated to al-Hakam II, and a *ʿUyūn al-Aḍwāʾ*. The *K. al-Aḍwāʾ*, of which he is certainly the author, has clearly been merged in the liturgical calendar of bishop Habbī b. Zayd (= Recemundo), in a composite text which R. Dozy published under the title of *Le Calendrier de Cordoue* (Ch. Pellat will appear shortly).

**Bibliography:** Marrākūshī, *al-Dhuyāl wa ʿI-Tahmīl* (part of this has been edited by F. Krmkow in *Hesperis*, 1930, 2-3); A. A. Vasiliev, *Vizantiya i Arabi*, ii/2, 43 ff. (French ed. H. Grégoire and M. Canard, ii, Brussels 1950, 48 ff. with a bibliography); Pons Boigues, *Essays*, 86-9; E. Lévi-Provençal, *N. Sūd*, 187; González Palencia, *Literatura*, index; Brockelmann, i, 134, 236, S. I, 217; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 428; idem, in *Zeit. für Math. und Physik*, 1866, 235ff.; R. Dozy, in *ZDMG*, xx, 595-6; idem, *Préface of Cal. de Cordoue*; idem, *Intro.* to the ed. of *Bayān*, 43-63; Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. ar.*, i, 432; Sartori, i, 680.

(C. PELLAT)  
AL-ʿĀRID, the central district of Najd. Originally applied to the long mountainous barrier Tuwayk [g.c.], the name al-ʿĀrid is still very commonly used in this sense. In a more restricted sense it refers to the central part of the barrier, the district between al-Kharāj to the south and al-Mahmal to the north. On the west al-ʿĀrid is bounded by the western escarpment of Tuwayk and the district of al-Baṭn below it, in which lie Dama, al-Ghatḡhat, etc. On the east Wādī ʿIṣṭayr, the escarpment of Dīl Hīt, and the land of al-ʿArāma separate al-ʿĀrid from al-Dahab.

The district is traversed from northwest to southeast by Wādī Hanifa [g.c.], formerly known as al-ʿIrā, the head of which lies below ʿAkabāt al-Hay-siyya (formerly Ṭhanyiyat al-Abḡā), whence it flows for c. 160 km. before emptying into al-Sabāʾ near the modern town of al-Yamāma in al-Baḡdī. The principal towns of al-ʿĀrid, all of which lie in or near Wādī Hanifa, are: (1) al-ʿUyayna [g.c.], the birthplace of Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [g.c.]; (2) al-Dībāyia, near which the battle of ʿAkraḡāʾ between Musaylima and Khilād b. al-Walīd is supposed to have been fought; (3) al-Dīriyya [g.c.], the first capital of ʿAlī Suʿūd, the picturesque ruins of which still overlook the modern town in the valley; (4) al-Riyāḍ [g.c.], the present capital of ʿAlī Suʿūd; (5) Manfūja, which is presumed to lie on or near the site of the poet al-Aḡḡā's home; and (6) al-Hāʾir (also called Hāʾir Subayʾ or Hāʾir al-ʿAʿizza, the latter being the section of the tribe of Subayʾ dominant in the oasis). Hāʾir Subayʾ lies at the junction of the valleys Lubb [g.c.] and Ha as shown on most modern maps) and Buʿayyāḡ (the lower stretch of al-Awasat) with Wādī Hanifa.

The Bedouin tribes roaming through al-ʿĀrid are Subayʾ, al-Suhāil, and al-Kurayniyya. Many other tribesmen are drawn there by the presence of the capital. The townspeople are descended from Tamīm, ʿAnaza, al-Dawāsir, and many other sources.

Since the beginning of the reform movement preached by Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [g.c.]

al-ʿĀrid has been the great stronghold of the faith. In the myriad campaigns conducted by ʿAlī Suʿūd the people of al-ʿĀrid, both townsmen and nomads, have almost invariably been in the front rank. One of the main reasons the reformation began in al-ʿĀrid in the 12th/18th century was that this district had preserved a tradition of Islamic learning, and since then al-ʿĀrid has contributed more than its share of highly honoured religious scholars.

**Bibliography:** al-Hamadī, *Sijāt*; Ibn Dūlay-bī, *Sabīḥ al-Aḡḡār*, Cairo 1370; Ibn ʿIzzāmīn, *Rasād al-Aḡḡār*, Cairo 1387; Ibn Hishr, *ʿUyūn al-Maḡdī*, Mecca 1349; H. Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, London 1922; idem, *Arabia of the Wah-habīs*, London 1928.

(G. RENT)  
ʿARIF, "one who knows", a term applied to the holders of certain military or civil offices, based on competence in customary matters, ʿarif, as opposed to knowledge of the law, which characterises the *ʿālim*. There may have existed in some cases *de facto* ʿarāfī in Arabia already prior to and at the time of Muhammad (al-Shāfiʿi, *Umm*, iv, 81) who is said to have condemned them (Ibn Hanbal, iv, 133; Ibn al-Aḡḡār, *Nihāya*, iii, 86; al-Sarāḡhī, *Shāḥ al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, i, 98; al-Buḡḡārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Kabīr*, ii, 341). But such traditions are obviously influenced by later conditions.

During the periods of the caliphs of al-Madīna and of the Umayyads, the ʿarīf collected taxes from the tribes and handed them over to the *musaddīh* who was appointed by the caliph (al-Shāfiʿi, *Umm*, ii, 61, 72, 74; *Aḡḡānī*, ii, 62, xi, 248). No details are available concerning their appointment, except that they were chosen among the tribe concerned, though not among its chiefs.

From the time of ʿUmar I onwards there are frequent references to the office of ʿarif in connection with the military organisation of the empire and the *amṣār*. Sayf b. ʿUmar claims that the armies of Kūfa were divided after the battle of Kādisiyya into numerous units (*ʿarāfa*), with an ʿarif over each unit (al-Tabarī, i, 2496), but most of the details concerning the functions of the ʿarīf apply to the period of Muʿāwīya only. Each ʿarif was assigned to an ʿarāfa and was responsible for the distribution of the stipend (*ʿaṭā*) among its members, for which purpose he had to keep a register (*diwān*) of the payees and their families. He was furthermore responsible for security inside his own ʿarāfa, and probably also had other responsibilities, such as collecting blood-money and arbitrating in disputes among the members of the ʿarāfa.

The governor of the *misr* (or the *ṣāhib al-shurṭa*) was the sole authority with the power to appoint and dismiss ʿarāfī and it was not necessary for him to seek the approval of the caliph or of the clan; he was, however, probably obliged to choose influential persons (cf. the authorities quoted in Šāliḥ al-ʿĀlī, *al-Tamīmīyāt*, etc., 97-100).

The military office of ʿarif continued throughout the Middle Ages; the rather scanty evidence indicates that its scope varied. At the time of al-Raḡḡid, for instance, the ʿarif was responsible for ten to fifteen men (al-Balḡḡidī, *Futūḥ*, 196), while in Spain, at the time of al-Hakam, he is mentioned as a commander of a hundred horsemen (*Al-Bihar Majmūʿa*, 129-30). In the ʿIrāki and Syrian armies of the present day the ʿarif is in charge of ten men. We also hear of ʿarāfī of the ʿayyārīn [g.c.], when it was desired to organise these into official military units (al-Tabarī, ii, 179; al-Maʿūdī, *Murūḡ*, vi, 452).

Among the civil offices whose incumbents bore

the name of ʿarif we hear, in the first two centuries of the Hīǧra, of a special official responsible for the interests of orphans and illegitimate children. An ʿarif of *ghinnīs* is also occasionally mentioned. But the most frequent use of the title of ʿarif in the mediaeval Arabic-speaking Orient is to denote the head of a guild, although the term was used concurrently (or in varying hierarchical relationships) with others, such as *nāhib*, *raʾīs* or simply *ghayyāḡ*, tell into disuse during the Ottoman period, and in the west was usually replaced by *amīn* [g.c.]. We find instances of ʿarif in this sense, it seems, from Umayyad times, in direct relationship with the *hādī*, prior to the appearance of the office of *mukhtab* (according to *Wahīʾ Akḡḡār al-Kudāt*, ii, 347, referring to the time of the *hādī* Shurayḡ, who died about 80/700). But it is mainly from the 6th/12th century onwards that references to ʿarāfī, now in the rôle of assistants to the *mukhtab*, occur frequently in works designed for the use of the latter.

It is impossible to discuss the position of the head of a trade-guild in detail except in the general study of the organisation of the guilds which will appear in the article *Šūr*. The basic problem, in assessing the position of the ʿarif or the *amīn*, is to know to what extent this individual, situated midway between the administrator and the guild, was the representative of an autonomous corporation comparable to those of the mediaeval Christian west at the time of the communes, or the agent of authority supervising a guild governed from above, like the colleges of the late Empire and Byzantium. His actual position must have varied according to the relative strength of the forces concerned. In general the ʿarif or *amīn* figures mainly as an assistant of the *mukhtab* as regards the regulation, internal jurisdiction and financial obligations of the guild; he could not however discharge his duties unless he was regarded with a certain minimum of confidence by the leaders of the guild, from amongst whom he himself was chosen and who often, by acclamation, accepted or proposed him. In practice he also to a certain extent represented the guild in its dealings with authority. He organised the participation of his guild in certain festivals. He was often duplicated by a *khālifa*, and exercised his powers of arbitration and jurisdiction, in the large centres, assisted by a small customary tribunal subordinate to the *mukhtab*. It sometimes happened that there was also an *amīn al-samān*. The *amīn* kept a register of the members of the guild, and admitted new members, in accordance with various initiatory rites. His function was of an eminently temporary nature. This organisation has, of course, been undermined to-day by the progress of trade-unionism on the European pattern.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references quoted in the article, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.; I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur Arab. Philologie*, i, 21; Dī. Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh al-Tamadūd al-ʿIslāmī*, i, 148; P. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London 1946, 328; *JA*, s.v. (by M. F. Köprülü); Raḡḡid Barawī, *Ḥalāt Miṣr al-Ḥishādiyya*, Cairo 1948, 190-4; A. A. Duri, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāq al-Ḥishāḡī*, Baghdad 1948, 82; Šāliḥ al-ʿĀlī, *al-Tamīm al-Iḡḡīmāʾiyya* wa ʿI-Hiḡḡiyya fi ʿI-Baṣra, Baghdad 1953, 97-100.

For matters relating more particularly to the ʿarif and *amīn* as technical terms of the guilds, the essential sources are the Syro-Egyptian works on *ḡibā* (Shayyārī, ed. ʿArīnī, 1946, analysed by Bernauer, who calls him Nabrawī, in *JA*, 1866,



61; Ibn al-Ukhuwa, ed. R. Levy, 1938; Ibn Bassam, extracts by Cheikh in *Magh.*, 1907 or the similar works of Spanish origin (Ibn 'Abdūn, ed. Lévi-Provençal, in *JA*, 1914, trans. in *Scille musulmane au XII<sup>e</sup> s.*), and especially, from our point of view, Sakāti of Malaga, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, 1931; not to speak of other similar works, as yet unpublished, written in other countries. The material which they provide on the *arīf* has been utilised by E. Tyan, *Organisation judiciaire*, II, to be completed, regards the *arīf* of Spain and medieval Tunisia, by the remarks of Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, III, especially 300-2, and Brunschwig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, II, 150, 203, etc. For the modern period, on North Africa, see the study of Massignon on the Moroccan guilds (*RMM*, 1924), to be completed as regards Fez before the Protectorate by the work of Le Tournaux on that town (with bibliography); for Tunisia, Payre, *Les amirautés en Tunisie*, 1940, should be consulted. No equivalent study exists for the Orient, where we are still dependent on the valuable, but restrained picture of the guilds at Damascus at the end of the 19th century, by Elyas Qudsi (*Travaux de la V<sup>e</sup> Session du Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Leiden 1884, 311), and for Egypt, on the information given in the *Description de l'Égypte*, xvii and xviii, and on certain special monographs such as G. Martin, *Les Bazaars du Caire*, 1910. For a comparison with central Asia see M. Gavrilov, *Les corps de métiers en Asie Centrale*, in *REI* 1928, 209 ff.; with Persia, the lecture by Ann K. S. Lambton, *Islamic Society in Persia*, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1924, with the Ottoman Empire, the description of the guilds at Constantinople in the 17th century by Ewliya Celedî (*Siyahat-nâme*, I, 473 ff.); Hammer's English translation I, 2, 90 ff.) and H. Thurning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens auf Grund von Basit Madad et-Tawfiq*, (Türkische Bibliothek 76) Berlin 1913.

SALIM A. EL-AZI and C. CANES  
**'ARIF HIKMET BEY** (1201/1773?-1810) *shaykh al-islām* from 1262 to 1270/1845-54, and one of the last representatives of Turkish classical poetry. Descended from a family of high officials (his father, Ibrahim 'Ismet was *hâdî Vîsâkâr* under Selim III), he became *mudîr* of Jerusalem (1237/1816), then of Cairo (1236/1820) and Medina (1239-1823); later appointed *mudîr al-azhar* (1240/1830) and *hâdî Vîsâkâr* of Anatolia (1249/1833), then of Rumelî (1254/1838), he finally became *shaykh al-islām*, a post which he held for seven years. 'Arif Hikmet Bey maintained relations with the principal poets of his period, notably Es'ad Efendi, Ziver Pacha and Tâhir Selâm. He himself wrote poetry, and his *Divân*, which contains poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, is considered to be one of the last works of note of the old school of Turkish poetry; in it may be perceived the influence of Ne'î, Nâî and Nedîm (see M. F. Köprülü, *Türk divân edebiyatı antolojisi*, 18th and 19th centuries); this *Divân* was printed in İstanbul in 1283/1867. His other works are: *Tedhîr-i Şuh'arâ* (biographies of Turkish poets up to the year 1250/1834); *Madîna'at al-Tarâğîm*; *Üşâyî il-Kağîl al-Zunûn* (see Ibnulmin Mahmud Kemal, *Son adıb Türk şairleri*, IV, 162-68); *al-Makâm al-Ma'vîyya fi'l-'Arâğîl al-Amîriyya* (quoted in *Osmanî medîfîleri*); *Kûlûbiyat al-Mahallât fi Madîjîl al-Muhallamât* (MS. in İstanbul University Library, no. 3791; cf. Ibnulmin Mahmud Kemal, *ibid.*, 626). 'Arif

Hikmet Bey enjoyed great fame during his lifetime, and Nâsîk Kemal wrote that he was, with Tâhir Selâm, the most notable poet of the era of Mahmud II. *Bihiyography*: On the life of 'Arif Hikmet, there are numerous references in the historical and biographical works written in the second half of the 19th century; see in addition: Fâtma 'Aliyye, *Djendat Paşa ve zamanı*, İstanbul 1332, *passim*. On his poetry: the Introduction to his *Divân*, written by Mehmed Zevce (İstanbul 1285); Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, IV, 350 ff.; Ibnulmin Mahmud Kemal, *Son adıb Türk şairleri*, İstanbul 1917, IV, 620 ff., *IA*, s.v. (Article by Fevziye Abdullâh). (R. MANTRAN)  
 AL-'ARISH, or the 'Arish of Egypt', the Rhinokorra of the ancients, town on the Mediterranean coast situated in a fertile oasis surrounded by sand, on the frontier between Palestine and Egypt. The name is found as early as the first centuries of our era in the form of Laris. According to the ordinary view, which is presupposed also in the well-known anecdote about 'Amr b. al-'Âs's expedition to Egypt, the town belonged to Egypt. The inhabitants, according to al-Ya'qûbî, belonged to the Djûdhîm. Ibn Hawkal speaks of two principal mosques in the town and refers to its wealth of trade. It was at al-'Arish that King Baldwin I died in 1118. Yâkûtî states that the town contained a great market and many inns, and that merchants had their agents there. Al-'Arish was occupied by Napoleon in 1799; in the following year a treaty was concluded in the town, by which the French were forced to evacuate Egypt.  
 Bibliography: Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, 196-7; Ibn Hawkal, 95; Mukaddasî, 54, 105; al-Ya'qûbî, 330; Yâkûtî III, 660-1; Wilhelmus Tyrinus, 509; Musil, *Arabia Petrea*, 2, *Edom*, 1, 228 ff., 304-5; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 225; Capitaine Bouchard, *La chute d'Érich*, ed. and ann. by G. Wiet, Cairo 1945; Makrid, *Bihiy*, IFAO ed., IV, 24-7. (F. BUEHL)

**ARISTOTELIS OR ARISTO<sup>1</sup>** LE, Aristotle, the 4th century B.C. Greek philosopher, the study of whose works became permanently established in the Greek philosophical schools from the first century B.C. onwards.

1. The commentators Nicolaus of Damascus (*saecl.* I B.C.), Alexander of Aphrodisias (± A.D. 200), Themistius (*saecl.* IV), John Philoponus and Simplicius (*saecl.* VI) show the way in which Aristotle was understood in such late Greek teaching. With very few exceptions (cf. below), most of the writings of Aristotle eventually became known to the Arabs in translation, and a great number of the commentaries (which are partly familiar to us in the Greek original, partly only preserved in Arabic versions or even in Hebrew versions from the Arabic) were also thoroughly studied by Arabic teachers of Aristotle and by Islamic philosophical writers. The oriental tradition of Aristotle reading follows his late Greek interpreters without a gap, and the medieval Western tradition depends as much on the Islamic study of Aristotle (particularly in the huge sections of Al-Fârîdî, Ibn Sînâ and Ibn Rushd made available to the Schoolmen) as on the late Greek and Byzantine expositions of his thought. A is without reservation considered by most Arabic philosophers as the outstanding and most important representative philosophy from al-Kindî (cf. *Ras'ûl* I, 102, 17 Abû Rîdâ) to Ibn Rushd's unqualified praise (*Comment. Magnam* in *Arist.* *De anima* III, 2, 433 Crawford): Aristotle is 'exemplar quod natura invenit ad demonstrandum

ultimam perfectionem humanam'. A is often referred to as 'the philosopher'. He is by implication 'the first teacher', al-Fârîdî being described as the second (*al-mu'allim al-thâni*). Since a full survey of Muslim Aristotelianism would virtually constitute a complete history of Islamic philosophical thought, it must be sufficient to point out the main facts and name the instruments of study at present available. In agreement with the Greek commentators Aristotle is understood as a dogmatic philosopher and as the author of a closed system. He is, moreover (again in a way not unknown to the Greek neo-Platonic teachers), supposed to agree with Plato in all the essential tenets of his thought or, at least, to be complementary to him. The Arabs could even go as far as to credit Aristotle himself with neo-Platonic metaphysical ideas, and it is hence not altogether surprising that extracts from a lost Greek paraphrase of Plotinus or a rearrangement of a number of chapters of Proclus's *Elements of Theology* could pass as Aristotle's *Theology* and Aristotle's *Book of the Pure Good* or *Liber De Causis* respectively.

The Arabs eventually became acquainted with almost all the more important lecture-courses of Aristotle, with the exception of the *Politics*, the *Eudemian Ethics* and *Metaphysics*. They had no translation of the *Dialogues*, which had become less popular in post-Hellenistic times. Their knowledge of Aristotle thus went far beyond the few logical writings known to the early Latin Middle Ages in Boethius's translation, and comprehended the whole late Greek syllabus (cf. also the interesting passage *Comm. in Arist.* *Græca* III, 1, xvi f.). Surveys of the treatises and the ancient commentaries known are to be found in Ibn al-Nadîm, *Fihrist*, 248-52, Flügel (147-52 in the Egyptian edition) and Ibn al-Kûfî, *Ta'rih al-Hakam*, 34-42 Lippert. It is odd that Ibn al-Kûfî op. cit., 42-8 (cf. Ibn Abî Usaybi'a, *Uyûn al-Anbâ' fi Tabâhi al-Ahbab* I 62 ff.) has preserved an otherwise lost but originally Greek list of Aristotle's writings ascribed to a Ptolemy, cf. A. Baumstark, *Syriac-Arabische Bibliographien des Aristoteles*, Leipzig 1900, 61 ff. and P. Moraux, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote*, Louvain 1911, 289 ff.

Aristotle's lecture courses did not become known to the Arabs in their entirety at once, but in stages. The first texts translated of which we are informed are, in conformity with the syllabus followed in the Syrian monastic schools and by Greek patristic writers, limited to formal logic, i.e. Porphyry's *Isagoge*, *Categoriae*, *De Interpretatione* and part of the *Prior Analytics*. The first translator of Aristotle whose work is known (although still unedited) is Muhammad Ibn 'Abdallâh, the son of the famous Ibn al-Mukaffa' (cf. P. Kienast, *RSO* 1233). The *Topics* and the *Posterior Analytics* and *Rhetoric* and *Poetic* (which belong to the logical writings in late Greek tradition) were soon added but it was not before the foundation of the *bayt al-hikma* during the reign of al-Ma'mûn that non-logical writings by Aristotle were made accessible as well. Details about the history of the early translations are still scarce, but 'ancient' versions of the books *On the Heavens*, the *Meteorology*, the main zoological writings, the greater part of the *Metaphysics*, the *Sophistici Elenchi* and (most probably) the *Prior Analytics* have survived until the present day; whilst the so called *Theology of Aristotle* (cf. above) was also translated at this early stage. Al-Kindî's understanding of Aristotle is based on these translations

(cf. M. Guidi-R. Walzer, *Studi su al-Kindî I. Uno scritto introduttivo allo studio di Aristotele*, Rome 1940). Hunayn b. Ishâk and his son Ishâk and other associates of this renowned centre of translations of philosophical, medical and generally scientific Greek works produced a great number of partially improved and partially first translations of Aristotle. The translators sometimes worked from the Greek original, sometimes from older or recent intermediate Syriac translations. The better ones were eager to establish a Greek text before they started upon their task. We eventually find a well established tradition of Aristotle reading in the 10th century, in Baghdad, upheld by Christian Arabic philosophers such as Abû Bishr Mattâ and Yahyâ b. 'Adî and others who considered themselves, probably correctly, as late descendants of the Greek philosophical school of Alexandria. The syllabus which they followed was partly based on earlier translations and partly on translations of their own (made from older or recent Syriac translations), since most of the representatives of this school were no longer able to read Greek. Al-Fârîdî's acquaintance with Aristotle presupposes the achievement of this circle (his treatise *On Aristotle's Philosophy* will be published by Muhsin Mahdi), and all the subsequent Islamic philosophers usually base themselves on the same corpus of translations which had eventually emerged (after an activity of almost 200 years) in Baghdad and spread from there all over the Islamic world, from Persia to Spain. The work of these translators seems to have surpassed even Ibn Rushd in accuracy and knowledge of textual variants. These Arabic versions of Aristotle are certainly not without importance for the establishment of the original Greek text, and they deserve the same attention as a Greek papyrus or an early Greek MS. or the variants recorded in Greek commentaries. They help us moreover to get a more common sense view of the history of texts in general.

The Greek commentators became known to the Arabs together with the text of Aristotle. We meet their influence in different forms: Full texts comprising the lemmata of the Aristotelian groundwork, terse paraphrases by Themistius and his like, shorter surveys of the argument of individual treatises, and marginal notes in manuscripts which quote sentences and views taken from the larger works. Not many of the translations of these Greek commentaries have survived, since they were used by the Arab successors of the Greek Aristotelian scholars who wrote commentaries and monographs in their own name. Of these, again, not very many have come down to us in the original text. Not one of Al-Fârîdî's commentaries on Aristotelian treatises has yet been traced in any library. Ibn Badîd's elaborate summaries of works of Aristotle are still unedited. A certain number of Ibn Rushd's shorter and more elaborate commentaries are also known, whilst more survive only in Hebrew and Latin translations.

A list of the works of Aristotle (mentioning the more important spurious ones as well) which are at present available for study is following.

## 1

*Categoriae*. Al-Hasan b. Suwayr's edition of Ishâk b. Hunayn's translation was published, with all the marginal comments to be found in Paris Bibl. Nat. Ar. 2346, a French translation of the notes and an index of terms by Khalîl Geyr, *Les Catégories d'Aristote dans leurs versions Syro-Arabbes*, Beirut 1948 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1953, 101 ff.). Other edition



(without the marginal notes) by A. Badawi, *Manṭiḥ Aristū*, 1-35, 307 f., 673 ff. Ibn Ruḡḡd's *Middle Commentary* is available (together with a critical text of the groundwork) in an edition by M. Bouyges, *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum*, tom. IV, Beirut 1932.

*The interpretation:* Best edition of Iṣḥāq b. Hunayn's translation by I. Pollack, Leipzig 1913. Other edition by A. Badawi, *op. cit.*, 57-99.

*Prior Analytics:* Al-Ḥasan b. Suwār's edition of Theodorus' (Abū Qurra's?) translation with copious marginal comments was published for the first time by A. Badawi, *op. cit.*, 103-306 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1935, 108-28).

*Posterior Analytics:* First edition of Abū Bihr Maṭā's translation (based on Iṣḥāq b. Hunayn's Syriac version) and later scholars' marginal comments published by A. Badawi, *op. cit.*, 309-462 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1935, 129 ff.).

*Topics:* First editions of Abū 'Uṭṭmān ad-Dīnashīrī and Thābit b. 'Abd Allāh's translations and later scholars' marginal comments published by A. Badawi, *op. cit.*, 467-733.

*Sophistic Elenchi:* First edition of three translations (Yahyā b. 'Adī, 'Isā b. Zur'ā and Ibn Nāṣim) by A. Badawi, *op. cit.*, 736-1018. C. Haddad, *Textes versions inédites des Réfutations Sophistiques*, Thèse, Paris 1952.

*Rhetoric:* No edition of cod. ar. 2346 Paris exists, cf. S. Margoliouth, *Semite Studies in memory of A. Kahal* (Berlin 1907), 376 ff. S. M. Stern, *Ibn al-Samḥ*, JRAS 1956, 41 ff. F. Lasiuni, *Il commento medio di Averro' alla Rhetorica di Aristotele* (Florence 1877—edition of part of book I). A. M. A. Sallam, *Averroes' commentary on the third book of Aristotle's Rhetoric*, Thesis (Oxford 1952), Typescript.

*Poetics:* Editions of Abū Bihr's translation by D. S. Margoliouth (1887, Latin translation 1911), J. Tratsch (*Die arabische Übersetzung der Poetik und die Grundlage der Kritik des griechischen Textes*, 2 vols., Vienna 1928-1932) and A. Badawi (*Aristū al-Fihri, Fann al-Shi'r*, Cairo 1955, 85-143). The texts of the *Poetics* by Al-Fārābī (fi Kawānīn Sīnā'at al-Shi'r) and, ed. Arberry, R.S.O. 16, 1938), Ibn Shīna (from the *Shifā*, ed. Margoliouth) and Ibn Ruḡḡd ('Middle Commentary', ed. Lasiuni) are reprinted in the same volume.

*Physica:* About the Leiden MS (no. 1443) of Iṣḥāq Ibn Hunayn's translation of S. M. Stern, *Ibn al-Samḥ*, in JRAS, 1956, 31 ff. A critical edition will be published in the *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum*. The Hebrew text of Theophrastus' otherwise lost commentary was edited (with a Latin translation) by S. Landauer, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* V 4, Berlin 1902. Ibn Ruḡḡd's 'Middle Commentary' is available in a Hyderabad edition of 1947: *Rasā'id I.R.*, fasc. 1.

*De caelo:* cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 7453 (Yahyā b. al-Bitrīq). A critical edition will be published in the *Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum*. The Hebrew text of Theophrastus' otherwise lost commentary was edited (with a Latin translation) by S. Landauer, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* V 4, Berlin 1902. Ibn Ruḡḡd's 'Middle Commentary' is available in a Hyderabad edition of 1947: *Rasā'id I.R.*, fasc. 2.

*De gen. et corr.:* Cf. *Rasā'id Ibn Ruḡḡd*, fasc. 3. For a fragment of Alexander of Aphrodisias's lost commentary cf. MS. Chester-Beatty 3704, fol. 108.

*Meteorology:* Translation by Yahyā b. al-Bitrīq in cod. Yenī Cāmi 1179 and Vat. Heb. 378. *Rasā'id Ibn Ruḡḡd*, fasc. 4.

*De naturis animalium (= On the parts of animals, On the generation of animals, History of Animals):* Translation by Yahyā b. al-Bitrīq in cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 7531 and cod. Leyd. 166. *Geol. G. Furlani, R.S.O.* 9, 1922, 237.

*De plantis* (by Nicolaus of Damascus): Iṣḥāq b.

Hunayn's translation, as revised by Thābit b. Kurra, was edited (from cod. Yenī Cāmi 1179) by A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1933-4, and edited a second time by A. Badawi, *Islamica* 16, Cairo 1954, 243 ff. Cf. H. J. Drossart-Ludot, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77, 1957, 75 ff.

*De anima:* First edition of Iṣḥāq b. Hunayn's Arabic version by A. Badawi, *Islamica* 16, Cairo 1954, 1-88 (from cod. Aya Sofya 2450). Anonymous Paraphrase, ed. Ahmad Fūṣil al-Aḥwāl, Cairo 1950 (cf. *Oriens* 6, 1935, 126 ff. and JRAS 1956, 37 ff.). Arabic translation of sections of Theophrastus' paraphrase (Comm. in Arist. *Græca* V 3), cf. M. C. Lyons, *BSOAS* 17, 1955, 426 ff. *The Baghdad Paraphrase of Aristotle's De anima*, edition and English translation by M. S. Hasan, Thesis, Oxford 1952 (Typescript). *Rasā'id Ibn Ruḡḡd* fasc. 5 (other edition Cairo 1950). *Averrois Commentarium Magnum in Aristotelem De anima Libros*, rec. F. S. Crawford, Cambridge Mass. 1955 (critical ed. of the Latin translation). Cf. also Ibn Shīna, *Kitāb al-Insāf* 75-116 (ed. Badawi, *Aristū 'inda al-Arah*, Cairo 1947).

*De sensu et sensib. De longitudine et brevitate vitae:* Ibn Ruḡḡd's paraphrases were edited by A. Badawi, *Islamica* 16, Cairo 1954, 191 ff. *Averrois Compendia Librorum qui Pars Naturalis vocantur*, rec. A. L. Shields, Cambridge Mass. 1949 (Latin version).

*Metaphysica:* First edition of Arabic text (from MSS. Leiden or. 2074 and 2075) of books 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

*De mundo:* Translation from the Syriac (by 'Isā b. Ibrāhīm al-Nāfiṣ) in cod. Princetoniae RELS 308, ff. 293<sup>a</sup>-303<sup>a</sup>. Cf. W. L. Lotmer, *American Journal of Philology* 53, 1932, 157 ff.

## 2

## Fragments of lost works

*Eudemus* (?): R. Walzer, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, N.S. 14, 1937, 123 ff.; Sir David Ross, *The Works of Aristotle translated into English* XII, Oxford 1952, 23 (cf. Al-Kindī, *Rasā'id* I, 179; 281).

*Eudoxus* (?): R. Walzer, JRAS 1939, 407 ff.; Sir David Ross, *op. cit.*, 26.

*Protreptics* (?): S. Pines, *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 1957 (from Mishaway, *Tahḍīb al-Balāḥ*, ch. 3).

*De philosophia* (?): S. van den Bergh, *Averroes' Tahḍīb al-Tahḍīb*, London 1954, II 90.

## 3

Books attributed to Aristotle in Arabic tradition. *De pomis* (Kitāb al-Tuffḥah): J. Kraemer, *Das arabische Original des 'Liber de pomis'* (Kijijerka 1906), *Studi Orientali in onore di G. Levi della Vida*, Rome

1956, i, 484 ff. D. S. Margoliouth, *The Book of the Apple, ascribed to Aristotle*, ed. in Persian and English, JRAS 1892, 187 ff.

J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1915.

*Secrerum Secrerum* (Sīr al-Aṣrār): ed. A. Badawi, *Islamica* 15, Cairo 1954, 67-171.

Ḥiṣṣi Ḥiṣṣi, ed. J. Lippert, Dissert. Halle 1931.

Cf. I. Goldziher, *Der Islam* 6, 1916, 173 ff.

*Theology of Aristotle*, based on a probably Greek paraphrase of sections of Plotinus, ed. F. Dieterici, Leipzig 1882 (German translation, ibid. 1883); ed. by A. Badawi, *Islamica* 28, Cairo 1955. Ibn Shīna's comments are published by A. Badawi, *Aristū 'inda al-Arah*, 37 ff. and translated into French by G. Vajda, *Revue Thomiste* 1951, 346 ff. Cf. also S. Pines, *Revue des Études Islamiques* 1954, 7 ff. *'Liber de causis'*, based on Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, ed. O. Bardenheuer, Freiburg i. Br. 1882 (with German translation); new edition by A. Badawi, *Islamica* 19, Cairo 1955.

II. The Arabic 'Lives of Aristotle' add almost nothing to the information available in Greek texts. To be mentioned are the accounts of his life in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (cf. above), in *Mubashshir b. Fāḡik's Muḥḍir al-Hiṣān* (cf. J. Lippert, *Studien auf dem Gebiet der griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungsliteratur* I, Berlin 1894, 1 ff. ff.), in *Ḥiṣṣi Ḥiṣṣi, Orientalia* 6, 1937, 21 ff.), *Sā'id al-Andalusī, Tahḍīb al-Ummān*, 24 ff., Ibn al-Kifī, *Ta'ḥīḡ al-Hukamā'*, 27 ff. Lippert, Ibn Juljul, *Tahḍīb al-Aṭibbā'* wa-*Hukamā'* (ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, 1955), 25 ff., Ibn Abī Usayb'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā'* I 54 ff. Müller. Sections from these biographies were translated and compared by A. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 39 ff., 127 ff., 128 ff. A very comprehensive list of all the works and commentaries translated into Arabic (cf. above), to be found in Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Kifī was discussed by A. Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Überlieferung*, Halle 1875 and M. Stein Schneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, Beiträge zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* V, 1893. The lost Greek catalogue by a still unidentified Ptolemy (cf. above) was published by A. Müller, *Morgenländische Forschungen, Festschrift Fleischer*, Leipzig 1875, 1 ff., by M. Stein Schneider in vol. 5 of the Berlin edition of Aristotle, 1870, 1460 ff. and in Aristotle, *Fragmenta*, ed. V. Rose, 18 ff., by A. Baumstark and P. Moraux (cf. above). A new and comprehensive treatment of the whole Arabic biographical tradition is to be found in I. Düring, *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition*, Göteborg 1957.

(R. WALZER)

## ARITHMETIC [see ḤISĀB]

'ARĪYYA (a.) or 'ārīya, also 'āra, the loan of non-fungible objects (*prel'* à usage, commodatum). It is distinguished as a separate contract from the *ba'd* or loan of money or other fungible objects (*prel'* de consommation, mutuum). It is defined as putting some one temporarily and gratuitously in possession of the use of a thing, the substance of which is not consumed by its use. The intended use must be lawful. It is a charitable contract and therefore "recommended" (*mandūb*), and the beneficiary or borrower enjoys the privileged position of a trustee (*amīn*); he is not, in principle, responsible for damage or loss arising directly from the authorized use of the object. In working out the details, however, the several schools of law differ greatly, the doctrines of the Hanafis and of the Mālikīs being more favourable to the borrower than those of the Shāfi'is and of the Hanbalīs.

*Bibliography:* E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafitischen Lehre*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1897, 437 ff.; D. Santillana, *Summario del diritto musulmano di Ḥaḍḍ ibn Iḥṣān*, II, Milan 1919, 427 ff.; id., *Islāmīyat*, II, 373 ff.; O. Poole, *Le credit dans l'Islam médiéval*, Casablanca (n.d.), 51 ff.; G. Bergsträsser's *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, ed. J. Schacht, Berlin and Leipzig 1935, 76 f.; H. Laoust, *Le prêt de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1930, 101; A. Querry, *Droit musulman, recueil de lois concernant les musulmans schyites*, I, Paris 1871, 537 ff.; 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Jāḥizī, *al-Fihāḥ 'ala l-maḥḍib al-arabī*, III, Cairo 1354/1935, 366 ff. (Ed.).

AL-ARKAM, an early companion of Muḥammad, commonly known as al-Arkam b. Abī 'Arkam, and having the kunya Abū 'Abd Allāh. His father's name was 'Abd Manāf, and he belonged to the influential clan of Maḥḥmūd at Mecca. His mother's name is variously given, but she is usually said to be of the tribe of Ḥuṣayfā. As al-Arkam's death is placed in 53/673 or 55/675 at the age of over eighty, he must have been born about 594; and he must have become a Muslim when very young, since he was one of the earliest converts, one source alleging that he was seventh, another twelfth. For reasons which are not stated he was in a position, perhaps round about the year 614, to offer to Muḥammad the use of his house on the hill of al-Safā, and this was the centre of the new community until after the conversion of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Ibn Sa'd frequently says that conversions and other events took place when Muḥammad was in the house of al-Arkam or before he entered it, but Ibn Hishām is silent on the subject. Al-Arkam migrated to Medina with Muḥammad and was at Badr and on the other chief expeditions, but was not prominent in any way. The house, which contained a place of worship (*masjid* or *hubbā*) remained in the family till the caliph al-Manṣūr purchased it. It passed into the hands of al-Khayzūrī, mother of Ḥārūn al-Raṣīd, and came to be known as "the house of al-Khayzūrī".

*Bibliography:* Ibn Sa'd, *ibid.*, 172-4; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Ud al-Ghāba*, I, 59 f.; Ibn Hishām, *Iḥṣān*, Calcutta 1856-73, I, 205; Ibn Hishām, 457; al-Wāḥidī (tr. by J. Wellhausen as *Muhammad in Medina*), Berlin 1882, 67; F. Wustenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1858-61, II, 212, 440; Cantani, *Annali*, I, 261 f., with further references.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ARKAN [see BURN]

ARKUN (Span. ARCON). There are at least twenty places in Spain which bear this name, which is also given to a large number of rivers, streams, ravines and river basins, either in the sing. Arco or the plur. Arcon; there is also a commune, Arcon (17 km.) from Valencia, which retains the Arab name Alarcon (al-Aḥwāl, the Arcon). As regards the history of Muslim Spain, the most important of these localities is Arcon de la Frontera, north-west of the province of Cádiz, on the last western spur of the sub-Betic chain and in the grape-growing region of the *campiña* of Seville. It numbers about 30,000 inhabitants, and its situation is extremely interesting both from the point of view of geography and of strategy, because it occupies the axis of a rock-mass which is lapped by a sharp bend of the Guadalete; throughout the Middle Ages, its important castle and its suburbs were at different times razed and repopulated. Numerous traces of the prehistoric era, concrete evidence and Roman paving-



stones prove its antiquity. Arcos declared for 'Abd al-Rahmān I when the latter undertook his campaign against Yūsuf al-Fihri; it was subsequently sacked by Shāykh b. 'Abd al-Wahid al-Miknāsī, leader of the most important and most dangerous Berber revolt against the first 'Umayyad *amir*. During the Arab-Muslim conflict at the end of the 3rd century in the region of Seville, the rebel castles of Arcos, Jerez and Medina Sidonia were assaulted by the troops of the *amir* 'Abd Allāh. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn stopped at Arcos on his way to Zallāka. The Almoḥad caliph Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, in his campaign of 596/1199 against Portugal, concentrated his troops at Arcos de la Frontera; from there he dispatched his cousin al-Sayyid Ya'qūb b. Abī Hafṣ against Silves, while he himself proceeded to lay siege to Torres Novas and Tomar. Ferdinand III took possession of Arcos in 648/1250, after having captured Granada; its Muslim inhabitants rose in revolt in 659/1261, and it was reduced to submission by Alfonso the Learned in 662/1264. In 739/1339, when the Marfat *amir* Abū 'l-Ḥasan undertook his Andalusian campaign, which resulted in his defeat at the battle of the Salado or Tarifa, the Andalusian Councils routed the troops of prince Abū Mālik a short distance from Arcos, and put him to death on the banks of the Barbate, which marked the frontier between the two countries. Up to 856/1452, the Moors of Granada encroached on the territory of Arcos, which for two centuries was a frontier town, kept constantly on a war footing and thus deserving its name of Arcos de la Frontera.

**Bibliography:** Idrisi, Arabic text 174, trans. 208; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, Arabic text 14, trans. 20; *Dic. geog. de España*, 1957, II, 697; A. Huici, *Las Grandes batallas de la Reconquista*, 336.

**ARMAN** [see ARMİNİYA].

**ARMİNİYA**, Armenia, a country of Hither Asia.

#### I. Geographical Outline.

Armenia is the central and most elevated part of Hither Asia. Encompassed between two mountain chains, the Pontic chain to the north and the chain of the Taurus to the south, it lies between Asia Minor to the west of the Euphrates, Adharbāydzān and the region south-west of the Caspian (on a level with the confluence of the Kurr [Kura] and the Araxes) to the east, the Pontic regions to the north-west, the Caucasus (from which the line of the Rion and the Kurr separates it) to the north, and the plain of Mesopotamia to the south (area of the Upper Tigris). To the south of Lake Van, Gordjākh (the ancient Gordyene, now Boblan) and the land of the Hakkari Kurds (the region of Džulamerk and Anadlye) form geographically a part of Armenia, although they have not always been subject to the Armenians. Armenia thus embraces almost the whole of the territory extending between long. 37° and 49° East and lat. 37.5° and 41.5° North. Its area can be estimated at about 300,000 sq. kms.

The geological framework of the land consists of mountains having an archaic core and covered with sedimentary strata and tertiary deposits, but vast volcanic masses and lava flows of more recent date have modified its structure. High plains extend between the mountain ranges and vary in altitude from 800 to 2,000 metres (Erzerüm: 1,880 m.; Kars: 1,800 m.; Māgh on the Murād Sū: 1,400 m.; Erzinğān: 1,300 m.; Erivān: 850 m.). The eruptions have produced a whole series of volcanic cones which are among the highest peaks in the land: Ararat (5,205 m.) to the south of the Araxes; the Spīn

dāgh (4,176 m.), already known to al-Balādhūri (ed. De Goeje, 198. Cf. *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, II, 67, 162; Le Strange, 183); the Bingöl dāgh (3,680 m.) to the south of Erzerüm; the Khordigh (3,550 m.), the Ala-dāgh (3,420 m.), and the Alagheh (4,180 m.) which focus to the north an almost completely isolated massif.

Armenia is the cradle of great rivers; the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes and the Kurr (Kura). The Euphrates is formed through the confluence of two branches, the northern branch or Kara Sū (Ar. Furāt) and the southern branch or Murād Sū (Ar. Arsames) which come from the Armenian plateau; the Tigris is born in the border range of the South called the Armenian Taurus. While the system of the Tigris and the Euphrates irrigates the lands inclined towards the Persian Gulf, the Araxes (Ar. al-Rass, [q.v.]) which comes from the Bingöl dāgh, waters the lands turned towards the Caspian Sea and, before flowing into it, joins the Kurr which, with its parallel prolongation, the river Rion, a tributary of the Black Sea, separates the Caucasus sharply from Armenia. The Euphrates and the Araxes cut deeply into the Armenian plateau and these breaches facilitate the drainage of water with the result that Armenia has but a small number of lakes, Lake Van (1,550 m.) called in Arabic the lake of Khūt and Arğīsh [q.v.] and the Gök Çay [q.v.] or Sevanga (1,000 m.) mentioned already in 1340 by al-Mustawfī, and several smaller lakes.

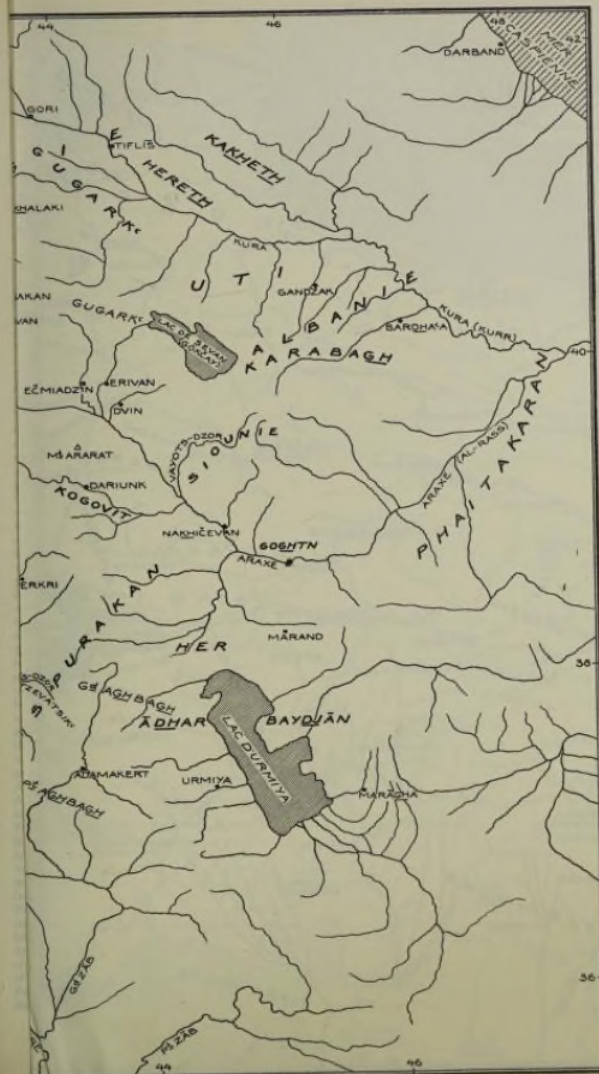
The orographical and hydrographical systems of Armenia are such that the land is divided into a number of basins separated the one from the other by high mountains, a fact that helps to bring about the feudal disunion in which the Armenians have always lived.

The climate of Armenia is very severe. The winter lasts regularly for eight months on the plateau, the short and very hot summer rarely exceeds two months; it is very dry and crops have need of artificial irrigation. The region of the plains along the Araxes enjoys, however, a more favourable climate. The snow-line in the mountains of the South lies at 3,300 m., but rises to 4,000 m. in eastern Armenia.

#### II. History.

##### 1. — Armenia before Islam.

Armenia is thought to have been inhabited towards the 17th century B.C. by an Asiatic people, the Hurrites, who were neither of Semite nor of Indo-European origin; this people was organised in the first half of the second millennium by a conquering Indo-European aristocracy and later became subject to the Hittite empire and thereafter to the Assyrians. In the 9th century B.C., a people closely related to the Hurrites, the Urartians, also called Khaldi, established there the powerful kingdom of Urartu (the biblical Ararat), of which Lake Van formed the core. This kingdom, which had to fight against the Assyrians, attained its apogee in the 8th century, but was destroyed towards the middle of the 7th century by the Cimmerian and Scythian wave that flowed over Hither Asia. During and after these changes an Indo-European people of the Thracio-Phrygian family, a branch, probably, of the Phrygians whose state had just been destroyed by the Cimmerians, came from the West and conquered Urartu. These new inhabitants were called Armenians by the Achaemenid Persians (Greek: Ἀρμένιοι), a name of





which the meaning and origin are still unexplained, and the region became known in the course of time as Armenia. The Armenians, however, call themselves Haik (from the name of the hero who led the Armenian people to the conquest) and refer to their land as Hayastan.

The Armenians, save in the time of Tigranes II (Tigranes the Great), have never played a dominant rôle in Hither Asia. The reasons for this were, to a large degree, the feudal régime favoured by the geographical nature of the country and itself a source of internal dissensions, and also the proximity of powerful empires. From the time of their settlement in Armenia the Armenians were vassals of the Medes and then of the Achaemenid Persians who placed the land under the control of satraps. These latter, taking advantage of the troubles caused by the death of Alexander the Great, became veritable kings who afterwards recognised the suzerainty of the Seleucids. When Antiochus III was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia (189 B.C.), the two "strates" who governed Armenia made themselves independent, took the title of king and formed two kingdoms, the one, Artaxias, in Great Armenia or Armenia proper and the other, Zariadris, in Little Armenia (Sophene-Arzanene). Great Armenia fell afterwards under the suzerainty of the Arsacids. In the first century B.C. a descendant of Artaxias, Tigranes the Great, threw off the Parthian yoke, dethroned the king of Sophene and united all Armenia under his sceptre; having achieved Armenian unity, he established at the expense of the Parthians and the Seleucids a vast Armenian empire and played an important political rôle. After him, however, Armenia was reduced more and more to the rôle of a buffer state between the two empires, the Arsacid Parthian and the Roman, each of which desired to impose a king of its choice, internal troubles furnishing a perpetual pretext for intervention and encroachments. In general, from the year 11 A.D. down to the fall of the Arsacids in 224, it was, for the greater part of the time, cadets of the Arsacid family who ruled in Armenia, now supporting their relatives in their wars against Rome, and now accepting the Roman protectorate. When the Arsacid Parthians were replaced by the Sāsānids, Armenia, continuing under the rule of Arsacid kings and embracing Christianity at the close of the 3rd century, became once more a new apple of discord between the two empires which in the end reached an agreement to share the weak vassal state. By a partition which took place about 350 Persia received the eastern portion, four-fifths of Armenia, over which Khosraw III reigned with Dwin (Ar. Dabül) as capital, while Rome kept the western part where Arshak III ruled at Erzinjân. After the death of Arshak the Romans (Byzantines) entrusted to a count (*comes*) the administration of the land. The Persian part of the country or Persarmenia retained its national princes until 428-9 and was thereafter administered by a Persian *marzbān* residing at Dwin. According to the Armenian historian Sebeos, the most important native source for the period extending from the 5th to the middle of the 7th century, the Persian domination never succeeded in implanting itself solidly in Armenia, all the more since the Sāsānids persecuted Armenian Christianity. The Armenian lords (the *nakhchārs*) availed themselves of every opportunity to shake off the detested yoke of the fire-worshippers and in their quarrels with the Persian *marzbāns* invoked frequently the aid of their co-religionists in Byzantine Armenia, a proce-

dure that led to frontier skirmishes and at times to real battles. A wide breach in the community of interests between Armenia and Byzantium was made, however, in 431 by the Council of Chalcedon, the decisions of which were condemned by the Armenians at the Council of Dwin in 506. This schism, which was definitive despite the efforts of the Greeks to restore union, facilitated political relations between the Armenians of Persarmenia and the court of Ctesiphon, now become more tolerant towards Christianity.

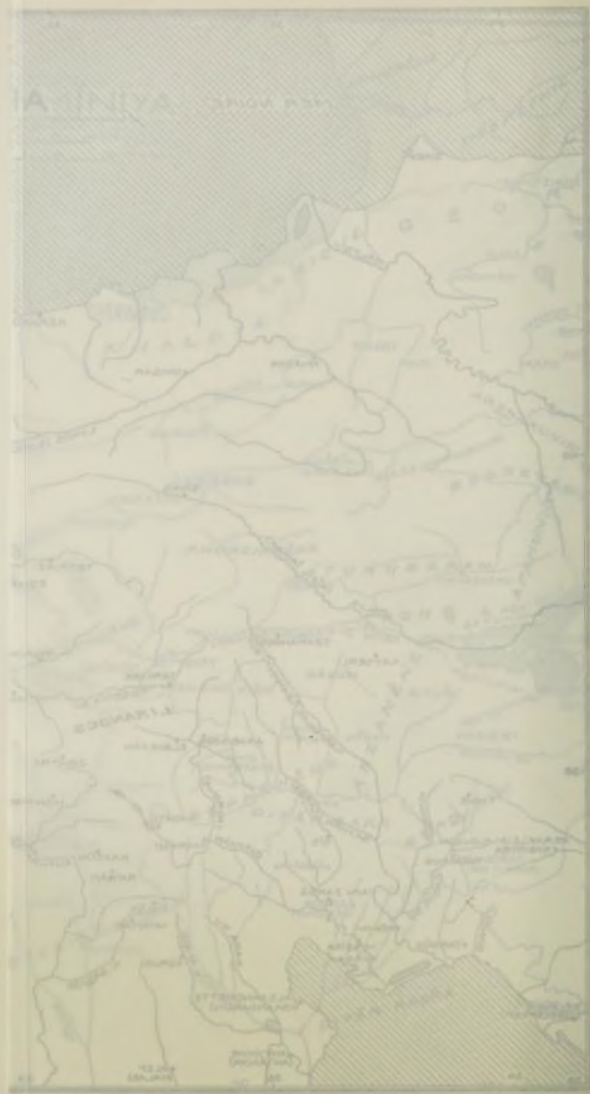
Under the emperor Maurice (582-602) the Byzantines, profiting by the troubles of the Persian empire, reconquered a part of Persarmenia. Armenia now enjoyed a period of peace, but Khosraw II Parwiz (590-628) resumed in 604 against the Byzantines a war which was to last until 629 and was marked by the celebrated campaigns of Heraclius (610-41) in Atropatene.

Throughout the Sāsānid period the intervention of the two great powers, the internal disorders between the great families which vied with each other for pre-eminence and the incursions of the *Khazars* on the north-eastern frontier maintained a complete anarchy in the land. Armenia, ravaged and torn, found itself at the moment of the Muslim invasion in a state of weakness that did not allow it to oppose a strong resistance to the Arab assault. Favoured by this anarchy, there now developed in the region of Lake Van the power of the Rāghūni family which had for its base the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van and whose chief Theodore played a great rôle at the time of the Arab invasions.

## 2. — Armenia under Arab domination.

The history of the conquest of Armenia by the Arabs still presents in its details many uncertainties and obscurities, for the information found in the Arab, Armenian, and Greek sources is often contradictory. The Armenian account by Bishop Sebeos, who speaks to us as an eye-witness of these memorable events, is by far the most important source for this period; to this account there must be added, as a valuable complement, the work of the priest Leontius which constitutes indeed for the years 662-770 the only notable testimony. Among the Arab authors the first place belongs to al-Balādhuri who made use to a unique degree of accounts drawn from the inhabitants of Armenia.

After the conquest of Syria and the defeat of Persia by the Arabs, the latter began to make repeated incursions into Armenia and to contend with the Byzantines for possession of the land. 'Uyād b. Ghünim, the conqueror of Mesopotamia, undertook between the close of the year 19 and the beginning of the year 20/639-40 a first campaign in south-western Armenia, where he penetrated as far as Bitlis. Al-Balādhuri (176), al-Tabari (i, 2566) and Yāqūt (i, 206) agree on the date of this campaign, but differ in regard to its details. A second Arab attack took place, according to the accounts of al-Tabari (i, 2666) and Ibn al-Athir (iii, 20-1), in the year 21/642. In four corps, two of which were under the command of Ḥabīb b. Maqlama and of Salmān b. Rabi'a, the Muslims advanced into the frontier regions of north-eastern Armenia, but, driven back on all sides, soon had to retire from the land. Nor did the brief *razzia* carried out in the year 24/645 by Salmān b. Rabi'a from Aḡbarbāyḡdūn into the Armenian border territory have any more enduring effect: see, on this raid, al-Ya'a'qūbī, 180; al-Balādhuri, 195; al-Tabari, i, 2806.





According to the evidence of the Arab historians and geographers (see especially al-Ya'qūbī, 194; al-Balādhūrī, 197-8; al-Tabarī, I, 2674-5, 2806-7; Ibn al-Athīr, II, 65-6), the greatest invasion of Armenia, the one which for the first time reduced the country to effective Arab control, occurred during the caliphate of 'Uthmān towards the end of 24/645-6. Mu'āwīya, the governor of Syria, charged the same general Ḥabīb b. Ma'sama, who had already distinguished himself in the battles of Syria and Mesopotamia, with the conquest of Armenia. The general marched first against Theodosiopolis (Armen. Karin, Ar. Kālikālā, now Erzerūn), the capital of Byzantine Armenia and took the town after a short siege. He inflicted a heavy defeat on a great Byzantine army which, reinforced by Khazar and Alan auxiliary troops, had moved forward to stop him on the Euphrates. He turned next towards the south-east in the direction of Lake Van and received the submission of the local princes of Aghlān (g.c.) and Moks. Arghlān on the north-eastern shore of Lake Van also yielded to the Arab troops. Ḥabīb then marched to besiege Dvin, the centre of Persarmenia, which likewise capitulated after a few days. He concluded a treaty of peace and guarantee with the town of Tiflis in return for the recognition of Arab suzerainty and the payment of a capitulation tax (ḡizya). At the same time, Salām b. Ka'b's army with his army of 'Irāqī troops, subjugated Arrān (Albania) and conquered its capital Bardha'a.

The Armenian tradition differs from the Arab tradition in the matter of dates as well as in various details. On one point alone, the direction given to the great Arab invasion, is there complete agreement in Sebeos and al-Balādhūrī, as a comparison of the routes indicated in each of these authors reveals. According to the Armenian historians, an army entered Armenia in 642, penetrated to the region of Airarat, conquered the capital Dvin and then left the country by the same route, carrying off 35,000 prisoners. In the next year the Muslims came, from Aghbarbāydlān, a new irruption into Armenia. They ravaged the region of Airarat and penetrated even into Georgia; a sharp defeat, which the prince Theodoros Ishkan inflicted on them compelled them, however, to retreat. Soon after this event the emperor recognised Theodoros as commander of the Armenian troops. Armenia, spared the Arab incursions for a number of years, then recognised anew the suzerainty of Byzantium. When the truce of three years concluded between the Arabs and Constans II, the successor of Heraclius, who had died in 641, came to an end in 652, a resumption of hostilities had to be expected in Armenia. In order to prevent a threatening invasion by the Arabs, Theodoros surrendered the land voluntarily to them and concluded with Mu'āwīya a treaty very favourable to the Armenians and which imposed on them only the recognition of Muslim suzerainty. In the same year, however, the emperor, with an army 200,000 strong, appeared in Armenia, where most of the local princes ranged themselves on his side. He brought all Armenia and Georgia once more under his authority without much trouble. Yet scarcely had Constans II left the country (654), having wintered at Dvin, than an Arab army entered the land in its turn and took possession of the districts on the northern shore of Lake Van. With the aid of these Arab forces Theodoros drove the Greeks from the country once more and was thereafter recognised by Mu'āwīya as prince of Armenia, Georgia and Albania. The attempts of the Greeks, with an army under the

orders of Maurianos, to reconquer the lost provinces failed completely. In 655 the Arabs extended their domination over the whole of Armenia and the Greco-Armenian capital Karin (Kālikālā) had also to open its gates to them. Two years later the Muslims saw themselves constrained, however, to renounce for the time being a possession that was ill assured. When, in the year 36/657, the first civil war between Mu'āwīya and 'Alī broke out, the former had need of his army of occupation established in Armenia and the country, empty of troops, fell back immediately under its old master, Byzantium.

It transpires from the account of Sebeos that all these events, merged by the Arab sources in the great campaign of Ḥabīb in 24-25/644-646, occurred only after the end of the three year truce; it is on this date, too, that the information in the *Chronography* of Theophanes is based. There is, in the Arab historians, no mention at all of the fact that Armenia, after the first Arab invasion which occurred in the reign of 'Umar, had been subjected anew to Byzantine domination, nor of the events which unfolded themselves in the land during the period before the accession of Mu'āwīya. That Theodoros Rghtuni submitted voluntarily to Mu'āwīya, a fact attested not only by Sebeos, but also by Theophanes, would be incomprehensible, if, ever since the first invasion of the Arabs, the country had been subjected to their full authority. According to Ghazarian, who, in the *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.* (II, 173-4), has made a close analysis of the divergences between the Arab and the Armenian sources, the contemporary account of Sebeos deserves more trust than that tradition of the Arabs; it is in Ghazarian, that Müller relies (*Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, I, 259-60); a different opinion is that of Theodorides (*Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, II, 70-1), according to whom there can be established in the Armenian and Arab historians a concordance of dates and facts relative to the first great Arab invasion. In the view of J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 90, 171, there were six Arab invasions between 640 and 651. H. Mamakian, *Irēen Études*, Erivan 1932 (trans. by H. Berberian in *Byzantion*, xviii, 1946-8) has submitted the traditional data to a close criticism and has arrived at the conclusion that until 650 there were only three Arab invasions: (i) in 640, a first invasion through the Taron region and the capture of Dvin on 6 October 640; (ii) in 642-3, a second invasion by way of Aghbarbāydlān into Persarmenia; (iii) in 650, a third invasion carried out from Aghbarbāydlān and marked by the taking of Artsakh in the Kogovit district to the north-east of Lake Van on 8 August 650.

The Arabs, who had carried off Theodoros Rghtuni in 655 to Damascus, where he died in 656, had set in his place at the head of Armenia Hamazasp Mamikonian, a member of a rival family, the fields of which extended from the Taron to Dvin. Mamikonian took, however, the side of Byzantium and was nominated by Constans II to the command of the country in 657-8. The Byzantine domination did not last long. Mu'āwīya, after he had come to power (41/661), wrote to the people of Armenia, inviting them to recognise anew the Arab sovereignty and to pay tribute, and all the Armenian princes dared not to pay tribute. According to the Armenian sources, members of the most notable families (the Mamikonians, the Bagratuni or Bagratids) assumed the government of the land under the first Umayyads down to 'Abd al-Malik. The Arab historians, on the other hand, describe Armenia as being under the

administration of Muslim governors since the conquest of Ḥabīb (see al-Ya'qūbī, al-Balādhūrī, al-Tabarī for the period extending from 'Uthmān to the 'Abbasid al-Mu'tasim, and the list of governors in Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, 177-82, Laurent, *op. cit.*, 336-47, R. Vasmier, *Chronology of the governors of Armenia under the first 'Abbasids*, in *Memoirs of the College of Orientalists*, Leningrad 1925, I, 381 ff. in Russian).

The first century of Arab domination in Armenia, despite the destructive wars, an era of national and literary efflorescence for the country. And yet Muslim rule, in the time of the Umayyads and still less in the time of the 'Abbasids, under whom the hand of the Arab governors weighed heavily on Armenia, was not able to implant itself solidly in the land. Disturbances and rebellions were therefore frequent. The greatest and most dangerous insurrection against the Arab yoke occurred in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. The Caliph sent his most skilful general, the Turk Bughā the Elder, with a strong army which, after sanguinary and desperate battles in the year 237-8/851-2, succeeded in overcoming the rebels. The entire nobility was then carried off into captivity. Al-Mutawakkil renounced his hostile policy only when he had need of his troops to fight the Byzantines and in order to prevent a new uprising fomented by the latter. He therefore freed the captive *nakhkar* and recognised (247/861-2) as the chief prince of Armenia the Bagratid Art (Ar. Aghōt) who had already rendered to the Arab cause most important services. During the twenty-five years of his rule as the prince of princes Aghōt won the affection of all his subjects as well as that of the local lords to such a degree that, on the request of these latter, the Caliph al-Mu'tamid conferred on him in 273/886-7 the title of king. He received the same distinction from the emperor, who concluded with him at the same time a treaty of alliance. The relations of Aghōt with the Caliph were never troubled; he paid his tribute regularly, but administered and governed his possessions in his own fashion; the native princes likewise acquired during his reign an almost independent status.

After the death of Aghōt (862-90) there reigned his eldest son, Smbat I (Ar. Smbatō), a man indeed of heroic character, but one who was in no way capable of withstanding his external foes, the Shaybānids of Diyar Bakr and the Sājidids of Aghbarbāydlān. He was unsuccessful in his conflict with the Shaybānids. Nevertheless, a little later in 286/899 the intervention of the Caliph al-Mu'taqid brought to an end the Shaybānid domination and delivered the Armenian provinces from these invaders. The Sājid Aghlūn, however, in his thrust towards the west and the north menaced Armenia unceasingly. The situation of Smbat became still more difficult in the time of the astute Yūsuf, the brother and successor of Aghlūn (d. 288/901). Yūsuf understood that above all else he must draw to his side the Ardznuni family which had become, since the reign of Aghōt I, the most powerful princely house next to that of the Bagratids. About 909 he even conferred the royal crown on the head of this family, Gagik, the lord of Vaspurakan, a distinction that the Caliph al-Mu'tasim renewed in 304/916 and 306/919.

Yūsuf, from the year 910, ravaged Armenia in the course of his expeditions and at length, in the fortress of Kapot, besieged Smbat, now abandoned by all the princes. In 915 (according to Adontz 271) the king of Armenia surrendered to his adversary, who, after having inflicted on him a year of imprisonment, had him put to death by cruel

tortures (914; according to Adontz 912). Anarchy ensued in Armenia after the fall of Smbat. His vigorous son, Aghōt II, the 'Iron King' (915-20), succeeded in recovering the throne with the support of Byzantine arms; he was at first thwarted by Yūsuf who raised against him one of his cousins, but Yūsuf, seeing that Aghōt was getting the better of his foes, granted him recognition and sent him a royal crown (about 917). After the capture of Yūsuf, who had risen in revolt, by the troops of the Caliph in 919, his successor Shuk (Shubuk) allied himself with Aghōt II in order to drive out the Caliph's forces and bestowed on him the title of Shāhshāh, a title which recognised as belonging to Aghōt suzerainty over the principalities of Vaspurakan, Iberia, Georgia and other regions. Aghōt II raised the Bagratid power to its apogee and ruled over the greatest part of central and northern Armenia where Smbat had already considerably enlarged the territory of this family. His reign ended in tranquillity after a reconciliation of the Armenian princes and the nominal recognition of his supremacy by his rivals, notably the Ardznuni Dvin, however, remained in the hands of Yūsuf's lieutenant.

In southern Armenia the Ardznuni (see above) ruled over a less extensive territory (Vaspurakan, with Van as the capital). Apart from these two great kingdoms there still existed a series of smaller principalities which for the most part recognised only nominally the suzerainty of the Bagratids. Moreover, in the south, in the region of the Apulunk and Lake Van, there were several Arab emirates, independent but isolated from the Caliphate. The history of Armenia is not therefore continuous with that of the Bagratids.

Throughout the entire reign of Aghōt II and for much of the reign of his successor Abas (920-53) the war between Byzantium and the Arabs continued without interruption and was at times fought out in Armenia. The Greeks operated in northern Armenia as well as in southern Armenia against the Armeno-Arab emirates of Lake Van which, according to the Byzantine sources, were compelled to submit to the emperor Romanus Lecapenus (919-44). The last Sājid ruler of Aghbarbāydlān retained hardly any influence in Armenia. The Hamdanids, who were the masters of Diyar Bakr, bordering on Armenia, and were in constant war against the Byzantines, succeeded for a time in exacting from all Armenia (according to the historians Ibn Zāfir and Ibn al-Azrak) a recognition of their sovereignty and established a more effective dominion over the Armeno-Arab emirates in the region of Lake Van. These emirates later recognised the suzerainty of Bāgh, the founder of the Marwānid dynasty (g.c.) of Diyar Bakr, and of his successors.

After the Hamdanids, it was the Musāfirids (g.c.) of Aghbarbāydlān who exacted from the princes of Aghbarbāydlān a recognition of their suzerainty, imposed tribute on them (see Ibn Hawkal<sup>1</sup>, 354, for the year 955-6) and became the masters of Dvin.

Aghōt III (952-77) transferred the official capital of the Bagratid kingdom to the little fortress of Ani (g.c.) which he and his successor Smbat II, by erecting there magnificent buildings, transformed into a pearl of the Orient. It is during his reign that the territory of Kars was raised to the rank of a kingdom for the benefit of a prince of the Bagratid house and that Byzantium, moreover, in 968 annexed the region of Taron, the field of another Bagratid.



Smbat II (977-89) and his brother Gagik I (990-1020) ruled with vigour and success but, in consequence of a ridiculous family policy, became involved in almost continual strife with the neighbouring Christian principalities; they were also in conflict with the neighbouring Muslim amirs who in turn took possession of Dwin, imposed tribute on the Armenians and were at times invited by the Armenians themselves to intervene in their quarrels. Thus the Bagratid of Kars called in a Muslim amir against Smbat. In 987-8 Smbat had to recognise the authority of the Rawadid prince of Aghar-baydján, the successor of the Musafids, and to pay him the tribute due in former years.

In the conflict against the Rawadid Mamlik concerning the other emirates of southern Armenia Gagik allied himself with Davit' of Taik' who was the master of a great part of Iberia (Georgia) and, about 993, had seized Malazgird from the Marwánid prince of Diyár Bakr. Mamlik was twice defeated, the second time decisively, in 998, at Tsumb near Ardžih, and to take refuge in that place.

The emperor Basil II (976-1026) aimed, however, at gaining possession of all the Armenian principalities. Having succeeded in obtaining from Davit' of Taik', in 990, the promise that he would cede to him his territories after his death, the emperor annexed Taik' and also Malazgird in 1001 after the death of Davit'. Following the death of Gagik I troubles arose in the Bagratid kingdom owing to the competition for the throne between his sons, Johannes-Smbat and Ashot IV, the younger brother, to the intervention of the king of Georgia and the king of Vaspurakan in this matter, and to the first Saldjukid incursions. Basil II took advantage of these events and succeeded, partly through annexation and partly through mediation between the princes, in extending his authority over Armenia. Senekeirin, the last Andranik, abandoned Vaspurakan to Byzantium in 1021 through fear of a threatening Turkish assault and received in exchange the region of Sebasteia (Sivas), to which were added other territories in Cappadocia (Caesarea, Tzamaandos). The Muslim amirates of Lake Van (Aghlät, Ardžih, Berkit) were annexed between 1023 and 1034. King Johannes of Ani, intimidated and seeing his kingdom encircled by Byzantium, proclaimed the emperor his heir, retaining temporary possession of Ani until his death. On the death of Ashot IV (1040), which was soon followed by that of Johannes (1041), with whom he shared possession of the Bagratid realm, the emperor Michael IV resolved at last to incorporate Armenia wholly within his empire, but his army was defeated and the son of Ashot IV, Gagik II, then only 17 years old, was proclaimed king by the Armenian nobles (1042). As soon, however, as Constantine Monomachos had ascended the throne, he decided to annex Ani and, in order to weaken Gagik, did not hesitate to launch against him the amir of Dwin, Abü'l-Aswár, of the dynasty of the Shaddadids of Gandja (see SHADDADID, BAKO). Between two fires, Gagik showed himself to be drawn to Constantinople and was obliged to cede Ani (1045). He received in recompense lands in Cappadocia in the themes of Charsianon and Lykandos. Thereafter the greater part of Armenia was governed directly by Byzantium and the discontent provoked by the centralising policy of the empire and the favours granted to the Chalcedonian clergy explain in part the success of the Saldjukids in Armenia.

The Bagratid kingdom of Kars was only annexed by Byzantium in 1064 after the Saldjukid invasion;

the last king Gagik-Abas surrendered it to the emperor Constantine X Ducas, who indemnified him with estates in Cappadocia.

Thus, following their kings, an important part of the Armenian people settled down in the territories of the Byzantine empire. Armenians, however, had long been found outside Armenia. It is well known that they furnished Byzantium with soldiers and a number of generals and even emperors. It was Armenians who, under the famous Melias (Arm. Mēh), colonised the regions of Lykandos, Tzamaandos, Larissa and Symposion, when, at the beginning of the 10th century, Byzantium decided to recapture these territories of Cappadocia which had been devastated by the Arab raids, and who assured the defence of these lands and at the same time won renown in the Arab-Byzantine wars. There were Armenians, too, in the Muslim territories, serving the Caliphs, but converted to Islam, like the celebrated amir 'Alī al-Armani who died in 863, not long after he had been named governor of Armenia and Agharbaydján. Armenians were also to be found in Egypt in the army of the Fātimids. It is above all in Byzantine territory, however, that the immigration was important and contributed, in the second part of the 10th century to the repopulation of the lands in Cilicia and northern Syria reconquered by Byzantium and evacuated by the Muslims and inhabitants. The geographer Mukaddas (*BGA* iii, 158) states that in his time the Amanas was peopled with Armenians. Asoghik tells us that under the pontificate of Šahkik I (972-92) there were Armenian bishops at Antioch and Tarsus. During the course of the 11th century the rôle of the Armenians in these regions (Cappadocia, Commagene, northern Syria and even Mesopotamia, e.g., at Edessa) was considerable; numerous Armenian officers acted as governors of towns for Byzantium and, profiting from the troubles caused by the first Saldjukid invasions, founded Armenian principalities (see ARMAN).

During the same period Armenians were to be found with the Fātimids of Egypt. Following the Armenian Badr al-Djamil [q.v.] who, after being a slave, had become commander of the Egyptian troops in Syria and then rose to the rank of wafr at Cairo (1075/94), there entered into Egypt, first, the Armenians with whom he had already surrounded himself, and later all those whom he summoned there and who took service in the army and even in the administration. These Armenians furnished to the Fātimid Caliphate a number of wafrs, of whom one, Bahrām [q.v.] named a Christian. The introduction into Egypt of an important Armenian population led to the creation of numerous Armenian monasteries and churches and also of an Armenian catholicate. The Armenians were regarded with favour by some of the Fātimid Caliphs. See on this subject M. Canard, *Un vizir chrétien à Fāṭima fatimide*, in *Afrique*, Algiers, xii (1954) and *Notes sur les Arméniens en Égypte à l'époque fatimide*, *ibid.*, xiii (1955). Cf. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoukides dans l'Asie Occidentale jusqu'en 1081*, in *Annales de l'Est*, 28th year, fasc. 2, Paris, 1914 (1919). (M. CANARD).

## II(b). The Armenians under the Turks and the Mongols.

While these last events were taking place, the Turks, before long led by the Saldjukid dynasty, were conquering Muslim Iran as far as the Armeno-Byzantine borders. Although this thrust was probably not, as is sometimes alleged, the cause of

the first losses of Armenian territory to Byzantium (*J.A.*, 1054, 275-9 and 1056, 129-34) it nevertheless constituted a tragic threat to the Armenians in the middle of the 11th/12th century. After a period of Turkoman ravages, the battle of Manazgird (1071) [see MALAZGIRD] marked the end of Byzantine supremacy, and the Turkomans settled in Armenia, Cappadocia and throughout most of Asia Minor. The Armenian territories on the borders of Agharbaydján were incorporated in the Saldjukid empire, while those in the centre and west took shape as different principalities: that of Aghlät [q.v.], founded by a Saldjukid officer and vassal, Sukmān al-Kubā, who assumed the ambitious title of *Šahā-i Arman*; that of Ani [q.v.], assigned by the Saldjukids to a branch of the former Kurdish dynasty of Arrān, the Shaddadids (V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1923, 79-106); and finally the autonomous Turkoman states of the Saltukids at Erzerum and the Mangudjids at Erziğjan, while the Dänishmandids of Cappadocia and the Saldjukids of Anatolia and the Taurus contended for possession of Malatya, and Diyār Bakr was eventually absorbed by the Artukids. The position changed at the beginning of the 12th/13th century, when the greater part of Diyār Bakr and the principality of Aghlät were annexed by the Ayyubids of Egypt and Syria; later, following the temporary invasion of Armenia and Asia Minor by the Kh'arizmiens, the principalities of Erziğjan and Erzerum, together with that of Aghlät, were incorporated, as the Dänishmandid territories had been earlier, in the united and powerful Saldjukid state of Asia Minor. In the regions of Arrān and Ani however, the Armenians again became, if not independent, at least subjects of a Christian state (but of a different Church), as a result of Georgian expansion at the expense of the Atabeks of Agharbaydján and the Shaddadids.

Although some Armenians had made agreements with the invaders, and most in any case had tried to come to terms with them, the devastation caused in the early stages had accentuated and increased the emigration which had been set in motion by Byzantine policy, and which now took the direction of the Taurus Mountains and the Cilician plain. For a time, after Manazgird, all the territories from the Cilician Taurus to Malatya, including Edessa and Antioch, were reunited under the control of a former Armeno-Byzantine general, Philaretos, whose descendants still maintained their position in the Taurus at Edessa and Malatya, under Turkish suzerainty, at the time of the arrival of the Crusaders. The Armenian populations of the Syro-Euphrates borders were then incorporated in the free states of Antioch and Edessa, but, in Cilicia, a national dynasty, that of the Rupenians, gradually achieved freedom; its rise, sanctioned in 1198 by the recognition of the royal title of Leo the Great, attracted so many Armenians that the area could with justice be referred to as a "Little Armenia". We are not required here to follow its history, but only to draw attention to the fact that the struggle against his neighbours and hostile factions impelled Prince Mēh temporarily from 1170 to 1174 to become a Muslim in order to obtain the protection of Nūr al-Dīn [q.v.], and that for a longer period, in the 12th/13th century, under the new Hethumian dynasty, the kingdom had to wage hard battles against the Saldjukids of Asia Minor, to whom they were obliged to intervene to pay a vague allegiance (cf. a treatise by P. Bedoukian in course of publication for the Amer. Numismatic Society).

Nevertheless, once the initial devastation was over, and stable states had been organised, the lot of the Armenians under Muslim domination was no worse than it had been under earlier Muslim régimes. Quite apart from Malikshāh, whose generosity the Armenian historians are unanimous in praising, it is difficult to see major difficulties occurring in the principalities of Asia Minor, where there remained an ecclesiastical organisation, monasteries, some cultural activity (cf. for example S. Der Nersisyan, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, Harvard, 1947, 131), and large Armenian towns, such as Erziğjan and Erzerum. The only dramatic events which occurred were due to special causes. There was first of all, about 1180, the massacre of the Armenians of Iğabal Sassūn, as a result of the disorders among the almost autonomous Turkomans and Kurds of that region, and especially, the massacre of part of the Christian population of Edessa, at the time of the recapture of the city from the Franks by Zangī in 1144 and Nūr al-Dīn in 1146.

Fundamentally, in fact, it was not for religious but political reasons that the Armenians at different times suffered at the hands of their Muslim masters. Despite some friction, the Armenians of the west generally acted as "accomplices" of the Franks. This was the reason, moreover, for the frequent disputes in the Armenian Church, especially between the Armenians of the Muslim States of Great Armenia, who were primarily concerned not to incur the ill-will of their masters, and those of Cilicia, who were drawn more towards the Latin world; and it similarly affected the attitude of the Armenians to the Mongol invasion which determined the reactions of the Muslim powers towards them.

The establishment of the Mongol empire heralded profound changes in the conditions of life in the different religious communities of the Near East. In the Muslim states conquered by them, the Mongols usually relied on the support of the religious minorities, Christians in particular. Favourably impressed by the news received from his eastern co-religionists, Hethum I acted as the precursor of the Mongols on the shores of the Mediterranean, against the Muslims of Syria and Asia Minor. But this action of the Armenians in itself provoked the wrath of the Muslims, with the result that, when the Mamluks of Egypt took the offensive against the Mongols, the Cilician kingdom was one of their principal targets. The break-up of the Mongol empire in the 8th/14th century left the Armenians defenceless, and the capital of the Cilician kingdom, Sis, succumbed in 1375. The seat of the Katholikos was moved back to Etchmiadzin, near the Araxes, in the 9th/15th century.

In Great Armenia, however, the situation was not favourable for long. About 1300, the Mongols became Muslims, and, although their toleration was not affected, all the same there was no longer any question of special protection. Moreover, Mongol rule had increased in Armenia the size of the nomad element, primarily Turkoman, which inflicted great injury on the peasants, for the most part Armenians. Later Great Armenia, in common with all its neighbours, experienced the savage assault of Timur, and the establishment in the 9th/15th century of a stable and well-organised principality under the Turkoman dynasty of the Ak-Koyunlu [q.v.] was not sufficient to restore the former strength of the Armenian community; again many Armenians emigrated, this time mainly to the regions north of the Black Sea. The wars between the Ottomans and the Safavids



were still to be fought on Armenian soil, and part of the Armenians of Aghlabaydjan were later deported as a military security measure to Isfahan and elsewhere. Semi-autonomous seigniories survived, with varying fortunes, in the mountains of Karabagh, to the north of Aghlabaydjan, but came to an end in the 18th century.

**Bibliography:** (in addition to the general works); the general sources, in all languages, for the history of the Near East from the 12th to the 15th century will not be enumerated here; a study of these will be found, with regard to the period of the Crusades, in *Syrie du Nord* mentioned below, 2-100; special attention will be drawn here to the not inconsiderable number of 12th and 13th century Armenian historians, especially Matthew of Edessa and the anonymous "Royal Historian" used in the works of Alishan mentioned below (an edition of the text has been prepared by Skinner), and to the historians of Great Armenia at the time of the Mongol conquest; in connection with the latter, the *History of the Nations of the Archers*, for long attributed to Malachi the Monk, has been restored by its editor-translator R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye (*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, xii, 1949) to its real author Gregory of Akane. For the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, only one noteworthy Armenian chronicle exists, that of Thomas of Medzop, part of which has been made accessible in French by F. Nève, *Exposé des guerres de Tamerlan* etc., Brussels 1860; for the Safawid period, Arakel of Tabriz, trans. by M. F. Brosset, *Collection d'Auteurs arméniens*, I, 1867.

Molén work: J. L. Gent, *Byzance et Turcs Séleucides*, 1920; Cl. Cahen, *La première Péninsule turque en Anatolie, Byzantisme 1948*; idem, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisés*, 1940; the histories of the Crusades of de Grousset, Runciman, and the syndicated *History of the Crusades* of Philadelphia; L. Alishan, *Sisouan*, French trans. Venice 1899; the introduction by Dulacian to *Recueil des Historiens des Croisés*, *Historiens arméniens*, I. Among other special studies of recent date, O. Turan, *Les Séleucides et leurs sujets non-musulmans*, in *Studia Islamica*, 4, 1953.

(CL. CAHEN)

## II(c) Ottoman Armenia.

The Ottomans conquered western Armenia in the last decade of the 14th century, under Bayezid I, and eastern Armenia in the following two centuries, under Mehmed II and Selim I. They eventually became masters of the whole of Armenia, Great and Little (separated *proso modo* by the upper reaches of the Euphrates), except the Khanate of Erivan (or rather Erivan), in Persian and Turkish Revan, a region containing the patriarchal seat of Eǧmiazin (in Turkish *Ül Küste*) and relics of the ancient capitals of the Kings of Armenia. The region, situated in Transcaucasia to the middle Araxes, for long disputed by Turks and Persians, was ceded by the treaty of Turkmen-Chay (2 February 1828) to the Russians, who have since created from it the Soviet Federal Republic of Armenia. In the south of this region is situated Mt. Ararat (in Turkish Ağrı Dağı, in Armenian *Massis*), on which western expeditions periodically seek and claim to discover the wreckage of Noah's Ark. It is the point where the Turkish, Persian and Russian frontiers meet.

The province of Kars on the other hand, ceded to the Russians in 1878, was recovered by Turkey in 1918.

Ottoman administrative terminology—especially with respect to the programmes of reforms promised to the European Powers—adopted the term *wilāyat-i silt* "the six provinces (*silt*, populated by Armenians)": viz., Van, Bitlis (alternating with Mush), Erzerum, Harput, Sivas and Diyarbakir. No account was taken by this convention of the *sandjak* of Marash, forming part of the former *wilāyat* of Aleppo, or of the former *wilāyat* of Adana (Cilicia or Little Armenia in the strict sense of the term). Turkish domination did not result in the assimilation of the Armenians, who were preserved by the difference of religion. Many Armenians, especially among the men and the Catholics, adopted Turkish as their second, or even as their first language.

After the capture of Constantinople an important change occurred in the life of the Armenian community. Up to 1453 it had at its head three patriarchs or *katholikos* (katholikos): (1) the patriarch of Eǧmiazin, restored to this monastery since 1447; (2) the patriarch of Sis (now Kozan) in Cilicia, who had resided in this town since 1292 and did not recognise (1); (3) the patriarch of Aghtamar, (a small island in the Lake Van), since 1117. The Armenian bishop of Jerusalem also bore the title and ornaments of a patriarch.

After the conquest of Byzantium, Mehmed II, true to his political views, summoned to Istanbul the Armenian bishop of Brusa, Joachim, and made him a patriarch with the same prerogatives the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. In this way the Armenian "nation" (Turkish  *millet*) was formed. A council of the clergy and a council of the laity assisted the patriarch, who was elected from the "prelates" superior to the ordinary bishops and called *mārkhassā*, properly "saint priest" (from the Syriac *mārkhassā*; the etymology through the Turkish *murakhshā* must be rejected). The residence of the patriarch of Constantinople is in the Kum Kapu quarter.

From then on a better footing, the Armenians succeeded in occupying an important position in Turkey, notably as bankers (*sarrāf*, properly "money-changers"). Ubicini (*Lettres sur la Turquie*, 1854, II, 311-14) gives interesting details about the position of genuine strength which they had achieved in their dealings with the provincial pashas and the Ottoman government in general. They were also merchants (often cloth merchants) and active caravan leaders who maintained connections between Istanbul, Moldavia, Poland (Lemberg, Lwów), Nuremberg, Bruges and Antwerp. As artisans they were architects, house-painters, manufacturers of silk stuffs and gunpowder, and printers (Armenian printing-press at Istanbul in 1679). Like the Jews they were exempt from military service until the revolution of the Young Turks.

The most important events in the history of Ottoman Armenia are:

- 1) The religious schism, which resulted in the formation of a (Uniate) Catholic Community and internal persecution (Protestant propaganda played a less important part);
- 2) The revolutionary activity;
- 3) The repression and massacres.

Roman propaganda has been spectacularly effective in Armenia since the 12th century. It was resumed by the oecumenical council of Florence (1438-45) and, in 1587, by the famous Pope Sixtus Quintus, among the Armenians of Syria, but found its greatest driving force in Mechtitar (born at Sivas in 1675, died Venice 1749). Converted to Catholicism by the Jesuits, he

succeeded in founding a remarkable order which bore his name. The Republic of Venice ceded in 1717 to the Mechtitarists the small island of Saint-Lazare, near Lido, where their monastery was installed in an old leper hospital. After the death of Mechtitar a schism occurred, and a certain number of clergy retired to Trieste and then to Vienna (1810). There was also a subsidiary branch of the order at Padua which, transferred to Paris, continued to exist there for twenty years. The Mechtitarists possessed rich libraries (numerous oriental MSS.), and printing-presses; from these they published historical and philological works which gave a place to Turkish as well as Armenian studies.

Even during the lifetime of Mechtitar the overwhelming of Catholic propaganda, which was gaining ground in the richest and most enlightened section of the Armenian community, provoked a lively reaction among the patriarchs of the Gregorian persuasion. The latter were supported by the Ottoman government, which regarded with disfavour these "Frankish plots".

There were martyrs among the Armenian Catholics who refused to abjure their faith, as in the case of Der Gomidas or Der Gomès and two of his followers (1707). He was the grandfather of Cosme Gomidas of Carbone, an interpreter at the Spanish embassy and author of a Turkish grammar in Italian (Rome, 1794). The Catholics suffered further persecutions in 1759, and even during the reign of the reforming Sultan Mahmūd II, in 1815 and 1828.

They found allies, on the other hand, in the French ambassadors and the Jesuits. Thus the imprudent M. de Ferrol secured from the Porte the banishment of the patriarch Avedis, who was hostile to the Catholics, after which the latter was abducted and incarcerated in the Bastille. He died in 1771 at Paris in the house of François Pétis de la Croix. The Jesuits at the same period secured the closure of the Armenian printing-press.

In 1830 General Guilleminot, who also was a French ambassador, secured for the Catholics a separate ecclesiastical organisation, and in 1866 Mgr. Hassun, already patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, assumed the title of Catholic-Armenian Patriarch of Cilicia for all the Ottoman empire.

To what cause are the Armenian revolts to be attributed? Certainly not to utilitarian considerations. "The Armenians", wrote the impartial Ubicini (*op. cit.* II, 347), "are of all the nations subject to the Porte, the one which has most interests in common with the Turks and is the most directly interested in preserving them". See also Victor Bérard, *La Politique du Sultan* (Abdullahid II), 1897, 149. In the official texts, and when compared with the Greeks and Macedonians, the Armenians were termed *millet-i sâhibe* "the loyal nation".

The causes of Armenian discontent were as follows:

- 1) The vexatious and troublesome behaviour of, and the acts of brigandage committed by, the Kurdish and Circassian immigrants.
- 2) The negligence, exactions and extortions of Ottoman officials.
- 3) Russian incitement, especially from 1912 onwards.

4) A keen love of independence in a generally courageous people which prides itself on being one of the most ancient known, and which still looks back nostalgically to the short periods during which it succeeded in maintaining its autonomy. Certain districts even succeeded in remaining virtually in-

dependent: for example the unconquerable mountaintops of Zeytun (now Süleymanlı), in the present *wilāyat* of Marash, Haçin (now Saimbeyli, in the present *wilāyat* of Seyhan) and Saun (Kahraman, in the present *wilāyat* of Sirt).

5) The activities of the revolutionary committees, sometimes particularly audacious, as in the case of the armed attack in broad daylight by 24 Armenians, and the siege of the Ottoman Bank at Galata (26 August 1896). The extremist or terrorist revolutionaries were called *Tağhaskutyan*. There existed a more moderate committee, the Hınçak, formed in 1867 at Paris by Avedis Nazarbek, an Armenian from the Caucasus.

All these factors served as reason or excuse for a violent campaign of repression which took the form of mass deportations or massacres. With the connivance or at the instance of the authorities there occurred, among a people who were by nature kindly and even chivalrous, a long and contagious outburst of religious fanaticism and racial hatred. The calvary of the Armenians in Turkey began with the Erzerum affair (25 February 1896), went through numerous crises, notably in 1895-6 and in 1909 (Adana), and reached its culmination during the First World War, in 1915, during the systematic suppression of the Armenians organised by the government of the Young Turks.

*Armeno-Turkish war of 1920.* — After the collapse in 1917 of the Bolshevik Russian front, which in Turkey passed to the west of Trebizond and Erzurum, it was in the main the Armenian corps formed by the government of Transcaucasia which had to contain the Turkish counter-thrust. It was defeated and driven from Turkish territory (Turkey concluded the treaty of Batum with the Armenian Republic on 4 June 1918). In 1920 Mustafa Kemal Paşa, in order to put an end to a state of undeclared war, appointed General Kizim Karabekir Paşa, commanding the 15th army corps, to the command of the north-west front. The troops of the "United Armenian Republic" of Tağhaskut Alexander, after being defeated, and the treaty of Alexandropolis (in Turkish Gümrü, now Leninakan) of 2 December 1920 confirmed the gains won by the Turks, the most important of which was the recovery of Kars.

**Bibliography:** As far as is known, no works specially devoted to Turkish Armenia exist in any western language (the works in Armenian are not accessible to me). Such information as exists, often bearing the imprint of a strongly partisan bias, is to be gleaned here and there in the general works on Turkey. The following should be mentioned: Amédée Jaubert, *Voy. en Arm. et en Pers.*, 1821; Comte de Clavel, *Arm., Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, 1892; André Mandelstam, *La Soc. des Nations et les Puissances devant le problème arménien*, 1925; Aghasi, *Zekoun depar les orig. jusqu'à l'insurrection de 1895*, translation by Archag Tobobanian, preface by Victor Bérard, 1897.—There is a copious bibliography on the massacres. The following will be mentioned: *Le traitement des Arméniens dans l'Emp. Ott.* (1915-1916), extracts from the "Blue Book" with a preface by Viscount Bryce, 1916; René Poincaré, *La suppression des Arméniens*, 1916; *Les massacres d'Arménie; témoignages des victimes*, preface by G. Clemenceau, 1906; *Khâṭirât-i Sâde-i ehâṣ Kâmil paşa*, Istanbul 1320/1911, 2nd ed. 134 H.; *Sa'ûl paşanın Kâmil paşa Khâṭirâtına Cevâbları*, Istanbul 1327/1909, 78 H. (J. DREVY)



III. Division, Administration, Population, Commerce, Natural Products and Industry.

#### Division.

Since the size of Armenia, in its territorial delimitation, has varied much in the course of the centuries, the regions into which the lands designated under this name were divided have not always been the same. In ancient times the Armenians (see the *Geogr. of the Pseudo-Menes Xerxes*, 60) separated the land into two unequal sections: *Mer-Haik* (Armenia major) and *Pokr-Haik* (Armenia minor). Great Armenia, i.e., Armenia proper, extended from the Euphrates in the west to the neighbourhood of the Kur in the east and was divided into 15 provinces; Little Armenia ran from the Euphrates to the sources of the Haiks. The Arabs also were acquainted with this twofold division (see, e.g., Yāqūt, I, 229, 13). Yet, in contradistinction to the Armenians, the Romans and the Byzantines, they extended the name *Armīniya* to the whole of the land situated between the Kur and the Caspian, i.e., to *Erzurūn* (Georgia, Iberia, Arrān (Albania) and the mountainous regions of the Caucasus as far as the pass of Darband (Dāb al-Abwāb), the reason being that the history of this country, especially in the struggle against the Muslims, reveals itself as closely linked with that of Armenia. By *Armīniya al-Kubrā*, "Great Armenia", the Arabs (see Yāqūt, *ibid.*) understood particularly the districts which have *Khilāt* (Akhlat, [g.s.]) as their centre, whereas they applied the name *Armīniya al-Sughrā*, "Little Armenia", to the region of Tiflis (i.e., to Georgia). Ibn Hawkal (ed. De Goeje, 193) was acquainted with yet another division of Armenia proper (encompassing Albania and Iberia) into *Inner* (*Armīniya dākhila*) and *Outer* (*Armīniya khāridja*); to the former belonged the districts of Dabīl (Dvīn), Nakhawā (Nakhchawān) and Kālīkālā, latter Arrān al-Rūm (Karin) and to the latter the region of Lake Van (Berhā, Aghlūt, Ardjish, Westān, etc.).

Apart from this division there existed also another of ancient date which was adopted by the Byzantines (partition of Justinian in 530) and which, with the changes introduced by Maurice (591), remained in force until the Arab invasion. This system (*Armenia prima, secunda, tertia, quarta*) was also taken over by the Arabs; but, in the classification of the various districts among these four groups, the Arabs deviate so markedly from their predecessors that the explanation of this divergence can only be found by supposing a new distribution of districts to have occurred after the conquest. The data given by the Arab historians and geographers differ, moreover, greatly among themselves. Here, in essentials, is a table of the Arab division: (1) *Armenia I*: Arrān (Albania) with the capital Bardha'a and the land between the Kur and the Caspian (see below); *Armenia II*: Diyar-i-Gorjān; (3) *Armenia III*: comprising central Armenia proper with the districts of Dabīl (Dvīn), Basfurrajdān (Vasurakān), Baghravand, and Nakhawā (Nakhchawān); (4) *Armenia IV*: the south-western region with *Shimshāt* (Arsanotsān), Kālīkālā, Aghlūt and Ardjish.

Furthermore, when mention is made in the Arab authors (al-Sharīfī, II, 136 ff., and Ibn al-Fakīh, *Takwīm*, 487 = al-Yāqūt, *ibid.*, 364, 5, 12) of a twofold partition of Armenia reproducing very exactly the division that existed before Justinian, it transpires, from the enumeration of the districts included therein, that this division is obtained only by the complete exclusion of Armenia II.

See, on the pre-Islamic divisions of Armenia, H. Geiser, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Leipzig 1889, 66 and, by the same scholar, the edition of George of Cyprus (Lipsiae 1890), xlii ff. (ed. E. Honigsmann, Brussels 1939, with the *Synecdoche* of Hierocles, 49-70); and, for the Arab period, Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, 40, 53 and *arm. Fikāh*, II, 207-8; Thopchschian, *loc. cit.*, 13, 137; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 1909 ff., and R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 239.

#### Administration.

In regard to the internal situation in Armenia during the Arab period (see especially Ghazarian, *loc. cit.*, II, 103-208; Thopchschian, *loc. cit.*, II, 123-7; Laurent, *op. cit.*, *passim*) this land did not always constitute a separate province, but was frequently united with *Ađharbaydān* or with the *Djāzira* under a single government. The governor (*amīr* or *wālī*), usually appointed by the Caliph himself, resided to the south of Erivān, near the Araxes, at Dvīn, which had already been, before the Muslim conquest, the seat of a Persian *marzban*. The principal task of the governor consisted in protecting the country against its external and internal enemies; he had at his disposal for this purpose an army which was garrisoned, not in Armenia itself, but in *Ađharbaydān* (Marāgha and Ardabīl) were the general headquarters. The governor had above all to see to the punctual payment of taxes. For the rest, the Arabs did not concern themselves with the internal administration; this was left to a number of local lords (*arm. iškāhān*, and *nahharar*, Greek *arhōn*, *ar*, *batrik*, *patrikios*) who, after the Arab invasion, retained all their possessions and enjoyed within their domains a certain independence. Each of these lords, from 'Abbasid times onward, was also obliged, in case of war, to furnish a contingent of troops without receiving any indemnity.

Armenia was, among the provinces of the empire of the Caliphs, a land taxed only moderately. In place of the various kinds of taxes (*diyya*, *khāridj*, etc.: capitation tax, land tax, etc.) the system of *mubāla'a* was applied from the beginning of the 9th century, i.e., the Armenian princes had to pay a fixed sum. The list of contributions given by the *Khālidān*, which relates to the period of greatest prosperity for the Caliphate, notes for Armenia (taken in the broad sense of the Arabs) the sum of 13 million dirhems, i.e., more than 15½ million gold francs, as the revenue of the years 158-70/775-86; in addition to this there were also the revenues in kind (carpets, mules, etc.). Kudāma gives as the average figure for taxes during the years 204-27/819-32 no more than 9 million dirhems only. The treaties, in respect to taxation, were scrupulously observed by the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids and were violated only by Yūsuf b. Abī 'l-Sā'id. See, in regard to financial matters, A. von Kremer, *Kulturgesch. des Orients*, I, 343, 356, 368, 377; Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, 203 ff.; Thopchschian, *op. cit.* (1904), II, 130 ff. The Arab monetary system was also introduced into Armenia; under the Umayyads, coins were already being struck there (see Thopchschian, II, 127 ff.).

According to Yāqūt (II, 222, 12) there were in Armenia not less than 18,000 localities great and small, of which 1,000 were situated on the Araxes alone (according to Ibn al-Fakīh). In Arab medieval times the most important towns of Armenia proper were: Dabīl (Dvīn) which, as the residence of the

Muslim government, filled the rôle of a capital throughout the period of the Caliphs — while it had a large population at this time, it became, in the modern period, nothing more than an insignificant village; in addition, Kālīkālā, later called *Arzan al-Rūm* (Erzerūn), *Erzindjān* (Erzindjān), *Makhaddir* (Machkert, Mantzikert), *Badlis* (Bitlis), *Aghlūt* (Aghlūt), *Ardjish*, *Nakhawā* (arm. Nakhchawān), and *Kars* (see the separate articles).

The native Armenians formed, in the time of the Caliphs, the main part of the population; but there were strong Arab colonies at Dabīl, Kālīkālā, and likewise at Bardha'a in Arrān and Tiflis in *Jurzan*, which were the chief bases of Arab power. Outside these great towns there existed also more extensive settlements of Arab tribes, notably to the south-west in the region of Alzānīk (Arzan in the Arranense); the old district of *Badjunays* (Arm. *Apahūn*) with its capital *Makhaddir* was controlled by a branch of the famous tribe, the Kays, who also held a number of places on the northern shore of Lake Van. The growth of the Bagratid dominion was "like a thorn in the flesh" to these Muslim colonies, since it hindered the consolidation and extension of their own power (see especially, on these colonies, Thopchschian, *op. cit.*, 1904, II, 115 ff.; Marikvart, *Süderarmenien*, 501 ff.; and, on their situation in the 10th century, M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Hachmīd*, 471-47).

After the Russo-Persian and Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th century, Turkey, Russia and Persia shared possession of the Armenian territory and, until the war of 1914-18, there existed a Persian, a Russian and a Turkish Armenia.

(1) *Persian Armenia*: the smallest of the three sections, with an area of about 15,000 sq. km.; it embraces only a few districts and towns, as it was, an appendix to Russian Armenia; politically, it is joined to the province of *Ađharbaydān*. To the west it touches the Turkish *asdiyat* of Van, while to the north, facing Russia, the Araxes serves as the frontier over a distance of about 175 km. from the eastern foot of Ararat as far as *Urđābād* (*Urđābād*). The chief town is *Khilāt*. In addition, M. Canard and Marand should be mentioned. In general Persian Armenia corresponds to the eastern part of the old Armenian province of *Vasurakān* (Ar. *Basfurrajdān*). There exists, moreover, an Armenian population at *Isfahān*, resulting from the deportation of the inhabitants of *Djūfa* [g.s.] by Shāh 'Abbas I in 1605.

(2) *Russian Armenia*: before the war of 1914-18 it embraced the eastern and southern part of the province of *Transcaucasia* and covered an area of about 103,000 sq. km. It embraced the regions bordering on Persia and Turkey and, in particular, the whole of the governments of Erivān (27,777 sq. km.), *Kars* (18,749 sq. km.) and *Bitlīm* (6,976 sq. km.). The governments of *Elizavetpol* and *Tiflis* were Armenian only in their southern and eastern parts, and that of *Kutais* only on the right bank of the river Rion. The most notable towns of Russian Armenia were: *Batūm*, important strategically and commercially, and capital of the government of the same name; in the government of Tiflis, the two strongholds of *Aghlālkh* [g.s.] and *Aghlālghalaki*; in the government of *Kars*, the very strong fortress of the same name; *Erzerūn* as a commercial centre, and the old town of *Ardāshīr* set high on its hill, a citadel of the first order; in the government of Erivān, which once belonged in great part to Persia, Erivān itself, and 18 km. to the west the famous monastery of *Ecmladzin*, the religious

centre of the Armenians, *Nakhchawān* (Nakhawān, [g.s.]) which, like Erivān, has played a pre-eminent rôle in Armenian history, and *Alexandropol* (the ancient *Gumri*), an important frontier fortress until 1878 and thereafter a town given over to the silk industry; in the government of *Elizavetpol*, *Elizavetpol* (the ancient *Gandia*, [g.s.]), *Shūshā* situated in the region of *Kara-Bagh* and formerly the capital of a separate *khānate*, and the frontier town of *Urđābād* (*Urđābād*) on the Araxes.

(3) *Turkish Armenia*: the greater part of the Armenian territory, far superior in size to the Russian and Persian sections taken together, had been for 500 years in the hands of the Turks and included the *asdiyats* of *Bitlis*, *Erzerūn*, *Ma'mudret al-Kān* (now *Elazığ*, i.e., *Kharpūt*), *Van* and, although only in part, *Diyarbekir*, with a total area of about 186,500 sq. km. The most important towns were *Stāv*, *Erzerūn*, *Van*, *Erzindjān*, *Bitlis*, *Kharpūt*, *Mugh* and *Bāyazid* [g.s.].

Save in Persian Armenia, the war of 1914 brought about important changes in this situation. In 1917, after the retreat of the Russian troops from the Caucasian front, the regime which was then created in Armenia and itself formed part of the provisional government of *Transcaucasia* (Georgia, Armenia and *Azerbaïdjan*), undertook the task of defending the front against the Turks, but could not prevent the latter from regaining *Erzindjān* and *Erzerūn* (February-March 1918), and then *Kars* (25 April) after the peace of *Brest-Litovsk*, which granted to the Turks possession of Turkish Armenia, together with *Kars* and *Ardāshān*, previously in Russian hands since 1878. After the dissolution of the *Transcaucasia* government and the formation of an independent Armenian republic (28 May 1918), the republic itself was reduced, by the treaty of *Batūm* (4 June 1918) to Erivān and the region of *Lake Sevan*, the Turks and the *Azerbaïdjan* sharing between themselves the remainder of Russian Armenia. There now ensued the collapse of the Turks on other fronts and the armistice of *Mudros* (30 October 1918). At the beginning of 1919 Armenian forces reoccupied *Alexandropol* (Leninakan) and *Kars* and came into conflict with Georgia over the region of *Aghlālghalaki* and with *Azerbaïdjan* over the *Kara-Bagh*. The Armenian Republic, recognised *de facto* in January 1920 by the Allies, received *de jure* recognition by the treaty of *Sèvres* (10 August 1920). Nevertheless, the arbitration of President Wilson, which gave to this republic the regions of *Trebizond*, *Erzindjān*, *Mugh*, *Bitlis* and *Van*, remained a dead letter, the Turkish government of *Mustafa Kemāl* having resumed the war, while the Soviet government, on its part, reoccupied the Caucasus. After the Turks had entered *Kars* and then *Alexandropol*, the Armenian Republic was compelled, on a December 1920, to accept the Turkish peace conditions. Turkey returned *Kars* and *Ardāshān*, annexed the region of *Iğdır* to the south-west of Erivān and demanded that the district of *Nakhchawān* (*Nakhichevan*) be transformed into an autonomous Tatar state. On the same day, the Armenian Republic, within which there had been formed, some time earlier, a pro-Soviet revolutionary committee, changed its title into the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia. The Russo-Turkish treaties of 1921 ratified the cession of *Kars* and *Ardāshān*, but Turkey abandoned *Bitlīm* to Georgia.

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia embraces the territories of Erivān and *Lake Sevan*, but the *Kara-Bagh* and *Nakhichevan* are attached to the



Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan under the designation of autonomous Region of Nagorno Karabakh (mountainous Kara-Bagh) and autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Naghitchevan, while the districts, formerly included in Russian Armenia, of Akhaldhalaki, Akhaldzhik (Akhaldzikh) and Batumi, this latter in the form of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Adjara, are part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia. The principal towns in the Republic of Armenia are Erivan, Leninakan (formerly Alexandropol), Kirovakan (the old Elizavetpol) and Alaverdy.

The former Turkish Armenia, which can no longer bear this name, since it is now empty of Armenians as a result of the deportations and massacres of 1915-18, has been increased by the addition of Karz, Ardahan and Igdir.

#### Population.

Owing to the invasion of Turkish and Tatars tribes on the one hand and, on the other, to the advance of the Kurds (in the south) the composition of the population had undergone, ever since the second half of the mediaeval period, a transformation so profound that the Armenians properly so called constituted, over the whole extent of their ancient homeland, more than a quarter of the total inhabitants. According to the statistics of L. Seleny and N. Seidlitz (*Petersburg's Geogr. Mit.*, 1896, 118), out of the 3,470,000 people to be found in the provinces of Transcaucasia enumerated about 597,000 (27%) were Armenians; in the purely Armenian districts, out of 2,000,000 inhabitants, the Armenians numbered 700,000 (more than a third). The government of Erivan, however, had a population of which 58% was Armenian. In the whole of Transcaucasia the towns were more strongly peopled by Armenians than the countryside (notably Tiflis: 48%); but, in regard to the total number of inhabitants (4,782,000), the Armenians (960,000) constituted only 20% of the population.

The five *vaydaks* of Turkish Armenia had 2,642,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,628,000 were Muslims, 631,000 were Armenians and 379,000 were Greeks; in the *sardak* of Mōsh, however, and also in that of Van the Armenians possessed the numerical superiority (almost twofold).

The total population of Russian and Turkish Armenia, according to the estimates given above, amounted to about 4,642,000, of whom 1,400,000 were Armenians. In Russian Armenia the Caucasian peoples were more numerous, while in Turkish Armenia it was the Kurds, Turks and other racial elements (Greeks, Jews, Gypsies, Circassians, Nestorian Christians) to the south-east of Lake Van, nomadic Tatar tribes) who had the majority.

In Persian Armenia there were, in 1891, 42,000 Armenians, only half of them to be found in Adharbaydjan (see above concerning Isfahan).

Such was the estimate of the Armenian population given by Streck for a period anterior to 1914. In the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. He noted that as a result of massacres and of emigration the number of Armenians on Turkish soil was constantly diminishing. The settlement of Armenians in foreign lands and their dissemination throughout the world had continued, although in varying degree (see above for the emigration into Byzantine territory, and then into Syria and Egypt). Cf. on this subject Ritter, *Erdbunde*, x, 594-511; R. Wagner, *Reise nach dem Ararat*, 239-50. The total number of

Armenians living in the Old World amounted to between 2 and 2½ millions.

According to the figures given by Padermadijan *Histoire de l'Arménie*, Paris 1949, 444, the total number of Armenians in the world in 1914 was approximately 4,000,000, of whom 2,100,000 lived in the Ottoman empire, 1,700,000 in the Russian empire, 100,000 in Persia and 200,000 in the rest of the world. In Russian Armenia proper they numbered 1,300,000 (including Karz, Naghitchevan, the Kara-Bagh and Akhaldhalaki) and, in Turkish Armenia (with Cilicia), 1,400,000. They represented in Russian Armenia the majority of the population, 1,300,000 out of 2,100,000.

Here, on the other hand, are the figures of the Armenian population in the world and in the Soviet Union for 1926 and 1939, according to W. Leinbach, *Die Sowjetunion, Natur, Volk und Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart 1950. In 1926 the total number of Armenians in the world amounted to 2,225,000 (the difference from the figure given for 1914 being explained to a certain degree by the losses due to the war, to the massacres and to the sufferings endured during the deportations); of these, two thirds were in the Soviet Union, while one third remained in the Near East (1,100,000 in Syria, 100,000 in Persia, approximately 100,000 in Turkey, Palestine, Egypt and Greece, with a further 100,000 in America). The Soviet Union held 1,508,000 Armenians, of whom 1,140,000 were in Transcaucasia and 162,000 in Caucasasia. Of these to be found in Transcaucasia 714,000 lived in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia (29,900 sq. km.) and constituted there 85% of the total inhabitants (831,200), i.e., the half of the Armenian population of the Soviet Union and one third of the entire Armenian population in the world. 311,000 dwelt in Georgia, 112,000 in the autonomous Region of Nagorno Karabakh (89% of the total population there) and 173,000 in the rest of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

According to the census of 1939 the Armenians of the Soviet Union numbered 2,152,000; in the Republic of Armenia they were 1,100,000 out of a total population of 1,281,599; they constituted 90% of the total population in the autonomous Region of Nagorno Karabakh, but, in the remainder of the Republic of Azerbaijan, only 10% of the total population. In Georgia they numbered 450,000. The Armenian population of the Soviet Union, taken as a whole, had increased by 37% between 1926 and 1939.

In Syria and the Lebanon there were in 1914 about 5,000 Armenians; in 1939 they numbered approximately 80,000 in the Lebanon, and more than 200,000 in Syria. In 1939, after the reunion of the *sardak* of Alexandretta with Turkey, 25,000 Armenians left the country. When, in 1945, the Soviet government issued its appeal to the Armenians, inviting them to return to Soviet Armenia, this invitation concerned, in Syria, about 200,000 Armenians who lived especially at Aleppo and Beirut (Aleppo: 100,000 out of a total of 260,000; Beirut: 50,000 out of 160,000). In Persia, between 1926 and 1939, the Armenian population had risen from 30,000 to 130,000; approximately 95,000 expressed the wish to emigrate to Soviet Armenia and the Armenians of Persia formed a great part of the 60,000 to 100,000 Armenians who, from Syria, the Lebanon, Persia and Egypt, went to Soviet Armenia after this appeal. Of the 27,000 Armenians who dwelt in Greece, 16,000 emigrated to Soviet Armenia in the period from 1926 to 1947.

In 1945 (see H. Field, *Contribution to the anthropology of the Caucasus*, Cambridge, Mass. 1935, 8) the population of Soviet Armenia amounted to 1,300,000, with a figure of 200,000 for the capital, Erivan. Today (see P. Rendot, *Les Chrétiens d'Orient*, Paris 1955, 191 and 196) the Republic of Armenia approaches a total of 1,500,000 inhabitants and there are almost as many Armenians in the rest of the Soviet Union. Existing numbers, 300,000 inhabitants and has formulated plans for 450,000. 400,000 to 500,000 Armenians are to be found in the Near East, 100,000 in the countries where 'popular democracy' prevails, 200,000 to 300,000 in North America, 20,000 in France and important nuclei in South America, India, Palestine and Greece.

The Armenian question had been given a definite form. Various Armenian groups in the United States, etc. have presented to the U.N.O. demands which seek to bring about the restoration to the Armenians of the former Turkish Armenia with the frontiers fixed by President Wilson and the Armenian question continues to be an obstacle to the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey.

#### Commerce.

As a land of transit between the Pontus and Mesopotamia and as a frontier territory between Persia and the Muslim empire, Armenia played an important economic role in the mediaeval period. The numerous merchants and the caravans that crossed it contributed to the development of a native industry which was favoured, like the flow of commerce, by the richness of the country in natural products. The commercial importance of Armenia arose also from the existence of numerous transit routes which cut across the land and of which the Arab geographers have described the most important. The Arabs attached to the support which these routes furnished to their military interests a greater weight than to their commercial usefulness. For this reason they linked together the principal routes at Dabul, the bulwark of the Arab domination. The maintenance and security of the routes was a duty which fell to the Muslim governor. Even today Erzerum, a point of junction for all the great routes, is a place of high strategic importance and, as it were, the key to Asia Minor.

Armenia communicated with Byzantium through Trebizond (Tarabazanda), the main entrepôt for Byzantine merchandise (above all, precious materials). The great fairs held there several times a year were visited by merchants from the entire Muslim world; the traffic ran ordinarily from Trebizond to Dabul and Kilikia (Erzerum). In Persia, Rayy was the most important market for the Armenian merchants (see Ibn al-Fakih, ed. De Goeje, 270); they were also in direct business relations with Baghdad (see al-Ya'qubi, *Buldan*, 237).

#### Natural Products and Industry.

Armenia was considered to be one of the most fertile provinces of the Caliphate. It produced so great a yield of cereals that some of it was exported abroad, e.g., to Baghdad (see al-Tabari, iii, 272, 275). The lakes and rivers, which were full of fish, also favoured the export trade; Lake Van provided enormous quantities of a certain kind of herring (*Ar. firid*) which, from mediaeval times, was sent out in salted form even to the Indies (according to al-Kazwini, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 352). This salted fish is encountered even today as a food much sought after

throughout the whole of Armenia, Adharbaydjan, the Caucasus and Asia Minor.

Armenia is rich, above all, in minerals: copper, silver, lead, iron, arsenic, alum, mercury and sulphur are especially to be found there; gold, too, is not lacking. Very little is known concerning the exploitation of these products by the Arabs; the only Arab author who has furnished us with information on the natural products of Armenia is Ibn al-Fakih. According to the Armenian writer Leonas, silver mines were discovered at the close of the fifth century A.D.; these mines correspond no doubt to the silver (and lead) mines which are exploited at Gümişkhané (now Gümişhane) = House of Silver, halfway between Trebizond and Erzerum (see, on this subject, Ritter, *Erdbunde*, x, 272 and Wagner, *Reise nach Persien*, i, 172 ff. and cf. also the article *Geogr.*, 221-22). There were important mines, too, at Bayburt and Arghana (q.v.). The great and ancient copper mine of Kedabeg with its offshoot at Kalakent (between Elizavetpol-Gandja and the lake of Gökçay) had been much developed before 1914 (see Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i, 122 ff.). Today there are important copper foundries at Alaverdy, Zangezur and Erivan. It was, however, the salt mines which, in the past, were the richest in Armenia, their products being exported to Syria and Egypt. The salt beds mentioned by the mediaeval authors were probably to the north-east of Lake Van; there was also an extensive salt-bearing deposit at Kulp to the south of the Upper Araxes and east of Keghistan (see Ritter, *op. cit.*, x, 270 ff. and Radda, *Über die Erträge der Kaspischen Meerestiere*, 47). Erivan today is an industrial town with workshops for the building of machinery and factories for preserves, tobacco, synthetic rubber, etc.

The industries for which Armenia was most renowned during the mediaeval period were weaving, dyeing and embroidery. Dabul was the centre of this industrial activity; magnificent woolen cloths were made there, carpets and heavy materials of silk decorated with flowers and multi-coloured (*Ar. bayzin*) which were also sold abroad. The *birmez*, a kind of purple-bearing worn, was used for dyeing. Armenian carpets were long considered to be of the finest workmanship. Artadaght (Artaxata), some kilometres from Dabul, was so famous for its dyeworks that al-Baladhuri calls it "the town of the kermes" (*haryat al-birmez*) (ed. De Goeje, 200; cf. *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 67 and 217). See in particular, on the commerce and industry of Armenia in the mediaeval period, Thophsidian in the *Mitt. des Sem. für orient. Sprachk.*, 1904, ii, 142-55. On the carpets, see Arsenius Sakilian, *Les tapis d'Asie et leur origine arménienne*, in Syria, ix (1928) and, by the same author, *Les tapis arméniens*, in *Revue des Et. arm.*, i/2 (1920). On Armenian textiles in general, see R. B. Serjant, *Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest*, in *Ans Islamica*, x (1945), 91 ff.

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ARMIS [see BILAKI]

ARMY [see DİVANE, LASHKAR, ORDU etc.]

ARNAWUTLUK, the Ottoman Turkish name for ALBANIA.

1.—Language. Allegedly descended from Pelasgian, Albanian is an Indo-European language of "baten" type like Armenian, Indo-Iranian and Slavonic. No literary records occur before 1466 A.D., but ancient Illyrian and ancient Epirote, on the basis of personal and place names, are held to be the prototypes of Geg (northern) and Tosk (southern) Albanian respectively. Illyrian *mausia*, *mausia*, "bramble", and *grisa*, "file", are Albanian *manë*, *manë* and *griset* respectively. Macedonian, Thracian and Dacian were languages of Albanian type.

Known as *shqip* in Albania, *arshësk* in the Albanian colonies, the Albanian language spoken by some 1,500,000 in Albania, 700,000 in the adjoining Kosovo-Metohija area of Yugoslavia, and some 40,000 in Epirus. An archaic form of the language survives on the Greek islands of Hydra and Spetsa, and in Sicily and Calabria, brought there by Tosk exiles from the Turkish invasions. Impoverished by centuries of neglect, Albanian has a small native, but a large borrowed vocabulary. Thus the wheel, the cart and the plough are represented by borrowings and the usual Indo-European terms of kinship are absent. City, road-building, horticulture, law, religion and family relationship are expressed by Latin loanwords, much disguised by phonological breakdown. Terms used in the Orthodox ritual are Greek; names of prepared dishes, garments, parts of the house, and Islamic terms have come in via Turkish.

The composite alphabet is: *a, b, c* (like *ts*), *ç* (like *ch*), *d, dh* (like *th* in *thin*), *e, ë* (like French *e* in *le*), *f, g, gj* (like Turkish *ğ* before *e, i, ö*), *h, i, j* (like *y* in *yoke*), *k, l* (as in French), *ll* (as in English *all*), *m, n, nj* (as in *canon*), *o, p, q* (like Turkish *k* before *e, i, ö*), *r* (weak), *rr* (strong *trill*), *s, sh* (as in *ship*), *t, th* (as in *thin*), *u, v, x* (as in *adze*), *z* (as in *judge*), *y* (German *y*), *z, zh* (as in *pleasure*). The vowels *d, ð, e* are Geg nasals.

Geg is the dialect of Tirane, the capital, and the North, including Kosovo-Metohija. Tosk has a considerable literature. Its main deviations are: replacement of the infinitive by subjunctive constructions, absence of nasal vowels, occasional conversion of *s* to *r*, and representation of *ar, ven* as *na, na*. There are small differences of vocabulary.

The noun has three genders and five cases. A noun is linked to a following genitive or adjective by an inflected particle, thus *malë i verat*, "the mountain of the north", *malë i bukur* "the beautiful mountain", in which *i* of *malë i bukur* is the detachable case, definite article. Similarly *molle, l* "the apple", but *molle* "apple". The verb possesses an imperfect, aorist, subjunctive, optative, imperative, a negation particle, and a compound mood called the admirative.

2.—Literature. From the third century A.D. the Roman Church has maintained a bishopric at Scutari in N. Albania. This became the first cultural centre; evidence of this is Bishop John Buzuk's Liturgy of 1555, and the 17th century religious works of Hoti, Bendihi and Bogdani. Literary activity, tolerated by the Turks in the Catholic

North, was suppressed in the Muslim centre and the Orthodox South, but took root among the exile colonies of Sicily and Calabria. Matranga, descendant of the exiles, began a tradition of hymn-writing using folk-rhythms (1592), which was continued by Brancato (1675-1741) and the Calabrian Variboba (born 1725). The movement became secular with the folk-songs and chappades of De Rada (1819-1893), an ardent spokesman of Albanian liberation, and was continued well into the present century by Zef Shiro (1865-1927), Sicilian-born author of two allegorical epics and a collector of folk-songs.

The work of De Rada was helpful in inspiring three Tosk patriots, the brothers Abdyl, Sami and Naim Frashëri, to form a league at Prizren in 1878. Under the stimulus of the San Stefano settlement they sought Albanian autonomy and literary freedom.

After several years of activity in Istanbul, where they were joined by the lexicographer and Bible translator Kristoforidhi (1827-1895), they were forced into exile. At Bucharest Abdyl the politician, Sami the educationist, and Naim, the Bektaschi mystic of Albanian nostalgia, formed a literary society and printed the Albanian journal *Gjokashti* (1885) toward Thimë Mito and Spiro Dine, exiles in Egypt, collected folk-songs from the local colony. In Sofia Midhat Frashëri, son of Abdyl, published an almanach, an anthology and a journal, and wrote didactic essays and short stories with a moral. Books printed in exile were smuggled into Albania by caravan.

The absence of a literary centre, and the want of a standard alphabet, hampered the movement, and Sami's difficult phonetic spelling was replaced by a digraphic one resembling that of A. Santori of Calabria and the linguist Dh. Camarda (1821-1882) of Sicily. After independence in November 1912 the various literary currents combined. A Drenova (born 1872), the Tosk lyricist, Rihani, and L. Puvareci (born 1899) continued the Bucharest tradition, the last in an unorthodox style of his own; the Catholic North was represented by the nostalgic F. Shiroka (1847-1917), the linguist and historian A. Xanoni (1863-1915), N. Mjeda (1866-1937), the satirist Gj. Fibi (1871-1940), the folk-poet and elegist V. Prenushi (1885-1946), and the short-story writer E. Kolqi (born 1901). Foqion Postoli, and M. Gramen (1872-1931), the Tosk novelists, Kristo Floqi (born 1871), the dramatist, and F. Konitza (1875-1943) transferred their activity to Boston, U.S.A., where a literary society Vatra, and a journal *Dielli* ("The Sun") were founded in 1921.

The brief fascist regime (1939-1943) attracted a few writers with pro-Italian leanings; the present communist regime encourages writing on the partisan movement, the class struggle, work themes and peace. Textbooks are based on Russian models. There are three active theatres and a writers' union. This activity is paralleled in Kosovo-Metohija, where the communist themes are Titoist.

3.—Geography. Albania (Shqipëri, Shqipëri) lies on a N-S axis 20° E of Greenwich. With a total area of 11,097 square miles (28,748 sq. km.) it is bounded by Yugoslavia, Greece and the Adriatic, lying between N. latitudes 39° 35' and 40° 45', its total length is 267 miles. It narrows to 50 miles at Peshkop, and widens to 90 miles at the lake of Little Prespa. Its ten prefectures formerly had 39 subprefectures, now redrawn and renamed as 34 districts. Containing the limestone formation of the Dinaric Alps, the terrain is highest in the E, reaching some 7,000 feet in places. Of the western lowlands, some below sea-

level, the largest is the fertile Myzeqeja plain. The longest river, the Drin, rises in Lake Ohri (Ochrida), and flows N-W and S-W to the Adriatic below Shëngjin. The Mat, Ishëm, Arën, Semën-Devoll-Berat and the Vjosë flow in general N-W, but the Shkumbi, a torrent in winter, flows broadly E to W dividing the country into two roughly equal areas, Gegëria and Toskëria.

The mountain mass consists of three north-to-south barriers in Gegëria, and four N-W to S-E parallel ranges in Toskëria. The highest mountains are Tomor near Berat (7,861 feet: 2,396 metres). Denudation and deforestation have given the country a bare, rugged character. The lakes of Shkodër (Scutari), Ohri and Prespa are only partly in Albania; Thërza in the central plain is a marsh, and Mallë, below Korçë, has been drained.

Durrës (Durazzo) is the main port, with wharves and a shipyard; Valona has a fine natural harbour, and handles refined oil and bitumen; Saranda is a fishing port, and Shëngjin handles ore. Chief towns are Tirane, the capital (100,000), Shkodër (35,000), Korçë (25,000), Durrës (16,000), Vlorë or Valona (10,000), Gjirokastrë or Gjirakastër (12,000). Railways (80 miles) link Tirane with Durrës, Peshkop and Elbasan, but most towns are reached by road.

Climate ranges from European in the high country to sub-tropical in the S-W, and the vegetation is Mediterranean. Forests, mainly deciduous, include hornbeam, turkey oak, sumach, avellana oak, holm oak, juniper and cedar. The forest scrub includes ash, alder, buck beech, pomegranate and juniper. Densest forests are at Manuraz near Kruja.

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(S. E. MANN)

#### 4.—Population.

According to the census of 1955 the population of Albania was 1,304,310 (in 1930 it was 1,005,097). Outside Albania there are Albanians in Yugoslavia (750,000 according to the Yugoslav census in 1948), in Greece (estimated between 30-60,000) and in Italy (estimated at 250-250,000). The number of Albanians by birth all over the world is estimated at 3 millions (see *Albania*, ed. S. Skendi, New York 1956, 59). According to the 1930 census there were 45,000 Vlachs, 35,000 Slavs, 20,000 Turks and 15,000 Greeks in Albania. Approximately 20 percent of Albania's total population lived in towns in 1949-50. In the same year the larger towns were Tirane, the capital, with an estimated population of 80,000 (in 1930, 30,800), Shkodër 34,000, Korçë 24,000, Durrës 16,000, Elbasan 15,000, Vlorë 15,000, Berat 12,000, Gjirokastrë 12,000.

The Albanians are divided into two principal ethnic groups: The Gëgs in the North of the Shkumbi River and the Tosks to the South. The Turks called these two regions Gegallik and Toskallik. Not only in their dialects but also in the outlook and social behaviour the Gëgs differ from the Tosks. The Gëgs are considered as keeping national characteristics purer than the Tosks.

Generally speaking the barren mountains of Albania provided too little for an increasing population to subsist. Especially when an epidemic decimated

livestock, the helpless people had no choice but to emigrate or to fall upon neighbouring plains. They usually went out as mercenaries, shepherds or agriculturists.

Toward the middle of the 14th century the Albanians, under the pressure of the Serbs or as mercenaries of feudal seigneurs in Greece, migrated and settled in Epirus, Thessaly, Morea and even in the Aegean Islands. There most of the Albanians were gradually grazed, or migrated to Southern Italy under the pressure of the Ottomans later on. But about 1466 in Thessaly there were still Albanian districts in the towns as well as 24 Albanian *hahnes* in Livadia (Lebadea) and 34 in Istitia (see my *Pdih Deer*, Ankara 1954, 146). Under the Ottomans these *hahnes* had a special status and, later, are known as *anadolus*.

When Iskender-beg died in 1468 a number of the Albanians involved in his struggle against the Ottomans either retired to the mountains or migrated to the kingdom of Naples. In 1478, 1481 and 1492 more Albanians migrated to Southern Italy and Sicily where they preserved their language and customs down to the present day.

In the 15th century the Ottoman government transferred some Albanian *timar*-holders (see *timar*) of the feudal families (Mazarakli and Heykai) to Trebizond.

No large Turkish settlement is recorded in Albania except a small number of exiles from Konya, locally called Koniak. There are also the Yirukis of Kodjaçili, on the mountains to the East of Dibra where they were stationed apparently to safeguard the Rumel-Albania highway. The *virages* (the deported), sent c. 1470 from such parts of Anatolia as Sarughan, Kodjaçili, Djanik were also few in number (see *Sünni Defteri-Sandjahi Arnavud*, index).

The second significant expansion of Albanians in Rumel occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries. They came to settle in the plains of Djağovë (Yakovla), Prizren, Ipek (Peç), Kalkandelen (Tetovo) and Kosovo, especially after the mass migration of the Serbs from these areas in 1690. It seems that Albanian settlement was mostly the result of the land *muhalla* system (see my *Tasavvut nedir?*, in *Türk Arastirmaları*, Ankara 1942) prevailing there in this period. Albanians came to lease small tracts of lands from few *muhalla* owners in these rich plains and settled there as tenants permanently.

As for the Vlachs in Albania, they had lived a pastoral life on the mountains of North Albania side by side with the Albanians since the Slavic invasion in the 7th century and they took part in the Albanian expansion from the 11th century onwards. In the Ottoman Register of 835/1431 we find the Vlachs and their *hahnes* (*Eflak-hahnes*) in Southern Albania especially in the region east to Kanina.

The Albanian tribes to the North of the Drin River are called by the general term of *Mal-i-tor* (highlanders). Toward 1881 there were 19 tribes belonging to this group with a population of 35,000 Roman Catholics, 15,000 Muslims and 250 Greek Orthodox. The most famous tribes among them were Hoti, Klementi, Shkrelli, Kastrioti, Koçaj, Pulati, living on the mountains east of Scutari.

It seems that during the Ottoman conquest of Albania from 1385 to the end of the 15th century the rebellious clans had to retire once more to the most rugged parts of the highland. Their reappearance in the lowlands coincided later with the weakening of Ottoman control in the provinces in the 17th century, and, later on, they became "the terror of Rumel".



From the beginning the Ottoman government had to respect the tribal organisation and autonomy of these tribes. As they had actual control of the important mountain passes from Rumeli into Albania the government charged them with the guardianship of these passes and in return for these services made them exempt from taxation. A regulation dated 1496 (*Baybatalnik Arşivleri, İstanbul, Taha Def. 1496*) reads as follows: "The *ahşar* of Klement (Klement) consists of five villages. Their inhabitants of Christian faith pay one thousand *akde* of *ahşar* and one thousand *akde* of *ispende* to the Saadkajbegi and they are exempted from *ahşar* and *ahşar* *ahşar* and other taxes, but they are made *derbeş* (guardians of the passes) on the route Scutari-Petrijan's territory-Altun-ili as well as the route Medun-Kuca-Plava". Later in the 17th century the Klementi caused troubles through their depredations in Rumeli and their co-operation with the rebellious tribes of Montenegro (Karadagh).

To the south of Drin lived the Mirdite tribe, 32,000 in number (in 1885) and all Roman Catholics. They were divided into five clans called *hayraks*, namely Orush, Flandi, Spahli, Kujdesin, Dohri. Distinguished by their service to the Ottomans against the Venetians in 1696, the Hott were promoted to the first place among the clans. Their *hayrak* headed all the others. But today the Spahli tribe is the chief.

In tribal tradition the origin of the *hayraks* goes back to the Ottomans. In fact it was an Ottoman institution to give a *hayrak* or a *sandjak* to military chiefs as a symbol of authority. Each clan was under a *hayrakdar* i.e. standard-bearer, who was a hereditary chief. The public affairs of the clan were decided in the council of the hereditary elders. In order to discuss general affairs the five clans had their annual meeting at Orush. A *höküm-dar*, appointed by the Ottoman governor, arranged all kinds of affairs between the administration and the clans. The "captains" of the five clans of Mirdite claimed to descend from Lekë Dukagjin who played an outstanding rôle in Iskender-beg's struggle against the Ottomans. Lekë Dukagjin is believed to have codified the customary law practiced among the tribes, which is called *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit* (A. Sh. K. Gjefor, *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*, Shkëmbër 1923).

These tribes used to send to the Ottoman army an auxiliary force composed of one man per house; an Ottoman practice which was also applied to the Yürüks and the Kurds. When from the end of the 16th century onwards the empire came to need more troops for its lengthy wars the Albanian auxiliaries seemed to gain an increasing importance. They were used especially in the local wars against the Montenegrins. The Mirdites were regarded as the bravest soldiers in Rumeli. But at the same time H. Beugard (1855) calls them "the greatest plunderers in the world". In 1855 when the *Taninmat* administration attempted to disarm them and enrol them in the regular army they rose up and infested the Zadrima (Zadrina) area with the result that the next year the government gave up these attempts. Later the Mirditch chief Pashë Buti Doda played an important part in the Albanian independence movement (1908). The "Republic of Mirdite", proclaimed under Yugoslav auspices in 1927, collapsed the next year.

### 5.—Religion.

According to the Italian statistics of 1922 (see, Albania, ed. S. Skendi, 58) out of a total population

of 1,128,143, 779,417 were Muslims, 232,320 Orthodox and 116,299 Catholics. The only significant Catholic group is located in the Shkodër (Scutari) district, while large Orthodox groups live in the districts of Gjinokastër (Argyrokastro), Korçë (Korice), Berat and Vlorë (Avlona). Muslims are spread all over the country, but mostly in the Central Albania.

Albania which became attached to the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 732 A.D., was split between Rome and Constantinople in 1054, the northern part coming under the jurisdiction of Rome. The Normans and the Angevins strengthened Catholicism in the country; Antivari was the seat of the Archbishop of Albania and Durazzo that of Macedonia.

Orthodox Albania was dependent directly on the Archbishopric of Ohrida. As the protectors of the Orthodox Church the Ottomans, even before their restoration of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1454, favoured Orthodoxy against Catholicism. However, for political reasons the Porte tolerated the Catholic church in Albania. The Albanian lords wavered between East and West according to the political conditions. The Orthodox Albanian immigrants to southern Italy had the same attitude, their church recognising the Pope's supremacy. According to the Ottoman year-book of 1895 there were, in the province of Yanya (Epirus and Albania south of the Devoll River), 223,885 Muslims, 118,033 Greeks, 129,517 Orthodox Albanians, 3,517 Jews and only 93 Roman Catholics. It must be added that a part of these Greeks were in origin Orthodox Albanians graced with the Greek religious and educational institutions which were zealously founded beginning with the second half of the 18th century. After the independence of Albania an autocephalous Orthodox church of Albania was finally recognised by the Patriarchate (1917). The first converts to Islam were the Albanian feudal lords holding *timars* from the Ottomans. Contrary to what is generally held conversion was not required as a condition for keeping their lands as *timars*; allegiance to the Ottoman state was sufficient in order to receive *timars*. Throughout the 15th century Christians were granted *timars*. By the end of the 15th century, however, only a few Christian *timar*-holders were left because of voluntary conversions.

Elbasan, built by Mehmed II in 1470/1476, became a Muslim centre from the outset, as did Veitë in Thessaly. It appears, however, that Islam had then only a few converts among the common people. At the beginning of the 16th century in four *sandjaks* of Albania (Elbasan, Ohri, Avlona and Iskenderiye) there were about three thousand Muslim *ra'sids* families. In Catholic sources written around 1622 it was estimated that only one thirtieth of the Albanian population was Muslim. During the 17th century the Venetians and Austrians attempted to foment an insurrection of the Catholic Albanians as well as the Orthodox Serbs who were feeling hostile to the government because of an increase in the *çiftlik*. In 1614 at a meeting of church dignitaries at Kuçit it was decided to ask for aid from the Pope. Toward 1622 the first Franciscan missionaries appeared in Albania. In southern Albania, where Catholics and the Serbs co-operated with the Venetians in 1649 and with the Austrians in 1689-1690, which made the Porte decide to have recourse to retaliatory measures. To escape these, the Christian populations in the plains of Peë, Prizren, Djakovë and Kosoovo, who were partly Albanian, migrated in mass or adopted Islam; but many of them became

crypto-Christians, locally called *laramant* (mistle). The Albanisation and Islamisation of these plains went hand in hand in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Conversion to Islam received a new impetus under the Hogahts and 'Ali Pasha (pasha) of Tepedelen. According to the contemporary witnesses, the latter forced a number of villages to adopt Islam. He is believed to have been a Bektaşî himself and in his time Bektaşîism (see BEKTAŞIYYA) made its greatest progress in Albania. Under King Zog its adherents were estimated at about 200,000. With its prosperous *tekkes* in Tirat, Akdabiser (the old centre of the Bektaşîs), Berat, and on the Tomor mountain, as well as its central organisation in the capital, Bektaşîism assumed importance in Albania. During the Congress of Korçë in 1919 the Bektaşîs sought to establish a community of their own, separate from the Sunnis. This was to be accomplished only under the Communist régime in 1945.

Islam played an essential part in Ottomanising the Albanians, and the Christian Albanians often referred to their Muslim competitors as Turks. On the other hand Islam prevented the Albanians from being assimilated by her Greek or Slavic neighbours. It is asserted that under the veneer of Christianity as well as Islam the primitive religious beliefs survived with the Albanians, especially in the highlands.

### 6.—History.

The Illyrian origin of the Albanian people is generally admitted, but their ethnic relationships to the Thracians, Epirots and the Pelasgians are still subject to argument. The Illyrian tribes first came into contact with Greek culture, through the Greek colonies founded on the Albanian coast, in the 5th century B.C. The principal one was Epidamnus near Durazzo (Durrës). The Illyrians formed their first independent political organisation in the third century B.C. Conquered by the Romans in 167 B.C., they were subject to strong Roman influence for centuries. The Roman highway to the Orient, Via Egnatia, started at Dyrrachium (Durrës) and followed the Shkumbi valley. Ptolemy mentions, for the first time, the *Albanoi* among Illyrian tribes and their capital *Αλβανόπολις* (near Croya). In the 7th century the invasion of Albania by the Slavs put an end to the romanisation of the Albanians who retired to the mountains in north Albania to live a pastoral life for half a millennium. In the 9th and 10th centuries the Bulgarian empire extended its rule over southern Albania, including Dyrrachium (Greek Dyrrachion), and toward the end of the 12th century the Serbs under Nemanja occupied northern Albania. The long coexistence with the agriculturist Slavs left a deep cultural imprint on the Albanian people. Finally, Emperor Basil II restored Byzantine rule in southern Albania, and conquered Dyrrachion (1005) which had seen the capital of the Byzantine *demes* of Dyrrachion since the 9th century. When toward the middle of the 11th century the control of Byzantium was weakened in the provinces the Albanians came out from their mountain retreats. From this time on, the Albanians, who were then located between the lines of Skodra (Shkodër), Dyrrachion and Ohrida-Prizren, are seen to be mentioned more by the contemporary sources, as *Αλβανοί* or *Αλβανίται* in Greek, *Arbanenses* or *Arbanenses* in Latin and *Arbanaci* in Slavic sources. The Ottomans first used the Greek form *Arvanit* and then its turcified versions *Arnavud* and *Arnavut*. Again from the 11th century on, Albania became

a bridge-head for feudal Europe to attack the Byzantine empire. Dyrrachion was temporarily taken by the Normans in 1081 and 1185, and by the Venetians in 1204. Then, it came into the possession of the Despot of Epirus, Theodore Angelus (1215-1230). In 1273 Charles of Anjou occupied Dyrrachion as well as the rest of the Albanian coastland, and called himself the "King of Albania". This started a long struggle between the Byzantines and the Angevins in Albania.

Anatolian Turks, as a result of their alliance with the Byzantine emperor, first came to know Albania in 1297/1337. During the Byzantine civil war the Albanian highlanders had increased their depredations in Albania, taking Timorë (Timoë), and threatened the other Byzantine strongholds, Kanina, Belgrade (Berat) Klisura and Skarapir. In order to establish his control in Albania as well as in Epirus, Andronikos III entered that province with an army which included a Turkish auxiliary force. It was sent by his ally Timur Beg, ruler of Aydin. The army overran the country as far as Durazzo (Dyrrachion). The rebels who retired into the mountains suffered great losses at the hands of the Turks. The Turks returned home through Thessaly and Boeotia (Cantaenous).

Before long Stephan Dushan occupied Albania (Croya in 1343, Central Albania 1343/1346). This seems to have accelerated the migration of Albanians into Greece. Native Albanian feudals and soldiers joined Dushan in his conquests further south (L. von Thallóczy—C. Jurek, *Zwei Urkunden* . . . 85). The *voysaks* whom we later find in Albania under the Ottomans settled there apparently with Dushan at this time. When in 1355 Dushan's empire collapsed, local feudal lords, Slav, Albanian or Byzantine in origin, appeared in all parts of Albania. Soon the Balghas (Balghis), in the north and the Thopias in the centre emerged as the most powerful of these lords. The Balghas possessed the coastland between Durazzo and Cattaro, and tried to secure control of a large area as far as Prizren. They came into conflict with Tervko, king of Bosnia, as well as with the Serbs who sought to bring this region, Zeta, again under their control. Soon the Balghas, who had already settled themselves in Avlona, Belgrade and Kanina, threatened Carlo Thopia in Durazzo. He asked for help from the Ottoman Turks in 1387/1385, as their *udj* (frontier) units had appeared near Yanoia killed in 1383/1381. Balgha II was defeated and already by an Ottoman army at Savra on the Vjosë River in Myzeqe in 1383/1381. Balgha II September 1385. This is recorded in Ottoman chronicles as the expedition to "Karl-ili", that is "the land of Karl" (Carlo Thopia), and it is dated correctly as 1387/1385. The Albanian lords, including Balgha's heirs, recognised the Sultan's overlordship. The Dukagjini of Alessio notified the Ragnasins of their peace with the Ottomans in 1381/1387. Alarmed by the Ottoman advance, Venice sent Daniel Cornaro to Murad I to protect Thopia (Ramadžan 789/October 1387), but on the other hand started negotiations with Thopia to take over the city. Thus the long Venetian-Ottoman rivalry over Albania had begun. As a vassal of the Sultan, Gjergj Stratišimirović, Balgha's heir in Scutari (Shkodër) and Dulligino, now wished to free himself from the Ottomans in his conflict with the Bosnians. Kefala Shalhin in Turkish chronicles Kavalas Shalhin, later Şihbül al-Din Şihbül Paşa) an *adji-beg* and probably *inbeg* of Liaskovik, embarked on a series of successful raids into Bosnia; but he was finally defeated by Bosnians near Trebinje 21 Şha'bân 790/27 August 1388). According



to Neghi, this expedition was made at the request of the "Lord of Skutari" (G. Stratinovic) who after Shahn's defeat was accused of a secret understanding with the enemy. After their victory at the Kosovo plain (1391/92) the Ottomans made Skopje (Škupi) a strong frontier centre by settling there the Turks from Sarajëu under Paşa-Yiğit (toward 1393/1397). Then Shahn came back and drove out G. Stratinovic from Scutari, and St. Sergius (1393/1395) who had returned to the Venetians for protection. Venice for its part took Alessio, Dravasto (1393), Drivasto (1396), all given up by the native lords for a yearly pension. The Ottomans too tried to keep the local lords on their side by guaranteeing them their lands as *timars*. Thus Dimitri Yonina (Gjonina), Konstantin Balsha, Gjergj Dukagjin as Turkish vassals all co-operated with Shahn against the Venetians.

The establishment of the Ottoman rule in Albania with its *tapu* (see TARU) and *timar* [s.v.] system started first in the region of Premeti (Premeti) and Korça (Korice). The regular Ottoman administration with its *sandjaks* and *hadsis* in towns and *sipahis* in villages is found there in the records going back to the time of Bayazid I (Bajazet I, *Archives, Istanbul, Malye no. 212*). This must have followed the Ottoman expedition in Albania in 1396/1397 and 1397/1397. The Ottoman records also show that Akshahar (Croya, Krupa) was granted tax exemption at the same period. Albanian forces under Cola Zaccaria, Dimitri Yonina, Gjergj Dukagjin and Dushman were present at the battle of Ankara in 1402/1402. Upon the collapse of Bayazid's empire in 1402, many of these Albanian lords (Ivan Kastriot, Cola Zaccaria, Nikola Thopia) recognised Venetian suzerainty. When in 1403 Georg Stratinovic died, Venice, which had already taken Scutari, asserted a right of his heritage—Dulcigno, Antivari and Rudia. But his son Balsha, supported by Stephan Lazarević and Vuk Branković of Serbia embarked upon a long struggle against Venice. The latter finally reached an agreement on Albanian affairs with their suzerain, Emir Süleymân (10 Djuždâd I, 812/29 September 1409). Then Paşa-Yiğit of Škupi forced Ivan Kastriot to submit to the Sultan's suzerainty (812/1410). In the South the Ottomans supported Albanian Spasas against the Toccoes. Finally war was declared against Venice during which the Ottomans made the real conquest of Albania from Northern Epirus to Croya (Akshahar) and formed the province of Arvanid-ili or Arnavud-ili (818/20/1415-1417).

The conditions which the Ottoman conquest brought into the country can be fully ascertained with the help of the details contained in the *timar* register of 835/1432 (*Şâhid-i defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*, ed. H. İnalcık, Ankara 1951). The names of various regions in the register frequently contains references to the chief feudal families who were vassals of the Ottomans: about 879/1476, Yuvan-ili (land of Kastrioti), Balsha-ili (east of Kavajë and south of Shkumbë), Gjonmari-ili (North of Peñin), Pavlo-Kurtik-ili (the Jilena Valley), Kondo-Miho-ili (area west of Elbasan), Zenebisi-ili (Zenebisi, Gjinokastër and its surroundings), Bogdan-Ripe-ili (north of Elbasan), Aghin-ili (Premeti). Besides these great families, many smaller Christian feudals kept some of their lands as *timars*. Among them we may mention Dohëri (in Carstod), Simon Komendi (in Kolindari), Bobza Family (Gjoni and his sons Gjoni and Andre in the Village of Bobza or Dubis), Karli family (Matja). This kind of *timars* constituted 16 per cent of all the

*timar*-holders in Arvanid-ili. Conversion to Islam was not considered necessary for possession of *timar*. One *Metropoliti* in Belgrade (Berat) and three *Patrikops* in Kania, Akshahar and Cartolov were given their former villages as *timars*. The Turkish population in the province consisted only of the military and religious personnel. The Turkish *timar*-holders with their men did not exceed 800 in number. The whole *sandjak* was distributed among about 300 *timar*-holders who lived in the villages or castles, namely, Argirikaš (Argirocastro, Gjinokastër), Kania, Belgrade, Iskarapar, Bratunogost, Yenidagkaly and Akshahar. Argirikaš (later on Argiri or Ergiri) became the seat of the *sandjak-beg* and in each county (*vilâyet*) centre there was a *sandjak* and *hadsis*. The revolutionary step taken by the Ottoman state was that it considered almost all the agricultural lands as owned by the state, because only such a system would enable it to apply its *timar* system. The peasants, therefore, must have had the feeling that they were under an impersonal central government as compared to their close dependence upon the feudal lords under the old regime.

In the north, the Ottomans supported first, Balsha III, and upon his death (824/1421), Stephan Lazarević of Serbia, against Venice, which finally had to return to Stephan, Drivasto, Antivari and Rudia (826/1423). In the south the despot Carlo Tocco died in 825/1429 and Murad II, taking advantage of the conflict between his heirs, took Yonina (Muharram 834/October 1430). After that a new land and population survey of Albania was effected (Šahâd 835/spring 1432) which meant the tightening of the Ottoman administrative control there. This survey may be regarded as the real starting point of the long Albanian resistance during the subsequent decades. Moreover it demonstrates the real character of the rebellion. Firstly some of the villages in the mountainous Kuvendi and Bozëgheq areas refused to be registered. In a few places they even killed their Ottoman *timar*-holders. Great feudal lords such as Ivan (Yuvan) Kastriot in the north, Arvaniti (Aranti, Armiti) Comnenus in the Argirikaš region, had to give up considerable parts of their lands for distribution to the Ottoman *sipahis* as *timars*. First Aranti took up arms, killed many *sipahis* in the autumn of 836/1432, and Thopia Zenebisi besieged Argirikaš, Alfonso V. of Naples, Venice and Hungary encouraged the rebels, who defeated 'Ali, son of Evrenus, governor of Albania, at the Bozëgheq pass. Encouraged by these developments Christian lords in central and northern Albania joined the rebellion. Finally in 837/1434 all the forces of Humel under Sinan Beg, governor-general of Rameli, combined to put an end to this dangerous rebellion which was giving hope to Hungary of a new Crusade. But Aranti managed to escape to the mountains. The additional records made after 836/1432 in the *defter* of Arvanid-ili indicate that he did not affect the Ottoman control of the country to any considerable extent. A great majority of the Ottoman and Christian *timar*-holders remained in possession of their *timars*. It appears that mostly the highlanders co-operated with the feudal families who had matrimonial connexions with their chieftains.

From 847/1443 onwards Iskender-beg [s.v.], the son-in-law of Aranti, assumed the leadership of the rebellion; his unusual energy and boldness, and the international situation which obtained at the time, gave the movement a character of international

significance. Setting aside the legend that has grown up around his person, it must be emphasised that the origin and the motives of his rebellion were not different from those of the other Albanian lords. Appointed *sandjak* of Akshahar (Croya) about 842/1438, he was dismissed in 1440. He wished to recover Croya and his father's lands in their entirety and to possess them as a feudal lord, not as a *timar*-holder. It is true that he made an alliance with other feudal families, Thopias, Balshas, Dukagjins, Dushmans, Leca Zaccaria and Aranti (The Alessio Meeting, 25 March 1444), but the idea of an Albanian united by a national leader is far from reality. He controlled only northern Albania while central and southern Albania always remained under Ottoman control. *Sandjaks* and *sandjak-begs*, based on Argirikaš (Gjinokastër), Ohrida or Belgrade (Berat) tried to suppress him with local forces. He waged guerrilla warfare all the time. Many of the battles described by Marino Barlezio with such fantastic figures were forces seem never to exceed 3,000. By the treaty of 26th March 1451 he became vassal of Alfonso V. of Naples and surrendered Croya to the king's men. Aranti, who had claims on southern Albania (Vaguetia, Valona, Kania) followed his example. Aranti was authorised by the king to accept in his name oaths of allegiance by other Albanian lords. So Zenebisi and others also became Alfonso's vassals. In return, the King agreed to grant a yearly pension varying between 300 and 1400 ducats to each of these vassals and to provide them a place to take refuge in case of danger. This simple change of masters was obviously determined by the fact that the Aragonese system appeared much more favourable than the Ottoman regime to the Albanian feudals. But, as witnessed by a contemporary Aragonese document, "the common people had hardly any complaints

against the Ottoman administration". (see C. Marinisco, *Alphonse VIII, M. de l'École Roum. in France*, Paris 1923, 104). A *timar* register made in 871/1466-67 included Dibra, Ilipolë, Kijka, Mat and Gernemiza (*Bajazet-ili Archives, Istanbul, Malye no. 306*). It is therefore seen that after Mehmed II's [s.v.] expedition in 870/1466, the *timar* system was extended into these areas. Whatever his real motives may have been, Iskender-beg, who died in his mountains, Murad II (in 852/1448 and 854/1450) and Mehmed II (in 870/1466 and 871/1467), was also glorified in his time as "Champion of Christ", by the Pope, and as the Albanian National hero, by the nationalists in the 19th century.

During the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1467-1479 Albania became one of the main scenes of operation. Finally the Ottomans were able to take Croya, Drivasto, Alessio and Jablak (Jabryk) in 1478, Scutari in 1479, and Durazzo in 1501. Alessio (Leob), which the Ottomans lost during the war of 1499-1503, was retaken in 1509. After having failed in their attempts in 1538, the Ottomans finally took Antivari (Bar) and Dulcigno (Ulcinj, Ölgün) in 1571, and thus completed their conquest of Albania.

It appears that up to the end of the 15th century Ottoman rule in Albania created a peaceful and prosperous era. Most of the old feudal families then adjusted themselves to the Ottoman régime, and even one of the Arantis named 'Ali beg had a large *timar* around Kania, Argirikaš and Belgrade toward 1506.

Until about 870/1466 Ottoman Albania was organised as a *sandjak* under the name of Arvanid (or Arnavud)-ili. Its subdivisions were the *vilâyet*s of Argirikaš, Kliaura, Kania, Belgrade, Timor-igje, Iskarapar, Pavlo-Kurtik, Cartolov and Akshahar. When in 1466 Mehmed II erected the fort of Elbasan, this region was set up as a new *sandjak*.

Sandjaks	Communities				Population				Officials and soldiers**				Tax revenues
	Towns	Fort	Villages	Christian households	Muslim households	Jewish households	<i>Sandjak-beg</i>	<i>K.âfâ</i>	<i>Z.â'im</i>	<i>Timar sipahis</i>	<i>Episkopi</i>	<i>Mudabirlik</i> in fortresses	
Iskenderiye; its <i>hadsis</i> divisions: Iskenderiye, Polgore, Bihor, Ipek, Prizrin, Kuvendi.	5	6	895	23,355	371	—	1	4	8	137	7	297	4,392,910
Awlonya; its <i>hadsis</i> divisions: Belgrade, Iskarapar, Premeti, Bogunya, Depedelen, Argirikaš, Awlonya.	7	7	?	35,370*	1,344*	525*	1	7	68	479	654	346 and 107 <i>azab</i>	6,991,830 in three <i>hadsis</i> of Argirikaš, Awlonya and Belgrade
Elbasan; its <i>hadsis</i> divisions: Elbasan, Gernemiza, Ishat, Zenebisi.	3	4	250	8,916	526	?	1	3	2	109	1,031	400	1,260,687
Ohrid; its <i>hadsis</i> divisions: Ohrid, Dibra, Akshahar, Mat.	4	6	849	32,648	603	—	1	4	8	388	655	193	2,947,949

\* These figures are for the *hadsis* of Belgrade, Argirikaš and Awlonya only.

\*\* We have not included in this list *dişdaris*, *halkbudas*, *halkis*, *imams*, or *ghayahis*, who were present almost in every town.



Moreover in the south the *sandjak* of Awlonya (Avlona) and in the east that of Ohri were created and in 1479 the *sandjak* of Iskenderiye (Scutari) was formed in the north. The following is a list established on the basis of the surveys of 912/1506 and 926/1520. (*Islap. Arşivesi*, *Tapu* no. 34 and 94), showing the administrative and military situation in the 16th century.

A comparison of the survey of 835/1431 with those of the 16th century reveal the fact that everywhere, in towns and villages, the population more than doubled during the intervening period, and in consequence the tax revenues increased similarly. The following illustrates this for the principal towns.

Towns	1431	The beginning of the 16th century
	Christian households	Muslim households
Agrikkas	121	143
Belgrade	175	501
Kanina	210	514
Prenedi	42	260
Kileura	100	514
Albaniyar	125	89

(These figures do not include the military or the civil officials).

The Albanian towns, which numbered 19 in the four Albanian *sandjaks*, were small local market-towns with populations varying between 1,000 and 4,000. Only Awlonya (Avlona) became a commercial centre of some importance (population 4 to 5 thousand). In order to further commerce, the government settled there a sizeable Jewish colony of the refugees from Spain (end of the 15th century). According to the *Kānūn-nāma* of Awlonya (see *Arnasid Defteri*, 123) the port handled goods imported from Europe, and velvets, brocades, mohairs, cotton goods, carpets, spices and leather goods came from Bursa and Istanbul. Some of the citizens of Awlonya even had business associates in Europe. Quite a large amount of tar and salt, produced near the city, was bought by the government at fixed prices. The tax income from Awlonya for the sultan's treasury alone amounted to about 32 thousand gold *ducats* a year. A garrison and a small fleet were stationed there permanently (for vols. 7 and 8). It must be noted that the Ottomans Albanian towns circa 1081/1670 see Ewliya Çelebi, continued the tax privileges of Albaniyar and Iskariyar which went back to Byzantine times, (see L. von Thallay-C. Jurek, *Zwei Urkunden aus Nordalbanien, Archiv für slavische Phil.*, xxi, 1899, 83). The *Defter* of 835/1431 reads as follows: "Let the inhabitants of Albaniyar guard the castle and be exempt from all kinds of taxation with the exception of *sharqia*". These tax exemptions were abolished toward the end of the 16th century.

The Ottomans did not radically change the taxation system which had existed in Albania under the Byzantines and the Serbs. *İspendie*, most probably a Serbian tax, was paid by every adult Christian male at the rate of 25 *akça*. The basic Ottoman taxes were the *hıgr*, which was actually one eighth of agricultural products, and the *dişma*. The Byzantine tax of two bushels of wheat and two of rye a year

survived in some parts of Albania under the Ottomans. So did fines called *bād-i kasal* [g.s.], apparently an adaptation of Byzantine *aerikon*. *Tavuk ve buğala* (Byzantine *karavakia*) also survived in Albania as an *iddet*. All these taxes except the *dişma*, which was collected for the sultan's treasury, were assigned to *timar*-holders. Under the Ottomans the rate of taxation seems not to have been lighter than before. But they abolished forced labour and determined, in advance, for each peasant, the amount of taxes due. Unlawful practices did exist, and the *Kānūn-nāma* of 1583 would seem to give a good idea concerning such abuses. It states that no *timar*-holder should subject his peasants to forced labour, make them carry hay for themselves, take their lands away without lawful reason, or force them to pay in cash the *hıgr*, which was to be paid in goods. The commonest complaint of a semi-nomadic people was that they were liable to the sheep-tax more than once a year during their move from one pasture to another.

At the beginning of the 16th century the public revenue in the *sandjak* of Iskenderiye (Scutari) amounted to 4,375,270 *akça*, half of which was assigned to the sultan and the other half to the *sandjak*-begi (449,953) and the *timar*-holders (3,770,118).

The Albanians occupied an outstanding place in the ruling class of the empire. At least thirty Grand-Viziers can be identified as of Albanian origin—among them Gedik Ahmed, Kodja Dāwūd, Dukagjini-Edo Ahmed, Lutfi, Kara Ahmed, Kodja Saliha Pasia, Naib, Kara Murad, and Tachmeto Ahmed. In the Kapd-kulu army, too, the Albanians were always present in great numbers. One obvious reason for it was that the *devşirme* [g.s.] system was practised extensively in Albania, as in Bosnia.

Two fundamental changes in the structure of the empire, namely the disruption of the *timar* system on the one hand, and the deterioration of the fiscal system on the other, had their impact on the situation in Albania as elsewhere. The first change, which coincided with the weakening of the central authority at the end of the 16th century made possible the formation of large estates in the provinces, while the second made it necessary for the state to assess new taxes and to reform the *dişma*, which due to its increased rate, affected particularly the Christian population. The discontent is manifested especially in the rebellious attitude of the Catholic highlanders in Albania in the 17th and 18th centuries and in their co-operation with hostile powers. For example, the original tax of 1000 *akça* a year paid by the Klementi clan had become a trivial amount by the end of the 16th century due to the depreciation of the *akça*, and the government therefore wanted instead to assess the *dişma* at 1,000 gold coins. This caused the rebellion of the tribes of northern Albania. They started to attack and plunder the plains of Rumeli as far as Filibe. In order to stop these depredations the Porte sent several armies against them and built a new castle near Gusinje. Their new uprising in 1638 was quelled by Dede Mehmed Paşa (see *Arnasid*, III, 399-409). The Klementi, Kuli (Kola), Pipera and the Khamirovi, who held the coastal range of Himara, co-operated also with the Austrian and Venetian armies during the wars of 1683-99, 1714-8, 1738-9.

On the other hand, as the central control weakened, the highlanders began to penetrate into Rumeli and even in Anatolia from the beginning of the 17th century. In the 18th century, *paşas*, *begs* and

*a'yās* everywhere took into their service these highlanders who were reputed to be the best mercenaries. They were organised in *bēlaks* of about 100 men under a *bēlak-bāg*, who, as a perfect condottiere, arranged everything for his men with the hire. The part played by such *bēlaks* is well illustrated by the example of Mehmed Ali in Egypt. Many Albanians also joined the mountain bands in Rumeli, called *Daghl* *shkëmbor* or *Kërbelas*.

In the same period the lease system of the state-owned lands (*miri aridit mülhata*) on the lowlands, coastal plains or inland basins, in Albania gave birth to the big land-owning class of *a'yās* [g.s.]. These absentee land-lords used every means to obtain more and more *mülhata*. Among them, the Bughatti family in the North, in the land of Gëgë, and Tepedeleni 'Ali Paşa (see 'Ali Paşa TEPEDELENİ) (1744-1822) in the south, in the area of Tokos, emerged as semi-independent despots. The first Bughatti (in Turkish chroniclers Bughatti or Bucattili, Mehmed Paşa, built up his power by acquiring large *mülhata* and by making an alliance with the Malisors, the highlanders, and thus forced the Porte to confer him the governorship of Scutari (İşkodra, Shkodër) (1779). After his death (1796), the Porte's attempt to get back these *mülhata* caused his son Kara Mahmud Paşa [g.s.] to rebel. 'Ali Paşa, too, possessed about 200 estates (*dükkān*). The Porte at first did not challenge the increasing power and authority of the Bughatti and 'Ali Paşa, as they were rightly considered to check the domination of the local *a'yās*, and the rivalry between these two *paşas* seemed to counterbalance each other. 'Ali Paşa once tried to extend his control into the zone of the Bughatti and fought them. Through his sons whom he managed to have appointed governors of Trevesda, Mores, Kallbi he actually formed a semi-independent state in Albania and Greece. In 1820, when the central government finally took action against him, he rebelled, and instigated the Greeks to revolt. The power of the last Bughatti, named Mustafa Paşa, was destroyed only in 1832 by the reformed army of Mahmud II. The centralist policy of the *Tanzimat* caused troubles with the autonomous tribes in North Albania.

The "Albanian League for the Defence of the Rights of the Albanian Nation" had been set up at Prizren on June 13, 1878, only to influence the decisions of the Congress of Berlin; but it proved to have great significance for the birth of an Albanian state later on. Encouraged by the Ottoman government at the beginning, the League set up resistance to the Montenegrins and Greeks in order to keep the Albanian provinces united (the four Ottoman *vilayets* of Yanya, İşkodra, Manastir and Kosova). But when the league tended to further the idea of an autonomous Albania, the Porte sent an army and dispersed the League (1881). The great powers, especially Austria-Hungary and Italy, encouraged this autonomy movement with the purpose of extending their influence over Albania while Russia was supporting Montenegro's territorial claims over Albania. On the other hand, by enlisting Albanians in his bodyguard and conferring special favours on them, 'Abd al-Hamid II was trying to win Albanian support. But the Albanian intellectuals, in co-operation with the Young Turks in Paris and elsewhere, were anticipating an autonomous Albania. In 1908 the stand taken by the Albanians against 'Abd al-Hamid at the Frizovik Meeting did actually help the Revolution to succeed. In the Ottoman Parliament the influential Albanian deputies, such

Encyclopaedia of Islam

as Ismail Kemal, Es'ad Toptani, Hasan Prishtina, joined in the *Hürriyet ve İtilaf* Party which sought decentralisation as against the centralist ottomanisation policy of the *İttihād ve Terakki* Party. While the heated discussions on an Albanian educational system was going on (the Congress of Manastir, November 1908) an uprising broke out among the Albanian highlanders who resisted the Ottoman government attempt to collect their arms. Finally, on 4th September 1912, the new Ottoman government accepted the Albanian demands for an autonomous administration. But the Balkan War completely changed the situation in the Balkans. A short time after the declaration of war, in November 1912, Ismail Kemal declared the independence of Albania at Awlonya (Vlorë). The London Conference proclaimed Albania an autonomous principality under the guaranty of the six powers (29th July 1913); but the newly elected prince, Wilhelm von Wied, had soon to leave the country (3rd September 1914). After the first world war Serbia laid claims to Shkodër and Durres. Seeing their country dismembered, the Albanian leaders hastily convoked a congress at Lushnjë (21st January 1920) and demanded the independence of Albania. A national government was formed in Tirana, and an Albanian partisan army drove out the Italians from Vlorë. Italy finally recognised the independence of Albania with the treaty of Tirana (3rd August 1920). The small Albanian state experienced a tumultuous parliamentary life during the first years of its existence (1921-4). The Muslim land-owning beys of the western and central plains came into conflict with the Popular Party (under its leader Fan Noli). A revolution forced Ahmed Zog, the Prime Minister, to flee to Yugoslavia. With Yugoslav support he came back into power (24th December 1924). A constituent Assembly proclaimed Albania a Republic and named Ahmed Zog (Zogu) President. He then signed a series of treaties with Italy (12th May 1925; 27th November 1926; 22nd November 1927 and March 1928) putting the country practically under Italian protection. In September 1938 Zog was proclaimed the King of Albanians. He fled from Albania one day before the Italians invaded the country on April 6, 1939.

*Bibliography*: Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie albanaise*, completed and published by Henri Guys, Paris 1912; Jean G. Keresopulos, *Albanie, paysan et urban de renaissance jusqu'à 1515*, 1931, ed. Flammarion, Athens 1934; Herbert Louis, *Albanien, Eine Landeskunde vornehmlich auf Grund eigener Reisen*, Stuttgart 1927; Antonio Baldacci, *Studi speciali albanesi*, 3 vols., Rome 1932-33, 1938; Johann G. von Hahn, *Albanische Studien*, Jena 1854; F. Nopcsa, *Albanien, Italien, Trakien und Gegend Nordalbaniens*, Berlin and Leipzig 1925; Hyacinthe Hequard, *Histoire et Description de la Haute-Albanie ou Ghegarie*, Paris 1855; M. E. Durham, *High Albania*, London 1909; S. Gopčević, *Über Albanien und Seine Liga*, Leipzig 1881; Margaret Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, Cambridge 1954; Carleton S. Coon, *The Mountains of Giants: A Racial and cultural Study of the North Albanian Mountain Groups*, Cambridge, Mass. 1930; Ludwig von Thallay, *Illyrische Albanische Forschungen*, Munich-Leipzig, 1916; Georg Stadtmüller, *Forschungen zur albanischen Frühgeschichte, Archivum Europae Centro-Orientale*, vi/1941, 1-196; M. M. v. Süßmayr, *Über die Albanen*, Belgrade 1925; N. Jorga, *Država Eudore de l'Albanie et du peuple albanais*, Bucharest 1919;



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(H. L. INALCIK)

**ARNIT**, Span. Arnedo, a small town in the province of Logroño, chief town of a *partido judicial*; it numbers about 10,000 inhabitants and is situated on the left bank of the Cicero, a tributary of the Ebro, about 22 m. (13 km.) from the capital. Arnedo is a toponym of Iberian origin which is found in the provinces of Burgos, Alabaico and Logroño, and which also occurs, in the last-named, in the district of five from Arnedo. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, Muslim Spain consisted, according to al-Idrîsî, of twenty-five *climes* (*klim*) or regions, among which figured that of Arnedo, with the towns of Calatayud, Daroca, Saragossa, Huesca and Tudela. The only Arabic work which describes it is the *al-Rasid al-Mufid*; according to this, it is "an ancient town of al-Andalus, 30 m. from Tudela, surrounded by rich cultivated plains. It is a place of great strength, and ranks among the most important. From this fortress one looks down on to Christian territory". Arnedo, Tudela and Oñate were the principal towns of the seignior of the Band East. In 308/920, 'Abd al-Rahmān III, in the famous campaign, called the *Muez* campaign, against Navarre, occupied Calatayud, which had been conquered two years previously by Sancho Garcés, and forced the latter to take refuge in Arnedo; Sancho Garcés left Arnedo when 'Abd al-Rahmān moved off in the direction of Pamplona to inflict a bloody defeat on the united forces of Navarre and Leon at Valdejunquera.

**Bibliography:** Idrîsî, Arabic text 176, trans. 211; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Peninsule ibérique*, Arabic text 11, trans. 202; Ibn Hazm, *El-Jamharat al-Arab*, 86, 1, 17-8; *Die. geog.*, II, 582; J. M. Lacarra, *Exp. musul. contra Sancho Garcés*, in *Revista del Principado de Viana*, 1940, 1, 47-70.

(A. HUCI MIRANDA)

**AROR** (see ARAR).

**ARPA**, *Barley* in Turkish. The term *arpa tarasi* 'a barley grain' was used under the Ottoman régime to denote both a weight and a measure: a weight of approximately 35.5 milligrams (half a *kahla*), and a measure of rather less than a quarter of an inch, 6 equalling one *parmas* (itself equivalent to 1½ inches).

(H. BOWEN)

**ARPALIK**, (literally, "barley money"), a term used in the Ottoman empire up to the beginning of the 19th century to denote an allowance made to the principal civil, military and religious officers of

state, either in addition to their salary when in office, or as a pension on retirement, or as an indemnity for unemployment. This term does not appear in the historical sources before the 16th century, and corresponds, to begin with, to an indemnity for holders of *ajals*, paid to those who maintained forces of cavalry or had to look after the horses; the first beneficiaries were the Aghas of the Janisaries, the Aghas of the imperial stable and the Aghas of the *bebak*, that is to say the principal army and palace officers; this benefit was later extended to religious officials: the *shaykh al-Islām*, the *hâfi* 'fâker', the tutor of the sovereign, and later (17th century) to the vizier, and to 'ulama' who were already titular holders of *trâfîk*, and also to officials of the central or provincial administration, or to military officers who had specially distinguished themselves; the *Rhâns* of the Crimea were also numbered among the beneficiaries. The maximum amount of the *arpalik* was fixed at 70,000 aspers for religious officials, 50,000 aspers for the Aghas of the Janisaries, and 10,000 aspers for palace officials. These endowments took the form of the grant of fiefs of varying degrees of importance; it is said that some holders of *arpalik* furnished its revenues. The haphazard distribution of these grants caused serious disturbances in the military, economic and social organisation of the state, and from the 18th century onwards only the principal religious authorities could benefit by the grant of an *arpalik*. The *arpalik* disappeared at the time of the *Tanzîmât*: a fund for retirement pensions was then created, and after the proclamation of the Constitution, an indemnity for unemployment was instituted.

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(R. MANTAS)

'**ARRĀDA**, a mediaeval artillery engine. In general, from Europe to China, there were everywhere in existence two main types of engines of projection which were operated by more than one man. In the case of the one, the heavy type of engine, the projectile was hurled from a great distance by virtue of the centrifugal force produced by the coiling of a great arm: these were the *mandangit* or *mangonit*; in the case of the other, a lighter engine, the projectile was discharged by the impact of a shaft forcibly impelled by the release of a rope: these were the '*arrāda*. The principle of the '*arrāda* only differs from the large arbalest mounted on a fixed chassis in the comparative lightness of the latter, and in the fact that the arbalest discharges its arrow itself instead of using it to propel a projectile. '*Arrāda*, like *mandangit*, were naturally siege and not field weapons. The word itself comes from an almost identical Syriac form, and corresponds to the Classical Greek *anagros*; but, strangely enough, it seems that in mediaeval Greek *manganikon* denoted a light weapon: this is a source of possible confusion.—To-day, '*arrāda* is applied to cannon. [See also 'ARABA].

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(CL. CAHEN)

**ARRĀDJĀN**, town in Fārs. According to the Arabic authors it was founded by the Sāsānid king, Kawādh I (488, 496-531), who settled there the prisoners of war from Āmid (Diyārbaḥr) and Mayyā-fārīn, and gave to the new settlement the official name Web Āmidā (Kawādh) = "Great (or Better) Āmid of Kawādh", run together and arabicised into Wānyakubdh or usually simply Āmid-Kubdh (Marquart proposed to read so in al-Tabarī, I, 887, 888). Some Arabic writers have erroneously given to Arrādjān the name Abar(z)kubdh, which was borne by a district and a town on the western frontier of Abwāz (Khūzistān); see also ARABSTĀN. In any case, the name which is in common use, Arrādjān, comes from an older town which existed before the new one founded by Kawādh.

In the Arabic mediaeval age Arrādjān was a very frequently mentioned frontier-town of Fārs against Abwāz, and down to the end of the 7th/13th century was the capital of the most westerly of the five provinces of Fārs; a part of the province of Arrādjān belonged earlier not to Fārs but to Khūzistān (cf. Ibn Fakhr, 199; al-Makdisi, 421). Arab geographers describe Arrādjān as a large place with excellent bazaars, which manufactured much soap, grew great quantities of corn, possessed numerous date and olive plantations, and was considered to have one of the healthiest situations of the "deserted land" (Garnadî). The rise of the Assassins portended its decline; for they seized possession of several strongholds on the neighbouring hills and from there made frequent plundering raids on the town and its adjacent district, and finally took it in the 7th/13th cent. Arrādjān never recovered from the horrors of this conquest. The inhabitants emigrated mostly to the neighbouring town, Bībḥāhān, which succeeded Arrādjān as capital of the province.

According to the Arab geographers Arrādjān lay on the road leading from Shīrāz to Irāk, 37 miles distant from Shīrāz and al-Ahwāz, and a day's journey from the Persian Gulf; it was situated on the river Tāb, which here formed the boundary between Fārs and al-Ahwāz.

The ruins of Arrādjān were discovered by C. de Bode on the river Tāb (modern Ab-i Kurdistan or Mārūn) at 31° 40' N. Lat. and 50° 20' E. Long. (Greenw.). Mustawfî shows that the form Arrādjān or Arrḥān for the town, was in popular use at the beginning of the 8th/14th century. The site of the ruins, according to Herzfeld, is a ride of two hours by horse east of the ruins of Bībḥāhān on a canal leading out of the Mārūn River, and it forms an almost rectangular plain of ruin ca. 3930 × 2620 ft. near the Kūh-i Bībḥāhān. Cultivation has now effaced all structural remains, according to Stein. About two miles farther up the river remains of a bridge from the Middle Ages, and of a barrage below the bridge, still exist. The bridge was mentioned by Arab geographers.

**Bibliography:** Yāköti, I, 193-5; Strange, 247, 248, 268-70; Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 13, 128, 146; J. Marquart, *Erzählung n. d. Georg. d. Pseudo-Moses-Xorēnas* 41.1; Schwartz, Iran, I, 21, 51; K. Ritter, *Erzkunde*, ix, 136, 145; C. de Bode, *Travels*

in Kurdistan and Arabistan, London 1845, I, 295 f.; E. Herzfeld, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1907, 81-2; idem, in *Klio*, viii, 8; Sir Aurel Stein *Old Routes in Western Iran*, London 1920, 80-7, pl. 22-4.

(M. STRACKE-D. N. WILHELM)  
**al-ARRĀDJĀNĪ**, Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū Bakr AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD al-ANṢĀRĪ, Arab poet born at Arrādjān in 460/1067, died in 544/1149-50 at Tustar or 'Askar Muḥram. Religious studies, pursued mainly at the Niğāmiyya at Isfahān, enabled him to be nominated *hāfi* of Tustar, but he early devoted himself to poetry, which he considered as a means of livelihood, and wrote panegyrics, addressed in particular to the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mustazhir, in *ḡazels* form, with the traditional *nashb*. Although some critics praise his work, al-Arrādjān must be considered as a versifier of limited stature. His *diwān*, compiled by his son, was printed at Beirut in 1307/1889; several Mss. exist in London and Cairo.

**Etymology:** *al-arrādj*: Ibn al-Shuḥārī, *Hamdān*, Haydarābād 1345, 283; Sam'īn, *Asnād*, 248; Ibn al-Djauzī, *Muntazam*, Haydarābād 1359, 2, 139-40; Yāköti, I, 193-5; Ibn al-Aḥḡar, al, 96-7; Ibn Khallikān, ed. 1399/1881, I, 83-5; Brockelmann, S. I, 448; 'All Āl Tāhīr, *La Poésie arabe en Iran et en Persa sous les Seldjoukides*, Sorbonne thesis 1954, index.

(E.)

'**ARRĀF**, (A), the abstract is, '*arraf*, one of the names for a diviner. Literally "eminent in knowledge" or "a professional knower"; the European equivalent would be "wise woman" with a change of sex. There are several synonyms, *Tāḥib* (physician); "I said to the '*arraf* of Yamāma, "Treat me, for if you cure me you are indeed a physician"; and "I will give the '*arraf* of Yamāma his due and the '*arraf* of Naḡd, if they cure me." The two were respectively Rāḥib B. 'Adjāla and al-Aḥlak al-Asadī. *Kāhīn* (diviner) [g.a.] is especially one who deduces his answer from the words, behaviour or circumstances of the enquirer or finds things which have been stolen or lost. It is said that the '*arraf* is somewhat less than the *kāhīn*. Of course, opinions differ on the precise meaning of these words; a proverb says that the '*arraf* takes what escaped the thief. *Kawāḥin* or *ḥawāḥin*, dowser. *Hāfi* one who divines from the shape of the limbs or moles on the face. A tradition says that he who consults the '*arraf* or *kāhīn* is an unbeliever. Nevertheless the examples of their activity are Islamic. 'Amr b. al-'Ās was not a professional '*arraf* but was famous for his practical wisdom; from the names of two travellers, Ḥafra and Baṭṭāl, he deduced that 'Ughmān had been first besieged and then killed (al-Tabarī, I, 325). The *ḥijwān* al-Safā say that the *kāhīn* uses no tools, books or calculations but relies on his motherwit and interprets what he sees or hears. *Zāḡir* is employed to describe this method of divination which its first merit derives from birds or animals. Ibn Khaldūn sets out a theory of divination. "It is a property peculiar to the human soul. The soul is so constituted that it can divest itself of its fleshly integument and rise to a higher spiritual state. Men who belong to the rank of prophets through their natural disposition receive as it were a flash of intuition, and this enables them without effort on their part, without the aid of sensual means of perception, and without forcing the imagination; nor need they bring their bodies into play by uttered word or hurried movement. They need employ no artificial means. By divesting themselves of the flesh they put on the angelic state which is natural to them in less than the twinkling of an eye."



*Bibliography:* LA, s.v. Maṣ'ūdi, Murāǧi, iii, 332 f.; Ishihai, *Musataf*, ch. 60; Tanūkhī, *Niḥḥār al-Hukūdān*, 265-68; Iḥḥān al-Safā (Cairo), ed., iv, 182; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima* bk. i, preface 6.2; *Taḥḥiqri-zāde*, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda* i, 293 f.; A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination*, ii, 7 ff., 198 f.; I. Goldzher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i, 25. (A. S. TARTON)

After the third civil war, and in the caliphate of Mu'awiyah Arab rule in Arrān was established, but the Khazars continued to raid south of the Caucasus Mountains. In the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik the Christian church of Arrān, which had been joined to the Greek Orthodox church, was united with the Armenian church by the Armenian clergy with Arab aid and approval (cf. J. Muytlerman, *La domination arabe en Arménie*, Louvain 1927, 99). On the Unnayayd governors of Armenia (including Arrān) cf. Haldimire, 205-9. During the governorship of Madama b. 'Abd al-Malik, appointed by the Caliph Hishām in 107/725-6, large Arab garrisons were brought into Arrān, and Baridha' served as head

*Bibliography:* The religious history of the Arranians is told by Moses Kalankatual in *Armenian* (Tiflis, 1912); for the contents see A. Manandian, *Beiträge zur albanischen Geschichte* (Leipzig 1897, 48. On the pre-Islamic history of J. Marquart, *Erkenntnis*, 117. For geography of Le Strange, 176-9, and *Hudud al-'Alam*, 398-401. On the early Islamic history of Arrân

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ARSLAN b. SALJUQ, the son, probably the father, of Saljuq, the founder of the Saljuq sultanates, Saljuq. His history is merged in that of the first contacts between the Oghuz led by his family and the Muslim states of Central Asia. His personal name was Isrāʾīl (cf. his brother Milḥḥān and Milḥān, mentioned in the *Maṭṭi*), and his Khazar or Avar-Central-Asian influence, with Arslan as a totemic name (cf. his famous nephews Tuḡril Muhammad and Çaḡrı Dāwūd). The beginnings of his history are confused during his lifetime with those of his nephew Isrāʾīl, who was sent to Isfahan to Isfahan and freed himself from the Kingdom of the Yabghu of the Oghuz; it is not disputed that his father, Saljuq, then sent him to the aid of one of the last Samānids who was engaged in a struggle with the Karakhanids. The affair is mentioned in the *Maṭṭi*, and the history of the family written under Alp Arslan about 1050; and it is generally thought that it is he who is mentioned, under the title of Yabghu, by the Ghazawid historian Gardizi, as associated with the Karakhanids; but latterly this version has been corrected by O. Pritsak, according to whom the title of Yabghu can only be understood to refer to the last Yabghu of the Oghuz Kingdom north of



Aral Sea. It is true that manuscripts of the Arab and Persian chronicles frequently attach to individual Saldjukids an appellation which can be read *yabghū*, but O. Pritsak has shown that side by side with the title of *yabghū*, which alone has been taken into consideration hitherto, there existed a totemic name *payghā*, and it is probable that the word must be read thus in some cases; I think however that as far as Arslan Isā'ī is concerned, he could not have had two totemic names, and did in fact bear the title of *yabghū*, indicative of the revolt of his family against the pagan kingdom of the north, and it seems to me probable, although not certain, that he is, in agreement with the traditional account, the person mentioned by Gardīzī.

The main features of his later history are less open to dispute. After the final collapse of the Sāmānids, he is found associated with the Karakhanid rebel at Bukhārā, 'Alī Tegin, in whose service he was eventually joined by his nephews Tughril and Çağrı. In 416/1025 he was involved, to a greater extent than they, in the defeat of 'Alī Tegin by the combined forces of the supreme Karakhanid Kade-Khān (supported mainly by the Kachaks) and Mahmūd of Ghazna, and his Oghuz were transferred to Khurāsān, separated from those of Tughril and Çağrı who soon emigrated to Khwārizm. Legend or adulation has obscured the account of this move which, according to some, was voluntary, but more probably was carried out on the orders of Mahmūd, as is asserted by others, in order to weaken 'Alī Tegin. At all events it is not open to dispute that Mahmūd kept Arslan Isā'ī prisoner, and that he died in captivity, about 427/1034, in a fortress on the borders of Hind. It is impossible to say what the connexion was between this fate and the persistent tendency to rebellion on the part of the Oghuz of Khurāsān from 418/1027 onward. Those historians, like Rāwandī, who wished to flatter the Saljdjūkid dynasty of Asia Minor, descended from Arslan's son Kutalmış (Kutalmış?), ascribed to the latter the role of secret liaison agent between the prisoner and his Oghuz, but it is impossible to verify this.

**Bibliography:** Cl. Cahen, *Le Maliknāmah et l'histoire des origines seldjūkides*, in *Oriens II*, 1949, which contains a survey of the sources, but which is to be revised in the light of the studies of Ouseyan Pritsak, in particular *Der Übergang des Reiches des Oghuzischen Yabghu, in Köprülü Armutian, Istanbul 1953*, or in *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts in the USA*, II, 2, 1952, together with my discussion in *JA*, 1954, 271-275; cf. also Pritsak's *Die Karachaniden*, in *Isl.* 1953. For the relations between Arslan and the Ghaznavids, a comprehensive account will be found in Muhammad Nāzīm, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931.

(CL. CAHEN)

ARSLAN B. TOGHRL (see SALDJUKIDS).

ARSLAN-ARGHUN, brother of Malikshāh who, on the death of the latter, seized possession of Khurāsān and the province of Balh, debated and put to death another brother, Burhān, who had been sent against him (488/1095), but incurred odium as a result of his positive measures against the supporters of his defeated brother and his destruction, as a preventative measure, of the ramparts of Marw, Nishāpūr, Sarakhs, Sabzwār etc.; he was finally killed in 490 by one of his slaves. His young son, aged seven, was easily swept aside by Sanjār, the brother and lieutenant of the Sultan Barkyārūk.

Ibn al-Athīr, x, 34, speaks of an Arslan-Arghūn, a brother of Alp Arslan, who received from him the government of Khwārizm at the time when Malikshāh was proclaimed heir-presumptive; the author of the *Abhār al-Dawlat al-Saldjūkiyya*, 40, gives the same information, but calls this Arslan Argūn the son of Alp Arslan, and therefore identical with the brother of Malikshāh; but according to 'Imād al-Dīn Bundārī, 257, followed by Ibn al-Athīr, 178-80, the brother of Malikshāh was twenty-six years old at the time of his death, and only possessed at the death of the former a small *ishā'* in Western Persia; although nothing else is known of a brother of Alp Arslan of this name, it seems as though we must conclude that two individuals of this name existed. Descendants of the brother of Malikshāh were still living at Marw in the middle of the 6th/12th century.

**Bibliography:** 'Imād al-Dīn Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjūkides*, II, 84, 255-8, whence Ibn al-Athīr, x, 178-80; *Abhār al-Dawlat al-Saldjūkiyya*, ed. Moh. Iqbal, Lahore 1935, 33, 34 (relations between Arslan-Arghūn and the 'Amūd-i Khurāsān known as Muhammad b. Munir al-Nisāwī), 40 (cf. Ibn al-Athīr 34, 34; 'Alī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqi called Ibn Funduk, *Tarīkh-i Bayhaq*, ed. Ahmad Bahmanyār, Teheran 1337/1938, 72, 276. (CL. CAHEN)

ARSLAN KHAN (see KARAKHANIDS).

ARSLAN SHAH B. KIRMAN SHAH (see SALDJUKIDS).

ARSLAN SHAH B. MAS'UD ABU 'L-HARITH (see ZAGHARIDS).

ARSLAN SHAH B. MAS'UD (see ZAGHARIDS).

ARSLAN SHAH B. TOGHRL SHAH (see SALDJUKIDS OF KIRMAN).

ARSLANLI (see GHURGHAN).

ARSUF, small fishing port on the coast of Palestine, 10 miles north of Jaffa. The Arabic name probably preserves its original dedication to the Semitic god Reseph. Under the Seleucids it was renamed Apollonia. In the early centuries of the Caliphate it was one of the principal fortified cities of the province of Filastin. It was occupied by the Crusaders under Baldwin I in 494/1101 and called by them Asotus; recaptured by Saladin in 583/1187; scene of an engagement between Saladin and Richard I, 14 Sha'bān 587/7 Sept. 1191; restored to the Crusaders under the truce with Richard 588/1192; retaken by John of Archa 600/1202; captured by sultan Baybars Bundukdārī after a forty-days' siege, 11 Radjāb 663/29 April 1265, and left in ruins.

**Bibliography:** Makdisi 174; Yāqūt s.v.; Abu 'l-Fidā (Reinaud) 230; 'Imād al-Dīn, *al-Fath al-Kudsī* (Landberg), 383-7; Makridi, *Sulūk*, I (Cairo 1934), 528-30; general histories of the Crusades; G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, index; G. Beyer in *Zeitschr. d. d. d. Palästina-Verein*, lxxvii (1951), 152-8, 178-84.

(H. A. R. GIBB)

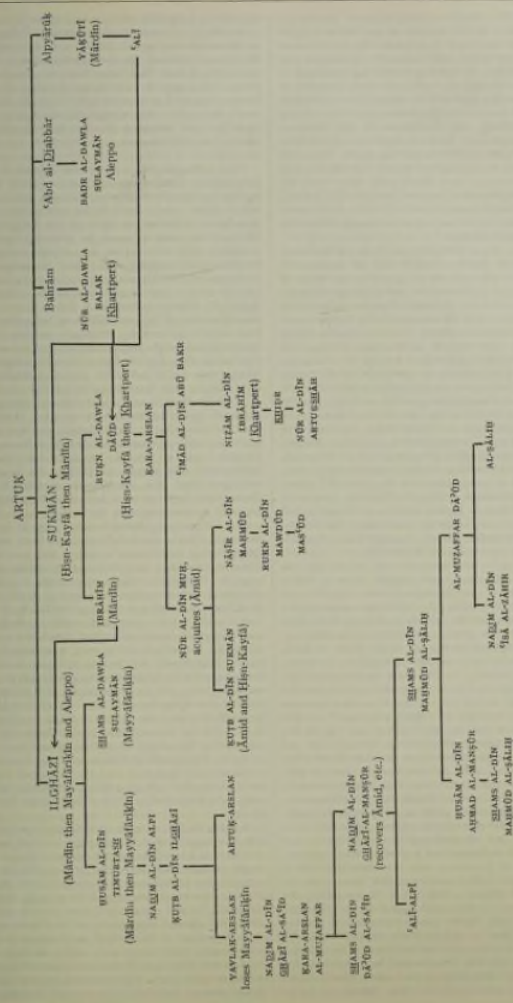
ART (see articles on countries, cities and dynasties, 'ARABESQUE, ARCHITECTURE, BINKA', KAL, KARAKHANISM etc.).

ARTENA (see KETNA).

ARTILLERY (see BARBON, TOP).

ARTUKIDS, (not UZKURIDS), a Turkish dynasty which reigned over the whole or part of Diyar Bakr, either independently or under Mongol protectorate, from the end of the 5th/11th to the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

Artuk, son of Eksebh, belonged to the Turkoman tribe Döğür [q.v.]. In 1073 he was in Asia Minor, operating for and against the Byzantine Emperor





Michael VII, but he later appears principally as an officer in the service of the Great Saljuq Malikshah. In 1077 he brought the Carmathians of Bahrayn under the rule of Malikshah; in 1079 Malikshah placed him under the command of his brother Tutush in the Syrian campaign, and in 1084 under Ibn Diyar in the Diyar Bakr campaign; in 1085 he was sent to Khurāsān against the sultan's brother, Tuglugh. He received as an *ihdā'* Halwān, a strategic point in southern Kurdistan. From 1085 onwards, however, he intrigued in Diyar Bakr with Muḥsin, the Arab prince of Mawālī and Aleppo, who was at variance with Malikshah. The death of Muḥsin obliged him to re-enter the service of Tutush, who gave him Palestine (1086). The date of his death is not known; he left several sons, among whom were Sukmān and Ighlāz.

After the death of Malikshah, the Artukids, led by Tutush into Diyarbakr, helped him to dispute the throne with his nephews (1092-5); on the death of Tutush, they supported his son Rūdwān of Aleppo against another son, Duḥūk of Damascus; they later lost Palestine, and its reconquest by Egypt (1098) and subsequent occupation by the Crusaders finally prevented their return there. One of the two Artukid leaders, Ighlāz, then entered for a time the service of Muḥammad, one of the sons of Malikshah, whom he had supported against his brother Barquyārūk, and who made him governor of Trāb, but the Turkomans from whom the family derived its strength remained in Diyar Bakr. In 1097, the nephew of Sukmān succeeded in occupying Mārdīn. Sukmān himself, who had taken possession of Sarḡūd, was expelled from there by the Crusaders (1097), but, as a result of quarrels between the chiefs of Diyarbakr, obtained possession of Hīn Kayfā (1102), controlled numerous districts further north, and then inherited Mārdīn. He took part in the wars against the Franks, and in 1109 before Hārīn captured Count Baldwin of Edessa. He died soon afterwards.

Muḥammad, who became sole sultan by the death of Barquyārūk, sent Ighlāz back to Diyar Bakr, where in 1107 he had a hand in the defeat of Küldī Arslān of Rūm, who had been summoned by Muḥammad's enemies, and in 1108 he took the place of Mārdīn of one of the sons of Sukmān (another son, Duḥūk, retained Hīn Kayfā). Other chiefs, at Amūd, Ahlāt, Arrāz etc., carved out seigniories for themselves. Muḥammad tried to unite them for the Holy War against the Franks; he could not prevent the rupture, in the middle of the campaign, between Ighlāz and Sukmān of Ahlāt, who, however, died (1110). From then on, relations between Ighlāz and Muḥammad became strained; the former more and more avoided participation in the expeditions sent against the Franks by the Sultan, from which, having regard to the risks run, only Saljuqs actually stood to gain. In 1114, Ighlāz formed a Turkoman coalition against the governor of Mawālī, Aksumkur al-Barsukī. He was victorious, but, apprehensive of retaliation by Muḥammad, fled to Syria, and reached an understanding not only with Tuglugh, the atabeg of Damascus, who was also disturbed at the Sultan's Syrian ventures, but even with the Franks of Antioch; the latter, by crushing the Saljuq army (1115), saved Ighlāz. In 1118, Muḥammad died, and Ighlāz seized possession of the last Saljuqid post in Diyar Bakr, Mayyāfārikin. He was now a power to be reckoned with. Aleppo, threatened by the Franks and rent by anarchy, appealed to him, despite its leading men's dislike of handing over power to him. Ighlāz, secure as

regards the Saljuqids, did not wish to see the power of the Franks increase. In agreement with Tuglugh, he answered the appeal (1118), and in 1119, his Turkomans inflicted on the Franks of Antioch a resounding defeat. Their base, however, remained in Diyar Bakr, and, in face of the reaction of other Franks, Ighlāz was disposed to make peace. He was also called into action against the Georgians; this time he was defeated (1121). Nevertheless his prestige was unimpaired at the time of his death in 1122.

From 1123 onwards, his nephew Balak had been progressively building up, north-east of Diyar Bakr, astride the eastern Euphrates, a stable principality whose chief town, from about 1125, had been Khartpert. Moreover, as tutor of the Saljuqid of Malatya, who was a minor, he achieved fame by crushing, with the aid of an alliance with the Dānishmandī Gümüştegin, the Mangudjak of Erzinjān and the Byzantine governor of Tarsus, Gavran (1120), and later, while in the service of Ighlāz, by capturing Joscelyn of Edessa (1122), and, after the death of Ighlāz, Baldwin of Jerusalem, who had come to protect the Franco-Armenians of the border regions of the Euphrates (1123). He was then able to take the place of another nephew of Ighlāz at Aleppo but was killed while besieging Manbiḡ in 1124. Aleppo then passed out of Artukid hands.

In Diyar Bakr, where they remained firmly entrenched, Shams al-Dawla Sulaymān, son of Ighlāz, who had succeeded at Mayyāfārikin, also died at the end of 524/1129-30. Another son of Ighlāz, Timurtash, already master of Mārdīn, succeeded him. Balak's principality had passed to Duḥūk, the son and successor, since 1104, of Sukmān at Hīn Kayfā. From then on, the two branches maintained a separate existence for two centuries.

The period of expansion, however, was at an end. From 1127 Zenkī ruled at Mawālī, and from 1128 at Aleppo also; he built up a strong kingdom there. Timurtash acted as Zenkī's vassal, by hostile action against Duḥūk, then (1144) against his son Kara Arslan, as well as against the prince of Amūd whom Zenkī and he besieged in 1133. Duḥūk had been active in the north, where he had also controlled anti-Georgian expeditions; he had absorbed the small seigniories bordering on his own, especially to the east of Hīn Kayfā. But he was subjected to relentless pressure from Zenkī, who conquered Buḥtān, east of Diyar Bakr, and, on the accession of Kara Arslan, the districts lying between Hīn Kayfā and Khartpert. Kara Arslan was forced to effect a rapprochement with the Franco-Armenians of Edessa against whom, like Timurtash, he had waged war from time to time; the capture of Edessa by Zenkī (1144) was a disaster for him too, but he was saved by his enemy's death (1146). Not without difficulty Timurtash and Kara Arslan divided Diyar Bakr between them.

Zenkī's dominions were divided between Nūr al-Dīn at Aleppo, and at Mawālī a line of other princes, brothers and nephews of Nūr al-Dīn, who increasingly brought them under his tutelage. His struggle against the Franks and his efforts in the Muslim direction led him again to seek an alliance with the Artukids; he did not contend with them for Diyar Bakr and allowed them north of the Euphrates to take their share of the spoils of the Count of Edessa, but dragged them along in his wake in wars against the Franks or Byzantine. Nevertheless his relations with them were excellent, especially with Kara Arslan, and Alpā, the son and successor of

Timurtash, sought to secure his position by obtaining the protection of the Ishkī Arslān of Ahlāt, whom he was obliged to return to aid against the Georgians. Kara Arslan himself, in 1161, attempted to take Amūd from the Inlids and the Nisānids, but was prevented from doing so by a Dānishmandī attack; but soon his son Muḥammad, with Nūr al-Dīn, went to the aid of the Dānishmandīs who were threatened by the expansionist policy of the Saljuqids of Konya. The growing power of Nūr al-Dīn had imperceptibly caused the Artukids to assume the rôle of vassals, when Nūr al-Dīn died in 1174.

The history of the following years is mainly concerned with the resistance offered by the princes of Upper Mesopotamia to the ambitions of Salāh al-Dīn who, master of Egypt, gradually took possession of the Syro-Euphratian heritage of Nūr al-Dīn. The Artukids to begin with gave their united support to the Zenkīs of Mawālī. Then Muḥammad considered it more prudent to come to terms with Salāh al-Dīn, who captured Amūd, for long the object of his envious regard, and gave it to Muḥammad as fief; from then on it became the family seat (1185). Muḥammad's death shortly afterwards, which left only young princes on the throne of Amūd, Mārdīn, Ahlāt and Mawālī, together with the division of Muḥammad's dominions into two branches, Hīn Kayfā with Amūd, and Khartpert, increased their subjection to Salāh al-Dīn; the latter directly established his authority in Diyar Bakr in 1184 by the occupation of Mayyāfārikin.

The Artukids were from then on only remnants gradually whittled away by the successors of Salāh al-Dīn of the Ayyūbid dynasty, his brother al-ʿAdil and the latter's descendants, who became masters of Ahlāt in 1207 but were sometimes divided among themselves. Against the most powerful of them, al-Kāmil of Egypt, the Artukids became for a time vassals of the Saljuqids of Rūm, then expanding rapidly to the east, and then of the Khwāzizmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn Mangubert, who had become master of Aḡharbāyḡdīn and Ahlāt; Saljuqid vengeance caused them to lose the towns north of the Euphrates (1226), and the vengeance of al-Kāmil deprived them of Amūd and Hīn Kayfā (1232-3). Al-Kāmil quarrelled with the Saljuqid Kaykubād and was defeated, and as a result the Artukid of Khartpert, who had supported him, was dispossessed in his turn (1214). From then on only the Mārdīn branch remained; this continued to exist for nearly another two centuries. In 1260 its representative, al-Malik al-Saʿīd, endured a lengthy siege by the Mongols; but his death saved the dynasty, for his son, al-Muḡaffar, submitted to Hülegü and thus, as a humble vassal, preserved the heritage of his ancestors.

The internal organisation and the civilisation of the Artukid principalities are too little known and, on the whole, too lacking in originality, for them to merit a general study on their own. Forming, with the exception of Khartpert, part of the Muslim world since the Arab conquests, the territories over which the Artukids reigned continued to be governed by the same people (for example the illustrious family of the Dāwā Nubātā at Mayyāfārikin) and according to the same principles (summarised in the *ʿUhd al-Farid* of Muḥammad b. Talha al-Karḡhī al-Aḡwī, *vazir* of Mārdīn in the 7th/13th century) which had existed formerly or still existed in the neighbouring principalities. The taxes recorded in one or two inscriptions are those obtaining everywhere, and it would be unwise to attach more than a passing significance to the anecdote which emphasises the

lightness of the burdens borne by the rural elements subject to Timurtash, compared with those subject to Zenkī. The introduction of the Turkoman element had no effect on the traditional economic activity of the country, which was based on agriculture and stock-breeding, the iron and copper mines, and trade with Trāb and Georgia. Culturally, although we do not know of any writer of note who lived in the entourage of the Artukids, the Arabic literary tradition was sufficiently alive among them for a Uḡma b. Munkidh, for example, an exile from Syria, to have lived for several years at the court of Kara Arslan at Hīn Kayfā.

When all this has been said, we still have to see whether, by virtue of its origin or otherwise, the Artukid régime had any particular characteristics. The first problem is that of Turkoman influence. The Turkomans remained until the end an important element in the life of Diyar Bakr, in the south perhaps more than in the north, where the Kurds were always dominant; and Diyar Bakr was one of the starting points for the vast Turkoman migration of Rustem, which embraced about 1185-90 the whole of eastern and central Asia Minor. It is known, on the other hand, that the few verses which constitute the earliest specimen of popular literature in the Turkish language in western Asia, emanated from Artukid territory. There is no doubt that the Artukid dynasty did not remain purely Turkoman. The use of the symbolic arrow, however, continued for some time, and the princes (but not more than the Zenkīs, who were not of direct Turkoman origin) preserved in their style, alongside Arab and Persian names, specifically Turkish titles. There has been much discussion on the significance of the animal motifs on certain coins or in decorative work on buildings, which perhaps belong to a general group of Turkish traditional symbolic signs. None of this has much bearing on the actual organisation of the Artukid principalities. What perhaps has a greater bearing on this, if it must be attributed to an original tribal practice deriving from authority which was more family than individual, is the impossibility which faced the dynasty of avoiding apportionment, and the numerous and detrimental grants of spangars to "princes of the blood". All the same, it is hardly open to dispute that the continued existence of the dynasty at Mārdīn, and its replacement by the Ayyūbid Kurds north of the Tigris, should be related to the redistribution of the population and consequently to the support given to the Artukids by the Turkomans despite the existence of numerous Turks in the Ayyūbid army. This does not mean that the Artukids had had much quarrel with their Kurdish subjects, despite memories of the Marwānids; nevertheless one sees them pursuing on their eastern frontiers the same policy of reabsorbing the autonomous Kurdish states which Zenkī was following a little further south, and at the end of the century a massacre of Kurds, with whom they were indeed formerly half internixed, marked the beginning of the migration of the Turkomans to Rustem.

As regards religious belief, the attitude of the Artukids seems in general to have been fairly tolerant. It is true that they took part in the general trends towards orthodoxy which characterise the Saljuqid and post-Saljuqid period, and were among the most active builders of *madrasas* and mosques and executors of public works (bridges, *ḡāzīs*, etc.); and military defence works. Ighlāz, who was of necessity a diplomat, had avoided a complete break with



the Assassins; none of his successors had the appearance of a champion of orthodoxy comparable to that of Nūr al-Dīn, and one of them, al-Khartart, favoured the Twelver mystic Suhrawardī who, it is true, had at that time not yet been denounced as heterodox. The same tolerance, on the whole, characterised the relations of the Artukids with their Christian subjects. The latter complained, in the second half of the 6th/12th century in particular, of various tribulations; but popular disturbances sometimes among the Kurds, rather than any action by the government, seem to have been at the root of the matter. About 1180, Turkomans and Kurds massacred, on the borders north of Diyar Bakr, the Armenians of Qūbal Sassīn, but the latter constituted a quasi-autonomous group, intriguing frequently with the Shāh-i Armīn, and the action of which they were the victims was therefore of a political rather than religious nature. Towards their ordinary Christian subjects, it has to be admitted that the Artukids acted with clemency. There is no other explanation for the fact that the Armenian Catholics resided for a period during the 12th century at Dzvīk, in the province of Khartpert, and that the patriarch of the Monophysites constantly alternated his periods of residence at the Convent of Mār Barsawma (itself momentarily subject to the Artukids, but normally a dependency of Edessa, and one of the princes of Mālayra) with periods of residence at Āmid or at Mārdīn, where their election frequently took place with Artukid permission. Several bishops, especially Monophysites, always existed in Diyar Bakr, the Christian population remained numerous and, on the south-eastern frontiers of the province, the district of Tūr-ʿAbdīn remained a great centre of monastic life until the 8th/14th century.

The strange character of Artukid coins, which, like those of the Dīnshamānids, for long resembled ancient Byzantine coins, is sometimes explained as a Christian influence. This does not seem to me to be a sufficient explanation. To speak of the impossibility of finding an artisan capable of striking Muslim coins in an ancient Muslim country does not make sense; nor does the importance of trade with Byzantium carry greater weight, because it is impossible to believe that it had suddenly assumed greater importance than trade with neighbouring Muslim states, or that the copper pieces with which we are exclusively concerned could be used for any other purpose than local consumption. These arguments are admissible for the Dīnshamānids, but not for the Artukids, and the problem deserves to be reconsidered as a whole.

The history of the Artukids after the Mongol conquest, despite their disappearance from the larger political stage, should not cease to attract our interest as an example of how an autonomous principality adapted itself to new circumstances; unfortunately very little is known about it. The Artukids played the role of local servants of the Ilkhāns; they gained, apart from the title of sultan, the advantage of being considered for a time as auxiliaries or delegates of Mongol authority, and of recovering more or less permanently a considerable part of Diyar Bakr (Āmid, in a state of decay, Mayyāfārīkīn, perhaps Is'īrd) and in addition Khābūr, only Hīṣa Kayfā (Ayyūbīd) and Arzan (Saljūqīd) remaining autonomous. Moreover, like all the vassals of the Ilkhāns, the Artukids paid a second tribute to the 8th/13th century, as a result of the break-up of the Mongol state, found themselves once more free,

and subsequently free to bow momentarily before one or other of the new powers created by this break-up. The little which is known of their 'foreign policy' shows them trying to preserve their pre-eminence in the face of, on the one hand, the Ayyūbīds of Hīṣa Kayfā, against whom they waged in 735/1334 an unsuccessful war which cost them their possessions on the left bank of the Tigris, and on the other hand the Mōngols, Turkomans and Mamūlūks who contested Upper Mesopotamia with them. On the one hand they appear to have joined forces with the Turkomans against the Kurds of the north, supporters of the Ayyūbīds; on the other, however, no further mention of any special link with their parent tribe, the Dūger, now settled further to the west, on the borders of the Mamūlūk state; on the other hand, with the formation of the two great rival Turkoman federations of the Ak Koyūnlū and the Kara Koyūnlū in Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia in the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Artukids seem at first to have supported the enemies of the latter (although it is not possible to affirm that they belonged strictly to the Ak Koyūnlū group); but, some time before the invasion of Timūr, a general rapprochement seems to have taken place between the Mōngols (Djāla'irids) of Baghdad, the Kara Koyūnlū, the Artukids and the Mamūlūks.

Whatever the position regarding these disputed questions, on another plane, that of economic and social life, the increase, by comparison with pre-Mongol times, of the nomad element compared with the settled element, and the consequent decline of agricultural life, are not open to dispute. Nevertheless some towns, among them Hīṣa Kayfā and Mārdīn, perhaps derived profit from the surrounding decadence, which made them valuable places of refuge. Building was definitely still going on at Mārdīn in the 8th/14th century, and Arab culture, represented, for example, by the poet Sayf al-Dīn al-Hillī, still held an honoured position there. Christianity, favoured by the Mōngols, but sometimes ill-treated by their descendants, retained for its part a certain vitality in Artukid territory: the Monophysite patriarch often resided at Mārdīn, and Daniel bār al-Khātīb (5) is a theologian still held in respect there.

The invasion of Timūr caused fresh upheavals. Sūltān al-Zāhir ʿAlā, suspected of maintaining a connexion with Egypt, could not save his principality from the ravages of the conqueror. He contended with the Ayyūbīds, zealous vassals of Timūr, and especially with the Ak Koyūnlū who, to begin with, on behalf of Timūr, then, after his death, on their own account, sought to conquer the Artukid principality; in 800, al-Zāhir was killed making a vain attempt to save Āmid, and in 821/1409 his successor al-Sālib decided to abandon Mārdīn to Kara ʿUṣuf, the leader of the Kara Koyūnlū. This represented the end of the dynasty and of the period of comparative autonomy of southern Diyar Bakr.

**Bibliography:** The sources are those for the general history of the Near East from the end of the 5th/11th to the beginning of the 9th/15th century. For the 12th-13th centuries see the introduction to my *Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940. Special note should be made of the following: for the 11th century, the History of Aleppo of Kanān al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīn (ed. Sūfī Dūhān, Damascus vol. 1, 1921, vol. 2, 1924, vol. 3 in preparation); for the 12th century, Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Djāwād (the portion relevant to this period has not been published), and, for the Bahrayn episode,

the annotator of Ibn al-Mukarrab (De Goeje, *La fin des Kararmīn*, in *JA* 1895); for the 13th century, the Syrian chronicle of Michael the Syrian, ed. and trans. by Chabot, III, and above all, a unique extant chronicle originating from Artukid Diyar Bakr, the History of Mayyāfārīkīn of Ibn al-Azrak al-Fārīdī (unpublished); analysis of the political events in my *Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Artukides*, in *JA* 1935; for the 13th century, before the Mongol intervention, ed. great histories of Ibn al-ʿAdīn (mentioned above), Ibn al-Aḥlī, Ibn Wāṣil (edition in course of preparation by Djāmāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Alexandria; vol. 1, appeared in 1933), al-Djāzārī (*Oriens* 1931, 1931), and especially the section relating to *Djāzira* in the *Aʿlāh* of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddīd (unpublished); analysis in my *Djāzira au XIII<sup>e</sup> s.*, in *REI* 1934, which constitute the Arabic sources, and, in addition, in Persian, the History of the Saljūqīds of Asia Minor of Ibn Bīdā (facsimile edition by A. S. Erzi, Ankara 1936, critical edition by N. Lugal and A. S. Erzi, i, Ankara 1937; a Turkish version was edited by T. Houtsma, *Revue*, III, A. German translation by H. W. Duda is in the press.) and, in Syriac, the *Chronographia* of Gregory Abu ʿI-Farādī Bar Hebraeus (ed. and trans. by Budgen); for the Mongol, post-Mongol and Timūrid period, one must glean the fragments of information scattered among the standard chronicles of the Mamūlūks, the Ilkhānids and Timūr, and more especially in the *History of the Ayyūbīds* (of Hīṣa Kayfā, unpublished, analysis by the author in *JA* 1935), and augment this by the 12th/13th century period, the continuation of the Syrian Ecclesiastical Chronicle of Bar-Hebraeus (ed. Abbelles and Lamy) and (for the period since Timūr) the anonymous Syrian work edited and translated by Behusch (Bratislava 1858) and the Armenian history of Tamerlane by Thomas de Medzrop (ed. and trans. by Némé; see also the *diwan* of Sayf al-Dīn al-Hillī, and, perhaps, the *Kitāb al-Diyār al-Bahrayn* of Abū Bakr Thirīdī (end of the 13th century), which is not accessible to me (see *JA*, articles Diyarbakir and Akkoyunlu, and Faruk Sumar, article mentioned below).

The inscriptions, collected up to the beginning of the 14th century in *KEA*, have nearly all been studied by Sauvaget in the appendix to A. Gabriel, *Voyage archéologique en Turquie Orientale*, 1940; see also Sauvaget, *La tombe de l'Ortohid Balak (Ars Islamica 1935)* and Sūl. Savet, *Silvan Tarihī*, Diyarbakir 1949. — For buildings, see Gabriel, *op. cit.* — For objects d'art, see J. T. Reinoud, *Monuments Hittites*, II, 40, and P. Casanova, *Inscriptions de la collection Princesse Lénine*, 1896. For coins (not a few unpublished coins exist in private collections), the Istanbul and British Museum catalogues, and S. Lane Poole, *The Coins of the Urukids*, in *Musée Numismatique Chronique*, 1875; B. Butak, *Resimli türk paraları*, Istanbul 1947-50.

The only comprehensive modern studies are those, necessarily brief, by Karim, Halil Yūsuf (*Diyarbakir*) and Koyūnlū (*Artuk-ogulları*) in *JA*. My *Diyār Bakr* etc. mentioned above, one of my early works, is only of value for political events; see also my *Première Pénétration turque en Asie-Mineure* (Byzantin 1948) and my *Syrie du Nord* mentioned above; the histories of the Crusades of Grousset and Runciman; the valuable monographies on inscriptions by Van Boon, in *Abk. G. W. Göttingen 1897*, and in Strzygowsky, *Amida*

1910; H. Derenbourg, *Ossama b. Mounshid*, I, 1886; Faruk Sumar, *Diyarbakir*, in *Turkiyat Mecmuası* 1933. For the 14th century, see my *Contribution à l'histoire du Diyar Bakr au XIV<sup>e</sup> s.*, in *JA*, 1935; on Daniel bar al-Khātīb, Nau, in *Rev. Or. Chrét.* 1920.

**ARTVIN**, town in the far north-east of Turkey, 41° 10' north, 41° 50' east, situated on the Çoruh. It was ceded to Russia by the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878 together with Kars and Ardahan, and ceded back by Georgia on Feb. 23rd, 1921. Since then, it has been the centre of the *hads* and the capital of the *vilâyet* of Çoruh. In 1945, there were 3,980 inhabitants in the town itself and 16,966 in the *hads*.

(Fr. TAEGHNER)

**ʿARŪBA** (see TAʿHIGI)

**ʿARŪD**. 1. *ʿIlm al-ʿArūd* is the technical term for ancient Arabic metrics. *ʿIlm al-ʿArūd* and *ʿIlm al-ḥiʿr* are occasionally used synonymously in the sense of 'science of versification', and in this extended sense *ʿIlm al-ʿArūd* embraces not only the Science of Metre, but also the Science of Rhyme. Usually, however, the rules governing rhyme (*ʿIlm al-Kawf*), eg. *Kāf/ya* are treated separately, and *ʿIlm al-ʿArūd* is confined to metrics in the stricter sense. As such, Arabic philologists define it in the following manner: *ʿAl-ʿArūd ʿilm bi-ṣūṭ al-yuʿraf bihā yaḥiḥ aswān al-ḥiʿr wa-faḥḥah* ('*Arūd* is the science of the rules by means of which one distinguishes correct metres from faulty ones in ancient poetry').

There is no generally accepted etymology for this sense of the term *ʿArūd*. Some Arabic grammarians maintain that it acquired the meaning of metrics because the verse is constructed on its analogy (*yuʿraf ʿalayhi*); others say that the term was used because al-Khālī developed it in Mecca, and this city is also called al-ʿArūd. Georg Jacob (*Studien in arabischen Dichtern*, 1860) has suggested a curious explanation by pointing to the passage in the *Diwan* of the Hudhaylites (95, 16), where the poem is compared to an obstinate female camel (*ʿarūd*) which the poet tames. The most plausible explanation still remains the one based on the concrete meaning which *ʿarūd* has as part of a tent, and the transferred sense which it acquired in metrics, at the last foot of the first hemistich: originally it describes 'the transverse pole or piece of wood which is in the middle of a tent, and which is its main support and hence the middle portion (or foot) of a verse' (Lane). Since the last foot of the first hemistich in the centre of the line (*ḥaṣṭ al-ḥiʿr*) is as important for its structure as the centre pole is for that of the tent (*ḥaṣṭ al-ḥiʿr*), one may readily assume that *ʿarūd* then came to be the general term for the science of metric structure.

There are few works on metrics by Arab philologists, and their contents are of little value. This fact is all the more surprising if one bears in mind how many works of lasting value have been written by prominent Muslim scholars on grammar and lexicography. The *Kitāb al-ʿArūd*, which al-Khālī, the founder of the science of metrics, is said to have written, has not survived, nor have any of the works on the subject written by the older grammarians. The earliest monographs which we have concerning *ʿIlm al-ʿArūd*, in the wider sense, date from the turn of the 3rd century A.H. There are sections on metrics in some of the larger *ʿAdab* works; the oldest and the fewest of these can be found in the *ʿId al-Farīd* (Ed. Cairo, 1305, III, 146 ff.) of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (died 328/940). The following list gives the names of



4th century		
Ibn Kaysān	1, 110	<i>ṭalīb al-ḥawāfi wa-ṭalīb ḥarrahādhā</i> ; ed. W. Wright in <i>Opuscula arabica</i> (1859) 47-74.
Al-Šāhib al-Talkānī	S. 1, 199	<i>al-ḥudāʾ fi ʿ-ʿarūd</i>
Ibn Dīnī	1, 126; S. 1, 192	
5th century		
Al-Rabāʿī	S. 1, 401	
Al-Kunḍhurī	1, 286	
Al-Tibrizī	1, 279; S. 1, 492	1) <i>al-ḥāfi</i> 2) <i>al-wāfi</i>
6th century		
Al-Zamakhsharī	1, 291; S. 1, 311	<i>al-ḥudās fi ʿ-ʿarūd</i>
Ibn al-Kaṭṭāʾ	1, 308; S. 1, 340	<i>al-ʿarūd al-ḥāfi</i>
Al-Dahlān	1, 281	
Naṣībūn al-Himyari	1, 304	
Al-Sakkāt	1, 283; S. 1, 495	
7th century		
Abū ʿUjayy al-Andalusī	1, 310; S. 1, 544	<i>ʿarūd al-Andalusī</i> ; first printed Istanbul 1261; much commented upon.
Al-Ḥazratī	1, 312; S. 1, 545	<i>al-ḥudās al-ḥazratīyya</i> ; critical ed. by R. Basset: <i>Le Khazratīyah, Traité de métrique arabe</i> (Algier 1902); the text can also be found in all editions of the <i>Madmūn</i> ; <i>al-muḥad al-ḥāfi</i> ; much commented upon.
Ibn al-Ḥādīb	1, 305; S. 1, 332	<i>al-muḥad al-ḥādīb fi ʿim al-ḥāfi</i> ; ed. Freytag in: <i>Darstellung der arab. Verskunst</i> (1830) 334 ff.; much commented upon.
Al-Maballī	1, 307; S. 1, 539	1) <i>ḥāfi</i> 2) <i>arūd</i>
Ibn Mālik	1, 300	<i>al-ʿarūd</i>
8th century		
Al-Kalāwī	2, 259	
Al-Sāwī	2, 239; S. 2, 258	<i>al-ḥudās al-ḥusnā</i>
9th century		
Al-Damānīnī	2, 26	
Al-Kināʾī	2, 27; S. 2, 22	<i>al-ḥāfi fi ʿilmay al-ʿarūd wa ʿ-ḥawāfi</i> . First printed Cairo 1273; copied in the <i>Madmūn</i> ; much commented upon.
Al-Širwānī	2, 194	
11th century		
Al-Idarāʾī	2, 380; S. 2, 313	
11th century		
Al-Šabbān	2, 288; S. 2, 399	<i>manẓuma (al-ḥāfiyya al-ḥāfiyya) fi ʿilm al-ʿarūd</i> ; printed several times in Cairo; also copied in all editions of the <i>Madmūn</i> .

those Arab philologists whose works on metrics are preserved in manuscripts (—none commentates are omitted). They are arranged in centuries, reckoning from the Hijra, and details are given only in the case of the better known works; references to Brockelmann are, however, given in every case.

Just as the ancient Indians and Greeks developed their own form of metric poetry, so did the ancient Arabs. Ancient Arabic poems were already written and recited in the known metres a hundred years before Islam, and they retained their form more or less unchanged in the succeeding centuries. The usual ancient Arabic poem, the so-called *ḥaṣḥa*, (q.v.) is comparatively short and simple in its structure. It consists of 30 to 100 monorhyming lines (rarely of more), and there is no strophic division in ancient Arabic poetry. Each line (*bayt*, pl. *abyāt*) consists of two clearly distinct halves (*miṣrāʿ*, pl. *miṣrāʿāt*); the name for the first hemistich

being *al-paḍ*, that for the second *al-ʿadū*. Only these more obvious attributes of the line were recognised and named during the 11th century A.H. Al-Ḥallī Ibn Ahmad al-Farāhīdī (died ca. 1175 A.H. in Basra) was the first to investigate the inner, rhythmical structure of Arabic verse; he distinguished between different metres, gave them the names by which we still know them, and divided them up into their subordinate metric elements. The written description and analysis of observations made by ear presented, however, very serious difficulties. In all languages the choice and position of words in prose is solely governed by generally accepted syntactic rules and by the desire of the speaker to express his thoughts as clearly as possible. In poetry, however, when it is based on rhythm, the choice of words and their sequence within the line is not so uncontrolled. The rhythm of the verse and the metres in which it finds its external expression are

created by the following factors: 1) the observance of a definite order in the sequence of syllables within the line, and 2) the regular recurrence of accent, indicated either by stress or some other means. The rhythm of a line in poetry is as completely tied to the phonetic properties of the language in which it is written as are the syllables of the words in the prose of the language concerned. This is, above all, a matter of the *duration* of the syllables and the *stress* with which they are pronounced. Syllables have a measurable length in all languages, but whereas in some (e.g. in the Germanic languages) there is no fixed and definite proportion of length of syllables (for, although there are admittedly some syllables in these languages which are always long and others which are always short, there are many which have no fixed quantity), there are, on the other hand, other languages (such as ancient Greek) where the quantity of every syllable in every word is absolutely fixed. In these, there is a strict distinction between long and short syllables in prose, too; the ratio of their length is roughly 2:1. The position is similar with regard to the element of stress: whilst in every language there is one syllable in a word which is somehow raised above the others, the strength of this accent is, however, something which differs widely in the individual languages. Thus, for example, ancient Greek uses musical pitch, whereby individual syllables are distinguished only by a higher tone, whilst in the Germanic languages they are distinguished by an expiratory stress which renders them more emphatic in comparison with the other syllables. The rhythmic structure of the verse has in all languages to adapt itself to these qualities of the syllables. If the quantity of the syllables is definitely fixed, then the rhythm of the verse is attained largely by regularly recurring sequences of short and long syllables, forming metrical 'feet', which last the same length of time. On the other hand, stress, rather than any fixed quantity, is the characteristic by means of which definite syllables are distinguished from their neighbours, then the rhythm of the verse and the structure of its metre, will both be largely produced by the alternation of accented and unaccented syllables. In this case we speak of 'accentual' verse.

From the prose of the Kor'ān, and the poetry of the ancient poets, as it has come down to us, we know that in the ancient Arabic language the quantity of the syllables was definitely fixed. From certain grammatical facts one may assume that an expiratory accent was also present, though only slightly developed. *A priori* one can therefore assume that the rhythm in ancient Arabic verse (as in ancient Greek verse) found its expression in 'quantitative' metres. The theoretical treatment of this problem, however, was at that time a far more difficult one for the Arabic philologist than for the Greek prosodist. The latter used the term 'syllable', made a clear distinction between short and long syllables, and chose the short syllable, the *ῥόδος*, as the basic unit for measuring the duration of the verse. They also had a term and a graphic sign for the pitch by which one syllable in every word was distinguished. Arabic philologists, by contrast, did not possess the concept of syllable, let alone the refinement of the 'short syllable'. Al-Ḥallī, too, did not know the words 'syllable' and 'stress', yet his ear surely perceived what we call syllables and stresses, for his graphic paraphrases—which we can understand if we try hard—does

give us a clear picture of the rhythm in ancient Arabic verse.

Primarily, Al-Ḥallī made good use of the peculiarities of Arabic script, in which the face of each word is a guide to the quantity of its syllables: one individual 'moving' consonant (*ḥarf mutaharrik*), i.e. a consonant with a vowel sign (e.g. <sup>١</sup>ا, <sup>٢</sup>ب, <sup>٣</sup>ج), corresponds to what we call a short syllable, and two consonants, of which the first is 'moving' and the second 'quiescent' (*sākin*) (e.g. <sup>٤</sup>ك, <sup>٥</sup>ل, <sup>٦</sup>م), correspond to what we call a long syllable. There are only a few fixed spellings which fail to comply with this rule (e.g. <sup>٧</sup>ن, <sup>٨</sup>ي, <sup>٩</sup>و, <sup>١٠</sup>ز, <sup>١١</sup>ح, <sup>١٢</sup>ط, <sup>١٣</sup>ث, <sup>١٤</sup>ذ, <sup>١٥</sup>ر, <sup>١٦</sup>س, <sup>١٧</sup>ش, <sup>١٨</sup>ص, <sup>١٩</sup>ض, <sup>٢٠</sup>ظ, <sup>٢١</sup>ف, <sup>٢٢</sup>ق, <sup>٢٣</sup>غ, <sup>٢٤</sup>ف, <sup>٢٥</sup>ق, <sup>٢٦</sup>ك, <sup>٢٧</sup>ل, <sup>٢٨</sup>م, <sup>٢٩</sup>ن, <sup>٣٠</sup>ي, <sup>٣١</sup>و, <sup>٣٢</sup>ز, <sup>٣٣</sup>ح, <sup>٣٤</sup>ط, <sup>٣٥</sup>ث, <sup>٣٦</sup>ذ, <sup>٣٧</sup>ر, <sup>٣٨</sup>س, <sup>٣٩</sup>ش, <sup>٤٠</sup>ص, <sup>٤١</sup>ض, <sup>٤٢</sup>ظ, <sup>٤٣</sup>ف, <sup>٤٤</sup>ق, <sup>٤٥</sup>غ, <sup>٤٦</sup>ف, <sup>٤٧</sup>ق, <sup>٤٨</sup>ك, <sup>٤٩</sup>ل, <sup>٥٠</sup>م, <sup>٥١</sup>ن, <sup>٥٢</sup>ي, <sup>٥٣</sup>و, <sup>٥٤</sup>ز, <sup>٥٥</sup>ح, <sup>٥٦</sup>ط, <sup>٥٧</sup>ث, <sup>٥٨</sup>ذ, <sup>٥٩</sup>ر, <sup>٦٠</sup>س, <sup>٦١</sup>ش, <sup>٦٢</sup>ص, <sup>٦٣</sup>ض, <sup>٦٤</sup>ظ, <sup>٦٥</sup>ف, <sup>٦٦</sup>ق, <sup>٦٧</sup>غ, <sup>٦٨</sup>ف, <sup>٦٩</sup>ق, <sup>٧٠</sup>ك, <sup>٧١</sup>ل, <sup>٧٢</sup>م, <sup>٧٣</sup>ن, <sup>٧٤</sup>ي, <sup>٧٥</sup>و, <sup>٧٦</sup>ز, <sup>٧٧</sup>ح, <sup>٧٨</sup>ط, <sup>٧٩</sup>ث, <sup>٨٠</sup>ذ, <sup>٨١</sup>ر, <sup>٨٢</sup>س, <sup>٨٣</sup>ش, <sup>٨٤</sup>ص, <sup>٨٥</sup>ض, <sup>٨٦</sup>ظ, <sup>٨٧</sup>ف, <sup>٨٨</sup>ق, <sup>٨٩</sup>غ, <sup>٩٠</sup>ف, <sup>٩١</sup>ق, <sup>٩٢</sup>ك, <sup>٩٣</sup>ل, <sup>٩٤</sup>م, <sup>٩٥</sup>ن, <sup>٩٦</sup>ي, <sup>٩٧</sup>و, <sup>٩٨</sup>ز, <sup>٩٩</sup>ح, <sup>١٠٠</sup>ط, <sup>١٠١</sup>ث, <sup>١٠٢</sup>ذ, <sup>١٠٣</sup>ر, <sup>١٠٤</sup>س, <sup>١٠٥</sup>ش, <sup>١٠٦</sup>ص, <sup>١٠٧</sup>ض, <sup>١٠٨</sup>ظ, <sup>١٠٩</sup>ف, <sup>١١٠</sup>ق, <sup>١١١</sup>غ, <sup>١١٢</sup>ف, <sup>١١٣</sup>ق, <sup>١١٤</sup>ك, <sup>١١٥</sup>ل, <sup>١١٦</sup>م, <sup>١١٧</sup>ن, <sup>١١٨</sup>ي, <sup>١١٩</sup>و, <sup>١٢٠</sup>ز, <sup>١٢١</sup>ح, <sup>١٢٢</sup>ط, <sup>١٢٣</sup>ث, <sup>١٢٤</sup>ذ, <sup>١٢٥</sup>ر, <sup>١٢٦</sup>س, <sup>١٢٧</sup>ش, <sup>١٢٨</sup>ص, <sup>١٢٩</sup>ض, <sup>١٣٠</sup>ظ, <sup>١٣١</sup>ف, <sup>١٣٢</sup>ق, <sup>١٣٣</sup>غ, <sup>١٣٤</sup>ف, <sup>١٣٥</sup>ق, <sup>١٣٦</sup>ك, <sup>١٣٧</sup>ل, <sup>١٣٨</sup>م, <sup>١٣٩</sup>ن, <sup>١٤٠</sup>ي, <sup>١٤١</sup>و, <sup>١٤٢</sup>ز, <sup>١٤٣</sup>ح, <sup>١٤٤</sup>ط, <sup>١٤٥</sup>ث, <sup>١٤٦</sup>ذ, <sup>١٤٧</sup>ر, <sup>١٤٨</sup>س, <sup>١٤٩</sup>ش, <sup>١٥٠</sup>ص, <sup>١٥١</sup>ض, <sup>١٥٢</sup>ظ, <sup>١٥٣</sup>ف, <sup>١٥٤</sup>ق, <sup>١٥٥</sup>غ, <sup>١٥٦</sup>ف, <sup>١٥٧</sup>ق, <sup>١٥٨</sup>ك, <sup>١٥٩</sup>ل, <sup>١٦٠</sup>م, <sup>١٦١</sup>ن, <sup>١٦٢</sup>ي, <sup>١٦٣</sup>و, <sup>١٦٤</sup>ز, <sup>١٦٥</sup>ح, <sup>١٦٦</sup>ط, <sup>١٦٧</sup>ث, <sup>١٦٨</sup>ذ, <sup>١٦٩</sup>ر, <sup>١٧٠</sup>س, <sup>١٧١</sup>ش, <sup>١٧٢</sup>ص, <sup>١٧٣</sup>ض, <sup>١٧٤</sup>ظ, <sup>١٧٥</sup>ف, <sup>١٧٦</sup>ق, <sup>١٧٧</sup>غ, <sup>١٧٨</sup>ف, <sup>١٧٩</sup>ق, <sup>١٨٠</sup>ك, <sup>١٨١</sup>ل, <sup>١٨٢</sup>م, <sup>١٨٣</sup>ن, <sup>١٨٤</sup>ي, <sup>١٨٥</sup>و, <sup>١٨٦</sup>ز, <sup>١٨٧</sup>ح, <sup>١٨٨</sup>ط, <sup>١٨٩</sup>ث, <sup>١٩٠</sup>ذ, <sup>١٩١</sup>ر, <sup>١٩٢</sup>س, <sup>١٩٣</sup>ش, <sup>١٩٤</sup>ص, <sup>١٩٥</sup>ض, <sup>١٩٦</sup>ظ, <sup>١٩٧</sup>ف, <sup>١٩٨</sup>ق, <sup>١٩٩</sup>غ, <sup>٢٠٠</sup>ف, <sup>٢٠١</sup>ق, <sup>٢٠٢</sup>ك, <sup>٢٠٣</sup>ل, <sup>٢٠٤</sup>م, <sup>٢٠٥</sup>ن, <sup>٢٠٦</sup>ي, <sup>٢٠٧</sup>و, <sup>٢٠٨</sup>ز, <sup>٢٠٩</sup>ح, <sup>٢١٠</sup>ط, <sup>٢١١</sup>ث, <sup>٢١٢</sup>ذ, <sup>٢١٣</sup>ر, <sup>٢١٤</sup>س, <sup>٢١٥</sup>ش, <sup>٢١٦</sup>ص, <sup>٢١٧</sup>ض, <sup>٢١٨</sup>ظ, <sup>٢١٩</sup>ف, <sup>٢٢٠</sup>ق, <sup>٢٢١</sup>غ, <sup>٢٢٢</sup>ف, <sup>٢٢٣</sup>ق, <sup>٢٢٤</sup>ك, <sup>٢٢٥</sup>ل, <sup>٢٢٦</sup>م, <sup>٢٢٧</sup>ن, <sup>٢٢٨</sup>ي, <sup>٢٢٩</sup>و, <sup>٢٣٠</sup>ز, <sup>٢٣١</sup>ح, <sup>٢٣٢</sup>ط, <sup>٢٣٣</sup>ث, <sup>٢٣٤</sup>ذ, <sup>٢٣٥</sup>ر, <sup>٢٣٦</sup>س, <sup>٢٣٧</sup>ش, <sup>٢٣٨</sup>ص, <sup>٢٣٩</sup>ض, <sup>٢٤٠</sup>ظ, <sup>٢٤١</sup>ف, <sup>٢٤٢</sup>ق, <sup>٢٤٣</sup>غ, <sup>٢٤٤</sup>ف, <sup>٢٤٥</sup>ق, <sup>٢٤٦</sup>ك, <sup>٢٤٧</sup>ل, <sup>٢٤٨</sup>م, <sup>٢٤٩</sup>ن, <sup>٢٥٠</sup>ي, <sup>٢٥١</sup>و, <sup>٢٥٢</sup>ز, <sup>٢٥٣</sup>ح, <sup>٢٥٤</sup>ط, <sup>٢٥٥</sup>ث, <sup>٢٥٦</sup>ذ, <sup>٢٥٧</sup>ر, <sup>٢٥٨</sup>س, <sup>٢٥٩</sup>ش, <sup>٢٦٠</sup>ص, <sup>٢٦١</sup>ض, <sup>٢٦٢</sup>ظ, <sup>٢٦٣</sup>ف, <sup>٢٦٤</sup>ق, <sup>٢٦٥</sup>غ, <sup>٢٦٦</sup>ف, <sup>٢٦٧</sup>ق, <sup>٢٦٨</sup>ك, <sup>٢٦٩</sup>ل, <sup>٢٧٠</sup>م, <sup>٢٧١</sup>ن, <sup>٢٧٢</sup>ي, <sup>٢٧٣</sup>و, <sup>٢٧٤</sup>ز, <sup>٢٧٥</sup>ح, <sup>٢٧٦</sup>ط, <sup>٢٧٧</sup>ث, <sup>٢٧٨</sup>ذ, <sup>٢٧٩</sup>ر, <sup>٢٨٠</sup>س, <sup>٢٨١</sup>ش, <sup>٢٨٢</sup>ص, <sup>٢٨٣</sup>ض, <sup>٢٨٤</sup>ظ, <sup>٢٨٥</sup>ف, <sup>٢٨٦</sup>ق, <sup>٢٨٧</sup>غ, <sup>٢٨٨</sup>ف, <sup>٢٨٩</sup>ق, <sup>٢٩٠</sup>ك, <sup>٢٩١</sup>ل, <sup>٢٩٢</sup>م, <sup>٢٩٣</sup>ن, <sup>٢٩٤</sup>ي, <sup>٢٩٥</sup>و, <sup>٢٩٦</sup>ز, <sup>٢٩٧</sup>ح, <sup>٢٩٨</sup>ط, <sup>٢٩٩</sup>ث, <sup>٣٠٠</sup>ذ, <sup>٣٠١</sup>ر, <sup>٣٠٢</sup>س, <sup>٣٠٣</sup>ش, <sup>٣٠٤</sup>ص, <sup>٣٠٥</sup>ض, <sup>٣٠٦</sup>ظ, <sup>٣٠٧</sup>ف, <sup>٣٠٨</sup>ق, <sup>٣٠٩</sup>غ, <sup>٣١٠</sup>ف, <sup>٣١١</sup>ق, <sup>٣١٢</sup>ك, <sup>٣١٣</sup>ل, <sup>٣١٤</sup>م, <sup>٣١٥</sup>ن, <sup>٣١٦</sup>ي, <sup>٣١٧</sup>و, <sup>٣١٨</sup>ز, <sup>٣١٩</sup>ح, <sup>٣٢٠</sup>ط, <sup>٣٢١</sup>ث, <sup>٣٢٢</sup>ذ, <sup>٣٢٣</sup>ر, <sup>٣٢٤</sup>س, <sup>٣٢٥</sup>ش, <sup>٣٢٦</sup>ص, <sup>٣٢٧</sup>ض, <sup>٣٢٨</sup>ظ, <sup>٣٢٩</sup>ف, <sup>٣٣٠</sup>ق, <sup>٣٣١</sup>غ, <sup>٣٣٢</sup>ف, <sup>٣٣٣</sup>ق, <sup>٣٣٤</sup>ك, <sup>٣٣٥</sup>ل, <sup>٣٣٦</sup>م, <sup>٣٣٧</sup>ن, <sup>٣٣٨</sup>ي, <sup>٣٣٩</sup>و, <sup>٣٤٠</sup>ز, <sup>٣٤١</sup>ح, <sup>٣٤٢</sup>ط, <sup>٣٤٣</sup>ث, <sup>٣٤٤</sup>ذ, <sup>٣٤٥</sup>ر, <sup>٣٤٦</sup>س, <sup>٣٤٧</sup>ش, <sup>٣٤٨</sup>ص, <sup>٣٤٩</sup>ض, <sup>٣٥٠</sup>ظ, <sup>٣٥١</sup>ف, <sup>٣٥٢</sup>ق, <sup>٣٥٣</sup>غ, <sup>٣٥٤</sup>ف, <sup>٣٥٥</sup>ق, <sup>٣٥٦</sup>ك, <sup>٣٥٧</sup>ل, <sup>٣٥٨</sup>م, <sup>٣٥٩</sup>ن, <sup>٣٦٠</sup>ي, <sup>٣٦١</sup>و, <sup>٣٦٢</sup>ز, <sup>٣٦٣</sup>ح, <sup>٣٦٤</sup>ط, <sup>٣٦٥</sup>ث, <sup>٣٦٦</sup>ذ, <sup>٣٦٧</sup>ر, <sup>٣٦٨</sup>س, <sup>٣٦٩</sup>ش, <sup>٣٧٠</sup>ص, <sup>٣٧١</sup>ض, <sup>٣٧٢</sup>ظ, <sup>٣٧٣</sup>ف, <sup>٣٧٤</sup>ق, <sup>٣٧٥</sup>غ, <sup>٣٧٦</sup>ف, <sup>٣٧٧</sup>ق, <sup>٣٧٨</sup>ك, <sup>٣٧٩</sup>ل, <sup>٣٨٠</sup>م, <sup>٣٨١</sup>ن, <sup>٣٨٢</sup>ي, <sup>٣٨٣</sup>و, <sup>٣٨٤</sup>ز, <sup>٣٨٥</sup>ح, <sup>٣٨٦</sup>ط, <sup>٣٨٧</sup>ث, <sup>٣٨٨</sup>ذ, <sup>٣٨٩</sup>ر, <sup>٣٩٠</sup>س, <sup>٣٩١</sup>ش, <sup>٣٩٢</sup>ص, <sup>٣٩٣</sup>ض, <sup>٣٩٤</sup>ظ, <sup>٣٩٥</sup>ف, <sup>٣٩٦</sup>ق, <sup>٣٩٧</sup>غ, <sup>٣٩٨</sup>ف, <sup>٣٩٩</sup>ق, <sup>٤٠٠</sup>ك, <sup>٤٠١</sup>ل, <sup>٤٠٢</sup>م, <sup>٤٠٣</sup>ن, <sup>٤٠٤</sup>ي, <sup>٤٠٥</sup>و, <sup>٤٠٦</sup>ز, <sup>٤٠٧</sup>ح, <sup>٤٠٨</sup>ط, <sup>٤٠٩</sup>ث, <sup>٤١٠</sup>ذ, <sup>٤١١</sup>ر, <sup>٤١٢</sup>س, <sup>٤١٣</sup>ش, <sup>٤١٤</sup>ص, <sup>٤١٥</sup>ض, <sup>٤١٦</sup>ظ, <sup>٤١٧</sup>ف, <sup>٤١٨</sup>ق, <sup>٤١٩</sup>غ, <sup>٤٢٠</sup>ف, <sup>٤٢١</sup>ق, <sup>٤٢٢</sup>ك, <sup>٤٢٣</sup>ل, <sup>٤٢٤</sup>م, <sup>٤٢٥</sup>ن, <sup>٤٢٦</sup>ي, <sup>٤٢٧</sup>و, <sup>٤٢٨</sup>ز, <sup>٤٢٩</sup>ح, <sup>٤٣٠</sup>ط, <sup>٤٣١</sup>ث, <sup>٤٣٢</sup>ذ, <sup>٤٣٣</sup>ر, <sup>٤٣٤</sup>س, <sup>٤٣٥</sup>ش, <sup>٤٣٦</sup>ص, <sup>٤٣٧</sup>ض, <sup>٤٣٨</sup>ظ, <sup>٤٣٩</sup>ف, <sup>٤٤٠</sup>ق, <sup>٤٤١</sup>غ, <sup>٤٤٢</sup>ف, <sup>٤٤٣</sup>ق, <sup>٤٤٤</sup>ك, <sup>٤٤٥</sup>ل, <sup>٤٤٦</sup>م, <sup>٤٤٧</sup>ن, <sup>٤٤٨</sup>ي, <sup>٤٤٩</sup>و, <sup>٤٥٠</sup>ز, <sup>٤٥١</sup>ح, <sup>٤٥٢</sup>ط, <sup>٤٥٣</sup>ث, <sup>٤٥٤</sup>ذ, <sup>٤٥٥</sup>ر, <sup>٤٥٦</sup>س, <sup>٤٥٧</sup>ش, <sup>٤٥٨</sup>ص, <sup>٤٥٩</sup>ض, <sup>٤٦٠</sup>ظ, <sup>٤٦١</sup>ف, <sup>٤٦٢</sup>ق, <sup>٤٦٣</sup>غ, <sup>٤٦٤</sup>ف, <sup>٤٦٥</sup>ق, <sup>٤٦٦</sup>ك, <sup>٤٦٧</sup>ل, <sup>٤٦٨</sup>م, <sup>٤٦٩</sup>ن, <sup>٤٧٠</sup>ي, <sup>٤٧١</sup>و, <sup>٤٧٢</sup>ز, <sup>٤٧٣</sup>ح, <sup>٤٧٤</sup>ط, <sup>٤٧٥</sup>ث, <sup>٤٧٦</sup>ذ, <sup>٤٧٧</sup>ر, <sup>٤٧٨</sup>س, <sup>٤٧٩</sup>ش, <sup>٤٨٠</sup>ص, <sup>٤٨١</sup>ض, <sup>٤٨٢</sup>ظ, <sup>٤٨٣</sup>ف, <sup>٤٨٤</sup>ق, <sup>٤٨٥</sup>غ, <sup>٤٨٦</sup>ف, <sup>٤٨٧</sup>ق, <sup>٤٨٨</sup>ك, <sup>٤٨٩</sup>ل, <sup>٤٩٠</sup>م, <sup>٤٩١</sup>ن, <sup>٤٩٢</sup>ي, <sup>٤٩٣</sup>و, <sup>٤٩٤</sup>ز, <sup>٤٩٥</sup>ح, <sup>٤٩٦</sup>ط, <sup>٤٩٧</sup>ث, <sup>٤٩٨</sup>ذ, <sup>٤٩٩</sup>ر, <sup>٥٠٠</sup>س, <sup>٥٠١</sup>ش, <sup>٥٠٢</sup>ص, <sup>٥٠٣</sup>ض, <sup>٥٠٤</sup>ظ, <sup>٥٠٥</sup>ف, <sup>٥٠٦</sup>ق, <sup>٥٠٧</sup>غ, <sup>٥٠٨</sup>ف, <sup>٥٠٩</sup>ق, <sup>٥١٠</sup>ك, <sup>٥١١</sup>ل, <sup>٥١٢</sup>م, <sup>٥١٣</sup>ن, <sup>٥١٤</sup>ي, <sup>٥١٥</sup>و, <sup>٥١٦</sup>ز, <sup>٥١٧</sup>ح, <sup>٥١٨</sup>ط, <sup>٥١٩</sup>ث, <sup>٥٢٠</sup>ذ, <sup>٥٢١</sup>ر, <sup>٥٢٢</sup>س, <sup>٥٢٣</sup>ش, <sup>٥٢٤</sup>ص, <sup>٥٢٥</sup>ض, <sup>٥٢٦</sup>ظ, <sup>٥٢٧</sup>ف, <sup>٥٢٨</sup>ق, <sup>٥٢٩</sup>غ, <sup>٥٣٠</sup>ف, <sup>٥٣١</sup>ق, <sup>٥٣٢</sup>ك, <sup>٥٣٣</sup>ل, <sup>٥٣٤</sup>م, <sup>٥٣٥</sup>ن, <sup>٥٣٦</sup>ي, <sup>٥٣٧</sup>و, <sup>٥٣٨</sup>ز, <sup>٥٣٩</sup>ح, <sup>٥٤٠</sup>ط, <sup>٥٤١</sup>ث, <sup>٥٤٢</sup>ذ, <sup>٥٤٣</sup>ر, <sup>٥٤٤</sup>س, <sup>٥٤٥</sup>ش, <sup>٥٤٦</sup>ص, <sup>٥٤٧</sup>ض, <sup>٥٤٨</sup>ظ, <sup>٥٤٩</sup>ف, <sup>٥٥٠</sup>ق, <sup>٥٥١</sup>غ, <sup>٥٥٢</sup>ف, <sup>٥٥٣</sup>ق, <sup>٥٥٤</sup>ك, <sup>٥٥٥</sup>ل, <sup>٥٥٦</sup>م, <sup>٥٥٧</sup>ن, <sup>٥٥٨</sup>ي, <sup>٥٥٩</sup>و, <sup>٥٦٠</sup>ز, <sup>٥٦١</sup>ح, <sup>٥٦٢</sup>ط, <sup>٥٦٣</sup>ث, <sup>٥٦٤</sup>ذ, <sup>٥٦٥</sup>ر, <sup>٥٦٦</sup>س, <sup>٥٦٧</sup>ش, <sup>٥٦٨</sup>ص, <sup>٥٦٩</sup>ض, <sup>٥٧٠</sup>ظ, <sup>٥٧١</sup>ف, <sup>٥٧٢</sup>ق, <sup>٥٧٣</sup>غ, <sup>٥٧٤</sup>ف, <sup>٥٧٥</sup>ق, <sup>٥٧٦</sup>ك, <sup>٥٧٧</sup>ل, <sup>٥٧٨</sup>م, <sup>٥٧٩</sup>ن, <sup>٥٨٠</sup>ي, <sup>٥٨١</sup>و, <sup>٥٨٢</sup>ز, <sup>٥٨٣</sup>ح, <sup>٥٨٤</sup>ط, <sup>٥٨٥</sup>ث, <sup>٥٨٦</sup>ذ, <sup>٥٨٧</sup>ر, <sup>٥٨٨</sup>س, <sup>٥٨٩</sup>ش, <sup>٥٩٠</sup>ص, <sup>٥٩١</sup>ض, <sup>٥٩٢</sup>ظ, <sup>٥٩٣</sup>ف, <sup>٥٩٤</sup>ق, <sup>٥٩٥</sup>غ, <sup>٥٩٦</sup>ف, <sup>٥٩٧</sup>ق, <sup>٥٩٨</sup>ك, <sup>٥٩٩</sup>ل, <sup>٦٠٠</sup>م, <sup>٦٠١</sup>ن, <sup>٦٠٢</sup>ي, <sup>٦٠٣</sup>و, <sup>٦٠٤</sup>ز, <sup>٦٠٥</sup>ح, <sup>٦٠٦</sup>ط, <sup>٦٠٧</sup>ث, <sup>٦٠٨</sup>ذ, <sup>٦٠٩</sup>ر, <sup>٦١٠</sup>س, <sup>٦١١</sup>ش, <sup>٦١٢</sup>ص, <sup>٦١٣</sup>ض, <sup>٦١٤</sup>ظ, <sup>٦١٥</sup>ف, <sup>٦١٦</sup>ق, <sup>٦١٧</sup>غ, <sup>٦١٨</sup>ف, <sup>٦١٩</sup>ق, <sup>٦٢٠</sup>ك, <sup>٦٢١</sup>ل, <sup>٦٢٢</sup>م, <sup>٦٢٣</sup>ن, <sup>٦٢٤</sup>ي, <sup>٦٢٥</sup>و, <sup>٦٢٦</sup>ز, <sup>٦٢٧</sup>ح, <sup>٦٢٨</sup>ط, <sup>٦٢٩</sup>ث, <sup>٦٣٠</sup>ذ, <sup>٦٣١</sup>ر, <sup>٦٣٢</sup>س, <sup>٦٣٣</sup>ش, <sup>٦٣٤</sup>ص, <sup>٦٣٥</sup>ض, <sup>٦٣٦</sup>ظ, <sup>٦٣٧</sup>ف, <sup>٦٣٨</sup>ق, <sup>٦٣٩</sup>غ, <sup>٦٤٠</sup>ف, <sup>٦٤١</sup>ق, <sup>٦٤٢</sup>ك, <sup>٦٤٣</sup>ل, <sup>٦٤٤</sup>م, <sup>٦٤٥</sup>ن, <sup>٦٤٦</sup>ي, <sup>٦٤٧</sup>و, <sup>٦٤٨</sup>ز, <sup>٦٤٩</sup>ح, <sup>٦٥٠</sup>ط, <sup>٦٥١</sup>ث, <sup>٦٥٢</sup>ذ, <sup>٦٥٣</sup>ر, <sup>٦٥٤</sup>س, <



Tawil	FA <sup>o</sup> -Jun	MAF <sup>ā</sup> -ʿi	Jun	FA <sup>o</sup> -Jun	MAF <sup>ā</sup> -ʿi	Jun
Bastī	-ʿILUN fā	-ʿILUN   mus	-taf	-ʿILUN fā	-ʿILUN   mus	-taf-....
Madid	-ʿILUN   fā	-ʿILā -ʿun	fā	-ʿILUN fā	-ʿILā -ʿun	fā-...

## Circle 2

Wāfir	MUF <sup>ā</sup> -ʿala -ʿun	MUF <sup>ā</sup> -ʿala -ʿun	MUF <sup>ā</sup> -ʿala -ʿun
Kāmil	-ʿILUN   muta -ʿilā -ʿun	-ʿILUN muta -ʿilā -ʿun	-ʿILUN muta -ʿilā -ʿun

## Circle 3

Hazādī	MAF <sup>ā</sup> -ʿi -Jun	MAF <sup>ā</sup> -ʿi -Jun	MAF <sup>ā</sup> -ʿi -Jun
Radjās	-ʿILUN   mus -taf	-ʿILUN mus -taf	-ʿILUN mus -taf-...
Ramal	-ʿILā -ʿun   fā	-ʿILā -ʿun fā	-ʿILā -ʿun fā-...

## Circle 4

Sarī <sup>2</sup>	mus-taf-ʿilān mus -taf-ʿilān māl -ʿi	-LĀTU mus-taf-ʿilān mus -taf-ʿilān māl -ʿi	-LĀTU mus-taf-ʿilān mus -taf-ʿilān māl -ʿi
Munsarīb	mus-taf-ʿilān māl -ʿi	-LĀTU mus-taf-ʿilān māl -ʿi	-LĀTU mus-taf-ʿilān māl -ʿi
Ḥaḥīl	fā -ʿilā -ʿun mus	-TAP <sup>i</sup> -Jun fā -ʿilā -ʿun	-TAP <sup>i</sup> -Jun fā -ʿilā -ʿun
Madīdī <sup>2</sup>	mafā -ʿi -Jun	FA <sup>i</sup> -ʿilā -ʿun mafā -ʿi -Jun	FA <sup>i</sup> -ʿilā -ʿun mafā -ʿi -Jun
Makṭadab	maf -ʿi -LĀTU mus-taf-ʿilān mus -taf-ʿilān	-LĀTU mus-taf-ʿilān mus -taf-ʿilān	-LĀTU mus-taf-ʿilān mus -taf-ʿilān
Madīdīḥ	mus-TAP <sup>i</sup> -Jun fā -ʿilā -ʿun fā -ʿilā -ʿun	mus-TAP <sup>i</sup> -Jun fā -ʿilā -ʿun fā -ʿilā -ʿun	mus-TAP <sup>i</sup> -Jun fā -ʿilā -ʿun fā -ʿilā -ʿun

## Circle 5

Mutakārib	FA <sup>o</sup> -Jun	FA <sup>o</sup> -Jun	FA <sup>o</sup> -Jun	FA <sup>o</sup> -Jun
Mutadārik	-ʿILUN   fā	-ʿILUN fā	-ʿILUN fā	-ʿILUN fā-...

The order of the 5 circles is based on an arithmetical principle. They are arranged according to the number of consonants in the mnemonic words of the metres which compose them. The three metres *Tawīl*, *Bastī* and *Madīd*, whose hemistichs consist of 24 consonants each, form the first circle; the two metres *Mutakārib* and *Mutadārik*, whose hemistichs consist of only 20 consonants each, form the last circle. The remaining metres, whose hemistichs consist of 21 consonants each, are divided among the three circles in the middle. The order of the metres within the circles is also a formal one: the *Adjās*<sup>3</sup> of a metre are first written around the periphery of a circle, thus the three *mafʿilān mafʿilān mafʿilān* of the *Hazādī* are inscribed around the periphery of circle 3. If one reads the same circle again, but starting at a different point, one automatically gets the mnemonic words of another metre: thus if, for instance, in circle 3 one does not begin with *mafʿil* (as in *Hazādī*), but only with the -ʿi of *mafʿilān*, one obtains the metric scheme of *Radjās*, and if one advances still further and does not begin reading till the -Jun, one obtains the scheme of *Ramal*. The possibility of dividing the *Adjās*<sup>3</sup> of a circle in various ways, and of reaching different metric schemes by doing so, is only due to Al-Khālīl having purposely constructed his circles so that the mnemonic words united in each circle not only produce the same total number of consonants, but coincide completely in their 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants as well, if they are written in a certain relationship to one another. This can be clearly seen in the above table of the 5 circles if one transcribes the Latin letters into Arabic ones. The agreement emerges even more obviously if we substitute the signs which are used by the Arabic prosodists for the 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants themselves. The following picture will then emerge for circle 3:

<i>Hazādī</i>	o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o
<i>Radjās</i>	o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o
<i>Ramal</i>	o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o   o

The same relative coincidence is also found between the metres contained in the remaining 4 circles. Al-Khālīl's object in arranging the metres in this purely formal system of the 5 circles has not been handed down to us either by himself, or by any of the later prosodists. It is quite certain, however, that this merely external superimposition of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in the mnemonics is not meant to imply a rhythmic development of one metre out of another.

The 8 *Adjās*<sup>3</sup>, which, as we have seen, recur again and again in different distributions in the 16 metres, can be further split into their metric components. For Al-Khālīl, however, the metric component means something different than for the occidental prosodist. It is not the smallest indivisible unit of sound, but the smallest independent word occurring in the language. Accordingly, he distinguished two pairs of metric components which he apparently regarded as such because none of the 4 words concerned (each with its particular sequence of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants), could be derived from any of the other 3, whilst all 8 feet could be formed by combinations from these 4 words. He took the terms for these two pairs of components from two important parts of the text, and he distinguished between:

A: The two *Asbāb* (sg. *sabāb* "cord") which consist of two consonants each, namely

- 1) *sabāb ḥaḥīl* = 2 consonants, the first 'moving', the second 'quiescent', as in words like *حَلِيل*
- 2) *sabāb ṭaḥīl* = 2 consonants, both 'moving', e.g. words like *حَلِيل*

B: The two *Awāḍ* (sg. *waḍ* "peg") which consist of three consonants each, namely

- 1) *waḍid mafʿilān* = 3 consonants, the first two 'moving', the last 'quiescent', as in words like *مَفْعِلَان*

2) *waḍid mafʿilān* = 3 consonants, the first and third moving, the middle one 'quiescent', e.g.

words like *مَفْعِلَان*

In this manner, each of the 8 feet can be reduced

to its metric components as follows; thus *مَفْعِلَان*

*mafʿilān* = B1 + A1 + A1 or *مَفْعِلَان* muta-

*faʿilān* = A2 + A1 + B1. Each of the 16 metres

given in the circles can therefore be scanned on this

basis, e.g. *Wāfir* = *mafʿilān mafʿilān mafʿilān*

*ʿalān* = B1 + A2 + A1, B1 + A2 + A1, B1 + A2

+ A1 or *Sarī<sup>2</sup>* = *mutafʿilān mutafʿilān mafʿilān*

= A1 + A1 + B1, A1 + A1 + B1, A1 + A1 + B1.

Since it is thus possible to reduce all the metres

to their basic components, one might assume this

metric system to be complete. The fact remains,

however, that the 16 metres never actually appear

in the form in which they are given in the 5 circles,

but nearly always deviate from this ideal form—at

times to a considerable extent. In other words, the

sequence of 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in

ancient Arabic poems does not correspond to the

sequence determined by the circles. Therefore one

can no longer split the metric forms used by the

poets into the 8 ideal feet, nor yet divide these into

their two metric elements, because that method of

scanning is based completely on the sequence of

'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in the ideal

metres of the circles. This fact, of course, known

to Al-Khālīl just as well as it is to us, and in fact

his circles are just a kind of rhythmic *Uṣūl*, from

which the actual metric forms used by the poets

deviate in a certain manner as *Furāʿ*. Consequently,

there are also two different terms designating the

metres. The ideal forms is the circles are called

*ḥaḥīl* (sg. *ḥaḥīl* "river, ḥaḥīl"; those deviating

from them, and actually occurring in ancient poetry

are called *awāḍ al-ḥaḥīl* (= metres).

The smallest of the deviations is the shortening

of the metre. This is immediately visible, because

then the metre no longer has its full (*ṭam*) number of

*adjās*<sup>3</sup>. According to the degree of shortening, there

are three possibilities. The line is either

a) *maḍḍī<sup>4</sup>*, if there is one *ḡīṣ* missing in each

of the two hemistichs (if, for instance, in *Hazādī*,

*Kāmil* or *Radjās* the foot is repeated only twice

and not three times); or

b) *maḥḥī<sup>5</sup>*, when a complete half (*ḡaṭr*) is absent

(as, for instance, when the *Radjās* is reduced to

one hemistich); or

c) *manḥāḥ*, when the line, on rare occasions, is

"weakened to exhaustion" i.e. (as for instance

in *Munsarīb*) when it is reduced to a third of its

size.

All these deviations only concern the external

shape of a metre and not its rhythmic structure,

which does find its expression in the sequence of

'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants. Thus, for

instance, *mafʿilān* is a metre in which this particular

sequence in the ancient poems differs from that

prescribed by the circles have been covered by a

special set of rules. This forms a necessary supplement

to the circles, because the deviations would be

arbitrary—and thus the circles would lose their

authoritative character as *Uṣūl*—there were no

such rules. Just as one is amazed at the regularity

of the first part of the system—the five circles and

their normal metres—so one is confused by the

second part with its casuality and its complications. This, however, is inherent in its very nature. Neither Al-Khālīl nor the later prosodists use the term 'syllable', and we can therefore not expect any general rules (e.g. concerning the reduction of long syllables to short, the omission of short syllables etc.). In effect, they were obliged to mention in each individual case whether and to what extent the 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants in ancient poetry showed a plus or a minus as compared with the ideal scheme of the circles. This had to be done in every metre and every one of its feet in both halves of the line, and in order to denote them clearly, individual terms had to be created to cover each one of these numerous differences. A certain order and clarity emerges from this baffling list thanks to the fact that all deviations fall into two classes, which perform different functions and appear in different parts of the line.

The last foot of the first hemistich (*al-ṣarīḥ*, pl. *aṣṣarīḥ*) and the last foot of the second hemistich (*al-darīḥ*, pl. *ad-darīḥ*), that is to say, the ends of the two halves of the line, suffer most from deviations. The terms for these two vulnerable parts of the verse are definite, the terms for the other feet vary and are usually given the collective name *al-ḥaḥīl* ('stiffening'). By analogy, one also distinguishes two groups of deviations, the *Zihāfāt* and the *ʿilāl*. The *Zihāfāt* ('relaxations') are, as the name suggests, smaller deviations which occur only in the *ḥaḥīl* parts of the line in which the characteristic rhythm runs strongly, and their effect is a small quantitative change in the weak *Asbāb*-syllables. As accidental deviations, the *Zihāfāt* have no regular or definite place, they just appear occasionally in the feet. By contrast, there are the *ʿilāl* ('diseases', 'defects') which appear only in the last feet of the two halves of the lines, and there, as their name suggests, they cause considerable change as compared to the normal feet. They alter the rhythmic end of the line considerably, and are thus clearly distinct from the *ḥaḥīl* feet. As rhythmically determined deviations, the *ʿilāl* do not just appear occasionally but have to appear regularly, always in the same form, and in the same position in all the lines of the poem. A further difference between the two groups of deviations is the fact that the *Zihāfāt* fall only on the *Sabāb* (and there on its second consonant), whilst the *ʿilāl* alter the *Waḍid* in each of the last feet of the two hemistichs as well as in their *Sabābs*.

By applying the definite *Zihāfāt* and *ʿilāl* rules, and taking the normal form of the feet of each metre as a point of departure, one arrives at the forms actually occurring in the *Kasidas*. Just as the normal feet are denoted by their 8 mnemonic words, (*faʿilān*, *mafʿilān*, etc.), which express the normal sequence of their 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants, there are also mnemonics denoting the forms which have undergone alteration because of *Zihāfāt* and *ʿilāl*, and these indicate the changed sequence of consonants. Thus, for instance, *mafʿilān*, when its *Sin* is lost, should become *mutafʿilān*. If, however, as in this case, the resulting form is not one linguistically possible in Arabic, then the same sequence of consonants (i.e. the same sequence of 'longs' and 'shorts') is expressed by an equivalent word which is linguistically acceptable, in this case, for instance, by *mafʿilān*. By contrast with the *Uṣūl* forms of the feet, these modifications are known as the *Furāʿ* forms of the feet. In the following, the *Furāʿ* will be added in brackets, if their form



differs from that of the *Uṣūl*. Space here does not permit a detailed list of all *Zibāḥī* and *'Alal* (cf. for the details the arabic compendia of the *'Ilm al-'Arūdī*). A few examples will be given, however, in order to illustrate the theoretical exposition, and to show how peculiar and complicated this particular part of the system is.

As already stated, the *Zibāḥī* appear when the *Sabab* in a line does not possess its full normal form, but shows a change in the second consonant. Then, however, one does not simply speak of a *Zibāḥī*, because this would be ambiguous. In order to describe the *Zibāḥī* accurately, one must state which consonant of a foot is affected, and whether that is a 'moving' or a 'quiescent' consonant. For example, one can divide the so-called 8 'simple *Zibāḥī*' into two groups, according to whether a *sabab ḥaḥfī* or a *sabab ṭḥabīlī* is affected. Even then, one must denote the eight cases by individual terms. 1) We have a *ḥaḥf*, if the second consonant of a foot is

missing, e.g., the *sin* in *مَسْتَعْلِي* [= مَسْتَعْلِي].

or the *alif* in *قَبْلِي*; we have a *jayy*, if the 4th

consonant is missing, e.g., the *fā* of *مَسْتَعْلِي*.

[مَسْتَعْلِي] = مَسْتَعْلِي; a *ḥaḥf*, if the 5th consonant is

concerned, e.g., the *nūn* in *فَعْلَانِي* or the *yā* in

*مَقَالِي*; and a *ḥaḥf*, when the 7th consonant

is missing, e.g., the *nūn* of *فَعْلَانِي*. 2) In the

*sabab ṭḥabīlī*, there can either be only the vowel of the second consonant missing (then one speaks of an *idmār*, in the case of the *ṭaḥa* of *muṭaḥaḥṭan* [= *muṭaḥaḥṭan*]), and of an *'aḥb* in the case of the *ṭaḥa* of *muṭaḥaḥṭan* [= *muṭaḥaḥṭan*] or both this consonant and its vowel (then one speaks of a *ṭaḥa*, if the *ṭa* of *muṭaḥaḥṭan* [= *muṭaḥaḥṭan*] is missing, and of an *'aḥb* in the case of the *ṭa* of *muṭaḥaḥṭan* [= *muṭaḥaḥṭan*]).

Whilst the *Zibāḥī* always lead to a minus, when compared with the normal *Sabab*, the *'Alal* (which change the last feet of the two hemistichs) fall into two groups, according to whether they arise out of an addition (*itṭidā*) or an omission (*naḥṣ*). 1) The *itṭidā*, for example, adds a 'quiescent' consonant

to the *waḥid maḍmūn*<sup>4</sup> (thus *مَسْتَعْلِي* becomes

*مَسْتَعْلِي*), the *ṭarṭīl* a *sabab ḥaḥfī* (thus *مَسْتَعْلِي*

becomes *مَسْتَعْلِي*). 2) On the other hand, the

*ḥaḥf* means the loss of a *sabab ḥaḥfī* (as for *muṭaḥaḥṭan*) [= *ṭaḥaḥṭan*] or for *ṭaḥaḥṭan*] [= *ṭaḥaḥṭan*], into being exclusively through the harmony of periodically recurring sequences of 'shorts' and 'longs', i.e., purely quantitatively, or whether the element of accentual stress was also a factor in deciding the shape of the rhythm of their poetry. Hence one has generally tended not to accept their system, making use of its terminology with reluctance and only to the extent required in order to understand the commentaries on the ancient poems.

It has already been pointed out that the quantity of the syllables is absolutely fixed in the ancient

through *'Alal* play the greater part for two reasons. Firstly because they produce a greater plus or minus in the normal feet than the weaker *Zibāḥī*, and secondly because they cause rhythmic variations, which recur throughout the whole poem. Because of the large range of varying line endings, a great number of sub-divisions appear in all metres; and because the *Darb*, the last foot of the second hemistich, is (being the end of the whole line) more concerned with these changes than the *'Arūd* (the last foot of the first hemistich), the possible metres are named after their different *Darbs*. The *Tawīl*, for example, has only one *'Arūd*, i.e., the last foot of its first hemistich always has the same form (shortened by *ḥaḥf* of *maḥṭaḥṭan*); but it has three *Darbs*, i.e., apart from the normal form of the last foot of its second hemistich there are two further forms of its *Darb*. Accordingly, one speaks of the first, second, or third *Tawīl*, depending on whether the *Darb* has the form *maḥṭaḥṭan*, *maḥṭaḥṭan* or *ṭaḥaḥṭan*. The same goes for all other metres. The *Kāmil*, which has 9, has the greatest number of *Darbs*. The sum of all possible *'Arūd* of all 16 metres is 36, and that of all *Darbs* is 67; in other words, the 16 ancient Arabic metres are used by the poets in a total of 67 rhythmic variations, merely counting the changes caused by *'Alal* in the line-ends and ignoring the sporadic *Zibāḥī* in the *ḥaḥf* of the line.

We are now—if we trust the Arabic prosodists and follow them on their circuitous ways—in a position to scan all the metres which appear in ancient Arabic poetry, and this would appear to bring to an end the exposition of *'Ilm al-'Arūd* in its general structure. Nevertheless, European Orientalists have never relied unreservedly on the Arabic prosodists, because the inner reason for the complicated structure of their system has not been understood. What was the reason for constructing the circles? And why formulate statements about ideal metres when one cannot arrive at the actual forms of the metres except by a complicated system of permissible deviations? To these objections we must add that the underlying concepts of Arabic prosodists, and the way in which they expound the patterns of sound and rhythm, are completely alien to us. They describe prosodic phenomena externally, according to the changes which the consonants of the words in the line undergo, whereas we are accustomed—as already mentioned—to explaining the changing metrical shape of a line in different languages by giving the characteristics of the syllables of the language concerned. In the system of the Arabic prosodists we do not, however, find any direct statement concerning the length and stress of syllables in ancient Arabic poetry. Therefore it seems that we have nothing to learn from them concerning the real essence of Arabic metrics, that is to say, nothing about the way in which the characteristic rhythm of ancient Arabic poetry originated, whether—as in ancient Greek—it came into being exclusively through the harmony of periodically recurring sequences of 'shorts' and 'longs', i.e., purely quantitatively, or whether the element of accentual stress was also a factor in deciding the shape of the rhythm of their poetry. Hence one has generally tended not to accept their system, making use of its terminology with reluctance and only to the extent required in order to understand the commentaries on the ancient poems.

It has already been pointed out that the quantity of the syllables is absolutely fixed in the ancient

literary Arabic language, so that one can assume that the rhythm in their verse has found its expression in some form of quantitative metrics. This basic assumption is shared by almost all the experts who have dealt with Arabic metrics. There is no agreement, however, on the question as to whether (and to what extent) factors other than the quantity of syllables shaped the rhythm of ancient Arabic verses. There are various views as to the composition and sequence in which 'shorts' and 'longs' are arranged into feet, and these, in turn, into metres; and there is furthermore the particularly vexed question of whether the rhythm of the lines found its expression exclusively in a quantitative pattern of 'shorts' and 'longs' in the individual feet (as in ancient Greek), or whether there was also a rhythmic stress (ictus), which occurred regularly and emphasised certain syllables in the line.

Heinrich Ewald, disregarding the theories of the Arabs, produced an entirely fresh theory regarding the organic growth of ancient Arabic metrics. He began with the thesis that its rhythm originated not only from the quantity of the syllables but also from the presence of marked stress on some of them (*rhythmum constat aequali arset et lictus vicissim se continere*). To begin with (in 1825), he found only iambic metres (marked by a recurrence of short and long syllables); but in his second presentation (1833) he distinguished 3 rhythmic kinds: *genus iambicum*, *genus anapaesticum*, *genus trochaicum*. This classification has gained currency because W. Wright accepted it and printed it at the end of his *Grammar of the Arabic Language* (3rd ed. 1898, vol. II, 361 ff.). Whereas Ewald could start on secure basis concerning the quantity of syllables, his conclusions, as far as the second rhythmic factor (stress) was concerned, could only be based on assumptions at which he had arrived by comparing the structure of Arabic verse with the structure of Greek metres and the sequence of 'longs' and 'shorts' within them. His conclusions not only cannot be proved, but are not, in fact, tenable because they start with the assumption that the same rhythm obtains in both Arabic and Greek metres, without adding any proof to this effect and without taking into account that the very presence of rhythmic stress in ancient Greek poetry is itself a matter of controversy. This is the reason why all the later experts who started from the same or similar assumptions as Ewald disagree both with Ewald and with each other on the important question of how to divide up the feet and whether any syllables are to be stressed (and, if so, which).

Stanislas Guyard advanced an entirely different explanation of the essence of Arabic metrics: he decided to adopt a musical beat, measuring the exact time of each syllable and fixing it by a musical note, instead of merely distinguishing metric 'longs' and 'shorts' at the ratio of 2:1. Accepting the division of feet and metres, handed down in the *Arud* manuscripts, he concluded from his musical measurements that a *tempo fort* and a *tempo facile* had to alternate every time. Apparent contradictions were explained either by describing a *tempo fort* as weak or by inserting a pausal note (*silence*)—which was not, however, graphically expressed—to play the rôle of a *tempo facile*. Other deviations were explained by the assumption of a double ictus in ancient Arabic feet, and he discarded the *maḥṭaḥṭan* foot as imaginary because it would not fit in with his theories. He was then in a position to assert that the 16 metres with all their variations did correspond

to the musical rhythm which he had assumed; but far from explaining the essence of the metric line-structure in Arabic poetry he had simply transposed it into a sequence of musical terms.

Martin Hartmann is concerned with the development of the various metres and with their derivations from each other, rather than with the actual essence of Arabic metrics. He therefore does not argue with Ewald, though one may assume that he disagrees with him because he goes so far as to say that there was nothing to indicate that the Arabs ever thought of quantitative distinctions in their poetry. Although Hartmann never explicitly says this, it has been asserted that ancient Arabic poetry was in his opinion accentual in character. On the other hand, he rightly asserts that the syllable with the main stress must always be of a constant length and that its preceding short syllable must equally be of a constant duration. Concerning the origin of the metres, he assumed that there were in the last resort instinctive rhythmic imitations of the regularly recurring sounds made by camels' feet. As a camel advances its feet in pairs, he assumes the basic metre to be the one which consists of the alternation of an accented and an unaccented syllable. Depending on whether one starts with the animal's first step, as it starts off from the static position, or from one of the intermediate paces, one gets the *Ḥasadī* (— — —) or *Radīj* (— — —); the difference between them being that the stress is on the first element in the first case and on the second in the other. According to him, *Mutakārib* and *Mutadārib* developed from these two basic metres by inserting not one, but in each case two, unaccented syllables between the two steps, i.e. between the two stressed syllables; and *Wajr* and *Kāmil* respectively by the alternate insertion of two unaccented syllables and one unaccented syllable between the two stressed ones. Similarly, he takes *Barīḥ* (— — — — —) and *Tawīl* (— — — — —) to be defective forms of *Radīj* and *Ḥasadī*. He, too, has difficulties with the derivation of other metres from the *diamb*, because unaccented syllables, but two stressed ones have to come together. Hartmann's expositions are subjective assumptions concerning the origin of Arabic poetry in general, and the derivation of metres from one original metre in particular. His arguments do not convince as he offers no conclusive proof, and also because he appears to believe that rhythmic occurrences can be adequately explained by the arbitrary inclusion or exclusion of syllable or by the simple assumption of an anacrusis or a pause. Hartmann himself admits that he has been unable to show what made the Arabs choose the particular combinations which appear in the 16 metres.

Gustav Hoelscher, too, has advanced a theory concerning the origin of Arabic metrics and the derivation of its metres from each other. The simplest, and according to tradition the oldest, metre, the *Radīj*, developed from rhymed prose, *Saḥf*, by regulating the number and quantity of syllables; it has a rising rhythm and is dipodically bound. In his opinion, all other metres developed from *Radīj*: first *Sarīḥ*, *Kāmil* and *Ḥasadī*; and then, with varying forms of synonym, *Wajr*, *Barīḥ*, *Tawīl* and *Mutakārib*. The same objections must be raised here as were raised in the case of Hartmann's theory of derivation: Hoelscher himself admits that *Ḥaḥf* and *Munawar* cannot be derived from *Radīj*, and apart from *diamb* metres he also lists *diatonic* metres of a falling rhythm. In addition,



Hoeherer deals extensively with the basic rhythmic factors which determine the essence of all metres. He says that the simplest rhythmical group, the beat or foot, has a "division of time into fixed proportions" and consists of a "regular change from light to heavy"; but he does not define these two factors any further. The rhythmical time-value of the syllable, according to him, is always one single "counting-unit", irrespective of its quantity, and the law according to which a long syllable has twice the length of a short one is not to be applied to Arabic poetry. Similarly, he admits the presence of an ictus, and states that a "bar" consists of two dynamically related parts (of which the second is always the heavier); at the same time he asserts that the stronger ictus, being free, is not tied to either of the two stresses.

Alfred Bloch, in contrast to Hoeherer, stresses the existing clear difference between 'long' and 'short'. His detailed study of the patterns in ancient Arabic prose and the facility with which it can be fitted into all metres lead him to the conclusion that—compared with other languages—ancient Arabic possessed truly ideal phonetic conditions which rendered it suitable to quantitative metrics. Furthermore, he regards quantity as the only factor shaping the rhythm of the verse, and (following Radloff Geyer) decides against the assumption of an ictus.

The reason why such varying and contradictory theories concerning the essence of Arabic metres have been advanced lies in the fact that we have no record of the recitation of ancient poems, and that the realistic exposition of the Arabic metricals has such a repellent character that it seemed justifiable to disregard them completely. Thus, different experts approached the subject from personal points of view (the musical analogy, analogies with the poetry of other peoples, etc.). Neither attitude towards the teaching of the Arabic metricals (metrical acceptance or outright rejection) is in fact justifiable. Surely as renowned a philologist as Al-Khali, whose fundamental achievements as a phonetician, grammarian and lexicographer are recognised even today, did not construct the five circles and the complicated metric system connected with them just for fun. One may assume with certainty that thereby he meant to express certain observations which he had made when he heard the ancient poems. Starting from this assumption, the author of this article has analysed all the parts of Al-Khali's system in order to arrive at the actual core of the theory of the circles. The following gives the most important results of these investigations, which bring out clearly the particular peculiarity of ancient Arabic metres.

Al-Khali purposely arranged the feet of the metres within the circles in such a relation to one another that all 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants (i.e. all their long and short syllables) should coincide. In this way, the length of the syllables was graphically shown, and he did not have to use a term for it. Since the Arabic language is itself already mirror to the quantity of syllables, there would have been no need for Al-Khali to construct the circles; but he had only wanted to make statements concerning the length of the syllables in the feet. One must therefore assume from the start that he meant to express something else in addition, concerning the rhythm of Arabic poetry, by this arrangement of the metres in the circles.

b) Whilst the Greek metricals used terms for the

metric feet which state nothing other than a certain sequence of 'longs' and 'shorts', Al-Khali chooses mnemonic words to represent the 8 basic feet which correspond to words actually occurring in the Arabic language. But it is the stress which is the bond that integrates the syllables into the unity of a word. One is therefore tempted to assume that the mnemonics for the feet are meant to indicate that in them, too, one syllable was always to be stressed in each case.

c) This assumption is strengthened by the way in which Al-Khali further divides the feet up into their components. Whilst the Greeks accept the short and long syllables as basic metric units, Al-Khali again used actual words—the shortest words possible in themselves (i.e. monosyllabic and dissyllabic words)—to denote these smallest parts. These words too, state something concerning the stress obtaining in them. The two *Ashab*, i.e. (sequences of syllables

like  $\dot{\text{ka}}\dot{\text{d}}$  (kad = -) and  $\dot{\text{ka}}\dot{\text{a}}$  (kaka = -), do not have a stress of their own in prose either, but (practically or enclitically) adapt themselves to the preceding or subsequent words, whilst the two

*Waid* words  $\dot{\text{ka}}\dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{d}}$  (kahlid = -) and  $\dot{\text{ka}}\dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{a}}$  (kahlita = -) have a marked stress of their own in opposite directions. When the sequences of syllables form a line as metric components of a foot, then they have definite rhythmic function. The two *Ashab*, being unstressed parts of the foot, have no influence over the shaping of the rhythm, and are thus exposed to quantitative changes, the *Zibidat*, but the *Waid*, as the bearer of the stress, constitutes the rhythmic core of the metre, and as such within the line it is (as has been shown) against any change whether in sequence of syllables or in its quantity. Depending on which of the two opposing *Ashab* forms the core of the foot, we have a rising or a falling rhythm.

d) This substantiated assumption that those syllables in the line which form the *Waid* element carry the rhythmic stress becomes a certainty as a result of the following argument, which brings out the division purpose for the construction of the 5 circles. Only a 4 of the 8 basic feet can be absolutely and unambiguously scanned. These are the following: *FA'U-lun*, *MAFA'U-lun*, *MUFA'U-lun*, *ma-fa'U-lun*. Since every foot must have a *Waid*, one cannot divide these 4 feet into their components except as shown in print, the *Waid* being represented by capital letters. In other words, the syllables which carry rhythmic stress in these 4 feet are clearly established; consequently it is equally clear which syllables carry the stress in the 4 metres *Tawil*, *Wafir*, *Hasad* and *Mutakirih*, because these metres consist exclusively of unambiguous feet. But, according to the teaching of Al-Khali, there are two ways of analysing the other 4 basic feet. Either:

*fa'-ILUN*, *ma-ta'-ILUN*, *fa'-ILa-tun*, *ma-fa'-ILUN*, or: *FA'U-lun*, *ma-TAF'U-lun*, *FA'U-lun*, *ma-fa'U-lun*. In other words, the rhythmic stress in these 4 feet could actually lie on a different syllable in every case, and, accordingly, all metres which consist of these 4 feet could also have either a rising or a falling rhythm. In the case of these ambiguous metres—which form the greater part of those in existence—there is only one possible method of showing clearly in which of the two possible ways it is to be read, namely by placing it

in one of the 5 circles. The following well thought-out inner mechanism emerges as the actual reason for the construction of the circles: the first metre of every circle—with the exception of circle 4—is the leading metre, and consists only of unambiguous feet, for which the position of their *Ashab* is absolutely fixed; the second and third metres, however, consist of the 4 ambiguous feet. If one writes down the mnemonic words of these metres in relation to the construction of the circles; in the table, it will be found not only that the short and the long syllables coincide, but also that in every circle from the second metre onwards, one of two possible *Ashab* falls in its entirety (i.e. in its indivisible syllable-sequence) under the unambiguous *Waid* of the first metre. This, in turn, means that the second possibility of scanning is out of the question. Thus the circles are graphic figures whose purpose is to show which syllables bear the rhythmic stress as *Waid* elements by means of the arrangement of all metres in relation to one another. Thus, for example, the two feet *mafa'U-lun* *fa'ILUN*, which form the *Hasad*, cannot be unambiguously scanned. However, the fact that their *TAFU* and *FAU* do not fall under the *Waid* of the *Tawil*, but that in both cases their *ILUN* falls under the unambiguous *Ashab* *FA'U* and *MAFA'U* of the *Tawil*, shows (as clearly as if it were written in a table) which syllables of the *Hasad* actually bear the rhythmic stress. In this way it has been proved that the metres brought together in the circles 1, 2, 3 and 5 have, without exception, a rising rhythm, and we also know, on what syllables the stresses were laid.

e) Circle 4 differs from this rule. This is already clearly visible externally, because its first metre, the *Sari*, does not consist exclusively of unambiguous feet. This deviation was surely intended by Al-Khali, because (1) in contrast with the other circles, which are homogeneous and only incorporate metres of rising rhythm, circle 4 is not uniform; in it—and only in it—one finds the foot *ma-fa'U-LATU*, the only one of the 8 basic feet which has a falling rhythm, but that, too, never alone, but always together with one of the other 7 feet. The metres of this circle thus have a mixed rhythm of rise and fall. (2) The *Waid* *mafa'U*, the representative of rising rhythm, ( $\dot{\text{ma}}\dot{\text{fa}}\dot{\text{U}}$ ) has a particularly rigid structure in Arabic verse; it never undergoes any change within the hemistich and therefore clearly and distinctly dictates the rhythm of those metres in which it is to be found. In contrast with it, the *Waid* *mafab*, the core of the falling rhythm ( $\dot{\text{ma}}\dot{\text{fab}}$ ) is less clearly fixed in composition, hence variable and weaker in shaping rhythm. This explains why the syllables carrying the stress in the metres *Sari*, *Khalil* and *Munarih* do not stand out with the same clarity as in the other metres. It is certain that Al-Khali realised this, because he gave the circle the name '*al-ma'jablik*' ('the dubious one, the one of several meanings').

It becomes evident that analysis of the circles produces an answer to the questions which have been in dispute, and on which arabists have hitherto held such different views. (1) The rhythm of ancient Arabic metres was not only produced by the quantity of the syllables, but also by the syllables' rhythmic stress; we even know on which syllables this stress lay in all the metres. (2) Nearly all the metres have a clear, rising rhythm; in no metre was there exclusively a falling rhythm; only a few metres—namely those in circle 4—which occur more

rarely, have a rhythm which changes from rise to fall and which, because of this mixture, has less of a clear character. (3) The rhythmical core of all feet and metres (excluding the few in circle 4) is formed by the sequence of a short and a long syllable ( $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ ) which is inseparable in its sequence and unchangeable in its quantity, and where the long syllable always carries the stress.

Al-Khali listened to recitals of ancient poetry and embodied his observations graphically in the construction of the circles, hence the results of his analysis can be taken to be contemporary evidence; and, indeed, they lead us to a complete understanding of the peculiarities of ancient Arabic metres. As we shall see, a metric system, theoretically constructed from the inseparable core of the rising rhythm ( $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ ), is completely identical with the system of metres used by the ancient Arabic poets.

If neutral syllables are grouped around the core, we get feet of a rising rhythm; these cannot have less than 3 or more than 5 syllables. Thus we arrive at the following 7 feet: (1)  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$  (2)  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ ,  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$  (3)  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ ,  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ . No further or different feet can be derived from the core  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ . If one does not represent these feet by symbols, but in the manner of the Arabic grammarians by *poes memorabiles*, then one gets exactly those mnemonic words which Al-Khali fashioned for the 7 feet of the rising rhythm: (1) *FA'U-lun*, *fa'ILUN*, (2) *MAFA'U-lun*, *ma-ta'ILUN*, *fa'ILa-tun*, (3) *MUFA'U-lun*, *ma-fa'ILUN*.

Whilst the actual rhythmic core of these feet always appears in the same indivisible and unalterable form, with the stress on the 'long', the neutral syllables (which have an part in the shaping of the actual rhythm) are neither bearers of stress nor stable in their quantity; they can be either a 'long' or a 'short', and their only function is to bring some variation into the rhythm. Such variations do appear, and the difference between them depends on whether (a) the foot begins immediately with the core, which makes a rising rhythm especially strong:  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ ,  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ ; (b) whether the core is at the end of the foot, which gives the rhythm a somewhat hurrying and skipping character:  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ ,  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ ,  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ ; (c) or whether the core is enclosed within the foot, which somehow hampers the forcefulness of the rising rhythm:  $\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{u}}\dot{\text{a}}$ . Just because the grouping of neutral syllables around the core determines the rhythmic variations, it is absolutely necessary to keep to this fixed shape of the feet when scanning the metres.

By combining these 7 feet, one gets metres of rising rhythm of the following 3 groups: (1) The 7 'simple' metres are arrived at by the repetition of the 7 feet in identical form. These 7 theoretically constructed metres are completely identical with the metres *Wafir*, *Kinad*, *Hasad*, *Radjaz*, *Ramal*, *Mutakirih*, *Mutadrikh* used by the ancient poets. (2) If the 7 feet are combined not with themselves (as sub 1) but with each other, there result according to the calculation of variables many possibilities of 'combined' metres. Most these potential metres, however, are incapable of realisation in the actual verse, they would offend against the general metric law according to which two cores can never succeed each other directly, but must always be separated by not more than two neutral syllables. It will then be seen that the three groups of feet, distinguished above, can be combined into compound metres only with



Hoelcher deals extensively with the basic rhythmic factors which determine the essence of all metres. He says that the simplest rhythmical group, the beat or foot, has a "division of time into fixed proportions" and consists of a "regular change from light to heavy"; but he does not define these two factors any further. The rhythmic time-value of the syllable, according to him, is always one single "counting-unit", irrespective of its quantity, and the law according to which a long syllable has twice the length of a short one is not to be applied to Arabic poetry. Similarly, he admits the presence of an ictus, and states that a "bar" consists of two dynamically related parts (of which the second is always the heavier); at the same time he asserts that the stronger ictus, being free, is not tied to either of the two stresses.

Alfred Bloch, in contrast to Hoelcher, stresses the existing clear difference between 'long' and 'short'. His detailed study of the patterns in ancient Arabic prose and the facility with which it can be fitted into all metres lead him to the conclusion that—compared with other languages—ancient Arabic possessed truly ideal phonetic conditions which rendered it suitable for quantitative metrics. Furthermore, he regards quantity as the only factor shaping the rhythm of the verse, and (following Rudolf Geyser) decides against the assumption of an ictus.

The reason why such varying and contradictory theories concerning the essence of Arabic metrics have been advanced lies in the fact that we have no record of the recitation of ancient poems, and that the exegetical expositions of the Arabic metricians have such a repellent character that it seemed justifiable to disregard them completely. Thus, different experts approached the subject from personal points of view (the musical analogy, analogies with the poetry of other peoples, etc.). Neither attitude towards the teaching of the Arabic metricians (uncritical acceptance or outright rejection) is in fact justifiable. Surely as renowned a philologist as Al-Khālīl, whose fundamental achievements as a phonetician, grammarian and lexicographer are recognised even today, did not construct the five circles and the complicated metric system connected with them just for fun. One may assume with certainty that thereby he meant to express certain observations which he had made when he heard the ancient poems. Starting from this assumption, the author of this article has analysed all the parts of Al-Khālīl's system in order to arrive at the actual core of the theory of the circles. The following gives the most important results of these investigations, which bring out clearly the particular peculiarity of ancient Arabic metrics.

a) Al-Khālīl purposely arranged the feet of the metres within the circles in such a relation to one another that all 'moving' and 'quiescent' consonants (i.e. all their long and short syllables) should coincide. In this way, the length of the syllables was graphically shown, and he did not have to use a term for it. Since the Arabic language in itself already mirrors the quantity of syllables, there would have been no need for Al-Khālīl to construct the circles if he had only wanted to make statements concerning the length of the syllables in the feet. One must therefore assume from the start that he meant to express something else in addition, concerning the rhythm of Arabic poetry, by this arrangement of the metres in the circles.

b) Whilst the Greek metricians used terms for the

metric feet which state nothing other than a certain sequence of 'long' and 'short', Al-Khālīl chooses mnemonic words to represent the 8 basic feet which correspond to words actually occurring in the Arabic language. But it is the stress which is the bond that integrates the syllables into the unity of a word. One is therefore tempted to assume that the mnemonics for the feet are meant to indicate that in them, too, one syllable was always to be stressed in each case.

c) This assumption is strengthened by the way in which Al-Khālīl further divides the feet up into their components. Whilst the Greeks accept the short and long syllables as basic metric units, Al-Khālīl again used actual words—the shortest words pronounced in themselves (i.e. monosyllabic and dissyllabic words)—to denote these smallest parts. These words too, state something concerning the stress obtaining in them. The two *Ashab*, i.e. (sequences of syllables like  $\text{شَاب}$  (šād = -) and  $\text{شَاو}$  (šāka = -)), do not have a stress of their own in prose either, but (pragmatically or stylistically) adapt themselves to the preceding or subsequent words, whilst the two

*Wafid* words  $\text{وَفِيد}$  (wafid = -) and  $\text{وَفِيدَت}$  (wafidat = -) have a marked stress of their own in opposite directions. When these sequences of syllables form a line, as metric components of a foot, then they have definite rhythmic functions. The two *Ashab*, being unstressed parts of the foot, have no influence over the shaping of the rhythm, and are thus exposed to quantitative changes, the *Zibhāt*, but the *Wafid*, as the bearer of the stress, constitutes the rhythmic core of the metre, and as such within the line it is (as has been shown) precluded any change whether in sequence of syllables or in its quantity. Depending on which of the two opposing *Ashab* forms the core of the foot, we have a rising or a falling rhythm.

d) This substantiated assumption that those syllables in the line which form the *Wafid* element carry the rhythmic stress becomes a certainty as a result of the following argument, which brings out the obvious purpose for the construction of the 5 circles. Only 4 of the 8 basic feet can be absolutely and unambiguously scanned. These are the following: *FA'Ū-lun*, *MAF'Ū-lun*, *MUF'Ū-lun*, *MAF'Ū-lun*. Since every foot must have a *Wafid*, one cannot divide these 4 feet into their components except as shown in print, the *Wafid* being represented by capital letters. In other words, the syllables which carry rhythmic stress in these 4 feet are clearly established; consequently it is equally clear which syllables carry the stress in the 4 metres *Tawil*, *Wafir*, *Hasad* and *Mutadarrak*, because these metres consist exclusively of unambiguous feet. But, according to the teaching of Al-Khālīl, there are two ways of analysing the other 4 basic feet. Either: *JA'ILUN*, *MUS-TA'ILUN*, *JA'ILUN*, *MUS-TA'ILUN*, or: *FA'Ū-lun*, *MUS-TA'ILUN*, *FA'Ū-lun*, *MUS-TA'ILUN*. In other words, the rhythmic stress in these 4 feet could actually be on a different syllable in every case, and, accordingly, all metres which consist of these 4 feet could also have either a rising or a falling rhythm. In the case of these ambiguous metres—which form the greater part of those in existence—there is only one possible method of showing clearly in which of the two possible ways it is to be read, namely by placing it

in one of the 5 circles. The following well thought-out inner mechanism emerges as the actual reason for the construction of the circles: the first metre of every circle—with the exception of circle 4—is the leading metre, and consists only of unambiguous feet, for which the position of their *Ashab* is absolutely fixed; the second and third metres, however, consist of the 4 ambiguous feet. If one writes down the mnemonic words of these metres in relation to the construction of the circles, in the table, it will be found not only that the short and the long syllables coincide, but also that in every circle from the second metre onwards, one of two possible *Ashab* falls in its entirety (i.e. in its indivisible syllable-sequence) under the unambiguous *Wafid* of the first metre. This, in turn, means that the second possibility of scanning is out of the question. Thus the circles are graphic figures whose purpose is to show which syllables bear the rhythmic stress as *Wafid* elements by means of the arrangement of all metres in relation to one another. Thus, for example, the two feet *mutaf'ilun* *ja'ilun*, which form the *Basit*, cannot be unambiguously scanned. However, the fact that their *TAFIL* and *JA'IL* do not fall under the *Wafid* of the *Tawil*, but that in both cases their *ILUN* falls under the unambiguous *Ashab* *FA'Ū* and *MAF'Ū* of the *Tawil*, shows (as clearly as if it were written in a table) which syllables of the *Basit* actually bear the rhythmic stress. In this way it has been proved that the metres brought together in the circles 1, 2, 3 and 4 have, without exception, a rising rhythm, and we also know, on what syllables the stresses were laid.

e) Circle 4 differs from this rule. This is already clearly visible externally, because its first metre, the *Sari*, does not consist exclusively of unambiguous feet. This deviation was surely intended by Al-Khālīl, because (1) in contrast with the other circles, which are homogeneous and only incorporate metres of rising rhythm, circle 4 is not uniform; in it—and only in it—one finds the foot *maf'Ū-LĀTIL*, the only one of the 8 basic feet which has a falling rhythm, but that, too, never alone, but always together with one of the other 7 feet. The metres of this circle thus have a mixed rhythm of rise and fall. (2) The *Wafid* *maf'Ū*, the representative of rising rhythm, (i.e.) has a particularly rigid structure in Arabic verse; it never undergoes any change within the hemistich and therefore clearly and distinctly dictates the rhythm of those metres in which it is to be found. In contrast with it, the *Wafid* *maf'Ū*, the core of the falling rhythm (i.e.) is less clearly fixed in composition, hence variable and weaker in shaping rhythm. This explains why the syllables carrying the stress in the metres *Sari*, *Khalil* and *Munariš* do not stand out with the same clarity as in the other metres. It is certain that Al-Khālīl realised this, because he gave the circle the name "*al-maḡḡalabik*" ("the dubious one, the one of several meanings").

It becomes evident that analysis of the circles produces an answer to the questions which have been in dispute, and on which arabists have hitherto held such different views. (1) The rhythm of ancient Arabic metres was not only produced by the quantity of the syllables, but also by the element of rhythmic stress; we even know on which syllables this stress lay in all the metres. (2) Nearly all the metres have a clear, rising rhythm; in no metre was there exclusively a falling rhythm; only a few metres—namely those in circle 4—which occur more

rarely, have a rhythm which changes from rise to fall and which, because of this mixture, has less of a clear character. (3) The rhythmic core of all feet and metres (excluding the few in circle 4) is formed by the sequence of a short and a long syllable (i.e.) which is inseparable in its sequence and unchangeable in its quantity, and where the long syllable always carries the stress.

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If neutral syllables are grouped around the core, we get feet of a rising rhythm; these cannot have less than 3 or more than 5 syllables. Thus we arrive at the following 7 feet: (1)  $\text{شَاو شَاو شَاو}$  (2)  $\text{شَاو شَاو شَاو شَاو}$  (3)  $\text{شَاو شَاو شَاو شَاو شَاو}$ . No further or different forms of feet can be derived from the core  $\text{شَاو}$ . If one does not represent these feet by symbols, but in the manner of the Arabic grammarians by *poes memorabiles*, then one gets exactly those mnemonic words which Al-Khālīl fashioned for the 7 feet of the rising rhythm: (1) *FA'Ū-lun*, *JA'ILUN*, (2) *MAF'Ū-lun*, *MUS-TA'ILUN*, *JA'ILUN*, (3) *MUF'Ū-lun*, *MUS-TA'ILUN*, *MAF'Ū-lun*.

Whilst the actual rhythmic core of these feet always appears in the same indivisible and unalterable form, with the stress on the 'long', the neutral syllables (which have no part in the shaping of the actual rhythm) are neither bearers of stress nor stable in their quantity; they can be either a 'long' or a 'short', and their only function is to bring some variation into the rhythm. Such variations do appear, and the difference between them depends on whether (a) the foot begins immediately with the core, which makes a rising rhythm especially strong;  $\text{شَاو شَاو شَاو شَاو شَاو}$ ; (b) whether the core is at the end of the foot, which gives the rhythm a somewhat hurrying and skipping character:  $\text{شَاو شَاو شَاو شَاو شَاو}$ ; (c) or whether the core is enclosed within the foot, which somehow hampers the forcefulness of the rising rhythm:  $\text{شَاو شَاو شَاو شَاو شَاو}$ . Just because the grouping of neutral syllables around the core determines the rhythmic variations, it is absolutely necessary to keep to this fixed shape of the feet when scanning the metres.

By combining these 7 feet, one gets metres of rising rhythm of the following 3 groups: (1) The 7 'simple' metres are arrived at by the repetition of the 7 feet in identical form. These 7 theoretically constructed metres are completely identical with the metres *Wafir*, *Kāmil*, *Hasad*, *Radzās*, *Ramāl*, *Mutakarrir*, *Mutadarrak* used by the ancient poets. (2) If the 7 feet are combined not with themselves (as sub 1) but with each other, there result according to the calculation of variables many possibilities of "combined" metres. Most these potential metres, however, are incapable of realisation, since they would offend against the general metric law according to which two cores can never succeed each other directly, but must always be separated by not more than two neutral syllables. It will then be seen that the three groups of feet, distinguished above, can be combined into compound metres only with







ancient Lesbos); his father was a Turk, a Muslim soldier of the garrison of occupation (Ghassawi), or a Greek porter (Haebo). He had at least two brothers, who were with him in the Maghrib, Khayr al-Din and Ishāk. A sailor and a Muslim from an early age (Ghassawi), or only from his twentieth year (Haebo), he began to act as a privateer in the eastern Mediterranean. He later decided (the exact reasons for this decision are not known) to operate off the coast of the Maghrib.

It is fairly certain that from 1504 onwards, or soon afterwards, 'Arūdj and his brothers made their base at Goletta; they started in a small way with two ships, but soon took some remarkable prizes; as a result of these they increased both the numbers of their fleets, which comprised eight galleons in 1510, and their capital, which enabled them to honour their obligations to the ruler of Tunis. The latter, Abū 'Abd Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (1494-1526), in fact only authorised them to establish a base on his territory on condition that he received a share of the prizes. The Ghassawī describes on one occasion the magnificent cortège organised by the corsairs in Tunis to carry to the Hafsid ruler his share of the booty (text, 15-16; tr., 28-30). They were authorised to establish a secondary base on the island of Djerba, and 'Arūdj was even appointed *kā'id* of the island in 1510 (Haebo). Until 1512, they cruised in the western Mediterranean and off the Spanish coast.

The Spanish, however, occupied various points on the coast of North Africa, notably Oran (1509), the Peñon of Algiers, Bidjāya (Bougie) and Tripoli (1510). Despairing of being able to retake Bidjāya (Bougie) by his own efforts, the Hafsid governor of that town appealed to 'Arūdj who had then at his disposal twelve ships armed with cannon, and a thousand Turkish soldiers. 'Arūdj established a naval blockade of the port, while the "king" of Bidjāya (Bougie), supported by the Turkish troops, laid siege to it by land with three thousand "Moors". After eight days' bombardment, 'Arūdj lost his left arm. His brother Khayr al-Din took him back at full speed to Tunis where he spent his time recovering his health. In August 1514, he attacked Bidjāya (Bougie) for the second time, with twelve ships and 1200 Turkish troops. Again 'Arūdj was forced to raise the siege, this time because of bad weather, the appearance of a Spanish relief squadron, and perhaps the desertion of local contingents; it is even possible that he was forced to burn some of his vessels in the gulf of Bidjāya to prevent them falling into the hands of the Spanish.

He may perhaps have been already established at Bidjāya (Bougie), as the Ghassawī lead one to believe. At all events, he took refuge there after his second reverse before Bidjāya, because his relations with the Hafsid ruler had undergone a change—we do not know for what reason.

At this juncture, apparently, 'Arūdj conceived political ambitions. Haebo describes him as supplying corn to tribes in the vicinity which had been smitten by famine, thereby acquiring great popularity, and intervening in the quarrels of the Kabyle chiefs.

When King Ferdinand the Catholic died on 22 January 1516, the inhabitants of Algiers sought to rid themselves of the threat from the Peñon, and appealed to 'Arūdj, who had both ships and cannon. He answered their appeal, and indeed bombarded the Peñon without success. The leader of the Arabs of Algiers, Salīm al-Tūm, then sought to get rid of 'Arūdj and his Turks, who behaved as though they were in con-

quered territory. But 'Arūdj forestalled him, put him to death and seized power with the help of his Turks. Despite the intrigues of the son of Salīm al-Tūm, who had taken refuge with the Spanish, he succeeded in maintaining his position at Algiers by exercising the greatest severity. He also succeeded in repulsing a Spanish landing carried out by Diego de Yera (30 September 1516).

The Spanish then sent the Sultan of Ténis against him, but 'Arūdj went out to meet him and inflicted on him a severe defeat, as a result of which 'Arūdj made himself master of Milana and Ténis. According to the Ghassawī he then organised the territory he had conquered; Khayr al-Din had the territories to the East, with Dellys as his seat, while 'Arūdj took Algiers and the western territories.

'Arūdj then received an appeal from the inhabitants of Tlemcen, whose king had accepted a sort of Spanish protectorate. He at once organised an expedition with the greatest thoroughness, and entrusted the government of Algiers to his brother Khayr al-Din. He occupied in passing the stronghold of the Ka'fa of the Banū Raḡhā, now the site of Oued-Fodda, and left his brother Ishāk there with a small garrison. He then proceeded to Tlemcen, which he took possession of without great difficulty, after having defeated the troops of King Abū Hammū in the field (September 1517). Instead of raising to power the pretender Abū Za'ay, he made a link with the Spanish. 'Arūdj assumed power and despatched expeditions as far as Oudja and the Beni Saassen; he seems to have had the intention of negotiating with the ruler of Fez against the Spanish.

The latter did not give him time for this: in January 1518, a Spanish column under the command of Don Martín of Argote captured the Ka'fa of the Banū Raḡhā, thus cutting communications between Tlemcen and Algiers. In May, the Marquis de Comares, governor of Oran, marched on Tlemcen. There he laid siege to 'Arūdj, who hoped, it appears, to be relieved by the troops from Fez. The inhabitants of Tlemcen rebelled against the Turks, and forced 'Arūdj to shut himself up in the fortress of Mishawar (see FLEMMER). As supplies were running low, 'Arūdj attempted a sortie and managed to escape with few men, but he was overtaken, probably in the vicinity of the present Rio Salado (department of Oran) and put to death; he was 44 or 45 years of age (Autumn 1518).

It will be seen that on the whole very little is known about the history of 'Arūdj. It seems likely that political aspirations awoke within him, when he realised the political anarchy existing in the central Maghrib and the possibilities it offered to a bold man backed by a body of men equipped with fire-arms and artillery. But the possibilities were so great that 'Arūdj allowed himself to be carried away by ambition, and he failed because he was too far from his base, and had not prepared the ground politically to a sufficient extent.

*Bibliography:* Kitāb Ghassawī 'Arūdj wa Khayr al-Din, ed. by A. Noureddine, Algiers 1934, 6-147; rough translation in Sander Rang and V. Denis, *Fondation de la Régence d'Alger*, I, Paris 1857, 2-103; Diego de Haebo, *Epítome de los reyes de Argel*, tr. by H. de Grammont under the title *Histoire des rois d'Alger* in *R.Afr.*, xviii, 1880, 30-69 and 116-7; López González, *Cronica de los Barbanos*, Madrid 1854, in vol. vi of *Monumenta historica española*; H. de Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque*, Paris 1887, 20-8; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, II,

429-6. The best known Turkish account is that given by Hüdūdī Khallā in his *Tuhfat al-Bihar* (Istanbul 1241/1728 and 1329/1914, Eng. tr. of chaps. 1-4 by J. Mitchell, *History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, London 1837). This narrative, which was used by Hammer in his account of the naval wars, rests on earlier sources, some of which are still extant. A list of Ottoman Ghassawīn dealing with the campaigns of 'Arūdj and Khayr al-Din is given in Aḡāh Sīrd Levend, *Gazavāt-nameler*, Ankara 1936, 70 ff. (R. LE TOURNAU).

**ARŪR** (AROR) also written AR-RŪR, town in Sind; it is surmised to have been the capital of King Musinaka, defeated by Alexander the Great, and to be mentioned in the 7th century A.D. by Hung-tang. The town was conquered by Muhammad b. al-Kāsim before 95 714 (al-Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 439, 440, 445) and it is mentioned by al-Istakhri, 172, 173, and al-Hirūdī, *Hind* (Sachau), 100, 130, according to whom it lay thirty *farṣakh* S-W of Multān and twenty *farṣakh* upstream from al-Masūra. The Indus used to flow near the town, but later it changed its course, destroying the prosperity of the town. The date of the change is uncertain; the local historians of the 17th-18th centuries (cf. Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, I, 256-8) give a legendary account. Five miles west from the old site there exists a small town, Rohri, chief place of the *taluka* of the same name *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford 1908, VI, c. 43, 398). One of the names of the Gypsies, LŪT < \*Rūr, may be connected with Arūr (see LŪT).

*Bibliography:* Yāqūt, II, 833; H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta 1929, 76-9; V. Minorsky, in *J.A.*, 1933, 283; idem, *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 246. (V. MINORSKY)

**'ARŪS** (see 'rus).

**'ARŪS** RESMI, also resm-i 'arūs, resm-i 'arūsiye, 'adāt-i 'arūd, etc., in earlier times *gerdek degleri* and *gerdek resmī*; an Ottoman tax on brides. The standard rates were sixty aspers on girls and forty or thirty on widows and divorcees. There are sometimes lower rates for persons of medium and small means. In some areas the tax is assessed in kind. Non-Muslims are usually registered as paying half rates, but occasionally double rates. On timar lands the tax was normally payable to the timarholder, though part or all of it might be reserved for the Sandjakbeyi or the Imperial Treasury. The destination of the payment was determined by the status of the bride's father or, in the case of widows, of the place where she resided or where the marriage occurred. Tax was also payable on the daughters of siphais, garrison janissaries, etc. These were paid to the Sandjakbeyi, the Beylerbeyi, the Su-baḡhī, or the representative of the Treasury, according to the rules inscribed in the *hikāms* and registers of the province. These also contain rules for the bride-tax paid on the daughters of Tatars, yurüks, müsallims, miners, and other special categories. No tax was payable by an officer who married two of his slaves to one another.

The tax, which seems to be of feudal origin, is already established in *hikāms* of the 13th century in Anatolia and Rumelia, and was introduced into Egypt, Syria and Iraq after the Ottoman conquest. It was abolished in the 19th century and replaced by a fee for permission to marry (*igāzname*) given by a *kā'im*. This was at the rate of 10 piastres for girls and 5 for widows.

*Bibliography:* Fr. Kraelitz-Grellenhorst, *Kā-nūmīna Sultan Mehmeds des Eroberers*, MOG, I,

1923, 36, 40, 45; 'Oḡmīnīl Kānūnīnīcīleri, *Mull Tefebb'at Maḡmū'asī*, Istanbul 1334, 110-111; *Kānūnīnīme-i Alā' Oḡmīnī*, TOEM suppl., Istanbul 1329, 38 etc.; R. Aschegger and H. Inalcik, *Kānūnīnīme-i Sultānīnīr Maḡreb-i Aḡāh*, Istanbul 1929, 31, 35, 84; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI'inci Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zıval İktisadının İhtakı ve Mill Evasları*, I, *Kansuilar*, Istanbul 1943, index; 'Abd al-Rahmān Wefī, *Takvīlī Kānūnīdī*, I, Istanbul 1328, 42; J. von Hammer, *Der osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, I, Vienna 1815, 202; N. Çalḡatay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda raydan alınan vergi ve resimler*, AUDIT Fak. Dergisi V 1947, 506-7. (B. LEWIS)

**'ARSIYYA**, Dervish-order, according to Rinn a branch of the Shādhīliyya which takes its name from Abū 'I-'Abbās Aḡmad (b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām b. Abī Bakr) b. al-'Arūs, who died c. 1460 in Tunis.

*Bibliography:* Rinn, *Marabouts et Khawass*, 288; Depont et Coppolani, *Les confréries musulmanes*, 340.

**ARZACHEL** [see AL-ZARKĀL].

**ARZAN** (Syriac Arzōn, Armenian Arzan, Alzn). The name of several towns in eastern Anatolia. The most important was the chief city of the Roman province of Arzanene, Armenian Arzash, located on the east bank of the Arzaḡh River (modern Garzanu) a tributary of the Tigris, at about 41° 41' E. long. (Greenw.) and 38° N. lat. By Islamic authors Arzan is linked with the larger city to the west, Mayyāfārīn.

The origin of the name is uncertain but of undoubted antiquity; see the discussion in H. Hiltunen, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen, in Indogermanische Forschungen*, 26 (1904), 248, 311. On the pre-Islamic history of the town, a Syrian bishopric, see Marquart, *Erzincan*, 25.

Arzan surrendered to 'Iyād b. ḡhann in 204/80, and the district was included in the territory of al-Jazīra (Balādhuri, 170, later in Diyar Bakr. The town was in a rich agricultural district, and the average contained revenue from Arzan and Mayyāfārīn in Kūdlāma (BGA VI, 246). Until the rise of the Hamdanids Arzan was ruled by Armenian amirs allied by marriage, as well as allegiance, to the Arabs. Cf. Canard (below), 472.

At the beginning of the 11th/10th century the Hamdanid Sayf al-Dawla resided in Arzan when preparing expeditions against the Armenians or the Byzantine Empire. In 330/942 the Byzantines captured and sacked Arzan (Canard, 748). The Hamdanids recovered the town but had to fight many times with the Byzantines in the Diyar Bakr district. Afterwards the town lost its importance and in the 12th cent. A. D. Yāḡūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 205) wrote that it was in ruins.

Few travellers have visited the site, but it was identified by J. G. Taylor in *JRGS*, 35 (1865), 26, where a plan of the ruins is given.

One should not confuse Arzan with a smaller nearby site also on a river, the Bohtānu, called Arzan al-Zarā; see J. Marquart, *Südarmanien und Arzan al-Zarā* (Vienna 1930), 41\*, and 341. Also to be distinguished from Arzan is Arzan al-Rūm (Erzurum), and nearby Byzantine 'Arzē.

*Bibliography:* In addition to references in the text cf. Marquart, *Die Entstehung und Wüstenfeld, I, 205*; M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des Ham-*







the colour of the animal and the growth of its mane. Facts for a more detailed description of these (cf. e.g. Jacob, *ibid.*, and Moritz, *Le.*, 47, n. 3) are, however, scanty. In Islamic countries today, one finds, according to Brehm, *Le.*, 1, 144 ff., the Berber lion, the Senegalese lion, the Persian lion and the Gadjard lion.

The Arabs caught lions in a primitive method which is still found in some parts today (Grünert, *Le.*, 141; Ebert, *Le.*, VI, 146; Brehm, *Le.*, 1, 151); according to Flavius, this was the method employed to catch animals for the circus: *RE*, XIII, col. 980. Following the example of the rulers of the ancient Orient, as well as that of the Achaemenids, Sāsānids and the Caesars, the Caliphs later went on lion-hunts themselves and in Islam, too, it became a prerogative of the rulers. They kept the lions in zoological gardens, trained them as companions, and organised shows with them in the Roman manner (cf. *RE*, XIII, col. 980 f.; Ebert, *Le.*, VI, 144-6; G. Contenson, *La vie quotidienne à Bagdad au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1959, 140-3; W. von Soden, *Herrscher im AO*, Berlin 1954, 37, 75, 82, 134; C. de Wit, *Le.*, 10-4; Streck, *ibid.*; *Mos, Renaissance*, 385 f.; M. F. Köpff, *Le.*, 1, 599 f.).

"In Islamic art, the lion is probably the most frequently and diversely represented animal. It rarely has an apotropaic meaning, it sometimes has an astrological or symbolic one, but it is generally merely decorative and without any deeper significance. The main forms are:

- In the round, as in the Fountain of the Lions in the Alhambra, hewn in stone in Konya, in Fātimid and Saljūqid metal work, and in Persian ceramics of the 12th to 14th century (particularly as pouring vessels and censers).
- In bas-relief, and also flat, in the various spheres of art, and in almost any material, either:
  - passant, stant, sejant, rampant, either alone or paired, in the so-called 'heraldic style';
  - either in battle with other animals—such as bulls, gazelles or camels—or attacking them (thereby going back to ancient Iranian tradition);
  - explicitly heraldic: as in the Persian coat of arms (where it appears with the sun); as in the lion in the coat of arms of the Mamlūk Baybars and perhaps also in that of the Rūm Saljūqs of the name of Kibāḫ Arslan; also in nisamic representations;
  - as a lion mask (the head only) on later carpets and textiles.
- Partial representations are rare; the most frequent are: lions' paws, used as ornamental legs; lions' heads (modelled fully in the round) as door-knockers, as handles and in similar functions, usually in bronze.

There seems to be little direct debt to the ancient Orient or Hellenic art; the stylisation of the figure of the lion, at least, is nearly always typically Islamic, both in details and ornamentation. — There is as yet no iconographic study of the lion in Islamic art." [Information given in a letter from Professor E. Kühnle].

Fr. P. Dargabahr in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1937, mentions occasions where plastic representations of lions are alluded to in Arabic literature. According to the results of his research, the Alhambra lions are of the 5th/11th century.

In heraldry, the best known example of the lion

is in the Iranian Imperial coat of arms [see below], which has its predecessor in numismatics. As M. F. Köpff shows, *Le.*, 1, 609, it dates from the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh (1797-1834). — For *Asad* or *Arslan* coins see *ibid.*, 1, 613.

The use made of the lion in all these spheres is based largely on astronomical and astrological configurations. The constellation of *Leo* "with 27 stars and 8 shapeless ones" is, according to I. Idler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung u. die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin, 1899, 134: "a collection of grammarians ignorant of the skies, which owes its existence to false interpretations and arbitrary changes of the older star-names. It is impossible to say in all cases exactly how they arrived at such corruptions" (see *ibid.*, 152-5, 159-68, 20-31, 52 f., 252 f., 272, 279, 317 f., 409 f., 422). The Babylonians already saw a heavenly hierarchy of kings in the zodiacal sign of *Leo* (2 lions = *Aras*, later: *Regulus* = *mulab*, the "royal", also: *hubb al-asad* "lion-heart"; *ibid.*, 164 f. and A. Jeremian, *Handb. d. so. Geisteswiss.*, 1929, 203, 218 f., 347), and they put the king of their animal kingdom into the place in the zodiac in which the summer solstice occurs. Hence it became the symbol of the victory of the sun (cf. *RE*, XIII, col. 983; Keller, *Le.*, 1, 52). Just as Jesus is called the Lion of Judah (comp. the title of the *Negus*) because he triumphed over death (*Abot*, V, 3), the Shī'ites call 'Alī b. Ṭālib the "Lion of God" (cf. Casati, *Le.*, 72, 87-93; Hamza was also called *Asad*; *ibid.*, Grünert, *Le.*, 4). In the Persian coat of arms he draws his sword *Dhū 'l-Fakr* (q.v.), and the rising sun appears in the background. — When the sun is in *Leo*, on July 20th, the flooding of the Nile begins, hence the lions' heads as water spouts and fountain heads (cf. Keller, *Le.*, 1, 47 f.; C. de Wit, *Le.*, 84-90, 120 ff.). — The apotropaic nature of the lion is of considerable significance. With his fierce look, warding off all hostile attack, he becomes the guardian of the throne (also of the throne of Allah; Grünert, *Le.*, 5), the gate, halls and graves (cf. Keller, *Le.*, 1, 58; Bonnet, *Le.*, 429; like the Sphinx: cf. C. de Wit, *Le.*, 66 f.). — Some representations of lions may, of course, have resulted from mere playfulness in modelling. However, W. Andrae, *Dargestellte Versuchskästchen in der so. Kunst*, in *Welt d. Or.*, 11/3 (1936), 350-3, shows that there was often a deeper reason behind it, especially when the lion, bull, and eagle occur together. Here, Islam took a great deal from older cultures without enquiring into its significance. Frequently, ancient Egyptian art provides the answer in a direct explanation of what is portrayed (cf. C. de Wit, *Le.*, especially 78, 84-90, 139 f., 398 f., 461-8).

It is impossible here to go further into the part played by the lion in the literature of mythology [some of this may be found in M. F. Köpff, *Le.*, 1, 601-3], the fable (e.g. of Luknān; in animal-fables he is often called (*al-Ussāna*, similar to our "mole beast"), and the proverb (examples from al-Maydānī in Grünert, *Le.*, 17).

The description of his biological attributes, too, his daring, strength and wildness (especially his roar), on the other hand, are repeatedly stressed. Mixed up with this, are superstitious ideas concerning him, such as the tale that he flees from the (white) cock — or from its crowing — that is to say, that he was originally shy of the light of day before he himself became the symbol for it (see above); according to the views held in antiquity (cf. *RE*, XIII, col. 975 f.; Casati, *Le.*, 59; Grünert, *Le.*, 18), the same is true of the use — sometimes medicinal — made of parts of

his body: brain, teeth, gall, flesh, fat, etc.; these are held to be infallible in their magic effects. The court apothecary in Stuttgart sold lions' excrement as late as 1561 as a remedy (cf. Keller, *Le.*, 1, 44; *RE*, XIII, col. 982; Grünert, *Le.*, 19 f.).

Names show most clearly how much the lion entered into the cultural history of man. *Uṣf al-Ghābā* "the lions of the thicket" is what Ibn al-Aḥlī (died 632/1234) calls his biography of the companion of the Prophet. The names formed with *Asad* (*Asad*), *Layḥ* (*li*) are numerous (sometimes theophorous: J. Wölhausen, *RAH*, 2, 64); in Turkish those formed with *Arslan* (particularly the Saljūqs; M. F. Köpff, *Le.*, 600-4 deals with personal names, place names and titles); in Persian, *shīr*, either alone or in compounds, such as *ghīrī* "lionhearted", *ghīrward* "hero" (the *asād*; Landberg, *Le.*, 116, 123 ff.; Fr. Wolff, *Glossar zu Ferdinā's Šāhnāma*, 1935, 584-7). In the Turkish of today, the word is usually *aslan*, which also means "brave, upright, good"; *arslançelm* "my little lion", is practically a term of endearment for boys. — Thus the likable traits of the animal, its traditional virtues, the dignity of its appearance, have triumphed everywhere.

**Etymology.** Owing to lack of space, the subject can only be roughly sketched.

Max Grünert, *Der Löwe in der Literatur der Araber*, Prague 1899, is little more than a study from a lexicographic standpoint. — M. Fuad Köpff's article *ARSLAN* in *IA*, 1, 598a-600a is hitherto the best exposition, not only for Turkish. There is no general survey of the Islamic field, and there are any number of monographs on particular areas. — For comparison with antiquity, the following will be found useful: the article "Löwe" (by Steier) in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, xiii, 1927, col. 968-990; Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 1 (Leipzig 1909), 24-64; further: Max Ebert, *Reallex. d. Vorgesch.*, vi, 114a-6b, VII, 318a-b and especially Paulus Casati, *Leontologie von Varna bis Goletha*, Berlin 1973, this also for oriental conditions. — For relationship with the ancient Orient: B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1934; M. Streck, in *Vorderas. Bibliothek*, vi/2 (1916), 416 f.; H. Bonnet, *Reallex. d. Egypt. Religionsgesch.*, Berlin 1952, articles "Löwe", "Sphinx", and others; especially C. de Wit, *La rēle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne*, Leiden 1951, *passim*. — Concerning Arabic and Semitic matters in general, cf. F. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugtiere bei den südsem. Völkern*, Leipzig 1879, 287-94; C. de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Hâk, Leiden 1909, 1237-40; G. Jacob, *Alphabet. Redainenheben*, Berlin 1897, 16-18; B. Moritz, *Arabien*, Hannover 1923, 40-41. — For ecology in general: Brehm's *Tierleben*, 1 (1893), 144-152.

(H. KINDERMANN)

**ASAD**, *Ramē* (later, dialect. *Benī Sedī*, Arab tribe. They are a tribe related to the Kindā (q.v.); the awareness of this interconnection remained remarkably alive, though it had little practical effect owing to the great distance separating them.

The homelands of the *Asad* are in North Arabia, at the foot of the mountains formerly inhabited by the Tāy (q.v.). In contrast to the latter, the *Asad* led a mainly nomadic life. Their grazing lands extended to the south and south-east of the Nejd, from the Shammar mountains (q.v.) to the Wādī 'l-Rumma in the south, and beyond it in the neighbourhood of the two Abās in the direction of Basra and further eastwards up to Sir. Here their territory overlapped with that of the 'Abā (q.v.), in the north

with that of the Yarbūṣ (q.v.) of the Tamīm (q.v.), for there the *Asad* owned the spring of Līd beyond the Dabnā (q.v.), as well as the adjacent tract of Hazn (Hedjira) to the north.

An important event in the pre-Islamic history of the *Asad* is their revolt in which Hudjir fell, the son of the last great ruler of the Kindā and the father of the poet Imru' al-Kays (q.v.), and in which they struck the disintegrating kingdom of Kindā (q.v.) a mortal blow. — The *Asad's* relationship both with their immediate and their more distant neighbours, the Tamīm and the tribes beyond the Wādī, varied. In contrast, at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies of the 4th century A.D., a permanent alliance with the Tāy and the Ghāṭafān (q.v.) was developed, in which the Ghāṭafān (q.v.) and finally the 'Abā joined. A few decades later, however, a rift among the allies occurred, as a result of which clashes ensued, particularly between the *Asad* and the Tāy, until Islam established peace among the tribes.

An *Asad* family, the Ghāṭam, who had long been settled in Mecca, belonged to the inner circle of Muḥammad's disciples. But these connections in no way affected the great *Asad* tribe. At the beginning of the year 4/625, Muḥammad sent a raiding expedition to the *Asad* walls at Qāṭan, where were encamped the sub-tribe Fak'as, with their chief Tulayha (Ṭālib) and who, according to tradition, were contemplating an attack on Medina, already weakened by the battle of Uhud. It is conceivable that Tulayha took part in the siege of Medina, the so-called Battle of the Trench (627). When, after further unsuccessful struggles against Muḥammad, famine broke out among the *Asad*, Tulayha appeared with other chiefs in Medina at the beginning of 9/630 to embrace Islam. Though it is uncertain that Sura XLIX, 14-17 refers to their emissaries, as is maintained by tradition, nevertheless these verses undoubtedly reflect their attitude towards Islam. However that may be, their leader Tulayha is said to have proclaimed himself a prophet even before Muḥammad's death. During the ensuing widespread troubles of the Ridda wars, he succeeded in re-establishing the alliance with the Ghāṭafān and the Tāy, which was joined by sections of the 'Abā and Fak'as (Ghāṭafān). After being abandoned by the leader of the Fak'as (q.v.) at the battle of Buṣayḥ against Khalīd b. al-Walīd (q.v.), he took to flight (11/632). This victory of the Muslims broke the resistance of the insurgents in North Arabia, who then for the first time were converted to Islam, the *Asad* among them.

In the ensuing wars of conquest, we find the *Asad* predominantly on the Iraq front; Tulayha also, having in the meantime returned to Islam, fought both there and in Persia. — Most of the *Asad* were absorbed by al-Kūfa; here in the course of time, they evolved from warriors to men of learning; as a result many of those who handed down the Shī'a tradition, were men of the *Asad* from al-Kūfa. Smaller groups of the *Asad* were incorporated in the Syrian army and subsequently settled near Aleppo and beyond the Euphrates.

When the withdrawal of the Bakr (q.v.) and Tamīm left the way to the north open to them, in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, they extended their grazing lands along the Kūfa pilgrim road from al-Bīḥān (Bīḥān) in the Dabnā (q.v.) as far as al-Bakā. Later it was extended still further northwards; up to al-Kādisiyya (q.v.) on the frontier of the Sawād, in the East the *Asad* extended right up to Basra and in the West to 'Ayn al-Tamr (q.v.).







apart from their originality of matter and form. On the other hand 'Alī b. Ahmad, situated at the court of a prince of Arrān, Abū Dulaf composed on the advice of a minister, his *Gurāḥ-nāma*, the oldest of the epics complementary to the Shah-nāma of Firdūsī: this work is remarkable not only for its spirited narrative and for its style, but also for its supernatural episodes and philosophical discourses which foreshadow the later development of the Persian epic. The valuable *Lughat-i Furs*, a dictionary of rare words with quotations from Persian poetry, was probably written after the epic. A copy of the pharmacopoeial treatise of Abū Maḥmūd Muwaffaq b. 'Alī of Harāt dated 447/1055-6 one of the oldest Persian manuscripts, is in the handwriting of 'Alī b. Ahmad, and is dated and signed by him. K. I. Tahakik has tried to show that all these works are by one and the same author, Abū Maḥmūd 'Alī b. Ahmad (*Intafadulo Akademik Nank SSSR*, Leningrad 1934, 119-59; résumé by H. Massé in introd. *Gurāḥ-nāma*).

**Bibliography:** *Le Livre de Gurāḥ-nāma*, published and trans. by Cl. Huart, I, Paris 1926 (PELOF), trans. by H. Massé, II, *ibid.* 1950 (with a detailed introduction); *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. by P. Horn, Göttingen 1897; Tehran ed. 1947; *Index Firdousiensis*, ed. in facsimile by Seligman, Vienna 1859 (Gorman trans. by Achundow, Halle n.d.); H. Fāh, in *Verhandlungen des 5. intern. Orient. Congr.*, II, 48 ff.; Notices: Eshe, *Gr. I. Ph.*, II, 125 ff., 243 ff.; E. G. Browne, I, *ibid.*; Dawlat-shāh, 35 ff. (H. Massé).

**ĀSĀF b. BARAKHIYĀ** (Hebrew Āsāf b. Berēkhiyā), name of the alleged *wazir* of King Solomon. According to the legend he was Solomon's confidant, and always had access to him. When the royal consort Dāḥiāda was worshipping idols Āsāf delivered a public address in which he praised the apostles of God, Solomon among them, but only for the excellent qualities he had manifested in his youth. Solomon in anger at this took him to task, but was reprieved for the introduction of idol-worship at the court. This was then done away with and the consort punished: the king became repentant.

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**ĀSĀP-DĪKH**, title of the *Nizām* of Haydarshāh (q.v.).

**ĀSĀF KHĀN** Abū 'Iḥsān, second son of Dīshāngir's *walid-ahd* 'Iḥmād al-Dawla Ghāyih Bēg and elder brother of Nūr Dīshān.

After Nūr Dīshān's marriage to Dīshāngir in 1020/1611 Abū 'Iḥsān became *Khān-sāmān* with the title of 'Iḥmād Khān. In 1021/1612 his daughter Arghandān Bānū Begam Munṭir Mahāl married Prince Khurraw, the future Shāh Dīshān. He himself received the title of Āsāf Khān in 1023/1612 and attained in 1031/1622 the rank of *ḥusn ghāt* and *wasir* and was appointed *sahādir* of Bengal in 1033/1623. In 1023/1616 the imprisoned Prince Khurraw, eldest son of Dīshāngir, was delivered over to the charge of Āsāf Khān, now sharing the real power in the empire with Nūr Dīshān, 'Iḥmād al-Dawla and Prince Khurraw. Despite his negligence in allowing Mahshat Khān, the enemy of the Nūr Dīshān faction, to capture Dīshāngir on the banks

of the Jhelum in 1035/1626, his own flight to Atak and eventual seizure there by Mahshat Khān's forces, Āsāf Khān survived to become governor of the Panjāb and *walid*.

Āsāf Khān quickly despatched the news of the death of Dīshāngir in 1037/1627 to Prince Khurraw in the Dekkan. Always a supporter of the latter's succession, Āsāf Khān diplomatically proclaimed Dāwar Bahādhār as *pādshāh* at Bīnbur, pending the arrival of Prince Khurraw. He also placed Nūr Dīshān, who supported Prince Shahriyār, under restraint. His services in securing the succession of Shāh Dīshān were rewarded by the title of *Yasir al-dawla*, the rank of *ḥusn ghāt* and *wasir*, *de-asta* *sik-asta* and the office of *walid*. In 1047/1637-8 Āsāf Khān was employed as commander of the Mughal armies fighting against Muhammad 'Adil Shāh of Bijāpūr.

Āsāf Khān died in 1051/1641 and was buried in Lahore not far from Dīshāngir's tomb. A patron of Mughal miniature painting and a great builder, he left a fortune estimated, in European sources, at more than twenty five million rūpīs apart from his residences and gardens.

**Bibliography:** Storey, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 1104; Nawwāb Saḥsām al-dawla Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-umari*, Text, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 151-160; *Tārikh-i Dīshāngiri* (trans. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge), Vol. I, London 1909, Vol. II, London 1914, indices and I, page 326; 'Iḥmād Khān, *Khān-nāma-yi Dīshāngiri*, Vol. III, Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1865, pp. 267-278, pp. 294-5; 'Abd al-Hamid Lāhaurī, *Pādshāh-nāma*, Bib. Ind., Vol. I, Calcutta 1867, pp. 411 et seq., Vol. II, Calcutta 1868, p. 258; Ed. Sir William Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, rev. ed. London 1926, index p. 311; *The Travels of Peter Mandi*, Hakluyt Society, Vol. II, London 1912, index p. 396; *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique*, Hakluyt Society, 1927, Vol. II, index p. 443; Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, London 1922, index; Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shah Jahan of Delhi*, Allahābād 1932, index. (P. HARRY)

**AL-ĀSAMM**, "the deaf", a sobriquet applied to several people, notably: 1. SURYĀN b. AL-ABBĀD AL-ĀSAMM, called al-Āsammi an Umayyad general famous for his disfigurement, who led several campaigns against the Khāridjites, the most notable of which, about 70/767 or 79/767, led to the crushing defeat and death of the Akraḥ Khāridjite Kaṭari b. al-Fudā'a (q.v.).

**Bibliography:** al-Tabari, *Annales*, ed. by de Goje, II, 1018 (Cairo ed. v. 126); Dīshī, *Bayan*, ed. by Hāriri, I, 61, 402 and III, 282. 2. Abū 'Iḥsān Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Nāṣirī, called al-Āsammi, a celebrated doctor and traditionist of the Shāfi'i school, born in 247/861, died in 346/957-8. A disciple of al-Rab' al-Murādi (d. 270/883) and al-Murādi (d. 264/876) (q.v.), he helped to make the latter's *Muḥḥasir* more widely known through the medium of a recension which attained great popularity; see *Fihrist*, 212. The Shāfi'i Saḥī b. Muḥammad al-Su'ūdī (d. 387/997), who was a pupil of his at Nisābūr, also won great renown.

**Bibliography:** *Fihrist*, 211, 212; Ibn Khālikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1320, I, 219 and ed. 'Abd al-Wahid, Cairo, n.d., III, 154; Dīshābī, *Tahabih al-Huffāḍ* (Libar Classique, etc.), ed. Wüstenfeld, Cöttingen 1833 fol., II, 94, no. 61. Our edition of the *Tahabih* of Su'ūdī does not contain any notice on him. (R. BLACHÈRE)

**ĀSĀS** [see ISMĀ'ILĪYYA].

**'ĀSĀS**, the night patrol or watch in Muslim cities. According to Makrizī the first to carry out this duty was 'Abdallāh b. Ma'sūd, who was ordered by Abū Bakr to patrol the streets of Medina by night. 'Umar is said to have gone on patrol in person, accompanied by his *mawāl* Aslam and by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf. (*Khitāt*, II, 223, cf. Tabari, I, 5, 2742; R. Levy, (ed.) *Ma'dūm al-Kurba*, 216; al-Ghazālī, *Nasḥat al-Mulūk* (ed. Hunā'ī, 13, 58). Later the 'āsās was commanded by a police officer, known as the *shāh al-āsās* (Makrizī, loc. cit.); Ibn Taghribirdī, II, 73; Nuwayrī, III, 151). Makrizī says that in his day the *shāh al-āsās* was popularly known as the *walī 'Asaf* (*Khitāt*, II, 103); a *shāh al-āsās* is reported in Basra in the time of al-Badīdī (Bādīdī, *Futūḥ*, 364. On the *Asaf*, apparently a synonym of the 'Āsās, see also Būdī, *Kabāliḥandī*, *Sulūk*, III, 93, citing the instructions given to them in 657/1257 by the Sultan). In Masūdī times there were also night patrols known as *ashūb al-arḥā*, coming under the authority of the *Wālī*, or chief of police; in Spain they were called *darrāḥān* (Makrizī, *Sulūk*, Cairo, II, 54; Makkari, *Analekies*, I, 135).

In the East, a diploma issued by the *khān* of the Salghūkhid Sāngar (d. 532/1137) orders the *shāh* of Ray to appoint 'āsās in the town wherever there may be the suspicion of vice and corruption ('*Alabāt al-Katābāt*, ed. Muḥammad Kaẓwini and 'Abbas Iḥṣāl, Tehran 1930, 44).

In Ottoman times the commandant of the 'Āsās ('*Asasbashi*) was a Janissary officer (according to 'Oghlān Nūrī the forerunner of the 28th *lāsh*, according to Hammer from an unspecified regiment). He was in charge of the public prisons and exercised a kind of supervision over public executions. He attended meetings of the *Et'wān* of the Agha of the Janissaries and at the Saray and the Porte, in case anyone was to be handed to him for execution. He also played an important role in public processions. He received one tenth of the fines imposed by the *Su Bahā* for drunkenness and similar offences by night, though not by day; in addition the 'Āsās levied a due (*Rasm-i 'Asasiyyi*) from every shop. (Ewliya Celebi, I, 317 = Hammer's translation, I, 2, 108-9, attributing their foundation to Melemedin II; 'Oghlān Nūrī, *Meḡallat-i Umur-i 'Osmaniyye*, I, 902-3, 954; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zırat Ekmomninin Husuk ve Mali Kanunları* I Kanunlar, İstanbul 1943, 69, 70, 134, 139, 147, 160, 162, 163, 164, 178, 400).

In Safawid Persia the night patrols were under the command of the *dürūghā*, and were called *ashūdh* (q.v.) and *gasm* as well as 'āsās. (Minorsky, *Tughhrat al-Malak*, 149). In 19th century Shīrāz the head of the night watchmen was known as *shir 'āsās* (Ann K. S. Lambton, *Islamic Society in Persia*, London, 1954, 14-15).

In Ghazda and in the other cities of the Maḥāl, the organisation of night watchmen not only assures public security and morals, but possesses a secret and almost absolute authority, superior even to that of the *Halifa* of the 'Āssāba and the *Diyāna* of the laymen, in the important affairs of the community. (M. Vigoroux, *La garde de nuit à Ghazda, in Bulletin de l'Association Saharienne*, no. 9, Algiers 1952, 9-16). The minaret of the Abādī mosque in the Maḥāl is called 'āsās, 'swatchmen'. (M. Mercier, *La civilisation urbaine du Mizab*, Algiers 1922, 60 f.).

**Bibliography:** In addition to sources quoted in the article: W. Beltrami, *Mémoire sur les Institutions de Police chez les Arabes, les Persans et les Turcs*, J.A., June 1860, 461 ff.; G. Wiet, *Mémoires pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Egypte*, II, Cairo 1920-30, *Mém. I.F.A.O.* vol. III, 61-62; A. Mer, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922, 393-4; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, 119, 119, 124-125; Ismail Hakki Uzunçiftci, *Osmanlı Devleti İhtifalından Kapakula Oskari*, I, Ankara 1943, 170, 358, 370, 397, 421; id., *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, Ankara 1948, 21, 122, 139, 141-2, 283, 285, 286; D'Ossun, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1788-1824, VII, 167, 169; J. Hammer, *Des ottomanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, I, 247, II, 105-6; Melvet Zeki Fakalı, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, I, İstanbul 1948, 93-4; an example of the use of the term in Morocco is given in *Archives Marocaines* 171, 186.

(E.O.)

The term 'āsās is used in North Africa in the sense of 'night-watchman'. R. Brunschwig (*La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides*, II, 203) mentions it in connexion with the night-watchmen in the *sūks* at Tunis. It is also found in Budget Meakin (*The Moors*, London 1902, 174) to denote the watchman who keeps guard at night over the caravans which have halted in the villages; the same custom, but without the word being used, is mentioned by M. Rey (*Souvenirs d'un voyage au Maroc*, Paris 1844, 124). At Fez, the word was used at the beginning of the 20th century to denote not only night-watchmen, but policemen in general.

Whether the word 'āsās is indicated or not, the use of guards at night, particularly in the central market, at warehouses and on the ramparts, was the general practice in North African towns up to the advent of the French. There is evidence of its use in Algiers (R. P. Dun, *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires*, Paris 1937, 102), where the *minzūr* (q.v.) and his agents patrolled the main streets at night, and in Fez (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. E. Pauland, Paris 1936, I, 206), where "four police officers, not more", went the rounds from midnight until 2 a.m., and where the central market and warehouses were guarded by Berber porters or *baridiya* (R. Le Tourneau, *Fin avant le Protectorat, Casablanca-Paris 1929*, 190), while the police of the ward commanders ('*assida*) kept watch on the ramparts (*ibid.*, 253). At Wazān, the head of the family of the *Shayra* of the town paid each night 28 *gashs* who kept watch over the city (Budget Meakin, *The land of the Moors*, London 1901, 325), while at Safi, the Moroccan army took part in guarding the city by night (*ibid.*, 200).

In Spain, the term 'āsās does not appear to have been used. E. Lévi-Provençal (*K'asid*, 253), mentions the use of the word *darrāḥ* to denote night-watchmen; the person responsible for nocturnal security was sometimes known as *shāh al-ayl*, which is apparently the equivalent of the term: *shāh al-ghurfa* (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, III, 155, following al-Makkari, *Analekies*, I, 134).

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

**ĀSFAR** (ā), yellow; also, in distinction from black, simply light-colored. Some Arab philologists and exegetes indeed claim for *asfar* also the meaning "black"; see the discussions thereon in the *Khazānat al-Adab*, II, 465. The Arabs called the Greeks *hannu 'Asfar* (sem. *hanūt al-ā*: *Ud al-Ghāba*, I, 274, 4b



infra) according to Tabari (ed. de Goeje, I, 357, 357-358, 358) signifying "Sons of the Red One" (Esau). In the Hadith mention is made of the contest of the Arabs with the Banu 'Aşfar and of the conquest of their capital Constantinople (Muhammad ibn al-Ash'ar, 174). *Malik ibn 'Aşfar* (Aghānī, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., vi, 125, 126) — the Christian prince, especially those of the Rūm (ib. 98, 99; infra; cf. Abū Tammām, Dīwān, ed. Beirut, 18 80, in a poem to al-Mu'tasim after the battle at 'Amuriya). Later this designation was applied to Europeans in general, especially in Spain. *Ta'arīḥ al-Suf* (Spanish Era) can thus be best explained; other views in ZDMG, xxxiii, 426, 427. Many genealogists have explained Aşfar as the name of the grandson of Esau (Σωφάρ in the Septuagint, Gen. 16, 16) and father of Rūmī (Rūmī, Gen. 16, 41), ancestor of the Rūm. According to the explanation of De Sacy (Not. d'Ést., ix, 437; Journ. As., 3. Serie, Pt. 1, 94), which Franz Erdmann accepts (ZDMG, II, 237-241), the designation Banu 'Aşfar was a literal translation originally referring to the Flavian dynasty, then became extended beyond it to the western nations. From his travels among the Nupayis (g.v.) H. Lammens relates that they designate the Emperor of Russia *Malik al-Aşfar* (Au pays des Nupayis in Rev. de l'Or. chrétien, Paris, 1900, 42 of the separate edition).

**Bibliography:** I. Goldziher, *Mohammedische Studien*, I, 268 ff.; Castani, *Annali dell'Islam*, II, 242; ZDMG, II, 363; JA, 10th series, ix, 230; 10th series, xiv, 199. (L. Goldziher)

**AŞFAR B. SHIRAWAYHI**, (Aşfar the son of Şifro), a Daylamite condottiere, to be more exact a Ghilzi, who played an important rôle in the civil wars which followed the death in 304/917 of the 'Alid Hasan al-Utrush (g.v.), the master of Tabaristān, and put an end to the domination of the 'Alids in this region. He made his appearance with another Daylamite condottiere, Mākan b. Kākūy (Ar. Kākū), in 312/923, in the struggles which brought al-Utrush's son-in-law and successor, Hasan b. al-Kāsim, surnamed *al-dā'ī al-naṣīr*, "the little missionary", into conflict with some of al-Utrush's sons, Abu 'I-Husayn and Abu 'I-Kāsim. He revolted against Mākan or was dismissed from his army by the latter for his execrable conduct, and entered the service of the Sāmānid prefect of Naysābūr. After the death of Abu 'I-Kāsim in 312/925, Mākan proclaimed one of the latter's sons, Ismā'īl, in opposition to one of his nephews Abū 'Alī, whom he had imprisoned in Dīrdjān; Abū 'Alī succeeded in escaping, killing his custodian, Mākan's brother, and appealed to Aşfar (312/927-8). Aşfar came to Dīrdjān and with 'Alī b. Şīrāghī, another Daylamite, the leader of Abū 'Alī's army, defeated Mākan and expelled him from Tabaristān. After Abū 'Alī's death in the same year, Mākan recovered Tabaristān and Aşfar returned to Dīrdjān, where he was appointed governor by the Sāmānid amir Naṣr. Then with the help of the Ghilzi Mardāwīz b. Ziyār, he again took possession of Tabaristān. Mākan had brought the Dā'ī Hasan back to power and they then tried to take Tabaristān from Aşfar, but were routed and the Dā'ī was killed in the battle by Mardāwīz. In this way the 'Alid dominion in Tabaristān came to an end, for Aşfar seized the other 'Alids and sent them to the Sāmānid at Buḥārā (316/928-9).

Aşfar, now master of Tabaristān, extended his power over Dīrdjān, over Rayy (from which he expelled Mākan), over Kāzwin and the other towns

of the Djabal. However he left Āmul to Mākan in condition that he did not seek to dominate the rest of Tabaristān. He proclaimed the sovereignty of the Sāmānid. He removed his family and treasures to Ālamūt (Ibn al-Ağfir, Kāfāt al-Mawt), the famous frontier fortress of the Ismā'īlīs to the North of Kāzwin, which he took by a ruse. Within a short time, he conducted himself as an independent prince, adopted the external marks of sovereignty at Rayy (golden throne and crown) and defied the Sāmānid and the Caliph. At this point the Caliph al-Makṭadī sent an army against him, under the command of his maternal uncle Hārūn b. Ghārib, which Aşfar completely routed near Kāzwin. However, Aşfar found himself the object of the hostility of both Mākan, who had not renounced his claims to Tabaristān and Dīrdjān, and the Sāmānid, who marched against him and reached Naysābūr. Aşfar's minister persuaded his master to make peace with the Sāmānid, paying him tribute, and recognising his suzerainty. In this manner Aşfar avoided war and took advantage of the situation to further extend his authority by deceit and fraud. He became increasingly tyrannical, took the most fearful revenge on the people of Kāzwin for having helped Hārūn b. Ghārib, and, in order to pay the tribute to the Sāmānid, collected a poll-tax of one dīnār per head on all the inhabitants of his possessions and even on foreign merchants in the country, in fact the *ḡizya* (the word occurs in al-Mas'ūdī).

His tyranny caused his lieutenant Mardāwīz to rebel against him; the latter made an alliance with the prince of Şāndrās in Tārum, Sālār, and with Mākan, and won over a large part of Aşfar's troops. After fleeing to Rayy, where he was only able to collect a small amount of money, Aşfar wanted to set out for Şāndrās and reached Rayy; then he turned back towards Rayy, his purpose being to reach Ālamūt so as to regain possession of his treasures there, raise new troops and take up the struggle again. But on the way, he was overtaken by Mardāwīz, who cut his throat (there are several versions of this occurrence). The chronology of events between 316 and 319 is not well established. Ibn al-Ağfir gives them in 316 and 317, while Ibn al-Fandīyār under 317. The latter is the most likely date for Aşfar's death. It is with Aşfar that the domination of the Daylamites in North-West Iran really begins, continuing with Mākan and Mardāwīz, and then the Buwayhids. According to al-Mas'ūdī, who stresses Aşfar's behaviour at Kāzwin (the *mu'āḍḍa* thrown from the top of the minaret, the suspension of the prayers, the ruined mosques), he was not a Muslim.

**Bibliography:** Hanna Isfahānī, *Ta'wīḥ Sīnī Muluk al-Ard* wa-'l-Anbiyā', ed. Ḥawād al-Irānī al-Tabrīzī, Berlin 1340, 132-3 (chap. 8); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murādī*, ix, 619; Miskawayhi, *Tadhārīḥ al-Umam*, ed. Margoliouth, I, 161-2; 'Arṭb, ed. De Goeje, 137; Tanūḥī, *Nuḥūd al-Muhaddira*, ed. Margoliouth, I, 156; Cf. also V. Minorsky, *La domination des Daylamites*, 9; H. Bowen, *Saffi* (1910), 307-9; H. Spuler, *Iran im frühislamischen Zeitalter*, 89.

(M. KAVAN)

**AŞFI**, AŞAFI, (Fr. Saffi, Sp. Saffi, Port. Cafim or preferably Saffim), town and port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, a few kilometres to the south of Cap Canin; about 25,000 inhabitants in 1936, and about 70,000 in 1953, of whom, in round figures, 62,500 were Muslims, 3,500 Jews and 4,000 Europeans.

Saffi does not appear to date from any very considerable antiquity. Al-Bakrī (5th/11th century) mentions it, without treating it as a place of any great importance. Al-Idrīsī in the following century considers it to be a relatively busy port, though its roadstead was not very safe. According to the same geographer, this was the point where the flotilla of the "Adventurers", who set out to explore the Atlantic Ocean, made landfall on its return (with a popular etymology of the toponymic; cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Proc. d'ér.*, 24). In the 7th/13th century there was a *ribāḥ* there. The history of the town is chiefly known since the intervention of the Portuguese, who accepted its submission just prior to the death of King Afonso V (1438-1481) and who occupied it in the first months of 1503. They built a great enclosure, which contained a castle called "Castle of the Sea" by the sea-shore, and adapted the old *baṣṣa* which they turned into their citadel (now Kečāla). Almost the whole of these fortifications still survive. Saffi was the main Portuguese stronghold in Southern Morocco. The Portuguese made it the centre of the manufacture of the rugs called *hambils* (Ar. *hanbū*), which were one of the basic articles of their trade with the rest of the Barbary States, with the Western Sahara (through their trading post at Arguin) and with Negro Africa (through their trading post at Milla, on the Gulf of Guinea). Enterprising and bold captives (governors), the most famous of whom was Nuno Fernandes de Ataíde, working through native notables, especially through one man who seems to have been a great chief, Yahyā b. Ta'fīf, gave Saffi a vast military and political sphere of influence which was expressed by at least two expeditions against the town of Marrakech. But this brilliant period was of short duration: the death of Nuno Fernandes de Ataíde, killed in a fight in 1516, then that of Yahyā, ambushed and killed in 1518, weakened the Portuguese and forced them to curtail their activity. In 1534 the Sa'fī Shaif of Marrakech subjected the town to a close and dangerous siege. After the fall of Santa Cruz de Cabo de Guat in March 1541 (see Azevedo), which provoked the attack of the Banū Shaybān, who set Buḥtūrī, *Hamān*, 156; Ibn Sallām, 377 and refs.—al-A'şhā of the Banū Taghlib (d. 92/710), see *Aghānī*, x, 98-100; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn*, II, 263; Brockelmann S I, 95.—al-A'şhā of the Banū Sulaym, a 2nd/8th century poet, see al-Dīḥabī, *Hayawān*, index.—al-A'şhā of the Tārid (Tārid), Iyās b. 'Amir, see al-Naghdī, *Aghānī*, I, 311-2. (E.v.)

**AL-A'ŞHĀ**, MAYMUN B. KAYS. Prominent ancient Arab poet of the tribe of Kays b. Tha'labah of the Bakr b. Wa'il (g.v.). Born before 570 in Dumā, a place in the Maṣūba oasis (south of Riyāḍ), died in the same place after 625. As his cognomen indicates, he suffered from an eye disease, and went completely blind whilst still in the prime of life. He set out in search of wealth in his youth. For years he travelled, probably as a merchant, and visited Upper and Lower Mesopotamia, Syria, southern Arabia, and Abyssinia in this way. After he became blind, he lived by his art, i.e. by writing paegeyries; yet he still travelled: to the governor of Hira, Iyās b. Kaḥba († 611), to Hadramawt to see Kays b. Ma'ṣūkaḥ (the father of Aḥl'āḥ), to Hawḍa b. 'Alī, prince of Dīḥaw a village in Yamāna. He had already tried his luck as a paegeyrist in earlier days. But poem No. 1, celebrating the triple victory of Prince Aswad of Hira (the brother of King Nu'mān), does not appear to have been a success. The poet was

remains of a Christian church, which was probably the Cathedral, are still to be seen.

**Bibliography:** For the Portuguese period, see primarily, de Cenival, Lopes et Ricard, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Archives et Bibliothèques du Portugal, 5 vols., Paris 1913-53; and Ricard, *Études sur l'histoire des Portugais au Maroc*, Coimbra 1955. In addition Durval R. Pires de Lima, *História da dominação portuguesa em Cafim*, Lisbon 1930; D. Lopes, *Textos em aljamia portuguesa*, 2nd ed., Lisbon 1940; V. Magalhães Godinho, *História económica e social de expansão portuguesa*, I, Lisbon 1947; Terras, *Histoire du Maroc*, II, Casablanca 1950, 121-25 (several printing mistakes in the dates) and 138-78. For the period after 1541, de Castries, de Cenival et Ph. de Cassé Brissac, *Les sources inédites*, etc. France, 1<sup>st</sup> series, 3 vols. 1905-21, and 2nd series, 5 vol. 1922-53 (in course of publication); England, 3 vol. 1918-35; Netherlands, 6 vols. 1906-23; and A. Antona, *La région des Aḥsa*, Rabat 1921.

(H. BASKET and R. RICARD)

**AŞFIZĀR** [see SANZĀWAR].

**AL-A'ŞHĀ**, "the night-blind", is the surname of a number of early Arab poets (17 in all; see al-Āmidī, al-Mu'tallī, 12 ff.; *Aghānī*, index; L.A., x.v.); each of them is connected with a tribe (A'şhā Banī Fulān) and, apart from the most celebrated of their number, al-A'şhā of the Bakr (or the Kays) (g.v.) and al-A'şhā of the Hamdān (g.v.), the following are worthy of note: al-A'şhā of the Bāḥila ('Amir b. al-Hārīḥ b. Riyāḥ) who is included among the *aṣḥāb al-mawṣiṭ* by Ibn Sallām, *Tuhāfāt*, ed. Shikrī, 169, 175 (with refs.); see also al-Buḥārī, *Hamān*, index; Abu Zayd al-Kuraḥī, *Ḥamān*, 135; al-Dīḥabī, *Hayawān*, I, 307; Ibn al-Shaḥrāṣī, *Muḥabbarāt*, Cairo 1906, 912; al-A'şhā of the Banū Mikhā ('Abd Allāh b. al-A'war), who is reckoned among the Companions of the Prophet; see Ibn Ḥaḍārī, *Iḥṣā*, no. 220. Al-A'şhā of the Banū Naḥḥāl — al-A'wad b. Ya'fur (g.v.)—al-A'şhā of the Banū Rabī'a ('Abd Allāh b. Khārdī), a poet of Kūfa of the 15th/11th century; see *Aghānī*, xvi, 357-7; C.A. Nallino, *Letteratura araba*, index; Brockelmann S I, 95.—al-A'şhā of the Banū Shaybān, see al-Buḥārī, *Hamān*, 156; Ibn Sallām, 377 and refs.—al-A'şhā of the Banū Taghlib (d. 92/710), see *Aghānī*, x, 98-100; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn*, II, 263; Brockelmann S I, 95.—al-A'şhā of the Banū Sulaym, a 2nd/8th century poet, see al-Dīḥabī, *Hayawān*, index.—al-A'şhā of the Tārid (Tārid), Iyās b. 'Amir, see al-Naghdī, *Aghānī*, I, 311-2. (E.v.)

**AL-A'ŞHĀ**, MAYMUN B. KAYS. Prominent ancient Arab poet of the tribe of Kays b. Tha'labah of the Bakr b. Wa'il (g.v.). Born before 570 in Dumā, a place in the Maṣūba oasis (south of Riyāḍ), died in the same place after 625. As his cognomen indicates, he suffered from an eye disease, and went completely blind whilst still in the prime of life. He set out in search of wealth in his youth. For years he travelled, probably as a merchant, and visited Upper and Lower Mesopotamia, Syria, southern Arabia, and Abyssinia in this way. After he became blind, he lived by his art, i.e. by writing paegeyries; yet he still travelled: to the governor of Hira, Iyās b. Kaḥba († 611), to Hadramawt to see Kays b. Ma'ṣūkaḥ (the father of Aḥl'āḥ), to Hawḍa b. 'Alī, prince of Dīḥaw a village in Yamāna. He had already tried his luck as a paegeyrist in earlier days. But poem No. 1, celebrating the triple victory of Prince Aswad of Hira (the brother of King Nu'mān), does not appear to have been a success. The poet was



deeply involved in politics. After the fall of King Nu'mān (in 501 or 502), the Bakr had begun their raids into the cultivated land of 'Irāk, along the Euphrates border where A'shā resided—presumably with the powerful Shaybān b. Thā'labā, who shared the area in which they migrated in summer with the nomad Kays b. Thā'labā. He threatened their death and destruction upon the valley of the Euphrates in an insolent reply to Khuraz II, who had demanded hostages. With equal boldness he confronted Kays b. Mas'ād, the head of the Shaybān, when the latter—under the impression of the great losses he had suffered—went to the court (No. 34; 26). Thus the poet may be said to have helped to bring about the battle of Dhū Kār (605). If the story and corrupted verses 3, 32-50 do indeed refer to Kays b. Ka'bā, then he was also active in that change which soon brought the victors of Dhū Kār under Persian influence again. In his home country, he interceded in favour of the rightful prince, Hawdja, to whom he was indebted, and ridiculed the usurper al-Harith b. Wa'ila (7, 4-6; 30). Meanwhile he had left the Shaybān in favour of the Kays b. Thā'labā, because he considered that the Shaybān had violated the honour of his tribe (6; 9). He was therefore deeply hurt, when (a few years later) he was accused in his own homeland and lost the case. Actually, he had been quite ready to reach an amicable solution until his opponent opposed him with a poetaster by name of Dībānān. The two met at a fair near Mecca. A tooth-stimmed up, Dībānān—dressed in an him with whips and spear-staffs, but was then dumbfounded by his verses. In A'shā allowed Mīshāl—his demonic alter ego—to appear for the first time (74; 38; 15). He had once previously had occasion to save himself from great danger by means of a hastily improvised poem (on Samaw'al (g.v.)). He subsequently, with or without their consent, interfered in the quarrel between 'Amlr b. al-Tufay' (g.v.) and 'Alkama b. 'Udā'ja (18; 19). He also defended 'U'ayyāna and Khāridja of the Fadira (Dhātān (g.v.)) against Zabān b. Sayyār, a well known chief of the same tribe (20, 27-37; Oriens 7, 302. This probably took place in the beginning of the twenties. As can be seen from 3, 67; 3, 32-34; 5, 64; 13, 69; 34, 13 al-A'shā was a Christian.

The poet was educated at Hira, where the tradition of legend and poetry was broader than that of any other individual tribe. His style is rhetorical and at times (especially in 1), artificial. Connected with this is his preference for sound-effects and for sonorous (Persian) foreign words, as well as for effective endings. He occasionally treats the traditional themes of the *basīda* with a high-handed indifference. He likes many types of allusion. Thus, for instance, *Harayyāta wadda*, 9, 4, prepares one for the recurrence of the theme, only with the motto inverted, in No. 6. The praise of Mecca and his panegyric on the leaders of the Dhātān (20, 27-37), both of which are otherwise apparently meaningless, indicate the whereabouts of A'shā, who had good reason on both occasions to avoid his homeland. The first passage discloses furthermore the place where he clashed with Dībānān, and the second shows A'shā's intention to proceed against Zabān, who is left out of the panegyric on leaders of the Dhātān.

The immediate impact of the poet seems to have been confined to his anonymous (Christian?) pupils and forgers, who counted on gaining the patronage of Ash'ath. Their works fill almost the whole of the second part of his *Dīwān* (No. 52-82), although

the first part, too, contains many a verse which is not authentic.

**Bibliography:** *The Dīwān of al-A'shā*, ed. R. Geyer (Gibb Mem. N. S. VI), London 1928; GAL, G 37; S I, 62-67; Mub. b. Sallām, *Tabaṭ*, 151; Caskel, *Oriens* 7, 302. (W. G. G. G. G.)  
**A'SHĀ HAMDĀN**, properly 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh, Arab poet, who lived in Kūfa in the second half of the 19th century. In his early career a traditionalist and Kufīn reader he was married to a sister of the theologian al-A'shābī, who in turn had married a sister of al-A'shā. Later he concentrated on poetry, acting on occasion as the spokesman of the Yamaniite faction. He was active in the wars that marked the governorship of al-Hadiqā and his health appears to have suffered during an expedition into Mukrān. The role which he played under 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash'ath is best known. He took part in his campaign against the Turks and was taken captive but escaped with the aid of a Turkish woman whose passions were enflamed for him. When Ibn al-Ash'ath turned against al-Hadiqā the poet's sharp tongue aided him with satires. The decisive battle at Dayr al-Djāmalidj resulted unfortunately; Ibn al-Ash'ath took to flight, and al-A'shā was led prisoner before al-Hadiqā, who immediately recalled to him some of his malicious songs. His extemporaneous flatteries availed him no longer: al-Hadiqā's sentence of death was carried out on the spot (8, 172-73). The poems of A'shā Hamdān, which have been preserved to us are reflexes of his adventures and political sentiments. The level of his poetry which remained curiously unaffected by the modernism of the Medinese school is considerable, both as regards his partisan verse and his treatment of the traditional motifs of erotic description. The vigour of his diction lends a certain attraction even to his handling of conventional topics.

**Bibliography:** *Aghānī*, V, 146 ff., 162 ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Mufaḥḥi*, V, 355 ff.; Tabaṭ, index; *The Dīwān of al-A'shā*, ed. R. Geyer, London 1928, 311-343 (50 pieces); Brockelmann, I, 62, S. 1, 95; Reicher, *Abriss*, I, 149-50; Guido Adler von Goutta, *Der Aghānīkhe* 'Abd al-Rahmān Hamdān, Diss. Freiburg i. B., 1912, contains translations of practically all A'shā's preserved verse.

(A. J. WENSINK-G. E. VON GRUNERBAUM)

**ASH'AB**, nicknamed "the Greedy", a Medinese comedian who moved in the circles of the grandchildren of the first four caliphs and flourished in his profession in the early years of the 8th century. He is said to have survived until 154/771. The historical information about him is rather plentiful; though contaminated by much legendary material, it permits us to get a glimpse at the life of a professional entertainer in the Umayyad period. The jokes and stories connected with his name concern politics, religion, and middle-class life. The middle-class jokes come last in the chronological development of the Ash'ab legend; but then, ever since early 'Abbasid times, they have enjoyed the greatest popularity in Islam. Among the famous jokes under Ash'ab's name, there is a brilliant parody of the foibles of *hadīth* transmitters: Ash'ab says that he heard 'Ikrima (or some other well-known transmitter) report that the Prophet had said that two qualities characterised the true believer. Asked which they were, Ash'ab replied: "Ikrima had forgotten one, and I have forgotten the other." Even more famous is the story of greedy Ash'ab who tries to get rid of annoying children by telling them that free gifts

are being distributed in some place, and then runs after them because he thinks his story might be true.

**Bibliography:** *al-Aghānī*, xvii, 82-103; O. Reicher, *Abriss*, I, 235-9; F. Rosenthal, *Humor in Islam and its Historical Development* (Leiden 1936), which centres around Ash'ab.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

**ASHĀB** [see SAHĀRA].

**ASHĀB AL-HADITH** [see AHL AL-HADITH].

**ASHĀB AL-KAHF**, "those of the cave". This is the name given in the Kur'ān, and further in Arabic literature, to the youths who in the Christian Occident are usually called the "Seven Sleepers of Ephesus". According to a legend, in the time of the Christian persecution under the Emperor Decius (249-51), seven Christian youths fled into a cave near Ephesus and there sank into a miraculous sleep for centuries, awoke under the Christian Emperor Theodosius, were discovered and then went to sleep for ever. Their resting place and grave was considered, at any rate since the beginning of the 6th century A.D., as a place of worship. The story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus is found in various Oriental and Occidental literatures, particularly in Greek and Syriac; the Greek version would appear to be the earliest one (texts edited by Land, I, Guidi, Bedjan, Allgeier). Since Muhammad the legend is handed down in Arabic as well.

Muhammad has got to know the legend, like so many other stories of Jewish and Christian origin, has assimilated it and put it to edifying use in the Kur'ān (xviii, 9-26; hence the whole *sūra* is called *sūrat al-kahf*). The main outlines are clearly recognisable: The youths and their flight into the cave, so as to be able to remain true to the belief in the one God; their miraculous sleep, which lasts 309 years (v. 23), but which appears to them as at the most one day (v. 24); the circumstances of their discovery (by means of the ancient colnase, with which one of them attempts to buy provisions in the city). But some details remain doubtful. Muhammad himself points out that the number of the youths is variously given as three, five or seven, and that only God really has knowledge of the length of their sleep. It is strange that the dog who "stretcheth out his paws on the threshold" (v. 18), is taken into consideration when the number of the youths is given (v. 22); thus he also appears to be considered as holy. Not quite clear is the hint at the building of a place of worship over the resting place of the youths (v. 21). Particularly disputed is the expression *al-raḥīm* (v. 9; "those of the cave and (of) al-raḥīm"; N.B. the definite article).

The Arabic commentators and historians have attempted to overcome the difficulties in the interpretation of the Kur'ānic text and to fill in gaps, making use of much material from the Christian-Oriental tradition about the Seven Sleepers. Consequently their accounts are also of significance for the history of the transmission of the legend in pre-Islamic times. J. Koch and M. Huber have been at great pains to make use of the various reports for the history of legend and literature. Here a certain amount remains to be done. Huber's monograph *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern* (1910), and his translation of Arabic texts in *Romanische Forschungen*, xxvi (1909) are however still to-day useful as collections of material.

The expression *al-raḥīm* is variously interpreted by the commentators. As the name of the dog (to whom the name *Kilmir* is otherwise given); as a place name; and as the name for an inscription,

which is supposed to have been put up in that place (cf. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 95). Torrey suspected here a misreading for Decius, such an interpretation can however not be maintained (cf. Horowitz, loc. cit.).

Once the legend had taken root with the Muslims it was connected with various places within the Islamic world, so with a cave in Transjordan, in Cappadocia, in East Turkistan and in Spain. This does not however alter the fact that originally it belongs to Ephesus.

In the course of time the story of "the people of the cave" has drifted into the realm of the magical. In this way can be explained the custom of hanging up leaves on which the names of the sleepers are inscribed, for the sake of *baraka* or for averting evil. The name of the dog, *Kilmir*, plays a special part. Among the Turks of East Turkistan, as in Indonesia it was still customary in recent times to inscribe letters which it was desired to protect from loss, with the word *kilmite* instead of "registered".

In a treatise somewhat overloaded with symbolic details, L. Massignon has attempted recently to do justice to the story of the Ashāb al-Kahf, as it were from the inside, that is, in the sense in which it has become meaningful for Muslim believers.

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**AŞĪĀB AL-RASS**, "the people of the ditch" or "of the well", are twice mentioned in the *Kur'ān* (xv, 38; I, 12), along with 'Ād, Thamūd and other unbelievers. The commentators know nothing for certain about them, and so give widely divergent explanations and all manner of fantastic accounts. Some take al-Rass to be a geographical name (cf. Yāqūt, s.v.); some hold that these people, a remnant of Thamūd, cast (rassa) their prophet Hanzala into a well (rass) and were consequently exterminated. It is also related that the mountain of the bird 'Anka' [q.v.] was situated in their region. Al-Tabarī mentions the possibility of their being identical with the Aşhāb al-Uḡdūd [q.v.]; otherwise he does not know anything about them; just as little do we.

**Bibliography:** The Commentaries on the verses of the *Kur'ān* in question, esp. Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xix, 91; Damīrī, *Maṣābīḥ al-Hayawān*, xv, 'Anka'; Tha'alabī, *Ḥisn al-Anḥās*, Cairo 1292, 129-32; J. Horowitz, *Königliche Untersuchungen*, 1926, 94 f. [A. J. WERNICK]

**AŞĪĀB AL-RĀ'Y**, also **Abū al-Rā'y**, the partisans of personal opinion, a term of deprecation applied by the *ahl al-hadīth* [q.v.] to their opponents among the specialists in religious law. *Rā'y* [q.v.] originally meant "sound opinion", and was used of the element of human reasoning, whether strictly systematic (see *ḥukm*) or more personal and arbitrary (see *ḥuṣn*), which the early specialists used in order to arrive at decisions on points of religious law. The *ahl al-hadīth*, however, who rose in opposition to the ancient schools of religious law, regarded this as illegitimate; in particular they thought it wrong to reject, as the followers of the ancient schools used to do, traditions which were reported as coming from the Prophet, on account of *rā'y*. As a consequence of the success of this point of view in the theory of religious law (see *ḥukm*), each group was apt to qualify those who on any particular question gave to personal opinion a wider scope than they themselves did, as *aşhāb al-rā'y*, and it became impossible for those who did, in fact, use *rā'y*, to recognise this and to justify it from Islamic premises. There never was a school of thought in religious law that called itself, or consented to be called, *aşhāb al-rā'y*, and the distinction between *ahl al-hadīth* and *aşhāb al-rā'y* is to a great extent artificial. From the point of view of the *ahl al-hadīth*, both Abū Hanīfa and his school and Mālik and his school belong to the *aşhāb al-rā'y*, and they were indeed so called by al-Shāfi'ī, Ibn Kutayba, and others. For adventitious reasons, Abū Hanīfa and his school became the principal objects of the attacks of the *ahl al-hadīth*, and this gave rise to the erroneous opinion that they were the *aşhāb al-rā'y* par excellence. Warnings against *rā'y* and its partisans, sometimes with explicit mention of Abū Hanīfa and his followers, were even put into the mouth of the Prophet, his Companions and their Successors, and thereby became themselves traditions.

**Bibliography:** al-Shāfi'ī, *K. al-Umm*, vii, passim; al-Dīrazī, *Sunan*, introductory chapters; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'arīf* (Wüstenfeld), 228 ff.; idem, *Muḥṭaṣṣaf al-Hadīth*, 62 ff.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡdādī, *Tarīkh Baḡdād*, xlii, 323 ff. (attack on Abū Hanīfa); Shahrastānī, 162; Sachau, in *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien., Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1870, 713 ff.; von Kretzer, *Culturbeschichte*, I, 490 ff.; Goldziher, *ZfA*, 1870, 1 ff.; idem, *MoA*, xlviii, II, 74 ff. (transl. Bercher, *Études sur la tradition islamique*, 88 ff.); Santilana, *Islamisimi*, I, 46 ff.;

J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* 98 ff. and *passim*; idem, *Enquête d'une histoire du droit musulman*, 53 f. (J. SCHACHT)

**AŞĪĀB AL-UḠDŪD**, "those of the trench", as opponents at the beginning of *Kur'ān*, LXXXV, which is difficult to understand. The verses 4-7 run: "Slain be those of the trench, of the fire fed with fuel, [to] when they are sitting by it (i.e. the fire), while they are witnesses of what they do (were doing) with the believers!" The ancient *Kur'ān* commentators and historians refer the passage inter alia to the persecution of the Christians in Najrān under the Jewish king of South Arabia [Ḥuṣayn Nuṣayr] [q.v.] which—as far as is historically established—is to be placed in the year 525. It is alleged that the Christian martyrs were burnt alive in a trench (uḡdūd) which had been specially dug for the purpose. Occasionally the passage in the *Kur'ān* is connected with a story which goes back ultimately to Daniel iii ("The men in the firing-oven").

In fact however the passage is to be understood in an eschatological sense, as Göttinge has recognised and Horowitz more closely explained. We are dealing with a scene of judgement typical of the *Kur'ān*. The *aşhāb al-uḡdūd* are unbelievers, who will go into the hell fire, as a punishment for what they did to the believers (verse 7). The objections, which K. Ahrens (ZDMG, 1930, 149) and R. Blachère (*Le Coran*, I, 120) have raised against this interpretation, are not decisive.

There remains the difficulty of explaining the expression *ahl al-uḡdūd*. A. Moberg thinks—though with strong reservations—of an influence of the Hebrew *Gē Hinnōm* (of Hinnom) in the sense of Hell (*Legenden*, 21; cf. Speyer, 424). According to R. Bell, "it may be that in 'the fellows of the pit' there is a sub-reference to the Quraysh slain at Badr, whose bodies were thrown into a well" (*The Qur'ān*, II, 646). Both interpretations are questionable.

**Bibliography:** The *Kur'ān* commentaries on LXXXV, 4-7, especially Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xxx, 72-5 (cf. Loth, in ZDMG, 1881, 610-22); Ibn Hishām (Wüstenfeld), 24 f.; Tabarī, *Tarīkh*, I, 922-9; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 1870, 18-27; MacGidil, *Murūd*, I, 129 f.; Tha'alabī, *Ḥisn al-Anḥās*, Cairo 1292, 350-2; Cusani de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, I, 128 f.; *Acta Sanctorum*, O. tioria T. X, Bruxelles 1867, 721-62; Fell, in ZDMG, 1881, 1-74; I. Guidi, *La Lettera di Simone vescovo di Bith-Arām sopra i martiri omeridi*, *Raccolta di scritti*, I, 1945, 1-601; A. Moberg, *The Book of the Hinnomites*, Lund 1934, especially p. xlii-xliii; ibi, idem, *Über einige christliche Legenden in der islamischen Tradition*, Lund 1930, 18-21; Duval, *Littérature syriaque*, 1907, 136-41; T. Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Uppsala 1926, 11-31; K. Ahrens, *Christliches im Quran*, ZDMG, 1930, 148-50; J. Horowitz, *Königliche Untersuchungen*, 1926, 13, 92 f.; H. Speyer, *Die islamischen Erzählungen im Quran*, Göttingen 1926, 422. (B. PARKER)

**AŞĪĀM** (Turkish *Eşām*), plural of Arabic *ashm* (Turkish *şerh*), share. In Turkey the word was used to designate certain treasury issues, variously described as bonds, assignats, and annuities. The *ashm* are called annuities by Hammer (*Leibrenten*) and also in the Ottoman budget of 1862-3, where they are mentioned as *rentes viagères*. The description is not strictly accurate, as although the *ashm* were referred to the state on the death of the holder, they could be sold, the state claiming a duty

of one year's income on each such transfer. According to Mustafa Nūrī Paşa, the *ashm* were introduced in the early years of the reign of Mustafa II, when assignats on the proceeds of the customs of Istanbul and other revenues were issued to creditors of the state and other applicants, with an annual income of 5%. 'Abd al-Rahmān Wefīk remarks that most of the proceeds were spent in the war with Russia beginning 1182/1768. The handling of the *ashm*, he says, was at first entrusted to a *muḥallī* [q.v.], and later transferred to a *muḥallī*. The records of the *Eshām-i Mubāhar*, *Kalām* in the Istanbul archives begin in the year 1189/1775, and end in 1281/1864. According to Djewdet the *ashm* were introduced by the finance official Peykī Hasan Efendi, who first became *baḡdefterdār* in 1192/1778, after having previously been *defter-emni*. The issue of *ashm* on provincial revenues is reported in 1198-1200/1783-5. The practice of issuing *ashm* was continued by later Sultans, and Mahmūd II used them to compensate the *timar*-holders dispossessed by the land reform of 1831.

The first regular bond issue in the European style dates from 1256/1840, when bearer treasury bonds were floated, carrying a high rate of interest. These bonds, which circulated like banknotes, were called *Kā'imat Eshām* and *Kā'imat Ma'ṭure-i Nahlīyye* (see *Kā'ima*).

In 1864, in the course of the *Tanzimat* [q.v.] reforms, the old *Eshām-i Muḥḥabbi* *Kalām* was abolished. Meanwhile, however, in 1274/1857, a new internal loan was floated under the name of *Eshām-i Mubāhar*, and was followed by a series of others—*Eshām-i Ḥadīd*, *Eshām-i Ḥalāṭīyye*, *Ḥalāṭīyye* etc. These mid-19th century loans are sometimes referred to collectively as *Eshām-i Ḥalāṭīyye*.

**Bibliography:** Mustafa Nūrī Paşa, *Neta'id al-Wakā'id*, III, 114-5; *Tarīkh-i Lutfi*, VI, 127; *Tarīkh-i Djewdet*, III, (1209 A.H.), 101-2, 148-9, 266; Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, II, London 1845, 71 f.; Uchiyama, *Letten*, vol. IV, *Turkey*, letter XIV; Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna, II, 161; [P. A.] Delin, *Essai sur l'histoire économique de la Turquie* (reprinted from *JA*), Paris 1865, 243, 262, 265, 294, 298, 301-2; A. Du Velay, *Essai sur l'histoire financière de la Turquie*, Paris 1873, 228-37, 153 ff.; 153 ff.; C. Morand, *Les Finances de la Turquie*, Paris 1902, 16 ff., 20 ff.; A. Heidhorn, *Les Finances ottomanes*, Vienna-Leipzig 1912; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Türk Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, I, Istanbul 1946, 352; 'Abd al-Rahmān Wefīk, *Tekmil Kā'imat*, I, Istanbul 1328, 104-6, 304, 336. (B. LEWIS)

**AŞĪĀR** see "eggril".

**AL-AŞĪĀRĪ, AL-MUBASHSHARA**, the ten, to whom Paradise was promised. The term does not occur in canonical *hadīth*, to which however the conception goes back. The traditions in question usually have the form: "Ten will be in Paradise", whereupon the names are enumerated. There are differences in the lists. Those who appear in the various forms extant are: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Alī, 'Abdullāh, Talha, Zayd, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Abū Wakkās, Sa'd b. Zayd. In some traditions Muhammad himself is put before these nine (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, bāb 8; Ahmad b. Hanbal, I, 187, 188 b.). In others Muhammad is absent and the tenth place is taken by Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Djarrāh (Tirmidhī, *Muḥṭaṣṣaf*, bāb 25; Ibn Sa'd, III, 279; Ahmad b. Hanbal, I, 193). Conceptions of this kind

owe their origin to the hierarchic tendencies that were prominent in the Muslim community, and that found expression even in the earliest creeds. **Bibliography:** Wessingh, *Handbook*; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ash'arī, al-Makki, *al-Risāl al-Nafīsa fi Maḥabib al-Ash'ar al-Aghara*, Cairo 1327.

(A. J. WERNICK)

**AL-AŞĪĀRĪ, ABŪ BURDA**, 'AMĪR b. Abū Mūsā, according to the accepted opinion one of the first *kādīs* of Kōfa. Apart from the fact that he was a son of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī [q.v.], little that can be considered authentic is known of his life and work. As a member of the Islamic aristocracy, it was only natural for him to be appointed as an official of the treasury (Ibn Sa'd); he also appears as one of the notables of Kōfa in 51/671, when he gave evidence against the followers of Ḥudr b. 'Adī [q.v.] (Tabarī, II, 131 f.; *Aghāni*, xvi, 77, and *Agāni* in 76/695-6, when he had banished to the Kharijī insurgent Shaḥīb b. Yazīd [q.v.] (Tabarī, II, 925). It is generally taken for granted that he was *kādī* of Kōfa, but even early sources give contradictory reports of the circumstances of his alleged appointment by al-Ḥajjāj [q.v.] (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, II, 1, 20 f.; Waki', II, 391 f.), of the persons of his predecessor (Shurayb, according to Ibn Sa'd, to K. al-Mubāhar, and in Waki', *ib. cit.*; 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Laylā, according to Waki', II, 407) and his successor (Sa'd b. Dhubayr, according to the *K. al-Mubāhar*; Sha'fī, according to Waki', II, 392, 413; his brother Abū Bakr, according to Waki', II, 414 f.), and of the length of his tenure of office (a very short time, according to Waki', II, 392; three years, according to Waki', II, 413; an unspecified time, between three and eight years, from 79/698-9 onwards, according to Tabarī, II, 1039, 1191). The accounts that Shurayb should have recommended Abū Burda and Sa'd b. Dhubayr as his joint successors to al-Ḥajjāj [q.v.] (Waki', II, 392), or that Mu'awīya on his deathbed in feeble should have advised his son Yazīd to avail himself of Abū Burda's good counsels (Ibn Sa'd, IV, 83; Tabarī, II, 299), are certainly apocryphal (cf. Lammens, *Mo'awia I<sup>er</sup>*, 339). Another anecdote (Waki', II, 409 f.; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Id al-Farid*, Būlak 1295, III, 140) makes Abū Burda peevishly complain to Mu'awīya of an attack by a poet. From Ibn Khallikān onwards, however, the person of Abū Burda is idealised. Abū Burda died in 105/721-2 or 104/721-2, at the age, it is stated, of more than 80 lunar years.

The traditional biography of Abū Burda reflects an absence of positive information, combined with the desire of fitting his name into the fictitious picture of the development of Islamic law and the administration of Islamic justice in the first century of the *hijra* which came to prevail. He played no part in the formation of the doctrine of the school of Kōfa, and he does not belong to its authorities. The one report on a judgement of his, on the ownership of household chattels, that occurs in an early source (Waki', II, 211), represents him as undecided among the secondary opinions held in the second century (cf. J. Schacht, *Origins*, 278 f.), and is therefore not authentic. In his time, the implications of the prohibition of *ribā* were only in the course of being worked out in 'Irāk rather than in Medina; the anecdotes which report that Abū Burda, having been sent by his father to Medina for study, was warned by his teacher there against the laxness of the 'Irākians in matters of *ribā*, must therefore be later, although they bear Egyptian *isālah* (on this phenomenon, see



Schacht, *Origins*, 130 f.). Abū Burda appeared as a transmitter of traditions because his name was used in "family circles", which were meant to authenticate sayings which his father was claimed to have related on the authority of the Prophet. The fact is attested already by Ibn Sa'd, but traditions themselves are quoted for the first time only by Waki'; some express repugnance for accepting government office (Waki', i, 63 ff.; ii, 22), an attitude which became fashionable only under the 'Abbasids (cf. E. Tyan, *Organisation judiciaire*, i, 387, n. 3; N. J. Coulson, in *JSOAS*, xviii, 1956, 211 ff.), another (Waki', i, 100) aims at enhancing the reputation of Abū Burda's father, Abū Mūsā, to the detriment of that of Mu'ādh b. Jabāl (it seems to presuppose the well-known tradition about the instructions of the Prophet to Mu'ādh, and could then be hardly earlier than the last third of the second century of the *hijra*); there are, finally, the alleged instructions of the caliph 'Umar to Abū Mūsā on the administration of justice, which appear for the first time in Waki' (i, 70 ff.); these are certainly not earlier than the third century of the *hijra* (cf. Tyan, i, 106 ff.). Abū Burda's reputation as a traditionist in his own right, with a respectable number of authorities from whom he was supposed to have heard traditions, had been established by the time of Abū Hātim al-Rāzī, and it continued to grow, together with the number of authorities from whom he was alleged to have transmitted, until Ibn Hajar could ascribe to Ibn Sa'd the statement that Abū Burda "was reliable and transmitted many traditions", although Ibn Sa'd said nothing of the sort.

A son of Abū Burda, Būlā, became *hādī* in Baṣra, and authentic, contemporary information on him is ample (cf. e.g., Waki', ii, 22 ff.; Pellat, *Le milieu basrien*, 288 ff.).

**Bibliography:** Ibn Sa'd, vi, 187; Muhammad b. Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, Haydarābād 1361/1942, 378; Ibn Kutayba, *K. al-Ma'arif*, ed. Wustenfeld, 136; Waki', *Aḥḥād al-Kuḥāt*, Cairo 1366/1947, ii, 408 ff.; al-Tabarī, index; Abū Hātim al-Rāzī, *K. al-Diyār*, ed. Taḥḥibī, Beirut, Haydarābād 1370, no. 1309; al-Aḡḡālī, *Tabaḥḥiṭ*; Ibn al-Qayyim, *K. al-Diyār*, Haydarābād 1323, no. 1437; Nawawī, *Taḥḥiṭ al-Aḥḥād*, s.v. 'Amir b. Abī Mūsā; Ḍiḥābī, *Taḥḥiṭ al-Huffāḥ*, Haydarābād 1333, i, no. 86; Yāhū, *Mu'ādh al-Diyār*, Haydarābād 1337, i, 220; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taḥḥiṭ*, viii, no. 95.

**AL-ASH'ARI, ABU 'L-HASAN**, 'Aḥḥād b. Isḥāq, theologian, and founder of the school of orthodox theology which bears his name. He is said to have been born in 260/873-4 at Baṣra, and was ninth in descent from the Companion Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ari. Little is known of his life. He was one of the best pupils of al-Diḡābī, head of the Mu'tazila in Baṣra, and might have succeeded him, had he not left the Mu'tazila for the party of the orthodox traditionists (*aḥl al-sunna*). This change or conversion is placed in 300/912-3. In later life he moved to Baghdad, and died there in 324/935-6.

The story of al-Ash'ari's conversion is told with many variations of detail. Three times during the month of Ramaḍān he is said to have seen Muhammad in a vision, and to have been commanded to adhere to true Tradition. He regarded this vision as authoritative, and, since the traditionists disapproved of rational argument (*balāḡ*), he gave up this also. In the third vision, however, he was told

to adhere to true Tradition but not to abandon *balāḡ*. Whatever be the truth of this story, it is a succinct account of al-Ash'ari's position. He abandoned the dogmatic themes of the Mu'tazila for those of opponents like Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, whom he professed to follow; but he defended his new beliefs by the type of rational argument which the Mu'tazila employed.

The chief points on which he opposed the doctrines of the Mu'tazila were:

(1) He held that God had eternal attributes such as knowledge, sight, speech, and that it was by these that He was knowing, seeing, speaking, whereas the Mu'tazila said that God had no attributes distinct from His essence.

(2) The Mu'tazila said that Qur'anic expressions, such as God's hand and face, must be interpreted to mean "grace", "essence" and so on. Al-Ash'ari, whilst agreeing that nothing corporeal was meant, held that they were real attributes whose precise nature was unknown. He took God's sitting on the throne in a similar way.

(3) Against the view of the Mu'tazila that the Qur'ān was created, al-Ash'ari maintained that it was God's speech, an eternal attribute, and therefore uncreated.

(4) In opposition to the view of the Mu'tazila that God could not literally be seen, since that would imply that He is corporeal and limited, al-Ash'ari held that the vision of God in the world to come is a reality, though we cannot understand the manner of it.

(5) In contrast to the emphasis of the Mu'tazila on the reality of choice in human activity, al-Ash'ari insisted on God's omnipotence; everything, good and evil, is willed by God, and He creates the acts of men by creating in them the power to do each act. (The doctrine of 'acquisition' or *kasb* [q.v.], which was in later times characteristic of the Ash'ariyya, is commonly attributed to al-Ash'ari himself, but, though he was familiar with the concept, he does not appear to have held the doctrine himself; cf. *JAS*, 1943, 246 f.).

(6) While the Mu'tazila with their doctrine of *al-manzila bayn al-manzilayn* held that any Muslim guilty of a serious sin was neither believer nor unbeliever, al-Ash'ari insisted that he remained a believer, but was liable to punishment in the Fire.

(7) Al-Ash'ari maintained the reality of various eschatological features, the Basin, the Bridge, the Balance and intercession by Muhammad, which were denied or rationally interpreted by the Mu'tazila. Al-Ash'ari was not the first to try to apply *balāḡ* or rational argument to the defence of orthodox doctrine; among those who had made similar attempts earlier was al-Hārith b. Asad al-Mubāshir. Al-Ash'ari, however, seems to have been the first to do this in a way acceptable to a large body of orthodox opinion. He had the advantage, too, of having an intimate and detailed knowledge of the views of the Mu'tazila (as is shown by his descriptive work, *Makhlāt al-Islāmiyya*, Istanbul, 1929; cf. R. Strothmann, in *Islam*, xix, 193-242). His many followers came to be known as the Ash'ariyya [q.v.] or Ash'aris, though they mostly deviated from him on some points.

To a European reader his argumentation differs little at first sight from that of the ultra-conservative followers of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, since many of his proofs depend on the interpretation of Qur'ān and Tradition (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge, 1932, 91). This, however, was because his opponents also, including even the Mu'tazila,

used proofs of this sort, and he was always arguing *ad hominem*. Yet when opponents would admit a purely rational premise, al-Ash'ari had no hesitation in using it to refute them. Once the permissibility of such arguments was established, at least for many theologians, it was possible for the Ash'ariyya to develop this side of his method until in later centuries theology became thoroughly intellectualistic. This, however, was far removed from the temper of al-Ash'ari himself.

**Bibliography:** *Al-Luma'* and *Riḍāl al-Faḥḥān al-Khaḥḥ* ft. 'Im al-Kalām, ed. and tr. by R. C. McCarthy, Beirut 1953. *The Theology of al-Ash'ari*, al-Jabān, Hyderabad 1321, etc. and Cairo 1348, tr. by W. C. Klein, New Haven 1940 (cf. W. Thomson in *MW*, xxxi, 242-60); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahyīn Kadhīb al-Mu'tazila*, Damascus 1347 (summarised in McCarthy, op. cit., and A. F. Mehren in *Travaux de 3<sup>e</sup> Internat. Congrès de Orientalists*, ii, 167-319); W. Spitta, *Zur Geschichte . . . al-Ash'ari's*, Leipzig 1876; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 112-32; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, New York 1903; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London 1947, 166-74, with further references; W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam*, London 1948, 135-50; L. Gardet et M. M. Anawati, *Introduction à la Théologie Musulmane*, Paris 1948, 52-60; J. Schacht, in *Studia Islamica*, i, 33 ff. (W. Montgomery Watt).

**AL-ASH'ARI, ABU MŪSĀ**, Ibn Kaṣṣ, Companion of the Prophet and military leader. Born about 614 A.D., Abū Mūsā, a native of the Yemen, left South Arabia by sea with several of his brothers and members of his tribe (the Ash'ar) and joined Muhammad at Khaybar at the time of the famous expedition against the Jews of that oasis (7/628) to swear allegiance to him (the information given in some sources [for example Ibn Ḥajar, *Taḥḥiṭ*, ii, 126] according to which he was one of the emigrants who went to Abyssinia, is therefore most unlikely to be authentic; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Iḥḥād*, Haydarābād 1318, 392, no. 1622; 678-79, no. 678). In 6/630 he took part in the battle of Hunayn (al-Tabarī, i, 1667); in 10/632-3 he was sent to the Yemen with Mu'ādh b. Jabāl to spread Islam there and was one of the lieutenants of Muhammad and then of Abū Bakr in that region. 'Umar appointed him governor of Baṣra when he recalled al-Mughira b. Shu'ba [q.v.] from that post in 17/638 (al-Tabarī, i, 259); see also 23/688). At the request of the inhabitants of Kūfa, 'Umar appointed him governor of that town in 22/643-4, but after resigning him in the office for a few months, until the reappointment of al-Mughira (al-Tabarī, i, 2678 f.), he sent him back to Baṣra.

As governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā organised and carried out the occupation of Khuziṣṭān (17-21/638-42), of which he must be considered the conqueror (Caetani, *Annali*, 16 A.H., para. 205). The capital Sīk al-Ahwāz (cf. simply al-Ahwāz) fell into his hands as early as 17/638, but the campaign continued and offered many difficulties, for the numerous well fortified towns of the region had to be subdued one after the other, some of them having to be retaken after 21/642, the date of the fall of the second capital of Khuziṣṭān, Tustar (= Shustar or Shahrut). Abū Mūsā also took part in the conquest of Mesopotamia (end of 18-20/639-41), uniting his forces with those of 'Uyād b. Ghannam, and in the campaign on the Iranian plateau, where he is

mentioned as being present at the battle of Nihāwand; the occupation of several towns is ascribed to him (al-Dinawari, *Kunūn*, Bāḥḥān, etc.).

In 23/643-4, in a bloody but indecisive battle, he defeated numerous Kurdish tribes which had gathered with hostile intentions at Bayrūḥ (in the province of al-Ahwāz) and had attracted many of the inhabitants of the territory to their ranks; he laid siege to the town, where the survivors of the insurgents had found shelter, and took it after having subdued the rest of the country. It was on account of the distribution of the booty taken on this occasion that an accusation was made to the Caliph against him, to whom he had to justify his conduct (al-Tabarī, i, 2708-13). After this success, he advanced into Fars (end of 23/644) and, in several expeditions, gave support to 'Uḡaymīr b. Abī 'L-Ḥāḥ, who had begun the conquest of this province from Bahrayn and 'Uḡaymīr (al-Balāḥūrī, *Futūḥ*, 387).

There is an episode showing that discontent against Abū Mūsā was already threatening in 26/646-7 (al-Tabarī, i, 2829, where a movement of insubordination amongst his troops is reported under the year 29, which in fact took place in 26; Caetani, *Annali*, 26 A.H. para. 38). But the most serious protest against the abuses committed by him was brought to Medina by a delegation of Baṣrans in 29/649-50 (al-Tabarī, i, 2830), whereupon the Caliph 'Uḡaymīr decided to replace him at Baṣra by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir. However Abū Mūsā had won the respect of the inhabitants of Kūfa to such an extent, that they demanded his reappointment, when they drove out the governor Sa'd b. al-'As in 34/654-5 (al-Tabarī, i, 2930; al-Aḡḡālī, vi, 31), and he was governor of the town at the time of 'Uḡaymīr's assassination. Upon the election of 'Alī, Abū Mūsā took the oath of allegiance to him in the name of the Kūfians (al-Tabarī, i, 3089; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 296 etc.), retaining his office, when the other governors of 'Uḡaymīr were dismissed (al-Ya'qūbī, ii, 208); but when war broke out between 'Alī and 'Āḥḥa, Talha and al-Zubayr, he called on his subjects to remain neutral (al-Tabarī, i, 3139; al-Dinawari, 133 ff., etc.), and, in spite of pressure, did not relinquish this attitude; as a result the partition of 'Alī expelled him from the town at the first opportunity (al-Tabarī, i, 3145-9, 3152-4) and the Caliph wrote him a letter of dismissal couched in the severest terms (al-Tabarī, i, 3173; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 308; cf. al-Ya'qūbī, ii, 220); yet a few months later he granted him *amān* (Nasr b. Mu'ādh al-Munkarī, *Waṣṭat Siffin*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muhammad Hāriri, Cairo 1395, 572; al-Tabarī, i, 3173).

Abū Mūsā was one of the two arbitrators appointed at Siffin in 37/657 to settle the dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya and more exactly the arbitrator nominated to represent 'Alī, whose supporters had obliged him to choose someone neutral, so certain were they that the decision would be in their favour (for the details of the arbitration, see 'Alī b. Abī Talḥa). After the meeting at Aḡḥrub, Abū Mūsā withdrew to Mecca, but when Mu'āwiya sent Busr b. Abī Artāt to occupy the holy cities (40/660), he was afraid of his vengeance, for at Aḡḥrub he had opposed his election to the Caliphate, and according to some sources, he took to flight; Busr reassured him (see Caetani, *Annali*, 27 A.H., para. 8, note 3 for the different versions of this episode). After that Abū Mūsā took no further part in politics, as is shown by the uncertainty of the date of his death (47, 48, 50, 52, 53; 42 is the most probable date).



Abü Müsä was very highly thought of for his recitation of the Kor'ân and the prayers, for he had a pleasant voice (Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, ii, 106), but above all his name continues to be connected with kuranic studies, for he established a *majlis* which cultivated the composition of the vulgate of 'Ughlan (see Ch. Pellat, *Mûsen barien*, 73 ff.).

**Bibliography:** All the chroniclers and historians of early Islam, and all the collections of biographies of early personalities speak of Abü Müsä (the main ones have been indicated in the body of this article). Numerous quotations are to be found in Cactani, *Chronographia islamica*, 42 A.H., 479; idem, *Annali*, Indices and vols. vii-x, *passim*; Ibn Abi 'U-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Baldha*, Cairo 1339, iii, 287-9, 291, 293 f., iv, 199 f., 237 f. On the conquest of Khuzistan: *Wahhausen, f., Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1890, 94-113.

(L. VECZEA VACSELIUS)

**ASH'ARIYYA**, a theological school, the followers of Abü 'U-Hasan al-Ash'ari (q.v.), sometimes also called Ash'arîya. (The history of the school has been little studied, and some of the statements in this article must be regarded as provisional.)

**External history.** During the last two decades of his life al-Ash'ari attracted a number of disciples, and this school was founded. The doctrinal position of the new school was open to attack from several quarters. Apart from members of the Mu'tazila, certain groups of orthodox theologians attacked them. To the Hanbalis [q.v.] their use of rational arguments was an objectionable innovation. On the other hand, to the Mâturidiyya [q.v.], who also were defending orthodoxy by rational methods, some of their positions seemed too conservative, and the criticism made by an early member of that school in *Sharh al-Fikh al-Akbar* ascribed to al-Mâturidi. Despite such opposition the Ash'ariyya apparently became the dominant school in the Arabic-speaking parts of the 'Abbasid caliphate (and perhaps also in Khurâsan). In general they were in alliance with the legal school of al-Shâfi'i (though al-Ash'ari's own school of religious law is not clear), while their rivals, the Mâturidiyya, were almost invariably Hanafis. Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Ash'ariyya were persecuted by the Buwayhid sultans, who favoured a combination of the views of the Mu'tazila and Shî'a. But with the coming of the Saljûqs the tables were turned, and the Ash'ariyya received official support, especially from the great saint Nizâm al-Dîn. In return they gave intellectual support to the caliphate against the Fâtimids of Cairo. From this time on, until perhaps the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the teaching of the Ash'ariyya was almost identical with orthodoxy, and in a sense it has remained so until the present time. The Hanbali reaction centring in Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1327) was of limited influence. From about the time of the 9th/15th century, the Ash'ariyya were almost identical with Sunnism (d. 893/1490), however, though al-Ash'ari and the great names of his school were honored and accepted, the leading theologians no longer regarded themselves as belonging to the Ash'ariyya, and were in fact eclectic.

**Important members of the Ash'ariyya** (see the individual articles): al-Bâkhillân (d. 403/1013), Ibn Fûrak (Abü 'Abd al-Muhammad b. al-Hasan) (d. 406/1015), al-Ishârî (d. 418/1027), al-Baghaddî (Abd al-Râhîm b. Thâhir) (d. 429/1037-8), al-Samnânî (d. 444/1052), al-Djuywaynî Imâm al-Haramayn (d. 478/1085-6), al-Ghazâlî (Abü Hâmid Muhammad) (d. 505/1111), Muhammad b. Tûmarî

(d.c. 525/1030), al-Shahrastânî (d. 548/1153), Fakhr al-Dîn al-Râzî (d. 606/1210), al-Ijî (d. 736/1335), al-Djûrjânî (d. 816/1412).

**Internal evolution.** Little is known about the views of the Ash'ariyya in the half-century after the founder's death. al-Bâkhillân is the first person whose work is extant and accessible, and by his time it is noteworthy that the Ash'ariyya are making use of certain conceptions of the Mu'tazila (notably Abü Hâshim's doctrine of the *kalî*), and have perhaps been influenced by the criticisms of the Mâturidiyya. One point on which the school was beginning to differ from al-Ash'ari himself was in the interpretation of the corporeal terms applied to God, such as hands, face and sitting on the throne. Al-Ash'ari had said these were to be taken neither literally nor metaphorically but *bî-hâdî hayî*, "without asking how"; but al-Baghaddî and al-Djuywaynî interpreted "hand" metaphorically as "power", and "face" as "essence" or "existence"; and the attitude of most of the later Ash'ariyya was similar (cf. Montgomery Watt, *Some Muslim Discussions of Anthropomorphism*, in *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, xlii, 2-10). Again, while al-Ash'ari had insisted that man's acquiring (*kash*) of grace was created, thus emphasizing God's omnipotence at the expense of man's responsibility, al-Djuywaynî was able to put forward the view that the doctrine of the Ash'ariyya was *a via media*.

Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century there was a change in method. Ibn Khaldûn (tr. de Slane, iii, 61) speaks of al-Ghazâlî as the first of the "moderns", doubtless because of his enthusiasm for the Aristotelian syllogism, but there are already in al-Djuywaynî traces of methodological advance (cf. Gardet and Anawati, op. cit. infra, 72). It was al-Ghazâlî, however, who steeped himself in the doctrines of Ibn Sînâ and others of the *philosophers* until he could attack them on their own ground with devastating success. Little more was heard of the *philosophers*, but from this time onward their Aristotelian logic and much of their Neoplatonic metaphysics was incorporated in the teaching of the Ash'ariyya. This teaching rapidly became intellectualised in a bad sense, sometimes even views of doubtful orthodoxy were taken over, and the philosophical prolegomena occupied more space and attention than the strictly theological doctrines (notably in al-Ijî and his commentator al-Djûrjânî). In the end the school may be said to disappear in a blaze of philosophy.

**Bibliography:** See also bibliographies for al-Ash'ari and individual members of the school; Ibn 'As'kir, *Tawhîd Kadhib al-Mufarrî*, Damascus 1347, [for trs. by McCarthy and Mehren v. art. al-Ash'ari]; M. Schreiner, *Zur Geschichte des A'oritentums*, in *Actes du 8<sup>e</sup> Congr. des Orient.*, i, 4, 79 ff.; Carra de Vaux, *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris 1923, iv, 133-91; L. Gardet and M. M. Anawati, *Introduction à la Théologie Musulmane*, Paris 1945, esp. 52-76.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**AL-ASH'ATH**, ABÜ, MUHAMMAD MA'ÛKARIB B. KAYS B. MA'ÛKARIB, of the clan of al-Hâdîd b. Mu'âwiya, a chief of Kinda in Hadramawt. The nickname, by which he is most commonly known, means "with unbent or disolevelled hair"; he also called himself *al-Shâhîd*, "the witness", "the scar-faced", and *U'ay al-Nâr*, said to be a South-Arabian term for "traitor". In earlier life he led an expedition against the tribe of Murâd, who had murdered his father, but was taken prisoner and

had to pay 3000 camels for his ransom. In 106/31 he was leader of the delegation (*wa'd*) which offered the submission of a section of Kinda to the Prophet at al-Madina. It was arranged that his sister Kayla should be married to Muhammad, but he died before she arrived in al-Madina. After Muhammad's death (11/632) al-Ash'ath rose in revolt with his clan and was besieged by Mun troops in the castle of al-Nadjar; according to the legend he surrendered the castle on condition of immunity for himself and nine others, but omitted to include his own name in the document of surrender, and barely escaped execution. He was, however, sent to al-Madina, where Abü Bakr not only pardoned him but married him to his own sister 'Umm Farwa or Kucayba (according to other reports his marriage had taken place already at the time of the delegation to Muhammad). He took part in the wars in Syria and lost the sight of an eye at the battle of the Yarmûk; he and his tribesmen were sent thereafter by Abü 'Ubayda to join Sa'd b. Abi Wakkâs at Kaddisiyya, and he commanded one of the Arab forces which occupied western Iraq. He settled in Kûfa as chief of the Kindite sector, and appears to have taken part in the expedition to Aḡharbâjdân in 26/646-7. At the battle of Siffin he played a leading part both in the fighting and in the negotiations, and he represented as having forced 'Alî to accept the principle of arbitration and to agree to the selection of Abü Müsä on the Iraqi side (see Sa'd b. al-ʿAḡḡ, *Pro-Sa'īte tradition* accordingly represents him and his whole house as inveterate traitors. He died in Kûfa during the government of al-Hasan b. 'Alî (40/661), to whom one of his daughters was married. For his descendants see *IBN AL-ASH'ATH*.

**Bibliography:** I. Cactani, *Chronographia Islamica*, A.H. 40, 139; Ibn Sa'd, vi, 13-14; Muhammad b. Hâshim, *al-Muḡharib*, Index; Na'ir b. Mu'âdh, *Was'at Siffin* (Cairo 1305), *passim*; general histories of the Caliphate. (H. RECKENDORF \*)

**AL-ASH'DAK** [see 'AMR B. SA'ID].

**(AL-)ASH'DJĀ' B. 'AMR AL-SULAMĪ**, Abū 'U-Walid, Arab poet of the end of the 2nd/8th century. An orphan, he settled at an early age at Bagra with his mother, and, when he showed signs of talent, the Kayates of the town who, since the death of Baghrār b. Burd (a *ma'rad* of the Banū 'Ukayl) had not possessed any poet of eminence, adopted him and fabricated for him a Kayate genealogy. His formative period at an end, he went to al-Rakka to Dja'far b. Yaqd al-Harmakî, who presented him to al-Raghd, and, from then on, he became the panegyrist of the caliph and his entourage (Barmakids, al-Yasim b. al-Raghd, al-Anin, al-Fadl b. al-Rabi', Muhammad b. Manṣûr b. Ziyâd and others). The greater part of his surviving work consists of panegyrics which were assured of the widest possible circulation through the agency of the Kayates of Bagra; there are also a few funeral orations, notably Anawati, *Introduction à la Théologie Musulmane*, Paris 1945, esp. 52-76.

**Bibliography:** Sûll, K., *al-Awâkî*, ed. by J. H. Dunne, Cairo 1934, i, 74-137, which reproduces an important part of the poet's work; *Djâhiz*, *Bayân*, ed. by Sandilî, iii, 194-5; Ibn al-Mu'taz, *Tabaqat*, CMS, N.S. 194-9; Abü Tammâm, *Harat*, ed. by al-Shâhîd, ii, 19-20; Abü 'Ubayd, *al-Aḡḡ*, Index; Na'ir b. Mu'âdh, *Was'at Siffin*, 271, 30-31; Marrubî, *Muḡharib*, 295; *Ta'rikh Baghdâd*, vii, 45; Ibn 'As'kir, iii, 50-53; Rûsâ, *ʿAḡr al-Ma'mûn*, ii, 419-22; Beckelmann, S. I, 119. (CH. PELLAT)

**'ASHK**, an Arabic word meaning lover, frequently in the mystical sense. Among the Anatolians and Aḡharbâjdânî Turks, from the late 9th/15th or 10th/16th century, it is used of a class of wandering poet-mistress, who sang and recited at public gatherings. Their repertory included religious and erotic songs, elegies and heroic narratives. At first they followed the syllabic prosody of the popular poets, but later were subjected to Persian influence, both directly and through the Persian-influenced Turkish Sôfi poets. Kôprülü has argued that they represent a social element distinct alike from the popular poets, the court poets, and the *madrasa* or convent-educated religious poets, and are the successors of the earlier Turkish bards known as *oḡas* [q.v.]. They are especially numerous in the 17th century, when we find them among the dervish orders, the Janissaries, and other branches of the armed forces. The most famous among them are Gewher and 'Ashk 'Omër.

**Bibliography:** Kôprülü, Mehmed Fu'ad (= M. F. Kôprülü), *Türk Sazâzârlar ve mûnir ve tîhîkâr*, i-v, İstanbul 1929-30; idem, *Türk Edebiyatında 6k Mutasavvıflar*, İstanbul 1918, 390-2; M. K. Kôprülü, *Türk Sazâzârları antolojisi*, i-ii, İstanbul 1939-40; numerous other writings by M. F. Kôprülü on this subject will be found listed in *Faust Kôprülü Araştırmaları*, İstanbul 1953, xxviii. For an account of the impression made on a young Turk in the 19th century by the 'Ashk poets, see the autobiography of Ziyâ Paḡba, translated in Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, v, 46, 51-2. A context between 'Ashks in Muḡla is described by H. J. van Lennep, *Travels in little-known parts of Asia Minor*, i, New York 1879, 253-4. See further H. Rûsâ, *Orientalia*, i, İstanbul *Mûteallımları*, i, İstanbul 1933, 3 ff. (*Der Sängerwelt der*) (B. LEWIS)

**'ASHK**, MUHAMMAD B. 'UḤMÂN B. BAYRİZ, Turkish cosmographer, born about 964/1553 in Trebizond, the son of a teacher at the Koran elementary school of the Khâtuniyya mosque. At the age of 20, he left his native town to see the world. The geographical part of his writings (mentioned below), contains references to his travels covering Anatolia and Rumelia. He did, for instance, take part in 'Uḡmân Pasha's (died 993/1585) campaign in the Caucasus and southern Russia in the years 989-992/1581-1584. After 994/1585, he spent several years in Salencia, whence he participated—in 1002-1003/1593-1594—in Kodja Sinân Pasha's (died 1004/1596) Hungarian campaign. In 1005/1596, he settled in Damascus, where he completed the writing of his cosmographic work in Ramadan 1006/April-May 1598. The date of his death is not known.

Muhammad 'Ashk's work, *Mandîr al-ʿavâsim* is composed of two parts. Part I begins with the creation of the world and describes the 'upper' world, and something of the 'lower', i.e. the stars, paradise and its inhabitants, and hell and its inhabitants. Part II treats the 'lower' world in 18 chapters. Chapters 1 to 12 are strictly geographical, and 13 to 18 are of a more general nature. In a final chapter, he speaks of the duration and the end of the world. The work is a vast compilation of the reports of the older Arabic and Persian cosmographers, geographers and natural scientists. It is clearly arranged under headings and written in Turkish, giving precise references to the source in every case. In the geographical part, he mentions in addition—again with references—what the personal view of each author on individual objects was. There are const-







closed at the far end by a wall. Two side passages connect this entrance-hall with the rest of the building. This entrance shows a clear similarity to that of the Fātimid palace of al-Ḳāʾim recently excavated at Mahdiyya (see M. S. Zbars, in *JA*, 1956, 79-93).

3. The site of another fortified town faces Yaghr and the castle, from which it is separated by a distance of two and a half km, and a valley. This is Benta (Banya), which covers an area sloping down towards the north of Kat Tsumali. Near the bottom of the slope is a steep escarpment, the escarpment which borders the valley and the continuation of it extends towards the Kat, against which the town rested. At the foot of this rocky eminence there used to be a dungeon. Three gates are set in the rampart. The ground is covered by numerous ruins. Of these the most easily identifiable is the mosque. The prayer chamber, which is preserved in the courtyard, had seven naves and four bays. Several concrete springs discharge themselves in the town.

It is possible to regard these three sites in the same region as marking three phases in the history of the Zīdī Sanjāhiya, and to see in them three successive foundations. Manrah, Bīst al-Sūltān is not a town, but a refuge and an observation post of the Sanjāhiya, and probably preceded the founding of a real city. The affinity between the neighbouring castle of Yağlır and the palace of Mahdiyya permits the identification of the castle and the town with the foundation of Zīdī (324/934), authorised by al-Kā'im and carried out with the collaboration of an Hishmīyan architect.

Denia, on the other hand, probably represents the city of Bulukkin (364/974), of which al-Bakrī gives such a remarkably exact description.

**ASHKĀBĀD** (properly **ʿASHKĀBĀD**; according to the Turkish pronunciation of the Arab word **ʿAshk**, "love", called by the Russians since 1924 **Ashkhabad**, previously till 1921 **Ashkhabad** 1921-3 **Bulduzack**)

**ASHKABAD** (properly **ʿASHKABAD**; according to the Turkish pronunciation of the Arab word **ʿashq**, 'love', called by the Russians since 1924 **Ashkhabad**, previously till 1921 **Ashkabad**, 1921-4 **Poltorka**) (pop. 152,000), the capital of the SSR of Turkmenia, situated 120 km. S. of Ashgabat. It lies on the border of the KUM and developed out of a Turcoman *auil* with 1851, time of the Russ. conquest) 300 tents. Already in the year 1897 it had, as capital of the district of Transcaspia (Zakaspiskaya Oblast'), 19,125 inhabitants, chiefly merchants and officials. The city developed rapidly, and possessed already before 1917 a considerable library and a museum of interest for the ethnology of the Turkmen and a library (with some Persian manuscripts). After 1917 in spite of the difficulty of maintaining a sufficient water supply the city became an important industrial centre in this district (woven wares, silk carpets, foodstuffs, building materials), possessing a large number of enterprises. In 1950 60,000 *ʿashkabadis* (i.e. *ʿashkabadis*) lived there. 1950 60,000. 1950 60,000. 1950 60,000.

Formerly an unimportant town named Khaykūra, the new town of Ashraf dates from its foundation by Shāh 'Abbas I in 1592/1612-3. Intended by 'Abbas to be the group of large fortresses surrounding the royal palace and scattered along the Sāī road but eventually the royal residences extended over a considerable area, and comprised six separate establishments, each with its gardens. According to Fraser five of these, the Bāgh-i 'Imrān, the Bāgh-i Hāshimī, the Bāgh-i 'Alī, the Bāgh-i Nāqūshah, the Hāram, the Khavāh, and the Bāgh-i Tappa, were enclosed by one wall, while the sixth, the 'Imrān-i Chaghma, lay outside. Spacious accommodation was provided for guests and travellers. Great skill was employed in the construction of the walls, which were made of stone blocks of stone and marble being brought from Bākd, and joined by iron clamps cemented with Bādo.

An eminent scholar, theologian and *suhr*, he was a very busy life, teaching, preaching, writing, lecturing, and making occasional journeys to other parts of the country. He was a prolific writer, his works exceed one hundred in number. These are mostly on the subjects of *fiqh*, *hadith*, *tasawwuf*, *akhlak* and *usul al-fiqh*. His first work, a commentary entitled "*Zir-i-Bam*", was written while he was still a student; he lost it in *Al-Bahar-i-Nawaid*, published in 1355/1935-6. His most famous works are: 1) *Bayan al-Kutub*, a commentary of the *Kutub*, in 12 vols. in Urdu, completed in 24 years and first published at Delhi in 1334/1916-7. A revised and enlarged edition was published at Thana Bhowan, in 1352/1934-5 at Delhi in 1349-7. Since then several editions have appeared; 2) *Bilghat Zumar*, 10 vols., also appeared;



Urdu, a compendium of Islamic teachings meant for women. The 13th vol. '*Naḥḥi Gawhar*' for men was added much later. It has been frequently printed in India and Pakistan and is still in great demand. A collection of his *fatāwā* in 8 vols., compiled posthumously, is in process of publication.

**Bibliography:** 'Asḥraf al-Basim, *Asḥraf al-Sa'adīn*, 4 vols. 1-40, Lucknow 1357/1935, is called *Ḥikmat al-Sa'adīn*, (which also contains a full list of his works written up to the year 1354/1933-6), appeared in 1362/1943, also from Lucknow; 'Abd al-Majdī Daryābādī, *Ḥikmat al-Ummad*, A'zamgarh, 1371/1951; 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān, *Sirat al-Asḥraf*, Multan 1375/1956; *Al-Islām*, (Karachi) July 1953, 56; 'Abd al-Bāḥ Nāḍī, *Ḥikmat al-Muḥaddidīn*, Lucknow 1950; idem, *Tadhīrat Taṣawwuf o-Sulḥā*, Lucknow 1949; idem, *Tadhīrat Taṣawwuf o-Tahḥīḥ*, Lucknow 1943; idem, *Tadhīrat Ma'āzīyyah*, Lucknow 1956; Sulaymān Naḍwī, *Yādī Raḥṭān*, Karachi 1955, 283-291; Ghulām Muḥammad, *Hayāt al-Asḥraf*, Karachi 1951. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**ASHRAF 'ALI KHĀN**, foster-brother of Ahmad Shāh, King of Delhi (1161/1748-1167/1754) was born in Delhi c. 1140/1727. His father Mirzā 'Alī Khān "Nakir" was a courier of Muḥammad Shāh (c. 1703). His uncle Irādī Khān was the *nāẓim* of Murshidābād during the reign of Ahmad Shāh. A composer of poetry in both Urdu and Persian, he wrote under the pen-name of a "Fayyāḥ" (Fayyāḥ) and enjoyed the title of "Zaḥf al-Mulk Kōḥlūkh Khān Bahādur", conferred on him by Ahmad Shāh.

He lived in Delhi till the dethronement of Ahmad Shāh in 1167/1754, when he left for Mirzā Murshidābād. He seems to have been unfavourably received by his uncle and after a brief stay with him returned to Delhi. In 1174/1761 when the Durranis again attacked India he left Delhi for good and went to Fayyābād. He, however, soon fell out with his patron Shujā' al-Dawla (q.v.) and left for 'Aḥmādābād (Patna) where he was well received by Rājā Shītib Shāh, Governor of Bengal and Bihar and a great patron of learning. Offended by an unkind remark of Shītib Shāh he decided to leave him. But soon after he somehow came into contact with officials of the East India Company and appears to have entered their service. Thereafter he led a comfortable life and died at 'Aḥmādābād in 1186/1772-3.

A good poet, his compositions are, however, marred by biting satire and lampoon. His Urdu and Persian *divān* was published at Karaḥ in 1950.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**ASHRAF DJAHANGIR** b. S. Muḥammad Irādīn was born in 688/1289 at al-Simnān (Khurāsān), the principality of his father. His mother, Khādīja, was a granddaughter of al-Imam Yaṣaf (q.v.). A *hāfi* of the Qur'ān, with its seven readings, he completed his education at the age of 14. His love for mysticism took him to 'Alī' al-Dawla al-Simnānī (q.v.), a leading *shāfi* of his days, whose company he frequented. Succeeding his father, on the latter's death in 705/1305-6, to the principality he soon abdicated in favour of his brother Muḥammad and set out for India having been told to do so in a dream. Passing through Mā warā' al-Nahr, he visited Baghdad and Samarkand and then left for Uṭṭh (q.v.) where he met Djalāl al-Dīn al-Bukhārī, surnamed Djahānīyān Djahān Gashī (q.v.). After a long series of travels covering Delhi, several places in the Indo-Gangetic plain, Bihār and Bengal, including Sunārīyān, near Dacca, he finally settled at Rūhābād (an old name for Kāḥawḥa, a village 52 miles from Fayyābād), where he died on 27 Muharram 808/July 6, 1405 and was buried in his own *khanqāh*.

A short time after having settled at Kāḥawḥa he again left on his global travels, this time visiting Mecca (twice), al-Madīna, Karbalā', al-Najaf, Turkey, Damascus, Baghdad, Kāḥān, al-Simnān, Meshed, Ghazna and Kabul, returning to Rūhābād via Mullān, Pākpatan and Delhi. On his first voyage to Mecca he was accompanied by Badr al-Dīn Shāh Maḍār (q.v.).

The statement in the *Lata'if al-Asḥraf* (II, 105-6) that Sulṭān Irādīn Shāhī (804/1401-848/1444) was introduced to him by Kādī Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī early on his arrival in India is apparently wrong as the Sulṭān succeeded to the throne in 804/1402 while the saint died four years later in 808/1405. The meeting, therefore, must have taken place during the closing years of the life of al-Asḥraf.

He is the author of *Daḥḥar al-Murād* and *Mahābāt al-Asḥraf*, the latter is highly spoken of by 'Abd al-Hakī Dīhlawī (q.v.). His shrine is visited, in thousands, by persons possessed and patients suffering from mental derangement in the hope of obtaining a cure.

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**ASHRAF OGHULLARI**, march-wardens of the Salḡūks in Anatolia during the second half of the 13th century. Members of a Turkoman tribe which had been settled by the Anatolian Salḡūk state on its western frontiers, they embellished the town of

Gurgurum, and subsequently Beyşehir, and established a principality in that region.

The first of the family who is known to us is the Salḡūk amir Ashraf-oghlu Sayf al-Dīn Sulaymān Bey, who played an important part during the reigns of Ghīyāṭ al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III and Ghīyāṭ al-Dīn Mas'ūd II. After the conquest of the town of Rūhābād, had put Kaykhusraw III to death, they ordered Mas'ūd II to rule in his stead (Rah'ī I 682/June 1283), but Kaykhusraw's mother, who was at Konya, proclaimed his sons as his successors, with the approval of the Ilkhānids, thus declaring herself against Mas'ūd. She invited the Ashrafid Sulaymān Bey to Konya and appointed him regent for these infant sovereigns (Rah'ī I 684/14 May 1285). With assistance from the Mongols, Mas'ūd II, who was at Kayseri, disposed of the two children and seized power, whereupon Sulaymān Bey withdrew to Beyşehir. Subsequently (687/1288) he made submission to Mas'ūd and came to Konya.

Mas'ūd II wished to have his brother Siyāvūsh whom he regarded as a rival, placed under restraint. He therefore sent him to Beyşehir, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing back the Ashrafid's daughter as a bride for himself. By prior arrangement the Ashrafid arrested and imprisoned Siyāvūsh, but was compelled to release him and send him to Konya by the threats of the Karamānid Günerī Bey, who was favourably disposed towards Siyāvūsh (Sulḡūkname, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Persian MS. no. 1533).

By this time the Salḡūk state had lost its authority, and Sulaymān Bey was in perpetual conflict, sometimes with his neighbours and sometimes with the Salḡūk governors: at one point he was even in danger of falling into the hands of the Karamānid, who was attacking Beyşehir, but he later gained the victory. He also suffered considerably at this period from assaults on this territory by the Ilkhānid Gaykhāṭā.

Sayf al-Dīn Sulaymān Bey died on Monday 2 Muharram 702/27 August 1302, and was buried in the mausoleum he had had constructed a year before beside his mosque in Beyşehir. Sulaymān had embellished Beyşehir, which he called Sulaymānşehir, with a number of foundations, and had repaired the fortress, placing his inscription over the fortress gate in 689/1290. He built his mosque, a distinguished work of art, in 696/1296, and his mausoleum in 1302. In his *shakfiyya* he appointed his sons Muḥammad and Ashraf as *mudallim* of these foundations (Khālī Edhem, *Anadoluda İslāmî Emlaklar*, *TEDEM* year 5, 139-41; Yusuf Akçurt, *Beyşehir hitabeleri ve Eşref oğulları camii ve türbesi*).

He was succeeded by his elder son Muḥabir al-Dīn Muḥammad Bey, who added the towns of Akşehir and Bolvadın to his domains. The Ashrafid anclir Dīyā' al-Dīn Shihābī held the market mosque in Akşehir in 720/1320 (I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya*, II, 26). When the anclir Çobān, the Ilkhānid governor of Ashrafid among the Anatolian beys who came to offer him their obedience (*Musammarat al-Aḥḥār*, 311), this must have been Muḥabir al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Muḥammad Bey died after 1320 and was succeeded by his son Sulaymān II, whose reign however was of short duration. The influence of the Ilkhānids in Anatolia having been so weak, Demirtaş, the anclir Çobān, was appointed governor of Anatolia. In his efforts to subdue the Anatolian beys, who had grown accustomed to acting independently and rebelliously, he first took Konya (1320), which had

come under Karamānid control. A few years later he marched on Beyşehir, seized Sulaymān Bey, killed him, and threw his corpse into the Beyşehir lake (the *Mas'ūd al-Aḥrār* records that he was tortured to death: his eyes were put out, his nose and ears cut off, and his severed testicles were hung about his neck) on 12 Dhu 'l-Kāda 726/9 October 1326 (this is the date shown in the Paris MS of the *Sulḡūkname*; the *Tahwīz al-Nadīm* gives the year of his death as 722/1322-3).

With the murder of Sulaymān II the principality of the Ashrafids came to an end. After Demirtaş's time, their territories fell into the hands partly of the Hamānids, partly of the Karamānids. No coins of the Ashrafids have yet come to light, but it is possible that coins of Muḥammad Bey exist.

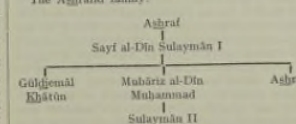
In his *Mas'ūd al-Aḥrār*, Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umārī says that the Ashrafids possessed almost 70,000 cavalry, 60 towns, and 150 villages.

It is evident from the titles used by Sayf al-Dīn Sulaymān Bey in his inscription which he placed over the gate of the fortress of Beyşehir (which he called Sulaymānşehir) in Dīyāḥidā 1 689/May 1290 (*Amir al-Mu'ayyad*), and on his other inscriptions (*Amir al-Aḥrār*; see Hall Ethem and Yusuf Akçurt) that he was an amir of the Salḡūks.

The mosque of Sulaymān Bey, its minbar and *mabrah*, are choice works of art. The ornate ceiling of the mosque, which is rectangular in shape, is supported on 48 wooden pillars, decorated with stucco-work. The *mabrah* is adorned with porcelain mosaics, Kur'ānic verses and *hadīṭs*. The minbar is a masterpiece of the woodcarver's art, made of jointed sections of ebony. Around the front of the door to the minbar is inscribed the Throne-verse, in Salḡūk *maṣṣāḥ* script, while above the doorway are seen the names of the first four caliphs, in Kufic lettering. The mausoleum of Sulaymān Bey, though most artistic, has become dilapidated with age.

There exists a philosophical work in Arabic, in 9 sections, entitled *al-Fuṣūl al-Aḥrafīyya fī Uṣūl al-Burhāniyya wa 'l-Kaḥfiyya*, written for the Ashrafid Muḥabir al-Dīn Muḥammad Bey by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tuḡṭarī. The author had embellished Beyşehir, which he called Sulaymānşehir, with a number of foundations, and had repaired the fortress, placing his inscription over the fortress gate in 689/1290. He built his mosque, a distinguished work of art, in 696/1296, and his mausoleum in 1302. In his *shakfiyya* he appointed his sons Muḥammad and Ashraf as *mudallim* of these foundations (Khālī Edhem, *Anadoluda İslāmî Emlaklar*, *TEDEM* year 5, 139-41; Yusuf Akçurt, *Beyşehir hitabeleri ve Eşref oğulları camii ve türbesi*).

The Ashrafid family:



**Bibliography:** I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadoluda Emlaklar*, *Karagözü ve Akközü Dicleleri*, Ankara 1937; *Kütahya II*, İstanbul 1920; *Anadoluda Türk tarihinde üç mühem zima: Demirtaş, Ertürk ve Kadi Burhaneddin Ahmed*, *TEDEM*, 7, 1935; *Sulḡūkname* in Persian: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Persian MS. no. 1553, and text and translation by Dr Feridun Nalla Erlik, 1951; *Mas'ūd al-Aḥrār*, Süleymaniye library MS. Haki Efendi no. 321, and annotated Turkish translation by Tahsin Yavuz, 1954; Khālī Edhem, *Anadoluda İslāmî Emlaklar*, *TEDEM* year 5; Yusuf Akçurt, *Beyşehir hitabeleri ve Eşref oğulları camii ve türbesi*, in *Türk Tarih, Arkeolojisi ve Etnolojisi Dergisi* year 4, 1940; Khālī Edhem, *Dünya'da*



*Islamiyya*, Istanbul 1927; *Musamarat al-Ashbār*, ed. Osman Turan, Ankara 1944; *Masdhik al-Ashbār*, ed. Fr. Taeschner, Leipzig 1929.

(ISMAIL HAKKI ÜZÜNGÖR)

#### ASHRAPI (see SIKRA).

**ASHRAFIYYA**, Derivish-order (according to D'Osson), which takes its name from 'Abd Allāh Ashraf (ʿAṣṣaf) Rumi, died 899/1493 in Çin Iplik.

al-'**ASHSHĪBĀ** (a.), the gatherer or vendor of herbs, from the Arabic *ashbā*, a word which means a fresh annual herb which is afterwards dried. In medical literature, the word is chiefly used to denote simples, and consequently *al-ʿashshibā* means a vendor of or authority on medicinal herbs. Thus for example the celebrated physician Ibn al-Sunayyīn (d. 699/1301), in a note preserved in his own hand on the title-page of Ms. No. 3721 of the Aya Sofya, calls his teacher, the famous pharmacologist Ibn al-Baytār (q.v.), *al-ʿashshibā al-milāḥi*, "the herbalist of Malaga". In this connexion it should be noted that the word *al-ghaddīdār*, which is lacking in most dictionaries, means an authority on plants or a botanist; it is derived from *ghaddā* "to grow up", for tree, bush, shrub or any plant with a strong woody stem, and also for plants in general.

(M. MEYERHOF)

al-**ASHṬAR**, Mlik b. al-Hārith al-Naḥḥāʾī, warrior and political agitator of the time of the Caliph ʿUthmān and supporter of 'Alī. He was surnamed al-Aṣṭar, "the man with inverted eyelids", as the result of a wound received at the battle of Yarmūk (15/636). He distinguished himself by his boldness in the campaign against the Byzantines and even dared to venture beyond Darb in enemy territory (see Caetani, *Annali*, index). He was one of the most persistent agitators against the Caliph ʿUthmān and the ruling class of the period and defended the rights—of the claims—of the warriors to the *ḥaṣṣ* (booty consisting of landed property). After a violent scene in the presence of ʿUthmān's governor at Kūfa, Saʿd b. al-ʿĀs (13/653-4), he was banished from Kūfa to Syria together with ten other agitators; Muʿāwiyah subsequently sent him back to ʿIrāq, but Saʿd sent him on to the governor of Hims. As the agitation persisted in Kūfa, he lost no time in returning and stirring up the masses (al-Tabarī, I, 2907-17, 2921, 2927-31). He is to be found at the head of the band of seditionists who prevented the return of the governor Saʿd b. al-ʿĀs and who took upon themselves to obtain the appointment by the Caliph (34/654-5) of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (q.v.) (al-Tabarī, I, 2927-30; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 264-5). At the time of the insurrection in Medina, which ended with the assassination of the Caliph ʿUthmān (35/656), he brought two hundred men from Kūfa (Ibn Saʿd, *Burʾ*, 49) and was one of those who besieged "the House" (al-nuḥḥār) (al-Tabarī, I, 2989 f., etc.); his name is even cited among the murderers of the Caliph (Ibn ʿAsākir, in Caetani, *Annali*, 35 A.H., paras. 137 and 169; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḥḍ*, [Bibl. 1293], II, 278 etc.).

His violence came to the fore also during the election of 'Alī, for he threatened several recalcitrants, forcing them to swear the oath of allegiance to him (al-Tabarī, I, 3008-9, 3075-77; al-Ḥawārī, 152). He then attached himself to 'Alī, but was often among those of his supporters who presumed to impose their own will on him.

During 'Alī's campaign against ʿAṣṣā, Talha and al-Zubayr, he was sent to Kūfa with other men of importance to persuade the inhabitants to take 'Alī's side, and after succeeding in this objective,

he brought reinforcement to his master. He took part in the battle of the Camel (36/656); the sources mention a duel which he fought with 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and other brave deeds. At the head of the vanguard of 'Alī's army in the campaign against Muʿāwiyah, he obliged the inhabitants of Kūfa to build a bridge of boats over the Euphrates to enable the troops to cross (al-Tabarī, I, 3259-60). At the battle of Siffin in which he commanded the right wing of the army, he displayed real and bravery (al-Tabarī, I, 3283, 3284, 3294-300, 3327, 3328; al-Dinawarī 194-8; al-Masʿūdī, IV, 341-9).

'Alī wanted to have him as an adviser at the time when the famous arbitration between himself and Muʿāwiyah was proposed (see AḤI and TALIC), but his supporters refused, well aware that such a choice would mean the continuation of the war; when al-Aṣṭar was informed that a truce had been decided upon, he wanted to go on fighting, for he thought that victory was near and the speech which he delivered on this occasion has come down to us (Nasr b. Muḥsin al-Minkārī, *Waḥīd* 591/6, 504 f.; al-Tabarī, I, 3313 f.; cf. al-Ḥawārī, 152); he then tried to avoid signing the agreement. It was probably because of his uncompromising attitude towards the truce with Muʿāwiyah, that 'Alī got rid of him, by appointing him firstly governor of Mawṣil (as well as of other towns of ʿIrāq and Syria which were in his possession, but al-Aṣṭar encountered opposition from al-Dubhāk b. Kays al-Fihri, appointed governor by Muʿāwiyah, and had to withdraw to Mawṣil) and then governor of Egypt; it is not known precisely whether this took place immediately after the recall of Kays b. Saʿd or after the dismissal of Muhammad b. Abī Bakr who had proved himself a bad politician (al-Kindī, *Governors* 22-4; al-Makrīzī, II, 336; al-Tabarī, I, 3242; al-Yaʿqūbī, II, 222; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 492; Caetani, *Annali*, 37 A.H., paras. 221-3). However that may be, al-Aṣṭar never reached the seat of his appointment, for when he arrived at al-Kutrum (37/658 or 38) he was poisoned by the local *ghāyṣ* (not the *questor* but the *legislator*, see J. Maspero, in *BIFAO*, XI, 125-61), (al-Tabarī, I, 3392-5). On hearing of his death, 'Alī and Muʿāwiyah are said to have spoken the words which have subsequently become famous:

—The former: *ʿAlī ʿayyadun wa ʿA ʿayyan* "full[er] hand and mouth [to the ground]"; an expression indicating the pleasure felt on seeing someone fall (Maycānī, *Amṣāl*, II, 475; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, 37 A.H., para. 224, n. 1); the latter: "God even has troops in the honey"; Muʿāwiyah has been suspected of being the instigator of al-Aṣṭar's assassination; more certain is the fact that Muʿāwiyah considered al-Aṣṭar one of the "arms" of 'Alī, the other, according to him, being 'Amr b. al-ʿĀsir. From the physical point of view, al-Aṣṭar was a giant; his sword bore the name *al-ladīd* "the sheen of running water" (TA, II, 93).

**Bibliography:** Information on al-Aṣṭar is to be found in all the chronicles and histories dealing with the early period of Islam as well as in the collections of biographies of early personalities; Caetani, *Annali*, index and vols. vi-x, *passim*; several quotations of sources, *ibid.*, 37 A.H., paras. 312-9; Nasr b. Muḥsin al-Minkārī, *Waḥīd* 591/6, ed. Abī al-Salām M. Ḥārūn, Cairo, 1965, index; Ibn Abī Ṭ-Hādīd, *Shurh Naḥḥ al-Balāghah*, Cairo 1399, I, 158-60, II, 28-30, 80, III, 416, 417.

(L. VECCHIA VAGLIERI)

**ASHTURKA** (see SUPPLEMENT).

'**ASHCRĀʾ**, name of a voluntary fast-day which is observed on the 10th Muharram.

1.—When Muhammad came to Madīna he adopted from the Jews amongst other days the 'Āshūrā'. The name is obviously the Hebrew *ʿāzār* with the Aramaic determinative ending; in Lev. xvi, 29 it is used of the great Day of Atonement. Muhammad retained the Jewish custom in the rise, that is, the fast was observed on this day from sunset to sunset, and not as in other fasts only during the day. When in the year 2 Muhammad's relations with the Jews became strained, Ramaḍān was chosen as the fast month, and the 'Āshūrā'-fast was no longer a religious duty but was left to the option of the individual. On the day of the first Jewish month, the fast was originally observed cannot now be ascertained owing to our defective knowledge of the calendar of the period; naturally its observance coincided with the Jewish on the 10th Tishri, and so fell in the autumn. The 10th Muharram finds early mention as the 'Āshūrā'; probably the tenth day of the first Muslim month was selected to harmonise with the tenth day of the first Jewish month. From the calculations which have already been made, it does not seem possible that it could have been originally celebrated on the 10th Muharram (see Caetani, *Annali*, I, 431 f.).

Presumably for the sake of distinguishing themselves from the Jews some fixed the 9th Muharram either place with it in place of the tenth as a fast day, with the name *Tāʾūʾ*.

The Jewish origin of the fast is obvious; the well-known tendency of tradition to trace all Islamic customs back to the ancient Arabs, and particularly to Abraham, states that the Meccans of olden time fasted on the 'Āshūrā'. It is not impossible that the tenth, as also the first nine days of Muharram, did possess a certain holiness among the ancient Arabs; but this has nothing to do with the 'Āshūrā'.

The fast of the 'Āshūrā' was later and is still regarded by Muslims as commendable; the day is kept by the devout of the entire Sunnī world; it is holy also on "historical" grounds: on it Noah left the ark, etc. In Mecca the door of the Kaʿba is opened on the day of the 'Āshūrā' for visitors (see Sachik Hungarik, *Atika*, II, 21). In the cities where Shiʿite or come under Shiʿite influence quite different usages have become associated with the 10th Muharram; in this connexion see **MUHARRAM**.

**Bibliography:** The Chapter *Saum ʿAshūrāʾ* in the Collections of Traditions, and the appropriate sections in the Fikḥ-books; Goldziher, *Ursprung jüdischer la litteratur des muslimen*, in *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1876, 8-9; A. J. Wessink, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 121-125; Th. W. Juynebol, *Handbuch des islamischen Geistes*, 115 f.; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurʾān*, I, 179, note; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, III, 53, note; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, 214, 226 f.; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, Ch. xv, 185. (A. J. Wessink)

II.—**ʿAshūrāʾ** (ʿAshCRĀ) in the Maghrib. In practice a distinction is usually made between *ʿĀghar*, the name given to the month of Muharram, and *ʿĀshūrā*, the name of the feast celebrated on the tenth of that month. The supererogatory fast enjoined on that day seems to be unevenly kept, whilst alms-giving is a more usual practice. Perhaps the reason is why children from the kūrānīk schools, at *ʿĀshūrā*, go from door to door, singing and making collections for their masters. The dead are also honoured by visits to their tombs, which are copiously watered, and

branches of myrtle are placed on them. The feast is celebrated by eating special dishes (fritters, flat cakes and gruel), and especially, eggs and poultry. Popular manifestations of *ʿĀshūrā* vary according to the region and are at times on an extraordinary scale.

Three essential elements can be distinguished in the practices in use: 1) *Fire and water rites*. A bonfire of branches, leaves and grasses is built; this is very frequently lit by a person of repute, who is possessed of *ḥaraka* (q.v.). Whilst the bonfire burns, those present jump over it (*ʿamni ʿṣf* of Takrūdān). Also very common practices are throwing burning faggots from the bonfire into the river, mixing water with the ashes, bathing and sprinkling oneself with water. 2) *Marriage rites* (when a sacrificial animal is sometimes slaughtered). These are especially observed in Morocco: Douzrou ceremony (Tafilalet); the making of dolls and puppets representing *ʿĀghar* and his fiancée *ʿĀshūrā*, in the Region of Agadir, in the Sūs and the Middle Atlas, etc.; 3) *Carnival rites*, mainly in Morocco, in Western Oman, all along the coast of the Sahara, in the Sahara, Egypt and Libya. The Maghribi carnival (*farja*), with numerous variations, almost always includes a trial, an execution and a funeral; the victim is usually an old man or an old woman, dressed up in a burlesque costume, at times wearing animal skins or pelts or a tunic made of plated plates (*ghayb ʿĀshūrā* at Ouargla, *ba-ḥḥa* at Biskra, *ba-ḥḥa* in Morocco and at Tiemcen, *ba-ḥḥa* in Southern Morocco and Oran, *ba ʿĀshūrā*, *bāḥ ʿĀghar* elsewhere, etc.). One of the figures in the *farja* is usually that of an enormous beast, a lion, a mule or a camel, which both delights and terrifies the spectators.

It is generally agreed that the complex customs of *ʿĀshūrā* in the Maghrib reflect the survival of very ancient agrarian rites, in fact the celebration of the death of the year coming to its end and the birth of their popular aspects, which are both sad and joyful. The traditional Muslim Shiʿite mourning has, in all likelihood, become grafted on to this magico-religious substratum, whilst the lunar calendar has taken over a solar year cult, subjecting it to a temporal displacement. Through these superimpositions, remains of this ancient disrupted ceremonial have, here and there, become haphazardly attached to Muslim feasts (the two *ʿids* and *maṣūʿ* [q.v.]) and to the various periods and holidays of the agricultural year (*rās el-ʿāim*, *ennāyir*, *rbīʿ*, *ʿashūrā* [q.v.]).

**Bibliography:** Gaudelot-Demembyens, *La fête de Achoura à Tunis*, in *Revue des Traditions populaires* 1905, 11; E. Douté, *Morabek*, Paris 1905, 371-2; Blumy, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère de Ouargla*, Paris 1908, 212; A. Bel, *La population musulmane de Tiemcen*, in *Revue des Etudes ethnographiques et sociologiques* 1908, 8-9; S. Bouafia, *Textes berbères en dialecte de l'Atlas marocain*, Paris 1908, 146-67; E. Douté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger 1909, 528-60; Monchicourt, *La fête de Achoura*, in *Revue tunisienne* 1910, 209-324; Casteln, *Note sur la fête de Achoura à Rabat*, in *Archiv-berbères* 1916; E. Laoust, *Noms et cérémonies des fêtes de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas*, in *Hebdomada* 1921; W. Marçais et A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Tabrūdān*, Paris 1925, I, 347 ff. (copious bibliography); E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, II, 58-86; Gofard, *Croyances et coutumes du Fazzan*; *la fête de Achoura à Edri*, in *Bulletin de l'Association saharienne*, Algiers 1956, 79-84.

(P. MARÇAIS)



AL-ʿĀSĪ is the name in use among the Arabs for the Oronetes. The classical name of this river, the most important in northern Syria, is preserved in Arabic literature as al-Urnat, al-Urund. Presumably the origin of the word ʿĀsĪ, like that of the Greek, *Asios*, must be sought in an ancient native name. The common explanation of al-ʿĀsĪ = "the rebel" is a popular etymology with no actual foundation, and the name *al-nahr al-malḥ* = *fluvius inversus* is probably a scholarly invention.

The river-system of the ʿĀsĪ begins to the north of the watershed formed by the highland-valley of al-Bikāʾ not far from Baʿalbak, but really only obtains its volume of water farther north near al-Humal from a spring, generally called simply the Oronetes Spring, which wells forth in a strong stream from the rock. Following the line of the Syrian canal to its northern end, the river flows through several lakes or marshes (those of Kadas and of Fāmiya = Kalʿat al-Mudhī); on its banks are situated the most important towns of central Syria, Hims and Hama. At the point where the Syrian buttresses reject the faults of Armenia and Asia Minor the river turns away from the north and flows towards the south-west, receives the streams which, rising in the most northerly regions of Syria, discharge into the marshes of al-ʿAmk, and reaches the sea below Antākya, to the south of the Amanus, at a point where the coast is flat and devoid of natural harbours (Seleucia and al-Suraydiyya were artificial). The geographical peculiarities of the course of the Oronetes, and its comparatively abundant flow, have long permitted the traditional use of its waters for irrigation. But the favourable conditions which it presents for large-scale modern development have as yet only given rise to partially realised projects.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, iii, 588; Abu ʿl-Fidāʾ, *Takwīm*, 49; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 395; E. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, index; Ch. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, index; J. Wellhausen, *ZDMG*, ix, 245-6; J. Weulersse, *L'Oronete*, Tours 1940. (R. HARTMANN)

**ASILA** (now Arzila in Fr. and Port., *Asila* in Span.), town and port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, situated about 30 km. S.W. of Tangier and not far from the mouth of al-Wādī al-Hulw (Oued el-Helon). According to Spanish statistics, the population rose from slightly over 6,000 inhabitants in 1935 to just under 16,000 in 1949, with a majority of Muslims, a negligible Jewish minority and a small number of Europeans, mainly Spaniards.

The name *Asila* seems to derive from the form *Asila* (Strabo), *Zila* (Itinerary of Antoninus and the Anonymous of Ravenna) or *Zila* (Ptolemy and Pappus of Mela); but the ancient authors tell us hardly anything about the town, which may have originally been a Phoenician trading-post. In contrast, it is frequently mentioned and described by the Arab historians and geographers, among others by Ibn Hawkal and al-Bakrī. According to the latter, *Asila* was twice visited by the Normans in the 3rd/9th century. In the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī describes it as a small town in complete decay. But trade must have enjoyed a certain prosperity there in the 6th/12th century, because at the time of the disaster suffered by the Portuguese before Tangier (1437), Jewish merchants and Genoese and Castilian business men seem to be found there; the Waṭṭāsī sultans of Fez seem also to have made *Asila* one of

their principal bases. However, the history of the town is only really well known in the period during which it was occupied by the Portuguese (1476-1550). They took it, partly with a view to taking Tangier in the near, on 14th August 1476, under the command of King Alfonso V, called "the African" (1493-81), with the aid of his son, the future John II. The almost immediate result of the fall of *Asila* was the fall of Tangier, which the Portuguese entered without striking a blow. The new masters built a strong citadel at *Asila* with a dungeon and a vast walled enclosure, which contained the whole town; the whole of these fortifications still survive today. The Portuguese garrison, in conjunction with the garrisons of Ceuta, al-Ksar al-Saghir and especially of Tangier, had constantly to contend with the hostility of the marabouts, of local chiefs (Djābal Harub), of the Kāḥda of al-Ksar al-Kabir, Larache, Tetaun and Chechaouen (Mawlay Ibrahim) and of the Waṭṭāsī sultans of Fez, especially Muhammad al-Burtakāl; they endured several sieges; the most serious was that of 1508; the Portuguese lost the town and only retained the citadel; they were saved by the intervention of a squadron which arrived from Portugal, which was soon after reinforced by the Spanish fleet of Pedro Navarro. Furthermore, the fortress was handicapped by the insecurity of its port, which was blocked by a reef. In August 1550, King John III of Portugal (1551-57) had it evacuated — a few weeks after the capture of Tangier — and concentrated all his forces in Northern Morocco at Tangier and Ceuta. In 1577, *Asila* was recaptured by King Sebastian (1557-78), as the price of his alliance with the Saʿdī prince Muhammad al-Masliḥ and with a view to the expedition in which he lost his life, at the battle of the Three Kings, or the battle of al-Ksar al-Saghir (4th August 1578). It was at *Asila* that the Christian army landed and it was from *Asila* that it set out on 29th July 1578 to meet the Moroccan army, Philip II, King of Portugal since 1580 following the death of Cardinal Henry, gave the town back to the Saʿdī sultan al-Manṣūr in 1589. From this date onwards, *Asila* has led a quiet and obscure existence. It formed part of the region subject to the authority of the Sharfī Kavayim, when it was occupied in 1914 by the Spaniards, who incorporated it in their zone.

**Bibliography:** All the requisite information on *Asila* prior to 1589 is collected together in David Lopes, *História de Arzila durante o domínio português*, Coimbra 1924-5 (based strictly on the sources, especially Bernardo Rodrigues, *Anais de Arzila*, ed. David Lopes, 2 vols., Lisbon 1915-9); see also Adolfo L. Guevara, *Arzila durante la ocupação portuguesa*, Tangier 1940, and Pierre de Mevial, David Lopes and Robert Ricard, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Portugal, 5 vols., Paris 1934-53, and the bibliography of the article *Asīfī* concerning the Portuguese period. For recent events: Tomás García Figueras, *Miscelánea de estudios históricos sobre Marruecos*, Larache 1949, 421 ff. (R. RICARD)

**ʿĀSĪM**, ANŌ BAKR ʿĀSĪM B. BARDALLAH AN ʿĀSĪM (ANŌ BAKR al-ʿĀSĪM), a *mawla* of the Banī Dīnawayma of the Asad. Some say Bardalla was his mother's name and his father's name ʿAbd Allāh, though he was known Abū ʿl-Naḍḍīq. He is said to have been a dealer in wheat (*ḥanḍal*) who succeeded as-Sulamī as head of the Kūfan School of Kūṭān Readers, where his preeminence in Kūṭānī studies secured him a place as one of the Seven Readers whose systems became canonical. Indeed

through his pupil Hafs [q.v.] his system of pointing and vowelising the Kūṭānī text has become the *textus receptus* in Islam. He is classed as a Follower and had a small part in transmitting *ḥadīth*. His fame, however, was as a *kāfir* and a teacher of *ḥirāʾ*, in which he had the reputation of being a *ḥudūdī*. In this branch of learning he is said to have been the pupil of Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī (d. 74/693-4), Zirr b. Hubayy (d. 82/701-2) and Abū ʿAmr Saʿd b. Iyās al-Shaybānī (d. 96/714-5), through one or other of whom his readings may be traced back to all the most famous names in Kūṭānī learning among the Companions. He had a large number of pupils who transmitted his system, but his two *uṣūls* in the canonical list are Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyūb (d. 194) and Hafs b. Sulaymān (d. 190). He died late in 127 or early in 128/745.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Khallikān, i, 304, 305 (no. 314); Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, 263; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 29; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shajarat* i, 175; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyā*, no. 1496; idem, *Najm*, i, 156; al-Dīnī, *Taysir*, 6; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, al-Fahḥāḥ, v, 38-40; al-Dhahabī, *Miṣbāḥ al-Fidāl*, ii, 5 no. 26. (A. JEFFERY)

**ʿĀSĪM**, AHMAD, imperial historiographer of the Ottoman empire, born in ʿAyntāb (the modern Gaziantep) in south-eastern Anatolia about the year 1755. He was the son of Seyyid Mehmed, a clerk of the court, who became famous as a poet under the name of Diḥmāt. His father's view of the old-established ones in the place. In his early youth he acquired an equally fluent knowledge of Arabic and Persian, and this helped him in later years to achieve his fame as a translator (*mudrjim*) of well-known dictionaries. To begin with, Seyyid Ahmed was the secretary of the law-court of his home town, and later in nearby Kilis. In 1790 he went to Istanbul, where he gained the sultan's favour with a translation of the *Burḥān-Ḳāṭib* which was dedicated to Selim III. He subsequently became a professor. In 1802 he was sent to the Hijāz, and on his return he brought his whole family from ʿAyntāb to Istanbul. In 1807 he became imperial historiographer (*taʿdīf-sūti*), as such he compiled a history of the Ottoman empire for the period 1700-1807 (two volumes) from the peace treaty of Sistova (4 August 1791) to the accession of Mahmūd II (28 July 1808). Later, he translated the *Kamūs al-Muḥīṭ* (which was reprinted several times) into Turkish. In later years he returned to his calling as a teacher, then as judge (Muḥallā of Selāḥī, Feb. 1814), and died on 26 Sept. 1819 in Skutari, where he owned a house near the wall of Nuh (Nuh bawā). He lies buried in the Karāḍja Ahmed cemetery, and the inscription on his tomb is in ʿOṣmānī Muḥallīferi i, 375.

In his capacity as imperial historiographer, he surpasses his predecessors in a presentation which is at the same time a fluent day-to-day chronicle, yet also critical in its treatment of events. Finally, he translated the Cairo chronicle of the French occupation, by al-Djazarī—which became known in Europe too (French ed. by A. Carlini, Paris 1838)—from Arabic into his mother-tongue. This version is preserved in manuscript form in Paris (Bibl. Nationale st. 1283; cf. E. Blochet, *Catal.*, ii, 221) and in Cairo. It was never printed because the Cairo chronicle was soon afterwards translated again by the court physician Mustafa Beldīzī Efendi, and then printed (as *Taʿrīḥ-i Mīr*, 260 St. 12, Istanbul 1282) after having previously appeared as a *taḥṣīl* in *Djorlā-ḥawāḍir* (cf. *JAS*, 1868, i, 477 f.).

**Bibliography:** *Sijill-i ʿOṣmānī*, iii, 283; A. D. Mordtmann, in *Angewandte Allgem. Zeitung*, of 29 June 1875, supplement no. 180; Fatm. *idhḥāḥ*, 226; *GOW*, 339 f. with further bibliographical details; ʿOṣmānī Muḥallīferi, i, 375 f.; *Türk Mey-kurları* (Istanbul, n.d., ca. 1946) 47 f. (with a picture which pretends to be a portrait).

(Fr. BARNON)

**ʿĀSĪM EFENDI ISMĀʿĪL** [see *ʿĀSĪM-ʿĀSĪR*]. **ASIR**, the *tabḥalīs* of Mirzā ʿIṣṣāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mirzā Muḥsin, Persian poet and pupil of Faṣṣīl Haravī. Born at Isfāhān; probable date of death 1049/1639-40, though some sources give later dates. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not migrate to the Mughal court, but became a boon companion and close relative (according to one account the son-in-law) of Shāh ʿAbbās I. He composed most of his poetry under the influence of alcohol, from an excess of which he died. His *diwān*, comprising *ḥayās*, *mathnawīs*, *lardi*-*ḥands* and *ghazals*, was lithographed at Lucknow in 1886.

**Bibliography:** The MSS. Catalogue of Beza (British Museum), ii, 681, and Persch (Berlin), no. 938. *Kiṭāb al-ʿĪḥāṣā*, 1639; Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 311.

(R. M. SAVORY)  
**ʿĀSĪR**, a region in Western Arabia named after a confederation of tribes in al-Sarāt [q.v.]. The concept of a separate region intervening between al-Hijāz and the Yaman developed in the 19th century and is now sanctioned by official Saudi Arabian practice, which uses the name ʿAsir for the highlands southwards from al-Nimās to Naḍrān, and Thihāmat ʿAsir for the lowlands bordering the Red Sea between al-Kahma and the Yaman frontier.

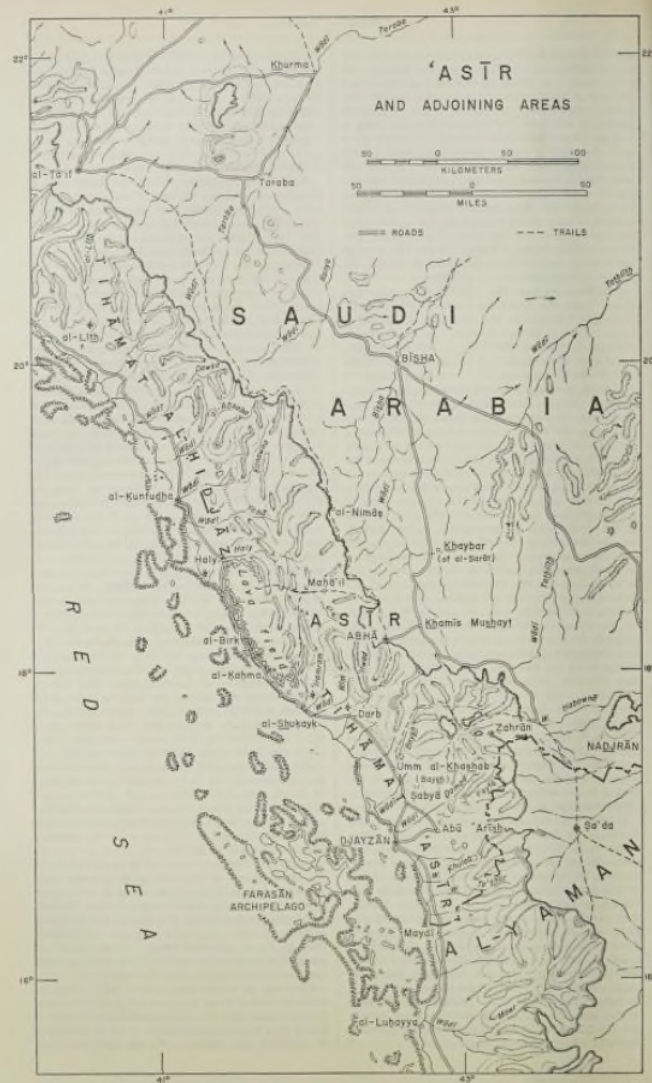
From al-Tāʾif to the Yaman there is no gap in the bold range of al-Sarāt. The core is crystalline rock, but in certain fault zones volcanic activity has produced lava fields, one of which, reaching the Red Sea just south of Hāly, used to form the natural boundary between al-Hijāz and the Yaman. The main drainage divide, some 50 to 75 m. (50 to 120 km.) inland, rises abruptly to heights of over 6000 ft. (2,000 m.), with peaks over 9000 ft. (3,000 m.). Streams fed by rain from the fringe of the monsoons have carved great gorges in the steep seaward flanks. Drainage on the gentler eastern slope follows fracture zones northwards, creating the major wadi systems of Biḥja and Taḡhlīḥ, which eventually turn eastwards to empty their flood waters into Wādī al-Dawāsir. Along these wadi systems Philby traces the Road of the Elephant (*Darb al-Fil*).

The highland capital is Abḥā [q.v.], the centre of the confederation of ʿAsir, which consists of Banī Muḥayyid, Banī Māllik, ʿAlkam, and Raḥīʿa wa-Ru-fayḥa. Other important tribes are Riḍāʾ al-Hijāz and Shāhrān north of Abḥā, and elements of Kaḥṭān, including ʿAbida, from Abḥā south to Zahrān.

Along the re-tilled coast of Thihāmat ʿAsir are the little ports of al-Kahma, al-Shubayk, and Dīḥayn (classical Dīḥān), the last being the capital of the district, which also embraces the Faraṣān Archipelago. Inland from Dīḥayn is an extensively cultivated area surrounding Umm al-Qhaḥab (Bayḥ), Sabāʾ, and Abū ʿArīḥ. Among the larger wadis debouching on the plain of Thihāmat ʿAsir are those of ʿIṭwad, Bayḥ, and Damaḥ.

Terracing is widely practiced in the highlands, where rainfall of c. 12 in. (30 cm.) a year provides for the cultivation of grains and fruits. Coffee is grown near the Yaman border, and *ḥāt* on the slopes of Dīḥal Fayṭā. Grains and vegetables are raised





in Thāma, and some indigo around Sabyā and Abū 'Arīsh. The *shaw palm* is cultivated for its fruit and leaves, which are woven into baskets and mats, but almost all dates come from Bisha or by sea.

The ways of the mountaineers tend towards those of Najd, while the ways of the lowlanders indicate the closeness of their contact with Africa. Dwellings vary from mud-brick buildings with projecting stone tiles in the mountains to thatch huts on the coast. There are virtually no tent-dwellers in the mountains or on the coastal plain, the nomads using a mat shelter. The isolation of mountain towns and ranges has contributed to the complexity and fragmentation of the tribal system. The Arabic speech of some of the tribes is held to be remarkable for its purity and freedom from outside influences, but *haghāgha* and other dialectal deviations are not uncommon.

The name 'Asir was originally borne by several Kahlātite tribes centred on Ahḥā and who attached themselves to the 'Adnītes of 'Anz b. Waḥd. Among the early divisions of 'Anz were Rabi'a, Rofayda, and Mālik. Other old tribes in the region were *Khayḥ'am* (including Shahrān and Akūb) and al-'Ad (including al-Hijir, Alma', and Ard Shā'ir), among whose branches were Ghāmid and Zahrān. Sections of Kināna were established along the coast.

In the time of the Ziyādids (q.v.) in the Yaman (204-409/819-1015), the lord of 'Aḥḥā, Sulaymān b. Tarf al-Hakamī, held Thāma from al-Sharḥa to Haly (Mikhhlāf Ibn Tarf or al-Mikhhlāf al-Sulaymān, a name still used on occasion by the inhabitants). In 460/1067-8 the Sulayhid 'Alī b. Muḥammad defeated Tarf and his Abyssinian allies at al-Zarāḥ, 'Umda al-Hakam's birthplace.

The Tarfids gave way as rulers of the Mikhhlāf in the 5th/11th century to the Sulaymānid Sharifs, who after a passing hegemony in Mecca had been supplanted there by the Hāshimids (see MAKKA). The principal Sulaymānid capital was Dajazān while lesser Sulaymānid dynasties arose in Sabyā, Damad, etc. One of the Sulaymānids, 'Clay b. 'Isā 'Al Wadhī, taught al-Zamakhsharī in Mecca; many others turned to nomadic life in the Mikhhlāf. A victory of the Mahdids of the Yaman over the Sulaymānids in 560/1164-5 was instrumental in bringing about the occupation of the Yaman by Saladin's brother Tūrān Shāh. Sulaymānid authority, impaired by the advent of the Ottomans, yielded to a more vigorous local dynasty, the Khayrīdids, *gharīf* descended from the House of Kaṭāda in Mecca, in time installed themselves in the position once held by the Sulaymānids as independent rulers in the Mikhhlāf; the foremost figure among them in the early 19th century was Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad Abū Mismār of Abū 'Arīsh (d. 1235/1828).

For centuries intertribal feuds had kept the highlands disunited. The missionary zeal of Wadhī, advancing westwards from Central Arabia late in the 19th century, provided a basis for unification under Muḥammad b. 'Amir Abū Nuḥḥa al-Rufayda, who held power until 1235/1828, the year of the fall of the Saudi capital al-Mudayyir; the Wadhīd tribesmen of 'Asir came into conflict with Sharīf Ḥamūd in the lowlands, who, though he recognised the authority of 'Alī Sa'ūd at times, was never a sincere convert.

Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā's forces from Egypt, which had occupied al-Hijāz as a base for the war against 'Alī Sa'ūd, carried on campaigns to the south in al-Sarāt and Thāma on various occasions until 1256/

1840, the year of their withdrawal from Arabia under pressure from the Western powers. In 1259/1823-4 a chief of Banī Muḥayyid, Sa'ūd b. Muslat, became the dominant figure in 'Asir al-Sarāt, a position held by himself and his successors, with one main interruption, for the next century. In 1248/1833 'Alī b. Muḥayyid al-Muḥayyid cooperated with Turke Būlmez and other Albanians who had mutinied against the Egyptian authorities; later the men of 'Asir broke with the mutineers and defeated them. Upon 'Alī's death in 1249/1833-4, the succession fell to 'Aḥḥā b. Ma'q al-Muḥayyid, the first to found a dynasty in the highlands. A new advance southwards by Muḥammad 'Alī's commanders, who took control of the Mocha coffee trade, coupled with a forward movement in Central and Eastern Arabia, prompted the occupation of Aden by the British in 1254/1839. The departure of Muḥammad 'Alī's troops from Arabia shortly thereafter left 'Aḥḥā master of 'Asir al-Sarāt and the Khayrīdids masters of al-Mikhhlāf al-Sulaymān as well as much of Thāma al-Yaman.

Following the death of 'Aḥḥā in 1273/1856-7, his son Muḥammad drove al-Hasan b. Muḥammad, the last of the Khayrīdids, out of Abū 'Arīsh in 1280/1863. The expanding power of 'Alī Sa'ūd in Thāma provoked Ottoman intervention, facilitated by the opening of the Suez Canal. In 1280/1862 Muḥammad Radīf Pāshā defeated Muḥammad b. 'Aḥḥā at Rayda and put him to death. 'Asir, established as a *mutasarrifiyya* attached to the *wilāyat* of the Yaman, remained under Turkish rule for more than forty years, but this rule often extended no further than the towers of the garrison town of Abḥā.

Early in the 20th century the place of the Sulaymānids was taken by Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Idrīsī. He was the great-grandson of Ahmad b. Idrīs, the founder of the Ahmadiyya (Idrīsīyya) *tarīqa* who had migrated from Morocco to Sabyā, which was to become the Idrīsī capital. Relying on his great prestige as a man of religion, al-Idrīsī brought the lowlanders under his sway, negotiated with the Italians on the other side of the Red Sea, and laid siege to the Turks in Abḥā. The Sharīf of Mecca, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, led an expedition southwards to relieve the beleaguered garrison of Sulaymān Shāfiḥ Kamālī Pāshā in 1310/1911.

During the First World War, al-Idrīsī was the first independent prince in Arabia to join the British against the Turks by virtue of a treaty signed in 1333/1915. After the defeat of the Turks the British awarded the port of al-Mudayyir to him rather than Imam Yahyā of the Yaman. An attempt to annex the highlands having failed, al-Idrīsī solicited the mediation of 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Alī Sa'ūd, but this was rejected by al-Hasan b. Muḥammad 'Aḥḥā, the lord of Abḥā since the evacuation of the Turks in 1337/1918. An expedition sent by 'Abd al-'Azīz occupied Abḥā in 1388/1920. 'Alī 'Aḥḥā later revolted and continued the struggle briefly, but in 1342/1923 the resistance of the dynasty ebbed away and the highlands were incorporated in the Saudi State. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī concluded a treaty with the Sa'ūd in 1391/1920, but the dissensions within the Idrīsī realm subsequent to his death resulted in the establishment of a Saudi protectorate. The Imam of the Yaman maintained a claim to the Idrīsī territories until the Treaty of al-Tā'if finally determined their appurtenance to Saudi Arabia in 1353/1934.

*Bibliography:* Fu'ūd Hamza, *Fi Bilād 'Asir*, Cairo 1951; Hamdānī; Ibn Dīḥr, *Umda al-*



*Madjd*, Mecca 1349; Ibn 'Inaba, *Umdat al-Tālib*, al-Nadīj 1337; Muhammad b. Muhammad Zabāra, *Nayl al-najjar*, Cairo 1348-50; Muhammad 'Umar Raḥī, *Fi ḥadīṣ al-ṣayyid*, Cairo 1371; Sharrāf al-Barakātī, *al-Riḥla al-Yamāniyya*, Cairo 1392; 'Umar Ibn Kaṣīf, *Tarīf al-ḥayy*, ed. Zettersteden, Damascus 1949; 'Umāra al-Hakāmī, *Ta'wīḥ al-Yaman*, ed. Kay, London 1892; Yāqūt.

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(R. HEADLEY, W. MULLIGAN, G. RENTZ)

**ASIRGARH**, a fortress situated 21° 28' N., 76° 18' E. in the Burhanpur taluq of the Nimr district of Madhya Pradesh, about 2,500 feet above sea level and 850 feet high from its base, dominating the only route through the Satpura range to the Narmada and the Tapi from north west India to the Dekkan.

Probably of great antiquity (see H. Cousens, *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berar*, Arch. Surv. India, 1897, p. 39, A. Cunningham, *Report on a Tour in the Central Provinces*, Calcutta 1879, 120-1, Gazetteer, [Khandesh] Bombay 1880, 557-58). Asirgarh was certainly a stronghold of the Tak branch of the Coulhan Rajputs from the 3rd/9th century. It was stormed by 'Alī al-Dīn Khāḍīrī, then muḥtaṣ of Karra, in the winter of 695/1295-6 on the way back from his Dekkan raid (see Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. Crooke, 1920, ii, 1465 and 1467 where the date Samvat 1351 is given), but not permanently occupied by Muslim forces until about 800/1400 when it was seized by Malik Nāṣir Khān Fāriḳī to become the supposedly impregnable stronghold of the Fāriḳī sultāns of Khandesh. (See Firūḡiā, text, ed. Briggs, ii, 544, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, text, ed. Blochmann, i, 475 and Bombay Gazetteer, loc. cit.).

Asirgarh was captured by Akbar in 1009/1600-1, becoming the headquarters of the *marzubān* of the frontier *shibā* of Dāndīgh. (On Akbar's conquest see Vincent Smith, *Akhbar al-Ghāzī Muḥṣi*, Sec. ed. 1902, 272-286).

In 1021/1623 Shāh Jihān, then in rebellion against Dīlshadūr, took refuge at Asirgarh and later c. 1063/1650-1 built a mosque there. In 1132/1720 it passed into the hands of Nizām al-Mulk, *sahādar* of Malwa, and was lost entirely to the Mughals in 1173/1760 when the Mahrattā Badājīrā Peshwā occupied it. Asirgarh was first captured by the British in 1218/1803 and finally occupied by them in 1234/1819.

*Bibliography*: see text; also *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, ed. C. Grant, Nagpur 1879, *Imperial Gazetteer*, vi, Oxford, 1908, and Arch. Surv. India Report, 1922-23. (P. HADLEY)

**ASITĀNA** [see ISFARUD].

**ĀSIYA**. This is the name given by the commentators to Pharaoh's wife, who is twice (xxviii, 9 and lxxi, 1) mentioned in the Qur'ān. She plays the same part as Pharaoh's daughter in the Bible, so that there is obviously confusion. In the second passage these words are put into her mouth: 'My Lord, build me a house with thee in Paradise, and deliver me from Pharaoh and his doings and deliver me from the wicked'. In connexion with this passage it is related that Āsiya endured many cruelties at the hands of Pharaoh because of her faith (she was an Israelite); and finally he even caused her to be crucified; at her prayer God took her soul to himself, so that only the body fell on the stone.—It is also related that Pharaoh scourged her to death, but on Moses' praying to God she did not feel any pain. J. Horowitz explains the name as a corruption of *Aseneth*, the name of Joseph's wife in Gen. xli, 45.

*Bibliography*: The Qur'ān commentaries on xxviii, 9 and lxxi, 1 esp. Tabari, *Taḥfīḥ*, Cairo 1321, xx, 12-21, xxviii, 98; idem, *Ta'wīḥ*, i, 444 f., 448-50; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, i, 119, 121 f., 130; *Ṭibṣ al-Kisās al-Anbiyā*, Cairo 1292, 146-50, 164; *Kisā' al-Anbiyā*, 199 ff.; G. Weil, *Biblical Legends der Muselmänner*, 1845, 138-41; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 1889, 135 f., 139 f.; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, 86; H. Speyer, *Die Biblischen Erzählungen im Quran*, 281 f.

(A. J. WESSINK)

**'ĀSKALĀN**, a town on the coast of southern Palestine, one (Hebrew: 'Ashkelon) of the five Philistine towns known to us from the Old Testament; in the Roman period, as *oppidum Ascalo liberum*, it was (according to Schreiner, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Joseph*, ii, 75-7) 'a flourishing Hellenistic town famous for its cults and festival games' (Derevis-Aphrodite-afrodite); in the Christian period a bishop's see (tomb of the *tres fratres martyres Aegyptii*).

'Āskalan was one of the last towns of Palestine to fall into the hands of the Muslims. It was taken *subita* by Mu'āwīya shortly after the capture of Kaysariyya in 19/640, but may have been briefly occupied by 'Amr b. al-'Ās before that. It was reconquered for a short time by the Byzantines during the time of Ibn al-Zuhayr and was subsequently restored and refortified by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 142-4). According to an inscription from a building which was discovered by Clermont-Ganneau, the Caliph al-Mahdi in 155/772 caused a mosque and minaret to be erected there (*RCEA*, i, 32-3). After varied fortunes the town passed into the hands of the Fātimids, under whose rule, according to Mukaddasī and Nāṣirī Khutaw, it attained some prosperity. It housed a mint, and served at times as a secondary naval base. Together with some other coastal towns, it was retained by the Fātimids, even after the loss of the rest of Syria and Palestine to the Saljūqs, though sometimes this retention amounted to no more than a nominal suzerainty over the local rulers. In 492/1099 the Egyptian army retreating from Jerusalem entered the town, and for a while it seemed that 'Āskalan itself was about to pass under Frankish rule. It was however saved by the internal dissensions of the Crusaders, and was retained by the Egyptians. For the next century and a half it was a frontier city and a key military objective in the struggle between the Crusaders and the Muslim rulers of Egypt. For the first 55 years after the coming of the Crusaders, it

was held by the Egyptians, and used by them as a bridgehead and as a base for raids into Frankish territory. With its population swollen by refugees from the Frankish occupied areas, and its garrison reinforced from Egypt, it became a major military centre. Despite the partial resumption of trade with Jerusalem, life in this outpost was difficult, and the Egyptians found it necessary to send new supplies and relief troops several times a year (William of Tyre, XVII, 22; Ibn Muḥammad, *Annales*, 92). According to William of Tyre, the whole civil population, including children, was on the army payroll. After the fall of Tyre to the Crusaders in 1124, the position of 'Āskalan was much weakened. To neutralise the threat which it offered to Jerusalem, the Crusaders surrounded it with a ring of fortresses, and in 548/1153, after a siege of seven months, Baldwin III got possession of the town by a combined land and sea attack. It now became the base for Frankish military and political activities in Egypt. After the battle of Hittin it had, like most of the Crusader strongholds in Palestine, to surrender to Salāh al-Dīn (583/1187). In 587/1191, after the defeat at Arsūf, the latter found himself unable to hold 'Āskalan against Richard of England and therefore destroyed the town. The Muslim population migrated to Syria and Egypt, the Christians and Jews moved to Jerusalem. A vivid description of the destruction of the town and the evacuation of its inhabitants is given in the anonymous Mamlūk chronicle published by K. V. Zettersteden (*Beiträge*, 233-5). Richard reached 'Āskalan in Dhū'l-Hijja 587/January 1192 and rebuilt the fortress, but according to the peace terms of August-September of the same year, it had again to be demolished. The rivalries between al-Sālih Ayyūb of Egypt and al-Sālih Ismā'īl of Damascus once more let it slip into the hands of the Franks. It was garrisoned and refortified by the Hospitallers, who successfully defended it against an Egyptian attack in 642/1244. After the decisive battle of Ḥaḥāza (17 Oct. 1244), 'Āskalan could, however, no longer expect help, and it fell in 645/1247 to Fakhr al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Sayyikh. In order to make it impossible for the Christians to effect a landing, the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars (q.v.) demolished a number of places on the Palestine coast, and in 668/1270 levelled the last vestiges of 'Āskalan, filling the harbour with trees and rubble (Makrīdī, *Sulūk*, i, 590). The town, which had never recovered from its demolition by Saladin, remained desolate until modern times. Abu 'l-Fida' (239), Ibn Battūṭa (i, 126), Muḥṣī al-Dīn (432), Piri Re'is (*Bahriyye* 724, English trans. by U. Heyd, *A Turkish Description of the Coast of Palestine*, *Israel Exploration Journal*, vi, 1956, 205-7) and Volney (Syria, ch. 10) all describe it as ruined.

In antiquity and the Middle Ages the environs of the town were famous for their win, sycamores and *henna* (Kyprios). It has given its name to a species of onion (*shālūt* = *allium ascalonicum*). Mediaeval authors, using an expression attributed to the Prophet, often call 'Āskalan the 'Bride' of Syria, *Sponsa Syriae*, *'Arūs al-Shām*.

In the period of the Shī'ite supremacy of the Fātimids failed the construction by al-Aḥdāb b. Isḥāq al-Dīnālī (491/1098) of the Maḡhārah for the reception of the head of the Prophet's grandson, 'Āskalar. This highly venerated relic was in 548/1154 saved from the Franks and carried off to Cairo (cf. Makrīdī, *Khiṭāṭ*, i, 427; Mehren, *Cahiraq of Kerdas*, Copenhagen 1870, ii, 61-2; *RCEA* vii 262-3; Ibn Taymiyya (ed. Schreiner, *ZDMG*, 53, 81-2) dismisses the whole story as a fable). Besides Husayn's

chapel, later Muslim pilgrims visited, in particular, Abraham's Well.

*Bibliography*: G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 400-3; A. S. Margutti, *Testes geographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris, 1951, index; F. M. Abel, *Géographie*, v, i, K. Ritter, *Erdbaukunde*, XVI, 66-89; F. Buhl, *Geog. des alten Pal.*, 189; P. Thomsen, *RLV*, i, 1924, 237 ff.; H. Guthe, *ZDPV*, ii, 1879, 164-71; G. Beyer, *ZDPV*, 1933, 250-3; V. Guérin, *Judee*, ii, 133-71; N. G. Nassar, *The Arabic Mints in Palestine and Transjordan*, *OAP*, xiii, 1918, 121-7; W. J. Phyllis-Adams, *History of Ashdod*, in *PEFOS*, 1921, 76-80; V. Prawer, *Ascalon and the Ascalon strip in Crusader Politics* (Hebrew with English summary), *Eretz-Israel*, iv, 1956, 231-241; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 142 ff.; Mukaddasī 174; Ibn al-Fakhr, 103; 'Alī al-Harawī, *Kutub al-Ziyārāt*, Damascus 1955, 32-3 (transl. Soame-Thomson, Damascus 1937, 75-6); K. V. Zettersteden, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, Leiden, 1919, 233-5; Yāqūt, ii, 673 ff.; Abu 'l-Fida' (ed. Reinaud), 239; Ibn Battūṭa (ed. Defrémery), i, 126 ff., tr. Gibb, Cambridge 1958, 81-2; Muḥṣī al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Djālī*, Cairo 1283, 42; *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and tr. A. Asher, New York, n.d., i, 79-80, ii, 99-100; William of Tyre, xvi, 22; Nāṣirī Khutaw, *Safar-nūma*, (ed. Kavian) 31; Ḥadīḍī Khālifa, *Ḍiḥān-nūma*, 562-3. On the excavations at 'Āskalan, see *PEFOS*, 1921-3.

(R. HARTMANN-B. LEWIS)

**AL-'ĀSKALĀNĪ** [see IBN HADJAR].

**AL-'ĀSKAR** [see DĪYAR].

**AL-'ĀSKAR** [see SĀMARĀ].

**'ĀSKAR MUKRAM** ('Mukram's Camp'), formerly a town built on the site of a camp pitched by an Arab leader named Mukram whom al-Ḥadīdīdī had sent to Khiristān to suppress a revolt near al-Aḥwā. This camp or entrenchment adjoined the ruins of Rustam Kawāḍī (corrupted by the Arabs into Rustakubādī), a Sāsānian town which the Muslim Arabs had destroyed. 'Āskar Mukram was situated on both sides of the Masrukān canal (the modern Abi-Garzar) just above the point where it now flows into the Shatayr (= Shatayr, 'the small river'), the main arm of the Kārūn (at the time of which we write, the Masrukān canal joined the Shatayr much further to the south, near al-Aḥwā); furthermore, the Dirfāl Rūd (modern Abi-Dīn) flowed into the Shatayr just west of the town. Owing to its favourable situation and its relatively good climate (see Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 112), 'Āskar Mukram developed into a flourishing town and became the chief place on the Masrukān canal; two bridges of boats linked the two parts of the town. It was a mint-town during the 14th/10th century, under the Bīyid ruler Mu'izz al-Dawla; cf. *ZDMG*, xl, 452. The ruins now known as the Hand-i Kīr ('Brimen Dam') are those of 'Āskar Mukram; the remains of that town and of earlier cities cover an area of nearly 9 sq. m. (see Layard, *A Description of the Province of Khuzistan*, in *JR Geog.* S. xvi, 52, 63, 64, 95 and 96). The inhabitants of Shughitar (Arab. Tustar) wrongly identify 'Āskar Mukram some ruins near their city, which they therefore call Laghar (Persian = Arab. al-Hawara). 'Āskar; according to Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, 'Āskar Mukram was formerly known as Laghar.

*Bibliography*: Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 383; Yāqūt, iii, 676; *Hadūd al-'Ālam*, 130; Le Strange, 236, 237, 242, 246; K. Ritter, *Erdbaukunde*, iv, 164 f., 182 f., 191-193, 227. (M. STRECK-L. LOCKHART)



'ASKARI; from 'ashar, soldier; in Ottoman technical usage a member of the ruling military caste, as distinct from the *ra'iyâ*—the subject population of peasants and townspeople (*ra'iyâ* sometimes means the subjects generally, sometimes only the peasants). The term 'askari denoted caste rather than function; it included retired or unemployed 'askaris, the wives and children of 'askaris, manumitted slaves of the Sultan and of the 'askaris, and also the families of the holders of religious public offices in attendance (*muâssem*) on the Sultan.

The Ottoman 'askari class comprised both the slave military estates and the free military land levies (see *Sipahi*). The latter seem to have originated with the ghazis who established themselves in the conquered lands. They were further recruited from the military landed gentry of the newly acquired territories, some of whom retained their Christian faith for a generation or two before becoming assimilated to Ottoman Islam.

In matters of personal status the Muslim 'askaris, like the Muslim *ra'iyâ*, were generally subject to the provisions of the *Shari'a* but were under the special jurisdiction of the *Kadı*'asker [q.v.]; in administrative, fiscal, and disciplinary matters they were ruled by special codes of regulations issued by the Sultan—the *hukûm-i sipahiyân*. This assured them important privileges and exemptions, as against the *ra'iyâ*, who were, for example, forbidden to bear arms, ride horses, or hold fiefs. The 'askaris were in theory not a privileged feudal aristocracy; they had no prescriptive or hereditary right to fief, office, or status, all of which could be conferred or withdrawn at the will of the Sultan. In fact the Sultan normally confined these fiefs and offices to members of the 'askari class, who were still considered as such even when deprived of office or fief. On the other hand it was regarded as contrary to the basic laws of Empire to appoint men of peasant stock (apart of course from the *deughirme* of boys) to 'askari positions; Köçü Bey and later memorialists adduce the violation of this rule as one of the causes of Ottoman decline. An 'askari could, by decree, be demoted to the *ra'iyâ* class or a *ra'iyâ* promoted as a reward for exceptional services to be an 'askari. Both were infrequent in the early period. By the early sixteenth century, however, Sultan Süleymân found it necessary to issue a decree confirming sipahis of peasant descent in their fiefs, and protecting them from dispossessment on these grounds. In the period of decline the dilution of the military caste by the intrusion of peasants and townspeople becomes a common complaint. By the 18th century the extension of the fiefs to the peasantry and of Janissary affiliation to the merchants and artisans had distributed the status of 'askari so widely as to deprive it of any real meaning.

**Bibliography:** *Kânûnâme-i Alî 'Oğlân, TOEM supplement*; 1329 A.H., 39 ff.; *Kisâletü Kökû Bey*, chapters 7 and 13; Sarî Mehmed Pasha, *Nasâ'ih al-Vüzerâ*, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1935, 118; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 109-110; Halli İsmâ'îl, *Fatih devri tarihinde Teshkilat ve Vesikalat*, Ankara 1934, 108 ff.; id., *Ottoman Methods of Conquest*, St. L., II, 1954, 112 ff.; id., *Timariidien d'Asie au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 1952, 128-131; Göbb-Hansen, *Index*, Istanbul Hakkı Uzunçarşı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Dahire Teshkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 230 and 240-2.

(B. LEWIS)

AL-'ASKARĪ. Two Arabic philologists of the 14th/15th century, both bearing the same name al-Hasan b. 'Abd Allāh, but of a different kunya, are known by this name, a relative noun derived from 'Askar Mukran in Khuzistān.

(i) **Abū AHMAD al-HASAN b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. SA'ĪD** was born in 'Askar Mukran, on 26 Shawwāl 293/11 August 906 and died there on 7 Dhu 'l-Hijja 382/3 Febr. 993. The date 382/940 is less probable. He began his studies under his father and the traditionist 'Abdān, d. 306/919, and continued them at Baghdad, Basra, and Isfahān under Ibn Durayd, d. 321/933, and the traditionists al-Bughawī, d. 379/989, and Ibn Abī Dīyāl, d. al-Sijistānī, d. 378/989. He also met al-Sāfi and other men of letters. Then he returned to 'Askar Mukran. He declined an invitation of the vizier al-Sāhib Ibn 'Abbād, but paid him a visit when the latter came to 'Askar Mukran. He went several times to Isfahān where his brother, the traditionist Abū 'Alī Muhammad had settled, e.g. in 349/960 and again in 354/965. He was a scholar of vast erudition and wrote a number of books (see Brockelmann S I, 193) but he was little known outside of Khuzistān; Yāqūt had great difficulties in obtaining information about him. His chief work, the *Kitāb al-Ta'yīn*, contains useful information about rare and difficult words and proper names occurring in traditions and poems and misunderstood by their transmitters. It was utilised by Yāqūt (*Ma'diyya*, vi, 384) and by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī (see *Ilm al-Khishāna*, 31 f.). Much of his learning has been preserved through the writings of his pupil Abū Hāshim al-'Askari.

**Bibliography:** Abū Nu'aym, *Ghazika'at Isfahān*, I, 272, II, 291; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* fol. 390 b; Yāqūt, *I'rshād*, III, 126-135; Ibn Khallikān, *Cairo* 1299, I, 234 f.

(ii) **Abū HILĀL al-HASAN b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. SA'ĪD**. Of his life very little is known. He was a pupil (but not a sister's son, for he never calls him *shaykh*) of the famous Abū Ahmad al-'Askari and owed to him the bulk of his learning, as is proved by the numerous references in his writings. He wrote amongst other works (see Brockelmann, I, 126 and S I, 193 f.) for the benefit of budding writers (1) *Kitāb al-Sinā'at* by al-Katib al-Wā'ili-Shāfi (Istanbul 1320, Cairo 1952; cf. P. Schwarz, in *MSOS* 15, 206-230), a systematic handbook of rhetoric, (2) *Diwan al-Ma'āni* (Cairo 1352), an anthology of the most elegant and original expressions of ideas met with in poetry and prose, (3) *Kitāb al-Furūq al-Lughawiyya* (Cairo 1353) dealing with synonymous words, (4) *al-Ma'diyya fi Babshiyat al-Aghya'* (Cairo 1353); abridged ed. by O. Reicher, in *MSOS*, xviii, 103-130), a list of words meaning "remainder". (5) *Diwanharat al-Amthal* (Bombay 1306-7 and on the margin of al-Maydānī, *Cairo* 1310), a collection of proverbs. Not yet published is his *lafiz* whose title *Mahāsin al-Ma'āni* suggests that he dealt mainly with the stylistic beauties of the Kur'an. The latest known date of his life is the year 395/1005 in which he finished dictating his *Kitāb al-Aṣṣāṭ* on the so-called inventors of arts etc. (Yāqūt, *I'rshād*, III, 138). He is said to have died after 400/1010.

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(J. W. PECK)

AL-'ASKARĪ, Abū 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Muhammad, the tenth Imam of the Twelver Shī'a. He is commonly known as al-Nakī and al-Hādī. He was the son of the ninth Imam Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Ridā [q.v.], and was born in Medina. Most Shī'ite authorities give the date of his birth as Rabi' al-Awwal 214/Sept. 829, though others say that he was born in Dhu 'l-Hijja 212 or 213/Febr.-March 828 or 829. His mother, according to some sources, was Umm al-Faḍl, the daughter of al-Ma'mūn; according to others she was a Maghribī Umm Walad called Sumāna or Sūsan. The latter story seems more likely in view of the statement in some chronicles that the marriage between Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Ridā and Umm al-Faḍl, though contracted in 202/817-8, was not consummated until 215/830. (al-Tabarī, III, 1029, 1102-3; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vii, 61-2; al-Ya'qūbī, II, 552-3. Some Shī'ite traditions say that Umm al-Faḍl poisoned her husband and died childless—al-Majlisī, *Diḥār*, xii 99 ff.). His father died in 220/835, and like him he became an Imam while still a small child. (Reasons of the Ismā'īli theological works). He lived peacefully in Medina until the accession of al-Mutawakkil, whose anti-ʿAlid policy soon brought him into difficulties. In 233/847-8 or 234/848-9, on the basis of reports reaching the Caliph, that Abū 'l-Hasan was engaged in seditious activities, Yāqūt b. Harjama b. Aḥsan was sent to Medina to escort him to Sāmarrā al-Taharī, III, 179; al-Nawbahghī, 77; *Nadwūn* vi, 271). He seems to have won the Caliph's respect and, though kept under surveillance, was not molested. He was greatly esteemed for his piety and modesty. He remained in Sāmarrā until his death, which took place in Djumādā II or Rabi' al-Awwal 254/June-July 868. His *nisba* al-'Askari derives from 'Askar Sāmarrā. He was buried in his home in that town. According to Shī'ite tradition he was poisoned by the Caliph (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii, 583, who already appears to know this story). The *Mahāsil al-Talibiyin*, however, does not include him among the 'Alid martyrs. His *biḥ* was Muhammad b. 'Uthman al-Samarrāi. Abū Ahmad al-'Askari owed to him the bulk of his learning, as is proved by the numerous references in his writings. He wrote amongst other works (see Brockelmann, I, 126 and S I, 193 f.) for the benefit of budding writers (1) *Kitāb al-Sinā'at* by al-Katib al-Wā'ili-Shāfi (Istanbul 1320, Cairo 1952; cf. P. Schwarz, in *MSOS* 15, 206-230), a systematic handbook of rhetoric, (2) *Diwan al-Ma'āni* (Cairo 1352), an anthology of the most elegant and original expressions of ideas met with in poetry and prose, (3) *Kitāb al-Furūq al-Lughawiyya* (Cairo 1353) dealing with synonymous words, (4) *al-Ma'diyya fi Babshiyat al-Aghya'* (Cairo 1353); abridged ed. by O. Reicher, in *MSOS*, xviii, 103-130), a list of words meaning "remainder". (5) *Diwanharat al-Amthal* (Bombay 1306-7 and on the margin of al-Maydānī, *Cairo* 1310), a collection of proverbs. Not yet published is his *lafiz* whose title *Mahāsin al-Ma'āni* suggests that he dealt mainly with the stylistic beauties of the Kur'an. The latest known date of his life is the year 395/1005 in which he finished dictating his *Kitāb al-Aṣṣāṭ* on the so-called inventors of arts etc. (Yāqūt, *I'rshād*, III, 138). He is said to have died after 400/1010.

**Bibliography:** a full account, with citation of sources, of the life, works, miracles, companions, and dealings with the Caliphs of the 10th Imam is given in Muhammad Bākir al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, xii, Tehran 1302, 126-153. Earlier notices are contained in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vii, 206-9, 379-381; al-Ya'qūbī (Houtsma), I, 614; al-Khatib, I, 445-6. De Sams' translation, II, 214-6; al-Nawbahghī, *Furūq* al-Shāfi, ed. Ritter, 77; Mufid, *al-I'rshād*, Tehran 1308, s.v.; In addition to the texts cited in the article, reference may also be made to al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, I, 128 ff., ed. Badrīn 347-8; Abū 'l-Ma'ālī, *Bayān*, ed. Schefer,

164 ff., ed. Ibbāl 42; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion*, London 1933, 209 ff.; J. N. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, London 1935, 87-89.

(B. LEWIS)

AL-'ASKARĪ, AL-HASAN [see AL-HASAN AL-'ASKARĪ].

ASL [see 086].

AL-ASLĀH, the most suitable or fitting, a term used by theologians in a technical sense. The "upholders of the *aslah*" were a group of the Mu'tazila who held that God did what was best for mankind. It is nowhere stated who composed the group. Abū 'l-Hudhayl held that God did what was best for men. Al-Nazzām introduced the refinement that there were an infinite number of equally good alternatives, any of which God might adopt instead of acting as He does; in this way he avoided the implication that God's power is finite. Others, because of the difficulty of maintaining that the actual world is the best possible, said that it was only in religion that God did what is best for men, viz. sent prophets to guide them. There was much diversity of opinion on this point among the Mu'tazila. The orthodox later used the story of the three brothers to show the absurdity of the view. One brother died young and went to Paradise; one grew up and was good and went to a higher place in Paradise; and one became wicked and went to Hell. If one tries to justify the lack of opportunity of the first to gain the highest position by saying that God knew he would become wicked if he grew up, then, on the suppositions of the "upholders of the *aslah*", it is impossible to explain why God did not cause the third to die young (cf. al-Baghdādī, *Usul al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1346/1928, 139 f.). The later Mu'tazila of Basra seem to have made similar criticisms of the Mu'tazila of Baghdad.

Divested, however, of the suggestion that a certain course of action was obligatory for God, the concept of *aslah*, identified with God's wisdom (*ḥikma*), has survived in orthodox Islam and found literary expression, for instance, in the *al-Risāla al-Admiyya* of Ibn al-Nafī [q.v.] (cf. J. Schacht, in *Homage to Milā-Vallieros*, II, Barcelona 1956, 325 ff.).

**Bibliography:** Ash'arī, *Mahāsil*, Istanbul 1299, I, 246-51, II, 573-8; Khayyāṭ, *Intisār*, Cairo 1344/1925, 8, 24 ff., 64 ff., Baghdadī, *Furūq*, 116, 167; Djuwayni, *I'rshād*, Paris 1938, 165 ff. (= tr. 255 ff.); Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 99; A. J. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 79-82; on the origin and background of the term, J. Schacht, in *St. L.*, I, 29.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ASMA', daughter of the caliph Abū Bakr by his wife Rutayla bint 'Abd al-'Uzza of 'Amīr b. Lu'ayy. She was the elder half-sister of 'Ā'ishā, and one of the early converts to Islam in Mecca. At the time of Muhammad's flight from Mecca with Abū Bakr, she took her girl in two to serve for the Prophet's provision-bag and the strap of his water-skin; this is the traditional explanation of her nickname *Dhāt al-Nidākhayn*, "She of the Two Girlies". After the Hijra she was married to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām [q.v.], and their son 'Abd Allāh was reputedly the first child born in the Muslim community at al-Madīna. She is said to have had four other sons and three daughters. Apart from several anecdotes illustrating her piety and self-denial, little more is reported of her except her courageous behaviour before and after the death of her son 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [q.v.]; in connexion with this she is credited with circulating a Tradition



from the Prophet denouncing the "two liars" (*al-haḍḍābānī*) who should issue from Ṭhābit (i.e. al-Mughira b. Shu'ba and al-Ḥaḍḍāb b. Yūsuf). She died in Mecca shortly afterwards, in 73/93.

**Bibliography:** L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, A.II. 75, § 36; Ibn Sa'd, viii, 282-6; Ibn Hanzal, *Muwad*, Cairo 1313, vi, 344-55.

(H. A. R. GIBB)  
AL-ASMA' AL-HUSNA.—"The most Beautiful Names", these being the divine Names. "To God belong the most Beautiful Names—pray to Him, using these Names"; *Kawṣar*, vii, 179; xvii, 125, x, 8; lix, 24, etc. Pious Muslims have always revered the mystery of the Name, which at one and the same time both designates and veils the Named (cf. *ḥidāṭ al-ism*).

**The Theological question.** A chapter of "Muslim theology" (*ʿilm al-tawḥīd*) is devoted to the divine Names. Problem stated: can one name God, and what, with regard to God, do the Names attributed to Him mean? *Preliminaries.* What is the name (*ism*)? Is it identical with the named (*muṣammā*) and with the denomination or definition (*ṣamsiya*)? On this problem in general see *ISM*. *Application of the divine Names.* The reply of the narrators of Tradition, reiterated by the strict Aḡharites, is: the divine Names can only be given to God by *taḥḍīḥ*, i.e. by preconceived "determination"; by which we understand as God Himself has "determined" it in the Qur'ān and secondarily in the *Sunna*. The employment of the latter in this connexion must be limited to "authentic" (*ṣāḥiḥ*) and "good" (*ḥasan*) *ḥadīṭ*. Some people admit a possible determination derived through *ijmāʿ*. According to the Mu'tazilites and the Kāramiyya, when *ʿaḥd* (Reason) proves that an attribute (either of existence, or negative or of action) is suitable to God, it is permissible to employ the corresponding Name, whether or not it is mentioned by the texts. This is a case of attribution of the Name by human reason. Al-Ghazzālī admits this solution for those attributes (*ṣifāt*) which, he says, designate a significant added to the essence; he does not admit it for the employment of the Name designating the divine essence itself. "Middle" solution of the Aḡharite al-Bīḥillīn, followed by many later Aḡharites: if the text or the tradition gives an attribute to God or speaks to us of an act of God (but in these cases only), "according to the rules of the language", one may designate Him by the corresponding Name, even though the texts do not "determine" it. And one should in particular exclude non-scriptural names, which would evoke a notion incompatible with the absolute divine perfection. (God should not be called *ʿarīf*, as *maʿrifa* "presupposes that some intention has been overcome"; likewise He should not be called *ḥabīb*, *ʿabīl*, etc.). According to this thesis, which has become current, the Names must, therefore, either be scriptural or at least have a scriptural derivation. *Two related problems:* a) the Names are eternal, Aḡharite thesis, in opposition to the Mu'tazilite thesis which holds them to be contingent; b) Hanafite-Māturīdite line: they are equal in importance and excellence (cf. *Fikḥ Akbar*, ii, 26); Aḡharite line: a hierarchy exists among them with the Name *Allāh* taking precedence (or, as the Sūfīs are prone to say, with some other Name known to the initiated, or even the ineffable Name, only attained through initiate experience, taking precedence).

**The 99 Names.** A *ḥadīṭ*, transmitted by Abū Hurayra, states: "To God belong 99 Names, a

hundred less one; for He, the Odd Number (= the Unique) likes (to be designated by these enumerated Names) one by one; whoever knows the 99 Names, with *taṭarrūʿ* (piety), the nature and attribution of these Names became one of the most diligent devotions in Islam. The pious Muslim repeats them and meditates on them, usually with the help of the 99 beads of the *subḥa* ("rosary") (q.v.), except for the *Wahḥīb*, who object to this custom as being a reprehensible *bidʿa* ("innovation"). It appears that a Syriac Christian custom already made use of the *subḥa* to count off an enumeration of divine Names, which was much shorter than the Muslim enumeration.

In fact, on the one hand, the traditional 99 "most Beautiful Names" do not exhaust the list of all the Qur'ānic Names; on the other hand, some of them do not occur *ad litteram* in the Qur'ān. As a result, the list was not always absolutely fixed and was liable to contain variants. It does not suffice, therefore, to settle the entire question of the divine Names. But the place held by this recitation in Muslim piety gives it an outstanding importance. It expresses clearly enough the pious Muslim's faith in God, and what the supreme Name *Allāh*, which, in itself, recapitulates all the others, means for him. We shall reproduce the most usually accepted list, in accordance with the *ḥadīṭ*, with a translation and a brief commentary. As space does not permit us to trace its usage historically, we shall take it in its finished form, as given by most of the *tafsīr* to Qur'ān, xvii, 170. Fairly frequently the Name *Allāh* is as though set apart, the hundredth Name if one so desires (thus the *tafsīr* of the *Qalālaya*). But it is also at times considered as the first of the enumeration; in which case the 67th Name *al-ṣubḥid* is suppressed and joined to the 68th *al-ʿakad*. Main references: *al-Mabūd al-ʿAsd* of Ghazzālī (Cairo ed. n.d.), especially 23-72; *Mawḍūʿ* of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Idḡī, commentary by al-Djurdānī (*Sharḥ al-Mawḍūʿ* Cairo ed. 1325/1907 vol. 8 211-17) who himself refers to al-Ghazzālī and to Sayf al-Dīn al-ʿAmīd.

The usual order may be established as follows: the first 13 Names (or Names 2 to 14 when the list starts with *Allāh*) are the 13 *ḥurūf* enumeration of verses lix, 22-24. The subsequent order seems to be mainly metonymic, governed by assonances, associations of verbal forms, doublets having both a correlative and paradoxical sense, etc. Connexion with the attributes (*ṣifāt*), where indicated by us, is that put forward by al-Ghazzālī or al-Djurdānī. Also to be noted: the Arabic root of several of these Names expresses different, sometimes opposite meanings, which are, therefore, present together in the mind of the Muslim reciting and meditating on the *subḥa*. It is therefore impossible at times to translate a Name into a European language by one single word.

**List of the "99 most Beautiful Names".** 1) *Allāh*, name belonging to God, "designates God Himself and may not be applied to any other being"; 2) *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, the Benefactor (or the Merciful), the Compassionate; depend on the attribute of will, both connoting the same sense; however according to al-Ghazzālī, *rahīm*, unlike *rahīm*, may only be applied to God (reminder of *Rahmān*, divine proper Name?); 4) *al-malik*, the King, indicates independence (negative attribute) towards all things, the dependence of everything as regards God (active attribute), and perfection of the divine power (attribute of power); 5) *al-quḍḍā*, the

Holy, in the sense of Separated (negative attribute), indicates: a) the absence of all blemish; b) that neither imagination nor sight can penetrate the mystery of God; 6) *al-salām*, Peace; a) possessor of a flawless peace (negative attribute); b) giver of peace and salvation at the beginning of the creation and at the time of the resurrection (active attribute); c) will pronounce the benediction of peace over his creature (attribute of speech); 7) *al-mu'min*, the Believer; a) with regard to this Name, the doctors of *ḥadīṣ* speak of God's "increate faith" in Himself; Idḡī comments: God is *mu'min* in as much as He puts faith in Himself and in His Messenger, meaning that He authenticates Himself and authenticates His Messenger by His supreme Veracity; this He accomplishes either by affirming Himself and His Messenger (attribute of speech), or by working, by "creating" the miraculous proof; b) God may also be called *mu'min* towards his disciples as a source of security and protection (*amān*); 8) *al-muḥayyis*, the Vigilant; a) ever present witness, whose omniscience is on guard over everything (attribute of knowledge); b) to be associated with *amīn*, taken as sincere, truthful in His speech (attribute of speech); 9) *al-ʿazīz*, both the Powerful and the Precious; a) negative attribute: means according to al-Ghazzālī, rare, very precious and difficult to obtain,—God is so rare that He is absolutely Unique, so necessary that nothing would exist without Him, so inaccessible that He alone can know Himself; according to al-Idḡī: without father or mother, whom no place can contain, and nothing resembles Him; b) attribute of action: He punishes whomsoever He wishes, is the Master of the retribution for actions; 10) *al-ḡhāḡḡir*, the Very Strong, the Haughty;—nothing or will may resist; according to another sense of the root *ḡḡr*; who sets to right, who restores, according to His Desire, what concerns His creatures. Depending on the circumstances: attribute of action, or negative and positive together. Synonym: *ʿazīm*, with the sense "all deficiency is diverted therefrom"; 11) *al-mutakabbir*, the Haughty;—according to al-Ghazzālī, everything seems base to Him in the sight of His Essence; al-Idḡī—al-Djurdānī: meaning also very close to *ʿazīm*; 12) *al-ḡhāḡḡ* and 13) *al-ḡhāḡḡ*, according to al-Idḡī—al-Djurdānī have a single sense: the Producer, the Creator of things; 14) *al-musawwir*, the Organiser, who ordains and composes the forms (*ṣuwar*) of things. These last three Names depend on attributes of action. Al-Djurdānī analyses them more closely: all three connote the passage from non-being to existence, the first towards determination, in accordance with the divine decree (*ḡadar*); the second towards existentialisation properly so called (*wuḡḡḡ*); the third towards the co-ordination of forms, according to the best of ordinances.

The Names 2 to 14 are given in the same order as *Kawṣar*, lix, 22-24. Now follow Names grouped in preference according to euphony.

35) *al-ḡhāḡḡir*, the Indulgent, pre-eminently the Pardoner, who knows how to remit the sentence of punishment even for one who deserves it (al-Ghazzālī makes it, by participation, the human qualitative of Jesus, just as he made *al-ḡhāḡḡir* his qualificative of Muhammad); attribute of will; 16) *al-labbār*, the Deceivator, He who always subdues, dominating and never dominated (negative attribute of action); 17) *al-wakḡḡ*, the constant Giver, who gives abundantly, receiving nothing in return (active attribute); 18) *al-razzāz*, the Dispenser of all good, who dispenses what pleases Him; primarily concerns the physical

needs of every human being (al-Djurdānī), but also the spiritual needs of rational creatures (al-Ghazzālī, —attribute of action; 19) *al-fatḡḡ*, (three shades of meaning according to the various connotations of the root), a) the Victorious, who vanquishes difficulties and brings about victory (active attribute); b) the Judge, whether pronouncing sentence (attribute of speech), or making known the decision (attribute of will); c) the Revealer, who discloses to men that which remained concealed from them (al-Ghazzālī); 20) *al-ʿalīm*, Knowing in a perfect manner everything which is knowable; Name directly bound to the attribute of knowledge (*ʿilm*) which is an attribute of essence (*ḡhāḡḡ*); a "natural" (*ḡāḡḡ*) attribute is involved, says al-Djurdānī.

The six following Names, whilst referring to Qur'ānic roots, are not to be found *ad litteram* in the Qur'ān; they are therefore regarded as "traditional". They go in pairs, opposites and correlative at the same time, except the absolute gratuitousness of God's gift. 21) *al-ḡhāḡḡ*, he who restrains, and 22) *al-matī*, he who expands (the lives, the hearts of his servants); 23) *al-ḡhāḡḡ*, who humbles and humiliates, and 24) *al-raḡḡ*, who raises in dignity; 25) *al-mu'azz*, who gives honour and strength, and 26) *al-muḡḡḡ*, who abases and degrades; 27) *al-ʿamī*, the Hearer, and 28) *al-bāḡḡ*, the Seer; God hears and sees all things, according to two "attributes of the essence", which the Qur'ān affirms, and which reason, this time, cannot prove; *al-bahām*, the Judge in his act of sovereign decision; idea of wisdom and providence (al-Ghazzālī, attached to the attributes of knowledge, speech, action); 30) *al-ḡāl*, the Just, who is supreme Justice,—nothing bad can come from Him (negative attribute); 31) *al-lafī*, the Benevolent, who creates in His servants a grace of benevolence (*laḡḡ*), to come to their help (attribute of action); 32) *al-ḡhāḡḡ*, a) the Sagacious, very close to *ʿalīm*, in the sense of knowing the intimate secrets of creatures (attribute of knowledge); b) who chooses, who decides freely (attribute of speech); 33) *al-ḡālīm*, endowed with gentleness, who is slow to punish (negative attribute); 34) *al-ʿazīm*, the Inaccessible (cf. the sense given with regard to *al-ḡhāḡḡ*); according to al-Ghazzālī is beyond the limits of human understanding, just as the earth and sky cannot be taken in at a single glance;

35) *al-ḡhāḡḡir*, the Very Indulgent, who pardons much; a) according to al-Idḡī—al-Djurdānī: identical in meaning to *al-ḡhāḡḡir*, just as *al-raḡḡm* and *al-raḡḡm* are identical in meaning; b) according to Ghazzālī: *al-ḡhāḡḡir* stresses that God pardons even repeated sins, whereas *al-ḡhāḡḡir* conveys in an absolute manner and without precision the infinite pardon of Muhammad; 36) *al-ḡhāḡḡ*, the "Very Grateful", in a metaphorical sense, coming from *ḡhāḡḡ* (gratefulness), i.e.: a) who gives much as reward for little (attribute of action), b) and proclaims the eulogy of whomsoever obeys him (attribute of speech);

37) *al-ḡāl*, the High; for al-Idḡī: synonym of *al-mutakabbir*; for al-Ghazzālī: God, primary Cause, is on the highest step of the scale of being; 38) *al-kabīr*, the Great; for al-Idḡī: synonym of *al-mutakabbir* and of *al-ḡāl*; for al-Ghazzālī: synonym of *al-ʿazīm*, stresses the absolute perfection of the being of God, whose eternal existence is the source of the being of all creatures; 39) *al-bāḡḡ*, the vigilant Guardian: sense close to *ʿalīm* according to al-Idḡī, for vigilance (*ḡāḡḡ*) is the opposite of negligence and forgetfulness, and therefore has its origin in *ʿilm*; a) God is Vigilant, continually



in action, by this action watching over the whole universe, without having to give His attention to things one after the other (negative attribute); b) He assures the permanence of created forms, by a vigilance which resists deprivations (attribute of action); 40) *al-mukāṭṭ* (four shades of meaning), a) the Nourisher, source of strength, for He creates nourishment (physical and spiritual); synonym of *al-ṣāḥib* (al-ḡhazzālī), b) the Detourner, who decrees and fixes destiny, attribute of power (*ḥakīm*); c) the Witness (*shāhid*), who knows the Mystery (*al-ghayb*), attribute of knowledge; d) the Present; 41) *al-ḥāsib*, the Calculator, He who settles accounts: a) who gives sufficiency, for He creates for His servants what is sufficient for them (active attribute); b) who, by His words, asks of whomsoever is submissive to the Law, account of what he does of good and of evil (attribute of speech); 42) *al-djāʾil*, the Majestic, worthy of veneration; a) according to al-ḡhazzālī, it is the stress placed on the Beauty of the divine Being which distinguishes this Name from *al-mukāṭṭabir* and *al-ṣayṭon*, with their adjacent meanings; b) according to al-Idrī, synonym of *al-mukāṭṭabir*; c) according to al-Djurdjūdī, qualified by the attributes of majesty (*djādāl*) and beauty (*djāmal*); 43) *al-ḥārim*, the Generous; four shades of meaning: a) endowed with liberality (attribute of action); b) who fixes the measure of generosity (attribute of power); c) from whom comes all nobility (attribute of relation); d) who pardons faults; 44) *al-raḥib*, the jealous Guardian, sense close to *ḥafiz* (and thus derived from the sense of *ṣālim*), according to al-ḡhazzālī, with a stress placed on an absolute and jealous vigilance; 45) *al-muḍallif*, the Assenter, who grants prayers; al-ḡhazzālī, who hastens to satisfy the needs of creatures, who anticipates them; 46) *al-wāḥid*, the Omnipresent, who embraces and contains all things; He extends His generosity to everything which exists, His knowledge to everything which is knowable, His power to everything which may be determined by it, absolutely and without His having to pay attention successively to things (al-Djurdjūdī); 47) *al-ḥakīm*, the Wise; a) synonym of *al-ṣālim* (al-Idrī), endowed with wisdom, i.e. with knowledge of things as they come from Him and with the production of actions according to what is expedient; b) the Prudent in His decisions: which corresponds to the perfect soundness of His providence, the guiding of the world and to the benefit from the accomplishment of His decrees; 48) *al-wāḥid*, the Very Loving; a) who loves the well-being of His creatures and procures it for them gratuitously; b) refers to the attribute from which proceeds the praise He bestows on the believer and the reward which He gives him; 49) *al-muḍallif*, the Glorious, a) whose actions are resplendent, whose favours abound; b) the praise due to him belongs to Him alone; 50) *al-bāḥiḡ*, the Revivifier, who will revivify every creature on the day of the Resurrection (this name has only a traditional origin); 51) *al-ḡhādī*, the Witness, a) who knows the Mystery, b) and who is Present (cf. 3rd. sense of *al-mukāṭṭ*); 52) *al-ḥakīm*, the Ideal, supreme Truth, connotes *al-ṣāli* (same kind of attribute): a) necessary by essence (ontological truth); b) perfectly truthful in His speech; c) the praise due to Him (truth); manifest; 53) *al-wāḥid*, the Trustee, He to whom everything is entrusted, who takes care of all the needs of creatures; 54) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Strong, who has power over all things; 55) *al-muṭin*, the Unshakable, whose power is without limit; 56) *al-wāḥi*, the Friend, the Protector, in the sense of helper,

defender; and also: the Holder of authority; 57) *al-ḥamīd*, Worthy of praise (attribute of relation); 58) *al-muḥṣi*, the Numberer, who comprehends and knows comprehensively all numbered things (*al-ṣālim*) and has power over them (*al-ḥāḥi*); 59) *al-muḥṣi*, the Innovator; a) absolute creator of beings; b) whose favours are purely benevolent; 60) *al-muḥṣi*, He who resuscitates, who causes the creature to "return" after its destruction; 61) *al-muḥṣi*, the Creator of life, and 62) *al-muḥṣi*, the Creator of death,—He who causes to live and to die; 63) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Living, one of the "essential attributes", "in the obvious sense" (al-Idrī); God is always acting and watching, whereas none can act upon Him in any way and none can perceive Him without dying; He is Living in the highest and most perfect degree of life, by reason of the absolute perfection of His Activity and His Knowledge (al-ḡhazzālī); 64) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Self-Subsisting: a) who subsists in Himself and by Himself, without any reason for being other than Himself (negative attribute); b) who rules and co-ordinates creatures, and none can subsist without Him; 65) *al-wāḥid*, the Opulent (the Perfect), to whom nothing can be lacking or be needed (negative attribute); 66) *al-wāḥid*, the Noble, the High (*al-ʿālī*), attribute of relation: to whom sovereignty and power belong (attribute of action), (N.B.—Here the majority of the enumerations insert the Name *al-wāḥid*, the Unique; al-ḡhazzālī and al-Idrī, who omit it, recall the sense in connexion with the commentary on the following Name); 67) *al-ḥāḥi*, the One, pre-eminently essential attribute, the very attribute of divine perfection,—differs from *al-wāḥid* as follows: *al-ḥāḥi* the One by Essence, absolute simplicity of the Essence, insuperable and inimitability of the divine attributes; *al-wāḥid*, the One God, there is no other God; 68) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Impenetrable; a) the Master, He who reigns (attribute of relation); b) sense close to *al-ḥāḥi*: from the acts of His adversaries neither trouble nor move (negative attribute); c) the Very High in dignity; d) He to whom one prays and supplicates (attribute of relation); e) in whom there is no "fellow": negation of all mixture and of all possible division into parts; 69) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Powerful, and 70) *al-muḥṣi*, the All-powerful; 71) *al-muḥṣi* and 72) *al-muḥṣi*, He who brings near and sends away: He brings near to Himself whomsoever He wishes and shows him his preference; He sends away from His sight whomsoever He wishes; 73) *al-ḥāḥi*, the First and the Last (Alpha and Omega): He is before everything and nothing is before Him; He is after everything and nothing is after Him (Primary Cause, efficient and final, according to al-ḡhazzālī),—negative attributes; 75) *al-ḥāḥi* and 76) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Patent and the Latent;—Patent: a) known by decisive proof (attribute of relation); b) which manifestly dominates all things (attribute of action);—Latent: a) screened from the senses (negative attribute), b) who knows the hidden things (attribute of knowledge); 77) *al-wāḥi*, the Reigning (al-Idrī); 78) *al-muḥṣi*, the Very High, the Exalted, synonym of *al-ʿālī*, the High, but with a supplementary idea of triumph; 79) *al-ḥāḥi*, who causes piety (*ḥayr*) to function in the heart and bestows the benefits; 80) *al-muḥṣi*, the "Essential", as of pure and gratuitous favour, returns to His servants if they return to Him, repenting of their faults; 81) *al-muḥṣi*, the Avenger, chastising whomsoever disobeys him; 82) *al-ṣāḥi*, who rubs out the traces of faults on the leaves where actions are inscribed; 83) *al-ṣāḥi*, the Merciful, the Compassionate, who

wishes to lighten the burdens (sense close to *rahīm*), according to al-ḡhazzālī; 84) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Master (King) of the Kingdom, who possesses in complete sovereign independence the world and each creature; 85) *al-ḡhāḥi* *wa* *l-ḥāḥi*, the Lord of Majesty and Generosity, sense close to *al-ḡhāḥi*, observe al-ḡhāḥi and al-ḡhāḥi; 86) *al-muḥṣi*, the Just, al-ḡhazzālī specifies "on the Day of Judgement"; (al-Djurdjūdī recalls that the root, according to the verbal forms, has both the meaning of "just" and "unjust"); 87) *al-ḡhāḥi*, the Assembler: a) who assembles beings according to their similitudes, their differences, their oppositions (al-ḡhazzālī); b) who reunites adversaries on the Day of Judgement (al-Idrī—al-Djurdjūdī); 88) *al-ḡhāḥi*, the Independent, who lacks nothing; 89) *al-muḥṣi*, the Enricher, who embellishes every creature, from whom creatures derive their perfection; 90) *al-muḥṣi*, (traditional Name only), the tutelary Defender; correlative of *al-ḥāḥi*, the vigilant Guardian; *al-ḥāḥi* stresses the idea of guarding, protecting,—and *al-muḥṣi* the idea of prohibiting and suppressing and excluding; 91) *al-ḥāḥi*, He who afflicts, and 92) *al-wāḥi*, He who favours: two traditional Names only; they teach that evil and good, affliction and favour, harm and benefit derive only from God; 93) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Light,—God is Light: a) of a perfect and manifest evidence in Himself, b) and He it is who makes all things manifest and evident, by causing them to pass from non-being to being; 94) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Guide, who creates the "right direction" (*al-ḥādī*) in the hearts of believers; and leads every being, rational and irrational, towards its end; 95) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Creator-Inventor, who is at the beginning of everything: a) who creates and invents without a model; b) who is Himself First absolutely, and nothing is similar to Him; 96) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Eternal, who remains,—without end; 97) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Inheritor,—who continues to exist after the annihilation (*fanā*) of His creatures,—to whom returns everything which His creatures possess; 98) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Leader, who directs with justice; who leads on the way of the Good; 99) *al-ḥāḥi*, the Very Patient, slow to punish, and who always acts in due time: sense close to *al-ḥāḥi* (traditional Name only).

Such is the list of the 99 "most Beautiful Names". Other lists exist, which sometimes exceed this number: one then encounters *al-raḥib*, the Lord, *al-muḥṣi*, the Benefactor, *al-muḥṣi*, He who gives, who grants (his gifts), *al-ḥāḥi*, the Sincere, the Truthful, *al-sāḥi*, who protects and who vouches, etc. To conclude, there are numerous studies on the divine Names which seek to group them according to the attributes (thus, al-ḡhazzālī, *Makṣad*, 72 ff.), with a predilection for imparting an appearance of spiritual meditation to this presentation. There are many examples of this in *taḥṣīṣ*. It is then no longer so much a question of providing a commentary on the 99 "most Beautiful Names", as of applying all the rules of *taḥṣīṣ* and of language to magnify the divine Mystery. For the use of the divine Names in *ṣūfi* prayers, see the article *ṣūfi*.

**Bibliography:** I) In addition to the Arab authors cited in the body of the article, reference should be made to the main Kur'anic *tafsīr*, and the very numerous manuals of *ḥadīṣ*, chapter on *al-asma'* *al-husnā*; 2) an example among many others of a *ṣūfi* "meditation": Ibn 'Aṭīr, *Alḥāḥi* of Alexandria, *al-Kaṣd al-Muḍjarrad fi Maṣṣiṭ al-Imal-Muṭarrad* (Cairo, al-Azhar ed., 1348/1930); 3) references in European languages: A. J. Wen-

sinck, *Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 196, 239; (non-typical) list of the *asma'* *al-husnā* ap. J. Windrow Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology*, I, 1, Lutterworth Press, 1945, 215-216; Miguel Asín Palacios, *El judío medio en la Creencia, compendio de teología dogmática de Alghazālī* (trans. of the *Iḥṣāḥ*, followed by fragmentary annotated translations of the *Makṣad*), Madrid 1929, 435-471; Y. Moubarek, *Les Noms, titres et attributs de Dieu dans le Coran et leurs correspondants en épigraphie sud-sémitique*, in *Muséon*, 1955, 86 ff. (L. GARDET).

AL-ASMA' AL-HUSNĀ. Abū Sa'īd 'Abū al-Malik R. RUYAR, Arabic philologist, d. 237/858 (also other dates in Yāqūt, *Irbid*, and later writers). The date of his birth, often stated as 123/828, is said not to have been known to himself; (see *Irbid*, vi, 86). The *nisha* al-Asma' is derived from one of his ancestors, Asma', that of al-Bāḥil from the ill-reputed Kayseite tribe al-Bāḥil, a relationship which is alluded at in a satirical poem of a contemporary poet; (see Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tahṣīṣ al-Shi'ar*, 130, and *al-Shi'ar*, 58 f.). In an anecdote he presents himself as an offspring of Banū 'Aṣur b. Sa'd b. Kays 'Aṣlān; (see al-Kāḥi, *al-Amāl*, i, 117).

This scholar and his contemporaries Abū 'Ubayda (q.v.) and Abū Zayd al-Ansārī (q.v.) constitute a triumvirate to which later philologists owe most of their knowledge about Arabic lexicography and poetry. They were all of them disciples of the leading philologist of Basra, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alāḥ (q.v.). Among their numerous disciples the litterateur al-Djāḥiz has left in his works a monument of their learning. An astonishing memory and an unusually critical mind distinguished al-Asma'. From his teacher he had taken over also an accurate consciousness of the limits fixed to philological knowledge; (see an utterance of Abū 'Amr quoted by Suyūfī, *al-Muṣṣir*, i, 123). The method of seeking information from the bedouins in matters concerning grammar and lexicography which seems to have been developed in Basra under the stimulus of Abū 'Amr was taken over by his disciples. A list of the bedouin teachers of the Bagdadi is given in *Fihrist*, 43 f.; (cf. *al-Muṣṣir*, ii, 401 f.). In Basra common people were familiar with his scholarly interests and could suggest to him where he could find a *ḡhayṣ* possessing a perfect knowledge of the *lughā*; (see *al-Muṣṣir*, ii, 307). Anecdotes tell also of his rides into the desert to visit bedouins and collect pieces of poetry from their lips. Already as a young man he was sought by students who were anxious to learn from him, and his *madḡḡ* was widely known. Of the different branches of philological work which had already developed, lexicography particularly corresponded to his talent, whereas Abū Zayd is said to have been his superior in grammar and al-Kāḥi to have been in despair about him in metrical matters; (see Ibn Dīnār al-Kāḥi, 397). There are several traditions about the circumstances which brought al-Asma' to Baghdād and the court of Hārūn al-Raḡḡid. According to a story told by al-Marzubānī and quoted by al-Yāqūt, ii, 66, he had met the caliph already in Basra. As a crown-prince Muḥammad al-Amīn summoned him and he was introduced to the caliph by the vizier al-Fadl b. al-Raḡḡ; (see *Ta'rikḡ Baghdādī*, x, 471). According to al-Djāḥizīyārī, al-Wazā'ir, 189, he was introduced to Hārūn al-Raḡḡid by Dja'far b. Yahyā al-Barmakī. The Barmakids bestowed substantial benefits on him; (see Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *op. cit.*, 98). This did not restrain him however from satirising



them after they had fallen into disgrace; (see al-Dihāghīyārī, 206). As an intimate of Dī'a'far he was himself in fear of his life when he got to know about the fall of Dī'a'far in 187/803; (see al-Dihāghīyārī, 206). In al-Asma'ī's opinion, the poet Ishāq b. Ibrahim al-Mawqīf, his rival at the court, was more successful in obtaining from the caliph a ready-money consideration for his wit; (see *Asghārī*, v, 77, al-Huṣrī, *Zahr al-Adab*, 1012, and *Iṭṭihād*, ii, 203). The 'Ibd of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih contains a number of the "extraneous tales" (*naṣidat*) and the "amusing stories" (*muṣalāḥ*) with which al-Asma'ī entertained the caliph. After the death of Hārīm, al-Asma'ī seems to have returned to Basra. According to the last piece of evidence he died in Marw; (see Ibn Khallikān, nr. 359).

Among the disciples of al-Asma'ī and related circles of Basra and Baghdad there circulated numerous stories told by him or about him which found their way into Arabic literature. Some of them certainly catch authentic features of his character. Thus we are told that, at the summit of his career, though possessing at that time considerable property, he persisted in living as a poor man. As against the luxuriousness of the Persians, the plain living ascribed in tradition to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī represented to him the pure Arab way of living; (see al-Dihāghī, al-Buḥārā, (al-Hāghīrī), 186). The numerous sayings of unlearned men and women of the desert told by him are certainly meant also to illustrate, not only the *balāgha* but also the sincere piety of plain-living people. His predilection for the sentimental and pathetic elegy—he is said never to have transmitted satirical poetry—is in accordance with his idealisation of the Arab race according to his own religious feelings. In authentic traditions he relates the sayings of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Numerous traditions beginning with the formula "I heard a bedouin saying in his prayer" are in the same spirit. In the works of later writers these sentimental features dominate the character of al-Asma'ī. We find them in the romantic story put into the mouth of al-Asma'ī in one of the fictitious "traditions" (*ahādīth*) of Ibn Durayd; (see al-Kāll, al-Amālī, ii, 7). In the *Mukhḍarat al-Aḥbar* of Ibn al-'Arabī, the learned philologist of Basra tells, as did his contemporary the Egyptian mystic Dha'ī-Nūn, about his meetings with poor bedouins and young girls who revealed to him an unexpected and extraordinary insight into the mysteries of the divine love; (see *op. cit.*, i, 81 and 133).

His orthodox contemporaries and later writers agree that al-Asma'ī was an orthodox Sunnī. According to Ibrahim al-Harīrī (d. 283/89), there were among the philologists of Basra only four definite adherents of the *ṣuṇna*, one of them being al-Asma'ī; (see *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, x, 418; cf. Ibn al-Anṣārī, 170). As an instance of his piety tradition adduces that in order to "avoid sin" he answered with strict silence to any philological question which evidently had or could have a bearing upon the reading of the Kur'ān or the wording of tradition. (A list of examples is given in *al-Muṣṣir*, ii, 325 f. Whereas for Abū 'Amr and Abū 'Ubayda the study of the *luḡha* was dependent on that of the Kur'ān, al-Asma'ī thus separated in himself the "reader" from the grammarian and the transmitter of poetry. In accordance with the attitude held by his teacher Nāfi' and the readers of Medina (see about this subject *Two Muqaddimas in the Quranic sciences*, ed. A. Jeffery, Cairo 1954, 183) al-Asma'ī consequently abstained also from *tafsīr*; (see *al-Muṣṣir*, ii, 416, and *Iṭṭihād*, i, 26 f.). In this

respect he was opposed to people of Mu'tazilite and Kadarite outlook who, in his view, commented upon the Kur'ān according to their "opinion" (*ra'y*), as did Abū 'Ubayda in his *al-Maḡāzī*; (see *Iṭṭihād*, ii, 389 and vii, 167).

As a transmitter of poetry al-Asma'ī and his generation were essentially influenced by "the great transmitters", Hammād al-Rāwīya and Khafā' al-Aḥmar (q.v.). The inconveniences connected with the unreliable character of these persons were clearly seen by him; (see *Iṭṭihād*, iv, 140 and *al-Muṣṣir*, ii, 406; cf. Blachère, 99 f.). In order to collect in a complete and definite form the odes of the great pre-Islamic poets he sought persons known to have a reliable knowledge of the tradition. In his work he developed a critical method remarkable for his time, a deep knowledge of the topography of the Arabian peninsula, of the genealogies of the tribes and, above all, of *luḡha* and of grammar. Handed down by his disciples, these critical remarks found their way into the works of later commentators. On the basis laid by al-Asma'ī, his disciple Ibn Ḥabīb, 'Alī b. Abd Allāh al-Tūst and, finally, al-Sukkarī, prepared the definitive editions of the *diwān*.

From the 72 pieces or fragments of pre-Islamic or early Islamic poets which he collected in an anthology called *al-Asma'īyyāt* (ed. Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter*, i, Berlin 1902), we can get an idea of al-Asma'ī's literary taste. On the subject of criticism (*nadh*) al-Asma'ī's numerous writings of al-Asma'ī are quoted in later writers. In a note-book called *Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā'* (ed. Torrey, ZDMG, 1911, 487-516), his disciple Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī collected answers given by his teacher to the question which poets are to be regarded as *faḥl*. Whereas Abū 'Amr, according to al-Asma'ī, was never heard to quote an Islamic poet (Ibn Raḡhīb, *al-Umda*, i, 73), his disciple valued the new poets who mastered the *luḡha*; (see for instance Ibn al-Djarrāh, *al-Warāḥa*, 60. For his criticism of the *muṣallāt*, see J. Fück *Arabiya*, 22 f.).

Applying to the rich lexicographical materials collected by him the systematic methods employed by philologists from the very beginning of these studies in 'Irāq, i.e. of grouping together items of similar material, al-Asma'ī composed a series of monographs the titles of which are listed in the *Fihrist*, 55. In his *Diwān al-'Arab*, which is lost but is copiously quoted by Yāqūt in his *Ma'āḍim*, he often seems to adduce a first-hand knowledge of topography; (see for instance *Ma'āḍim*, i, 705). About the size of these treatises we know from *Fihrist* only that the *Ḥawār al-Hadīth* was written in 200 folios. A number of them, however, have been preserved; (see Brockelmann, i, 104 and S. I, 164). That these specimens of al-Asma'ī's lexical work do not represent the final state of his collections seems obvious, if one compares for instance the rather meagre text of his *al-Nabāt wa'l-Shadīr* (ed. Hafner, Beirut 1898) with the rich material on the subject quoted from al-Asma'ī by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī in his *Kiṭāb al-Nabāt*.

Among the disciples of al-Asma'ī, Abū Naṣr Ahmad b. Ḥātim al-Bāḥilī was known to be his *ra'yīya*. He is said to have transmitted the books of his teacher to Tha'lab; (see *Iṭṭihād*, ii, 140). As a transmitter of them there is mentioned also Abū 'Ubayd al-Kāsim (q.v.), who divided the books of al-Asma'ī into chapters and added some pieces of information to them on the authority of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and the philologists of Kūfa; (see *Iṭṭihād*, vi, 162 f.).

For later lexicographers the main source of information about materials collected by al-Asma'ī was the *Tahdhīb al-Luḡha* of al-Azhārī. In the introduction (ed. Zetterstéen, MO, 1920, 1 f.), al-Azhārī mentions the direct and indirect sources from which he drew these materials.

*Bibliography*: Strick, *Biographie des grammairiens de l'école de Basra* (Kronkow), Paris-Beirut 1936, 58-68; *Fihrist*, 55-56; al-Raba'ī, *al-Muntahā min Ahbār al-Asma'ī*, ed. al-Tanūkhī, Damascus 1936; *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, x, 410-420; Yāqūt, *Iṭṭihād*, passim; *Aghāni*, Tables; Ibn al-Anṣārī, *Nuṣṣa*, 150-72; Ibn Khallikān, no. 359; al-Nāṣirī, *Ma'āḍim al-Diḡān*, ii, 64-77; Sayyid, *Muḥṣir*, passim; *idem*, *Diwān*, 213 f.; many other casual references in Arabic works; J. Goldziher, *Mus. St.*, i, 195, 199, ii, 171; Brockelmann, i, 104, S. I, 164-165; R. Blachère, *Litt.*, i, 113 f., 142, 149; C. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Gāhiz*, 134.

(B. LEWIS)

AL-ASMA'ĪYYĀT [see AL-ASMA'Ī].

ASPER [see ARCE].

'ASR (al, time, age; particularly the early part of the afternoon, until the sun becomes red; hence *ja'at al-'asr*, the ritual prayer in the afternoon, cf. SAKĀT. (Ed.)

ASRAṬĪL [see TIRAZĪL].

ASS [see ALĀN].

ASSAB, town and port at the N.W. end of the Bay of Assab on the coast of Eritrea. The surrounding country is arid and is inhabited by Afar (Danakīl). Assab is generally identified with the ancient Sabae, described by Strabo (xvi, 772) as *πάλαι εὐχρηστὴρ*. Its importance is due to its position opposite Mukhā and at the end of a caravan route leading to the Ethiopian plateau, both the Red Sea and the coastal desert being comparatively narrow at this point. In 1936-39 the Italians built a motor road from Assab connecting with the main Add Ababa-Assmara road near Desaye. Assab was known to the Jesuit missionaries of the early seventeenth century; they describe it as Ethiopian territory. It was occasionally visited by European voyagers who found it a useful place in which to careen their ships. In 1641 it was called "a very good road . . . where you may have wood and water freely, and refreshing for your money or coarse calicos". (Sir W. Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, i, 131). It is mentioned from time to time in the Company's records and is said to have been ruled by a Muslim "King". In 1866 it was acquired from the Sultan of Bahayta by the Italian traveller, ex-missionary and propagandist for colonial expansion, Giuseppe Sapeto, acting for the Rubattino shipping company, by which it was used as a coaling station. It became an Italian colony in 1882 and with the extension of Italian rule was made the capital of a commissariat. In 1928 Ethiopia was granted freedom of trade at Assab which became increasingly important commercially.

*Bibliography*: G. Sapeto, *Assab e i suoi cricci*, Genoa, 1879; G. B. Licata, *Assab e i Danakili*, Milan, 1885; A. Isel, *Viaggio nel Mar Rosso*, Milan, 1885; *Guida dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, Milan, 1938. (C. F. BECKINGHAM)

ASSAM, name of the easternmost province in the Republic of India, situated between East Pakistan and Burma, within 23° 19' and 28° 16' N. Lat., and 89° 42' and 97° 12' E. Long. It comprises the Brahmaputra valley and the hill ranges enclosing small plateaus, the shelter of numerous hill tribes and refuge of the Mongol hordes. The province

covers 85,012 English square miles, and its population in 1951 was 9,043,707, of whom 1,996,456 were Muslims, three-fourths of these being concentrated in the westerly districts of Goalpāra and Kāmārup, contiguous to North Bengal, and Cachar, adjacent to Pakistani Sylhet. Since 1920 their percentage has considerably increased in other neighbouring districts owing to immigration from Bengal, the eastern portion of the valley remaining unaffected.

In Sanskrit records the valley is called "Lawhitya", Prāg-jyotisha", or "Kāmārupa". The word, Assam (correctly Āsāma, locally pronounced Ahōm), is connected with the *Shani* or *Tais*, a group of Tibeto-Burmans, who settled about 8th century A.D. in Siam, Upper Burma, and finally in this province. Its derivation from Sanskrit A = āsāma (= "people") is unwarranted. The Ahom migrants had a sense of history, and produced works called *Iṭṭihād*. The first king known is Sukaphā, who, in 1228, occupied a portion of the Upper Valley. His successors gradually conquered the neighbouring tribes and established the Ahom kingdom. The western valley, with the city of Gawahāṭī, which lay outside their domains, retained the name of Kāmārup, and was ruled by petty landlords, collectively called Bārābhūiyas. Twice they were integrated into the kingdom of Kāmārup-Kāntā, first by the Khens, and next by the Kochas, northern rural neighbours of the Muslim Sultāns of Bengal.

The Muslim advance into Kāmārup falls into three stages. The first, which began in A.D. 1206 with Bakhtiyār Khālji, is a period of raid, occasional occupation and imposition of tribute. It culminated in 1357, when Sikandar Shāh founded the mint of Castlān'urī Kāmāri (possibly Gawahāṭī). It is in one of the neighbouring caves that Ibn Baṭṭuta possibly met the famous saint Shāh Dildāṭ Tahrīf. The second period began with the defeat of Kāmāvara, the king of Kāntā, by Bārābhūiyas, and the final occupation of Kāmārup by 'Alā' al-Dīn Husayn Shāh after overthrowing the Khen king, Nīlambar, in 1498. So far the Muslims had not contacted the Ahoms. Kāmārup being alone mentioned in contemporary Muslim records. The *Burani* speak of first Muslim invasion in 1532 by Turbak (possibly Babr-bak = "naval officer"), obviously an official posted in Kāmārup, but the invading forces were utterly routed. With the downfall of the Huayn Shāhī dynasty in 1538, the Kochas emerged and established their kingdom. Of this period the tomb of Sulṭān Ghayyūḍ al-Dīn Awliya at Hajo is an important memorial. The third period began in 1612, when Islām Khān, the Mughal Governor of Bengal, subjugated the Kochas and occupied Kāmārup once again. Hereafter wars with the Ahoms became frequent, and Assamloomed large in Persian chronicles. In 1662 Mir Djuṃlā finally reduced the Ahom king and imposed an annual tribute on him. The subsequent weakness of the Mughals encouraged the Ahoms, who by 1682 occupied the whole Brahmaputra valley and continued to rule till 1824, when the British intervened to check the threat of the Burmese and integrated Assam into their territory. The Ahoms retained the services of the Muslims for their skill in arts and crafts. The *Marias* (barriers) and the *Garias* (tailors by profession) are even now common to some districts. In the middle of the 19th century a large percentage of the Muslims were affected by the "Farā'īdī" movement. The humbler peasants have developed a peculiar local culture, combining with their faith in Islām the local rites and customs and national festivals of this region.



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**‘ASSĀR**, **SHĀMS AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD**, Persian poet, born in Tabriz, died in 779 or in 784/1382-3; he was one of the panegyrist of the prince Uways (q.v.) and is chiefly known for his poem *Mīhr u Mughlārī*, at the end of which he gives the date of its completion [to Shawwāl 778/1377]; this poem consists of 5,120 distichs and was later translated into Turkish. In the words of Ethé (*Gr. I. Pél.*), it is "the story of a love, free from every frailty and pure from every sensual lust, between Mīhr, the son of Shāhshūrah, and the comely strippling Mush-tārī".

**Bibliography:** Von Hammer, *Gesch. d. schönen Redekünste Persiens*, 254 [analysis and translation of selected passages; the name of the poet is erroneously given as 'Alī(Dī)]; Peiper, *Comment. de libro persico Mīhr u Mughlārī*, Berlin 1839; Fleischer, in *ZDMG*, xv, 359 ff.; Rieu, *Cat. Persian MSS. Brit. Mus.*, ii, 626; Pertsch, *Katal. Berlin*, 843 ff. (H. MASSÉ)

**ASSASSINS** [see *ḥashshīn*].

**ASSUAN** [see *uswān*].

**ASTARĀBĀDHĪ**, Astarābād, (Istirābād in Sanskrit, Anadī).

1. A town in Iran situated ca. 23 m. east of the S-E corner of the Caspian Sea at 36° 40' N. lat. and 51° 42' E. long. (Greenwich) on a tributary of the Karāsū. It is 377 ft. above sea level and 3 m. from the foothills of a mountain chain, a spur of the Elburz. The town lies on a plain which ends in the Turkoman steppes to the north. Astarābād is now called Gurgān (not to be confused with medieval Gurgūn, Arabic *Gurjān*, to the N-E).

The pre-Islamic history of the town is unknown, and it is uncertain whether it existed before Islam, although Mozdammān in *SF Hayr*, *AK*, 1869, 336, identifies it with ancient Zadrakart. The etymology of the name is also obscure. Folk etymology connects the name with the Persian word for "star", or for "mule", and appropriate stories are told of the origin of the town.

Astarābād was the second city of the province of Gurgān in Islamic times and underwent the same fortunes as the capital city Gurgūn. The province was raised by the Arabs in the time of the caliph ‘Uthmān al-Baladhīrī, *Futūh*, 334, and again by Sa‘īd b. ‘Uthmān under Mu‘awīya, but it was not conquered until Yazīd b. Muḥallab defeated the ruling Turks of the area in 98/716. There is a tradition that Yazīd founded Astarābād on the site of a village called Astarak.

There were frequent rebellions in Gurgān during both the Umayyad and the ‘Abbāsid caliphates. Astarābād is rarely mentioned by historians, and the geographers also give little information. It was a silk centre according to al-Istakhārī, 213. The port of Astarābād (and Gurgān) on the Caspian, Astarābād, was an important trading centre. The *Uyūd al-‘Ālam*, 134, says the people of Astarābād spoke two languages, one of which is probably preserved in the dialect used by the Hurafī sect.

After the Mongol conquest of Iran we find Astarābād replacing Gurgān as the most important town of the area. The province was the scene of strife between the last Il-Khāns, the Timurids, and local Turkish tribal leaders. Sometimes during this period the Kādjir tribe of Turkomāns became the leading power in Astarābād, Aghā Muhammad, first of the Kādjir Shāhs, was born in Astarābād. Shāh ‘Abbās I, Nādir Shāh, and Aghā Muhammad all erected buildings in Astarābād. The town, located on the steppes, continually suffered the depredations of Turkomāns.

Astarābād had many mosques and shrines (see Kabūn, below), and was called *dar al-mu‘minin* probably because of the many sayyids living there. The name of the town was changed to Gurgān under Rīdā Shāh, and in 1950 it had ca. 25,000 inhabitants. There are few old remains in the town, and only two are noteworthy, the Imāmzāda Nūr and the mosque of Gulshāh. Rablow (below, 725) lists the shrines of the town as well as the inscriptions.

2. The province Astarābād, as it existed under the Kādjirs, was bounded on the north by the Gurgān River, on the south by the Elburz Mts., on the west by the Caspian Sea and Māzandarān, and on the east by the district of Dījārlān. The district (*shahristān*) of Gurgān under Rīdā Shāh was smaller. The province could be divided into two parts, the mountain area and the plains. The former is well-watered with many trees, while the latter is fertile, even marshy but becomes desert to the north. Wheat and tobacco are grown extensively here. The population is mixed, with Persian speakers predominant in the mountain area and the towns, and Turkomāns on the plains.

**Bibliography:** A history of Astarābād was written by a certain al-Idrīsī (d. 405/1014) which has not survived. (see Brockelmann S E 270); H. E. L. Kuhn, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, London 1928, 71-7; Yāqūt, i, 242; G. Melgoum, *Dus siid. Ufər des Kaspiischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, 107-24; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, i, Paris 1894, 82-112; Le Strange, 378-9. For recent information on the town and province of Gurgān, see *Farkhānāh-i Dījārlān* by S. Ibrāhīm, ed. Kāzmāzī, 3, Tehran 1951, 224-5. A plan of the town appears in *Rāhnāmā-yi Irān*, Tehran 1952, 203. See also art. on Astarābād in *Dīkhkhudā, Luḡat-nāma*, Tehran 1952, 2143-6.

(R. N. FRAYE)  
**AL-ASTARĀBĀDHĪ**. The *nishā* of several Muslim scholars of whom Raḡl al-Dīn al-Astarābādī and Rukn al-Dīn al-Astarābādī (see below) are the best known. Yāqūt describes Astarābād as a city producing scholars proficient in all sciences and mentions the *Kāfī* Abū Naṣr Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad b. Imāmī al-Muṭarrīf al-Astarābādī (d. circa 540/1155-6), the *imām* Abū Nu‘aym ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ‘Adī al-Astarābādī, author of a treatise on the verification of traditions (d. 320/932) and the *ḥādī* al-Husayn b. al-Husayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Husayn b. Rāmd al-Astarābādī, a much-

travelled scholar who consorted with Sūfīs (d. in Baghdad in 412/1021-2). There were several well-known Astarābādī ‘ulamā in Safawid times, including Ahmad b. Tāj al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Sayf al-Dīn al-Astarābādī, author of a biography of the Prophet, ‘Imād al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Shar‘ī al-Kāfī al-Astarābādī, author of a treatise on the recitation of the recitation of the Qur‘ān, and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ansārī al-Astarābādī, who translated an Arabic work on ethics. The *nishā* al-Astarābādī is given also to several lesser known scholars, such as al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad al-Astarābādī, a grammarian and lexicographer, and the traditionist Muḥammad b. ‘Alī.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, i, 242; Storey, 42, 177, 192; Suyūṭī, *Daḡayāt al-Wu‘ūd*, Cairo 1396/1908, 218; Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, in the *Library of the India Office*, Oxford 1903-37, 724-826 (1162); Loth, *Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, London 1877 i, 258; Muḥammad b. Imāmī Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥāṭirī, *Munlaḥ al-Maḥal* (Bibliothèque Tehran 1302/1885); the *Manḥad al-Maḥal* of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Astarābādī is published as a supplement to this; ‘Abī Akbar Dīkhkhudā, *Luḡat-nāma*, Tehran 1332/1953, s.v. *Astarābādī*. (A. J. MANGO)

**AL-ASTARĀBĀDHĪ**, RAḢĪ AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN, author of a celebrated commentary on the *Kāfīya*, a well-known grammatical work of Ibn al-Ḥajjīb. Al-Suyūṭī, who praises the commentary as unique, admits to knowing nothing of Raḡl al-Dīn’s life, except that the work was completed in 683/1284-5, and that Raḡl al-Dīn was reported to have died in 684 or 686/1285-6. He also wrote a lesser known commentary on the *Shāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥajjīb. The *ḥādī* Nūr Allāh Shāhshūrī interprets a reference in the introductory prayer as meaning that this commentary on the *Kāfīya* was written in Najaf, but the term *ḥaram* which occurs in the Arabic edition could refer just as well to Mecca, where Suyūṭī obtained his information on the date of Raḡl al-Dīn’s death. There seems no doubt, however, that Raḡl al-Dīn was a Shī‘ī.

**Bibliography:** Suyūṭī, *Daḡayāt al-Wu‘ūd*, Cairo 1396/1908, 248; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Hur, al-‘Amāl, *Amāl al-‘Amāl*, lithographed, Tehran 1302/1885, 61; Kāfī Nūr Allāh Shāhshūrī, *Madjalis al-Mu‘minin*, fifth *Madjīs*; Brockelmann I, 21, 303, 305; S. I. 332, 533, 713; M. S. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, Allahabad 1894, Introduction, xi. Raḡl al-Dīn’s commentary on the *Kāfīya* was published in Cairo in 1251/1939. (A. J. MANGO)

**AL-ASTARĀBĀDHĪ**, RUKN AL-DĪN AL-ḤASAN B. MUHAMMAD B. SHARAFDĪN AL-‘ALAWĪ, known as Abū T-Ḥadī al-Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn, a Shī‘ī scholar best known for his commentary on the *Kāfīya*, a grammatical work of Ibn al-Ḥajjīb. This commentary, the *Wāḍiyā*, is known also as the *Mutawassit*, or "intermediate", as it was the second of three commentaries. Al-Suyūṭī, quoting Muḥammad b. Raḡl’s appendix to the *Ta’wīḡ al-Baḡhdādī* (the passage is not included in the abridged *Baghdādī* edition of 1938) says that he enjoyed the patronage of Naṣr al-Dīn Tūst (q.v.) in Marāgha where he taught philosophy and composed commentaries on *Ṭabarī*’s *Taḡrīd al-‘Alawī* and *Kawāṣir al-‘Abbāsid*. He accompanied Tūst to Baghdad in 672/1272, and after the death of his patron in the same year, settled in Mawṣil, where he taught in the *Nāriyya madrasa* and composed his commentary on Ibn al-Ḥajjīb. From Mawṣil he went on to Sulṭāniyya,

where he taught Shāfi‘ī jurisprudence. He died in 715/1315-6 or 718/1318-9 (two MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale give the date of his death as 717/1317-8 and 719/1319-20). Rukn al-Dīn was reputed for his modesty as well as for the honour in which he was held in the Mongol Court.

**Bibliography:** Suyūṭī, *Daḡayāt al-Wu‘ūd*, 228; Sulṭī, *Tabaḥṭ al-Shāfi‘iyya al-Kubra*, Cairo 1306, vi, 861; Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, in the *Library of the India Office*, Oxford 1903-37, 724-826 (1162); Idem, *Arabic MSS.*, in the *British Museum*, London 1894, 946; de Slane, *Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, Paris 1883-95, 2369, 4037; Brockelmann I, 305, 51, 530; M. S. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, Introduction, v. (A. J. MANGO)

**ASTARĀN** [see *ASTURĀN*].

**ASTORGA** [see *ASTURGA*, in the Suppl.].

**ASTRAKHĀN**, city and district. The city lies on the left bank of the Volga, some sixty miles from the point where it runs into the Caspian Sea, 46° 21' N, 48° 2' E, 20.7 m. below normal sea level, 7.6 m. above the level of the Caspian Sea. Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii, 410-2, who passed through here in 1313, mentions for the first time a settlement supposed to have been founded by a Meccan pilgrim, whose religious reputation brought the district exemption from taxes; this was supposed to explain its name, viz. *Hāḡḡī* *Tarkhān* (*tarkhān* means among the Mongols in later times a man exempt from taxes, a nobleman). Other forms of the name are *Cytrykan* or *Zytrykhān*, in Ambr. Contarini’s account (1487) *Citican*, in Turkish-Tatar sources also *Akhākhān* and *Ashtarakhān*. The settlement lay on the right bank of the Volga on the Shārenī (or Zārenī) hill; the first coins discovered are from 776/1374-5 and 782/1380-1. (777/1375-6: Chr. Frāhn, *Münzen d. Chane etc.*, St. Petersburg 1832, 22, no. 102; Idem, *Reuensio etc.*, St. Petersburg 1826, 300, no. 1; A. K. Markov, *Inv. Katalog*, St. Petersburg 1896, 860; 1380-1; Idem, 470; P. S. Savčev, *Monety Dzhidano*, ii, St. Petersburg 1858, 18, no. 416; also the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, possessed a specimen.) In the winter of 798/1395-6 Timur destroyed the city, as well as Saray (q.v.) (Shāhī, *Zāfar-nāma*, ed. Tauer, i, 158-64). In contrast to the latter Astrakhān rose again and took over eventually its importance as a centre of trade; in the course of this it became, as earlier the neighbouring Khazar city of Itil (Aḡd) (q.v.), eventually the centre of the traffic on the Caspian Sea and the lands bordering on it.

In 871/1466 there was established in Astrakhān, during the decline of the Golden Horde (cf. *BAṬṬIN*) a Tatar dynasty of the Noghay princes stemming from the Tatar Khān Kūčūk Mehmed. The territory ruled by the Khān Khānī (871-908/1469-91) and his brother ‘Abd al-Karīm (in Russian and Polish *Ablungirym*; 896-910/1490-1504) encompassed the country as far as the modern Stavropol’, Orenburg (Khalov), Samara (Kuybyshev) and Saratov, and was divided into various *uluses*. The population supported themselves mainly by cattle raising, hunting and fishing. Conflicts with the *begs*, the rapid changes of the Khāns after 910/1504 on interference of the Chinese Tatars and the Nogheys brought the Khānate into difficulties; the Khān ‘Abd al-Rahmān 941-5/1534-8 sought help against these and the Ottomans from the Russian Czar. (For a list of the Khāns see Zambaur, 247, and for a genealogical table *ibid.*, 245.)







of the *hadiya* into  $2 \times 12$  hours, starting from 0° and 180°, as shown in Fig. 1a (outer rim), is often found on European, but never on oriental astrolabes. The latitude for which a *saḥba* is designed is usually engraved near the middle of the disc; it may be expressed in various ways: by degrees and minutes (e.g. "valid for the lat. of 38° 54'"), by the name of a particular city ("valid for the lat. of Mecca"), or by the duration of the longest day ("valid for 14<sup>h</sup> 45<sup>m</sup>"). N.B. Ascending errors are sometimes found in the descriptions of astrolabes in

European collections, where *abjad* numbers are misread for names of (non-existing) places. The number of the *saḥba*'s varies; a good instrument may contain nine and even more. Certain astrolabes have also a *saḥba* which gives for a particular geographical latitude the projection of the circles of position, as required for the calculation of the astrological *directions* (*ḥasyr*); others have a *saḥba* "for all latitudes" (*ḥi-ḥamā' al-'arad*) also called the "tablet of the horizons" (*saḥba al-ḥayyān*) or "general tablet" (*ḥamā'a*), which carries only the projection of the

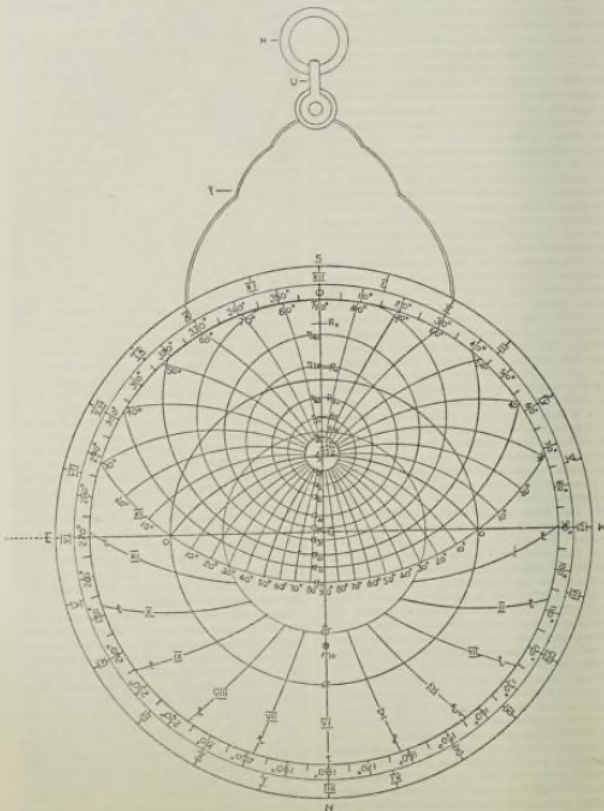


Fig. 1a. Face of an astrolabe showing the division of the *Saḥba*.

meridian and that of the horizon for a number of latitudes; the projection of the latter is often reduced to one-half of each arc of horizon. This disc serves to solve, for any latitude, the problems concerning the hour and the azimuths of the rising and setting of stars (cf. Michel [1], 91-2). The "perfect" (*ḥāmil*) astrolabe, moreover, bore the circle of the sun's equation. Finally, by interchanging the four quadrants of a *saḥba*, such fanciful figures as the "magical tablet" are obtained (see Michel [1], 61 and Fig. 44); although being only a geometrical play, they allow the same measurements to be carried out as does an ordinary *saḥba*. An astrolabe on which all of the 90 almanacs are marked, is called "complete" *ḥāmil*, L. *solipartitum*. If only every second, third, fifth, sixth, ninth, or tenth, almanac is marked, it is called *nisfi* (*bipartitum*), *ḥalḥāl* (*tripartitum*), *ḥūmal*, *ṣadī*, *ṭaw'ī*, *ṣaḥrī*.

The *ʿashabāt* represents the vault of the fixed stars turning around the earth at rest represented by the *saḥba*. In order to allow the diagram of the *saḥba* to be seen as clearly as possible it is wrought in the shape of an openwork plate, having of course due regard to its solidity and the space required for attaching the protuberances or pointers (in the sing. *ḥaḥba*, *ḥaḥbiyya*) indicating the fixed stars. It is because of this reticulated form that it has been called a "spider", referring of course to the spider's web (Gr. *ἀράχνη* and L. *aranea* may both mean the spider and its web). In designing this "spider", no limits are imposed on imagination, and almost every conceivable type is found, from the simplest geometrical pattern to the most beautiful leaf and scroll designs. As shown in Fig. 2, its most important part is the circle of the zodiac, (*minṭaqat al-ḥurūd*), which is constructed in exactly the same way as all other circles represented on the *saḥba*. It is divided into the 12 *ḥurūd* comprising 30° each, but it is well to note that this division, radiating not from the pole of the ecliptic, but from that of the equator, does not indicate ecliptic longitudes, but the points of the zodiac having the right ascensions 0°, 30°, etc., and their subdivision into degrees (*muḥallatun ḥawā*, see Michel [1], 67 f., and Hartner [1], 254 f.). At the point of contact with the southern tropic, the zodiac carries a little point or hand, *A*, which serves to read the graduation on the *hadiya*. The spider is rotated by means of one or several handles, *M*, called *mudr* or *mudhr*. By combining parts (halves, fourths, sixths, even twelfths, i.e., single signs) of the zodiac represented in northern with others represented in southern projection, the zodiacal belt assumes more or less fantastic shapes for which equally fantastic names were invented: *al-Birūnī* and others tell us about *ḥabīb*, "drum", *ḥāḥ*, "maypole", *ṣarṣanj* or *masarjan*, "crab", *ḥadāḥ*, "shell", *ḥawrī*, "bull", *ḥaḥā'ihī*, "anemone" astrolabes, etc. Probably the *asturlāb ṣawrahī*, "boat astrolabe" of *Aḥmad al-Sijzi* (c. 400/1009) belongs to this category. For more detailed information, see Frank [1], 9 ff. and Michel [1], 69 f.

Other planispherical astrolabes based on other projections than the stereographic are to be regarded as theoretical constructions without practical significance, e.g. the astrolabe devised by al-Birūnī and called *ṣafḥat al-'ayn* "cylindrical", because of its projection (Ptolemy's "Analemma"), which al-Birūnī called *cylindrical*, and which we now call orthographic; the circles of the sphere are projected there in the form of straight lines, circles and ellipses. The *ṣafḥat al-'ayn* astrolabe, described by al-Birūnī (*Chronology*, 358-9), appears

to have been only a stellar chart in equidistant polar projection, i.e., the pole of the ecliptic was the centre of the projection, the parallels with the ecliptic or circles of latitude (*ḥawā'ir al-'arḥ*) were represented by equidistant concentric circles and the circles of longitude (*ḥawā'ir al-fal*; N.B.: in European

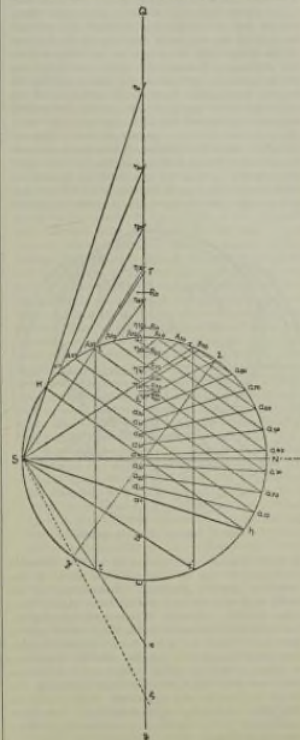


Fig. 1b. Stereographic projection on the equator.

astronomy, illogically, these great circles through the poles of the ecliptic are called "circles of latitude" by equidistant radii. The other projection mentioned on 359 f. is a peculiar variant of the one devised by al-Zarqālī (see below).

(b) The back of the astrolabe is nearly always divided into four quadrants. The outer rim of the two upper are graduated from 0-90°, starting



from the horizontal line; the altitude of the sun or a star, taken with the aid of the alidād, is directly read on this graduation. Although the rules for the arrangement of the designs on the back are less strict, it can be said that the distribution of the diagrams in most cases is as follows: The upper left quadrant carries horizontal and/or vertical lines representing sines and cosines; the upper right, several sets of curves, one of which indicates the altitude of the sun when standing in the azimuth of the *hība*, valid for a number of cities and for any position of the sun in the zodiac, while another set indicates the altitude of the sun at midday for various geographical latitudes at all seasons of the year; the lower two quadrants contain the shadow squares, one devised for a gnomon of seven "feet" (*hadam*), the other, for a gnomon of twelve "fingers" (*asha*). As these divisions, which were first introduced by al-Zarkālī (hence lacking only on the very oldest instruments, such as the one made by Ahmad and Muhammad, the sons of Ibrahim of Isfahan, in 374/984-5, Oxf. Lew. Evans Coll.), may be interpreted



Fig. 2. Spider of an astrolabe.

as the tangents and cotangents of the altitudes measured, it can be said that the back of the astrolabe offers a graphical demonstration of the main four trigonometrical functions.—Apart from these divisions, all kinds of calendaric, astrological, and religious information can be found. Characteristic differences must be noted here: Spanish-Moorish astrolabes always have a Julian calendar, Egyptian, a Julian or Coptic, while Persian never have any solar calendar. Similarly, the lines indicating the times of prayer are apparently found only on Maghribī (including Spanish-Moorish) astrolabes (according to a personal communication from M. Henri Michel).

The alidād is a flat ruler turning around the *hub* on the back of the astrolabe. Figs. 3 a and c show the two principal types employed. Fig. 3b being a drawing in perspective of *a*. The straight line A B passing through the centre is called *hub*, L. *linea fiduciae* or *fidci*. The two arms of the alidād are sharpened to a point (*ghatba*, *ghaziya*) and each has a rectangular plate (*litha*, *dafra*, *hadaf*) standing at right angles to the plane of the alidād itself, through which a hole (*ḥaḥba*) is bored above the *linea fiduciae*.

The inconvenience that a special *paṭha* is required for each latitude was remedied by the Spanish Arab al-Zarkālī (Azarquiel, Arzachel) who made the vernal or the autumnal point the centre, and the solstitial colure (i.e. the meridian passing through the solstitial points) the plane of projection. In its final form, which al-Zarkālī called *al-ghabdhāya* in honour of al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abdā, king of Sevilla (461-84/1068-91), the entire instrument consists of a single tablet with two small subsidiary pieces. On the face of the tablet in stereographic "horizontal" (as opposed to the ordinary, "vertical" projection the equator is represented with parallels (*madārī*) and its circles of declination (*manārī*), and with the ecliptic with its circles of latitude and longitude; the projections of the equator and the ecliptic, then, are straight lines through the centre. Then evidently the tablet is valid for any geographical latitude; moreover, since the projections of the two hemispheres exactly coincide, it suffices to add the principal stars, to make it replace the "spider" of an ordinary astrolabe. A rod (*ṣaḥ* *maḥ*) "oblique horizon", with an attached perpendicular ruler, both turning about the centre of the graduated face, fulfils the functions of the *paṭha* of the common astrolabe; by inclining it at an appropriate angle to the line of the equator

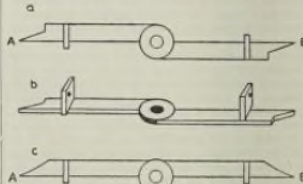


Fig. 3. Types of alidads.

we obtain the horizon of the place of observation, and can then deduce from its divisions the eastern and western amplitudes or else solve any other problem of spherical astronomy. On the back of the tablet are the alidād and the markings found on the back of the common astrolabes; but al-Zarkālī further added the "circle of the moon", which enabled him to follow also the course of our satellite.—This simple and perfected astrolabe was called by the other Arabs *al-saḥba al-zarkālīya*, "the tablet of al-Zarkālī". As mentioned above, the idea of making the solstitial colure the plane of projection appears to have been first conceived by al-Bīrūnī, whose *Chronology* was composed 30 years before al-Zarkālī was born. But curiously enough, he there (359 f.) acquiesces in devising a purely schematic, not projective, diagram, with the circles of longitude and latitude drawn through *equidistant* parts of the radii. It is, therefore, really al-Zarkālī who must be credited with the invention of this new type of an astrolabe. Through the *Libros del Saber* (Vol. 3, Madrid 1864, 135-237: *Libro de la aḥḥā*) the instrument became known and famous under the name *Saphasa*. It is practically identical with Gemma Frisius's *Astrolabium* (sic) *Catholicum* of 1556; the astrolabe of Gemma's pupil, D. Juan de Rojas Sumiento (published 1550) is a variety of it, where the stereographic is replaced by orthogonal projection (cf. above, al-Bīrūnī's "cylindrical" pro-

jection). Another early variety of al-Zarkālī's astrolabe is the *saḥba ḡhabhāya* (or *ḡhabhāya*), about which we do not yet possess any accurate information.

For the difficult problem of deriving the date of manufacture of an astrolabe from the astronomical data on which it was based (position of the vernal point, longitudes of stars and, in some cases, the longitude of the perihelion), see Michel [1], 133 ff. and Pouille [1]; for a demonstration that the application of modern astronomical methods necessarily leads to false conclusions, see also Hartner [2] 104, 135-8. No conclusions whatever can be drawn from the (extremely slow) variation of the obliquity of the ecliptic; astrolabists nearly always assume it to be 23½° sharp.

II. The linear (*ḡhabhā*) astrolabe, also called *ṣaḥ* *ṭ-Ṭūl*, "the staff of al-Ṭūl", after its inventor al-Muṣaffar b. Muṣaffar al-Ṭūl (d.c. 610/1213-4) consists of one single piece, viz., a rod, with a plumb-line attached to its mid-point (i.e. the projection of the North Pole) a second thread fastened at its lower end, and a third thread, which is freely movable. The rod represents the NS line of an ordinary *saḥba*; its main divisions are those points in which the horizon, the almucantars, etc. meet the NS line. In the upper part are marked, moreover, the centres of the horizon and the almucantars, in the lower, the points in which each of the 12 *ḥurūf* and its subdivisions, as represented on the "spider", intersect with the NS line, in the course of one complete revolution of the latter. Another graduation, serving for measuring angles, indicates the cords of the angles 0-180°, where the cord of 180° equals the length of the whole rod. For further information, see Michel [1], 132-2, and Michel [2]; a first description was given by Carra de Vaux, *L'astrolabe linéaire ou bâton d'El-Touli*, in *J.A.*, 9th series, v, 464-516.

III. The spherical (*ḡhabhā*, *aharī*) astrolabe, called *astrolabio redondo* in the *Libros del Saber* (Vol. 2, Madrid 1864, 113-222, text compiled by Isaac b. Sid [Isaac ha-Haztan, called Rabbi Zag], exhibits without projecting the diurnal movement of the sphere relatively to the horizon of the place of observation. Its history is at least as long as that of the flat astrolabe. P. Tannery, *Recherches sur l'hist. de l'astronomie ancienne*, Paris 1893, 53 ff., in dealing with the principle of the latter, demonstrates how easily the idea of a globe carrying the main constellation, surrounded by a hemispherical "spider" carrying the horizon and the hour lines, could have been derived from the hemispherical sundial, *σφαῖρα* (called *σφαῖρα* by Eudoxus). The *Fihrist* (trans. by Suter in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. math. Wiss.*, Vol. 6, 19, 1892) mentions Ptolemy as the first manufacturer of a spherical astrolabe, but this is evidently due to a confusion with the *σφαῖρα* *ḡhabhā* described in *Alm.* 5, 1 (see introduction to the present article). Neither can the instrument devised by al-Battānī (*Op. astr.*, ed. Nallino, Vol. i, 319 ff.) be called a spherical astrolabe, as it is a combination of a celestial globe with an armillary sphere which lacks the essential characteristics of the astrolabe, above all the "spider". The main steps in the development of the spherical astrolabe before Alphonse X are marked by the treatises of Kūṣṭā b. Lūkkā (d.c. 300/912), Abū 'Iṣḥāq al-Nayrīzī (d.c. 310/922), al-Bīrūnī (*K. fi 'Idā' al-Waḥid al-Mumkina fi Saḥab al-ḡhabhā*), and al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī 'Umar al-Marrākushī (d.c. 660/1262, see L. A. Sédillo's sur- view of the section on the spherical astrolabe in *Alm.*, sur

les instruments astron. des arabes, Vol. i, Paris 1854).

The spherical astrolabe serves the same purposes as the planispherical astrolabe. Its main disadvantage is, that it is considerably less handy than the latter and yet does not yield better results. The instrument as described in the *Libros del Saber* consists of the following pieces: (a) a metal globe on which are engraved three complete great circles representing the horizon, the meridian, and the first vertical; furthermore, in the upper hemisphere, the almucantars and the halves of the vertical circles that lie between the horizon and the zenith. The lower hemisphere, as on the flat astrolabe, carries the lines of the unequal hours (the equal hours can be read directly on the equator). On the meridian a number of pairs of diametrically opposite holes are bored so as to make the instrument adjustable to any geographical latitude; (b) the openwork "spider" containing the ecliptic, the equator, a number of fixed stars, a quadrant of altitude, and (only on the Alphonse astrolabe) a shadow quadrant and a calendar; (c) a narrow semicircular strip of metal fitting closely to the surface of the "spider" and fastened with its centre to the pole of the ecliptic, about which it can be turned freely; together with the two diopters (tangent to the globe and parallel to one another) fastened at either end of it, it forms the alidād of the spherical astrolabe; (d) an axis passing through the appropriate pair of holes on the globe and through the equatorial pole of the "spider".—On the Alphonse astrolabe, the equator, otherwise always represented as a half great circle, is given the shape of a small (1) circle parallel to the equator proper. The astrolabe of al-Marrākushī, instead of the alidād, has a metal strip (*saḥba*) turning about the pole of the equator, with a small gnomon fixed at right angles to it, which can thus be set on any point of the equator. For detailed information, see Seemann [1].

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(W. HARTNER)

AL-ASWAD b. Ka'ān al-'Assī, of the tribe of Ma'dhijilī, leader of the first *rida* in al-Yaman. His proper name is said to have been 'Aḥala or 'Abhala, and he was also known as *Ḍhu 'l-Kūmār*, "the veiled one" (or *Ḍhu 'l-Himār*, "the man with the donkey"). After the murder of Khurāsānī Parwiz (Ar. Abarwiz) in 628, but possibly not before the capture of Mecca in 630, the Persians in al-Yaman, under Bādhām (or Bādhān), made an alliance with Muhammad, since they realised that they could obtain no further aid from Persia. The Arabic sources say they also became Muslims, but some European scholars place their conversion to Islam after the *rida* (or "apostasy"). Whatever the date of conversion, the alliance meant that the part of al-Yaman controlled by the Persians had become part of the Islamic political system. After the death of Bādhām Muhammad seems to have recognised a number of local leaders as his agents in different parts of the region, besides sending some agents from Medina. The neighbourhood of San'a remained under Bādhām's son, *Shahr*. About the end of 10 (March, 632) men of the tribe of Ma'dhijilī under al-Aswad al-'Assī expelled two of Muhammad's agents (Ikhālīd b. Sa'īd and 'Amr b. Huzm) from Naḡrān and the surrounding district, dethroned and killed *Shahr*, occupied San'a, and brought much of al-Yaman under the authority of al-Aswad. Kays b. al-Makhlūf al-Murādī acted in concert with al-Aswad against his rival for the leadership of Murād, Farwāh b. Musayk, who had been recognised by Muhammad. Al-Aswad's movement was thus directed against the political system established by Muhammad, not against the Persians as such, since some of them retained important positions in San'a. The religious aspect is not as evident as in the *rida* elsewhere, but al-Aswad increased his influence by claims to be a soothsayer (*kāhin*), speaking in the name of Allāh or al-Rahmān, and by practising sleight-of-hand. His mosothism is probably derived from the Christianity or Judaism of al-Yaman, not from Islam, since there is no record of his having become a Muslim. Al-Aswad's rule lasted only a month or two, for his death is said to have been before that of Muhammad (in Rabī' I 11/June 632). He was killed by some of those who cooperated with him, namely, Kays b. al-Makhlūf and the Persians Fayrūz (or Firiz) al-Daylamī and Dādhawayh, assisted by the widow of *Shahr* whom al-Aswad had married. Muhammad is said to have instigated this movement against al-Aswad, but this report is perhaps only a later reconstruction of the events.

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AL-ASWAD b. YA'FUR (also called Yu'far and Ya'fir) b. 'Abd al-Aswad al-Tamīmī, Abū 'l-Djarrālī, pre-Islamic Arab poet who lived probably at the end of the 6th century A.D. He is said to have travelled about among the tribes, composing elegies or satires in verse, and was for some time the companion of al-Na'udān b. al-Mundāḡhī, he is sometimes called al-A'ḡḡā of the Banū Naḡhāl, because he was night-blind, but he lost his sight at the end of his life, which is thought to have been extremely long. Of the poems which have come down to us, the most celebrated are a *ḥajda* in *dīl* al-Aswad, probably from his later years and containing the usual commonplace on life's difficulties, the approach of death, the flight of youth, the infirmities of old age, etc.

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ASYŪT, town in Upper Egypt. Asyūṭ, the largest and busiest town of Upper Egypt, is situated Lat. 27° 1' N. on the west bank of the Nile. Owing to its situation in one of the most fertile and sheltered districts of the cultivable Nile valley, and also to its being the natural terminus of great desert highways it was in antiquity an important town (Syoet, Greek; Lykopolis) and the chief town of a Nomos. Under Islam Asyūṭ remained the chief town of a *kāra* (modern *markaz*, "district"), and on the inauguration of the division into provinces became the capital of a province (*samal*, now *mudiriyya*).

Asyūṭ is the colloquial form of the literary Uṣyūṭ. Both are Arabisms for the Coptic Siout, to which in the late registers of the Middle Ages the form *Suyūt* or *Sarūt* corresponded. But as early as the time of al-Kalāshānī (d. 521/1118) the popular pronunciation was Asyūṭ.

A history of Asyūṭ cannot be written for the reason that we scarcely find any mention of it in the historians, and only towards the end of the Mamlūk period, under 'Alī Bey, did it play any historical part, viz. in the year 1183/1769-70, when it was for a time the centre of revolt. From the accounts of geographers and travellers we ascertain that it enjoyed unbroken prosperity throughout the entire Islamic period. At the end of the 19th century, it gained considerably in importance, especially after it became linked by rail with Cairo (in 1292/1875). Its population has risen from 28,000 in 1293/1876 to 42,000 before the first world war and about 120,000 at the present time.

In the Middle Ages Asyūṭ was famed for its agricultural products, its industry and trade. Besides corn and dates, quinces of an exceptional size were found here. The main industries were the weaving of woollen, cotton and linen goods. Owing to the alum and indigo obtained from the adjacent oases dyeing was extensively carried on; e.g. the materials manufactured for export to Dār Fūr were dyed here. Its specialties were fine linen goods, called *ḍaḡḡī* after their chief place of production Ḍaḡḡ in Upper Egypt, and fine woollen goods and carpets modelled on the classical Armenian products. Today Asyūṭ still manufactures black and white tulle shawls with silver applique-work, which are much sought

after in Europe, and represent the last remains of an industry once very famous throughout the Orient. Further Asyūṭ was engaged in the preparation of opium and in the making of high-quality pottery which, with its antique patterns, is still much in demand as black and red "Asyūṭ-ware".

There was a brisk trade in all these products throughout Egypt and abroad. The direct trade with the Sūdān is specially famous. The annual Dār Fūr caravans (numbering about 1500 camels) brought slaves, ivory, ostrich-feathers and other products of the Sūdān, and received in exchange the products of Egypt's industries, especially stuffs. The scholars of Napoleon's expedition made careful investigations into this trade which has now so much declined.

Like all the industrial towns of Egypt, Asyūṭ had a large Christian population—60, according to others as many as 75, churches and chapels—, but no Jews at all, a fact explicitly stated.

Caravanserais, barazā, bath—some of the latter famous and very ancient—, mosques and other public buildings adorn the town to-day as formerly. In one of the mosques stood a *minbar* which at certain seasons was filled with corn and carried through the streets as a *maḥmal* (Ibn Duḡnāḡ). Like all the flourishing towns of modern Egypt, Asyūṭ has a strong administration of Levantines.

Asyūṭ is the birth place of Plotinus, the Coptic Saint John of Lykopolis and of several Arab scholars named al-Suyūṭī, of whom the versatile historian Ḍalāl al-Dīn (d. 911/1505) is the best known.

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ATA, a Turkish word meaning "father", and also "ancestor" (cf. the expression *ata-ḡāḡ* "proverb"). Among the Oghuz, the qualifier *ata* was appended to the names of people who had acquired great prestige; this term can also bear the derived meaning of "wise", and even of "holy", "venerated".

"ATA", "gift", the term most commonly employed to denote, in the early days of Islam, the pension of Muslims, and, later, the pay of troops. It is "impossible" (cf. the expression *ata-ḡāḡ* "proverb"). Among the Oghuz, the qualifier *ata* was appended to the names of people who had acquired great prestige; this term can also bear the derived meaning of "wise", and even of "holy", "venerated".

The traditional starting-point is the organisation of the pensions by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The first Muslims had derived no material advantage except their share of the booty from successful expeditions. The flow of taxes into the coffers of the nascent caliphate enabled a better regulated form of reward to be envisaged, which the traditionalists and jurists explain in connexion with the organisation of the first *dīwān* and within the framework of their theories, subsequently evolved, on the utilisation of *ṭay'*; the various versions which they give accord ill

with one another, because they all reflect the desire, conceived at a later date, to find in the decisions of 'Umar a precedent which did not exist. The main outlines, however, are clear: according to a hierarchical order which took into account kinship with the Prophet and especially seniority as regards admission to Islam, graduated pensions were distributed to the whole Muslim population which had been displaced from its homes by the holy war (the *muhājirūn* and *anṣār* of the early days, together with the fighting men of a later date), women, children, slaves and clients (still not numerous and not by definition foreigners), but excluding, of course, the Bedouin and others who remained in Arabia and elsewhere, unaffected by the military expansion of Islam. The amount ranged from 200 to 12,000 dirhams, the great majority of the men receiving from 500 to 1,000 dirhams annually. The registration and classification of those eligible constituted the organisation of a service which recruited the first *dīwān*, and the division of the beneficiaries into groups, *ṣafā'a*, under the control of an *amīl* [g.n.]. All the quotations relevant to these questions are given with a commentary in Caetani, *Annali*, IV, 368-417, to which should now be added Abū 'Ubayd Ibn Sallām, *Kaṭib al-Amṣal*, 225-71, and the references in Tritton, *Notes on the Muslim system of pensions*, in *ESOAS* 1954, 179-2, which also deals with the century following.

This system, conceived in terms of conditions at the time of 'Umar, obviously could not continue unchanged. The ramification of family trees, conversion on a large scale, the slowing-up of the rate of the conquests and the reduction in the benefits derived from war, the increasing complexity and specialisation of military techniques during the Umayyad period, and later, during the 'Abbasid period, the increasing professionalism and progressive "de-arabisation" of the army, led, after many tentative procedures and irregularities, to a distinction between, on the one hand, civil pensions, reserved for the descendants of the Prophet's family ('Alid and 'Abbasid branches) and in general most of an honorary than concrete nature (we are, of course, not discussing here the salaries of officials, cf. 302), and on the other hand military pay; as regards the army, a distinction was made between the class of professional soldiers, registered in the *dīwān* and entitled to regular pay, and occasional volunteers, not registered in the *dīwān*, who received a smaller allowance confined to their period of effective service. On the other hand, whereas under the Umayyads, in spite of the ephemeral effort of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (cf. Wellhausen, *Arabische Reich*, 186-7), the *maḥallī*, who were by that time numerous and were for the most part Iranians, were virtually excluded from the benefit of pay, under the 'Abbasids, it was the Khurāsānīs, and later the other elements, Turks, Daylamites, etc., who, as professionals, were almost the only persons to receive pensions, and the Arabs in the end were systematically removed from the registers in the course of the 3rd/9th century, at least in the East. In the early days, payment was made principally on a provincial basis, or, in Syria and Spain, on the basis of military districts called *dīwān* [g.n.], as a charge on the local taxes; but 'Abbasid centralisation made the majority of these payments a charge on, or placed them under the direct control of, the Treasury (*bayt al-māl* [g.n.]).

Although the amount of the payments seems to have been subject to considerable fluctuation, the



annual pay of a foot-soldier, in the second century of 'Abbasid rule, can be estimated to be of the order of 1,000 dirhams = 70 dinars, or three times the pay of a Baghdad journeyman, and that of a cavalrman twice as much. Commanders and specialised corps naturally received more. Kādūnā describes in detail the functioning of the system, the differences between the various categories, the minute detail of the rolls, the different intervals at which different payments were made (W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Hostenverwaltung der Abbasiden*, in *Id.*, 1949). But, dating from before his time, *ad hoc* payments were made, especially on the occasion of an accession, in addition to the regular pay; and it seems that there had always been, in addition to pay proper, distributions of provisions and equipment. Arms were a charge on the Treasury. The army was therefore always expensive, and became increasingly so as military technique became more complex and heavy cavalry and siege operations played a greater part in it. Disturbances prevented the government from reducing the number of its effectives; and the troops, realising that they were indispensable, increased their demands; the Treasury found it increasingly difficult to maintain regular payments, and the discontent of the troops could only be appeased by increases in lieu of arrears, thus creating a vicious circle.

From the 4th/10th century onwards, the control exercised by the military over the political authority caused the replacement of payments by fiscal assignments which the interested parties collected from a domain the revenue of which was the equivalent of the amount of pay due (see 1814f).

**Bibliography:** In the article; cf. also *QATĀB*. On the pay of the Ottoman forces, see 'ULŪFĀ. (CL. CAHES)

'ATĀ' n. **ABĪ RABĀH**, a prominent representative of the ancient Meccan school of religious law. Born in Yamān of Nubian parentage but brought up in Mecca, he was a *muallā* of the family of Abū Mayyara b. Abī Ḥuṭaym al-Fihri. He died in Mecca in 114 or 115 (732 or 733) at a very old age (88 or even 100 years are mentioned). 'ATĀ' is the oldest ancient Meccan jurist whose name is more than a name to us; an analysis of the doctrines ascribed to him enables us to separate an authentic core from later, fictitious accretions. In the manner common to his contemporaries, he did not hesitate to use his personal opinion (*ra'y*), both in its disciplined and in its arbitrary form (*ḥiyāḍ* and *istihād*, respectively); statements which, reflecting a later fashion of thought, make him reject *ra'y*, are therefore spurious. The extent to which 'ATĀ' may have used traditions from the Prophet and from the Companions as legal arguments, is difficult to ascertain; if he did so, he presumably made use of *muṣal* (g.v.) traditions. Owing to the rapid development of Islamic law at the beginning of the second century of the *hijra*, some of the distinctive opinions of 'ATĀ' seem to have become unfashionable already towards the end of his life; this is probably reflected in the statement that some younger contemporaries of his ceased attending his lectures, and that the *muṣal* traditions transmitted by him are weak. This was more than compensated by attributing to him, when the attitude to traditions had changed, personal contact with an ever-increasing number of Companions of the Prophet, though some Muslim critics themselves point out that he did not bear traditions from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Umm Salama and others, and express doubt concerning his direct contact with 'A'ṣṣa. At the

beginning of the second century, the interest of the specialists in Islamic law had already spread from purely religious problems to more technically legal questions; the authentic doctrines of 'ATĀ' bear this out, and he did not specialise in the ceremonies of *ḥajj* as some sources assert in deference to the fiction that this was the favourite subject of the scholars of Mecca. Already during the life-time of 'ATĀ', his reputation spread far beyond Mecca, and Abū Ḥanīfa states that he was present at his lecture meetings; this is perhaps the earliest authentic piece of evidence on technical instruction in Islamic religious law.

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'ATĀ' BEY, Ṭayyārāde 'ATĀ' Allāh Ahmad, known as 'ATĀ' Bey, Ottoman historian. He was born in Istanbul in 1225/1810, the son of a palace official. He himself was educated in the palace, and held various official positions. In 1297/1880 he was given the *ḥijāz* to take up an appointment as administrator of the sacred territory (*ḥarām*) of Mecca, and died in Medina in 1294/1877 or 1297/1880. His most important work is his five volume history, known as *Ta'rikh-i 'ATĀ'* (Istanbul 1291-3/1874-6). Its chief interest derives from his intimate knowledge of the organisation, customs, personalities, and affairs of the Imperial household in the 19th century. As an autograph copy of his *diwān* is preserved in the *Millet* library.

**Bibliography:** Babinger 366-7; *Sijillat* 'Qaṣmānī iii, 481-2; 'Qaṣmānī *Muḥallif* iii, 108. (ED.)

MUHAMMAD 'ATĀ' BEY, (1856-1919), Ottoman scholar, journalist, and public official. After the revolution of 1908 he became a member of the Financial Reform Committee and was for one week Minister of Finance. He published many articles in journals and periodicals, under the names of Melḥārī and 'ATĀ', and also produced a literary anthology called *Ḥijāz*, which was extensively used as a school text-book. His most important undertaking was the Turkish translation of Hammer's History of the Ottoman Empire. This version, based on the French translation of J. J. Bellier, began to appear in Istanbul in 1329/1911. Of the fifteen volumes that were planned, only ten actually appeared, the last in 1337/1918.

**Bibliography:** Babinger 400-1; 'Qaṣmānī *Muḥallif* iii, 110-1. (ED.)

'ATĀ' ALLĀH EFENDI (see *QATĀB*).

'ATĀ' MALIK DJUWAYNĪ (see *AL-JUWAYNĪ*).

'ATĀBA, modern Arabic form *lūn* verse, common in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and 'Irāk. The first three lines not only rhyme, but generally repeat the same rhyming word with a different meaning (*ladīn* *lām*). The last line rhymes with the paradigm 'atāba ("lovers' reproach"), the last syllable of which is often supplied without making sense. The metre is a sort of *saḥr*. A peculiar form common in 'Irāk is called *lūn* *ḥijāz* ("man of some") or *lūn* *and* *and* with *ḥijāz* (1939).

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(H. RITTER).

**ATĀBĀK** (ATĀBEG), title of a high dignitary under the Saldjūkīds and their successors. The term Turkish and first appears in appearance in Muslim history with the Saldjūkīds; it is therefore reasonable to enquire whether any precedents exist in the Turkish societies of Central Asia. So far no occurrence of the actual word seems to have been reported and the fact that in the Orghon civilisation there is apparently a person called *ata*, father, acting as a tutor to a young prince, is too vague to enable one to affirm a connection; the same is true of similar cases existing in other civilisations (see for example Ḥārūn al-Raḥīdī and Yahyā al-Barmakī); moreover no such office has so far been noted even under the Karakhānīds. The term *atabeg*, therefore, seems to be more precisely characteristic of the Oguz or the Saldjūkīds. Even under these latter, the first definite location of the title, which was of great authority, to make history as the title of Turkish military chiefs, applies to an Iranian 'civilian': Malikshāh, who was very young when he came to power, added the term *atabeg* to the *lubb* of his waste Niğām al-Mulk, thereby indicating that he conferred upon him the entire delegation of his own authority, as though he were his father (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x, 34; *CCF*, vii, no. 273-274). Nevertheless the fact that from the death of Malikshāh the title is to be met with in all branches of the Saldjūkīd dynasty, including that of Asia Minor, which has a specific evolution, prompts one to admit its existence already at the origin of the régime. In these circumstances there is no reason to reject the evidence, not apparently previously adduced, of the *Atabeg* al-Ḥusayn al-Saldjūkīyūn, ed. Mub. Nāzim, 28-29, which places a Turkish *atabeg* beside the young Alp Arslan during his father's lifetime in the person of a certain Kutb al-Dīn Kulāṣī ('Kilā Sārī'). The honour conferred on Niğām al-Mulk, a non-Turk and *warir*, appears to have been something of an exception, all the more characteristic of his ascendancy.

However that may be, from the death of Malikshāh, the *atabeg* appear more and more regularly, whilst the role played by them increases, favoured by princely minorities and strife between pretenders. Henceforth only Turkish military chiefs are involved, corresponding to the growing influence acquired by this element during the period of the Saldjūkīd régime's decay. Malikshāh's son Barkiyārūk, apparently during his father's lifetime, had the *ḥimā* *Gümüşṭakīn* as "preceptor (*murabbiyy*)" and *atabeg* ("ḥimā al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, abridgement by Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, 83; cf. al-Riḥāwī, *Nihāt al-Jūdā*, ed. Mub. Kazwīnī, 140). He, in turn, created others for his young brothers Saḡḡar and Muḥammad, when he accorded them autonomous appanages, and on his death-bed, also for his son Malikshāh, who was still a child. At the same time, on the death of Malikshāh's brother Tutuḡ, whose appanage was in Syria and who was the unfortunate rival of Barkiyārūk, we find an *atabeg* with each of his sons Rudwān and Dukāk. Henceforth every Saldjūkīd prince seems to have had an *atabeg*, at least if he

was endowed with an appanage whilst still a minor; in other words, wherever there were several sons, there were also several *atabegs*. As they now issued exclusively from the category of military chiefs of servile origin, their function may in a way be associated with the duty of every slave or manumitted slave to guard the interests of his master's family to which he himself belonged. Furthermore the *atabeg* frequently made his position as a "father" complete by marrying his pupil's mother, when the latter became a widow (for example early on, Tuḡhtakīn at Damascus, the mother of Dukāk). As far as his authority, this consisted in his sharing in the unrestricted power of the prince and therefore it cannot be defined by precise attributions, as in the case of ordinary functions. However, he could be dismissed by another *atabeg*; in any case, when the prince grew up, the *atabeg*'s authority naturally disappeared, only leaving room for his influence as a councillor, who had the prince's ear; if the *atabeg* assumed more than that, a rupture with the prince followed (for example Rudwān and Dukāk), or even the *atabeg*'s execution (Kutluḡṭakīn by Barkiyārūk's brother Muḥammad).

This, at least was the initial state. But relatively soon the *atabeg*'s position was consolidated at the expense of that of the prince. The office of *atabeg* gave its holder great authority, which he was normally tempted to perpetuate. But in addition, from the second generation of Malikshāh's heirs, the respective roles of prince and *atabeg* were reversed. The starting point now was that either willingly or under duress the sultan would bestow a major governorship on a powerful *amir* and, in order to safeguard the formal dependence of the latter, he attached one of the Saldjūkīd children to him, whose *atabeg* he became. For a while the young prince continued to serve as a cloak beneath which the chief concealed his own ambitions; such was the case in the disputes which brought Sultan Mas'ūd into conflict with various of his relatives, each of whom was urged on by his *atabeg*. Thus Firās, Adḡarḡaydīn and, at one time, Mawṣil, each had his respective *atabeg* and their claimant to the Sultānate. A corresponding evolution took place in the case of the minor Saldjūkīd dynasty of Kirmān (Mub. b. Ibrāhīm, *Histoire des Saldjūkides de Kirmān*, ed. Houtsma, 35-132 passim and index, especially under Kutb al-Dīn Mub. b. Ḥuḡkuḡ). A further new stage was reached when the *atabeg* succeeded in making hereditary, in addition to his office, possession of the governorship, which in theory constituted his reward for it. This was accomplished after the middle of the 6th/12th century by the family of the *atabegs* of Adḡarḡaydīn, who were descended from Ildigiz, the *atabeg* of Sultān Arslan. Lastly at the beginning of the century, the death of Dukāk without heir at Damascus, far away from the centres of the Saldjūkīds, enabled the *atabeg* Tuḡhtakīn to found a dynasty which was both autonomous and in his own name. Elsewhere all-powerful *atabegs* reached the same results by suppressing their suitors, who were completely devoid of resources; this was accomplished at Mawṣil on the death of the *atabeg* Zangī by his heirs in 539/1144 and was similarly achieved against the last Persian Saldjūkīd, with the help of the Caliph, by the heirs of Ildigiz, who summoned the *Ḥusayn* *Arizmshāh* into central Iran (588/1192). Moreover the sultan's disappearance did not hinder the masters of Adḡarḡaydīn and of Mawṣil from continuing to have themselves called *atabeg*; the word, hence-



forth, had in practice the exclusive sense of territorial prince. Thus it seems that from the middle of the 6th/12th century the title in Kān had been adopted by the Salghūrids, the vanquishers of the real *atabegs*, without their having any longer a sultan under their tutelage. The most famous of the Atabeg dynasties is that of Mawṣil, by reason of the work devoted to them by their historians and subject Ibn al-Aṭṭār. A further new dynasty of pseudo-atabegs was to appear in the 7th-13th century in Luristan (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Kāzvinī, *Ta'wīḡh Qazvīn*).

The title *atabeg* was still to be met with among the successors of the Salghūrids, in particular under the Khwārizm-shāhs, who did not allow those who bore it, exclusively tutors of young princes, to acquire much influence (Djawaynī, II, 22, 23, 39, 209). Later on, in all those states which derived from the Mongol conquest, the appellation *atabeg* is to be met with upon occasion fortuitously, applied to indefinite princely tutors or as one of a number of simple honorific titles inherited from the past (see references in M. F. Köprülü, art. *Atabeg* in *IA*). More remarkable is the penetration of this title, attributed to military and feudal leaders, into Christian Georgia, which had borrowed other institutions from neighbouring Ḥalabīyah, with whom they were alternatively at war or in matrimonial relationship (J. Karst, *Le code géorgien du roi Vakhtang, Commentaire*, I, 211 ff.; M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de Géorgie*, I/2, passim; Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, 1932, chap. xxiii).

Among the Salghūrids of Asia Minor, the *atabeg* is attested from the beginning of the reign of Kılıç Arslan I, in the person of Ḥunnuarīsh al-Sulaymānī (consequently a mamlūk slave of his father Sulaymān b. Kutlugh) (Ibn al-Arak, quoted in a note by Amédro to the History of Damascus of Ibn al-Kalīnī, 157). Shortly afterwards the mother of the young Salghūrid of Malatya, to protect him against his brother of Konya, gave him a series of *atabegs*, whom she took in marriage, the last of them being the neighbouring Artukid Balak (q.v.) (Michael the Syrian, trans. Chabot, 191 and 200). In the main branch, *atabegs* were also reported in the 6th/12th century (RCEA, no. 3376-3377), and then in the 7th/13th century; the power of the sovereigns prevented them from expanding and it is only after the disaster which ended in the Mongol protectorate that the title occurs borne by men with a decisive influence on the régime, such as Ḥalāl al-Dīn Karatir. However, in Asia Minor the actual conditions of the evolution had given the power to a team of high dignitaries, friends or enemies according to the case, rather than to a single individual, and the *atabeg* was not the most important. In this area he does not appear to have survived the Ḥalghand régime and he was unknown to the Ottomans.

The title of *atabeg*, however, still had a fairly long independent career in the Mamlūk state. The Ayyūbids had made it known in their realm; it may perhaps have found expression in the ephemeral tutelage which al-Aḥdāḥ exercised in 595/1198 over his young nephew, the son of al-Aḥd in Egypt; in any case it was used more permanently and formally during princely minorities in the Yemen and particularly at Aleppo (History of Aleppo of Ibn al-Adīm, passim). This is the way in which it reached the Mamlūks. The founder of the régime, Ḥay al-Dīn Ayyūb, bore the title, not as tutor to a prince, but as regent-son of the famous heir and widow of al-Salāh Ayyūb, Shādīr al-Durr; and the title,

sometimes accompanied by considerable power, at other times devoid of it, survived down to the end of the dynasty. If one may believe al-Makrīfī (*Sulḥ*, trans. Quatremère I/1, 2), Ayyūb bore the title of *atabeg* of the armies; but no contemporary author has attributed it to him and one must perhaps envisage a confusion in al-Makrīfī's mind with the title of *atabeg al-ṣāḥib* (q.v.), which was usual in his time. In effect it then corresponded with a kind of supreme military command, though it only acquired this extended meaning apparently under the Circassians, following the suppression of the office of *na'ib*.

**Bibliography:** The only general study is by M. F. Köprülü, *op. cit.*, where detailed references and additional information will be found. For the sources and other materials, apart from those already cited in the article, see below the articles *MANLŪKS* and *SALGHŪRIDES*. On the Great Salghūrids and their Irano-Iraqī successors, the information used here has been taken mainly from Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *Ḥimāḍ al-Dīn al-Isfahānī*, and Rāwandī. See also Sanaullah, *The decline and fall of the Salghūrid Empire*, Calcutta 1935; M. A. Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, II, Ankara 1954; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilâtına medfai*, İstanbul 1941, 207. For Asia Minor, see principally the chronicles of Ibn Bībī and Aksarayī, *passim*. For the Mamlūks, see the following article. (CL. CAHEN)

**ATABAK AL-'ASĀKİR.** After the decline of the office of the vicery (*Nā'ib al-Saltana*) the Atābak al-'Asākīr (Commander-in-Chief of the Mamlūk Army became the most important *amir* in the Sultanate. His functions were much broader than the name of his office indicates. For all intents and purposes he had become the sultan's vicery. Very frequently the title *mudabbir al-manālik* or *mudabbir al-manālik al-idāmiyya* was appended to his name. It was common, especially in the Circassian period, for him to succeed the sultan on the throne. (See D. Ayalon, *Studies on the Structure of the Mamlūk Army*, in *BSOAS*, 1954, 58-59, and references on p. 59, n. 6.) (D. AYALON)

**ATABEG** [see ATABAK].

**ATABEG AL-'ASĀKİR** [see ATABAK AL-'ASĀKİR].

**ATĀ'Ī.** 'ATĀ'Ī ALLĀH b. YAHYĀ a. Pā 'ĀLĀ b. Naṣrīn, known as New'ī-zāde 'ATĀ'Ī, prominent Ottoman poet of the early 17th century and connoisseur of Taṣhīḥīrī-zāde's biographical work on the Ottoman 'ulama' and dervishes. (Mubliḥ, *Ḥikāla*, iv, 263, incorrectly gives his *ism* as Muḥammad). He was born in Istanbul in Shawwāl 991/1583, where his father (who, under the *maḥabbas*, New'ī, enjoyed high esteem as a poet and scholar from 998 to 1003), he was tutor to the ill-fated sons of Murād III) was at this time professor of the Dīn'ar Agha madrasa; his mother was the daughter of the famous Niḥāḥīdī Mehmed Paṣhā (Sijīrī-i 'Oṭmānī, iv, 131). Having studied under Kāf-zāde Fayḍ Allāh Ef. (the father of the anthologist Fayḍī) and Akhlī-zāde 'Abdūllah Ef. he began his career as professor of the Dīnābāziyya madrasa in Istanbul (Safar 1044/1605), but was soon to be transferred to the judicial class by his appointment as *hāḍī* of Lādīa in Šar'f. 1017. He held a number of such posts in Kūmilī (Šar'khī) gives the most detailed information about these, the last of which was Üsküb, whence he was dismissed at the end of 1044/1635. He returned to Istanbul where he died in Rūmādī 1, 1045 ('Uṣṣhāḥī-zāde, I, 266 and

Ḥalāḥī Khāṭṭa, I, 724, et al., *id.*, *Faḥḥa*, II, 168 erroneously give the year 1044; characteristically unreliable, Rīdā gives 1046) and was buried beside his father in the court-yard of the Šar'khī Wafā mosque. He was survived by a son, Mehmed, who was also of the 'ulama' (*Faḥḥa*, loc. cit.).

The most famous and valuable of his works is the *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥabībīn fī Tahkīmāt al-Shāhīdīn* (completed in Rabi' II, 1044 and printed in Istanbul, 1268), in which he brings down to his own day the biographical sketches of the Ottoman 'ulama' and dervishes begun by Taṣhīḥīrī in his Arabic *al-Shāhīdīn al-Nu'māniyya* (Bröckelmann, II, 425). Like the latter, it is organised according to the reign in which the individual died, the last being that of Murād IV, but the language is now Turkish and the notices are far more precise in detail and frequently contain 'ATĀ'Ī's personal remarks and reminiscences. The style is similar to that used by Moḥḍī in his translation of the *Shāhīdīn*, and, while to the taste of recent generations almost intolerably elegant, was greatly admired by his contemporaries; and, indeed, it is this alone which redeems the work from being a mere statistical summary. The popularity of his poetry, too, has survived (cf. Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, III, 232 ff., for the 19th century Ottoman critics), though at least one modern scholar, M. F. Köprülü, has found his magnificence works deserving of study. These latter are included in his *Ḥama*, of which the fifth portion, entitled *Ḥuṣṣ al-Aḥdīr*, was until recently regarded as lost or non-existent. For a full analysis of the other four we need a short account of his *divan*, all still unpublished, cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. osman. Dichtkunst*, III, 244-283. (It should be remarked that the chronogram given here for the date of completion of the *Nafah al-Aḥdīr* is 1020, while that given by A. S. Levend is 1034). The only other work ascribed to him is a legal monograph, *al-Kawā' al-Ḥasan fī Dīwān al-Kawā' al-Liṣan*, (Bröckelmann, II, 427), which, from its title, appears to be a reply to an unfinished work by his contemporary Mollāḥī Ahmed Ef. (cf. *Ḥadā'iq*, 667).

**Bibliography:** To the works mentioned by Babinger, 171 and Bröckelmann, II, 427, should be added those given by Behebot Günl, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde al-Shāhīdīn al-Nu'māniyya Tercüme ve Zeyilleri*, *Türkiyâ Mecmuası*, vii-viii, citz 2 (1945), 161; Šar'khī, *Wahā'iq al-Fudā'ī*, (Sulaymāniyye, Beḥr Aḡa, 479), I, 34; Riyāḍī, *Riyāḍ al-Shu'arā'*, (Nurmoṣmaniyye, 3724), f. 116b. 'Uṣṣhāḥī-zāde's *Ḥayāt al-Shāhīdīn* was used in the Murād Mollā MS., nr. 1432, f. 26a. Sadeddin Nūbzīn Ergin, *Türk Saikler*, II, 541-550, gives the most extensive selection of his verse and reproduces in his article the statements of Šar'khī, Riyāḍī and Rīdā, as well as the opinions of M. F. Köprülü. On the *Ḥama*, cf. Aḡh Sīrī Levend, *Atay'nin Hüye-i Eḥar'ī*, (Ankara, 1948); however, his argument in support of 1046 as the year of 'ATĀ'Ī's death is unconvincing. (J. WATSON)

**ATAK** (Attock), a fort in West Pākistān 33° 55' N, 72° 15' N, commanding the passage of the Indus just below the junction with the Kābul river. Atak was founded by Akbar in 969/1581 (under the name Atak-Banārās) to defend the main invasion route from Kābul via Peshāwar against the incursions of his brother Mirzā Ḥakīm. For contemporary explanations of the name see Friglitte, I, 222 and Abu 'I-Faḍl, *Aḥbar-nāma*, Bib. Ind. Text., II, Calcutta 1881-87, 355; for a comment on its possible

historical derivation see Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. India*, II, 1871, 7.

Coming into British occupation at the end of the second Sikh war, Atak lost some of its military value with the opening (1300/1885) of the combined road and rail bridge to carry the Grand Trunk road and the North-West railway.

**Bibliography:** see text; also *Gazetteer of Kānpūrdī District*, (rev. ed.), 1893, 4. Lahore 1895, 260 and *Imperial Gazetteer* VI, 158.

(P. HARDY)

**ATALĪK.** A term synonymous with *atabeg*, used not only among the Turks, but also in the Caucasus, Turkistan, and by the Thimrids and the Turkish dynasties of India. It was still used in the 19th century by the *amirs* of Dīlkhārah and Kāhira, and the *amir* of Kāshghar, Ya'qūb Bey, bore the title of *atalik ghāi*.

**Bibliography:** See the article, with a very full bibliography, by M. F. Köprülü in *IA*, s.v. (R. MANTRAK)

**'ATAMA** (a), the third third of the night, according to the lexica, from the time of waning of the *shahā* (the red colour of the sky after sunset). This definition covers exactly the right time for the *salāt al-'iḡāḥ*, which is therefore often called *salāt al-'atama*, even in quite large a number of traditions. But later on, pious circles rejected this name, since the *salāt al-'iḡāḥ* is expressly called thus in the *Kur'ān*. A tradition appeared which declared the use of *'atama* with regard to the prayer to be characteristic of Bedouins, who used to milk their camels at that time and call the milking itself *'atama*. Muslims are requested to use the name which Allāh himself used in the Holy Book.

**Bibliography:** Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.vv. *'atama*, *'iḡāḥ*. (M. PLESSNER)

**ATAR**, town in Mauritania, chief place of the Circle of the *Adrar*, situated at a height of 230 m. on the route Saint-Louis to Tindouf, about 420 km. to the east of Port-Etienne. The *Ḥṣar* has 4500 inhabitants belonging for the most part to the Snucids, a tribe of marabout. According to local tradition Atar was founded in the 16th or 17th century. At this period the pilgrims' caravans to Mecca was organised each year by the Idan Aḥl al-Chingettū (Shiukh) who used to give the imamate to a distinguished member of the Snucids. It happened that they broke with this tradition in favour of a Ghellaw. Outraged, a group of the Snucids left the town in protest and arrived at an important settlement of the Azougi which has now disappeared, but was then rich enough for the Portuguese to have established a factory there in the 15th century. So this display of temper gave birth to Atar.

Although Chingettū has remained the spiritual and religious capital of the *Adrar*, Atar is now the principal commercial centre, providing a market for the great nomads and the southern outlet for the products of Moroccan workers. It is here that graziers come to sell their camels and sheep and to stock themselves up with tea, sugar, indigo, oil etc. It is also to its important palm-grove that they come to perform the process known as *gofa*, the cleaning of the dates, which brings in great wealth at the time of the date-harvest.

When, at the beginning of the 20th century, Copeland and his successor, Colonel Montagu Capelose, extended French influence to the north of Senegal, they were soon forced to the conclusion that no peace was possible in Mauritania while the



mountainous range of the Adrar provided an ideal centre for armed insoultants.

It was Atar, capital of the Adrar, "the Key to the Situation", that Colonel Gouraud chose as the objective for his column in 1908.

After defeating the Emir's warriors and the *félis* of *Shaykh* Mâ al-Aynayn at the pass of Hamoud, he entered the Ksar on 9 January 1909 and received the submission of the chief of the Smâwids, Sîdâ Ould Sîdî Baba.

Since then Atar, linked by road and air to Senegal and Morocco has considerably increased its economic and commercial importance.

**Bibliography:** *Gouraud, Mauritanie-Adrar*, Paris 1945; *Peichari, Les Voies qui croient dans le désert* (Complete works, vol. II), Paris 1948; *Cdt. Modat, Portugais, Arabes et Français dans l'Adrar mauritanien*, in *Bull. du Comité d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques d'A.O.F.*, 1922, 350; *R.M.M.*, xix, 1912, 260; *Etudes mauritaniennes* (IFAN no. 5), *Ahmed Lemine et Chinguetti*.

(S. v. OTTON LOYWEK)

**ATATÜRK** (Mustafa Kemal), the founder and first President of the Turkish Republic, was born at Salonica 1881 and died at Istanbul on 10th November 1938. He lost his father, 'Ali Rîdâ, whilst still very young, so that it was his mother, Züleyhâ Khânüm, who saw to his education. When twelve years of age, he entered the military preparatory school at Salonica, where one of his teachers made him take the name of Kemal in addition to Mustafa. In 1895 he entered the Military School of Monastir, then in 1899 that of Istanbul, where he started to take an interest in political life and to play an active part in the secret opposition movements, which the despotism of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid (r. c.) had called into being. He obtained the diploma of the Academy of War of Istanbul in 1905, and was then sent to Damascus as a Captain, where he founded the *Ittihad ve Hürriyet* (Fatherland and Freedom) group. Upon his return from Salonica, he only took part from a distance in the activities of the *Ittihad ve Hürriyet* (Union and Progress) movement. He took part in the defence of Tripolitania, when it was invaded by the Italians (1911-2), was appointed Military Attaché in Bulgaria and, during the first world war, distinguished himself in the Dardanelles fighting (1915) and, as an Army Commander, in the fighting in the Caucasus (1916) and in Palestine (1917). After a short visit to Germany, he reassumed command of the 7th Army in Palestine, with which he retreated as far as the area north of Aleppo, where he was at the time of the Mudros Armistice (30th October 1918). Mustafa Kemal did not agree with the Draconian terms of the Armistice and came into conflict with Sultan Mehmed VI. Recalled to Istanbul, where his national feelings were severely tested, he was then appointed Inspector of the Army of the North at Erzurum on 30th April 1919. On 19th May, he landed at Samsun with his army and went up to fight for the total independence of Turkey, threatened by the designs of the Allies, by relying on the troops which had remained faithful to him.

On 22nd June he issued a circular from Amasya condemning the government of the Sultan and of the Grand Vizier Dâvud Ferîd Paşa. Through the medium of the congresses which he assembled at Erzurum (23rd July) and at Sivas (1st September) he launched the demand for the independence and unity of Turkey. On 23rd April 1920, having won a certain number of political and military personalities to his cause, he assembled the first Great National

Assembly (*Büyük Millet Meclisi*) at Ankara, which elected him President. The struggle had begun against both the Government of Istanbul and the Allies, more particularly the Greeks (1920-2). His decisive part in the campaigns conducted against the latter caused the Assembly to bestow on him the title of *Gâhî* ("The victor").

The Armistice of Mudanya (11 October 1922) set the seal on Mustafa Kemal's victory, and on 21st November 1922 he obtained the vote abolishing the Sultanate. The Lausanne Conference (November 1922-July 1923) gave complete independence to Turkey, as well as national frontiers. The second Great National Assembly, the majority of whose members belonged to the People's Party (*Halk Fırkası*, modern *Tk. Halk Fırkası*), founded by Mustafa Kemal (subsequently the People's Republican Party: *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*), on 29th October 1923 proclaimed the Republic; Mustafa Kemal was elected President—an office to which he was constantly re-elected until his death—while 'İsmet Paşa (İsmet İnönü) was appointed Prime Minister and Ankara became the capital of Turkey. The abolition of the Caliphate was voted on 3rd March 1924.

The first years of the Turkish Republic were marked by the force determination of Mustafa Kemal to modernise the country, to free it from foreign economic tutelage and to secularise it. Relying on a single absolutely devoted party, he imposed a Constitution which virtually placed all power in the hands of the President of the Republic (30th April 1924). Secularisation, marked by the suppression of the religious courts, *Kur'anic* schools and dervish orders, the prohibition of the wearing of the fez, the abolition of the article of the Constitution declaring Islam the state religion, brought about local risings (Kurdistan and the Ismir region) and reactions in some political circles, which were swiftly suppressed. Modernisation and turkisation proceeded hand in hand through the nationalisation of foreign companies, the impulse given to agriculture and industry, the creation of national banks, the development of means of communication, the reform of the alphabet, the vote for women and the introduction of new civil, criminal, and commercial codes. Mustafa Kemal's decisions, sanctioned by the Assembly without opposition, were disseminated throughout the country by the local sections of the People's Party and by the *Halk okulları* (Houses of the people); the whole nation was affected and impregnated by the new ideas. In November 1934, a law required all citizens to use family names; the Assembly accorded Mustafa Kemal that of Atatürk. In foreign policy, he showed himself to be pacific, though determined to protect the independence of his country; he concluded treaties of friendship or alliance with the neighbouring states and with the Great Powers. He signed a pact with Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia, "the Balkan Entente" (9th February 1934), which was extended eastwards by the Pact of Sa'diabad (Turkey, 'Irâk, 'Irân and Afghanistan, July 1937).

Mustafa Kemal died on 10th November 1938 at Istanbul, mourned by a whole nation, who saw in him the liberator and the restorer of their country. A provincial tomb was erected at the Ethnographic Museum in Ankara; on 28th November 1953, his remains were solemnly transferred to the vast mausoleum erected in his honour in the capital.

Mustafa Kemal was a man uncompromising in nature, impatient of opposition, exacting in his

demands both upon himself and others, his sole objective being the restoration of his country and the promotion of its greatness. Opposed to the Sultanate and to Islam, he strove relentlessly to suppress them both, for he considered them responsible for the decay of the Ottoman Empire. His passionate love of his country led him into the severe treatment both of ethnic minorities long settled in Turkey and of prominent Turks whose crime was that they did not subscribe to all his political ideas. Yet Atatürk has imparted to the new Turkish régime the deep imprint of his personality. There could be no question for his successors of going back on his work, except in the matter of religion and in the democratisation of the régime.

**Bibliography:** A complete bibliography of works dealing with Atatürk will be found in *IA*, vol. I, fasc. 20, Istanbul 1949. Additional bibliography: Atatürk, *Nutuk* (1919-27), vols. I and II, Istanbul 1934 (English translation: *A Speech delivered by Gazi Mustafa Kemal*, Leipzig 1929); *Atatürk'ün Söyl ve Demecleri* (1919-38), Istanbul 1945; *Burhan Cahit, Gazi Mustafa Kemal*, Istanbul 1934; *Ziya Sakir, Atatürk'ün hayatı*, İstanbul 1937; *Yakup Kadri Karasmançoğlu, Atatürk*, İstanbul 1946; *J. Dery, Souvenirs du Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa*, in *REI*, 1927, I, 119-36; II, 145-222; *P. Gentizon, Mustafa Kemal on l'Orient en marche*, Paris 1929; *H. E. Wortham, Mustafa Kemal of Turkey*, New-York and Boston 1930; *H. Armstrong, The Grey Wolf, Mustafa Kemal. An intimate study of a dictator*, London, 1932; *New-York 1933*; *H. Melis, Kemal Atatürk*, Frankfurt a.M. 1937; *Enver Ziya Karal, Türk İnkılabının Mahiyeti ve Önemi*, İstanbul 1937; *Gottfried Jaeschke-Niyazi Recep Akou, Türk İnkılabı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. I-II, İstanbul 1939-41. To the detailed bibliography published in *IA*, vol. I, fasc. 20, 809-4, should be added: *Tarih Vesikaları*, new series, vol. I, fasc. I (16), August 1955, 1-15; *Harp tarihi vesikaları dergisi*, nos. 1-10, September 1952-December 1954; *Bülten*, vol. XX, no. 80, October 1956.

(R. MANTRAN)

**ATHARA**, a tributary of the Nile, known to the ancients as Atcharos. It rises in Abyssinia not far from Gondar and, entering the Sudda near Gallabat (Kallabâb) is joined lower down by the Salim and Setti; it joins the Main Nile at a point about 200 miles north of Khartûm. During the flood season (end of May to end of September) it contributes a considerable amount of silt-laden water to the Nile; for the rest of the year it dries up into a series of pools.

The town of Athara near the river mouth is important as the headquarters of the Sudda railways (population of the Municipal council area 36,143), and as the junction for the Red Sea line. In the battle of the Athara fought on 8 June 1898 at Nakhabayla, a short distance upstream from the river mouth, the Anglo-Egyptian forces under Sir Horbert (later Lord) Kitchener destroyed a Mahdist army of 12,000 infantry and 4,000 horsemen commanded by the Darwîsh amîr Mahmûd Ahmad.

**Bibliography:** *Sudan Almanac* (Khartûm, annually); *H. E. Hurst, The Nile*, London 1952; *A. B. Theobald, The Mahdiya*, London 1951.

(S. HILFELSON)

**ATEIBA** [see 'ATAYBA].  
ATEIK, a district in Soviet Turkmenistan on the northern slope of the frontier mountains of Khurân (Kopet Dag), between the modern railway-

stations Gjaurs and Doghak. The name is really Turkish, Etek, "edge border" (of the mountain-chain), and is a translation of the Persian name given to this district, viz. Dâman-i Kûh, "foot of the mountain"; but the word is always written Âtak by the Persians. During the Middle Ages no special name for Atek appears to have been in use; being a district of the town of Abward (q.v.) it belonged to Khurân in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th cents. It fell into the power of the Khâns of Kh'ârim, and later into that of the Turkmanis; before the appearance of the Russians the frontier with Persia was never clearly defined. Previous to the delimitation of the borders in 1881 a part of Atek with Abward belonged to the principality of Kâldî, which was subject to the overlordship of Persia.

(W. BARTHOLOMÉ)

'**ATF**' (= connexion), an Arabic grammatical term denoting a connexion with a preceding word. Two kinds of 'atf are distinguished: '*atf al-nasab*' or '*atf*' properly so-called, and '*atf al-bayân*'.

2. The simple co-ordinative connexion ('*atf al-nasab*') consists of the co-ordination of a word with a preceding word by means of one of the ten particles of connexion, e.g.: *âhuma Zayd wa-'umar*. The co-ordinative particles (*al-nasab*) or *burûl* or *atf* are distinguished according to their degree of strength: *wa* is used for the simple co-ordinative relationship (*li'-'dham*); *fa*, *thumma* and *hathâ* express relationships of governance and subordination (*li'-'tathîr*); *aw*, *imâd*, or *an* express a fluctuation between these two terms (*li'-'tathîr al-hukm bi' al-âdâ 'îmâdîyyah*), and *âi*, *hal*, or *lâkin* an antithesis (*li'-'tathîr*). '*atf*' can connect words (*mufrad 'alâ mufrad*) as well as clauses (*djumla 'alâ djumla*). According to Ibn Ya'îsh, *nasab* is a term belonging to the terminology of Kûfa, '*atf*' to that of Basra.

2. The explicative connexion ('*atf al-bayân*') is an apposition, which however cannot be an adjective, and which, in contrast to *hathâ*, explains the preceding word (*imâdh li'-'muthâ'ik*), e.g.: *djâ'a al-âhûdâ Zayd*, or *âhuma 'ilâhî Abû Hâfî 'umar*. From this point of view '*atf al-bayân*' has exactly the same value as *wa-huwa*.

In both kinds of '*atf*', the second word is called *al-ma'wâf*, and the preceding *al-ma'wâf 'alâyah*.

**Bibliography:** See the works on grammar, especially Zarnakshahî, *Ma'ajal*, 50, 51, 74, 140, 142, 143; *Dist. of Techn. Terms*, 1007-10.

(G. WEIZ)

**ATFÎH**, town in Middle Egypt. ATFÎH (also written with *t* instead of *f*) is a small town of 4,300 inhabitants on the east bank of the Nile at the latitude of Fayyûm. The name of the town in old Egyptian was *Tep-peh* or *Pe* Hathor nebî Tep-peh, i.e., "house of Hathor, lady of Tepepe". The Copts changed this name to *Petpeh*, the Arabs to *Atfih*. The Greeks, identifying Hathor with Aphrodite, called the town Aphroditopolis, abbreviated to Aphrodite. The town must still have possessed importance in the Christian period, for it had over twenty churches, of which ten were still standing in the 13th century. The ancient *woûg*, later known as Kûrât Atfîh, was also called al-Sharkîya by reason of its position on the east bank. On the occasion of the division of Egypt into provinces, towards the end of the Fâtîmid period, a whole province, Ifthîya, was named after the town of Atfîh. Not until the year 1250/1254-5 was the region of Atfîh reunited to the province of *Wâhî*, of which it constituted a district (*markaz*).

Information about Atfîh is very scanty. There is no doubt that at the time of the Mamlûks the town



was already in a state of complete decay. It was only to do something for this region. The incessant raids by Bedouins and Mamlūks came to an end; canals were built or restored. Athir is to-day a port of no more than local importance; trade is only on a small scale.

**Bibliography:** Kalkaghandi, *Daw' al-Sabb al-Masfir*, (trans. Wustendaf, 95, 104); Makrif, *Khatir*, i, 731; 'Ali Muharrar, *al-Khatir al-Di'ali*, viii, 27; Ibn Dukmāl, iv, 137; Yāqūt, i, 311; 'Abd Sūbī, 364 ff.; Ibn Khurrah, *al-Dihāb*, 61; Amelineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte*, 326; Boissier, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Égypte*, 86; Baedeker, *Égypte*, v.v.; Makrif, *Khatir*, ed. IFAO, i, 312; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Mémoires pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 21.

(C. H. BECKER\*)

**ATFIYĀSH**, MUHAMMAD R. YUSUF R. 'ĪSĀ R. ŠĀḤIR, called Kutb al-A'ẓam, Iḥādī scholar and author of *Bint Iḥād* (arabised: Banū Yaḥyā) in the Maḥab, d. 1332/1974, 94 years old. Descendant of a family of scholars, he brought about, by his extensive literary activity (of which the few items in Brockelmann, S II, 893, cannot give an adequate idea), a real renaissance of Iḥādī religious studies in the West. This went parallel with an increasing strictness in religious practices and in social life, the effects of which, seen through the eyes of the women of the Maḥab, have been described by A. M. Goichon (*REL*, 1930, 231 ff.). Šahyih Atfiyāsh was in close relations with his conligionaries in the East, where another great Iḥādī scholar, 'Abd Allāh b. Humayyir al-Sālimī (Brockelmann, S II, 823), was his contemporary. Whilst defending his point of view vigorously, he did much to make the Iḥādīs known to and respected by the other Muslims, and this brought him into contact with sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II. The leading Iḥādī scholars in the Maḥab in the present time are his disciples. His library, a unique collection of Iḥādī and other works in manuscripts and in printed and lithographed editions, is a *ṣaḥif* in *Bint Iḥād*; it contains many of his autograph manuscripts.

His main works are: commentaries on the *Kur'ān*: *Ḥimayn al-ʿĀd id Dīr al-Ma'ād*, 14 vols., Zanibar 1350; *Taḥyir al-Taḥyir*, 6 vols., Algiers 1326; traditions: *Waḥī' al-Damīna*, 3 vols., Cairo 1306-26; religious law: *Sharh al-Nu'* (commentary on the *K*, al-Nu' of 'Abd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm al-Mu'adī, d. 1223/1808; Brockelmann, S II, 827), Cairo 1305-43; *Shihād al-ʿĀd sul-Tarḥ*, 2 vols., Cairo 1348; *Sharh al-Nu'* Ibn al-Nasir (on this author, see Brockelmann, II, 538), 2 vols., Algiers 1326; *Taḥyir al-Ghāmīr*, Algiers 1310; dogmatics: *Sharh Riḥāl al-Tawḥīd* (commentary on the *ṣāḥīd* of Abū Ḥalīf 'Umar b. Dīnār), Brockelmann, S II, 537), Algiers 1326; *al-Dihāb al-Khāḥīd*, Cairo 1343; also works on grammar and philology, some poetry, and writings on various subjects.

**Bibliography:** Biographical notice in Abū Ishāk Bishrīn, Atfiyāsh (nephew of the author), al-Dī'āya id Sabī al-Mu'minin, Cairo 1341/1923, 100-9; J. Schacht, *Bibliothèques et manuscrits arabiques*, in *R. Afr.*, vol. 100, 1956, 373 ff.

(J. SCHACHT)

**ATHĪR** (A.), pl. *athār*, literally "trace"; as a technical term it denotes: 1) a tradition (see *Waqf*); 2) a relic: *al-athār al-sharīf* (pl. *al-athār al-sharīf*), relics of the Prophet, hair, teeth, autographs, utensils alleged to have belonged to him and especially impressions of his footprints [see *KADAN*]; these objects

are preserved in mosques and other public places for the edification of Muslims. Relics are also called, both by Christians and Muslims, *dhāḥīr* ("treasure").

**Bibliography:** I. Goldziher, *Mus. St.*, ii, 356-68. For a description, with illustrations, of the sacred relics preserved in Istanbul see Tabiri Ō, *Al-ḥikā' Saadāt Dairisi wa Emman-i Muhaddis*, Istanbul 1953.

3) *athār* is also used as a technical term in the theory of causality, although it is less commonly used than *fi'ā*, *ʿila* and *ṣabah* with their derivatives (*qāʿi*). From the *mu'aththir*, i.e. from a higher, active being or thing, (for example, God), emanate *ta'athirāt*, "influences", to which correspond under certain conditions *athār*, "impressions", in lower beings or things. In contrast to the higher being, the latter behave in a passive (or better: receptive) manner. This use of the word is most frequently found in the astrologers and natural philosophers, with reference to the influence of the stars (considered as higher beings possessing a soul) on the terrestrial world and on men. In addition, the atmospheric phenomena, which are also under the influence of the stars, are called *al-athār al-ʿulwiyya* (q.v.). The Meteorology of Aristotle was translated into Arabic with this title. *ʿAthār fi ʿulwī* (ἄθαρὰ ἐν ὕψι) is the name given to the emotions and ideas of the sensitive soul, because the soul experiences the impressions of things. (T. DE BOER\*)

**al-ATHĪR al-'ULWIYYA**. "The meteorological phenomena", title used by the Arabs to designate the Meteorology of Aristotle and that of Theophrastus.

1. In his *Riḥāl fi Kamīyāt Kutub Aristūṭilis wa al-ṣaḥāḥ al-ṭayyir* fi *Taḥyir al-Falsafa*, al-Kindī mentions, in fourth place among the books of physical sciences (*al-faḥḥīyyāt*), The Book of the phenomena of the air and of the earth (*Kitāb al-ḥādīth al-Di'aw* wa *l-'Arḍ*); (see M. Gudi and R. Walzer, *Una scritto introduttiva allo studio di Aristotele, Studi su al-Kindī*, i, *Atti della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, Mem. della classe di scienze morali, 6, 6, 1937). The same division of the *faḥḥīyyāt* occurs in al-Yāqūt, ii, 149, who cites the book *Fī ʿl-ʿAthār* wa *buḥūḥ Kitāb al-Manḥūḥ fi ʿl-ʿAthār al-'Ulwiyya*; (see also Klamroth, *Über die Aussätze aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Yaqubī*, ZDMG, xl, 1887, 415-43). The title *al-ʿAthār al-'Ulwiyya* also appears in the *Fihrist*, 251, and Ibn Abī Usayb'a, 38. In the *Fihrist*, 251, and Ibn Abī Usayb'a, 38, the *ʿAthār* work Kitāb al-ʿAthār, the Meteorology belongs to the middle books, i.e., the physical sciences; (see P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Ḥayyān*, p. 322 ff. *Mém. de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 45, 1942).

The first attempts to make Aristotle's works on the physical and biological sciences accessible in Arabic are represented by the paraphrases translated by the Melchite Yuhannā (Yahyā) b. al-Bitrik, *maḥūd* of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn. His translation of the Meteorology, clearly made on the basis of a Syrian original, has come down to us in two manuscripts, one of which is preserved at Istanbul (*Yusuf* 1179), and the other at Rome (Vat. bebr. 378). The first three books of the *al-Bitrik* work were translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona; (see Lacombe, *Aristoteles latinus*, i, 56). Of the fourth book, the *Treatise on Chemistry*, three versions of the Arab-Latin text have been indicated by Fobes; (see *Classical philology*, 10, 1915, 297-314). Of these texts, contained in the ms. cod. Bibl. Nat., lat. 6225, represents a version made on the basis of the work of Ibn al-Bitrik.

Among the works of Abū ʿIḥāyir al-Ḥasan b. Suwayr (born 331/942), the *Fihrist*, 265, mentions the translation of a *Kitāb al-ʿAthār al-'Ulwiyya*, but whether this title in fact refers to the Meteorology of Aristotle is uncertain. On another meteorological work of Ibn Suwayr, see also Ibn Abī Usayb'a, i, 323. The great commentary of Olympiodorus on the text of Aristotle was translated, according to the *Fihrist*, 251, by Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (died 388/998), and that of Alexander of Aphrodisias by Yahyā b. 'Adī (died 363/973). None of these translations has come down to us. On the commentary of al-Fārābī (see Ibn al-Khif, 279, and Ibn Abī Usayb'a, i, 338. In the *Kitāb al-Shifā'* of Ibn Sīnā, the Meteorology and the Geography form part of the fifth *ḥaṣṣ*; that part of it dealing with the halo and the rainbow has been translated by Horten and Wiedemann (*Meteorologische Zeitschr.*, 30, 1913, 233-244). In the *Kitāb al-Naḍīr* (Cairo ed. 1938, 135-7), Ibn Shāh gives the extract of the detailed account of the *Kitāb al-Shifā'*. Of Ibn Rughbī's commentaries on the Meteorology, we possess the Arab text of his abridgement (ed. Haydarābād 1365).

The ideas expounded by Aristotle in the Meteorology, especially those of the fourth book, have played an important rôle in the history of physical ideas in Islam. At the beginning of the third century of the Hijra, the Mu'tazilite theologian al-Nazzām (q.v.), criticised the doctrine expounded by the *dahiriyya* of the four elementary qualities (*ḥawā ḡharīyā*); this he considered to be arbitrary, since it was based only on the sense of touch (*ḥawā, malsama* = 76 *ḥawā*). He knew the fundamental theory of the two exhalations (*ḥawā, ḡharīyā*) and expounded an opinion on the saltiness of the sea; (see the fragments of his writings cited by al-Djābir, *Kitāb al-Ḥayyān*, vi). In Djābir's system, the doctrine of the elements is clearly based on that of Aristotle; (see Kraus, *op. cit.*, 163 ff.). In the Arab tradition of the Meteorology, the doctrine of the four *ḡharīyāt*, down to Ibn Rughbī, the doctrine vaguely indicated by Aristotle (1390 to 61) of the influence of the Spheres on the sub-lunar world is interpreted in conformity with the astrological theory expounded for example in the Book of the Treasure of Alexander, the Arabic text of which is cited by Ruska, *Tabula smaragdina*, 80. According to this theory, "the world below follows the world above, and the individual bodies of the former are subject to those of the latter, because the air is contiguous (*muttaḥ*) to the exterior of all the bodies and to the Spheres as well". In the *Sirr al-Khalīqa*, a hermetic work attributed to Balīnās (Apollonius of Tyana) (see Kraus, *op. cit.*, 147, n. 2), the idea of the influence of the Sphere is presented under the form of a cosmogony, according to which the successive development of minerals, plants and animals is due to the increasingly rapid motion of the Sphere. This idea is also present in Ibn al-Bitrik's paraphrase of *Meteor.*, i, 1: "The movement of things directed (by the celestial bodies) belonging to the earth such as plants, the creation and production of animals, minerals, etc. taking into account their transformation and stability, is produced by the celestial influence". This theory is also expounded by the *Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'* in the chapter on *al-ʿAthār al-'Ulwiyya*, *Riḥāl*, ii, 34 ff. It is explicitly attributed to Aristotle by 'Alī b. Rabhān al-Tabarī, *Furūḡ al-Ḥikma*, 21. See also Ibn Rughbī, *al-ʿAthār al-'Ulwiyya*, 6.

2. The Meteorology of Theophrastus (Ἰηρὶ (μετεωρολογία), the Greek original of which is lost, was partly translated by the celebrated lexicographer Abū ʿIḥāyir b. Bahlūl al-Tirhānī (this is how it should be read, Ibn Abī Usayb'a, i, 1, 109); see Bergsträsser, *Neue meteorologische Fragmente des Theophrast* (*Sitzungsber. der Heidelb. Akad. der Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1918, 9). The Syrian text translated by Bar Bahlūl has come down to us; see Drossart Lulofs, *The Syrian translation of Theophrastus' Meteorology* (*Annuaire de l'École des Études orientales* d'A. Moussier, Louvain 1915, 33-49). (B. LEBWIS)

**ATHIENS** [see *ATINA*].

**'ATHIR**, **'ATHIR**, formerly a harbour on the coast of Palestine between the promontory of Carmel and al-Tanfira (Dora), on a little tongue of land which lies to the north of a small bay and is washed on three sides by the sea. According to the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* there was a mutatio Certha there, but the name 'Athir appears to be ancient. 'Athir appears in the light of history in the period of the Crusades. In 581/1187 it fell into Saladin's hands. In 1218 the Castellum Peregrinorum, as the Franks called it was reconstructed as a powerful Templar-fortress. Along with Districtum-Detroit (Ḥirbat Ditrē) it had to guard the passes of Carmel leading south. In 1292 it was conquered and demolished by the Mamlūk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl. In the late 14th century al-Uḡmīnī speaks of 'Athir as the southernmost *waḥā* of the *mamlaka* of Safad (*BSOAS*, xv, 1953, 483).

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, iii, 616; Kalkaghandi, *Muḥṣarrah Sabā al-ʿAḡḡ* (Cairo, 1909), i, 306; K. Ritter, *Erdbaukunde*, xvi, 612-619; G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie*, 93-105; E. von Müllien, *Recherches sur le Karmel*, 258-277 (= *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Palästina-Verein*, xxxi, 187-186); A. S. Marmarid, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1931, 137; reports by C. S. Johns on excavations at the Pilgrims' Castle will be found in *QDAP*, ii, 1933, 41-104; iii, 1934, 145-164; iv, 1935, 121-132. (R. HARTMANN)

**'ATHIR** or **'ATHIR** (both pronunciations are well attested, the second one mostly in poetry, cf. *LA*, i, 24 v.v.).

(1) Mountain not far from Tabāḥ (q.v.), known as a haunt of lions (*ma'sada*), like ʿIṭwād, Shārā etc. (cf. Hamādī, i, 34, 127, 12; Forster, *litter.*; Ka'b b. Zuhayr, *Dihāt Su'ūd*, 46; Uṭwa b. al-Ward, ii, 6). (2) District in NW Yaman on the Red Sea, between Djāḥān (Dijān) and Hamidā (al-Hamādān), or Shārdā and Haly ('Umīra). Main towns: 'Aḡr (see below), Bayḡh, Dūrayḡh, Haly, Sirayn. *Wādīs*: al-Amān, Bayḡh, Rīm, 'Haramrām, Zanīl, al-'Amūd. Having received 'Aḡr, Shārdā, Haly and Zarāḥ (i.e. al-Bitrik al-Sulaymānī) under his dominion, Sulaymān b. Tārī, the viceroys of the Banī Ziyād in Zabīd, made himself actually, although not formally, independent of Abū ʿIḥāyir ca. 350/960, and the territory enjoyed great prosperity until the expulsion of Banū Tārī in 452/1061. The annual revenue of Ibn Tārī from the trade is given by 'Umīra as 500,000 *'aḡr* *dhīr* (= 21) of a *ḡhāḡ*, just as the *ma'sada* of Mecca, al-Makhlūḡ 99. With the succession of the Sulaymānī *gharīf* from Mecca there was a rapid decline, until Yaman was conquered by the *ḡhūz*, the mercenary troops of the Ayyubids, ca. 560/1165.

(3) The capital of the district and a seaport of importance. It was situated on the pilgrin road



from Sa'd's, between al-Hadjar (= *Ḥaḥḥān*) and Bayd, and is quoted already in the year 12/632 as belonging to the insurgent al-Aṣwad [q.v.]. Scarcity of water and the silting up of the bay brought about the decline of the town in the 6th and 7th/12th-13th centuries. In the time of al-Ḥanādī (ca. 700/1300) it was since long in ruins. According to him (MS Paris 2127, fol. 125b), in the biography of ʿAlī al-ʿAḡḡrī the name 'Aṭir also was transferred to the opposite island (is.), usually called Farasā [q.v.]. The name is not on the maps; the closest correspondents would be *Ḥor Abū es-Seba*, or *Qawz* (al-*Ḥa*'aḥīra) 32 km. N. of *Ḥīran*.

(4) A small place on the maritime road 'Adan-Mekka, between 'Ara and Sukyā (*Tunāza*, 8), three farsaḥs from the former village (Ibn al-Muḍāwir, 100).

*Bibliography*: Hamūdī, tr. Forrer, 47-51; Yāqūt, ii, 615; Makdūḥ, 53, 70, 86; Kay, *Yaman* 7, 11, 141 ff., 240 f.; Ibn al-Muḍāwir, 54 (*Ḥa*'aḥīd *Aṭir*), 100; Sprenger, *Post-u. Reiseboten*, 150; idem, *Die alte Geographie Arabien*, 45-54, 197; on the orthography of the name: Ibn al-ʿAḡḡrī, *Ḥaḥḥān*, ii, 122 and *Ḥaḥḥān*, *Magātib*, 177 f. (O. Löfcrs).

**ʿATIKRA**, Meccan lady, the daughter of the *ḥaṣṣ* Zayd b. 'Amr and sister of Sa'd b. Zayd, of the clan 'Adī b. Ka'b. She embraced Islam early and took part in the *ḥijra*. She was married first to 'Abd Allāh, a son of Abū Bakr, then after his death to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (in 12/633 according to al-Tabarī, i, 2077), whom she bore a son 'Iyād (Ibn al-Tabarī, i, 2077). When 'Umar was killed, she married al-Zuhayr b. al-'Awām, whose death she lamented in a much quoted elegy (Ibn Sa'd ii, 79 etc.). The sad story of this beautiful woman and her husbands whose lives ended so tragically was soon turned into a fanciful romance and embellished with spurious love-poems and elegies.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Sa'd vii, 192-5; ii, 207; Ibn Kutayba, *ʿUyūn al-ʿAḥbāb*, iv, 114 f.; Hanūka (Freytag), 193 ff.; *ʿAḥbāb*, xvi, 133-5; 'Aynī, ii, 278 f.; *Ḥisnat al-ʿAdāb*, iv, 351 f. etc. (J. W. Fock).

**ATIL**, or Iṭl, sometimes Atil (Iṭl-Khazarān, also *Ḥazarān* Atil, the *Ḥazarān* capital, a double town on the lower Volga, itself called Atil, Iṭl [q.v.] in the early mediaeval period. The exact site is unknown. According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūḡ*, ii, 7), the capital was transferred to Atil from Samanān in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus in the time of Sulaymān (Salmān) b. Rabi' a al-Bāḥlī, i.e. about 30/850, though elsewhere (*Tunāb*, 62) he says that Balandjar, also in the Caucasus region, was the original *Ḥazarān* capital. Already at this date the Arabic sources speak of al-Bayḍā', 200 parasangs from Balandjar (al-Tabarī, i, 2068), but which doubtless the later capital is intended. Ibn Rusta (1291) gives what are apparently the earlier *Ḥazarān* names for the double town on the Volga. According to al-ʿIṣṭaḥṣī (220), the west part, which was the larger, was a straggling town of felt tents with a few clay houses, several miles in extent and surrounded by a wall. The *Ḥazarān* proper, i.e. the Judaised ruling class, as well as the army and the royal caste, built of brick, were on this bank. Most of the Muslims, estimated in all at 10,000, lived on the east bank, which was the commercial part of the town. Markets, baths, mosques, etc. are mentioned. There was also a considerable Christian population, and a colony of pagan *Ḥakāliba* and *Rūs* (*Murūḡ*, ii, 9, 12). The correct naming of the double

town appears to be: west bank, *Ḥazarān*; east bank, Atil (cf. Ibn Hawkal, 389 note). Like its modern counterpart Astrakhan, it was an important entrepôt of trade. The products of the north, especially furs, passed through the *Ḥazarān* capital, while contact was made with Kievan Russia to the west and with *Ḥīra* to the east. The slave-trade seems to have been of importance. In the sixties of the 10th century the *Ḥazarān* capital was destroyed by the *Rūs* (Ibn Hawkal, 15, 392; Russian Chronicle, anno 965) and never recovered its former prosperity, though the *Rūs* withdrew and attempts were made to rebuild it (Ibn Hawkal, 392; cf. al-Makdīdī 161). The *Ḥazarān* state appears to have drawn out a precarious existence for some time afterwards, but *Ḥazarān* Atil ceases to be mentioned.

*Bibliography*: *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 452 ff.; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, 91 n. (D. M. Dunlop), 106, 217 n.

**ATINA**, Athens, capital of Greece. The history of Athens in pre-Islamic times will not be treated here. The first close—admittedly hostile—contact with the Muslims was made in 283/896, when Saracen pirates occupied the town for a short time (cf. D. G. Kambourglous, 'H Ἰστορία τῆς Ἀθηνῶν πόλεως', Athens 1934). Certain Arabic remains, and influences on the Arabic style in Athens, have been traced back to this event (cf. G. Soteriou, *Arabic remains in Athens in Byzantine times*, in: *Praktikā (Proceedings) of the Academy of Athens*, iv (Athens 1929), reproduced by D. G. Kambourglous, *Le*, 160; cf. also *Byzant-Nesgrich*, *Jahrbücher*, xi (Berlin and Athens), 233-60). The whole question still appears to be in need of clarification. Cf. K. M. Setton, *On the role of the Moslems in the Aegean in the ninth and tenth centuries and their alleged occupation of Athens*, in: *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. LVIII (1954), 311-9. Shortly after the time of Justinian I, Athens had sunk to the level of a provincial town, and apart from its great buildings, there was nothing left of its ancient cultural importance. During the period of the Burgundians and the Catalans, who occupied it in 1311, bringing it under the sovereignty of the kings of Aragon (cf. Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948 with excellent bibliography on pp. 261-301). From 1388 to 1458 the Florentine house of the Acciajuoli ruled in Athens. In 1397 it was temporarily taken by sultān Bāyezīd I. In some Turkish sources this capture is mentioned as taking place before the battle of Nicopolis (which took place on 25 Sept. 1396); after the conquest of Salonica (which is mentioned as having taken place in the previous year (Nesgri, Rūbī); in others, as taking place after that battle (Sa'd al-Dīn and his plagiarists, Solakräde and Ḥādīdī Khalīfa as well as Mīnēdīlīm-besleh). The latter date seems preferable, as Timurtaş is mentioned as the conqueror of Athens, and the *Chromatikon* mentions a raid by Ya'qūb-Paşa and 'Mour-taş', *Μουρτασ* = Timurtaş against Morea in summer 1397. Doubtless it was only a temporary occupation of the town, perhaps no more than a raid, so that Greek sources do not mention the event explicitly (cf. Sa'd al-Dīn, *Taḡl al-Turāḥ*, i, 149 f.; the whole question, J. H. Merdman, *Die erste Eroberung von Athen durch die Türken im Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Byz.-Nesgrich*, *Jahrbücher*, IV,

346-350). It was not until Mehemmed II, that Athens, "the city of wise men" (*madīnat al-ḥakamā*) finally came under Ottoman rule, when the Conqueror personally made his triumphal entry in the last week of August, thus beginning nearly 350 years of Turkish occupation. Concerning this event and all its details, cf. F. Babinger, *Mahmud der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1933, 170 f.; (Italian edition, *Maometto II il Conquistatore ed il suo tempo*, Turin 1936, 246). In the following centuries, Athens sank into insignificance, as one can gather clearly from reports of western travellers (cf. in particular Count de Laborde, *Athènes aux XV<sup>e</sup>, XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1854, 2 vols.). The Parthenon had been converted into a mosque, and barracks were built in the Propylaea. Turkish domination meant a time of decadence for Athens, which sank to the status of a small country town. In autumn 1687, it was besieged by a Venetian admiral, Francesco Morosini (subsequently Doge), and on this occasion the Parthenon was largely destroyed (on Sept. 26th) by a bomb which hit the ammunition stored there. The two mosques of the city were turned into places of Catholic and Protestant worship (the latter because a considerable number of German mercenaries were present) by the Venetian Provveditore Daniele Dolfin. Shortly afterwards, however, on April 26th 1688, Athens was abandoned by the occupying troops (which were much reduced by an epidemic) and the Turks re-entered. A city-wall—built largely from the remains of ancient monuments—was erected in 1777. From the 17th century onwards, there was great interest in the monuments of Greek antiquity in Athens, hence there are detailed descriptions dating from that time, especially in French (e.g. J. Spon (1678) and G. Wheeler (1682); cf. also Sh. H. Weber, *Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and adjacent Regions made previous to the Year 1801*, Princeton, 1953. These describe vividly to what a pitiable state Athens had sunk. The Greek fight for liberation increased this devastation. In 1822 Athens was conquered by the Greeks, but had to be ceded to the Turks again no later than 1826 (the Acropolis in 1827). It was only after the London Conference (1830), that Athens was incorporated into the new kingdom of Greece. It became the capital of the country at the end of 1834, and soon developed into an intellectual and cultural centre. Owing to the quick economic and political development there was a steep rise in population. Today Athens has about one million inhabitants. The university was founded in 1835.

*Bibliography*: The best bibliography of the history of Athens during the periods of Catalan and Florentine rule is found in Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388* (1948) in chapter XII, from 1388 onwards. Concerning the Turkish rule cf. Th. N. Philadelphos, *Τουρική τῆς Ἀθηνῶν ἐστὶ Τουρκοκρατία* (Athens 1902, 2 vols.). A detailed description of Athens in the 17th century is found in Ewliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 249-67; in connexion with this, see also short notices by Ḥādīdī Khalīfa, in J. v. Hammer, *Kunst und Natur*, Vienna 1812, 190 ff. There is a thorough study of Athens in the Middle Ages and in modern times by Wm. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, 335 ff., with numerous further bibliographical details. Ferd. Gregorovius, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1889, 2 vols. See also G. C. Miles, *The Arab Mosque in Athens*

in *Hesperia*, *Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, xxv (Athens 1956), 329-44 (with plate 49). (FRANK BABINGER)

**ʿATIRA** (pl. *'atā'ir*) denoted, among the Arabs of the *qishliyya*, a ewe (and by extensions its sacrifice) offered as a sacrifice to a pagan divinity, either as a thanksgiving following the fulfilment of a prayer (concerning in particular the increase of flocks), or when a flock reached the total of a hundred head (cf. the word *fara'a*); the head of the idols before which the sacrifice was performed was smeared with the blood of the victims. If one bears in mind on the one hand that these sacrifices (which were also seen behind the phrase *radjābiya*; hence the phrase *radjābiya* took place in the month of *radjāb* (i.e., in the spring), and on the other hand that in principle the first born were used for the sacrifice, a close connexion will be established with the sacrifice which took place during the *'umra* (q.v.), and also with the Jewish Passover and the magic rites which introduce a scapegoat. It seems that the Prophet forbade these sacrifices (cf. the *ḥadīth*: *la fara'a* (sacrifice of firstlings) was *la 'atā'ir*).

*Bibliography*: *LA*, s.vv. *'atira*, *radjābiyya*; Wellhausen, *Recht*, 118; J. Chelhod, *La Sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, 151 and refs. quoted; cf. Jausen, *Moab*, 359; see also *Ḥādīdī*, *Hayasūn*, i, 25, 216, 218.

**ATJĒH** (Atelch, Achin), the most northerly part of the island of Sumatra. Here flourished the once powerful Muslim empire of Atjeh, which is now a province of the Indonesian Republic. The southern limit was, under Dutch rule, formed by the residences of Tapanuli and "Sumatra's Oost-kust", now the province Sumatra Utara. In earlier times the province, or at least the sphere of political sovereignty of Atjeh extended much farther towards the south. A considerable part of both the east and west coasts of Sumatra was subject to the authority of Atjeh, and even pagan chiefs in the Batak regions received their rank at the hands of the princes of Atjeh.

Great-Atjeh. Only the district to the northwest with the Atjeh river and the port Atjeh, the former residence of the princes of Atjeh, was from the first reckoned as Atjeh proper. The Dutch named it Great-Atjeh and the capital Kuta Radja (i.e. fort of the prince). The port of Sabang situated on the island of Puló Wē (to the north-east of Kuta Radja) only dates from the beginning of the 19th century. The inhabitants of the littoral (Baroh) are distinguished in many respects from the population of the highlands of the interior (Tunong); the customs and speech of the former (who live of course in the vicinity of the residence) are always considered to be the more refined.

The Dependencies. The other districts situated on the west, north and east coasts were under Dutch rule usually referred to as the Dependencies. Among the important towns are: on the west coast: Meulaboh, Tapa' Tuan and Singkil; on the north coast: Sigli in the region of the former empire of Pidie (Pedir), Meureudu, Bireuen, Peussangan, Lho'Sukun and Lho'Sumawe. In the region between the latter place and the river Djambi Ays stood the flourishing empire of Pajene, which Ibn Battūta (ed. De-fremery and Sanguinetti, iv, 228 ff.) visited in

1) In this article *tj* is retained in deference to the official orthography in Indonesia; *t* = closed, *e* = open *e*; *o* = open, *o* = closed *o*; *au* is one vowel (not a diphthong).



the year 746/1345. On the east coast are situated among others: Idi, Langsa and Kuala Simpang. A steam tramway joins the east and north coasts with Kuta Radja. A part of the population has migrated thither from Great-Atjeh; many Malays have also settled here from the neighbouring districts.

With an estimated rice export surplus of 45,000 tons in 1922, and an important export of betel nuts, patchouli, copra, rubber and live-stock, Atjeh developed under the Dutch government into a thriving country, in spite of the ruin of the traditional pepper culture, to which the settlements in one part of the Dependencies had owed their original existence. Large irrigation works were completed or were under construction. The road system was extended. In addition on the West and East Coasts of Atjeh extensive acreages of waste ground were cleared by Western estate companies for the planting of rubber, oil-palms and fibres. The BPM (Batavia Petroleum Maatschappij) had fields in operation in Rantau (Kuala Simpang), and Peureula (Langsa); a gold mining concession was granted to a whist mining concern.

Gayô and Alas-Countries. High mountain-chains overgrown with virgin forest separate the littoral from the Gayô-country; transverse chains divide the region of the Gayôs into four districts. The most northerly (containing the great Tawar lake and the sources of the river Peusangan) is occupied by the so-called "Trang Lang" (i.e. people of the lake), the plain to the south of it is occupied on the other hand by the "Urang Döröt" (i.e. people of the land); to the southeast lies the table-land of Sér-bôdjari containing the sources of the river Peureula which flows in an easterly direction. The fourth table-land, situated in the south and containing the bed of the river Tripa which discharges its waters on the west coast, is called Gayô Luô (i.e. the wide, spacious Gayô-countries). The Alas-countries lie south of this. The population of these regions, who differ in many respects from that of Atjeh, have from the first recognised the authority of Atjeh. The four chiefs appointed by the princes of Atjeh in the several parts of the Gayô-country (the so-called "Kedjaruns") were the mediators between the Gayôs and Atjeh. Two of these Kedjaruns had their sphere of influence in the region of Lake Tawar (their distinctive titles were Rôdjô Bukit and Siah Utamal, one among the Döröt (with the title Rôdjô Lingêl), and the fourth in Gayô Luô (Kedjarun Pétambang). Sér-bôdjari was formerly without inhabitants; later its most eminent chieftain was also called Kedjarun (Kedjarun abuk). In the Alas countries the authority of Atjeh was represented by two Kedjaruns.

The most important administrative centres are Takéngin, on Lake Tawar, and Blang Kedjêren, in Gayô Luô. In the sub-district of Takéngin, which has an area of 70,000 hectares under fir trees, an important government resin and turpentine industry has developed. Plans for the establishment of a paper factory were in an advanced state of preparation at the time of the Japanese invasion in 1942.

For accurate information about the people of Atjeh we are indebted above all to C. Snouck Hurgronje, who (first in the years 1891-1892) investigated the previously but little known social, political and religious conditions of this nation. (*De Atjehers*; Batavia 1893-1894; cf. the English translation of this work which is provided with a new introduction and some additions by the author: *The Achehese*, Batavia-Leiden 1906; *Amstelsche afdelen 1*, The Hague 1927, 47-438).

and later described at length the land and customs of the Gayôs (*Het Gayoland en zijne bewoners*, Batavia 1893). A wealth of ethnographical details was collected by J. Kroeber and published in his work *Atjeh*, 2 vols., Leiden 1922-23, which also includes the Alas region.

Population and Language. Little is known about the origin of the people of Atjeh. Linguistically they belong to the Malay-Polynesian peoples. Slaves (from the island of Nias, etc.) and other foreigners (e.g. merchants from Hindustan) have influenced to some extent the composition of the population. Atjeh has many dialects, and each dialect again many variants; the literary language has in general closest affinity with the idiom of the Barôh-district. For the literature of Atjeh see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehese*, II, 66-189. A general is an independent language, whilst Alas is a Northern-Batak dialect. In the 19th century Malay was almost unknown in Atjeh except among a portion of the inhabitants of the sea-ports, but formerly it was the language of the court and from earliest times in Atjeh letters, official documents and many works on theology were written in Malay. The earliest Achehese adaptations of Arabic and Malay works date from the 17th century. Now Indonesian is the official language. For further details see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Studies on Atjehische klanen schrifters*, in *TiG*, 21:25 (1893), 346-442, also *Atjehische Taalindien*, *ibid.*, xli (1900), 144-262; K. F. H. van Langen, *Handboek voor de beoefening der Atjehische Taal*, The Hague, 1889; H. Djalaludinograt, *Atjehisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, Batavia 1933-1934; P. Voorhoeve, *Three old Achehese MSS.*, in *BSOS* 12 (1932), 335-345; G. A. J. Hazeu, *Gayô-Nederlandsch Woordenboek met Neder-Gayôisch register*, Batavia 1907.

Tribes and Families. There are still preserved traces of a division of the population of Atjeh into 4 tribes. The members of such a tribe or family—Achehese: *kasom* (from the Arabic *kasim*, people)—regard themselves as blood-relations in the male line, and have (especially in regard to blood-feud and the payment of blood-money) common rights and obligations. The members however of the various *kasoms* are scattered throughout the country; only where many kinsmen dwell together are they wont to choose a chief to represent their common interests. The Gayôs are divided into families who dwell together under their chiefs (Rôdjôs). When Rôdjôs disagree decision rests with the Kedjaruns.

Administration of the Villages. In Atjeh the *Kewtjêh* (i.e. the elder) is the head of the *Gampông*—i.e. the village, also a quarter of a town (Mal. *hampang*); in case of necessity he consults the "eldest" (i.e. the people who have had experience of life). The religious affairs of the *Gampông*, e.g. leading the community in the *Salat*, are the concern of the *Teungku meunasah*. The title *teungku* is borne in Atjeh both by people whose functions are connected with religion, and by those who have acquired some acquaintance with the sacred law. The *Gampông*-Teungkos or *Teungku meunasah* are not men of learning. Their rank has become hereditary, and in Snouck Hurgronje's time the ignorance of many *Teungkos* was so great that they were scarcely able to administer their office without the help of other people.

The Princes, Uleëbalangs and Sagi-chiefs. In historical times Atjeh has always been divided into many small districts, whose hereditary chiefs—

the so-called Uleëbalangs (i.e. commanders-in-chief)—lived in constant feud with each other. They paid homage however to the prince of the port of Atjeh as their common over-lord. The latter had the title of Sultan in official (Malay) documents, but was usually called by the Achehese *Radja* or *Pôlow* (i.e. "our master"). Whilst the Sultans and their male relatives bore the title *hambu*, the male members of the Uleëbalangs families bore the title *teuku*.

The power and dignity of the Achehese princes and the riches and splendour of their court, which are mentioned both in the earliest Malay and European accounts, depended on the tribute of the neighbouring regions on the coasts and the harbour-dues of the capital Atjeh. The hold Achehese mariners were master of sea and harbours; if they demanded tribute few dared resist. The interior of the country possessed little interest for the princes. Even when the empire was flourishing (2nd half of the 16th cent. and particularly during the 1st half of the 17th) the authority of the Sultan was confined to the immediate vicinity of the capital.

By the end of the 17th cent. the princes had become quite dependent on the Uleëbalangs in Great-Atjeh. The latter had at that time apparently on the ground of common interests formed themselves into three federations, the so-called *Sagis*, "sides", i.e. of the triangular-shaped Great-Atjeh. Each *Sagi* had an overlord (*Panglima-Sagi*), whose authority however did not extend beyond the common *Sagi*-interests. (In the Dependencies such federations are found). The Sultan chosen by the three *Sagi*-chiefs used to pay to them a certain sum. He usually belonged to the family of the previous ruler, but strangers, e.g. Sayyids, who dwelt in Atjeh, were sometimes elected to the Sultanate. In the course of time other chiefs obtained a voice in the choice of a ruler; according to tradition at one period 12 chiefs (including the 3 *Sagi*-chiefs) formed a kind of electoral college.

The majority of the Uleëbalangs in Great-Atjeh and the Dependencies later received their authority from the Sultan's hand and in witness thereof were given a document bearing the ruler's seal (a so-called *Sarakata*; on the Hindustani origin of this seal see P. Roessier, in *ITiG*, Series 7, v, 19-28; cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *ibid.*, Series 7, vi, 32-35). Not all the Uleëbalangs thought it worth while to go to the expense involved in the acquisition of a *sarakata* or deed of recognition; more important than the "tribal sikurucung" (the nine-fold seal of the sultan) was the "tribal limang" (the five-fold seal, i.e. signifying the hand as a symbol of power, meaning the ability to protect one's own interests). The Kedjaruns of the Gayô and Alas peoples on the other hand usually received a kind of dagger as symbol of their rank.

Division into Mukims. The Friday-service according to the *Shahîte* doctrine is only valid if 40 *Mukims* are present. A *Mukim* is a person domiciled in the place and satisfying the stipulations of the law. Since the population of most of the *Gampôngs* was not numerous enough to be able to hold a regular Friday-service with 40 participants, it became the custom to group together several *Gampôngs* and as near the centre as possible of such a district to construct a mosque for the Friday-service. Hence *Mukim* here pronounced *Mukim* acquired, not only in Atjeh but also in some other Malay regions, the meaning: department, circle. Each Uleëbalang was lord over several of these *Mukims*. Further the names of

the 3 *Sagis* have been derived from the original number of their *Mukims*; i.e. they are called: the *Sagi* "of the 22 *Mukims*" (in the south), the *Sagi* "of the 25 *Mukims*" (in the west) and the *Sagi* "of the 26 *Mukims*" (in the east of the triangular-shaped Great-Atjeh). These ancient names were preserved even after the number of the *Mukims* in the *Sagi* of the 25 *Mukims* and especially in that of the 22 *Mukims* had mounted up owing to the increase in the population.

The chiefs of the *Mukims* bore the title of *Ineum*. This word denoted originally the leader of the Friday-service (Arab. *Inâm*). The *Ineums* became however gradually hereditary, secular chiefs, who transferred the leadership of the Friday communal prayer to special officials.

Administration of Justice. Laws. As a general rule the chiefs themselves were wont to fulfil the functions of judges; they based their decisions on the unwritten law of custom (*'Adat*). There are indeed some statutes (*Sarakata*), which tradition credits Meukuta 'Alam and other famous rulers with having issued, and the Achehese, who know these laws only by name, ordinarily assume that they contain an exact statement of their law; they really consist however only of brief regulations regarding matters of administration, court-ceremonial (including the homage to be rendered to the ruler by the Uleëbalangs), the division of the harbour-dues and the fulfilment of several religious obligations. These regulations date from the time when the princes attempted, without permanent result however, to centralise their imperial administration; Muslim scholars at the court also left their impress on these laws (for fuller information see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehese*, I, 4-16; K. F. H. van Langen, *De inrichting van het Atjehsche staatsbestuur onder het sultanat in ITiG*, Series 5, lii, 381-471; *Translations from the Majlis Asih* (by T. Braddeley) in *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, V (1851), 26-32; an edition of the Malay text by G. W. J. Drewes and P. Voorhoeve is in the press). Further both the Sultan and the Panglimas had their *Kali* (= *Kâjê*), but these ecclesiastical judges only took a share in the administration of justice on certain special occasions (e.g. in the division of an inheritance, in some forms of divorce, in contracting marriages, and in other cases where the religious law was usually followed; on other occasions only if the chiefs expressly took them into council). The judge of the sultan bore the title *Kali Maishôn Adé = Kâjê Maliku 'Adat*; his hereditary office degenerated in course of time; he became the peculiar chief of several *Gampôngs* within the sultan's realms. Also the rank of the other *Kalis* became hereditary, and if those people who were *Kali* in virtue of their hereditary right possessed the knowledge requisite for this office it was by a rare chance.

Religion. From earliest times there existed trade relations between Atjeh and Hindustan. The civilisation and language of Atjeh were at first subject to Hindu influence; later Islam reached the shores of Atjeh, probably conveyed thither by Hindustani merchants. When Ibn Batûta visited Pash in 1345 Islam held the field; the ruler of the country warred against his unbelieving neighbours. The Achehese are orthodox Muslims, but Islam as it exists in Atjeh and elsewhere in Indonesia has some peculiar features which are to be explained by its Indian origin. Such are, for instance, the existence of a heterodox



mysticism and some characteristics distinctively Shi'ite. The first month, *e.g.*, is in Atjeh always called *Asan Uda*, obviously from the two martyrs Hasan and Husayn who are held in special honour in Shi'ite countries. The representation of a captive standard of 'Ali's sword *Dhu 'l-Fakr* with a Shi'ite marginal inscription has formerly led some scholars to the false opinion that the Acheneese were partly Shi'ite (cf. A. W. T. Juyaboli, *Ein Afjehsche Nag mit Arabische opskrifter in Tidjschrift voor Ned.-Indië*, 1873, II, 325-340; 1875, I, 471-476; M. J. de Goeje, *Atjeh in De Nederl. Spectator*, 1873, 358). The Acheneese in general were last in the fulfilment of many religious duties. The *Salat* for instance was usually neglected by the majority. On the other hand many Acheneese are wont annually to *jola* in the *Hadjdi*. Further the *Kutab* (Malay, Arabic and Acheneese) were studied in various places under the guidance of masters learned in the law (cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Eene verzameling Arab. Mal. en Afjehsche handschriften en gedrukte boeken in Nidjan van het Indische Gewest*, van Kunden en Wadisch, XXXIX (1907), n.° vii; also *The Acheneese*, II, 1-27). The students who mostly came from remote districts lived in a common residence (*ramhang*). Whilst yet the Empire flourished the splendour of the court not rarely induced foreign scholars from India, Syria and Egypt (including a son of the celebrated Ibn Hadjar al-Haytami) to settle in Atjeh.

Many Acheneese pilgrims became members in Mecca of one of the orthodox mystic brotherhoods (especially the *Kadiriyya* or *Nakshbandiyya*) but these *Tariqas* did not have in Atjeh the same importance as in many other parts of Indonesia. Formerly there were prevalent in Atjeh the forms of pantheistic mysticism which at that period were generally spread throughout Hindustan. The most famous representatives of this heterodox tendency in Atjeh were Shams al-Din al-Samarat<sup>2</sup> (i.e. of Pasé; d. 1630) (g.v.) and his predecessor Hamza Fanqur (g.v.). Its chief opponents were Rukri (g.v.) and 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkul (g.v.). Certain forms of the ancient heterodox mysticism have been preserved till recent times, but such differences from the orthodox teaching, which are based on ignorance, are gradually disappearing before the increasing communication with the centre of Islam. (Fuller information in Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acheneese*, II, 13 f.). Veneration of saints has still an important place in the popular faith of the Acheneese. The pilgrim visits the tombs of illustrious saints and seeks by gifts and vows to secure their favour and intercession. Some of the most celebrated Acheneese saints were foreigners, as e.g. the Arab Temgku Andjör, who died in 1782, and the Turkish or Syrian 'saint of Gampöng Bitay', who according to tradition came to Atjeh in the 16th cent.

At the summit of religious life stood the *ulamas* (Arab. *ulama'*, used as a singular in Acheneese) the supreme authorities in the field of religious law and doctrine, who were held in great respect by the people. They ranked much higher than the *alem*, who however learned was not considered as a real authority, any more than was the escholarly *malim* or the *leubé*, as anyone would be described who—even though he was quite unlearned—carried out his religious duties more or less faithfully. The *ulamas* were much more respected too than the village religious functionary, the *temgku munanah*. In the same way that the *ulabalangs* were the exponents of the *adat*, so were

the *ulamas* the champions of the *huküm*, although the *ulabalangs*, in accordance with the *huküm*, were at the same time the religious head of their own territory. The essential co-operation of *huküm* and *adat*, described by Snouck Hurgronje as the basis of Acheneese society, must—as this author observed—be seen in this light:

'The *adat* assumes the part of mistress, and the *huküm* that of her obedient slave. The *huküm*, however, avenges herself for her subordination whenever she sees the chance; her representatives are always on the look-out for her opportunity to escape from this servile position.' (*The Acheneese*, I, 153).

History. The province of Atjeh was the first part of Indonesia where Muslim kingdoms were founded. The first mention of such a kingdom is by Marco Polo; when he visited Atjeh's north coast in 1292, there was a Muslim king in Ferlec, i.e. Perak (Ach. *Peureula*), whilst two other countries, Basma or Basman and Samara, were still heathen. These last names cannot be identified with Pasé and Samudra, as the first Muslim king of Samudra-Pasé, al-Malik al-Salih, died in 1297, so that it seems unlikely that in 1292 the people of Samudra were still 'wild idolaters' and 'brutes of man-eaters' (H. K. J. Cowan in *Djawa* 19 (1930), 121 ff.). For some centuries the port of Samudra, afterwards called Pasak (Ach. *Pasé*), remained an important centre for the diffusion of Islam in the Indian Archipelago. Its dynastic history may one day be reconstructed from the inscriptions on tomb-stones and coins. Malay chronicles (*Sidjarah Melayu* and *Hikayat Radja-radja Pasai*, ed. from the unique MS. R. A. S. Ratiles Mal. 67 by E. Dulaurier, *Chroniques Malayes*, 1849; romanced ed. J. P. Mesd, in *JSRAS* 66 (1914)), Chinese, Arabic (Ibn Batuta, see above) and European sources; until now, much material has been collected but a publication of the inscriptions is still lacking. (Reports on the work of the Archaeological Survey in: *Oudheidkundig verslag*, 1912 ff.; cf. *Encyclopaedie v. Ned. Indië*, I, 1917, s.v. *Blang Me*). Many of the tomb-stones were imported from Cambay in Gujarat (J. P. Moquette in *TBG* 34 (1912), 336-339); one tomb, dated 781 A.H., has inscriptions in Arabic and in Old-Malay (W. Stutterheim, *AO* 14 (1936), 268-279; cf. G. E. Morrison, *JMBRAS* 24 (1950), pt. I, 162-165); another stone, dated 823 A.H., on the grave of an Indian immigrant, is inscribed with a Persian *ghazal* by Sa'di (H. K. J. Cowan, *TBG* 80 (1940), 15-21). The kingdom lasted until the 16th century. It was still independent when Tone Pines collected information for his *Sama Oriental* in Malacca, 1521-23 (ed. A. Cortesão, Hakluyt Soc. 2nd Ser. 89, 90 (1944)), and its trade profited greatly by the decline of Malacca after its capture by the Portuguese. This prosperity was not to last long. Though Pasé's traditional enemy Pedir (Ach. *Pidia*) was at that moment in decay owing to the death of its king Madafara (Muzaffar Shah?) and its being at war (apparently with Atjeh), the rising power was not Pasé but Atjeh. First, describes its ruler as a pirate-king, 'a knightly man among his neighbours'. He had already subdued the adjoining country of Lamby (Lamuri, Lambr) and the land of Bilar, between Atjeh and Pedir (Ach. *Bilene*). This probably refers to Sultan 'Ali Mughayyat Shah, the first sultan in Djajadiningrat's list, whose date of accession is uncertain. Tomb-stones of some of his predecessors have been found after H. Djajadiningrat compiled his list from Malay chronicles and European

sources (*BTJLV* 63 (1910), 135-263), but the exact relations between these predecessors are still unexplained, and Sultan 'Ali Mughayyat Shah, by conquering Daya to the west and Pidie and Pasé to the east, became the real founder of the empire of Atjeh. Leaving aside, for the time being, the data on the earlier sultans, we reproduce Djajadiningrat's list of the princes of Atjeh with only a few modifications in the dates:

- I. 'Ali Mughayyat Shah (?-1530).
- II. Salih al-Din (1530-? 1537).
- III. 'Ali<sup>3</sup> al-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Kahhar (i. 1537-1571).
- IV. 'Ali Ri'ayat Shah or Husayn (1571-? 1579).
- V. Sulthan Muda (a child, reigned only some months in 1579).
- VI. Sulthan Sri 'Alam (1579).
- VII. Zayn al-'Abidin (1579).
- VIII. 'Ali al-Din of Perak or Mansur Shah (1579-? 1586).
- IX. 'Ali Ri'ayat Shah or Radja Buyung (i. 1586-? 1588).
- X. 'Ali<sup>4</sup> al-Din Ri'ayat Shah (i. 1588-1604).
- XI. 'Ali Ri'ayat Shah or Sulthan Muda (1604-1607).
- XII. Iskandar Muda (posthumous name: mar-bum Makota 'Alam) (1607-1636).
- XIII. Pasakan 'Abd al-'Ali<sup>5</sup> al-Din Mughayyat Shah (1636-1641).
- XIV. Tadj al-'Alam Sa'fiyyat al-Din Shah (1641-1675).
- XV. Nur al-'Alam Nakiyyat al-Din Shah (1675-1688).
- XVI. 'Hayat Shah Zakiyyat al-Din Shah (1678-1689).
- XVII. Kamalat Shah (1688-1699).
- XVIII. Badr al-'Alam Sharif Hāshim Djamāl al-Din (1699-1702).
- XIX. Perkasa 'Alam Sharif Lamtoy b. Sharif Ibrahim (1702-1703).
- XX. Djamāl al-'Alam Badr al-Munir (1703-1726).
- XXI. Djawhar al-'Alam Amal al-Din Shah (reigned only a few days).
- XXII. Shams al-'Alam or Wandt Teling (reigned only a few days).
- XXIII. 'Ali<sup>6</sup> al-Din Ahmad Shah or Maharaja Lela Melayu (1727-1735).
- XXIV. 'Ali<sup>7</sup> al-Din Djohan Shah or Dörtük Auk (1735-1760).
- XXV. Mahmud Shah or Tuanku Radja (1760-1781).
- XXVI. Badr al-Din (1764-1765).
- XXVII. Sulayman Shah or Radja Udahna Lela (1773).
- XXVIII. 'Ali<sup>8</sup> al-Din Muhammad Shah or Tuanku Muhammad (1781-1793).
- XXIX. 'Ali<sup>9</sup> al-Din Djawhar al-'Alam Shah (1793-1824).
- XXX. Sharif Sayf al-'Alam (1815-1820).
- XXXI. Muhammad Shah (1824-1836).
- XXXII. Mansur Shah (1836-1870).
- XXXIII. Mahmud Shah (1870-1874).
- XXXIV. Muhammad Dawud Shah (1874-1903).

'Ali Mughayyat Shah's two sons Salih al-Din and more especially 'Ali<sup>3</sup> al-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Kahhar increased the importance of the new kingdom. From Turkish archive documents we learn that the latter sent an embassy to Constantinople in 973/1563 for help against the Portuguese and

saying that several of the heathen rulers of South East Asia had promised to embrace Islam if the Ottomans would save them. The arrival of the embassy coincided with the Szeged campaign and the death of Sulayman. The embassy therefore waited two years in Constantinople and then a naval expedition was prepared under the command of the Admiral of Suez, Kurdoghlu Khair Reis, consisting of 19 galleys and some other ships with guns, supplies, etc. This expedition was however diverted to deal with an insurrection in the Yemen and instead two ships with supplies and military technicians were sent to Atjeh. It would seem that they entered the service of the Sultan of Atjeh and stayed there. (See Saffet, *TOEM*, 10, 604-614; 11, 678-683; I. H. Uzunçarsili, *Osmanlı Tarih*, II, 1949, 388-389, and III/1, 1951, 31-33). In the first half of the seventeenth century Atjeh reached its greatest prosperity, attaining its zenith during the reign of Iskandar Muda, honoured after his death by the title of *Mekuta 'Alam*, i.e., Crown of the World (*supra* n.° XII). The dominion of the Acheneese was extended far to the south during his reign. Iskandar's expedition with a great fleet against Pahang and Malacca forms the subject of an important Acheneese epic the *Hikayat Malak Dagang* (ed. H. K. J. Cowan, *The Hagoes*, 1937). In 1638, during the reign of his successor Iskandar Djahid, *supra* n.° XIII) a Portuguese embassy came to Atjeh and tried in vain to win over the Sultan to their side in the war against the Dutch (see: Agostino di S. Teresa, *Breve racconto del viaggio . . . al regno di Achien*, Roma 1632; Ch. Beillard, *Histoire de Pierre l'Herminier*, Paris 1889). Four princesses ruled over Atjeh in the second half of the seventeenth century (1641-1699). This period of feminine rule was naturally much to the advantage of the *Ulkebalangs* whose power and authority were thereby increased; but on the other hand many disapproved of this state of affairs and declared on the authority of a *fatwa* received from Mecca that it was forbidden by law for a woman to rule. Thereupon at the beginning of the eighteenth century arose a series of dynastic wars. Some of the princes who contended for the throne were Sayyids (i.e. descendants of Husayn) born in Atjeh. The best known among these was Djamāl al-'Alam n.°, XX). After he was deposed in 1726, he held out for a considerable time against the later Sultans, amongst others against Ahmad (*supra* n.°, XXIII), a man of Bugis descent, ancestor of the last dynasty of Acheneese princes) and his son Djohan Shah (*supra* n.°, XXIV). The contest between Djamāl and Djohan Shah and the death of the former are the subjects of another great Acheneese epic, the *Hikayat Pajud Mahamat* (still unpublished; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acheneese*, II, 88-100). Even after the authority and wealth of the court had gradually become insignificant, there survived, indeed till quite recent times a great reverence among the Acheneese for their rulers whom they honoured as the representatives of a glorious past.

[Th. W. JOYNSBELL (P. VOORHOEF)]

The Atjeh War. In the 19th century the piracy and slave trade of the Acheneese and their raids on neighbouring territories constituted a constant danger. The Dutch government were at first not in a position to put a stop to this evil as they had pledged themselves to England in 1824 not to extend their dominion in Sumatra to the north, but this obligation was removed by a new



treaty with England in 1872. The landing of Dutch troops in 1873 was the beginning of a war (the Atjeh War), which lasted—with several pauses—from 1873 until 1910, in which year the pacification was considered complete.

Broadly speaking the three components inspiring this unexpected opposition were the *ulamas*, the *ulibalangs*, and the sultanate. Of these three the *ulamas* were the strongest, and the sultanate the weakest component. This last fact is understandable, since—as we have seen above—the influence of the sultan was very limited. With the capture of Kutaradja, the sultan's stronghold, the Dutch considered the sultan's government as at an end, and the Dutch administration took over his position and rights. Meanwhile, after the death of Sultan Mahmūd Shāh, the six-year old Muhammad Dāwūd, grandson of Sultan Mansūr Shāh (*supra* No. XXXIII), was elected sultan. The "pretender-sultan" Muhammad Dāwūd, who had taken refuge with his court at Keumala in Pidie, hunted by Dutch troops from hiding place to hiding place, finally made his submission in 1903. In 1917, because of underground activities, he was banished from Atjeh. The *ulibalangs*, the secular authorities or "lords of the country" (*The Achehese*, I, 88), so far as they were not willing to accept Dutch authority, had to be subdued one by one. One of the most influential of them was Teuku Panglima Pōhō Muhammad Dāwūd, the chief of the *sagi* of the XXII *Mukims*. Now that the sultan's government had lapsed the Dutch recognised the *ulibalangs*—with the exception of those in Great-Atjeh, which was regarded as the personal domain of the sultan—each as independent rulers in their own right, whose relationship with the Dutch government must be determined by treaty.

On the advice of Snouck Hurgronje the form of treaty selected from 1898 onwards was the so-called *horte verklarung* (short contract). In this the rulers recognised that their territories formed part of Netherlands India, and undertook not to have any kind of political contacts with foreign powers, to follow and maintain all the regulations, and to obey all the orders given them by the Civil and Military Governor of Atjeh. The *ulamas*, the spiritual leaders of the people, were the real inspirers of the struggle. Here we can mention only one well-known family, the *Tiribetungkus*, of whom Tjibh Saman (d. 1890) was the best known. They were named after the *gamping* Tjib in Pidie, an important centre of Islamic scholarship. The *ulamas* went throughout the land preaching the holy war; their war-chest was the *sakal*-tax levied on the people. The native chieftains were ignominiously thrust into the background. The long duration of the war and the fanaticism with which it was fought are explained by the character of a holy war which it assumed. From this period comes the *Hikayat Prang Sabi* (ed. H. T. Damsté, *BTLV*, 84, 1928, pp. 545 ff.) in which the faithful were called to a holy war. After the submission of the "pretender-sultan" the *ulamas* and some *ulibalangs* conducted a guerrilla warfare, though Panglima Pōhō also submitted a few months after the sultan. In 1911 Teungku Ma'at, the last survivor of the *Tiribetungkus*, was killed.

It was a long time before the Dutch government came to comprehend the full significance of these three fundamental components in the Atjeh War, and to adapt their policies and tactics accordingly. The investigations of Snouck Hurgronje were the first to provide the political insight upon which the military campaigns of Governors J. B. van Heutsz (1898–

1904), G. C. E. van Daalen (1905–1908), and H. N. A. Swart (1908–1909), could be based (cf. K. van der Maaten, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Atjeh-Oorlog*, 2 vols., Oostersch Instituut, Leiden 1948, and the literature listed therein). Governor Swart was the last governor to be charged both with the civil government and the military command in Atjeh.

The Dutch administration. Since the sultanate was swept away by the Atjeh War, the highest authority was considered to have passed to the "regents" of the sultan, the *ulibalangs*. This administrative institution, which drew its sanction from 'adat' (local customary law) was fitted into the Dutch administrative system in the following way. The *ulibalangs* territories were recognised as "native states" (*zelfbesturende land-schappen*), and their relationship with the Dutch government was regulated by the *horte verklarung*. Exceptions to this were the district of Singkel, the district and the sub-district of Singkel, both of which were classed as "directly ruled territories" (*rechtstreeks bestuurd gebied*). Great-Atjeh, the territory of the three *sagis*, was included in this category because after the conquest it had wrongly been assumed that here, in contrast to the rest of Atjeh, the chiefs were dependent officials of the sultan. The border territory of Singkel was included on historical grounds. A section of this district had been brought under Dutch rule earlier, forming part of the residency of Tapanuli, and therefore in determining the form of administration the system in force elsewhere in that residency was followed. But here too the existing administrative frame-work based on 'adat' law was maintained, so that the *panglimas* *sagi*, the *ulibalangs*, and so on, as 'native chiefs' were made government officials.

The 'adat' system which was thus embodied in the administration presented a picture of infinite diversity. It embraced about 200 *ulibalangs* acting as independent rulers, and about 50 *panglimas* *sagi*, *ulibalangs* and local chiefs with various other titles in the directly ruled territories. The size of each territorial unit varied from a village to the equivalent of a Dutch province, the populations from a few hundred to more than 50,000, and the educational background of the rulers from a simple primary school course to training at the Civil service college (*Bestuurschool*) in Batavia.

Over this Indonesian administrative framework extended the Dutch administration; its task was the creation and enforcement, through these institutions, of peace, order and the rule of law, and the economic and cultural development of the land. The Government (later Residency) of Atjeh and Dependencies, administered by a Governor (later a Resident), was for these purposes divided eventually into four districts, each administered by an Assistant Resident. These were the district of Great-Atjeh, and the districts of the North Coast, the East Coast, and the West Coast. They in their turn were subdivided into a total of 21 sub-districts, each administered by a *Controleur* (District Officer).

The policy of government was consistently directed towards promoting a larger measure of personal initiative on the part of the chiefs, and bringing the Indonesian administration into line with Western standards. So the old type of chief, ruling like a patriarchal despot, gradually made way for more progressive younger men.

Thus under the Dutch régime the administration remained wholly in the hands of the hereditary *ulibalang* caste, a caste consolidated on the one hand

by intermarriage between families already related to each other in a variety of ways, and divided on the other hand through the operation of historical feuds. The hegemony of this caste, moreover, was not confined to the sphere of government. In accordance with the 'adat' the administration of justice was also in the hands of the *ulibalangs*, whilst in accordance with the *hukim* they were the religious leaders of their own territory. In addition they had often important trading and other economic interests, and usually disposed of extensive estates, especially in Pidie, where a medieval system of feudal holding still prevailed. Finally—their sons being considered first for all forms of education and training—they had in a certain sense also an intellectual monopoly.

When the Japanese War broke out there were three *ulibalangs* of outstanding importance. Teuku Njā' Arif, the chief of the *sagi* of the XXVI *Mukims*, had represented Atjeh in the *Volksraad* until 1917. Teuku Muhammad Hasan, ruler of Glumpang Payōng (Pidie), had previously been employed in the Residency offices at Kutaradja, where he exercised a great influence on political policy. Teuku Hagji Tjib Muhammad Džōhan Alamsjah was the ruler of Pessangan (Bireuen).

Whilst the *ulibalangs* group historically linked itself increasingly closely with the Dutch régime, amongst the *ulama* group, taken as a whole, the anti-Dutch tradition was maintained. The predominant position which the *ulamas* had attained during the Atjeh War was lost again with the return of peace, and the traditional superiority of the *ulibalangs* was restored. So there developed gradually between these two groups, which had co-operated during the war, an antipathy—a recurring theme in the history of Atjeh—as the result of which the *ulamas* regarded the *ulibalangs* as traitors.

Religious life itself was left to develop freely, in keeping with the tradition of the Dutch régime. At first Tuanku Radja Keumala (whose father was a great-grandson of Sultan Muhammad Shāh, *supra* XXXI), acted as adviser on religious affairs. But after his death this office was not refilled, whilst the advisory council on religious affairs established in 1919 under the title "raad *ulama*" ("Council of 'Ulamā'), of which this learned descendant of the sultan formed the central figure, was discontinued. For this reason the Dutch authorities were subsequently dependent for their information about developments in the religious sphere upon the *ulibalangs*, who were considered legally the religious leaders of their own territories. Ultimately, just before the Japanese invasion, another descendant of a former sultan, Tuanku 'Abd al-'Aziz, *Imam* of the great mosque at Kutaradja, was made unofficial religious adviser. He was not an *ulama* in the sense which was attached to that word in Atjeh, and although known as *adim* (see above) he did not enjoy anything like the prestige of his eminent predecessor.

Religious instruction retained an important place next to secular education. Besides elementary religious education Atjeh possessed a large number of so-called religious secondary schools in which geography, history, economics, etc., were also taught. Many *ulibalangs* made a point of having one or more religious schools in their territory, which through the fame of the *ulamas* trained in Egypt, Mimang-kaban, or in Atjeh itself who taught in them, would enhance their own reputations. That these *ulamas* were often more or less openly anti-Western in outlook they accepted as part of the bargain.

As for the third component in the struggle against the Dutch—the Sultan's party—its rôle was played out. The "pretender-Sultan" died in exile in 1939 in Batavia. His son was allowed to return to Atjeh. The other descendants of the sultanate remaining in Atjeh wielded little influence. An exception was Tuanku Mahmūd, an important political figure, who had been trained at the Civil service college in Batavia. He held a government post in Celebes for some years before returning to Atjeh as senior native official in the service of the resident there. In 1911 he succeeded Teuku Njā' Arif as a member of the *Volksraad*, and after the death of the "pretender-Sultan" became undisputed head of the sultan family. A campaign started in 1939 by some Achehese merchants for the restoration of the sultanate met with little response; there was practically no support for it from the *ulibalangs*, who saw in it a threat to their own position.

The political situation itself developed favourably. The last resistance incident took place in 1913, and the military garrison was gradually reduced. The *kāfir*-bait and the idea of a holy war—negative expressions of the religious consciousness—gave way to a positive local Achehese patriotism, which expressed itself in the normal impulse to be master in one's own house, or more specifically to get an increased number of posts in the administration occupied by one's fellow countrymen.

Modern nationalist ideas had as yet hardly any hold on the Achehese people. The same was true of the Muhammadiyah movement, which originated in Java. Though it fixed as its target the advancement of religious life, and had its connexions over the whole of Indonesia, it struck no responsive note in Achehese religious life. It remained—despite its Achehese leadership—a distinctly non-Achehese movement, which attracted mainly non-Achehese elements, or locally the militant part of Achehese society, which in the absence of a purely political movement sought in it satisfaction for their political and social aspirations. The religious ideas of this young Islamic modernist movement were quite alien to the more conservatively orientated religious life of the Achehese.

As a counter-weight to the modernist ideas of the Muhammadiyah, the *PUSA* or *Persatuan Ulama Seluruh Atjeh* was founded at Bireuen in 1939, under the influential patronage of the ruler of Pessangan. Under the direction of Atjeh's most prominent *ulama* it was to be the vehicle of that typically Achehese strictly orthodox religious life. Its membership was not necessarily limited to *ulamas*. Anyone else who could identify himself with its aims could join it, and its most prominent leader was Teungku Muhammad Dāwūd Beureu'eh from Keumangan (Pidie). The movement seemed to fulfil an important need. Through it both conservative and progressive *ulamas* were brought together, and branches were set up throughout Atjeh. To have assumed a political, let alone an anti-Dutch, character, would have been inconsistent with the aims of the movement. Its attitude towards the government and the *ulibalangs* was completely correct, and many *ulibalangs* accepted the position of adviser to their own local branch. The position of patron was offered to Tuanku Mahmūd. A youth movement was founded under the name *Pemuda Pusa*, with its headquarters at Idi. The more advanced and militant elements, reacting against the pressure of the *adat* authorities, sought within this movement a refuge, and a means of expressing



their own ideas. As a result the youth movement quite quickly began to take on a more militant and subversive character. So the *Pusa* itself gradually developed into a new and potent weapon in the hands of the *ulamas* in their struggle against the Dutch régime and the *ulitbalangs*.

We have already dealt briefly with economic developments in this period, and with education in its religious aspect. Secular education expanded steadily. At the time of the Japanese invasion Atjeh had one higher grade school, thirteen schools giving Western elementary education, 148 elementary vernacular schools, 45 *vervolgcholen* or advanced vernacular schools and one trade and handicraft centre, founded either by the Dutch government or the native states. There were besides a number of private schools giving elementary Western education, supported by the Muhammadiyah and Taman Siswa societies.

The Japanese occupation. Even before Japanese troops occupied Atjeh in March 1942 rebellions against the Dutch government broke out in Great-Atjeh and in the North and West Coast districts. These took on the character of a national rising, particularly in the *sagi* of the XXII *Muslims* and in the sub-district of Tjilang, on the West coast. After the Japanese troops had landed the rebellion spread quickly. As during the Atjeh War the most important component of the rising was formed by the *ulamas*. It was led by Teungku Muhammad Däwüd Beureu'eh at the head of the *Pusa* and the Pemuda *Pusa*, which provided a single organisation spread over the whole of Atjeh, admirably suited for the preaching of the holy war. The participation of the *ulitbalangs* was at first limited to a number of discontented political elements of purely local importance. That the rebellion in the *sagi* of the XXII *Muslims* was able to assume the character of a national rising is explained by the support which the *ulamas* experienced from the chief of the *sagi*, the son of the great resistance leader of the Atjeh War, Teuku Panglima Pölm Muhammad Däwüd, who had died shortly before the outbreak of the war. In Tjilang the participation of Teuku Sals of Lageon, one of the only two native rulers who had earlier supported the movement for the restoration of the sultanate, set its stamp on the nature of the rising there, so that the third component from the Atjeh War, that of the sultanate, re-appears at this time too. The movement was stimulated from the Japanese side, for immediately after the fall of Penang in December 1941 a fifth column organisation was formed from the Acehese colony there, which sent its agents back to Atjeh as "refugees" from Japanese violence. Shortly before the Japanese landing Teuku Nja' Arif, the chief of the *sagi* of the XXVI *Muslims*, joined the rebellion, whilst later Teuku Muhammad Hasan of Gumpang Payong also declared that he had already been in contact with the Japanese before their attack.

From the beginning the Japanese stood in a different relationship to the *ulitbalangs* and the *ulamas* than had the Dutch. From the outset they received support from the *ulamas* more perhaps than from any one else. An attempt by the *Pusa* to take over power locally from the *ulitbalangs*, however, was not sanctioned by the Japanese, since they could not allow the existing social order to be dislocated by the sweeping aside of the government machinery based on the *'idat*. It would have undermined their own military strength. Instead Japanese policy was aimed at linking both of these

political forces, that of *'idat* and that of *hakim*, in order to obtain the co-operation of the people as a whole in their war effort. The Japanese tried therefore just like the Dutch to keep a balance between both groups. The fact that the *ulitbalangs* too had taken an important share in the rising made this policy acceptable.

The rule of the *ulitbalangs* was thus maintained. In the sphere of government the position of the *ulitbalangs* was even strengthened. Dutch government officials made way for Indonesian *gema-chi* who were chosen, with a single exception, from leaders of the *ulitbalang* families. Two *ulitbalangs* represented Atjeh in the delegation from Sumatra which visited Japan in 1943, one—Teuku Muhammad Hasan—being designated as its leader. In the advisory Council for Atjeh created at the end of 1943, Teuku Nja' Arif was appointed chairman, and Teuku Muhammad Hasan deputy chairman. As it was first constituted, the majority of its members belonged to the *ulitbalang* class; but this was no longer the case when it was re-constituted in 1945.

Nevertheless the position of the *ulamas* was considerably strengthened, at the expense of the *ulitbalangs*. At the beginning of 1943 Teuku 'Abdul 'Azis was appointed adviser for religious affairs for the whole of Atjeh, and some months later he was made chairman of the newly created advisory council on religious affairs. Teungku Muhammad Däwüd Beureu'eh was appointed deputy chairman of this council, which had branches throughout Atjeh, and he quickly became the leading figure in it. The principal object of this and similar organisations was to bring religion into the service of the Japanese war effort. In 1944 a court was established to hear religious cases under the name *shäy-khin*, and in the *ulamas* and the *ulitbalangs*, and in the *Pusa* predominated. Eventually one of the members of the executive committee of *Pusa* was appointed inspector of religious education. Teungku Muhammad Däwüd Beureu'eh and a number of other *ulama* were members both of the first and of the second Council for Atjeh.

The administration of justice too was re-organised, and largely withdrawn from the control of the *ulitbalangs*. In the magistrates courts (*shä-khin*) in particular a large number of those appointed as members were supporters of *Pusa*, leaders of the resistance movement, and other enemies of the *ulitbalangs*.

This policy of holding a balance between both groups could satisfy neither the *ulitbalangs*, nor the *ulamas*. To be sure, the *'idat* was no longer the mistress and the *hakim* her obedient slave-girl. But the *ulamas* would only be satisfied with a position in which the *hakim* would be mistress and the *'idat* the slave. So both groups conducted a remorseless struggle over the heads of the Japanese.

Meanwhile the pressure on the Japanese was growing from day to day. The Japanese army of occupation was dependent on what the country itself could provide both for its food and for the labour supply needed for the construction of roads, airfields and fortifications. To provide this, an almost intolerable burden was through the agency of both the *ulitbalangs* and the *ulamas* imposed on the people. Increasing discontent was the result. More and more *ulitbalangs* refused to provide the service of their men for the use of the occupying forces, whilst it became ever harder for the *ulamas* too co-operate in satisfying the Japanese demands. In September 1943 mass arrests took place throughout

Atjeh and amongst those arrested were several *ulitbalangs*. In August 1944 the ruler of Gumpang Payong, who was suspected of underground activities and of conspiring with the Dutch, was arrested with some other *ulitbalangs*, and executed shortly afterwards. At the moment of these mass arrests the ruler of Pussangan was already for some months in prison. The possession of a copy of the *Hibayat prang sabi* ("Summons to the Holy War") or its recitation was made an offence. In two instances there was open resistance. As early as 1942 there were insurrections in Bayu, in the district of Labé Sumawé. There an *ulama* Teungku 'Abd al-Djalil who, despite his youth, was already head of a large religious school, is said to have preached the *prang sabi* against the Japanese. He and his followers were killed in the bloody conflict which followed. In 1943 there was another insurrection in Pandrah, in the sub-district of Bireun. Here the heavy economic burden of compulsory deliveries and "voluntary" labour produced an outbreak which was savagely repressed.

The Japanese invasion brought at first a revival of the negative element of *häfir* hatred. But as Japanese pressure increased the positive element of local patriotism grew, stimulating the urge to take control into Acehese hands. In the end, as the result of the Japanese promise of independence, this developed into the idea of a unity, based on religion, which would embrace the whole of Indonesia.

Indonesian Independence. The Japanese surrender in August 1945 did not bring any restoration of the Dutch régime in Atjeh and only the island of Sabang was occupied by Dutch troops. The way was thus open for a final reckoning between the *ulamas* and the *ulitbalangs*. In December 1945 a civil war broke out which ended in February 1946 with the annihilation of the power of the *ulitbalangs*. A number of *ulitbalang* families were massacred to the last male child. Hundreds of members of *ulitbalang* families disappeared into republican internment camps as "enemies of the Republic", and their property was confiscated. Amongst them were the chief of the *sagi* of the XXVI *Muslims* and the ruler of Pussangan.

This annihilation of the power of the *ulitbalangs* cannot be viewed solely as a result of the antithesis between *'idat* and *hakim*. Social, political and economic factors were also involved. Religion played the part of the instrument of a social revolution against the position which the *ulitbalang* class held in society as a whole, a position which had been described at some length above.

Soon after the *Pusa* emerged victorious from the civil war, its leader Teungku Muhammad Däwüd Beureu'eh became military governor of Atjeh. His adherents filled those posts in the administration, the police and the judiciary which had formerly been occupied by the *ulitbalangs*. The lack of experience, high-handedness and corruption of the new rulers, who in fact were supported by only a minority of the population, soon led to increasing unrest, and in 1948 there was an abortive insurrection in Kuta-radja. But so long as the central government of the Republic had not reached a settlement with the Dutch, its hands were full elsewhere and there was no question of its intervening in Atjeh. The common struggle for the recognition of Indonesian independence was in these years the only aim; Acehese local patriotism and the idea of Indonesian unity for the moment coincided.

After the transfer of sovereignty from Holland to the Republic of Indonesia at the end of 1949 the intervention of the central government could no longer be avoided. For administrative purposes Atjeh was included in the province of North Sumatra, so that Teungku Muhammad Däwüd Beureu'eh lost his position as governor. Acehese military units were gradually replaced by non-Achehese troops, thus depriving the *Pusa* of their military support. In 1951 a large number of *Pusa* leaders were arrested under cover of the general round up of Communist leaders, undertaken throughout Indonesia at this time, and insufficient *Pusa* adherents in official positions were removed from their posts. But the expectation of the central government that they could in this way gradually steer the government in Atjeh back into normal channels, was not realised. In September 1953 Teungku Muhammad Däwüd Beureu'eh and his followers launched a rebellion against the central government. A bloody guerrilla warfare followed, which lasted until the middle of 1957 when an informal truce was reached between Teungku Muhammad Däwüd Beureu'eh and the local authorities. The year before, in October 1956, Atjeh was again granted the status of an autonomous province.

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AL-'ATK, a valley in Nadjd, the northernmost of those cutting through the western wall of the cuesta of Tuwayk. It is a true wadi with a strong flood whenever there is enough rain. The valley forms the dividing line between the district of Sudayr to the north and the district of al-Majmal to the south. Its head (*tar'a*) is in the low ground west of Tuwayk in the vicinity of the oasis of al-Kayab, south of which there is a large salt pan (*manlabah* or *sabbah*). After passing north of the hills of al-Bakarät (pl. of *habra* = she-camel 3-5 years old), the valley goes through the escarpment of Tuwayk by a narrow passage. Just east of this passage, the valley of Urtä descends from the uplands of Sudayr and the valley of Thidki comes up from the south to join al-'Atk.



Farther on, the main valley of Sudayr—in which lie Djaldjil, al-'Awda, and other oases—and the valley of 'Ushayra come together and then empty into al-'Atk from the north, as does the valley of al-Hay (a settlement of the Wahābī Ighwān belonging to the tribe of Subay<sup>4</sup>) from the south. After passing south of Khaym Abū Rukba and north of Ruwaygh (a settlement of the Ighwān belonging to al-Suhūl), al-'Atk cleaves through the escarpment of al-'Arāma. The valley runs by a few kilometres north-west of the wells of Hafar al-'Atk and comes to an end at Rawdat al-Tanāh just west of the sands of al-Dahmā'. This basin also receives the waters of the valleys of al-Shawki and al-Tayri, the latter of which runs only c. 1 km. west of Hafar al-'Atk.

The sweet water wells of Hafar al-'Atk (25° 32' 04" N, 46° 30' 28" E) are over a dozen in number, all lined with stone, with a depth of c. 25 ba' (c. 40 m.). Each well has its own name; those with the most water are al-Qhabbbijjaya and Sudayr. These wells mark the western end of Banū al-Kunbar, a well beaten desert trail coming from the town of al-Djūbail ('Aynayn) on the Persian Gulf coast. From the wells the traveller may ascend the valley to Sudayr or al-Mahmal or proceed westwards to the district of al-Waḥm lying beyond Naḥd al-Balāḍ. Popular tradition has it that the first wells here were dug by the chiefs of Banū Khālid, masters of Eastern Arabia until its conquest by the Muslims; the Bahilī state of Al-Sa'ūd at the close of the 18th century. During the summer several thousand Bedouins may congregate at Hafar al-'Atk, their tents filling the depression in which the wells lie and lining the edges of the circumambient hills.

The valley is regarded as lying within the range of the tribes of Subay<sup>4</sup> and al-Suhūl, while the wells belong to al-Khūdān, a group consisting of al-Nabata and al-'Uyaynāt, both sections of Subay<sup>4</sup>. Members of these tribes, like most of the townsfolk of Naḥd, pronounce the name 'atka, while other Bedouins in Naḥd and the east say 'atā, associating the name with the word 'atā = having many bushes and trees. The pronunciation 'atka is seldom if ever heard, but the written form Bān al-'Atk is in al-Hanḍālī, i, 147, who also mentions al-Bakrī and Bān Dīl Urdī. Ibn Bishr, *Uyaynāt al-Maghrib* (Mecca ed.), i, 44, 72, 108; ii, 26, speaks of al-'Atk and Hafar al-'Atk, and Ibn Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Aḥbār*, i, 137, identifies al-'Atk as one of the two places called al-'Atka or al-'Atkin in early Arabic poetry.

(GEORGE REZTE)

**ATLAS**, general name for the mountains of North Africa (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia), which give it its originality and variety in contrast to the monotonous Sahara platform. Although this name, of unknown origin, was already used by the Greeks, the classical authors, Strabo (Book xvii) for example, give us few details. The Arab geographers lack precision and, like Strabo, often apply the name to the mountain chains otherwise called Adīr al-Dereen, a term in fact reserved for the High Moroccan Atlas and the Saharan Atlas of Algeria (al-Bakrī, trans. de Slane, 2nd ed., 281, 293; some authors, al-Bakrī, 303-4, al-Dīrī, al-Maḡrib 73-4, Ibn Khāldūn, *His. des Berbères*, trans. de Slane, i, 158) erroneously extend it as far as the Nefāsa, to Egypt and even beyond. The Northern chains—the Rif and Tell Atlas—were known to Strabo (xvii), and the Rif, to al-Bakrī (214); according to Ibn Khāldūn (i, 128) the Dereen chains form "a girdle enclosing the Maghrib al-Akṣā from Asfi to Tara", including,

therefore, the Middle Atlas, Leo Africanus (*Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Épaulard, Paris 1936, 4 and 49-50), rather more exact, distinguishes the northern chains from the Atlas in the strict sense extends the latter right into Egypt, Marmel (*Africa*, i, 5) distinguishes between 'la Sierra menor' and 'la Sierra de Athalanat mayor' in the south, which will henceforth be referred to as the Little Atlas and the Great Atlas. French geologists and geographers, above all in the last half century, have determined their characteristics and various aspects.

The chains of the Atlas are structurally folded mountains, related to the Tertiary chains of Europe; like these, they have been rejuvenated by Pliocene and Quaternary upheavals, which raised them considerably above the Mediterranean and the rigid Sahara platform. The Sahara begins to the south of the Southern Atlas escarpment (fault, flexure, abrupt straightening out of the strata), which extends from Agadir to Gabes, therefore, do not form part of the Atlas. As for the Anti-Atlas of Morocco, of which the Dj. Sagro is merely an extension, this stands on its own: it is only the raised edge of the Sahara platform. It is a great asymmetrical massif, reaching 2,531 metres at the Dj. Aghūl, and consists of consolidated rocks of the Pre-Cambrian and Primary ages. It falls away to the depressions of the Sūs and the Dades (which the great granitic and volcanic mass of the Sirwa, 3,304 metres, separates) and runs down to the plains of Dra (Dar'a) and Tafilalet, intersected by the wrinkle or scar of the Dj. Bani.

In the "Atlas regions" a first complex, and the most extensive, contains both moderately folded mountains, often of considerable height, and relatively low zones: plateauxs and high plains. The High Atlas is a huge "fundamental fold", a chain 750 kms. in extent, which rises to 4,000 metres and over (4,165 m. at the Tubbak, 4,070 at Mgħn); in spite of its latitude, it bears traces of quaternary glaciation, though it no longer retains everlasting snows. Hemmed in to the west between the Sūs and the Hawz of Marrakesh, it breaks up, despite several considerable peaks, into ridges and deep transverse valleys, and may only be crossed by high cols, historical routes to the Sūs (Tizi n-Test) and the High Dra (Tizi n-Tighka). In the centre and the East it becomes primarily calcareous (Jassic and Jurassic), with narrow faulted anticlines and broad synclines; after the Dj. 'Ayyaghūl (3,751 m.), the chains lose height and peter out in the South of Eastern Morocco. The "wāḍi" Dades, Ghedda, Za (the route from Fez to Tafilalet) and Guir break away from it by majestic cross valleys—the Saharan Atlas of Algeria continues the High Atlas. Its massifs, the mountains of the Kyūr, of the 'Amīr (Dj. 'Amūr), of the Ouled Nail and of the Zab loose height progressively from the South-West (2,236 m. at the Dj. Aissa) to the North-East (less than 1,000 m.) There are remains of folded mountains, ridges isolated by broad pediments, which the nomads easily cross in spite of their elevation above the Sahara. On the further side of the Biskra depression, rises the Aurès (Awraṣ), the only massif of the Saharan Atlas and the highest mountain in Algeria (2,329 m. at the Chéla). Its majestic chains with their very broad folds lying S.-W./N.-E., are separated by the deep valleys of the "wāḍi" Abdi, el-Abiōd and el-Arabi: these "wāḍi" flow through savage gorges to reach the "southern Auris depression", which sinks down to below sea level. The Nememcha

mountains to the East of the Auris tower above this depression and then subdivide northwards into isolated ridges, the remains of broad domes. In Tunisia, the chains deriving from the Saharan Atlas cover the entire mountain country, except the north-west. The structure of domes, frequently faulted, and of broad basins, to be observed in the Tebessa mountains, is continued in the Djurdjura range of Tunisia. Its anticlines, generally calcareous, (1,154 m. at the Dj. Chambū) and separated at times by broad transverse rift valleys, rendering communications easy, converge towards the N.E. to form one single chain bristling with sierras (Dj. Zagħwān, 2,298 m.) extending as far as the Gulf of Tunis North of the Dorsal range, the High Tell and the Medjerda regions are composed of compressed folds, which, however, only produce mountains of moderate height, separated by broad basins, by the deep depression of the Middle Medjerda and by its tributary valleys: the "wāḍi" of Melléque, Tessa and Siliana. In the south the anticlinal chains of limestone or sandstone rise among broad plains, generally synclinal and covered by alluvium. From a W.-E. direction on the parallel of Gabes, they are turned back in a S.-N. direction, bordering the plains of Eastern Tunisia.

North of the High Atlas and of the Sahara Atlas of Algeria, extend vast regions of low relief, which, however, are twice intersected by transverse chains: the Middle Atlas and the mountains of the Hodna. The Middle Atlas has the same rocks and the same style as the central High Atlas with narrow faulted anticlinal folds (Dj. Ben Naer, 3,354 m.) and broad synclinal depressions. But in the N.W. it descends in step plateauxs; the faults separating them are covered with volcanic cones and coulées. Heavily watered, it gives birth to the principal rivers of Morocco: Oum er-Rbia (*Umm el-Rbia*), Sebou, Moudouya. The Middle Atlas separates the rigid block of primary terrains of the Moroccan "maeseta" (central plateau, hills of the Rehama and of the Djebilet, sedimentary phosphate plateau, alluvial plain of the Tadla, the Bahira and of the Hawz of Marrakesh) from that of the Oran-Moroccan borders, which is almost completely concealed by secondary sediments. The Rokam, to the east of the Moudouya, is extended by the Deboudou and Djerdara plateaux, in Morocco, and by the undulating and faulted plateauxs of the Tell Atlas of Oran: the mountains of Tlemcen, of the Mekarra, of Saïda and Frenda. North of the Sahara Atlas, the High Algero-Moroccan plains, rising to 1,200 metres in the West and 800 metres on the meridian of Algiers, are structurally similar, consisting of three quarters buried beneath considerable old alluvial deposits (basins of the Chott Gharbi and Chott Chergui and of the Zahrez); only the Oued Touil (Upper Chelif) reaches the sea. Further to the E., the narrow chain of the Hodna mountains and the Belezma massif, separate the high plains of the eastern and Constantine regions of Algeria (800 to 1,050 m.). The W.-E. secondary chains of which they are made up, calcareous domes or ridges, leave gaps between them and continue, intermittently spaced out, across the high Constantine plains, which they dominate, rising to several hundred metres. The so-called region of the Sebāḥ (in the south encloses the drainage of the Rhumel, the Seybouse and the Medjana (Melléque). As for the chains of Eastern Tunisia, these are incompletely drained behind the camber of the Sahel.

Bordering the Mediterranean, a second complex is formed, extending from Tangiers to Bizerta, by the chains of the Rif and the Tell Atlas. They are very complex in structure. The cemented and loose sediments of the Secondary and Tertiary have on several occasions been heavily folded. They have been pushed and overlapped southwards by the primary eruptive massifs of the "coastal belt", which only subside still South of Ceuta and Kabylia; these massifs dominate in the south the lofty calcareous sierras of the Djebala and the Bokkaya (Morocco), the Djurdjura and the chain of Numidia. All the rest is formed of a thick and plastic mass of clay, sandstone and schistose sediments, usually discharged in "slip sheets" and, in Morocco, clearly carried down in a southerly direction. These structurally very complex mountains have been cut and broken up by transverse gorges and longitudinal valleys due to the vigorous erosion caused by Mediterranean torrents. The chain of the Rif, from Ceuta to Melilla, forms a crescent of mountains (2,450 m. at the Dj. Tiddigine), which is enlarged in the south by a variety of hills carved by the tributary rivers of the Ouergha and Sebou in the Rif and Pre-Rif sheets. From the Melilla peninsula to the Trara massif, the heavily folded zone narrows and follows the hills of the Low Moudouya, the Beni Snassen mountains and the Tell plateauxs of Oran. Then it bifurcates, continuing on both sides of a long depression, running from the suburbs of Oran to the elbow of the Middle Chelif; to the North are the hills of the Sahel of Oran, which are succeeded by the Dahra and Millana mountains (Zaccar, 1,579 m.), and to the south, the Tessala and the Ouled Ali and Beni Chougrane mountains, which border the inland plains of Sidi Bel Abbès and Mascara, giving way in the East to the great Ouarsenis massif (1,985 m.), which directly dominates the high plains. The longitudinal depression recommences East of Medea and runs down by the valley of the wāḍi Sahel-Soummam as far as Bougie (al-Bigljāya); along its northern edge runs the Mitidja Atlas, rising above the alluvial plain of the Tadla and the hills of the Sahel of Algiers, after which it is bordered by the Djurdjura Kabylia, culminating in the Laifa Kabylia peak (2,308 m.); to the south rise the Titeri mountains and the long Biban chain. East of Bougie, the Babor (2,004 m.) and the chain of Numidia are contiguous to Eastern Kabylia and directly dominate the softer reliefs of the Ferdjousa and Constantine mountains. The crystalline terrains of Eastern Kabylia are partly obscured by oligocene clays and sandstones, bearing cork forests. These same sandstones form the mountains encircling the littoral plain of Bône and, in Tunisia, Khroumira and the Mogad regions.

The Atlas makes North Africa a country of mountain chains encircling plains, which are often both elevated and arid. The relief accentuates and diversifies the climatic contrasts due to the proximity of the Mediterranean and the Sahara. Dominating the Tell regions, the steppe areas of the high plains and the desert of the Saharan Piedmont, the principal massifs are original geographical environments, which have played a considerable though mainly negative rôle in the history of the Maghrib.

**Bibliography:** See the articles MOROCCO, ALGERIA, and TUNISIA. (J. DESPESQ).

**ATOM** (see AL-BUḤ' ALLAHU LĀ YATADILĀZU).

**ATRĀBULUS** (see TARĀBULUS).

**ATREK**, a river in the north of Khurāsān, which has its source on the mountain of Hārīr







know the mixing of drafts and potions, powders and spices" (al-Dimaghī, *Kitāb al-Ṭibb al-Mahsūn al-Ṭibbī*; cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl. 7*, 59). Today the term also sometimes includes dyers and dye-merchants, although the perfume merchants are the noblest and wealthiest of the ʿattārūn. As in the Middle Ages, herbal remedies—that is to say, the greater part of the medicines offered—are still sold dry (i.e., roots and wood chopped small; herbs, leaves, and flowers whole or crushed; and fruit or seed just dried). The containers were generally provided by the bazaar druggist (Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar-nāma* [ed. Ch. Schefer], Paris 1881, 53). The plants and animals which a druggist used, and the methods of obtaining his raw materials, are particularly vividly presented in the illuminated Persian Dioscorides manuscript Topkapı Saray Ahmed III, 2147 f. 204-475 (written in the year 867/1463). Medicines were usually given in simple form (*adviya mufrada*, *Simplex*), but they were sometimes compounded (*adviya murakkaba*, *Composita*) by the ʿattār in the presence of the patient, who, if need be, was given a dose right away. Compare with this the miniatures in H. Buchthal, *The Jeweled Book: The Walters Art Gallery* (c. 1912), 23-24; Bahr Faris, *La Livre de la Théorie en Art Islamique*, vol. II, Cairo 1951, plates XI and XII.

The professional knowledge of the bazaar druggist is usually scanty, and his medicines are often completely spoilt by storage under unsuitable conditions for excessive periods. Druggists have always been known for their cheating in measures and general quackery, as is attested by both by specialised works on fraudulent practices, (such as *Kitāb al-Mukhlif fi Kaṣf al-Aḥwāl wa-Haṭṭ al-ʿAṣār* of ʿIḥṣārī [7th century A.H.; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Sitzungs-Berichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Societät in Erlangen* 43, 206-32], which is still much read in the Orient) and by treatises on the duties of a market supervisor (*mukhtashib*). M. Meyerhof reports, for instance, how French perfumes are diluted and tampered with in the bazaar, bottled in oriental flasks, and then sold to the Europeans as genuine oriental scent and to the local inhabitants as improved Persian products. Concerning weights, measures, and vessels used by the ʿattārūn, more information can be found in G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps*, Supplement, New York 1951 (illustrated); for a container for measuring cf. F. E. Day, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 11, 259. In *Der Bazar der Drogen und Welckgründe in Kairo*, *Archiv für Wirtschaftsforschung im Orient* 3 (1918), 1-40, 185-218, M. Meyerhof describes how the druggists worked in mediaeval and more modern times. The best known druggists' quarter (*suk al-ʿattārīn*) of ancient times was in al-Fustāt (E. J. Worman, *JQR* 8, 1906, 16-18), which was burned down almost completely in 503/1108 (but was, according to Ibn Dikrūk, rebuilt under the Mamūlūk), also referred to in documents from the Geniza. The *suk al-ṣif* of Damascus is also worthy of note (H. Sauvare, in *J.A. 9* series, vol. VII, 1896, 381, 404). A woodcut in E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* II, facing p. 9, gives a vivid picture of a druggist's shop in the 19th century. Original bills for medicines, prescriptions, and similar texts from a druggist's practice, exist in considerable numbers on papyrus. The fact that this particular calling was very widespread is borne out by the frequency with which the term al-ʿattār appears as a cognomen, especially amongst poets and

scholars for whom this calling may well have served as an additional source of income. The best known instance is Farīd al-Dīn ʿAttār.

The same word is used in India to denote an alcohol-free perfume-oil produced by the distillation of sandalwood-oil through flowers (for instance, roses).

**Literature:** [Apart from works already mentioned in the text:] A. Dietrich, *Zum Drogenhandel im islamischen Ägypten (Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, N.F. no. 1)*, Heidelberg 1954; G. Wiet, *Les marchands d'épices sous les sultans mamouls (Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne)*, Cairo 1955. (A. Dietrich) ʿATTĀR, FARĪD AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ʿIḤṢĀRĪ. Persian mystical poet. The dates of his birth and death cannot be fixed with any certainty. According to Dawlatqāsh, he was born in 513/1119 and the general belief is that he was killed by the Mongols in Nishāpūr in the year 627/1230. This would mean that he lived to the age of 114, which is improbable, and besides, Nishāpūr was conquered by the Mongols as early as 617/1220. According to a *ṭarīkh* verse in some manuscripts (e.g. Ibrahim, *l.c.* 579), and other sources (Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Ḍawādīq*, 607), according to the inscription on the tomb erected by Mir ʿAlī Shīr, he died as early as 586/1190, that is to say, three years after writing *Manṭiq al-Tayr* (Saʿīd Nafīsī 129). Saʿīd Nafīsī adheres to 627 as the date of his death, but he bases this assumption on the spurious book *Muṭṭah al-Futūḥ* and on the statement of ʿIḥṣārī that ʿAttār had emigrated from Balḫ to ʿIḥṣār with his father in 618/1221. This emigration, however, probably took place as early as 616/1219 (Ritter in *Isl. 26*, 1942, 117-8). Nothing definite concerning the dates of his life can be got from ʿAttār's own works. The one which seems to contain most biographical information, *Maṣḥar al-ʿAḍḡāʾ*, is a forgery, which unfortunately misled Mirza Muḥammad Kāẓimī as well as the author of this article. ʿAttār was a pharmacist and doctor, and whilst not actually a Sūfī, he admired the holy men and was edified by the tales told about them, from his youth onward.—When attempting to compile a list of ʿAttār's works, one meets with a peculiar difficulty: the works attributed to him fall into three groups which differ so considerably in content and style that it is difficult to ascribe all three to the same person. The main works of the first group are *Manṭiq al-Tayr*, *Ḥikm-nāma* and *Maṣḥar-nāma*; those of the second group are *Uḡẓ-nāma* and *Ḍawādīq al-Ḍiḥ*; and those of the third *Maṣḥar al-ʿAḍḡāʾ* and *Lisān al-Ghayb*. There is, in addition, a fourth group of works which can—on the basis of internal evidence—be proved not to be by ʿAttār. The first group consist of a clear, well-constructed main story, which is interspersed with numerous—generally short—subsidiary tales. These tales reflect a wealth of religious and profane life. Told with mastery skill, these subsidiary tales are richly varied in subject, and they are the main charm of the works of this group. In the second group the number of tales is much reduced, and the interest is withdrawn from the external world and all that occurs in it. A limited number of ideas are pursued with intensity and great emotion, and with many repetitions. The recurring themes are: complete *fanā*, even through physical death, monistic pantheism (there is nothing other than God, and all things are of one substance), the knowledge

of one's self as everything, as God, as identical with all prophets. People are repeatedly recognised as God by others, and addressed as such. The presentation is broad and ill-ordered, and full of tiresome repetitions. Frequently one does not know who is speaking or who is being addressed. Anaphora is used excessively: on occasions a hundred consecutive lines begin with the same words. Saʿīd Nafīsī considers the works of this group as spurious, and attributes them to a writer of the third group, a man from Tān who lived in Tān for a long time, who was undoubtedly a Shīʿite and must have lived in the 9th/15th century. He considers the change of style, which had been accepted both by Muḥammad Kāẓimī and by the author of this article, to be impossible. One might object that a change of style and a limitation of the field of interest are not out of the question in a poet, that the beginnings of the use of anaphora can be found in the works of the first group; and also that some of the themes frequent in the second group are traceable in the first. I therefore do not regard it as utterly impossible that the works of the second group should be genuine, though it is rather doubtful. In the time of ʿIḥṣārī—that is to say in the 9th century at least, these works were considered genuine, because ʿIḥṣārī's remark in the *Nafahāt al-ʿUn* that the light of Hallāj had manifested itself after 150 years in ʿAttār, can be based only on the works of the second group, in which Hallāj plays an extensive part.

The epics of the third group, on the other hand, have been conclusively proved to be spurious. In the *Maṣḥar al-ʿAḍḡāʾ* the name of the real author, the poet Hāṭī (died 791 A.H.) and Kāsim-i Anṣārī (died 837 A.H.) and prophesies the appearance of ʿIḥṣārī al-Dīn Rūmī (Saʿīd Nafīsī 146 ff.). I find such a difference in style and content between the works of the second and those of the third group, that—unlike Saʿīd Nafīsī—I should not ascribe them to the same poet. With regard to the probable chronology of the works (on the basis of self-quotation), see my *Philosophia X*, in *Isl. 25*, 1939, 144-156. The conclusions drawn in that article from the statements in the *Maṣḥar al-ʿAḍḡāʾ* (whose author has the audacity to claim all ʿAttār's genuine and famous works as his own) as also in my own article "ʿAttār" in *IA*, are now superseded.

**Individual works:** First group:

1) *Dīwān*: apart from love poems, this contains the exposition of the same religious thoughts as governs the epics. Printed in Tehran, but not in a critical edition.

2) *Muḥṭṭā-nāma*: a collection of quatrains arranged according to themes, with an elucidatory prose introduction describing the origin of the work—which originally formed part of the *Dīwān*—and the destruction of the two works *Ḍawādīq-nāma* and *Shāh al-Kāth* (Ritter, *Philosophia X*, 152-155). Incomplete publication, Teheran 1353.

3) *Manṭiq al-Tayr* (*Mahmūd al-Tayr*): grandiose poetic elaboration of the *Risālat al-Tayr* of Muḥammad or Ahmad Ghazālī. The birds, led by the hoopoe, set out to seek Simurg, whom they had elected as their king. All but 30 perish on the path on which they have to traverse several dangerous valleys (*Ḥaṭṭ ṣuddī*: this part appears as an independent work in some manuscripts). The surviving 30 eventually recognise themselves as being the deity (*al-murgh* = Simurg), and then merge in the last *fanā* in the divine Simurg. Inadequate edition by Garcin de Tassy, Paris 1857; *Mantic uttar on le langage des oiseaux . . . par Farid-uddin Attar; Traduction* Encyclopaedia of Islam

*française and La poésie philosophique et religieuse chez les Persans d'après le Mantic uttar, ou le langage des oiseaux de Farid-uddin Attar*, 3rd edition, Paris 1860; on the translation by Baron E. Hermelin, Stockholm 1929, see Jan Ryplá in *Archiv Orientalni* 4, 1932, 149-160. The best edition known to me is the one which appeared in Bombay in 1313 A.H., published by Cooper and Cooper. For other editions of *Manṭiq al-Tayr* and for works of ʿAttār in general, see E. Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian printed books in the British Museum*, London 1912; A. J. Arberry, *A Catalogue of the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, Part IV, Persian Books*, and the catalogues of manuscripts. A Turkish commentary was written by Shemʿi in 1005/1596-7 (MS. Carullah 1716). For Turkish translations and studies, cf. my article on "ʿAttār" in *IA*.

4) *Maṣḥar-nāma*: a *ṣifī* disciple (*ṣāḥib*), in his helplessness and despair, is advised by a *pir* to visit successively all mythical and cosmic beings: angel, throne, writing tablet, stilus, heaven and hell, sun, moon, the four elements, mountain, sea, the three realms of nature, Iblis, the spirits, the prophets, senses, phenomena, mind, heart and soul (the self, the *ego* of the soul), in his own self, he eventually finds the pathlead. The tale may have been inspired by the *ḥadīth al-ghaʿfāʾ*. Printed in Tehran 1298 A.H.

5) *Lisān-nāma*: a king asks his six sons what, of all things in the world, they wish for. They wish in turn for the daughter of the fairy king, the art of witchcraft, the magic cup of Dījam, the water of life, Solomon's ring, and the elixir. The royal father tries to draw them away from their worldly desires and to inspire them with higher aims. Edition by H. Ritter, Istanbul-Leipzig 1940, *Bibliotheca Islamica* 12. Concerning a Turkish edition, cf. the article *Attār* in *IA*.

6) *Avār-nāma*: it has no framework-story, and repeatedly mentions the gnostic motif of the entanglement of the pre-existing soul in the base material world. ʿAttār is supposed to have given a copy of this book to the young Dīlāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Printed in Tehran 1298/1880-1 Cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele, Mensch, Gott und Welt in den Geschieden des Fariduddin ʿAttār* (Leiden 1955) for content and ideas of Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6.

7) *Khusrāw-nāma*: a romantic novel of love and adventure, concerning Khusrāw, the son of the emperor of Rūm, and Gul, the daughter of the king of Khristian, with many adventures, befalling above all the faithful Gul, who is besieged by a succession of suitors. Synopsis in *Philosophia X*, *Id.* 25, 160-173. Printed in Lucknow 1295/1878.

8) *Pand-nāma*: a small moral treatise which enjoyed great popularity; it has been printed in Turkey alone at least eight times (1253, 1252, 1253, 1257, 1260, 1267, 1291). Concerning further editions see the Saʿīd Nafīsī 109-10 and the above mentioned catalogues. It has been translated into several languages (compare Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, 603 and Saʿīd Nafīsī 108-10). As early as 1109 it was published in London by J. H. Hunter, then by de Sacy together with a French translation: *Pandemeh ou Livre des Conseils*, Paris 1819. For the Swedish translation by Baron Erik Hermelin, see Jan Ryplá in *Archiv Orientalni* 4, 1932, 148 ff. The Turkish translation, completed in 964/1557, was by Enzeli, who died in 988/1586, and it was repeatedly printed in Turkey together with the Persian text (1229, 1266, 1280, 1281). Turkish commentaries: Shemʿi (died 1009/1600-1), Saʿīd-nāma; Shuʿrī



(died 1105/1693-4) autograph of 1083 A.H. Istanbul, Darülmünevi 185; 'Abdī Pasha (died 1113/1701-2), *Ma'ādi*; Bursalī Ismā'īl Hakkī (died 1137/1724-5), in great detail, printed Istanbul 1200; Mehmed Murād (died 1264/1849) *Mahāzār*, Istanbul 1252, 1260.

9) *Tadhkirat al-awliyā*: an extensive prose work which contains the biographies and sayings of Muslim mystics. It ends with a biography of Hallāj, who plays such an extensive part in the works of the second group. Other biographies—over 20 in number—have been added in some manuscripts. In these, as also in his epics, Attār has taken his sources freely, and has often altered them in the light of his own religious ideas. For the numerous Turkish studies and translations, see the article Attār in *IA*; in addition Sa'dī Nafīs 110-112. The text of the edition by R. A. Nicholson, *The Tadhkirat 'Awliya' of Shaykh Farīdu'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār*, London-Leiden 1905-1907, Persian Historical Texts 3 and 5, is not always trustworthy. Other editions in Sa'dī Nafīs 112 and in the above mentioned catalogues.

10) *Bahār-nāma*: the birds complain to Solomon about the nightingale which, they say, disturbs them with her song to the rose. The nightingale is called upon to defend herself. Eventually Solomon orders that she be left in peace. Sa'dī Nafīs (106-7) regards this book as spurious. Printed in Tehran 1312.

11) *Mi'vāḡ-nāma*: could well be an extract from the *asf* of any *maḥṣūf*. In the only manuscript which I have seen, it covers a mere two pages.

12) *Qismat-nāma*: a rather short story which might come from any of Attār's epics. Jesus resurrects a skull in the desert; the dead man, who had been a great king, tells Jesus about the torments of the grave and of hell; he then embraces the true faith and dies for a second time. For Turkish editions of this little work, see *IA*: Attār.

The works of the second group (described above):

13) *Uṣṭur (Shāhūr)-nāma*: the central figure of the first part of this work is a Turkish puppet player, who appears as a symbol of the deity. He has seven curtains to his stage and has seven assistants. He breaks the figures which he himself had created and tears the curtain. He sends his assistants in all directions and himself withdraws in order to guard his secret. A wise man asks him for the reason for his actions. By way of a reply, he is sent in front of seven curtains. There he beholds a strange, fantastic series of events, the meaning of which is to be understood symbolically. He is always sent on by a *pīr* without any clear information, and on his arrival at the 7th curtain he is asked to fetch from the God his revealed matters concerning Himself, the way towards Him, the creation, and the prophet Muḥammad. There is repeated mention of decapitation as a means of reaching God, and Hallāj is repeatedly pointed to as the great example. The fruitless wandering from one curtain to another is reminiscent of the cosmic journey of the *saḡik* in the *Majma'at-nāma*. The second part deals almost exclusively with Hallāj. On the scaffold he has talks with Dīmāwīd, Shāykh-i Kabīr (Ibn al-Khaffī), Ḥayyāt and Shīhlī, and in these, as God, he develops a monoistic-pantheistic theology. In spite of its length, the *Uṣṭur-nāma* is an important and interesting work which deserves closer study. Metre: *Ramāl*.

14) *Dīwānār (Dīwānār) al-Dhāt*: this epic was written after the *Uṣṭur-nāma*, because the latter (as well as the *Majma'at-nāma*) is quoted in it. In this

work, too, Hallāj is continuously presented as a model of the *fanā* and of becoming God. Amongst other stories, it contains the one of 'Alī whispering the divine secrets into a cistern. These secrets are then betrayed by a reed which had grown in the cistern and had been cut into a flute. The connexion with the 18 introductory lines of the *Maḥṣūf*, in *IA* is that it is this story (which goes back to Mīdās-donkey-ears via Nīrān) which has inspired Dīlāl al-Dīn; Sa'dī Nafīs, who considers the work a later forgery, assumes the reverse to be the case (p. 114) (H. Ritter, *Das Provenienz des Maḥṣūf al-Manṣūr*, in *ZDMG* 93, 169-196). The epic also contains the story of the youth who went on a sea voyage with his father, recognised himself as God and jumped into the sea in order to lose himself completely in the divine nature. The youth is also recognised as God by a fellow-passenger. The motif of the recognition of a man as a God by another man also appears in other works of this group. This work was printed in Tehran in 1315/1355.

15) *Haylāḡ-nāma*: a poor imitation of the second part of the *Uṣṭur-nāma*. Metre: *Hazāfī*. Lithographed, Tehran 1253.

16) *Manṣūr-nāma*: a short tale in the metre *Ramāl*, beginning: *Idā Manṣūr ay 'ayyān dhārīn fād*. It is a short description of the martyrdom of Hallāj.

17) *Blār-nāma*: a short *Maḥṣūf*, the centre of which consists of self-dedication (*Man khudāyān man khudāyān man khudāyān*) and *fanā* by decapitation. It contains verses from other *maḥṣūfs* of this group. Its content is connected with the second part of the *Uṣṭur-nāma*. Lithographed, Tehran 1319 and several times in Lucknow.

The works of the third group (undoubtedly by another hand):

18) *Maḥṣār al-'Aḡḡīh* (the "place where miracles appear"): is an honorary name for 'Alī, to whose glorification this work is dedicated. He is the divine man, the bearer of divine secrets, the *Shāh* of all beings, prophets and angels. Legends about 'Alī play a large part. The author claims all the works of Attār as his own, and gives great biographical detail, including the meeting with Naḡm al-Dīn Kubrā. Lithographed, Tehran 1323. Sa'dī Nafīs 126 ff.

19) *Lisān al-'Aḡḡīh*: again a *Shāfi'ite* work by the same poet, who explicitly renounces Abū Bakr and 'Uṭmān. Sa'dī Nafīs 122-3. These two works have no literary value.

Works of the fourth group (demonstrably spurious on the basis of internal evidence):

20) *Khayyāl-nāma*: for contents see E. Berthels, *Farīdud-dīn 'Aṭṭār's Khayyāl-nāma*, in *Bull. de l'Ac. des Sc. de l'URSS*, Classe des Humanités 1929, 201-214. Hājjī Khānā attributes the work to a certain Khayyāl-i Khāḡānī. Berthels considers it genuine.

21) *Waslāt-nāma*: the poet is a man called Buhlāl. Sa'dī Nafīs 131-132.

22) *Kanz al-'Aḡḡīh* (= *Kanz al-Bayr* = *Tarjamat al-'Aḡḡīh*): compiled 699/1299-1300. *Philologia X*, 157; Sa'dī Nafīs 120.

23) *Miftāḡ al-Futūḡ*: compiled 688/1289-90, according to other manuscripts 587/1191-2, by a man from Zanḡian. *Philologia X*, 157; Sa'dī Nafīs 127-128.

24) *Wasṣiyāt-nāma*: compiled 820/1416-7. *Philologia X*, 158. Perhaps = *Waslāt-nāma*.

25) *Kanz al-Hakā'ik*: contains a panegyric to a prince by name of Nīk Ghāzī. Concerning the possibly corrupt name of this prince see Sa'dī Nafīs

122, Ritter, *Philologia X*, 158. Concerning four other spurious works, compare *ibid.*, 154.

*Bibliography*: Works other than those mentioned in the text: Mirzā Muḥammad Karvī, Introduction to E. G. Browne's edition of the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā*; H. Ritter, *Philologia X* in *IA*, 25, 2939, 134-173; idem, the article in *IA*. (All three articles still take *Maḥṣār al-'Aḡḡīh* to be genuine and use it as a source for biographical matter); Sa'dī Nafīs, *Dīwānār dar Ahwāl u Akhbār Farīdud-dīn 'Aṭṭār Nīshābūrī*, Tehran 1328. Apart from these, histories of literature and catalogues of manuscripts.

(H. Ritter)

AL-'ATTĀR, HASAN B. MUHAMMAD, Egyptian scholar of Maghrebine origin, born in Cairo after 1180/1766. He studied at al-Azhar, and was one of the few 'ulama' who, after the occupation of Egypt by Bonaparte, entered into relations with the French scholars and took an active interest in the new learning. He then spent many years in Syria and Turkey, and on his return to Egypt was employed as editor of the Official Journal (*al-Wakā'if al-Miṣriyya*) founded by Muḥammad 'Alī (1244/1828). In 1245/1830 he was installed as Shāykh al-Azhar by Muḥammad 'Alī, with whose programme he was thought to be in sympathy, and died in office in 1250/1835. He was probably most influential as a teacher of Rūḡa' Rūḡa' al-Taḥṭāwī (p. 6), but his handbook of correspondence (*Inṣāḡ al-'Aḡḡīh*) enjoyed a wide vogue, and was frequently reprinted at Cairo and in India.

*Bibliography*: 'Alī Pasha Muḥārak, *al-Khāṭir al-Dīdān*, iv, 38-40; Fh. Tarrāf, *Ta'wīḡ al-Salāḡ al-'Arabiyya*, i, Beirut 1913, 128-30; Brockelmann, II, 471; S. II, 720; E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. ix; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Hist. of Education in Modern Egypt*, London 1940, 154, 265, 397; Sulaymān Raṣād, *Kanz al-Dīwānār fi Ta'wīḡ al-Azhar*, Cairo 1320, 138-41.

(H. A. R. Gibb)

ATTACK (see ATAR).

ATTRIBUTE (see SIFA).

AURUS (see AWRA).

AVARS (AWAR, from *Aḡḡār* Turkish *avars*: "unstable", "vagabond") Ibero-Caucasian people, inhabiting the mountainous part of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Daghistan (basins of the rivers Koyus of Andi, Koyus Awar, Kara-Koyus and Tseyserdzh) and the northern part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan. The Avars are Sunni Muslims of the Shāfi'ī rite. In 1925 their numbers were estimated at 240,000, of whom 40,000 approximately were in the Belokani and Zakatali districts of Azerbaijan.

The Avars are divided into two major groups—formerly federations of tribes (*ba*), which are subdivided into clans (*khān*); the Maasral group (from *maas* "mountain" in Avar, in Russian *gorki* from the Kumik *kar*; mountain) to the North of the plateau of Khūnūḡ, and the Bagaual (in Avar: rough men), composed of the southern clans. The Avars claim to have been converted to Islam by the Arabs. According to a legendary tradition, Islam is said to have been introduced to Khūnūḡ by the Amir Abū Muslim, and his tomb and sword are still shown there. In point of fact, this tradition confuses Amir Abū Muslim, who never went to Daghistan, and the Shāykh Abū Maṣlama, who is reputed to have lived there in the 5th/11th century. In point of fact, when the Arabs arrived in Daghistan, Christianity and even Judaism had

already taken root in the Avar country and Islam only penetrated very slowly, since Christianity in the Georgian rite survived at Kakhil until the 10th/16th century. However, in the 5th/11th century, the Tanaḡ *aul*, capital of the Avar principality of the Nutsal, originally a vassal of the Kād-Kūmūḡ (see *LAK*), was already a Muslim stronghold and one of the principal centres of Arab culture of Upper Daghistan. The Islamisation of the country was completed during the brief period of Ottoman domination (1665-1015/1558-1666), that is to say at the time of the formation of the Avar Khānate, whose rulers claimed (legendary) descent from the Arab governors of Khūnūḡ.

In the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries, the Avar Khānate dominated Upper Daghistan culturally and politically, especially with Ummu-Khān Avar (died 1634), who codified the Avar *shad*, and his successors who received tribute from the King of Georgia and from the Khāns of Shīrwān, Sheki and Darband. However, the lords of Khūnūḡ were never able to completely unite Avaristan, which remains divided amongst a multitude of clans, some grouped in free federations (*ba*) and others tributary to the Khānate.

In 1727 the Avar Khānate accepted the Russian protectorate for the first time, but soon rejected it. It was again imposed for a second time on Ummu-Khān in 1802, then once more in 1803 on his son and successor Sultān Ahmad Khān.

In 1821, after the revolt of Sultān Ahmad Khān, Avaristan was occupied by Russian forces which, without assuming power directly, were content to provide the ruler with military advisers. From that time, the plateau of Khūnūḡ served the Russians as a springboard for the conquest of Upper Daghistan. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Avar country became the field of activity of the initiates of the Nakḡbandiyya order, who in 1830 instigated a popular movement there directed both against the Khānate, which was in alliance with the Russians, and against the "infidels". The Khānate was overthrown in 1834 by the Imam Ḥamza Beg (p. 2), and the Russians were shortly afterwards expelled from Avaristan. The surrender of the Imam Shāhīn (p. 2) on 25 August 1859 put an end to the imāmate; the Russians re-established the Avar Khānate, placing Ibrahim Khān of Meḡtulin at its head. However, on 22 February 1863, Ibrahim Khān was arrested and sent into exile; on 2 April 1864, the Khānate was finally suppressed and its territory annexed to the Avar *oblast* administered directly by the Russian authorities.

After the October Revolution, the Avar territory became part of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Daghistan, attached to the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist republic (decree of the Supreme Soviet of January the 20th 1921).

The Avar language belongs to the North-Eastern branch (Daghistan) of the Northern group of Ibero-Caucasian languages. Its sphere extends from the *aul* of Cirioṭ to Novo-Zakatali in Azerbaijan, 170 km. further to the South; it is subdivided into numerous dialects (almost one to each clan) forming two main groups: the Northern (or Khūnūḡ) dialects and the Southern dialects (Anstūn, Gōlḡ, Gidatli and Zakatali). The literary language was formed from the *holmāṡ* ("language of the army"), the vehicle of inter-tribal relations from the 16th century onwards. In the middle of the 17th century, Avar was endowed with an Arabic alphabet (completed by numerous signs for the transcription of



Ibero-Caucasian phonemes), called "Old 'Adjām'" which was finally perfected by Dibir, *khāfi* of Khizārk (1747-1827). Avar literature was born at the same period with Muhammad b. Mūsā of Kodatli (died 1798), who wrote in Arabic, and Dibir, *khāfi* of Khizārk, who translated *Kalila wa Dimna* into Avar. At the beginning of the 19th century, it was enriched by a spate of religious and didactic works, then, in Shāmlī's time, by satirical and lyrical works, the chief representative of which was the poet Mahmūd of Ilet-Kalghal rosso (1873-1919). This literature first of all found expression in Arabic and then in Avar. In 1920 the old alphabet was replaced by a simplified Arabic alphabet of 38 letters (called "New 'Adjām'"), for which in 1928 a new Latin alphabet was substituted and then in 1935 a Cyrillic alphabet.

At the present time (1957), the Avars are numerically the largest nationality in Dagestān (200,000 for a total population of one million) and the most advanced. They have a literature of their own, the most famous representative of which is Hamzat Tsadaia (1873-1951), Lenin Prize winner in 1950, an Avar language press and a well developed network of schools, where instruction is given in the national language up to the 5th class, and in Russian in the senior classes.

The literary Avar language is used by the Ačl (*q.a.*) and by the thirteen small, Ačl (*q.a.*) and Dido (*q.a.*) nationalities, which have no written language and are rapidly becoming absorbed into the Avar nationality; it also serves as a secondary language for certain other peoples of Upper Dagestān, who are subject to the cultural influence of the Avars (Dargi, Laks [*q.a.*]). Russian, however, continues to be the administrative language of Dagestān, the Avars of Azerbaijan are losing the use of their mother tongue, which is being replaced by Ādlārī Turkish.

In the territory of Avaristān occupying the mountainous and little arched region of Central Dagestān, the Avars remain essentially nomadic sheep breeders, and in the valleys horticulturalists on a small scale (terraced orchards). Traditional crafts are very much developed: woven woollen goods, carpets, copper work (*asls* of gold, silver, and iron), work in leather, work in gold, artistic work on wood (*asls* of Ustakal and Batsada), wrought iron work (*asls* of Sograt, Golot, Kādhli). The industrialisation of the country, which was started about 1936, is still in the initial stages.

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(J. CARRIÈRE D'ENCAUSSE AND A. BENIGSEN).

**AVENPACE** (see *IBR BĀDIZĀL*).

**AVENZOAR** (see *IBR BĀDIZĀL*).

**AVERROES** (see *IBR BĀDIZĀL*).

**AVICENNA** (see *IBR BĀDIZĀL*).

**AVROMAN** (see *IBR BĀDIZĀL*).

**ĀWA** (*Awā*, *Āwā*), the name of two towns in central Iran.

1) A town of Āwa, at present called Āwājī, lies 70 m. (111 km.) S.W. of Karwīn on the road to Hamādīn, ca. 33° 35' N. lat. and 49° 15' E. long. (Greenw.). The town is reckoned in the cold zone (*sardīst*) because of its altitude. In 1950 it had ca. 1800 Persian and Turkish speaking inhabitants.

There are only short notices of the town in medieval geographers. Yāqūt, i, 587, mentions a savant called Āwāl from there. The only old building in the vicinity is a caravansary from the time of Shāh 'Abbās.

2) Another town, also called *Āwā*, is now a village in the Āwājī-Ābād county of the Sāva district, ca. 18° 12' N. (30 km.) west of Kūmīn on the usually dry Gāwādhā River, 34° 45' N. lat. and 50° 20' E. long. (Greenw.). The medieval geographers mention it together with Sāva. It was plundered by the Mongols but apparently regained importance, if this is the Āwa where Il-Khānāid coins were minted (see B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1955, 129).

The present village had 885 inhabitants in 1950, ancient Shī'ites as in the past of the town. There are many ancient artificial mounds in the vicinity of Āwa, and an old (*mimāda*) in the village.

**Bibliography:** Le Strange, 196, 217; P. Schwartz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 5, 549, 542; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nusha*, 60, 221 (only the second Āwa); Razmāzī, *Farhang-e Dīghāzī*, p. 17, Tehran 1950, 26-7; P. Schwartz, *Drei Ortschaften in Nord-Iran*, in *Id. h.*, 1918, 28, (only the first Āwa = Udī).

(R. N. FEYF)

**AWADH** (Oudh), a tract of country comprising the Lucknow and Faizābād divisions of the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh. It has an area of 24, 168 square miles and a population of 15, 314, 950, of which 14, 156, 139 are to be found in the rural districts. Census of India, 1951. Even before the British came, Awadh was one of the great alluvial plains of northern India, has been the peculiar home of Hindu civilisation. It corresponds roughly to the Middle Country, the Madhyā-desha of the sacred Hindu writings, where dwelt the gods and heroes of the Epic Period whose deeds are recorded in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. Here too arose a number of religious religions against the sacerdotalism and the social exclusiveness of Brahmanism. Apart from marauding expeditions, such as Mahmūd of Ghazna's attack upon Manāid and the doubtful exploits of Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzi recorded in the *Mir'āt-i Mas'ūd* of 'Abd al-Rahmān Cishī, it was not until the last decade of the twelfth century, in the days of Kutb al-Dīn Aibak, that the Muslim invaders established themselves in Awadh and annexed it to the Delhi Sultānate. It formed a province of Muhammad b. Tughlūk's extensive empire, but towards the close of the fourteenth century was absorbed by the Shārkī kingdom of Dīwānpūr, of which it remained an integral part until reconquered by the Lodī sultans of Dillī. In the reign of Albar it was annexed to the Lodī empire. According to Abu'l-Fadl it was divided into five *sarkhs* and thirty-eight *parganas*. It extended from the Ganges on the south-west as far as the Gandak on the north-east; and from the river Sai in

the south to the Tārāi of Nepāl in the north. (*J'ān-i Akhār*, ii, 170-7; Jarrett, H.S., *Bib. Ind.*, 1891). Local traditions in Awadh, however, conflict with the Muslim accounts and suggest that the Rājput chiefs maintained their authority practically intact throughout the Muslim period. (W. C. Bennett, *The Chief Clans of the Rohilkhand District*, 1895). The weakness of the central government after the death of Awarangzib gave the nawābs of Awadh an opportunity of asserting their independence, although nominally they still acknowledged the authority of the Mughal emperor.

Sa'adat Khān Būrhān al-Mulūk, the founder of the Awadh dynasty, was descended from a respectable Sayyid family of Shāhājpur (*Mawādh*) al-Lahāb of Khān Khān, ii, 901). During his nawābship (1722-39) Benares, Ghāziyūr, Dīwānpūr and Cūmār were annexed to his dominions. His successor, Sa'ad Dījān (1739-54), was appointed *waizir* of the empire in 1748. He invited the Marāthās to assist him against the Bangash Pathāns of Farrukhābād who were supported by the Rohillas. The engagements entered into at that time formed the basis of later Marāthā claims on Rohilkhand. Sa'ad Dījān's son and successor, the *nawāb-wāizir* Shujā' al-Dawla (1754-75), came into conflict with the rising power of the English East India Company and was totally defeated at Balasor in 1764. This left Awadh at the disposal of the Company. By the treaty of Allahābād (1765) Clive restored Awadh to Shujā' al-Dawla, with the exception of Kora and Allahābād, which were handed over to the emperor for the upkeep of his dignity and expenses. This alliance with Shujā' al-Dawla was purely defensive. It was the germ of all subsequent subsidiary alliances with Awadh because the extraordinary expenses of all troops supplied by the Company were to be defrayed by Shujā' al-Dawla. By these means Awadh was converted into a buffer state against Marāthā encroachments. In the main this was a sound policy. Its chief weakness from a strategic point of view was the handing over of Kora and Allahābād to the Mughal emperor as the defence of Awadh necessitated the defence of these districts. The reinstatement of Shujā' al-Dawla was a wise move as the Company at that time were in no position to annex and administer Awadh. By the treaty of Benares (1773) Warren Hastings placed the Company's relations with this important buffer state between Bengal and the Marāthās on a firmer footing. In future its ruler had to defray all the expenses of the Company's troops required for the defence of his country, namely 210,000 rupees a month. Because the emperor had deserted the Company and become a puppet in the hands of the Marāthās, Kora and Allahābād were sold to the ruler of Awadh for fifty lakhs of rupees. (For these negotiations see *The Benares Diary of Warren Hastings*, ed. C. Collin Davies, Camden Miscellany, Royal Historical Society, vol. lxix, 1948).

The accession of the incapable Āṣaf al-Dawla (1775-97) enabled the hostile majority on Warren Hastings' council to alter his policy towards Awadh. By the treaty of Faizābād (1775) the subsidy for the use of the Company's troops was raised to 260,000 rupees *per mensem* and the new nawāb was forced to cede Rājā Chait Singh's *amindārī* of Benares, Dīwānpūr and Ghāziyūr in full sovereignty to the Company. By the treaty of Cūmār (1781) Hastings, who had regained control over his council, proposed to reform Āṣaf al-Dawla's administration by reducing the number of English troops stationed

in his territories. Unfortunately the weakness of the nawāb's government prevented this and Hastings was forced to retain both the permanent and temporary brigades. His share in the resumption of the *ghāzīs* and in the sequestration of the treasures of the bigwigs of Awadh, the mother and wife of Āṣaf al-Dawla, formed one of the charges against him on impeachment. Certain conclusions may be drawn from Hastings' conduct of the Company's relations with Awadh. His object was to prevent any development which would impair the efficiency of the buffer state and weaken the Company's defences. He therefore contended that the Company had a right to dethrone a disloyal or unsuitable ruler. He also insisted on ministers favourable to the British connexion. The trouble he experienced in controlling the English Residents in Awadh, both Middleton and Bristow, illustrates the difficulty of formulating written instructions which were not liable to misinterpretation. Because of the close connexion between Awadh and Bengal a policy of non-interference was impossible. Under the incapable Āṣaf al-Dawla Awadh could not have preserved its independence without the Company's assistance. It certainly would not have been free from Marāthā depredations. In the main Hastings' policy was followed by Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore. Cornwallis reduced the Company's demands on Awadh to fifty lakhs of rupees a year, but, on the accession of Sa'adat 'Alī Khān (1798-1814) Shore raised the subsidy to seventy-six lakhs. In 1801 Lord Wellesley forced Sa'adat 'Alī Khān to cede Rohilkhand, Farrukhābād, Mainpūr, Etāwah, Cawnpore, Fatehgarh, Allahābād, Azimgarh, Basti, and Gorālpur. This meant that Awadh ceased to be a buffer state, for, except where it was bounded by Nepal, it was entirely surrounded by British territory. Its weakness as a buffer state had been Wellesley's excuse for these annexations. Sa'adat 'Alī Khān was succeeded by his eldest son, Ghāfi al-Dīn Haydar, who was the first ruler of Awadh to assume the title of king. The remaining kings of Awadh were Nāsir al-Dīn Haydar (1817-37), Muhammad 'Alī Shāh (1837-41), Amjad 'Alī Shāh (1841-47) and Wajid 'Alī Shāh (1847-56).

It was a provision of the treaty of 1801 that the ruler of Awadh should introduce into his country a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and calculated to secure their lives and property. In spite of repeated warnings nothing was done and misgovernment continued unchecked. On these grounds Awadh was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1856. Wajid 'Alī Shāh received a pension and was allowed to reside at Calcutta where he died in 1887, his title expiring with him. The annexation of Awadh was one of the causes of the 1857 Mutiny. Some of the fiercest fighting during this uprising took place at Lucknow and Cawnpore.

After its annexation Awadh was controlled by a Chief Commissioner, until, in 1877, both Agra and Awadh were placed under the same administrator, who was known as the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Awadh. The title of Chief Commissioner was dropped on the formation of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1902. It was not, however, until 1921 that this administration was raised to the status of a Governor's province.

The first land revenue settlement after annexation was carried out with a lack of consideration for the great *talukdār* families of the province, who were ousted from the greater part of their estates. This



was reversed after the Matiny when Lord Canning reverted to a *talabādei* settlement and confirmed the rights of the *talabādei* by *sauahs*.

To-day in Awadh Muslims are to be found chiefly where they held sway in the past, their preference for urban life explaining their presence in the chief towns. The old *talabādei* system has been abolished and a new rural hierarchy of officials and village organisations has sprung up as a result of the Uttar Pradesh Village Panchayat Act of 1917. Villages or groups of villages with a population of 1,500 have been constituted into a *gāon sabbā* with certain powers of local administration. Groups of *gāon sabbās* are controlled by *panchayat sādāts* with judicial powers extending to civil, criminal and revenue cases. There are about 9,400 *gāon sabbās* and 2,180 *panchayat sādāts* in Awadh.

**Bibliography:** (For the Persian authorities on the history of Awadh see Storey, I, 709-13); C. U. Atchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* I, Calcutta 1909; P. Basu, *Awadh and the East India Company 1765-1801*, Lucknow 1933; W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, 4 vols., Calcutta 1896; C. C. Davies, *Warren Hastings and Oudh*, Oudh 1939; *The Revenue Diary of Warren Hastings*, Royal Historical Society, vol. LXIX, 1948; D. Dewar, *Handbook of the Records of the United Provinces*, 1919; C. A. Elliott, *Chronicles of Oman*, Allahabad 1862; M. R. Gubbins, *The Mutinies in Oudh*, London 1878; *Tafhīl al-Gāhānī*, transl. W. Hoey, Allahabad 1885; Muhammad Fā'iz Balghūb, *Tārīkh-i Farānākhān* (transl. W. Hoey, *Memories of Delhi and Fatahabad*, 2 vols., Allahabad 1888-9); H. C. Irwin, *The Garden of India*, London 1889; W. Knighton, *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, Oxford 1921; Khayr al-Dīn Muhammad, *Tuhfat-i Tāza* (Balwantnāma); W. Odham, *Historical and Statistical Account of the Gazeepoor District*, Allahabad 1870; *Papers relating to Land Tenures and Revenue Settlement in Oudh*, Calcutta 1865; *Papers respecting a reform in the administration of the government of . . . . . the Nawab-Wazir*, London 1842; *Parliamentary Papers*, Oudh, vol., XLII, 1857-8; *Report on the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, published annually; W. H. Sleeman, *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh in 1840-1850*, 2 vols., 1858; A. L. Srivastava, *The first two Nawabs of Oudh*, Lucknow 1933; idem, *Shāh-i-Daulah*, 2 vols., Calcutta 1930-45. (C. COLLINS DAVIES)

#### AWĀDHĪLA [see 'AWĀGHĪLA]

**AWĀ'IL**, Plural of *awā'il* "first", technically used to denote various ideas such as the "primary data" of philosophical or physical phenomena; the "ancestors" of either pre-Islamic or early Islamic times; and the "first inventors" of things (or the things invented or done first).

In the last mentioned connotation, the term characterises a minor branch of Muslim literature with affinities to *adab*, historical, and theological literature. Among the Muslims themselves, only the 10th/11th-century Ḥādīdī Khāfī (Flügel, I, 490; Istanbul 1941-3; col. 1996, defines the *awā'il* as a separate "science" relating to history and *adab*.

Curiosity about the origin of things was deeply rooted in the historical consciousness of the ancient Semites and reached the Arabs through such literary media as the Bible. The Hellenistic world possessed a literature on the first inventors (*Peri Heurētikon*, cf., most recently, A. Klein Günther, *Peri Heurētikon*,

in *Philologia, Supplementband XXVI*, 1, 1934), the history of science, such as the origins of medicine, became known in Islam directly through translation (cf. Ishāq b. Hunayn, *Tārīkh al-Atibbā'*, in *Oriens*, 1954, 55-80, whose source was Ps.-Galen's *Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath*, or, more generally, the ample material preserved in the introduction of Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī's *Science al-Hikma*). For the Muslims, the knowledge of the "firsts" connected with the history of Muhammad and the beginnings of Islam was a matter of far-reaching legal and practical importance in many respects, and already the earliest known literature on the biography of Muhammad pays attention to it. Muslim customs, such as clipping the moustache, using the toothpick, etc., were justified by ascribing their first use to the great religious leaders of the past, in this case Abraham (cf. *Tha'ālīh*, *Lafā'ih al-Ma'arīf* (De Jongh, 61). With the growing historical interest of the Muslims not only in political history but also in the history of civilisation and science (cf., especially, the introductory remarks to each chapter of the *Fihrist*, on the origin of the science treated in that particular chapter), the question: Who was first? was soon asked in connection with every conceivable subject and always answered, though often in a rather fanciful manner. Nevertheless, the *awā'il* works are brilliant expressions of the cultural outlook and historical sense of their authors, and they are full of valuable material and interesting insights. The wide intellectual appeal of the subject shows itself in the fact that since the beginning of our era, the Chinese, *Science and Civilization in China* I, 51 ff., Cambridge 1954) and again in late medieval Europe, successful works on the first inventors were produced, such as the alphabetically arranged chapter on the inventors from *De viris illustribus* by the fourteenth-century Guglielmo da Pastrengo (published in Venice 1547, under the title *De originibus rerum* fol. 78a-93a) and the famous, widely read first appeared in 1499, by Polydore Vergil which first appeared in 1499.

Our oldest known representative of the Muslim *awā'il* literature dates from the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. The large *Muṣannaf* of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849; Brockelmann, S I, 215) is said to contain, at (or near, near) the end, a section on *awā'il*, which was used as a source in al-Sijistānī, *Mabshūh al-Wasā'il* (cf. *Ma'arīf al-Awā'il*). It appears to deal with the *awā'il* of early Islam and the origins of Muslim history and customs. The end of the section is preserved in MS Berlin 9409; the large sets of the *Muṣannaf* could not be consulted.

At the same period, works entitled *Kutāb al-Awā'il* were composed by Ḥishām b. al-Kalbī (Yāqūt, *Iṣṣāḥ*, vii, 251; al-Madkhalī, *Fihrist*, 104; al-Hasan b. Maḥbūb (*Fihrist* 221), whose list of items is duplicated in Yāqūt, *Iṣṣāḥ*, ii, 12, under the name of Ahmad al-Rakkī; and a certain Sa'ūd b. Sa'dūn al-ʿAṭīr (*Fihrist* 171) of unknown date. Since none of these works is preserved or quoted in the later *awā'il* literature, it remains extremely doubtful whether they dealt with *awā'il* in the sense discussed here (or, at any rate, contained some *awā'il* material). According to the description given in *Fihrist* 133, the *Kutāb al-Awā'il* by the 4th/10th-century al-Ma'rūbī appears to have dealt not with first inventors but with the history of the ancient Persians and the Mu'tazila.

Late in the 3rd/9th century, Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'arīf* (Wüstenfeld, 273-7, devoted to the *awā'il* a chapter in a historical context (cf. also the later

al-Tha'ālīh, *op. cit.*, 3-17). In an *adab* context, a chapter on *awā'il* appears in the early 4th/10th century in al-Bayhaqī, *Mabshūh* (Schwally, 392-6. Theological *awā'il* works were written at about that time by Abū 'Arūba [s.n.] and al-Tabarānī (d. 360/971; Brockelmann, S I, 279).

*Adab* literature provided its first monograph treatment of the subject in the *Kutāb al-Awā'il* of Abū Ḥilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 393/1003), who claimed to have had no predecessors. He restricts himself to material derived from Arab and Muslim history, with the inclusion of some Persian and biblical references, and ignores 'Greek' cultural and scientific data. He succeeds in clearly underscoring the view of Muslim historians that every important and good invention dates back to the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period while subsequent ages as a rule produced insignificant and undesirable inventions. Al-ʿAskarī's book remained a much quoted standard work which served as a basis for later efforts, such as the *awā'il* works of the 8th/14th century al-ʿAtā'ī and al-Suyūṭī (cf. Brockelmann, I, 132; S I, 193 f.).

There appears to have been a gap of about two centuries in the *awā'il* literature. From the early 7th/13th century, we then have the *Ghayat al-Wasā'il* (cf. *Ma'arīf al-Awā'il* by al-Mawṣilī (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 597 f.; H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, 1950, 80 f.). A historical handbook based on the *awā'il* scheme is the above-mentioned *Mabshūh* by the 8th/14th century Shībī (cf. Brockelmann, II, 90 f.; S II, 82; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 190, fn. 1), a highly instructive Chinese *awā'il* literary effort appears to have been continued by the poet Ibn Khafī Dārāyā (cf. Brockelmann, II, 17; S II, 7; Ḥādīdī Khāfī (Flügel), i, 490). On the other hand, the theological inclination of some 9th/15th-century scholars finds expression in their *awā'il* works, which might have followed the lead of Ibn Ḥajar's *Khawāt al-Dawā'ir* 'alā *Ma'arīf al-Awā'il* (which has not yet been recovered, cf. Ḥādīdī Khāfī, loc. cit.). Abū Bakr b. Zayd al-Djā'irī (form uncertain, d. in 883/1478, cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, xi, 32 f.) thus arranged his *Kutāb al-Awā'il* (Ms. Berlin 9368) more or less according to the chapters of the science of traditions, and the same was done by al-Suyūṭī, in his instructive *Wasā'il* (cf. *Ma'arīf al-Awā'il*) which was based on some degree upon al-ʿAskarī. In turn, al-Suyūṭī's work was used by 'Alī Dede al-Bosnawī (d. 1007/1598, cf. Brockelmann, II, 562 f.; S II, 635) who, as was the custom among certain later authors, also included the "last things (*awā'akhir*)" that happened (cf. in this connexion al-Sakhāwī, *Fā'id*, Damascus 1349/1930-1, 131; F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 214 f. For a further user of al-Suyūṭī, cf. G. Vajda, in *RSO*, 1950, 31). Another great historian of that time, Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 923/1546), wrote *ʿUmeḍ al-Rasā'id* fī *Ma'arīf al-Awā'il* (Ms. Cairo, Taymur, *Tārīkh* 1467; cf. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Fah al-Maghūb*, Damascus 1348/1929-30).

The subject was also verified in a work entitled *Wasā'il al-Sā'il* (cf. *Ma'arīf al-Awā'il*) (cf. Ḥādīdī Khāfī (Flügel), cf. 435) which appears to have been preserved in MS. Cairo, *Madīnāt*, 474, fol. 28b-36b. In the Cairo manuscript, the author is called Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. (Abī) Ḥ-luṭī, apparently either the father or the son, who died in 971/1564 and 993/1585, respectively (cf. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadhārāt*; Brockelmann, II, 567; S II, 594). The active literary interest in the subject continued into modern times (cf. M. al-Thirānī, *al-Zuhra* fī *Tarīkh al-Sā'il*, ii, 481).

**Bibliography:** R. Goehde, *Die Kutāb al-awā'il*.

*Eine literaturhistorische Studie*, Halle 1867, which includes the edition of a small portion of al-Suyūṭī. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasā'il* (cf. *Ma'arīf al-Awā'il*); Cairo 1950. None of the independent *awā'il* works has so far been edited in its entirety. Brockelmann, I, 132, S I, 193 f., S III, 1265; S I, 279 f.; S I, 597 f.; II, 90 f., S II, 82; II, 203; S II, 562, S II, 635; A. J. Wesinck and others, *Concordance*, i, 134 f.; Alhwārī, *Catalogue Berlin* nos. 9368-76 (most of the works cited under no. 9376 are, however, no *awā'il* works); *MMIA*, 1941, 357-9, on the section dealing with *awā'il* in 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bistāmī (Brockelmann, II, 300 f.; S II, 323 f.), *al-Fawā'id* al-Muḥīyāt. The *awā'il* are treated as part of the historical equipment of the government secretary by al-Kālikashandī, *Sah*, i, 412-36. A short Syrian text of the Muslim period in E. Sachau, *Verzeichniss d. syr. Hss.*, 317. Berlin 1899. (F. ROSENTHAL)

**'AWĀLIK** [see 'AWĀLE].

**'AWĀMIR**, al- (sg. 'Āmir), a tribe of Bedouins and villagers in Southern and Eastern Arabia. The tribe is split into three main groups living in the following areas: (1) al-Raff between the southern edge of al-Rub' al-Khālī and Wādī Ḥudramūt, (2) southern al-Zafra between Katar and al-Buraṣmī, and (3) 'Uṣūn. The groups are completely separate and have little intercourse with each other, though they recognize their common kinship, and the two main divisions of the tribe, *Āl Badr* and *Āl Laza*, exist in all three groups. The southern group, whose range abuts on that of al-Say'ar at the well of Ṭamūd in the east, is mainly nomadic, though its members are not accustomed to pasturing their herds in the sands of al-Rub' al-Khālī, as is done by most of the Bedouin tribes in this region. The chief (*amīr*) of this group is Ibn al-Ṭabāzī of *Āl Badr*. Like most of the Arabs in this part of Arabia, the southern 'Awāmīr are *Shāfi'īs*. The central group consists entirely of nomads, who are among the hardest sand-dwellers of eastern al-Rub' al-Khālī, moving about so much that they have no claim to a range of their own. The shāikhly clan headed by Ibn al-Rakkādī of *Āl Badr* is said to have had an origin outside the tribe. Some of these 'Awāmīr are Hanbalis, the rest *Shāfi'īs*. The eastern group is found almost entirely in villages in the area between Wādī Ḥafin and Wādī 'Andām south of the Samā'ūd pass through the mountains of al-Ḥajar, with some offshoots in al-Bāṭina, al-Zāhira, and the vicinity of Muscat. There are two principal chiefs in this group, Ibn Khams of *Āl Badr* in Ka'fat al-'Awāmīr and Ibn Sulaymān of *Āl Laza* in al-Ḥumayk. As *Shāfi'īs* the eastern 'Awāmīr recognise the ḥādī Imam of 'Uṣūn and the temporal authority of his lieutenant in al-Sharḥiyya, Ṣāḥib b. 'Isā al-Ḥarīṭī. These 'Awāmīr have a tradition of having emigrated long ago from Najd, and their war-cry of *Yā awlād 'Amīr b. Sa'ya'a* indicates their claim to a descent from the famous tribe of ancient times (see 'Amīr b. Sa'ya'a). Certain smaller elements in Eastern Arabia such as *Āl Salm* and *Rayt Kay'āl* tend to associate themselves with the 'Awāmīr; in some cases this may be due to the attraction of a glorious name.

**Bibliography:** Arabian American Oil Co., *Oman and the Southern Shore of the Persian Gulf*, Cairo 1952; S. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, London 1899; *Memorial of the Government of Saudi Arabia* (Bureau of Arbitration), 1955. (R. L. HEADLEY)



'AWĀNA B. AL-HAKAM AL-KALBĪ, Arabic historian, d. 127/764 or 133/770. His genealogy and descent are disputed. His father's name is given as al-Hakam b. 'Awāna b. 'Yūd b. Wizr (Yāhūt, vi, 93; cf. *Djama'at* (Levi-Provençal), 428, and *Fihrist* 134); Abū 'Ubayda, however, asserted that al-Hakam's father was a slave tailor (Yāhūt, *ibid.*, citing verses by Dhū 'l-Kumma, for which cf. Ibn Sallām, *Tabaḥḥiṭ* 134; cf. also Ibn al-ʿAṣbār, 482, and *Aschbi*, xvi, 121). Al-Hakam was the lieutenant of Asad al-Kaṣīr in Khurāsān in 109/727 (Tabarī, II, 250; Balādī, *Futūḥ*, 428) and later governor of Sind, where he founded al-Mahfūza and al-Manṣūra (Balādī, 444). According to Ibn al-Nadīm, 'Awāna was a blind Kufan narrator and scholar in poetry and genealogy, and compiled two historical works, on the life of Muḥammada and the Umayyads. The latter are known only from citations in later works; al-Tabarī quotes 'Awāna in 51 passages, all of which (except for one passage relating to 'Umar and another to the battle of the Camel) relate to events from Muḥawiya to 'Abd al-Malik; al-Balādī cites him frequently for the same events, and in *Futūḥ* adds further citations relating to the conquest of al-Firās, also to the conquest of Tabaristān under Sulaymān. He is thus one of the chief authorities for the early Umayyad period. He seldom cites his own sources, but shows some care in fixing the dates of events; his style is clear and lucid, and his narratives are often detailed. He is also interested in poetry and literary events (for which he is often cited in the *ʿAḥḥān* and in other literary works), as well as in social life and administration. Although he is charged with partiality towards the 'Uḡḡāniyya and the Umayyads (Yāhūt, vi, 94), the quotations from his works show little evidence of prejudice, whether for the Umayyads, or for Kufa, or for Kalb. They are transmitted chiefly through Ḥishām b. al-Kalbī, al-Madī'ī, and al-Haytham b. 'Adī, but occasionally also by other scholars; he is not, however, as asserted by one of Yāhūt's authorities, the source of most of al-Madī'ī's information.

**Bibliography:** In addition to works mentioned in the article: Zubaydī, *Tabaḥḥiṭ al-Nahḥiyyīn*, 246; Ibn al-Kifī, *Iḥḥān al-Ruḥ*, ii, 361-3 (biography of his son 'Yūd); D. S. Margoliouth, *Arabic Historians*, Calcutta 1930, 83; J. Wellhausen, *Arab. Reich*, Intro. vi; Ahmad Amla, *Duḥā al-Idān*; F. Wustenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, Göttingen 1882, no. 27; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden 1952, index. (SALEH EL-ʿALĪ)

**AWAR** [see AWAS].

'AWĀRID. A term used under the Ottoman régime down to the second quarter of the nineteenth century to denote contributions of various types exacted by the central government in the sultan's name, and hence often referred to as 'awārid *diwānīyya*. The Ottoman *fiṣṣa*-system dispensed the central government from the collection of revenues for the payment of the feudal militia and many officers and officials, while the institution of *waḥf* likewise relieved it of responsibility for the initiation and upkeep of public works of all kinds. But both deprived it of vast revenues, and those that remained to it, whose collection was sanctioned by the *sharīʿa*, often proved insufficient for its needs. At first only in emergencies, but later annually, therefore, it resorted to the exaction, by the sultan's 'awārid, or customary, authority, of money payments, of unpaid services, or of contributions in kind, either

from the generality of tax-payers, or from those of particular area; and it was to these demands that the term 'awārid was applied, apparently because the total exacted varied according to the government's need and was hence regarded as 'awārid, "accidental".

'Awārid were imposed, not directly on individuals, but on what were called 'awārid-*khān*s, which, however, were not actual "households", but rather "contribution units", so that a whole village or quarter of a town, for instance, might constitute no more than a fraction of one of them. Care was taken, when 'awārid were first imposed, or at least when their imposition was regularised, to ensure a just apportionment of the burden amongst all contributors according to their resources, and if for any reason those resources were impaired as time went by, the government's demands were adjusted accordingly.

It seems to be uncertain whether 'awārid were originally money payments on the one hand, or contributions in kind or by way of service on the other. Eventually, in any case, units that rendered services, or furnished supplies, were exempt from payments in cash ('awārid-*akḥḥ*), but the latter, when in any emergency it was decided how much money was needed, the total was apportioned amongst all the 'awārid-*khān*s concerned and the provincial *ḥāḥ*s were instructed to collect a similar sum from each. As for persons rendering services to the state on the 'awārid principle, typical of these were the *kurekchis* (oarsmen supplementing the war captives and criminals likewise employed in the imperial galleys), each of whom was supported during his term of service by contributions from the other members of his 'awārid-*khān*. Among supplies furnished as 'awārid were barley, straw and other provisions, together with carts and animals to transport them, for troops on campaign; timber, pitch, sailcloth, etc. for the admiralty; foodstuffs for the imperial kitchens; and cloth for the uniforms of the Janissaries.

Units that normally performed services or furnished supplies might be obliged, if they were unable, or were not required, to do so for any reason, to make cash payments to the treasury instead. The term applied to such payments was *bedel* (plural *bedelāt*) (see BADAL); they became more and more usual from early in the seventeenth century, by which date the exaction of 'awārid was no longer occasional; and that these *bedelāt* were distinguished from the 'awārid *akḥḥ* proper may indicate that 'awārid had been in origin cash exactions, from which units performing services or furnishing supplies were exempted by way of recompense, and that this exemption endowed those units with as it were an *oḡḡāḥ* status, which they preserved by paying *bedelāt* instead of reverting to the payment of 'awārid *akḥḥ*.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many fresh 'awārid contributions were exacted from tax-payers under a large variety of names; and since little care was by that time taken to ensure that the tax-payers could meet the demands made upon them, many found it hard to do so. It therefore became a practice amongst the charitable, when founding *waḥfs*, to devote all or part of the revenues so engaged to the assistance of such needy contributors; and the term 'awārid *waḥf* was used of such foundations. In course of time, however, the original object of such *waḥfs* would often be forgotten; and then the revenues in question would be devoted to

other needs of the village, or the quarter of the town, concerned.

**Bibliography:** Süleyman Södi, *Defter-i Muḥ-ḥas*, i, 78, note; Mustafa Nuri, *Nahḥiḍ al-Waḥḥ*, i, 66; ii, 101; 'Abd al-Rahmān Welik, *Tahḥiṭ Kawḥiḥ*, 60-69, 182, 295; Hammer-Purgstall, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung*, i, 180, 257, 295, 304; D'Ohsson, *Traité de l'Empire ottoman*, vii, 239; J. H. Merdunian, *Die jüdischen Kira im Serai des Sultans*, MSOS XXXII/2, 1939, 20 ff.; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, index; I.A.S.V. (art. by Ö. L. Barkan). (H. BOWEN)

AL-'AWĀSIM, name of a part of the frontier zone which extended between the Byzantine Empire and the Empire of the Caliphs in the North and North-East of Syria. The frontier strongholds of this zone are called al-'Uḡḡār (g.c.) or frontier strongholds properly so called, whilst those which were situated further to the rear, are called al-'Awāsim, literally "the protectresses" (sing. al-'awṣim).

Following their quick successes in Syria and Mesopotamia, the Arabs for a while made no attempt to extend their conquests and confined themselves to making raids into Byzantine territory, on the further side of the Amanus (al-Lukān, g.c.) and the Taurus. In the time of 'Umar and 'Uḡḡmān, the Muslim frontier strongholds were those which were later to be called al-'Awāsim, situated between Antioch and Manbij, whilst those which were more recently to bear the name al-'Uḡḡār (a kind of *no man's land*), in the vast region extending to the North of Antioch and Aleppo, up to Taurus and the Taurus, where the towns had been purposely depopulated by Heraclius when he withdrew from Syria, and where the Byzantines only left guard-posts (*masāḥik*) held by local irregular troops, the *Mar-dāḥīs*; they are perhaps to be identified with the [ḡarḡimig] who were sometimes on the Byzantine side and sometimes on the side of the Arabs, whom they also provided with *masāḥik* and spies. This region, periodically ravaged by Muslim incursions, was designated by the Arabs by the name al-'awāsim, the outside countries, the exterior zone, or *awāsim al-Rūm* (al-Tabarī, II, 1317; cf. Ibn al-ʿAṣbār, under 98), an expression still in use in 'Abbasid times by the poets Abū Tammām and Buḥārī. The Umayyads began to acquire a footing in this zone on the further side of Antioch and to occupy the main strategic points situated where roads intersected or at the entrance to the mountain passes. According to Theophanes (cf. Bonn, 555-6, A. M. 6178), the withdrawal of the Mar-dāḥīs, as a result of the treaty of Justinian II with 'Abd al-Malik, left this whole region undefended, and was subsequently disastrous for the Byzantine Empire.

The whole of this frontier zone in the beginning was dependent on the *ḡund* of Hims. But from the time of Yazīd b. Muḥawiya, it was detached and made into a special *ḡund*, that of Kinnasrīn. In 170/786, Ḥārīn al-Rashīd, with a view to ensuring the defence of the frontier region exposed to Byzantine attacks, rather than with any offensive objective, (for he also organised the advanced zone for defence), detached from the *ḡund* of Kinnasrīn a certain number of strongholds, Manbij, Dulūk, Raḥbān, Kūrus, Antioch, Tinn, which he called al-'Awāsim, because the Muslims protected themselves by them, and because they afforded them protection and defended them when they returned from their

expeditions and left the frontier (*ḡaḡḡ*) (al-Balādī, 440). Another definition is provided by Ibn Shaddād: "because the inhabitants of the frontier strongholds (*ahl al-ḡuḡḡ*) protected themselves by them when a danger threatened them from the enemy", and al-Kalkashandī gives another: "because they protected from the enemy the Muslim territory which was behind them (*dīnash*), for they bordered upon the country of the infidels". The same author thinks that the expressions al-'Uḡḡār and al-'Awāsim are different names applied to the same thing, which is certainly not correct, for they are both quite distinct and must have been so at an early period. But as, at the time of the creation of this province, which from 173 had the 'Abbasid 'Abd al-Malik b. Sulaymān as governor with residence at Manbij, the advanced strongholds were included in it, both expressions must have been used interchangeably (see al-Tabarī, II, 604; Ḥārīn al-Rashīd separated all the frontier strongholds of the ḡazira and Kinnasrīn, made them into a single territory and called them al-'awāsim).

'Awāsim and ḡuḡḡ are often united under a single command, at times with the *ḡund* of Kinnasrīn, at other times the ḡuḡḡ form a separate province. The geographers do not agree on the number of localities which form part of the 'Awāsim: Ibn Khurraḍḡibhīh also includes al-Djūma, Būḥā, Bālis and Ruḡāṭat Ḥishām; Ibn Hawkal: Bālis, Sandja, Samosate (Sumaysāt), Dīr Manbij, Ibn Shaddād also names Baghrīs, Darbasak, Artāb, Kaysum, Tall, Kabāba and Yāḡūr, other localities. In the 10th century, the capital of the 'Awāsim was Antioch.

The region of the 'Awāsim, like that of the ḡuḡḡ, was the scene of bloody wars between Byzantium and the Arabs; it was reconquered by Nicephorus Phocas, who obliged the emirate of Aleppo to cede him the whole western and northern part of the region. Thereafter, the word al-'Awāsim is simply a geographical expression, which continues to be used in the period of the Crusades and the Mamlūks by the Arab geographers.

We have only sparse information on the economic situation of this region, which seems to have been fairly prosperous in 'Abbasid times. The sum of the taxation of the *ḡund* of Kinnasrīn and the 'awāsim together was 400,000 dinars according to Ibn Khurraḍḡibhīh, and 360,000 according to Kudāma. The population was very mixed. It included, besides indigenous elements (Christians of the towns and settlements, [ḡarḡimig] of the Amanus) several elements which had emigrated or been transported thither: Arab tribes, especially Kaymites, who had established themselves there, the Kūḡāb extending up to Dulūk, foreign elements coming from India via Mesopotamia, such as the Sayāḡīḡa (g.c.), brought to the region of Antioch by Muḥawiya, and the Zozī (g.c.), also transported to the same region by Muḥawiya, then by al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. It is known that one of the reasons why the Zozī were settled in this country (as in Cilicia by Yazīd II and by al-Muḥāsīn), is that this tribe practised the breeding of water buffaloes, and the presence of buffaloes cleared marshy territories, such as those of the 'Amk (g.c.) of Antioch, or of Cilicia, of the lions which infested them (see al-Balādī, 162, 376; Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich*, 415; M. Hartmann, *Das Lateinische Reich*, 71).

**Bibliography:** Balādī, *Futūḥ*, 132, 144 ff., 159 ff. [ḡarḡimig]; Istakhḡr, 56, 62; Ibn Hawkal, 108, 119; Mukaddasī, 189; Ibn al-Fakḥ, II,



1200; Ibn Khuradādhbih, 75; Kudāma, 246; Ibn Riṣṭā, 107; Tabarī, i 2366, iii 604, 775, 1352, 1697, 2187; Abu'l-Fidā', *Tabaṭ*, 235; Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, 192, 214; Ibn Ḥuḍayf, al-'Aḥd al-'Aḥdī, ed. Ch. Ledit, in *al-Maḥabir*, xxx" (1935), 370-235; Ibn al-Shūba, al-Durr al-Mundakhkh, Beirut 1909, 9, ii, 138, 190, 207, 221, etc. (see Index); Yāqūt, i 236, 242; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (see Index); Kalkandānī, *Yuhā al-'Aḥd*, iv, ii, 330 ff., 228; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, 25-7, 36, 39, 42, 45-7; Sachau, in *Sitz-Ber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1892, 319, 325, 327; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern in der Zeit der Umayyaden*, in *Nachr. der Göttinger Ges. der Wiss.*, 1907, 415, 429-31; Gandefrey-Dumoulin, *La Syrie à l'époque des Omeyyades*, 9-10, 31, 33, 217; Hoenigmann, *Die Ostgrenze der byz. Reiches*, 39-41; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, i, 324 ff.

(M. CANARD)

'AWĀZIM, AL- (sg. 'Āzim), a Bedouin tribe in North-eastern Arabia of reputedly ignoble origin, in that its descent is not regarded by other tribes as pure (qulū). Although Arabs of pure stock do not intermarry with the 'Awāzim, the tribe has earned their esteem for its desert lore and courage in battle, having been one of the most loyal and effective supporters of 'Abd al-'Azīz Āl Sa'ūd during his conflicts with other tribes in Eastern Arabia in 1333-48/1013-29. During this period the 'Awāzim broke away from their relationship as clients of the powerful tribe of the 'Dhūmal. The 'Awāzim range through the northern part of the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, mainly in the areas of al-Sūdā and al-Radī'if, and along the coast of Kuwait and in the Neutral Zone between the two countries. Although the Ruler of Kuwait has a number of 'Awāzim as personal retainers, the tribe is officially recognised as subject to the authority of Saudi Arabia. Its members are preponderantly Mālikīs. It has *hājras* at Thibāl, al-Hināh, and 'Uṣayyik. The chief of the tribe (1937) is 'Id ibn Dhiḥmā'.

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(W. E. MULLIGAN)

AWDAGHOSH (or Awdaghoshī) African town, now no longer extant. According to Ibn Kh. it was situated between the country of the Blacks and Sijilmasa, at about 51 days' march from this oasis and 25 from Ghāna. Barth thinks that it must have been situated between long. 10°-11° W. and lat. 18°-19° N., not far from Ksar and Barka, that is to say to the South-West of the post of Tidjika in French Mauritania.

Little is known about this town, which seems to have been at the outset a trading colony established by the Zenaga (Sanhādja) on the Northern border of the Kingdom of Ghāna. At the end of the 4th/10th century, after the Zenaga had conquered a large part of the Kingdom of Ghāna, Awdaghosh became the capital of a powerful state. As its sovereignty, from 350-60/970-71, it had a Sanhādja, who numbered more than thirty black kings among his vassals and whose empire measured sixty days' march in length and breadth. In the following century, Awdaghosh was attacked by Ibn Yaṣīn, the founder of the Almoravid dynasty. The town was taken by assault, pillaged and its inhabitants massacred (446/1054-5). From that time onwards, the power of the Zenaga progressively declined; their kingdom was invaded

by the Sūdā, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century; they had to abandon it, or were reduced to the rôle of tributaries.

In al-Bakrī's time (5th/11th century), Awdaghosh was still a flourishing city. The population, quite considerable in numbers, was composed of Arabs from the Maghrib and Ifrikiya, Berbers (Berbadjima, Lawāḥ, and Nafāḥ), and the nomadically Natfawa, and doubtless also Blacks. The town, surrounded by a suburb of gardens and palm groves, contained mosques and schools, sumptuous public buildings, elegant houses and busy markets. An important trade flourished there in cereals and fruits from the Muslim lands, ambergris brought from the Atlantic coast, worked copper and gold (read; gold; dust served as money. Signs of decadence were already visible in the time of al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century). The population was very scanty, trade exiguous, and the inhabitants maintained themselves almost exclusively by camel breeding. Doubtless, Awdaghosh's disappearance coincided with the ultimate destruction of the power of the Zanāta.

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(G. VIK)

'AWDHĀLĪ, (pl. 'Awādhilī, cf. 'Awdhilī, cf. al-'Awd (with *d* for *dh*) in al-Hamdanī, *passim*), dynastic title of (a) tribe, (b) district (ca. 500 sq. km., 10,000 inhabitants) in the Western Aden Protectorate. It lies between the Lower Yaḥdī (W), Fadlī (S) and 'Awladī (E) territories. In the N. beyond the "status quo line" of 1934, are the districts Dāhir (Dahr) (< Zāhir, cf. al-Hamdanī) and Rasāṣ (capital: Baydā' viz. Mawara). Part of Dāhir (with 'Aryab as its centre) and Daḥḥina (with Kulayta) have been incorporated into the 'Awdhilī district. Its N. part is dominated by the mighty mountain al-Kawr (Kōr), serving as a barrier between Sarw Himyar and Sarw Madhājī (al-Hamdanī 80, tr. Forrer 102; Kūr, with erroneous vocalisation); it is ca. 2,000 m. high. On the terraced hill-slopes and in the fertile plateaus round Mukayyas and Lōdar (N. respectively S. of al-Kawr) fruit and vegetables are grown for export. Honey is an essential product of the country, the climate of which is near tropical. The Sultan belongs to the 'Awadhilī, a branch of the old Haytham tribe, hence the dynastic name Ibn al-'Awadhilī. His residence is at Lōdar (also called al-Ghūdā). After family feuds at the turn of the century (Landberg, *Dafnā*, 1622) the political situation was stabilised; a treaty with the British was made in 1912 by Sūlīb b. Husayn Dībil. The population mostly consists of free tribes, who only obey the Sultan in case of war. In the border countries (especially Daḥḥina) the local *ghaydh* are almost independent. There is a *sharī'a*-court at Zāra, two self-supporting schools and two dispensaries in the district. At Lōdar and Mukayyas are landing-grounds for aircraft.

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social and economic conditions in the Aden protectorate, 1949, *passim* (with map). (O. LÖFGREN)

AWDĪ (see *AWDĪ*).

AWDĪLA. This name designates both an oasis and a group of three palm groves situated on the traditional caravan route, which in the South of Cyrenaica and between the 30th and 29th parallels, runs through the *Wādī* and *Djāzira* to Tripoli and Fezzān by Marada and the *Djāzira*. Awdīla has been known, since Herodotus (iv, 172, 182) and the classical authors, for its abundance of dates and as a halting place. Its rôle as a halting place seems to have been enhanced by the Arab conquest of the Maghrib. Ibn Hawkal (trans. de Slane, *JA*, 3d series, xiii, 163) describes it in the 4th/10th century as a small town recently attached to the province of Barka; likewise, 200 years later, al-Idrīsī (trans. Jaubert, i, 248); in the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. de Slane, 32) speaks of it as an important centre with several mosques and bazaars; he notes that Awdīla is the name of the district, that of the town being *Ardyā*. In the 10th/16th century, grain was imported from Egypt (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Épaulard, 436-4). Awdīla was occupied by the Turks in 1640. It has been visited and described by the travellers Hornemann (1798), Hamilton (1852), Beumann (1862) and Rohlf (1869 and 1879) (see the bibliography). The development, from the middle of the 19th century, of the trans-Saharan Sahel order has kept Europeans away, except Rosita Forbes and Hansen-Bey (1920). It has only been studied during the Italian occupation (1928-1943), in particular by the geographer Scarin. Since then, it has formed part of the Kingdom of Libya.

The name Awdīla only designates the most westerly oasis whilst that of *Djālo* (which is applied to El-Erg and El-Leḥbe, 30 km. to the S.E.) has imposed itself on a whole area, which also includes the mediocre palm grove of *Djākera* (or *Leḥkerreḥ*), 30 km. to the North. The three oases, which are situated in slight depressions with scanty pastures in the middle of a vast desolate plain of sand and gravel (*serir*), have a continental and very arid climate, with little wind; the annual rainfall between 1911 and 1940 was 11 mm. 7.

Water, which is not far below the surface and is fairly copious, is obtained by draw-wells (worked by donkeys) and from wells functioning with balance-beams. It is used primarily to water the palms, occasional pomegranate and fig trees, little patches of cereals, lucerne and vegetables. Stock-breeding is very poor and trade dwindling, even at *Djālo*, which for a century has taken Awdīla's place in the caravan trade with the Sudan and Egypt. This economic and demographic decline, due to emigration, was halted by the Italians, who established their residence at El-Erg (*Djālo*) and joined the oases to Ajdābiya by a track extending for 270 km. (and from there a road, 190 km. long, goes to Benghazi). Awdīla itself, very much in decay, possessed in 1934 18,000 palm trees, 270 gardens, and 1,500 inhabitants, who have remained Berber-speaking and are grouped in four divisions, living in four adjoining wards: Es-Sobka, Es-Saraha, El-Hati and Es-Zagana—plus a small group of Maghābra, Arabic-speaking, living dispersed in the palm grove. *Djālo*, which has not declined to the same extent, has 50,000 palm trees, 123 gardens and 2,700 inhabitants divided up into 14 "families". They are distributed between two villages, one of which, El-Erg, is rather dispersed, whilst the other, El-Leḥbe, is more con-

centrated, and in a number of dwellings scattered throughout the oasis. These are the Maghābra most of whom are former nomads who have become arabised and who have a taste for trade. *Djākera* is simply a palm grove (13,000 palm trees) and not systematically irrigated; it is inhabited only by a few very poor families (400 inhabitants) and visited for the date harvest by the *Zāya* nomads of the Oaḥī Fāreg region to the North-West. The houses of these settlements, built of large unbaked bricks and more rarely of loose stones, have no upper storeys, and are strung out along twisting lanes and blind alleys. The dwellings, located apart in the gardens, often inhabited by former slaves, are usually palm huts (*serir*). The mosques, very rustic in character, have multiplied under the influence of the Sanusiyye; those of Awdīla generally have several domes; the mosque of *Djākera* is made of palm trees, including the minaret.

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(J. DOREN)

AWFĀT (or WAFĀT; in the Ethiopian chronicles *Idrā*), an Ethiopian Muslim state (1285-1415) situated in the plateau region of Eastern Shoa, including the slopes down to the valley of the Hawṣh. At the end of the 7th/13th century a number of Muslim states existed in eastern Shoa; the predominant one (whose Malghudī dynasty had been founded according to tradition in 283/896) shown in a document recently discovered by E. Cerulli to be in the last stages of disruption, was conquered in 684/1285 by the ruler of one of its tributaries, whose dynastic title was Walasma'. He conducted campaigns to reduce various Shoa and 'Alfar regions, including the nomad state of Adāl. The reconstituted state, under the name of Awfāt, is first mentioned by Ibn Sa'ūd, who says that the region was also known as *Djabara* (*Djabarta*). Awfāt seems to have been alternately tributary to the powerful pagan kingdom of Dāmo, to the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, and at times independent. The northernmost of a number of Muslim states (Hadya, Fatagār, etc.), it became the buffer-state against the advance of the Abyssinian power southwards. Hakk al-Dīn, warring against 'Amḍa Syōn, was overwhelmed in 1328 and Awfāt made tributary to Abyssinia. Al-'Umarī's important account of Awfāt at this time shows that its territory extended eastwards to include Zayla'. Continually in revolt against Abyssinia, its last attempt to regain independence was under Sa'ūd al-Dīn, with whose defeat and death in 877/1473 the kingdom came to an end and its original territory was annexed to Abyssinia. When the Walasma', after brief exile in Yaman, returned to



Africa they formed a new state out of their former provinces of Adal-Zayla', and took the title of kings of Adal or Zayla' [qq.v.] with their capital at Dakar and later Harar [qq.v.].

**Bibliography:** al-'Umari, *Muawiz al-Ahbar*, transl. Gaudelot-Demoubylles, 1927, v.14; Abu 'l-Fida', *Tahqiq*, 1661, transl. B., 229; Ibn Khaldun (de Sane), 1, 262, transl. B., 207-8; Kalkschmidt, *Sa'ib*, v. 2, 232-232; Makrid, *al-Hudud bi-l-Ahbar min bi-Ard al-Habasha min Mu'ad al-Islam*, Cairo 1895; E. Cerulli, *Studi Etiopici*, 1, 511; idem, *Documenti Arabi per la Storia dell'Etiopia*, Mem. Linc., 1932; idem, *Il Sultano dello Sciam nel Secolo XIII, Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 1941, 5-42; J. Percheron, *Histoire des Guerres d'Amud Syon*, J.A., 1889; J. S. Trimmingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 1952, 58-60, 67-73.

(J. S. TRIMMINGHAM)

**'AWFI**, MUHAMMAD B. MUH., SA'DID AL-DIN (wrongly called Nūr al-Din) Bughāt, renowned Persian anthologist. 'Awfi traced his descent from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awfi, a companion of the Prophet, from whom he derived his surname. He came from a learned family of Transoxiana, and was probably born somewhere educated at Bughāt. The exact date of his birth is not known. In 597/1204 he went to Samarkand to serve at the court of Ilak Khān Sultān Djalāl al-Din Ibrāhīm b. al-Husayn Tughlugh Khān of Samarkand where his maternal uncle Shāraf al-Zamīn Majd al-Din Muhammad b. 'Adnān al-Surghakātī was serving as a court-physician. In 600/1205, when the tension between the Ghūrīd Sultan al-Mu'izz al-Din or Shāhshāh al-Din Ghūrī and Sultān 'Alā' al-Din Muhammad Khān Aramghah had become acute, he went to Khān Aram. Soon afterwards he went to Shāh-i Naw and Nasā, and attended some of the meetings of Shāhshāh Majd al-Din Shāraf Ibn al-Mu'ayyid al-Bughātī. Then he started on his literary tour of Khurāsān and was in Nishāpūr in 603/1206, where he stayed for a considerable period and made the acquaintance of various eminent persons. From there he went to Harāt and remained in Sijstān till 612/1215. It appears that he returned to Bughāt, journeyed through Khurāsān and Ghazna, crossed the river Indus, and, passing through Sind and Gujrat came for the first time to Lahore to seek the patronage of the sultān 'Ayn al-Mulk Fakhr al-Din al-Husayn at the Court of Malik Nāsir al-Din Kabāka, to whom he dedicated his famous anthology, the *Lubāb al-Ahbar* in 617/1220. He served for a time as *hādī* in Kanbāyat or Cambay, where he completed his Persian translation of al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj ba'd al-Shidda* in 620/1223. This period coincides with the attack of the Mongols on Khān Aram and their advance towards Multān and Delhi, when Shams al-Din Iltutmish besieged the fort of Bhakkar and overthrew Kabāka in 625/1228. 'Awfi changed masters and attached himself to the court of Iltutmish, to whose sultān Nūr al-Mulk Muhammad the Abī Sa'd al-Dīnawaydī he dedicated his famous collection of anecdotes, the *Dīwānī al-Rihāyat wa-Ladīmī al-Rihāyat* in 625/1228. It appears that 'Awfi lived in Delhi till 630/1232, in the early years of Rādhīyā's reign.

The *Lubāb* occupies an honourable place among Persian anthologies, but 'Awfi's *magnum opus* is the *Dīwānī* which contains more than 2000 historical and literary anecdotes relating to various dynasties that ruled in Persia before the Mongol invasion. Much of the material for this book is drawn from rare or lost works, hence its importance as

an original source. A comprehensive *Introduction* to this work was published in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1929. The Persian text, based on the earliest MSS., is ready for press, and the first volume is to appear shortly.

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(M. NIZAMUDDIN)

**AL-AWHAD** [see AVYDIBIS].

**AWHADĪ**, RUKN AL-DIN, Persian poet, born c. 680/1281-2 at Marāgha in Agharbadjān. The fact that he lived for many years in Isfahān has led the author of the *Haft Ihlām* to state that he was a native of that city. Little is known about his life, but there is scarcely any doubt that he died in 738/1337-8. He was buried at his birthplace where his tombstone is still to be seen.

Awhadī, who took his *fakhriyāt* from the name of

his master, Shaykh Awhad al-Din of Kirmān, was the author of a *divān* which amounts to about ten thousand verses. Some of these are eulogies of his patrons, Abū Sa'īd, the Tighān, and his vizier, Ghayyāh al-Din Muhammad, son of Rāghī al-Din Faḍl Allāh. In one of his poems he attacks the pretensions of a contemporary poet, Salmān of Sāva.

As a poet, Awhadī displays little originality. He is reckoned by most Persian critics as second-rate in view of some weakness which is to be found in his poetic diction. Moreover, the greater part of his verse, although not without some grace, is often laboured and lacks that subtle light and shade in bringing his ideas before the reader which is characteristic of the best Persian poetry.

Awhadī's best work is to be found in his two *mathnawī* poems, the earlier of which is entitled *Dah-nāma* or, as it is called in some MSS., *Manṭiq al-'Udhūd*. This consists of ten letters addressed by an imaginary lover to his mistress and is not of outstanding poetic merit. It was dedicated to Wajih al-Din, grandson of Nāsir al-Din of Tūs, in 705/1306-7. The other *mathnawī*, the *Dīwānī Dīam* (the goblet of Dīamghid), is longer and far better known. It displays a more fully developed talent, and when it was first composed, achieved a great measure of popularity. Like the *Hadīyat al-Habiba* of Sanā'ī, it covers the whole field of ethics, with advice on moral discipline, the upbringing of children, civic responsibilities and so forth; but the last part changes its theme and deals with the Shī'ī Path and all that appertains to it. The *Dīwānī Dīam* was written in 735/1332-3 and was dedicated to Ghayyāh al-Din Muhammad.

**Bibliography:** Dawlatiāh 210 f.; Browne, iii, 141-6; Rthé in the *G.P.P.*, II, 299. Edition of the *Dīwānī Dīam*, Tehran, 1347/1928-9, and of the *Dīwān* by A. S. Usha, Madras 1951.

(G. MEREDITH-OWENS)

**AWKĀF** [see WAKF].

**'AWL** (A., literally "deviation by excess"), the method of increasing the common denominator of the fractional shares in an inheritance, if their sum would amount to more than one unit. This has, of course, the effect of reducing each individual share. For instance, a man dies leaving a widow, two daughters and both parents. The share of two daughters would be  $\frac{1}{2}$  =  $\frac{2}{4}$ , that of the widow  $\frac{1}{4}$  =  $\frac{1}{4}$ , that of the father  $\frac{1}{2}$  =  $\frac{2}{4}$ , and that of the mother  $\frac{1}{4}$  =  $\frac{1}{4}$ , total  $\frac{5}{4}$ . The denominator is therefore increased to 27, and the two daughters receive  $\frac{1}{18}$ , the widow  $\frac{1}{27}$ , and the

father and the mother each  $\frac{1}{18}$ . This particular problem is called *al-mas'ala al-minbariyya*, because 'All is reported to have solved it off-hand when it was submitted to him, whilst he was on the minbar. The 'awl is accepted by all the Sunnī schools of Islamic law. The Ḥādī, too, recognise it, but they ascribe its introduction to 'Umar. The *Ighnā'* 'aḥariyya or 'Twelve' Shī'ites, on the other hand, reject it and reduce the share of the daughter (or daughters) or that of the full or consanguine (but not of the uterine) sister (or sisters) instead.

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(Ed.)

**AWLĀD** [followed by the name of the eponymous ancestor of a tribe, see under the name of that ancestor].

**AWLĀD AL-BALAD** was the term used during the Sudanese Mahdiyya (1881-98) to designate persons originating from the northern riverain tribes, of which the Danākila group and *Dīa'*shayn were the most important. Many *awlād al-balad* were domiciled, temporarily or permanently, away from their tribal centres by the main Nile. The Danākila were boatbuilders and sailors, especially on the White Nile, while both they and the *Dīa'*shayn played an important rôle as merchants and slave-traders in Kordufān, the Baḥr al-Ghazāl and Dār Fūr. The Mahdī Muhammad Ahmad found much support among the *awlād al-balad*, particularly those dispersed in the west and south. In general they formed the ruling class under him. After his death in June 1885, they were gradually displaced from the chief offices by his successor, the Khalifa 'Abd Allāh, but clerical and other subordinate posts were largely filled by *awlād al-balad* until the end of the Mahdiyya. Chief among the *awlād al-balad* were the *Aghrīf*, relatives of the Mahdī, whose nominal leader was the Khalifa Muhammad Sharīf. In 1886 the group attempted to overthrow 'Abd Allāh and failed. The *awlād al-balad* were seriously weakened by the defeat of the Mahdī invasion of Egypt at Tūghlūq in 1889, since they had formed the bulk of the expeditionary force and large numbers perished, including their leading general 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nuḍūmī. A rising of the *Aghrīf* and Danākila in Omdurman in 1891 was foiled by 'Abd Allāh and was followed by repressive measures. In 1897 the *Dīa'*shayn of al-Matamma under their chief, 'Abd Allāh Sa'd, revolted and communicated with the Anglo-Egyptian forces under Kitchener. A Mahdī army under Mahmūd Ahmad put down the rebellion and sacked the town.

**Bibliography:** Special allusion to the term is made by F. R. Wingate (J. Overwaller, *Ten years captivity in the Mahdī's camp*, London 1892, many ed.).

(P. M. HOLT)

**AWLĀD AL-NĀS**. The mamlūk upper class constituted an exclusive society. Only a person who himself was born an infidel and brought as a child-

slave from abroad, who was converted to Islam and set free after completing his military training and who usually bore a non-Arab name, could belong to that society. These rules implied that the mamlūk upper class should be a non-hereditary nobility, for the sons of the mamlūks and mamlūk amirs were Muslims and free men by birth, were born and grew within the boundaries of the mamlūk sultanate and bore Arab names. As such they could not belong to the upper class and were automatically ejected from it. They were joined to a unit of non-mamlūks called the *halqa* [q.v.] which was socially inferior to the pure mamlūk units. Within the *halqa* the sons of amirs and mamlūks formed the upper stratum. They were known as *awlād al-Nās* 'children of the people', i.e. 'of the best people, of the gentry', for the 'people' were the mamlūks, the members of the exclusive society.

The *awlād al-Nās*, but for quite a small number of exceptions, attained no higher rank than that of Amir of Ten and Amir of Forty. Occasionally the *awlād al-Nās* were favoured for political reasons. Thus sultan al-Nāsir Hasan (748/1347-758/1354) preferred amirs from *awlād al-Nās* to mamlūk amirs. The privileged position of the *awlād al-Nās* under sultan Hasan was, however, exceptional, and contrasted sharply with their status under other rulers. Since theirs was an element which, by its very nature, was excluded from the ranks of the mamlūks, their chances for advancement and for attaining key positions were seriously limited. In the course of time they declined together with the *halqa*, and saw the same restrictions applied to them as to the rest of that body, viz. reductions in pay, sale of their fields, exemptions from military expeditions in exchange for cash payments (*badī*), tests in the use of the bow and arrow designed to prove that they were badly trained and thus not entitled to all the privileges of full-fledged soldiers. Toward the end of the mamlūk era, the name *halqa* fell into disuse, while that of the *awlād al-Nās* became extremely common.

There was, both among the *awlād al-Nās* and the other members of the *halqa*, a strong leaning toward piety and pre-occupation with other-worldly affairs. Many of them left the military service and became theologians or *fakhs*. (See D. Ayalon, *Studies on the Structure of the Mamlūk Army*, in *BSOAS*, 1953, 456-58 and references on p. 456, n. 1).

(D. AYALON)

**AWLĀD AL-SHAYKH** (Banū Hamawīya) were originally an Iranian family of *shāhs* and *shāhī* *fakhs*, a branch of whom emigrated to Syria and became influential under the later Ayyūbid kings, al-Malik al-Kāmil (615-35/1218-38) and his sons. The member of the clan earliest known, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Hamawīya (Pers. form Hamawayh) al-Dīwāny, died in 530/1135-6, was a celebrated *shāhī* *fakh* and author of several works on mysticism (al-Sam'ānī; Ibn al-Aḥlī, xi, 39; Abū 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Djāwī, *al-Muntazam*, Haydarābād, x, 63-4; Yāqūt, ii, 425; Haḍḍīdī Khālīf, ed. Flügél, ii, 612, no. 7231). His grandson 'Imād al-Din Abū 'l-Fath 'Umar b. 'Alī, died 577/1181, went to Damascus, and in 563/1167 Nūr al-Dīn, 541-69/1167-74, appointed him inspector of all the *ahd* institutions at Damascus, Hama, Hama, Barṣabak and other places in Syria. Hence he became the ancestor of the Syrian and Egyptian division of the family; but the connexions with the Iranian branch were maintained (Sibt Ibn al-Djāwī, *Mir'at al-Zamān*, Haydarābād, 272). Of these his brother



'Abd al-Wāhid (died 588/1192; Ibn al-Furāt, *cod. Fird.* iv, 146a), and his grand-nephew Sa'd al-Dīn Muhammad (died 636/1254; *ET* ii, 260 & IV, 33; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, 651) are the best known.—'Imād al-Dīn 'Umar had two sons: *Shaykh* al-*ghayy*h Sadr al-Dīn Abū Ḥasan Muhammad (545-617/1148-1202), was born in Khurāsān, came with his father to Damascus and became his successor. He married the daughter of the famous *Kādi* Ibn Abī 'Aṣrīn (died 585/1189; Ibn Khalkālin, no. 334; transl. de Slane ii, 32-5) by whom he had four sons, famous as a friend (Baṣṣ) *shaykh* al-*ghayy*h. Sadr al-Dīn, a twiend of Sultān al-Malik al-'Adil, 595-625/1198-1218, later went to Egypt, where he was invested with the same offices as he had held at Damascus. He died at Mawṣil on the way to Baghdad as an ambassador of al-Malik al-Kāmil.—His younger brother *Tājī* al-Dīn Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh, 572-642/1177-1244, went in 593/1196 to the Maghrib and served under the Almohad sultans al-Manṣūr Ya'qūb (580-95/1184-98) and al-Nāṣir Muhammad (595-610/1198-1213) for seven years in a military capacity. After his return he settled down at Damascus and followed his father and brother as an inspector of the *ḥāḥ* institutions of the Syrian capital. He wrote several works on history, only the titles of which have survived; Ibn Khalkālin saw the autograph of one of his books about Spain at Damascus in the year 668/1269 (Ibn Khalkālin, no. 839, transl. de Slane, iv, 337).—The fame of the family rests upon the four sons of Sadr al-Dīn, especially on *Fakhr* al-Dīn Yūsuf, born about 560/1164, who entered upon a political career, and al-Kāmil sent him in 612/1217 as his envoy to the caliph. He gained his reputation as a skilled diplomat, being al-Kāmil's ambassador to the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II from 624/1229 until the conclusion of the treaty concerning Jerusalem, February 18th, 1229. During this period he became the friend of the emperor who discussed with him even very political problems and wrote him two letters after his return to Italy (Ibn Naḍī al-Hamawī, *Tarīkh al-Manṣūrī*, M. Anwar, *Bibl. Sic. App.* ii, 25). *Fakhr* al-Dīn Yūsuf held several high posts during the latter part of the reign of al-Kāmil and was a member of the council at Damascus after the king's death in Rājab 635/Feb.-March 1238. After his return to Cairo al-'Adil II b. al-Kāmil (635-7/1238-40) dismissed him despite his good services and even threw him into prison. He remained out of office until 642/1246, when al-'Adil's successor and brother al-Sāliḥ Naḍīm al-Dīn Ayyūb b. al-Kāmil (637-47/1240-9) restored him to all his former honours and appointed him commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army. When in 1249 Louis IX of France threatened to attack Egypt, *Fakhr* al-Dīn Yūsuf was entrusted with her defence, but after the Frankish invasion of the Nile Delta he sacrificed Damietta and retreated with his army southwards to al-Manṣūra. When al-Sāliḥ died shortly afterwards (Monday 14th Shā'abān 647/22th Nov. 1249) the sultana Shūjā' al-Durr made *Fakhr* al-Dīn regent in the absence of the new sultān al-Mu'azzam Tūrghān b. Naḍīm al-Dīn Ayyūb. In the meantime the crusaders slowly advanced towards the Nile and entered the city. In the fighting *Fakhr* al-Dīn was killed on Thursday 4th Dhū Ḥiḥ 647/8th Feb. 1250.—The three brothers of *Fakhr* al-Dīn, 'Imād al-Dīn 'Umar, Kāmil al-Dīn Ahmad and Mu'īn al-Dīn Hasan started their political activities only in the latter part of al-Kāmil's reign having been before

engaged in the teaching of the Shāfi'i madhhab at Cairo. They, too, belonged to the crown circle after al-Kāmil's death at Damascus and thanks to the influence of 'Imād al-Dīn 'Umar the nephew of the late sultān, al-Djāwād Yūsuf b. Mawḍūd b. al-'Adil, died 641/1243 was elected vice-regent of Damascus. When he conspired against al-'Adil II, the sultān sent 'Imād al-Dīn back to Damascus in order to force the abdication of al-Djāwād. But al-Djāwād had him arrested soon after his arrival and murdered on Thursday, 26th Jumādā al-awwal 641/January 1249.—Kāmil al-Dīn Ahmad, the least famous of the four brothers, was appointed by al-Sāliḥ in 637/1240 as an ambassador to negotiate a peace-treaty with Count Theobald of Jaffa and the king of Navarre, and afterwards commander-in-chief of an army to regain Damascus. But Kāmil al-Dīn was defeated by al-Djāwād and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd b. al-Mu'azzam (died 656/1258) in Dhū Ḥiḥ 638/May-June 1241, and taken prisoner. He died a year later on 13th Šafar 640/22th Aug. 1242 at Hama.—The youngest brother Mu'īn al-Dīn Hasan was appointed *waṣī* by al-Sāliḥ in 637/1240 and four years later became his representative and commander-in-chief in the campaign for the reconquest of Damascus. The siege began at the end of 642/May 1245, and six months later Mu'īn al-Dīn forced 'Imād al-Dīn to return to the city, which he had held since 637/1239, in Syria for Bal'abak, Boṣra and some other places. Mu'īn al-Dīn survived his triumph for only a few months and died of typhoid on Monday 24th Ramaḍān 643/12th Feb. 1246.

Of the two sons of *Tājī* al-Dīn Muhammad the elder Sa'd al-Dīn Khidr, 592-674/1196-1246, is known as the author of a small chronicle from which Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Dhahabī drew most of their information about the Baṣṣ *shaykh* al-*ghayy*h.

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'AWLAKI (pl. 'AWALIK, vulg. Mawālek; for the etymology, see Landberg, ii, 184 f.) (a) tribal confederation and (b) territory in south Arabia, between the Indian Ocean and the desert (Rumail Sahāyān). It is the easternmost district of the Western Aden Protectorate. The boundaries are in the W the Fadl, 'Awdhāl and Bayḥān districts, in the E the Dīḥī territory of 'Iṣṣa, the Wāḥidī sultanate of Bal-Hā and the indeterminate area of Djerdan, 'Iṣṣa ('Urma) with Shabwa, and Al Burayk. This country is divided by Kawa al-'Awd (the continuation of Kawa 'Awdhāl) into two halves of very different character.

1. Upper 'Awlāki territory (ca. 100,000 sq.km., 120,000 inhabitants) is by far the richest and most powerful. The climate is tropical, the fertile ground produces wheat, maize, tobacco and indigo. Arḍ al-Mahāḡir in the N belongs to this tribal confederation (cf. al-Hamdānī, 89) which comprises the subtribes Marāḡī, Rabīḡ, Hamūmū, Dārīyān and Dabkīrī. They inhabit the district round Anabī (Nāḡīb), where the Sultan of Upper 'Awlāki has his residence.

He also controls the wide plateau Arḍ Marīḡha, where Nisāyīn bedouins live in Wāṣī, Haḡḡar and Hudayr. The main *wadī* are: 'Abadān, Durā, Kāwra, Marīḡha. In the NW, not far from Bayḥān al-Kāḡh, are rich salt-mines at Khāḡh. The other great tribal federation, the Ma'īn or Ma'ān (cf. Ma'īn, Ma'ān "Minaeans"), is grouped round the old town (Sūḡ) Yeghbum, in the SE part of the territory. Here resides the second chieftain, the *shaykh* of Upper 'Awlāki, who like the Sultan always is chosen from the Ma'īn. Their sub-tribes are: Maḡhīb, Bū Bekr, Bū Kās, Kās, Sulaymān, Tawālā, Mikrāba and Thawbūn. For the most part these tribes are independent *ḥāḡīb*, they are fond of fighting and often enlist for service abroad. Treaties with the British were signed in 1903 by the *shaykh* of Yeghbum, Muḡsib b. Farīd, and in 1904 by the Sultan of Anabī, 'Awād b. Sūḡh. There is an aerodrome at Anabī.

2. Lower 'Awlāki territory (ca. 80,000 sq.km., 12-15,000 inhabitants) is for the most part arid and barren; there is seldom rain enough in the mountains to make the *wādī* flow. The most important valley-system is that of W. Ahwar (also called 'Uḡrūb), formed by the junction of W. Dīḡār, coming from Daḡlusa, and W. Dēḡa (Laika), which starts S of Ḥabbān (q.v.) and passes through the highlands of Marīḡha. Here live the clans (ḥawāḡīb) of the Kumḡh in W. Labākha and Abī Shām'a in Maḡhīb S of Yeghbum; they exercise a certain authority over the primitive bedouins of the tribe Bū Kāzīm, who are scattered all over the W and S parts of the territory. Other towns in W. Dēḡa are: Khār, Shadīma and Kulūyā. On the coast are small villages, inhabited by fishermen. The Sultan resides at Ahwar (Hawar), ca. 5 km. from the coast and a little E of the wādī. Just as Ahyan and Lahḡī, Ahwar properly denotes the district, then its centre, al-Maḡhīb (acc. to Landberg II, 273, 326, 1834), which is a series of villages rather than a town. The population (ca. 5,000) is chiefly agricultural. A treaty with the British of 1888 was renewed in 1944 by S. 'Aydārī b. 'Aḡh (murdered in 1948). The adviser agreement has resulted in better security and a revival of agriculture and trade. There is an aerodrome and a wireless station. One sub-grade and one indigenous school are reported in the district.

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AWLIYĀTA (T., "holy father") is the old name of the city called since 1938 Džambul after the Kazakh poet Džambul Džabaev (1846-1945), which lies on the left bank of the Tālās in the Kazakh SSR. Until 1917 it was the capital of the district of the Sīr Daryā in Russian Turkestan and obtained its name from the grave of the holy man Kāḡh Rihān, which is mentioned as early as the 17th century, see Maḡmūd b. Walī, *Dār al-'Aḡar*, MS India Office 545, fol. 119r. Its mausoleum dates from the 19th century and bears no inscription. On the other hand the grave of the "little holy one" (*Kiḡh Awliyā*) there is an inscription of 660/1262; the grave is that of the prince Ulugh Būḡe Khān

Khān Dā'ūd Beg b. Ilyās. (The inscription is published in *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkheol. Ob.* xii, V.).—The city of Awliyā Ata which came into being only in the 19th century, was conquered by the Russians in 1864, became a fortress, and contained, in 1897, 12,000 inhabitants; it was famous for its fruit growing and its cattle and wool trade. In the surrounding district of Awliyā Ata (71,097 sq.km., with 297,004 inhabitants) ancient Turkish inscriptions were found in 1896 (*Zap. etc.*, xi).

The present day city of Džambul lies on the Turkish line just north of the frontier of the Kirgiz SSR, and contained in 1926 19,000 and by 1939 as many as 62,700 inhabitants. It possesses a sugar, a meat processing, and other factories, and is besides a centre of trade. The district of Džambul (since 1936) contains 138,600 sq.km. and is mountainous in the south; in the north there lies the Bad Pak Dala steppe.

Close to Awliyā Ata—Džambul lay evidently the city of Tarāz (q.v.), which may be regarded as its precursor.

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AWLONYA, Alb. Vlora, Valona, town in southern Albania. (See ARBANTURIL) Awlonya, usually called Valona, is today a town of about 10,000 inhabitants. It lies in the bay of the same name, and is some 2½ m. (4 km.) inland from the harbour. It played an important part in antiquity as Aulon (hence Avlona). Concerning its history in the Middle Ages, cf. Konst. Jireček, *Valona im Mittelalter*, in: Ludwig v. Thallwitz, *Historisch-ethnographische Forschungen*, i, Munich and Leipzig 1916, 168-87. In June 1417, the Ottoman armies entered the area of Valona, and occupied the town, together with the fortress of Kanina and Berat. The general Hamza-Beg became commander-in-chief of Awlonya, and the Ottomans—who had never before possessed an Adriatic port—soon began to build ships there. In 1418, there was a vain attempt by the seignior of Venice to regain Awlonya for its former owner Ragina (the widow of Duke Mriksa), a citizen of Venice. Awlonya remained Ottoman property, admitted Christians as farmers of taxes, and was governed by a Sanjak-Bey; it was an important bulwark against the West. As late as the 14th century, the inhabitants (apart from Albanians and Slavs) were mostly Greeks, and denominationally belonged to the autocephalous archbishopric of Ohrid up to the 18th century. Awlonya was used twice during the 15th century by the sultan Mehmed II as a base for a raid on Apulia, Italian territory only 47 m. (75 km.) away. (Otranto, cf. F. Babinger, *Mehmed II. der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1933, 439 ff. and Ital. transl., *Muhammed II il Conquistatore, ed il suo tempo*, Turin 1936, 370 ff.). As governors, Valona had frequently capable civil servants who were devoted to the sultan, as for instance Gedik Ahmed Paḡha, who maintained this as a base for ambassadors and emissaries sent to Italy. In the nearby fortress of Kanina, there were the Vlora, who had been there



since the time of Bayezid II and were related to him by marriage (cf. Ekrem Bey Vlorë, *Aus Herat und vom Tumor*, Sarajevo 1911, *Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel*, No. 13) and who traced their origin back to Ghāzī Sulaymān Rāgha (cf. P. Babinger, *Römische Streifen*, Berlin 1935, 24 f.). In the 17th century, the fortress of Awlonya was surrounded by high and thick walls with many bastions. Within the fortress, there was a mosque endowed by Sulaymān the Magnificent, and in the middle there was a tower—identical with the white tower of Salonica—built for the same sultan, supposedly by the Ottoman architect Sinan. There is a clear description by Ewliya Çelebi of the Awlonya of his day (cf. the German translation by F. Babinger, *Römische Streifen*, 25 f.). The order of the *Dakka* appears to have been very active around Valona. After 400 years of Turkish rule, Albanian independence was declared in Awlonya in 1912, and it seceded from the Ottoman Empire. From 1914 to 1920, the town was occupied by the Italians, and during the First World War it formed an important base for military operations in the Balkans. By the Treaty of Rapallo, this bridge-head on the Adriatic and barrier in the Straits of Otranto had to be returned to Albania—with the exception of the island of Saseno. From April 1939 to autumn 1943 Awlonya, together with the rest of Albania, was once again in the hands of the Italians.

**Bibliography:** Apart from works mentioned in the text of the article, cf. the travels of Pouqueville, W. M. Leake, Lord Holland, L. Heuzey, G. Weigand, C. Patich, which give a description of old Awlonya. (F. BARTSCHKE)

**AWNI** [see MUHAMMAD II].

**AWRANGĀBĀD**, a town and district in the state of Bombay having in 1951 a population of 1,179,404. During the reign of 'Alī al-Dīn Shāhī the Hindu rulers of this part of the Deccan were forced to pay tribute to the Muslim invaders. In 1547 it was incorporated in the Bahmani kingdom and with the disintegration of that kingdom became part of the Nizām Shāhī sultanate of Ahmadnagar. Under Malik 'Ambar, an able Abyssinian minister, Ahmadnagar offered a stubborn resistance to the Mughal invaders, but, after his death in 1626, was annexed to the Mughal empire. During the decline of Mughal power in the first half of the eighteenth century AWRANGĀBĀD was added to the dominions of the Nizām of Hyderabad. In 1956 it was incorporated in the state of Bombay.

The town of AWRANGĀBĀD, previously named Khirdi, was the capital of the Ahmadnagar sultanate in the days of Malik 'Ambar. It was burned to the ground by Mughal forces in 1612, but was rebuilt and renamed AWRANGĀBĀD in honour of AWRANGZIB, who lived there during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. The neighbouring village of Khuldābād contains the tombs of Malik 'Ambar, AWRANGZIB, and Āṣaf Dīsh, the founder of the Hyderabad state. It was once famous for its gold brocade, but this and other industries have declined.

There is another small town of the same name in the Gāyā district of Bihar.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

**AWRANGĀBĀD SAYYID**, a small town in the Bulandshahr district of Uttar Pradesh, founded in 1704 by Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz, a descendant of Sayyid Djalāl al-Buṣayn of Bulghār.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

**AWRANGZIB**, ARU'U-ṬIẒAFAR MUHAMMAD MUḤYI 'L-DIN AWRANGZIB 'ĀLAMGHIR Bādshāh-i

Ghaṣī (1027-1118/1615-1707), the third son of ShāhJahān and Mumtāz Mahāl (daughter of Āṣaf Khān) was born at Dhul in Malwa on 15 Dhū 'l-Ka'da 1027/15 Nov. 1618.

I. *Early Years (1027-08/1618-58)*. He certainly received a very good education according to the standards of the day, for throughout his life he could hold his own in disputations with the 'ulama' as well as men of letters, and his Persian compositions have been regarded with respect.

In 1044/1655 AWRANGZIB was made a commander of 10,000 men and put in nominal charge of a successful campaign against Dīdār Singh Bundelā. In 1045/1656 he was appointed Viceroy of the Dakkhin but resigned in 1053/1644, either owing to a fit of religious fervour or on account of his bitterness against Dārā, his elder brother, whom ShāhJahān seems to have had chosen as his successor. Nevertheless he accepted the governorship of Gujjarāt and was thence transferred in 1055/1646 to the command of Balgh, which the Mughal officers had conquered under the nominal command of Murād Bahāghar, the Emperor's youngest son. But the Uzbeks were too strong and Dhul was too far; AWRANGZIB established his reputation as a general and an administrator, but he had to give up Balgh to Nāzar Muhammad Khān and beat a retreat. Appointed governor of Multān in 1057/1648, AWRANGZIB was directed by the Emperor to recapture Kandahār from the Persians. He besieged Kandahār twice—in 1058/1649 and 1061/1651—but the enterprise was too difficult and he had to retreat. AWRANGZIB can hardly be blamed for this, for Dārā Shukoh to whom the third siege of Kandahār was assigned failed even more disastrously.

AWRANGZIB was assigned the Viceroyalty of the Dakkhin for a second time in 1062/1652. His revenue expert, Murād Kālī Khān, did much to settle that desolated territory by his revenue system (*dhara*). In 1065/1655 AWRANGZIB laid siege to Golkunda and could have extinguished that kingdom but the Emperor ordered him to accept a tribute and make peace. In 1066/1657 he attacked Bidjāpūr and had captured Bidār and Kālyān when orders were sent, came from the Emperor directing him to accept 'peace' terms. Soon after that ShāhJahān fell ill (27 Dhū 'l-Ka'da 1067/15 Sept. 1657) and his four sons prepared to fight for the throne.

II. *War of succession, 1067-08/1658-59*. The war of succession shows AWRANGZIB at his best as a general and an administrator; he was never to attain that standard again. Dārā Shukoh, the heir-designate at Āgra, had the prestige of the imperial authority and the advantage of moving on interior lines. But he showed himself lacking both in capacity of organisation and strategy. Shujā'ī, the second son, who was governor of Bengal, assumed the crown (as did the youngest brother, Murād) and moved towards the capital. But he was decisively beaten at Bahādurpūr (11 Dī Jumādā I 1068/14 Febr. 1658) by the imperial army under Rājā Dīsh Singh and Sulaymān Shukoh and fled back to Mungla. But Dārā's southern army, under Dīswant Singh, could not prevent AWRANGZIB and Murād from joining their forces near Ujjāin. The two brothers crushed Dīswant's forces at Dharmat (12 Rājadh 1068/15 April 1658) and then crossing the Chāmū, defeated Dārā decisively at Sāmghrūr, eight miles from Āgra (16 Shā'ban 1068/29 May 1658). AWRANGZIB then followed his father to the Āgra fort and then arrested Murād near Mathor and sent him to Gwalior where he was executed in Rab' II Dī Jumādā I 1072/Dec.

1661. AWRANGZIB crowned himself hurriedly at Dhul and then pursued Dārā as far as Multān. Then he had to march eastwards to meet Shujā'ī, whom he defeated signally at Khajūrah, near Allāhabād (10 Rab' II 1069/5 Jan. 1659). Leaving Mr Dīwan to pursue Shujā'ī to Arrakh, where that unfortunate prince met his death, AWRANGZIB once more marched west because Dārā, supported by Shāh Nawāz Khān, the governor of Gujjarāt, had entrenched himself at Deorai, near Admār. Dārā was defeated after a three day battle (28 Dī Jumādā II 1069/23 March 1659) and, while he was fleeing towards Kandahār, Malik Dīsh, his Baluch host, captured him and brought him to Āgra, where, after he was paraded with every disgrace, he was put to death as a heretic. AWRANGZIB's power was now unchallenged and he celebrated his second coronation on 14 Rāmādhān 1069/5 June, 1659.

*First half of the reign, 1068-92/1658-81*. The Mughal Empire during AWRANGZIB's long reign was really ruled by a series of wars, many of which were of his own seeking. His general, Mr Dīwan, conquered Kūf Bahār and Assam (1073-3/1661-63) with a terrible loss of life, including his own, but the Pathāns rose in revolt—the Yūsufzāis in 1077/1667 and the Afrīdīs in 1083/1672—but though the Emperor stationed himself at Hasan Abdāl (Rāwālpur district), the efforts of the imperial officers were strangely unavailing and peace could not be restored till 1085/1675. The death of Mahārāja Dīswant Singh of Mārwar on 25 Shawwāl 1089/10 Dec. 1678, started the Rājput war. AWRANGZIB stationed himself at Admār for the better conduct of the campaign, but his own son, Prince Akbar, rebelled against him and fled to Sambhādī. The latter error made peace with Rājā Rāj Singh in Dī Jumādā I 1092/June 1681, but the Rathors of Mārwar continued their struggle till Adīl, son of Mahārāja Dīswant, entered Bidjāpūr as a victor in 1118/1707. Meanwhile a new opponent of the Empire had risen in the Deccan, Shīwājī son of ShāhJī Bhonsla, a first-rate diplomat, guerrilla warrior and organiser of victory. Shīvājī Khān, the Emperor's uncle, was sent against him and failed disastrously, but Dīsh Singh, who succeeded Shīvājī, compelled Shīwājī by the treaty of Purandar (Dhū 'l-Ka'da 1118/16 Dec. 1689) to hand over 23 out of his 37 forts. Shīwājī came to AWRANGZIB's court, found that he would only be given the status of a *panāh-nāgar* (commander of five thousand), and pretended to faint owing to a weak heart; he was interned by the Emperor's order but succeeded in escaping back to his homeland. In 1089/1669 he began offensive operations against the Empire, plundered Sūrāt for a second time (1081/1670) and started a series of plundering raids for the levy of *danā* (one-fourth) against the imperial territories. Though Shīwājī who had crowned himself in 1085/1674, died in 1091/1680, Mughal administration in the Deccan was completely demoralised. Meanwhile all the great officers of AWRANGZIB, including even Rājā Dīsh Singh, had failed disastrously against Bidjāpūr. In Shā'ban-Rāmādhān 1092/Sept. 1681 AWRANGZIB decided to march to Burhānpūr; he was not destined to return to northern India again.

*Second half of the reign, 1092-1118/1681-1707*. In spite of the increasing inefficiency of the imperial civil and military machine, which Persian writers have loved to make the object of their humour, the Emperor succeeded in his three immediate objectives. The city of Bidjāpūr, governed by a minor king, Sikandar

'Adīl Shāh, and torn by internal strife, only surrendered after it had withstood a siege of sixteen months (23 Shawwāl 1097/12 Sept. 1686). Golkunda was conquered after a siege of eight months, owing to the treachery of one of its principal officers (14 Dhū 'l-Ka'da 1098/21 Sept. 1687). Lastly, Sambhādī, son of Shīwājī, was captured at Sangawāghwar and executed (26 Shā'ban 1100/15 June 1689). But this did not bring the Deccan under AWRANGZIB's control. The absence of a centralised Mahratta power left the field open to Mahratta captains—half heroes, half bandits—and the imperial officers often preferred to make a separate peace with them. Forts were captured and lost. "All the various tribes residing in central and southern India were up in arms with Mahratta aid and concert against the officers of the Emperor and the cause of law and order in general." In the midst of this turmoil AWRANGZIB died on 27 Dhū 'l-Ka'da 1118/2 March 1707.

One need not go beyond these exhausting wars to discover the reasons for the failure of the Mughal Empire. The picture left for us by Khān Khān, a historian whose family had been in AWRANGZIB's service, is one of increasing corruption, harassment of the peasantry, neglect of government of officers in charge and failure of the state's financial resources. Whatever the reason, the Emperor was lax in the maintenance of discipline and Khān Khān repeatedly tells us that no imperial officer, whatever his offences, was seriously punished. AWRANGZIB's religious policy has been a matter of controversy, which will continue to simmer on for some time to come. Equally valid evidence seems to be available on both sides. Even with reference to his *dīyā*, (1090/1679), a retrogressive poll-tax on the higher classes of Hindus at the rate of Rs. 3-1/3, 6-2/3 and 12-1/3 (but not higher) per year, we have Khān Khān's statement that it could not be levied and remained largely a tax on paper. To avoid misunderstanding it should be added that the term *gīrya* was used in a very loose sense in medieval India and often meant any tax other than the land-tax (*shāhādī*). (See also AL-FATĀWA AL-'ĀLAMGHIRIYA).

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(W. IRVINE—MUHAMMAD HABIB)



**AWRĀS** (Aurès): *أوراس* *urās* in Procopius, *De bella vand.*, I, 8, ii, 12-13, 19-20 mountain massif of Algeria, forming part of the Eastern Saharan Atlas. So far it has not been possible to discover the meaning of the word Awrās.

The Awrās is a compact massif 8,000 sq. km. in area, which extends from the depression leading from Batna to Biskra as far as Khenchela, and the valley of the Wādī Ḥ'Arab, between the high plains of southern Constantine (Shākh) and the Saharan depression of the Zibān. Its summits (Djibāl Chéla, 2,327 m., and Kef Mahmel, 2,322 m., the highest in Algeria) and its ridges tower nearly 1,000 m. above the "South-Auraisian" depression. The western Awrās comprises three long chains running S.W.-N.E., separated by the deep valleys of the Abdi and al-Awad Wādīs, which discharge through narrow gorges into the Sahara. The eastern Awrās is much more massive. Differences of altitude and aspect create a diversity of bio-geographical zones. The northern and north-western slopes, short and steep, nevertheless have an adequate rainfall and can be cultivated without irrigation; they are covered with forests of holm-oak and, on the often snow-clad peaks, are forests of cedar and green mountain glades. The southern slopes, which are much longer and drier, comprise three zones in which crops are irrigated in terraced fields: a cool zone, above 1,500 m., also often covered with snow, and characterised by forests of holm-oak, pastures, summer crops and walnut-trees; a middle zone, with patches of badly-neglected Aleppo pine and juniper forest, and, in the foothills, winter (barley and wheat) and summer (maize and sorghum) cereal crops, figs, apricots; below 800 m., the first palm-trees appear, growing along the *wādīs*, at the foot of slopes on which are found only occasional junipers, clumps of *alfa* and extremely poor pasture.

The inhabitants of the Awrās live on cereals, which they sow on the mountain and at the foot of the northern (Chara) and southern (Sahara) slopes, fruit, and a few vegetables, and by stockbreeding, in which goats play a greater part than sheep. For the cultivation of the crops, the men move from the northern slope to the Sahara. The winter migration, during which the flocks are moved from the high zone to the foot of the mountain, involves families in a semi-nomadic way of life.—The inhabitants of the Awrās are villagers, except in the east, where they live in hamlets of *gawris* dispersed in the woods. Their villages, often built on the hillside, with the houses in terraces, are sometimes dominated by a *guelia* (ha'a, fortified granary). The people of the Awrās (115,000) are still Berber-speaking, except on the borders where there has been penetration by arabised tribes.

These Berbers are called Shāwīya by the Arabs. The women continue to speak Berber whilst the men adopt Arabic for use outside the family.

Worked stones show that the Awrās has been occupied since Old Neolithic times. Roman influence is indicated by the ruins of cisterns and irrigation ditches, oil-mill grinding stones, etc. The Byzantines confined themselves to building a line of forts along the foot of the Northern face of the Awrās. When Ḥ'kha b. Nāṣir [g.c.] entered the Maghrib, the Berbers inflicted serious losses on him and it was near the Awrās, at Tahāda, that he met his death when returning from his great expedition towards the West. After the destruction of the Kingdom of Kusayla [g.c.], the Awrās became the centre of the

resistance offered to the Muslims, who only succeeded in suppressing it at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, after the bloody struggles to which the legend of the Kāliina [g.c.] is attached. Following upon these wars, Borters from Tripolitania and the South of Libya established themselves in the Awrās; converted to Islam willingly or by compulsion, they retained a spirit of independence which was shown by the eagerness with which they adopted heretical doctrines, Ibadism in the 4th/10th century; it was from the Awrās that Abū Yazīd appeared, whose revolt for a brief moment imperilled the Fatimid Empire. The Hilāl invasion contributed to the arabisation of the whole area of the mountain massif, but the populations succeeded in retaining their independence intact, escaping from the authority of the Hafsids [g.c.], then from the domination of the Turks; the latter, however, set up in the area some chieftains devoted to their policy, whose authority remained precarious. From the 16th/16th century, preachers from the extreme South of Morocco gave the Islam of the Awrās the appearance which it was to retain until 1935: a religion closely linked with a specific social structure. At this last date, the Algerian 'alams' intervened, especially against the cult of Saints.

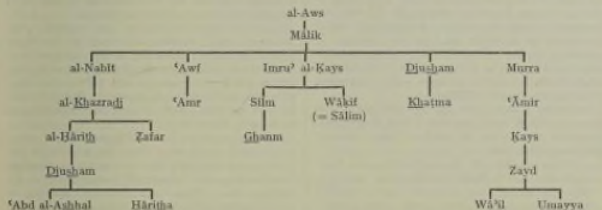
The inhabitants of the Awrās have always retained their old political organisation, of which the village remained the basis, a true municipal republic administered by the assembly of the people, or *djam'a*, in conditions analogous to, though rather more sketchy than, those which existed in Kabylia. The French occupation only superficially put an end to this state of affairs. In 1845 the Duc d'Aumale took Mghūnegh, whilst Bedeau made the main tribes recognise French authority; further expeditions, however, were required in 1848-1849 and 1850 to repress a revolt; French troops had to intervene again in 1859 and 1879, when risings had broken out. In 1866, the judicial system of the Māliḥs was applied to the Awrās and *Kādi* were sent there, but local customary law continued to be applied, as a supplement to Islamic Law and the French Penal system.

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(G. YVER\*)

**al-AWS**, one of the two main Arab tribes in Medina. The other was al-Khazraj, and the two, which in pre-Islamic times were known as Banū Kayla from their reputed mother, constituted after the Hijra the 'helpers' of Muhammad or Ansār [g.c.]. The genealogy as given by Ibn Sa'd (iii/2, 1) is: al-Aws b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr (Muzaykiyā) b. 'Amir (Mā' al-Samā') b. Hāritha b. Imrī' al-Kays b. Tha'laba b. Māzin b. al-Aad b. al-Ghawth b. Nabī b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlan b. Saba' b. Yaḥyā b. Ya'rub b. Kahtan. The following table gives the genealogical relationships of the chief divisions of the tribe:





was a decisive event in the growth of Islam in Medina, and from the battle of Badr until his death in 5/627 he was the leading Muslim of the Banū Kaylā or Ansār (q.v.). The enmity between the Aws and the Khazraj after died gradually, and is not heard of after the institution of Abū Bakr as caliph.

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**AWṢ** s. **HADJAR**, the greatest pre-Islamic poet of the tribe of Tamim; al-Aṣmaʿī frequently praises and comments on his poetry; in contrast the early anthologies, except the *Ḥamka* of al-Buḥārī, do not mention him at all. Whether al-Farazdaq, when he boasts of having "inherited from the family of Aws a tongue like poison," means our poet, cannot be ascertained. Fragments of some length do not appear before the time of Ibn al-Sikkīt, who probably wrote a commentary to his *dhīḥn*, and quotes him in his lexicographical work.

With the early critics Aws was famous for his description of the (wild) ass, the bow, and "noble virtues". He exhorted the Lahabids to "turn to Hind to avenge his father al-Mundhir III, who was murdered in 344, and mentions the battles of al-Kaʿb and al-Suʿbān in which his tribe was involved. A charming anecdote tells the story of his acquaintance with Faḍla b. Kalada of the Banū Asad to whom he dedicated a well-known elegy. Aws seems to be earlier than al-Nābigha.

Tradition relates that Zubayr was the transmitter (*rawī*) of both Aws and Tufayl al-Ḥanawī. Kretschmer makes Aws the *rawī* of Tufayl without indicating his source.

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(S. A. BONEBAKKE)

**AWṬĀD** (Ar., sing. *awṭād*, literally "peg"), the 3rd category of the hierarchy of the *Riḍāʾ al-ʿUṣāb*, comprising four holy persons, also called *al-ʿUṣāb*, "the pillars" (see *ARABICA*). Each of them is charged with the surveillance of one of the four cardinal points, in the centre of which were their dwelling place.

(I. GOLDZIEHER)

**AL-AWWĀʾ** [see *NUḤUM*].

**AWWAL** (form. *alā*, plur. *awwāl*), first. — I. As a philosophical term, *awwal* was brought into Muslim thought by the Arab translators of Aristotle and Plotinus as the equivalent in Arabic of the Greek words *πρῶτος* and *ἄρχειν*. Thus in the *Pseudo-Theory* of Aristotle, that is to say, in the Arabic translation of the last three *Enneads* of Plotinus, *awwal* indicates either the *First Being* or the *First Created*. Similarly, in the *Iḥwān al-Safā* we already find the expression *al-kayd al-awwal* to express the

first causality derived from God, the same expression being again found in the *Budd al-ʿAḥd* and the *Sicilian Questions* of Ibn Sabʿīn. The word *awwal* is likewise used by the Muʿtazilites, al-Kinānī and al-Fāḥidī; but it was Ibn Sīnā who systematised its use in philosophical terminology. The word *awwal* subsequently became customary among those Eastern and Western thinkers familiar, either directly or indirectly, with the thought of Avicenna.

II. Used in the singular, *awwal* indicates among the philosophers God in the sense of *First Being*. With the expression the *Necessary Being*, it is the cause of God most frequently employed by Muslim philosophers; in this sense it is usually employed alone, though at times such reiterative expressions as *al-mabdaʾ al-awwal*, *First Principle*, are to be encountered.

III. In several compound expressions, *awwal* indicates essentially causal priority, and secondarily temporal priority, as in the terms *al-maʾlūl al-awwal* (First Cause), *al-awwāl al-ʿilāl* (First or Elementary bodies), *al-haḥḥa al-ʿilāl* (First movement).

IV. Used in the plural, *awwāl* (q.v.) indicates the first ones in date and, in philosophy, the thinkers of former ages.

V. Likewise in the plural, *awwāl* also indicates the *first principles* in the order of being and knowledge; for example: *al-mabūd al-ʿilāl*, the *First Principles* in the order of being or *Separation Principles*, as they are called in the *First Intelligibles* that is to say, the *First Principles* of Knowledge.

VI. From *awwal* is derived the abstract noun *awwalīyya* (plur. *awwalīyyāt*), which in the Philosophers indicates the essence of that which is first.

VII. In the plural, *awwalīyyāt* translates *τὰ πρῶτα* and *ἄρχειν* indiscriminately and means the *First Principles* in the order of knowledge, that is to say, the propositions and judgements immediately evident by themselves.

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**AL-AWZĀʾ**, **AWZĀʾ** (Ar. **ʾAMR** **ʾAL-RAHMĀN** s. **ʾAMR**, the main representative of the ancient Syrian school of religious law. His *nisba* is derived from al-Awzāʾ, a suburb of Damascus, so called after a South Arabian tribe, or an agglomeration (*lawāʾiq*) of clans, who lived there (Ibn ʿAshʿar, *Taʾrīḥ*, *Dimaḥq*, ed. al-Munajjid, II, 1934, 144; Yāqūt,

I, 403 f.). An ancestor of his had been made a prisoner in Yaman (al-Masʿūdī, *Murādī*, VI, 214). He seems to have been born in Damascus, and he did part of his studies at least in al-Yamāna, where he went in Government employment. Later, he moved to Bayrūt where he died, about 70 years old, in 157 (774); he is buried in the village of Ḥaṭṭa, near Bayrūt, where his tomb is still visited by pilgrims (Heffening, 146, n. 4).

Al-Awzāʾʾs writings, which he dictated to his disciples and of which the *Fihrist*, 227, mentions a *Kitāb al-Sunan* fi ʿl-Fiqh and a *Kitāb al-Maʾāḍīʾ* fi ʿl-Fiqh, have not been preserved in their original form. His *Masaʾid* (Hāḍiḡī Khallāfa, ed. Flügel, no. 12066) was presumably composed at a later date, as were the other works of this kind. Al-Awzāʾʾs opinions, however, are extensively quoted (1) in Abū Yūsuf's *al-Radd ʿalā Shīʿat al-Awzāʾī* (Cairo 1357; also, with comments by al-Shāfiʿī, in his *K. al-Umm*, VII, Bihāk 1325, 303–306; cf. Hāḍiḡī Khallāfa, ed. Flügel, no. 231), a refutation of al-Awzāʾʾs criticisms of the opinions of Abū Ḥanifa; an original version of al-Awzāʾʾs *K. al-Siyar*, by one of his immediate disciples, was still in existence in the 11th/12th century (Heffening, 149 f.); (2) in al-Tabarī's *K. Taḥḍīr al-Fuḥalāʾ* (ed. F. Kern, Cairo 1902, and J. Schacht, Leiden 1933).

Al-Awzāʾʾs opinions, as a rule, represent the oldest solutions adopted by Islamic jurisprudence. The archaic character of his doctrine makes it likely that he, who was himself a contemporary of Abū Ḥanifa, conserved the teaching of his predecessors, who are nothing more than names for us, in the generation before him. His systematic reasoning, though explicit, is on the whole rudimentary; it is overshadowed by his reliance on the "Islamic tradition". By this he understands the uninterrupted practice of the Muslims, beginning with the Prophet, maintained by the first Caliphs and by the later rulers, and verified by the scholars; this is the "sunna of the Prophet", even though it may not be expressed in formal traditions going back to him. Al-Awzāʾī opposes this idealised concept of *sunna* to the actual administrative practice, and he makes the "good old time" last until the killing of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd (II) b. Yazīd (II) in 126 (744) and the civil war which followed it, so that it includes most of the Umayyad period. In this concept of *sunna* and in other respects, al-Awzāʾī's doctrine comes nearest to that of the ancient Ṭākrāns.

Al-Awzāʾī shows as yet no trace of the anti-Umayyad feeling which became fashionable under the ʿAbbāsids, and it is likely that his attitude to the ʿAbbāsids was cool (this is reflected by an anecdote about his meeting with the ʿAbbāsīd conqueror ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, though the story itself seems to be legendary; cf. Barthold, in *Id.*, xviii, 244). Nevertheless, he succeeded in gaining the respect and esteem of the new rulers, and in particular of the future Caliph al-Maʾmūn as a prince, whom he seems to have met. The applications which al-Awzāʾī addressed to this prince, to the Caliph al-Manṣūr, and to influential persons at the Court, on behalf of political prisoners, the public of Bayrūt, and others (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tahḍīr al-Maʾrifa*, 187 f.), are doubtless genuine. The statement that the Surika (governor of Damascus on behalf of the Umayyad al-Walīd II and of the ʿAbbāsīd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī; cf. al-Safadī, *Umarāʾ*) *Dimaḥq*, ed. al-Munajjid, Damascus 1935, 35) made al-Awzāʾī come from Bayrūt to Damascus (Ibn Abī Ḥātim,

*ibid.*, 187), is difficult to fit into what little is known of al-Awzāʾī's biography.

A number of al-Awzāʾī's disciples, amongst whom al-Walīd b. Maʾayad (d. 203) is prominent, are mentioned by Yāqūt (I, 783 f., s.v. Bayrūt). Similarly to what happened in the other schools of religious law, the ancient school of the Syrians transformed itself into the personal *madhhab* [q.v.] of al-Awzāʾī. It prevailed not only in Syria but in the Maghrib, including al-Andalus (Islamic Spain), before it was superseded by the *madhhab* of Mālik, in the Maghrib about the middle of the 3rd (9th), in Syria towards the end of the 4th (10th) century (J. Lopez Otero, *La recepción de la escuela malikita en España*, Madrid 1931, 16 f.; R. Castañón Calderón, *Los juristas hispano-musulmanes*, Madrid 1948, 32, 43 ff.; Heffening, 146; Barthold, *ibid.*). The anecdotes on how al-Awzāʾī overcame Mālik in disputation (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *ibid.*, 185 f.), reflect the struggle between the two schools.

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**AYA**—plu. *āyāt*, a sign, token, miracle, verse of the Qurʾān. The original meaning is a sign or token and as such is found in the pre-Islamic poetry (plur. *āy* and *āyāt*, with plur. of plur. *āyāt*, cf. Nöldeke's *Belegwörterbuch*, sub. *voc.*), where it is the equivalent of the Hebrew *ōṭ*, Aramaic *ōṭā*; Syriac *ōṭā*, the plur. *ōṭāṭ* occurring in the Lachish Letters (IV, 11) for the fire-beacons used for signalling. This original meaning occurs in the Qurʾān, where the ark is called the token of Saūl's kingship (II, 248/249), and the sun and moon are signs of day and night (xvii, 12/13). The wonders of nature are also tokens of Allāh's presence and power (xxix, 20/19 ff.; xli, 103 etc.), but such are also portents from which men should take warning (II, 164/159, 26/64; xxi, 67 ff. etc.). It is the duty of the Messengers whom Allāh sends to rebuke to men these demonstrations of Allāh's power, or wisdom, or judgment as they appear in nature or in history, and it is the condemnation of communities that they reject the signs of Allāh that are rehearsed to them (II, 61/81 s.; 73/74; xxvii, 61/81 ff.; vi, 182/181). From wonder to miracle is an easy step (xlii, 47 f.; xiv/43; xlii, 38; xxxvi, 134), and by a further step the accounts telling of such portents or tokens of Allāh's might could be called His signs (II, 252/253; xli, 7; xv, 23; xxxiv, 19/18; v, 73/79). By a final step each verse of such an account becomes a sign (vi, 124; xxviii, 87; III,



108/104 etc.). In the Masorah to the *Kur'an* *aya* (plur. *ay*) always means verse, and there was considerable discussion as to verse-endings (*ru'us al-ay*), verse-numbering, and the *fuḍū'il* of certain verses such as the "Throne Verse" (ii, 253/256), the "Light Verse" (xxiv, 35), the final verses of *sūra* ii, etc., which brought peculiar blessings to such as recited them in specified ways. These various meanings of *aya*, save the last, correspond closely with Jewish and Christian usage, where the particular religious use of the word is for the signs that attest the divine presence and which accompany and testify to the work of the Prophets.

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(A. JEFFERY)

**AYA SOFYA**, the largest mosque in Constantinople (Istanbul), and at one time the leading Metropolitan Church of Eastern Christendom. It was known generally as 'H Meryēn, *Eccelesia* up to 1453, having been called *Sophia* (without the article) around 400 A.D., and since the 5th century, 'H 'Ayaia *Sophia*.

According to the most recent research, the original Aya Sofia was not built by Constantine the Great, but, in accordance with his last wishes, by his son, Constantius, after the latter's victory over his brother-in-law Licinius. It was then built in the shape of a basilica, and consecrated on 15 February 360 (cf. A. M. Schneider, *Die vorjustinianische Sophienkirche*, in *BZ*, 1936, 36). This "Great Church" met with frequent and diverse changes. There were fires and earthquakes which ravaged it (the first wooden-roofed basilica went up in flames on 20 June 404 on the occasion of the expulsion of Bishop John Chrysostom). Reopened on 8 October 415, it remained undamaged for over a century until the night of the 13th of January 532, when once again it went up in flames (as did the greater part of the city, including the imperial archives) during the fight between the rival hypodrome factions.

The emperor Justinian immediately made known his decision to rebuild the church in such splendour as had never been seen before. Even before this, Justinian had already ordered that valuable materials from old monuments in the provinces of his vast empire (where heathen works of art were deliberately left to decay) were to be sent to the imperial residence, and after the fire these materials were largely used to rebuild Aya Sofia. Two of the greatest architects of all times, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus, were placed in charge of the reconstruction. Since the emperor had ordered that the new building must be proof against both fire and earthquake, they decided to use a dome-and-cupola design as being the surest means of escaping these dangers. The opening of this magnificent building took place on 27 December 537 with enormous pomp, and the proud Justinian could exclaim: "Solomon, I have surpassed you!" Even during his own reign, however, the eastern part of the dome collapsed in an earthquake (on 7 May 558) and the ambo, tabernacle, and altar were smashed. The dome had been designed too flat, and it was now raised by more than 20 feet, whilst the supports of the big pillars were strengthened. It was

ready for reopening on 24 December 562. The church has an enviable position: to the south there is the Augusteum, with an equestrian statue of Justinian, meant for national festivities; to the north (well within the Saray walls of today) are court churches, noble monasteries and the palaces of the court officials; and to the east, that is to say towards the sea, stands the imperial palace.

The west presented a court-yard called the Atrium, flanked by open halls, to the visitor. From here, a number of doors (perhaps four or five) led into an enclosed hall (Exonarthex) which still belonged to the Atrium. From this, five doors led to the actual extreme north and south ends. Further passages branch off, and nine rectangular openings from the entrances to the inner part of the church. The centre one of these was elaborately coloured and used to be the king's door.

The area covered by the church is almost square: the internal length is about 75 metres (excluding the main apse to the east) and the breadth is about 70 metres. The floor is shaped in the form of a cross, and above it the almost hemispherical pendentive dome rises to a height of 36 metres. Since the outside walls alone could not have carried it, it had to be supported in addition by four pillars, and these in turn are supported by small but structurally important arches and their corresponding pillars. To the east and west of the dome, there are two further semi-circular chambers, each of which has three chapels of the interior was the two-storey arrangement of all the side-chambers adjacent to the centre aisle, where the galleries (as was customary in Byzantine churches) were reserved for women. The weight of the building is carried by 107 columns (40 below and 67 above), usually monoliths of coloured marble (*verde antico*), but in some cases of red porphyry. An overwhelming impression was created for the mediaeval spectator by the wealth of ornament: the lavish use of marble everywhere, the pictures of Christ and of the Mother of God, the Prophets, Apostles, and other saints which turn the walls into a sea of colour, not to mention the mighty Seraphim (in the spherical triangles of the main dome), and the gold-mosaic which adorned the dome, apse, and walls with such a splendour as had never been seen before. The mosaic ornamentation was probably not finished until the last years of Justinian, and during the reign of Justin II.

The original walls and vault of the original building consist of brick throughout. The sanctuary (57/60) lay to the east of the central part of the church and was divided from it by an iconostasis of considerable height, adorned with pictures and open-work pillars. It contained the altar and the ciborium and led into the main apse. There were 425 priests (who admittedly also served three other churches) and 100 doorkeepers in the days of Justinian. Shortly before the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, the number of church officials in the Aya Sofia was estimated at 800.

The first major repairs to Aya Sofia were made in the time of the emperor Basil II. A part of the dome collapsed during an earthquake on 26 October 986. The emperor had the damage repaired (the clumsy flying buttresses on the western façade probably date from that time; cf. A. M. Schneider, *Die Grabungen im Westhof der Sophienkirche*, Berlin 1941, 31 ff.). In 1202 the church was severely damaged during the Latin

sack of Constantinople, when it was ruthlessly plundered, the holy vestments and vessels even being used to clean and feed the invaders' horses; yet it became, nevertheless, the chief church and place of veneration for the new dynasty. The most extensive changes still undertaken in its Byzantine times were made in the 14th century. In the first half, the walls were strengthened on all sides, the eastern wing in particular being buttressed from outside by high and broad supports.

We have no description of the interior of Aya Sofia in Byzantine times from Muslim reports. The first Muslim who mentions the cathedral in detail is Ahmad b. Rusta (124 ff.; trans. G. Wiet, Cairo 1955, 139 ff.); the author lived around 290/902-903 but derives his description from Hārūn b. Yahyā, who was a prisoner of war in Constantinople some time during the ninth century. Hārūn does not really describe the building, which he calls al-Kāns al-'Uzūd (i.e. *May-Ey* 'Eccelesia'), but he does describe in vivid detail a feast-day procession, to the church of the Byzantine emperor. On this occasion, the Muslim prisoners of war were led to the church (this might perhaps mean to the atrium of it), and there they greeted the emperor with the cry "May God preserve the king for many years" (*ihād*, 125). One detail is of particular importance: he mentions that beyond the *Mağlūḡ* (by which he presumably meant benches) there were 24 small doors with openings a span square, at the western gate (these are not mentioned anywhere else). One of these little doors opened automatically, and closed again of its own accord, at the end of each of the 24 hours. With the decline of the Caliphate, the Muslims and the Christians came more and more silent about far-away Constantinople. Only four centuries later, after Asia Minor had been occupied by Turkish tribes, Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Dimashqi (ed. Frāho and Mehren, St. Petersburg, 1865, 227)—who, however, is dependent on the work of the slightly earlier paper-merchant Ahmad (*ihād*, viii)—mentions the Aya Sofia in a few lines. The one remarkable thing is his statement that the church harboured an angel whose home was surrounded by a barrier (*dardāshin*), presumably meaning the area of the altar and ciborium together with the iconostasis itself.

A few decades later, Muhammad b. Baṭṭāta (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, II, 434) is the first to ascribe the erection of Aya Sofia to Aḡa Barlaāmi (i.e.), supposedly, a cousin of King Solomon. Ibn Baṭṭāta's main merit is the detailed description of the atrium. As he stresses, he was not allowed to enter the church itself, possibly because he would not comply with the order (mentioned by him) to kneel before the cross at the entrance.

When the Turks conquered Constantinople (29 May 1453), crowds of the defenceless population fled into the church, in the firm belief that an angel would appear in the sky and drive the victors forever back into their Asiatic home-country after they had advanced as far as the columns of Constantinople the Great. However, the Turks came on, smashed the doors of the house of God, and dragged the frightened people—both men and women—away to slavery. Eye-witnesses do not, however, mention any blood-bath in the holy place, as was often stated to have been the case. After this wild spectacle of loot and plunder, the ruler himself—though not seated upon a horse, as it was usually stated—entered the church. His *muwaḍḍiḥ* spoke the invitation to prayer which contains the con-

fession of faith, and he threw himself down—together with his followers—before the one God, and thereby the temple of Constantius and Justinian was dedicated to Islam.

There are very considerable changes in the interior resulting from the rules of the victorious religion. The mosaics which had formerly adorned the walls and vaults, and which had seemed to their Greek creators to have been fashioned for eternity, were hidden under a grey lime-wash (since Ewliya Celebi, *Seyhkalimat* I, mentions the mosaics, a few must still have been visible in his time, that is to say, in the 17th century). The iconostasis between the priests and the lay folk was torn down, and the rich decorations of the east wing, the *ihna*, were stripped. As the ancient Byzantine churches faced Jerusalem, whilst the Salāt had to be performed facing Mecca, the Turks have prayed more towards the south, and not towards the eastern wing of the mosque, ever since the days of the conquest. From the time of Mehmed II, the preacher—bearing a wooden sword—ascended the pulpit on Fridays, on every afternoon of Ramadan, and on Bayram festivals (see the article 'AḡAZA and Juyrbol', *Handbuch der islam. Geistesg.*, 84, 87); and there were always two flags by the side of the pulpit. Furthermore, we know that Mehmed II erected the mighty buttresses against the south wall, where he also built the first of those high, slim minarets. Selim II erected the two buttresses in the north and the second minaret on the north-east corner. His son, Murād III, was responsible for the other two.

Sultan Murād III undertook thorough repairs of the mosque. In the first place, this meant the correction of minor defects which had come to light as time went on, but he also contributed considerably to the embellishment of the bare chamber. He placed the two huge alabaster urns on the inside near the main entrance; each of which holds 1250 litres; he also donated the two large estrades (*maṣṣaba*). On the right hand one, the *Kur'an* was recited during most of the day in that changing intonation which is peculiar to the oriental liturgy of all denominations whilst the other was meant for the prayer leaders. At great expense, Murād III also gilded the half-moon which crowned the dome. This had a diameter of 50 els, and had replaced the cross. Thus the Muslim subjects of the Porte could behold the emblem of their faith from as far off as the summit of Bithynian Olympus.

In the second half of the 16th century, the conversion of the churchyard immediately to the south of the mosque into a mausoleum for the sultans was begun. The oldest tomb is that of sultan Selim II. His son Murād III and his grandson Mehmed III are also buried there. Sultan Mehmed III's 19 brothers, whom he had killed on his accession to the throne, are also entombed here. A few decades later, the dethroned sultan Mustafa I suddenly died, and a suitable grave could not be found immediately; the old baptistry (on the southern side of the narthex), which the Turks had used for oil storage since their conquest, was taken over for the purpose. Later on, the nephew of Mustafa I, Sultan Ibrahim, was likewise buried there. Since then, the large oil stores have been kept in the hall and courtyard on the north side of the baptistry.

Sultan Murād IV (1623-1640), whose reign saw a certain measure of general revival, had the bare walls embellished in a memorable way by the great calligrapher Būṣṣāḡī-rāde Mustafa Celebi, with large gold-lettered quotations from the *Kur'an*. Some



of these letters, such as *Abf*, are as much as ten eils long. These beautifully painted and often inter-twining verses are, however, dwarfed by the clear and boldly drawn names of the first four Caliphs (these are written by Tekeddü'l-ade Ibrahim Ehsedi, *c. Hadikat al-Diyar*, i, 4). There is a magnificent *minbar* dating from those days. It is also known that it was Ahmed III who erected the enclosed raised throne for the ruler, the *mahyara*, on the north side of the main apse. Mahmud I (1730-1754) donated the large sultan's loggia on the first floor in the gallery and also a charming fountain and a school (both in the courtyard on the southern side); the large eating-house ('*imaret*') in the north, and above all the valuable library in the mosque itself. There is, however, indubitable proof that this last was built on an older foundation already in the mosque. All of this is essentially part of the House of God in the Orient.

From the time of Murad IV, the conqueror of Baghdad, there was a perceptible decline in the maintenance of the mosque, which coincided with the general decline of the empire. In 1827 Sultan 'Abd al-Medjid commissioned the Italian brothers Possati as architects to renovate the building in order to avoid the threatened collapse of some parts, as well as to give the whole a more dignified appearance. The work took two years. The lime-wash was only left in the places which depicted human forms; apart from this, the walls came back into prominence with the disclosure of their old splendour. The red and yellow striped paint on the outside dates from the restoration. The way in which the sultan showed his veneration for the great deeds of his forbears is somewhat strange: all the minarets were repaired with the exception of that of Mehemmed II, who had dealt the final and decisive blow against the Byzantine empire. The Italian architects, however, were eventually allowed to make this minaret as high as the others. The eight round tablets inscribed by the calligrapher Mustafa 'Izzet Efendi were put into Aya Sofya under Sultan 'Abd al-Medjid.

It is fortunate indeed that the mosque has not suffered from earthquakes since the 10th century. It must be admitted that it is largely thanks to the buttresses which the last Byzantines and the Turks put up against three sides of the walls that this gigantic building (standing, as it does, on seismic ground) has served mankind longer than any other building in Europe. The storms which blow from the Balkans or from the sea, on the other hand, seem to be increasingly dangerous to the mosque.

In summer 1906 the Minister of Education ordered thorough repairs in the library building, which was looked after by *Khadjan* who officiated one day of the week each.

In Ramadan, the mosque made an interesting picture when princes and officials assembled for afternoon prayers. At the *tarawih* prayers (said an hour and a half after sun-down) there was less ceremony. The dome was lit by innumerable lamps which were arranged in a circle. The greatest splendour of all was to be seen during the 27th night or the *Laylat al-Kadir* (Turk. *Kadir geces*), in which the Kur'an descended from heaven to earth. The earlier rulers frequently attended the ceremony, but Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II only honoured the mosque with his presence (if at all) in the middle of Ramadan, when he came by boat to do honour to the relics of the Prophet in the ancient castle of his ancestors during a short visit (*Yavuz'un Ziyaret-i Kibrik-i Sa'adet*).

Immediately after the conquest, the Turks took over the many legends which had grown up concerning the origin and the excellence of the church during the last years of Byzantine rule, substituting them in Muslim terms. A history of Aya Sofya (library of Aya Sofya, No. 3023) was written very shortly after the victorious entry, by Ahmad b. Ahmad al-Gilani (in Persian, on a Greek model) at the order of Mehemmed II. This was later translated into Turkish by Ni'mat Allah (died 969/1562-2). According to Kâtib Celebi (ed. Flügel, II, 116) there was a second Persian writer, who, in the same ruler by the astronomer and cosmographer 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Kushij (q.v.). This work, however, can apparently no longer be identified. There is another version of the year 885/1483-4, by an anonymous author, which is now in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (MS. Orient. K. 821) as an appendix to an Ottoman history (the *Tawârîkh-i Kustantiniyya* [Fleischer, *Kat. Dresden*, No. 123]; written three years later) which is more interesting but otherwise similar in thought and sources. According to the *Tawârîkh-i Kustantiniyya* the story is that Asafiyâ, the extremely wealthy wife of the great Constantine b. 'Alaiyya, died very young and ordered in her last testament that a church should be built which should exceed all other buildings of the time in height. An architect is said to have arrived from Firangistan. He is reported to have begun by digging down 40 eils, in order to reach water; then, having built the church with the exception of the dome, he is said to have fled. The building then stood untouched for 10 years, until he returned and put on the dome. It is also stated that the particular marble—otherwise only known by the Dios (it is actually a "marble metal", *Mermar Mâdeni*)—was brought from many countries. The "metal" for the four mottled (*posakli*) pillars (in fact, of course, they are simply of the hardest marble) is said to have come from Mount Kaf, and the large doors are alleged to have been made from planks of Noah's ark and already used by Solomon for his buildings in Jerusalem and Kyrikos (Ayvalik). The total expenditure is said to have come to 360,000 gold bars (each of 360,000 fillets). In the time of the grandson of Constantine the Great, emperor Heraclius (a contemporary and secret follower of the Prophet), the dome is said to have crashed down, but the pious ruler rebuilt it immediately. The *Tawârîkh-i Kustantiniyya wa Aya Sofya* of 'Ali al-'Arabi Ilyâs, who was then in the service of the Grand Vizier 'Ali the Fat (died 28 June 1565) and was a teacher (Flügel, *Kat. der Kgl. Bibl. Vienne*, III, 97), dates from the time of Suleyman the Great. The earliest edition belongs to the year 970/1562-3. Two years later, the author added a few insignificant details to the work and brought it out under a different title (*Tawârîkh-i binâ-yi Aya Sofya*, in the Bibl. Nationale in Paris, Turkish MSS. Suppl., no. 1516; *Tawârîkh-i Kustantiniyya wa Aya Sofya* as *bulâfi-i Hikâyât*, in: *Perseus: Catalogue of Turkish manuscripts of the Kgl. Bibl. Berlin*, no. 232. Fourteenth has a further manuscript, *Cod. cod. man. Bibl. Reg.*, 329, no. 147, l. 1). According to this, Aya Sofya was built under the emperor Ustününb by the architect Ignadüs (as also in Mehmed 'Aghâ). Generally speaking, the author of this is more plausible. He also gives far more detail than his predecessor of the 15th century, because he gives various versions. Thus, he must be regarded as the best Turkish authority on the history of their greatest mosque,

although he is utterly unreliable from our point of view.

The contents of the legends which continue to be woven around Aya Sofya change from one epoch to the next. They seem to have their spiritual peak in the 12th century, a time when the Ottomans in general also appear as the greatest despisers of this world. At that time the place was shown on which the Arabic heroes of the first century A.H. were said to have prayed on the occasion of their siege of Constantinople; the place in the centre of the nave, from which Khidr supervised the building of the church. In the southern gallery a hollowed-out is pointed out as having been the cradle of Christ. One of the anecdotes which one could still hear told by young theologians in much later years mentioned Husayn-i Tabrizi and the way in which he is supposed to have got his professorship in the mosque; the mystic (Sâfi) Sultan Mehemmed II the Conqueror had held out his hand to him so that he had to kiss the inside (dyd), instead of the back of the hand, whereupon he promptly asked for the appointment as *mudir* of the Aya Sofya. The so-called "Damp Pillar" (*yaglı direk*) and the "Cold Window" (*soğuk pencere*) near the Killa gained great fame as places of pilgrimage where miracles happened within the holy walls in the time of 'Abd al-Hamid II. The window was the place where 'Abdülâk Al-Shams al-Din (whose words had a truly strong influence on the men of his time, amongst them Mehemmed the Conqueror himself) first expounded the Kur'an. Until very recently, everyone was still convinced that the blessings brought by the currents of fresh air which entered through this "Cold Window" were of beneficial influence to the depth of theological knowledge.

In 1934, President Kemal Atatürk decreed that Aya Sofya was to cease being a place of Islamic worship, and put it under a museum administration. Subsequently, the lime-wash which had covered the figures in the mosaics was removed, and amongst others the following pictures reappeared in 1936: a beautiful representation of an enthroned Christ and Child, surrounded by the emperors Constantine (with a model of the town he founded) and Justinian (with a model of the church of St. Sophia) above the southern narthex door; and over the central door, leading from the narthex to the church (the old Emperor's Door), a representation of Christ enthroned, with an emperor (Leo VI? or, more likely, Basil I, cf. A. M. Schneider in *Orientalia Christiana*, 1925, 79-79) at his feet in adoration; and, finally, a Madonna in the curve of the apse.

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Not far from the Great Sophia, there is the Small Aya Sofya (Küçük Aya Sofya) near the Djumdi square. It was built by Justinian, and was formerly dedicated to Saint Sergius and Saint Bacchus. A cupola rose from an octagonal base (which was extended by four apses). The guardian of the harem of Mehemmed II (Kizlar Aghasi) changed it into a mosque, and since then it has been fully equipped for Muslim teaching and worship. The porch, and the five flat cupolas rising from it, are of Turkish origin.

(K. SCHREINER-FR. TAECHNER)

**AYA SOLÜK**, Ayasuluk, Ayasulugh, Ayasolukh (from Ἀγίου Θεολόγου, i.e. the apostle and evangelist John, who lived and died there). In mediaeval western (Latin) sources, the town is referred to as Alolungo, today (since 1914) it is known as Selçuk. It is a small town on the western coast of Anatolia, 37° 35' north, 27° 20' east, on the site of the Ephesus of antiquity (still referred to as Afis or Ufais by Arabic geographers) in the plain which surrounds the mouth of the river Küçük Menderes (the Kaystros of antiquity), at the foot of the Bulbul Dagli (Korek-oglu), and now on the railway between Izmir and Aydin. It is the capital of the *mâhiye* of Alkondir in the *kaza* of Kuvasad (*vilâyet* of Izmir). At the end of the 19th century it had 2,793 inhabitants (according to V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II, 305), in 1935 it had 4,023 (the *kaza* of Kuvasad had 17,879).

In the Middle Ages, Aya Solük was a town of considerable importance. In Halîfâ, who visited it in 723/1331 (II, 908 ff.), describes it as having 15 gates, and it was an important commercial centre on the banks of the river Kaystros, where gardens and vineyards flourished. The harbour, which had been the source of the town's prosperity, was silted up with deposits from the river Kaystros as early as the Middle Ages. Instead of Ephesus, the harbour of Kuvasad, some 15 kms. to the south-east (referred to as Scala nova in western mediaeval sources) began to flourish; this had 5,442 inhabitants in 1945.

The advance of the Arabs to Ephesus was only a temporary one (824/798). Similarly, the occupation by Turkish troops after the victory of Melizogard (1071)—under the Salghuk sultan Alp Arslan—came to an end with the victory of the crusaders of the







no. 26 (*fenê* of Ayaz Pasha); M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, XI-XVI *asirlerde Ederne ve Paşa Livalı*, İstanbul 1952, 75, 81; L. Fekete, *Einführung in die Osmanisch-Türkische Diplomatik*, ... Budapest 1926; Documents, 35 and Plate I (letter of Ayaz Pasha (1536)) the same document as in Gévay; Hammer-Purgstall, iii (1828), 52, 213, 629, 647, 652, 685, 686; Südfeldt 'Öhmski', 1, 446-447; *Arşiv Kütüphanesi*, fasc. I, İstanbul 1935, 48; *İstanbul Anşiklopedisi*, iii, ser. Ayas Pasa Türbesi (the inscription on the gravestone of Ayaz Pasha); I, 4, ii (1949), ser. Ayas Pasa (M. Cavid Bayram).

(V. J. PARVEY)

#### AYAZ

AYAZ, ABU 'U-SAYID, favourite slave of Sültân Mahmûd of Ghazni. Details of the life of the historical Ayaz are difficult to discover, but he was a Turkoman and, if the tradition utilised by Djalâl al-Din Rûmî, d. 887, is accepted, of humble origin also. The *Ta'rih-i Raykâh* reports Mahmûd's successor Mas'ûd as describing Ayaz as his father's 'successor' and as unsuitable for appointment to the governorship of Ray because of his lack of experience of life outside the court. His death is recorded by Ibn al-Athîr under 449/1057-8. According to the *Çakir Mahalla*, Ayaz was not remarkably handsome but possessed a sweet expression and olive complexion, and was greatly endowed with the arts of pleasing, in which respect he had few rivals in his time. This tradition is also found in Sa'dî.

In Persian literature Ayaz appears as a symbolical figure under many guises. In the *Gulistan* and *Bûstân* of Sa'dî he appears as a symbol of true love, in the *Mathnawî* of Djalâl al-Din Rûmî he figures as a type of the Perfect Man, in 'Awfi's *Diwân* al-Hikâyât as a model of loyalty and sagacity and as a fit brother-in-law to Mahmûd. In the *Çakir Mahalla* the cutting off of Ayaz's locks in a fit of passion by Mahmûd is made the occasion of a display of poetical skill by 'Unsuri; in the *Tadhkirat al-Ash'iyâ* an unsuccessful attempt by Mahmûd to pass off Ayaz as sultan before Shaykh Abul-Hasan Khurkânî is used as proof of that saint's sagacity. In his *Mahmûd u Ayaz*, Zulfî has woven romance around the relationship of the sultan and his catamite.

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AYAZ, the amir, lord of Hanagûgh, played an important rôle in the struggles for the throne between the rival Süldûk princes Barkiyârûk and Muhammad I. After having first taken the latter, in 494/1100 he went over to the side of Barkiyârûk,

and, after the latter's death, became the Atabeg of his son Malikshâh, who was a minor. He could not, however, hold his own against Muhammad, and was treacherously murdered by him in 499/1105.

*Bibliography*: Ibn al-Athîr, x, 199 ff.; Houtsma, *Receuil*, ii, 90; see also BAKRIVÂRÛK and MUHAMMAD B. MALIKSHÂH.

AYBAK (Turkish pronunciation Aybeg), properly called 'Izz al-Din ABU 'U-MANÇUR AYBAK (AYBEG) al-MU'AZZAM (as a *mamlûk* of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam) Sharaf al-Din 'Isâ, who was first (507-612/1113-1218) governor of Damascus and then (612-624/1218-1227) sultan of the empire of Damascus after the death of his father al-Malik al-'Aṣîl. In 608/1211-2, Aybeg received the town of Ṣalḥiyyah in the Ḥawrân and the adjacent lands as a fief and was appointed major-domo (*ustadh-dâr*). When al-Malik al-Nâsir Dawûd succeeded his father on the throne of Damascus, Aybeg even became regent of Damascus and had the entire political administration in his hands. Shortly afterwards, however, al-Malik al-Ashraf, Dawûd's uncle, took possession of Damascus; Aybeg was deprived of the office of regent, but retained his fiefs in the Ḥawrân. In 636/1238-9, he was still called 'Lord of Ṣalḥiyyah and of Zur'a'. He was subsequently suspected of treason and lost his political standing; he died in Cairo in 646/1248-9. His remains were taken to Damascus and placed in the mausoleum built for him. The districts of Ṣalḥiyyah and Zur'a were Aybeg's fiefs. He was the founder of the Aybeks.

Aybeg was indebted to his father for buildings of various types which he undertook. He erected three Hanafî academies at Damascus and one in Jerusalem. As major-domo, it fell to him especially to attend to the building of khânas: as governor of Ṣalḥiyyah, he sought to render flourishing that part of the trade route from Northern Arabia and from Babylonia to Damascus which crossed his territories; he built the desert fortress, Kal'at al-Arazk and repaired the great reservoir (*maḥḥ*; elsewhere *hîrak*) at 'Inâk and had a great ḥâḍin set up at Sâla. His real for building communicated itself to his subordinates, especially to his *mamlûk* 'Alam al-Din Kayas. Among the buildings which he erected in his fiefs, the following are especially worthy of mention; a ḥâḍin at Ṣalḥiyyah (612/1214-5); a tower in the fortress of Ṣalḥiyyah (612/1210-1); arcades and a tower (*maḥḥ*) in the mosque of Ṣalḥiyyah (630/1231-2); a fort in the Kal'at al-Arazk (631/1236-7); a ḥâḍin at Zur'a (636/1238); a reservoir at 'Inâk (636-637/1238-1240); a mosque at al-'Aṣîn (638/1240-1). The mosque and ḥâḍin of Sâla must have been built about 630/1232-3. The exact date cannot be established because of the fragmentary state of the inscriptions. Sharaf al-Din 'Isâ and his *mamlûk* Aybeg are both known at the time of the Crusades.

*Bibliography*: Ibn Khallikân, see under al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ; van Berchem, in ZDPV, xvi, 84 ff.; E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, 204 ff.; Dussaud and Macler, *Missions dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*, 326 ff., 330 ff. (E. LITTMANN)

#### AYBAK KUTB AL-DIN (see DELHI, SULTANATE OF)

'AYDARUS ('Edrâs, often misunderstood as Idris; etymology obscure, cf. Shihî, *Maghra*, ii, 152) a family of learned *ayyids* and *shâhs* in South Arabia, India and Indonesia, belonging to the Sakka branch of the Bâ 'Alawî [q.v.] and still playing an important rôle in Hadramawt. Wüstenfeld (*Geiten*, 29 ff.) quotes from al-Muhibbî the details on more than thirty members of the family down to the 17/17th century. In the 19th century there

were in Hadramawt five 'Aydari *manşabs*, at Harn, Bawr, Şalla, Thibî and Ramla. Among the numerous members of the clan, known for its literary activity, are:

1. The ancestor, 'Abd Allâh b. Abû Bakr (al-Sakrân) b. 'Azzâz al-Rahmân al-Sakkâf (611-865/1208-1465) of Tarim, who was called by his father al-'Aydari. He received the *shâh* from his uncle 'Umar al-Muhdâr and succeeded him at his death (833/1430) as *nâshib* (*manşab*) of the Bâ 'Alawî. By that time he had already won a reputation for piety by means of severe asceticism. He taught *fatwa*, *hadith* and *fiqh*, but had a predilection for the mystics. [cf. Ghazâlî, *Wustâ*, ii, 127 ff.; *Maghra*, ii, 148 ff.; Wüst., *Čwî*, 30 ff.; Brockelmann, ii, 418 f., S II, 617; Sarkis 1399 f. 5. Shaykh b. 'Abd Allâh b. Shâhîd (no. 3), b. 992/1585 in Tarim, d. 1042/1651 in Dewlâbâd. After studies in his native town, in Yaman and Hîdjâz he sailed for India in 1025, visited his uncle 'Abd al-Kâdir in Ahmadâbâd and was taught by him. From there he went to Deccan and was favourably received by Sültân Burhân Niẓâm Shâh and his Grand Vizier, Malik 'Anbar (Ambur). After a rupture he entered the service of Ibrahim II 'Adil Shâh at Bidjâpur. He held a privileged position with this sultan, whom he had cured from a disease. After the death of 'Adil Shâh he returned to Dawlatâbâd and was in high favour with the vizier Fakr Khân, the son of 'Anbar. He wrote a book on Sûfism called al-Silsila but it fell into oblivion. See *Maghra*, ii, 127 ff.; Wüst., *Čwî*, 30 ff.]

6. 'Abd Allâh b. Shaykh (no. 5), b. 1017/1708 in Tarim, d. 1073/1662 in Shîhr. He was educated by his uncle 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin (no. 7) and his cousin 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Sakkâf, whom he succeeded in the dignity of a *manşab*. After two visits to Mecca and Medina he went to India, visited his cousin Dja'far al-Sâdîk (no. 8) in Sûrat, a disciple of his father, the Grand vizier Jahangir Khân, and Sültân Mahmûd b. Ibrahim Shâh at Bidjâpur. Back in Arabia he spent his last years in the seaport of Shîhr, where his grave and mosque are venerated and visited by pilgrims. See *Maghra*, ii, 177 f.; Wüst., *Čwî*, 40 f.; Berg, *Hadramawt*, 85, 94.

7. 'Ali b. 'Abd Allâh b. Shaykh (no. 3), called Zayn al-'Abidin and Tadj al-'Arifin (984-1041/1577-1602) of Tarim. He had many disciples and won great influence at the court of the Kaḥrî sultan. His literary production is restricted to a collection of *Rasâ'id*, among them one sent to the Zaydî Imâm al-Ḥusayn b. al-Kâsim in answer to his claim for obedience from the people of Hadramawt. See *Maghra*, ii, 221 ff.; Wüst., *Čwî*, 58.

8. Dja'far al-Sâdîk b. 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin (no. 7), b. 997/1589 in Tarim, d. 1064/1654 in Sûrat. Having finished his studies in Arabia he migrated to the Deccan in India, where he had a high position at the court of the Grand Vizier Malik 'Anbar. During his stay there he learnt Persian and translated al-'Id al-Nahâs (above, no. 3) into that language. After the fall of Fakr Khân in 1038 he continued his literary activity at Sûrat. He translated the Persian work of Dîrâ Shikhî (ca. 1055/1655) into Arabic with the title *Tuhfat al-Ash'iyâ* bi-Tarjumat Saḥînat al-Awḍiyâ. See *Maghra*, ii, 85 ff.; al-Sakkâf, *Ta'riḥ*, i, 214 and (enlarged) ii, 9 ff.; Wüst., *Čwî*, 37 f.; Brockelmann, S II, 619.

9. Dja'far b. Muṣṭafâ b. 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin (no. 7), b. 1084/1673 in Tarim, d. 1142/1729 in Sûrat. In 1105 he left his home and sailed from Shîhr to India, where he witnessed the conquest of Sûrat by Bahâdur Shâh, and found favour with the sultan. Writings: (a) *Kaḥf al-Wahm 'an ma' Ghulamâ min al-Fahm*; (b) *Ma'rifat al-Habib*; (c) *al-Fah* al-

travels for the sake of study and collecting books. Among his disciples was Ahmad Bâ Dja'bir al-Hadramî, on whose premature death in 1001 he wrote *Sadh al-Wajâ' bi-Habib al-Iḥbâ'*. On his father's mystic ode *Tuhfat al-Murid* he wrote the commentary *Baghyat al-Mushafid*. Other works: (a) *al-Fah* al-Kashshîr *fi Tadhkirat al-'Aydari* *risāya*; (b) *al-Nâr al-Sâfir* etc. (see below); (c) *Ta'rif al-Aḥyâ' bi-Fadâ'id al-Iḥbâ'* (Cairo 1311, in the margin of *Iḥbâ' al-Sâda* by Muṣṭafâ al-Zabidî). For further details see *Nûr* 334-343 (autobiogr.); *Maghra*, ii, 148 ff.; Wüst., *Čwî*, 31 ff.; Brockelmann ii, 418 f., S II, 617; Sarkis 1399 f. 5. Shaykh b. 'Abd Allâh b. Shâhîd (no. 3), b. 992/1585 in Tarim, d. 1042/1651 in Dewlâbâd. After studies in his native town, in Yaman and Hîdjâz he sailed for India in 1025, visited his uncle 'Abd al-Kâdir in Ahmadâbâd and was taught by him. From there he went to Deccan and was favourably received by Sültân Burhân Niẓâm Shâh and his Grand Vizier, Malik 'Anbar (Ambur). After a rupture he entered the service of Ibrahim II 'Adil Shâh at Bidjâpur. He held a privileged position with this sultan, whom he had cured from a disease. After the death of 'Adil Shâh he returned to Dawlatâbâd and was in high favour with the vizier Fakr Khân, the son of 'Anbar. He wrote a book on Sûfism called al-Silsila but it fell into oblivion. See *Maghra*, ii, 127 ff.; Wüst., *Čwî*, 30 ff.]

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period in the year 963-4, when the town under its bishop Yuhanna b. Ra'ba made peaceful submission to the Prophet during his Tabūk campaign. Under Islam Ayla became an important meeting-place for Mecca-bound pilgrims coming from Egypt and Syria, and trade flourished. Although the town stood at the meeting-point of Egypt, Syria, and the Hijāz it was generally considered as belonging to Syria and is described by al-Mukaddasī (178), writing in 985-6, as "the port of Palestine." The 4th/10th century marked the height of its prosperity under Muslim rule, as is clear from the account of al-Mukaddasī. In 415/1024-5 Ayla was sacked by 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Dīqārī and some of the Banū al-Dīqārī, while in 463/1072-3 it is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḡm* (Popper), II, 230).

The Crusading period brought a long era of strife to Ayla and at the end of it the town lay largely in ruins. Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, took Ayla (Helin) in 1116 and it became incorporated into the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem under the banner of al-Karak and Montreal. In 1172 the Franks were driven out by Saladin, who left a garrison in the town. Frankish control was briefly reasserted by Renaud de Châtillon, lord of al-Karak, in 1182-1183 during his remarkable but foolhardy campaign against the coast of the Hijāz and the Red Sea. With the destruction of Renaud de Châtillon's fleet by Saladin's commander Usūn al-Dīn, Tūfī' in 1184, Ayla passed permanently into the hands of Islam, but in a depleted condition. Abū'l-Fidā' (1273-1332) states that in his time nothing was left of the town but the stronghold near the shore (*Tabuk*, 86-7).

This stronghold, which probably was the predecessor of the still-standing late Mamlūk fortified caravanserai in al-'Akaba (p. 81), does not represent the original fortification of Ayla. The original fort that protected Ayla lay on the island now known as Dīqārī al-Fī'awn, which lies on the opposite side of the Gulf of the coast of Sinai but within sight of the town. This island was already occupied in Byzantine times. It was this island fort which was besieged by Renaud de Châtillon in 1182, and the first fort on the mainland appears to have been built by Renaud de Châtillon in 1182 or 1183. In Abū'l-Fidā's day this mainland stronghold was the residence of an Egyptian governor.

**Bibliography:** N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, New Haven 1940, 80, 105, 107-108, 112-113; Ph. Scherf, *Elia-Akaba, Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 1936, 33-77; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, II, Vienna 1907, index; Makrid, *Idā'at* (Witt), II, 218-15; H. Lamm, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Islam*, Beirut 1928, index under Alla; H. W. Gliddens, *A Comparative Study of the Arabic Nautical Vocabulary from al-'Aḥabāh, Transjordan*, in *JADS*, 1942, 68-9; C. Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin*, London 1936, 145-7; E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, London 1856, 161, 163. (H. W. GLIDDENS)

**AYLŪL** (see Ta'fīḡ).

**AYMAK**, Mongol and Eastern Turkish word meaning "tribe" and "group of tribes" (= Turkish *ül*); in Modern Mongolian, "province"; in the USSR, "rayon". In Afghanistan the four nomadic tribes of partly nomad origin: *Qizilbash*, *Hazara*, *Piruzkhil* and *Tayman*, are called the "Four Aymaks" (Čār, or Čahār, Aymak) (see ČAHĀR AYMAK).

(B. SPULER)

**AYMAN** b. **KHURAYM** b. **FATĪR** b. **al-'ASHIM** **al-Asadī**, Arab poet of the Umayyad period, son of the Companion of the Prophet Khuraym al-Sakīn, whose *hadiṡ* he has handed down. After settling at Kūfa, he composed, like many of the poets of that town *ghazal* poems, but also panegyrics on the Umayyad princes 'Abd al-'Azīz and Hishr, son of Marwān; although he contracted tubercular leprosy (*shayr*), his poetry allowed him to enjoy their intimate friendship, and this favour won him the surname of *Ḥabīb al-Ḥabībāt* (the friend of caliphs). In some of his poems he touches on political matters; he ventures to compose a panegyric on the Banū Hāshim, and manifests his desire not to take up arms against other Muslims (particularly against 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, with regard to whom he wished to remain neutral); on the other hand, he is hostile to the Khawāridjites and the murderers of 'Uthmān, so that, contrary to the *Aghāni* which makes him a Shi'ī, he must rather be considered a partisan of 'Uthmān.

**Bibliography:** *Qibāḥ, Bayan*, ed. Sandūb, 1366/1947, 138, 258; *idem, Hayawān*, VI, 318, 462; *Mubarrad, Kāmil*, index; Ibn Qutayba, *Shi'r*, 345-7; *idem, Ma'dir*, Cairo ed. 1333/1934, 85, 148, 252; *Aghāni*, xxi, 7-13; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, III, 185-9; 'Asakālī, *Isḥāb*, no. 393, 2246; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istisḥāq*, in the margin of the *Isḥāb*, I, 89-90; Yāqūt, index; C. A. Nallin, *Scott*, vi (= *Literature*, index; French trans., index).

**'AYN** (see HUGĀ').

'AYN in its basic sense signifies the eye, the organ of sight, requires then the meaning of the function of sight, the seeing, and is as frequent in semantics—compare e.g. *ḥabā*, creation, and *fī'ā* action, which can mean in Arabic as in English the acting and the effect of the acting—can also denote the effect of the function of sight, the aspect, the thing viewed, and especially in the plural, *a'yān*, the particular things that are perceived in the exterior world. It is therefore not astonishing when we read in Khāṣṣī's *Maḥāṣin al-'Ulūm* (ed. van Vloten, 143) that in an old translation of Aristotle's *Categories* which he ascribes to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mukaffā', the first category, *oideia*, substance, which signifies a particular concrete individual, e.g. a particular man or a particular man, was rendered by 'ayn. However, in a later translation of the *Categories* by Ishāq b. Hunayn the word 'ayn is replaced by the Persian word *jawhar* and this word becomes the technical term in all later philosophy for all the meanings of *oideia*, substance. But in a less technical sense to express the concrete things the philosophers still frequently use the term 'ayn. When e.g. Avicenna in his *Nadīāt* repeats the Aristotelian statement at the beginning of the *Hermeneutics* that the written words are the signs of the spoken words, the spoken words the signs of what is in the soul, i.e. its representations and concepts, and these representations and concepts in the soul the signs of the things in the exterior world, he gives for the things in the exterior world (in Greek *τὰ πράγματα*) the term *a'yān*. It is interesting to note that Ishāq b. Hunayn in his translation of the *Hermeneutics* translates *τὰ πράγματα* by the term *al-ma'nā*, a literal translation of the Stoic term *σπουδαίονα* or *ἡμετέριον*, "meanings" (these "meanings" are called by the Stoics *πράγματα*—see Sextus Empiricus, *adv. log.* II, 12—but in another sense than that which the term *πράγματα* has in Aristotle). The Muslim philosophers accept from the Stoics the division of the "something", *ti*, in

Arabic *shay'*, (i.e. anything that can be thought of) into two classes, things that exist in the exterior world, and things that exist in the mind, and they use for the former the expression *fī 'a'yān*, for the latter *fī 'aḥḥān* (*aḥḥān* is the plural of *ḥān*, mind) and it is in this opposition of the exterior world to the purely mental entities that the term *a'yān* is specially used by the philosophers. In this sense 'ayn is synonymous with *shay'*, *individuum*, and it can express also the identity of the individual thing. But a common word denoting a concrete individual, like "horse", can signify both a particular horse, e.g. the horse in my stable, and the class "horse", when you say "this is a horse", meaning that this is an animal which possesses the nature, the general characteristics of a horse (according to the Arabian grammarians an *ism 'ayn*, a word denoting a concrete individual is an *ism ḡnā*, a generic word). The philosophers give to this universal character of a thing the name of *māriyya*, quiddity, or *ḥabā*, essence, but in theology and mysticism the term 'ayn is frequently used to express this meaning. And since according to the neoplatonising mystics and philosophers the universals exist eternally in God's mind, these eternal ideas are called by the mystics *a'yān* or *a'yān ḥabā* (*ḥabā* means stable or eternal), whereas the philosophers use different other terms like *ḥabāṭ* and *ma'nā* (some Mu'ta'zilites too employ the terms *a'yān* or *ḥabā* to express the eternal ideas in God's mind). None of the neoplatonising mystics our world is but a dream-world and true reality lies in a world beyond and God is the one truly Real and the ultimate source from which all being and all beings spring, 'ayn in its double sense of the real and of source—for in Arabic 'ayn can mean also source—is used by the mystics to indicate the super-existence of God's deepest essence. In this sense it is rare in philosophy, but we find it in Avicenna, for instance when he speaks in the *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget 205) of those mystics who penetrate to the 'ayn, the contemplation of God's inner nature. Finally it may be remarked that the term 'ayn al-yahī, the contemplation of the evident, can be used in the double sense of "intuition", i.e. the pre-rational sense of intuitive understanding of the philosophical first principles, and the post-rational sense of the intuitive understanding of super-rational mystical truth.

**Bibliography:** see ANṬIYYA; for the mystical use of the term see R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*. (S. VAN DEN BERGH)

'AYN in the medical terminology of the Arabs, like 'ayw', 'oed', 'Ange' etc. in that of the Europeans, not only refers to the bulb or eye-ball, *Ar, muḥla, baṣr* al-'ayn, but also to the whole of the organs which make up the apparatus of vision, *ḡimā' al-ayn*.

The study of the human eye, for the doctors of medicine and those who wrote on the subject in the Islamic world, constituted one of the most remarkable branches of their science. This branch of knowledge, which is the equivalent of the ophthalmology of the West at the present day, has borne different names at various periods. Thus it was called *kuḥl*, a word which originally designated collyrium (black) of antimony—the pre-eminent medicine and cosmetic in the East—, which was subsequently used in a much wider sense for the "science and art of caring for the eyes"; *ḥakāḥila*, from the same root and used in the same wide sense; *ḥabā al-'ayn*, *ḥabā al-'ayn*, an expression still in use; *ḥabā ramadī* and *'ilm al-ramad*, where

this latter term, which originally only meant "conjunctivitis", now embraces eye diseases of all types.

From the point of view of the history of medicine, this branch synthesises and reflects the evolution of Arab Medicine as a whole. Thus it is that two periods are distinguishable here: the initial period of formation, when the scholars of the East, for the most Christians, translated Greek ophthalmological science into Arabic and used it as it stood; and, secondly, the period of development, during which other scholars systematised this material, perfected it and enriched it by their original contributions. Among the former must be mentioned Yuhannā b. Māsawayh, a native of Dīmalshāpūr and the author of the *Kitāb Ḍaḡḡal al-'A'yān*, and Hunayn b. Ishāq of Hīra (121-283/690-577), to whom the *Kitāb al-'A'yān* (121-283/690-577), to whom the *Kitāb al-'A'yān* has been attributed; and among the latter, 'Alī b. 'Isā (g.n.), also a Christian, of Baghdad (first half of the 3th/11th century), author of the celebrated *Taḡhīrāt al-Kahhān*, and his great contemporary 'Ammār b. 'Alī (g.n.), a Muslim of Mawṣil who practised in Cairo, author of the *Kifāy al-Muḥabbāt fī 'Ilm al-'A'yān*. The works of these four authors must be considered as the cornerstones of Arab ophthalmology.

To give an idea of the originality of Arab thought on this subject, it is sufficient to recall the relationships of cause and effect, which 'Alī b. 'Isā was the first to discern, between trachoma (*ḡhar al-'ayn*, today *ramad ḥabāṭ*, *tarḥūma*, *tarḥūma*) and the conjunctivitis which precede it, on the one hand, and the "cornea panus" (*ḡhar al-'ayn*, *panus-trichiasis*) (*inḥabā al-ḡhar*) which follow it, on the other hand; and in the operation of cataract (*ma'*, *ma' nāzil* fī 'l-'ayn and in the modern language *katarrakt*) the astonishing section of the (soft) crystalline lens performed by al-Mawṣilī, which eight centuries later, was to be adopted in the West and continued down to the present day. New contributions in this special field are to be sought in the treatises on general medicine, like the *Kawān* of Ibn Sīnā, where, for example, we find the term "anatomical" description of the eye motor muscles, as well as of the lachrymal ducts; also in the works of non-medical authors, such as the famous 'aristotele on Optics, the *Kitāb al-Manāṣir*, of Abū 'Alī b. al-Haytham, of Baṣra (died ca. 43/1039), in which this great scholar put forward his rational theory of vision, refuting that of the Greeks' "sight-spirit", inherited by the Arabs (*rūḥ al-baṣar*, *rūḥ baṣarī*, *rūḥ nūrī* etc.). Neither should the numerous minor works on ophthalmology be neglected which appeared everywhere and with great frequency in Islamic countries, some of which are in dialogue form (see the *Kifāy al-Mawṣilī* fī 'l-'ayn of Hunayn) and even in poetic form (see the *Manāṣir* fī 'l-'ayn, author unknown, Vat. Borg. 873). Finally it should not be forgotten that there were oculists who enjoyed great fame, none of whose works on the subject have yet come to our knowledge. Such is the case, for example, of Ishāq al-Jarāḥī (3rd/9th century), who practised in Cairo before moving to al-Kayrawān, where he became one of the most enlightened masters and authors on general medicine of the Middle Ages.

**Bibliography:** (confined to works by oculists who were themselves Arabic scholars, or who worked in collaboration with Arabic scholars): J. Hirschberg, *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde bei den Arabern*, Leipzig 1908; M. Meyerhof, *The Book of the Ten Treatises on the Eye ascribed to Hunayn ibn Ishāq*, Cairo 1928, and the whole of his valuable series of studies and original memoranda



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'ĀYIN, "evil eye". Belief in the evil eye is well established in Islam. According to Abū Hurayra, the Prophet said al-ṣayrū ḥāḍir. "The evil eye is a reality" (al-Bukhārī, commentary of al-Kaṣṣāḥ al-Saḥīḥ, viii, 390, 463). It is the evil action of an envious glance which is envisaged by the recommendation given in the Qur'ān, cxiii, 5. Orthodoxy, however, makes the Prophet condemn this belief (Mundtāḥib Kān al-'Ummal, iv, 22; Nihāya li-Ḥadīth al-Faḥḥ, iv, 203). This superstition, universally current, dates from before Islam in the Middle East countries, where it continues to be prevalent. It frequently finds expression both in religious traditions and in popular folklore: "the majority of human beings die as victims of the evil eye", "the evil eye empties the houses and fills the graves", etc. The effect of the evil eye, *ṣayrū bi'l-ṣayrū, ḥāḍir, ḡaḥḡa*, etc. is generally instigated by a desire to harm transmitted by a look pregnant with hate or envy, *ṣayrū, naḡḡa* or *naḡḡa*, but it can be involuntary and result from the naturally injurious power of a strange or staring look *maḡḡa* (Ibn al-Sikkī, *Taḥḡīb al-Aḡlāḡ*, ed. Cheikh, 545-46; al-Muḥarrar, *Kāmil*, 329). Deep-set eyes, blue eyes or eyebrows which meet are reputed to be baneful. Some animals, such as the viper (al-Danīlī, *Hayāt al-Hayawān*, i, 242) are considered as having a poisonous glance. The eye suffices to disseminate the evil. Its power, however, may be coupled with that of the spoken word: evil eye, *fascinum oculi*, and evil mouth, *fascinum linguae*, frequently go together. An unfortunate word or misplaced praise is capable of harming the person to whom they are addressed and of releasing the maledic action. Of all people suspected of possessing the evil eye, the most feared are women, especially old women or those who are unmarried or sterile. But likewise equally all who are ill-favoured or consider themselves placed at a disadvantage by nature. As a corollary, pregnant women, small children and, generally speaking, everything which is beautiful, happy, or precious, is liable to the assaults of envy, and certain circumstances augment the vulnerability of persons and things which are enviable: pregnancy, childbirth, marriage and in general, feasts and celebrations, illness, debility, death of those concerned; loss of livestock, deterioration or destruction of objects or situations; the consequences feared from the evil eye are innumerable. People strive to protect themselves against it or to remedy its calamitous effects. Whether preventative or curative, the prophylaxis of the evil eye is varied (al-Suyūṭī, *Rakma*, 50-58) use of formulas, gestures, fire rites, fumigations; use of salt, alum, horn, metal, etc.; the wearing of phylacteries, amulets, jewels; tattooing. Originally, doubtless the veil worn over the face was one of these means of prophylaxis. The most effective protective symbol is the number five, *ḡhamma* [5, 6] and the figuration of the five-fingers of the hand spread out (LeFebvre, in *Bull. Soc. géogr. Alger*, 1907, 411-417). The ritual attaching to the evil eye, like the belief itself, is very much more a matter of magic and superstition than of religion, even where the formula is derived from orthodox Islam.

**Bibliography:** Hartland, *Legend of Persius*, see *end* in the index; Chauvin, *Bibl. cour. ar.*, v, 102; Blau, *Alḡlāḡ, Zauberei*, 125-62; Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, 30-31, 48; I. Goldziher, *Einige Arab. Ausrufe und*

*Form*, in *WZKM*, xvi, 140 and 59; idem, in *ARW*, 1907, 41-45; 1910, 35; A. von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii, 253; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 1905; L. Einler, *Das böse Auge*, in *ZDFP*, 1889, 200-22; Lane, *Modern Egypt*, 1865, 71, 160; Vassier, in *RT*, 1901, 549-55; idem, in *RI*, 1907, 323-5; Desparmet, *Costumes, institutions et croyances*, passim; A. Bel, *La Djāziya*, in *JA*, 1905, 359-365; E. Westernmark, in *JAuthr.*, i, 394, 213-3; idem, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, i, chap. viii; idem, *Surveys en palennes dans la civilisation musulmane*, 34-75; Lagoy, *Essai de Folklore marocain*, passim; A.-M. Goichon, *La vie itinérante au Maroc*, passim; Mathéa Gaudry, *La femme chaula de l'Aurès*, passim; Duboulet-Laffin, *La Dou-Mergoud*, 149-64; W. Marçais et A. Guigü, *Textes arabes de Taberdina*, 323-4, 371-2, 396 (with copious references); E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 317-27 (good synthesis). (P. MARÇAIS)

'AYN DILFA is a spring in the north of Syria which is of some importance on account of its situation on the road between Antioch and Aleppo, somewhat west of the large ruins of the monastery of Kaṣr al-Baḡdāt. Its source is on the northern slope of the ḡḡab al-Baḡdāt and it runs through a narrow channel cut out in the rock into a well-house (*sāḡḡ*). According to an Arabic inscription, this well-house was built in 877 (1474-1475) by an inhabitant of the neighbouring village, of the name of Maḡlūb b. al-Muḡd. It is highly probable that on account of the spring a settlement already occupied the spot in ancient times. A few remains of buildings from the Christian era, still more from Islamic times, can yet be seen. There are also a few inscribed Muslim tombstones. The place is nowadays uninhabited; it belongs to the people of Semedā. From time to time nomadic Turcomans or Kurds used to camp there in their tents. The spring was of importance for the caravans between Antioch and Aleppo, which often used to rest there.

**Bibliography:** Syria, *Publ. of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Exp. to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909*. Division IV, Section D: *Arabic Inscriptions* (by E. Littmann), Leyden 1909, 88 f.

(E. LITTMANN)

'AYN DJĀLŪT, spring of Goliath, mentioned by the mediaeval geographers as a village between Baysān and Nabulus, in the ḡḡud of Filāṣṡṡ. It stood at the head of the Wādī DJĀLŪT, and is said to have owed its name to a tradition that by it David slew Goliath (cf. A. S. Marmaridj, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1915, 152; G. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 354, 461). In the chronicles of the Crusades the neighbourhood is called Tubānā or Tubānī. It first appears mention in ḡḡum. II 578/Sept. 1153, when the armies of Salāḡīn and of the Franks camped there face to face and then separated without an engagement (W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusades in the East*, Cambridge 1907, 232-3; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, ii, Paris 1948, 724; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, ii, Cambridge 1952, 459; K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, i, Philadelphia 1955, 599).

'Ayn DJālūt is chiefly known as the site of the famous battle, fought on Friday 25 Ramaḡān 658/3 September 1260, in which a Mongol army, commanded by Kitbuga Noyon, was defeated by a Mamlūk army from Egypt, led by the sultan al-Malik al-Muḡarrāf Kūṡus. The vanguard of the Mamlūk army was commanded by Baybars (1260-1). The strength of the Mamlūk force was estimated at 120,000; that of the Mongols at 10,000 horsemen

(thus the Syrian and Arabic texts of Bar-Hebraeus; Rashīd al-Dīn speaks of "a few thousand"). The Mongol forces and their Christian auxiliaries, after at first sweeping the Mamlūk left wing (or, according to others, vanguard) before them, were set upon and annihilated by the main body of the Mamlūk army. The Mongol general Kitbuga was captured and put to death. Hulekū, infuriated by the defeat, prepared to send a punitive expedition to Syria, but was prevented from doing so by the inner struggle within the Mongol Empire following the death of Möngke Khan (Mangu Khān) in September 1259 (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, 359).

The Arabic and especially the Egyptian chronicles regard the battle of 'Ayn DJālūt as a decisive victory, which saved the Syyro-Egyptian Empire and ended Islam itself from the Mongol menace. For the first time, a Mongol army had been defeated in pitched battle; the fact that the victors were largely Turkish, and overcame the Mongols by using their own methods of warfare against them, if anything added to the significance of the victory, for it meant that the vitality and energies of the steppe peoples were now being harnessed to the service of Islam (see for example the remarks and verses of Abū ḡhāma, *Tarāḡīm*, 208 and Yānūlī 367; D. Ayalon, in *The Wafāḡiya in the Mamlūk Kingdom*, IC, 1951, 90, has drawn attention to the highly significant comments of Ibn ḡḡāḡḡ al-ḡhar, v, 372, on the rôle of the steppe peoples in rejuvenating and renewing Islam). The Persian and other sources sympathetic to the Mongols tend rather to present the battle as an inconclusive engagement in which a small Mongol force was overwhelmed by vastly superior numbers, who were saved from retribution only by Hulekū's preoccupation with other and more important matters.

The victory by no means ended the danger from the Mongols, who continued to hold Mesopotamia and 'Irāq and to threaten Syria from both north and east. In the event, however, 'Ayn DJālūt was the high water mark of Mongol advance, though it seems likely that the ebbing of the Mongol tide was due to events in the East at least as much as to Mamlūk resistance.

**Bibliography:** the contemporary Egyptian accounts of the battle are those of the two biographers of Baybars, Ibn ḡḡāḡḡ al-Dīn and Ibn 'Abd al-Zāḡir, whose narratives seem to underlie those of most subsequent Egyptian historians. Ibn ḡḡāḡḡ al-Dīn's account of 'Ayn DJālūt is unfortunately not included in the surviving fragment of his work (MS. Soliman 1509, Edinburg; published in Turkish translation only; M. Şerefeddin Yalḡkaya, *Baybars Tarīḡi*, Istanbul 1941), which, however, contains several allusions to the victory. A probably abridged version of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāḡir's narrative was published from the R. M. manuscript by S. F. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca 1956 (12ff., and index). A fuller text of the same book is to be found in Istanbul (MS. Fatḡā 4107). Ibn 'Abd al-Zāḡir is at some points to emphasise Baybars' vital contribution to the victory. Of the later Egyptian accounts, the most accessible are those of Maḡrīṡ (Ṣalāḡ, i, 430 ff. = Quatremaire, *Sultan Muḡarrāf*, i, 104-6) and Abū 'l-Maḡḡḡīn, *Caḡro ed.*, vii, 79. There are also Syrian (Abū ḡhāma, *Tarāḡīm*, 208; Rashīd al-Kaṡṡān al-Sāḡī, see 'T-Fāṡ', *Caḡro* 1948, 207-9; Yūṡuf, *ḡḡay Muḡarrāf al-Zāḡān*, i, Haydarābād 1934, 360 ff., citing Ibn al-Zāḡir, etc.) and 'Irāḡī (Ibn al-Fuṡāḡī, *Al-Rawḡḡḡ al-Dīḡmā*, Bagḡḡād 1351, 344) ac-

counts, as well as brief allusions in Frankish and Eastern Christian sources (*Eracles*, ii, 444; Wm. Tyre Cont. ed. Migne 1044; the Armenian chronicle of Grigor of Akane, ed. R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *HJAS*, xii, 1949, 349; Mufaḡḡād b. Abī 'T-Faḡāḡ, ii, ed. and tr. L. Blochet, *Patr. Or. xi*, 447; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronographia*, Oxford 1932, 419-40; Abū 'T-Faḡāḡ, *Taḡwīḡ Muḡarrāf al-Dīḡḡal*, Beirut 1890, 489; al-Maḡḡīn b. al-'Amīd (ed. Cl. Cahen), *BEL. Or. xv*, 1955-7, 175). The chief Persian source is Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. and tr. E. Quatremere, Paris 1836, 349-352). See further B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Leipzig 1939, 57; H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, London 1889, 167 ff.; R. Grousset, *Croisades*, ii, 603 ff.; Runciman, *Crusades*, iii, 312-3; Stevenson, *Crusaders*, 334; A. Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, i, Freiburg 1956, 317; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, 710-1. (B. LEWIS)

'AYN AL-DJARR, an ancient and important site in the Bīḡāṡ [q.v.] and an Umayyad residence, the Arab name of which, now pronounced 'Anḡjar, corresponds to the Greek and Syriac *Gerha* and 'In Geru. The main source of the Līṡān, which comes forth at the foot of the Anti-Lebanon, not far from the modern road from Beirut to Damascus, for a long time formed a swampy lake there stretching to Karak Nāḡ, which was only finally drained in the Mamlūk period. The remains of a temple, later converted into a small fort (hence the expression *ḡim Maḡḡal* used at the period of the Crusades), which still dominate the present-day village of Maḡḡal 'Anḡjar, doubtless mark the site of ancient Chalcis of the Lebanon, the capital of a state which extended from Coele Syria to Irtira, before being annexed to the Roman Empire. In contrast, the archaeological remains which exist not far away, in the interior of a vast enclosure furnished with towers, and which the excavations now being undertaken will make better known to us, have been identified by J. Sauvaget with the Umayyad town founded about 95-96/724-725 by the Caliph al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and built, as is attested by inscriptions and the Aphroditē papyri, with stones from the quarries of Kāḡīd in the Bīḡāṡ and by the use of forced labour. Its character as an agricultural settlement has been inferred from the existence of hydraulic works, contemporary with the ruins, but at what period it was completely abandoned is not known. The Arabic texts, which first speak of the victory there of Marwān b. Muḡammar, in Safar 127/November 744, over the troops of Sulaymān b. ḡḡḡḡ and the passage of the Abḡḡāḡid forces when they occupied Syria, continue to fail to mention it incidentally without giving any precise information as to the actual condition of the old Umayyad town at the time.

**Bibliography:** R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, esp. 400-02; J. Sauvaget, *Les ruines omeyyades de 'Anḡjar*, in *Bull. du Musée de Beyrouth*, iii, 1939, 5-11; idem, in Syria, xxiv, 1944-45, 102; M. Chehab, in *Actes du XXIV<sup>e</sup> congrès int. des Orientalistes*, Munich 1957; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, London 1890, 461; Ibn Khurraḡḡībīh, 219; Yāḡḡīṡ, ii, 57; L. Caḡḡān, *Chronographia islamica*, 1647; Yaḡḡḡīṡ, ii, 401; Tabaḡī, ii, 176-77; iii, 48; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zuhā*, ii, ed. Dahan, 263; Ibn al-Kalīnī, ed. Amédroz, 184, 314; M. Canard, *Hamānīdīn*, Algiers 1951, 203 and n. 243. (J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)



'AYN MÜSÄ: (1) A spring at the entrance of the Sik at Wādī Mūṣā (Petra). It was a source of water for a large Edomite site now known as Tawllān, occupied in the 13th-6th centuries B.C. (Nelson Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, New Haven, 1940, 24). Islamic tradition associates this spring with Kū'rin 2: 57, where Moses strikes a rock with his staff and brings forth twelve springs. This appears to represent a blending of the twelve springs of Elim (Exodus 15: 27) with the striking of the rock at Horeb in Exodus 17: 6. Yāköf (s. v. Wādī Mūṣā) gives the same story repeated later by al-Bayḍāwī (*Taḥrīr*, commentary on Kū'rin 2: 60 according to the Egyptian verse numbering). The twelve springs burst forth from a stout tree which Moses had carried with him and set down on this spot. William of Tyre (*A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, tr. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, New York, 1943, ii, 144) associates the spot with Exodus 17: 6, which probably represents the then current Crusader tradition. Musil (*Arabia Petros*, iii, Vienna 1908, 330) reports that in his day the spring was venerated by the Ljāḍīyah Arabs because of its association with Moses.

(2) A spring north of al-Kalr in Hawrān, in Syria (René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 349; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, Leipzig 1912, 163). (3) A small spring near the foot of Qlābal al-Muḥajjam east of Cairo (Les Guides Bleues, *Égypte*, Paris 1950, 253).

'UYUN MÜSÄ: (1) A group of springs rising near Mt. Nebo north of Ma'dāba in Jordan. They give their name to the Wādī 'Uyūn Mūṣā, which drains into the Dead Sea. The springs, which are now used as a water supply for the town of Ma'dāba, probably were associated with Moses already in Byzantine times (F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I, Paris 1933, 460). The local Arabs are reported to believe that the springs are inhabited by spirits, to whom the Arabs annually make a sacrifice (Archimandrite Bōlās Salmān, *Khawāt 'Aṣim fi Sharḥ al-Urdun*, Hārīṣ (Lebanon) 1929, 185).

(2) A group of about a dozen springs approximately 12 km. SE of Suq, near the shore of the Gulf of Suq. Al-Makīdī (2nd ed. de Goije, Leiden 1906, 67) mentions them by name, but says nothing further about them. At this spot there exists a small settlement, which formerly carried on trade in turquoise with the Bedouin from Sinai (T. Barron, *The Topography and Geology of Sinai (Western Portion)*, Cairo 1907, 36-37, 101, 212; Léon Cart, *Au Sinai et dans l'Arabie Pétrée*, Neuchâtel 1915, 15-16). (H. W. GLIDDEN)

'AYN SHIMAS is a town in Egypt. 'Ayn Shams is the Arabic name of the ancient Egyptian town of Ōn, which the Greeks called Heliopolis because of its famous sun-temple. A recollection of this cult is contained in the Arabic name ('the spring, or the eye, of the sun'), which must be a popular arabicised form of an old name. In the first centuries of Islam 'Ayn Shams was still, according to some authorities, an important town, and the capital of a district (*khira*), but according to others, a collection of ruins used as a public quarry. The Fīṭmān al-'Aḍī built castles on the spot but afterwards the buildings fell completely into ruins. The extensive ruins, especially the two obelisks (*misallat*) of the temple, stirred the imagination of the Arabs. One of them has been preserved until the present day; the other fell down in 536/1258. It is said to have contained over 200 *hīn* (quintals) of brass. During

the Arab period a statue of a beast of burden with a man on its back still stood between the two obelisks.

The other curiosity of 'Ayn Shams was its balsam-garden, which was cultivated under the supervision of the government. During the Middle Ages the balsam-tree is said to have grown only here, though formerly it had also been a native plant in Syria. According to a Coptic tradition known also by the Muslims, it was in the spring of 'Ayn Shams that Mary, the mother of Jesus, washed the clothes of the latter on her way back to Palestine after her flight to Egypt. From that time onwards, the spring was benedicted, and during the Middle Ages balsam would only produce their precious secretion on land watered by it.

**Bibliography:** Makrīf, *Khūṭat* i, 228 ff.; de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte* 20 ff., 86 ff.; al-Idrīsī, *al-Maḡrib*, 145; BG&A, i, 54; vii, 22; Kalkhaddādī *Daw' al-Subb al-Musfir* (trans. Wustenfeld) 13, 96; Yāköf, iii, 765, iv, 564; Ibn Dūmāsk, v, 44; Baedeker, *Égypte*; Cassanova, *Les Noms Coptes du Caire et Localités voisines* 40 ff.; W. Heyd, *Levant-handel*, ii, 566 ff.; Makrīf, *Khūṭat*, ed. IFAO, iv, 89-102; J. Maepéro and G. Wiet, *Matrières pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 131.

(C. H. BECKER)

'AYN AL-TAMR, a small town in 'Irāk in a fertile depression on the borders of the desert between Anḥāl and Kūfa. It is 80 miles west of Karbalā'. The Arabic name means fountain of dates. It was probably called so because of an abundance of palm trees (Yāköf, iii, 759).

According to al-Kalālī, it was part of the Hīrite kingdom of Dīnāyahma al-Abrāh (al-Tabarī, 759; Yāköf, ii, 378). There Shāḥūr is said to have married Najira, the daughter of the King of Hufra. (al-Tabarī, i, 829; Yāköf, ii, 383; al-Ḥamādī, *al-Buldān*, i, 30). It was probably also a *ṭawāḥid* of the *asān* of Bīkhabūdh al-Aḥā, as it was in the 'Abbāsid period (Ibn Khurraḍḍīh, 8; Kudāma, 236; Yāköf, i, 241, 771).

When the Muslim commander Qāḥlād b. al-Walīd attacked it in the year 12 A.H., 'Ayn al-Tamr was a military post (al-Tabarī, i, 205; al-Balādhūrī, 246) with a fortified citadel (al-Tabarī, i, 205; al-Balādhūrī, 246-7; Qāḥlād devoted and massacred al-Balādhūrī, 246-7; al-Tabarī, i, 204; al-Balādhūrī, 110; Yāköf, iii, 759; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 261, 940, 991). He captured and enslaved some of its non-combatant inhabitants. These were the first enslaved captives to arrive in Medina (al-Tabarī, i, 206). The sons and grandsons of many of these captives became prominent figures in the military, administrative and intellectual life of Islam (cf. their names in al-Balādhūrī, 247; al-Tabarī, i, 204, 212, 217, ii, 801; al-Balādhūrī, 247; al-Tabarī, i, 204, 212, 352, 357; Yāköf, iv, 807; Aghānī, iv, 3259).

Scanty information about the Muslim conquests indicates that 'Ayn al-Tamr had a Christian population and a church (al-Tabarī, i, 204; al-Balādhūrī, 247; Yāköf, iv, 807), and also a Jewish community and a synagogue (al-Yā'qūbī, ii, 151). But probably the majority were Arabs from the tribes of Taghlib, Namir and Asad, who were sedentary agriculturists.

'Ayn al-Tamr preserved its importance in the Islamic period, not only for its products by which the nomads of Arabia and 'Irāk were supplied, but also for its geographical situation on the routes of communication between the fertile centre of 'Irāk and the Syrian desert. It also commanded the military approaches from the western desert to 'Irāk and especially to Kūfa (cf. al-Ḥamādī, i, 209,

807, 2121, ii, 946, 1352; al-Balādhūrī, 62; Yāköf, iv, 137; Ibn Khurraḍḍīh, 97; Ibn Hawkal, i, 34; A. Musil, *Importance* *Euphrates*, 41, 293-311).

Its importance led the governors of Kūfa to station in it a military force to protect one of the approaches to their *marj* (cf. al-Tabarī, i, 344; ii, 773, 1132, 1945, 1946, ii, 217; al-Balādhūrī, *Annāl*, v, 293).

Its rather isolated position induced some of the Khāridjites to make it a centre for grouping revolutionary forces (al-Tabarī, i, 183, 773; al-Yā'qūbī, ii, 228, 387; al-Balādhūrī, *Annāl*, v, 45; Yāköf, iii, 759).

By the end of the 3rd/9th century 'Ayn al-Tamr was inhabited by the Banī Asad (al-Tabarī, iii, 225). 'Ayn al-Tamr was a fortified town (al-Makrīdī, 117) in the 4th/10th century, a *ṭawāḥid* of the *asān* of Bīkhabūdh al-Aḥā. At this time its products included 14 *bayḍar*, 300 *hurr* of wheat, 400 *hurr* of barley and 45,000 *dirhams* per year (Ibn Khurraḍḍīh, 10; Kudāma, 237). Its lands were considered *ḡhīr* (al-Balādhūrī, 248).

For the period of the decline of 'Irāk from the 6th/12th century onwards, information on 'Ayn al-Tamr is scanty and it is confused with Shūḥḥa, a neighbouring village. It was captured and looted by the Mongols who captured Baghdād ('Azarī, *Tārīkh al-'Irāk bayn al-Bīdāyān*, i, 357). During the turbulent 10th/16th century some of the Bedouins used it for a refuge ('Azarī, *op. cit.*, v, 182).

Gertrude Bell visited 'Ayn al-Tamr and described it as a walled village with a citadel. She mentioned its sulphurous waters, cereals and 170,000 palm trees (*Ammarah to Amarah*, London 1924, 139).

At present 'Ayn al-Tamr is the centre of a district (*nahya*). It has four quarters: Abū Ḥardan, Kaṣr Ṭhamir, Kaṣr al-'Ayn, and Kaṣr Abū Hwaydī. The sedentary population numbers 2144, and the rural and nomadic population is 3181 (1947 Census of 'Irāk).

**Bibliography:** quoted in the article.

(SALEN A. EL-ALI)

'AYN TEMUSHENT, a town in Algiers situated 45 m. (72 km.) S-W of Oran, on the road to Tlemcen, and on the site of the Roman city of Albulae and of Kaṣr Ibn Sīnā, mentioned by al-Bakrī in the 5th/11th century (de Slane's trans., 1913, 146, 160) to the S-E of the plain of Cillia, and it became part of the territories belonging to Philaretus. First, a little before the arrival of the First Crusade the Saljūqs took Tarsus, Mijsina and 'Ayn Zarba (Michael the Syrian, iii, 173, 179). Tancred, nephew of Bohemond, conquered Cilicia in 1097 and Bohemond, installed in the principality of Antioch, took possession of it and also of Tarsus, Adana and Mijsina in 1098. These places, the object of a dispute between Bohemond and the Byzantines, were recaptured by the latter, but the Armenian Thoros I, a descendant of Roupen, who was established in the mountains to the north of Sis, and who reigned from 1100 to 1129, took Sis and Anazarba from the Byzantines (*RHC Arm.* i, 499). During the reign of Leo I, brother of Thoros, Bohemond wanted to establish himself again in Cilicia and marched on 'Ayn Zarba, but he came into conflict with the Dānişmandids of Cappadocia who also wanted the country, and was killed in 1130. After Leo had conquered Tarsus, Adana and Mijsina in 1132-33, the Byzantines invaded Cilicia in 1137 and John Comnenus recaptured 'Ayn Zarba and took Leo prisoner (Kamāl al-Dīn, ed. S. Dabab, ii, 263), but in 1137 Thoros II, son of Leo, regained 'Ayn Zarba as well as the other large towns in Cilicia. Kūḡī Arslān II of Konya, at the instigation of his ally Manuel Comnenus, attacked 'Ayn Zarba without success. In 1159

the first element of the name *Asa* for 'Ayn, spring; cf. Sachau, in *ZA* VIII, 98. It acquired a certain importance from the time of Hārūn al-Raḡhīd who organised the frontier for defence. In 180/796 he rebuilt and fortified it, and settled people from Khurāsān there (al-Balādhūrī, 172; Ibn al-Falāh, 113; Ibn Shaddād, in Ibn al-Shūhba, *al-Durr al-Muntahab*, 183). In 212/827 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, governor of the region between Rakka and Egypt, settled Africans from Egypt in the town (Michael the Syrian, iii, 60). In 220/835 al-Mu'taḍī brought in some Zottī (al-Balādhūrī, *loc. cit.*, al-Ma'qūdī, *al-Tawḥīd*, 351) were the object of a Byzantine attack in the same year, and of another in 247/855 when they were captured with their families and their buffaloes and carried off to Constantinople (al-Tabarī, iii, 1169 and 1246; cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Fr. edit., i, La dynastie d'Amorium, 126 and 224). In 287/900, the eunuch Wasīf, who wanted to cross from 'Ayn Zarba into Byzantine territory was captured by the troops of al-Mu'taḍī to the north of the place.

'Ayn Zarba is included by the Arab geographers among the frontier towns of the Dughlūr (Ibn Khurraḍḍīh, 100; Kudāma, 229, 231; Ibn Rusta, 107; al-Yā'qūbī, 352 etc.). It flourished mainly in the 4th/10th century. In his book on the Dughlūr, Ibn Hawkal, 121, described it as a town like those of the *ghawr* (probably because of the similarities of climate and products), in the middle of a plain where palms grow, and surrounded by fertile lands (cf. al-Isfahānī, 55, 63). It was fortified by the Hamdīdī Sayf al-Dawla who, says Yāköf, ii, 701, spent 3 million *dirhams* on it. Nevertheless it was taken by Nicephorus Phocas, to whom it surrendered at the end of the year 359/962 (see the detailed description of the siege and the ravages of the Byzantines, particularly the felling of 20,000 palm trees, in Ibn Miskawayh, ii, 190-1; for other references see M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Hamdānides*, i, 866-8). The Muslims were expelled and emigrated to Syria. The town remained in Byzantine hands until the time when the Armenians, expelled from Armenia, occupied it together with the other towns of Cilicia, and it became part of the territories belonging to Philaretus. First, a little before the arrival of the First Crusade the Saljūqs took Tarsus, Mijsina and 'Ayn Zarba (Michael the Syrian, iii, 173, 179). Tancred, nephew of Bohemond, conquered Cilicia in 1097 and Bohemond, installed in the principality of Antioch, took possession of it and also of Tarsus, Adana and Mijsina in 1098. These places, the object of a dispute between Bohemond and the Byzantines, were recaptured by the latter, but the Armenian Thoros I, a descendant of Roupen, who was established in the mountains to the north of Sis, and who reigned from 1100 to 1129, took Sis and Anazarba from the Byzantines (*RHC Arm.* i, 499). During the reign of Leo I, brother of Thoros, Bohemond wanted to establish himself again in Cilicia and marched on 'Ayn Zarba, but he came into conflict with the Dānişmandids of Cappadocia who also wanted the country, and was killed in 1130. After Leo had conquered Tarsus, Adana and Mijsina in 1132-33, the Byzantines invaded Cilicia in 1137 and John Comnenus recaptured 'Ayn Zarba and took Leo prisoner (Kamāl al-Dīn, ed. S. Dabab, ii, 263), but in 1137 Thoros II, son of Leo, regained 'Ayn Zarba as well as the other large towns in Cilicia. Kūḡī Arslān II of Konya, at the instigation of his ally Manuel Comnenus, attacked 'Ayn Zarba without success. In 1159



Manuel recaptured it with the other places in Cilicia, but Thorsos II took it again in 1162 (cf. concerning these events, F. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, II, 113-6, 426-30 and R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, II, 51, 86, 333, 399, 560).

The Rupenians kept Cilicia until the 14th century. From 1266 the Mamlūks of Egypt made numerous invasions into the kingdom of Little Armenia (see the articles ARMENIA, CILICIA, MYSTRA, SLS); during one of them the region of 'Ayn Zarba was pillaged (in 1279, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronographia*, 462). Finally in 823 A.H. = 776 A.H. = 1374 A.D., in the reign of Malik Aghra Shāhān, Cilicia was conquered, 'Ayn Zarba destroyed, and Leo led into captivity in 1375 (see *KHC* Arm. I, 686 and 719). After this the town lost all importance. Like the rest of Cilicia it passed into the hands of the Turkoman family of Ramadān-oglu in the 13th century and then to the Ottomans in the 16th.

In the 14th century the name of the town was corrupted into Nāwārā (cf. Abu 'l-Fidā', II, 2nd part, 29). To-day the place is in ruins and is known as Anavara.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the sources mentioned in the course of this article, see Le Strange, 129; Ritter, *Erkunde*, XIX, 56; G. Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au X<sup>me</sup> siècle*, *Niephore Phocas*, 191 ff. (M. CANARD)

**AYNABAKHTĪ**, Turkish name for Lepanto, or Naupaktos, in Greece. It is on the Gulf of Corinth, has a picturesque position, but is—these days—an impoverished small town, called Epaktos by the people and Lepanto by the Italians. It is surrounded by crumbling walls which date from the times of Venetian rule, and is dominated by a fortress. In the Middle Ages, Aynabakhtī ruled over the Gulf of Corinth, and in 1407 it came under Venetian rule (cf. Vitt. Lazeari, *L'acquisto di Lepanto*, 1407, in: *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, XV (Venice 1898), 267-833; in 1485 it was unsuccessfully besieged by the Ottomans, but was taken by them in 1499. Don Juan of Austria (at the age of 20) won a victory near the Osa island on 7 Oct. 1571 in a very bloody sea-battle, in which he commanded 250 ships (partly Venetian, partly Spanish), supported by the Pope, and met a Turkish fleet of equal strength of which he sank 200 vessels. The town remained the seat of a Turkish Sandjak-Bey until it was once more conquered by the Venetians in 1687, who retained it until the Peace of Karlovac (28 Jan. 1699). After this it became Turkish again, and on 12 March 1829 it became Greek. Opposite the Bay of Aynabakhtī, the Gulf of Corinth narrows to a width of 1½ m. (2 km.). The fortifications erected here by the Venetians, called Kāstro Moras in the south, and Kāstro Roumelias in the north, were formerly known as the Small Dardanelles, but have long fallen into ruins. Today, the town has about 2000 inhabitants and is the seat of a bishop.

**Bibliography:** Ewliya Celebi, *Seyahatnâme*, viii (1928), 622ff.; J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 123-7 (with the strange statement that Aydin-oglu Umür-Beg transported ships overland with the aid of machines); Hüdudī Khālīf, *Taht al-Kibāb fī Asfār al-Fihār* (incunabulum 1141 A.H., Istanbul) 42-3, concerning the sea-battle of Lepanto, cf. the bibliography in H. Kretschmar, *Geschichte von Venedig*, II, Gotha 1924, 379 ff. and the older one in Hammer-Purgstall, III, 287 f.; as well as Manfroni, *Storia della Marina Italiana*, III, Rome 1897, 437-51; F. Hartlaub, *Don Juan d'Austria und die Schlacht*

bei Lepanto (1940); and R. C. Anderson, *Naval Wars in the Levant 1550-1853*, Princeton 1952, ch. 2. Further bibliographical notes can be found in W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, *passim* (cf. 670b), *idem*, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge 1921, *passim* (cf. 568a).

(F. BARINGGR)

**'AYNĪ**, HANAN EFENDI AL-SAYYID HANAN B. HANAN AL-'AYNĪ, one of the most celebrated poets of the reign of Mahmūd II, born at 'Aynṭāb in 1180/1766 and died at Constantinople in 1253/1837. Of very humble origins, he left his native town in 1780, travelled about Anatolia for ten years and settled in Istanbul, where he studied at the madrasa of Sütlü Aynal; after holding various appointments in the offices of the administration, in 1831 he became professor of Arabic and Persian in the Chancellery of the Sublime Porte. His poetry caused Sütlü Mahmūd II to look on him with particular favour, and to grant him pensions and honours. On his death he was buried at the Mawlawi monastery at Galata. His contemporaries did not have a very high opinion of him, and have left us a picture of him as having been very much a courtier in outlook, with a love of luxury and money, and profoundly egotistical. Though belonging to the Mawlawi sect, he was in constant communication with members of the Nakshbandi sect, who exerted a strong influence over him.

Works: *Najm al-Djawākir* (1236/1820-1), Turkish, Arabic and Persian dictionary; *Nawāṭ-nāma*, a *madḥ* on the destruction of the Janissaries; *Kulliyāt* (1238/1822), comprising the *Diwān*, which contains *ḥādisas* and encomia written for the Sütlü Selim III and Mahmūd II, *ghazals*, stanzas, chronograms and *mathnawis*, a résumé of his philosophical reflections on the life of man from the Creation. It cannot be said that 'Aynī displayed either great poetic temperament or great literary culture.

**Bibliography:** 'Aṭī Hikmet, *Tedhiḥ-i Shu'arā*; Es'ad Efendi, *Bāḥḥat-i Sāṭi-andā*; Faṭmā, *Tedhiḥ*; 'Aṣim, *Ta'riḥ*, I, 121; Luṭfī, *Ta'riḥ*, I, 173; v, 27, 42; Djewdet, *Ta'riḥ*, v, *passim*; vi, 211, 273; ix, 39, 71; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte d. osman. Reichs*, IV, 502; Gülb, *Ottoman Poetry*, IV, 316 ff.; *Id.*, s.v. (article by Fevziye Abdullāh).

(R. MANTHAN)

**AL-'AYNĪ**, ARŌ MUHAMMAD MAHMŪD B. AHMAD B. MUḤA BADR AL-DIN, was born 27 Ramaḍān 762/22 July 1361, at 'Aynṭāb, a place situated between Aleppo and Antioch. He belonged to a family of scholars (his father was a *hāfi*) and began his studies at an early age, first in his birthplace and then at Aleppo. When he was 29 years old, he visited Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo. He was initiated into the mystical doctrines of Sūfism in the latter town and for a time entered the darwīsh monastery of the Barkūbiyya, which had recently been founded. After making several journeys to Damascus and to the town of his birth, he established himself finally in Cairo, where he was appointed *mukhtasib* in 801/1398-1399, during the reign of the Sütlü al-Malik al-Zāhir; he was several times dismissed and re-appointed, and, in 804/1400-1, he succeeded in obtaining the much envied post of inspector of pious foundations (*naẓir al-aḥḥās*). On the accession of the Sütlü al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shāyikh (815/1412), he was disgraced. However, shortly after he was again in favour and was again appointed to the office of *mukhtasib*. His knowledge of the Turkish language, moreover, contributed to making him

*persona grata* with the rulers of his time, the Sütlü al-Mu'ayyad, al-Malik al-Zāhir Tatar and al-Malik al-Aghra Barsbay. He translated al-Kudūrī's legal treatise into Turkish for Tatar; he read his Arabic chronicle, translating it orally into Turkish as he went along, to the Sütlü al-Malik al-Aghra in the long and frequent interviews he had with him. For the rest, the one-time *Sūfi* of the Barkūbiyya, now become a perfect courtier, composed panegyrics in honour of his masters (a *Life of Mu'ayyad*, a *Eulogy of al-Malik al-Aghra*). Appointed in 829/1425-6 chief *hāfi* of the Hanafis, he occupied this post for 12 consecutive years. In 846/1442-3, he even succeeded in obtaining the offices of *mudarris*, inspector of pious foundations and chief *hāfi* of the Hanafis, a unique achievement according to his biographers. In addition he was professor at the Mu'ayyad *madrasa*. He lost favour in 853/1449-50 and died two years later (4 Dhū 'l-Hijja 855/28 December 1451). He was buried in the 'Ayniyya *madrasa*, which he had founded and where, later on, another commentator of al-Buḥārī, al-Kaṣṭalānī, also found his resting place.

The life of al-'Aynī affords a most interesting testimony on the relationships of the scholar class with the Mamlūk Sütlūs. This scholar took an active part in the intellectual movement of his century and was in contact, though on rather bad terms, with two of the most outstanding men in Muslim sciences of the period, al-Maḥrī and the Shāyikh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar al-Asḥkalīnī; he supplanted the former in the office of *mukhtasib*, thus incurring his hatred; he sustained a very lively argument against the latter concerning his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buḥārī.

Al-'Aynī's works are very numerous; some of them are in Turkish, though the majority are in Arabic. The three best known are: (1) his general history called *'Iḥd al-Diyār fī Ta'riḥ al-'Alam al-Zamān* (an extract in *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, *Hist. or.*, II, 183-254); (2) his commentary on the poetical examples cited in four commentaries of the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik, entitled *al-Mahḥid al-Nakhiyya fī Shārh Shāwḥid Shāriḥ al-Afiyya* (printed in the *Ḥaṣṣa* of the Kara-Koyunlu, master of al-Buḥārī, Būlak 1299, 4 volumes); (3) his great commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Buḥārī, entitled *'Umdat al-Kāfi fī Shārh al-Buḥārī* (printed in Cairo 1308, and Constantinople 1309-1310, 11 volumes); in this last work, al-'Aynī shows proof of a certain method, which contrasts with the usual confused disorder prevalent in the work of Muslim encyclopaedists. In the study of each *ḥadīth* he proceeds in the following order: connection between the *ḥadīth* and the chapter heading; study of the *isnād*, of its peculiarities and its authorities; enumeration of other works or other chapters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* where the *ḥadīth* occurs; study of the literal sense; study of the juridical or ethical rules which can be deduced from the *ḥadīth*.

**Bibliography:** Quatremère, *Histoire des Mamlouks*, p. 219 ff.; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, 489; Broedelmann, II, 52, 53, S II 50-1; on the al-'Aynī and Ibn Ḥajar controversy; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, II, xxiv. (W. MARÇAIS)

**'AYNṬĀB** (Arm. Antep, Lat. Hantab, to-day Antep or Gaziantep since 1921: ethnically 'Aynī and also 'Sasabī, see 1202 *Nights*, Night 864; Cairo edition) important town, chief place of a vilāyet in the south-east of Anatolia, with 50,065 inhabitants (1935). The vilāyet has five *hazas*: Gaziantep, Kilis, Nizip, Ishahiya and Pazarcik.

The town is situated on the upper Sajdır, a tributary of the Euphrates, near the junction of two important roads, one running north-south from Mar'ash to Aleppo, with a fork just south of Mar'ash to Malatya; the other east-west; the latter runs from Diyarbakir, Urfa (Edessa) and Bingöl on the Euphrates, and, after following a short section of the Mar'ash road just outside Gaziantep, branches off towards Adana. Secondary roads also diverge from Gaziantep, one to Besni (Bahasn) to the north-east, the other to the Syrian frontier in the south-east. A new railway line links, through Gaziantep, the Adana-Malaya line to the Bagdad line, thus avoiding the *detour* into Syrian territory via Aleppo. Gaziantep is 55 km. from Bingöl, 45 from the Syrian frontier and 100 from Aleppo.

The region of 'Aynṭāb has always been the hub of important routes, but it was Doliche (Dulūk, now Dülükbaba), a little to the north-east, which in ancient times took the place of 'Aynṭāb, and the latter, which was probably the Diha of Ptolemy, the Tyba of Cicero, was only a dependency of it. It was not until Dülük had been taken by the Byzantines in 331/662 under the Hammadīd Sayf al-Dawla that 'Aynṭāb began to assume the importance lost by Dülük, with which Yāköf wrongly identifies it. On the eve of the First Crusade it was part of the domain of the Armenian Philaretus. It was allotted in fee, with Tell Bishrī, to Joscelin of Courtenay, vassal of Baldwin of Le Bourc, count of Edessa, then to his son Joscelin II. After the capture of Joscelin II by the troops of Nūr al-Dīn in 1150, it was ceded by the Franks, together with the rest of the region, to the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus, but in 1151 the Saljuḳids of Konya, Ma'sūd, annexed it. After his death in 1153, it was taken by Nūr al-Dīn. It was from then on part of the province of Aleppo and was an advance post, first for the Ayyūbids and then the Mamlūks, against the Saljuḳids and the Armenians. It was temporarily occupied by the Mongols in the course of their expeditions against northern Syria in 1271 and 1286. Taken in 1400 by Thaur, it was then annexed by Karā Yusuf of the Turkoman dynasty of the Kara-Koyunlu, master of the two Iraks, and then it passed to the Turkoman dynasty of the Dhū'l-Kadr, who submitted to the Ottomans in the 16th century. It was from then on part of the Ottoman empire, and was only temporarily detached to Egypt in the time of Muhammad 'Alī, between 1832 and 1840. At the end of the First World War, 'Aynṭāb was occupied by the English in 1919, then by the French until 1921.

Before the First World War 'Aynṭāb contained a large proportion of Armenians, nearly a third of its total population. It was also the centre of an American mission which had a college there. The region is also the centre of the preserve or must of grapes called *pehmet*. It was a stronghold with its citadel towering on a great mound of which the ruins are still visible.

**Bibliography:** Yāköf, III, 759; Dimashki, *Chronographie*, ed. Mehren, 205; Abu 'l-Fidā', II, 2, 45; Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'ḥād al-Khatira*, MS. in the Vatican, I, 156 r. (cf. A. Leidi, in *Mashriq*, xxxiii 1935, 211-2 under Dülük); Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-Munakhkhab*, Beirut 1909, 171-2 and *passim*; Kanak al-Dīn, *Ta'riḥ Ḥalab*, Damascus, 1951-4, II, 202-31; *RHC*, Oc. I and II in the index; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronographia*, Oxford 1932, i 277, 281, 315, 372-3, 400; Ghazālī, *al-Nahr al-Dhahab fī Ta'riḥ Ḥalab*, Aleppo 1927, I, 416-55; Ritter, *Erkunde*, 1034 ff.; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II,



188 ff.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 42, 386; Honigsmann, *Hist. Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum*, in *DDP*, 1923-4 no. 160; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 299, 434, 472 and *passim*; R. Grosset, *Hist. des Croisades*, 1934-6, 49, 399, 402, 296-7, 299 ff., 302 ff., 305-7, 310, 367, 369, 371, 373, 375, 377, 379, 381, 383, 405, 705. For the fighting round 'Aynṭab in 1920, see André, *La vie militaire au Levant*, Paris 1923, — see also the article *Aynṭab* in *LA*, which lists the Turkish monographs on the town.

**AYT**, a Berber word meaning "sons of", the singular of which, *ay* (and *war*, *ay*, and *ayt*, *i*) appears in compounds and before proper nouns. *Ayt* consists of a suffix of number 1, a complementary element *a* and the radical *ayt* sonant *s* palatalised as the second element of a diphthong; it is known to most of the Berber dialects, which use it either in compounds (thus: *ayt-na* "sons of mother = brothers"), or before a proper noun to indicate a tribe (*Ayt Idag*, *Ayt Wargaw*, etc.), in the same conditions as the Arabic *ibn* ("son of") or *Awlad* ("Offspring"); in the more evolved dialects, *ayt* tends to be replaced by these Arabic terms, but it is still very prevalent in the more conservative dialects (particularly in Morocco, where, however, in the Sūs, it is challenged by a composite *id-aw*: *id-aw Samāil*); in the spirant dialects (Rif, Kabylia, etc.), the evolved form *ah*, from which the actual radical has disappeared, has replaced *ayt* (*Ah Imasne*, *Ah Iratou*, etc.). In Touareg, *ayt* is very prevalent in its primary function (see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. touareg-français*, Paris 1931, ii, 1440 ff.), but in the names of tribes, although it is known, it disappears before *Kgl* (Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. abrégé touareg-français des noms propres*, Paris 1940, *passim*).

(CH. PELLIAT)

**AYWALIK** (Greek Kydonia), small town on the Aegean coast of western Anatolia. Situated on a peninsula in the gulf of Edromit, 39° 16' north, 26° 40' east, opposite the island of Mytilene (Midilli). It is the capital of a *haya* of the same name in the *sulṭayt* of Balikesir [q.v.]. In 1945 it had 13,650 inhabitants (V. Cuiet gives the number 20,974—largely Greek Orthodox—for the end of the last century), and the *haya* 24,742. There is a small group of islands in the gulf, called the Yund Adalar. In antiquity known as Helatonnesi. Aywālīk was completely destroyed in the Greco-Turk War of Independence (1919/1921), but soon regained its former prosperity. Following the agreement between Turkey and Greece (30th January 1923) to exchange minorities, the Greek population—which had hitherto formed the greater part of the inhabitants—left, and was replaced by returning Turks from Midilli, Crete and Macedonia. Today the population is exclusively Turkish and Muslim.

**Bibliography**: Pauly-Wisowa, vii, 2799 (Helatonnesi); *ib.*, 2307 (Kydonia); A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien* I, 31 and 86 ff.; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 207; V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 268-71; Djewdet Faḡla, *Ta'riḡ*, xi, 283-5 (details concerning the reasons for the destruction of the town); *LA*, ii, 78 (Besim Darkot).

(FR. TAESCHNER)

**AYWĀN** (see IWĀN).

**AYWAZ**, 'AYWĀD. (1) A term applied to the footman employed in great households in the later

Ottoman Empire. They were generally Armenians of Van, sometimes Kurds. A *hukm-i ghurī* to the *qavushbashi*, dated Rabi' I 1164/January-February 1751, speaks of "the Armenian *ghumms* who have for some little time been employed in the houses of the *ridāfī* *dawlat* 'alīyāye" and who drink wine and steal in their places of employment and evade payment of *ghīyāye*; henceforth Armenian and Greek *ghumms* are not to be present in the houses of the great, but are to be replaced by Muslims (Ahmet Refik, *Hicri on ihinci asrda Istanbul hayati*, Istanbul 1930, 271). To what extent Greeks were in fact so employed is not clear. This order could have had no lasting effect, for an *aywaz* called Serig, an Armenian of Van, is one of the stock figures in the *Isaragū* shadow-plays: in modern Arabic he is known as 'aywāz, and has a wife, Umm Ma'wāza (A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, Paris 1935-54, 562, 567).

The duties of the *aywaz* included waiting at table, lighting and stoking the *mangal*, filling and cleaning the lamps, and doing the shopping for the household (*baṣara giden* in the *hukm* quoted above). There is reason to suppose that this last duty was sometimes a source of profit to both servant and tradesman: *aywaz kasap hep bir kasap* ("aywaz and butcher; it all amounts to the same") is still a Turkish saying used of two identical things. A senior *aywaz* who acted as steward was entitled *aywaz khaḡyā* (*kahḡyā*).

The usual dress of an *aywaz* was a purple jacket, waistcoat and trousers, variously coloured woolen stockings and black shoes, with a white towel over the shoulders, a broadstriped apron, and a fez surrounded by a turban.

Pakalā (see Bibliography) states that certain *meu-servants* in government offices were also called *aywaz*, and that there was an *aywaz* in the Foreign Ministry "till recently", whose job was to clean the carpets.

The origin of the word is dubious: it is thought to be a corruption of the Arabic *'awḡad* (so *LA*; see Bibliography); the plural *a'wāḡid* would seem a more likely etymon, on formal grounds, though 'aywāz is the form taken by the Arabic *'awḡad* in the dialect of Gaziantep (Ömer Asım Aksoy, *Gaziantep ağız*, Istanbul 1945-6, iii, 60). Either way, the connexion of ideas is hard to see.

(2) *Ay'waz* ('*aywāḡ* or '*awḡad* *khaḡyā*) is the name of a leading character in the *Kürdū* folktales: he is the son of a butcher (from Georgia, Urfa, or Ösküdar in the several versions), who is kidnapped by *Kürdū* and eventually becomes his most valiant follower (see Pertev Nallı, *Kürdū destanı*, Istanbul 1931, 140001; and Pertev Nallı Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk kültürleri*, Ankara 1946, Index s.v. *Ay'waz*).

**Bibliography**: *LA*, article *Ay'waz*, by Sabri East Siyavuşgil, from which the present article is largely drawn, as is the article *Ay'waz* in M. Z. Pakalā, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-56. (G. L. Lewis)

**AYYĀM AL-'ADJŪZ** "the days of the old woman". In the Islamic countries bordering on or near to the Mediterranean, certain days of recurrent bad weather, generally towards the end of winter, are called "days of the old woman". This expression, which is old, is also to be met with in contemporary folklore. It refers to a period of variable duration, from one to ten days, though more frequently of one, five or seven days duration. Its place in the yearly cycle varies according to the country. There is only

one reference mentioning the winter solstice (see R. Basset). It often involves the last four (or three) days of February and the first three (or four) days of March (months of the Julian calendar or their equivalent): this is the case with the Turks, in Syria and the Lebanon and in Egypt. These seven days each have a special name: *Sin*, *Shonah*, *Wahr*, *Āmir*, *Mu'tamir*, *Mu'allil*, *Mu'til* al-*Īḡar* (var. *Mukhl al-ḡāḡ*); if there are five days, the fourth, fifth and sixth names are omitted: the study of these eight names has still to be undertaken (see an interpretation in R. Basset). In the West, this seven day period at the end of February and the beginning of March bears another name, and it is the last day of January or the first of February which is connected with the legends about the "old woman", though it is rarely called "day of the old woman". In point of fact, this appellation, even in the East, has numerous variants based on Arabic, to which must be added, for the West, the Berber variants: 1—"days of the old woman"; or indeed "cold of the old woman" (Turkey, Persia, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt); "the old woman" (Berber Morocco); 2—"the borrowed day or days" (Syria, Lebanon, Kabylia, Northern Morocco); 3—"cold or bad weather or period of the goat" (Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco). These various expressions are almost always connected with a legendary commentary in which an old woman is the main actor; an old woman dead from cold, an old woman predicting a cold spell, an old woman killed by the wind when the people of 'Ad were exterminated, in the case of the old texts, and, as regards contemporary folklore, in the majority of cases, a story about the old woman and her call, her goat or her flock, combined with the legend of the borrowed days, explaining why February has only 28 days (hence the expressions 2 and 3 above). This legendary old woman seems to come from remote ages. No doubt this tradition should be linked with those existing in the countries of Europe and which concern certain meteorological phenomena, certain place names and perhaps certain themes of folklore involving an old woman.

**Bibliography**: Ibn Kulayba, *Kitāb al-'Awḡad*, ed. Hamidullah-Pellat, Hyderabad 1936, para. 73, 130; Ma'ūdī, *Murādī*, vol. ii, 410-1; *Calendar Cordova*, 26th February and March; Karwīnī, *Kitāb 'Adjab al-Mahallih*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848-9, 77; idem, *Calendarium syriacum* . . . ed. Völk, Leipzig 1839, 4, 13, 27 n. 42 (text and translation and notes in Latin with references to old variants of the legend); Hariri, *Sikāma*, ed. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris 1822, 236; 1853, I, 293, II, 131; *Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannā' de Marrakech* . . . ed. H. P. J. Renaud, Paris 1948, 13, 33, 35, Lane; *Lexicon* 1961; R. Basset, *Les jours d'emprunt chez les Arabes in Revue des traditions populaires*, 1890, 151-153; Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, II, 167-2, 174-5; idem, *Ceremonies and beliefs connected with agriculture* . . . in Morocco, Helsingfors 1913, 71; R. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 295, 301; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Textes arabes de l'Ouzgha* . . . Paris 1922, 101, 151 and n. 7; P. Galand-Pernet, *La vieillesse et la légende des jours d'emprunt au Maroc*, in *Hesperis*, 1953/1-2, 209-246.

(P. GALAND-PERNET)

**AYYĀM AL-'ARAB**, "Days of the Arabs", is the name which in Arabian legend is applied to those combats (cf. *Lisān*, s.v. *ayyam* viii, 439, 1 according to Ibn al-Sikkī) which the Arabian tribes fought amongst themselves in the pre-Islamic (some-

times also early Islamic) era. The particular days are called for example *Yawm Bu'āḡh* = "Day of Bu'āḡh", or *Yawm Dhī Kār* = "Day of Dhī Kār". Their number is considerable. Many of them however are not commemorative of proper battles like the "Day of Dhī Kār", but only of insignificant skirmishes or frays, in which, instead of the whole tribes, only a few families or individuals opposed one another. The Arabs themselves sometimes noticed this fact. Al-Zuhayr b. Ḥakkar for example, when speaking of the combats between the Aws and *Khazraj* tribes, observes that only on the day of Bu'āḡh a proper battle had been fought, and that the remaining days the fight had been limited to throwing of stones and beating with sticks (*Aḡḡal*, II, 162, l. 12; this passage was evidently derived from Zubayr's account of the combats between the Aws and *Khazraj*, which is mentioned in the *Fihrist* I, 110). The number of these combats, handed down by tradition, has increased but increased by the fact that a great many were called by different names after the settlements, well-springs, hills etc., near which they took place. Consequently one and the same occurrence has been recorded in various places under different names.

The course of events on each individual day follows a somewhat similar pattern. In this respect what has been said by Wellhausen (*Sitzansatz und Vorarbeiten*, iv, 28 ff.) about the particular combats between the Aws and *Khazraj*, applies to the Ayyām in general. At first only a few men come to blows with one another, perhaps in consequence of a border dispute, or some insult offered to the protégés of a man of influence. Then the quarrel of a few grows into the hostility of whole races or even of entire tribes. They meet in battle. Bloodshed is generally followed by the intervention of some neutral family. Peace is soon restored. The tribe which has lost fewer men, pays to the adversary the price of blood for the surplus of dead bodies.

The accounts of the Ayyām, written in good old prose, together with the ancient poems, supply excellent information concerning conditions before Islam. They especially afford us an insight into the chivalrous spirit, by which the old Arabian warriors were inspired. Popular memory kept the recollection of these heroes alive for centuries. Hence similar subject-matter to that found in the Ayyām often occurs in later popular romances, drawn out. It is true, in legendary fashion. One example may suffice: Zīr, a hero of the *Siyar Banī Hāḡl* is none other than Muḡalīl, brother to Kulayb Wa'īl, who acts a leading part in the Basūs war between the Bakr and Taghlib tribes (Muḡalīl is already called al-Zīr = "the visitor of women" in *Aḡḡal* IV, 143, 13).

Tradition affirms (cf. Ibn 'Alād Rabbī, *Fihrist*, Cairo 1302, iii, 61 towards the end), that Muḡalīl's companions already discussed the events of the *Dhāḡhiyya* in their assemblies (*maḡāḡis*). Consequently the Ayyām al-'Arab afforded to an early period a favourite subject of study at the *Aḡḡarīyyān*, i.e. traditionists, who were engaged on the *Aḡḡar al-'Arab*, the old Arabian tales, amongst which the Ayyām are included. In the *Fihrist* (*mabḡis* iii, *ḡam*) several of these authors are mentioned as having written narratives of particular battle-days or of all of them. None of these works on the Ayyām has come down to us in its original form; but considerable extracts by



subsequent writers are extant. Most of these have borrowed from Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825). Of his work on our subject only the title is mentioned in the *Fihrist* (i, 53 ff.). Something more concerning him is reported by Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 741, who is followed by Hādījī Khālifa, i, 499 no. 1513 s.v. *ʿUbayd al-ʿArab*). According to these authorities Abū ʿUbayda wrote two books on the Ayyām, a shorter one describing 75 days, and a more extensive one, in which he treats of 1,200.

The information concerning the Ayyām which later writers have preserved, is partly given in scattered bits, and partly in entire chapters in proper sequence. Instances of the former are found in al-Tibhī's *Ḥawāṣi* commentary on the *Kutāb al-ʿAghāni*, where they are inserted by way of explanation of events alluded to in the ancient verses, in the collections of proverbs, and in the works on geography (al-Bakrī, *Yāqūt*). Examples of the latter are contained in the *ʿIhd al-Farid* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī (iii, 61 ff.), in al-Nuwayrī's encyclopaedia *Nihāyat al-ʿArab fi Funūn al-ʿAdab* (fann v, *ḥim v*, *ḥabā v*), and in al-Bakrī's historical work *al-Kāmil fi Taʾrīkh* (i, 307-327).

The account in the *ʿIhd* was probably based on the minor work of Abū ʿUbayda. It is very concise, often to such an extent as to obscure the meaning, which can only be ascertained by comparison with more detailed accounts by other writers. Al-Nuwayrī has—as apart from details—copied the whole chapter on the Ayyām from the *ʿIhd*. Ibn al-ʿAdīb has tried to arrange the separate "Days" in chronological order, in accordance with the character of his history. His account goes into greater detail than that of the *ʿIhd*. A great deal of it must doubtless be traced back, either directly or indirectly, to the larger version of Abū ʿUbayda's work; much also to other sources all of which cannot be retraced.

Finally, it should also be noted that al-Maydānī treats of the Ayyām al-ʿArab in the 29th chapter of his *Majmaʿ al-ʿAmāl*. His narratives are extremely short, but very useful for quick orientation. He restricts himself as a rule to giving the pronunciation of the name, explaining its meaning and enumerating the tribes which engaged in the battle. In this way 132 pre-Islamic days are dealt with by al-Maydānī. In addition to those, 88 Islamic days are mentioned enumerated in a second section of that chapter. For further bibliography cf. E. Mittwoch, *Prodica Arabum pagorum* (*Ayyām al-ʿArab*) *quomodo litteris tradita sint* (Diss.) Berlin 1899; C. L. Lyall, *Ibn al-Kalbī's account of the First Day of al-Kalāb*, in *Orientalische Studien* (Nöldeke-Festschrift) 127-134; W. Cackel, *Ayyām al-ʿArab*, in *Islamica*, iii, Suppl. (1939), 1-99; I. Lichtenstädter, *Women in the Ayyām al-ʿArab*, London 1935. (E. Mittwoch)

**ʿAYYĀR** (see *ʿayyār*).

**ʿAYYĀR**, literally "casual, tramp, vagabond"; Arabic pl. *ʿayyārān*, Persian pl. *ʿayyārān*. From the 9th to the 12th century it was the name for certain warriors who were grouped together under the leadership (s.v.) in Iraq and Persia, and gradually also in Transoxiana, similar to the *ḥabāḥ* (s.v.) in Syria and Mesopotamia, and by the *rimān* (s.v. *ARM*) in Anatolia. Occasionally, the term is used to mean the same as *ṣayfīn* (v. *FATĀ*). Thus one of their leaders might sometimes be referred to as *ṣar-ʿayyārān*, and sometimes as *ṣar-ṣayfīn*. On occasions they appeared as fighters for the faith in the inner Asian border regions, on others they formed the opposition party in towns and came into power at times of

weakness of the official government, when they indulged in a rule of terror against the wealthy part of the population, as they did, for instance, in Baghdad in the years 1135-44.

It is perhaps of interest, concerning the attitude of the *ʿayyārān*, that in the *Kāshī-nama* (written in 1751/1082), or *Andar-nama*, ed. R. Levy, 122, li. 13-143, l. 4; trans. 248, there is mention of rivalry between the *ʿayyārān* of Marw and those of Kūhistan over the *ḥawāṣi* (*djūmānārdī*) being resolved by virtue of "juridical expedients" (*ḥajal* [s.v.]). In Sūfi literature there is mention of a Sūfi by the name of Nūḥ al-ʿAyyār al-Nisābūrī as a representative of the *ḥawāṣi* (cf. R. Hartmann in *ZDMG* 74, 1918, 157; and *idem*, in *Der Islam*, 8, 1918, 201 ff.; Taeschner in *Der Islam*, 24, 1937, 59 ff.). At any rate, a distinction was made between the *ʿayyārān* and the Sūfis as far as the *ḥawāṣi* was concerned. In this connection, the following remark is of some interest: Hujwiri (d. 465/1072) mentions that this very Nūḥ al-ʿAyyār has said that the *ḥawāṣi* of the *ʿayyārān* consisted in their wearing the *murādā* of the Sūfis, in other words that they behave like Sūfis and keep the holy law, the *ḥajal*, whereas the *ḥawāṣi* of the Sūfis of the Māmalūk persuasion (see *MAĀLAWATIYYA*) consisted not in wearing any external marks, but in keeping the mystical spirit (*ḥabīb*). (The *Kashf al-maḥjūb* . . . by ʿAlī . . . al-Hujwiri, transl. . . . by R. A. Nicholson, Leiden and London 1911, 183; *Kutāb al-Kashf al-maḥjūb*, ed. V. Schukrovskij, Leningrad 1926, 222, lines 10-18; Fackl al-Dīn ʿAtīk, *Tadhkirat al-Ayyār*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, i, 332, lines 9-16). The same Nūḥ al-ʿAyyār defines the difference between the two *ḥawāṣi* by saying that the one of the *ʿayyārān* consists in faithfulness to the spoken word, whilst that of the *ḥawāṣi* to the spirit. This report first appears in Ibn Dīnawarī (13th/11th century) (Fr. Taeschner in: *Documenta Islamica inedita*, *Festschrift R. Hartmann*, Berlin 1932, Sentence No. 79, 113 and 118).

**Bibliography:** Apart from works already mentioned in the article: Compilation of excerpts concerning the *ʿayyārān* (*ʿayyārān*) by Fr. Taeschner in: *Die Welt als Geschichte*, iv, 1938, 390-392; *idem*, in: *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semiotik und Islamwissenschaft*, ed. R. Hartmann and H. Schell, Leipzig 1934, 348-352; *idem*, in: *Schweizerische Anstalt für Volkskunde* 1950, 132-135. Concerning the rule of the *ʿayyārān* in Baghdad between 1135 and 1144, compare my review of Gerard Salinger's essay, *Was the Futuwa an Oriental form of Chivalry?* in: *Oriens* 5 (1932), 332-336, where the relevant passages are translated.

(Fr. Taeschner)

**AL-ʿAYYĀSHI**, ABD ʿAL-NAṢR MUHAMMAD b. MAʿQID b. MUHAMMAD b. ʿAYYĀSH, a Shīʿite writer of the 3rd/9th century. He was a native of Samarkand, and was said to have been descended from the tribe of Tanīm. Originally a Sunnī, he was converted while still young to Shīʿism, and studied under the disciples of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl (d. 224/839; al-Tūs 93) and of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿIḥd al-Tayāḥī (d. al-Astarābādī, 211). He spent his patrimony of over 300,000 dinars on scholarship and tradition, and his house was a centre of Shīʿite learning. He is credited with the authorship of over 200 books. Though accused of relating traditions on weak authorities, he is often cited by later Shīʿite writers. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Kāshgharī, author of a well-known Shīʿite biographical work, was his pupil.

**Bibliography:** al-Kāshgharī, *Riḍā*, Bombay 1317, 379; al-Tūs, *Fihrist Kutub al-Shīʿa* (Bibl. Ind. no. 60) 317-320; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿUlamāʾ*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḥṣā, Tehran 1934, 88-9; al-Nadīshī, *Riḍā*, Bombay 1317, 247-50; al-Astarābādī, *Miḥdāj al-Maḥal*, Tehran 1306, 319-320; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel) 126-67; Brockelmann, S.I. 794; W. Ivanow, *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism*, Bombay 1946, 15, 95. (R. Lewis)

**AL-ʿAYYĀSHI**, ABD SĀLIM ʿABD ALLĀH b. MUHAMMAD, imam of letters, traditionist, lawyer and Shīʿi scholar, born in the Berber tribe of the Ait (Ayl) ʿAyyāsh of Middle Morocco, died in the east of Shabān 1037/April-May 1724, died of plague in Morocco on 10 Dhū ʿl-Ḥaḍa 1093/13 December 1679. After having travelled through Morocco "in search of knowledge" and obtained an *ijāza* from ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Fāḍ (s.v.), in 1059/1649 he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca going via Touat, Ouargla and Tripoli; then, in 1064/1654 he made a second pilgrimage, on returning from which he wrote the *Ribla*, called *Maʿ al-Masāʿid* (For 1316/1898, 2 vols). This is one of the most important travel accounts for information on the road taken by caravans going from the Maghrib to Mecca, in spite of the fact that the author attaches less importance to describing the countries through which he passed than he does to the enumeration of the celebrated men whom he met, especially scholars and Sūfis; the style of the *Ribla* is fairly simple when al-ʿAyyāshī is not speaking of Sūfism, though it is lacking in colour and vivacity. This work, which enjoys great popularity in the Maghrib, has only been partially translated into French (see A. Berbrugger, *Voyages dans le Sud de l'Algérie . . . in Exploration scient. de l'Algérie*, ix, 1846, and Motylinski, *Études sur Tripoli et l'Égypte*, Algiers 1900). Another travel account, composed in letter form, has been translated into French by M. Lakhdir (*Les étapes du pèlerin de Sidi-Jilma* à la Mecque et Médine, in *4e Congrès Fédér. Soc. sav.*, Algiers 1939, ii, 671-88).

Al-ʿAyyāshī is, moreover, the author of several further works: *Manāṣir al-ḥiṣṣa*, a treatise in verse on sales, with a commentary; 2) *Tanbih al-Dawāʾ ʿl-Himam* al-ʿAlīya ʿala ʿl-Zuhd bi ʿl-Duʿūd al-Fāniya, treatise on Sūfism; 3) a study on the particle *wa*; 4) *al-Ḥum bi ʿl-ʿAdā wa ʿl-ʿImād al-Dār* is ʿl-Kāḍif fi-mā wahaʾa bayn Fuḥaḥ al-Sijil-masā min al-ḥabīb; 5) *Ḥidāʾ al-Aḥṣar baʿd*; *Ḥabīb al-Aḥṣar*, biographical collection; 6) *Tahṣīl al-Ḥifāʾ al-Ḥabīb al-Ḥabīb al-Ḥabīb*, biographies of his masters (these last two works probably forming his *Fakhr*).

**Bibliography:** Irānī, *Safout man intaḥar*, 701; Kādirī, *Nasr al-Maḥāḥ*, ii, 45; Yūs, *Muḥaddar*, 76, 150; Djahādī, *ʿAḡāḍ al-ʿAḡāḍ*, Bōlūk 1297/1880, i, 65 (Cairo 1323/1905, i, 68); Ibn Zākir al-Fāḍ, *Nasr al-Aḥṣar al-Buḥān*, Algiers 1929, 60; R. Basset, *Récueil de mémoires . . . XVIIe Congrès Orient.*, Algiers 1905, 31; E. Fagnan, *Cat. mus. Bibl. Nat. d'Alger* iii, 1679, 1902; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorfa*, 262-4 and index; R. Blachère, *Extraits Géog. arabes*, 369 ff.; M. Hadj-Sadok, in *Bull. Et. Ar.*, Nov.-Dec. 1948, 204-5; Brockelmann, II, 464, S. II, 717.

(M. Ben Cherem-Ch. Pellat)

**AYYIL**. The word, for which different pronunciations are transmitted (also *ayyāl* and *ʿayyāl*), the latter being considered as the best one, is commonly explained by Arab lexicographers as meaning the

mountain-goat (see *ʿil*). This identification, however, is not fully borne out by the descriptions of the *ayyil* which are given by Muslim zoologists. Here, the properties and ways of behaviour ascribed to the animal only partly apply to the mountain-goat, while, in the main, they rather point to the deer, which is also in keeping with the meaning commonly attributed to corresponding forms in other Semitic languages. This conclusion, moreover, gets supported by a comparison of the terms used in earlier foreign sources and in the respective accounts as transmitted in Arabic zoological literature. However, in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry (see, e.g., *Nāḍi's* *Indegwairbuch*, 53, and *Tā*, ii, 121a; against Hommel, 279) *ayyil* may actually mean the mountain-goat, since the deer probably never existed in the Arabian peninsula.

These facts can serve as an illustration of the inconsistencies in medieval zoological terminology, which not infrequently denotes different animals by one name and vice versa. For this reason, too, part of the information given by several writers with regard to the *ayyil* is to be found, e.g., in Karwīn under the heading *bahār al-wahāb*, Comp. also *Djāḥī*, iv, 227 with vii, 30 f. (on *waʿil*). Because of the graphic similarity of *ayyil* and *ibī* both words have sometimes been confused through mistranscription, and the accounts on either animal became transferred to the other.

A considerable part of the information on the *ayyil* contained in Arabic works goes back to foreign sources, such as Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* (quoted, e.g., by *Djāḥī*) and the ancient *Physiologus* literature. The latter, especially, contributed a number of fabulous accounts.

According to Arab pharmacologists certain parts of the *ayyil's* body and in particular its horns can be put to various medicinal uses.

Al-Damīrī does not indicate the rôle of the *ayyil* in the interpretation of dreams, which is pointed out, e.g., in ʿAbd al-Ghānī al-Nābulus's *Taʿrīf al-Aḥām* (s.v.).

**Bibliography:** Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī, *Imdād*, i, 266, 160, 170, 172, 176, 184, 185 (transl. Kōpfl. *Oriens* iii [1950], 463 [index]); Damīrī, s.v. (transl. Jāyṣkar, i, 222 ff.); *Djāḥī*, *Hayawān*, index; Hommel, *Säugetiere*, index s.v. *Steinbock*; Ibn al-Bayṭar, *Djāḥī*, Bōlūk 1291, i, 72-73; Ibn Kutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Aḥbār*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 99, 100 (transl. Kōpfl. 75, 76); Karwīn (Wüstenfeld), i, 356-87; Ibn Sīdā, *Maḥṣar* viii, 32; A. Malouf, *Arabie Zoöl. Diet.*, Cairo 1932, index; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-ʿArab*, ix, 124 ff.; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat*, Cairo 1324; i, 58-59; al-Mustawfī al-Karwīnī (Stephenson), 12-13; R. Wiedemann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Naturwiss.*, liii, 236, n. 1.

(L. Kopp)

**AYYŪB**, the Biblical Job. The name apparently occurs in pre-Islamic Arabia but only as a name derived from the Biblical story. Job is mentioned twice in the *Kurʿān* in lists of those to whom Allāh had given special guidance and inspiration (iv, 163/161; vi, 84), and fragments of his story are given in xxi, 83-84; xxxviii, 41/40-44. Muḥammad being expressly bidden to make mention of him in his preaching, these fragments merely tell of his suffering affliction at the hands of Satan, crying out to God for relief, and being healed, so that his case becomes an admonition for men. In the story of the miraculous spring by which he was healed there seems to be a confusion with the Naaman story of II Kings v, and in the obscure verse about his







taking a bundle in his hand and striking with it, there may be a similar confusion with the story in 11 Kings xiii, 14 ff. (See Bell, *Qur'an*, 454 and *Introduction to the Qur'an*, 162, 163).

Later Muslim writers greatly amplified this meagre Qur'anic account, drawing partly on the Biblical Book of Job, (which Ibn 'As'kir actually quotes), partly on Rabbinic tales from Talmud and Midrash (for which cf. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. Job) and the Greek Testament of Job, but also exercising pious imagination in developing various details of the story. That Job was a descendant of Abraham through Isaac is generally agreed, though there is great confusion in the names which appear in his genealogy. His mother was a daughter of Lot. His wife, who figures so largely in the story, is generally called Rahma, daughter of one of the sons of Joseph, though some said she was Leah the daughter of Jacob (obviously a confusion of Leah with Dinah, who in Rabbinic sources is said to have been Job's wife). His great wealth is described in detail, and his unparalleled kindness and generosity to the poor, the unfortunate, the poet and the stranger. This piety excited the enmity of Iblis who challenged Allah to let him test Job. The testing is permitted in three stages, appearing at his property, his family and his body, Iblis being assisted in the afflicting of Job by the 'ajirāt under his command. Job is abandoned by all save his faithful wife, who continues to tend him even when he is cast out on the dunghill, and to his bodily afflictions is added that of lack of understanding on the part of his friends. Failing to move Job by these afflictions Iblis attempts to seduce him through his wife as he had formerly seduced Adam through Eve. Job, however, sees through his stratagems and takes an oath that he will beat his wife for having listened to Satan. The exegetes are obviously puzzled by Allah's granting permission for his faithful servant to be so afflicted and so are at pains to suggest a variety of explanations, the favourite being that Job's pride in his piety needed a lesson. Finally Gabriel brings him news of his release from his sufferings by the water of a miraculous spring from which he drinks and in which he bathes and so is restored. His wealth, his property, his children are also restored to him double and he dies at the age of seventy-three in the place where he had lived.

Since he was a prophet (*nabi*) we are told that he came after Joseph in the prophetic series (though Ibn al-Kalbi placed him after Jonah), that he had a *risala* and preached to his own community in the Hawran, being peculiar in that he was a prophet whom no one ever treated as false. Job will appear in the events of the Last Day, for at the Accounting Allah will use him as an example to answer those who seek to excuse their negligence in religion on the ground of their ill health, and he will be the leader of "those who patiently endured" as the various groups make their way to Paradise. Al-Mas'udi, *Murūj*, i, 91 reports that the shrine over his grave was a place of visitation at Nawā near Damascus, where people were still shown the rock on which he sat during his affliction and the spring in which he bathed and was healed (cf. also Yāqūt, ii, 645).

**Bibliography:** The Commentaries on Qur'an xxi and xxxviii; Tabari, i, 361-364; Tha'alibi, *Kisās al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1339, 106-114; Kisa'ī (Eisenberg), 179-90; Ibn 'As'kir, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, iii, 190-200; Ibn Kalīth, *al-Biddāya wa'l-Nihāya*, i, 220-225; Pseudo-Balchī, *Le Livre de la Création* (Huart), iii, 72-5; M. Grünbaum,

*Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 262 ff.; D. Sudersky, *Origines des légendes musulmanes*, 69-72; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 100-1. (A. JERREY)

**AYYŪB KHĀN**, the fourth son of Shīr 'Alī, Amir of Afghanistan, and brother of Ya'qūb Khān. Like all rulers of Afghanistan, Shīr 'Alī had trouble with his sons. When, in 1873, he nominated his favourite son 'Abd Allāh Dīn as his heir-apparent, Ayyūb Khān fled to Persia. In 1879, when Ya'qūb Khān succeeded Shīr 'Alī as amir, Ayyūb Khān returned to Afghanistan and was appointed governor of Harāt. Towards the end of the Second Afghan War (1878-80) Lord L. Lytton's government selected a Salafist prince, named Shīr 'Alī, as the wāli of Kandahār. From this position he was ousted by Ayyūb Khān, who also decisively defeated a British army under General Burrows at Maiwand, on 27 July 1880. The situation was retrieved by Sir Frederick (afterwards Lord) Roberts, who marched rapidly from Kābul to Kandahār, routing Ayyūb's troops and forcing him to retire on Harāt. When 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān became Amir of Kābul, his first task was to extend his control over the country. In July, 1885, Ayyūb Khān, who was in possession of Harāt, declared a *ghidā* against 'Abd al-Rahmān because he was a British nominee, and occupied Kandahār. Towards the end of 1885, he was crushingly defeated by 'Abd al-Rahmān, who also expelled him from Harāt and forced him to seek refuge at Mashhad in Persia. Once more, in 1887, during the Ghilzai rebellion, he attempted to regain his position in Afghanistan but was defeated and compelled to flee to India. Here he remained until his death on 6 April 1914.

**Bibliography:** S. Gopal, *The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon*, 1933; S. M. Khan, *Life of Abdur Rahman*, 1900; and Lord Roberts, *Forty-One Years in India*, 1907.

**AYYŪB SABRĪ PASHA**, Ottoman naval officer and author. A graduate of the naval college, he held various appointments, and served for a while in both the Hijāz and Yemen. He died in Istanbul in 1308/1890. He was the author of a number of historical and descriptive works on Arabia, including an account of Mecca and Medina (*Ma'ālāt al-Madīna*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1301-6), and a history of the Wahhābīs (*Tārīkh al-Wahhābiyya*, Istanbul 1296). Besides these he wrote a biography of the Prophet called *Ma'ān al-Sayr* (Edirne 1287).

**Bibliography:** Babinger 372-3; Siḡidī, *Quthmānī*, i, 431; *Quthmānī Madfīn*, iii, 26-7.

(B. LEWIS)

**AYYŪBIDS**. Name of the dynasty founded by Salāh al-Dīn b. Ayyūb, which, at the end of the 6th/12th century and in the first half of the 7th/13th century, ruled Egypt, Muslim Syria-Palestine, the major part of Upper Mesopotamia, and the Yemen.

The eponym of the family, Ayyūb b. Shādhī b. Marwān, born in the village of Ajlūnān near Dvin (Dabul) in Armenia, belonged to the Rawādī clan of the Kurdish tribe of the Hadhānā, and, at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, had been in the service of the Salghūrid dynasty. He was a Kurdish, who had been installed in the government of this region by the Salghūrid Sultan Alp Arslan in the middle of the preceding century. Gradually, however, all the Kurdish princes and lords were eliminated by the Turks, many of them, to avoid losing everything, entering the service of the latter, with whom their Sunnī ardour and taste for war provided a close affinity. When in 524/1130, the Shā-

dhīd lost Dvin, Shādhī entered the service of the Salghūrid military governor of 'Irāk, Būhrā; Būhrā, who held Takrīt as an *ihdā'*, made Shādhī governor of that town, a post in which his son Ayyūb soon succeeded him (V. Minorsky, *Prehistory of Saladin*, in *Studies in Caucasian History*, Cambridge 1953, 107-129). It was in this capacity that Ayyūb earned the gratitude of the master of Mawil and Aleppo, Zankī (Zangī), who after being defeated by the Caliph, was able, with the help of Ayyūb, to cross the Euphrates and withdraw without a disaster. In the country behind himself, Zankī first of all adopted a systematic policy of subduing and then recruiting the Kurds. In 532/1138, Ayyūb entered his service. He was at once used by him in Syria, being appointed governor of Ba'bak, opposite Damascus. On Zankī's death, Ayyūb placed himself under the Bīrid prince of Damascus, who gave him the governorship of that town, whilst his brother Shīrkhū, followed Zankī's son, Nūr al-Dīn, the master of Northern Syria, who gave him Hama as an *ihdā'*. However, the trend of public opinion in Damascus finally led to the unification of Muslim Syria, with a view to the more effective prosecution of the war against the Franks, under the command of the prince with the most power and the greatest enthusiasm for the *ghidā*, Nūr al-Dīn; in the surrender of Damascus the activities of the two brothers, Shīrkhū and Ayyūb played a major rôle, and Ayyūb chose the side of Nūr al-Dīn, the governor of the Syrian capital.

It is impossible to describe the activities of Shīrkhū in Nūr al-Dīn's service in detail here. The family fortunes began, when he was chosen, rather against his will, by Nūr al-Dīn to lead the army to Egypt, which, at the request of the sultan Shāwar, was to intervene in that country against his adversaries. The result of several years of difficult fighting was the assassination of Shāwar and the proclamation of Shīrkhū as his successor to the wazirate. It is true that he died a few weeks later (561/1166), but his nephew, Salāh al-Dīn b. Ayyūb, was with him, and quickly succeeded in getting himself recognised by the occupying troops as his successor.

Salāh al-Dīn (known in Europe as Saladin) is the real founder of the dynasty. Its history can be divided into three periods: that of Salāh al-Dīn himself, a formative period bearing the imprint of his personality, the strongest in the family, to which, however, the policy of his successors was opposed on many points; the period of his early successors, a period of organisation, up to the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil (655/1238); lastly, to the period of long-drawn-out decline. Under the second period it will be convenient to group together the study of several problems of interior organisation, which are common to the whole history of the régime.

The detailed history of the reign of Salāh al-Dīn cannot be given here, but will be given in the article concerning him; an attempt will only be made to reveal those features which are indispensable for the understanding of the following period, which one has especially in mind when speaking of the Ayyūbids.

Although the assumption of power by Shīrkhū and Salāh al-Dīn took place in Egypt with much the same forms as in the case of the preceding *suqat* of the Fātimid régime, by the conferring of a diploma by the Caliph al-'Aḥid, they were none the less the representatives of the orthodox militant tradition inherited from the Salghūrids, more or less common to all the Turkish princes of Muslim Asia at that

time, and especially typified by Nūr al-Dīn. In 566/1171, Salāh al-Dīn considered he was able to suppress the Fātimid Caliphate and proclaim the return of Egypt to the family of states owing allegiance to the 'Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad. For the first time in two centuries, Egypt became officially Sunnī again; in point of fact, the majority of the population had never been won over to the Ima'āliya of the Fātimids, and although those elements which were most strongly attached to the régime, and which were, moreover, partly of foreign origin, attempted to re-establish their position by revolts, the advent of the new régime was received among the masses with the same passivity which they had shown to its predecessor.

Invited by the Fātimid Caliph, then by the 'Abbasid Caliph, and at the same time a vassal of Nūr al-Dīn, Salāh al-Dīn found himself in an equivocal position vis-à-vis the latter, which would doubtless have led to conflicts, had Nūr al-Dīn not died in 569/1174. Disagreements and the weakness of his successors produced the immediate result that the dominant military power in the neighbourhood of the "Latin Orient", which for fifty years had resided in Northern Syria, now passed to Egypt. Whilst Nūr al-Dīn's successors dropped the policy of the holy war, which had given the former his prestige and strength, Salāh al-Dīn adopted the idea, though it is not possible to discern to what extent ambition was combined with undoubtedly sincere conviction. (H. A. R. Gibb, *The Achievement of Saladin*, in *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, xxv-1, 1952, 46-60). However that may be, the idea led him to claim for himself the unified command of the Muslim armies, to win a large share of public opinion for his cause and, ultimately, to constitute to his own advantage a state, in which the heritage of Nūr al-Dīn, including Egypt, Muslim Syria and a part of the Hijāz, was regrouped and extended, in a more solid manner than that of his predecessor's kingdom, at the time of its brief and final apogee; this was an accomplished fact in 1181. At the same time, relatives of his established themselves in the Yemen and one of his generals, Karakūsh, on the borders of Tunisia.

The power formed in this way enabled Salāh al-Dīn to utilise the internal crisis of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the difficulties of the Byzantine Empire and the tension which had arisen since 1170 between himself and the Latins, to undertake to drive the latter out of Palestine and Syria. His success was his main title to glory among his contemporaries and posterity; in 583/1187 the Franks were crushed at Hattin, Jerusalem became Muslim again after eighty years, and in the ensuing months, almost all the Christian territories fell, including a large part of the coast, where only Tyre, Tripoli and Antioch still held out against him.

Salāh al-Dīn's power was founded on the strength of the army, and his whole policy required a strong army. This was no longer, with the exception of a few contingents of irregulars, the army of the Fātimids. It was the Kurdo-Turkish army, completely alien to the Egyptian population, inherited from Nūr al-Dīn and developed by Salāh al-Dīn by means of the resources of Egypt. In 577/1181, the Egyptian army amounted to 111,000; 6,976 *ṭawāgh* (cavalrymen with full equipment) and 1,153 *ḥazāghlām* (second grade cavalrymen), without mentioning the Arab frontiersmen, unfit for foreign campaigns (H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, iii/4, 1951, 304-320). To this



army must be added the Syro-Djazzir contingent, including those of Mawālī, which the treaty subsequent to the hostilities of 1174-1183 allowed Salāh al-Dīn to call together in case of need: a little over 6,000 men in all. It was with almost his entire forces, some 12,000 horsemen, that Salāh al-Dīn won the victory at Hattin and his later successes. But, as was the case with the European armies, such an assembly of troops could not normally be kept on campaign for a protracted period, owing to the re-equipment requirements of the soldiers (cf. *infra*). And considerable efforts and conviction would be required to maintain the indispensable effective strength over the whole of the time which the struggle against the Third Crusade lasted. Campaign and siege equipment, which had probably increased in quantity and quality, was also the object of attention, as is shown by the treatise on gun-making of Muḥd (or Maḥd) b. 'Alī, which has come down to us (cf. J. Cahen, in *Et. Or.*, xii, 1948, 108-113).

In the first years of his rule, Salāh al-Dīn had been threatened by the Byzantine, Norman and Italian fleets, using the bases in the Latin Orient. He made a great effort to reconstitute the Mediterranean navy of the Fātimids, which had deteriorated in the 6th/12th century as the result of internal troubles and the progress of the Crusaders and the Italians. By this means he was even able to carry out offensive operations against the nearest Frankish ports. The possibility cannot be excluded that the expansion of Karakūsh along the African coast had as its aim, at the same time as providing an outlet for turbulent Turkomans, the control of the shores along which Muslim vessels were able to range, and a closer approach to the source of supplies of wood and sailors. The Crusade put an end to this effort, which was weakened by Egypt's inferiority in these last two respects, and it does not seem to have been repeated by his successors (A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *The place of Saladin in the naval history etc.*, in *JAOS*, LXXV-2, 1953, 109-110).

There is no doubt that it was partly the need to procure the raw materials required by his armament on land and sea, and not only preoccupation with commercial interests, that led Salāh al-Dīn, very soon after he came to power, to renew and increase the connections which had existed under the Fātimids with the Italian trading cities, including Pisa, which had gone furthest in encouraging the Franks to attack Egypt. Pisans, Genoese and Venetians flocked to Alexandria, where the Venetians found, more than at Acre, compensation for the impossibility of trading at Constantinople, a situation in which the Byzantine government placed them from 1171 to 1184 (J. Cahen, *Orient Latin et commerce du Levant*, in *Bull. de la Fac. des Lettres de Strasbourg*, 1951-2, 1951, 352). Salāh al-Dīn could boast in his letters to the Caliph that Frankish themselves were delivering arms to him which were destined to be used against other Franks (Abū Shāma, i, 243).

Salāh al-Dīn also took advantage of political developments in Byzantium and Cyprus to negotiate, unbeknown to them, with their princes against the Franks. When he felt the approach of the European menace, he attempted, after having won, via Karakūsh, the ally of the Almohad, Banū Ghāniya of the Balearic Islands against the Normans and the Almohads, to draw near to the latter to form an alliance, mainly maritime, against the Crusaders; this attempt, however, met with no success (cf. Godefroy-Demombynes, in *Mélanges René Bassot II*, and Sa'di Zaghāl 'Abd al-Hamid,

in *Bull. Fac. Arts Univ. Alexandria*, vi-vii, 1952-3, 24-100). The same reasons explain his negotiations with the Saljūqids of Asia Minor.

A war policy, naturally, was expensive and all the evidence goes to show that Salāh al-Dīn was a bad financial administrator, always on the point of going bankrupt. In necessary conformity with the religious ideal with which he infused all his propaganda, he everywhere suppressed the taxes deemed by *shīkh* to be illegal. Similarly, his desire to eliminate all traces of the Fātimid régime, led him to replace the coinage by a new one, of variable weight, in the case of both gold dinars and dirhams, which could no longer be obtained at a fixed value; but the burden of expenditure, the decline in income, especially to begin with, as the result of disorders, the exhaustion of Egyptian gold, the precariousness of the routes towards Sudanese gold, which were controlled by the Almohads, even caused instability in the standard of the dinar, the minting of dirhams containing variable quantities of alloy in addition to the legal Egyptian dirham, (which contained 20 % silver, worth 1/40th of a dinar), and, as a natural consequence, the disappearance of sound coinage. Salāh al-Dīn, and after him, al-'Aziz, lived on loans from the merchants and amirs, which were never repaid. Of course, it could be maintained that the profits derived from the war would make it possible, in the long run, to restore financial stability. But this calculation, if ever made, turned out to be wrong, as the result of the Third Crusade (cf. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Contribution to the knowledge of the fiscal administration of Egypt* . . ., in *BSOAS*, xv-3, 1953 and xv-3, 1954; *The standard of fineness of gold coins in Egypt* . . . in *JAOS*, LXXIV-3, 1954; *The crisis of the dinar in the Egypt of Saladin*, *ibid.*, LXXIV-3, 1955).

One of the results of Salāh al-Dīn's policy was the formation of a coalition, for the salvation of the Latin Orient, of the western forces, which were even joined by the Italian towns, adversely affected by the loss of the Syrian ports. In the end, even if the Franks did not retake Jerusalem, at least they recovered the major part of the Syro-Palestinian coast; moreover, they laid hands on Cyprus, which henceforth provided a secure naval base and a position to which they could withdraw. Salāh al-Dīn was by no means defeated. But the formidable effort which he had had to sustain for two years, convinced him that it was fruitless to wish to expel the Franks, and made a period of *diplomatie* and recovery a matter of urgency. It is impossible to know what Salāh al-Dīn might have done, for he died a few months after the conclusion of peace (589/1193).

II. The period of the reigns of al-Malik al-'Adil and al-Malik al-Kāmil (died in 615/1218) appears essentially as one of *diplomatie* and organisation after the disorders which followed the death of Salāh al-Dīn.

The first eight years which followed the disappearance of the founder of the dynasty put to the test the conception of family unity which he had entertained as regards his monarchy and succession. He had granted, either in the form of fiefs during his lifetime or as shares in his inheritance, in addition to the Yemen, where two of his brothers reigned in succession, Central and Southern Syria to his son al-Aḥdā, Egypt to his other son al-'Aziz, Aleppo to a third son, al-Zāhir Ghāzī, whilst Hamā passed to his nephew Ṭāqī al-Dīn 'Umar, Hims to his cousin, Shīrkūh's grandson, al-Muḥdīd, and lastly the Djazira to his brother al-'Adil Abū Bakr. The

latter, who had played an important rôle during the reign of Salāh al-Dīn as a diplomat and administrator, was now the eldest member of the family and indisputably the most eminent of its surviving members. The sons of Salāh al-Dīn, who were incapable of doing anything but amuse themselves or wrangle among themselves, upon several occasions solicited his alliance or his arbitration. Whether or not al-'Adil was an ambitious man, it was becoming clear that the security of the Ayyūbid monarchy required him to take over its destinies. In 597/1200, he had himself proclaimed Sultān in Syria, distributed the governments of Damascus and Djazira among his sons, and after the last hostilities in 1201, of the other former princes, he only permitted those of Aleppo, Hims and Hamā, who were forced to do homage to him, to continue to exist. Naturally, after al-'Adil's death, similar problems again arose. The presence at that moment (615/1217) of a Crusade at Damietta maintained solidarity for a time around his eldest son, al-Kāmil, who, like him, governed Egypt, and was moreover an imposing personality. Once the Frankish danger was removed, the agreement between him and his brother al-Mu'azzam of Damascus, who died in 625/1228, and then the latter's son and successor, al-Nāṣir Ḍa'ūd, was disrupted. Al-Kāmil was helped by the loyalty of his other brother al-Ashraf, to whom he gave Damascus in exchange for Diyar Mudar, whilst Ḍa'ūd was relegated to Karak. Then, for a few years, al-Kāmil was the undisputed head of the family; however, a coolness was making itself increasingly felt between al-Ashraf and himself, when the former died (635/1237); al-Kāmil then took Damascus away from the other brother, al-Sāḥib Ismā'īl, whom al-Ashraf had designated as his successor, but he himself died at the beginning of the year when he was the last Ayyūbid who might have been able to unite the whole Ayyūbid family behind him. One should not be misled by the disagreements; up till then there had always been a majority of members of the family willing to place solidarity in the face of their common enemies above their individual interests, and in one way or another, solidarity had always been restored for half a century or so; after the death of al-Kāmil the situation changed.

Ayyūbid rivalries with neighbouring princes, however, interfered with their dissensions among themselves. In 604/1207, the troubles at Aḥlāt provided al-Aḥwad, the son of al-'Adil and at that time governor of Diyar Bakr, with the possibility of annexing to Ayyūbid territory the inheritance of the Shāh-Armin (upon al-Aḥwad's death, he was succeeded there by al-Ashraf). Other annexations were carried out in Diyar Bakr and Diyar Rabi'a, and lastly, in 611/1233, that of Amid and Hims Kayfā; only a single branch of the old Artukid dynasty subsisted, that of Mardin. Thus it was that the Ayyūbids emerged from these wars with a stature.

However, from about 1225, Mesopotamian-Iranian politics were dominated by the approach of Ḥajjāl al-Dīn Manguberti, who at the head of his Khwārizmians fleeing before the Mongol invasion, was putting Iran and its borders to fire and sword. Al-Mu'azzam and the Djazirani opponents of al-Ashraf and al-Kāmil offered him, and he was even enabled to take Aḥlāt, which was pillaged in terrible fashion (1229). The Khwārizmshāh then invaded Asia Minor, where the Saljūqid Sultān was reinforced by al-Ashraf: this time the invader was crushed near Erzinjān (628/1230).

There were more lasting causes of friction between

the Saljūqid and the Ayyūbids. The interests of the two dynasties had already clashed at Diyar Bakr in the time of Salāh al-Dīn, and in the 13th century the development of the Saljūqid power made conflicts inevitable. The Saljūqid sought to spread from their mountains over the Arab plain, from Northern Syria to Diyar Bakr. According to circumstances, they achieved this either by attacking the Ayyūbid territories or by posing as the sovereign-protectors of the Aleppo branch against their Egyptian cousins. Al-Ashraf's expedition to the assistance of Kaykubād gave al-Kāmil the impression that the conquest of the Eastern part of the Saljūqid territory would be an easy matter: in 1231, a coalition of all the Ayyūbid forces invaded it. Ignorance of the country and the lack of enthusiasm of some of those taking part led to failure of the enterprise. Later, the Saljūqid army took Amid from al-Kāmil's successors (1241). It had already taken the ruins of Aḥlāt from the lieutenants of al-Ashraf.

Finally, there were the Christian enemies: the Georgians, whom it had been necessary to fight in the vicinity of this same Aḥlāt, and, naturally, the Franks themselves. In the latter case, the Ayyūbids drew from the Third Crusade a moral diametrically opposed to the policy of Salāh al-Dīn. Their aim was to preserve the peace, by avoiding any hostile action, on the one hand in view of the economic advantages of peaceful relations, and on the other hand to avoid giving any pretext for further Crusades. Further Crusades did in fact take place, but their immediate initiative came entirely from Europe, rather than from the Franks of the East. Naturally the Ayyūbids took every precaution in their power to resist them, and there was no question of military negligence. The fall of Byzantium and the decline of the Almohads deprived them of the possible allies which Salāh al-Dīn had endeavoured to obtain, and, having relinquished the maintenance of a large and vulnerable fleet, they afforded Egypt protection by the land army, by fortifications, sometimes by destroying coastal installations (Tinnis), and by espionage. However, with the Crusaders, even al-'Adil and al-Kāmil had tried as far as possible to replace the costly chances of war by diplomacy.

In accordance with the tendencies of this policy, in 1204 al-'Adil restored to the Franks the coastal places which he was occupying, which reconstituted the continuity of the Frankish territories, with the exception of the enclaves of Lajdhūya, which belonged to the principality of Aleppo. At the time of the Fifth Crusade, his successor al-Kāmil, whilst calling his brothers in Asia to his assistance, offered to restore Jerusalem to the Franks, who refused it, in exchange for the evacuation of Damietta, and took care to avoid any real battle. It was especially at the time of the Crusade of Frederick II that this attitude was disclosed in a manner most calculated to affect public opinion. Al-Kāmil's desire for peace with the Franks was then strengthened by the menace of al-Mu'azzam, the ally of the Khwārizmians. Aware of circumstances which predisposed the Emperor for his part to negotiations, he finally granted him Jerusalem, with the reservation that it should not be fortified and freedom of worship should be maintained; pious Muslims and pious Christians were equally scandalised. A real friendship arose between the two sovereigns, which was to continue even between their successors.

The principality of Aleppo was confronted by slightly different local problems. These princes,



disturbed at being the only direct descendants of Saladin to confront the family of al-'Adil, sought both to ally themselves with them by marriage and to guard themselves against the masters of Egypt, sometimes through the Ayyūbids of Ḍiḡira, Hims and Hamā, and at other times through the Saljūqids of Rīm, and naturally also, at times, with the ones against the others who had encroached too far. The ambitions of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia also troubled them, and their several times intervened, with the Saljūqids against it, giving assistance to the Frankish princes of Antioch, who were weaker.

A normal and intended consequence of the peace policy adopted towards the Franks was the resumption and intensification of commercial relations with the Italians (and now, to a lesser extent the Southern French and the Catalans). Even before formal treaties had been concluded once more, as is shown by the private documents in the Venetian and Genoan archives, Genoan, Pisan and Venetian ships, after the Third Crusade, were once again going to Alexandria, and, to a lesser extent to Tunis. Under al-'Adil, a series of agreements confirmed their rights, a reduction in customs' dues and administrative and judicial facilities. Furthermore, the accessibility of the principality of Aleppo to the sea had the result that even in Syria, Italian merchants were to be seen no longer confining themselves to Frankish ports, but were also disembarking at Laḍḍikiya and regularly visiting the markets of Aleppo and Damascus. An incident in the personage of Genoa, William Spinola, seems at one time to have enjoyed al-'Adil's special favour, accompanying him on his journeys through his estates (this can be seen from a comparison between the *Annals of Genoa* used by Schaube, *Handels-geschichte der Mittelmeer-Romane* 121, and Ibn Naṭīf, cited in Asari, *Bibliotheca arabico-sinica*, II, Appendix, 25, which was unknown to Schaube). Egypt sold to Europe, besides the products of the Indian Ocean which passed through its territory in transit, native resources, the chief of which at this time seems to have been alum. Naturally the Crusades, or the fear of surprise attacks, were liable to provoke crises, as for instance the day in 1215 when three thousand merchants assembled at Alexandria were temporarily arrested. But even after the Damietta Crusade, relations were resumed (as is shown among other things by a document of immunity in Arabic from al-Kāmil to the Venetians which is to be published by Suhbi Labib) and lasted in the main without undue interruption until the middle of the century.

But, though the Italians were the masters in the Mediterranean, and Egypt played a purely passive rôle in trading with them, only making a profit from the taxes and commissions, they were prevented from access to the Red Sea, and the commerce of the Indian Ocean remained exclusively in the hands of the subjects of Muslim (or Hindu) states. We are not in a position to determine exactly what rôle the Egyptians played, or that of the Yemenites or other more easterly peoples. The exact nature of the merchants called Kirmīn, specialists at Aden and in Egypt in the trade in products brought from the Indian Ocean and especially spices, still remains obscure; they appear to have existed since Fātimid times, but it is in the Ayyūbid period that they really make their appearance in the rôle which was to be more especially theirs in the following century (cf. the elucidations of Goitein and Fischel in the

press for the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1958, and G. Wint, *Les marchands d'Épices . . . in Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, 1955). The occupation of the Yemen may have had as its primary motive the humbling of the supporters of a Fātimid restoration or the formation there of an eventual refuge for the Ayyūbids; but its object was doubtless also the improvement, which in any case occurred, of commercial relations, of primary importance for both parties, between the Yemen and Egypt, with whom Yemenite currencies and some measures were aligned (Ibn al-Muḍāwir, ed. Lefgren, 118 ff.).

The almost complete internal peace which Egypt enjoyed, and the relatively long periods of peace from which Syria profited, certainly had a favourable influence, though it is difficult to give precise indications, on their economy, which was also stimulated by the possibilities of trade and which the Ayyūbids deliberately strove to promote, even though only for their fiscal interests. For Syria and the Ḍiḡira we are able to gain a certain idea of their resources through the *Al-'Adil* of Ibn Shaddād, who describes the situation on the eve of the Mongol assault; more precisely, for the crafts of Damascus, much information is to be found in the treatise on *ḡibā* composed about 600/1200 by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Naṣr al-Shayzārī (ed. 'Aḥlī, Cairo 1946, trans. Benhauser, *Les institutions de police* etc. in *J.A.*, 1866, where the author is called Nabrawī), apparently the prototype of all successive treatises of this kind in Syria and Egypt. For Egypt, besides the information preserved by al-Makrīzī, many indications are to be found in the treatises of Ibn al-Mammātī and al-Nābulusī (cf. *infra*); the latter especially attests al-Kāmil's interest in the maintenance of forests, irrigation works, state cultivation of sugar cane etc. In general, Egypt, in contradistinction to the other Ayyūbid states, remained, as always, the country *par excellence* with a partly nationalised economy, especially for mining and forest production, trade in metals and wood, certain means of transport and tools, arms etc. The *Law* of al-Nābulusī, a pamphlet composed after the disorders which followed al-Kāmil's death, stresses the harm done by the interference of private undertakings with those of the State, and by the frauds perpetrated by officials at the first relaxation of control.

Under al-'Adil and al-Kāmil, in addition to the attention paid to economic matters, a strict financial policy was maintained. Al-'Adil's great minister, Ibn Shukr, made himself famous by his competence combined with intractable behaviour towards everyone, including his own sovereign. After him, al-Kāmil maintained an equally energetic control over expenditure and resources (including the *ḡibā* of the amirs) and on his death left a treasure almost equivalent to a year's budget. For Egypt, the inquiry carried out by al-Nābulusī in the Fayyūm, although relating only to 642, shows the minuteness of the cadastral survey and accounts (cf. Cl. Cahen, *Le régime des impôts dans le Fayyūm ayyūbide*, in *Arabica* 181, 1916). For the northern states, Ibn Shaddād has left us lists of taxes for the towns of Aleppo, Manḡbiḡ, Sarḡil and Bāḡis. The care taken with the finances and the economy also made possible the resumption of the large-scale minting of dinars at the standard normal before Salāh al-Dīn. Nevertheless, it seems to have been difficult to check the flight of silver coinage before that of copper (De Boiard, *L'évolution monétaire de l'Égypte médiévale*, in *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, 1939).

The internal history of the Ayyūbid states has been the subject of few studies. Yet it is essential that it should be known, especially for Egypt, since it is at this period, by means of a partial break with the Fātimid past and the introduction of Saljūqid and Zankid traditions from further Asia, but also inevitably with some retention of the Egyptian heritage and with innovations of local administration, that the foundations were laid of the régime which, to a large extent, the Mamlūks, for two centuries, simply prolonged and completed in detail. Naturally only a few rather incidental allusions can be made here.

The Ayyūbid régime, approximately up to the late years of al-Kāmil, was a semi-feudal family federation, as, for example, had been that of the Ḥiyūḍid and, to a lesser extent, of the Saljūqids and Zankids. Under a sovereign to whom all owed allegiance, a certain number of territories were distributed to vassal "princes of the blood" who, apart from the limitations imposed by their primary military allegiance to the ruler, enjoyed complete autonomy in administering them (cf. for example, the diploma of investiture of a prince of Hamā by al-Kāmil preserved at the end of the Chronicle of Ibn Abī 'I-Dam, Oxford Bodl. Marsh 60). Within these great appanages, there were lesser ones, likewise distributed to princes of the blood of second rank or to a great few officers, whose loyalty was to the vassal prince, and whose effective independence was naturally more restricted. It was only slightly lower down the scale that the military *ḡibā* properly so-called, of which we shall speak later, were to be found. However, towards the end of al-Kāmil's reign, this régime began to undergo certain modifications; the aggravation of family conflicts obliged the Sultān, who during his absence in Egypt had himself represented by a *ḡibā*, sometimes belonging to his family and sometimes not, to replace the princes in the Asiatic provinces also by governors, taken from among their domestic attendants, as for example at Diyar Bakr, Shams al-Dīn Sawāb, either standing beside a young prince or not, and whose title of *ḡibā* also stressed his dependence better than any other title would have done. The conditions in which, after al-Kāmil, al-Sāliḡ al-Dīn reconstituted the Ayyūbid unity, led to the triumph of this centralist conception; moreover, in Egypt, there had never been autonomous appanages, except as a quite exceptional and temporary measure (for example in Fayyūm). In Asia, on the other hand, all the autonomous princes, like the sovereign in Egypt, now bore the title of Sultān, which Salāh al-Dīn himself never officially made use of, perhaps because of its connexion, in the Fātimid heritage, with that of *waṣir*; and even the subordinate Ayyūbids bore that of *malik*.

The organisation of the Ayyūbid states, as a natural result of the preceding considerations, was never unified. In general, leaving aside the Yemen, there can be distinguished on the one hand the territories of Asia, which perpetuated Zankid institutions without any great modifications, and on the other, Egypt, where newer institutions were introduced, or at least newer as regards Egypt. As is normal, the central organs of government there were transformed to a greater extent, in relationship to the Egyptian past, than the subordinate and the rules of local administration. An attempt to adjust matters was made, once the initial troubles were over, during the lifetime of Salāh al-Dīn himself, as is shown by the description of Fātimid institutions

Encyclopædia of Islam

composed for the new régime by Ibn al-Tuwayr (extracts in al-Makrīzī and Ibn al-Furāt), the treatise of the *ḡibā* Abū 'I-Ḥasan on *ḡibā* (extracts in al-Makrīzī) and the famous *Kawāṭib al-Dawāṭir* of Ibn al-Mammātī, which have been preserved; others could be added, as, for example, a little later the more literary work of Ibn Shīḡ al-Kurḡil on the *ḡibā*. As the counterpart of and a contrast to these methodical accounts, there appeared at the end of the Ayyūbid régime the various treatises, preserved or known only through quotations, of 'Uḡḡma b. Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī, which are a vivid witness of his concrete experience.

The central government was naturally directed, more or less effectively according to temperament, by the Prince himself; most of the princes holding appanages had a *waṣir*, that is to say, an official who ensured in the Prince's name the unity of direction of the whole administration. But the institution was less usual in Egypt; whatever prestige the *ḡibā* al-Fāḡil may have enjoyed in Salāh al-Dīn's eyes, he certainly never, despite what has been said, bore the title or fulfilled the functions of *waṣir*, first because this sovereign himself performed the functions of government, and second because it was as *waṣir* that he had originally come to power in Egypt in accordance with the late Fātimid practice endowing the *waṣir* with plenary authority. For quite a long time his brother al-'Adil had the redoubtable Ibn Shukr as his *waṣir*, whom he had learned to value as his associate in directing Salāh al-Dīn's navy; al-Kāmil took him back for a time, but then subsequently assumed the direction of the administration himself, with the help of high officials, to whom he sometimes, but not always, gave the title of *ḡibā* of the *waṣir*. After him, al-Sāliḡ Ayyūb had as his *waṣir* one of the "Sons of the Shaykh" of whom we shall speak again later. Princes who were minors and orphans had an *shah* (q.n.). The *waṣir* al-Fāḡil, a kind of intendant of the Sovereign's "Household", played an important political rôle.

Below the prince and the *waṣir*, the central administration was divided between the *ḡibā*s, the names and attributions of which no longer exactly corresponded to those of the Fātimid period. It was essentially the army for which the régime still operated, hence the importance of the *ḡibā* al-*ḡibā*, a section of which dealt with the *ḡibā* and, in this respect, possessed a competency which in part coincided with that of the *ḡibā* of Finance; on this latter were dependent all questions of taxation, income and expenditure, and the Treasury, with a section devoted to the finances of the *ḡibā* itself; it is described in detail, with the exclusion of the others, in the treatise of Ibn al-Mammātī. The third great *ḡibā*, which in certain respects was pre-eminent among those just mentioned, was the *ḡibā* al-*ḡibā*, the Chancery, entrusted with correspondence and the composition of diplomas; of this the director enjoying the greatest reputation was al-Fāḡil, who had been taken over from the Fātimid régime ('Imād al-Dīn al-ḡibā, who emulated him in belles-lettres, was private secretary to Salāh al-Dīn). Finally, marginal, though of no less importance, was the *ḡibā* of the *ḡibā*, indicated by al-Nābulusī, which naturally enjoyed complete autonomy as against those just mentioned. The Ayyūbids adopted the Saljūqid *ḡibā*, which they distorted (Cl. Cahen, in *BSOAS*, xiv/1, 42). The work of these offices involved large numbers of documents and employees supervising



one another. The most striking institution of the Ayyūbid régime seems to have been the *ghadd*, the office of the *mushāhid*. The administration was dependent, naturally, on a native personnel, frequently Copts, who alone possessed the requisite traditional training; but either because it did not inspire sufficient confidence or because on its own it had insufficient power to make its decisions effective against powerful, especially military officials, there was attached to each *Diwān* and also, perhaps, to the *Diwāns* as a whole, a *mushāhid*, that is to say an amir entrusted with the supervision of the ordinary civil administration, which he supported with his own military contingents.

The army seems to have had contingents at least equal to those of Salāh al-Dīn's time and, in case of need, it could of course be temporarily augmented by the distribution of new provisional *thihs*. Though pay or direct distribution did not entirely disappear, the *thihā*, however, was the main source of revenue for the army, or at least for the amirs. The Ayyūbid *thihā* was connected with both the Fātimid and Saljūkid traditions, but, especially in Egypt, did not exactly correspond to either of these models. It was freer, economically, than the Fātimid *thihā*, in the sense that it was no longer subject to tithes; but, compared with the Zankid *thihā*, which conferred on the holder a kind of seigniorial autonomy over his territory, it was much more closely incorporated in the State administration: although the *mushāhid* was responsible for some items of expenditure, in reality he possessed no actual administrative rights, being merely the assignee of a definite revenue, the composition of which did not depend on him, and which could be withdrawn from him or transferred elsewhere at any time. This revenue was calculated according to an estimate, *ʿibra*, in a unit of account, the *ḍinar ḡayyātī*, which was made up of a specific combination of payments in cash and in kind from the crops; however, generally speaking, it was the interested party who, at the time of the harvest, was obliged to go and supervise the levying of the tax due to him (hence the difficulty of maintaining an army in the field for any considerable time). The *thihā* of the great amirs were, generally speaking, made up of parcels of land at a distance from one another. The number of men, which the *mushāhid* could and had to maintain on them, was stated precisely (likewise in the Ayyūbid territories in Syria), and it became the custom, unknown until then, to speak of amirs of *n* men, *200 men* etc. (Cf. C. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'ihā*, in *Annales ESC*, 1953).

One of the weaknesses of this army lay in the fact that the various corps of which it was constituted were lacking in unity and were mutually jealous. A few traces of ethnic hostility can be found between Kurds and Turks. It does not appear to be attributable to any great extent to the fact that the former were apparently free men and the latter, at least prior to their promotion to the amirate, slaves. The most seriously significant factor was that each ruler tended to form a body of troops of his own, acquired by him individually and therefore personally devoted to his cause; the disappearance of a ruler, however, did not entail that of the body or bodies of troops formed by him, within which there prevailed a vigilant solidarity, arising out of fear of the new bodies of troops. The rivalries between *anadīyya* (from *ʿAsad al-Dīn Shīrkūh*), *ḡalabīyya*, *ʿāḍīyya*, *ḡalabīyya*, *ḡalabīyya* etc. play a great part in the quarrels between Ayyūbid pretenders.

The military policy of the Ayyūbids was completed by the construction of impressive fortresses both urban (Aleppo, Cairo etc.) and rural, which they matched especially against those of the Crusaders.

At times there has been speculation as to the extent to which certain characteristics of the Ayyūbids can be attributed to their 'Kurdish'. Considerations of this kind too often derive from gratuitous prejudices and falsified information. It does not seem that the presence of Turks beside Kurds in the Ayyūbid régime differed profoundly from that of Kurds beside the Turks in the Zankid régime, and both institutionally and intellectually the two régimes are related, allowance being made for the consequences of environmental conditions. Yet it is probably not a matter of chance that the Ayyūbids sought to expand to Dīyar Bakr and Aḥlāt, that is to say towards their country of origin, or at least into Kurdish territory, so as to ensure the continuity of Kurdish recruitment. However, within the actual dynasty, in the course of successive generations, Turkish and Kurdish blood was mixed; and we shall see that in its last days the régime indeed lost itself of its Kurdish aspect.

The Ayyūbids in any case, like the Zankids and their other contemporaries, were staunch Sunni Muslims, working under the aegis of the sovereign, to promote Orthodox Islam against heresy. This attitude was first of all revealed by the reintroduction of Egypt into the 'Abbasid family, and more durably, at a time when the Caliph al-Nāṣir had restored a certain prestige to the Caliphate, it was manifested by an expression of respect, of a concordance of opinions which, whilst naturally not diminishing the autonomy of the Ayyūbids, were not however purely verbal, authorising, for example, in the settlement of disputes, the frequently effective mediation of such caliphal ambassadors as Ibn al-Dīawī. Furthermore, the Ayyūbids, like other rulers of their times, who tried to take in hand the lower classes of Baghdad and at the same time consolidate his administration and reassert his moral authority among the aristocracy; he hoped to associate the princes with himself in this undertaking, both in order to attach them to himself and to enable them to conduct a similar line of action among their own people (cf. the latest assessment of this question by Fr. Taeschner, *Die Palastine*, in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, tiii, 1956).

The orthodox attitude of the Ayyūbids is also shown in the concrete encouragement which they and their high dignitaries gave, after the Saljūkids and Zankids, to increasing the numbers of *madrasas* in Syria and the *Diwāra*, and to their introduction into Egypt. Al-Sāḥib Ayyūb appears to have been the initiator of a new form, the *madrasa* for the four rites including in its buildings the tomb of the founder. On the other hand, the Ayyūbids welcomed the mystical orders, often originating in the East, for whom they founded various *ḡhawāsh*, more generally evident is the fact that quite a few immigrants of recent or remote Iranian origin are to be found surrounding them, as with the Saljūkids and Zankids, especially in the controlling spheres of intellectuality; there seems also have been a tendency for them to associate the kids and religious circles more extensively with the government. Especially remarkable under their rule was the so-called family of the Soos of the *Shaykh* of Khurāsānī origin (see AWLAD AL-SHAYKH), who,

contrary to the almost universal particularisation between the military, religio-legal and administrative castes, succeeded in being eminently represented in all three, especially in the case of the *waṣīr* Maʿīn al-Dīn and his brother the amir Fakhr al-Dīn who, for a short time before his death in the battle of Maṣīra, acted as regent of the realm.

Nevertheless, if one compares the behaviour of the Ayyūbids with that of the Great Saljūks, a greater flexibility is certainly to be observed. This is doubtless connected with the general aim of relaxing tension which we have noted, moreover, in the policy adopted towards the Franks. But it must also be said that the heretics of Syria had been sufficiently weakened by the Zankids for it to be no longer really necessary to fight them, and that in Egypt Ismaʿīlism seems hardly to have left any regrets. At Aleppo, however, the government of al-Zāhir ḡhāṣ was stained by the blood of the Iranian mystic Suhrawardī Maḡṣūl, executed during the lifetime of Salāh al-Dīn; but it must be said that this was a very special individual case, and that this measure was taken on the basis of Aleppo. The majority of the Ayyūbids were ḡhāṣīs, in contradistinction to the Turks who were Hanafīs; and although doctrinally this does not impute to the latter a stronger degree of intolerance, the result may nevertheless have been that the Ayyūbids had a less intimate contact with the pietists, devoted to the militant spiritual mission of the Saljūkids. However, al-Muʿazzam and his son Daʿūd were Hanafīs, and this perhaps partly explains their conflicts with al-Kāmil; they certainly appear, for example, at the time of the dealings with Frederick II, doctrinally to represent the intransigent party.

Christians and Jews, generally speaking, likewise appear to have had no grounds for complaint against the dynasty. As is almost always the case, when an exception occurs, the motive is political and not confessional. There is no doubt that the Ayyūbid occupation impaired the exceptionally favourable conditions enjoyed by the Armenians under the last Fātimids (see ARMÉNIENS). But it was the Copts who profited from these confiscations and not the Muslims. Similarly, when Salāh al-Dīn retook Jerusalem, he favoured such of the native Christian communities there as could not be suspected of co-operation with the Franks (cf. *inter alia* C. Cahen, *Indigènes et Croisés, un médecin d'Amaury et de Saladin*, in Syria 1934, and E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, in Rome 1943). The Ayyūbid period in Egypt was one of vitality for the Coptic Church. When moments of tension arose, it was generally as a counter effect of Crusades, in so far as collision might be feared, for example, between Mulkites and Latins. That it was not considered necessary, however, in normal circumstances, to prohibit intercourse between indigenous and Latin Christians is shown by the permission accorded by the Ayyūbids for Dominican and Franciscan missionaries to enter their kingdom, provided that no attempt was made to convert Muslims. It is true that the traditional discriminatory measures in respect of non-Muslims were from time to time revived, always with the same ineffectiveness. The Jews were also passably well treated, even being invited to return to reconquered Jerusalem, and refugees from Spain, such as Maimonides, were favourably received (see E. Ashtor-Strauss, *Saladin and the Jews*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 1956, 305-26).

The climate certainly offers a partial explanation for the intensity of cultural life in the Ayyūbid domains. Syria in the 13th century was truly the heart of Muslim culture in the Arabic language. Egypt was soon to rival her, but had not as yet quite achieved a synthesis between the survivals from her own past and the imported elements favoured by the Ayyūbids. All the credit for this flowering cannot indeed be claimed by the Ayyūbids, but it would be unjust to deny any credit to princes who were themselves frequently men of letters and scholars, and who in general sought to protect and attract the representatives of all disciplines compatible with orthodoxy. The economic progress and the general advance of Muslim recovery in the area which the Crusades had involved most directly in the struggle, must have accomplished the rest. There is little object in giving a list of names of men of letters and scholars. The names of the historians and geographers will be found in the bibliography of sources; Ibn al-Kifṭī (*waṣīr* of Aleppo) and Ibn Abī 'Usayb'a, biographers of scholars and physicians, draw our attention to the importance of the support given to these latter in the hospitals; among the poets (some of whom were studied by Rūkāb, *La Poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides*, 1949), the historian will perhaps more especially note al-Amjad Bahārūghāh, himself an Ayyūbid, or a man of the *sāḥ* such as Ibn al-Dīawī (cited in the *Maḡṣūb* of Ibn Saʿūd). Furthermore, emphasis should be laid on the many Spanish refugees who established themselves in the Ayyūbid domains, men as diverse as the historian-geographer Ibn Saʿūd, the grammarian Ibn Mālik, the botanist Ibn al-Bayṭar and the mystic Ibn al-'Arabī.

It is not possible to speak at length here of the Ayyūbid principality of the Yemen; Ayyūbid intervention here certainly had the same importance for the country as was the case in Egypt. Ayyūbid rule to a certain extent restricted the quarrels of sects and princelings who divided the country among themselves, and brought about a political unity which was to survive them; although, from 629/1232, the Ayyūbids were supplanted by the Ruṣūlids, the latter had their origins in their officer ranks, and continued their traditions. The Ayyūbid régime reintroduced Sunni Islam to the Yemen and linked it more closely to Egypt, politically, economically and institutionally. The persistence of religious divisions in the population may have been the origin of the strange attempt on the part of the third Ayyūbid to pass himself off as an autonomous Unṣayyāli Caliph; after his overthrow, al-'Adil and al-Kāmil stressed their intention of not allowing the Yemen to escape from their hands by sending one of the sons of the latter to take over the succession. Al-Kāmil, however, was unable to prevent the accession of the Ruṣūlids, but the latter were at pains to show themselves, at least at the outset, as allies of the Ayyūbids; later there arose conflicts of influence between them at Mecca; commercial relations, however, seem never to have been broken off.

III. The death of al-Kāmil marks the end of the true Ayyūbid régime, with the reservation that the resulting degradation was, in a large measure, implicit in its very constitution. Al-Kāmil had relegated his eldest son, al-Sāḥib Ayyūb, to the government of Hīn-Kayfa and designated his youngest son al-'Adil to succeed him; al-'Adil made himself disliked and his opponents appealed to al-Sāḥib. The latter, in the course of fierce struggles, accompanied by



many reverses, conquered his throne and restored the unity of command of the Ayyūbid states (a unity rendered ephemeral by his death), not only at the expense of his younger brother, but also of the majority of the Ayyūbids of Syria, especially al-Sāliḥ Ismāʿīl, who had become master of Damascus. It is true that there had already been a coalition between Ayyūbids and Khwārizmians, did not prevent the latter from being protagonists from the first place, receiving the territories which they governed from the Sultān, the head of the family, or family solidarity from keeping the harmful effects of these conflicts within definite limits. This time, the adversaries viewed one another as usurpers, and it was naked strength which gave the victory to al-Sāliḥ. Nevertheless, this strength was no longer derived from the old Kurdo-Turkish army; it was derived from the Turkish mercenaries who had been due to the fact that, as his father's lieutenant in Egypt, in his district of the Kurds, he had carried out a large scale recruitment exclusively of Turkish slaves. The army which he organised on becoming master of Egypt was exclusively Turkish. But, in the meantime, his successes had been due to an even more disquieting element: the Khwārizmians who, after the defeat and death of Qāṣid al-Dīn, had been driven back from Asia Minor where for a time they had served the Ayyūbids, and were seeking an employer and a territory. He invested them with Diyār Muḍar and summoned them to fight against his enemies in the Djaḍra and in Syria; it was partly due to them that these wars were of so devastating and ruthless a character, until at last al-Sāliḥ, having no further need of them, caused them to be annihilated by his cousins of southern Syria. Furthermore, though the former Ayyūbids had kept the peace with the Franks, and at that time the al-Kāmil had even entertained an alliance with Frederick II against his brothers, such plans had never been actually realised. This time, the Franks appeared in alliance with al-Sāliḥ Ismāʿīl and with al-Nāṣir Ḍaʿūd of Karak, himself against al-Sāliḥ Ayyūb and the Khwārizmians, which resulted in an irreparable disaster for both of the former. This marks the appearance in al-Sāliḥ of a warlike spirit against the Franks, a spirit which was unknown to his father, and the orders of St. Louis, at the beginning of which the Ayyūbid ruler died.

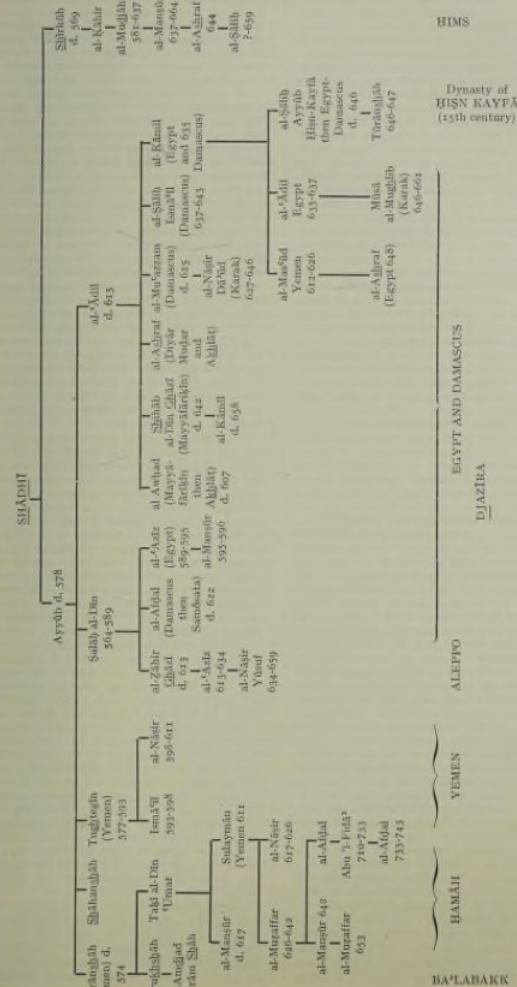
In effect, he was the last Ayyubid. His son Tûrânshâh was massacred after a few months by his troops, and even though several child puppets still carried on the name of the Ayyubid dynasty for a time, it was in fact from 647/1249 that the establishment of the new so-called Mamlûk régime dated. Al-Sûlî was the real creator of this régime. The well-knit and well-disciplined army of Turkish slaves, called the Bahriyya from the name of the barracks on an island in the river (Bahr), was the real arbiter of the situation; neither al-Sûlî nor Tûrânshâh were military leaders. The dynasty might have lasted longer if the latter had not been unbalanced; it was inevitable that the Bahriyya would supplant him by a leader promoted from themselves, which they in fact did when, on the death of Tûrânshâh, they raised the Turkomân 'Izz al-Din Ayyub to power, first as *atâbeg* and then as sultan. The 'Kurdish' dynasty was succeeded by the 'Turkish' régime, in the words of contemporaries.

The Northern Ayyūbids continued for a little while longer, but without further success. Their

lives were spent under the shadow of the terror caused by the approach of the Mongols. They hesitated between submission which they feared might be annihilation, and armed resistance of which they despaired in advance. However, Nāṣir of Aleppo, with the aid of the Mamlik Sultan, had become the standard-bearer of the Ḥamīyah cause, and it required the mediation of the Caliph in face of the Mongol danger to bring about an agreement that all Syria belonged to him, the Mamlik Sultan being satisfied with Egypt. But in 1258 Baghdad fell and, in 1260, Aleppo, Damascus and Mayyāfīdīn were either captured or abandoned. The invader, who seemed to be invincible. The unfortunate al-Nāṣir, who unlike others did not dare to seek refuge in Egypt, was finally captured by the Mongols and, well treated at first, paid with his life when news arrived of the defeat of the Mongols by the Mamliks at 'Ayn Jalūt (i.e. in Syria) at the end of the year 1260. The capture of Syria by the Mamlik Sultan Baybars, the principality of Karak (which moreover had been lost to the family of Dā'ūd in 1248), which was of great strategic importance, was subjugated; the principalities of Aleppo and Hims had disappeared of their own volition; that of Ḥamāh alone, made illustrious by its aristocratic 'Aḥl al-'Idā', was restored, and existed (with one interval) until 1322, by reason of its absolute docility.

There was however another branch which survived for more than two centuries under the Mongols and their successors, in the vicinity of Hısn Kayta; reduced to the level of a local seignior, it returned in a rather odd way to its origins, in that it drew a large part of its strength from the Kurdish tribes who had become powerful in the region and among whom it attempted to play an ever-repeated rôle as arbiter. It succeeded in surviving the Turkish catastrophe, preserving a centre of power in the region, but in the end succumbed to the invasions of the Kurds, but not before the remnants of the Kayta, the Kayvânî, and the Kaykhanî of its members regained a minor local importance at the time of the Ottoman conquest (cf. Claude Cahen, *Contribution à l'Histoire de l'Émirat Rûm au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in J.A. 1955).

**Bibliography:** A. Sources. A number of archival documents of the Ayyubid period have been preserved; official documents, reported in Sinal (A. S. Atiya, *The Arabic MSS. of Mi. Sinal*, Baltimore 1935), or discovered in the Italian archives and published (M. Amari, *Storia della Sicilia Normanna*, Palermo 1854; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handelsgeschichte Venedigs*, 3 vols. 1856-7); etc. Also Subhi Labib cited above; private documents, in the collections of papers of Cairo, Vienna, etc. (cf. for example A. Dietrich, *Die Ewerhande aus der Ayyubidenzeit*, in *Dioctylism*, ed., Berlin Akad. Wiss. 1925). There are also partial collections of documents, such as the correspondence of the Kādī al-Faḍl (on whom see A. N. Helbig, *Der Kādī al-Faḍl*, 1909), inadequate, of the Ayyubid al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd (Broekmann, I, 318, and C. Cohen, *REL*, 1936, 341), and of al-Aḥdāḍ al-wazīr, Dīwā al-Dīn b. al-Aḥlī (analyses of MSS. by Margoliouth in *Xth Congress of Orientalists*, Rabat, 1930; in *Macbrigg xxxvii*, 1939); and the correspondence of al-Gāṣi al-Ghāṣi (1504-5), the first also cited in Abū Shāma cited infra; various Jewish documents in the collections of the Cairo Geniza.





On the whole, the essential sources for us continue to be the narrative sources, on which several comprehensive studies are to be found in the Introductions of Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 1940, and H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil* (in the press); for the times of Salāḥ al-Dīn, H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin*, in *Speculum*, xxvii, 1950. For this first period, the main sources are 'Imād al-Dīn al-'Iṣṭahānī, *al-Bār al-Shāhīn*, of which only two fragments exist, at Oxford (cf. H. A. R. Gibb, in *WZKM*, LII, 1953), but of which more or less complete summaries are given in all the subsequent literature and especially in Abū Shāma, *al-Rawdaḥayn*, Cairo ed. 1287/1272, 2 vols. (the first part of a new critical edition by Hilmy M. Aḥmad appeared in Cairo in 1956; it goes as far as 538/1233); extracts in *Hist. Or. Crois.*, iv and v; it should be completed by *al-Fath al-Kawī*, idem, ed. C. Landberg, devoted to the events of 1187 (cf. J. Kraemer, *Der Sturz des Königsrichs Jerusalem in der Darstellung des —*, Wiesbaden 1952). The other important Arabic sources are Ibn Ḥaddād, *Life of Saladin*, in *Hist. Or. Crois.* III; Ibn Abī Tayyib quoted in Abū Shāma, *op. cit.*; the *Itinerary of Ḥamīd*, ed. Cl. Cahen, in *BEO*, Damascus 1937, and the Christian Abū Sālīb the Armenian, *Churches*, etc., ed. Evetts. For the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Aṭīr becomes the main Arab source, to which must be added the last pages of Ibn Abī Ḍamm (Oxford MS. Marsh 360), Ibn Naṭīf (MS. Leningrad IM 159 ed. in preparation by H. Gottschalk); a few extracts in Amari, *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, II, Appendices; occasionally uttered in Ibn al-Furāt, *infra*, the extracts from the Memoirs of 'Abd al-Latif preserved in the *Ta'rikh al-Idm* of Ḥabīb al-Dīn and the authors quoted for the following period. For the 7th/13th century of the Ayyūbids as a whole and especially from about 1220, the fundamental source is the *Mafarid al-Karāh* of Ibn Wāṣil (ed. undertaken by al-Shayyāṭ, who so far has published the first two volumes stopping at the death of Salāḥ; extracts quoted in the *Bibliothèque des Croisades* of Michaud, IV (by Reinaud) and in the comments on the translation of Makrīzī by Blochet in *ROL*, ix-33); this work and the *Mir'at al-Zamān* of Sibt Ibn al-Jawādī (facsimile ed. Jerebt, on which is based that of Hayyārābādī, II, 1952, Moscow, ed. *Arab. 1957/2* review by Cl. Cahen), especially important for Damascus, are the two sources used almost exclusively for the whole of subsequent historiography; the overrated Abu 'I-Fida' in the main only reproduces the work of his less noble compatriot for this period; Ibn Wāṣil had previously written a more concise *Ta'rikh al-Salāḥ*, of which different sources of information (unpublished). To these authors must be added especially Abū Shāma, *Ḍayl 'ala 'l-Rawdaḥayn*, Cairo ed. 1366/1947; the Christian al-Maklūb, *al-'Amd* (edition in *BEO*, 1958, by Cl. Cahen), the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* (this part unpublished, quotations, among others, in Blochet-Makrīzī *loc. cit.*), the extracts of Sa'ad al-Dīn Cl. Cahen, *Une source pour l'Histoire des Croisades*, in *Les Mémoires de —*, in *Bull. Fac. Lettres Strasbourg*, xxviii-7, 1950; for Northern Syria, the *Zuhd* of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm (ed. undertaken by Sami Dahīb; meanwhile, Blochet trans. in *ROL*, iv-vi) and the *Ḥaḡyā* by the same author

(unpublished), and 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥaddād, *cf. infra*; in *Corpus Script.*, or, II, 14-15). The 'Iṣṭahānī point of view is to be found in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Hawādith*, etc., ed. Must. Ḍawād; the Khawāzimian in Nasawī, *Vie de Ḍiḡāl al-dīn*, ed. trans. Houdas; the Salḡūdī (of Rūm) in Ibn Rībī, ed. Houtsma (somewhat abbreviated; in Persian). See also the historians of the Mughals and the first Mamlūks. Among later Arab historians who have preserved some original materials, Ḍiḡālī (Cl. Cahen, in *Oriens*, LVII, 1951, 151-3), Ḥabīb al-Dīn (ed. in preparation), Nuwayrī (Cairo ed.), Ibn al-Furāt (this part unpublished), Makrīzī (Sa'ad al-Dīn), Must. Ḍiḡālī, *Ḥabīb al-Dīn*, ed. and, for the beginning, ed. Wiet, the only good edition; the Yemen under the Ayyūbids, better than the celebrated Khawārijī (ed. trans. Gibb *Mem. Ser.*), of late composition, the contemporary Ibn Muḡāwir (ed. Löfgren) and Hamdānī (Brooklyn, I 323, unpublished). For the principality of Hīn Kayfā, the anonymous Vienna manuscript studied in Cl. Cahen, *Contributions* etc. cited above. A general history of the whole Ayyūbīd family was composed at the beginning of the 13th century by an anonymous Syrian (Brit. Mus. Add. 7111, unpublished). On the whole, too many important sources are still in manuscript form and their publication (at least photographically) is a pressing desideratum. Translated extracts from the Arabic literature will be found in F. Gabrieli, *Storia arabi delle Crociate*, Rome 1937, and J. Östrop, *Arabische Krieger in Kortages Perioden*, Copenhagen 1906.

To the historians must be added the biographers, not only Ibn Khallikān, but also Ibn al-Kūfī (ed. Lippert) and Ibn al-'Uṣaybī'a (ed. Aug. Müller), and the geographers, Yāqūt, Ibn Sa'ūd (unpublished), and especially 'Izz al-Dīn B. Ḥaddād (Northern Syria, ed. Ledit in *Muehriq*, 1935; Aleppo, ed. Sourdel, Damascus 1948; Damascus, ed. Dahīb 1957; Ḍiḡālī, analysis by Cl. Cahen in *REL*, 1934; further extracts by Sobehānī in *Centenaire de Amari*, II, (Ba'ṭān) and in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Arab.* (Ba'ṭān), historical and administrative, to be completed by Sibt Ibn al-'Adīm, *Les Trésors d'Or*, analysis and trans. Sauvaget, 1950, and 'Ulaymī, *Description de Damas*, ed. Sauvāire, in *JA*, 1894.

As administrative treatises must be cited (besides the extracts preserved by Makrīzī) Ibn al-Manamūlī, *Kawāṣim al-Dawān* (ed. Atiya, 1943), Ibn Shīr al-Kurḡī, *Ma'āṣim al-Kubā*, ed. Khāṭir Kustānīn Paṣhā, 1913; and the tracts of Nābulusī, *Akhḡār al-Fayyūm*, ed. R. Moritz, *cf. Cl. Cahen, Les Impôts*, etc., quoted above, and *Lam' al-Kawānīn*, ed. Cl. Cahen to appear shortly, extracts by C. Owen in *JNES*, 1935; finally the *Nihāyat al-Kubā* of al-Shayyāṭ and the technical treatise on the treatise on gun-making, and the monetary treatise of Ibn Ba'ra analysed by Ehrenkreutz in *Contributions* etc. quoted above; I do not know the *Ta'rikh* fi 'l-'Uyūl al-Harbiyya dedicated by 'Alī al-'Iṣṭahānī to al-Zāhir Ḥabīb (Recher in *MFOB*, 9, 1912, 495 ed. in preparation by J. Sourdel-Thomine). The *dhinās* of the poets should not be neglected.

Naturally non-Arab and non-Muslim literature must also be consulted, which cannot be given in detail here: especially the Latin and French historians of the Crusades and of the Latin Orient, and Syriac literature (Michael the Syrian, ed. and trans. Chabot; Bar-Hebraeus, ed. and trans.

Budge; *Chronique anonyme syriaque*, ed. Chabot, in *Corpus Script.*, or, II, 14-15).

The epigraphical material has been collected in the *RCEA*, VII-X; the inscriptions of Salāḥ al-Dīn studied by Wiet in *Syria*, II. To the numismatic material provided by the usual catalogues, should be added the recent studies of Balog, Minost and Jungfleisch in *MIE* since 1950.

B. Modern Works. There is no complete general study on the Ayyūbids. The two best general accounts, though short, are those of G. Wiet in the *Histoire de la Nation Egyptienne* edited by Houtsma, IV, and of H. A. R. Gibb in *History of the Crusades* (Philadelphia, 1951) and, II (The Ayyūbids after Salāḥ) in the press. There is not even a serious biography of Salāḥ; the latest is that of A. Champredon, Paris 1956, and the least bad still that of Lane-Poole, New York 1898. Of the rest of the Ayyūbids, al-Kāmil alone has just been the subject of an important work, by H. Gottschalk (in the press); the same author has given notice of his article on Ayyūbīd Yemen). The studies on various special problems have been quoted in the article. For trade, hardly anything new has been added from our point of view to the two old classical works of W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, I, 1882, and of Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Mittelmeerromane*, 1906, which view matters from the Western point of view. Some information on institutions is contained in W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatsverwaltung im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1929. See also the general histories on the Crusades and the Latin Orient; P. Butcher, *The history of the church of Egypt, 1897*, and *supra* and *infra* the articles devoted to the individual rulers, as well as the section on *madrasa* in the article *Madrasa*. (CL. CAHEN)

AL-'AYYŪK [see *نور*].

'AZAB. An Arabic word meaning "an unmarried man or woman", "a virgin", applied to several types of fighting men under the Ottoman and other Turkish régimes between the 13th and the 16th centuries. The soldiers of various Ottoman formations, notably all those recruited by *devşirme* [g.n.], were forbidden to marry before retirement; and it may be assumed that the earliest 'azabs we read of—those employed as marine troops by the Ayḍīn Oghullar in the 13th century—were bachelors recruited from coastal villages. The term was probably used likewise for marines both in the Salḡūdī state of Konya and in those of its smaller successor states that were possessed of seaboard.

Presumably because the men concerned were again unmarried, the term 'azab was also applied from early Ottoman times to the light archers, recruited *ad hoc* for campaigns in whatever numbers were considered necessary, whose office in battle it was immediately to fire the crossbow, or to stand in front of the artillery and the Janissaries and to open the fight with a hail of arrows. These 'azabs were drawn one from every twenty or thirty "khānes" in the provinces, and supported whilst on service from the contributions of those khānes, which stood in lieu of tax payments (cf. *Awākīp*).

From the middle of the 14th century, further, there were 'azabs employed in the garrisons of Ottoman fortresses. These *haḡe 'asabkārī*, as they were called, were organised more or less like the Janissary and other *odjaks* recruited by *devşirme* (though not so recruited themselves) and paid in cash by the Treasury. Though they may all have

started their service as bachelors, these men must have been permitted eventually to marry, since places in these corps were heritable by competent sons. After the 16th century the *haḡe 'asabkārī* were sometimes employed as bridge-builders and sappers (*ḡāḡḡḡḡḡḡ*). It is perhaps these 'azabs of whom O'Glosson states (*Tableau*, VII, 399) that they were charged with the care of munitious and were incorporated in the corps of the *ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ*, and again (*Tableau*, VII, 363) that though really *ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ*, they were often called 'azabs, particularly in Egypt. This "incorporation" presumably took place after the *ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ* ceased being recruited by *devşirme*. Another late reference to "frontier" 'azabs is made by Juchereau de Saint-Denis (*Révolutions*, I, 90). Writing of the second decade of the 9th century (between the collapse of the *Nīḡmī* *ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ* and the abolition of the Janissaries), he lists the 'azabs, under *Serbadd Kullārī*, as elite infantry stationed on the frontiers.

Finally, the Ottomans continued the tradition of the Ayḍīn Oghullar in employing 'azabs at sea, as Treasury-paid musketeers, organised in companies under officers (*re'īs*) who might rise either to the command of galleys or to some of the chief posts at the Admiralty (next to which there was an 'azab barracks), as for instance its *ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ*. The men of the Admiralty *odjak* were indeed also known as 'azabs, who, like those employed at sea, were Treasury-paid. Their duty was to guard war-ships whilst in dock.

**Bibliography:** Muḡtafā Nūrī, *Natāḡi al-Wuḡḡāḡ*, I, 244; O'Glosson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, VII, loc. cit.; Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung*, etc. II, 280, 287-8; Zinkeisen, III, 202; *EL*, art. *Levend* (Kramers); *JA*, art. 'Azab (Uzunçarḡıllı); Gibb, *see* *Bowen, Islamic Society and the West*, I (part I) index. (H. BOWEN)

ĀZĀD, ABU'L-KALĀM [see Supplement].

ĀZĀD, MUHAMMAD ḤUSAYN, an Indian Muslim writer and poet, who wrote in Urdu and is noted for the unique charm of his agreeable and picturesque style and for the important rôle he played in the field of literature and education. He was born in Delhi about 1854, being the son of Mawlawī Muḡammad Bākīr, himself a pioneer of journalism in Northern India. After the political upheaval of 1857, he left Delhi and after several years' wandering arrived in Lahore in 1864. He spent the rest of his life there in the service of the education department of the Government of the Panḡjāb, writing most of his subject-matter but also of its Urdu and Persian languages. He also made journeys to Persia and Central Asia. He died at Lahore in 1910.

His principal works are: *Āḡā Hayāt*, a history of Urdu poetry, with an introduction on the history of the Urdu language; it is his greatest and best-known work, which is celebrated and highly prized not only for its subject-matter but also for its vivid and graphic style; *Subḡān-i Pārs*, on Persian philology and the development of Persian prose style; *Nīḡāristān-i Pārs*, dealing with Persian poets of India and Persia; *Nayrang-i Khayāl*, a collection of allegorical essays, translated or adapted from the English; *Darbār-i Akbarī*, which deals with the reign of the Mogul Emperor Akbar the Great and his brilliant court, and *Khawāḡ-i Hind*, or stories from Indian history. He also collected and edited the poetical compositions of his master, Muḡammad Ibrahim Ḍhawāḡ.

He used Āzād as his pen-name; and along with Altaf Ḥusayn Hālī [g.n.] he is regarded as a pioneer



of the new school of Urdu poetry, which is characterised by naturalness and greater breadth of subject and treatment and also by increased attention paid to thought and matter as opposed to language and form.

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(SH. INAYATULAH)

**AZAD BILGRAMI**, Mir Ghu'las 'Ali b. Ndr al-Husayni al-Wakfi, b. at Bilgram on 25 Safar 1146/29 June 1704; he received his early education from Mir Tulay Muhammad Bilgrami (*Subhat al-Mardjān* 99-4) and later studied with Mir 'Abd al-Djalil Bilgrami (*Ma'āthir al-Kirdm*, I, 257-77). In 1151/1758 he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina and learnt *hadith* from Shaykh Muhammad Hayat Sindhi al-Madani and 'Abd al-Wahhāb Tanfisi (*Ma'āthir al-Kirdm*, I, 162). He returned to India in 1152/1759, and settled at Awaraghabad where he died in 1200/1786; he was buried at Khuldābād (Deccan) (T. W. Haig, *Historical Landmarks of the Deccan*, Allahabad 1907, 58).

When his friend Samāsh al-Dawla Shāh Nawaz Khān (q.v.), *diwan* of Haydarābād, was murdered and his house plundered (1171/1758), Azad recovered most of the dispersed fragments of the unfinished MS. of the latter's *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, which he re-arranged and edited. The works of Azad himself cover *hadith*, belles-lettres, history, biography and poetry. His Arabic *hasid'at* in praise of the Prophet have earned him the title of Ḥasan al-Hind, after the Prophet's panegyrist Ḥasan b. Thābit (q.v.).

His notable works are: In Arabic: (1) *Subhat al-Mardjān fī Aḥādīḥ Hindustān* (lith. Bombay 1303/1886), incorporating two independent works by the author: *Shamūnat al-'Anār* and *Talqīn fī-Faḥḥ*, the former containing references to India in *Ḥurū'īn* commentaries and *hadith* and the latter on biographies of Indian scholars and 'ulamā', the chapter on rhetorical figures was later translated into Persian by the author himself under the title of *Ghulān al-Hind* (MSS. Asāliyya, I, 169; Etal., 2135; Berlin 1951); (2) *Diwan* in 3 vols. (Haydarābād 1300/1882-3) containing more than 2000 verses; a selection from his seven other *diwāns* entitled *al-Sab' al-Sayyira* was published at Lucknow, 1328/1910; (3) *Daw' al-Dawā'ir Sharāḥ Sahih al-Bukhārī*, an incomplete commentary on al-Bukhārī (MS. Nadwat al-'Ulumā', Lucknow, 99); In Persian: (4) *Khāṣina-i 'Amira*, alphabetically arranged notices of some 135 ancient and modern Persian poets with a brief history of the Marathas, (Campaner 1871, 1900); (5) *Ma'āthir al-Kirdm*, on the pious and learned men of Bilgram (lith. Agra 1910); (6) *Sar-i Asād*, biographies of 143 Persian and Urdu poets of India (Lahore 1913); (7) *Yad-i Hayyā'*, alphabetically arranged lives of 532 poets, originally compiled at Siwaṣṭin (i.e. Siwān, in Sind, where he was *naḥb* *Wahā'ī-nigār*) in 1145/1732 (MS. Asāliyya, I, 162; Ind. Lit. Off. 3966 b); (8) *Rasād al-Awṣi'*, a short compendium on the saints of Deccan (lith. Awaraghabād 1310/1892). For a detailed list of his works see *GJASB* (L), 1936, 119-30; Shams Allāh Kādirī, *Kāmus al-'A'ā'im* I, 32-5; Storey, II, 855-66.

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Khān, *Ithāf al-Nuhalā'*, 530; idem, *Abjad al-'Ulum*, 920; *Hadd'ih al-Iḥanafiyya*, 454; *Tadhkira 'Ulamā'-i Hind* 134; Wadīh al-Dīn Ashraf, *Bahr-i Zabāh* (MS), fol. 315; Kien, *Pers. Cat.*, I, 373 b, li, 376 b; *4. univ. Miscellany*, Calcutta 1785, I, 404-51; Shibli Nuṣidīn, *Mabādh* (in Urdu), v, 118-25; Brockelmann, S. II, 600-1; Mahbūl Ahmad Samdani, *Hayat-i Dīwān Bilgrami* (in Urdu), Allahabad 1929, II, 163-77; Ibrahim Khālī, *Shuhuf-i Ibrāhīm*, s.v.; Zubayd Ahmad, *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, index; Lafat Nariyan Shafiq: *Gul-i Ra'na*, s.v.; Muhyi'd-Din Zor, *Ghulām 'Alī Asād Bilgrami*, Mayawarā.

(A. S. BAZRER ANSARI)

**AZAK**, Russian Azov, called Tana by the Italians after the ancient Tanais (the Old-Tana of Jos. Barbaro) is first found on an Italian map of 1306. The Turkish name Azāk has appeared on coins since 717/1317. First the Genoese around 1316, then the Venetians in 1332, established trade remained essentially a Muslim-Tatar city which was administered by Tatar governors such as Muhammad Khāḍja about 1334, Sici-beg in 1347 and 1349, Tokobeg about 1358. A mint of the khāns was active there as late as 1441. An emporium of the East-West trade in the 14th century, Azāk declined perhaps more from the competition of the Genoese Caffa than from Tatar-bek's hostile policy toward the Italian colonies (1345-1358) or Timur's depredations (September 1396). Conquered by the Ottomans in 1473, Azāk is described as a *hadd* of the *sandjak* of Caffa in the *defter* of 1543. The town consisted of three parts: 1. Venedik-kafesi (in Ewliya Celebi, *Frēnk-hisrī*) with 198 Muslim families including garrison; 2. Djeneviz-kafesi (later Orta-bisrī) with 109 Muslim families including garrison; 3. Toprak-kafesi with 300 Tatar akhōjī and 104 families of fishermen and 57 Greek families. Extensive fisheries and large production of caviar as well as slave-trade were the chief economic resources in this period. Later when the Cossacks, Cerkas and Russians began threatening it Azāk was transformed into the main Ottoman bastion in the North. The first serious siege was attempted by Dimitrash, a chief of the Cossacks, in 1559. They eventually captured it in 1637, but had to abandon it in 1642. As the attacks were renewed in subsequent years especially in 1656 and 1659, the Ottomans made it stronger than ever (In 1666 Ewliya Celebi saw a garrison of 13 thousand men and numerous cannons in it) and later erected new fortifications around it such as Sedd-i Islām. After an unsuccessful attack in 1695, Peter the Great captured Azak on August 6, 1696. Compelled to surrender it at the treaty of the Prut (1711), he only evacuated it two years later. The Russians recaptured it in 1736.

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**AZAL** [see KIDAN.]

**AZALAY** (current orthography: azalad), a term for the great caravans made up of several thousand camels (or to be more precise, dromedaries, which in the spring and autumn carry the salt from the salt deposits of the Southern Sahara to the tropical

regions of the Sahel and the Sudan. This salt, which used to be exchanged by the Blacks against its weight in gold, if one is to believe al-Bakid (trans. de Slane, 2nd ed., 327), is exchanged today for food-stuffs: rice, millet, sugar, tea, etc. The salt from Igdl, to the West, which has perhaps been known since the 6th century A.D. (Anonymus of Ravenna), is collected by manumitted slaves of the Kounta (Moors) of Chinguiti and transported by the Moors to the markets of the Western Sudan. The salt deposits of Taoudeni have replaced those of Teghena, a source of wealth for the kings of Mali and of Gao (14th-15th centuries), and have been worked since 1585; the salt, after being collected by sedentary miners, is taken to Timbuctoo by the Kounta and by a few small Touareg caravans; it is distributed throughout the whole of the Central Sudan and the Upper Volta. To the East, the salt deposits of Bilma, Segouine and Fachi are worked by the Kanouri and the salt transported by azalay by the Touareg of Air and Damergou; it is sold in Nigeria and in the Niger Colony. The salt of Borkon (Faya) and of Ennedi furnishes supplies to the blacks of the plains of French Equatorial Africa. As regards the salt of Amador, to the North of Tammarasset, this is collected and transported by the Kol Ahaggar and the Kol Ahaggar.

The azalay is the only type of great caravan which has survived. The salt trade has always been a source of wealth to the nomads of the Southern Sahara. It persists, in spite of the competition from salt from Europe and of the sea salt deposits of Kaolak.

**Bibliography:** Capot-Rey, *Le Sahara français*, Paris 2 ed. 1959 (with bibl.). (J. DIESSEN)

**AZALI**, name given to those Bibis [q.v.] who followed Mirza Yalvā, called Subh-i Azal [q.v.], after the death of the Bāb.

**A'ZAMGARH**, town and head-quarters of the district of the same name in the province of Uttar Pradesh (India), situated in 26° 5' N. and 85° 12' E. on the river Tōs, notorious for its frequent and devastating floods; it was founded in 1026/1616-17 by A'zam Khān I, a scion of an influential Rājput family, whose head Abhinav Singh, embraced Islam during the reign of Dīshangir (1014/1605-1037/1627) and was named Dawlat Khān. Population in 1951: 26,632; district: 2, 102, 425. A series of battles between the successors of A'zam Khān I and the Nawābs of Awadh for political supremacy culminated in the battle of Pargana in 1752/1764-5, which resulted in the death of both the Rājās of A'zamgarh and the 'Amid (revenue collector) of Nizāmābād (Awadh). A'zamgarh was then occupied by Fadl-i 'Alī Khān, ruler of Ghāziyūr. On the defeat of Shudhā'i al-Dawla at Buxar in 1178/1764-5 at the hands of the British, A'zam Khān II returned to his ancestral estate. On his death in 1185/1771-2, his entire estate was annexed to the kingdom of Awadh. In 1216/1801-2 it was ceded by Sa'adat 'Alī Khān, Nawāb of Awadh, to the East India Company. The town was badly disturbed during the Mutiny of 1857 when the local prison was stormed and the inmates were set free.

The dilapidated fort built by A'zam Khān I and a temple erected towards the close of the 13th century are the only buildings of note. A'zamgarh has been frequently visited by serious floods causing widespread damage. The floods of 1871, 1894, 1896, 1898 and 1956 were particularly heavy. It has earned a bad name for Hindu-Muslim riots, which frequently took place.

A'zamgarh is now famous as a centre of cultural

activity, being the seat of the Dār al-Muṣannifin (Shibli Academy) and its Urdu organ the "Ma'drif".

**Bibliography:** *Azamgarh District Gazetteer*, 1935, 36ff.; *Imp. Gazetteer of Ind.* 1906, VI, 155-6, 162-3; Sulaymān Nadeef, *Hayat-i Shibli*, A'zamgarh 1302/1943, 39-5; Ghid'at (Lā), *Indiān-i Rāj-i A'zamgarh*, (Edinburgh Univ. MS. No. 237); Anir 'Alī Ridawī, *Sargudhagh-i Rājāh-i A'zamgarh*, (Edinburgh Univ. MS. No. 177); Anon., *Tārīkh-i A'zamgarh* (L.O. MS. 4038); Sabāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān, *A History of A'zamgarh* (in the Press). (A. S. BAZRER ANSARI)

**AZAMMUR** (Fr. Azemmour, Span. and Port. Azamor), town on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, about 75 km. South-West of Casablanca and 10 km. North-East of Mazagan, on the left bank and some 5 km. from the mouth of the Wādī Umm al-Rabī' (Oum er-Rbia). It possessed approximately 15,000 inhabitants in 1955, mostly Muslims, with a small Jewish minority (*mellah*) and a very small number of Europeans. The name is connected with the Berber *azammur* (wild olive tree). The town is famous for sand fishing, which is one of the population's principal means of livelihood and takes place each year from December to March. Its patron saint is a *sayyid* who lived at the time of the Mu'niyin dynasty: Mīlīy Bishā'ī (- Mīlīy Abū Shā'ayn).

The history of Azammur remains obscure until the time of its contacts with the Spanish and Portuguese. The former, setting out from the maritime coast of Lower Andalusia, appear to have made several incursions, between a date which it has not been possible to fix and the ratification at Toledo in 1486 of the Hispano-Portuguese treaty of Alcaz, which abandoned the Atlantic part of Morocco to Portugal. In 1486, the town appears under the sovereignty of the King of Portugal, who was then John II (1481-1495). Twenty years later, doubtless at the instigation of a party formed among the local chieftains, the Portuguese wished to occupy it effectively; in August 1506, during the reign of Manuel the Fortunate (1495-1520), they made an unsuccessful attempt to carry this out; they repeated their efforts at the beginning of September 1513, under the command of the Duke of Braganza, and this time their efforts were completely successful. As in their other places in Morocco, the Portuguese built strong fortifications at Azammur the whole of which still exists. When their positions in Southern Morocco were shaken by the fall of Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué in March 1547 (see art. AGADIR), King John III (1521-7) decided to concentrate all his forces at Mazagan, and had Azammur evacuated at the same time as Safi, towards the end of October 1547 (see art. AGADIR). Azammur, which thus became a centre of the holy war, from then onwards lived in a state of permanent hostility with Mazagan, until the Portuguese abandoned the latter place in 1769. Azammur was first occupied by French troops in 1908 and was incorporated into the French Protectorate in 1912.

Azammur is probably the home of Estebanico de Azamor, a Moroccan negro, celebrated in the history of the exploration of the American continent, who took part in 1482-1486 in the great trek of the Spaniard Cabrera de Vaca across the southern part of the present-day United States.

**Bibliography:** See the works listed under the article, ASFI, especially *Sources indiennes*, etc., and Ricard, *Etudes*, etc. In addition: *Villes et tribus du Maroc*, xi, *Région des Doukkala*, II, *Azemmour et sa banlieue*, Paris 1932 (the historical



part is rather uncertain), and Ch. Le Coeur, *Le rite de l'oudi*, Paris 1939. (R. RICARDO)

**AZAR**, the commonly accepted name of Abraham's father, based on Kur'an, vi, 74 "When Abraham said to his father, Azar: 'Dost thou take idols as gods?'; where Azar is taken as a proper name, in apposition to 'father', though some of the commentators, aware that the name of this father was Terah, explain Azar as an exclamation of disgust, an abusive epithet, or the name of an idol. The majority opinion, however, is that it is the name of Abraham's father, either a second name for Terah, as Israel was for Jacob, or a title. In any case it was recognised as a foreign name and is listed among the *mu'arrabi* of the Kur'an. There can be little doubt that it is a deformation of the Hebrew Eleazar, the name of Abraham's faithful servant in the Genesis story which, as that story came to Muhammad, was mistaken for the name of his father. (Cf. also *mu'arrabi*).

**Bibliography**: The commentaries on the passage: Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-Arab*, v, 76; Tabari, *Annals*, i, 233 ff.; Tha'alibi, *Kisās al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1339, 51; Suyūṭī, *Iḥṣān*, 318; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-Nihāya*, i, 142; Ibn 'Asakir, *al-Ta'riḥ al-Kabir*, ii, 134; S. Fraenkel, in *DMG*, vi, 72; J. Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of Qur'an*, 33-35; J. Horowitz, *Koransuche Untersuchungen*, 85, 86. (A. JEFFERY)

**AZARIKA**, One of the main branches of the Khiridites [?]. The name is derived from that of its leader Nāfi' b. al-Arak al-Hanafi al-Hanzali, who, according to al-Ash'ari, was the first to cause disputes among the Khiridites by supporting the thesis according to which all adversaries should be put to death together with their women and children (*ist'radh*). As regards the man himself, it is known that he was the son of a manumitted blacksmith of Greek origin and that in 61/683 he came to the aid of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, besieged in Mecca by the troops of the Syrian general Husein b. Nuwayr al-Sakini. Once the siege was raised, Nāfi' with other Khiridite leaders, including Naḡibā b. 'Amir and 'Abd Allāh b. Iḥād, returned to Basra, where he at once took advantage of the disturbances which had broken out on the announcement of the death of Yazid b. Mu'awiyā. It was the Khiridites under his orders who assassinated the governor nominated by 'Ubayd Allāh b. Zayd, Ma'ūd b. 'Amr al-'Akkā, and who subsequently refused to recognise the governor sent by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, 'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allāh, so that the latter was obliged to use force to gain possession of the town; in this he was helped by the inhabitants, who found it difficult to tolerate the Khiridites' importunities. Expelled from Basra, Nāfi' occupied at the gates of the town and, after collecting reinforcements, succeeded in defeating 'Umar b. 'Ubayd Allāh in the course of fierce fighting and in retaking the town. To re-establish the situation, Ibn al-Zubayr dispatched an army under the command of the general Muslim b. 'Ubayy. It is probable that it was on this occasion that the opposition between the moderate elements and the extremist elements arose in Basra which led to the division of the Khiridites into Iḥādites and Azārika, an event placed by tradition in that year (63/684-5). Whilst the former, less courageous, preferred not to fight Muslim and remained in Basra, the latter, resolved to fight to the end, left the town and under the leadership of Nāfi' withdrew to Khiristān (al-Ahwāz). Muslim caught up with them at Dūlāb: in the severe fighting which ensued,

both Nāfi' and the Zubayrid general met their deaths (63/685). The Azārika, however, reorganised themselves under the command of 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Māhiz and continued the struggle until the enemy troops, exhausted and discouraged, withdrew to Basra. For several months the region between Basra and al-Ahwāz was the scene of massacres, looting and arson, the Azārika massacring all who refused to recognise their sect. The population of Basra in alarm called upon al-Muḥallab b. Abi Sufra, who agreed to lead the struggle against the Azārika. After dislodging them from the Tigris, he inflicted a severe defeat on them near Sillānā to the east of Dūdjayl, (66/686), following which they withdrew into Fārs. 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Māhiz was killed in the fighting and the command passed to his brother Zubayr, who, having reorganised his supporters within a short space of time, again set out on a campaign. Descending once more into 'Irāk, he advanced as far as al-Maddān, which he sacked, massacred, he turned about and attacked Iṣfahān, which was governed by 'Attab b. Warkā'. In an engagement near the town, the Azārika suffered a reverse and, on the death of Zubayr b. al-Māhiz, they fled in complete disorder into Fārs and thence into the mountains of Kirmān (68/687-8). It was a warrior from Luristān, Katarī b. al-Fuḡā'ā, who, combining fierce energy with exceptional gifts as an orator and a poet, succeeded in rekindling their enthusiasm and reorganising their ranks. After a period of time, he became active and, having occupied al-Ahwāz, descended once again into 'Irāk and advanced towards Basra. The new governor of the town, Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, convinced that only al-Muḥallab would be capable of opposing the Azārika, recalled him from Mawēl, where he had sent him as governor, and entrusted him with the direction of the campaign. But, although al-Muḥallab succeeded in launching a wide offensive against the Araki condottiere, the latter succeeded in keeping him in check for a long time and in holding his position on the left bank of the Dūdjayl, even after 'Irāk had fallen into the hands of 'Abd al-Malik following the defeat of Muṣ'ab at Mādin (71/690). The situation did not change until al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, having completed the pacification of Western Arabia, took over the government of 'Irāk (75/694). The latter confirmed al-Muḥallab in his command of the operations and ordered him to go over to the attack at once. Then it was that there started a long series of campaigns, conducted by al-Muḥallab against the Azārika, which led to their being increasingly relegated to the periphery of the Empire. For, in spite of their fierce resistance, they were compelled to abandon Dūdjayl, retreat to Kābirān and finally to evacuate Fārs and withdraw into Kirmān. Having established their headquarters in the town of Dīfūrī, they managed to hold their positions for a few years until the divergencies which arose in their army between Arabs and *masall* led to a split. Whilst Katarī with the Arabs was compelled to abandon the town and to take refuge in Tabaristān, the *masall* continued to hold Dīfūrī under the command of 'Abd Rabbih al-Kabir (in addition to whom the sources speak of an 'Abd Rabbih al-Ṣaḡīr, who is supposed to have commanded a second group of dissidents). Whilst al-Muḥallab was easily able to deal with the Azārika remaining in Kirmān and massacred them all, the Kabli general Sufyān b. al-Abrad, who had joined the governor of Tabaristān, caught up with Katarī in the mountains of this region and inflicted a

decisive defeat on him. The brave condottiere, having fallen from his horse and been abandoned by his own men, was discovered and killed (78-79/698-99). His head was taken to Damascus to be shown to the Caliph. The remnants of the Azārika who, under the leadership of 'Abdā b. Hāḥā, had barricaded themselves in at Saḡhawwar, near Kūmis, after a prolonged siege were exterminated in an attempted sortie. In this manner the revolt, which of all the Khiridite disturbances was undoubtedly the most dangerous to the unity of the Muslim Empire and the most terrible by reason of its savage fanaticism, came to an end.

**Docrine**: The principal religious theses which separate the Azārika from the other Khiridites are, according to al-Ash'ari: 1. The exclusion from Islam (*harā'a*) of the quietists (*al-ha'ada*); 2. The examination (*miḥal*) of all who wished to join their army; 3. Regarding as infidels (*kufr*) those Muslims who did not make the *hajra* to them; 4. The slaughter of the women and children of their adversaries (*ist'radh*); 5. The exclusion from Islam (*harā'a*) of those who recognised *lakhya* either in word or deed; 6. The children of the *mughribin* are in Hell, as are their parents. Further, according to al-Shahrastāni and al-Baḡhdādī: 7. Suppression of the stoning of adulterers which is not prescribed by the Kur'an; 8. The possibility of God's sending a Prophet, whom He knows will be叔osity because impious or who was so before his mission; further, according to Ibn Hāzim: 9. Amputation of the thief's hand, i.e. arm, from the humerus; 10. Women during the menses must perform the prayers and observe ritual fasting; 11. Ban on killing those who are non-believers; 12. Those who were Jews, Christians or Zoroastrians (evidently because they enjoyed the *dhimma*).

**Bibliography**: al-Ash'ari, *Makhlāt al-Islāmiyyin*, ed. Ritter, Istanbul 1929, 86 ff.; 'Abd al-Kābir al-Baḡhdādī, *Kutub al-Farḡ Daynā' al-Firāk*, Cairo 1328, 62-67; Ibn Hāzim, *Kutub al-Fisal wa 'l-Miḥal wa 'l-Nihā*, Cairo 1321, iv, 189; al-Shahrastāni, ed. Curtiss, 89-91; al-Baḡhdādī, *Furūḡ*, 26; Idem, *Awā'id*, iv, 95-96, 98, 101-102, 115; al, ed. Alḥwardt, 78 ff., 90 ff., 96 ff., 122-25; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawari, ed. Guirgass and Kratchkovsky, 265-66, 278, 279, 281, 282, 284, 285, 288, 289, 310, 311, 319, 321; al-Tabari, index; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, index; al-Yā'qūbī, ii, 229-30, 317, 324; Ibn Kuthayr, *Kutub al-Miḥal*, v, 100; Wüstenfeld, 126, 270; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murādī*, v, 229; *al-Ḥadīd*, i, 34, vi, 2-5; Yāqūt, ii, 574, 575, 623, iii, 62, 400; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, index; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Naḥḍ al-Balāḡha*, Cairo 1329, i, 385 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, 555; al-Barrādī, *Kutub al-Dīwānī*, Cairo 1302, 155, 165; M. Th. Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma in den Islam*, Leiden 1873, 28 ff.; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppressionspartien*, in *Abh. G. W. Göttingen*, N.S., v, 2, 1901, 28 ff.; R. E. Brunsow, *Die Charidschen unter den ersten Umayyaden*, Leiden 1884; Caetani, *Cronographia islamica*, iii, 731, 753, 762; iv, 768, 782, 804, 860; Weil, *Chalifen*, index; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Gāhīr*, Paris 1951, 209 ff.; R. Rubincan, *Il califato al-Mahdi b. Ma'arūf e gli Iḥādīs*, in *AUON*, N.S., v (1954), 101. (R. RUBINCAN)

**AZARQUEL** [see AL-ZARKĀL].  
**'AZĀZIL**, fallen angel or *ḍinn* in the legendary tradition of Islam (does not occur in the Kur'an). He gets his name from the biblical 'Azazel (Leviticus xvi, 8, 26), perhaps demon of the desert (see L. Koehler, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*,

693). In point of fact the Muslim tradition extends and develops that of some of the Apocrypha (Enoch and the Apocrypha of Abraham) and of Jewish texts, in which 'Azazel is more or less connected with the fallen angels 'Uzza and 'Azā'el (in Muslim tradition, Hārūt and Mārūt, [?];) the *badhth*, however, would appear to innovate in considering 'Azā'el as the name of Iblīs [?]. In his fall, a tradition which is traced back to Ibn 'Abbas and which is even repeated in *al-Uṣūl al-Kāmil* of al-Dīlī.

**Bibliography**: the article *Arad* in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, iii, 415-421 (Jehoshua Gutmann) gives the previous bibliography; L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, passages indicated in the index (Philadelphia 1946, 52 v. *Arad*; Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, Tübingen 1951, especially 69 and 114; H. J. Hamburger, *Fallen Engel*, Phila. delphia 1956, passages indicated in index, s.v. *Arad*; Tabari, i, 83; Idem, *Ta'fir*, on ii, 34 (32), Cairo 1321, i, 173; Iḥā'ab, *Arā'is al-Maḡallib*, 32; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 539; M. Gaudetroy-Demonfons, *Mahomet*, Paris 1957, 347. (G. VAJDA)

**AZD** (by assimilation from Aed, both spellings are current), name of two ancient Arab tribal groupings in the highlands of 'Asir (Asr Sarāt) and in 'Uman (Aed 'Uman), which united in Basra and Khurānā in Islamic times. Hence the later reports that the Aed were a tribe in Yaman, of whom part migrated to the north and part to the east, after the breach of the Ma'rib dam. One cannot, however, prove any basic relationship between these two tribes of the same-named. In the genealogical system (al-Ard b. al-Ghawr b. Nāfi' b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba', where al-Ard is the surname of the tribal ancestor Dīr'Darrā' b. al-Ghawr) there is a fusion not only of the Ard Sarāt and the Aed 'Uman, but also the Ḥassān, Khurā'ā, al-Aws and Khazraj appear as part of the Aed in it. The name Aed, however, can only be applied to those tribes who derive from Nāfi' b. al-Ard (in Sarāt and 'Uman), to the Kārik and Shaḡr (Sarāt), derived from 'Adī b. Hārīḡha b. 'Amr Muza'ykiyā', to the al-'Atik and al-Ḥajr ('Uman), derived from 'Imrān b. 'Amr Muza'ykiyā', and to the tribes of al-Haw b. al-Ard, Karm b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ard, 'Arman, Almad' and Hiddina b. 'Amr b. al-Ard (Sarāt). The Aed Sarāt, who were well known as weavers, were largely settled, hence their homes remained essentially static. The tribes of Daws (Sulaym b. Fahm, Tarīf b. Fahm, Munshib b. Daws) and the Banū Māsiḡha were the ones furthest north, parts of them as far as north-east of Tā'if, most of them on the upper Wādī Dawra. To the east and south-east of them were the tribes of Zahrān (Salḥān, Kahlān, 'Ubayd b. 'Ibra); further east, in the Sarāt Ḥamūd were the Namir b. 'Uṭṭam, al-Ghātālī, Zāra, Aḡḡāb, Lihb, Ṭumālā, Ḥamūd, Karm b. Abḡjan and others. Their area reached from the upper Wādī Kanawā eastwards. These tribes were separated from their relatives living further east by the Khāṭṭān. To the east of the Khāṭṭān were the al-Bakām (from Hawlā b. al-Haw) in Turāb, the Banū Shaḡr (Banū Walān) were to the north-west and the Karm b. 'Abd Allāh to the south of Tabāla. Further south, still in the Sarāt al-Ḥajr, were the numerous branches of al-Ḥajr b. al-Haw (the most important were the Banū Shaḡr with the Bal-Ansar) who were in the area round Halāb in the north and reached as far as the areas south of the Wādī Tanāma/Wādī



Bal-Azmar. Their main centres were: Balabā, al-Khāḍir, Nimā, Tandma. Some few lived further south still, towards the Wādī Ḥil, as neighbours of the 'Az̄. The Bārk lived in the area of the Wādī Bārk to the west, enclosing the Khāḍ'am enclave from the south. On the whole they lived in the valleys, whilst the Khāḍ'am inhabited the highlands. A few groups of the Azd (Amu', Yarfā b. al-Hinw and parts of the al-Haḍ'r b. al-Hinw) were settled as neighbours of the Kinnāna on the coast around Ḥall. Originally, the Azd Sarāt had been much further south, and only in comparatively recent times did they penetrate to their later region, after continuous battles against the Khāḍ'am. Remnants were still living under the Banū Ma'ā'il in Islamic times, south-west of Ta'izz, and under the Banū Awd in the Daḥlās. The frequent term Shān'a remains obscure. As the name appears as a war-cry in a poem by the poet Ḥāḍir b. 'Awf, one may suppose that it is a genealogical rather than a geographic term. The current explanation (Shān'a = al-Ḥāḍir b. Ka'b b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. al-Azd) is obviously erroneous; which individual tribes belonged to the Shān'a can no longer be ascertained.

The Azd 'Uman consisted of those tribes which derived from Mālik b. Fahm in genealogy (Ḥumā'a, Farāḥid, Dīḥādīm, Nawā, Karādīs, Dīrāmīz, 'Ukū'a, Kasimīl, Sulaymī, Aḥṣāḥī, some descended from Naṣr b. Zahrān (Yaḥmad, Ḥudān, Ma'ā'il) and those descended from Ḥurān b. 'Amr Muṣayyī, that is, the al-'Atik and al-Ḥaḍ'r b. 'Uman. It is probable that the link with 'Uman, which made them brother tribes of the Ansār, was postulated in honour of the Muḥallabids; the true link was preserved in the genealogy al-'Atik b. al-Azd b. 'Uman. There is little information concerning the sites on which the individual tribes lived. The Ma'ā'il were in and around Suhār; the Yaḥmad and the Humā'a in the neighbouring coastal areas. The Humayn (from Ma'n b. Mālik b. Fahm) were in Nawat; al-'Atik in Dabā and al-Ḥaḍ'r nearby; the Ḥudān were in the hinterland of the Pirate Coast. In between, there were some non-Azd tribes, particularly the Sāma b. Lu'ayy, who were later collectively known as the Nizār. The Banū Dīḥādīm (from Aḥṣāḥī) advanced in Islamic times to the west as far as Zuḥr Ḥadramawt, where they captured the sea-port of Rayḥīf after battles against the Maḥra. Even in pre-Islamic times, parts of the Azd 'Uman, such as the Sāma b. Mālik b. Fahm, migrated to the islands in the Persian Gulf and to Kirmān. As fishermen, sea-farers and merchants, the Azd 'Uman did not enjoy a good reputation among the other Arabs. The term Muṣayy, occasionally applied to them, seems to have been a nickname. It may be supposed that they immigrated from the north and imposed themselves on the previously settled non-Arab inhabitants. The tradition which identifies them with the Asad (a), [g.e.] mentioned in inscriptions, and which makes them the allies of the Tanūḥ, is erroneous.

Little is known of the Azd Sarāt in pre-Islamic times, as there are hardly any poetic writings; the only well-known poet was Ḥāḍir b. 'Awf (Banū Sāliḥ mān). There is mention of battles against Khāḍ'am and Kinnāna, and fights by some tribes against the powerful clan of the Al Ghifri (in the Wādī Kanawān) at the beginning of the 7th century. Members of that clan are said to have been the keepers of the shrine of Manāt in Kudayd. It is possible that the name Ghifri in the genealogical lists of Medina from

came that quarter. The following are mentioned as deities of the Azd Sarāt: Dhu 'l-Sharā, Dhu 'l-Khalasa (shrine in Tabāla), Dhu 'l-Kalfayn and 'A'ām. Still less is known of the early history of the Azd 'Uman. Apart from mythical fights against Persians and Maḥra, there is mention of one against the 'Abd al-Kays. Ḥāḍir/Nāḍir is mentioned as their deity.

The Azd Sarāt accepted Islam in 10/63. Small risings during the *ridā* were quickly put down in 11/63 by 'Uḡmān b. al-'As, the governor of Ta'if. As early as 13/64, there were a few Azd in the contingent which 'Umar sent to the Euphrates. Some Azd Sarāt were amongst the first settlers in Basra and Kufa and some went to Egypt. On the whole, however, there was little emigration. Islam had already entered 'Uman a few years before. This was due to a difficult situation into which the brothers Dīḥayr and 'Abd-heads of the ruling group, the al-Dīḥādīm (from Banū Ma'ā'il in Suhār)—had got themselves in relation to al-'Atik and other tribes of the inland regions under the leadership of Laḥit b. Mālik al-'Atik. 'Amr b. al-'As was sent to Suhār in the year 8/62, and with his assistance, the brothers managed to recover their power completely. Laḥit tried his luck once more during the *ridā* and 'Amr had to flee, but in the year 11/63 the rising was finally put down by 'Ikrima b. Abī Dīḥāt. The Banū 'Uman remained practically complete rulers in 'Uman for many years. 'Abdād b. 'Abd b. al-Dīḥādīm took over the rule in the time of 'Uḡmān. He was killed in battle against the Khawāridj of the Yamāma in 97/68. His sons Sa'ūd and Sulaymān succeeded him. It was not until the time of al-Ḥaḍirījī that the two brothers could finally be ousted from 'Uman, and the territory re-incorporated. A great number of Azd 'Uman had emigrated to Basra in 60-61/ 679-680. In the process, some of them remained in eastern Arabia, where an Azd emirate was founded in the 3rd/9th century. They united themselves with the Azd Sarāt who were already settled in Basra, made an alliance with the Rab'a and thereby became the opponents of the Tamīm. As early as 38/58, the Azd Sarāt of Basra had protected the governor Ziyād b. Abīhā against the Tamīm. Similarly, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād got assistance from the Azd, when, after the death of Yazīd I (64/68) the Tamīm rose against him. The subsequent tribal warfare, in the course of which Ma'ā'id b. 'Amr al-'Atik, the leader of the united Azd and Rab'a was killed, with be settled by al-Aḥmad, the leader of the Tamīm. The enmity, however, remained and spread to Khurāsān, especially when the Azd there (again in league with the Rab'a) became the leading tribe under the Muḥallabids after 85/69. They were greatly offended at the removal of the Muḥallabids and were largely responsible for the events which led to the defeat and death of Kutayba b. Muslim in 96/75. The Azd remained the leading group up to the beginning of the reign of Yazīd II in 101/720. The subsequent systematic extermination of the Muḥallabids brought for them a time of subjugation by Kayṣid governors. Their enmity against these continued up to the fall of the Umayyads.

During the troubled times at the end of the reign of the Umayyads, the Azd—apart from a few short-lived alliances—remained in opposition to the governor Naṣr b. Sayyār, a fact which considerably facilitated the advance of Abū Muslim. In Basra too, the Azd followed the 'Abbasids, having risen against Umayyad rule and having been beaten by Tamīm and Syrian troops. Ḥāḍir teaching, brought

over from Basra, began to be accepted in 'Uman at about the same time. In 132/749, al-Dīḥādīm b. Ma'ūd, a member of the old ruling house of the Banū 'Uman, was elected the first Imam. He was killed in 132/751, fighting against Khāḍim b. Khurayma, general of Abū 'l-'Abbās. The subsequent years were very troubled ones for the country. Nominally, it was under an 'Abbasid governor, but there were constant battles, usually between the Banū 'Uman—who were trying to re-establish their former rule—and the Ḥabībīs. It was not until 177/793 that the latter gained the upper hand and elected a new, rightful Imam. Henceforth, Naṣrā became the seat of the Ḥabībī Imāms, who were, almost without exception, of the Yaḥmad tribe. After 230/844 troubles broke out again. In addition to the activities of the Banū 'Uman, there was tribal warfare between the Azd and the Nizār. The Banū Sāma b. Lu'ayy applied for assistance to the caliph al-Ma'ā'id in 277/899, to help them against the Ḥabībīs. The last independent Imam, 'Azāla b. Tamīm fell in 280/893, fighting against Muḥammad b. Nūr, the 'Abbasid governor of Bahrayn. After 282/875, there were again Ḥabībī Imāms in Naṣra, but their powers remained limited.

**Bibliography:** *Abḥād al-'Uman min awḥad al-imāmīn* (cf. *al-Bihar al-Sunniyya*, Chap. 33 of the anonymous Arab Chronicle *Kaḥf al-ghamama*, ed. H. Klein, Hamburg 1958; Ibn al-Kalbi, *al-Dīḥāra fi 'l-Nasab*, MS. Escorial 1698, 237, 314 ff., 325 ff.; Ibn Durayd, *Lughat* (Wustenföld), 287 ff.; Hamādī, 51-52, 211; Yāḥūt, I, 463-64, II, 148, 187, 377-78, 387, 343, 746, 886, III, 67, 330, IV, 386, 322, 654; Ibn al-Kalbi, *al-Dīḥāra* (Rosenberg), 22, 24, 25; Tabarī, I, 748, 750, 1729, 1727, 1980, 1985, 2187, 2378, 2490; *Abḥād*, III, 47-50, 50-51; Ibn Sa'ūd, I/2, 71, 76, 80 ff.; L. Forrer, *Südarabien nach al-Hamdan* ("Beschreibung der arabischen Halbinsel"), Leipzig 1942; J. Wellhausen, *Reise altarabischen Heidentums*, Berlin 1897, 26, 94; idem, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* IV, Berlin 1889, 102, VI, Berlin 1899, 21 ff.; idem, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 63, 130 ff., 140 ff., 248 ff.; Max Freiherr v. Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, II, Leipzig 1943, 447, 445, III, ed. W. Cackel, Wiesbaden 1952, 15, 98. (G. STREINKE)

**AL-AZDI**, Abū Zakariyyā? Yazīd b. Muḥ. b. Iyās b. al-Kaḥm, historian of the 10th c. who lived in 94/95-6. While the work on Mosul by Ṭaḥḥim b. Muḥ. b. Yazīd al-Mawṣilī, who lived a generation before Al-Azdi, appears to have been concerned only with the biographies of religious scholars, al-Azdi wrote both on the "Classes of Mosul *ḥadīth* Scholars" and on the political history of Mosul, either in one combined or in two separate works. His treatment of *ḥadīth* scholars is known only from quotations and seems to have been restricted to the limited information usually found in *riḍā* works. The political annalistic history of the city, the first work on this particular subject, is preserved for the years 101/719-20—224/838-9. It treats the history of Mosul in the framework of general contemporary history and is a highly creditable achievement of early Muslim historiography.

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**AZEMMÜR** [see AZAMMÜR].

**AZERBAYDĀN** [see AĞHABAYDĀN].

**AZERI** [see AZHARI].

**AZFARI**, MUHAMMAD ZAḤIR AL-DĪN MIRZĀ 'AḌI BAKIR ḤABIBUZZ GĀNGAST, a lineal descendant of Averanzī and a grandson of 'Shāh 'Alī Begum (daughter of Muḥammad Mu'izz al-Dīn Pādshāh (i.e. Dīḥādīm Shāh), son of Shāh 'Alīm (Bahlūd Shāh I), was born in the Red Fort at Delhi in 1172/1758 and educated within the fort. Like other princes of the line of Tanfir, Azfarī was in receipt of an allowance from the East India Company. Azfarī decided in 1201/1789 to escape from the fort. Passing through Dīḥaypur and Dīḥdīpur, Azfarī reached Lucknow where he was received with open arms by Āṣaf al-Dawla, the ruler of Awadh. For seven years he stayed there and then left for Patna en route to Maḥsūdābād, (an old name for Murshidābād [g.e.]) where he arrived in 1211/1797. After a stay of some ten years he left for Madras, where he stayed until his death in 1234/1818.

Azfarī was polyglot and spoke Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu fluently; during the closing years of his life he also learned a little English. He was well-versed in different sciences such as medicine, astrology, prosody, geomancy and metrics, but was more attracted by poetry. In addition to an Urdu *divān* he left behind a large collection of verses in Persian and Turkish. These Persian and Turkish collections as well as some of his works enumerated at the end of his memoirs (a *Caḡatay* grammar, *Tenḥari-Tār*—a Turkish-Hindi compilation) are, however, lost.

His chief work is the *Wāḥidī-ā Azfarī* (MSS Berlin 496, Rief. II, 1051 b, Madras, I, 430, 431) completed in Murshidābād in 1211/1797 and completed at Madras in 1221/1806. It is an account of his wanderings and personal experiences in addition to being a valuable historical sketch of the ephemeral rule of Ghulām Kādir Rohilla (g.e.), who captured Delhi in 1203/1798 and blinded the Emperor Shāh 'Alam I. This work is also of great geographical value.

At the end of his above-noted memoirs Azfarī mentions 7 of his works, in addition to an earlier one: (i) *Lughat-i Turkī-ā Caḡatayī* (compiled during his stay in Lucknow); (ii) a Persian translation in rhymed prose of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī's (g.e.) Turkish work *Mabāḥī al-Kalab*; (iii) *Nisāḥī Turkī*, (in verse); (iv) *Tenḥari-Tār*, a Turkish-Hindi compilation on the lines of *Kāḥf al-bāḥī*, erroneously ascribed to Anṣār Khurāsān; (v) a Persian metrical translation, from Arabic, of the *Risāla-i Kabiriyya*, a supposed treatise by Hippocrates on the signs of approaching death; (vi) *Nasḥa-i Sānīḥāt*, detailing his experiences and tribulations. It contains 109 anecdotes; (vii) a metrical grammar of *Caḡatay* Turkish (composed at 'Azamshād (Patna) on the request of Rāyṣ 'Alā Rām, a hereditary *bāḥḥī* [g.e.] of his family; (viii) *Fana'īd al-Mabādī*.

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(A. S. BAKMEER ANSARI)

**AL-AZHAR** (al-Dīḥārī) AL-AZHARĪ. This great mosque, the "brilliant one" (a possible allusion to Fāṭima al-Zahrā'), although no ancient document



confirms this) is one of the principal mosques of present-day Cairo. This seat of learning, obviously Isma'ili from the time of its Fātimid foundation (4th/9th century), whose light was dimmed by the reaction under the Suni Ayyūbids, regained all its activity—Sunni from now on—during the reign of Sultan Baybars. Its influence is due on the one hand to the geographical and political position which Cairo occupies in the Muslim world (especially since the downfall of the Baghdad 'Abbāsids), attracting scholars and students and accommodating many Maghribī pilgrims on their way; on the other hand it is due to the situation of this capacious mosque itself in that quarter which was to be the birth-centre of the epistote of the town of Cairo. One institution of learning among many others in the Mamlūk era, it benefited from the almost complete disappearance of all the Cairo colleges under Ottoman domination, and became the only stronghold in the capital where the study of the Arabic language and religious learning could be maintained. From the 18th century, in spite of the decadence of its intellectual methods, its organisation, becoming consolidated, gained for it the dignity of a harmonious whole, at once a school and a university; and it can be considered from that time as the principal religious university of the Islamic world. In the 20th century al-Azhar, outgrowing the framework of its mosque, began to acquire a whole network of establishments of Islamic education. With its faculties in Cairo of university status, and with the various primary and secondary institutions in Egypt which are directly connected with it, its strength in 1953 was a total of 30,000 pupils and students, 4,300 of whom were foreigners. Some institutions situated outside Egypt, moreover, function within its orbit. Its work is at present carried out by its teachers, a certain number of whom are sent out to different Muslim countries; it makes its influence felt by its monthly journal and in a special way, through the foreign pupils and students who come to take its courses in Egypt. A few of the latter remain in Cairo, but the majority return to their native lands, thus contributing to the propagation of the knowledge of the Arabic language and Muslim political and religious ideas.

1. Buildings and furnishings. The mosque of al-Azhar was conceived as the place of worship of the capital al-Kāhira, which, the conqueror, Fātimid general Djawhar al-Kātib al-Sikillī established as an entity, and where his master, the Fātimid Caliph Abū Tālim Ma'add al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, his entourage and his troops, were intended to reside. The construction of the mosque, situated at the South and in the neighbourhood of the palace, began on 24 Djumādā I 359/4 April 970, and lasted for two years. It was inaugurated immediately, on 2 Ramadan 361/22 June 972, cf. the text of an inscription, now disappeared, on the cupola, with the date 360 (in al-Mo'arrif, *Kāhira*, Cairo 1326, iv, 49 ff.). It was frequently referred to as the 'mosque of Cairo', *Djāmi' al-Kāhira*, and indeed played the same rôle in Fātimid Cairo as the mosque of 'Amr at Mīr-Fustāt or that of Ibn Tulūn at al-Kāṭi'. All three of these were the religious centres of their respective quarters, at that time small, independent, neigh-bouring towns; the Friday prayer was conducted in these three mosques, and the Caliph from time to time caused the *khutba* to be read in them. After 380/990 the new al-Djāmi' al-Awsar (al-Hākimī), which was built on the Northern side of Fātimid Cairo, enjoyed the same privileges as al-Azhar. Many Fātimid Caliphs worked for the enhancement

of al-Azhar and enriched it with gifts and endowments. The original roof, which was too low, was soon raised, at an unknown date (*Kāhira*, iv, 53). Al-Aziz Nu'ar (365-67/990-96)—who perhaps added the two (North and South) lateral wings of these bays— and al-Hākim bi-Amr Allāh (380-411/990-1020) made some improvements there. A deed of *wakf* dating from the year 400/1009-10 throws light on the organisation of its personnel and on its apparatus of worship (but none on the teaching; text in *Kāhira*, iv, 49 ff.). From this epoch dates the appearance of the vast central courtyard surrounded by porticoes with Persian arches, as does that of the prayer-hall of five parallel bays on the *hība* wall. The construction is of brick rendered with either plain or chased plaster; the arches of the courtyard, of the prayer-hall and of the lateral *iwān*s are supported by slender columns which have been used for a second time. One must mention the work of the Caliphs al-Mustansir, al-Hāfiz (improvements, rearrangement of the Fātimid *madrasa* *mihrāb* now in the Cairo museum). During the whole of this epoch al-Azhar, by its teaching, played an important rôle in Fātimid propaganda, which explains why it suffered from the Sunni reaction of the Ayyūbids (rulers of Egypt from 567/1171-2 on). Salāh al-Dīn had certain ornaments torn down (silver band from the *mihrāb*), and took to himself the privilege of the *khutba*; the Friday prayers in al-Kāhira took place only in the al-Hākimī mosque. This mosque had been restored to Muslim worship by Salāh al-Dīn after having been used by the Franks as a church. Al-Azhar continued to exist, although on the decline ('Abd al-Latif al-Baghdādī taught medicine there at the end of the 6th/12th century: see Ibn Abī Usayfa, ii, 207), but the buildings were very neglected. With the Mamlūk edifice the situation changed. The amir 'Izz al-Dīn Aydimur al-Hillī, residing in the neighbourhood, was so distressed by the dilapidation of al-Azhar that he financed some works with the help of sultan al-Zahir Baybars, who amongst other things permitted the *khutba* to be read again in 665/1266 (*Corp. Inscr. Arab. Egypt*, i, no. 128).

Some *wakfs* were allocated to provide for Sunni teachers. Once again vigorous life returned to it, never to cease up to the present day. Badly damaged (*tabaka*) by the well-known and disastrous earthquake of 702/1302-3, it was restored by the amir Salār. Marble made its appearance, discreetly, in the updated repairs of the *mihrāb* (beginning of the 14th century), though it was used with magnificent effect in the *mihrāb*s of the three small new erections of fine stone built against the exterior of the mosque, which were later to be incorporated with it: the *madrasa* of the amir Taybars, founded in 709/1309 to the right of the west door; that of the amir Akbugha 'Abd al-Wahid in 740/1339-40 to the left of this door; and the charming *madrasa* founded by the eunuch Djawhar al-Kaukabāzī, who was buried here in 844/1440-1, at the eastern corner of the mosque. In 723/1323 some constructions are recorded, and about 761/1360 the *mihrāb*s were rebuilt, some of them made of stone. Funds for feeding the poor and for teaching were established, e.g., a *sabī* for water, and teaching the Kur'ān to orphans. A minaret which was at a dangerous angle was demolished and then rebuilt on three occasions for the same reason (800, 817, 827/1397-8, 1414-5, 1423-4). On this last date, a cistern (*sabīra*) with a well-basin (*maḍā'a*) was built in the middle of the mosque, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to

establish four trees in the courtyard. The sultan Kāykhāy was responsible for much work: for the west door, which he demolished, he substituted an elegant doorway with minaret attached (873/1469; *Corp. Inscr. Arab.* i, no. 21), had a host of little dwellings, which were excrescences on the terraces, cleared away (881/1476), and ordered a general restoration (901/1496). Kāykhāy al-Jahūr bestowed on al-Azhar another minaret, thanks to which it can today be recognised from afar among the assembly of minarets in Cairo (915/1510). Funds for teaching continued during this period. At the time of the Ottoman conquest the sultan Selīm took, with favour on al-Azhar. The 19th century was, in the history of al-Azhar, as important as the Fātimid era; possessing from that time on the monopoly of religious studies in Egypt, the mosque was considerably enlarged. A chapel for the blind (*Zahyat al-'Uṣṣā*) was built by 'Uṭmān Kathkhudā al-Kanduhī (Kasid Oghlū, who died in 1149/1736). But its greatest benefactor was 'Abd al-Rahmān Kathkhudā or Kihya (died 1190/1776, buried in the mosque), who caused the following constructions, which lack the beauty of the ancient works, to be carried out: demolition of the *hība* wall of the prayer-hall except for the original *mihrāb* which remains, the addition at the rear of four new bays of stone arches or slightly raised ground, a new *mihrāb*, a *miḥrab*, a cistern, and a Kur'ānic school for children. Tombs and gifts in kind were provided for poor students. A new enclosure, with doorway, brought in on the west the two *madrasas* of Taybars and Akbugha, whose façades were rebuilt (1167/1733).

The Azhar, like students of all countries, came out into the streets from time to time. Al-Djabbartī indicates that there were some troubles in the quarter, in which they took part. He makes mention of the rising against the French under Bonaparte who were occupying Cairo (10 Djumādā I 1213/20 October 1798); the immediate repression found in al-Azhar and its neighbourhood the last bastion of resistance. The mosque suffered from the final bombardment, and was profaned by the troops. The restoration of autonomous rule, under Muhammad 'Alī, was scarcely favourable to al-Azhar, whose *wakfs* were misused. Later the Khedives and then the kings of Egypt became its benefactors, reserving to themselves the upper hand in its affairs, and hoping in return for the tranquillity of its *shaykh*, a hope which was generally realised except in a few cases of proud and sudden boldness which even today form a topic of conversation. 'Abī Pasha Mubārak (*Kāhira* *Dr.*, iv, 14-26) gives a minute description of the buildings and of Azhar life about 1875. The great wretchedness and decay of so many mosques in Cairo in this period had not left al-Azhar untouched. The Khedives Tawfiq and 'Abbās Hilmi had important restorations carried out. That of the courtyard and of the portico which surround it date from 1890-2. At the western corner of the mosque, on the site of 'Abd al-Rahmān's Kathkhudā's minaret which was demolished, 'Abbās Hilmi had the *mihrāb* built which bears his name, a vast building with a porch for students and an end-terrace illuminated in 1312/1896. The participation of the Azharis in the risings of 1882 ('Urabi Pasha) and 1919 (against the British) did not entail any material damage to the buildings, but only a temporary suppression of the courses at the time of the second incident. The number of students up to 1925 caused al-Azhar to conduct part of its courses in the neighbouring

mosques, which were used as annexes. In 1930 the separation of the three faculties of higher study had as a necessary consequence the taking over of lay buildings in Cairo, to house these faculties outside the mosque. These places were given up when a new area was built behind al-Azhar (modern installations, classrooms with desks and benches, chemical laboratory, etc.). There were erected in 1935-6 a general administrative building, on the site to the north of al-Azhar, and three more four-storied buildings intended as the primary and secondary institutes, and medical block with boarding infirmary. In 1930, again to the east, a building was constructed for the Aḥl al-Madina with room for 4,000, with a high minaret, and a building for the faculty of *shar'ia* law; in 1931 came the building for the faculty of the Arabic language. In 1955, again on the East, some old houses were pulled down, in order to prepare a site for the future faculty of theology (still housed in the Shubra quarter). At the present time the principal library (of manuscripts, etc.) is housed in Akbugha's *madrasa* (rebuilt by the Khedive Tawfiq). A *cité universitaire* for foreign Azharis is in construction (1956-1957) on the site of the ancient Midān al-Jahār at 'Abbāsīya, in conformity with the social policy of the new Egyptian Republic. This will allow for the rehabilitation of students, who were overcrowded in the precincts of the mosque itself, or were sleeping in the town in properties belonging to the trustees of the *wakfs*, or with private families. The courtyard and the prayer-hall of the mosque are still used for certain courses for foreigners, and for exceptional private lessons. Some young Azharis do come here to go over their books again; walking up and down, or even seated on the ground, they still keep up the old tradition and thus help to maintain the ever busy appearance of the mosque. In addition, the Azharis have modern installations everywhere; likewise in the provinces, the local institutions have special buildings outside the mosques.

*Bibliography.* Texts, among which the most important are those of Maḥmūd (*Kāhira*, iv, 49-56, 60-2, 223-4), Djabbartī, 'Abī Pasha Mubārak, and for the modern period Van Berchem and Flury, are collected with references in Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, i, Oxford 1932, 36-64, with plates and plan. See also Hauteccor and Wiet, *Les mosquées de Cairo*, Paris 1932, a vol.; Hassan 'Abd al-Wahhīb, 'Taḥqīq al-Masājid al-Aḥarīya', i, Cairo 1946. See also *E.P.*, article *Azhar* 1.

II. Al-Azhar as a sanctuary and house of the people. Like all mosques, al-Azhar had this dual function. The regular prayers were said here, as well as those on exceptional occasions. Its history from this point of view is linked with that of Egypt: people collected here in times of catastrophe (such as epidemic, famine, or war) to call upon God, and to hear special readings from the Kur'ān or from al-Bulghārī; it was also a place of refuge for fugitives (see Ibn Iyās, ii, 177, 264, iii, 106, 132, 167). In modern times also, some events of national significance have been organised there. The spaciousness of its buildings, and the constant presence of students, were appropriate for large meetings, e.g., that of 1919 (see *Madjallat al-Azhar*, xviii, 396-400). Here they exalted the *Mudjāhidīn* or combatants during the Palestine war (1948), and at the time of the guerrilla warfare against the British in the Suez Canal in 1957-8. Al-Azhar is, moreover, a 'people's house' for those poor men who, since its



foundation, have found there either a temporary or a permanent shelter: many have spent the night there, as al-Makrizi points out with regard to the intervention of the amir Ṣubḡī, *ṣāḥib* of al-Azhar, who in 1181/1186 wished to free the mosque of all who were dwelling therein, whether students or otherwise. Its intervention was the occasion for pillage, and opinion turned against him. Some inhabitants of Cairo, even the well-to-do, would pass the night here, especially in Ramadan, at the beginning of the 13th century (*Kh̲itāt*, iv, 54-5). At the present time, among the poor pilgrims coming on foot from as far as North Africa and the African dominions (1891-1932), many stay at al-Azhar during the month of Ramadan before setting off for the Ḥijāz. Many Azharī students give them moral and material help (in the middle ages the Maghribī pilgrims camped at Ibn Tulūn—*Kh̲itāt*, iv, 40). Countless gifts have been made by rich Muslims at all times for the poor of al-Azhar. In the middle ages al-Azhar was open to Sūfīs also, although its tendencies were predominantly juridical. 'ʿAnar b. al-Fārid chose to live there towards the end of his life (Ibn Lūʾs, i, 82, 3). One text mentions the *ḡh̲ib̲r̲* which took place there (*Kh̲itāt*, iv, 54). Aḡbughā's *madrasa* is also said to have had a permanent group of Sūfīs (*ibid.*, iv, 225). The mosque of al-Azhar was above all a "people's house" for the teachers and the pupils whom it housed under its arcades, and its history here again is inseparable from that of Islamic teaching in Egypt (see Ibn Ḥalīm al-Salām, *L'environnement islamique en Égypte*, Cairo 1939). Teachers found within it peace and adequate quarters; sometimes, however, their position there was not official: at times we hear of passing scholars supported by a sovereign during their stay. There were above all the *ṣaḥ̲b̲* maintaining what could be described as chairs of learning, and others again for the maintenance of certain categories of students.

III. Teaching in the mediaeval and post-mediaeval periods. Information on the situation in early times is both fragmentary and incomplete. Under the Fātimids in 365/975 the great official propagandist 'Alī son of al-Kādī al-Nu'mān taught Ismā'īlī law at al-Azhar, and dictated the *Makhlās*, a work of his father's (*Kh̲itāt*, iv, 156; Brocardmann, II, 323). After having been named *ṣaḥ̲b̲*, Ya'qūb b. Kilīs held in his own home meetings of *literateurs*, poets, jurists and men of the *kalām* (theologians), to whom he gave a pension, and who thereafter taught the Ismā'īlī doctrine in the mosque of 'Amr. al-Azhar profited by this trend. In 378/988-9 al-'Azīz assigned to 35 jurists a house near to al-Azhar, with provision for their support. On Fridays, between midday and the *ṣaḥ̲r* prayers, they held meetings, and their chief, Abū Ya'qūb Kādī al-Kh̲aw̲ṣ̲ar, was responsible for the teaching. (*Kh̲itāt*, iv, 49; al-Kalkāshandī, III, 307). Al-Makrizī, writing of the al-Anwar (al-Hākim) mosque only recently inaugurated, notes that in Ramadan 380/991 'groups of listeners followed courses there given by the teachers who instructed in the mosque of Cairo, that is to say, al-Azhar' (*Kh̲itāt*, iv, 55), which implies that it must have already had a large reputation. It is known, moreover, that Ibn al-Haytham elected to live at al-Azhar (Ibn Abī Usayb'a, i, 90-91). But the remarkable effort of the Fātimids in both sacred and secular culture is specially evident in the *Dār al-ḥikma* founded by al-Hākim in 393/1003, which became the real cultural centre of Cairo at this period (*Kh̲itāt*, iv, 158). Under the Ayyūbids the Shī'ite teaching was swept away. Al-Azhar had

always opened its doors to scholars (e.g., for 'Abd al-Latif al-Baḡdādī), but it was supplanted by the official *Sunna madrasas* recently created. Under the Mamlūks al-Azhar regained its position.

In 603/1206 the amir Ḥubbak al-Ḥ̲ish̲mīdār installed a vast *maḥ̲ṣ̲a* and provided it with a fund in order that a group (*dj̲um̲h̲a*) of jurists might teach Shāfi'ī law there. He appointed a teacher of *ḥadīth* and spiritual doctrine (*ḥak̲ā*ḥ), seven people to 'read' the *Kur'ān*, and a tutor (*muḥ̲ṣ̲i*) (*Kh̲itāt*, iv, 52). In 760/1359-60 a course of Ḥanafī law was started, at the same time as a *Kur'ān* school for orphans. In 784/1382 a decree of Sultān Barḳūk provided that students should inherit their property of those of their friends who died without heir (see Trümpel, *Education* 123, for a discussion of arrangements of this kind). Al-Makrizī, on the events of 818/1415-6, mentions 750 provincial or foreign inhabitants, ranging from Maghribīs to Persians, as residing in the mosque, grouped according to strict rules. They read the *Kur'ān* and studied it. They devoted themselves to law (*fiqh*), to tradition (*ḥadīth*), to commentaries on the *Kur'ān*, to grammar (*nahw*), to meetings devoted to preaching and to *ḥik̲ā*ḥ (*Kh̲itāt*, iv, 53-4). It is often said nowadays that al-Azhar was always the Egyptian Muslim university *par excellence*: in fact, in the Cairo of the Mamlūks, bursting with life, it was an important centre of learning, but its centre among many others (see Masgrat). Al-Makrizī, writing in the 13th century, makes mention of more than 70 *madrasas* in Cairo (*Kh̲itāt*, iv, 191-258). He points out the intellectual activity within the mosques: in that of 'Amr, before the great plague of 749/1348, he mentions forty-old courses or *ḥalḥa* (*ibid.*, iv, 21); in that of Ibn Tulūn, at the beginning of the 14th century, courses in the law, of the four schools and a course in medicine (*ibid.*, iv, 40-1); in that of al-Hākim, in the same period, law courses in the four schools (*ibid.*, iv, 57). There was moreover still *ṣaḥ̲r* teaching in the convents or *ḥ̲ish̲mīyās*. Ibn Ḥalūdūn, for example, from the time of his arrival in Cairo in 784/1385, taught at al-Azhar, which he later left in order to teach elsewhere (Ibn Kh̲alūdūn, *Ta'wīl*, 248). The Ottoman *ṣaḥ̲b̲* of a time of decadence for learning in Cairo, Ibrahim Ṣalām, *L'environnement*, 111-121, has enumerated the causes of this: economic unrest, the impoverishment of Egypt, the devaluation of the *ṣaḥ̲r* or the perversion of these latter to other purposes (the Ḥanafī law administered by the Ottomans permitted a judge to modify the provisions of a *ṣaḥ̲r*), and finally the triumph of the Sūfī *ḥ̲ish̲mīyās* in tending to replace the *madrasas*. All that obtained of non-mystical teaching activity was concentrated in al-Azhar. One could name the titles of a good thousand works preserved in this era in the library of al-Azhar and those of the neighbouring mosques, from Ḥādījī Khālifa, ed. Flügel, vii, 2-22. A catalogue of more than 2000 works belonging to the *ṣaḥ̲r* of the Syrians', probably at al-Azhar, exists in a manuscript of the 18th century (no. 4476, Slane. Bibl. Nat. de Paris). On the Ottoman period see further H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, 1/2, London 1957, index).

But henceforward, and up to the end of the 19th century, scholarship consisted of learning by heart a traditional corpus of material, encumbered by all that successive generations had added to it. Instead of the direct study of those great texts which were capable of engendering noble thoughts, there were substituted the studies of manuals, of commentaries (*ḡh̲ar̲k*), of marginalia on the commentaries (*ḥam̲sh̲ih̲*),

and sub-commentaries on those glosses (*ṭaḥ̲ṣ̲ir*). All the energy of the students was absorbed by the effort of memory necessary to retain by heart this complicated learning, which was presented with no pedagogical method whatever. General culture was non-existent. Arithmetical studies were limited to that elementary technique necessary for apportioning an inheritance, and astronomy to that which allowed the times for prayer, or the beginning of the lunar months (*al-m̲ih̲āl*), to be determined. But one should not judge the mediaeval intellectual activity of Cairo by this period of post-mediaeval decadence.

In the middle ages, the office of superintendent (*nāzir*) of al-Azhar was held by a person of high rank. Moreover, each *ṣaḥ̲r*, a group analogous to the 'nations' of the mediaeval universities of Europe, as well as each faculty, had its own head (*ḡh̲ay̲ḥ*, *nāḥib*). From Ottoman times al-Azhar had its rector (*ḡh̲ay̲ḥ al-ḥ̲ish̲ar*), who remained in office until his resignation, dismissal or death. The *ḡh̲ay̲ḥ*s of the different departments were subordinate to him, and he was directly responsible to the government. Al-Dj̲ah̲artī gives us a partial roll of these from the beginning of the 18th century (see § V, below).

All Pasha Muḥ̲ārak has described (*Kh̲itāt* *ḡh̲*, iv, 26-30) life at al-Azhar as it was in 1875 at the dawn of the modern reforms. This picture gives an idea of the ancient customs the students were grouped in the ancient circles (*ḥalḥa*, literally 'circle', extended to mean 'course'), seated on the mats (*ḡh̲ay̲ḥ*) of the mosque around the teacher, who himself was seated Turkish-fashion on a low wide armchair placed at the foot of a pillar, each pillar having its own accredited holder and being, moreover, up to 1872 the undivided property of one juridical school. Morning lectures were reserved for the most important subjects, that is to say successively *taḥ̲ṣ̲ir*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, then at noon the Arabic language; other subjects were kept over for the afternoon. At the end of each class the students kissed the hand of their teacher. The Azharī lived meagrely on the regular issues of food (*ḡh̲ay̲ḥ*), supplemented by that which came from his family, and would often work in order to earn a little more, by giving readings from the *Kur'ān*, copying manuscripts, etc. He lived in the mosque or in the town. There was no examination at the end of the course of study. Many of the students were well advanced in years. Those who left al-Azhar obtained an *ijāza* or licence to teach; this was a certificate given by the teacher under whom the student had followed courses, testifying to the student's diligence and proficiency. Teacher-pupil relationships had a rather patriarchal aspect, disturbed only by rather rare rebellions. Quarrels between rival cliques of students were more frequent. A proctor (*dj̲um̲d*) was responsible for the administration of the rules, for the care of the books, and for distributing the provisions in kind; he had a staff of some size under his command. In 1293/1876 the distribution of the 361 teachers and 10,780 students according to schools was: Shāfi'īs: 147 teachers, 5,651 students; Mālikīs: 99 teachers, 3,826 students; Hanafīs: 76 teachers, 1,278 students. The Hanafīs were poorly represented: 3 teachers, 45 students. There was in addition some non-registered students. The students were grouped into 15 *ḡh̲ay̲ḥ* and 38 *ṣaḥ̲r*s (*Kh̲itāt* *ḡh̲*, iv, 28).

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Encyclopaedia of Islam

*maḥ̲ṣ̲* of the saint of Tanṭā, Aḥmad Badawī, etc. . . . (*Kh̲itāt* *ḡh̲*, iv, 28).

IV. The reform of al-Azhar. The shock that Bonaparte's expedition gave to Egypt, and the efforts of Muhammad 'Alī and his successors to modernise the country, left al-Azhar indifferent or hostile. There were individual sympathisers, but they were immobilised by the unshakable apathy of the majority. Al-Azhar rightly feared the influence of certain European ideas; but very few understood how to draw the line between the contributions which were acceptable to Islam and those which were inadmissible. Others became abdicant in passive resistance. It was, however, from among the Azharīs (there was no other intellectual group at that time) that the activist element of the new Egypt was recruited. (Educational mission of Egyptians sent to Paris with Riṭā'a al-Taḥ̲ṣ̲īl in 1825-31; journey of Muḥ̲. 'Ayyūd al-Tanṭāwī to Russia; later Sa'ūd Zaghlūl, Muḥ̲ammad 'Abduh, and others. But these people were always at cross purposes with the conservative element of al-Azhar, since they emerged and acted in a way which was not that of the traditionalists. Al-Azhar at the beginning of the 19th century could well have been called a religious university; what it was not was a complete university giving instruction in those modern disciplines essential to the awakening of the country. However, it seems that the conservative section of al-Azhar did not appreciate at the time either the necessity of creating new academic branches (in al-Azhar or outside it) or that of reforming the organisation and programmes of religious teaching in al-Azhar. The fear of being contaminated by imitating Europe paralysed every thing.

Al-Azhar had nevertheless to take the path of reform. The interference of the government in its affairs, an everyday phenomenon which was sometimes suffered with some resentment, proved decisive at this juncture. When authority had opposed reform (for example during the last years of Muḥ̲. 'Abduh) the conservative forces, having no counterweight, passed unanalysed everything. Nothing less than the full Kh̲edival (later the royal) power was necessary to impose reform. The principal stages of reform were these: in 1288/1872, a decree instituting a diploma at the end of the course of study; a maximum of six students would each year sit for a long and exacting examination in eleven subjects. Success would obtain for them the title of *ṣālim* (1st, 2nd or 3rd class, according to their ability), would assure them material advantages, and would give them the right to teach in al-Azhar. This measure was still clearly inadequate (*Kh̲itāt* *ḡh̲*, iv, 27-8; the newspaper *Wādī al-Nīl*, 26 Feb. 1872).—In 1872, the creation of the higher school of *Dār al-ṣulām* where a certain number of Azharīs could specialise and prepare themselves for teaching in the new schools. (Muḥ̲. 'Abd al-Dj̲awād, *Taḥ̲ṣ̲ir Dār al-Ṣulām*, Cairo 1952; résumé in *MIDEO*, I, 160-2).—In 1312/1895 the Kh̲edive 'Abbās instituted an advisory council (*maḥ̲ṣ̲ idār al-Azhar*) consisting of members outside al-Azhar as well as others from al-Azhar itself. This institution, demanded by Muḥ̲. 'Abduh (1883), was the prelude to the reform of 1896. Muḥ̲. 'Abduh, as a member of the council, was its inspiration.—In 1312/1895 the institutes of Tanṭā, Damietta and Daḡlīk became affiliated to al-Azhar.—A decree on the salaries of teachers, some of whom had only very meagre salaries.—A law of 20 Muḥ̲arram 1314/1 July 1896, inspired by Muḥ̲. 'Abduh, decreed that the council of al-Azhar should



consist of three 'ulamā from al-Azhar and two official 'ulamā from the government; it fixed the minimum age for the admission of pupils at 15; declared that conditions of admission were to be able to read and write, and to know half the *Kur'ān* by heart; it recognised the programmes, *forāshah* (for the older ones, Two examinations held, either after a minimum of 8 years study, to the diploma of *al-'ilm*, or after 12 years, to the diploma of *al-'ilm* (with three honour classes). Modern subjects were introduced, either obligatory (such as elements of arithmetic, algebra) or optional (such as the history of Islam, composition, elements of geography, etc.). The length of the vacations (summer, Ramadan, festival of sacrifice) was fixed. A medical officer was appointed to be in charge of health and hygiene. A list of prescribed texts for the syllabus was drawn up. The implementation of this law came up against fierce resistance, which was likewise expressed in the press.

—In 1903 came the foundation of the institute of Alexandria, affiliated to al-Azhar.—In Muharram 1323/Feb.-March 1907 came a law instituting the *hāshimī* school (for the *shar'ī* tribunals) within the orbit of al-Azhar.—The law of 2 Safar 1326/6 March 1908 set out the studies in three standards, primary, secondary and higher, each of four years' duration with a certificate given after each final examination. The optional subjects of 1896 were made compulsory. This law was regarded as a blow to the autonomy of al-Azhar, and provoked an outcry. There was a serious student revolt in Cairo, and in Tahtā (quickly put down), but nowhere else. It was decided to apply this law only gradually.—In December 1908 came the foundation of the Free University of Cairo, the embryo of the four present State universities, and of the western type. This was the origin of a competition that was painful for al-Azhar.—The law of the 14 Dhu'l-Hijja 1329/13 May 1911 harked back to that of 1908; it laid down that the rector was to be nominated by the Khedive, enlarged the advisory council (the rector, the *shaykh* of the four schools, the director-general of the *waqf*, and three members nominated by the decision of the council of ministers), created the tribunal of the 30 chief 'ulamā who were incumbents of the 30 special chairs, from among whom the rector was to be elected. In the conditions of entry for pupils, the age limit was from 10-17 years; other provisions were as in 1908. Modern studies were slightly augmented, etc. This law was still the subject of opposition. One interesting problem arose, in that the graduates of the *Dār al-'ulūm* and of the school of the *hāshimī* obtained situations more easily than the Azharis, and earned more.—In 1921 the conditions for entry required the knowledge of the whole of the *Kur'ān*, no longer just half.—In the law of 13 Muharram 1342/26 August 1923 the highest standard was renamed 'specialisation' (*taḥḥīṣ*) and comprised many branches. The school of the *hāshimī*, which since 1907 had been banded about between different ministries, was at last affiliated to al-Azhar and abolished as such, becoming simply a branch of specialisation (1923-5). In this period several missions from al-Azhar were sent to study in Europe before returning to teach at al-Azhar.—In 1925 the State University of Cairo (Fu'ād al-Awwal University) replaced the Free University.—A law of the 24 Dhu'l-Hijja 1346/16 November 1930 laid down that the Tribunal of the chief 'ulamā was competent to judge whether any 'ālim was guilty of any act not in conformity with his dignity. It enlarged the

advisory council of al-Azhar (Grand *mufti*; the *shaykh* of the three faculties instead of the *shaykh* of the four schools, etc.), and stipulated that students should be under 16 years of age on admission (18 in the case of foreigners, who were exempted from knowing the whole *Kur'ān* by heart). The primary course was 4 years, the secondary 5 years, the higher 4 years, in one of the three faculties constituted by this law (Islamic law or *shar'ī*, theology or *uṣūl al-dīn*, the Arabic language or *luḡa 'arabiyya*), and in appropriate cases more specialisation or *taḥḥīṣ*, in those faculties which existed only in Cairo, was allowed. The programme of the higher specialisation, 2 years. The regulations concerning the subjects to be taught (these were to be still more detailed in the individual syllabuses printed later) make this law the real charter of present-day teaching. Apart from the traditional subjects, the following should be noted: English, French language (compulsory for the *uṣūl al-dīn* faculty, optional for the two others); rudiments of philosophy, history of philosophy, etc., for the *uṣūl al-dīn* and *luḡa 'arabiyya* faculties; common international law, and comparative law, in the *shar'ī* faculty. Certain branches of *taḥḥīṣ* had in addition a compulsory Oriental language (section of *waqf* was *irḡād*), or the elements of Hebrew and Syriac (sections of *naḥw* and *balāgha*), the history of religions, etc. The normal programme (*muṣṣal*) of the secondary course had as modern subjects the rudiments of logic and the art of rhetoric, of medicine (with the use of the microscope), of chemistry, zoology, botany, history and geography. The primary course comprised history, geography, arithmetic, algebra (up to simple equations with one unknown), and hygiene. The *ḥisāb al-bi-ṣiṭa*, reserved for foreigners who were unable to follow the normal courses, comprised 12 years' study divided into three courses of four years, with an annual syllabus. Of modern subjects they had only arithmetic, history, geography and logic. It must not be forgotten that all these modern subjects take a secondary place in the teaching, and that little time is given to them.—In 1945 the *dār al-'ulūm* was affiliated to the University of Cairo, with the status of Faculty. In 1952 the *dār al-'ulūm* ceased to be reserved for Azharis, and admitted candidates coming from Government schools. A women's section was opened in 1954.—About 1954 there was a slight alteration of the programmes at al-Azhar; a foreign language became compulsory in the faculty of *luḡa 'arabiyya*. The retirement age for teachers was fixed at 65; this applied equally to the chief 'ulamā, who previously had been appointed for life.—In 1955 came the abolition of the *shar'ī* tribunals, thus doing away with the chief outlet for the Azharis of the *shar'ī* faculty. There was talk of opening a women's section at al-Azhar; by the end of 1957, everything was ready, only budgetary credit was lacking.

In 1953, the faculties comprised respectively 1,603 *shar'ī* students, 1,655 for *luḡa 'arabiyya*, 707 for *uṣūl al-dīn*. The institutes had 15,328 primary students, 6,339 secondary, and 3,703 in the attached

sections; the free institutes had 2,458. At the end of 1955 there were in Egypt some institutions directly affiliated to al-Azhar (*muṣṣal*) in the following towns: (a) primary and secondary, Cairo, Tahtā, Mansūra, Ṣiḥān, al-Kaḥ, Rām, Suhāg, Gharā (Dijrāh), Asyūt, Minya, Fayyūm, Mamlūḥ, Samannūd, Zakāzīk, Dāsūk, Damietta (Dumyāt), Alexandria, Damanhūr; (b) primary only, Bani Suwayf, Banāḥ, Kafr al-Shaykh; (c) free institutes supervised (*ḥāḍir*) by al-Azhar, primary only, Tahtā, Balafūra, Bani 'Adī, Mallāwī, Abū Kurkūḥ, Abū Kabīr, Fāḥis, Minghāwī, Cairo (Uḡmīn Māhīr). In 1955 the number of foreign students was as follows: Sudan, 2,534; Nigeria, Gambia, Senegal, 141; Abyssinia, Eritrea, Somaliland, Zanzibar, 209; French Sudan, 37; Uganda and South Africa, 37; India and Pakistan, 46; China, 8; Java and Sumatra, 80; Afghanistan, 13; Kuwait, 6; Iraq, Bahrain, Iran (*ruṣṣ* al-Aḥdā) 21; Turkey, Albania, Yugoslavia (*ruṣṣ* al-Aḥdā), 206; Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine (*ruṣṣ* al-Shawmī), 724; Yemen, 20; North Africa and Libya (*ruṣṣ* al-Maḡāribī), 207; Hijāz, 17; total, 4,586.

In 1953 the group of 'ulamā at al-Azhar had 112 teachers or preachers on missions in the following countries: Iraq, 2; Kuwait, 16; Sudan (the Umm Darḥmīn Institute), 23; the Muslim School of the Philippines, 2; Eritrea (the Asmara Institute), 7; Malasia, 3; Burma, 3; Gambia, 1; Hijāz, 40; Lebanon, 5; the Islamic Cultural Centre, London, 1; the Islamic Cultural Centre, Washington, 1; Equatorial Africa, 1; Syria, 3; the School of Dīrbāḥ, 3. (1953 statistics from al-Sidqī al-ḥakīmī *sanad* 1953, Cairo 1955; 473-4; Sāḥ al-Huṣṣī, *ḥawāṣṣ al-ḥakīmī* al-'arabiyya, iv, Cairo 1954, 301).

Until the Law no. 15 of 1927 was promulgated, al-Azhar was directly responsible to the King. The Council of Ministers had until then to consider his opinion in the matter of appointing rectors, etc. Its budget was submitted for Government approval, and increased continually (£E 136,000 in 1919; in 1934, £E 1,617,200, of which only £E 94,380 was provided by the *waqf*, the rest furnished by the Ministry of Finance). All the scholars and students benefited from the gratuity, and received a grant for food, and a lodging allowance, if they found no room in the official quarters. For the primary and secondary grades this was about 50 piastres per month in 1935, plus school books and gifts from Egyptian charitable societies. There was a minimum of £E 2½ for foreigners in lodgings. For students of the faculties, help was available, and could be earned £E 5. The Sudanese, who were favoured, received in all £E 8. Certain countries added a supplementary lodging allowance for their nationals. The Islamic Congress, dating from 1953, has aided certain Azharis (MIDEO, iii, 471-8). The *Dār al-'ulūm*, likewise, gave help to students (discontinued for those who entered after 1953). These material advantages made al-Azhar, and still makes it, the only place for higher studies open to poor families (except for the bursaries of the State University). There is now a medical service for Azharis.

The well-organised library of the mosque contains upward of 20,000 manuscripts, and has a printed catalogue. The libraries of some *rishāh* have interesting manuscripts, but still uncatalogued in 1955. Each establishment has in addition a library for its students. Since 1949/1930 al-Azhar has had its monthly review, the official organ of its teachers, and whose title *Nūr al-Islām* was changed to *Maḡallāt al-Azhar* at the end of its sixth year. A

second monthly review, the organ of the *waqf* or *irḡād* section, has retained the name of *Nūr al-Islām*. In addition, certain courses are printed, and many Azharis contribute to the literary productions of present-day Egypt. To answer numerous juridical questions addressed to al-Azhar, a commission, *Lajnat al-faḥḥ*, was set up in 1354/1935 (having a president and 11 other members, at the rate of 1 per school); this is not to be confused with the *Dār al-'ilāhī*, dependant on the Grand Mufti of Egypt.

V. List of Rectors. The chronicle of al-Dīrbāḥ has preserved for us the names of the *shaykh* al-*muḥallī* (*muḥallī*) of al-Azhar since the year 1700 A.H. The rectors (*muḥallī*) was a coveted post which was occupied by the most prominent scholars, and which gave rise to long disputes between the schools. The rectors came from the most varied social strata: there were members of the landed aristocracy, as well as simple men who had done copying to earn a living at the beginning of their careers. Most of them, in the 18th and 19th centuries, composed commentaries or other works, as their biographers have noted. In 1954 the budget of al-Azhar provided £E 2,000 for the rector per annum (see list and references in al-Dīrbāḥī, *al-Azhar fi al-'im*, Cairo 1374, i, 147-96). It is, incidentally, with regard to the biographical notice of a third party, that al-Dīrbāḥ mentions the name of a rector, the earliest that is known to us, 1. Muḥ. b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kharrāḥī, d. 1104/1690; 2. Muḥ. al-Naḡrāḥī, d. 1220; 3. 'Abd al-Bāḥ al-Kallīd, whose nomination was the occasion of a battle, and some firing, within the mosque; 4. Muḥ. Ṣhannan, one of the richest men of his time, d. 1233; 5. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Fayyūmī, d. 1137; 6. 'Abd Allāh al-Shahrāwī, poet and wit, frequented and defended the *Sūfīs*, d. 1171; 7. Muḥ. b. Sālim al-Hinnāwī al-Khalawātī, Sūfī and jurist, author of glosses, d. 1181, perhaps poisoned by the *awāḥ*; his tomb became an object of veneration (Brockelmann, II, 323; S II, 443); 8. 'Abd al-Ra'f al-Saḡīnī, d. 1182; 9. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Damanhūrī, d. 1192; 10. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Arīḡī, of the Hanafī school, who had been initiated into Sūfism by the *Shaykh* al-Hinnāwī, and was rapidly dismissed under *Shaykh* pressure; 11. Aḥmad al-'Arīḡī, Sūfī and commentator, d. 1208; 12. 'Abd Allāh al-Sharkāwī, whose rectorship saw the expedition of Bonaparte, a scholar whose works were very widely read in their time, d. 1227/1812; 13. Muḥ. al-Shanāwī, who supplanted a rival, al-Mahdī, who was rector only in name, d. 1233; 14. Muḥ. al-'Arīḡī, d. 1245; 15. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Damīḡī, d. 1246; 16. Ḥasan b. Muḥ. al-'Atīr (q.v.) who had associated with Bonaparte's French and had been a supporter of the reforms, d. 1250; 17. Ḥasan al-Kuwayyī, d. 1254; 18. Aḥmad al-Sāḥ al-Saḡī, d. 1265; 19. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥ. al-Bāḡī, d. 1277, known as a theologian (Brockelmann, II, 487; S II, 741); 19a. an interregnum of four years during which a committee of four *awāḥ* conducted al-Azhar's affairs; 20. Muḥ. al-'Arīḡī (to 1287/1870-1), paved the way for the reforms which his successor introduced; 21. Muḥ. al-'Abhād al-Mahdī al-Hanafī, temporarily replaced by Muḥ. b. Muḥ. al-Anḥādī during the uprising of 'Urābī Paḡhā (1899/1882), ceded his place in 1304/1886; 22. Muḥ. al-'Abhādī, a scholar but opposed to all innovations, who had to be pressed for a long time before his retirement in 1313/1895 (Brockelmann, S II, 742); 23. Ḥasūna al-Nawawī, a man of character, admired by the Egyptians, had had in the law school an influence on his disciples, who played an im-







Azhari enjoyed great renown in his time. Al-Suyūṭī is reckoned as one of his pupils.  
*Bibliography*: Brockelmann, II, 277; Sarkis, *Muḍam al-Maḥabāt al-'Arabiyya* 311.  
 (C. BROCKELMANN\*)

**AL-AZHARĪ**, Abū MANṢŪR MUHAMMAD b. AHMAD b. AL-AZHAR, Arab lexicographer born in 282/895 at Harāt, died in the same town in 370/980. Al-Azhari was a pupil of al-Ḥafṣ al-Mundhirī, the lexicographer Muhammad b. Ḥaṣṣar al-Mundhirī (370/980), who was himself a disciple of Ḥaṣṣar al-Mundhirī and al-Mubarrad (d. 311) (see Yāqūt, *Iḥṣāʾ*, vi, 464 = Cairo ed., xviii, 99 ff.), and seems to have come to Ḥarāk whilst still fairly young. At Baghdad he received instruction in grammar from Nifṣawayh, according to Yāqūt, but came only slightly under the influence of al-Zajidī and Ibn Durayd. If one relies on the lists of Shāfiʿī jurists, given by Yāqūt, who are supposed to have been al-Azhari's masters, he must have had a thorough knowledge of Shāfiʿī law. In 312/924, he was returning from Mecca to Kūfa with the pilgrim caravan, when they were attacked by the Karāmita (d. 311) at al-Habla and partly massacred or taken prisoner. Al-Azhari spent two years as a prisoner of the Bedouins of Bahrayn who were converted to Carmathianism. In a passage cited by Yāqūt and Ibn Khallikān, he describes how he took advantage of his sojourn among these nomads to study their language, which according to him, was very pure. The rest of his life remains a mystery for us and seems to have been spent in his birthplace in study and retirement.

Al-Azhari's work is known to us by a list containing fourteen titles provided by Yāqūt and Ibn Khallikān (reproduced in part by al-Suyūṭī, *Dughayṭ al-Waṣīl*, 8), with the exception of his commentaries on the *Muṣallabāt* and the *Diwān* of Abū Tammām, these are lexicographical studies. Among these works, a dictionary has come down to us (ten volumes in Ibn Khallikān's time) entitled *Tahḍīb al-Lughah*. The work is still not edited; there are MSS. of it in London, Istanbul and in India; see list in Brockelmann. This is a compilation made by means of the materials, which al-Azhari received from his master al-Mundhirī; Yāqūt, *Iḥṣāʾ*, loc. cit., even speaks of a *risāʾa* of a dictionary of al-Mundhirī. The essential feature of the work is that it continues the tradition initiated by Khallīl in his *Kiṭāb al-Ayn*; the roots are not arranged in the usual alphabetical order, but in accordance with a phonetic classification, commencing with the "vocalic" and ending with the labials. The *Tahḍīb* was copiously used by Ibn Manẓūr in his *Lisān al-'Arab*.

*Bibliography*: Yāqūt, *Iḥṣāʾ*, vi, 197-9 = Cairo ed., xvii, 164-7; Ibn Khallikān, *Cairo* ed., 1310, i, 501 = ed. Muḥyī ḥ-Dīn, *Cairo*, 1900, 1:108; 458-62; Zetterstéen, in *MO*, xiv, 191; Brockelmann, I, 129, S. 1, 302.

**'AZĪM ALLĀH KHĀN**, said to have been the brain of the political upheaval (known as the Mutiny) of 1857 in India, came of a poor Pathān family which had settled in Cawnpore long before the famine of 1837-8 (George Dunbar, *A History of India from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, London 1917, II, 483). An orphan, saved from starvation by a Christian missionary, he began life as a *khidmatgār* in an Anglo-Indian family of Cawnpore (Mowbray Thompson, *The Story of Cawnpore*, London 1859, 54; G. O. Trevelyan, *Cawnpore*, London 1907, 58), who sent him to school, where he learnt English and French, and acquired high proficiency in both. Soon after com-

pleting his education he joined the same school as a teacher. On the request of Nānā Shāhī, adopted son of Bājī Rāo II, the chief of the Peshwās, he entered his service as a private tutor and English secretary. He soon found favour with Nānā who appointed him as his political adviser. Following the death of him as Bājī Rāo II in 1851, Nānā Shāhī succeeded to his title, pension and estate but the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, discontinued his pension and refused to recognise him. Thereupon 'Azīm Allāh Khān prepared a memorial for his master in which was submitted to the British authority in 1852. It was, however, rejected by the Court of Directors of the East India Company. In 1853 'Azīm Allāh Khān left for England to plead Nānā's case personally. Here he failed in his mission but through the charm of his personality he won the heart of many ladies who continued to write him scores of letters even after his return to India in 1855. These letters were later published in two vols., *The Indian Prince and the English Princess* (Trevelyan, 59). On his way back from England, 'Azīm Allāh Khān visited Paris, Constantinople, Sebastopol and the theatre of war in the Crimea (Russell, *My Diary in India*, London 1860, 165-7).

A frustrated and disillusioned man, having spent £50,000 on his fruitless mission to England, anxious to continue in the favour of his master, 'Azīm Allāh Khān suggested to Nānā the overthrow of the British power in India through a military coup d'état. With this aim in view he visited, early in 1857, along with Nānā, military stations in northern India but met with little success. Some Indian princes falsely promised help to Nānā's emissaries sent out at the instance of 'Azīm Allāh Khān, who himself took part in many of the lost battles against the British. On the fall of Bithūr, Nānā's stronghold near Cawnpore in 1857, he disappeared from the scene, never to be heard of again. He is said to have died in Raibāt I-II 1276/October, 1859 at Bhitwal (Népal) where he had fled along with other leaders of the Revolt. His end, however, like his origin, still remains shrouded in mystery.

*Bibliography*: J. W. Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, London 1870, I, 109-110, 648-9 and index; G. B. Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, London 1879, II, 257-52 and index; Lord Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, London 1897, I, 293, 377, 427-9; V. D. Savarkar, *The Indian War of Independence*, 1857, Bombay 1907, 28-9; Ghulam Kasim Mir, 1857 *ke Mujāhid*, Lahore 1937, 45-60; Istiṣṭāṭ Allāh Shihābī, *Machābir-i-Dawlat-e-Azādī*, Karachi 1957, 153-60; S. Luttolah, *The Man Behind the War of Independence* 1857, Karachi 1957; R. C. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and Revolt of 1857*, Calcutta 1927, 164-5 and index; W. J. Shepherd, *A Personal Narrative of the Outbreak and Massacre at Cawnpore*, Lucknow 1879, 14-5; W. Forster Mitchell, *Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny*, London, 1893, 185-6 and index; J. R. Gobbins, *An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh*, London 1858, 32; Surendra Nath Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, Delhi 1937, 120-9, 138, 145, 150, 368, 406 (this work also contains a very comprehensive bibliography); Earl Roberts, *Letters written during the Indian Mutiny*, London 1914, 120.

(A. S. BARNES ANSARI)  
**'AZĪMA** (A.), literally: "determination, resolution, fixed purpose"; thence:

1. In religious law, an ordinance as interpreted strictly, the opposite of *rukḥṣa*, an exemption or dispensation (e.g. the dispensation from observing the dietary laws, if there is danger to health or life). 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shāfiʿī, in his *Kiṭāb al-Miṣnā al-Kubrā*, consistently explains the divergent opinions of the several schools of religious law as expressing these two complementary tendencies. Cf. Goldziher, in ZDMG, 1884, 676 f.; idem, *Die Zāhirīen*, Leipzig 1884, 68 f.

2. In magic, an adjuration, or the application of a formula of which magical effects are expected. Cf. Goldziher, in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Noldeke*, ... *Gesamtheit*, Gießen 1906, I, 307.

(I. GOLDZIEHER\*)

**AZIMECH** [see MUDJĪCH].

**AL-'AZĪMĪ** (Muh. b. 'Alī b. Muh. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Tanūkhī), called — (483/1090-post 556/1161), chronicler of Aleppo. A full but dry universal history—mainly Syrian—by him, which extends to the year 538/1143-44 (published by me—from the year 455/1063—in *JA*, 1938, 353-448), has come down to us, but in addition, he composed above all a great *History of Aleppo* which was copied especially by Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Azīm and Ibn Abī Tappī (the latter up to 556/1161). The interest of the portions of al-'Azīm's work which have been preserved does not reside in their intrinsic value but rather in the fact that they are the only texts which escaped the destruction of North Syrian historiography between the middle of the 310th century and that of the 6th/12th century; they thus enable us, to a certain extent, to complete or criticise the great works of the following century, on which we are dependent for the history of this period, by bringing us closer to their sources: a necessary text in view of the changes which had taken place in the meantime in the Syrian moral and social climate.

*Bibliography*: Mukrimis Halil (Yinanç), *XII asir tarihçileri ve muvverrihi Azimi, in İbnici Türk Tarih Kongresi* Nergizay, 1937; Cf. Cahen, preface to the edition cited above, and *Le Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 1940, 42-3.

(C. CAHEN)

**AZIMUT** [see AL-SAMT].

**AL-'AZĪZ** [see AYYŪBIDS].

**AL-'AZĪZ BĪLLĀH NĪRĀN Abū MANṢŪR**, fifth Fatimid Caliph and the first whose reign began in Egypt. He was born on 14 Muharrar 344/16 May 955 and had been designated as his successor by his father al-Mu'izz after the death of his brother 'Abd Allāh in 364/974. He succeeded his father on 11 Raḥb I-II 365/18 December 975 (or 14 Raḥb I-II 21 December) after the latter had died in recognition as his successor by his family and dignitaries on the preceding day. The official proclamation, however, only took place on 10 12ḥu 365/9 August 976.

The sources describe him as tall, with red hair and blue eyes, generous, brave, fond of horses and hunting and very humane and tolerant in disposition. He was an excellent administrator, subjected the State finances to a rigorous supervision, introduced the system of fixed salaries for officials, whom he forbade to accept bribes and presents, and issued an order that no payments should be made except on the production of written documents. He was the first to assign fixed rates of pay to his troops and palace personnel. He was, moreover, the first of the Fatimid Caliphs to employ Turks in the army, a practice which was later to be fraught with serious consequences.

He was well supported by his minister Ya'qūb b. Killis, the director of taxation, to whom in 368/979 he gave the title of *waiz*, previously unknown to the Fatimids, and who remained *waiz* until his death in 380/991, with two short periods in disgrace, one because he was accused of having had the Turk Alptakin (Alptigin; see below) poisoned in 367/978, and the other in 373/984 when he was imprisoned and had his possessions confiscated, perhaps because of the famine which broke out in that year, but two months later he recovered his liberty, possessions and office. It was to Ibn Killis that al-'Aziz's finances owed their prosperity. He also played an important literary rôle, according to pensions to the most of letters, lawyers and poets whom he gathered round himself, and composed a book of Isma'īlī Law based on pronouncements by al-Mu'izz and al-'Aziz.

The *waiz* who succeeded him did not remain as long in office. These were 'Alī b. 'Umar al-'Addās, Abu 'l-Fadl 12ḥu 381/ al-Furāt in 381/992, al-Buṣayr b. al-Ḥasan al-Bāṣiy, Abū Muhammad b. 'Ammār, al-Fadl b. Šāhī, who had been a collaborator of Ibn Killis, and lastly in 385-386/995-996, the Christian 'Isā b. Nestorius, formerly Secretary for Finance. Another important officer of al-'Aziz was the Jew Manasheh (Manasseh), Secretary for Syria.

The employment of a Christian and a Jew in high offices was in keeping with the spirit of toleration of the Fatimids in matters of religion and race. Al-'Aziz was still further inclined to toleration, being influenced by his Christian wife, the mother of his son and successor al-Ḥākim. This Princess's two brothers were indebted to his influence and to the Caliph's recommendation for being appointed, the one, Orestes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the other, Arsenius, Metropolitan of Mīr and Cairo in 375/986. The Christians, throughout his reign, enjoyed great freedom. The Coptic Patriarch Ephraim, in spite of strong Muslim opposition, obtained permission to rebuild the Church of Abū 'l Sayfayn (St. Mercurius) near al-Fustāt. The Caliph looked favourably on the controversies between the Bishop of Agnūmayn, Severus b. al-Makaffā' and the kadi Ibn al-Nu'mān, president of the Court of *Mazālīm*. He refused to take action against a Muslim who had become a Christian convert. This policy was bound to cause considerable discontent among the Muslims, and tracts were circulated against Manasseh and Ibn Nestorius. To appease the Muslims, the Caliph had the Jew and the Christian imprisoned, but as it was difficult to do without their services, they were re-established their position. In 386/996, this discontent provoked a popular movement against the Christians, following the burning of the fleet, of which some merchants from Anafī were accused; the latter were massacred and several churches were looted.

Though al-'Aziz was tolerant towards Christians and Jews, he was less so towards the Sunnī Muslims. He followed a strict Isma'īlī policy (defamatory inscriptions for the companions of the Prophet; suppression of the *palāt al-tarāwīḥ* of Ramaḍān in 372/982; the punishment in 381/991 of a man who had in his possession the *Mawṣiṭā'* of Mālikī). In 366/976, he inaugurated in Cairo the mourning ceremonies on the feast of the 'Ashūrā'. On the other hand, however, the holding of solemn processions on the Fridays in Ramaḍān and the distributions of sweetmeats at the feast ending the fast (*Uṭra*) are due merely to his love of display.

The reign of al-'Aziz was in fact a period of luxury. His fondness for precious stones, cut glass







no. 772) shows him with a white beard. Among the poets his contemporaries who used the *nom de plume* ‘Aziz he was the most famous.

All his biographers hold it noteworthy that, in contrast to the works of most of the other poets of his time, his poetry was inspired not by boys, but by women. This reputation seems to have derived from his most famous poem, a *ghazal* on the courtesan of Istanbul, entitled *Rengin-nâm*, which is remarkable for its lively style and bold use of idiomatic expressions and proverbs; each of the 49 beauties is described, in a set of three couplets, with images befitting her name or nickname. Other poems by him are found scattered in *tefekkür* and anthologies.

**Bibliography:** Gibb, *Ottoman poetry*, iii, 179-86 (1904), with English translation of 32 stanzas of the *ghazal*; Saadeddin Nüzhet Ergin, *Türk şairleri*, ii, 632-37 (about 1938), containing passages on ‘Aziz from various *tefekkür*, several of his scattered poems; Istanbul Üniversitesi Kutuphanesi, Turkish MSS. no. 9499, is a complete copy (dated 1304/1886-87) of the *Rengin-nâm*; article in *IA*. (A. Tietze)

‘AZİZİ [see KARAFERİDİ-ZADE].

‘AZİZ, *coitus interruptus*. According to the *hadith* this practice was not unknown to the ancient Arabs, and the Messenger of God did not declare it to be *haram*. The doctors of the Law agree that the master can practise it with his slave concubine unconditionally, and the husband with his wife in the latter case, however, there is controversy on the question whether the wife's permission is necessary. According to al-Ghazālī, although *‘azl* is not in conformity with the general spirit of marriage, it is not forbidden, and is at the most only mildly reprehensible: it may also be practised with a view to ensuring, for example, that the consequences of a confinement do not imperil the husband's “continued enjoyment of marital rights”; with greater justification, and although it is preferable to leave the matter trustfully in God's hands, “the fear of incurring great financial hardship on account of the size of one's family” renders this contraceptive practice admissible.

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(G. H. BOUQUET)

‘AZİZİ, dismissal (see SUPPLEMENT).

‘AZMİ-ZADE MUSTAFA, Ottoman poet and stylist, as a poet known under the name of Hâletî. Born in the so-called *laylat al-berit* in Istanbul on 15 Sha‘bân 977/23 Jan. 1570. He was the son of ‘Amîd-Efendi, who was the well-known and well-respected tutor of Murâd IV as well as a poet, writer, and translator (died 990/1582). As a pupil of Sa‘d al-Din [q.v.] who became famous as a historian, he studied law, and to him he owed his special love for historical investigation. He became *muderris* at the *madrasa* of Hâdîdî-Khân in Istanbul, but in 1601/1602-3 he was transferred to Damascus as a

judge. Two years later he went to Cairo in the same capacity. When Dimâd Ibrahim-Paşa (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 139 ff.) the governor of Egypt, who had occasionally represented him, was dismissed because of his lack of prudence, and soon afterwards (1015/1606-7) he was moved as Mulla to Bursa. As a reward for his good services in the fight against the ‘Alid rebel Kalender-oglu, he became Mullah of Adrianople in 1020/1611-2. His behaviour when a judge was punished for wrongdoings led to his transfer to Damascus where, however, he remained only until 1027/1618, to go from there to Istanbul as a judge. This important office he held for four years. Subsequently he was sent to the provinces once again, this time to Cairo. In Rabi‘ II 1030/Feb.-March 1621, he next became a military judge in Anatolia and in Rabi‘ I 1037/Nov. 1627, in Rumelia, after he had again been without office (mu‘azzil) since [Ibn ‘I-Kâdî 1034/Sept. 1623. This last post, too, he held only for a short time. He was dismissed in Ramadân 1038/April-May 1629, and moved to the school attached to the Sulaymânîya mosque (*dar al-hadith*) in Istanbul. He died soon afterwards (26 Sha‘bân 1040/30 March 1631, and is buried in the courtyard of his school, not far from his house in Sofalar Carhusu.

As the poet Hâletî, ‘Azmi-zade achieved fame because of his *divân*, his *5481-nâm*, and his quatrains (*rubâ‘i*), and he was known as the Turkish ‘Umar Khayyâm by his successors. He was very widely read and left a library of manuscripts of some 4000 volumes, all of which are annotated in his own hand. The library was dispersed. None of his works has yet been printed, and his poetry deserves a further critical appreciation. ‘Azmi-zade's *Sulaymân-nâm* would appear to have nothing to do with the sultan Sulaymân the Magnificent; the contents stands in need of an examination (there is a manuscript in the Es‘ad-Efendi library in Istanbul [No. 2284, cf. GOW, 76]). The best example of his skill in prose is his *Munshâ‘ât*, of which there is a manuscript in the Hamidiyya library in Istanbul (No. 699). There is another one in London, (No. 169), and in the British Museum (No. 1649, cf. Kien, 961), with a reference to a further manuscript in Vienna (Nationalbibliothek) containing only 13 letters (cf. G. Flügel, catalogue I, 265), cf. also Hammer-Purgstall, i (1828), viii.

**Bibliography:** New‘i-zâde ‘Alî‘î, *Hadîqah al-Habâ‘ih*, Istanbul 1268, 750ff.; Sâdî‘î ‘Oğmedî, *Habâ‘ih*, Istanbul 1268, 750ff.; *Farâid*, ii, Istanbul 8, 103 f.; Hâdîdî Khâfî, *Farâid*, ii, Istanbul 1, 1267, 135; J. v. Hammer, *GOW*, iii (1837), 214 ff.; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, ii, 221 ff.; Brissâh Mehmed Tahîr, *Oğmedî (Mudîrîyâ)*, ii (1333), 311 f. Brief notices in Hammer-Purgstall, iv (1829), 629, based on ‘Alî‘î.

(F. BAERINGER)

AL-AZRAKÎ ABU ‘L-WALID MUHAMMAD B. ‘ABD ALLÂH B. AHMAD, historian of Mecca and of its sanctuary. The ancestor of the family was a Byzantine (*Rûmî*) slave of Kalâda or al-Hârith b. Kalâda in al-‘Irâq, called al-Azrak on account of his blue eyes. According to Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (*Al-fih*, s.v. Sumayya), he married Sumayya, the mother of Ziyâd b. Abih. During the siege of al-‘Irâq in 8/630 al-Azrak went over to Muhammad, was freed, and settled at Mecca. His descendants rose to power and influence and married into the Umayyad aristocracy. In order to obliterate their humble origin they pretended to belong to the clan of ‘Ikab of the Banû Taghlab (Ibn Sa‘d, iii, 176) but later, when the antagonisms between Kays and Yaman

became prominent, they were persuaded by the Khawâra to join the Yamanite camp by maintaining that al-Azrak was the son of ‘Asar b. al-Hârith b. Abi Shâmir and hence a member of the royal family of the Ghassânids (Ibn Sa‘d, l.c.; see also al-Azrakî 438, and 460).

A great-great-grandson of al-Azrak was Ahmad b. Muḥ. b. al-Walid b. ‘Ukba, d. 222/837 (Ibn Sa‘d v, 367; al-Suhbi, *Tabakhât al-Shâfi‘iyya*, i, 222; Ibn Hajar, *Tabakh*, i, 79). He was interested in the history of Meccah and its sanctuary and gathered from Sufyân b. ‘Uyayna, the *muḥ* Sa‘d b. Sâlim, the *fakh* al-Zandî, Dâwūd b. ‘Abd al-Rahmân al-‘Aḥrî and other Meccans a huge mass of relevant information. His materials were utilised and considerably enlarged by his grandson Abu ‘L-Walid, the author of *Al-habîs Makka*. The traditions collected in this book go back in the main to the so-called school of Ibn ‘Abbās and represent its doctrines and Qur’anic exegesis. With regard to the legendary history of Mecca in pre-Islamic times Ibn Ishâq, al-Kalbi and Wabī b. Munabbih are also quoted. The topographical description is in the main the work of Abū ‘L-Walid. Abu ‘L-Walid transmitted the book to the “reader” Abū Muhammad Ishâq b. Ahmad al-Khuz‘î (a descendant of ‘Umar’s governor of Mecca Nâfi’ b. ‘Abd al-Hârith) d. 308/921, who made many additions, especially about the renovations of the Ka‘ba in 281/894-7, and transmitted the book to his grand-nephew Abu ‘L-Hasan Muhammad b. Nâfi’ al-Khuz‘î, d. after 350/961 (who made only three additions). This is the text that was printed by Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, Leipzig 1858.

Azrakî's book was plagiarised c. 272/885-6 by Muhammad b. Ishâq al-Fâkîhî (see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, i, xxiv-xxix and ii, i). It was also utilised by Sa‘d al-Din Sa‘d Allâh b. ‘Umar al-Isfahâni c. 762/1361 in his *Zuhd* al-‘Amal (see Rieu, *Supplement*, nr. 575). Al-Kirmânî wrote in 821/1418 a *Muḥarrar Ta’rîkh Makka* (autograph in Berlin, Ahlwardt no. 6752).

**Bibliography:** For Azrak see also Ibn Kutayba, *Handbook*, 131; Tabarî, iii, 2315, 2 and *Taba* s.v. al-Azrak and Sumayya Umm ‘Ammâr. For Abu ‘L-Walid al-Azrakî see Fihrist, 112; San‘îd 281; Brockelmann, S.I, 209, J. W. Fück, *Der Abū al-Azrakî (Shâfi‘î Orientalisten in onore di G. Levi Della Vida)*, i, 336-40. (J. W. FÜCK)

AZRAKÎ, ZAYN AL-DIN ABU BAKR B. ISMÂ‘ÎL AL-WARRÂK, Persian poet who, according to Ethé, died in 527/1132-13 or in 524/1130; but Mirzâ Muhammad Kazwîni has shown (*Caḥr Mahabâ*, 173 ff.) that he died certainly before 463/1072-3. He wrote a *Diwân* among other poems, contains panegyrics on Tughlughân b. Alp Arslân, the governor of Harât (not, as is often stated, of Nishâpûr), and on Amirîngshâh, the son of Kâwurd [q.v.], the first Saljuqid sultan of Kirmân. His verses comprise outstanding *basîdas* and *hîfâs*; he excels in descriptive poetry but is sometimes exaggerated in his praise, and he is not free from far-fetched and affected comparisons. It seems improbable that he is also, as Hâdîdî Khâlîfa and others assert, the author of the *Sindbad-nâm* and of an obscure book entitled *Alfiyya wa-Shafiiyya*.

**Bibliography:** ‘Awf, *Lubâb*, ii, 86 ff.; Dawlat-shâh, 72 ff.; Iḥsânî-‘Arîdî, *Caḥr Mahabâ* (ed. Kazwîni), 44, 170 ff. (trans. Browne, 123-125 and index); [Iḥsânî] *Ḥakâidîn*, chapters vii, (trans. Mas‘ûd, 172); Houtsma, *Revue*, i, 14 ff.; Ethé, *Gr. I. Phil.*, ii, 258; Browne, ii, 323. (H. MAS‘ûd)

AZRAKITES [see AZARIKA].

AZULEJO [see KHARAJ].

AZURDA, SAYYID AHMAD B. LUTFI ALLÂH, Indian writer of Kashmiri extraction, was born in Delhi in 1204/1789. He learnt the traditional sciences from Shâh ‘Abd al-‘Azîz and Shâh ‘Abd al-Kâdir [q.v.], and the rational sciences from Faḍl-i Imâm of Khayrâbâd, whom he succeeded in 1243/1827 as the last grand *mufti* and *sadr al-udayn* of Imperial Delhi. In addition to his proficiency in various branches of knowledge he was a great authority on the Urdu language, and celebrated poets like Ghâlib and Mu‘în often invited his opinion on their compositions. Before the Mutiny his house in Matyâ Mahall, Delhi, was the favourite meeting-place of scholars and poets. (He was the first to prescribe the *diwân* of al-Mutanabbî as one of the courses of study in India.) Suspected of complicity in the Mutiny of 1857, he was exiled. His property, including his large private library, was confiscated and auctioned. After his release his property, but not his library, was restored to him. He had many pupils. Before his appointment as *sadr al-udayn* he served as a tutor to Yûsuf ‘Alî Khân, ruler of Rampur (1855-65). His principal pupils included: Siddîk Hasan Khân [q.v.]; Fakîr Muhammad Lâhûrî, author of *Hadâ‘ih al-Hanafîyya*, and Abu ‘L-Khayr, father of Abu ‘L-Kalâm Azâd. He was struck with paralysis in 1862 and died six years later on 24th Rabi‘ I 1285/15th July, 1868 and was buried in Delhi.

Among his works, some of which perished during the Mutiny, are two treatises in Arabic: *Munshâ‘at Maḥabî fi Shârh Hadîth li Taḥḥud al-Rikâi*, in refutation of the arguments of Ibn Taymiyya and others to prove that visits to the shrines of saints and divines are unlawful; *al-Durr al-Mandâf fi Ḥukm Inmâ‘ al-Maḥabî*. He is also the author of a short biographical work on Urdu poets entitled *Tadhkirat Muḥabbas dar Ilâlat Raddîngiyân-i Hind* (Rome, *Suppl.*, 304). Some of his poems were reproduced by (Sir) Sayyid Ahmad Khân in the *Albâr al-Sanâidiyya*, Delhi 1846, 72-114.

**Bibliography:** Fakîr Muhammad Lâhûrî, *Hadâ‘ih al-Hanafîyya*, Lucknow 1906, 93-4; Siddîk Hasan Khân, *Abjad al-Ulûm*, Bhopal 1295, 917; Muḥabbat Husayn ‘Sâhî’, *Râi-Rauzshah*, Bhopal 1297, 70-1; Rahmân ‘Alî Tadhkirat al-Khawâra’, Lucknow 1914, 93-4; Muḥabbat Khân Shifî’a, *Gulshar-i-Bahâr*, Delhi 1846, 10-1; Ghawth Muhammad Khân, *Sayr-i Muḥabbat*, Delhi 1851, 247-8; Nûr al-Hasan Khân, *Tadhkirat-i Tûr-i Kalim*, Agra 1908, 6; ‘Abd al-Ghaffâr Khân “Naasidh”, *Saḥḥat al-Shawâri*, Lucknow 1291, 23; Intiqiyya ‘Alî “Arshî”, *Makāshif al-Ghâlib*, Bombay 1917, 62; Ghulîsî Raḥîl Maḥabî, *Ghâlib*, Lahore 1947, 278-83; ‘Abd al-Hayy Laḥqanwâl, *Nushah al-Khawâir* (MS), vii, s.v.; idem, *Gul-i Ra‘nâ*, A‘zamgarh 1364, 327-8; A. Sprenger, *Oudh Cat.*, s.v. *Azard*; *Survey*, iv, 922; Kâdir Baksh Shâbir, *Gulistan-i Saḥḥat*, (MS.), s.v.; Karim al-Din and Fallon, *Tabakhât al-Shawâri*, Delhi 1848, 446-8; Muhammad b. Yûsuf al-Tibrat, *al-Yam‘ al-Diyat fi Anshad al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghaffâr*, lith. on the margin of *al-Aḥdân Rijâl Ma‘nî al-‘Abd*, Deoband 1344, 77; Sir Râm, *Khawâsh-i-Diyad*, Lahore 1908, i, 53-61; Asad Allâh Khân “Ghâlib”, *Kulliyat Naṭh Ghâlib*, Cawnpore 1871, 101, 123; Siddîk Hasan Khân, *Ilbâl al-Nababâ’ al-‘ashq*, 1288, 260; Al-Husayn ‘Hâfî’, *Bayân-i-Diyad*, Delhi 1909, i, 29, ii, 253, 380; Faḍl-i Husayn, *al-Bayân ba‘d al-Mamâd*, Agra 1908, 44;











until a party of men entered the outer archway to try to break down the door behind the inner archway. At a signal, given by men looking through the slits in the vault, the portcullis would be released and missiles, molten lead, or boiling oil dropped on the storming party trapped below. It was impossible for a storming party to approach the door without exposing themselves to be fatally trapped in this fashion.

The finest gateways of the 3th/11th century are the three Fātimid gates of Cairo, the Bāb al-Nār, Bāb al-Futūḥ (Plate XXX) and Bāb Zuwayla, built by

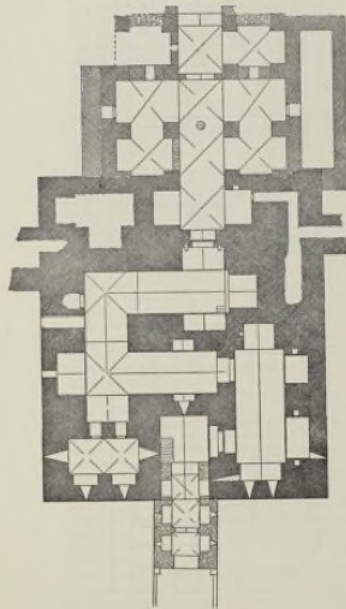


Fig. 2. ALEPPO: Entrance of the Citadel.  
(From Herzfeld).

Badr al-Djamālī in 480-83/1087-92, but they are "straight through" and not bent entrances. In each case the gateway proper is set back in an arched recess between two round-fronted towers, and at the back of the arch is a slit whereby missiles could be dropped from the platform above on a storming party attacking the door with a battering ram.

But the wars of the Crusades in the two following centuries and the great military experience gained by both sides soon resulted in the bent entrance coming into general use. It was invariably employed by Salāh al-Dīn, e.g. at Kal'at Djindī in Sīnāi, about

578/1182, in the three gateways of the Northern Enclosure of the Citadel of Cairo, 572-9/1176-84, and likewise the gateways in that part of the Wall of Cairo due to him (Plate XXXI). So thoroughly were the advantages of the bent entrance appreciated that it had even reached the Far West of Islam before the end of the 6th/12th century, e.g. the gateway of the Kaḥba of the Oudāya at Rabāṭ in Morocco.

For the 7th/13th century three typical examples of it may be cited: Kal'at al-Nadīm on the Euphrates, 605-12/1208-15; and two at Baghdad, the Tālisman Gate (blown up by the retreating Turks in 1918) and the Bāb al-Wustānī.

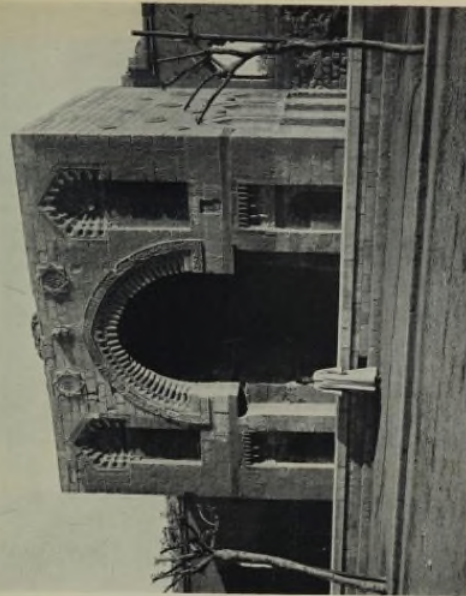
The supreme example of a bent entrance is al-Malik al-Zāhir's gateway in the Citadel of Aleppo finished according to Ibn Shaddād in 611/1214. Here there are no less than five right-angled turns in the passage-way (Plate XXXII and Fig. 2).

(K. A. C. CRESWELL)

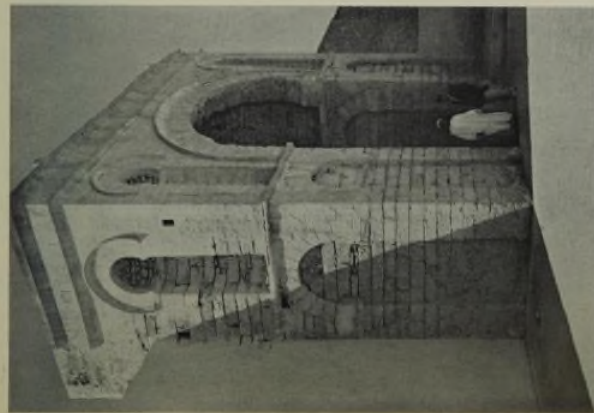
**BÄB**, a term applied in early Shī'ism to the senior authorised disciple of the Imām. The bagographical literature of the Twelver Shī'a usually names the *bābs* of the Imāms. Among the Ismā'īliyya [g.v.] *bāb* was a rank in the hierarchy. The term was already in use in pre-Fātimid times, though its significance is uncertain (cf. W. Ivanow, *The Alleged Founder of Isma'ilism*, Bombay 1946, 123 n. 2, citing al-Kashshāf, *Ridā*, 321; idem, *Notes sur l'Ummu al-Kutub*, in *RIE*, 1932, 455; idem, *Studies in early Persian Isma'ilism*, Bombay 1955, 19 ff.). Under the Fātimids in Egypt the *bāb* comes immediately after the *Imām*, from whom he receives instruction directly. He in turn instructs the *hujjaj*, who conduct the *da'wa*. The term thus appears to denote the head of the hierarchy of the *da'wa*, and to be the equivalent in Ismā'īlī terminology of the expression *dā'ī al-da'wā*, which is used in the general historical literature but rarely appears in Ismā'īlī texts. Thus, for example, al-Mu'ayyid fi 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, who is described in Ismā'īlī writings as the *bāb* of al-Mustansir, is called his *dā'ī 'l-da'wā* by the historians (e.g. Ibn Muyassar, 10) and is actually named as such by al-Mustansir in a *sigh* of Ramadan 461/July 1069 addressed to the Sulaymānī ruler of the Yaman (*Al-Sighat al-Mustansiriyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Man'im Maḥjūd, Cairo 1954, 200). Some indications of the status and functions of the *bāb* in Fātimid Ismā'īlism will be found in Hamid al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *Rihāt al-'Abb*, ed. M. Kāmil Husayn and M. Muṭafā Hilmī, Cairo 1953, index; cf. R. Strothmann, *Gnostische Texte der Isma'iliten*, Göttingen 1943, index, espec. 82, 102, 173; W. Ivanow, *Studies*, 20-23). In the post-Fātimid *da'wa* the office dwindled in importance and seems eventually to have disappeared. In the description of the *da'wa* organisation at Alamūt given by Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, (*Tasawwurat*, ed. W. Ivanow, 97, introduction xliii), there is only a *bāb-i ḥāṭin*, who ranks with the *dā'ī*, and in later Ismā'īlī writings the term seems to drop out altogether.

In the system of the Nusayriyya [g.v.] the *bāb* comes after the *imam* and is identified with Salīmān [g.v.]. The *bāb* is personified in each cycle. (Lists of Nusayri *bābs* are given in R. Strothmann, *Morgenländische Geheimnisten in Abendländischer Forschung*, Berlin 1953 (Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952 Nr. 5) 34-5; L. Massigson, *Nusayriyya*, in *EP*, for a similar Ismā'īlī list see *Taj' al-Yar* b. Maṣūr al-Yaman, *Kutub al-Kaḥf*, ed. R. Strothmann, 1952, 14).

Bibliography: in the text. (B. Lewis)

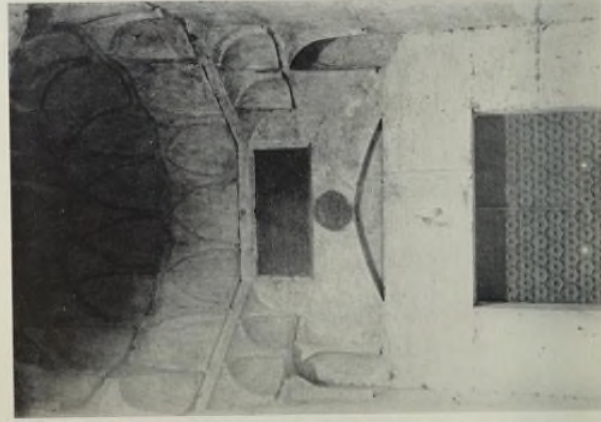


8. CAIRO: Mosque of Baybars, north-western entrance. 665/1267.

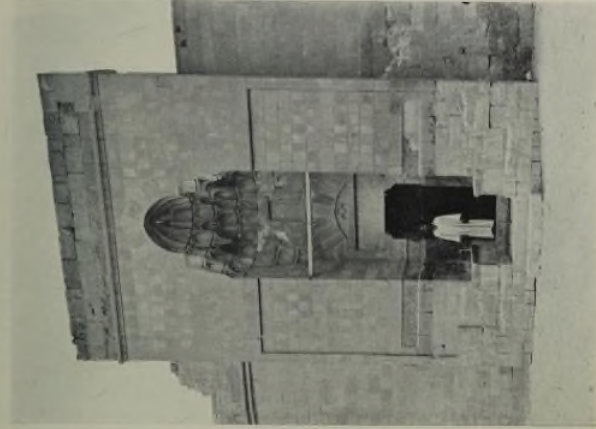


9. MAHIYYA: Great Mosque, main entrance. 308/920-21.

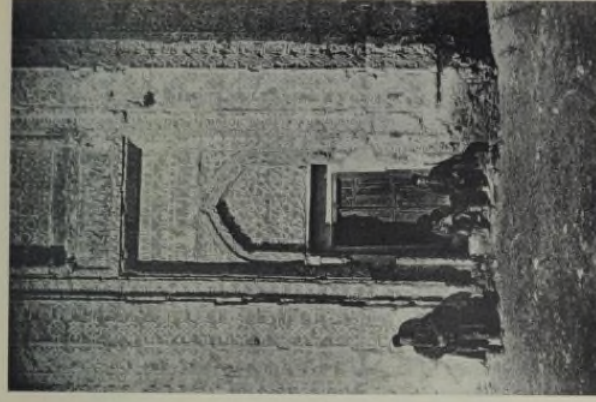




8. AL-ARNA, KHAN. NĪSHĀN-i MĀRĀGĠISS, 83A/84/85.

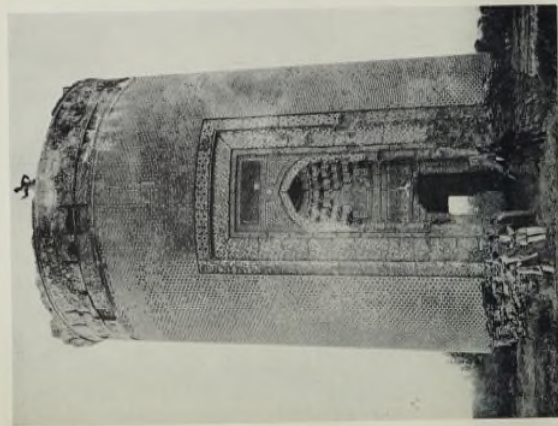
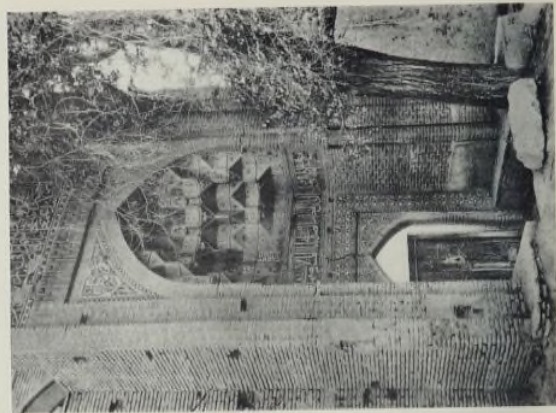


8. CAIRO: Madrasa of Zayn al-Din Yusuf. 698/1299.



8. NAĞDĪYĀT: Madrasa of Muḥsin al-Khalīl. 582/1186. (Photo: Sarre)





a. ISTANBUL: Mosque of Sultan Selim, entrance. 929/1522.

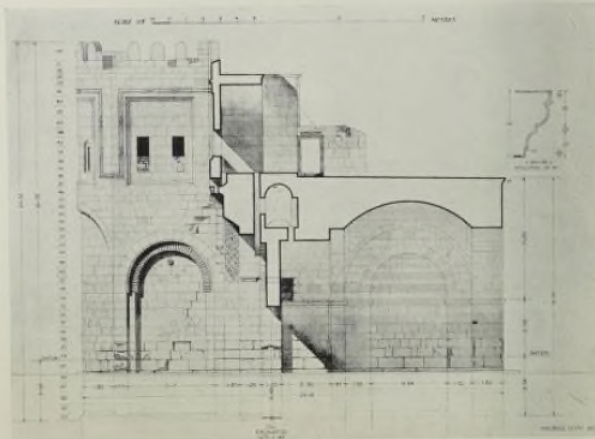


b. KASR AL-HAYR AL-SHARQI: entrance of Lesser Enclosure. 110/729.





a. CAIRO: Bab al-Futūḥ. 480/1087.



b. Section of the same. (Drawn by Maurice Lyon, M.C.).



a. Umayyad: eastern gateway. About A.D. 726.



b. CAIRO: The Bab al-Jadid at the Burj al-Zafar. After 572/1176.





a. ALEPPO: The Citadel, 606-8, etc./1209-11, etc.



b. ALEPPO: The Citadel: bridge across dry moat.

**BĀB**, an appellation [see the preceding art.] made especially famous by Sayyid 'Alī Muhammad of Shīrāz, the founder of the new religion of the Bābīs [g.s.], and, according to the Bābā'īs [g.s.], the precursor of the new prophet Bahā' Allāh [g.s.]. He is also called by his disciples *Nuḥṣā-i-āḥ* ('the first point') or *Haḍrat-i a'ḥ* ('the supreme presence').

Sayyid 'Alī Muhammad was born at Shīrāz, of a merchant family, on 1 Muḥarrar 1233/20 October 1819 (but according to other sources, exactly a year later, 9 October 1820); becoming an orphan at an early age, he was placed under the tutelage of his maternal uncle Āghā Sayyid 'Alī. At the age of about 19 or 20 he was sent to Iḥṣābāh, on the Persian Gulf, to trade there; here, at the same time, he gave himself up to earnest religious meditations, as he had done before since his childhood. When on a pilgrimage to Karbalā', he made the acquaintance of Sayyid Kāzīm Raḥīf [g.s.], the head of the religious movement of the Shāykhīs, who showed a high and unusual regard for him. Sayyid Kāzīm died at the end of 1259/December 1843; before his death he had sent disciples into all parts of Persia in search of the awaited *Mahdī*, the *Sahib al-aman*, who, according to his prophecies, would not be long before manifesting himself. One of the disciples of the *sayyid*, Mullā Husayn of Buḥrūya, who had arrived at Shīrāz and had been strongly affected by the fascination of the young 'Alī Muhammad, was the first to recognise him as the 'gateway' to Truth, the initiator of a new prophetic cycle. During the night of 5 Djuḥādā I 1260/23 May 1844, he had replied in a satisfactory way to all his questions, and had written in his presence, with extreme rapidity and all the time intoning what he was writing in a very melodious voice, a long commentary on the *sūra* of Yūsuf; this commentary is known to the Bābīs by the name of *Kayyūm al-āmin*, and considered as the first 'revealed' work of the Bāb. The rapidity with which he wrote and the indescribable charm of his voice seem to have been the characteristics which have most impressed Muslim as well as Bābī writers. In the summer of 1844, the Bāb, who had been making drastic attacks on corrupt Shī'ite *madāris* and *muftahids* with his own weapons, quickly collected a number of disciples, among whom were 18 called by him the *Hurūd al-Hayy* ('The Letters of the Living'). Mullā Husayn is also known among the Bābīs by the title of *awwal man āmana* ('the first believer'), and by that of *Bāb al-Bāb*, which the Bāb himself later gave him. In the autumn, after the 'Letters of the Living' had been despatched to proclaim his mission in the various provinces of Persia, the Bāb set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The journey left a bad impression on him. This is reflected in several passages in the *Hayyān*, where he speaks of the dirt and promiscuity of the boats and of the low moral character of the quarrelsome and violent pilgrims. Either during a stay in the port of Muscat or in the heart of the holy city of Mecca, the Bāb, according to the sources, must have declared more openly his mission as *mahdī*, but to no purpose. In the spring of 1261/1845 the Bāb returned to Shīrāz, where his preachings and public declarations (for during the journey he had written another book, *Sahā'at bayn al-Haramayn* ('book [written] between the two Holy Places') in which he lays down the purport of his mission) caused some trouble; the Bāb's missionaries who, on his order, had dared to add to the *adḥān* [g.s.], the phrase 'and I confess that 'Alī before Nabī (the

Bāb) is the mirror of the breath of God', were arrested, brought before the Governor of Shīrāz, Mirzā Husayn Khān Āghāḥān-Bāgh, severely punished, and expelled from the city. A representative of the reigning sovereign (Muhammad Shāh), Sayyid Yahyā-i Dārūd, sent to conduct an enquiry, was won over by the charm of the Bāb, and became converted to the new doctrine. Whilst all this was going on, Mirzā Nūrī (the future Bahā' Allāh) and his brother Mirzā Yahyā Nūrī (the future *Sahib-i Aḥd*) at Tehran resented in the new faith, after a meeting with Mullā Husayn. At Shīrāz an epidemic of cholera broke out, and everyone from the Governor down prayed for deliverance. The Bāb remained at Iṣfahān, where he was protected by the governor, the Georgian Manūčīhr Khān Muḥammad al-Dawī. On the death of the latter the Bāb was called to Tehran by order of the minister Ḥādīqī Mirzā Āghā, but shortly before arriving in the city he was arrested and sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Māhūk in the trackless mountains of Ādharbāyḍjān (summer of 1263/1847). In 1264/April 1848, following more serious disorders which had broken out in different parts of Iran on account of Bābī propaganda (see *Nāṣir*), the Bāb, whose powerful religious influence had converted the governor of the fortress of Māhūk, 'Alī Khān, was transferred to a more rigorous prison, the remote castle of Chīrk. Shortly afterwards, in July, he was removed to Tabriz to be questioned by a committee of *muftahids*; it was decided to condemn him forthwith. The powerful minister Mirzā Taqī Khān, who had succeeded Ḥādīqī Mirzā Āghā after the latter's dismissal by the new sovereign Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1848), considered that the death of its founder would break up this dangerous movement which was continuing to attract new adherents. In the spring of 1266/1850 the news of the execution of the seven martyrs of Tehran (see *Bābīs*), among whom was his uncle and well-beloved tutor, reached the Bāb in the fortress of Chīrk where he had been re-imprisoned, and greatly distressed him. He prophesied that his end was near. He was taken at the end of the month of Shā'abān 1266/July 1850 to Tabriz, and was condemned to be shot at the same time as two of his disciples, Mullā Muhammad 'Alī of Yazd and Āghā Sayyid Husayn. The second, during the doleful procession of the three condemned men through the streets of Tabriz, under insults and blows, made pretence of abjuring the Bābī faith, and was released; he had previously been charged by the Bāb to carry out his last wishes and to deposit some of his personal belongings and writings in a safe place. (He was, however, killed at Tehran shortly after having carried out this mission.) The Bāb was secured with the same ropes as his disciples to a pillar in the courtyard of the barracks at Tabriz, and the Christian regiment of the Bahādūrān, commanded by Sām Khān, fired. The first shot, according to the descriptions even in Muslim sources and others hostile to the reformer, merely severed the ropes, leaving the Bāb completely free. Sām Khān, terrified, refused to re-open fire, and consequently another firing-squad was detailed. On 9 July 1850, about midday, the Bāb paid for preaching his doctrine with his life. The mangled body was thrown into a ditch in the town and after many vicissitudes (disinterred by the Bābīs, hidden for several years at Tehran), it was removed on the order of Bahā' Allāh [g.s.] to 'Akkā, where it now rests in a large mausoleum on the slopes of mount Carmel.







century (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 411). The principal source of information about them is an anonymous 11th century *Ta'riḫ al-Bāb*, which is quoted by Ahmad b. Lutf Allāh Munajjidim (Minorsky) *Bāb-i* (17th century) in his *Ḥizmi al-Damāl*. This source also adds considerably to our knowledge of the movements of the *Bāb*, e.g. it mentions that in 423/1032 the *ghāzīs* of al-Bāb caught and destroyed a party of Russian raiders in a defile of the Caucasus (Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 77).

The period of Turkish predominance at al-Bāb, in common with the neighbouring provinces, begins in the time of the Saljuqs (cf. A. Zeki Velidi Toğan, *Umsat Türk tarihine* 201, 1, 199, 413). Under the Mongols al-Bāb figures as the starting point of Saratā northwards through the Caucasus (1222). Timur and Djaba (Jebe) campaigned more than once in the neighbourhood. The general effect of the Mongol period was to confirm the Turkification of the N.-W. provinces of what had formerly been the Caliphate.

The most detailed account of Bāb al-Ahwāb comes from al-Kawānī (674/1275), who describes the place as a thriving Muslim town, built of stone, its wall washed by the waters of the Caspian. In length it was about 2½ of a *farṣakh* and in breadth a bow-shot. There were towers on the city-wall, at each of which was a mosque, to serve the neighbourhood and those occupied with the religious sciences. Guards were constantly maintained upon the wall, and a beacon-fire on an adjoining peak was kept in readiness against the danger of invasion from the N. Al-Kawānī mentions what he calls talismanic set sculpture from the pre-Muslim period. He speaks of a cistern outside the city with steps descending to the water. Outside the city also was a mosque, said to contain the sword of Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik.

Already when al-Kawānī wrote al-Bāb had ceased to be the frontier of an empire. Its history henceforward resembles that of other semi-independent Caucasian principalities, sometimes enjoying independence, at other times annexed to a more powerful neighbour. Having previously belonged to Persia, it became Russian in 1806. Since last century its population has shown a slight increase, but evidently it is of much less relative importance than formerly.

**Bibliography:** Istahbī, I, 184 (some details different in Ibn Hawqal, *BCA*, 4, ed. De Goeje, 221-222, and 2nd ed. by J. H. Kramers, *Geography*, 1033-9, 1, 339-340); Kawānī, *Geography*, ed. Winsted, II, 340-342, cf. Yāqūt, I, 437-442; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1955; idem, *A History of Shāwīn and Darband in the 10th-12th centuries*, Cambridge 1938; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, index. For the archaeology: V. Minorsky, *Découverte d'inscriptions persiques à Derband*, in *JAI*, 1929, 357-8; M. I. Artamonov, 'Drevnii Derband', in *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, Vol. VII, 1946, 127-44. (D. M. DUNLOP)

**BĀB-I 'ĀLĪ** (modern orthography *Bāb al-Ālī*), less frequently *Bāb-i 'Ālī*, (the Ottoman) Sublime Porte, former ministerial department of the Grand Vizier, originally called *Paṣṣa* (for *Paṣṣa Kāḥṣa*). The custom of calling the palace, court or government of a ruler "porte" or "doorstep" was very prevalent in ancient times (Iran of the Sāsānids, Egypt of the Pharaohs, Israel, Arabs, Japan). The term returned to Istanbul in the more Turkish form of *'Ālī Kapu* (Chardin).

The "Porte", which at the same time was the

personal dwelling of the Grand Vizier and at the outset tended to be rather modest, gradually lost the character of a semi-private residence and became finally established, under what was henceforth to be its official name, from 1718, when the Grand Vizier Nevşehirli İbrahim Paṣṣa returned with his father-in-law, Sultan Ahmad III, from Adrianople to Istanbul, after the peace of Passarowitz (*Sigidi-i 'Oṭhmanī*, iv, 755). Prior to this time the term *Bāb-i 'Ālī* denoted rather the palace of the Sultan or the Imperial *darbā*. The same confusion arises in Byzantine and European usage with the terms *Porta*, *Porte*, *Porte*, *Porte*, which moreover corresponded to the Turkish *Kapı* (Löwenhaus alias Louclavus and Dulcas, in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, etc.).

Up till the end of the Empire, the Sublime Porte also housed the Ministry of the Interior (*Dihābiyye Nizāret*), the former offices of the *Kethidā* (*Kahya*, *Kehaya*, *Kihaya*) Bey, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Khāridiyye Nizāret*), the former department of the *Reis al-bāḥā* (*Reis-bāṣa*), literally "Chief of the Secretaries", the Council of State (*Shāryi Dīvān*), without counting two more modern commissions which were suppressed by the Young Turks.

Five days after the abolition of the Sublime Porte (1 November 1922), the premises, prior to becoming the seat of the *wāḳay* of Istanbul, served as the offices of the Delegation of the Government of Ankara (Reis Paṣṣa, soon replaced by Rauf Bey and Adnan Bey Adıvar, all three of whom later belonged to the opposition).

The road formerly called *Bāb-i 'Ālī dīddesi*, which climbs northwards from the station of Sirkeci and circles round the enclosure (which also contains a mosque), has been renamed *Anbara dīddesi* (*cadde*). It is lined with bookshops and runs into the Souk Cehme road, passing between this enclosure and that of the Top Kapı Saray. It is in this latter road that the main entrance is to be found, opposite the gate of the Saray, which is called the Souk Cehme gate; at a short distance from this is to be found a huge belvedere, called *Alay hāḡḡā*, incorporated in the same wall, which was built by Mahmūd II in 1235/1819-20, so that he could be present at official "processions".

**Bibliography:** Ad. Joanne and Em. Isenbert, *Indicateur*, Paris 1861, 365; A. Uhlenz, *La Turquie actuelle*, Paris 1855, chap. VI; 'Abd al-Rahmān Sherif, in *TOEM*, 1911, 446-50; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Ösm. tarih deyimleri...*, 1946-1956; Istanbul *Avustipolisi* by Reşad Ekrem Koçu; *IA* (article by Tayyib Gökbilgin); *İstanbul Anadolisi*, (J. DESVI)

**BĀB-I HUMĀYUN**, the "Imperial Gate", the principal entrance in the outer wall of the Sultan's New Serail or *Topkapı Sarayı* [g.s.] at Istanbul. Situated behind the Aya Sofya mosque, the massive rectangular building gives access to the first court of the Serail through a high, double-arched portal. On either side of the passage between the outer and the inner door are the rooms of the *Kapudis* who guarded the gate. In or near the deep niches in the façade the heads of political detainees used to be exposed. Over the doorway is a beautiful Kufic inscription and, below it, an Arabic inscription referring to the erection of the Serail wall by Sultan Mehmed II in Kanādān 883/Nov.-Dec. 1478. The *taghras* of Mahmūd II and 'Abd al-'Āziz on the gate commemorate some of its later restorations. Originally the gateway was surmounted by an upper storey (destroyed in the last century). At one time

the effects of those who died without known heirs were deposited here; at others it served as archives of the Treasury or for other purposes.

Many European writers, especially in the 19th century, ignoring Hammer (*Staatsverfassung*, II, 95) and D'Ossun (*Tahsilat*, vii, 138), asserted that *Bāb-i Humāyūn* meant "Sublime Porte" (the Western name for the Ottoman Government), while in fact the latter denoted the Grand Vizier's residence [see *BĀB-I 'ĀLĪ*]. There is even no reason to assume that the term "Porte", which until the 18th century signified the Sultan's Court, originated from this gate, as some travellers (e.g., Tournet, *Voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717, I, 496) believed (cf. DEGEN, *KAPU*).

**Bibliography:** Hozerler, *Telhis ul-beḡin*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., A. F. turc. no. 46, 15 v.; 'Abd al-Rahmān Sherif, in *TOEM*, I, 272-6; B. Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New Haven 1931, 42-3, 141-2 (with pictures); Istanbul Müzesi, *Guide to the Museum of Topkapı Sarayı*, Istanbul 1931, 2; T. Oz, *Topkapı Sarayında...*, Mehmet II, 36 *ait eserleri*, Ankara 1953 (photos, of inscriptions); Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Mimari*, Istanbul 1953, 303-15 (with plans); I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin Saray Teshilatı*, Ankara 1945, index. (U. HEVRI)

**BĀB AL-LĀN** (BĀB ALLĀN), 'Gate of the Alans', Persian Darī Aḡar, mod. Darīd (Darūd), a pass in the middle Caucasus, E. of Mt. Karabek and S. of Vladikavkas. It is described as a magnificent gorge through which the Terek rushes between granite cliffs rising to heights of from 4,000 to 5,000 ft., and was apparently known to the ancients as the Caucasian Gates (cf. Pausanias, *XXII*, I, col. 323). It was in the territory of the Alans, in the early days of Islam and later a national group of handy mountaineers, distinct from and usually independent of their neighbours N. and S. of the Caucasus. Their present-day representatives, the Ossetes, live athwart the pass.

Bāb al-Lān was scarcely reached by the first wave of Muslim conquest. It is mentioned in 105/724, when al-Djarrāb b. 'Abd al-Bāb al-Ḥamīd invaded Khazaria by this route. Next year al-Djarrāb is said to have received the *dīyasa* and *khazāra* from the Alans (*Djāhābī, Ta'riḫ al-Islām*, ed. Cairo, iv, 88), but Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik in 109/727 had to occupy Darīd (Ya'qūt, II, 395). It was perhaps at this time that Maslama placed an Arab garrison, mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdī*, II, 44), in the fortress which dominated the pass. This fortress was built on a massive rock overlooking a bridge across the ravine and was, says al-Mas'ūdī, one of the most famous in the world. Yet in 112/730 the Khazars marched through the pass, defeated al-Djarrāb in a pitched battle and captured Ardābil, before retiring with their booty (Tabarī, II, 1539-1541). In the operation of 112/730 Maslama fought against Khazaria in 119/737, he himself advanced through the Darīd pass to a rendez-vous with Abū Yazīd al-Sulamī advancing from Bāb al-Ahwāb. This was the beginning of a highly successful campaign north of the Caucasus, but Marwān did not attempt any permanent occupation. The Arabs made sporadic attempts to hold Darīd, e.g., again under Yazīd b. Ismā'īl al-Sulamī circa 117/738 (Balādhurī, 209-210). But no great fortress-city developed here as at Bāb al-Ahwāb [g.s.]. Al-Mas'ūdī states that in his time (4th/10th century) there was still in the pass an Arab garrison, provisioned from Tiflis, at five days' distance through infidel country (*ibid.*). The

Darīd pass is mentioned repeatedly in the Mongol period, and later retained its importance.

**Bibliography:** Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, II, 43-45; *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 446; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, index. (D. M. DUNLOP)

**BĀB AL-MANDĀB**, the straits between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. They are divided by the volcanic island of Mayyūn [g.s.], called Perim by Westerners, into Large Strait, c. 14 km. wide, and Small Strait, c. 2.5 km. wide, the former being generally used by large vessels. Water runs out of the Red Sea during the south-west monsoon from June to September and into it during the north-east monsoon from November to April, causing currents which make the passage dangerous for sailing craft. The hill of al-Manḥāl (270 m.) on the Arabian shore rises east of Small Strait, and just north of this strait is the site of al-Shayḡh Sa'īd [g.s.], from which, as from Mayyūn, entrance into the Red Sea can be controlled.

Arab tradition holds that Asia and Africa were joined together until Iḥn I-Karnayā split them asunder here and created the Red Sea. Yāqūt associates the origin of the name al-Mandāb ("place of lamentation for the dead") with a crossing of the Abyssinians over the sea to the Yaman, and al-Ḥamīdī applies it to a not clearly identified portion of the southern Yaman coast, which lay within the territory of Banī Maḡdīl and Farāḡin. Ambar (called *hāḡḡā* al-habir) used to be collected in al-Mandāb.

Two Sabaeen inscriptions of the early 6th Christian century (Ry 507 and 508) mention *sāḡ* (or *sāḡ*) *mdān* (= *sāḡ* al-Mandāb) in connexion with the conflict between Yūsuf As'ar [ḡh] Nuwās and the Abyssinians; this may have been a chain stretched across the very narrow and shallow mouth of the inlet at al-Shayḡh Sa'īd, if al-Mandāb lay as far south as that, as its appearance in the name of the straits would suggest. Such a barrier may well have been the source of the implausible tradition of a chain across the straits themselves.

The variant Bāb al-Mandām, probably to be explained by no more than the not unusual substitution of *m* for *b*, is especially current among seafaring Arabs, who often refer to the straits simply as al-Bāb.

**Bibliography:** In addition to al-Ḥamīdī and Yāqūt, G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, Paris 1921-5; Fāḡ al-Kutāmī, *Dalāl al-Mukhtār fī 'Im al-Bihar*, Cairo 1950; Ibn al-Muḡdīwī in A. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte*, Uppsala 1916; idem, ed. Löfgren, Leiden 1951; al-Mukaddasī, *Aḡḡan al-Tahḡīm*, ed. M. de Goeje, Leiden 1906, 12, 91. W. Cackel, *Entdeckungen in Arabien*, Cologne 1954; G. Ryckmans in *Le Muséon*, LXVI (1953); J. Ryckmans in *Le Muséon*, LXVI (1953); idem, *La persécution des chrétiens kényariques au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Istanbul 1956; U.S. Hydrographic Office, *Sailing Directions for the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden*, Washington 1943. (G. RENTZ)

**BĀB-I MASHIKHAT**, (also SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM KAPU, BĀB-I FETWĀ and FETWĀKĀRĀNE), a name which became common in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century for the office or department of the Shaykh al-Islām [g.s.], the Chief Mufti of Istanbul. Until 1241/1826, the Chief Mufti had functioned and issued their rulings from their own residences or, if these were too distant, from rented quarters. In that year, after the destruction of the Janissaries, Sultan Mahmūd II gave the former



residence of the Ağha of the Janissaries, near the Süleymaniye Mosque, to the Chief Mufti, who thus acquired a permanent establishment. This step, taken simultaneously with the creation of an Inspectorate of *uşak* to centralise the supervision and control of *uşak* revenues, prepared the way for the bureaucratisation of the *‘ulama*, depriving of both their financial and their administrative autonomy. The *‘ulama* were gravely weakened as against the sovereign power, and were unable to resist effectively successive diminutions of their competence, authority, and status. In the course of the 19th century, they lost control of education and justice to the new Councils and Ministries created for these matters, and even the drafting of *ahkâm* was entrusted to a committee of legal specialists in the Chief Mufti's office. The Chief Mufti himself became a government office-holder, a minister or head of department and a member of the cabinet. Eventually a point was reached when his term of office ended automatically with the fall of the cabinet. Unlike the other ministers, he was appointed by the Sultan and not by the Grand Vizier, with whom he was theoretically equal (cf. Art. 27 of the 1876 constitution). The office however declined steadily in influence and importance, especially after the Revolution of 1908. Finally, on 3rd March 1924, the day the Caliphate was ended, the office of Şeyhül-İslâm, which had lapsed with the Sultanate in 1922, was replaced by a department of religious affairs attached to the office of the Prime Minister in Ankara. The head of this department (*Davlat İleri Rüşdi*) is the chief religious functionary of the Turkish Republic, with responsibility for mosques and mosque personnel, but not for *uşak*, law, or education.

**Bibliography:** *‘Usûl-i Sülmânîye*, Istanbul 1334; Mehmed Es'ad, *Usû-i Zâfer*, Istanbul 1243, 1304; cf. Caussin de Perceval, *Précis historique de la Destruction du Corps des Janissaires*, Paris 1833, 2951; 'Abd al-Rahmân Sherif, *Ta'vîh-i Dendîlî*, Söğütöy, Istanbul 1309, ii, 475 ff.; Mehmet Zeki Pakalî, *Osmanlı Tarih Devirleri ve Terimleri Şâhidî*, Istanbul 1940 ff., s.v. Serasker. (B. LEWIS)

**BÂBÂ SER'ÂSKERİ** or Ser'ÂSKER KÂPÎD, the name of the War Department in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. After the destruction of the Janissaries in 1241/1526, the Ağha of the Janissaries was replaced by a new commanding officer, the Ser'Âskeri (q.v.). The title was an old one given to army commanders in former times. As applied by Mahmûd II, it came to connote an officer who combined the functions of commander-in-chief and minister of war, with special responsibility for the new style army. In addition, he inherited from the Ağha of the Janissaries the responsibility for public security, police, fire-fighting, etc. in the capital. In a period of growing centralisation and enforced change, the police function came to be of increasing importance and the maintenance and extension of the police system one of the chief duties of the Ser'Âskeri. In 1262/1845 the police were taken from the jurisdiction of the Ser'Âskeri and placed under a separate department called *Zâbirîye* (see MATHNÎYA, MASHIKHAT).

Mahmûd II at first lodged the Ser'Âskeri at the old Saray, from which a few remaining parts of the Imperial Household were transferred to the new Saray. Later, in 1284/1865, new buildings were provided for the Ser'Âskeri and his staff. For a short time in 1297/1879-90, and then permanently in 1321/1908, the old Saray of Ser'Âskeri was replaced by Ministry of War (*Harbîyye*). These buildings

remained the seat of the Ministry until the time of the transfer of the capital to Ankara, when they were handed over to the University of Istanbul. **Bibliography:** Mehmed Es'ad, *Usû-i Zâfer*, Istanbul 1243, 192 ff. (cf. Caussin de Perceval, *Précis historique de la Destruction du Corps des Janissaires*, Paris 1833, 294-5); 'Abd al-Rahmân Sherif, *Ta'vîh-i Dendîlî*, Söğütöy, Istanbul 1309, ii, 475 ff.; Mehmet Zeki Pakalî, *Osmanlı Tarih Devirleri ve Terimleri Şâhidî*, Istanbul 1940 ff., s.v. Serasker. (B. LEWIS)

**BABA**, (Turkish and also Persian) "father"; in East Turkish it also denotes "grandfather" (Vambéry, *Çagat. Sprachstudien*, 240; Süleyman Elendi, *Lughat-i dîvânîyya*, 66). Baba, put after the name, is used in various ways as an honorific for older men, and in Turkey it is used as a form of address even today. As part of a name, it is best known from the story of "Ali Baba and the 40 thieves" in *The Thousand and One Nights*. As a cognomen, it was used particularly in Dervish circles (e.g. Geyikî Baba, who is said to have accompanied Orîşân Beg in the siege of Bursa), and there particularly with the Bektaşî. Akhî Bâbâ (q.v.), in corrupt form also Akhî Baba and similar forms) was the title of Akhî Ervîn's (q.v.) successor in his Tekke in Kırsehir (Anatolia) and master of the leather guilds (tanners, saddlers, and shoemakers), in which he held the privilege of inducting apprentices into the guild. There was a movement of dervishes who called themselves Bâbâ's (q.v.) after the Kûm Salâğık Sultân Kaykhusraw II. The epithet Baba also occurs with non-religious civil servants in the ancient Ottoman Empire, e.g. Ağha Bâbâel (Barbier de Meynard, *Supplément*, i, 257), the leader of the 40 guardians (*hâfîdî*) of the imperial harem, who were white eunuchs. In Iran the epithet Baba precedes the name, again frequently in the case of dervishes (e.g. the dialect poet Bâbâ Tâhir 'Gryin [see BÂBÂ-TÂHİR]). Occasionally, Bâbâ appears in its own right, e.g. a member of the Bîst family Gîrîy on the Crimea, Bâbî Gîrîy, son of Muhammed Gîrîy, who, after the death of his father, succeeded him as Kalgha, but was murdered six months later (929/1522); as also the Özbek prince Bâbâ Beg (q.v.).

As part of a place name, Bâbâ indicates that the place had dervish associations. Thus, for example, Bâbâ Daghlî (see BÂBÂ-DAGHLÎ) in the Debendû, where the tomb of the famous saint Saif Salîk Baba is; there is another Bâbâ Daghlî near Denizli in Anatolia, and foothills called Bâbâ Burnu (formerly Asos) in western Anatolia, a part of mount Ida in Thrac, at the foot of which lies the harbour Baba Liman. In eastern Thrace there is a small town called Bâbâsâhî (q.v.).

**Bibliography:** Barbier de Meynard, *Supplément aux dictionnaires turcs*, s.v.; 'Abî 'Ebedî, *Divânîyya*, Iugbâl, 141; *Salmûn* of Edirne (1325), 906, 980; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 20; *IA*, ii, 165 f. (by M. Fuad Köprülü). (F. TAENSCHER)

**BÂBÂ AFDAL** AL-DÎN MUHAMMAD B. HUSAYN KÂSĀNĪ (or KâşĀnî), generally called Bâbâ Afdal, a Persian thinker and the author of poems in quatrain, born in Mîrak near Kîshûr, where he is also buried. His dates are still rather uncertain. According to Sa'îd Naffî he was born around 582/1186-7, or 592/1193-6, and died after 654/1256 or 664/1265-6; the date given as the date of his death by Brockelmann, II, 280, viz. Rajab 666/March-April 1268, is near to this. According to M. Minovi, Bâbâ Afdal died considerably earlier, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century; the date of death given by

E. G. Browne and others, 702/1307-8, is certainly incorrect. There is scant information on his life, and that of little importance. Thus, for example, the relationship between Bâbâ Afdal and Nasir al-Din Tûst (q.v.), which has been accepted by some, proves on closer examination to have been impossible. Admittedly Nasir al-Din Tûst had a teacher named Kamâl al-Din Muhammad Hâshî, who had been a pupil of Bâbâ Afdal and the two quatrains in praise of "Afdal" ascribed to Nasir al-Din Tûst, one is not definitely his whilst the other is in self-praise. The assertion that Nasir al-Din had protected Khâshân from Hâshî to please Bâbâ Afdal is a fiction. It is hardly possible that there was ever a meeting between Bâbâ Afdal and Sa'îdî. Bâbâ Afdal's thought was influenced by the Bâṭiniyya and Avicenna, whom he resembles also in his attempts to substitute Persian technical terms for Arabic ones. His writings comprise 16 treatises, a posthumous book of questions and answers, some 40 short essays, 6 letters, a collection of quatrains, some *ghazals*, and *hiṣṣ*. These figures, especially where the short essays and letters are concerned, must not be regarded as final, because—though most of his treatises had already been printed individually before—scientific and systematic research into his works has only recently commenced. He wrote chiefly in Persian, though occasionally also in Arabic (cf. primarily the *Madrûdî al-Kamâl*, which he later translated into Persian by request). His prose works are concerned with philosophy, theology, ethics, and logic; they are partly original, partly editions or translations, and are distinguished by their simple, clear and readily intelligible style, which follows that of the ancients closely. M. Bâhâr regards his translation of the *Kûsh al-Nâṣ* of Aristotle as exemplary. Bâbâ Afdal's logic *al-Minhâj al-Mabîn* is based on *al-'Ilm wa 'l-Nuṣṣ* of Aristotle though it is not identical with its model, but has independent developments of its own. Bâbâ Afdal's *Caḥr 'Uṣṣûn* gives a selection from *ghazal*'s *Kimây-i Sa'âdat*, which consists partly of selected pieces from the Persian text of *ghazal*, partly of translations of the Arabic parts of the book, which *ghazal* had not included in the Persian version. Bâbâ Afdal's quatrains are extremely attractive, and their occasionally shrill note has already been remarked on by E. H. Whinfield. It is no wonder that several of them have achieved currency as works attributed to 'Umar Khayyâm.

**Bibliography:** Muhammad Takî Dâhî, *puṣṭh* lists all of Bâbâ Afdal's prose works so far identified, their manuscripts, all printed and lithographed editions, translations, etc. in his essay *Nuṣṣ-i-kāsh-i Bâbâ Afdal*, in *Mîr* 1331 AH solar, vii, 433-6, 499-502. For special mention here: Muṣṣavvāt-i I. *Madrûdî al-Kamâl* (see above), *Kāsh-i-jam'î-nâmâ*, 581; *Uṣṣûn-i Shâhî*, *Far-nâmâ*, *Risâla-i Ta'vîhî*, *Arṣ-i-nâmâ*, *Ḍiḥ-i-nâmâ*, *Yanbâ' al-Hayvî* (translated by Bâbâ Afdal), ed. Muḥṭabâ Minovî and Yahyâ Mahdawi, Tehran 1331 AH solar (Publications of the University, no. 138, vol. II, including a biography and assessment, indices and vocabulary in preparation). *The Book of the Apple* (*Kûsh al-Ta'vîhî*, *Sh-nâmâ*), ascribed to Aristotle, edited in Persian and English by D. S. Margolouth, in *JRAS* 1892, 187-225 (no attempt being made to identify the Persian translator of this dialogue); *Tarjuma-i Kusvî-ghindî yâ Risâla-i Naf-i Arîstû*, ed. M. Bâhâr *Malik al-Shu'arî*, Tehran 1316 AH solar (Bâbâ Afdal's Persian translation is based on the Arabic

recension by either Abû Zayd Hunayn b. Ishâk 'Ibâdî [who died in 264/877-8] or by his son Ishâk [who died in 298/910-11]; *Rubâ'iyyat-i Bâbâ Afdal-i Kâshânî* (483 items); Tehran 1331 AH solar, with critical biography and survey of the whole work by Sa'îd Naffî (also with a French title on the cover). There is a selection of quatrains with a sensitive prose translation in *Hudayy-Asad, La Roseira du Savoir, Chén de Quatrains mystiques*, Leiden 1908. Concerning Bâbâ Afdal: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur*, Gr. I, Ph., ii, 377; Browne, ii, 110; Brockelmann, S II, 280; J. E. Berzel's, *Avicenna i persiska litteratur*, in *Acta Soc. AN SSSR. Odel, obhgitt, nauk*, 1938, numbers 1-2, 84-6; *Dânyy perhê i dâdikh literary*, edited by J. Rypka, Prague 1956, 178, 150, 170; Muḥ. Takî Bâhâr *Malik al-Shu'arî, Sabh-ghindî*, iii (1319 AH solar), 163-6; *Madjma' al-Funûd*, i, 98 etc. (J. RYPKA)

**BÂBÂ BEG**, an Özbek chief of the family of the Keneges, who was till 1879 prince of Shahrîshah. This town having been conquered by the Russians, he fled with a small body of those faithful to him. Finally he was seized in Fergânâ and obliged to reside at Taghkent. In 1875 he entered Russian military service and took part in the campaign against Khokand. He died about 1898 at Taghkent. (W. BARSTROW [J. SECLER])

**BÂBÂ DAGHLÎ** [see BÂBÂ-DAGHLÎ]

**BÂBÂ ESKISÎ** [see BÂBÂ-ESKÎ]

**BÂBÂ FIGHÂNÎ** [see FIGHÂNÎ]

**BÂBÂ IŞHÂK** [see BÂBÂ'Î]

**BÂBÂ-TÂHIR**, a mystic and poet who wrote in a Persian dialect. According to Rûdâ Kullî Khân (10th century), who does not give his source, Bâbâ-Tâhir lived in the period of Daylam rule and died in 401/1010. Among his quatrains there is an enigmatical one: "I am that sea (*baḥr*) which entered into a vase; that point which entered into the letter. In each *alif* ("thousand", i.e. of years?) arises an *alif-badd* (a man upright in stature like the letter *alif*). I am the *alif-badd* who has come in this *alif*". Mâbîd Khân in the *JASB* has given an extremely curious interpretation of this quatrain: the letters *alif-bd* have the value 215, the same as the letters of the word *ard* (Persian equivalent of the Arabic *kuhr* "sea") and those of the name of the poet *Tâhir*. If we add *alif-bd* (215) to *alif* (111) we get 326 (the same value by the way as the Persian word *kuhr*, "thousand"), if we spell it *bd*, *22*, *alif*, *rd*. In this way the phrase "an *alif-badd* came into the *alif*" would give the date (326) of the birth of Bâbâ-Tâhir who may well have lived till 401.

In spite of the ingenuity of this explanation, it is nevertheless true that the only historical evidence that we possess about Bâbâ-Tâhir is that of the *Kûsh al-Sadîr* (c. 601/1202; GMS, 98-99), the author of which "bad heard" that when the Salâğık Sultân Tughrîl entered Hamadân (in 447/1055), Bâbâ-Tâhir addressed an admonition to him ("O Turk, how are you going to act towards the Muslims?") which much impressed the conqueror. The anecdote suggests for the death of Bâbâ-Tâhir a date later than 447/1055 but it is no way contradictory to the statement that Bâbâ-Tâhir flourished under the Daylams, i.e. under the Buwayhids and their relatives, the Kâkuyids, whose rule in Hamadân lasted till the expedition of Durrâhm Yûzîd in 435/1043-4. Bâbâ-Tâhir may well have been the contemporary of Avicenna (Ibn Sînâ) who died at Hamadân in 428/1037, but the legends which make him a witness of



the execution of the mystic 'Ayn al-Kudāt of Hamadān in 533 and the contemporary of Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī (d. 672) are pure inventions.

The sources sometimes call Bābā-Tāhir Hamadānī (cf. the Arabic MS. 1903 of the Bibl. Nat. Paris, the *Sarandīb*, etc.), sometimes Lurī (Lūrī). This latter form—in place of Lur [23]—is somewhat puzzling: does it mean some other connexion than that of origin between Bābā-Tāhir and Luristān? It is certainly well to remember that in the 5th/11th century there were very close links between Hamadān and Luristān and the poet may have spent his life between the two places. In Khurram-ābād there is a quarter bearing the name of Bābā-Tāhir (cf. Edmunds, *Geogr. Jour.*, June 1922, 443). The association of Bābā-Tāhir with Luristān in the beliefs of the Ahl-i Haḳk (see below) is also significant. In the quatrains of Bābā-Tāhir (cf. nos. 102, 206, 274 of the *Diwān*), Mount Alwand [q.v.] overshadowing Hamadān is frequently mentioned. The tomb of Bābā-Tāhir lies on a little hill to the north-west of the town in the Bum-i bāzār quarter; beside the tomb of Bābā-Tāhir those of his sons Naḳhl Fāṭima (see below) and Mirzā 'Alī Naḳhl Kawḡarī (19th century); the building is a humble one and of no interest. The tomb is mentioned in Hamīd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuṣṣa* (740/1340), 75; cf. the photograph in Minorsky, *Matériaux*, Moscow 1911, 31, and Williams Jackson, *A visit to the Tomb of Bābā Tāhir at Hamadān, in A Volume presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 257-260.

The stories one hears in Māzandarān about Bābā-Tāhir's connexion with that province have no foundation and may have been brought by immigrants from Luristān (the Lāk). Besides, all the nomads of Persia like to claim Bābā-Tāhir as a compatriot.

The language of Bābā-Tāhir. Since all the facts and traditions connect the poet with Hamadān and Luristān, it is reasonable to expect to find in his dialect traces of a dialect of this region of Persia. But as this dialect was very close to Persian and as so many different mouths have been trying to render more comprehensible the verses transmitted orally, there is little hope of re-establishing the text in its dialectic purity. It is not an improbable suggestion that Bābā-Tāhir simply wanted to imitate the dialects of his disciples. In our own day a Kurd Christian claims to have made verses in the Gūrān dialect, quite distinct from his own, in order to "transmit the message" to the Ahl-i Haḳk (Dr. Sa'īd Khān, in *MW*, Jan. 1927, 40).

The country between Hamadān and Khurram-ābād still has many dialects, but that of Bābā-Tāhir is not connected with any definite one and seems to borrow from all. The closeness of the present text of Bābā-Tāhir to literary Persian is undeniable; on the other hand changes like *nām > nām* "name", *dastām > dastām* ("my hand"), *raftām > raftām* ("I have gone"), *dūr > dūr* (cf. Huart, xiv = *Diwān*, no. 82) are typical of the Lur dialects; the stems *ragīl* "to speak", *kar* "to do" are common to the Kurdish and central dialects; the forms *ni-kar-i* "the deed" and *di-yā* "the country" are particularly common in the Gūrān spoken much farther to the west. For certain peculiarities (*dāram > \*dāram*) we only find analogies at Kāzrūn (near Shīrāz).

Hādānk's detailed analysis has plainly proved this mixture of dialects (*Dialektgemisch*) in the quatrains, at least as we know them now. The term "Muḥammadan Pahlavī" proposed by Huart

(1885) for the language of Bābā-Tāhir has not been accepted by scholars.

The metre of the quatrains of Bābā-Tāhir and of his *ghazals* is almost exclusively *hasadī musaddad makhḍūf* | — — — | — — — | — — — which has made the new editor call the quatrains *du-baytī* (distichs) instead of *qatr* (verses) and the last element associated with the metre *hasadī makhḍūf makhḍūr* — — — | — — — | — — — | — — —. The authenticity of some regular *rubā'ī* attributed to Bābā-Tāhir seems doubtful. The metre of Bābā-Tāhir is also found in popular songs (Mirzā Dī'a'far [Korisch], *Gramm. Pers. Yazika*, Moscow 1901, 308).

Bābā-Tāhir—poet. Down to 1927, all that was known of his poems was a rather small number found for the most part in anthologies of the 18th and 19th centuries. Huart's researches produced in 1885, 59 quatrains, and in 1908, found 3 new quatrains (they are moreover very doubtful); Leszczynski (who used the Berlin manuscripts) has translated 80 quatrains and one *ghazal* (a different one from Huart's). Finally Rūṣayn Waḥīd Dasṭgirdī Isfahānī, editor of the Persian version *Armagān*, published in 1906/1927 at Tīhrān a *Diwān* of Bābā-Tāhir containing 296 *du-baytī* and 4 *ghazals* of this poet; as an appendix the editor gives 62 *du-baytī* found in the "different collections" and the 3 *rubā'ī* added by Heron Allen. The quatrains of the *Diwān* are arranged in the alphabetical order of the rhymes. The editor unfortunately gives no details of the manuscript of the *Diwān* reproduced in his edition. The new quatrains several of which mention Tāhir's name, the mountains of Alwand and Maymānd (?) etc., confirm the characteristics already known of Bābā-Tāhir, while making them a little more banal by the inevitable repetitions. The dialectical flavour of most of the quatrains is in favour of their authenticity, although an imitation of the peculiarities of the language of Bābā-Tāhir would really not be a very difficult matter. The question of the authenticity of the quatrains of Bābā-Tāhir certainly arises, as it did in the case of those of 'Umar Khayyām. Żukowski says that quatrains of Bābā-Tāhir are found in the *Diwān* of Mullā Muḥammad Sūfī Māzandarānī (5th/17th cent.). A certain Shīrī Beg Muḥammad, a modern poet of Hamadān, claimed to be the author of several ('Kurdī Pahlavī') quatrains attributed to Bābā-Tāhir (cf. *Diwān*, 21).

The choice of subjects in Bābā-Tāhir is very restricted, but the poet's work bears the stamp of a distinct personality. We give an analysis of the 59 quatrains published by Huart to enable the reader to judge. As usual it is difficult to draw a rigid distinction between the expression of mystical and that of profane love; 34 quatrains are almost equally divided between two categories of lyric poetry. Two quatrains are simple hymns to God. The rest is more individual and characteristic. Bābā-Tāhir often refers to his life as a wandering *dār-i gh-bāndar*, without a roof above his head, sleeping with a stone for a pillow, continually harassed by spiritual anxieties (nos. 7, 21, 28). Care and anxiety are the cause of the "flower of grief" alone flourishes in his heart; even the charms of spring leave him still unhappy (34, 35, 47, 54). Bābā-Tāhir professes the philosophy of the true Sūfī, confesses his sins, implores pardon for them, preaches humility, invokes *airāna* (*fanā*) as the only remedy for his misfortunes (7, 13, 45, 50, 58). One human failing is especially

characteristic of Bābā-Tāhir: his eyes and his heart do not readily detach themselves from the things of this world; his rebellious heart burns within him, leaves him no rest for a moment and the poet cries in anguish: 'Art thou a lion, a panther, O my heart, thou who art continually struggling with me. If thouallest into my hands, I shall spill thy blood to see what colour thou art, O my heart' (3, 8, 9, 26, 36, 42).

Bābā-Tāhir's psychology shows striking contrast to that of 'Umar Khayyām. Bābā-Tāhir shows no trace of the hedonism of the latter (d. 517/1123?) nor of his serenity in face of the changes brought by death, while 'Umar Khayyām lacks the mystic fire of Bābā-Tāhir (cf. Christensen, *Critical Studies in the Kāshīyāt of 'Umar al-Khayyām*, Copenhagen 1917, 44).

What pleases in Bābā-Tāhir is the freshness of his sentiments which Sāfi routine had not yet stereotyped; the spontaneity of his images, the naïveté of his language, with the local tang.

Bābā-Tāhir—mystic. The Persian derives with whom Żukowski talked about Bābā-Tāhir knew that he was the author of 22 metaphysical treatises (cf. also Rīdā Kulī Khān) but it is only from Etché and Blochet that we have learned in Europe of the existence in Oxford and Paris of commentaries on the maxims of Bābā-Tāhir. The complete treatise [al-Kāmilū] [al-Bīr] ("The brief sayings") has now been published in the edition of the *Armagān*. This treatise consists of 368 Arabic maxims divided into 23 *bāb* dealing with the following subjects: knowledge (*ilm*); gnosis (*ma'rifat*); inspiration and penetration (*ilhām*, *firāḍ*); reason and the soul (*nafs*, *nafis*); this world and the beyond (*dunyā*); the musical performance (*awāz*) and the *ghīr*; sincerity and spiritual retreat (*ihkām*, *ṭibāḥ*), etc.

Here are a few specimens of these maxims: no. 86: "Real knowledge is the intuition after the knowledge of certainty has been acquired" [al-bābātū 'l-muḥḥadātū ba'da 'l-ilm 'l-yakīnī]; no. 96: "Ecstasy [wajd] is the loss of the knowledge of existing things and is the existence of lost things"; no. 368: "he who has been the witness of predestination (coming) from God remains without movement and without volition"; no. 300: "he whom ignorance has slain has never lived, he whom the *ghīr* has killed will never die".

The "Brief Sayings" seem to have enjoyed considerable popularity among the Sāfīs. The Persian editor mentions the following commentaries on this treatise: the Arabic commentary attributed to 'Ayn al-Kudāt al-Hamadānī (d. in 533/1138-9 but often associated in legends with Bābā-Tāhir); another Arabic commentary by an unknown author; the Arabic and Persian commentaries by Mullā Sulṭān 'Alī Gūrānī; the Persian commentary was printed in 1325/1906 but is very rare. The editor of the *Armagān* expresses the hope of being one day able to publish the "Brief Sayings" accompanied by one of the commentaries.

The Arabic manuscript 1903 of the Bibl. Nat. contains the first 8 chapters of the maxims of Bābā-Tāhir in an abridged form (fol. 100b-103b), as well as a commentary on them (fol. 74a-100a) entitled *al-Fuḥḍā al-Kabbāniyya fi l-ḡhār al-Hamadāniyya*.

The manuscript seems to be in the hand of the author of the commentary, Dīān Beg al-'Aṣṭāf, who began his work in Shawwāl 889 and ended it on 20th Shā'ban 890/1 September 1485. The

commentary was written at the request of a certain Shaykh Abu 'l-Bakā who had possessed the *Iḡhrāt* of Bābā-Tāhir since 833/1449-50. He had let them fall into the well of Zamzam at Mecca but the manuscript was miraculously recovered. The '*ṣalām*' had dissuaded Abu 'l-Bakā from writing a commentary on the text on account of its profundity and obscurity. Finally Abu 'l-Bakā engaged Dīān Beg to accomplish this task. The commentary deals with the text of the maxims of Bābā-Tāhir word by word.

Bābā-Tāhir—saint. As is the case with the majority of the mystical poets ('Attār, Dīlāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Hāfir), there are numerous legends of the life and miracles of Bābā-Tāhir. It is related that when Bābā-Tāhir had asked the students of the *madrasa* of Hamadān to show him the way to acquire knowledge, the students as a joke told him to spend a winter night in the icy water of a tank. Bābā-Tāhir carried out the advice and next morning found himself enlightened and exclaimed: *Amayra Kardiyān wa-ashabla 'arabiyyan* ("last night I was a Kurd and this morning I have become an Arab"). This story was heard by Żukowski in Tehran and by Heron Allen's informant at Bāghir; it is widely current in Hamadān (cf. the preface to the *Diwān*, 17 and the manuscripts from Hamadān). This Arabic utterance is found in the preface to the *Majma'at* of Dīlāl al-Dīn Rūmī, where however it is referred to an unknown (mystic?) ancestor of Ibn Aḥlī, a Turk of Urmia. In the *Nafahāt al-Uns* of Dīlāl, ed. Nassau Lees, 362-363, the phrase is attributed to Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥabībūl (a Gūrānī tribe, see Ibn Aḥlī, ix, 247).

Other pious legends represent Bābā-Tāhir as making the snow on Mount Alwand melt by the ardour of his spiritual fire, tracing with the point of his great toe the solution of an astronomical problem which had been put him, etc. (Żukowski, Heron Allen, Leszczynski, preface to the *Diwān*, manuscripts from Hamadān).

Göblenau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1829, 344, already knew that the adepts of the Ahl-i Haḳk sect were in the habit of "praising exceedingly and giving pride of place to the names of famous Sūfīs, notably of Bābā-Tāhir whose poems in the Lur dialect are highly esteemed, and of his sister Bībī Fāṭima" etc. The discovery of the religious work *Sarandīb* has enabled us to locate Bābā-Tāhir in the theogony of the sect. The Ahl-i Haḳk (q.v.) believed in 7 manifestations of the divinity, each of which was accompanied by a refine of 4 angels, each of whom had special duties. Bābā-Tāhir is regarded as one of the angels of the third period and the incarnation of Arzā'ī and Nuṣayr. The mystic stage to which the period of Bābā Khōshlīn normally corresponds is the *ma'rifat*. The events of this cycle take place in Luristān and Hamadān. The manuscript of the *Sarandīb* mentions the visit of the "King of the World" to Bābā-Tāhir in Hamadān. Bābā Khōshlīn is meant by the "King of the World" but the legend seems to be inspired by memories of the episode of Tuḡhrīl (see above). Bābā-Tāhir and Fāṭima Lāra ("the thin") of the tribe of Bīra Shīrī (in the Gūrān country?), who was in his service, led the whole army of the King with a *ṣār-yāq* of rice. The latter tempts Bābā-Tāhir with all the treasures of the world but he only desires the "beauty of the King". Fāṭima wants to follow the King of the World; she lays her head on his knees and gives up the ghost. The King consoles Bābā-Tāhir for his loss



and promises that on the day of the Last Judgement he will reunite him to Fātima so that they shall be like Laylā and Maḡnūn. 73 poetical fragments (mutilated but in the style of Bābā-Tāhir) are scattered through the text (cf. *Minorsky*, 29-33, 99-103; these texts have been utilized by *Leszczyński*, *op. cit.*, 18-25). Fātima Lārā, who is mentioned in the text is buried beside Bābā-Tāhir. According to the custodians of the tomb of Bābā-Tāhir, she is not to be confused with another Fātima also buried in the same *baḡ'a* (?) Gobiueau and A. V. W. Jackson mention the sister of Bābā-Tāhir, Bībī Fātima or Fātima Laylā. *ʿAzādī* Hamadīnī (*Dīwān*, 16-21) speaks of the tomb of the *diya* "nurse" of Bābā-Tāhir; everyone seems to endeavour to translate into the language of everyday life the mystic relations of Bābā-Tāhir to Fātima.

The quatrain already quoted at the beginning of this article (*lāl, alif-badd*) may reflect some high aspiration of Bābā-Tāhir.

**Bibliography:** The MSS. containing the quatrains of Bābā-Tāhir are as follows: Konya Museum no. 2547 (1848); 2547 K. *Ḳifā*, 8, 8-*baḡ'a* 96; see M. Minorsky, *Madḡalā-yi Dīnāzādā-yi Adabiyāt*, Tehrān, 1922, 1325, 54-9; *ʿAsiā*, Soc. Bengal, Pers. no. 923, Catal. Ivanov, 424 (in *madḡalā*'s of 1900 [1902]; Preuss. Staatsbibl., Catal. Pertsch, 727, no. 697 (written in 1820 and used by *Leszczyński*); 56 quatrains; Bibl. Nat. de Paris, pers. 174, Cat. Blochet, II, 290-292 (collection made by Bahāghī 'Alī Karābāghī, dated 1260 (1844)); 174 quatrains and a *ghazal*. In the library of the mosque of Sīpāshālār in Tehrān, Żukowski found a manuscript, *Ḥikāyat Bābā-Tāhir bi-inḡimā-i aḡḡarāḡ*, but the title does not correspond to the contents of the MS. The MSS. of the mystical treatises of Bābā-Tāhir are as follows: Bibl. Nat. de Paris, Arab 1903 (Blochet, *op. cit.*, II, 291) and the Oxford MS. Etch. *Cat. Pers. MSS. Indian Lib.*, no. 1295, 6d, 102b-103. The anthologies which mention the poet are: 'Alī Kulī Khān Wālī, *Riyāḍ al-Ḥayr*, 1161/1748, ed. *Leszczyński*, 10; Latif 'Alī *baḡ*, *Maḡḡalā*, 1102/1779, Bombay 1277, 247 (25 quatrains); 'Alī Ḥabībīn Khān, *Ṣubḡat Dīrāḡim*, 1205/1791, unique MS. in the Preuss. Staatsbibl., Pertsch, 627, no. 665 (utilised by Żukowski and *Leszczyński*); Rūḡā Kulī Khān, *Madḡalā al-Fuṣṣal*, Tehrān 1295, I, 126 (10 quatrains); *Ḥikāyat al-Ḥayr*, Tehrān 1303, 102 (24 quatrains); 37 quatrains of Bābā-Tāhir were published at Bombay in 1297 and 1308 (with those of 'Umar Khayyām); 32 quatrains (with the *Munāddiyāt* of Anvār) at Bombay 1301; 27 quatrains (with those of Khayyām) at Tehrān 1294; the *ghazal* of Bābā-Tāhir is given in the appendix to the *Dīwān* of Shams al-Maḡribī, Tehrān 1298, 138, in the appendix to the *Munāddiyāt* of Anvār etc. The *Dīwān* of Bābā-Tāhir (cf. text) with the *Kalimat-i ḥayr*, a preface by the editor, a biography by Maḡmūd Ḥafīfā, a description of the tomb of Bābā-Tāhir by ʿAzādī Hamadīnī, etc. were published as a supplement to the 8th year of the magazine *Armāghān*, Tehrān 1306/1927, 1-124.—Huart, *Les quatrains de Bābā-Tāhir*, *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1904, I, series viii, vol. vi, 124-125, 502-543; Żukowski, *Koye do o B. Tāhir* *Gulshā*, Zāp., 1900, xiii, 104-108 (bibliography, 3 anecdotes, 2 new quatrains one of which = no. 146 of the *Dīwān*), cf. also *Zāp.*, II, 12; E. Heron Allen, *The Lament of Bābā-Tāhir*, London 1902 (text of 62 quatrains, transl. by

the editor and verse by Elisabeth Curtis Brenton); Browne, I, 83-87, II, 259-261; Mirzā Mahdī Khān (Kawkah), *The quatrains of Bābā-Tāhir*, in *JASB*, 1904, no. 1, 1-29 (new edition of the quatrains of Heron Allen [+1 quatrain] with important corrections and a very interesting commentary); Huart, *Nouveaux quatrains de Bābā-Tāhir*, in *Spiced Memorial Volume*, ed. J. J. Modi, Bombay 1908, 290-302 (28 quatrains and 1 *ghazal*) completing the collection of 1883 recently discovered: in an extract from the *Kaḡhāḡ al-Faḡhāḡ* of which the original is in the Muḡammadiyya mosque (Fāṭh) of Constantinople, in the *Dīwān* of Maḡribī and in an album (*ḡunḡ*). This second collection of quatrains published by Huart contains sundry pieces, the translation of which is not certain; *Minorsky*, *Material* ("Matériaux pour servir à l'étude des croyances de la secte persane dite les Ahl-i Haḡq ou 'Alī-Ilāhī"), vol. xxxiii, of the *Tradit Larvae*, Institut, Moscow 1911, 29-33 (transl. of the passages from the *Sarāḡdīn*), 99-103 (Persian text of the intercalated poems and notes); G. Leszczyński, *Die Ruḡāyāt des Bābā-Tāhir*, *Urgeschichte der Golestines des Herzens*, aus d. *zeit-medischen* [sic] *Originalen*, Munich 1920 (biographical and bibliographical, verse transl.); K. Hadani, *Die Mundarten v. Khunur*, etc., in *Kurd.-pers. Forsch.*, v, O. Mann, series iii, vol. 1, Leipzig 1926, introduction, xxxvii-iv (complete study of the question of the language of Bābā-Tāhir, bibliography); A. J. Arberry, *Poems of a Persian Sāfī*, being the quatrains of Bābā-Tāhir, Cambridge 1937, (60 *do* *baḡ* transl. into excellent five-lined stanzas in the style of A. E. Houseman). (V. *Minorsky*)

**BABADAGHI**, a town in the Dobruḡa, now part of Rumania. Its Turkish name refers to the semi-legendary dervish (Baba) Sarf Saltik, who is said to have led a number of Anatolian Turcomans to the Dobruḡa in the mid-thirteenth century, and to have settled with them in the neighbourhood of Babadaghi. (On this settlement see Paul Wittek, *Yazıncıgibi 'Alī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruḡa*, in *BSOAS*, 1932 xvi, 639 ff.). There are several tombs of Sarf Saltik in various towns; the most generally accepted is that of Babadaghi. What appears to be the first reference to it occurs in a passage in the travels of Ibn Battūṭa, who mentions 'Bābā Saltik' as the northernmost outpost of the Turks, and briefly describes the saint that is buried there. Though Ibn Battūṭa's 'Bābā Saltik' cannot be located with certainty, it seems likely that it is the place later known as Babadaghi. He passed that way in about 1332-3.

According to Ewliya Celebi, the town was first conquered for the Ottomans by Bayezid I, and was reconquered by Bayezid II as a *sanjak* for Sarf Saltik and his followers. Two documents relating to the *sanjak* of Bayezid, of 1075/1667 and 1117/1699, are listed in the catalogue of the Topkapı Sarayı (*Arşiv Kütahası*, Istanbul 1938, I, 52). The area was no doubt occupied by Bayezid I in the course of his Danubian campaigns; but its final annexation by the Ottomans would seem to date from the year 892/1487-8, (*ʿAḡhıyabnāme*, chapter 73; Negârî, ed. Usat Kırıman, Ankara 1957, II, 534 ff.; *Saḡ* al-Ḳu, I, 284; cf. Osman Turan, *Tariḡ Taḡimîn*, Ankara 1954, 21, 37). The region was settled by Bayezid with Tatar colonists (Hâdîdî Khāḡlā; cf. Hammer-Purgstall, I, 629).

In 945/1538 Sultan Süleyman stayed there for four days, during his Rumanian campaign, and visited

the tomb of Sarf Saltik (*Muḡabāḡime*; Hammer-Purgstall, II, 152). At this time it seems to have been included in the *sanjak* of Silistre, though it was not large enough to be listed as a town (M. Tayyib Gökilgin, *Kanun Sultani Süleyman deri bazarında Rumeli eyaleti, İnebolu, şehir ve kasabaları*, *İstanbul*, 1955, 254-5, 266-7). In the late 16th and early 17th centuries the town and district suffered greatly from the depredations of the Cossacks and even, on occasions, of the Crimean Tatars. As a result many of the Turkish population left and migrated southwards. During the reign of Murād IV the construction of a fortress was begun, under direction of Kökdā Kırān Paḡla, but by the time that Ewliya Celebi wrote (ca. 1652) the fortress was not manned and only the foundation walls and towers were standing. During the 17th century Babadaghi became the concentration point for Ottoman armies marching north, and in war-time served as winter quarters for the Grand Vizier. The town, which from 1001/1593 constituted a *meydanlık* in the *eyalet* of Ozi, was described by Ewliya as a flourishing commercial centre, with 3000 houses, 340 shops, and many gardens (but no closed market—*beziristan*). Its status was that of a *pasha's* appanage (*pasha ḡāḡisi*). Ewliya names three large mosques (*ḡimān*)—"Ulu ḡimān", built by Bayezid II, near the convent of Sarf Saltik; 'Alī Paḡla ḡimān', in the market place; Dervish ḡimān, Paḡla ḡimān, and three *hamāms* including those of Bayezid II and 'Alī Paḡla. (Hâdîdî Khāḡlā reports 5 mosques and only 2 baths). There were also several *madḡis*, three *madrasas*, 20 boys' schools (*mektep shaynī*) 8 Khāns and 11 dervish convents (*tekke*) of which the largest and most prosperous was that of Sarf Saltik. His *ḡimān* was a place of pilgrimage. It was built by Bayezid II (or, according to another version, by the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray). The chief industries, according to Ewliya Celebi, were cloth, bows, and arrows; its specialties were grapes, white bread, yoghurt, and grape-juice.

In 1809, during the Russo-Turkish war, the town was occupied by the Russian general Porokhovskiy. It was returned to Turkey in 1812 but was ceded to Rumania in 1878. At the time of its transfer Babadaghi was a *kaḡā* in the *sanjak* of Tulfa in the *vilāyet* of Tuna.

**Bibliography:** Ewliya Celebi, *Seyāhat-nāme*, III, 362-70; Hâdîdî Khāḡlā, tr. Hammer, *Rumeli den Bosna*, Vienna 1882, 27; Ibn Battūṭa, II, 410; Ibn Battūṭa, *Christian Turks of the Dobruḡa*, Oxford 1929, I, 368-9; Kemālpāshāzāde, *Muḡabāḡ-nāme*, ed. and tr. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1859, 80 ff., 177; Hammer-Purgstall, index; Hurmuzak, *Documente Privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, Bucarest 1889-1939 index; *IA* s.v. Dobruca (by Aurel Decei). See also BUGUDAS, DOBRUḡA, SARF SALTİK.

(B. Lewis)

**BABAESKI** (Bābā-yi 'atik) or Babaschik, a small town in eastern Thrace, situated 50 km. S.E. of Edirne, on the railway line which links Kirkilārdi to the Edirne, Istanbul main line. At the time of the Byzantine empire it was called Bulgarophylon; its present name is derived from the Turkish dervishes (*baba*) who settled there, as at other places, during the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans.

Babeski was a *baḡā* of the *sanjak* of Viza in the 17th century, and was later attached to the *sanjak* of Kirkilārdi (Kirkilārdi). Today it is one of the *baḡas* of the *vilāyet* of Kirkilārdi; its population in 1945 was 5,936. The population of the whole region, numbering 37,607 (1945), is mainly occupied in agriculture.

The town has two mosques, one dating from the time of Mehmed II, and the other built by the architect Sinān in the name of the Grand Vizier 'Alī Paḡla Semiz [s.p.]. A stone bridge, built during the reign of Murād IV on the river Ergene, to the west of the town, also deserves mention as a historic monument.

**Bibliography:** Sāmi, *Kāḡis ul-Aḡam*, II, 1178; article *Baba* in *IA* (by M. Fuad Köprülü); *Türk (İsmān) Anasiklopedisi*, s.v.; Ewliya Celebi, *Seyāhat-nāme*, III, 480 ff.; T. Gökilgin, *AV. ve XVI. asrında Edirne ve Paḡa Paḡla*, Istanbul 1952, 207 ff., 302 ff. (E. Kuran)

**BĀBĀ'Ī**, the name of a religious-social movement which disturbed the Turkoman centres of Asia Minor a few years before the Mongol invasion, and which seems to have been of great importance in the general history of the social and cultural development of the Turkish people. It can only be understood by reference to certain general features of the development of the Salḡūkid state of Rūm. By the 7th-13th century, the latter had become a state with a strong administrative and cultural framework, the product of Iranian influence, based on the Muslim and mainly Sunnī population of the towns; the Turkoman element of the rural areas and the frontiers, which had remained far more faithful to the old Turkish traditions and habits, been penetrated to a much greater extent by heterodox doctrines, was thus becoming more and more isolated. At the very moment when the rift between the State and the Turkoman element was widening in this way, the Turkomāns, as the result of the influx of their Turkoman cousins who had been pushed back first by the Khwārizmians, then by the Mongols, received simultaneously reinforcement in numbers and the seeds of future troubles, in the form of doctrines stemming from Central Asia. This was the environment in which shortly before 638/1240 a *baba* (popular preacher), Ishāk, better known under his self-assumed title of vazīdī (Allāhī), who came from the Kafarārdi region on the Syrian border, began preaching to the Turkomāns both of the region south of the eastern Taurus, and of the region of Anapa, and then of all the intervening and surrounding districts. In 638, taking advantage of the fact that the breach between Kay-Khusraw and the Khwārizmians, the remnants of whom, after finding a temporary home in Asia Minor, had taken refuge in Adana, had weakened the régime, Bābā Ishāk raised the standard of revolt. He successfully defeated several large Salḡūkid armies, and was only finally defeated and captured by the employment of 'Frankish' mercenaries; even then the movement was not completely suppressed.

Little is known of the distinctive features of the movement. The adepts wore a red cap (as did, later, the *Akkīshā*), black robes, and sandals. Ishāk called himself a prophet, and allied himself to the extremist forms of Shī'ism which were prevalent in Irano-Turkish popular circles; his precise relations with another Bābā, of Khurāsān origin, Rūyā, and with the *balandars* (ḡhawāḡid) of Asia Minor, are yet to be established. At all events, the movement was fundamentally opposed to the aristocratic movement of ḡiḡāl al-Dīn, Rūmī and the Mawlawīs.

Although so little is known about it, the Bābā'ī movement must have been of great importance, since it is mentioned, apart from the Salḡūkid chronicler Ibn Bībī (phot. MS. ed. 498-502, Houtsma's summarised ed. 227-231), by the contemporary Arab from Damascus Sibī Ibn al-ḡhawī (ed. Jewett 843),



the Franciscan missionary Simon of St. Quentin (in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum*, xxxi, 139-40), and, a little later, by the Syriac historian Bar Hebraeus (ed. trans. Budge, 405-6). The basic problem is to establish the connexion between this movement and, on the one hand, the creation of the Karamanid principality of Taurus, and, on the other hand, in the second half of the century, the religious group of Bādhidj Bektāsh; Efkaki (amed Haur's trans., i, 296, following Köprülü, *Orig.* (see bibl. below), 407, explicitly connects the latter, which was destined to have such important developments, with the Bābā'y movement. There are doubtless other popular creeds of the period of the Mongol Protectorate which are worthy of consideration. Although the texts are so vague, there is little doubt that the Bābā'y movement was at the head of currents which the dilapidation of the Saljuqid state later rendered irresistible, and it is this which gives it its importance.

**Bibliography:** The sources are quoted in the article. The principal modern works are those of M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, *Anadoluda İslamiyet (Edebiyatı Fak. Mecm. ii, 1922)*, *Les Origines du Bektāshisme (Internat. Congress on the Hist. of Religions, 1923)*, *Anadolu Beylikleri Tarihine Ait Notlar (Türkist Mecm. ii)*, and *Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1935. For more recent works, see A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin's*, 1932, and O. Turan, *Selçuk Türkiye'si Din Tarihine Dair Bir Kaynak*, in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, 1953.

(C. L. CAHEN)

**BĀBĀK**, head of the Khurrami sect (see KHURRAMI); his name is an arabised form of the Iranian Bāpāk. The son of an oil-merchant from al-Madā'in (or, according to some, the descendant of Abū Mas'ūd), he was following an obscure calling in al-Jahārbayḥān when he was noticed by Dāwūd b. b. Sahl, head of the Khurramis, who died shortly afterwards. Bābāk claimed that the spirit of Dāwūd b. b. Sahl had entered into him, and began to stir up the people living in the region of al-Baḥḍā, a place, not extant to-day, situated in the mountainous region of Arrān, not far from the Araxes (see *ARABYAH*, map). He imparted new vigour to this religious and social movement, derived in part from Mazdāhism, and employed particularly violent methods. It appears that his operations date from 201/816-7, and that they were assisted by the rebellious schemes of the governor of Armenia, Hātim b. Harthama, and facilitated by the various difficulties in the eastern province which followed al-Ma'mūn's return to Baghdad.

In 204/819-20, al-Ma'mūn sent against Bābāk Yahya b. Mu'adh, who attacked him without success on several occasions, as did other commanders whose efforts were attended by no better fortune. By the end of al-Ma'mūn's caliphate the revolt had spread as far as the Djabāl, and first concern of al-Ma'mūn was to exterminate the insurgents in this region. In 220/835, he placed al-Aḥḡā (q.v.) in charge of operations against Bābāk. This commander rebuilt the fortresses on the al-Baḥḍā road which Bābāk had destroyed, and, despite the defeat suffered by Bābāk the Elder at Haḡḡid-Sar, succeeded in surprising one of the rebel leaders, Tāḡhīb. Then, reinforced by troops under Dīḡ'ar al-Kharrāṣī and by Abū Dulaf's volunteers, he established in 222/837 a camp, protected by mountain scouts, from which he harassed the fortress of al-Baḥḍā. After an unsuccessful attack by the volunteers, al-Baḥḍā was taken and sacked on 9 Rāmādān 222/15 August

837 as the result of an assault by the troops from Fārgāna. Bābāk fled, and after being handed over to al-Aḥḡā by the Armenian elder Sahl b. Sunhūt, with whom he had taken refuge, was sent to Samarra where he arrived on 3 Šafar 223/4 January 838. Al-Ma'mūn had him paraded on an elephant and executed with extreme cruelty; his body remained hanging on the gallows, which gave its name to a quarter of the town.

The capture and execution of Bābāk did not put an end to the Khurrami movement, which continued to give evidence of its existence during the 3rd/9th century; the devotees of the former rebel, calling themselves Bābākīya, continued in the 5th/11th century, at al-Baḥḍā, to wait for the Mahdi and to practise certain special rites.

**Bibliography:** Dihawarī: Ya'kūbī; Tabarī (English tr. by Elmslie, *The Reign of al-Ma'mūn*, 1916, New Haven 1935, index); Ma'sūdī, *Murūj*, index; Tānūḡhī, *Nighār*, I, c. 75; al-Fārībī, 342-44 (and G. Flügel, in *ZDMG*, 23, 1869, 331-42); Ibn al-Aḡḡir, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iḡḡar*, iii, 256-262; Niḡm al-Mulk, *Siyasat-nāma* (ed. Scheler), 200 ff.; Schwarz, *Iran*, viii, 1127-34; G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, Paris 1918, 229-80; B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 61-4 and 201-3; *IA*, s.v. *by Osman Turan*. (D. SOUKAT)

**BĀBALYŪN** (Babylon), a town in Egypt. The name Babylon, denoting the mediaeval Egyptian town in the neighbourhood of the modern Cairo, is, according to Casanova, the Graecised form of an ancient Egyptian Bā-Haps-n-On through assimilation to the Asiatic Bāḡḡāwān which was familiar to the Greeks. This etymology is not quite free from objections but there is no doubt that some ancient Egyptian place-name underlies it. By the name is meant the ancient town and fortification of the Greeks which — situated on the borders of Upper and Lower Egypt — commanded the interior. Even to the present day portions of the ancient fortification have survived in the Kaḡr al-Šam'a. Babylon's position was much more favourable, and its importance greater, in ancient times, as the Nile then flowed further to the East. At the time of the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr, the decisive battles were fought here. With the fall of Babylon (21 Rabī' II 20/9 April 641) the fate of Egypt was settled. The Arab military camp which later developed into the city of Fuṣṭāṭ-Misr was then pitched near this place, important from the military point of view, and the remains of the old fortress were used in its construction. As far as we know from papyri, a distinction was still made between Babylon and Fuṣṭāṭ at the end of the 1st/7th century. In Fuṣṭāṭ lived the Muḡāḡirūn whose *ḡḡāḡ* were marked out. In Babylon were the great coin-merchants and the seat of the administration. The arsenal on the island of Rōḡā which is also mentioned in papyri, was closely connected with the fortress. The original distinction between Fuṣṭāṭ and Babylon was naturally soon lost. The name Babylon fell out of use among the Arabs and only survived among the Copts, its application by them being extended, for the Copts occasionally used Babylon to denote the whole area, and great series of towns from Kaḡr al-Šam'a through Fuṣṭāṭ and Cairo to Matariyye-Heliopolis. This usage then spread to western writers. This is why Babylonia, with varying orthography, appears as a name for Cairo in the numerous commercial treaties between

Egypt and Western States, written in Latin and published by Amari. The name may also be found in the contemporary literature of Europe as well as in charters; for example in the works of the traveller Mandeville and of Boccaccio who calls Saladin "Soldano di Babilonia".

**Bibliography:** Ya'kūbī, i, 450; Makrīzī, *Khatā'ir*, IFAO ed., v, 6-13; al-Bāḡḡī (ed. Levtzky and Butler), fol. 23<sup>b</sup>; Casanova, *Les Noms Coptes du Caire et des Localités voisines*, in BIFAO, i, 20; Andréau, *Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, 73 and passim; Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, ii, 45; Papyri Schott-Reinhardt, 98; Zeller, *für Assyriol.*, xx, 84, 91; Cantani, *Annali*, iv, A.H. 21 & 22; A. R. Gooss, *The Foundation of Fuṣṭāṭ*, in JRAS 1907, 49 ff.; Michèle Amari, *I Diplomi Arabi del R. Archivio Vicerinale*, Florence 1865; U. Monneret de Villard, *Recherche sulla Topografia di Qasr al-Sam'a*, Bull. Soc. Royale de Géog. d'Égypte, xii-xiii. (C. H. BECKER)

**BĀBĀN**, the name of an important family and dynasty of 'Irāḡ Kurdistān. It rose early in the 11th/12th century from an obscure origin in the Pishdār tribe in the person of one Ahmad al-Fakḡh, whose son became a power, and his grandson Sulaymān Beg a major power, in the Šāhrazūr area. They made their home at Kara Coln, which remained the Bābān head-quarters until the foundation of Sulaymāniyya (q.v.) in 1198/1783; and in spite of an unsuccessful invasion of Persia, and chequered fortunes in his own newly-created principality, Sulaymān Beg gained a measure of recognition from the sultan and transmitted a princely position (or at least princely pretensions) to his sons. Under his grandson Bakr Beg, early in the 12th/13th century, Bābān rule, always insecure and unaccompanied by any regular administration, stretched from the Lesser Zab to the Sirwān (Diyālā).

In spite of the violent fall of Bakr Beg and the reassertion of Turkish authority, the Bābān prince of the time (Khāna Paḡḡa) gave important military help to the *waḡl* of Baḡḡād in the struggle against the Persians (1156-1160/1221-1247). Under his nephew Sulaymān Paḡḡa (1167/1254) Bābān rule covered the *waḡḡ* of Koy, Khāḡḡān and wide areas of Western Persia; but it remained precarious, resented by the Turkish authorities in the 'Irāḡi *sulṭān*āt, threatened by rivals in the same family, and weakened by ceaseless intrigues with (and by) Persian supporters of this or that candidate. In these conditions, even valuable services rendered from time to time to the pashas of Baḡḡād could not secure consistency in Turkish policy towards the Kurdistān principality, nor a respectful attitude by the latter; even the greatest of the Bābāns—notably 'Abd al-Rahmān Paḡḡa, in power (with interruptions) from 1204/1789 to 1227/1812—fell victims every few years, or months, to the constant vicissitudes of frontier warfare and intrigue, and the rivalries among their brothers and cousins. The territory was more than once occupied by Persian or Turkish forces.

The final eviction of the Bābān rulers, which was anyhow inevitable under the modernising policy of the Turkish Government after 1246/1830, was the easier since the appearance of signs of Turko-Persian accord—frontier agreements were reached between the two powers in 1219/1823 and 1246/1847—and the destructive ravages of the sons of 'Abd al-Rahmān Paḡḡa. In spite of a brief 'Indian summer' when new weapons and modern military methods were introduced in the Bābān armed forces, the

centralising efforts of the mid-century *waḡl* of 'Irāḡ prevailed finally in 1267/1850, when the last of the Bābān princes left Sulaymāniyya. Numerous descendants of the family survive.

**Bibliography:** S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern 'Iraq*, (Oxford, 1925). 'Abbas al-'Azizī, *Maḡḡir al-'Irāḡ*, vol. II, (Baghdād, 1960/1947). Muḡ. Amīn Zāḡ, *Tārīḡ al-Sulaymāniyya wa-maḡḡāḡāḡ* (Baghdād 1931).

(S. H. LONGRIGG)

**BĀBAR** [see BĀBER]  
**BĀBBAGHĀ'** (and also *baḡḡā'* «parakeet(s)» «parrot(s)»). The form is the same for both the male and the female, and represents the singular or the collective. Etymologically, according to Djabīb, the name is derived from the bird's cry. It occurs in the languages of Romance origin, for example the Provençal *papagai*, Spanish *papagayo* and Old French *papagai* (and the *papagan* of the *Roman de la Rose*). In the 3rd/9th century, 'Irāḡi who knew those varieties of psittacids which were native to the Indian Archipelago; al-Dandirī mentions in addition to green and red parrots, a white crested species. Poets in the Orient, sometimes describe this gorgeous bird; the silence of their rivals in Spain is noticeable at least until the 5th/11th century.  
**Bibliography:** Djabīb, *Hayawān*, iii, 516, v, 170; Dandirī, *Hayāt al-Hayawān*, Cairo n.d., i, 106; H. Péris, *La Poésie arabo-islamique, en arabe classique*, 2nd ed., Paris 1953, 242-6.

(R. BLACHÈRE)

**AL-BĀBBAGHĀ'** "the Parrot", the sonneteer under which is celebrated the Arab poet and letter-writer Abū 'l-Farajī 'Abd al-Wāḡid b. Naḡr, born 313/925, died 397/1007. The ethnic appellation al-Maḡḡarīmī which was given to him implies fictitious Arabian descent. A native of Naḡḡān, al-Bābbaghā' seems to have attached himself to the entourage of the Hamdanid amir Sayf al-Dawla, when the latter was established at Aleppo, and therefore after 333/944. He sang the praises of this amir, and achieved prominence in the literary milieu which existed in this town. A fervent admirer of al-Mutanabbī (q.v.), he met the latter again at Baḡḡād; after residing there for a time at Misul, he himself settled at Baḡḡād, where he eventually died.

At the end of the 4th/10th century, the poetical works of al-Bābbaghā', according to Ibn al-Nāḡim, comprised a collection of three hundred pages; of these poems, only the extracts selected by al-Tha'ālibī are known to us. The same anthologist also quotes long and significant passages from his letters. As a panegyrist, al-Bābbaghā' belongs to the neo-classical school, such as is represented by al-Buḡḡarī or al-Mutanabbī. In his elegiac or heroic pieces, on the other hand, al-Bābbaghā' is not without a certain distinctive charm. He is however, chiefly remarkable for the virtuosity and richness of his letters in rhymed and cadenced prose. In this genre, and in his own period, he stands out as a master.

**Bibliography:** *Fihrist*, 159; Khāḡḡī Baḡḡādī, *Tārīḡ Baḡḡādī*, xi, 17; Ibn Khāḡḡān, Cairo 1310, i, 298; San'ānī, *Asnād*, 64<sup>b</sup>; Badī'ī, *al-Subb al-Mutanabbī 'an Hayṭiyyat al-Mutanabbī*, Cairo 1308, in the margin of 'Uḡbar's comm. on the *Diwan* of Mutanabbī, 73 ff.; Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, Damascus 1905, i, 31 ff., 173-204, 220, ii, 138, 201; R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IV<sup>e</sup> s. A.H.*, *al-Mutanabbī*, Paris 1935, 120, 141, 155; Z. Mubarak, *La Prose arabe au IV<sup>e</sup> s.H.*, Paris 1937, 129 ff.; *idem*, *al-Naḡḡ al-Fannī*, Cairo 1934, i, 286-96, ii, 226-42; for the rest of the bibliography,



see Brockelmann, I, 90, S. 1, 145; M. Canard, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'émir Sayf al-Daula*, Algiers-Paris 1934, 300-1 and n. 1.

**BĀBIL.** Ancient Arab writers used to give the name "Bābil" to the city of Babylon as well as to the country of Babylonia. The city's ruins lie some 54 miles due south of Baghdad on the Baghdad-Biḥla road. Those writers differed, however, in determining the boundaries of the country. Some of them extended its limits over a vast area, whereas others restricted it to a lesser area. According to Muslim historians and geographers, the original city of Bābil had been devastated long before the Islamic conquest, and there was then in its place a small village which had the name of Bābil. This village is reported to have existed down to the 'Abbasid epoch in the 4th/10th century. For instance, Ibn Hawkal mentions that, in his time, Bābil was a small village. He also remarks that "Its buildings are considered the most ancient ones in 'Irāk and the city itself was founded by the Canaanite kings who adopted it as their state seat, and it was settled by their successors as well. The remains of its imposing buildings speak of its past grandeur".

Abu 'l-Fidā', who cites the above-mentioned account of Bābil by Ibn Hawkal, adds: "It was in it that Ibrahim was thrown into the fire. And in these days it is no more than desolate ruins on which stands a sad village".

In the 7th/13th century, Al-Kāwālī described the ruins of Bābil and mentioned the quarrying of its bricks by people for building their houses—a practice which has continued until recent years—. In this connexion, he states: "Bābil: the name of a village which formerly stood on one of the branches of the Euphrates in 'Irāk. Currently, people carry off the bricks of its ruins, and there exists a well known as 'the Dungeon of Dīnārī' which is visited by Jews and Christians on certain yearly occasions and on holidays. Most of the population hold the opinion that this dungeon was the well of Hārūt and Marūt".

Al-Bakrī refers to the Tower of Bābil, which he designates as *Al-Maḡāl*. He says, following earlier writers, that this tower (identified by modern archaeologists as a zigurat) was built by Nimrod in Bābil and that it rose some 3000 cubits aloft in the sky, and that this building is the authentic tower referred to in the Qur'ān, xvi, 26, the relevant text of which appears hereunder:

"Those before them did indeed devise plans, but Allah demolished their building from the foundations, so the roof fell down on them from above them, and the chastisement came to them from whence they did not perceive".

There has been much controversy among Muslim writers about the history and authenticity of Babylonia. Yāqūt al-Hamawī, however, summarises the various notions and legends prevailing among them on this city. For instance, it is said that Noah was the first to build and settle in this city after the Deluge. The Persians say, as related by Yazdijird b. Mihrān, that it was the king al-Dabbāk who has built this city. Ibn al-Kalbi says that the city's area was 12 x 12 *farsāḡh*, that the Euphrates flowed beneath its walls until Baḥtanzāsar (Nebuchadnezzar) diverted its waters to their present course, as a precaution against the possible collapse of the city walls, and that Bābil continued to prosper until it was destroyed by Alexander the Great.

The information previously possessed on Babylon's history and culture, following its downfall, was in a state of confusion and contrast, as set forth above. Actually, they had no other established reference on this subject but the relevant accounts mentioned in the Old Testament, statements related by some of the ancient Greek historians at the classical period and sagas transmitted by unlearned people.

The real facts about this city were not discovered until the arrival of archaeologists at its ruins early in the 19th century A.D.; they brought to light innumerable relics and artifacts, among which were tablets with cuneiform inscriptions. Upon deciphering these writings, practically all of the facts about this city were set in the right order, thus putting an end to the numerous previous legendary and unfounded accounts; these are now replaced by established facts, which are found in the many works on this city in various European languages.

**Bibliography.** al-Tabarī, I, 229, li, 277, 1056; Ibn al-Aḡlir, ii, 307, 395, 397, 398, 400, 401; li, 351, 372; v, 435, 439; al-Ya'qūbī, I, 235, 321; al-Ma'sūdī, *Murūj*, II, 166; al-Tamīmī, 35; al-Hawakī, 214; Abū l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, 303; al-Kāwālī, *Aḥḥar*, 202; al-Bakrī (ed. al-Sakkā), I, 218; Yāqūt, s.v. Bābil; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakk, *Murūj*, Cairo 1954, I, 145; al-Birūnī, *Sijar al-Ma'mūn* (ed. Togan), 23; G. Awaḍ, *Aḥḥar al-'Irāk*, in *Sumur* v, 1949; 7-23; R. Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon* (trans. by A. S. Johns, London 1914); A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853; S. Lloyd, *Ruined Cities of Iraq*, Oxford 1942, 11-20; A. Parrot, *The Tower of Babel* (trans. by E. Hudson, London 1955); C. J. Rich, *Memoir on the Ruins of Ancient Babylon*, London 1818; E. Unger, *Babylon (Reallexikon der Assyriologie)*, I, 350-69.

**BĀBĪS.** Followers of the religion founded by the Bāb (g.c.). The history of the Bābīs has been, and still is, at least in the East, one of persecution. It can be divided into two phases: the first, from the foundation of the new faith (1260/1844) up to the persecutions following the attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1268 g./1852-3), which seemed as though they would crush the new movement for ever, a period characterised by a frequently violent attitude on the part of the Bābīs themselves; the second, which might be called 'pacified', from that date to the present day, a period which has seen the schism of the Bābīs into two factions of unequal numbers and importance. After the first dissemination of the faith following the declaration of the founder's mission (see BĀB) and the first persecutions, which the Bābīs in various localities resisted with force, the most important event in the history of the community is the convention of Badāghīz (1264/1848), at which the Bābīs, abandoning their initial precautions, openly declared their total secession from Islam and the *sharī'a*; in this a major rôle was played by the famous Bābī heroine, the beautiful and cultured poetess Zarrīn-Tājī, better known by the names of Kurrat al-'Ayn and Dīnābī Tāhira ('H. H. The Pure'), born al-Kāwālī, the daughter of the erudite theologian Mirza Sāhib. There, first among Persian women, she dared to show herself unveiled to her brothers of the Faith, a living example of the abrogation of the Islamic *sharī'a*. After the convention, in which many of the principal Bābīs, among them the future Bābā' Allāh (g.c.), took part, Muḥammad Bāghdādī (see BĀB) encouraged himself with a small troop of Bābīs in the

sanctuary of Shāykh Tabarī near Bārfurūsh, where with another 'Letter of the Living', Muḥammad 'Alī Bārfurūshī called Juddās, he resisted heroically the troops of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (shortly afterwards succeeded by Muḥammad Shāh), even making successful sorties; but eventually Muḥammad Husayn was killed, and Kurrat and the other survivors were spared, though they were in fact vilely and cruelly massacred (Ramādān 1265/July-August 1849). Shortly afterwards, at Nayriz in Fārs, another heroic Bābī insurrection took place, led by one Sayyid Yahyā-i Dārābī, who had been converted by the Bāb at Shirāz (see BĀB) and who had assumed the name of Wahid; the Bābīs, barricaded within the old citadel of the town, defended themselves bravely, with the sympathy of the population, for several days until they were all massacred (January 1850). Almost at the same time there occurred an insurrection of even greater magnitude at Zanḡīn. The Bābīs, under the leadership of Muḥammad 'Alī-i Zanḡīn surnamed Hūdijāt ('the Proof'), barricaded themselves in the citadel called Kū'ā' 'Alī Mardān Khān. After various turns of fortune the Bābīs, who numbered more than 3,000, were cruelly massacred (February 1850). Four months prior to the execution of the Bāb, Tehran also had her heroes, the so-called 'seven martyrs of Tehran', one of whom was the tutor and uncle of the Bāb; their heroic conduct in the face of most horrific punishment is a glorious chapter in the history of the Bābī faith. The unsuccessful attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (28 Shawwāl 1268/16 August 1852) by two Bābīs maddened by the persecutions led to a new reign of terror, to which numerous personalities of the Bābī faith fell victims. Among these was the poetess Kurrat al-'Ayn, strangled after long imprisonment. The principal Bābīs, among whom were Bābā' Allāh (Mirzā Husayn 'Alī Nūrī) and his half-brother Subḥ-i Azāl (Mirzā Yahyā Nūrī) were banished to 'Irāk. The persecutions continued, however, sporadically throughout Persia. The Bābā'ī tradition speaks of about 20,000 martyrs, including those killed in battle. After the declaration of the Convention of Ridwān and, later, that of Adrianople (see BĀB), dissensions arose between those who were henceforth called Bābā'ī (g.c.) and the followers of Subḥ-i Azāl, who adhered to the letter of the *Bayān* and maintained that the Bāb had nominated Mirzā Yahyā as his successor. The Bābā'īs, on the other hand, maintained, and still maintain, that it was a question of only a temporary annulment and *pro forma*, and that, in any case, Subḥ-i Azāl never had the right to oppose 'Him Whom God Shall Manifest, who is', according to them, Mirzā Husayn 'Alī Nūrī, Bābā' Allāh. The Azālīs remained always in the minority, however, and even the number of 50,000 which some authorities have ascribed to them seems in fact to be somewhat exaggerated.

**Bibliography.** Besides the works quoted in the article BĀB, see: Hādijī Mirzā Dīnāl of Kāshān, *Kūbā-i Naḡmā 'l-Kāf* ..., ed. E. G. Browne, Leiden 1910 (Gibb Memorial Series XV); E. G. Browne, *Tārīkh-i Qadāḡ*, Cambridge 1893; 'Abd al-Husayn 'Awār, *al-Kawākib al-Durriyya fi Ma'āḡir al-Bābā'īyya*, Cairo 1312/1923; Shuḥrī Effendi, *God Passes By*, Willems 1929; 'Abd al-Bābā', *Tadhkirat al-Wafā*, Hayfa 1924 (accounts and different traditions of Bābī and Bābā'ī martyrs); Hādijī Muḥammad Tāhir Mānāfi, *Tārīkh-i Shāhādāt*, Yazd, Cairo 1342/1923-4.

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**BĀBUR.** Zahir al-Dīn Muḥammad, soldier of fortune, first of the Muḡal rulers in India, diarist and poet, was descended on his father's side in the fifth generation from Tīmūr and through his mother Kutlūḡ Nigār Khānum in the fifteenth degree from Čingiz Khān. He was born on 6 Muharram 888/14 February 1483 and succeeded his father 'Umar Shāykh as Mirzā of Farghānā in Ramādān 899/June 1494.

Bābur inherited his father's struggle with his kinsmen for the towns and fertile areas of Central Asia. By Rādī I 903/November 1497 he had fended off the attempts by his elder paternal uncle Sulṭān Ahmad Mirzā of Samarkand and by his elder maternal uncle Sulṭān Mahmūd of Taškent to deprive him of his father's position in Farghānā, and using quarrels among his consins had occupied Samarkand. Four months later lack of booty and conspiracy at Andijān, his headquarters, forced him to flee Samarkand too. Andijān he soon recovered and then as soon lost to the Muḡals under Tāmbal who nominally were supporters of his brother Dīshāngīr. In 905/1498-99 Bābur divided Farghānā with his brother, married and was forestalled in a race for Samarkand by Shaybānī Khān, Uzbak (Ordek). Next year he took the city by surprise, only to be starved out by Shaybānī Khān after losing the battle of Sar-i Pul in Ramādān 906/April-May 1501. Bābur, having relinquished Andijān to his brother when he took Samarkand, now became a fugitive nomad, dependent for his personal safety on ties of kinship.

His uncle, grudging hosts, the Khāns of Taškent and northern Muḡalistan, furnished him with troops against Tāmbal and finally marched to his support. Tāmbal however appealed to Shaybānī Khān who routed and executed the Khāns at Artīyān in Dīhu l-Hidjja 908/June 1503.

For nearly a year Bābur wandered with a small following among the nomads of remote Sulḡ and Hūghyār, safe in their hospitality. But Shaybānī Khān's continuing success decided Bābur to seek a headquarters outside the main area of Uzbek interest. In Muharram 910/June 1504 he turned for Kābul, an uncle's possession until 907/1501, but then in Arghūn hands. Joined by other refugees from the Uzbaks, Bābur, with his father, secured Kābul and successfully asserted his claims to tribute from the surrounding Afghān tribes. By 912/1506 Bābur could leave Kābul for Herāt, in response to Sulṭān Husayn Mirzā Bāikarā's appeal for aid against the Uzbaks.

The death of Sulṭān Bāikarā and the ineffectiveness of his sons allowed Shaybānī Khān to conquer most of Khurasān, so that Bābur crossed the Hindū Kūsh empty-handed. In 913/1507 he took Kandahār from the Arghūns, but towards towards India rather than defend it personally when Shaybānī Khān besieged the new acquisition. But Shaybānī Khān came into conflict with Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī,



who defeated and slew him at Marw on 1 Ramadan 916/12 December 1510.

Bābur thereupon occupied Samarkand for the third time, in Rajab 917/October 1511, but as a client of Shāh Ismā'īl, since an outward profession of Shī'ism was probably striking coins in the name of his Šāfi'ī overlord. (The numismatic evidence on this is equivocal. See bibliography). His acceptance of Shī'ism cost him popular support, and when defeated by the Uzbek at Kulā Malik in Safar 918/May 1512, he could not hold the city. On the defeat at Ghujdawiz on 3rd Ramadan 918/12th November 1512 of the brutally intolerant Šāfi'ī general Nađm-i Dīn, whom Bābur had hastily abandoned, Bābur's last attempt to win the city nearest his heart ended.

After two years adventuring in the Kunduz area Bābur returned to Kābul, his centre thenceforth for enterprises to the more promising east and south. Several attempts to retake Kāndahar from the Aghidās ended in its occupation by negotiation in Džumādā II 928/May 1522. Bābur then turned more vigorously towards Hindūstān, probed by minor expeditions since 922/1516.

The victor at Kāndahar was invited into Hindūstān by Dawlat Khān Lodi of Lahore and 'Ālam Khān, uncle of Ibrahim Lodi, sultan of Delhi, to help them against Ibrahim. On his second advance, having dispossessed Dawlat Khān and utilised 'Ālam Khān to attract Akbar's support, Bābur destroyed the forces of Ibrahim Lodi at Pānīpat in Rajab 932/April 1526. He occupied Delhi and Āgra and his forces pressed as far eastwards down the Ganges as Džawnpūr and Ghāzīpūr. Bābur's victory at Khānā over Rānā Samūz of Citor in Džumādā I 933/March 1527 secured the Rājāghāṭhī flank, while victory over the eastern Aghidās in Ša'ban 935/May 1529 at the junction of the Gogra and Ganges extended his paramountcy in Hindūstān up to Bengal. He died on 6 Džumādā I 937/26 December 1530, at Āgra. Several years later his body was moved to its present grave in one of the gardens of Kābul.

Bābur had been born a member of a class of political entrepreneurs, some still semi-nomad, who competed within Central Asia for the power to draw revenue from herdsmen and agriculturalists and from the craftsmen and traders of an area enriched by the caravan traffic between China, India and 'Irāq. His career, like that of his rivals and enemies, was based upon the loyalties and antagonisms of family and clan rather than those of linguistic or national states. His birth gave him entry to the ruling élite; his tournament successes depended upon his attractive personal qualities—resilience and resource, courage, a cheerful and cultivated humanity—and the qualities of his partners. He was a cautious general who learnt much from the great Uzbek commanders, and applied the lessons of organised discipline and the techniques of field defences and entrenchment, musketry and artillery, and of the encircling movement with telling effect in his Indian career. His experience enabled him to hold together small collections of defeated but still personally ambitious Timurids, and the even less reliable Mughals, who had gathered around him in Kābul, until success gave him the undisputed power to command.

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(J. B. HARRISON and P. HARTY)

**LITERARY WORKS.** I. *Bāburnāma*. In this famous autobiography, written in Çağhatay Turkish, Bābur tells his story from childhood to the last years of his life, with no attempt to conceal his weaknesses, his mistakes, or his defeats. It is in no sense an *apologia pro vita sua*; indeed, so matter-

of-fact and unemotional is the tone of the work that the casual reader might not recognise it as the memoirs of a skilful and valiant soldier and the founder of a dynasty, which closer study reveals it to be. It cannot be said that Bābur is impartial in his picture of himself, his friends, or his enemies. For example, we can see that his feelings got the better of him in his evident desire to belittle the important and worthy Shaybānī Khān. But despite occasional injustices of this nature, the *Bāburnāma* is far more reliable than the general run of such works. The author's keen powers of observation and his analytical mind are apparent in his descriptions and explanations of works of art, of flora and fauna, of the group-psychology of peoples, and the characters of individuals. As a literary work, the simple and chaste language of the *Bāburnāma*, its natural style, its colourful and lively descriptive passages, are some of the reasons which justify our regarding it as one of the finest examples not only of Çağhatay but of Turkish prose generally.

2. *'Arīd risālati*. It was known that Bābur had written a Çağhatay treatise on prosody, from the *Bāburnāma*, certain copies of his *Divān*, and the *Muntahab al-Tawārīkh* of Badā'ūni (Calcutta 1868, I, 343), but the work did not come to light till 1923, when it was discovered by M. Fuad Köprülü in a Paris manuscript (E. Blochet, *Cal. der MSS. Indes*, Paris, 1924, No. 269, no. 1368). It does not differ greatly from similar works in Persian; its chief importance is that on certain *'arīd* verse-forms used by the Turkish poets its information is fuller than that given by Nawā'ī in his *Miṣnā al-Awsim*. Bābur gives both Persian and Turkish examples of metres in general use, including some from his own poems, but only Turkish examples of metres of his own invention. At the end of his *Divān* he states that the *'Arīd risālati* was finished 2 or 3 years before the completion of the conquest of India; i.e., between 932 and 934/1525-8.

3. *Mubayyan*. A *muṣṣaf* in Ghazlī trimeter catalectic (*fa'āḍun maf'āḍun fa'āḍun*), completed, according to a reference in the *'Arīd risālati*, in 25/1522. It deals with some problems in Hamazī law, together with some matters relating to campaigning. This simple didactic work is of no artistic importance, but it does show that Bābur was interested in *fiḥ* and was a sincere Hanafī. Till recently it was known to Orientalists as *Mubā*; A. S. Beveridge so refers to it, even though she mentions that the Indian historians Abu 'l-Faḍl and Badā'ūni read the title as *Mubayyan* (and the English Springer called it *Fikā-i Bāburī*). *Mubā* is in fact the name of a commentary on this work, written by Bābur's secretary, Shaykh Zayn.

4. Translation of *Risāla-i Walīdiyya*. The author of this work on Šūfī ethics was Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh Ahrārī, the great Central Asian Šūfī and spiritual leader of the Timurids. At the time, he wrote it at his father's insistence. Bābur's Çağhatay translation was made in 935/1528-9, and forms part of his *Divān*. It is a *muṣṣaf* of 243 lines in *Ramāl* trimeter catalectic (*fa'āḍun fa'āḍun fa'āḍun*). Though pleasantly and simply written, it has no aesthetic merit, but is of interest as showing Bābur's Šūfī leanings.

5. *The Divān*. The bulk of this is in Turkish, but some of the poems are in Persian. The verse-forms represented include the *ghazal*, *muṣṣaf*, *rubā'ī*, *hif'ī*, *tuyūgh*, *mu'ammal*, and *maf'ar*. We find in it the various verses whose composition he mentions in the *Bāburnāma*. The existing copies are not

arranged in the classical *Divān* manner; the poems are set down in no apparent order. In the technique of versification Bābur was not inferior to any of the 15th-century Çağhatay poets, not even Nawā'ī, and he expresses his thoughts and feelings in an unaffected language and style. Side by side with Šūfī songs of love and wine there are poems on everyday themes. Signs of the influence of earlier poets, especially Nawā'ī are not wanting, but there are no slavish imitations. Though Bābur had a taste for literary artifices and poetic *tours de force* (there are 29 of the latter in the *Divān*), and though, in obedience to the fashion prevailing at the time in both Persian and Turkish literature, he wrote numerous *mu'ammals* (the *Divān* includes 52), the greater part of his work is simple, sincere, and natural. He wrote a number of *tuyūghs*, a verse-form peculiarly Turkish, as well as some *rubā'īs* of great beauty. Among his *turkies*, which belong to popular poetry, we find one poem in syllabic metre (cf. *MTM*, I, 27). He was capable of writing Persian poems—there are over 20 in the *Divān*—but his affection for his mother-tongue is evident in the preponderance of Çağhatay. Further, in his poems he often refers to the valour of the Turks, and the fact that he is one of them. In this respect he was following the intellectual and literary trend which had begun with Nawā'ī in the previous century and which prevailed not only in Turkish but also in Persian and Timurid courts. The literary influence of Bābur was responsible for the subsequent rise of poets writing in Çağhatay both among his descendants and among their courtiers. Certainly the literary historian must assign Bābur a leading position among the Çağhatay poets after Nawā'ī.

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(2) *'Arīd risālati*. Text not yet published. For the information it affords on Turkish verse-forms, see M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hak-kında araştırmalar*, İstanbul 1934, 40-44.

(3) *Mubayyan*. A long extract based on a defective MS is contained in I. N. Berezin, *Turetskaya khrestomatiya*, Kazan 1867. See Köprülü, *op. cit.*, 244-6, for details of a full and accurate MS. of 937/1530-1, in his private collection.

(4) Translation of the *Risāla-i Walīdiyya*. Text, extracted from the Istanbul copy of the *Divān*, published by Köprülü in *MTM*, 4, 113-24.

(5) E. Denison Ross, *Divān-i Bābur Pāidighā*, in *JASB* 1910, contains a facsimile of a neagare Rampur MS, at that time the only one known. A fuller copy discovered some years later (Paris,



Bibl. Nat. Supp. tunc. 1230) formed the basis for A. Samoylovich, *Madjnas' al-Ġib'ra fī al-Falāḡiḡa*, Petrograd 1917. A number of additional poems were published by Köprülü in *MTM* no. 1331/1013 (nos. 2, 3, 4) from a MS. now in Istanbul University Library (no. 3742). Although the end is missing, this MS. has almost twice the content of Samoylovich's edition, including, *inter alia*, 118 *ghazals* and 104 *rubā'īs* in Turkish, and 3 *ghazals* and 18 *rubā'īs* in Persian.

(M. RYAN KÖRÖLCÜ)

**BABYLON**, Egypt [see BĀBYLŪN].

**BABYLON**, Mesopotamia [see BĀBIL].

**BĀD-I HAWĀ**, literally 'wind of the air'; in Ottoman fiscal usage a general term for irregular and occasional revenues from fines, fees, registration charges, and other casual sources of income. The term does not appear in the *Kānūns* of the 9th/15th century, but is found in a *Kānūnname* of Gelibolu of 925/1519, where mutation is made of penalties and fines, bride-tax, fees for the recapture of runaway slaves, and other *bād-i hawā* (Barkan 236). It also appears, in similar terms, in *Kānūn-nāmes* of Ankara (929/1522-Barkan 34), Hamid (935/1528-Barkan 33), Aydın (935/1528-Barkan 14), Malatya (937/1530-Barkan 110), and of the Gypsies of Rumeli (937/1530-Barkan 148). In the two last-named it is included among the *ḡāzāt* (see *ḡĀZĀT*). During the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries it is found in *Kānūns* and registers from all over the Empire. In free timārs (*Serbest timār*) the *bād-i hawā* belonged to the timār-holder. In other timārs it was either shared by the timār-holder with the *ḡāzīs* [q.v.] or, more frequently, reserved entirely to the *ḡāzīs*, in which case it might be either retained as Imperial *ḡāzāt* or granted as *ḡāzāt* to the governor (see *BAYT AL-MĀL*). The name, which seems to convey the same meaning as the English word windfall, may be connected, as Inalcik suggests, with the much disputed Byzantine *avriikon*.

**Bibliography:** *Kānūnname-i Al-ʿUḡayn*, TOKM, Suppl., Istanbul 1329, 38-9; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zorun Ekonomik Hukukları Ve Mali İdaraları*, I, *Kānūnlar*, Istanbul 1933; Halil İnalcik, *Sarı Defter-i Sancak-ı Arşın*, Ankara 1954, xxvii-xxviii, xxxii-xxxiii; (Inalcik mentions a detailed *bānūn* on *bād-i hawā* in a manuscript in the library of the Turkish Historical Society, No. 34, p. 117).

(B. LEWIS)

**BADĀ'** (Ar.), appearance, emergence; in theology: the emergence of new existences, which caused a change in an earlier divine ruling. (Druy, *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'islamisme*, 223, gives the term too wide a meaning, as 'mutabilité de Dieu'). There are three sorts of *badā'* as it refers to the knowledge, the will or the command of God (Shahrastānī, 110). The possibility of *badā'* is, in opposition to the divergent Sunnī doctrine, always treated in the chapter on the divine knowledge in the textbooks of Shīʿite theology, but without reaching a definitive formula. In its extreme form which assumes the mutability of God's will it is taught in the ultra-Shīʿite sects (*Badāʾiyya*); the moderate Imāmīyya school is careful to use words which exclude or at least minimise the possibility of change in God's knowledge (see below). The former could employ the doctrine of the Shīʿite theologian Ḥijābīn b. al-Hakam [q.v.] that God's knowledge does not exist till the object of it exists; what does not yet exist (*maʿfūm*) cannot be known and therefore His knowing follows His not-knowing as soon as things

exist. (ʿAbd al-Kābir al-Baḡhdādī, *Kūṭb al-Farḡ bayn al-Farḡ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 49), subtleties which appear in modern times in the Shīʿite Shaykhī sect (RAM, xi, 415 ff.). This idea allows for a knowledge in God corresponding to fresh phenomena and a change of mind determined by them. Muslim historians of the sects agree that the idea of *badā'* was first suggested by Muḡhīr [q.v.] and then became part of the creed of the Shīʿite Kaysānīyya (*al-Farḡ bayn al-Farḡ*, 36; cf. Ahmad b. Yaḡyā b. al-Murtadā in M. Horten, *Die ḡibels. Probleme der spech. Philosophie in Islam*, Bonn 1910, 124). The origin of this idea is also ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Nawf (Tahart, ii, 732). When Muḡhīr had to fight the decisive battle of his career against the superior force of Maḡʿab b. al-Zubayr, he (or ʿAbd Allāh b. Nawf) announced that God had revealed to him that victory was certain. When the alleged oracle was proved false by his defeat, one of the two said, referring to Sūra xii, 39, that something had intervened (*bādā lahu*) which had made God change His mind.

During the calamities which befell the Shīʿite community this idea was accepted as a convenient explanation of the failure of the hopes and prophecies of the defeated imāms. It had been God's purpose that the deliverance (*farḡ*) and victory of the lawful imamate should take place at a certain moment; He had, however, changed His plan on grounds of expediency. His promises were an encouragement; had the Shīʿa known that victory would come only after one or two thousand years, they would have lost heart. This principle also serves to explain the change in the legitimate succession of the imāms when, in place of the predestined Ismāʿīl, his brother Mūsā al-Kāḡim succeeded. He had to appear as the seventh imām. They ascribe to Ḍiʿāʿfar the words, "God has never been led by a new consideration (to change His mind) as in the case of my son Ismāʿīl" (*maʿfūm bādā fi Ismāʿīl shī*). To many Shīʿite theologians this crass application of *badā'* might have seemed discreditable; so the speech of Ḍiʿāʿfar has been made more tolerable by changing *shī* to *abi*; God's change of mind is hereby transferred from the son to the ancestor of the imām, to Ismāʿīl the son of Abraham, the expected *ḡābī*; God released Abraham from offering the sacrifice which He had originally ordered.

The most important arguments adduced by the Shīʿa in support of *badā'* are: A) passages in the Qurʾān: xiii, 39; xiv, 11; xvi (these are the strongest proofs); iv, 29b; the frequent assertion that God will change His resolve to punish sinners when they repent vii, 152/153; stories like the sparing of the people of Yūnus x, 98; the sacrifice of Ismāʿīl xxxvii, 101/102-107; Moses' talk with God prolonged from 30 to 40 nights, vii, 138/142; B) traditions telling that by the practice of certain virtues (e.g., honouring one's parents) the allotted span of life might be lengthened and the appointed destiny (*al-badāʾ al-muʿallaq*) might be changed; the prayer of ʿUmar that "God might strike his name out of the book of the damned and write it in that of the blessed" Ibn Kutayba, *Taʾwīl minḡhīḡil al-Ḥādīḡ*, Cairo 1326, 7; C) pious legends from which it is plain that misfortunes threatening individuals may be averted by acts pleasing to God; D) the doctrine of the abrogation of divine laws (*naṡḡ*) which is a tenet of Sunnī doctrine; *badā'* is creative cancellation and cancellation is legislative *badā'*.

As Shīʿite theology in general is influenced by Muʿtazilite speculation, so the Muʿtazilite argument based on *al-ʿaṣlāḡ* (the most expedient) is connected with *badā'*, that God in His dealings with men is guided by expediency and the common good. Accordingly, it considers *badā'* from the point of view that divine decrees may change with changes in the demands of the general good (*ṡahīḡ al-ʿamīr tatadabbal bi-tadabbul al-maṡlāḡ*). Moderate Shīʿites had to exercise much ingenuity in evading the theological antinomies which this conception implies in order to reconcile the assumption of the appearance of new determining moments in God's knowledge, as expressed by *badā'*, with His absolute omniscience, in the eternity of His knowledge which is identical with His being, as most Muʿtazilites believed; and to meet the objection of the orthodox to the assumption that God might be ignorant of the end of things (*ṡawḡib al-ʿumūr*) which the admission of *badā'* implies (cf. Ḍiʿārdīn on Ḍiʿī, *Manḡḡḡ*, Leipzig 1948, 346). The effort to meet the objections raised from this angle led them, in spite of their protests against the Jews and Sunnites who denied *badā'*, to devise formulae which would meet these objections and to accuse their Sunnite opponents of crediting them with a false idea of *badā'* which was invented by the Sunnites. Their contention is that the term *badā'* must not be understood in its literal meaning but metaphorically [*maṡḡḡ*]; they reject the view that *badā'* implies a change in divine knowledge or regret for what has happened. God does not will absolutely what He has announced but only so far as it is determined by the common good. In fact, the difference between the Shīʿite and Sunnite theologians is only an idle war of words for they can explain that a future *badā'* is decreed in the eternal foreknowledge of God in the language of particulars (*ʿalā waḡḡ al-ṡafḡ*). A remarkable way of reconciling *badā'* with the doctrine of the Preserved Tablet (*al-ṡaḡḡ al-maḡḡḡ*, Sūra lxxxv, 22) is the assumption of two tables of fate, one on which the unalterable decrees of fate are set out and a *ṡaḡḡ al-maḡḡ* was *ṡ-ḡibḡḡ* (cf. Sūra xiii, 39) which contains those decrees which may be altered by the emergence of new causes (Ḍiʿārdī, *Al-ḡ*, 114 footn.). A view which has also penetrated into Sunnī circles and given rise to esoteric mystic subtleties (*ḡāṡimī*) *ʿadḡḡ* was *asrār ḡāṡimī*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Maṡḡḡ al-ḡāṡy*, 5, 310). Therefore two kinds of divine knowledge must be distinguished; *ʿilm maḡḡim*, the unalterable knowledge the details of which God makes known to prophets and angels, and *ʿilm maḡḡim*, the knowledge entrusted by God to no one, which concerns matters in suspense (*ʿumūr maḡḡḡa ʿind allāḡ*) (Kulīnī 65). Thus God knew that He would not punish the people of Yūnus but did not tell him so that he might worship God wholeheartedly while in the fish. A contrary view is that "angels write on *ṡaḡḡ al-maḡḡ* was *ṡ-ḡibḡḡ*".

The Shīʿa lays great stress on the concept of *badā'*; ʿAbd al-Muṡṡalib was the first to teach it; an imām is made to say, "none can serve God better than by acknowledging *badā'*" for repentance, prayer and humbling oneself before God to get forgiveness of sins or change of destiny have no meaning if *badā'* is not real. Yet this doctrine is always the object of attack by opponents. Even Sulaymān b. Ḍiʿārdī, one of the Shīʿite Zaydī sect, reproached the Imāmites with embracing two errors, *ṡabīyya* [q.v.] and *badā'* (Shahrastānī, 119 footn.). The bitterest opponents of *badā'* were the Jews who based their rejection of the abrogation of divine law (*naṡḡ al-ḡarīʿa*) on the fact that this proposition implies the recognition of *badā'* as was

shown by the Jewish theologian Yaḡyā b. Zakariyya al-Kātib al-Tabarānī in his controversy with al-Masʿūdī (*al-Tanḡḡ*, 113, 123; for *ʿadḡḡ* read *ʿadḡḡ*). In the 10th century *badā'* seems to have been one of the problems for testing sagacity and shrewdness because of the difficulties it raised which could only be resolved by hair-splitting. This can be inferred from Ḍiʿārdī, *Tarḡḡ* (ed. Pellat, § 74, 189; however see *ibid.*, index, s.v. Rfḡ).

**Bibliography:** *Al-ʿAḡḡ al-ḡāḡḡ al-ṡabīyya*, Istanbul 1929, 39; Abū Ḍiʿārdī, *Muḡḡḡ*, mad al-Kūṡṡ, *al-ʿUḡḡ min al-Ḍiʿāḡḡ al-Kāḡḡ*, Bombay 1302 A.H., 84-6; Ḍiʿārdī, *ʿAlī*, *Muḡḡḡ al-ʿUḡḡ* ft *ʿIlm al-ʿUḡḡ*, Lucknow 1328-29 A.H., 1, 110-112 (the utterances and definitions of the most moderate Shīʿite authorities on *badā'* are quoted in full); I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shīʿites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, Newhaven 1909 = JAOS xxix, 2, 72.

(I. GOLDTIEHER-[A. S. TRITTON])

**BADAJOZ** [see BATAJAWW].

**BADAKHSHĀN**, also frequently written *BADJA-KHSHĀN* and sometimes in the literary language (with the Arabic plural inflection) *BADAKHSHĀN*, a mountainous region situated on the left bank of the upper reaches of the Amū-Daryā or more accurately of the Panḡḡ, the source of this river; the adjective derived from this noun is *badakhshānī* or *Badakhshī*. J. Marquart (*Erinḡḡḡ*, 279) gives this name the meaning of "region of Badakhsh" or *Balakhsh*, a type of ruby, which, it is said, is only found in Badakhshān, on the Kokča. It is more probable, however, that the word *Balakhsh* (whence the French Balais, the English Balas) is a dialectal form which originally denoted the region and which only later came to be used to denote the type of ruby in question. Yāḡḡḡ (i, 528) gives the form *Badakhshān* as the one most popularly used for the name of the region. Marco Polo also gives the same form. The mines from which the rubies were extracted were situated, as is already asserted by Marco Polo, outside Badakhshān proper—in Shughān on the right bank of the Amū-Daryā; during the historical period, however, the country was usually subject to the same power as Badakhshān. The rubies (Ar. *ḡāḡ*, Pers. *ḡāḡ*) of Badakhshān were famous in the Middle Ages throughout the Muslim world. In Persian poetry, the expression "*ḡāḡ-badakhshī*" or "*ḡāḡ-badakhshānī*" often denotes in a figurative sense wine or the lips of the Beloved. In Central Asia, this expression is today in universal popular use. The region which contains the mines in question is at present a dependency of the territory of Buḡḡārā, which is subject to Soviet rule. Nevertheless the mines are worked with the same primitive methods as before, and still have not acquired any importance for the European precious-stone market.

The Kokča or Kōḡḡḡ, called *ḡḡḡḡ* in the *ḡāḡḡ* al-ʿĪlām (written in 372/982-3), a tributary of the Amū-Daryā, waters Badakhshān. From the economic point of view, the valley of the Kokča and its tributaries alone have always played an important part for the region. In this area were situated the towns of Badakhshān—doubtless near the present capital of Fayḡābād—ḡḡḡḡ and Kīḡḡḡ. The last two, which are mentioned in the earliest Arab documents, have preserved their names to this day. The lapis lazuli of Badakhshān, equally famous in the Middle Ages, came from mines situated on the upper reaches of the Kokča. The trade in these gems is at present a monopoly of the Afghan government,



and they are only exported to India. In addition, Badakhshān possesses iron and copper mines.

The first mention of the name of Badakhshān occurs in the Chinese documents of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., in Hsiao Ch'ang in the form Po-t'o-t'o-sang-na, the ancient pronunciation of which, according to Schlegel, was Pat-to-t'o-sang-na, in T'ang-shu in the form Po-t'o-shan, in the Encyclopaedia *Che-fu-yen-kuei* in the form Po-t'o-shan. The Chinese described the country as forming part of T'uho-lo (Tukhārīstān). The Arabs also gave two meanings to the word Tukhārīstān; in the strict sense, Tukhārīstān was only the region situated between Balgh and Badakhshān, in the wide sense, it comprised all the regions east of Balgh and on both banks of the Āmū-Daryā. The name clearly derives from the Tukhārīans who made their appearance in the 2nd century A.D. and conquered the Graeco-Bactrian empire. In the 5th century A.D., these same territories were occupied by the Haytāl (the Hephthalites of the Byzantines); in Xavē's Anthology, compiled in the 7th/13th century, we find a story which describes how a king of the Haytāl conferred on his son the domain "of Ījir and Badakhshān" (Barthold, *Turkistan*, I, 91). In the 6th century A.D., the Turks put an end to the empire of the Haytāl; at the time of the first Arab incursions the ruler of Tukhārīstān (in the wide sense) here, according to Arabic and Chinese documents, the Turkish title of Yabghū (g.g.) in Arabic *Yabghūyā*; the princes of every country, including also the prince of Badakhshān, were his vassals. We have no precise information on the date of the conquest of Badakhshān by the Arabs and the manner in which Islam was introduced there. Al-Tabarī only mentions the name of the country once. Among the events of the year 118/736, he describes a campaign against "Kishn in the country of *Yabghūyā*" and against more distant places. According to al-Ya'qūbī (*Buldan*, 288), Ījir in Badakhshān was the city which marked the frontier of Islam on the trade route to Tibet via Walghān. In the same passage, a Turkish prince, otherwise unknown, called Khunir Beg (this is the correct form of the name), is described as "king of Shikīn and Badakhshān". Al-Isfahārī (278) describes Badakhshān as the "father" of Abū 'I-Faḥr; it is doubtless a reference to the prince Abū 'I-Faḥr al-Yaḥṭāl, whose son Abū Naṣr, according to San'ānī (*Barthold, Turkistan*, I, 69) and Yāqūt (II, 1023), fought against Kāsar-Tegh, the lieutenant of the Samānids (cf. 340/952-3, cf. Ibn al-Aḥlī, VIII, 137, 370). Apart from these facts, we know nothing of the political situation of Badakhshān during this period. In the 10th/11th century, the post-Nasirī Khuzaw brought Ismā'īlī doctrine to Badakhshān and preached it with success. His tomb on the upper reaches of the Kokcha is still shown today. His teachings have been preserved to this day in Badakhshān and the frontier regions. In the second half of the 6th/12th century, Tukhārīstān in the wide sense (with Badakhshān) came under the rule of a side branch of the house of Ghāz, who resided at Bāmīyān and which, like the other branches of this dynasty, was dispossessed at the beginning of the 7th/13th century by the Khāzīmī-ghāzī Muhammad.

Badakhshān escaped the fury of the Mongol invasion and remained up to the 9th/15th century in the hands of its national dynasty. The legend which traces the descent of its royal family from Alexander the Great was first quoted by Marco Polo,

and is subsequently frequently mentioned by the Muslim historians. Muhammad Haydar (*Ta'riḥ-i Kaḡhāḡi*, trans. E.D. Ross, 203) attributes to the daughter of the last ruler the statement that her ancestors had been kings of Badakhshān for 3,000 years. Timur himself and his successors only succeeded after hard battles in obtaining recognition of their suzerainty, and the country was only annexed to the Timurid empire by Timur's great-grandson, Abū Sa'īd. The last prince, Shāh Sulaym Muhammad Badakhshī, had previously renounced obedience to the ordanates (*Dastūr al-'Amal*) left by Alexander the Great, in order to compose, under the pseudonym of Isfahārī, a Persian history (*Ta'riḥ-i Kaḡhāḡi*, 147). He submitted without resistance to the army sent by Abū Sa'īd, and went to Harāt; his son fled to Kāshghar; Mirzā Abū Bakr, son of Abū Sa'īd, was named prince of Badakhshān. Shortly afterwards, the prince returned from Kāshghar; Abū Bakr was driven out, and Badakhshān had to be conquered afresh. With this subject, Abū Sa'īd had Shāh Sulaym Muhammad executed in 871/1467 (*Dawlatshāh*, 453). It follows from the inscription discovered in 1885 by the British, according to which this Muhammad constructed a stone bridge in 884/1479-80 (*Ta'riḥ-i Kaḡhāḡi*, 221), the date has doubtless been misread. Abū Bakr was later driven out of Badakhshān by his brother Sulaym Mahmūd, prince of Hīr. Up to the conquest of Hīr by the Ōzbegs (beginning of the 16th century), Badakhshān continued to form part of its territory. A national movement arose in Badakhshān against the Ōzbeg conquerors. At the head of this movement were Mubārak Shāh and Zubayr Rīghī. It is said that they took as their base a fortress situated on the left bank of the Kokcha, which still today bears the name of Kal'at-i Zafar ("Victory Fort") given to it by Mubārak Shāh. The Ōzbegs were driven back; the Timurid Nasir Mirzā (brother of Bābur), whose aid had been invoked by the insurgents, was proclaimed ruler of Badakhshān (end 910/February 1505), but, unable to come to terms with the leaders of the rebellion, was driven out two years later. In 913/1507-8, Sulaym Ways Mirzā, son of Sulaym Mahmūd Mirzā, went to Badakhshān with the consent of Bābur and was received at Kal'at-i Zafar. Shāh Mahmūd Shāh had been killed by his comrade Zubayr. The latter, who tried to keep power in his own hands even after the arrival of the new sovereign, was removed by assassination. Shortly afterwards, Shāh Raḡf al-Dīn, leader of the Ismā'īlīs of Kūhetān, made his appearance in Badakhshān, gathered round him the followers of this sect, and subjugated part of the country. However, he was put to death in the spring of 1506, and his head taken to Kal'at-i Zafar and presented to Mirzā Khān. The latter died in 926/1520 on the throne of Badakhshān. Bābur summoned Sulaymān the son of Mirzā Khān, who was still a minor, and replaced him in Badakhshān by his own son Humāyūn. In 935/1528-9, Humāyūn was recalled by his father and sent to India. After an unsuccessful attempt by Sa'īd Khān, ruler of Kāshghar, to seize possession of the country, Sulaymān was recognised as prince of Badakhshān both by Bābur and by Sa'īd Khān (1530). Sulaymān reigned until 983/1575; driven out in the first half of that year by his grandson Shāhruh, he retired to India and thence to Mecca, but later returned to his own country. In 1584, Badakhshān was conquered by the Ōzbegs under 'Abd Allāh Khān. Sulaymān and Shāhruh were forced to flee to India, but

returned later and made several attempts to repel the conquerors. At the beginning of the 17th century there occurred another insurrection, provoked by Badī' al-Zamān, son of Shāhruh. In 1663, the Timurids occupied both Balgh and Badakhshān, but in the autumn of 1669 the two countries were finally ceded to the Ōzbegs.

The Ōzbeg empire in the 17th century was still divided into several independent states. In Badakhshān, a dynasty was set up founded by Yār Beg, who built the town of Fayḍābād. The representatives of this dynasty also, claimed descent from Alexander the Great, a claim which they still maintained in the 19th century. Like the other Ōzbeg princes in present-day Afghanistan, these princes bore the title of Mir, an abbreviation of Amir. In 1812, Mir Muhammad Shāh was dethroned by Murād Beg, ruler of Kunduz. Mirzā Kalān, a dependant of Murād Beg, was despatched as prince of Badakhshān. After the death of his sovereign, he declared himself independent and even became for a time master of Kunduz. His son and successor, Mir Shāh Nizām al-Dīn, died in 1862. The latter's son Dīkhāndār Shāh, born 1862 onwards, continued for his throne with another prince of the same dynasty, Mahmūd Shāh. In 1869, Dīkhāndār was decisively repulsed and, after one last effort, he withdrew in 1872 to Russian territory, and Ūkurgan in Farghāna was allotted to him as his place of residence. An annual pension of 1500 roubles was assigned to him. In 1875, however, he was assassinated at Ūkurgan by unknown assailants. In 1875, the Afghan government deposed Mahmūd Shāh; he was sent to Kābul, where he remained until his death. His territory was annexed to Afghanistan, and formed part of the province of Turkistān.

From 1725 onwards, there are reports in Russia of the rubies and lapis lazuli of Badakhshān and also of its alleged gold and silver mines. In 1725, "the conquest of the rich country of Badakhshān" is mentioned as one of the aims of Russian policy in Central Asia, but Russian penetration only really began after 1876. In 1883, Post Pāmīrskii was founded on the Murghāb, and in 1892-3, after an armed encounter at Yenghī-Kul, the Russians occupied the whole of eastern Pāmīr, which became the "district of Pāmīr" of the region (oblast') of Farghāna, administered by the leader of the Russian military detachment in Pāmīr.

On 13 March 1895, an exchange of notes between the British and the Russians in London delimited the frontiers of Pāmīr between Afghanistan and the principality of Bulghār under Russian protection; Badakhshān proper was left in the hands of the rulers of Afghanistan, while the territories of western Pāmīr lying north and east of the Panj returned to Bulghār.

The revolution of 1918 abolished the principality of Bulghār, but Soviet power did not become firmly established in Pāmīr until 1925, after four years of fighting between the "White" elements and the *komsolets* (g.s.).

#### Autonomous region of Soviet Gorno-Badakhshān.

On 2 January 1925, the two parts of Pāmīr (east and west) were reunited in a "Special Region of Pāmīr", attached administratively to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Turkistān (founded on 14 October 1924). In December of the same year its name was changed to the Autonomous Region of Gorno-Badakhshān, forming part of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist

Republic of Tadjikistān (which on 5/12/1929 became the Soviet Socialist Republic of Tadjikistān). Its capital is Khirōgh (*Khorog*).

Gorno-Badakhshān comprises all the territory of Soviet Pāmīr; it is bounded in the north by the Trans-Alai chain, in the east by Chinese Sinkiang, in the south by the Afghan possessions and in the west by the Panj and by the Darwāz and Academy chains. Its area is 61,800 sq. km.—In 1931, the Autonomous Region was divided into 7 districts (*human = "zone"*):

1. Shughnān (administrative centre Khirōgh), comprising the Ghund valley.
2. Ishkshim (administrative centre Ishkshim), comprising the upper valley of the Panj and the former territories of Walghān, Ishkshim and Ghāzār, up-stream from the confluence of the Panj and the Shakh-dara.
3. Roghī-Kal'a (administrative centre Roghī-Kal'a) in the Shakh-dara basin.
4. Rōghān (administrative centre Rōghān) in the Panj valley downstream from Khirōgh.
5. Bartang, comprising the basin of the Bartang river and its tributary the Kudara, as far as Lake Samz.
6. Murghāb (administrative centre Murghāb, the former Post Pāmīrskii) comprising the whole of eastern Pāmīr.
7. Wanē (administrative centre Wanē), comprising the Wanē and Yāghulān valleys.

In 1954, the Bartang district was abolished, and its territory incorporated in the Roghān and Wanē districts.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the total population of Pāmīr (Russian and Bulghār) did not exceed 20,000; since 1925, as the result of improved communications and the introduction of new agricultural techniques, it has increased appreciably. At the 1926 census, there were 25,924 inhabitants, and at the 1939 census, 41,769. In 1956 the total population was in the region of 62,000.

Ethnically, Gorno-Badakhshān comprises two quite distinct regions: 1) the high plains of eastern Pāmīr are inhabited by a small number of Kirghiz nomads. In 1926, there were 3,666 belonging to the Kirghiz tribes, made up of the following clans: Kesh, 1,400; Teit, 800; Kipčak, 300; Naiman, 100. In 1939, their number did not exceed 5,000, or about 11% of the total population of the region. These Kirghiz are nominally Sunnis of the Hanafī rite. 2) In the valleys of western Pāmīr live Iranian peoples whom their Tadjik neighbours call "Ghalak", and the Russians "Gornye tadjiki" (an inaccurate term, which causes confusion with the Tadjik of the mountainous regions of Darwāz, Karategin and Zarafshān), or "Pāmīrskii Narod" ("Peoples of the Pāmīr"). The inhabitants themselves call themselves "tadjik", a term which also leads to confusion, and call their neighbours in Darwāz who speak Tadjik, people who speak Persian (*pārsi-gīr*). Their total number is estimated at more than 50,000 or 85% of the total population of the Autonomous Region. They are for the most part Nisārī Ismā'īlīs (g.s.), apart from a small number of the Bartang, the majority of the Yāghulān, and all the Wanē, who are Hanafī Sunnis.

The people of the Pāmīr constitute several groups: 1. The Shughnān-Kirghiz group, numerically the most important (35-40,000 people), comprising: a) the Shughnān (Hugut), numbering 20-30,000, in the districts of Shughnān (g.s.) and Roghī Kal'a (valleys



of the Ghunid, Pandj and Shāh-dara); b) the Rōshān: about 8,000 in the Rōshān district north of the Shughl (Pānj) valley); c) the Bartang: about 2,000 in the Bartang district (valley of the river Bartang); and d) the Oshgūr: 300 (in 1925). These four peoples speak closely-related dialects.

2. *The Wakhj* (Wakhj, Wakhsh) [g.c.], numbering 6-7,000, living in the district of Ishkakhūm situated in the southern part of Soviet Pāmīr, the high valleys of the Pandj and the Wakhsh-Daryā (a similar number of Wakhj live in Afghanistan).

3. *The Yāzghulami* (Yuzdom, Zgamik), whose number does not exceed 2,000, distributed among 13 villages situated in the valley of the river Yāzghulām (Wānē district).

4. *The Ishkakhūm* (Ishkakhūm), numbering 400 in Soviet Badakhshān (1,200-2,000 of their brothers, who speak the Zhabāi and Sangūi dialects, live in Afghanistan), living in one village only, Rym, on the upper Pandj (Ishkakhūm district).

Finally, in the extreme north of the Autonomous Region, in the valley of the river Wānē, live the Wānē, who are completely Tajikised and whose language has not been in use for more than a century.

The peoples of the Pāmīr belong to the eastern Iranian linguistic group; none of the languages is fixed by writing, despite an abortive attempt by the Soviet authorities in 1911 to give the Shughl a Latin alphabet and make it a literary language (in 1913 a Shughl primer for children was published in Stalinalā (A. Djakov). *Xugoni alifba Kudaken*), and in 1936 Tajikistan State Publications published the first works in Shughl: cf. *Revoliutsia i Nazionalizmi*, No. 4/1936, 92).

Tajikī is the language of civilisation (administration, courts, schools, the Press), and biluzghulām (local dialect of Tajikī) is general. Some languages, such as Ishkakhūm, are fast disappearing and only survive as 'domestic languages'; others (Bartang, Rōshān, ...) are strongly Tajikised; on the other hand Yāzghulām, which is extremely isolated, and Wakhj are putting up a more effective resistance.

In 1934, Gorno-Badakhshān possessed seven newspapers; two of these were regional organs appearing at Kāhōrgh: *Krasnyi Badakhshān* (in Russian) and *Kāhōrgh* (in Tajikī); four were local papers in Tajikī, namely the *Rōshān-i Surkh* (at Rōshān); *Jahān-i Wānē* (at Wānē) and the *Dayrāz-i Surkh* and a Kirghiz paper at Murgūb.

Tajikī influence was also exerted through teaching. In 1934, there were in the region some 200 schools, of which 11 were secondary (decennial) schools, and a teaching institute at Kāhōrgh with a total of 12,000 pupils.

Formerly extremely isolated, Gorno-Badakhshān has since 1924 been connected with the Farghāna valley by a motor road (the Osh-Murgūb-Kāhōrgh road, 740 km. in length), completed in 1920 by the Kāhōrgh-Stalinalā road which follows the Pandj valley. The economy of the region nevertheless is still of a traditional type: nomadic stock-breeding (ovine, caprine), terrace horticulture, and silk production in the western part of the region. The country is rich in deposits, some of which have been exploited for a very long time: lapis lazuli and malachite in the Shāh-dara valley, precious stones, gold and copper (near Porshin).

The capital of the region, Kāhōrgh (927 inhabitants in 1926, 2-3,000 in 1954) has a few small industrial undertakings.

*Bibliography*: Cf. especially *Ta'rikh-i Rōshān*, trans. E. D. Ross, ed. N. Elias, London 1893; and *Bihār-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, in *Gibb Memorial Series* I, London and Leiden 1905; the passages dealing with Badakhshān are indicated in the index. Of the MS. works, the *Ma'ālī al-Salāyān* of 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Samarikandī [g.c.], is especially useful. On the Ghūrid empire, cf. *The Tabakhī Nāsi* of Abo-ʿOmār ... al-Jawāhidī, Calcutta 1864; Raverty, *The Tabakhī Nāsi*, London 1881. Information concerning the regions situated on the upper reaches of the Oxus in the 19th century has been collected with the greatest care, based on the accounts of English travellers, by J. Minajew, *Sopredelnaja o granicah to vershokom Amu Daryi*, St. Petersburg 1879. Barthold was in addition able to consult the narratives of two Russian travellers of the year 1878, which are not generally available. On the state of these regions, on the eve of the Revolution, cf. especially Count A. Bobrinski, *Gortay vershokom Pāmīra*, Moscow 1908, partly based on R. Leitner, *Duridan* in 1866, (1889 and 1891), and idem, *Excursion in 1866*, (1889 and 1891). Academy of the sciences of the Tajik SSR published an excellent work by A. M. Mandel'shtam: *Materyal k istoriko-geograficheskomu opisu Pāmīra i pripiamirskoi oblasti*, Stalinalā 1937 (vol. III of the proceedings of the Inst. of hist., arch. and ethnology of the Acad. Sci. Tajik SSR), containing the descriptions of the Pāmīr by Greek, Chinese and Arab historians and geographers to the 10th century.

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(W. BARTHOLOMÆ [A. HENNINGSEN and H. CARRÉRE-D'ENCAUSSE])

**BADAL** (Turk. *Bedel*: plural *beddeli*), a term used under the Ottoman régime to denote a contribution made by a taxpayer in lieu of his performing some service for the government or furnishing it with some commodity. Certain categories of the sultan's subjects were excused payment of dues and taxes on condition of their discharging such duties. If they failed to fulfil their obligations, however, or if the government forwent its rights in this regard, instead of again becoming liable to original taxation, they were required to make special 'substitute' contributions; and it may have been in description of these that the term *bedel* first came into use.

From the end of the 16th century, when the Ottoman central treasury was frequently short of funds and generally pursued short-sighted policies, harassed *Defterdār*s were often tempted to forgo services or supplies from those bound to render or furnish them—even though these might later have to be bought at equal cost—in order to exact such cash contributions in lieu. By the middle of the 17th century quite half the cash revenues accruing to the *Miri* were obtained from *beddeli* of many different kinds (see the 'budget' of Tarikhundā Ahmed Paşa in the *Ta'rikh-i Kanûnî* of 'Abd al-Rahmān Wefk, i, 227 ff., and the *'Omamîl Ta'rihi* of Ahmed Râsîm, ii, 214 ff., notes). Of these one of the best known, from its being of wide-spread application, was the *bedel-i mûsil*, apparently exacted in lieu of the supplies and accommodation with which, according to an original arrangement, inhabitants of places through which travelling officers and officials passed were obliged to furnish them free. This became so general a contribution that it is linked in some accounts with the *'avârîd* [g.c.].

Two or three other 'old-regime' *bedels* may be mentioned as of particular interest. One is the *bedel-i dîrye* paid by the Hospodars of the Danubian principalities and the republic of Ragusa. This was a contribution assessed in lieu of any service, but of the payment of *dîrye* [g.c.] by the individual Dhimmiis [g.c.] of those territories. A second was called *bedel-i timar*. It was first exacted in 1606/1659—apparently from *timar*-holders who were no longer performing the military duties in return for which they held their fiefs, to the extent of as much as half their revenues, and even if it did not involve any permanent increase was still in force five years later. Another levy on fief-holders was first imposed somewhat later and long continued, viz. the *bedel-i dîrbeli*, which, as its name indicates, was paid by those of them whose revenues exceeded a certain sum, originally 40,000 *akças* a year, in lieu of their maintaining and appearing in the field accompanied by one or more armed and mounted retainers.

Although many ancient usages were abandoned under the new régime of Mahmūd II and his successors, recourse was still had to *bedels* in several connexions during the second half of the 19th century. Thus in 1822/1856 what was later usually referred to as the *bedel-i askerî* was instituted under the name of *'âsme-i sekerye*. By the famous *Kavâ'id* of that year (see art. 'Akan al-Magfir') the Ottoman reformers sought to abolish all legal distinctions between the sultan's Muslim and

his Dhimmi subjects, and to this end both abrogated the collection of *dîrye* from the Dhimmiis and declared them now for the first time liable for military service. In practice, however, the Porte did not wish to employ Dhimmiis as soldiers, any more than the Dhimmiis wished so to be employed themselves; and it was decided that the Dhimmiis should instead pay this *bedel*, which thus became to all intents a substitute for the *dîrye*. At first collected by government agents from individuals, its collection was later delegated, until its abolition in 1907, to the leaders of each religious community concerned.

Two other late contributions of this kind were alike called *bedel-i nahil*, 'cash payment in lieu'. The first was instituted by a decree of 1302/1886, from which date it might be paid by men conscripted by lot for military service by way of exemption either from serving altogether or else from serving more than a shortened term. The sum payable for total exemption was then fixed at 50 Ottoman gold pieces. By another decree of 1332/1914 those paying this *bedel* (vill of the same amount) were obliged to perform six months' service and were then relegated to the reserve. The practice of selling exemption was even continued under the republican régime, a decree of 1346/1927 fixing the payment for a shortened term of service at 600 liras.

The second *bedel-i nahil* was a payment accepted from persons in the provinces who were obliged by law to maintain roads in their area in lieu of this service.

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**BADAL** (see *ARDAL* and *MAHW*).

**BADAN** (see *BAIDAN*).

**BADĀHĀYA** (see *BADĀHĀ*).

**BADĀ'ĀN** (Berdā'ān or Badā'āwān), an ancient town, about a mile east of the river Indus, and headquarters of the district of the same name in India, situated in 28° 2' N. and 79° 7' E.; it is variously spelt by native historians as BĒDĀMA'ĀN, BĒDĀ'ĀN and BĀDĀWĀN. Population (1951) was 53,521.

Little authentic is known about the town before the advent of the Muslims towards the end of the 6th/7th century when Koth al-Dīn Aybak [g.c.], the sultan 'ahd of Mu'izz al-Dīn b. Shāh in India, invaded and captured it in 594/1197-8 (Fakhri Madhabir, ed. Ross, 24). Tradition, however, ascribes its fall in 421/1030 to the pseudo-historical figure, Ghāfīr Mas'ūd Sālār [g.c.], said to be a nephew of Mahmūd of Ghazna. Tāj al-Dīn Yildiz, after his defeat by Hūtimsh near Lahore in 612/1215, was sent to Badā'ān as a captive where he died in 628/1230. It served as a military station during the Khaljī period. In 690/1291 Dāhlī al-Dīn Khaljī came to Badā'ān with a large army in order to quell the revolt of Malik Kaḍḍī. Muḥammad b. Tughlakh, however, did not favour the idea of retaining it as an army base. Consequently the refractory tribes all round rose in revolt. First Tughlakh marched down to Badā'ān in 757/1355, crushed the revolt, appointed Kabūl Khān Shīrwānī as the military governor and retired. 'Alā' al-Dīn, the



last king of the Sayyid dynasty, abdicated from the throne of Delhi in 855/1451 (Ahmad Yādgar, *Ta'riḥ-i-Shāhi*, Bibl. I ad. 257, 10) and passed the rest of his life in Badā'ūn where he died in 883/1478.

Under Akbar the town was formed into a *shahr* of the *suba* of Delhi in 964/1556; and a mint was established where only copper-coins were struck. In 979/1571 a great fire broke out, consuming the entire town, in which a large number of the residents perished.

The town lost its importance during the reign of Shāh-jahān when the *shāhirs* of Badā'ūn and Samball were amalgamated under the name of Kātehr with head-quarters at Bareilly. With the decline of the Mughal power the town lapsed to the Rohillas. After the rout of the Rohillas under 'Alī Muhammad Khān, it was possessed by the Nawābs of Awadh in 1192/1778 from whom it was wrested by the British in 1216/1801. During the Mutiny of 1857 the town was seriously disturbed; the central prison was raided and the European quarter burnt. Badā'ūn is the birth-place of the historian 'Abd al-Kādir Badā'ūnī [s.v.] and the famous Indian divine Nizām al-Dīn Awliya' [s.v.]. Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Saghānī [s.v.] is also said to have been born here but this statement is debatable. The old town contains several buildings of archaeological interest: the old fort, now in ruins, Masjid Kutbī, the Dīwānī Masjid Shāmī, built by Itimād-ūl-Daulah in 620/1223 and, various other mosques and tombs, including the mausoleum of 'Alī' al-Dīn, the runaway Sayyid king of Delhi.

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(A. S. DARMER ANSARI)

**BADĀ'UNĪ**, 'Abd al-Kādir, scholar and historian at the court of Akbar the Mughal. Born at Tōdā (in the old princely state of Dīyāpur) in 947/1540, Badā'ūnī spent his early life at Baswār about 18 miles to the north east of Tōdā, being taken to Samball in 960/1553 to pursue his studies under Shāykh Ḥatīm Samball and Shāykh Abū 'I-Faḍl. In 966/1558-9, Badā'ūnī went with his father Muḥib

Shāh to Āgra and continued his education there under Shāykh Muḥibak Nāgawī, father of Abū 'I-Faḍl and Faydī. He also read Ḥanafī jurisprudence under Kāfī Abū 'I-Ma'ālī. After the death of his father in 969/1562, Badā'ūnī moved to Badā'ūn and thence, in 971/1565-6 to Pāṭiyā where he entered the service of Husayn Khān as the latter's *adeb*. In 971 remained with Husayn Khān for 9 years, moving with him to Lucknow and Glat u Gōla. In 981/1574 they quarrelled and parted. During the intervening years Badā'ūnī continued his religious education by visiting such saints as Shāykh Nizām al-Dīn of Amethī, Shāykh Aban of Aumraha, Shāykh Allāh Badā'ūlī of Garmucsar and Shāykh Muḥammad Iḥṣān of Sūkandara.

In 981/1574 Badā'ūnī was presented to Akbar through the good offices of Djalāl al-Dīn Kūrchī a *manushīr* of 500 and Ḥakīm 'Ayn al-Mulk a court physician. Impressed by Badā'ūnī's ability as a controversialist, in 982/1574-5 Akbar appointed him an imām and ordered him to bring horses to the brand as a *manushīr* of 20. Badā'ūnī's failure to match Abū 'I-Faḍl's efforts in this sphere, the latter had come to court about the same time as Badā'ūnī embittered him and led him to accept a *madad-i mu'āḥ* of 1,000 *higāḥ*s (originally at Baswār but transferred in 997/1588-9 to Badā'ūn). Badā'ūnī's failure after this error of judgment to gain the preferment he considered he deserved, undoubtedly influenced his view of events at Akbar's court and derived from the religious activities in which Abū 'I-Faḍl was prominent. For absconding himself from attendance on Akbar, Badā'ūnī nearly forfeited his grant, being saved largely by the good offices of Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, author of the *Tahabāt-i Akbari*, whom he had met at Āgra in 967/1559. Akbar continued however to employ Badā'ūnī on literary work from 982/1574 onwards. His date of death is variously given, (see Storey, I, 437) but as Storey points out (ib. 1390)/1624/1625 must be nearest to the truth, if the reference to the death of "Zuhūrī" and "Malik" Kumūlī is not a later insertion in the notice of "Zuhūrī" in the *Muntakhab al-Ta'wārīkh*, ib. 269.

Badā'ūnī's literary work comprised: (1) *Kutb al-Hadīth*, now lost, a collection of 40 traditions on the merits of wearing holy war, presented to Akbar in 986/1574; (2) *Nāma-yi Khayr-at-tā*, a translation of the *Song's hāsan battāl*, a collection of 32 tales about Rājā Bīkramādīti of Māwa, ordered by Akbar in 982/1574; (3) *Ruzm-nāma*, a translation of the *Mahabharata*, undertaken at Akbar's request in 990/1582; (4) A translation of the *Rāmāyana* begun at Akbar's command in 992/1584 and submitted to him in 997/1589; (5) *Part of Ta'riḥ-i Aḥlī*, a general history of Islam down to the thousandth year, commissioned by Akbar in 993/1585 the first two volumes of which were revised by Badā'ūnī in 1000/1591-2; (6) *Nadīāt al-Raḥīd*, a work on Sūfism, ethics and the Mahdawi movement of Badā'ūnī's day; (7) A rewriting and abridgement of a translation by Muḥib Shāh Muḥammad Shāhīdī of a history of Kashmir probably the *Kāḡa-karṣan*; (8) A part of a translation into Persian of Yāqūt's *Ma'āḥ al-Buldān*; (9) A translation in epitome of Raḥīd al-Bīdān's *Qimāt al-Ta'wārīkh*, requested by Akbar in 1000/1591-2; (10) The completion of *Diwān al-Aḥmad*, a translation into Persian of a Sanskrit tale, apparently the *Kāḡaḥarī-sūtra*, made earlier for Sultān Zayn al-Aḥmad of Kaḡmīr. Akbar ordered this task in 1003/1595; (11) *Muntakhab al-Ta'wārīkh*, a general history of the Muslims in Hindūstān from

Subāktiga to 1004/1593-6, commenced in 999/1590, followed by biographies of shāykh's, scholars, physicians and poets. Until 1002/1593, the *Muntakhab al-Ta'wārīkh* is based largely on Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad's *Tahabāt-i Akbari*, with characteristic asides by Badā'ūnī. The work is noted for its hostile comments on Akbar's religious activities. Its existence was apparently kept secret until at least the tenth year of Djalālud-dīn's reign, (Muḥib 'Abd al-Bāḡī Naḥāwādī, author of *Ma'āḥir-i Rahīmī*, did not know of it when he completed his work in 1025/1616). According to the *Mīr'at al-Ālam*, by Shāykh Muḥammad Bakā Sabāḥanpūrī, composed in 1087/1667, Badā'ūnī's children asserted to Djalālud-dīn that they did not know of the existence of the work (*British Museum Add. MS. 7557*, folio 452 a-b). Badā'ūnī himself hints at an intention to conceal the work (*M. al-T.*, III, 398).

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**BADAWI** [see AHMAD AL-BADAWI and BADW]

**AL-BADAWIYYA** [see AHMAD AL-BADAWI]  
**BADAWLAT**, a title of the chief Ya'qūb-Beg of Kaḡhghar [s.v.].

**BADGHIS** or **BADIGHIS**, a district in the north-western part of modern Afghanistan, in the province of Harāt; the name is explained as being derived from the Persian *bādghī* "a place where the wind rises" on account of the strong winds prevailing there. By the geographers of the 4th/10th century only the district to the north-west of Harāt, between this town and Sarakhs, is called Badghīs. The author of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, probably writing from personal knowledge, describes it as a prosperous and pleasant place of three hundred villages. Later the name was extended to the whole country between the Harīrid and the Murghāb; at any rate it is used in this sense as early as the 4th/13th century by Yāqūt. There have never been any cities in Badghīs and its small towns and fortresses have never been of great importance. At the time of the Arab conquests Badghīs became known as *Harāt*. In the present day it is said that Nizak Tarḡhīn the Haytal (q.v.) retreated there after the loss of Harāt. Yāqūt writes of it as *dār mamlakat al-Hayṭīd*, but this can only refer to the very end of the period of Hephthalite power. Even under the Tāhirids and the Sāmānids Badghīs remained a hosted of sedition.

At the present day Kaḡ'āi Naw is regarded as the chief town. The rivers, including the tributaries of the Murghāb, still contain, as a thousand years ago, only small streams of brackish water; for the irrigation of the cultivated fields the people are dependent on wells and rainfall. The soil is noted for its fertility and the pistachio woods mentioned by the Arabs have survived to a certain extent to the present day. Besides these the excellent pastures of the country are famous; Ferrier (1845-6) describes the pastures of Kaḡ'āi Naw as the best in all Asia. The wars between the Persians and the Mongols of Central Asia in 678/1270 arose out of a dispute for the possession of the pasture grounds of Badghīs. The modern population consists mainly of Tāḡīkīs, Djalālīs and Hazāras, tribes of nomadic origin from the surrounding country who bring their flocks for seasonal grazing.

**Bibliography:** W. Barthold, *Istoriya-geograficheskii obzor Iran*, St. Petersburg 1903, 33 ff.;

idem, *Turkistan*, 198, 349; Le Strange, 412 (with list of authorities); J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, Berlin 1901, index; idem, *Wehrort und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 39 ff., for the Hephthalite connexion; *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 104.

(W. BARTHOLOMEW, F. R. ALLEN)

**BADĪ** is an Arabic adjectival noun which denotes the idea of originality. In the active sense it means Creator or Originator, hence its use as an Attribute of God. In the passive sense it means "discovered" or "invented", and from this, it became a name for the innovations of the 'Abbasid poets in literary figures, and later for trope in general; *'ilm al-badī* was that branch of rhetorical science which dealt with the beautification of literary style. Some 'Abbasid poets of the 2nd/8th century, like Baḡhārī, Muḥsin b. al-Walīd, and al-'Attābī, tended to depart in certain respects from the established ways of the classics and especially in the use of poetical artifices, such as metaphors and similes, on a scale unprecedented in pre-Islamic poetry. Hence, there arose among some 'Abbasid circles of critics, the idea that this art was a *badī*, an innovation or a new creation. The word began to be used in that wide undefined sense in the critical writings of the 3rd/9th century. It occurs in more than one place in the writings of al-Djāhiz; in one of them the author quotes a line of poetry containing a figurative expression and says: "and this is what *revels* call *badī*" (*al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn*, Cairo 1948, I, 57, 16, 53). The first author to attempt a treatment of *badī* as a literary art and to define what he took to be its principal categories, was the caliph-poet Ibn al-Mu'tazz (247-296/861-908). In a book entitled *Kutub al-Badī*, Ibn al-Mu'tazz tried to show—by quoting copious examples from the Kur'ān, the Traditions, speeches of Bedouins, and early classical poetry, that what the moderns called *badī* was not a creation of Baḡhārī and his contemporaries. These merely extended the already known art of literary figures in their poetry until it became widely used, and was given the name *badī*. Then came the poet Abī Tamām (d. 231/850) who was very fond of this art and used it extravagantly with varying results. The author treats of *badī* in five principal categories: metaphor, alliteration, antithesis, conformity of ends with beginnings, and order of discourse. Having explained them and quoted illustrative examples of good and bad in each, Ibn al-Mu'tazz points out that *badī* as a term for literary artifices, is known to poets and critics, but that philologists and scholars of ancient poetry do not use the term. He then asserts that nobody before him had treated the art of *badī*, nor anticipated him in his work, which he completed in the year 247/861. He was, however, aware that the artifices of *badī* could be reduced to less, or extended to more than the above five categories. For this reason, and to increase the instructive value of his book, he went on to add twelve more artifices of the embellishment of speech. *Kutub al-Badī* (275-337/888-968), a contemporary of Ibn al-Mu'tazz and the author of probably the first Arabic book bearing the title of *Nahḍ al-Shi'r*, i.e. "The Criticism of Poetry", dealt with twenty qualities of poetical art, including some of Ibn al-Mu'tazz's categories, without mentioning the technical term *badī*. But a century later another critical writer, Abū Ḥillāl al-'Asḡarī (d. 395/1004) carried the development of *badī* a step further by augmenting the number of its categories to thirty-six, making use of the seventeen of Ibn al-Mu'tazz. In his book *K. al-Sin'atayn*, i.e. "The Two Arts (of Prose and Poetry)", perhaps the first systematic



book on the whole field of Arabic rhetoric, al-'Askari devoted a long section to the explanation of *badī* and the enumeration of its kinds and categories. Al-Rumānī (296-386/908-990), a Ma'tazilī rhetorician, considers *balāgha* (g.e.) or eloquence as one of seven directions in which *kur'ānī* *ḥikma* can be seen, and without mentioning *badī*, he includes some of the figures of speech as categories of *balāgha*. But the Sunnite al-Bakillī (d. 403/1013) in his *Fuḥḥ al-Kur'ān*, devotes a long chapter to the *badī* of speech, maintaining that *badī*<sup>2</sup> could help to appreciate, but could not sufficiently explain *ḥikma*. Ibn Rashīd, the author of al-'Umda, "On the Excellencies and Requirements of Poetry", illustrates in his book more than sixty categories under the heading 'The Invented and the *badī*'. Ibn Khaldūn points out that Ibn Rashīd's 'Umda had a great influence in the Muslim West, in North Africa and Spain, where the use of *badī*<sup>2</sup> was highly appreciated and practised. The turning point however in the history of Arabic rhetoric in general, and of *badī*<sup>2</sup> in particular, as a separate science of stylistics came at the hands of al-Sakkāḥī (555-626/1160-1228), who in his book *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm* built a logical system for the classification of the instrumental sciences of literature, making use in the section on rhetoric of the solid philosophical foundations laid down earlier by 'Abd al-Kāfir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078). From al-Sakkāḥī's time down to the present, books on Arabic rhetoric have revolved round the compact text of his book, its abbreviations and the long and detailed commentaries on those texts. Notable among the epitomisers and the commentators of the *Miftāḥ* were al-Khaṭīb al-Kawfī (666-739/1267-1338) and al-Taftāzī (722-793/1322-1390). This period was characterised in literature by ingenuity in using ornaments of style and by love for the art of *badī*<sup>2</sup>. Some poets of the period delighted in using all kinds of figures of speech in one and the same poem. Such poems, called *badīyya*, were composed by Sa'ī al-Dīn al-Hillī and others. In that period, the sciences of rhetoric were clearly and rigidly delineated. Thus, aspects of literary structure became the domain of the science of *ma'nī* or "Concepts", while figures such as metaphor and simile, having to do with ways of literary expression, were relegated to the science of *bayān* or "Exposition". The artifices of the ornamentation and embellishment of speech remained the instruments and categories of *badī*<sup>2</sup>.

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*bayān*; Ibn Rashīd al-Kaṭṭānī, *Al-'Umda*, Cairo 1351/1934. (M. KHALAFALLAH)  
**AL-BADI<sup>2</sup> AL-ASTURLABI**, HIRAT ALLAH B. AL-HUSAYN B. AHMAD (also YUSUF), ABU 'L-KASIM, illustrious Arab scholar, physician, philosopher, astronomer and poet, who distinguished himself particularly for his knowledge and construction of the astrolabe and other astronomical instruments. The date of his birth is not known. In 520/1126-17, we find him at Isfahan in intimate contact with the Christian physician Amin al-Dawla Ibn al-Timnah. Later he lived in Baghdad, where the exercise of his art, so it is said, brought him a considerable fortune under the Caliph al-Mustashhid. According to Abu 'l-Fidā', astronomical observations were made under his direction in 521/1129 in the palace of the Saljuqid sultans at Baghdad. It is probable that the tables of Mahmud composed by him and dedicated to the Sultan Abu 'l-Kasim Mahmud b. Muhammad (1118-31) are the result of these observations. He died at Baghdad in 534/1139-40 and it is said (Abu 'l-Faraj) is the sole source of this tradition) that he was buried in a state of coma. As regards his poetical works, Ibn al-Kifri maintains that they were "beautiful and excellent". Ibn Khaldūn that they reached the limits of lechery and obscenity. Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Abi Usaybi'a give examples of his best pieces. In addition to a *Diwan* of his own poems, al-Badi<sup>2</sup> al-Asturlabi published a selection of the poems of Ibn Haddadji in one volume, divided into 141 chapters and entitled *Durrat al-Tajid min al-Shi'r*. Ibn Haddadji (Brockelmann, S. I, 130). The praise which the Arab biographers liberally bestow on al-Badi<sup>2</sup> al-Asturlabi, should not lead us to place his merits too high. The historians and biographers of the 7th/13th century possessed too little mathematical and astronomical knowledge to enable them properly to appreciate the really eminent services which the scholars of the 3rd-4th/9th-11th centuries rendered these sciences. They thus frequently fell into the error of extolling to excess the work of scholars closer to them in time, to the detriment of the works which mark the zenith of Arab science. Nowhere are the praises of al-Battānī, Abu 'l-Walid<sup>2</sup> and al-Birūnī sung so eloquently as those of al-Badi<sup>2</sup> al-Asturlabi, though the former are scholars of much greater distinction than the latter.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Kifri, 339; Ibn Khaldūn, Cairo 1320, ii, 186 (trans. de Slane, iii, 580); Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 280; Abu 'l-Faraj (ed. Salhānī), 366; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Asnād* (ed. Reiske and Adler), iii, 441-483; Hammer, *Literaturgesch.*, d. Araber, vi, 431; H. Suter, *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der mathem. Wissensch.*, x, 127; Yāqūt, *Irdibid*, vii, 241-242; Sartori, *Introduction to the History of Science*, ii, 204; F. Rosenthal, *Al-Asturlabi and al-Samawī on Scientific Progress*, in *Oriens* 1950, 555-564. (H. Suter)

**BADI<sup>2</sup> AL-DĪN**, surnamed Kutb al-Madār (axis of the Universe) and popularly known as Shāh Madār, is the Methuseleh of Indian hagiological literature and one of the most celebrated saints of India. He is said to have been born at Aleppo in 250/864, and to have been descended from Abū Hurayra (g.e.), one of the companions of the Prophet. The statement in the *Mir'at al-Madār* that he was a Jew and embraced Islam at al-Madina is not supported by other authorities. Like his descent, his date of birth is also controversial, the *Tadhkirat al-Muttahin* gives it as 2 Shawwāl 442/6 Febr. 1057; the *Mir'at al-Madār* has 715/1315, which is most probable. According to the *Kutub al-Arḥa* and *Mir'at*

*Djashnabih* his father Sayyid 'Alī was a descendant of Muhammad al-Bakr (g.e.).

Among his numerous spiritual mentors was Tayfur al-Dīn, a Syrian mystic. He received a good education but was specially well-versed in various occult sciences such as alchemy and natural magic. A widely-travelled person, Shāh Madār performed the pilgrimage to Mecca several times, once in the company of Ashraf Djahingir al-Simnī (g.e.). During his travels he visited al-Madina, Baghdad, Najaf and Kārimayn before sailing for India where he met with a shipwreck. In India he travelled from place to place and ultimately settled at Makanpur, a village 40 miles from Cawnpore, where he died on 1 Rabi' al-Thani, 842/ October, 1440.

In spite of the bitter controversy that *badī* Shāh al-Dīn Dawlatābādī (g.e.) carried on with him, Shāh Madār was held in great esteem by Ibrahim Shāh Sharfī (804/1401-848/1444), the sultan of Djaunpur, patron of the *badī*.

He was a person of great beauty and kept his face veiled for fear that people, dazzled by his appearance, would prostrate themselves before him. To this day his imposing mausoleum built by Ibrahim Sharfī, attracts a very large number of people who, from all parts of India, march to Makanpur, on the occasion of his 'urs, carrying tall bamboos draped with colourful bunting and rags called "Shāh Madār ki Carīyan". Strange and supernatural feats, are ascribed both to the saint and his followers, known as Madāris, who are generally seen performing in the streets and lanes of every city and village in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. A Madārī now, in common parlance, has come to mean a street-performer.

**Bibliography:** 'Abd al-Hakīm Muhaddith Dihlawī, *Akḥbar al-Akḥbar*, Delhi 1332/1914, 164; Muhammad Ghawthī, *Gulshar* 2874, no. 60; Darā Shukhī, *Safinat al-Ashraf*, 1874; Gulshin Surwar Lahori, *Khasinat al-Ashraf*, Lucknow 1913, ii, 310-2; Abu 'l-Fadl, *A'in al-Akbari* (trans. Jarrett), iii, 370; Amir Hasan Madārī Faṣṣatī, *Tadhkirat al-Muttahin*, Cawnpore 1315/1898, ii, 1322/1905; *Dabistan-i Madhāb*, (Eng. trans.) New York 1937, 307; Zahir Ahmad Zahiri, *Siyar al-Madār* (in Urdu), I, Lucknow 1920, ii, 144; 1929, No. 31; al-Rahīmī 'Abdī, *Mir'at al-Madār* (in Persian, still in MS) Urdu trans. by 'Abd al-Rashid Zahiri al-Islām, *Tawāshih al-Anwar bi-Matālib al-Kutub al-Madār*, Farrukhabad 1910/1328; Muḥammad Naḍīf Nāḍirī, *Kutub al-Arḥa*, Agra 1300-1885; 'Abd al-Hayy Nadwi, *Nushat al-Khawātir*, Haydarabad (Dn), 1371/1951, ii, 36-42; Gaudin de Tassy, *Mémoires sur . . . la religion Marocaine dans l'Inde*, Paris 1869, 32-9; Ghawth Muḥammad Khān, *Sayr al-Mukhtasham*, Dillawar 1268/1852, 288-92; Shu'ayb Firdawsī, *Mandabih al-Ashraf*, Calcutta 1895; Aṭīsh Mirzā, *Takhat al-Arḥa*, Delhi 1322/1905, vi, 28; Diyā' al-Dīn, *Mir'at al-Anwar*, Djaunpur 1335/1916, 137; Cawnpore District Gazetteer, Allahabad 1909, 109-110; H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province*, 4 (Lahore 1911), Index, iii (Lahore 1926), s.v., "Madārī"; Muḥammad Sadiq Kashgharī Hamdānī, *Kalimat-i Sāḍihin* (Bankipur MS.), no. 23; 'Abd al-Bāsit Kānawālī, *Dīr al-Arḥa* fi *Khawāshih Shāh Badī* al-Dīn Madār, al-Shahwar MS, no. 1925 (g.).

**BADI<sup>2</sup> AL ZAMĀN** (see AL-HAMADĀNĪ).

**BADIHA** [see BITHIYĀC].

**BADIL** [see BĀDĀL].

**BADINĀN** [see BARDINĀN].

**BĀDIS**, a town (now in ruins) and anchorage on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco. It is 68½ m. (170 km.) south-east of Tetuan, between the territory of the Ghunāra (g.e.) and the Rif (g.e.) properly so-called. It is situated on the territory of the Banū Yafūfāt (judg.) near the mouth of a torrent named Talān-Bādīs (omg.) Tālenbādīs. An attempt has been made to identify it with the *Paridina* of the Itinerary of Antoninus; but this ancient place-name could equally well refer to the more sheltered cove of Yalligh (= Iris on our maps) which is only 7 km. to the south-west.

The town of Bādīs and its port formed part of the kingdom of Nukūr, and later of the *Idrid* principality of the Banū 'Umayr, The Almoravids, the Almohads and the Marinids used it as a naval base and devoted their energies to fortifying it.

The author of the *Makad* (end of the 7th/13th century) and especially Leo Africanus (beginning of the 16th/16th century), describe Bādīs as a township of two households. Under the Marīnī Abū Sa'īd (700-3/1310-31), it paid 1000 *dinārs* in taxes, as did Melou and Larache. The port possessed an arsenal where boats and other kinds of galleys were built of cedar-wood from the neighbouring mountains; it was frequented by Venetian merchantmen, and was the terminus of the shortest routes from Fez to the Mediterranean, via the mountain of the Banū Khālid. The population devoted themselves to trade, fishing (sardines) and also to piracy on the coasts of Spain. The governor of the Rif had his residence there; his authority extended over the coastal towns from Yalligh to Wādī Nukūr, and also over certain tribes of the interior: Bukhūya, Banū Manṣūr, Banū Khālid, Banū Yadir.

Less than 100 metres out to sea there were two small rocky islands, the larger of which was called Hadjar Bādīs, the Peñon de Velez of the Spanish. In 1505 the latter, in order to put an end to the activities of the pirates, occupied it and fortified it. In 1520, however, they lost it as the result of treachery. In 1546, the Wattīd sultan Abū Hassān, deposed by his brother, received as an appanage the Rif, with his seat at Bādīs, whence he acquired his surname of al-Bādīlī (g.e.). Abū 'Alī In 1554, he ceded the town and the Peñon to his Turkish allies from Algiers; the latter made it a base for corsairs operating in the region of the Straits of Gibraltar. The Sa'īd sultan 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb bi'llāh was alarmed by this activity, and feared that the Turks might use Bādīs as a base from which to undertake the conquest of Morocco. In 1564, he forced the Moroccans to evacuate the town and the Peñon, which he handed over to the Spanish. The Moroccan population retired into the interior, to the *hajra* of Snāda.

The old town of Bādīs is now in ruins. After the Rif war (1927), the Spanish attempted, without much success, to establish nearby a small settlement called *Villa Jordana*. The Peñon still belongs to Spain and constitutes a sovereign territory: Peñon de Velez de la Gomer. The Spanish corruption of the name of the town, Velez, perhaps has its origin in the existence, opposite, on the European coast, of a town called Velez (de) Malaga (Ar. Bāliḡ).

Bādīs in Morocco must not be confused with Bādīs in Algeria, no longer extant, which lay to the south of Aweria (g.).

**Bibliography:** Bādīdī, *Al-Mabūd*, 245; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Scheler, ii, 272, French trans. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 274-6 and index; *R.Afr.*, 1872, 119-24; A. Mouléras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, i, 87-9; A. J. Omeva, *Guia*



*jurística de Marruecos*, Madrid 1947, 306; for the detailed history of the town and the Pefon in the 16th century, consult the *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 2nd series, (Sa'dī dynasty) archives of Spain, France and Portugal.

(G. S. COLLIS)

**BĀDIS B. HABŪS** [see ZIBIDIS OF SPAIN].  
**BĀDIS B. AL-MAṢṢĪR** b. HULWĪN b. ZIĀF, alias **ABU MANAD** BĀDIS NAṢIR AL-DĀWLA, third Zīdī of Ifrīqiya, enthroned on 16 Rabi' I 488/8 April 996. Entrusting eastern Ifrīqiya to a devoted Arab vizier, anir, he set about containing a powerful Zanātan offensive which, from 386/996 onwards, pushed forward from Tūret to Tripoli. In 390/999, he faced the anir of the Maghrawa, Zīf b. 'Atīya, who had as allies Fulḥ b. Sa'īd, chief of the Zanāta, and his own great-uncles. He finally defeated them (397/1000), his triumph being mainly due to his great-uncle Hammād b. Bulukhūn. From 395/1001 onwards, the latter repelled a new Zanātan offensive. From 399 to 406/999-1016, the Zīdī also fought in Tripolitania against Fātimid intervention and against Yāns, Fulḥ b. Sa'īd and Warrā b. Sa'īd. While the Zanātan menace gradually abated in the south-east, in the west he had to suppress the revolt of Hammād, founder of Ka'f in 398/1007-8. In the course of this campaign, which commenced at the end of 405/May 1013, after having won a decisive victory at Chelīf (1 June/1014 406/7 October 1013), but failed to take Ka'f, he had been besieged for six months, Bādis died on 30 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 406/10 May 1016. The creation of the Hammādīd state had begun, and the anti-Shī'ite disturbances at Tunis (406/105-6) portended the break with the Fātimids which occurred under his son and successor al-Mu'izz b. Bādis.

**Bibliography:** Ibn 'Udhārī, i, 239, 247-66 (French trans. Fagnan, i, index); al-Nawarī, ed. G. Remiro, ii, 122-33, 138; Ibn al-Aghir, Cairo 1353, vii, 282, 198-200, 218, 276-77 (French trans. Fagnan, index); Ibn Khaldūn, 'Ubar, vi, 17, 40-1, 145, 157-9, 171-2, 179, vii, 33, 41 (*Histoire des Berbères*, iv, index); Ibn Khaldūn, Cairo 1310, i, 86-7; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Tārīkh*, ii, 131-2; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shuharāf*, iii, 179; *Muḥṣin al-Barbar*, 33-42; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Mu'nis*, 76, 78-9; Ibn al-Khātib, *Amāl*, in *Croisades* M. Amari, ii, 454, 460, 465; Ibn Nāḍī, *Ma'ālim*, iii, 175-6; H. R. Lhote, *Sur le retour des Zīrides à l'obédience fātimide*, in *AEO*, Algiers 1953, 27, idem, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides* (in preparation).

(H. R. LHOÏE)

**AL-BĀDISI**, ethnic adjective referring to the town of Bādis (q.v.), and borne by three notable Moroccan personalities:

1. Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Zuhaylī al-Bādisī, saint and saviour of the 8th/14th century, who is buried outside the town. The author of the *Makāsīd* (cf. infra, 2) devoted a notice to him. Cf. trans. 146 and 218. Ibn Khaldūn regarded him as the last of the great Moroccan saints (cf. *Prolegomena*, trans. ii, 199; *Histoire des Berbères*, i, 430). Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, ii, 273; ed. Epaulard, Paris 1956, 274) speaks of his shrine which is still venerated: Sidi Bū Ya'qūb.

2. 'Abd al-Hakk al-Bādisī, still living in 724/1322. He is the author of a collection of the lives of the saints of the Rif entitled *al-Maḥabib al-Sharīf fi Qisṣ al-Shūba' al-Rif*, which has come down to us in two editions which differ appreciably from the point of view of vocabulary; annotated trans. by G. S. Collis in *Archives marocaines*, vol. 26 (1960).

3. 'Alī, son of Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Wattāsī,

His normal kunya was Abū 'l-Ḥasan, but he is known by the hypocoristic name of Abū Ḥassān. His father, while still young, was entrusted with the government of the Rif, with his residence at Bādis, and, when he was deposed, he received the same province as an appanage. He lived there from 1326 to 1349; hence his surname al-Bādisī, and title 'king of Velez' given to him by European chroniclers.

**Bibliography:** See the article WATTĀSIS.

(G. S. COLLIS)

**BĀDIYA** [see Supplement].

**BĀDJ**, the Arabicised form given to the Persian *bāgh* in the Islamic period (al-Sayyid Addī Shīr, *Kitāb al-Adfā' al-Fārisiyya al-Mu'arraba*, Beirut 1908). From the 10th to the 14th century *bādj* is more common; thus it is the usual form in the *Shāh-nāma* (though *bagh* occurs too), and the phrase *bagh-i shah* is not infrequent, while the expression *bādj-i rām* is used there with reference to the tribute and indemnity paid to the victorious Persians by the rulers of the Eastern Roman empire (Fritz Wolff, *Glossar zu Pindus Schahname*, Berlin 1935). The 'ghazawid poet Bahārūn uses *bagh*, whereas the 15th-century poet Rūbā Fighānī uses *bādj* (see Annān Ahmad Rāfi, *Haft Itilāf*, *Dihl*, India, Calcutta 1939, i, 207), and it was in the latter term that the latter entered Turkish. After the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans the word was borrowed by the Bulgars and Serbs (Karl Lokotsch, *Etymolog. Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1927), and it is used in Armenian with the same form and meaning (Horn, *Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, 34).

Asadi, in his dictionary (*Lughat-i Farsi*, ed. P. Horn, Berlin 1894), defines the word simply as *gharāj*. 'Abd al-Kādir Baghdādī (*Abjad al-Digāh*, *Lexicon Sabānīnam*, ed. Salemann, St. Petersburg 1895) explains it as meaning 'customs-dues, tithe, and tax'; the words *bāghān*, *bāghānā* and *bāghār* he explains as 'desiring toll, customs-officer', and *bāghānā* as 'place where customs-dues are levied' (all four words occur in the *Shāh-nāma*). In the Turkish translation of the *Shāh-nāma*, in addition to the meanings 'tithes, tax, customs-dues', it is stated that the word was also applied to money and gifts received by auzars from vassal rulers. In Turkish texts generally, as in Persian, the meaning is 'tax'. The word became current as a fiscal technical term among the Turks, because a number of Turkish states were founded in the Persian area, beginning with the Ghaznavids and Seljuks, and because the Saljuq administration preserved Sāmānid and Ghaznavid traditions. It will also be recalled that Persian was the official language of Asia Minor under both Saljuks and Ilkhanids. A study of the available documents shows that as well as being used for 'tax' in general, the word was applied to various forms of tax. The poet Nāṣir-i Khusrav, describing Aleppo in his *Safat al-Shar* (ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, 10), says that it was a *bādjgāh* (i.e., customs-post) between the cities of Syria, Rām, Diyārḥakr, Egypt, and 'Irāk. Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī, in a *risāla* containing his views on politics and finance, presented to the Ilkhanid Abūkhā (Shāhrukh Yaltkaya, *Ilkhanidleri idari idarete bādjgāhları Nāṣiruddin Tūsīnin fikirleri*, in *Türk İktisadi ve Siyasal Tarih mecm.*, ii, 33; M. Münevver and Y. Münir, *Yeni Türk Tarih-i Milliye*, in *RSOS* 5, 3, 191-2, 765), uses it in the general sense; Yaltkaya translates it as 'customs-dues' in this somewhat ambiguous passage, but as customs-dues had been levied from ancient times it is certain that there would be nothing shameful in a ruler's

exacting them. As the context indicates, and as Münevver rightly shows, the *bādj* here referred to must be the *rāddārī* ('traveller's protection tax') levied in the Ilkhanid dominions in return for maintaining peace and security on caravan-routes and lakes. The historian of the Ilkhanid period, Rashīd al-Dīn (*Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzīnī*, ed. Karl Jahn, GMS, London 1940, 280-81), when describing measures taken to safeguard the great caravan routes in Ghāzān's time, speaks of *bādj* taken from travellers at certain specified places, according to a fixed scale. He also uses the word of a tax of one-third, when discussing Ghāzān's agricultural reforms. A century later, the historian Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī uses *bādj* together with *shah*, *gharāj*, and *ghirya*, i.e., loosely in the sense of 'tax, impost' (*Shāh-nāma*, *Dihl*, India, Calcutta 1888, ii, 378). At the end of that century the historian Khwāndamīr (*Dastūr al-Wazārī*, ed. Sa'īd Nāfī, Tehran 1317/1938-9, 463) mentions *bādj* along with the *tamgha* taken from merchants, *shah*, and *gharāj*, but apparently as a general term only, for he gives no information about its nature. The early Safawid historian Hasan Rūmhū states that some neighbouring tribes had long paid *bādj* to the rulers of Harāt (Akbar al-Tawārīkh, ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, i, 337).

To establish the sense of such a word, legislative texts are clearly of more use than historical texts, but the oldest relevant ones, those of the Ak Koyūnlū, have not come down to us in their original forms. Thanks however to the tenacity of tradition, the common in medieval Turkish and Muslim bureaucratic texts, we find Ak Koyūnlū laws surviving, at most slightly altered, in Ottoman *kānūns* (as is expressly stated in the Ottoman fiscal *kānūns* for the eastern Anatolian wilāyets, formerly subject to the Ak Koyūnlū), and in them the word *bādj* occurs frequently (cf. W. Hinz, *Die Steuerwesen Anatoliens* in 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, in *ZDMG*, 1930, 177-201). These laws were first discussed by I. H. Uzunçarsılı (*Osmanlı devleti teşkilatına medallı*, İstanbul 1941, 213, 276, 302), who sets out to explain such expressions as *bādj-i tamgha* and *bādj-i shah*. He states, on the basis of the *Farhang-i Shāhī* and the *Shāh-nāma*, that the *tamgha* was branded on animals and that *bādj* was a tax peculiar to land revenues, and notes that *bādj-i buzurg* was the name of two taxes, one levied on subject rulers and princes, the other on commercial goods in transit and articles brought from village to city. He explains *bādjār* as 'a guardian of roads, taking money from caravans in return for maintaining the security of the roads, in the Ilkhanid period'. But in this he is incorrect: *bādjār* was a tax collector, in the Ilkhanid and Ilkhanid periods, who collected tolls at certain places, according to a tariff fixed by the central government (this tariff is mentioned in Italian sources for oriental trade in the Ilkhanid period: see G. I. Bratiann, *Recherches sur le commerce grec dans la Mer Noire au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1929, 184, 186). The 'guardian of roads' was quite distinct; he was the *infādar* (Persian *rāddār*), paid by the central government and under the orders of a senior military commander. At times when the central government was weak, however, lawless men assumed this title and took protection-money arbitrarily from caravans, thus combining the functions of *rāddār* and *bādjār*. The

L. H. Uzunçarsılı's explanation of the term *bādj-i tamgha* and *bādj-i buzurg* is due to his reliance on dictionaries rather than on *kānūns*. It is possible to get a clearer and more accurate picture from a

set of *kānūns* of the Ak Koyūnlū period, published by Ömer Lütfi Barkan (*Osmanlı devrinde Akkoyunlu hükümdarı Usun Hasan Beye ait kanunlar*, in *Türk teshkilatı* i, no. 2, 91-105; no. 3, 184-97). These *kānūns*, termed *yasa* under the influence of the Ilkhanid administrative tradition, relate to the regions of Diyarḥakr, Mardin, Erbil, al-Ruhā ('Ural, Erzinğān, Kharput (Harput), Gernik, and 'Arāblar, and are mainly of the time of Usun Hasan. From a study of them the following facts emerge: *bādj* is generally used for 'tax', as in the expression *bādj-i tamgha*. The meaning of *tamgha* is quite plain; it is the tax levied on all kinds of goods bought and sold in cities, on woven stuffs and slaughtered animals, and is normally referred to as 'black tamgha' (*tamgha-i siyah*). *Bādj-i buzurg* was the customs-duty levied on goods in transit through or imported into the country; such goods, when sold in the market, were also liable to 'stamp duty' (*bādj-i tamgha*). It is expressly stated in the *kānūns* of Erbil that *tamgha* was levied on the buying and selling of immovable property; i.e., the word is here used in the general sense of 'tax'. It is apparent that *bādj* in these *kānūns* is not a technical term.

This observation is confirmed by the use of the word in Ottoman literary texts. Sa'īd al-Dīn uses it in the general sense when he says that the *bādj* and *gharāj* in 14th-century Rūm were not onerous as they were in Persia (*Tārīkh al-Tawārīkh*, i, 214). So too a number of Ottoman poets use it as synonymous with *gharāj* in the phrase *bādj-i w gharāj*. On the other hand, the word is used as a technical term in some historical texts and above all in the early *kānūn-nāmes*. 'Ashīkpashazāde (*Tārīkh* 19; ed. F. Giese, 21), remarking that in the time of 'Oghlūn (*ghāh* *bādj* to the amount of 2 *akās* was levied on every load of goods sold in the market of Karadāghar, explains that this was in the nature of a municipal tax peculiar to large towns; it was in fact identical with the *tamgha* which, as we have seen, was levied under the Ilkhanids and in the various states which carried on their fiscal tradition. In the *kānūn-nāme* of the Conqueror, apart from the non-technical use, we find *bādj* applied to a sales-tax confined to large towns. This *kānūn-nāme* lays down that *bādj* is not levied on immovable property such as land, houses, shops, and mills, but on goods sold in markets; not however on anything sold in villages. It specifies the amount of *bādj* to be levied on the sale of all sorts of goods, including slaves (who in the eyes of Islamic law are movable property), and makes it clear that sometimes only one party is liable to pay, sometimes both. It also prescribes the amount of *bādj*—generally 20%—to be levied on goods from abroad (i.e., from 'Frank' and 'Dobrovnik' = Dubrovnik = Ragusa), but there is a clause which states that this will depend on the terms of contracts made with these countries. The text however is a little doubtful and corrupt, so no positive conclusions can be drawn (F. Kretzitz, *Kanunname Sultan Mehmedin des Eroberers*, in *MGO*, Vienna 1927, i, 26, 30 ff.). But it is safe to say that the reference here is not to customs-duty levied on goods coming across the frontier, for the term *gümruk* occurs in numerous official documents of the period, and customs-duties seem not to be described as *bādj* (idem, *Osmannische Urkunden der Kaiserin Sultane*, Vienna 1922, no. 2, 4). It may therefore be conjectured that when goods entered the Ottoman dominions they paid customs-duty (*gümruk*), and when they were brought to a city and sold, they paid a separate *bādj*.



The word is used in the *hishinnāme* of Sulaymān just as it was during the 15th century; indeed, some paragraphs concerning *bādj* are found unaltered from the *hishinnāme* of the Conqueror (cf. *Kishinnāme-i-Āl-i-ʿOghma*, Supplement to TOEM, Istanbul 1959, 21 ff., with the *hishinnāme* of the Conqueror, 30 ff.), though there are some additional ordinations too. It is clear from these two *hishinnāmes* that *bādj* meant both a specific municipal tax (*shīsh resm*) and 'tax' in general: the latter meaning being seen in such expressions as *bādj-i-bādr*, *bādj-i-aghām*, *bādj-i-tamgha*.

It is still in use among the Turkish people of eastern Turkestan in the general sense (cf. F. Grenard, *Le Turkestan et Le Tibet*, Paris 1868, 361, 265). In the dialects of Kāshghar and Yarkand the meaning is 'customs-duty' (G. Raquet, *Étude-Turki Dictionnaire*, Lund-Lespris 1927, 24, 119).

**Bibliography:** Sources have been shown in the text, in addition to a full study of the word. Osman Nuri, when dealing with the *shīsh* taxes (*Medjellet-i-Umūr-i-Beddiyye*, Istanbul 1922, i, 364-70) confines himself to quoting relevant passages from *ʿĀshikpaṣharāde*, *Neshrī*, the *hishinnāme* of Sulaymān, and another *hishinnāme* of unspecified date. (M. FRAK KÖRÜCÜ.)

**BĀDJ**, the birthplace of Firdawsī, a small village in the vicinity of Tūs. The name is not found in any of the Arab geographers, and is mentioned only by ʿArāḍī-Samarqandī (*Caṣṣir Maḥala*, ed. Mirzā Muḥammad Karīmī, GMS i, 47, 199).

(M. FRAK KÖRÜCÜ.)

**BĀDJA**, a town and district of Muslim Spain, modern Beja in S. Portugal, the classical Pax Julia. The Roman origin of Bādjā is referred to by the geographer al-Rāzī (q.v.), who speaks of its fine wide streets. Abundant honey was obtained there, and its water was specially suitable for tanning (E. Lévi-Provençal, 'La Description de l'Espagne', *Étude d'Al-Andalus*, XVIII, 1953, 87). Bādjā is frequently mentioned from the time of the Arab conquest. When Seville fell, its defenders withdrew to Bādjā, whence they later returned and gained a temporary advantage (*Aḥḥab Maḥmūdā*, 16, 18). Bādjā became an important strategic centre for the Arab *amīr* al-Ḥarawī, against that Maʿbad b. al-ʿAbbās b. Abd al-Malik, the cousin of the Prophet, died there, and that his tomb is to be found in the meadow (*maḥḥab*) of the town. al-Yaʿqūbī, who visited Irīkīya in the 3rd/9th century, tells us that "the population of Bādjā is descended from the soldiers of the old ʿAbbāsids away and from non-Arab autochthonous elements". al-Kalābādhī, quoting an ancient source, notes that the tribe of the Banū Saʿd, among whom the Prophet was brought up, had been scattered across many lands, and that in his own time there only remained a small group of them, who lived at Bādjā in Irīkīya alongside the ʿAbbāsids troops.

Under Aghlabid dominion, the city became the important capital of the whole North-Western district of Tunisia. Powerful officials, belonging to the family of the *zawā*, the Banū Ḥumayr, relations and allies of the andalus, succeeded one another as heads of its government, and strove to preserve it as a rich and lucrative fief; kādīs, chosen from among the most famous jurists of the capital, were nominated to this high office; experienced generals assumed command of the militia and the Aghlabid allies. And there is reason to think that the veterans of this

**BĀDJA** (ancient Vaga; modern orthography: Bēja), important town in Irīkīya, situated about 100 km. west of Tunis. Its population at the present time is nearly 25,000. Resting against the fertile slopes of the valley of the Mēdjēra, it constitutes "the most considerable town of the region, which existed in ancient times and has continued to exist down to our time . . . its strategic position, of supreme importance, on the road from Tunis to Algeria, was constantly emphasised throughout the Muslim period" (R. Brunschwig, *Baḥāfide*, i, 300).

Capital of the province richest in cereal crops, it was for this reason called the "granary (*biṣr*) of Irīkīya", just as it was called *thamā*, throughout the Middle Ages, Bādjat al-Kamh ("Bādjā of the corn") to distinguish it from the other towns, in Africa and Spain, which bore the same name (see below).

The celebrated geographer al-Bakrī gives an exact and detailed description of the town which is still valid today, apart from certain changes in place names which took place at a later date. "Bādjā", he says, "is three days' journey from al-Kayrawān. A large town, encircled by several streets, and built on a high oval-shaped hill named 'Ayn Shams ("the spring of the sun")". This spring still feeds the town and bears the same name. The other important monuments which he mentions are: the ramparts, which were later augmented by a second, exterior wall enclosing new quarters of the town; the citadel (still to-day al-Kasaba) "an ancient building, solidly built of great blocks of stone" (a Byzantine fortress, built by Count Paulus at the time of Justinian, as is indicated by a Latin inscription of that period. It was frequently repaired during the Hafsid, Turkish and Husaynid periods); and the Great Mosque which, "solidly built, has the city walls for its *hība*". The town also possessed "five baths (*hammām*), a large number of caravanserais (*funduq*), and three open spaces (*ribāb*) where food markets were held". The environs of the city were, he says, "full of magnificent gardens watered by streams".

At the time of the siege of Carthage by Hasān b. al-Nuʿmān, about 76/695 part of the Byzantine garrison took refuge at Bādjā and entrenched itself there. After its capture by the above-mentioned Unayyad general, Bādjā subsequently became an important strategic centre for the Arab *amīr* al-Ḥarawī against that Maʿbad b. al-ʿAbbās b. Abd al-Malik, the cousin of the Prophet, died there, and that his tomb is to be found in the meadow (*maḥḥab*) of the town.

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militia, who continued to dwell in this region, gave the name of their tribe, Kudāʾ, to an important commune (*ḥayyā*) of Bādjā, which retains this name to the present day.

During the Fatimid period, the town was sacked, pillaged and partly burnt by the Berber troops of Abū Yaʿzīd (q.v.), "the man with the ass" (i. 335/946). But it quickly recovered its prosperity, by virtue of its agricultural products. At the time of the Hīlālī invasion (5th/11th century), it received groups of the Rīyāhī tribe, which settled in the surrounding countryside, and the town passed successively from the hands of nomad chiefs to the Zirid princes of Bougie (al-Būdjāya). With the advent of the Hafsidis, the town recovered a measure of its former prosperity and frequently served as a refuge for rebels against the government.

During the Turkish period (10th-11th/16th-17th centuries), Bādjā had a garrison of janissaries who left their posterity there. A Husafid mosque was built inside the town. From the time of the Husaynid, Bādjā became once more a large semi-Bedouin agricultural market town, where a governor (*ʿamīl*) represented the authority of the Beys. Certain monuments were built, notably a citadel 1 km. west of the town, called "*Bāde*" after the name of the famous palace of the Beys on the outskirts of Tunis. Bādjā was the birthplace of a number of scholars, jurists, poets, and local historians. Reference will only be made here to the al-Kalābādhī family, which supplied 3th/13th century Tunisia with seven or eight eminent kādīs and jurists, and to Muḥammad al-Saghir b. Yūsuf, who wrote an eye-witness account of the history of the first four Husaynid Beys (from 1705 to 1768 A.D.).

**Bibliography:** Yaʿqūbī, *Kudān*, ed. Nadīaf 1918, 107 (French trans. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 211); Bakrī, *Ar. text* 59, French trans. 119; Yāqūt, *Cairo* ed. i, 25; Idriṣī, *Ar. text* 115, French trans. 134; Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 51; Kalābādhī, *Saḥāb al-ʿAṣā*, i, 340; Leo Africanus, iii, 192; Muḥammad Saghir b. Yūsuf, *Aḥḥab Maḥmūd* (ms. coll. Abd-El-Wahab), French trans. V. Serres and Lasram, Tunis 1897.

Two other Tunisian centres were also named Bādjā: BĀDJĀT AL-ZAYT ("Bādjā of the oil"), so called in order to distinguish it from its homonymy in the north. It was a town in the district of Kūfa (the ancient Rūspus of the Romans and Byzantines), situated in the heart of the olive-tree forests of the Tunisian Sahel, on the road from Mahdiyya to al-Djān, 15 km. east of the latter centre. The commune (*ḥayyā*) in which it was located still bears the name of Wādī Bādjā (governorate of Mahdiyya). It seems that it prospered up to the time of the Hīlālī invasion, and then declined and completely disappeared during the Hafsid period. Its site, however, with its numerous ruins, notably of a vast hydraulic installation (*fayṣya*), still exists. It is mentioned several times by al-Mālikī and Yāqūt, who quote passages from Ibn Rāḥīk in his anthology of the poets of al-Kayrawān.

**Bibliography:** Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-Naḥḥ*, ii, 79, 84 (MS. coll. Abd-El-Wahab); Yāqūt, *Cairo* 1382/1966, ii, 25; Saʿādī, *al-Wāḥī bi-ʿI-Wafayāt*, iii, (Zaytūna MS.).

BĀDJA AL-KADIMA ("the ancient"), a hamlet no longer in existence today, but whose ruins are still visible. It was situated near the present-day town of Mannūba north-west of Tunis. It possessed a mosque, a school (*kutāb*), a market and a certain

number of dwellings. Its chief claim to fame was that it was the birth-place of a great Tunisian mystic (*saḥīb*), Abū Saʿīd Khālafa b. Yahyā al-Tamīmī al-Baḥḥī, born in 551/1156, died 6 Shaʿbān 698 June 1237; the pupil of Abū Madyān Shūʿayb of Tlemcen; he was buried in the village of Djābal al-Manīr, and has since become known from Marsea to Carthage as Sayyid Abū Saʿīd (Sidi Bou Said).

**Bibliography:** Abū ʿI-Ḥasan al-Hawārī, *Mandūb Abū Saʿīd al-Baḥḥī* (MS. coll. Abd-El-Wahab) (H. H. ANNET-WAHAB).

**BĀDJĀDDĀ**, in the Arab middle ages, a small strongly fortified town in Mesopotamia, south of Ḥarrān, a short distance east of Bāḥlīḥ, situated on the road to Raʾa al-Ayn, with famous gardens. It is no longer mentioned by the geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries. The Aramaic name (ܒܕܝܬܐ) denotes "house of fortune"; cf. perhaps, an 'Ayn-gaddā = "source of fortune" in the Damascus and the Gadda of the Tabula Peutingeriana in Syria. See thereon Nöldeke in the *ZDMG*, xlii, 441.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, i, 453; Bāḥlīḥ, *Farḥ*, 174, 72, where Bāḥlīḥdā, not Bāḥlīḥdā is to be read; Le Strange, 195. (M. STRECK.)

**BĀDJĀLAN**. Both surviving branches of this formerly larger tribe are now settled in Irāk. The main branch occupies the area of Bin Kudā and Kurāt, north of Ḥānākin. An offshoot, known variously as Bādjān, Bādjāw or Bēdjāw, is to be found in the Ḥabāk [q.v.] area on the left bank of the river Tigris opposite Mawṣil. Although the tribe has always been known as a Kurdish one this is only so in the wide sense that all nomads of the Zagros area, including the Gūrān [q.v.] and the Lurs, are considered by their neighbours to be Kurds. In fact, all Bādjālanis appear to speak a dialect of the (Iranian, but not Kurdish) Gūrān language—a pointer, falling evidence to the contrary, to their Germanic origins.

A great number of Bādjālan nomads paid homage to the Ottoman Grand Vizier at Mawṣil in 1039/1630 (Naʿmā, *Taʾrīkh*, s.a.). For a time the tribe gave its name to a *sandjāq*, Bādjāwān, between the two rivers Zab [Bāḥlīḥ] Khālifa, *Dīḥān-namā*, 435). The present Bēdjāw community may stem from this section. According to their own traditions (Rawlinson, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1839, ix, 107; Minorsky, in *KEP*, s.v. *Lah*) part of the tribe retired from the Mawṣil area in the 12th/18th century to Kurāt (Pāḥā Kūh), where it became assimilated to the Lakkī Kurds. Another group had settled in the plain between Gīlān and Kasr-i Shīrīn, the chieftains residing first in Zubāb and, after its decline, in Ḥānākin. Early in this 14th/20th century the two main sections of the Bādjālan were astride the Turco-Persian frontier, the *Djūmūr* in the Zubāb area and the Kāzādī near Bin Kudā. The Persian sections seem since to have concentrated on the Kurāt area.

**Bibliography:** K. Hadank, *Mandārian der Gūrān, hawāḥid dar . . . Bāḥlīḥdān*, bearbeitet von . . . Berlin, 1930; D. N. MacKenzie, *Bāḥlīḥ*, in *BSOAS*, 1936, xviii, 418.

(D. N. MacKENZIE.)

**AL-BADJĀLĪ**, AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. WAKSAND, founder of a sect among the Berbers of Morocco, whose adherents are called Badjālyāya. Al-Bakrī states that he appeared there before Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīrī [q.v.] came to Irīkīya (before 280/893). Al-Badjāli came from Naḥḥ (Nefza) and found many adherents among the Banū La-



mās. His teaching agreed with that of the Rawāfiḍ, but he asserted that the Imāmate belonged only to the descendants of al-Hasan. So al-Bakrī and Ibn Hazm state, in opposition to Ibn Hawkal (ed. de Goeje, 63), who says that he was a Mīṣawī i.e. he recognized the Imāmate of Mālik b. Ḍaʿfar, a descendant of Husayn. The Badjāliyya were afterwards conquered and exterminated by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāḥyā.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hazm, *Mihl wa Nihāl*, iv, 183; Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale* (ed. de Slane), 201; Friedländer, in *JAOS*, 8:316, 72.

**BĀDJARMĀ**, or **BĀDJARMA**, under the ʿAlshidh Caliphate was the name of a district east of the Tigris between the Lesser Zab in the North and the Ḍjabal Hamrin in the South. The chief town in the middle ages was Kirkūk (Syr. Karḡūḥ de Bēth Sliōh). It formed a district of the province of Mosul (cf. Ibn Khuradādhbih, 97, 7). Bādjarmā is an Arabic rendering of the Aramaic Bēth (Be) Garma while Bādjarmak goes back to some Middle Persian form of the name of the district, like Garmakan. The latter word comes from the Gurmān, a nomadic people mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions, the *Ḳarḡarūt* of Ptolemy.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Fakḥ, 35, 21379, 51; Ibn Khuradādhbih, 94; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 265, 333; Yāḳūt, i, 454; G. Hoffmann, *Äussere und innere Arabien*, *Äussere Arabien*, Leipzig 1880, 44, 45, 233; M. Streck, *Art. Garama* in *Piedy-Wissowa*, s.v. (where further references are given). (M. Streck.)

**BĀDJARWĀN**, (1) A town and fortress in Mūḥān (Aḡharbāyḍiān) lying S. of the river Aras (Araxes), between Ardabil and Bārdhaʿa in Arrān. Bādjārwa is mentioned several times in the accounts of the Muslim conquest. Its capture by al-ʿAbbāsī b. Kays al-Kinnī seems to have been the signal for the final collapse of resistance throughout the province (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 326). It was occupied by Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Harāḡi during his campaign against the Ḳasās in 122/730 (D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 72-74). After the Umayyad period Bādjārwa is seldom mentioned. It is still named by Ḥamd Allāh Muṣṭafī in the 4th/10th century as a stage on the road to the S.W. frontier, though it was then in ruins. (2) A town of Diyār Muḍar in al-Jazīra, near the R. Balḫ, between Hiss Maslama and al-Raḳqa.

**Bibliography:** Le Strange, *IOS*, 175-176, 230-231. (D. M. Dunlop.)

**BĀDJĀWR**, tract of mountainous country in the Dir, Swāt, and Citral agency of the Peshāwar division, West Fikāistān. It is bounded on the north by Dir; on the east by Dir and Swāt; on the south-east and south by the Utmān Khēl and Mamund territories; and on the west by Aḡhānistān. It has an area of about 5,000 square miles and is intersected by five valleys—the Cahārmung, Bābūkara, Watai, Rūd, and Sūr Kanar. In the absence of any census the population has been estimated at 200,000. Bādjāwr is the home of the Tarkānī Pathāns who claim to be akin to the Yāfāns. They are divided into four sections: the Ismāʿīlī, Isāzai, Salazarai, and Mamunds. The Salazarai and Mamunds are also found across the Durand boundary in Aḡhānistān. Like the tribes of Dir, they are Sunnī Muslims but are unusually susceptible to the influence of their mullahs. The Khān of Nawagai claims to be the hereditary chief of all the Bādjāwī tribes. The history of this area is almost inextricably

interwoven with that of Dir and Swāt. The fort of Bādjāwr was taken by Bābur in 1519 (vide A. S. Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma*, 367-73). Akbar's forces were cut to pieces by the Yūsufzais in 1585. In the reign of Aurangzib they constantly attacked the Mughal frontier outposts. They fought against the British in the Ambeyla campaign of 1848/1893 and during the frontier conflagration of 1314/15 1897.

**BADJĪJĀNA**, (Sp. Pechina), ancient Spanish town which is to-day no more than a small country town. The Rio Andara (Wādī Badjījāna), which descends from the southern watershed of the Sierra Nevada, flows through Badjījāna and discharges itself into the sea 60<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> m. (10 km.) lower down, near the watch-tower (Mārsayāt Badjījāna), the site of the town which, under the sole name of al-Mariyya (Sp. Almería), became the most active and flourishing Mediterranean port in al-Andalus. The groups of sailors settled between Alicante and Aguilas were in the habit of proceeding in the autumn towards the African coast, where they passed the winter, and of returning in the spring to the Peninsula, with huge cargoes; a number of them settled in the North African ports and founded, *inter alia*, the new Tēnes, in 262/875. The canton of Pechina was then occupied by the Arabs of the Yemen, who had been charged by ʿAbd al-Rahmān II with the task of maintaining a *ḥāḍir* to protect the coast against possible attack by the Badjījān [s.v.]; in return, he had granted them possession of the fertile valley of the Andara. Andalusian sailors returning from Tēnes came to terms with these Arabs in order to found a sort of maritime republic, and made Badjījāna the capital of a small state. A large mosque built by the Arabs, and the ramparts erected by the sailors, made it a town which, as a result of the trade of its fleet, which anchored at Almería, rapidly increased in size and prosperity. But after thirty-seven years of semi-independent existence, during which it was threatened by the Arab league at Elvira, it was incorporated in 310/922 in the Umayyad community; it maintained its prosperity during the first half of the 4th/10th century, until ʿAbd al-Rahmān III, in 344/955, made Almería the capital of the region and put in hand important town-planning schemes there. During the reign of al-Hakīm II, the importance of Badjījāna declined still further, and in the 5th/11th century it was no more than a humble village, while Almería became the capital of one of the kingdoms of the *taifas*.

**Bibliography:** Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afr. sept.*, text 81, French trans. 163; Idriṣī, text 200, French trans. 245; Yāḳūt, i, 494-5; Simonet, *Description du royaume de Grenade*, 136-7; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Péninsule ibérique*, 438; Idem, *Idem. Exp. mus.*, i, 148 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, *Una Crónica anónima de ʿAbd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir*, Madrid-Granada 1950, § 44.

(A. HUCI MIRANDA)  
**AL-BĀDJĪ**, Abu ʿI-Walīd Sulaymān b. Khālaf, a distinguished theologian and literary figure in 11th-century Spain. Born at 429/1028 of a family from Bātalyas (Badajoz) which had emigrated to Bāḍia, modern Beja in S. Portugal (Ibn Bassām, cited Makkarī, *Analectica*, i, 511), he frequented the schools at Cordova, gained some success as a poet and in 426/1035 travelled to the East. He was absent from Spain for 13 years, three of which he spent at Mecca, in the service of the *hāḍir* Abū Ḍharr al-Harawī, who had been educated at Harāt, Balḫ and other places in Khurāsān, and with whom al-Bādjī now studied

Malikī *fiḥḥ* and *ḥadīth*, accompanying him regularly to his home in al-Sarawāt, i.e., the mountainous country between al-Tihāma, Naḍj and al-Yaman. Later al-Bādjī passed to Baghdād, where for another three years he continued his studies, though so poor that he is said to have been obliged to earn his living as a night-watchman. We hear of him also at Maṣūf, where according to one account (Makkarī, i, 507, cf. Ibn Baḡhluwāl, i, 208, no. 449) for a year he applied himself to the recently-invented *ḥalīm* (scholastic theology), at Aleppo and Damascus, and in Egypt. He returned to Spain in or about 439/1047 as poor as when he left it, but with greatly extended views. About this time, at the invitation of the Spanish *ḥāḍir*, he departed to the island of Majorca with the celebrated Ibn Hazm, who in the sequel withdrew into private life and according to Ibn Saʿīd (*Muḡrib*, ed. Cairo 1953, i, 405) had to suffer the burning of his books. Even after his return al-Bādjī worked at a trade (gold-beating). At other times he acted as notary, or as *ḥāḍir* in provincial towns. His gradually rising reputation established itself, and he died a rich man. His relations with the then holders of power, i.e., since the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate the *Mulūk al-Tawāʾif* ('Party Kings'), attracted comment at the time and appear to have been principally due to al-Bādjī's desire to induce them to unite and live at peace among themselves (Makkarī, i, 51). In his proposals to this end, made in person, was the whole body received except at Saragossa (Saragosa) on the N.E. frontier, where the strength of the Christian kingdoms was fully appreciated. Al-Muktadir b. Ḥid of Saragossa (reigned 1046-1081) sent for al-Bādjī, and evidently he remained with al-Muktadir for a considerable time, since it was at Saragossa that his works appeared. Ibn Khāldūn, *Raḍīʿ*, ed. S. al-Harṭī, 215. Al-Bādjī died at Almería in 474/1081, i.e., in the same year as his patron.

If the main political purpose of his life remained unrealised, al-Bādjī was a prolific author of books, including a Commentary (*ḡharī*) on the *Mawṣafī* of Malik, which especially in its short form, entitled *al-Munṣaf*, enjoyed high estimation. Of his other works there have been printed (1) a *Reply* (*Ḍiḡāʾ*) to the so-called *Letter of the Monk of France* (*Kisālāt al-Rāḥī min Ifrānā*), for which see D. M. Dunlop, *A Christian Mission in Muslim Spain in the 11th Century*, in *Al-Andalus*, xvii, 1952, 259-370. The *Reply* shows much dialectical ability, and repeatedly refers to *ḥalīm*. (2) *The Epistle on Definitions* (*Riḍāʾa fī l-ʿUḍūd*), principally in *fiḥḥ* and *ḥadīth*, edited by Ḍjawda Hīl in *Revista del Instituto Español de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, (*Sahīfat al-Maʿhad al-Miṣrī*), Vol. II, Madrid 1954, Arabic section, 1-37.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, i, 419, and S I, 743-744; M. Asín Palacios, *Abenahmūd de Córdoba*, Madrid 1927, 200-205. (D. M. Dunlop.)

**BADJĪLA**, an Arab tribe, reckoned along with Khāḍḡān as a subdivision of Annām; the *nishā* is Badjālī. Badjīla is sometimes said to be a woman, but her place in the genealogy is vague (cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*, 101-3; also *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1858, i, 134). Some genealogists hold that Badjīla was a Yemenite tribe; others made Annām the son of Nizār b. Maʿād b. ʿAdnān (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Uṣḍ al-Ghāḍa*, i, 279, art. ʿAdnān b. ʿAbd Allāh); Ibn Durayd, ed. Wüstenfeld, 101 f.). The tribe was sometimes taunted with this uncertainty about their ancestry (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūḡ*, vi, 143). Along with Khāḍḡān,

Tamīm, Bakr and ʿAbd al-Kays they raided ʿIrāk under Shāḥrūr II (c. 310-370), but suffered severely when he counter-attacked. In Muhammad's time they were found in a part of the mountain chain of the Sarāt some distance south of Mecca. As a result of feuds with neighbouring tribes and between the clans of Badjīla (such as Alnās, Kaṣr, Zayd b. al-Ghawḥ, ʿUrayna), the tribe became scattered, and many parts of it had to seek protection (*ḡḍār*) from stronger tribes (cf. *Muḡaddalīyāt*, ed. C. J. Lyaal, i, 115 f.). Towards the end of Muhammad's life Ḍjārī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjālī came to him with 120 men professing Islam, and was sent to destroy the idol Ḍlḡu ʿI-Khāḍa at Tabāla, which was worshipped by Badjīla and Khāḍḡān. Ḍjārī performed various other commissions efficiently, and under Abū Bakr and ʿUmar was an important military leader. He and the men of Badjīla who followed him seem to have been independent allies of the caliph for a time, and by treaty with ʿUmar were to receive a quarter of what was captured, and that, presumably of the lands in the Sawād (al-Badjālī, *Futūḥ*, 251, 267), but three years later they were persuaded to give up their lands and to receive instead a stipend. ʿUmar ordered sections of Badjīla which were under the protection (*ḡḍār*) of other tribes to attach themselves to Ḍjārī (*Muḡaddalīyāt*, l.c.; also *Uṣḍ al-Ghāḍa*, l.c.). It is stated that at this time ʿArḍāḡa b. Ḥarḡāna of Bāḡīk, a part of the Ad, though only a half of Badjīla, was its *sayyid*. Khālīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kaṣrī, who was prominent in the later Umayyad period, belonged to Badjīla, though his adversaries questioned this (cf. I. Goldziher, *Muselmanische Studien*, i, 205).

**Bibliography:** in addition to the sources mentioned in the article, A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847; *Aḡḥnā*, xlii 4 f.; *ZDMG* xxii, 667; Faradzak, *Ḍwān* (ed. Boucher and Hell), nos. 82, 256, 279, 644.

(W. MOSTGOCKERY WATT)

**BADJIMIZĀ** or Bagmizā, in the time of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate, was a village north-east of Baghdād, some 8 miles from Baʿḡūḍa, where the caliph al-Muḡtāḍī bi-Amr Allāh put to flight the troops of the Salḡūḡ Sultan Muhammad II under Alp Ḳuḡh Kīnī Ḳhar in 549/1154.

**Bibliography:** Yāḳūt, i, 497, 706; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi, 129; Houtsma, *Revue*, ii, 237 f. (En.)

**BĀDJISRA**, (D. M. Dunlop) was a small town in ʿIrāk, situated some 10 *farsāḡ* to the north-east of Baghdād and a short distance due south of Baʿḡūḍa on the left bank of the Nahrawān river, which attained the name of Tamārā at its arrival at Bāḡīrā. The town is described by the Arab geographers as being a prosperous and pleasant general centre with many date groves and a considerable population, but it was laid waste in the time of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakī, author of the *Murūḡ*, who died in 739/1338. The name Bādjīra, which is derived from Syrian, means 'house of the bridge' i.e. the location of the bridge.

The modern village named 'Abū Ḍjārī', however, is not the same town. Apparently, the name of this village is inferred from the ancient nomenclature of Bādjīla. Modern Abū Ḍjārī is one of the larger villages in the Mikdādīyya (*Shāhrasān*) *ḡḥā* in the Diyālā *līmā* of ʿIrāk. According to the 1947 census, its inhabitants totalled 768 in number.

There are various references to Bādjīra in the histories. It is mentioned by Ibn al-Aṭhīr in the



annals of the years 68/688, 334/945-6, 439/1047, 488/1095 and 496/1102-3. During the last three of these, the town was subjected to plundering. In the annals of the year 597/1201, Ibn al-Saʿī mentions the death of Muḥib, an attendant of the daughter of the ʿAbīd al-Qāsim al-Mustandjīd, al-Firāḍiyya, who was the administrator of the prefecture of Badjīra. Badjīra is the birth place of a number of poets and men of letters, and some of them are mentioned by Yāqūt.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, I, 454; Ibn ʿAbd al-Halīq, *Mawāʾiḍ*, Cairo 1934, I, 147; Ibn Serapion (ed. Le Strange), in *JRAS*, 1895, 29; Ibn Khurra-ḍībīh, 275; Ibn Kinnār, I, 115; *Ḥikma*, I, 115; *al-Mawʿūḍ*, *al-Tawḥīd*, 33; Miskawayh, *Taḍfīr* (Amrodd), II, 84; Ibn al-Aḥlī, iv, 242, viii, 337, ix, 367, x, 366, 244; idem, *al-Lubḥ* fī *Takḍīb al-Anṣāb*, I, 82; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuṣṣa*, 43; Le Strange, 59; *Sumar*, viii, 1952, 249; A. Sousa, *Rosy Samard*, Baghdad 1948, 363.

(G. AWAD)

**BADJKAM** (Abu ʿI-Husayn), properly *ḥakīm* (an Iranian word which passed into Turkish, meaning the tail of a horse or yak, see Denonstein in *Jd*, 1948, 193), name of a Turkish amir who was initially a *ghulām* in the service of Mākin and subsequently in that of another Daylamite, Mardāwī, master of Gilān, Tabaristān and the Dībāl. When Mardāwī's Turkish *ghulāms*, provoked by his bullying, killed their master in 323/935, Badjkam placed himself at their head and fled with them. After offering his services to Ḥasan b. Ḥārūn, the ephemeral governor of the Dībāl appointed by the *waṣī* Ibn Muḥla, he directed his steps towards Baghdād, in the expectation of being taken into the Caliph's army. He was rejected, however, owing to the jealousy of the Hudjār guards. Ibn Rāʾik, who was then governor of Wasīt and Basra, took him into his service with his Turkic, and he was henceforth called Badjkam Rāʾikī. He became the leader of a large band consisting of his *ghulāms* and other Turks and Daylamis who came from the Dībāl at his summons.

When, at the end of 324/beginning of November 936, Ibn Rāʾik was appointed by the Caliph al-Rāḍī to the office of *amir al-umarrāʾ*, Badjkam became his chief lieutenant both in his struggle against the un disciplined guards of the Caliph, Saʿīd and Hudjār, and against the ambitious governor of al-Aḥwāt (Ḥūstān), Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Barīdī. Upon his arrival in Baghdād, Ibn Rāʾik at once proceeded to take rigorous measures against the *Sāḍīs*; then at the beginning of 325/end of November 936, having gone down to Wasīt with the Caliph, with the effective help of Badjkam he rid himself of the Hudjār who had accompanied the Caliph. Badjkam and Ibn Rāʾik then returned to Baghdād where Badjkam was appointed Prefect of Police and governor of the Eastern provinces (February 937). Ibn Rāʾik had been unable to come to terms with al-Barīdī, whose aim was to seize Lower ʿIrāk and then to take the place of the *amir al-umarrāʾ*, and it was therefore decided to institute military operations against him. Though Ibn Rāʾik suffered defeat and was unable to prevent al-Barīdī's entering Basra, Badjkam enjoyed greater success; after two brilliant victories over al-Barīdī's troops, who considerably outnumbered his own, he took the whole of Ḥūstān and al-Barīdī was obliged to flee to Basra. Then, recalled by Ibn Rāʾik, he rejoined the latter on the Basran front where they were both nearly taken prisoner. Al-Barīdī,

however, had gone to Fārs to ask the help of the Būyid ʿAlī (ʿImād al-Dawla), who sent his brother Ahmad (Muʿizz al-Dawla) to recover Ḥūstān. At the request of Ibn Rāʾik, Badjkam agreed to return thither, provided he might enjoy full sovereignty there. However fortune changed and he had to retreat before the Būyid and return to Wasīt, whilst Ibn Rāʾik left for Baghdād to find the money required by Badjkam to pay his troops (326/beginning 938). Badjkam remained at Wasīt, without attempting to recover Ḥūstān from the Būyid, as was Ibn Rāʾik's wish.

Henceforth it was Badjkam's idea to revolt against Ibn Rāʾik in his place. Perturbed by developments, Ibn Rāʾik had just become reconciled with al-Barīdī. So as to detach the latter from Ibn Rāʾik and make sure of his support, Badjkam now promised that once he became master of the capital, he would give him the governorship of Wasīt which, shortly before, al-Barīdī had unsuccessfully attempted to take from Badjkam by force. An agreement to this effect was concluded. Moreover the former *waṣī* Ibn Muḥla, wishing to revenge himself on Ibn Rāʾik, who had confiscated his property, started to correspond with Badjkam, encouraging him in his resolve, and recommended him to the Caliph al-Rāḍī as a successor to Ibn Rāʾik. Al-Rāḍī adopted Ibn Muḥla's views and secretly encouraged Badjkam, as can be seen from an account given by the historian al-Sūlī, a confidant of the Caliph and of Badjkam (42-44, trans. I, 89-90), though he nevertheless handed Ibn Muḥla over to Ibn Rāʾik. In ʿUlū ʿI-Ḥaʿda 126/September 938, Badjkam, who had marched on the capital on the pretext of coming to ask for the pay for his troops, entered Baghdād, in spite of the efforts of Ibn Rāʾik, who had tried to stop him on the Naḥr Diyālā by flooding it with the waters of the Nabrawān canal and destroying a bridge. At Baghdād, whilst Ibn Rāʾik sought refuge in flight, the Caliph at once appointed Badjkam *amir al-umarrāʾ*.

Badjkam, the *amir al-umarrāʾ*, had to contend with the Hamdanid of Mawṣil, Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, who was not fulfilling his financial obligations. At the beginning of the year 327/October-November 938, Badjkam marched against him with the Caliph, and entered Mawṣil after having crushed the Hamdanid resistance below the town, but was unable to take Ḥasan, who fled into the Dīzra, where Badjkam pursued him to no avail. Badjkam's troops were unrelentingly harassed at Mawṣil. Thereupon, as Ibn Rāʾik had taken advantage of these circumstances to make a sudden irruption into Baghdād, Badjkam negotiated with the Hamdanid and likewise with Ibn Rāʾik. A treaty was concluded at the end of 938 with the Hamdanid who offered to pay over an initial sum as part of the tribute. Ibn Rāʾik agreed to leave Baghdād and to accept as compensation the governorship of the Turk al-Furāt, the Diyār Mudar, the *ḡimā* of Kinnasir and the *ʿanāḍim* (q.v.). He left Baghdād on the 28th of January 939 and the Caliph and Badjkam returned to the capital at the beginning of February 939.

Badjkam then turned to restore the peace in the Būyids which overshadowed Lower ʿIrāk, and this led to a closer though ephemeral understanding between Badjkam and al-Barīdī. The latter received the governorship of Wasīt and carried out a successful operation against the Būyid in Susiana. He then obtained the office of *waṣī*, but remained at Wasīt, his functions at Baghdād being performed only by a delegate. In 328/939-940, Badjkam married one

of his daughters. The Būyid had not relinquished his ambitions and had obtained the support of another of his brothers, Ḥasan (Rukn al-Dawla), master of the Dībāl. The latter marched on Wasīt and set up his camp on the left bank of the Tigris opposite the town, though he was obliged to withdraw, when the arrival of Badjkam and the Caliph was announced. On the other hand, the army sent against the same Ḥasan in the Dībāl by Badjkam was defeated.

It was not long, however, before dissension arose between Badjkam and al-Barīdī, who did not conceal his intention of becoming *amir al-umarrāʾ* and who was very careful not to support the expedition sent by Badjkam into the Dībāl. At the end of 328/August 940, Badjkam removed him from the office of *waṣī* and decided to carry out an expedition against Wasīt. For some time he had been worried by the behaviour of al-Barīdī and, in July, he abandoned the plan he had formed of going to fight the Būyid in the Dībāl and returned hastily to Baghdād. Then he marched against Wasīt and entered the town abandoned by al-Barīdī. Badjkam remained there until his death. He was, except when the Caliph al-Rāḍī died in Baghdād I, 129/December 940. The Caliph al-Muttaḥī confirmed him in the office of *amir al-umarrāʾ*. In April 941, Badjkam left Wasīt at the request of his lieutenants, who were operating against the forces of al-Barīdī in the region of Maḡḡār to the south-east of Wasīt, and who had suffered a reverse. It was his intention to join them, but upon arriving at Baghdād, he received the news that al-Barīdī had been defeated. He decided to go back. On the way, whilst hunting, he met a party of Kurdish brigands, whom he engaged in combat. He received a blow from the lance of a Kurd who struck him from behind, and died on the 21 Rajab 329/21 April 941.

Badjkam, the Turkish slave, had received his training at the hands of Mākin, to whom he was always very grateful. He understood Arabic, though he hesitated to speak it for fear of making mistakes, and employed an interpreter. He was, however, respected by men of letters, and enjoyed the company of men like al-Sūlī and the physician Sinān b. ʿIḥābī, who have left us invaluable recollections of him and to whom he granted generous pensions. Covetous of power and money, he did not hesitate to resort to intimidation and ruse, corruption and torture to attain his ends; he was at times cruel, though his bravery was legendary, and was more upright in character than Ibn Rāʾik; so it was that the Caliph al-Rāḍī preferred him to Ibn Rāʾik. He was attentive to the well-being of his subjects and had gained the affection of the people of Wasīt, though those of Baghdād held him of less account. He founded a guest-house (*ḍār ḡiyāf*) at Wasīt at a time of famine and a hospital at Baghdād. He offered the Karmīta large sums of money to restore the Black Stone to Mecca, but without success. At the request of the Shīʿīs he had the mosque of Barāḥa, which had been destroyed on al-Mukladī's order, rebuilt. From the time he spent in Iranian lands, he retained the custom of celebrating the Iranian feasts such as the Saʿjshak and the Nawrīz. On the coins struck in his effigy, see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūḡ*, viii, 341.

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361, 365, 379-374, 375 f., 378-379, 382-386, 391, 393-396, 397-398, 405, 410, 411-419, 417-420, II, 9-12; Tanḫīḥ, *al-Faraj* *baʿd al-Shidda*, II, 133, 135, 136; Ibn al-Aḥlī, viii, 225 f. (Cairo ed. 1303/1885-6, viii, 203 f.); Yāqūt, I, 532, II, 233, iv, 849; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iḥār*, iv, 432 f.; Abū ʿI-Fidaʾ, ed. Heiske, II, 400 f.; Abū ʿI-Maḥbūb, *Nuḍaym*, Cairo ed., III, 262-264, 266, 270, 272, 301; Delacour, *Mémoires sur les Emirs d'Orient*, 129, 133-135; Weil, *Chahin*, II, 564 f.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, I, 566; Mez, *Renaissance*, 25-26 and index; H. Bowen, *The Life and Times of ʿAlī ibn ʿIṣī*, Cambridge 1928; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, I, 416-421; Hasan Ibrahim, *Hisn al-Tawḥīd*, *al-Islām*, III, Cairo 1949, 44, 46, 47-48, 273, 431. (M. CANARD)

**BADRŪ** (or BAYDŪR), ISRAHĪM b. MUHAMMAD, a Shāfiʿī scholar and author. Born in 1198/1783 in Badrū, a village in the Mandūṣiyya province of Egypt (ʿAlī Paṣhā Muḥarrak, *al-Qayṣ* *al-Dīdāda*, Bilāḥ 1306, ix, 2), he studied at al-Azhar, became a very successful teacher there, Rector (1893/1878) in 1263/1846, and died in 1276/1860. The most popular items in his very extensive but wholly derivative literary production are: (1) a *Riḍā* fī ʿIm al-Tawḥīd; (2) *al-Mawḍiḥ al-Ladunniyya*, a commentary on the *K*, al-Shamāʾiʿ of al-Tirmidhī; (3) a gloss on the commentary of Muṣannif on the *Burda* of al-Buḥārī; (4) a gloss on the *Faḥ al-Karīm* of Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim al-Ghazālī, a commentary on the *Taḥrīr* of Maḥkākī of Abū Shuḥrāʾ (transl. by E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1897; cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, 367 ff.); (5) a commentary on the *ʿAbida* al-*Ṣughra* of ʿUmm al-Burhān of al-Sanūsī; (6) a gloss on a commentary on the *Diwan* of al-Tawḥīd of Ibrahim b. Ibrahim al-Lāḥi; (7) a gloss on the commentary of al-Shīkhawf on the *Uḡḡāḥ* of al-Rabīʿ, known as Ibn al-Mutakkīna (transl. by J. D. Luciani, *Traité des successions musulmanes*, Paris 1890); (8) a gloss on al-Akhḍār's commentary on his own al-Sulām al-Murawwāḥ; (9) a commentary on the *Kifāyāt* al-ʿAṣim of his teacher al-Faḍlī; (10) a commentary on the *Mawḍiḥ* of al-Dardir; (11) a commentary on *al-Tawḥīd* fī ʿIm al-Tawḥīd by ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd al-Murshid; (12) a gloss on a commentary on the *Farāʾid* al-Fawāʾid fī ʿIṣṣāʾa of al-Laylī al-Samarakānī; (13) a commentary on a versification of the *ʿAdjurrāmiyya* of Abū Adjurrūm.

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, II, 639; S. II, 741; Sarkis, *Masʿūdī* *al-Murūḡ* *al-ʿAṣim*, Cairo 1928, 307 f.; A. von Kremer, *Asyrien*, Leipzig 1861, II, 322 f.; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, II, Bonn and Leipzig 1923, 367 ff., 415 ff. (Th. W. Juvrölt).

**BADR**, or Badr Hunayn, a small town south-west of Medina, a night's journey from the coast, and at the junction of a road from Medina with the caravan route from Mecca to Syria. It lies in a plain, 5 m. (8 km.) long and 2½ m. (4 km.) broad, surrounded by steep hills and sand-dunes, and was a market centre.

Here occurred on 17 (or 19 or 21) Ramaḍān, 2 A.H. (= 13 or 15 or 17 March, 624) the first great battle of Muḥammad's career. Though there is a wealth of detail in the early sources, it is difficult to give a clear account of the battle and the events which led up to it. It is generally held that the earliest and most reliable version is that contained in a letter from ʿUrwā b. al-Zubayr to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (preserved in al-Tabarī, I, 1284 ff.), though even this



has some material which seems to be legendary. Muhammad received information that a rich caravan was returning from Syria to Mecca, by Abū Sulaym b. Harb, chief of the clan of Unayya. He collected a force of slightly over 300 men (about 80 Emigrants, the rest Anṣār), and marched to the neighbourhood of Badr in hopes of intercepting the caravan. Abū Sulaym on his side had sent a request to Mecca for a force to protect the caravan while it traversed the region easily accessible from Medina. Since the Meccans are said to have spent over a week on the way from Mecca to Badr, Abū Sulaym must have sent his request some time beforehand, though the sources assert that he only did so after hearing of Muhammad's preparations.

The Meccan force, commanded by Abū Jahl of the clan of Makhriḡ, consisted of about 950 men from all the clans of Quraysh. Before they reached Badr they received a message from Abū Sulaym to say that, by forced marches along a route closer to the coast than the usual one, he had eluded the Muslims. Abū Jahl, however, despite the disapproval of some senior men and the withdrawal of the contingents from the clans of Zuhra and 'Adī decided to go forward to Badr and make a display of strength. He and his supporters doubtless considered that they were so strong that Muhammad would not venture to attack (cf. Kur'ān viii, 47-49).

Muhammad does not appear to have known of the expedition under Abū Jahl until the evening before the battle when some of his men captured a Meccan water-carrier at the wells of Badr. The camp of the Meccans was still out of sight behind a hill. This fortuitous encounter may have made it easier for Muhammad to persuade all his followers to fight, since in the circumstances it would have been dishonourable to withdraw. On the following morning Muhammad moved quickly and seized the wells, filling all with sand except that nearest the enemy, where he stationed his men. The enemy was thus forced to fight for his water supply willy-nilly. All that can be said of the course of the battle is that there appear to have been some single combats followed by a general melee. What is certain is that the Meccans suffered a catastrophic defeat. Nearly seventy of them were killed (including Abū Jahl and a dozen of their leaders) and nearly seventy taken prisoner and later ransomed for considerable sums; only about fifteen Muslims were killed.

This was a disaster for Mecca, but not a crippling one. The loss of many leading men was grave, but perhaps the most serious aspect was the loss of prestige. To recover prestige it was essential that they should punish Muhammad. For the Muslims it seemed a vindication of their faith, brought about for them by God (cf. Kur'ān viii, 17, 42/43); they believed that He had sent his angels to their assistance viii, 9, 12).

Muhammad spent much time in prayer and received assurances that he would be victorious (vii, 7, 9). The Muslims looked on this as the punishment long foretold for the unbelievers. According to a probable suggestion (R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London 1926, 118 ff.; *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, Edinburgh 1953, 136-8), the word *furkân* applied to Badr means 'deliverance from judgement' (cf. Kur'ān, viii, 29, 41/42). The Muslims were thus confirmed in their faith and led to exaggerate their own importance and exaggeration which resulted in a spiritual crisis after the reverse at Uhud (Kur'ān vii, 65/66; contrast 66/67). Muhammad himself from this time onward was in a

much stronger position in Medina. The self-confidence induced in the Muslims by their victory, and the prestige they thus acquired, were factors without which Islam could hardly have developed as it did. Those who had fought at Badr as Muslims—the Badriyyūn—came to be regarded as an aristocracy of merit, and in most versions of the *ḥadīth* of 'Umar are said to have constituted the highest class of Muslims.

Muhammad undertook a second expedition to Badr in Sha'bān or Dhū 'l-Ka'da 4 A.H. (= Jan. or April 626) in accordance with a promise given to Abū Sulaym to be retired from Uhud. Both Muhammad and the Meccans had much larger forces, but there was no fighting, though the Muslims did good trade.

Badr is mentioned by the geographers of Arabia; e.g., Yāqūt, i, 524 f.; al-Balāzī, 121 ff.; al-Mukaddasī, 82 f.; al-Mas'ūdī, 237. The traveller J. L. Burckhardt examined the site with the battle in mind (*Reisen in Arabien*, 1850, 614-16).

*Bibliography* (battle): Ibn Hishām, 427-539; al-Wakīdī (tr. J. Wellhausen), 37-90; al-Tabarī, i, 1281-1359; Caetani, *Analecta*, i, 472-518; Fr. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, 238-45; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 10-16; M. Hamidullah, *The Battle-fields of the Prophet Muhammad*, Woking 1973/1955, 11-17. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

**BADR** (Pir), **SHAYKH** BADR AL-DIN BADR I 'ĀLAM, a saint of the Dīnawādiyya order, venerated by the people of Bihar and Bengal. In Bengal he enjoys the reputation of sharing with Pīr Fir of Sonargaon the dominion of the waters. While putting to sea the sailors of Bengal utter the invocation: 'Āllāh, Nābī, Pānī Pīr, Badr, Badr.' Pīr Badr originally belonged to Meerut (in Uttar Pradesh) where his great grandfather, Shaykh Faḥr al-Dīn Zuhd (d. 704/1304) had established a great mystic centre. His grandfather, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Hakīm-gō was killed by Muhammad b. Tughlāk (729-732/1325-1351) for criticism of his religious views. Pīr Badr received his spiritual training at the feet of his father, Faḥr al-Dīn II, and the Suhrawardī saint, Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī. Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā invited him to Bihar but he reached there after the former's death in 782/1380. He first married into a Hindu family of Bihar and later entered into a matrimonial relationship with the ruling house of Dīnāpur. During his travels in East Bengal he converted a large number of Hindu sailors to Islam. He also helped in the establishment of Muslim power at Sonargaon. He sojourned for sometime in Citta-gong where his *ḥabīb*, in the western quarter of Bakshiḡ Bazar, is regarded as the palladium of the city and is visited by Hindu and Muslim sailors alike. Authority over the seas and rivers is considered a special spiritual attribute of his family. Faḥr al-Dīn Zuhd is reported to have rescued a party from sinking into the river Yamunā. It is said that Pīr Badr reached Citta-gong 'floating on a rock'. He died on 27 Raddjāb 844/22 December 1440 in Bihar where his mausoleum is known as Chott Dargah (the mausoleum of Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā Maner being known as Bari Dargah).

*Bibliography*: 'Abd al-Hayy, *Nushat al-Ghawāmir*, Havyārābād 1957, 19, 36; 'Uyād al-Hakīk, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā' al-Bangālīya*, Noakhali 1937, 64-72; *JASB*, Part I, No. 3, 1873, 302-3. For his ancestors: Muhammad Ghaṣṣī, *Gulzar-e-Ahrār* (As. Soc. Bengal, Ivanow 97, f. 14); 'Abd al-Hakīk

Dihlawī, *Akshār al-Akshār*, Delhi 1891, 129; Ghulām Mu'īn al-Dīn, *Ma'arid al-Wilāya* (Personal collection) 4, 536. (K. A. NIZAMI)

**BADR** a. **HASANWAYH** [see HASANWAYH, BASŪ].

**BADR** AL-DĀWLĀ [see ARTUKIDĒS].

**BADR** AL-DĪN [see 10<sup>th</sup> LU<sup>2</sup>].

**BADR** AL-DĪN b. **KĀDĪ SAMĀWNA**, eminent Ottoman jurist, Sūfī and rebel. Badr al-Dīn Mahmūd b. Kādī Samāwna was born in 760 A.H./3 Dec. 1358 in Samāwna (which corresponds to the former Greek εἰς Ἀμυρδανον near Adrianople). He was the eldest son of the judge Ghāṣṣ al-Bakrī, who was one of the oldest fighters for the faith of his time, and traced his ancestry back to the Sāldjūks. His mother was Greek, and took the name Melek after her conversion to Islam. Badr al-Dīn spent his youth in Adrianople (which had been conquered in religion 1361). He was taught the basis of Islamic belief and law by his father and, later on, by the jurists Yūsuf and Shāhidī. His subsequent studies took him to Bursa, in the company of his friend Mūsā Celebi, better known as Kādīzāde-i Rūmī, a brilliant mathematician and astronomer. Up to 1381, he studied logic and astronomy in Konya under a certain Fayḍ Allāh. After that, Badr al-Dīn went to Jerusalem, where he worked under the otherwise not so judiciously well known, Ibn al-'Askalānī (not the famous Ibn Ḥajar al-'Askalānī), then he went to Cairo, attracted by the teaching of such famous scholars as Muḥarrahgāh al-Manṭiqī, the physician Ḥādīdī Paṣha, the philosopher and lawyer 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī, and a certain 'Abd al-Lāṭif. In about 1383, Badr al-Dīn went on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and returned to Cairo, the Mamlūk sultan Barḳūk appointed him as tutor to his son Farādī, who was to succeed him. By some fateful chance, Badr al-Dīn met the Sūfī Shaykh Ḥusayn Aḡhālāfī at the Mamlūk court, and under his overpowering influence he (a former opponent of the Sūfīs) himself accepted Sūfism. After some years of monastic life in Cairo, Badr al-Dīn travelled to Tabriz in 1405-6. Possibly attracted by the fame of the Safawīya in Ardabil—and there he came to the notice of Tīmūr Lang, who had just returned from Anatolia and attempted to take Badr al-Dīn with him to Central Asia. This he avoided by fleeing. He became Shaykh of his monastery and successor to Ḥusayn Aḡhālāfī (who had died in the meantime), but as a result of differences with his brethren he decided to leave Cairo and undertake a missionary journey to Asia Minor and Rumelia. He succeeded in gaining the sympathy of the princes of Konya and Germiyan, and also in attracting Ḥāmid b. Mūsā al-Kaysarī, a member of the Safawid order and later teacher of Ḥādīdī Bayram Wall [s.c.]. Following the success of his Sūfī convictions, Badr al-Dīn gradually developed into an open heretic: he propagated the idea of common ownership, and developed in a consistent and daring way the ideas of the heretic Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-'Arabī [s.c.]. The crowds of impoverished people whom he attracted in Asia Minor must have been considerable. Christians, too, came over to him, and it is said that he was in touch with the Genoese ruler of Chios. Finally, Badr al-Dīn landed again in Adrianople, where he retired for seven years to lead a life of solitude and study. Around 1410, and against his will, he was made military judge by the claimant to the Sultanate, Mūsā, but after the victory of Sultan Mehmed II near Camurlu (1413), he was dismissed from his post and

banished to İznik under rather humiliating circumstances. There he wrote and taught, and Ak Shams al-Dīn [s.c.]—who later became famous as Shaykh al-Bayrāmīya—is said to have been one of his pupils for a short time. It was probably there, too, that he became connected (in ways which are not yet clear) with the communist underground movement of a certain Birkūdjī Muṣṭafā, and a certain Torlak Hū Kemāl, which led to the extensive rebellion in 1416, as whose ideological head Badr al-Dīn appears. Whilst on the one hand the biography of Badr al-Dīn (which was written by his grandson Khālīl) asserts his complete innocence in all these events, the official Ottoman historians, on the other hand, accuse him of active participation—even of leadership in the rebellion. At the time when Birkūdjī Muṣṭafā and Torlak Hū Kemāl started their attack in western Asia Minor (where, to begin with, they had considerable success), Badr al-Dīn left İznik and reached Rumelia with the secret help of the discontented prince of Sinope. After the rebellion of Birkūdjī Muṣṭafā and Torlak Hū Kemāl had been most cruelly suppressed, the revolt in Rumelia also collapsed and Badr al-Dīn was caught by troops of the Sultan and dragged to Serres in Macedonia, where Sultan Mehmed II was fighting the 'false Muṣṭafā' (Dīnme Muṣṭafā [s.c.]). After a somewhat questionable trial, Badr al-Dīn was publicly hanged as a traitor in Serres on 28 Dec. 1416. The rôle played by Badr al-Dīn in this rising is still by no means clear. It is certain, however, that his ideology was in sympathy with it, and that his ideas did have an enduring influence. There is documentary evidence that there were followers of the Badr al-Dīn movement in Rumelia even under Süleymān the Magnificent. After the death of their hero, many of them turned to the now politically active Safawīya, whilst others merged into sundry sects, especially the Bektaşīyya. The most famous of Badr al-Dīn's descendants—beside his three sons Ahmad, Ismā'īl and Muṣṭafā—was his grandson Khālīl (the son of Ismā'īl) who was Badr al-Dīn's biographer.

As a writer, Badr al-Dīn was extremely prolific. He wrote close on 50 extensive works, most of them on matters of law. His most important Sūfī works are the *Wāridāt* and the *Nūr al-Kulūb*.

*Bibliography*: F. Babinger, *Scheich Badr al-Dīn, der Sohn der Richter von Simin* in: *Der Islam*, xi (1921), 1 ff., and the supplements in: *Der Islam*, xvii (1928), 100 ff., and *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien* (14th-15th century) *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten* No. 34, Brünn-Munich-Vienna 1944, 80 ff.; M. Sereffodin (Yalḳaya), *Sinamaka Kadiglu Şeyhleri*, Badr al-Dīn, İstanbul 1925; idem, article *İdrakdān* in *IA* (with details concerning Badr al-Dīn's religious views); H. J. Kissling, *Das Menäbīyānne Scheich Badr al-Dīn's, des Sohnes des Richters von Samāwān*, in *ZDMG*, C (1950) 112 ff. (based on the *Menäbīyānne* of Khālīl, edited by F. Babinger 1943); idem, *Zur Geschichte des Dorwetschordens der Bayrāmīyye in Südostthracien* xxv (1956) 217 ff. (concerning the connections between Badr al-Dīn and the Safawīya, Khālīwatīyya and Bayrāmīyya). Further matter in the above-mentioned works.

(H. J. KISSLING)

**BADR** AL-DJAMĀLĪ, a Fātimid commander-in-chief and vizier. The formerly brilliant Fātimid empire was on the verge of downfall when the inopacable Caliph Mustansir (427-87/1036-1094). The Sāldjūks were pressing forward into Syria, in EGYPT



the Turkish slave-guards were fighting with the negro-corps, a seven years' famine was exhausting the resources of the country; all state authority had disappeared in the general struggle; hunger and disease were carrying off the people, licence and violence were destroying all prosperity and appearing as if the Fātimid kingdom must disappear in a chaos of anarchy. Then, on the call of the Caliph, the Syrian general Badr al-Djamālī took command of the government as well as of the army and with great though brutal vigour brought order into affairs again and introduced a second period of splendour to the Fātimid empire.

Badr was an Armenian slave of the Syrian amir Djamāl al-Dawla Ibn 'Amālī, whence his name al-Djamālī. He must have been born about the beginning of the 10th century, for at his death in 487/1094 he was over 80 years old. Even before he became vizier he had made a great name for himself in Syria. He was twice appointed Governor of Damascus, but fell into difficulties each time on account of his stringent measures with the pampered troops. He then became commander-in-chief of 'Akkā and in this capacity had to fight against the troops of Malik-shāh. He had an Armenian bodyguard for himself and the soldiers he commanded were also to be relied on. He took them with him on being summoned by the Caliph in 466/1073 to deliver him out of the hands of the despotic Turkish officials. The latter never suspected the reason of Badr's coming to Egypt, fell into the trap prepared for them and were all murdered in one night. Badr thereby became master of the situation. Now followed his appointment as commander-in-chief or *Amir al-Djuyūsh* (in the popular language *Mir-gūsh*), as chief justice, chief preacher and vizier. The most popular of these titles was the first; the *Djāhal al-Djuyūsh* is still a common appellation of the Mubārakīn commanding Cairo on the spur of which Badr built a mosque, a *maḥallā* in which according to popular belief at the present day the Sidi *Djuyūsh* lies buried. After quieting the capital he re-established order to the east then to the west of the Delta. Alexandria had to be taken by storm. The task of conquering Upper Egypt was also difficult as the Arab tribes had set themselves up as independent there. In Syria he was not so successful. Affairs were mismanaged here, and Damascus fell into the hands of the Salḡūks about the end of the year 468/1076. The Fātimids were never to regain it. In the following year the victorious Salḡūk al-Ju'ni Atsā appeared before Cairo itself, but Badr had time to collect his troops and drive back the Salḡūks. In spite of repeated attempts in the years 471/1079-80, 478/1085-6, and 482/1090-91, he was not successful in regaining Damascus and Syria, and at his death only a few towns in the South of Syria were still in the possession of the Fātimids. His strength in Syria was weakened by unrest constantly breaking out in Egypt, inspired by one of his sons.

Of his activity as a governor we know little, but it is praised on all sides. Under his rule the annual revenue of Egypt from taxation was increased from about 2 to about 3 million dinārs. These large receipts enabled him to put into practice the lessons learned from the Salḡūk invasion. Cairo was invested by him with its second wall, and the three strong city gates which are admired to this day, the Bab Zawīya (Zuwayla), the Bab al-Najr and the Bab al-Futūh, were built.

In Rab' I 487/March-April 1094 Badr's active and successful career came to its close, after he had arranged that his son al-Aḥd al-Shāhshāh (q.v.) should succeed him in all his offices. The Caliph Mustansir, who had then been reigning for 60 years, died a few months later.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Kalānī; Ibn Mūsā; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḡdāw* (Cairo) v, index; Ibn al-Sayrafī, *al-Iḡḡā al-ma' adīa 'l-Wāḍi'a*, Cairo 1924; Makrīfī, *Kh̲ab̲ar*, i, 380 ff.; Ibn Kh̲aldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iv, 64; Ibn al-Aḥlī, 19, 40, 60, 68 ff.; 121 ff.; 260 ff.; M. van Berchem, *Corpus Inscrip. Arab.*, l'Égypte, No. 11, 32, 33, 30-39; 516, 518 and the bibliography cited there; Djamāl al-Din al-Shāyḡī, *Maḥallat al-Waḥīd al-Fātimī*, Cairo 1925; index; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte des Fātimiden-Califats*, 264 ff.; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, 120 ff.; Mariel, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, period of Mustansir; Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, ii, index; K. M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Pennsylvania 1955, i, index; C. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe* (vol. iv of G. H. Huet, *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, Paris n.d.), 245-54; idem, *Matriaria postea un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, Egypte, MFAO, li, 132-158; idem, *Précis d'Histoire d'Égypte*, ii, 286-288.

(C. H. BECKER)

**BADR AL-KHARSHANĪ**, amir, probably a native of Kh̲arshān in Cappadocia, sometimes designated (through a factitious genealogy) by the name of Badr al-'Amālī al-'Aḥdī ( Chamberlain to the caliph al-Kh̲alīf and in high favour under al-Rāḡ, he followed the amir al-amār Ibn Rāḡ (q.v.). Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdānides*, Algiers 1951, 411-24), when the latter was charged with the government of Djazira and Syria-Palestine. Badr became lieutenant of Ibn Rāḡ, received the governorate of the *djund* of Jordan, and resided at Tiberias (beginning of 380/end of 399); about this time he was extolled by the panegyrist al-Mutanabbī (q.v.). During the conflict between Ibn Rāḡ and the Hamdānī amir of Mawṣil Nāḡir al-Dawla, Badr too returned to 'Irāq, won short-lived favour under the caliph al-Muttakkī, but had to flee as the result of intrigues and take refuge at al-Fusṭāṭ, in Egypt, with Muhammad al-Iḥḡhīdī (q.v.). He died there at the end of 399/444.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Aḡḡr, *Kamāl*, Cairo 1901, viii, 119, 139; Minkhawayh, *Taḡḡrīb al-Uṣul*, in GMS, v, 84, 405, 509; K. Blachère, *Un Poète arabe du IV<sup>e</sup>/X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Revue Tāyib* al-Mutanabbī, Paris 1935, 95-105. (R. BLACHÈRE)

**BADRA**, a small town of east-central 'Irāq (43° 55' E, 35° 7' N), near the Persian frontier, with a population of 6000, practically all *Shāḡ* Muslims of mixed Arab and Lurish blood. It is the head-quarters of a *liḡā* (with dependent *subḡa* of Zarbāḡīya) in the *liḡā* of Kūt al-'Amāra. Apart from one new official quarter, Badra shows little modern development, with narrow streets, poor houses, and salty water. Grain cultivation and fruit and date gardens are extensive, and the "Badrāyā" date famous; irrigation is from the Gāllā stream, rising in Persia.

The town has continuity with medieval Bādārāyā (that is, Bayt Darāyā, a tribe-name), which is frequently mentioned in Syriac literature and by the Arab geographers; with Bākusāyā it fell in the district of Bandandīḡa, east of the Nahrawān (q.v.) canal-system and on the borders of *Djūlā* province. It had greater medieval than modern development, with considered a seat of learning, and was the

scene of a settlement by Kh̲usraw I Anūshirwān of captives from northern Syria. Mounds near and in modern Badra represent the older city, which was ruined by floods, pestilence or war.

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(S. H. LONGRIGG)

**BADRKĪĀNĪ**, THURAYYĀ (1883-1938) and DJALĀLAT (1893-1951), sons of Amir Anūl 'Alī, eldest son of Badr-kh̲ān (died 1868), Prince of Bōḡhīn (Djāṡrat Ibn 'Imām) of the 'Aḡḡā family, who fought against the Turks for the independence of Kurdistan (1836-1845). The two brothers, born at Maḡtala (Syria) died, the first in Paris and the second, as the result of an accident, in Damascus. Both devoted their lives to the Kurdish national cause, Thurayyā in the sphere of organisation and political propaganda and Djāḡlat mainly in the cultural field.

Thurayyā, after having obtained the Diploma in Aeronautical Engineering at the University of Constantinople, began to lead a turbulent life, in which is mirrored the history of the national struggle of his people. In 1904 he was found guilty of plotting against the security of Turkey and sent to prison. He spent two and a half years in prison in Constantinople. After the Young Turk *revölüt* of 1908, he returned to Constantinople and started his newspaper "Kurdistan" in Kurdish and Turkish. In 1919, the newspaper was suspended and he was again thrown into prison, and condemned to death for having taken part in the preparation of a military revolt. He was pardoned and in 1920 banished. In 1922, however, he returned to the capital, where he organised a secret Kurdish revolutionary committee. He was condemned to death, and for the third time saw the inside of a prison. He made his escape and finally left Turkey in 1931. During the 1914 war, Thurayyā recommended the publication of his newspaper in Cairo, where he also organised a Committee for the Kurdish independence, which played a rôle in the drawing up of the Treaty of Sèvres (1919-20). As this diplomatic instrument, which envisaged an international Kurdish statute, remained a dead letter, Thurayyā resumed his revolutionary activities after the signing of the Treaty of Lusanne (1923), and in 1927, together with his supporters, he joined the National Kurdish League *Kh̲oybān*, which had just come into being. He returned to Syria in 1929, but in 1930 the year of the great Kurdish revolt in Turkey he was prohibited from living in the territories under French mandate and was obliged to expatriate himself to Paris, where he represented the *Kh̲oybān*. Among other things, the Kurdo-Armenian reconciliation dates from this period, and he found in him a convinced and clever architect. In general terms, Amir Thurayyā was the first Kurdish patriot to conduct a campaign in accordance with a programme and with modern political arguments, both by word of mouth and in print. Several pamphlets by him in various foreign languages are known.

Djāḡlat's career was less eventful than that of Thurayyā. He held a master's degree in Law of the University of Constantinople and completed his studies in Munich. In 1927, he was elected the first

president of the *Kh̲oybān*. In 1930, he took part in an attempted Kurdish rising in Turkey, which he entered with Hāḡḡā Ḥāḡḡā. After the failure of this undertaking he settled in Damascus. There he devoted himself to literary work and from 13 May 1932 to 1935, and again in 1947-48, published the review *Haṡḡḡ* (Summons), in French and Kurdish. (Djāḡlat produced a Kurdish alphabet in Latin characters, which began the work of unification of *Kurmāndjī* Kurdish). Furthermore, the review contributed to the rebirth of the popular literature, sought to reconcile the tribal chiefs and the men of letters, whom the former held in suspicion, and prepared educational material, publishing "booklets" (spelling-books, readers and books on religion); in all 12 appeared. During the last war, Djāḡlat also published the review *Rewāḡ* (Light).

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**BĀDĀSĒBĀNĪS**, under the 'Abbasid Caliphate a district south-west of Baghdad, the land south of the Naḡl Sarīḡ, a branch of the Euphrates canal Nahr 'Asā (q.v.). The Sarīḡ separates it from the Katrabbul district; the southern part of the western half of Baghdad (the so-called town of al-Manḡir) as well as the suburb of Karḡī were situated within the bounds of the district of Bādāṡyā; the latter formed, like the district of Katrabbul, a subdivision of the circle of Asṡān al-'Alī.

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(M. STRECH)

**BĀDĀSĒBĀNĪS** (Παδασβάνης), minor Caspian dynasty, noteworthy for its longevity (45-106/665-159) as well as for that of its princes, some of whom reigned for 50 years. Its power in Tabaristān (Māzandarān) extended to Rustamdar, Rhyān, Nūr and Kōḡḡūr. Its origins are traced to Gāwḡāra who came from Armenia in the time of Yārdīḡud III, who appointed him governor. He had two sons, who appointed him governor. He had two sons, Gīllān and Tabaristān, established respectively in Dāḡbūya and Bādāṡtān, established respectively in Gīllān and Tabaristān, the former being the eponymous ancestor of the Dāḡbūwand dynasty (40-144/660-701), and the latter that of the Bādāṡbānīs. The history of this latter dynasty is given in an excellent résumé by Rabīno (see ARKASVANT), including a genealogical table with some forty names with numbers indicating their order. There exists, furthermore, a *Tarīḡḡā Kayān* (T.R.) by Masḡūda Awḡḡā Alāḡ al-'Amūl, written for Faḡḡūr al-Dawla Shāḡ Ḥāḡḡā B. Ziyār (died 786/1384) which does not cover the whole of the period of the dynasty as described in Rabīno. On the other hand, it contains abundant details on the internal life of the dynasty, so that these two sources, therefore, admirably complement each other. We learn, for example, that two major revolts took place in Tabaristān against the Arab occupation; one in the time of 'Umar b. al-'Alī, was the joint work of the *ishḡḡḡ* Shahrīn Bāwand and Shahrīyār Bādāṡbān



with Wanda' Hormid of the Sūlāhī clan (T.R., 46); the other broke out in Dīlāh (Cālis) and was savagely repressed (T.R., 52). These times appear to have been provoked by the burden of excessive taxation.

In some cases, for example the revolt of Māyār (a.n.), religious movements have served as a pretext. Shī'ism was only imposed as late as the middle of the 9th/15th century by Kaymārth (no. 36 in Rabūn). The resistance opposed by Iranian national feeling to all foreign usurpation is best evinced in respect of the Rūhāns. Their reign is portrayed as a period of well-being (T.R., 122). Nevertheless, the destruction caused by the Mongols (T.R., 130) and by Tīmūr (Rabūn) is not passed over in silence.

The protection of the Sāldūkhids was sought from time to time: Hazīrān sought that of Toghril, for example (T.R., 103). Khā'arim (T.R., 106, 107), the Saffārīds (T.R., 70) and the Sāmānīds (T.R., 74, 76) are mentioned in various epics, the latter for the most part in connection with the 'Alid Sayyids. As for the internal struggles, which are purely of local interest, the Bādūshānids were sometimes in alliance with their neighbours and sovereigns, the Bāwānd, and at other times were against them. After a number of conflicts with the Buwayhids, a *modus vivendi* was found which maintained the peace (nos. 13, 14 in Rabūn).

The Ismā'īlī heretics (*malāhīdā*), are the object of violent diatribes (T.R., 90), but when needed, their help was sought (T.R., 100, 10). Both the Bāwānd (Shams al-Mulūk) and the Bādūshānids (Shahrāshūb b. Nāwāwar) contributed to their final defeat. The period during which Arabian nomadic life developed and crystallised lay between the time of Jesus and that of Muhammad. Four kinds of nomadism are practised in Arabia. In the Dīlāh al-Kāh, in Ḥīfār, on the Indian Ocean, peoples who speak Semitic languages of the Mahri-Socotran group graze hump-backed cattle on grass provided by the abundant rainfall of the summer monsoon. In cultivated regions of southern Iraq special families of herdsmen raise water-buffaloes, pasturing them in reaped and fallow fields. These people live in semi-cylindrical houses of poles and matting, which they move about seasonally over short distances. On the desert fringes, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Kuwait, whole clans and tribes of shepherds mounted on donkeys drive their sheep and goats from pasture to pasture. Out in the middle of the desert the Bedouin proper herd their camels, migrating to the areas of recent rainfall in winter and spring and remaining near sources of permanent water in summer.

These four kinds of nomadism are dependent on the different physiological needs and capacities of the animals herded. Humped cattle need green grass and daily water, water-buffalo streams or irrigation ditches to wallow in. While sheep and goats can graze on drier vegetation part of the year, they move slowly and cannot be kept more than a day or two from water. Camels can go as long as seventeen days without water in 100° F. heat, and can drink 30 gallons at a time. Their ability to withstand the rigours of the desert are due not only to their capacity for holding water but also to their ability to preserve it: a camel can tolerate an increase up to eleven degrees F. over normal body temperature without much water loss through sweating. They also store energy in the form of fat in their humps. The Arabian horse, when it is kept

herding and sowing complex of Western Asia; the ass, domesticated by early Bronze Age times for transport; and the mare, horse and water buffalo, introduced during historic times.

Hunting peoples living off gazelle, oryx, dex, ostrich, bustard, and quail were probably the desert's sole occupants until about 5,000 B.C. As Neolithic cultivators began to settle the edges of the waste, its seasonal wealth of herbage enticed shepherds and goatherds to lead their flocks out to certain districts during the winter and spring. After the camel had been introduced around 1,100 B.C. full-time nomads found it possible to live out on the desert throughout most of the year, summering at wells or on the edges of oases and perennial streams. With the riding horse, introduced after 500 B.C., and perhaps as late as the time of Christ, Arabian camel nomads acquired an animal from whose back they could fight each other efficiently, and the golden age of Arabian life on the desert could begin.

The enormous number of unexplored archaeological sites in the Arabian desert, the advance of desiccation since the introduction of the camel, and historical references in pre-Islamic literary sources indicate that the Arabian nomads for the most part are descended from farmers, traders, and caravan men who took to pastoralism during the early centuries of this era, as both business and the landscape deteriorated, just as cowboys and pastoralists in the United States, Canada, and Australia are descended from agricultural and urban peoples who took advantage of newly opened territories. The period during which Arabian nomadic life developed and crystallised lay between the time of Jesus and that of Muhammad.

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on the desert, is watered on transported water, and fed grain, being treated with the same solicitude as human beings. Sheep, goats, cattle, water-buffaloes, and camels all produce milk. Goat hair is used for tents, sheep and camel wool for clothing. All these animals are eaten, except horses. The horse provides nothing but the kinds of transport directly concerned with warfare and prestige. As social status combined with independence is the most important of all considerations to a desert Arab, the horse is honoured accordingly.

The most ancient dwellers on the desert are the Sulāhā (a.n.), probably descended from early hunters, and representing a phenotypically homogeneous desert-adapted Mediterranean racial strain. In northern Arabia they dwell among the noble Bedouin, whom they serve as guides, tinkers, and workers in wool. At times they also hunt. Their women provide entertainment. Second in probable antiquity are the shepherd tribes, as for example the Shārārāt and the Muntafik confederations. These are in the most part dependent on the camel nomads because of their relative immobility and hence defencelessness. Individuals of these tribes serve the camel nomads as hired herdsmen. Members of the noble tribes own camels, drive and ride them on migrations, and guard and defend them while grazing. In the heat of summer they sometimes pick dates in oases, or even go pearl-fishing.

These tribesmen are also served by blacksmiths, mostly negroid, who come out from the settled places, and by Negro slaves. Shopkeepers from the towns sometimes set up special tents in the Bedouin camps to vend their wares, while travelling agents of large camel-purchasing companies buy up young camels which will be collected upon reaching the desired state of maturity. Much of this business takes place at camel markets like that of Burayda in Najd. Members of the noble tribes often visit the cities of Sa'ūdī Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Kuwait where some of them maintain town houses. Many have taken to settled life, and some have risen to high offices in the various Arab countries.

The material culture of the Bedouina is designed around mobility. The black tent of goat-hair is loosely woven, to permit circulation of air, yet its fibres swell when wet to keep out the rain; in summer it provides an area of thick-matted shade, open on the sides to the breeze; in winter, with sides and rear closed it is warm. Except for special tents used only as *diwāns*, or reception halls, it is divided by a curtain into a family section, occupied by women and children, and the guest section in which the head of the household receives his male friends. Kitchen utensils are of metal and wood, but each family usually owns a set of small porcelain coffee cups carefully packed in a compartmented wooden box. Arab clothing, loose and flowing, is warm in winter and cool in summer, as it protects the skin both from the cold and from the hot, dry wind; the man's headcloth, and the woman's headress and veil, also help to keep dust and sand out of the eyes, nose, and ears. Most of the Bedouin's outfit is purchased, including the cotton cloth for his under-clothing, his tools, and his containers. So is much of his food, including wheat, rice, dates and coffee. Only milk and meat are produced locally.

Like other Semites, the Bedouins lay great stock in genealogies, and consider kinship of paramount importance in human relations. The preference for staying being with the father's brother's daughter, descent is patrilineal. Divorce is easy, polygamy both serial

and contemporary. Bedouin women, often unveiled, in many cases married more than one, have more freedom than their sisters of the towns and oases. Beyond the immediate family is a group of kin which usually goes out to pasture together; several such groups will spend the hot season together; this is usually the limit of the kin responsible for mutual vengeance. Beyond this is the tribe, finally the confederation. Among the Bedouin proper, also called 'Arab, two main lineages are recognised, those descended from Kahtān, who lived before Abraham, and the 'Arab al-Musta'ribā, descended from Ishmael, son of Abraham and Hagar, who was daughter of a king of Hīdīz. The Bedouin proper include the 'Anazā confederation, of which the Ruwālā is the best known tribe, the Shammar, the Al Murra in and on the borders of the Empty Quarter, the 'Ujīmān, and the Banū Khālid. All of these tribes follow a strict code of chivalry when fighting one another.

Being mobile camel-owners, these aristocrats are concerned chiefly with the use of winter and spring grazing lands, the locations of which vary from year to year with the whim of the rains. In each camp the work is done mostly by dependents — slaves, Sulāhā, hired herdsmen, and blacksmiths, all of whom are considered non-combatants. A Bedouin *shaykh* entertains lavishly in a large tent where food is always available to his followers and guests. The ritual of coffee drinking is highly formalised and nearly always in progress. Members of other tribes fleeing vengeance seek the protection of his "face". Travellers cross his territory under the protection of his guards. In inter-tribal warfare, which most frequently arises over pasture rights, he will often lead his men into battle in person. Bravery, generosity, and good judgment are the qualities traditional in such a leader, who does not inherit his office directly, but is chosen, often after a sharp contest, from the paramount family. Before trucks, buses, railroads and airplanes took over the desert carrying trade, the Bedouins guided, protected, and raided caravans, including the huge pilgrim processions.

The Bedouins are Muslims, characteristically Sunni. Many (especially in Eastern Arabia) follow the Mālikī code, but in the Wahhābīs universally follow the Hanbalī. The Bedouins generally are said to spend less time and effort in religious devotions than townsmen but the conditions are sometimes reversed. In some of their rituals can be seen a survival of veneration for ancestors.

The political situation of the Bedouins varies from period to period. When the central governments to which the tribal territories are officially assigned are weak, the paramount *Shaykh's* rule virtually as kings, and even cities have paid them tribute. At times when the central governments are strong, their authority becomes purely local. At the present time Bedouins are found within the political boundaries of Sa'ūdī Arabia, Yaman, Aden Protectorate, Maskat, Trucial Oman, Kuwait, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Egypt and the North African states. For the most part these governments endeavour to keep their nomads at home. In some countries this effort has been implemented by programmes to settle some of them on newly irrigated land, and new water-tanks along the Tāpine are used by a number of tribes, including the Ruwālā.

Part of one tribe, the Dawāsiir, whose home in southern Najd, moved to the Persian Gulf and onto the island of Bahrayn. In 1923 they crossed



back to the mainland, and settled in al-Bihar and Damnam. During the last three decades some of the Dawāsi, having worked for the Arabian American Oil Company, have set up in businesses of their own, including construction and transportation.

Today the Bedouins are in a state of transition. Some still concern themselves with camel breeding for the meat, skin, and wool markets; others are truckers, machinists, and skilled operators of oil producing machinery, and are sending their children to school and college. They are showing themselves just as adaptable to the machine age as they were to life on the desert when an earlier opportunity called them.

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## II. THE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF NOMADISM IN ITS GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT

- Goat and Sheep Nomadism.
- The Nomad on Horseback.
- Bedouin Nomadism in Arabia.
- The Appearance of Camel Nomadism in North Africa.

### (a) Goat and Sheep Nomadism.

The expressions "nomad" and "nomadism" lose their scientific practicality, if they are not used in their restricted meaning: "roaming from place to place for pasture" (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*). Nomadism is unsettled roaming, pasturing herd animals. Roaming gatherers and hunters as well as a population with a shifting agriculture (*ladang*, *milpa*, see Coon) should not be called nomadic. If we follow the succession of "agricultural origins" of the Old World in C. O. Sauer's conception (1952) taken over and elaborated by the authors in two papers (1956, 1957), nomadism in this restricted sense began much later than planting and breeding "household animals", i.e. dog, pig, and fowl. (Sauer distinguishes between household animals and herd animals).

The still hypothetical sequence of creative centres of domestication and cultivation, according to Sauer's interpretation, began along the river banks and coasts of moist tropical forest round the Bay of Bengal, where a rather sedentary fishing folk, which in addition hunted and collected plants and mussels, began to breed these "household animals" (dog, pig, fowl) and to plant tubers and fruit shrubs and trees. (cf. also E. Hahn, Hettner, Menghin, Werth 1950, 1954, Dittmer, Smolla).

Cultivation of seed plants ("millet")—this is a term including the diverse species of small seed cereals—as well as pulse and oil plants) was then added in the winter-dry forest, which is easily burnt down, and in the wooded steppe, at first in India. These plants supply proteins and oil, making man more independent of animal food, especially of fish. In this progressive succession of cultures, in which man became "the lord of creation", the next step seems to have been the breeding of goats and (then) sheep in the mountain areas north-west of India, round the Hindukush. This was probably incited by a near contact between seed-planters and mountain hunters, among whom the wild goat or sheep was a holy animal. A culture thus resulted in which herding was added to seed-planting and hunting. It may be regarded as a primary stage of

farming, as a goat and sheep farming culture ("Kleinstock-Bauerntum"), if we understand the meaning of farming to be a combination of tilling and herding.

Results of the ethnological expedition of A. Friedrich (Jettmar 1957b) strongly support this hypothesis, especially for the goat. In the remote valleys of the Shin of Gilgit, the *marhor*, the wild goat with screw-shaped horns, and the ibex are holy animals, "herded by goddesses". The domestic goat, an offspring of the wild goat of the same region, pastures in this habitat. The economy of the Shin consisted in a scanty growing of millet, but an intensive breeding of goats and an important hunting of the *marhor* and ibex. Jettmar brings several indications for the thesis that the domestication of the goat took place in these regions. The experience of domestication—of this tremendous intervention in the balance of nature—must have entailed a profound religious emotion. Jettmar calls this a religious shock of domestication (cf. E. Hahn).

The growing of the two-rowed barley (*Hordeum spontaneum*) as the first large seed grain ("Halbgetreide") may have already been developed in that region. Probably in this stage, if not earlier, small-scale irrigation was started.

But only the thesis of the following great step, which largely diversified social and economic modes of living, is more or less archaeologically proved up to now: in the highlands and the mountains of Western Asia, somewhere between Western Iran and Syria, cattle were bred and primitive wheat (*emmer*, *Triticum dicoccum*; *emhorr*, *T. monococcum*; possibly spelt, *T. triticea*) was grown as an addition to the basic goat and sheep farming. It was the foundation of a complete farming culture ("Vollbauerntum"), which later became the basis of early civilisation in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

These four main nuclei of creative cultures which reared animals and plants were based on one another, appearing near the Bay of Bengal and progressing finally to the highlands and mountains round Mesopotamia. Each of these four stages sent out waves of dispersion over large parts of the world. In comparison with these creative centres, all other regions seem to have been more or less stagnant or transformed or rejected, according to cultural or climatic circumstances.

The first data we can use for inserting this succession into a frame of absolute time are the radiocarbon dates for the pre-pottery settlements with complete farming near Kal'at Djamir in the hills east of Kirkuk, c. 4750 B.C., a settlement without irrigation (Braidwood), and those of the fortified neolithic settlement of Jericho, in the 7th millennium B.C. W. F. Albright doubts the latter date (oral communication). The emmer grown at Kal'at Djamir was still nearer to the wild form than to the later cultivated form (Hilbek, Schlemmer by letter). This might show that no very long time

had passed since the beginning of emmer cultivation. The oldest strata of oasis settlement known in Jericho are said to go back into the early 7th millennium B.C., but we are not yet informed by Kenyon and Zoumer about the domesticated animals (except the goat) and cultivated seed plants there. The Natufian culture of Palestine (Garrod, Bate) is probably older than the oldest strata of Jericho. Like Sauer and Albright (1949, 129), we

suppose that seed agriculture, probably growing some species of millet, was already carried out during the Natufian stage (cf. Clark, Narr 1956).

On the other hand we now know with considerable certainty that the 9th millennium B.C. was a very cold period globally (glacial advance of "Salpausselkäe" in North or Europe, of "Scleria" in the Alps, of "Mankato" in North America as far as the Great Lakes, of the moraines which the snow line was about 800 metres and more lower than at present (Caldenius, Fribas, Deevy, Gross, Rathien, Butzer). But from about 5500 to 2500 B.C. temperatures were higher all over the globe than they are now, so that the snow line, timber line and potential cereal line were situated about 400 metres above the present ones (Thermal Maximum, *Mittlere Würmerzeit*). It seems improbable to me that a herding culture took its origin in the mountains north-west of India in a time of glacial advance or of very heavy glaciation. I suppose that this happened in the period of glacial retreat, perhaps in its first half. This glacial retreat took place throughout the whole period from 8100 to 5500 B.C. Temperatures rose rather quickly, and the timber line and cereal line climbed up to those high elevations mentioned above. But natural oases in the deserts round the mountain chains of Central Asia always became smaller and scarcer, as they were led by rivers derived from retreating glaciers continually diminishing in size. Towards and during the Thermal Maximum, a sheep breeding culture was able to spread over Tibet, where the climate was much more favourable than. This culture was not purely nomadic (cf. Hermanns, Kussmann). It probably began to grow the six-rowed barley (*Hordeum vulgare*, i.e., *hexastichum*), the wild form of which probably is *Hordeum apiculatum*, which has been found round Lhasa and in Eastern Tibet (Friedleben, Schlemmer 1948, 1951). It seems that the cultivated varieties of six-rowed barley all derive from this form. They spread over China and India; and from India they seem to have taken their way to South Arabia and Abyssinia (which became a secondary centre of variation) and thence to Upper Egypt, where cultivated emmer had entered from Syria and was grown in Upper Egypt beside six-rowed barley in the late 5th millennium B.C. (Caton Thompson and Gardner, Brunton, Libby, Arnold, Kees).

It seems that the route from the Hindukush and Eastern Iran by South Arabia to Africa has been of great importance for the spreading of cultures—and also of tribes (Pösch)—during long periods, and especially during the periods of the spreading of early seed planting as well as of goat and sheep farming. There are no wild goats in Arabia and Abyssinia. But the veneration and ritual hunt of the ibex was also spread in these countries. The idolisation of the ibex was common in South Arabia in the last millennium B.C. The ibex god Ta'ab was protector of goats and sheep (Beeston, Höfner). Up to date, ibex hunting has been a ritual act in Hadramaut (van der Meulen, von Wissmann 177, 4). The ibex seems to have had a similar position in the Badarian and early Nakada cultures of Upper Egypt after 4000 B.C. (Brunton, tables), in the latter beside the bull. We must also mention that Agatharchides (about 730 B.C.; C. Müller, Geogr. Græc. Mss., I, 253) describing the nomadic Troglodytes near the western coast of the Red Sea (known as Illyrienses and Bedj), writes that they call bulls and rams their father, cows and sheep their mother.



The early cultures of goat and sheep farming with millets and of a complete cattle farming with large-seed cereals were more or less restricted to the climates and vegetations from light forest and wooded steppe to semi-desert as well as to the natural and artificial oases. All of these mostly have a light and rich soil, which is easily cultivated (map 1). The wooded steppe is good for both agriculture and pasture. The dry steppe is a rather good pasture. It is arable, but agriculture depending on rainfall is endangered in dry years. The desert steppe or semi-desert is too dry for this kind of agriculture. It can be used, however, as a meadow pasture for goats and sheep, but not for cattle. Good pasture is also found in highlands above the cereal line.

In areas of desert steppe where oases do not exist or are scarce, pastoral folk herding sheep and goats, but not cattle, could branch off from the steppe-farming tribes and become independent nomads. However, such nomadic people breeding

had either to depend on oases or other settled areas or to herd in tillable regions of the Fertile Crescent. On the attitude of the Egyptians towards this roaming population and on their frontier control in the East cf. Kees, 64 ff., 106 f., esp. papyrus Petersburg 1116 A, l. 51 f. "He (the Asiatic) never lives in the same place and his feet are wandering since the time of Horus, he fights and is neither victor, nor is he defeated". The difference between nomads, semi-nomads, partial nomads, steppe farmers and farmers of small oases was much smaller and occupational overlapping was more common than in later periods (see W. F. Albright, 1946, 181 ff., esp. 1949, 239 ff. on the Israelites in the desert, the patriarchs and the 'Apiru or Khabiru). In many of these cases, it is better to speak of pastoralism than of nomadism.

In no part of Asia does there ever seem to have spread any complete cattle nomadism, such as exists in parts of Africa south of the Sahara, except yak nomadism in the highlands above the timber line



Map 1. Oasis and steppe regions of the Dry Belt of the Old World, classified according to their thermal conditions.

1-highland desert; 2-desert, semi-desert; 3-forest; 4-oasis, steppe and wooded steppe; 5-steppe with cool summer and cold winter; 6-oasis and steppe with long, hot summer; 7-steppe, tropical, no frost; 8-mountain chain.

ghanae in the semi-desert must always have lived an impoverished life compared with tribes of nomadic zones or of regions interspersed with oases. In these latter regions, parts of a tribe may have been agricultural, other parts pastoral ("partial nomadism"). Thus a pure nomadism was carried out by a branch of a steppe-farming or even oasis-farming clan or social unit. (This way of living somewhat resembles South-European transhumance.) W. F. Albright (1946 a, b, 1949, 147, 154, 262 f., 257) supposes that the Semitic neighbours of the Sumerians were such pastoral tribes, partly nomadic, when the Sumerians, at the outset of civilisation, began to irrigate Lower Mesopotamia. The western Semites (Amorites) crossed on the Babylonians mainly from 2100 to 1900 B.C. These ancient nomads differed from any modern form of society in Arabia, Bedouin, semi-nomad or Shaib (Shalab). They possessed goats, sheep and donkeys. Hunting and robbing the harvest were important for them. They travelled and attacked on foot. This made a complete crossing of the desert impossible for them, except in spring. They did not dare to move more than a day's journey (30 km.) from a watering place. In summer they

in Tien-shan and Tibet, cattle are not fitted for semi-desert grazing. They also find difficulty in grazing in winter in a steppe with a frozen snow cover, as in West Siberia (cf. Potapov, and Hančar, 1901).

We have recognised that pastoral life has been an essential part of the farming cultures since their origin. We saw that the earliest domestication of herd animals and pasturing was probably developed in the Hindukush area by seed planters surrounded by mountain hunters of ibex and wild goat (and perhaps sheep), and that this was an invention correlated with deep religious emotion, an invention by which these seed planters became steppe farmers. Because of the pastoral branches of their clans, these steppe farmers must have been of greater mobility and more migratory than the seed planters had been. But only in places, where herdsmen of sheep and goats entirely split off from their kinship or group and gave up agriculture, may we speak of complete nomadism.

When an oasis became more extensive and its settlement larger, the population became increasingly sedentary. The new excavations of pre-pottery Jericho show that such irrigating villages were fortified like towns very early, in Jericho perhaps

in the 7th millennium (Kenyon, Zeuser). This may have been the first germ of what became early civilisation in the 4th millennium B.C. in the delta oases of Mesopotamia, where large irrigation schemes needed collaboration, centralisation and the formation of states, where mass labour was required as well as division, specialisation and intensification of labour, and where technical inventions sprang up (wheel, cart, plough). As a result of this development, the intensity of contrast between steppe farming and oasis civilisation was continually growing, while the common offspring is displayed by the Magna Mater and bull idols worshipped in both of them.

Meanwhile steppe farming with all its pastoral traits had spread via Asia Minor to south-eastern Europe and to the light oak forests of Central Europe (Danubian culture, since c. 5000 B.C., according to radiocarbon dates). And since the 3rd millennium it began to infiltrate from the Tripolye culture (west of the Dniester river) into the wooded steppes of Russia and Siberia, which then were occupied by an advanced hunting population (Hančar). All these regions were unfit for oasis economy because of their cool or short summers (map 2).

I think it is a quality of the largely hypothetical sequence of creative centres, which step by step gain and enlarge the domination by man of other organisms, that it corresponds excellently with the succession of cultures presented by several ethnologists, e.g., by Dittmer. It also has the advantage of making parallel inventions largely unnecessary (Sauer).

We cannot treat here the hypothesis of Flor, W. Schmidt, Polihman and others, in which the reindeer represents the earliest domesticated herd animal, so that nomadism begins among hunters breeding the dog, in the boreal conifer forest (taiga, muskox) of Eurasia and spreads to the south. Since lately Jettmar (1952/3) and others have shown that impulses for reindeer domestication came from reindeer herding, the number of adherents of this hypothesis became small. The foundation of Hančar's suggestion that the reindeer was employed as a trailing and riding animal about 5,000 B.C. (547 and table 63) has broken down too. Jettmar (1957a) and Okladnikov show that the finds in the Lena region manifesting the tending of the reindeer are not from the 5th millennium B.C., as Hančar supposed, but from 700-500 B.C. (cf. below).

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#### (b) The Nomad on Horseback.

Among the Equines, the African donkey (*Equus asinus*) and the South-West and Central Asiatic onager (*Equus subgen. Hemionus*) were early in use as transport animals. Hančar's opinion is that the find of bones of one onager in Kal'at [Jarmo] (about 4750 B.C.) is important in this connection. According to Hančar, a subordinate breeding of the horse (*Equus subgen. Caballus*), which was wild in the steppes and light forests of the North, can be recognised in the early 3rd millennium B.C. in the Tripolye farming culture in the wooded steppe between the Carpathians and the Dniester river.

A decrease of temperature and probably an increase of precipitation (cf. Tolstov and Butan's different view) since about 2400 B.C. depressed the snow line in Central Asia and thus considerably enlarged the oasis areas of Tūrān, so that farming and herding as well as oasis civilisation could expand in that region (which before had been a desert of greater aridity). At least for some centuries, this desert seems to have lost its function as a strong barrier (Wissmann 1957). The advanced hunters of the North and the farmers and the oasis civilisation of the South came into contact along an extensive border. It seems that by this meeting an amalgamation took place, and a new vital and vigorous culture was growing, in which, since the early 2nd millennium, the horse, the war-chariot (with its origin probably somewhere in the South-West Asiatic highlands and Amnūn), and Indo-European peoples played an important rôle. During

this process, the veneration of the deer, which had had a central position in the religious perceptions and the myths of the northern hunters, was replaced by that of the horse, which was also brought into contact with the old South-west Asiatic chthonic fertility and bull (*bucranium*) worship (Kussmaul 1955b).

If we take this broad cultural process as a whole, we may say that by it civilisation was often relieved from oasis seclusion, where it had been in danger of stagnating and of becoming barren. Here also, we can distinguish steppe-farming and oasis-farming branches. When the Shans, who belonged to this cultural complex (Kussmaul 1955a), occupied China from Central Asia about 1500 B.C. and became its ruling class, they had been mainly oasis farmers (Eberhard, Franko, Bishop, Wissmann and Kussmaul 1956, 1957). The Aryans however, when destroying the Indus civilisation in about the same period, must have been steppe farmers, but cannot be called nomads.

According to excavations, the breeding of the Bactrian camel as a transport animal seems to have been started in Tūrān in the second half or the last quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C. (Waz, and especially Hančar). This is a few centuries earlier than the time in which we know of horse breeding in this region. Even in Mesopotamia, reliable proofs of horse domestication only begin about 2000 B.C. or shortly before (Boessneck, Hančar).

In the northern wooded steppe and marginal light forest with its rich black soil (*chernomel*) from Russia to Siberia, agriculture gradually became important beside hunting and herding. In the middle of the 2nd millennium, even Western Siberia was inhabited by a comparatively dense farming population (*Andronovo culture*). In such a region without oases, pure steppe farming with large herds offers good conditions for a social gradation as well as the formation of clans, of a warlike nobility and of dynastic leadership (Kussmaul). This farming in the black soil belt was then penetrating more and more into the open steppe, where inevitably its pastoral and migratory branch was increased and strengthened (Hančar).

However, the first people to find out that fighting on horseback was of great advantage were probably that kind of farming tribes with a strong pastoral branch, which lived in highlands and mountain basins, where the war chariot must have been of comparatively little use. This perhaps took place in Transcaucasia or even in the Carpathians (Kussmaul, Jettmar). Probably, these tribes still remained what we have called steppe farmers. Hančar considers the northern border of the Tien-shan Mountains and the Altai Mountains as the regions of origin of horse riding (1957). But Jettmar 1957 shows clearly that Hančar's main argument in this question broke down (cf. above). Reindeer riding was begun later than horse riding. In most other questions, Hančar's important basic work remains untouched.

Only when horse-riding spread into the open steppe of the North, that incursive revolution sprang up which we may call equestrian nomadisation. Once aware of the great superiority of fighting on horseback over the older ways of fighting, especially in war chariots, "North Iranian" tribes, probably between the rivers Volga and Irtysh, the Scythians and their neighbours, the Sakians, gave up steppe-farming life entirely and specialised in the breeding of herd animals, especially horses. Perhaps about 900 or 800 B.C. they became the first horse-riding

nomads, the first archers on horseback (Hančar, 390 f.). They were the first to break into the neighbouring countries, disseminating panic among sedentary populations. When we use the word nomad, we usually think of this equestrian type. This disastrous transformation overwhelmed not only the open steppe but also the wooded steppe with its dense farming population. It even attracted hunting tribes of the taiga forest to join the new way of life. The distinct social gradation of the steppe farmers now became the basis for the appearance of leaders of high political and military ability in assembling hordes of growing size. The poorer farmers and hunters were probably forced to join the "aristocracy" of horse-breeders, so that a horde organisation, unknown before, was brought about which grew by raiding, sacking, killing and enslaving other populations, and by winning over vassals, especially other herds of horsemen, owing to admiration or fear. The warm climate and the refined oasis civilisation of the South, known to some returned men through their service as mercenaries, as well as the mild climate and open plains of the West, ending in Roumania and Hungary, attracted invasions.

It is improbable that the predecessors of the Scythians in Southern Russia, the Cimmerians, were completely nomadic already. They seem to have been steppe farmers with a strong pastoral branch and with dangerous mounted warrior bands (Kussmaul 1955a, ii 302, Hančar 1957). Perhaps the early Medes can be mentioned in this connection, at the time when they succeeded the highland farmers of Irān (cf. von der Osten). Even the Achaemenids did not abandon knightly ideals, "horse-riding, archery, and love of truth".

Eastward, through the gap of Dzungaria along the foot of the Altai Mountains, nomadisation worked like a chain-reaction of explosions. The "North Iranians", especially the Scythians, were followed by the Wu-sun, who probably lived in Central and Eastern Tien-shan. We may suppose that in this period herdsmen, hunters and farmers of the open and wooded steppes surrounding Mongolia were forced to take up nomadic life. It is possible that the pressure of the Wu-sun against the population of the oasis chain of Kan-su caused the last invasion of a farming people into China, the Zhung, which led to the breakdown of the dynasty of the Western Chou (770 B.C.). The first nomadism to be traced in Chinese reports is that of the Hsiung-nu from about the 3rd century B.C. These were neither Iranians nor "Proto-Turks". According to Ligeti, their language seems to have been features of the Hsiung-nu language, when both were neighbours. In their habitat between ancient China and the Gobi Desert, the Hsiung-nu had taken over en bloc a considerable group of elements of the culture of the North Iranian nomads. Some of the traits of the life of the Hsiung-nu prove their former dependence on China. Others show their old cultural relationship to the non-nomadic primitive tribes of Manchuria (Kussmaul). During centuries of fierce wars, in which the Chinese defended themselves against the Hsiung-nu and built the Great Wall, again the Chinese took over a part of the cultural elements derived from the North Iranians, e.g. iron, cavalry, trousers, the concept of heaven as a tent. There is an old Chinese proverb: Horseback forms state.

Map 3 shows how the spark of nomadisation caught one tribal organisation after the other along the borderland between forest and desert north-east of China during and after the time of the Hsiung-nu empire, Agrarian and urban China, itself in a country of loess and steppe, counterbalanced or endured the pressure or became vassal or partly subdued or even marginally transformed into pasture, all this during long periods of alternate defence and retreat and of regaining ground for agriculture. As the object of this article is a synopsis of the history of the origin of nomadism, we cannot deal with the growth of more or less short lived nomadic realms and empires, which in their tendencies saw a model in the universalistic and cosmological state doctrine of the Chinese Empire. Nor can we deal with those tremendous migrations and invasions into the West, during which the Dry Belt served as a corridor, through which the invaders broke into the countries of old oasis civilisation in South-west Asia or into the beginnings of forest civilisation in mediaeval Central and Western Europe, where they were one cause of the Migration of Nations (Grousset, Spuler).

All these movements destroyed what had been left of steppe farming in the plains of the open and wooded steppes. The hilly and mountainous regions surrounding Mongolia in the north, however, with a pattern of steppe, meadow and forest, became areas of retreat and regeneration of a population which made its living by hunting, by cattle-breeding, and also by farming (cf. Lattimore). The ruins of a defence wall cutting off the north-eastern corner of the steppes of Mongolia near the Gan and Argun rivers (Flactschke) show that such a farming population must have been quite numerous sometimes. We may trace on map 3 how again and again in such hilly border regions of the forest new nuclei of horde formation sprang up among hunting, herding and farming groups, who led a simple life under hard conditions. In these we find some able man, endowed with the gifts of leadership, organising a heterogeneous horde by raiding, robbing and winning vassals. Sometimes the name of a clan, little known before, became the name of a growing power or even of a vast empire. By some lucky chance, a *Siege History of the Mongols* has been preserved (Haenschel, which is the story of the life of Čingiz Khān and his clan, and of how he founded the Mongol Empire. It was written by a Mongol in A.D. 1240 as a plain first hand report. In the time of his forefathers, the semi-sedentary clan living in the Kentei Mountains owned but a few horses, cattle and sheep. There was some scanty agriculture. Wild vegetables were collected. Hunting on horseback was important. However, the neighbours in the open steppes outside the mountains were true horse-riding nomads with large flocks and herds. Some had become sated with raiding and addicted to the luxuries of civilisation with which they had become familiar during their raids. From hiding places in the valleys and forests of the Kentei hills, the indigent clan of Čingiz Khān robbed among the rich nomads of the plains. The booty consisted of horses, cattle and sheep, women, children and servants. Thus the clan turned entirely nomadic, growing by the acquisition of new vassals, an association taking its name from the leader's clan, growing in strength according to the looting ability of the leader. Finally, well-known tribes and peoples lost their independence as well as their name and merged with the great "Mongol" unit.

Virtually no region on the margin of the dry belt



of Mongolia, which once had been the cradle of such a fast growth of nomadism and then had been thoroughly nomadised, ever repeated the formation of a new nomadic aggregation.

The empty spaces of the Dry Belt were terribly enlarged by the destructive incursions and migrations of the nomadic nomads. Steppe farming was annihilated in Eurasia except in mountainous regions, if we do not include in this term the agriculture of North China and parts of India. Oasis civilisation was disastrously weakened and reduced. It is true that the larger nomadic states contributed to the interchange of materials and ideas across the continent. But this interchange would certainly have been stronger in a peaceful development. Yet we do not know to what extent suffering and decay that were necessary to save from degeneration and decay that which is sound and good in man's mind.

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(H. VON WISSMANN und F. KUSSMAUL)

#### (c) Bedouin Nomadism in Arabia.

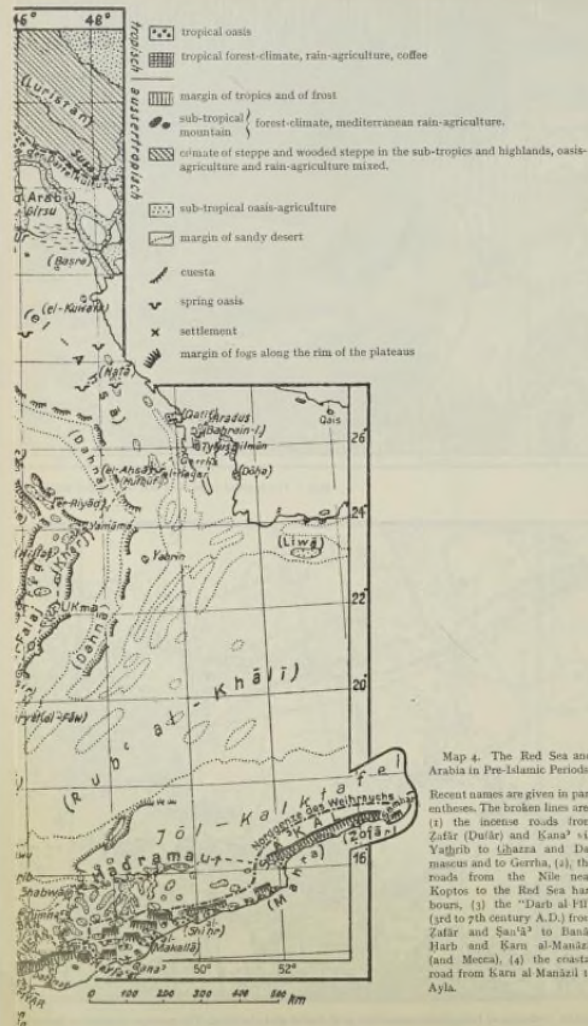
There are indications that the wild one-humped camel (the wild dromedary) lived in North Africa and the Near East until the 3rd millennium B.C., and that it became extinct later on except in Arabia. We do not know when this process of extermination ended in North Africa.

A cord made of camel hair has been found from the 3rd dynasty in Egypt. An Egyptian relief published by James (1955) shows the dromedary among wild animals. Judging from its style, it belongs to the New Kingdom. The camel was domesticated neither in the valley of the Nile, where the local climate is detrimental for its health, nor in any desert region of North Africa. This question is treated thoroughly by Walz (1957).

Agatharchides (in two versions, cf. C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minor*, 1, 179) and Artemidorus (Strabo XVI, 4, 18) give reports of the Red Sea coast of Arabia which inspire confidence. In these reports they also write that, in the hinterland of the coast of present Northern Hedjaz, there are herds of wild animals, of "cattle", camels (ὄνων ἄγριων), ἡμιότρος ἀγρίος, ἡμιότρον καὶ βοῶν), wild camels (καμήλων ἄγριων), deer and gazelles, and also numerous lions, "panthers" and wolves. All three descriptions were probably taken over from one original perhaps of Aristeo, c. 280 B.C. (cf. Tarn, *op. cit.* report, later, 14). Müll (1926, 302 ff.) believes that these camels probably were not really wild ones. (He mistakes camels, "half asses", for mules, and is right in saying that mules cannot be wild.) Littmann







Map 4. The Red Sea and Arabia in Pre-Islamic Periods.

Recent names are given in parentheses. The broken lines are: (1) the incense roads from Zafar (Dufār) and Kana' via Yathrib to Ghazza and Damascus and to Gerra, (2), the roads from the Nile near Koptos to the Red Sea harbours, (3) the 'Dart al-Hi' (rd to 7th century A.D.) from Zafar and San'ā to Banāt Harb and Karm al-Manzil (and Mecca), (4) the coastal road from Karm al-Manzil to Ayla.

(1948, 3) has demonstrated that the rock-drawings which are found in connexion with Thamūdean (cf. below) graffiti show—besides domesticated animals: camels, horses and dogs—hunted animals in great quantities: gazelles, "wild cattle" (oryx), ibexes, wild boars, hares, ostriches, lions, wolves, hyenas. Only once is a goat shown. No sheep and no domesticated cattle are drawn. The nomads between Midian and the Hawran must have been fervent hunters, but not much interested in sketching their *ghanam* (goats and sheep). Also Xenophon (*Anabasis*, I, 3, 1 ff.) speaks of onagers, wild cattle (oryx), ostriches and burzards, and he describes the hunting of onagers on horseback. So perhaps there still were also wild dromedaries in desert Arabia in the 3rd century B.C.

We cannot tell where in Arabia the one-humped camel was first domesticated. Albright supposes that this was done in South Arabia, somewhere round the great southern desert (1938, note 5). Nothing is known about the dromedary as a domesticated herd animal before the 11th century B.C. (Albright, *Waltz* 1931, 1936, against Dussaud 1907). Judges, 6-8 says that Midianites, Amalekites, and the sons of the east made incursions on camel's back into Palestine across the Jordan river. This was about in the first half of the 11th century B.C., and, according to Albright and Waltz, is the earliest date for a mention of the domesticated dromedary. It is the time when iron was introduced into Palestine. Albright (*Arch.* 1933, 227, note 1) is of the opinion that the dromedary was effectively domesticated in Arabia between the 10th/15th and the 13th/12th centuries B.C. The spreading of Semites to South Arabia goes probably back to a still earlier time: the reliefs of the Punt expedition of Hatshepsut (about 1495 B.C.) show that the Oriental sub-race of the Mediterranean races, (Mediterranean *sensu stricto*—Oriental—Iranian—Indic—Gondic; cf. von Eickstedt, Biasutti, Coon, Field 1956, Pösch), which must have been a very old race among the North Arabian Semites (Muscatti), was already represented then in South Arabia, at least among the reigning class (Dr. Heffa Pösch, oral comm.). This agrees with the supposition of Conti Rossini (1912, cf. 47) that the names of the chiefs of Punt mentioned by Hatshepsut and by Ramses II were Semitic (Paribu—farib; Nahas—nahhā; cf. Brunner-Traut, 307; Wissmann 1957). That Punt was located at least partly on the Arabian side of the sea also becomes probable, I think, when we draw conclusions from the somatic features of people of Punt in Egyptian reliefs as early as the 5th dynasty (Salurū, cf. Kees, 59). These features are similar to those of the Egyptians (cf. Pösch 1937).

W. F. Albright estimates that, in the desert climate along the interior foot of the highlands of Yemen, civilisation was beginning about the 15th century B.C. He assumes that this was due to an immigration from the north. His dating is partly based on the fact that the excavation in Hadjar b. Hunayd (cf. below) has shown that 4-5 metres of probably agricultural (irrigational) silt had been deposited before the foundation of that settlement. This foundation took place c. 1000 B.C. While 8 metres of silt were deposited during the existence of the settlement from c. 1000 B.C. to c. 200 A.D., the lower 4-5 metres may represent about half a millennium (R. Le Baron Bowen, 67, 117; Albright 1938).

It is peculiar that camel-riding and horse-riding both seem to have begun to spread in the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C., camel-riding from Arabia, horse-riding probably from the mountains of Transcaucasia. Hanfār suggests that an increasing

demand for sumpter animals for the transport of metals may have been a stimulus to the intensification of horse breeding in mountain regions (1937). Also the breeding of the one-humped camel in Arabia must have been accelerated in connexion with a growing demand for transport between South Arabia on one side, the Mediterranean lands and Mesopotamia on the other, a transport of frankincense, myrrh, precious stones and gold from South Arabia, of Indian and East African goods from the South and of cloth, products of civilisation and *objets d'art* (Segall 1937) and perhaps iron wares from the north. The introduction of waterproof plaster for irrigation works and cisterns in South Arabia, which had spread before in Syria since about 1200 B.C., must have impelled agricultural development "probably not before the 10th century B.C." (Albright 1938).

While the excavations of N. Glueck in Erion-Geber (Smithson. Inst., Ann. Rep. 1941, Publ. 361, 1942) prove that the reports of the navigation of Solomon and Hiram to the gold land of Ofir refer to historical facts, the story of the queen of Saba' (Sheba), which is told in relation with the Ofir expeditions in 1 Kings 9-10, must also have some historical background (cf. Albright 1938, 3). At least it shows that camel caravans were travelling between South Arabia and Palestine in the 10th century B.C. Saba', Ofir and Hawila are named one after the other as brothers in Genesis 10 (9th or 8th century, cf. Albright, *Arch.* 1933, 327), beside Hasarāweth, among the sons of Yoktan, son of 'Eber. I can support the hypothesis that the gold-land of Ofir (1 Kings 9-10, 22<sup>nd</sup>; 1 Chron. 29<sup>th</sup>; 2 Chron. 4<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>; Job 22<sup>nd</sup>, 28<sup>th</sup>; Psalms 42<sup>nd</sup>, Isaiah 13<sup>th</sup>) was in south-west Arabia on the Red Sea coast: in 'Aḥr round Uḥabāhā (Spengler, Moritz, Delbrück 12, Wissmann 1957, 1959; cf. Glaser 337-384, Albright *Arch.* 1933, 212, note 14). In Somaliland, where some authors put Ofir, the outcrop of crystalline rock and of its dikes, the matrix of gold, is much smaller than in 'Aḥr (cf. *Carte géol. Afr.* 1952). On Saba' sending gold cf. 1 Kings 10, Isaiah 60<sup>th</sup>, Ezech. 27<sup>th</sup>, Psalm 72<sup>nd</sup> (but cf. J. Ryckmans 1938).

The most plausible identification of the gold-land of Hawila of Gen. 21<sup>st</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup>, 1. Sam. 15<sup>th</sup> is in my opinion as well as that of Niebuhr, C. Ritter, Sprenger, Moritz and others, is that with Khawilān. This name is known from inscriptions, from al-Hamadān, and is still used today. North Khawilān bordered on Ofir, South Khawilān adjoined Saba'. That North Khawilān was highly renowned in Greece for its rich gold mines, probably at about 400 B.C., is explicitly stated by Agatharchides (C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minor.*, 184 f; Wissmann 1957, esp. 1959).

In the genealogy of Genesis 10, the South Arabians are considered as being descendants of both Kūsh and 'Eber. The descendants of 'Eber and his son Yoktan were settled as far as 'Sefār, the mountain towards the East'. Commonly, this Sefār is thought to be Zafār, the capital of the Himyar in Yemen. But this town was probably founded about 100 B.C. (cf. below), when the Himyar had occupied this region. It lay on a hill in the highlands of south-west Yemen and is not "a mountain towards the east". Frensdorff, C. Ritter, Rödiger, Thack and others suppose—and I believe they are right—that Sefār was Zafār (or Dufār), a town and region east of Hadramawt and Maḥra-Land, which, however, is not known by this name in pre-Islamic inscriptions or literature, but only since the early Arab geographers. It is the best frankincense region of South Arabia. The eastern



mountain promontory and cape of this region is really the last region from which in antiquity ships left the coast to use the monsoon in the direction of India (Schoff, Frisk, *l.c.* later). It is also the last area of South Arabia towards the East with a settled, non-nomadic population. East of it, the great desert touches the sea as far as 'Uman (cf. Lagarde 6, note); Vahur, *Zürcher*, *J.* 4599, 22, 223 f. The camel, which that Sefar of Gen. 10 is to be identified with Sefar in Bahrain. But this "balad" [Yāḩūṯ 5, 96, citing Ibn al-Fakhr] was neither frontier place nor mountain.

I think one may conclude that the "Table of Peoples" (Yahwat) means by the "sons of Yōḩān" the agricultural peoples of South Arabia (map 4), and I suppose that in Gen. 25<sup>th</sup>, the camel nomads of central and north-west Arabia were comprehended as the sons of Yighma'el, and in Gen. 32<sup>nd</sup>, 28 and Judges 8<sup>th</sup> as Yishma'elites. Gen. 25<sup>th</sup>: "And they (the sons of Yighma'el) lived from Hawāla as far as Shūr, which is east of Egypt, on the way to Ashūr". They lived, it seems, in the triangle of desert-steppe between the agricultural countries of South Arabia (Khawlan), Egypt and Assyria (cf. Skinner, *Internal Crit. Comment.*, and Kautsch-Bertholet).

Certainly, troops mounted on an animal so well adapted to the desert, capable of enduring thirst so well and of travelling long distances so quickly, as is the camel, must have enjoyed great superiority when fighting against war-chariots drawn by horses. Albright says (*Sinaitic Age* 1936, 120; *Excavations* 1933, 97): "Arab nomadism is conditioned by the domestication of the camel, which makes it possible for Bedu to live entirely on their herds of camels, drinking their milk, eating camel curds and camel flesh, wandering through regions, where only the camel can subsist, and making rapid journeys of several days, if need be, through waterless deserts. The camel eats desert shrubs and bushes, which even sheeps and goats will not touch".—Over long distances a riding camel is three times as quick as a horse. It can cover 300 km. in one day. The load of a caravan camel may weigh as much as 200 kg., that of a horse up to 150 kg. Arabia has not only bred races of transport camels and of riding camels of the lowlands but also stocks of mountain camels capable of going on fairly steep paths, as in 'Asir (Tamsier II, 37, 47, 197) or in 'Awālik country and Hadramawt (own experience). When coming from the plains to an 'abaka (pass) of the mountains, the camels of a caravan must be changed near the foot of the 'abaka from one breed to another. In Arabia, only the western slope of the Yaman highlands seems to be too moist for camel breeding. We must consider that, before the time of camel domestication, the donkey (and perhaps the onager) was the only transport animal in Arabia (cf. above). It is peculiar that the Bactrian camel, which had been domesticated in Tūran about a millennium earlier than the time when the domestication of the camier dromedary must have taken place in Arabia, never became important for riding but only for transport.

It looks as if the domestication of the dromedary went hand in hand with its employment for riding. This cannot be said of any other animal. Since excavations in Arabia did not go down to strata of early periods, our knowledge is based only on historical data. We are not yet able to see the source of an impulse for the domestication. Walz (1936) opposing Wiesner (1935) insists on the statement that the domestication of the one-humped camel was totally independent of the breeding of the Bactrian

camel and the horse. It seems, however, that parallel inventions are rare in prehistory and history (Sauer *l.c.*, 2). The horse was in use in Mesopotamia since at least about 2000 B.C.; but troops riding on horseback are not mentioned there before 1230 (Nebuchadnezzar I of Babylonia; Thomson in Pauly-Wissowa, VII, 109 ff.). As the Bactrian camel was bred in southern Tūran since at least about 2100 B.C., it is improbable that it was not brought to Mesopotamia and farther south now and then in those turbulent periods of the early and middle 2nd millennium B.C. This may have given an impulse for the domestication of the one-humped camel.

A camel's head, part of a pottery jar found in the excavation of Hadjar b. Humayd in Bayḩān (ancient Katabān) in South Arabia by W. F. Albright, was approximately dated by him to belong to the 8th (or 7th) century B.C. (van Beek 1952, 17, Walz 1956, footnote 54, Albright, letter 1957). The publication of a radiocarbon date for a low stratum of Hadjar b. Humayd (van Beek 1956) shows that Albright's preliminary palaeogeographical dating of a monogram found during this excavation is not too early but may be perhaps even a century late.

A relief of a dromedary rider from Tell Halaf is from the 9th century (Walz). The first cuneiform records of camel-riding nomads seem to be the "Aramesen Bedouins" fighting against a vassal of Assur Nasirpal in 880 B.C. A little later, 854 B.C., "Gidlibu the Arab" (from an Arbil district, fought against Salmansar III, leading a troop of thousands camels. The article al-'Arab 11) by A. Grohmann contains a summary on the Arabi country and the Arabs in the 9th to 7th centuries B.C. from cuneiform data. In this period, Arbil is the northernmost part of Arabia between Syria and Mesopotamia, including the Palmyrene and Wādī Sirhān. The Arabs are its nomadic and oasis inhabitants. The central oasis Adummatu is, according to Grohmann and Musil (1927 531 f.), Dūmat al-Djandal in the Djawf. The "kings" are chiefs partly of oasis settlements, partly of nomadic tribes. This state of affairs is also meant in Jeremiah 25<sup>th</sup>: "The kings of Arabia and all the kings of the Arabs who live in the desert". (The first mention of 'Arab in the Bible is in Isaiah in the late 8th century B.C.). D. H. Müller, against Assaraddon undertook a long expedition in 676 B.C., as, according to Weidner's latest discoveries, in Eastern Arabia, in the hinterland of Dilmān (Bahrain), not as Musil (1927, 482 f.) thought, in Wādī Sirhān (Albright, letter).

It is evident that the caravan roads, especially the "incense road" from Ghazat on the Mediterranean and from Damascus by Ma'in (Musil 1926, 241), Dayḩān (al-'Uḩā) and Yathrib (al-Madīna) to Ragmat (Nadīrān), Ma'in and Sabā' (cf. Albright 1953, Wissmann 1957, Segal 1957) played an important political rôle, e.g., when in 732 B.C. Queen Samas of Arbil joined a great coalition including the state of Sabā', the king of Damascus, the important oasis of Taymā' and the oases of Taynā' and Dayḩān against Tiglath-Pileser III. The first sovereign of Sabā' named in cuneiform inscriptions, probably a *nuharib* (priest-king), brings tribute to Sargon II in 715 B.C. (cf. Albright, in *BASOR* 743, 1956, 10; idem, 1958; Wissmann 1957). The tributes received by Assyrian kings in this period from different queens and kings of the northern half of Arabia show that long-distance caravan traffic must have been considerable. Cattle, gold, silver, lead, iron, elephant skins, ivory and cloth were transported. (Cassell 1954).

It must be emphasised that South Arabia, which was represented by Sabā' since at least the 10th century (cf. Albright, in *BASOR*, 1952, note 26, 1958), was a country with a numerous and farming population and with little and unimportant nomadism, a country producing aromatic goods, especially frankincense (Exodus 30<sup>th</sup>, 1 Kings 10, Isaiah 60<sup>th</sup>, Jer. 6<sup>th</sup>, cf. J. Ryckmans 1958). South Arabia certainly introduced Indian and East African wares to its ports, and it must have already monopolised the traffic on the "incense roads" to the north-west and by central Arabia to the north-east (map 1) in this period to some degree. (On the strength of Sabā' in the 8th to 6th centuries, cf. von Wissmann 1957). Perhaps the Chaldeans lived in 'Uman in those periods and mediated between Sabā' and Mesopotamia (and India?), before they occupied Mesopotamia, when Chaldeans signs begin in 625 B.C. (cf. Albright, in *BASOR*, 1952).

Albright suggests (cf. van Beek 1952) that no time was more opportune for the commercial expansion of Sabā' westwards into Ethiopia than about the 10th century B.C. "Egypt, which previously enjoyed exclusive trading rights in Ethiopia and Punt by land and by sea, was unable to maintain its commercial relations with the south after the fall of the New Empire." According to Albright, *boustrophedon* Sabaeen inscriptions in the temple 'Awa' or modern Yehā on the plateau of northern Ethiopia east of Aksum (Littmann 1913, No. 27-32 and D. H. Müller, *Epigraph. Denkschrift*, Yeha 5) palaeographically belong to the 5th century (letter from W. F. Albright, March 1937, cf. Conti Bessini 1952). An inscription on the base of a rather archaic statue recently found in Makallā (Caquot and Drewes) seems to be somewhat earlier. So, even in the new chronologies of A. F. L. Beeston (in *BSOAS* 1954) and Pirenne (1956 b), who emphasise a "rejuvenation" of the early South Arabian chronology, the 5th century B.C. would not be too early. Sabaeen colonisation was already firmly established in this region at that time. The probable name of the temple of modern Yehā, 'Awa', was also the name of the great oval temple of the state god of Sabā' near Mārib. In a remarkable *boustrophedon* inscription on an incense altar of Makallā in Abyssinia (Caquot and Drewes, 50-51), a "nuharib of Daḩān" (place near later Aden) and Sabā' dedicates (the altar?) to Almakah, which was the main state god of South Arabian Sabā'. J. Ryckmans suggests that, in a period before the first known Sabaeen inscriptions of Mārib and Sirwāb (which probably date, from the 8th century B.C.; Wissmann 1957), the centre of Sabā' was in the mountains and highlands of present northern Yaman, round Djabal Ba'dān and Djabal Humaym (= Djabl Ba'dān and Lḩāt Humaym were the most important sun goddesses of Sabā'—), and that the region of Mārib in the north-east as well as North Abyssinia in the West were both colonised from this area (J. Ryckmans 1958; cf. Albright 1958).

Glaser (187 ff.) and von Wissmann-Höfner suppose that a Kanān and 'Eden, the most natural ports of South Arabia on the Indian Ocean, are named as Kanān and 'Eden in Ezekiel 27<sup>th</sup> (early 6th cent. B.C.). Ezekiel says: "Hārān and Kanān and 'Eden" (M): "merchants of Shebā" or (S): "they were thy merchants". Mostly all three places are identified in Northern Mesopotamia, where an ancient Hārān is well known (cf. Cooke, *Int. Crit. Comment.*, Isaiah 37<sup>th</sup> and 2 Kings 19<sup>th</sup> mention this northern Hārān along with the Bēnā 'Eden: "Gozan, Hārān, Resef

(in Palmyrene) and Bēnā 'Eden in Tel'assar". But al-Idrīsī mentions Hārān al-Karīm in South Arabia between North Khawlan and "Bihāt Bu'ayn", (which name is a mistake for Bayḩān; Grohmann II, 1913, 131). The location is in the Tihāma lowlands north of the present northern frontier of Yaman, somewhere near present Abū 'Arīsh. Ritter (*Arabien* I, 186, 193) and Büsching suppose that this is the Hārān mentioned in Ezekiel. The difficulty is that Kūḩāna and Bihāt Bu'ayn do not mention the place of the "incense roads" to the north-west (Abū 'Arīsh) instead, I suspect that there is some mistake in al-Idrīsī's text. But there are different places named Hārān in Ancient South Arabian inscriptions: Hārān near Ka'taba north of 'Aden, Hārān south-west of Ma'in and Hārān north of ḩamīr (on the last cf. W. B. Harris, 272 ff.). Perhaps the Septuagint (S) translators changed the text from "merchants of Shebā" into "they were thy merchants", because they knew the northern, but not the southern Hārān and 'Eden and therefore could not understand the meaning. In connexion with "merchants of Shebā", one should consider that Sabā' (Shebā) was a state, not a town, and that the three places mentioned may have belonged to this state.

Ezekiel 38<sup>th</sup>: "Shebā, Dedān, merchants of Tarshish" (Tartessos or Sardinia) shows opposite outposts of Ezekiel's *terra cognita*. (Dedān is the Dayḩān of South Arabian inscriptions.)

Considering this important position of South Arabia in this period and its central place in the oldest seafaring area, that of the Indian Ocean, we must keep in view that the North and Central Arabian home of camel nomadism was surrounded by civilised agrarian countries, on all sides where it was not touched by the sea.

The difficulties of crossing the desert with long distances between watering-places could only be mastered after the domestication of the camel. The desert routes of greatest importance for traffic were those between Mesopotamia and Syria. But also the difficulties in crossing Arabia from Mesopotamia and from the Mediterranean coasts to the fertile highlands of South Arabia could more easily be overcome by camel caravans. The springs and wells of the northern part of Arabia became important as resting places of caravans and as commercial and political centres. As the nomads were breeding the camels needed for the caravans, their tribes were interested in a peaceful traffic and it was expedient for them to join coalitions among each other and with the oasis town kingdoms on the main routes.

Since Tiglath-Pileser III (748-725), north-western Arabia, including the northern part of the incense road from Dayḩān to Ghazat may have become more tightly bound to Assyria, and later to Neo-Babylonia, after each conquest. It seems to be of great importance for the cultural and religious development of the "Arabs", that Nabūna'id (Nabonidus) of Babylonia conquered Taymā' in 550 B.C. and that he reigned there for eight years and made an expedition as far as Yathrib. He built a palace and temple in Taymā' and made this place the centre of an archaic religion and cult round the Aramesean moon god Sin, perhaps with the sun disc rising in the crescent as the main symbol of this religion (Musil, 1928, 224 ff., Moortgat, Segal). There should be investigations on the close resemblances between this cult and that of South Arabia and Ethiopia. SYN was the state god of Hadramawt since the earliest inscriptions of this state. (Albright



1952, note 8, brings reasons for an early introduction of this god into Hadramawt). 'Ezānā of Abyssinia changed the crescent and disc for the cross on his coins when he turned to Christianity (4th cent. A.D.) (Littmann 1913, i, 60).

The exceptional temporary position of Tayna? may have stimulated the other town states of the oases of Arabia Deserta to partial to some degree in the civilisations of the surrounding countries in the north-east, the north-west and the south, while trying to preserve or to re-establish always again a certain amount of independence. Different scripts were used and developed. Even the clansmen of the nomadic tribes knew how to write. Nevertheless, pure camel nomadism was common. Agatharchides and Artemidoros (Diosc. in C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minor*, 184; Strabo xvi, 4, 16) in their accounts on the tribe of the Debal in the lowlands (Thibama) of 'Asir write: "They live merely from their camels. From these they fight, on these they travel. Their food is camel milk and camel meat".

The scripts of the rock graffiti of the nomads of Arabia Deserta, which are spread far and near, the Safaitic area south of Damascus and from the Sinai peninsula to the borders of Najd in South Arabia, form a unit though with strong regional (and probably temporal) variations. They have been classified as Thamudic scripts, although but a part of these graffiti have been written by the tribe of Ḥamūd in its area round Daryūn (Littmann 1946, van den Branden 1950; Ryckmans 1955). In many respects these scripts are (and remained?) more archaic than the scripts of the settled populations, which were altered by their adaptation for monumental inscriptions (cf. J. Pirenne 1955, 44 ff.). Related graffiti are even found in South Arabia especially along the desert margins (cf. Höfner, and Jammé 1955). That all "Thamudic" inscriptions seem to have been written by nomads shows that the nomadic tribes must have had some awareness of interdependence and a certain spirit of solidarity and that their life was separated and rather independent from the oasis town states.

It is evident that this situation of camel nomadism in Arabia was very different from what we know of horse-riding nomadism in the northern steppes of Eurasia. One main reason for the strong difference certainly is that the long and hard winters of the north do not permit more than one extensive crop and hinder the development of oases, although humidity is greater. Where the sub-tropical desert is dotted with oases of restricted size as in many parts of Arabia north of the line from Wādī Barsh to Najd and to the Rub' al Khālī, it seems that a balance of power could result there to some degree between the nomadic tribes on the one hand and the merchant town states on the other, while probably the farmers of the oases had often to live in bondage to townsmen or to nomads.

The history of nomadism in Arabia is closely connected with the word 'A'rāb. In Semitic languages and pre-Islamic times, this word was only used for inhabitants of the Bedouin and oasis regions north of the Rub' al Khālī. It especially meant the camel nomads but also included the oasis dwellers. Even Muhammad used the word 'A'rāb only for Bedouin. Only the Greeks have transmitted this name to the whole peninsula, probably already after the expedition of Darius (Scylax). Theophrastus (372-328) calls Arabia τῶν Ἀράβων γῆγενήτης (*Hist. Plant.*, in, ch. 2, § 2). Eratosthenes (late 3rd century B.C., Strabo XV, 4, 2) gives its division into Arabia

Eudaimōnē and Arabia Eritrēnē (Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta of the Roman period). But already Euripides mentions "Arabia eudaimōnē" in his *Bacchae* (16-18), and Aristophanes (*Aves* 144 f.) a "polis eudaimōnē on the Erythraean Sea", both in the late 5th century B.C. The South Arabians never called themselves 'A'rāb.

We have no knowledge about the pre-Islamic history of the nomadic tribes south of the Rub' al Khālī, north and east of Hadramawt and west of 'Uman. To day, they are genuine camel nomads possessing some *ghannam*, just as those of the North. They still have holy rocks and holy places near wells, where they bury their dead (van der Meulen, own experience, Thebes). But they do not live in tents. They have tropical clothing and south-Semitic dialects. In mountain regions they use caves for shelter. They do not possess horses. Unlike the northern *ba'di* they have stayed outside of known coalitions.

The fate of camel nomadism in Arabia was closely connected with that of caravan trade. So the decline of this trade must have been of great importance for the nomad. This decline slowly set in in the 4th or 3rd century B.C., when the tolls, which had to be paid on the road were constantly increased because of the political division of South Arabia into different states (Pliny xii, 14, 65). It became stronger when, from round 215 B.C., the straits of Bān al-Mandab were opened for direct traffic from Egypt to India. The overland commerce traffic almost vanished, when this oversea traffic from the Roman Empire to India became important from about 48 B.C. (Strabo, ii, 5, 12, *ibid.*, xvii, 1, 13, Pliny, vi, 23, 104). This must have been a hard blow for the kingdoms of South Arabia and even more for the Bedouins who took part in the overland traffic and sold camels for this.

The name Arrahbātī ('A'rāb) was used by the great Abyssinian (Aksum) king who erected the Monumentum Adulitannū (cf. below, section d), of which we know the Greek version, probably before the middle 2nd century A.D. This is in his account of the submission of the Ḥijāz and 'Asir north of the Sabaeen and south of the Roman frontiers. Here "Arrahbātī" means to signify the population of the hinterland of the Kinādīdopolitai who, according to Cl. Ptolemy, lived on the coast of Ḥijāz and of 'Asir.

'A'rāb Bedouins had begun to interfere in the conflicts in South Arabia towards the 2nd cent. A.D. (J. Ryckmans 1951, 215 f., 1956). In the inscription Nāni 71 to 73, 'A'rāb and Khaymā are mentioned together several times. Perhaps Khaymā-yā (Khunayyā?), probably derived from khunna means the regular army (M. Höfner, letter), while 'A'rāb means contingents of northern Bedouins on camels and on horseback. The inscription Nāni 71 to 73 belongs to the third century A.D. (king Abīnā Nabīlā; cf. Mordtmann-Mittwoch 218-220). The inscription "Ryckmans 512", belonging to the same period, shows that camels and horses were used in the South Arabian armies (G. Ryckmans, in *Muséon*, 1936, 154 f.; on the chronology of this period, cf. v. Wissmann 1957). It should be investigated if there are earlier convincing indications of camel troops in South Arabia (cf. v. Wissmann-Höfner, 10, 46). The inscription "Ingrānāt 17" does not point to such conditions. The preliminary translation we used in v. Wissmann-Höfner, 333, was wrong; cf. Drewes).

In 328 A.D., the inscription of al-Namira, east of

Djāhal Hawrān, in the Syrian desert (*RES* 483), tells us: "This is the grave of Imra' al-Kays (mr' Kys) b. 'Amr, the king of al the 'A'rāb, who . . . and advanced successfully (?) to the siege of Najdān, the capital of Ḥammar" (Lidzbarski). We see that Imra' al-Kays calls himself king of all 'A'rāb, although he is not in possession of Najdān on the north-eastern margin of agricultural South Arabia, but perhaps king of most of those Bedouin tribes who live in tents, i.e. 'A'rāb. Najdān is at that time a town of "Ḥammar", probably Ḥammar Yūfar'ish (cf. Pirenne 1956, Jammé 1957, J. Ryckmans 1957, 22, note, Pirenne 1957, 59, note 4), who assumed the title of "King of Saba" and Dhū Raydān and of Hadramawt and of Yamnat" (Dhū Raydān stands for the Ḥimyar, Yamnat probably is a name of the coastal region south of Hadramawt; Wissmann 1959). This title means that Ḥammar was or claimed to be king of the entire agricultural country of South Arabia.

In the early 3rd century, when great parts of Northern Arabia belonged to the domain of the South Arabian king Abīkarīb As'ad, who according to tradition undertook a campaign into Persian territory, the title was enlarged and now was worded as follows: "King of Saba" and Dhū Raydān and Hadramawt and Yamnat and of their (*Ḥawāḥ* *maḥāḥ*) 'A'rāb in the highlands (Central Arabia) and the Thibama (lowlands of Ḥijāz and 'Asir). Again inhabitants of Desert Arabia are meant by 'A'rāb (cf. map 4).

The constant war between Rome and Persia and between Ethiopia and Saba' and the economic decline of the Mediterranean regions, the rising competition of sea traffic—from which South Arabia had become disinterested—against overland traffic and trade, the decay of feudalised South Arabia and its interdecade feudal and religious wars in the 3rd to 6th centuries A.D. gave rise to great insecurity in Arabia (cf. Beeston 1954, Sidney Smith, J. Ryckmans 1956 b). In the regions of steppe climate in the fertile crescent, nomadic tribes intruded into country of rural agriculture. Even oasis areas decayed or were given up entirely, especially in South Arabia along the borders of the desert, and in Hadramawt (cf. v. Wissmann-Höfner, 121 f., Le Baron Bowen), where camel nomadism penetrated from the north by invasions as well as by gradual infiltration.

A renowned example is the neglect, bursting and dilapidation of the dam of Ma'rib, the old capital Saba', and the total breakdown of this town and its oasis. In Yaman and 'Uman, the strong feudalisation of the highland farmers, the *ḥabāḥ*, in their fortified castle-like dwellings, led to an extreme dissipation of power and even to anarchy, as well as to tribal organisation and to feuds similar to those of the barbarised camel nomads. Gradually the nomadic population became more and more migratory over long distances in Arabia. Such migrations of entire tribes were mainly directed from South to North. In the South a part of the farming population became nomadic, while in the north the wars between Rome and Persia probably attracted such nomads, as could not sell their camels for the declining caravan trade, to serve in camel troops on the side of one of the two opponents. The Arab proverb: "Al-Yaman is the womb (the cradle) of the Arabs, and al-'Irāk is their grave", already suits this period. Nevertheless there have also been migrations in the opposite direction, like that of the Kindites into Hadramawt in the 6th century A.D. which according to al-Ḥamdān amounted to

more than 30,000 men (Forrer, 134 ff.). With the decline of power of the surrounding states, which were based on agriculture and had a much higher population density, Bedouin influence was rising. Cashed (1955) demonstrates that, before this period of barbarisation, the social and economic way of living, which we call Bedouin, did not fully obtain the character familiar to us by the descriptions of Doughty, v. Oppenheim and Lawrence. Writing now disappeared among the nomads, but oral tradition flourished.

It would be interesting to know when the combined use, during a phase, of the camel for the riding over long distances and of the horse for final attack, was employed for the first time, a skillful practice which was still carried out by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd. King Ma'chus (Malik) II of the Nabataeans (al-Anbāt) sent 1000 horses and 3000 foals for the assistance of Titus in his attack on Jerusalem about 70 A.D. (111ff., 68). The rock-drawings accompanying the Safaitic inscriptions in the Hara south-east of Damascus (2nd to 4th centuries or longer; cf. Littmann 1940) show that these true Bedouins made their razzias combining horse and camel. We also hear from Ammianus Marcellinus (4th cent. A.D.) that the Nummies made their raids in that way (xiv, 4, 3).

In South Arabia, the horse seems to have been always of smaller importance than in the north. Nevertheless we hear that among the presents sent by Yith'amar of Saba' to Sargon in 715 B.C. there were horses. The Periplus Maris Erythraei (until 80 A.D.) tells that horses were shipped from Egypt to Moura (Mausid); cf. Wissmann 1959) by the Greek merchants. Strabo (XVI, 4, 2 and 26), when giving a short but good report on the agriculture of South Arabia, says that horses were lacking, and that their functions were carried out by camels. We have but few presentations of horses from South Arabia, which seem to be importations or copies from the north or to belong to late periods. Probably the horse only became of greater importance in South Arabia since Bedouin troops were used, i.e., since at least the 3rd century A.D. The inscription G. Ryckmans 535 (in *Muséon*, 1956, 240 ff.) from the late 3rd century A.D. tells us that horses and camels were used in South Arabian armies, and that there were horsemen beside the regular troops.

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d) *The Appearance of Camel Nomadism in North Africa*.

It is surprising that the state and civilisation of the great river oasis of Egypt blocked for so long a period the spread of camel breeding and camel nomadism. It exercised a strong frontier control and showed an aversion against the Asiatic nomad. There is no specifically Egyptian word for "camel" (Albright 1950; cf. Præaux).

It has been supposed that the Sabaeans introduced the camel into the lowlands of North Ethiopia, where they colonised this country, perhaps some time in the beginning of the last millennium B.C., bringing with them the plough, terracing, and artificial irrigation. We have mentioned above that the colony was finally established and probably old in the 5th century B.C. Even Conti Rossini supposed such an early introduction of the camel (193, 196). Yet he did not find any proof. There is no mention of the camel in the "Sabaeans" inscriptions of Ethiopia (cf. above); but this again does not mean much, as the number of these inscriptions is still small. However, we may not forget that even today the camel has not been introduced into the highlands of Ethiopia, but has only spread in the lowlands and on the lower slopes. Near the harbours of northern Ethiopia, this area is a narrow strip of land, just as in Western Yaman.

There is one piece of information and one linguistic fact from which we may probably conclude that the Sabaeans did not introduce the camel to the African side of the Red Sea: Agatharchides (perhaps about 130 B.C.) gives a good and detailed description of the nomadic Troglodytes behind the Arabian coast of the Red Sea north of Ethiopia (the later Blemmyes or Bedja). He does not mention any breeding of camels but only of cattle and goats (Diodor., cf. C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minor*, I, 153). Probably Agatharchides has taken over his story from a much earlier description (cf. von Wissmann 1957).

The linguistic fact is that the name of the camel in the Ge'ez language as well as in all the Semitic languages of Ethiopia is *camel* as in the North Semitic languages and in Egypt, while ancient South Arabia merely used the word "dhil" for it (Höfner by letter). It is only in one single inscription of the 3rd century A.D. (cf. Ryckmans, Nr. 535) and then in the 6th century A.D. (Yusuf Ibn Nuwayr, G. Ryckmans, Nr. 407) that the word "dhil" turns up in South Arabian inscriptions. The first known mention of the camel in the Ethiopic language is in the 4th century A.D. in Littmann, *Aksum* 9 (1913).

We do not hear anything of the presence of the camel from hieroglyphs or from Greek or Roman authors or any sculpture or rock drawing either in Egypt or in any part of North Africa in the Hellenistic period. There is one exception, however: When Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283-246) repaired the old roads from Koptos on the Nile to the Red Sea (173 km.) and opened a longer road from the same place to his new harbour town Bereniké Troglodytiké (580 km.) by founding eleven stations, he did this not only for foot passengers but also for merchants travelling on camels (Strabo XVI, 1, 24, XVIII, 1, 45-65, Pliny, h.n. VI, 102, 168; Bereniké Troglodytiké in 23° 5' in the Bay of Sighat Bandar al-Kabir). Strabo says that Koptos became a town belonging to Arabs as well as Egyptians, and that Arabs worked in the mines between Koptos and Myos Hormos. Pliny also mentions Arab tribes in the

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d) *The Appearance of Camel Nomadism in North Africa*.

It is surprising that the state and civilisation of the great river oasis of Egypt blocked for so long a period the spread of camel breeding and camel nomadism. It exercised a strong frontier control and showed an aversion against the Asiatic nomad. There is no specifically Egyptian word for "camel" (Albright 1950; cf. Præaux).

It has been supposed that the Sabaeans introduced the camel into the lowlands of North Ethiopia, where they colonised this country, perhaps some time in the beginning of the last millennium B.C., bringing with them the plough, terracing, and artificial irrigation. We have mentioned above that the colony was finally established and probably old in the 5th century B.C. Even Conti Rossini supposed such an early introduction of the camel (193, 196). Yet he did not find any proof. There is no mention of the camel in the "Sabaean" inscriptions of Ethiopia (cf. above); but this again does not mean much, as the number of these inscriptions is still small. However, we may not forget that even today the camel has not been introduced into the highlands of Ethiopia, but has only spread in the lowlands and on the lower slopes. Near the harbours of northern Ethiopia, this area is a narrow strip of land, just as in Western Yaman.

There is one piece of information and one linguistic fact from which we may probably conclude that the Sabaeans did not introduce the camel to the African side of the Red Sea: Agatharchides (perhaps about 130 B.C.) gives a good and detailed description of the somatic Troglodytes behind the Arabian coast of the Red Sea north of Ethiopia (the later Blemmyes or Bedja). He does not mention any breeding of camels but only of cattle and goats (Diodor., cf. C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minor*, I, 153). Probably Agatharchides has taken over his story from a much earlier description (cf. von Wissmann 1957).

The linguistic fact is that the name of the camel in the Ge'ez language as well as in all the Semitic languages of Ethiopia is *camel* as in the North Semitic languages and in Egypt, while ancient South Arabia merely used the word "dhil" for it (Höfner by letter). It is only in one single inscription of the 3rd century A.D. (cf. Ryckmans, Nr. 535) and then in the 6th century A.D. (Yusef [Ibn] Nuwayd, G. Ryckmans, Nr. 407) that the word "dhamr" turns up in South Arabian inscriptions. The first known mention of the camel in the Ethiopic language is in the 4th century A.D. in Littmann, *Aksum* 9 (1913).

We do not hear anything of the presence of the camel from hieroglyphs or from Greek or Roman authors or any sculpture or rock drawing either in Egypt or in any part of North Africa in the Hellenistic period. There is one exception, however: When Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283-246) repaired the old roads from Koptos on the Nile to the Red Sea (173 km.) and opened a longer road from the same place to his new harbour town Bereniké Troglodytiké (580 km.) by founding eleven stations, he did this not only for foot passengers but also for merchants travelling on camels (Strabo XVI, 1, 24, XVIII, 1, 45-65; Pliny, h.n. VI, 102, 168; Bereniké Troglodytiké in 23° 5' in the Bay of Sighat Bandar al-Kabir). Strabo says that Koptos became a town belonging to Arabs as well as Egyptians, and that Arabs worked in the mines between Koptos and Myos Hormos. Pliny also mentions Arab tribes in the

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Ptolemy II founded the fortified town of Ptolemais Thērōn on the northernmost part of the Ethiopian coast (cf. the stèle of Piliem in Egypt). One of the stèles found in Adulis south of modern Massawa by Cosmas Indicopleustes (Winsted) reported that Ptolemy III Evergetes (246-221) and his father hunted elephants in that region. We do not know when *Bereniké al-haba Saba* (Strabo xvi, 4, 10, Bereniké Epitaphi of Pliny VI, 29, 170; Conti Rossini against Kortenbeutel) was founded near modern 'Assab, and when this southern Bereniké was replaced by a colony called Arsinoë (Conti Rossini 60 ff., map, Strabo xvi, 4, 10, Ptolemaios, Arsinoë, Pausanias-Wissowa). We only recognise that the Ptolemies put the whole African coast of the Red Sea more and more under their naval influence and power. Ptolemaic shipping and trade were under strict state control. Before this time, Saba' may have had still influence in its old Ethiopian colony, especially on the coast, in spite of its difficult position in South Arabia between the new strong states of Ma'in in the North and Katabān in the South, Katabān reaching as far as Aden and the Bāb al-Mandab straits. There was a Sabaiton Stōma south of Ptolemais Thērōn (Artemiduros according to Strabo), there was a place called Sabat (Sabat I) opposite the island of Massawa (Strabo, Pliny, Cl. Ptolemy), and there was "the wealthy town of Sabat", probably in the bay of modern 'Assab (Strabo xvi, 4, 8-10, cf. Conti Rossini, Map pl. 16). On account of the intercourse wares in South Arabia, the Ptolemies may have found it rather easy to interfere on the Ethiopian coast. As they



transported elephants in large boats from this coast to Egypt, they may have brought camels to the inhabitants of this coast from Northern Hijla. Before about 175 B.C., the Katabanian harbour of 'Aden was an important place of trans-shipment, where freights came from Egypt and India (cf. von Wissmann 1957). When at that time the new state of Himyar replaced Katabania in 'Aden and 'Aden was destroyed, Ptolemaic ships were more and more successful in sailing directly to India.

It seems that the kingdom of Aksum (Ethiopia), which is for the first time mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (about 82-96 A.D.), was a powerful state already at that time and learned much from Graeco-Roman navigation in the Red Sea. Then a king of Aksum, who probably lived in the mid and century A.D. (Winstedt; Moussier, *Revue de l'Égypte* 1936, V, 199; Mordtmann-Mittwoch 6) according to the Mousmouni Adulthan, which he erected, built a great empire from the frontiers of Egypt to Somalia (cf. Dittenberger, 287-296; Littmann 1913, I, 42 ff.). He conquered the coast of Arabia and its hinterland from Leuké Kiont in Northern Hijla as far south as the frontier of the Sabaeen kingdom (Wadi Dargh in southern 'Asir; Wissmann *loc. cit.*, 1939). He considered that he used a navy for this conquest. His name is not known. The Mousmouni shows that Aksum had become a sea power at that time, perhaps supported by Rome. The Mousmouni was written in the Greek language and script. Already in the first century A.D. (I. 191a) Aksum had cultivated the Greek language. So it may also have been the king of the Mousmouni Adulthan, who introduced the camel to Ethiopia from his colony in Northern Hijla. That period must have been a time of quickly rising national consciousness in Ethiopia, in which an official Ethiopian script was probably developed, based on the monumental and cursive Sabaeen scripts and influenced by the Greek (left to right, unrotated) and the "Thamudean" script (cf. J. Ryckmans 1955, Ulmsdorf, Dnawi). In the third century, the South of the Red Sea seems to have been under Ethiopian supremacy, while direct trade between the Roman Empire and India had become reduced (Sir M. Wheeler, Wissmann 1957).

The first African people who became camel breeders after those Arab tribes, which had been probably introduced to Bessal, Trigh-el-gad and Nyas Horns by Phloemy II, seem to have been the Blemmyes or Bejjā (Pany-Wissowa, "Blemmyes", by Sethe). According to Strabo xvii, 786, 879, and Ethiopian inscriptions, they lived south-east of Syene between the Nile and the Red Sea. In Strabo's time they were "not very numerous or wealthy" (xvii, 1, 23), breeding sheep, goats and cattle. They were no danger for the Empire then. In the following centuries, however, they must have learned camel breeding from their Arab neighbours to such a degree that they became real, and "excellent", riding camel nomads. Under Decius (249-251 A.D.), their camel razias became difficult for the Roman Empire. Twenty years later, they were already completely masters of the roads between the Nile and the Red Sea. The trade from Egypt to India on that route had become totally dependent on the good will of the Blemmyes (cf. Bensch, 264 f.). Under Probus (276-284) the Blemmyes temporarily occupied Koptos and Philae. Dioctletian had to pay tributes to them in 296 on the frontier near to Syene. This emperor had called the "Nobatai" (Nobades, i.e. Nabataei ?) for help against the Blem-

myes and had given them the Dodekaskhoas as a base of settlement (Procopius, Persia War XIX, Pany-Wissowa, xv, "Nabatai").

In the fourth century A.D., the Blemmyes and the Arab tribes of Egypt with their camels and now also horses became always more dangerous to the Empire by their raids (Ammian, Marcellin, xiv, 4, 3). The Empire had to draw up troops of camel riders against them. At the time of emperor Valens (d. 378), new Arab tribes migrated across the Isthmus of Suez and occupied the northern part of the "Arabian" Desert east of the Nile, probably as far as the latitude of Thebes. They must have reinforced camel nomadism and fighting on camel's back in the regions round Egypt.

On the rock drawings he discovered in the "Arabian" Desert east of the Nile, H. A. Winkler recognized a "Blemmyan" group, in age between that of cattle breeders and that of the Islamic era. That this group must be dated in this period seems to be certain (Greek and Coptic letters, Hellenistic inscriptions, typical brands). It mostly shows armed people (with bow, spear, sword and rectangular shield) riding on camels or also on horseback. Here, the camel is the main livestock, shown beside horse, donkey and cattle. Winkler says (1938, 411: "In all the former rock drawings peacocks prevail. In the pictures of the camel-owners all is war. And war they brought, wherever they went").

The author of this article is not qualified to describe the development of nomadism in the dry belts of Africa. When taking the rock drawings as a basis, it looks as if there has been an early period of cattle-breeding, not only in the steppes of the Sudd and East Africa, but also in the regions of the Sahel. Even if we admit that the climate may have periodically been a little moister than at present, it may be doubted whether horned cattle were the main livestock in those desert regions, for which they are not well fitted, although it may be that cattle were introduced earlier than sheep and goats. It seems probable to me that, when nomadic life was completely installed, cattle as holy animals were represented on the rocks although they were of secondary importance in the nomadic economy compared with the goats and the sheep. We may remember that the "Thamudean" rock drawings in Western Arabia show the hunted animals and the camel, but very little of goats and sheep, although we can be sure that the nomads of those regions then possessed flocks of these animals.

According to Lhote 1935, rock drawings show that in the area of Ghadames, Fezzan, Taallil and Ahaggar, the horse and a war chariot were introduced in an early period, according to Lhote's hypothesis about 1200 B.C. by "Sea Peoples" from the Aegean region. Among those war chariot people riding was developed at some time later on without rein and saddle, just in the way ancient authors describe horse riding of the North African nomads of their own time (Strabo, Polybios, Silius Italicus). In the middle of the 3rd century B.C. riding had fully replaced the use of the war chariot in North African wars. Nomadic razias were carried out on horseback.

It is curious that we know nothing about the way the camel was introduced into West-North Africa and the Sahel. In literature the camel appears for the first time in Caesar's *De bellis Africanis* (cf. lxxiii, 4) for the year 46 B.C., when 22 camels were among the booty taken from king Juba. But Juba was a man with wide and varied scientific, especially geographical, interests, and a collector in

the Hellenistic style. It seems probable that he had imported these animals to try out their usefulness in North Africa. Only in Cyrenaica the camel may have been bred in greater numbers in that period: It is shown on coins of the mint of L. Lollus, a commander in Cyrenaica under Pompey. Then there is a hiatus. From the 2nd or perhaps 3rd century, a statuette of a camel rider and a relief showing a hippodrome with a race of chariots drawn by camels were found in the necropolis of Hadrumetum (Sousse, Tunisia). The next indication in literature, however, is for the year 363 A.D. The Roman census of the province of Africa demands camel transport camels from the inhabitants of Lepis Magna on the Syrtis (Ammian, Marcellin, xxviii, c. 6, 5, xxxix, 5, 55). About 400 A.D. there is the report of Synesius that herds of camels and horses then formed the wealth of the inhabitants of Cyrenaica. In the 5th century reports on camel breeding become always more abundant in North Africa, mainly in the regions round the Syrtis.

Most authors, especially Gaumer (190 ff.), Geil and others have concluded from these rather meagre sources that the camel was eventually introduced to North Africa across the Mediterranean Sea. When, however, we consider the position of the Blemmyes in Upper Egypt in the 3rd century A.D. (cf. above), the chain of oases west of Egypt also seems to be a probable route. Indeed, we must not forget that any way south of the Libyan Desert remained outside the area of which we have historical reports.

Perhaps future linguistic research as well as excavations may give us help in solving these questions. In the language of the Bejjā (Blemmyes) the main name of the camel is *šim* (*šam*), in northern Nubia it is *šam* (*šamm*) (Professor Dr. O. Rösel by letter). The Tibbu call the camel *šōm*, and this name seems to have been spread by them far over the eastern part of the Sudd, where Tibbu are said to have introduced the camel (Bensch 171 according to Barth). So in the Mandara Mountains (northern Cameroons) the camel is called *šōm*, the male camel *šōm šōm* (Barth, II, 334, footnote). Even the Massi call the camel *se-šōm* (Naufr, *Le Tombe*). In the Berber languages including that of the Tawarik, a main designation of the camel is *alghem* or *alem*. From *alghem* the Hausa name *rahumi* and the Nupé name *rahum* are certainly derived (O. Rösel). All these names do not seem to be derived from Arab names, but there are other names showing such an etymology.

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(H. VON WISEMANN)

### III. PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA

- Sources.
- History.
- Political Relationships.
- Moral Outlook.
- Religion.

(a) Sources. Our knowledge of the Bedouin in pre-Islamic Arabia is derived mainly from two sources. Firstly, there has been preserved a certain amount of pre-Islamic poetry. Secondly, there are commentaries on this poetry and on old Arab proverbs, composed by Muslim scholars of the second Islamic century and later, and containing much traditional material about events in pre-Islamic times; this



material was also collected by other scholars in special works. The authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry has been denied by modern scholars, notably by D. S. Margoliouth and Taha Husayn, but their theories have not been accepted by the majority of scholars who, while admitting some falsifications, consider that on the whole pre-Islamic poetry has been faithfully transmitted (cf. A. J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, London 1937, 228-43). Similarly, the historical traditions, though once regarded by Western scholars as worthless, are now mostly held to have some factual basis and to reflect the conditions of life in the *Ujāhiliyya*, even though they are insufficient for a proper history. In certain points this traditional material is confirmed by statements of the Kur'ān or inferences from these, and is both confirmed and supplemented by the numerous inscriptions found in Arabia by modern archaeologists.

(b) *History*. From the dawn of history nomads from the Arabian steppe have been pressing on the surrounding lands of settled civilisation. At some periods the pressure has been greater and the penetration of the settled lands deeper, and the nomads have been said to come in 'waves'. In pre-Christian times Hebrews, Arameans, Arabs and Nabataeans entered Syria and 'Irāk, while in the six centuries before the Hijra there was further pressure from Arabs and Palmyrenes. The nomads would come first of all to raid, but frequently they would themselves settle (e.g. the Tanūkh in 'Irāk about 225 A.D.). Close relations between settled nomads and those still in the desert facilitated trade. Only nomads could conduct caravans of merchandise across deserts, and only strong bodies of nomads could guarantee the safe transit of such caravans. Thus in the history of the Byzantine and Sāsānian empires the nomads appear in the two rôles of raider and trader.

The two empires tried in various ways to defend themselves from the hostile and predatory incursions of nomads. The most effective way was found to be the employment of semi-nomadic rulers on the imperial frontiers to ward off from the settled lands raiding parties from the heart of the steppes. In 'Irāk this rôle was played by the Lakhmid kings of al-Hira from about 300 A.D. to the end of the dynasty in 602. On the Byzantine frontier the corresponding rôle was played by the Ghassanids, but they were later in attaining importance (it was in 520 that Justinian granted certain titles to the Ghassanid king), and apparently had only a camp for capital, not possessing any city comparable to al-Hira. This system of defence was altered shortly before the Muslim invasions. In al-Hira a Persian resident controlled the Arab chief who succeeded the Lakhmids, while the Byzantine subsidies to the Ghassanids seem to have ceased with the Persian invasion (613-629) and not to have been restored afterwards.

While it is clear that the nomads of Arabia were extensively involved in commerce, the details have not yet been closely studied. The nomads were in contact not only with the Persian and Roman empires, but also with the Hīmayrīte kingdom in South Arabia (until it was overthrown by the Abyssinians about 525). The prosperity of South Arabian civilisation was dependent on trade, and with a decline in its trade (perhaps through the loss of control of the Red Sea) the civilisation declined. Arab tradition speaks of the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib as marking the break up of South Arabian culture,

but archaeological discoveries point to a series of breakdowns of the irrigation system, and the presumption is that these are symptoms of the decline of South Arabia and not its cause. Arab tradition further connects with the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib the northward movement of many nomadic tribes (together with their abandonment of a settled life, it would seem). At the same time overland trade by camel caravan between the Yemen, Syria and 'Irāk began to flourish, and by 600 A.D. this was largely under the control of the Kurayh of Mecca. The Kurayh themselves had the city of Mecca as headquarters and to this extent were no longer nomads, but their commerce required alliances and other relationships with many nomadic tribes. The conveying and guaranteeing of caravans thus made important contributions to the livelihood of the nomads, and the fairs at which the merchandise brought by the caravans changed hands enabled the nomads to obtain many goods not produced in the steppe. Altogether the nomadic economy of pre-Islamic Arabia was far from being insulated and autarkic.

(c) *Political Relationships*. The social and political units among the Arabian nomads were groups of varying sizes. Western writers usually refer to these as 'tribes' or, in the case of the smaller groups and subdivisions, 'sub-tribes' and 'clans', but these terms do not correspond exactly to Arabic terms. There are a number of words in Arabic for such social and political units, but the commonest usage is to refer to a tribe or clan simply as *Banū Fulān* ('the sons of so-and-so').

The structure of these pre-Islamic tribes has not yet been adequately studied in the light of recent advances in social anthropology. They are presented in Arab tradition as being primarily constituted by kinship in the male line, though there are certain exceptions to this. A person not related to a group by blood (not a *qāhīl* or *amīm*) could enjoy some of the privileges of membership, above all protection. He might do so as an 'ally' (*ḥalf*), a 'protected neighbour' (*ḍiḍr*), or a 'client' (*mawālī*). The parties to an 'alliance' (*ḥilf*) were formally equal, but when a single individual lived as an ally among a tribe or clan, he tended to fall into a subordinate or dependent position. 'Neighbourly protection' (*ḍiḍr*), on the other hand, implied some superiority, at least of a temporary kind, in the person granting it; it could be either temporary or permanent. The status of 'client' was acquired by a slave on his emancipation. Attached to the tribe were slaves; male Arabs could become slaves through being captured in raids when children; and there were also Abyssinian slaves. A man could be expelled from his tribe for killing a kinsman or for conduct harmful to the tribe, and might wander alone (as a *raḥīl*) or else attach himself to another tribe as *ḍiḍr*, etc.

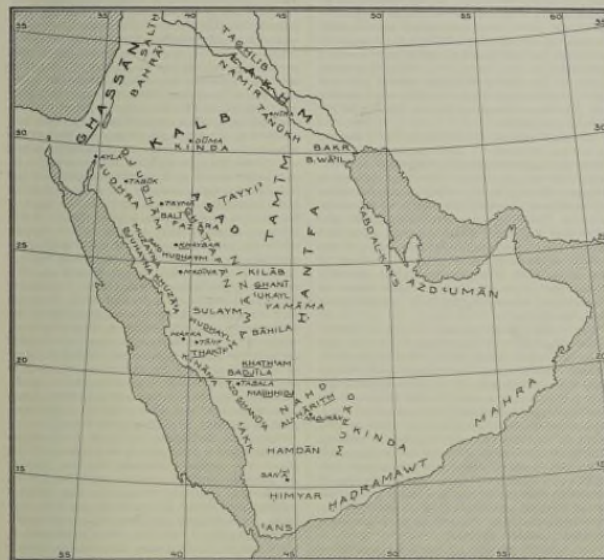
There are strong reasons, however, for thinking that the traditional view that the members of the tribe or clan in the strict sense were patrilineally related is not a complete account of the matter, even though some tribes were so constituted. Firstly, there are numerous traces of matrilineal descent among certain Arab tribes in Muhammad's time, and also some facts which suggest that it was being superseded by patrilineal. Though it is uncertain how extensive matrilineal was and what it involved in practice, there is sufficient evidence to cast doubts on the value of the purely patrilineal genealogies found in the works of the later Muslim scholars. It seems possible that, in some cases where matrilineal prevailed, the later

scholars, finding no patrilineal genealogy for a member of the group, argued that he must have been a *ḥalf*; perhaps this is how to explain the fact that the head of the clan of Zuhra at Mecca was a *ḥalf* (al-Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal).

Secondly, it has been argued that some of the tribal names were originally the names of groups with a local or political basis, and did not indicate common descent (cf. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, ii, 72-79). This has probably happened in some cases, and it is then the later genealogists who have transformed group names into eponymous ancestors; but

Some of the weaker tribes near Mecca had thus become largely dependent on Kurayh. Some still weaker ones had banded themselves together and were known as the Abāḥib, probably meaning 'mixed multitudes' (the view of Lammens that the Abāḥib were Abyssinian slaves contradicts statements in Ibn al-Hiṣṣān, 245, and Ibn Sa'd, i, 81, and has little to recommend it; cf. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 81 and M. Hamidullah in *Studi Orientalistici in Onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, i, 434-47).

The affairs of a tribe were usually settled in an



TRIBAL ARABIA

Prepared by P. Cachia

it would be hazardous to explain all genealogies in this way. What may be taken as certain is that the structure of desert tribes was constantly changing. Some tribes would prosper, would become too numerous to function effectively as a unit, and would split up into two or more sub-tribes. This is probably the explanation of the fact that the Arabs of Muhammad's time had names for certain groups consisting of several tribes (cf. Nallino, *op. cit.*, 76). On the other hand, where a tribe did not prosper, it dwindled in number, and then had a choice between becoming dependent on some stronger tribe, allying itself with other weak tribes or simply disappearing.

assembly or meeting (*maḥfil*) of all the members. All might speak, but most weight attached to the words of men of recognised authority. The leader or chief of the tribe, the *sayyid*, was appointed by acclamation in the assembly. He usually came from the family considered most honourable, but there was no law of primogeniture. In the harsh conditions of the desert it was essential that one chief should himself be able to lead effectively and a minor could not have done this. The *sayyid* had certain duties, especially in respect of the relations of the tribe (or clan) to other tribes (or clans). He could make treaties which bound the tribe, and was responsible



for ransoming prisoners and for seeing that blood-wit was paid. He usually also claimed the right of entertaining strangers, and he was expected to help the poor of his tribe. In return for these duties he had the priviège of receiving a fourth part of any spoils taken in raids. Disputes between members of a group would normally be referred to their *sayyid*. Disputes between members of groups which had no common *sayyid* often led to fighting, but sometimes were referred to an arbiter (*šāḥim*); there were one or two men in different parts of Arabia who were outstanding for their wisdom and impartiality, and these were frequently asked to arbitrate. Apart from such voluntary submission to the decision of an arbiter and from membership of an alliance of tribes, each main tribe was an independent political unit. Occasionally the *sayyid* of a strong tribe through the force of his personality and through military prowess, established his ascendancy over a number of other tribes, so that they entered into alliance with him and carried out his orders; but this was resented, and the alliance broke up on the removal of the forceful personality.

(d) *Moral Outlook*. The life of the Badw was set in natural conditions of great harshness. At most times the means of sustenance were barely sufficient for the population. There was therefore a constant tendency for the strong to seize the means of sustenance, especially the camels, of the weak. This led to the organisation of the nomads into tribes and clans with a high degree of group solidarity. The larger groups were stronger, but the need to scatter at certain times to find pasturage for the camels made it difficult for groups beyond a certain size to act effectively as units. Hence, as noted above, the tendency of large and prosperous tribes to split up.

The *razzia* (*ghana*, *gharwa*) or raid to capture camels was almost a sport with the Badw, and bloodshed was avoided. When hostility deepened, however, raiding changed its character; adult males were killed, and women and children captured and then held to ransom or sold as slaves. The *les talionis* was universally recognised, and served to check wanton and irresponsible killing, since it was a matter of honour for a tribe to protect or avenge its members and those attached to it. In the older days a life had to be avenged by a life, but in Muhammad's time there was a tendency, which he tried to develop, of substituting for the life the payment of a blood-wit (*diya*), normally a hundred camels for an adult male. It was sometimes felt, however, to be unfairly thus 'to substitute milk for blood'.

The qualities admired by the Badw were those required for success in the hard life of the steppe. Loyalty to the kinship-group had a high place, and involved readiness to help one's kinsman against a stranger on any occasion. With this was coupled fortitude or manliness (*hamiyya*), which denoted 'bravery in battle, patience in misfortune, persistence in revenge, protection of the weak and defiance of the strong' (R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge 1930, 79).

The poets played an important rôle in the life of the pre-Islamic Arabs. The ode (*basida*) usually contained either *maḥabbah*, boasts, that is, praise of one's own tribe for its fortitude and other virtues, or *maḥabbah*, revilings (also *higay*), satire, that is, disparage of one's enemies. It was held that human excellence or the lack of it was to a large extent inherited. A hero's deeds showed the heroic qualities of his family, clan and tribe. Great store was thus

set on the reputation of the group. The power of the poet to convince his tribe of its own worth and to lower the morale of the enemy was very great. Poets had probably more power in pre-Islamic Arabia than the press in modern times. The Arabs felt there was something supernatural or magical about them.

Although descent counted for so much, it is not clear (as noted above) to what extent this was reckoned patrilineally and to what extent matrilineally. Four types of pre-Islamic marriage are described by al-Buḥārī (57, 37, 1; translated in Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 378); two of these, though provision for determining paternity is described by al-Buḥārī, seem to belong to a primarily matrilineal system. The sources, moreover, suggest that al-Buḥārī's account is not exhaustive. Certainly it was common for the woman to live with her kinsmen, and for her husband merely to 'visit' her for short periods—for example, when their tribes happened to be camped close to one another.

(e) *Religion*. Pre-Islamic poetry suggests that for the nomadic tribes a quasi-religious dynamic was produced by a belief in the human excellence of the tribal stock. Regard for honour or reputation (*ḥaḥd*) was the driving force in much of their activity. In this sense it may be said that the real religion of the Badw was a tribal humanism. The widespread belief in fate among the Arabs was not so much a religious belief as a factual belief, viz. a belief that the world was so constituted that, as often as not, human efforts to avert disaster would be thwarted by circumstances. Fate was not worshipped as a deity. Apart from this there were a number of cults observed by the Arabs, each centred at a particular shrine (see arts. AL-LAT, MANAT, etc.). Some of these were of social importance, since round the shrines was a sacred area (*ḥarama*), while the institution of the sacred month was administered from the Ka'ba at Mecca. Such sacred times and places, in which blood feuds temporarily ceased, made it possible for many Badw to come together for trade and other purposes. On the whole, however, these cults seem to have little religious importance, properly speaking, in the life of the Badw.

Christianity had spread widely in Arabia when Muhammad began to preach, and some nomadic groups were at least nominally Christian. Judaism was also found, and some of these called 'Jews' in the records were probably Arabs who had adopted Judaism; but, though they had close relations with Badw, none of them appears to have been nomadic.

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BAEZA (see BAYYARA).

BAGGARA (see BAKKARA).

BAGH (see DUSTAR).

AL-BAGHAWI, ABŪ MUHAMMAD AL-HUSAYN B. MAS'ŪD B. MUḤ. AL-FARRĀ' (or IBN AL-FARRĀ'), a doctor of the Shāfi' school, traditionalist, and commentator on the Qur'ān. His *Isālah* were Rūn al-Dīn and Muḥyī l-Sunna. He came from the village of Bagh or Baghbūr near Harāt (cf. al-Sam'ānī, f. 86a). Al-Farrā' (furrier) comes from his father's occupation. He studied fiqh under the ḥafīd al-Husayn b. Muḥammad al-Marw al-Rūdhī, becoming his favourite pupil; and heard traditions from a number of traditionalists. He was noted for piety and asceticism, and observed ceremonial purity in his teaching. Although he wrote on various subjects, the work for which he is most famous is his *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna* (or *al-Duḡā*), which consists of a collection of traditions arranged according to their subject-matter. In each chapter he first gives traditions which are sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) meaning by these traditions from the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Buḥārī, then traditions which are good (*ḥasan*), meaning traditions which he has taken from the books of Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, and other *isnads*. In many chapters he also includes traditions which have only one authority at some stage of the *isnad* (*gharīb*), and even traditions which are weak (*da'if*). But he claims that he includes none which are rejected (*marḥūq*), or spurious (*maḥdūf*). The *isnads* are dispensed with, but the arrangement according to the degree of authority is a sufficient guide to what is accepted. Al-Baghawi declares that his purpose was to provide material for religious people which would help them to live a life pleasing to God. Editions have been published in Bālek, 1294, and Cairo, 1318. This work has been very popular, especially in the edition arranged by Wall al-Dīn (d. 743/1342) with the title *Miḥḥab al-Maṣābiḥ*. It has frequently been printed; an English translation was published by A. N. Matthews (Calcutta 1809-10), and another, with some arrangement of the text, by Maulana Fazlul Karim with the Arabic and English in parallel columns (Calcutta 1938-9). Al-Baghawi's other extant works are listed in Brockelmann. He died in Marw al-Rūdhī in 516/1122, but Ibn Khallikān mentions also 510/1117. Al-Djāhizī says he may have been eighty years of age, but al-Suhdī suggests that he may have been nearly ninety.

*Bibliography*: Djāhizī, *Tadh.* al-Buḥārī, iii, 52 f.; Suhdī, *Taḥṣīl al-Shāfi'iyya al-Hudūd*, iv, 214 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, No. 127; Yāqūt, *paṣṣa*; Ibn al-Imād, *Shāḥih al-Buḥārī*, iv, 49 f.; Brockelmann, I, 447 ff.; S. I., 620 ff.; Sarkis, *Dict. encyc. de bibl. arabe*, 273 f.; Goldziner, *Mus. Stud.*, ii, 263, 270 f. (J. ROBINSON)

BAGHBŪR (see FARRĀ').

BAGHCE SARAY (Turkish: 'Garden Palace'), in Russian orthography: Багъет-Сарай, the capital of the Krim Tatars. It was the seat of the entire (including the dependent) rule of the Giray dynasty (c. 1500) from about 1423 to 1783, lies in lat. 44° 45' N. and long. 33° 35' E., 32 km. south-west of Simferopol', in a narrow, 7 km. long, gorge of the Çürük Su ('Foul Water'). Baghce Saray arose between the old administrative centre of the Crimea, Eski Yurt, in the west, where the Krim Khāns were buried until the 16th/17th century and the ancient Karaites settlement, Cufut Ka'be ('fort of the Jews') in the east (in Karaites: Kırk Yer, '40 Places'); it developed from an extensive burial ground that the most important of the Krim Khāns, Mengli Giray (c. 1500) began in 1503-1504 (909 A.H.), according to an

inscription) with the building of a 'Garden Palace', completed in 1519. Around this palace there developed gradually a new settlement which was named after it Baghce Saray and was constructed in a loose and haphazard fashion, a characteristic that has remained true of the site even down to the present time. The remains of older Christian buildings are said to have been used for the construction of a stone mosque and a dervish cloister. The Zindgiri ('Chains') madrasa, established at that time, has survived even until today (*Krym Medjmu'atı*, Istanbul 1918, no. 1, 16-19 and no. x, 188 ff.; Bodanitskiy, 19 ff.; Seydmet, 36-40). Thereafter the two neighbouring settlements fell gradually into decay. Yet the name Kırk Yer was still retained on the colony; only from 1644 does the name Baghce Saray appear on coins, that town continuing to be thereafter the sole mint in the land. A peace was concluded at Baghce Saray in 1692/1691 between the Krim Tatars, the Turks and the Russians, the Dnieper being recognised as the frontier between their respective dominions. By this peace the Krim Tatars and the Turks at last agreed to the incorporation of the Ukraine territories on the left bank of the river and the Cossack lands into the Muscovite state.

When Baghce Saray was devastated in the course of a Russian incursion (1736), a quarter of the town, including the palace, the chief mosque and the precious library that Solim Giray I (four times Khan between 1671 and 1704) had founded, suffered destruction. Only 124 bound volumes of documents survived; they were later deposited at St. Petersburg by V. D. Smimov (cf. K. Iosadancev, in *Zapiski Vost. otd. Arkh.* 46-48, vol. xviii, p. XVIII). The town was rebuilt, however, in the following years, during a period of renewed cultural efflorescence in the Crimea. The palace arose once more and was extended (1737-1743); it is now surrounded on three sides by a wall surmounted with various buildings. A new Council Hall (*Divan*) was erected in 1743, adorned with rich decoration, sculptures, arcades and paintings. The library was revived with the aid of bequests from Istanbul.

As a consequence of the peace of Küçük Kaynarğa (c. 1774) the numerous Greek-Orthodox and Armenian elements in the population of the town (about one third of the inhabitants) were resettled in 1779, against the wish of the Tatars, on territories already at that time under Russian rule, i.e., northward on the Sea of Azov and in the region of Rostov on the Don (New Nakhichevan, Nakhichevan, in Russian). The result was that Baghce Saray became an almost exclusively Tatar town and this distinctive character was expressly confirmed after the incorporation of the Crimea into Russia by Catherine II in 1783. Baghce Saray, in 1789, numbered 5,776 inhabitants (3,166 of them, men; the women, as it would seem, being in part passed over in silence in the census) living in 1,261 dwelling-houses; there were also 31 stone mosques, one Orthodox and one Armenian-Georgian church, two synagogues, two baths and 16 caravanserais. 110 wells were fed, through underground canals, from 32 springs in the mountains. In 1794 Cufut Ka'be still had 1162 Karaites, with two synagogues and a school; only in the 19th cent. did this town become almost wholly deserted. Baghce Saray, in 1881, numbered 13,377 inhabitants, amongst whom were 697 Karaites and 210 Rabbaniite Jews, together with a very small number of Greeks, Armenians and Gipsies; the population had fallen by 1897 to 12,935. The town retained its importance even in the



19th century. It developed a great craft activity (soaped morocco leather in red and yellow, candles, soap, agricultural implements, shoes, treatment of sheepskin, and, in the 20th cent., essential oils). Baghġe Sarāy was, moreover, the centre of national and cultural aspirations in the Crimea. Here, from 1888, the notable Russo-Turkish pioneer Ismā'il Bey Gasprali (Russian: Gaspinskiy, 1851-1914) published the important paper *Tarǧūmān* ("Interpreter"), the language of which was intended to form a compromise between the various Turkish dialects and thus to further co-operation between those who spoke them; in actual fact the language of the paper was very largely Ottoman (cf. G. Burtbe, *Die Sprache Ismā'il Bey Gasprali's*, Thübingen 1930 (typescript); G. von Mende, *Der nationale Kampf der Russland-türken*, Berlin 1936 (Index); Cafer Seydmet, *Gasprali Ismail Bey*, Istanbul 1934). In the following year Gasprali founded at Baghġe Sarāy a model school which became, until 1905, the pattern for some 3000 Muslim primary schools in Russia. The palace of the Khāns, on the occasion of a visit of Catherine II, had already been restored by G. Ye. Potyomkin and was thereafter maintained, on archaeological grounds, as the "sole great example of Tatar building within the Russian state".

Baghġe Sarāy became once more an administrative centre in the time of Crimean independence (1918-1920). During the German occupation of 1941-1944 it attained, however, no political importance. None the less, Baghġe Sarāy suffered heavily, when Soviet troops retook the town in April 1944; the palace of the Khāns was damaged, but was not restored (in part) and serves both as an Oriental museum and (since 1950) as a monument in honour of the Russian general Suworov, who had his headquarters here. As a result of the forcible "re-settlement" of the Krim Tatars (1944-1945) Baghġe Sarāy has wholly lost its former character. The present number and composition of the inhabitants are no longer given in the *Boʻlʻgʻaya Sovyetskaya Ensiklopediya*, iv (1950), 333; nor are details to be found there on the other conditions now prevailing in the town.

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**BAGHDĀD.** Baghdad is situated on both banks of the Tigris, at 33° 26' 18" Lat. N. and 44° 23' 9" Long. E., respectively. Founded in the 8th century A.D. it continued to be the centre of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate till its fall, and the cultural metropolis of the Muslim world for centuries. After 1258 it became a provincial centre and remained under the Ottomans the centre of the Baghdad wilāyat. In 1921 it became the capital of modern 'Irāk.

#### History.

The name Baghdad is pre-Islamic, related to previous settlements on the site. Arab authors realise this and as usual look for Persian origins (cf. Makdisi, *al-Baḡdād*, iv, 101; Ibn Rusta, 108). They give different hypothetical explanations, the most common of which is "given by God" or "Gift of God" (or the like). (see Khāṭib, i, 38-9 (Cairo); Yāqūt, i, 678-9; Abū al-Faḡh, i, 227; Ibn al-Djawzi, *Manāhib*, 6; Bakrī, i, 169; Ibn al-Fakhri, *Baghdād MS*, f. 29 ff.) Modern writers generally tend to favour this Persian derivation (cf. Salmon, *Introduction*, 23-4; Le Strange, *Baghdād*, 10-11; Streck, *Landchaft*, i, 49-50; Herzfeld, *Pailuh*, 133; W. Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*, i, 178; JRLA, i, 46-9). Others tend to give the name an Aramaic origin meaning "the home or enclosure of sheep" (V. Ghardina and A. Karmal in *Lughat al-'Arab*, iv, 27; v, 748. Note Tabari's reference to Sūk al-Bakar, "the cow market", on the site of Baghdad (iii, 277). Dehirsch favours an Aramaic origin without explaining the meaning (Dehirsch, *Paradies*, 206, 238).

A legal document of the time of Hannurabi (1800 B.C.) mentions the city of Bagdad (Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden No. 197*, l. 17). This indicates that the name was in use before Hannurabi and definitely before any possible Persian influence. Bag and Hu are rendered by the same sign. However a boundary stone from the time of the Kassite King Nazimaruttal (1341-1316 B.C.) mentions the city Pīlari on the bank of "Nah, Sham" in the district of Bagdad (De Morgan, *Délivrance en Perse*, i, 86-92). This with the mention of Bagdatha several times in the Talmud makes Bag the more acceptable reading (Obereyner, *Landchaft Babylonien*, 1929, 147 ff.; Jewish Encyc., *Baghdad*). Another boundary stone of the reign of the Babylonian king Marduk-apal-iddin (1208-1193 B.C.) mentions the city Bagdad (*Délivrance en Perse*, ii, 32-30).

Adad-nirari II (911-891 B.C.) plundered places amongst which was Bagdad (du) (*Synchronistic History*, iii L. 12 = K BI, 200). In the 8th century B.C. Bagdad became an Aramaean settlement. Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.) mentions Bagdad in connexion with an Aramaean tribe (Dehirsch, *Paradies*, 238).

From this it is only fair to admit that the origins of the name are not clear. The fact that Bag was adopted by the Iranians about the 8th century B.C. to denote "God", and that it figured in personal names does not change the situation (*Reallexikon*, i, 341).

Al-Manṣūr called his city Madīnat al-Salm (city of peace), in reference to paradise (Kur'ān, vi, 127; x, 26). This was the official name on documents,

coins, weights etc. Variations of the name, esp. Baghdad and appellations such as Madīnat Abū Dja'far, Madīnat al-Manṣūr, Madīnat al-Khulafā' and Al-Zawra' were used (Ibn al-Fakhri, f. 296; Yāqūt, i, 678; Ibn Kusta, 108). Zawra' seems to be an old name of the *Faḡhri* states (al-Faḡhri, 145; cf. Mustawfi, *Nazk*, 41). For later explanations see Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbih* (Cairo, 314; Yāqūt, ii, 934). Arab authors state that al-Manṣūr built his city where many pre-Islamic settlements existed, the most important of which was the village of Baghdād, (see Tabari, ii, 277; and i, 2067; Ibn Dja'wzi, *Manāhib*, 7; Ya'qūt, *Buldān*, 237), on the west bank of the Tigris north of Sarāt (Tabari, iii, 277). Some consider it of Badīryā and refer to its ancestral fair (Khāṭib, i, 25-7; Ibn Dja'wzi, *Manāhib*, 6; Ya'qūt, *Buldān*, 275) and this would help to explain why Karḡh was later the quarter for merchants. A number of old settlements, chiefly Aramaean, were on the western side in the vicinity of Karḡh. Among these is Khātābiyya (by Bāb al-Shām), Sharafīniyya, and north of it Warḡhiyya which became within al-Harbiyya quarter, Sūniyya near the junction of Sarāt with the Tigris (later 'Atfika) Kaṭāfā at the corner where the Rūfayl canal flows into the Tigris, and Barātha where the Karḡhāya canal branches from the 'Isā canal. Three small settlements were between the Karḡhāya canal and Sarāt, i.e. Sūl, Warḡhā and the Khāṭibā quarter and Banāwra. Karḡh itself (Aramaic *karḡh* meaning a fortified town) takes its name from an earlier village, which Persian traditions attribute to Shūpūr II (309-379 A.D.) (Mustawfi, 40; see Tabari, iii, 278 9; Khāṭib, 27, 33. Ibn al-Aḡfir, ii, 342-3; Yāqūt, iii, 613 and Ibn al-Dja'wzi, *Manāhib*, 7).

According to Xenoophon the Achaemenids possessed vast parks in the district of Bagdad (at Suttāb). Arab authors refer to two such gardens (cf. Khāṭib, 28; Mustawfi, 40). Near the mouth of the 'Isā canal, there was a Sassanian Palace (*baḡr Sābār*) where al-Manṣūr later built a bridge. The old Kanāra (*al-banāra al-'atfika*) across the Sarāt canal, south-west of the Kūfa gate, was Sassanian. On the eastern side, Sūk al-Thalāṭhī and Khayrānā cemetery were pre-Islamic. There were some manasteries in the area which are pre-Islamic like Dayr Mīrāthiḥ (al-Dayr al-'Atkī) where al-Khulūd palace was built, Dayr Bustān al-Kuss, and Dayr al-Djāṭhāliḥ near which Shaykh Ma'rif was buried. (Tabari, iii, 274, 277; Ibn al-Fakhri, f. 36-37a; Khāṭib, 46, 28; Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbih*, 312; *Udhābi*, *Duwal*, i, 76; Mustawfi, 40). None of these ancient settlements attained any political or commercial importance, so that the city of al-Manṣūr may be regarded as a new foundation. Baghdad is very often confused with Babylon by European travellers in the middle ages and sometimes with Seleucia, and appears in their accounts as Babel, Babilonia, etc. The erroneous application of the latter name to Baghdad is likewise common in the Talmudic exegetic literature of the Babylonian Geonim (in the 'Abbāsid period) as well as in later Jewish authors. Pietro della Valle who was in Baghdad (1616-7) was the first to refer to this error, widely spread in his time. Down to the 17th century the name Baghdad was generally known in the West in the corrupted form Baldach (Baldacco) which might be derived from the Chinese form of the name (cf. Dehirsch, *Medieval Researches*, i, 135; ii, 124; Travels of Marco Polo, ed. Franpton, 29, 126).

The 'Abbāsids turned to the east and looked for a new capital to symbolise their *dawla*. The first caliph, al-Saffah, moved from Kūfa to Anbār. Al-

Manṣūr moved to Hāshimīniyya near Kūfa, but he soon realised that the turbulent pro-'Alid Kūfa was a bad influence on his army, while Hāshimīniyya was vulnerable as was proved by the Rāwandīya rising (cf. Yāqūt, i, 680-1; Tabari, iii, 271-2; *Faḡhri* (Cairo), 143). He looked, therefore, for a strategic site.

After careful exploration, he chose the site of Bagdad for military, economic and climatic considerations. It stood on a fertile plain where cultivation was good on both sides of the river. It was on the Khurāsān road and was a meeting place of caravan routes, and monthly fairs were held there, and thus provisions could be plentiful for army and people. There was a net of canals which served cultivation and could be ramparts for the city. It was in the middle of Mesopotamia, and enjoyed a temperate and healthy climate and was fairly safe from mosquitoes (Ya'qūt, 235-8; Tabari, iii, 271-5; Yāqūt, i, 679-80; *Manāhib*, 7-8; Muḥaddadī, *Aḡḡan al-Tahṭīm*, 119-120; Ibn al-Aḡfir, v, 426-7; Ibn al-Dja'wzi, 7; Ya'qūt, ii, 449; *Faḡhri*, 143-5). Apocryphal stories about its merits and al-Manṣūr's destiny to build it found circulation later (cf. Ya'qūt, *Buldān*, 237; *Faḡhri*, 144; Tabari, *Faraj*, v, 234-5; Ibn al-Dja'wzi, *Manāhib*, 7-8).

Baghdad was to succeed Babylon, Seleucia and Ctesiphon and to outshine them all.

Ya'qūt (278-89), and Ibn al-Fakhri (290/903), give early detailed descriptions of Baghdad by quarters, while Suhābī (c. 900 A.D.) describes the net of canals in the area. The city with its fortifications and its inner plan looks like a big fortress. There was a deep ditch, 40 *dhira'* (= 20.27 m.) wide, surrounding the city, then a quay of bricks, then the first wall 18 *dhira'* (= 9 m.), at the base, followed by a space 56.9 metres in width (= 200 *dhira'*, see for measures Rayyis, *Khawāṭir*) left empty for defensive purposes. Then came the main wall of sun-burnt bricks—34.74 metres high, 30.2 metres wide at the bottom and 14.22 metres at the top—with great towers numbering 28 between each two gates except those between the Kūfa and Basra gates which numbered 29. On each of the gates a dome was built to overlook the city, with quarters below for the guards. Then came a space 170.70 metres wide where houses were built. Only officers and loyal followers (*muawid*) were allowed to build here, and yet each road had two strong gates which could be locked. Then came a simple third wall enclosing the large inner space where only the caliph's palace (Bāb al-Djāḥab), the great mosque, the *diwāns*, houses of the sons of the caliph, and two *shāḥīs*, one for the chief of the guard and the other for the chief of police, were built. To ensure control of the city and to facilitate communications internally and with caravan routes externally, the city was divided into four equal parts divided by two roads running from its equidistant gates. The Khurāsān gate (also called Bāb al-Dawla) was to the N.E., the Basra gate to the S.W., the Syria gate to the N.W. and the Kūfa gate to the S.E. To get to the inner circle, one had to cross the ditch and to pass five doors, two at the outer wall, two huge doors at the great wall and one door at the inner wall (see Ya'qūt, *Buldān*, i, 238-242; Tabari, iii, 322-3; Ibn al-Dja'wzi, *Manāhib*, 9-10; Khāṭib, 9-12; Ibn al-Aḡfir, v, 427-8, 439; Ya'qūt, ii, 449; Ibn al-Fakhri, MS, f. 33a).

Ancient imperial traditions are also noticeable in the plan. The seclusion of the caliph from his people, the grandiose plan of the palace and the mosque to show the greatness of the new *dawla*, the division of the people in separate quarters which could be



locked and guarded at night—all testify to that. Al-Manṣūr granted some devoted followers and captains tracts of land by the gates outside the city, and gave his soldiers the outskirts (*arḥāb*) to build and granted some of his kinsfolk outlying places (*al-ḥirā*) (Ya'qūbī, ii, 449-50; cf. Ibn Hawkal, i, 240).

The glory of the Round City was the Green Dome, 48.36 metres high, towering over the palace with a mounted lion on top. It fell in 329/941 on a stormy night, probably struck by a thunderbolt (Sūfī, *Rāḍī*, 229; Ibn al-Djawrī, *Muṣṭafā*, vi, 337-38; *Manāḥib*, 12; Abu T-Mahāsīn, iii, 270; Khātib, 15). However its walls lasted much longer, and they finally crumbled in 653/1255 A.D. (Ibn al-Fuwatī, 30), Sibt Ibn al-Djawrī, *Mir'āt al-Zamīn*, vii, 67). Marble and stone were used in the building of the Bāb al-Dhahab, and gold decorated its gate. It continued to be the official residence for about half a century, and though Raḥīd neglected it, Amīn added a new wing to it and built a "maydan" around it. During the siege of Baghdad in 198/814 it suffered much damage. Then it ceased to be the official residence and was neglected (cf. Ibn al-Fuwatī, 30).

The mosque (Djāmi' al-Manṣūr) was built on the palace and this was slightly deviated from the Kibla (cf. Tabarī, Cairo, vi, 269; Ibn al-Aḡrī, v, 439). In 191/807 Raḥīd demolished it, and rebuilt it with bricks. It was enlarged in 260-1/875 and finally in 280/893. Mu'taḍid added another court to it and renewed parts of it (*Muṣṭafā*, v, 21, 243). The mosque had a minaret (Khātib, v, 123) which was burnt in 303/915 (*Muṣṭafā*, vii, 284) but was rebuilt again (cf. Ibn al-Djawrī, *Muṣṭafā*, vii, 284). It continued to be the great mosque of Baghdad during the period of the caliphate. It was flooded in 653/1255 and survived this and the Mongol invasion.

The plan of Baghdad reflects social ideas. Each quarter had a responsible personage, and generally had a homogeneous group, ethnically (Persian, Arab, Khwārizmian), or by vocation. Soldiers had their homes outside the walls, generally north and west of the city, while merchants and craftsmen had their centres south of the Sarāt in Karḡh (see Ibn al-Fakih, MS, f. 37b; 33b, 29b).

Markets play a prominent part in the plan of Baghdad. Initially, along each of the four ways from the great wall to the inner wall were high arched rooms (*kūhī*) where shops were put, thus constituting four markets (cf. Tabarī, iii, 322). Besides, the Caliph ordered that each of the four sections outside the wall should have ample space for markets, so that each section should have a great market (Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 242). Fiscal considerations prompted al-Manṣūr in 127/771 to order the removal of markets from the Round City to Karḡh. He wanted to keep the turbulent populace away from the city and to ensure that gates of quarters are not left open at night for the markets, and to guard against possible spies infiltrating into the city. He drew a plan for the markets to be built between the Sarāt and 'Isā canal (Tabarī, iii, 324-5; Ibn al-Djawrī, *Manāḥib*, 124; Yāqūt, iv, 234).

Each craft or trade had its separate market or road (*darb*). Among the markets of Karḡh, were the fruit market, the cloth market, the food market, the money-changers' market, the market of book-shops, the sheep market (Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 241, 245, 246, 253; Istahḥīrī, 84; Ibn Hawkal, 242; Khātib, 22, 31, 67; Ibn al-Djawrī, *Manāḥib*, 26-28). With the growth of the city we hear of merchants from Khurāsān and Transoxania, Marw, Balḥ, Bukhārā,

Khwārizm, and they had their markets at Harbiyya quarters and each group of these merchants had a leader and a chief (Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 246-248). It seems that each craft had its chief chosen by the government (see Dürī, *Ta'riḥ al-'Irāq al-ḥijāzī*, 81).

There is a tradition that al-Manṣūr wanted to pull down a part of the white Palace in Ctesiphon to use the bricks in his buildings, but that he stopped because expenditure did not justify the operation. Another report attributes to al-Manṣūr the idea of repairing that palace, but says that he did not have the time to carry it through. Both traditions are reminiscent of the Shu'biyya controversy. The city was built mainly of sun-burnt bricks.

Ya'qūbī reports that the plan was drawn in 141/755 (Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 238) but work started on 1 Dhu'l-ḥijja 143/2 Aug. 762 (Khwārizmī's report in Khātib 2; cf. Wiet, Ya'qūbī, ix, n. 4). Four architects worked on the plan of the city, Hadjīdīd b. Artāt was the architect of the mosque (Tabarī, Cairo, vi, 265, 237; Ya'qūbī, 241). Al-Manṣūr assembled 200,000 workers and craftsmen to work in the construction (Yāqūt, 238; Tabarī, iii, 277). A canal was drawn from Karḡhāb canal to the site to provide water for drinking and for building operations (Ya'qūbī, 238). It seems that in 146/763 the palace, mosque and diwāns at least were completed and al-Manṣūr moved to Baghdad (Tabarī, iii, 313; Khātib, 2). By 149/766 the Round City was completed (Tabarī, iii, 335; Khātib, 243).

The Round City of al-Manṣūr is a remarkable example of town planning. It was circular so that the centre was equidistant from the different parts and could be easily controlled or defended. Arab traditions consider this design unique (Ya'qūbī, 238; Ibn al-Fakih, f. 33b; Khātib, 67; Dhahabī, *Duwal*, i, 76). However, the circular plan is not unfamiliar in the Near East. The plan of Uruk is almost circular (V. Christian, *Akkadianische*, ii, table 13). Assyrian military camps are circular enclosures. Crewell enumerates eleven cities that were oval or circular, amongst which are Harrān, Agbatana, Hatra and Dūrābīrdī. Dūrābīrdī bears a remarkable resemblance to the city of Manṣūr in its plan (Crewell, *Early Muslim Arch.* (short), 171-3; Molesher, *Babylonian and Assyrian*, i, table 161).

It is likely that the architects of the Round City knew of such plans. Ibn al-Fakih indicates that the choice of the plan was between the square and the circle and that the latter is more perfect (*Buldān*, MS, f. 33b). It is however more probable that the idea of the circular fort was responsible for the plan. Tabarī states 'al-Manṣūr made four gates (for the city) on the line of military camps' (Tabarī, Cairo, vi, 265).

There are different reports on the dimensions of the city of al-Manṣūr. A report makes the distance from the Khurāsān gate to the Kūfa gate 800 *dhira'* (= 405.12 metres) and from the Syrian gate to the Baḡra gate 600 *dhira'* (= 303.12 metres) (Khātib, 9-11; Ibn al-Fakih, MS, f. 33b). Another report from Waki' makes the distance between each two gates 1200 *dhira'* (= 608.28 m.) (Khātib, 11). Both reports underestimate the size of the city. A third report given by Raḥīb, one of the builders of the city, gives the measurement as one mile between each two gates (or 4000 *dhira'* *muṣalla* or 1848 metres: D. Rayyis, 278; Khātib, 5. This estimate is given in Ibn al-Djawrī, *Manāḥib*, 9; Yāqūt, i, 435; Abu T-Mahāsīn, i, 341; Irḥūlī, *Tahr.*, 54). This is confirmed by the measurement carried by the orders of Mu'taḍid and reported

by Badr al-Mu'taḍidī (Khātib, 5; Abu T-Mahāsīn, i, 341). This makes the diameter of the city 2352 metres. Ya'qūbī's estimate of the distance between each pair of gates outside the *khandaḥ* as 5000 black *dhira'* (or 2554.5 metres) becomes probable in this light (*Buldān*, 238-9).

Various reports are given of al-Manṣūr's expenditure on the city. One report makes the cost 18 million, understood to mean dinars (Khātib, 15; Ibn al-Djawrī, *Manāḥib* 34; Yāqūt, i, 183; Irḥūlī, *Tahr.*, 543). A second puts it at a hundred million dirhams (Abu T-Mahāsīn, i, 341). However the official report based on caliphal archives states that al-Manṣūr spent on the Round City four million, eight hundred and eighty three dirhams (Tabarī, iii, 326; Mukaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Tahāzīb*, 121; Khātib, 5-6; see also Ibn al-Aḡrī, v, 419; Ibn al-Djawrī, *Manāḥib*, 34). This is understandable if we take into account the low cost of labour and provisions and the strictness of al-Manṣūr in supervising his accounts.

In 157/773 al-Manṣūr built a palace on the Tigris below the Khurāsān gate, with spacious gardens, and called it al-Kūhī. The place was full of mosquitoes and noted for the freshness of its water. The name was reminiscent of paradise (Tabarī, iii, 379; Khātib, 14; Yāqūt, i, 783; Ibn al-Djawrī, *Manāḥib*, 12; Ibn al-Aḡrī, vi, 71; Ibn al-Fakih, f. 37b).

Strategic considerations, al-Manṣūr's policy of dividing the army, and lack of space soon led the caliph to build a camp for his heir al-Mahdī on the East side of the Tigris. The central part of the camp of al-Mahdī (later called Rusfā) after a palace built by al-Raḥīd, where his palace and the mosque were built, surrounded by the houses of officers and followers. The commercial side was soon expressed in the famous *sūq* of Bāb al-Tāh. The military side is shown by a wall and a ditch surrounding the camp of al-Mahdī. Work started in 157/768 and ended in 157/773. Rusfā was almost opposite the city of al-Manṣūr (Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 251-3; Istahḥīrī, 83-4; Khātib, 23-5; Ibn al-Djawrī, *Manāḥib*, 12-13; Mukaddasī, 121; Abu T-Mahāsīn, ii, 16; Yāqūt, i, 78).

Baghdād expanded rapidly in buildings, commercial activities, wealth and population. People crowded into east Baghdad, attracted by al-Mahdī's gifts, and later by the Barmakids who had a special quarter at the Shammasiyya gate (Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 251; *Aḡhānī* (Būlak), vi, 78, v, 8; Ibn Khallikān (Būlak), ii, 311). Yab'yā the Barmakid built a magnificent palace and gave it the modest name Kaṣr al-Tin (*Aḡhānī*, v, 8). Dīn'far built a great luxurious palace below eastern Baghdad, which was given later to al-Mu'taḍid. At the time of al-Raḥīd, the eastern side extended from the Shammasiyya gate (opposite the Kātrabul gate) to Mukharrin (its southern limit is the modern Ma'mūn bridge) (Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 251-4). On the other side al-Amin returned from the Khūld palace, where al-Raḥīd resided, to Bāb al-Dhahab, renewed it and added a wing to it and surrounded it by a square (cf. Dhahabī, *Duwal*, Cairo 1938, 193; Ibn al-Aḡrī, vi, 152). Queen Zubayda built a mosque on the Tigris (called after her) near the Royal palaces and another splendid mosque at her Kaṣr'ān north of the city (Yāqūt, iv, 211; Ibn Khallikān, 188; *Mustafā* (Būlak), i, 289). She also built a palace called al-Karār near al-Khūld (cf. Khātib, i, 87).

The western side expanded between the Kātrabul gate in the north and the Karḡhāb quarter, which in turn extended as far as great 'Isā canal (this flowed into the Tigris at the present Tūlī Khagham al-Dawra); to the west it almost reached Muhawwal (*Maghrīb*, 1934, 89; cf. poem in Yāqūt, i, 686;

Mas'ūdī, vi, 454; Tabarī, iii, 874, 876). Poets extol the beauty of Baghdad and call it "paradise on earth". Its wonderful gardens, green countryside, its splendid high palaces with sumptuous decorations on the gates and in the halls, and their exquisite rich furniture were famous (cf. Tabarī, iii, 873, 874; Kāll, *Amālī*, ii, 237; Yāqūt, i, 686).

Baghdād suffered a severe blow during the conflict between al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn. War was brought to the city when it was besieged for fourteen months (Mas'ūdī, vi, 456). Exasperated by the stubbornness of the defence, Tāhir ordered the destruction of the houses of the defenders, and many quarters "between the Tigris, Dār al-Rakīk, (north of the Khurāsān gate), the Syrian gate, the Kūfa gate up to Sarīf, the Karḡhābā canal and Kūmar" were devastated (Tabarī, iii, 887). The work of destruction was completed by the rabble and the lawless volunteers and the *bayyirān*, The Khūld palace, other palaces, Karḡh, and some quarters on the east side suffered heavily. "Destruction and ruin raged until the splendour of Baghdad was gone", as Tabarī and Mas'ūdī put it (see Tabarī, iii, 876-879, 925-6; Mas'ūdī, vi, 454-459; Ibn al-Aḡrī, vi, 188 ff.). Chaos and trouble continued in Baghdad until the return of al-Ma'mūn from Marw in 204/819. Al-Ma'mūn stayed at his palace, enlarged it considerably to add a race-course, a zoo, and quarters for his devoted followers (Yāqūt, i, 807). Then he gave this palace to al-Hasan b. Sahl to become al-Hasan palace—where bequeathed it to his daughter Barīd. Baghdad revived again under al-Ma'mūn. Al-Ma'mūn built a palace on the eastern side (Ya'qūbī, 245; cf. Khātib 47). Then he decided to look for a new capital for his new Turkish army. Baghdad was too crowded for his troops and both the people and the old divisions of the army were antagonistic to his Turks and he feared trouble. During the period of Sāmarrā (895-89) Baghdad missed the immediate attention of the caliphs (cf. Ya'qūbī, ii, 208; Irḥūlī, 161) but it remained the great centre of commerce and of cultural activities.

Baghdād also suffered from Turkish disorders, when al-Musta'in moved there from Sāmarrā and was besieged by the forces of al-Mu'ta'iz, throughout the year 251/865-6. At this period, Rusfā extended to Sāh al-Jahāliyya<sup>3</sup> (up to modern Samarra-<sup>3</sup>ist.). Al-Musta'in ordered the fortification of Baghdad; the wall on the eastern side was extended from the Shammasiyya gate to Sūk al-Jahāliyya<sup>3</sup>, and on the western side from Kāṭi'at Umm Dīn'far around the quarters up to Sarīf, and the famous Tāhir Trench was dug around it (Tabarī, iii, 1851). During the siege, houses, shops and gardens outside the eastern wall were devastated as a defensive measure (Tabarī, iii, 157) and the eastern quarters of Shammasiyya, Rusfā and Mukharrin suffered heavily.

In 278/892 al-Mu'tamid finally returned to Baghdad. He had asked Dūrān for the Husan palace, but she renewed it, furnished it to suit a caliph and handed it to him (cf. Ibn al-Djawrī, *Muṣṭafā*, v, 144). Then in 286/899, al-Mu'tamid rebuilt the palace, enlarged its grounds and added new buildings to it, and built prisons on its grounds (*muṭawīn*). He added a race-course and then surrounded the area with a special wall. It was to be Dār al-Khilāfa and remained, with additions, the official residence (Khātib, 53; Ibn al-Djawrī, *Muṣṭafā*, vi, 23; *Manāḥib*, 15; Tanūḥī, *Nuḥḥ*, viii, 12; Abu T-Mahāsīn, iii, 85; Irḥūlī, 171). Then he laid the foundations of the Taḍj palace on the Tigris north, but later saw much smoke from the city. He decided to build another palace, two miles to the north-east. He built the magnificent and



lofty al-Ṭurayyā, linked it with an underground passage to the Kaṣr (al-Ḥasall), surrounded it with gardens, and brought water to it from the Miṣāḥ canal (see the description of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Dīwān* (Berlin ed. 1913), 138-9). He also ordered, in order to keep the air pure, that no rice and palm trees be cultivated around Baghdad (see Ibn al-Djawlī, *Mundāqim*, v, 142). The Ṭurayyā lasted in good condition till 409/1073-4 when it was swept by the flood and ruined (Ibn al-Djawlī, *Manāhib*, 15; Vākūfī, i, 80). The ruin of the Round City started now. Al-Muʿtazz ordered the demolition of the City wall, but when a small section was pulled down, the Ḥishmīsīs complained, as it showed 'Abbasid glory, so al-Muʿtazz stopped. People however gradually extended their houses at the expense of the wall and this led ultimately to the demolition of the wall and the ruin of the City (Tanūkhī, *Niḡmūr*, i, 74-5).

Al-Muktaḍī (289-295/997-999) built the Taḡī with halls and domes, and a quay on the Tigris. He built a high semi-circular dome on its grounds, so that he could reach its top mounted on a donkey. (Khatīb, 48; Irbillī, 175; Vākūfī, i, 80; Ibn al-Djawlī, *Mundāqim*, v, 144). In 290/997 al-Muktaḍī pulled down the palace prisons and built a Friday mosque (Ḍiḡām al-Kaṣr) which became the third Friday mosque, until the time of al-Muktaḍī (Ibn al-Djawlī, *Mundāqim*, vi, 3; Khatīb, 62).

Al-Muktaḍī (295-320/983-932) added new buildings to the Royal palaces and beautified them fabulously; he paid special attention to the zoo (*bayr al-ṣubḥ*) (cf. Khatīb, 48, 53). Khatīb's detailed description for the year 305/917-18 is striking. The strong wall surrounding the palaces and the secret passage from the audience hall of al-Muktaḍī to one of the gates were necessary defensive measures (see Khatīb, 51). Among the wonders was *dir al-ḥudayra*, a tree of silver, in a large pond with 18 branches and multiple twists, with silver or gilt birds and sparrows which whistled at times. On both sides of the pond were 15 statues of mounted horsemen which moved in one direction as if chasing each other (54). There was a mercury pond 30 × 20 *ḡirā'* with four gilt boats and around it was a fabulous garden. The zoo had all sorts of animals. There was a lion-house with a hundred lions. There was the Firāwās palace with its remarkable arms. Twenty three palaces were counted within the Royal precincts (cf. Khatīb, 53-55; Ibn al-Djawlī, *Mundāqim*, vi, 144).

Baghdād reached its height in the 3rd/9th century. The eastern side extended five miles (1 mile = 2848 m.) from Shammāsiyya to Dīr al-Khūḍā in the 4th/10th century (Istakhṛī, 83). Tayfur (d. 893) reports that al-Muwaffak ordered the measurement of Baghdad before 278/892; its area was found to be 43,750 *ḡirā'* of which 46,250 *ḡirā'* were in east Baghdad and 17,500 *ḡirā'* in west Baghdad (Ibn al-Fakhī, i, 448; cf. Ibn Hawkal, i, 243). Another version of Tayfur makes eastern Baghdad at the time of al-Muwaffak 16,250 *ḡirā'* (1 *ḡirā'* = 1366 sq.m.) and western Baghdad 27,000 *ḡirā'*; this is more probable, as west Baghdad was still more important then. Another version puts the area at 33,750 *ḡirā'*, of which 26,750 *ḡirā'* were east and 27,000 *ḡirā'* west (Khatīb, 74). It is more likely that the latter figure represents the period of al-Muktaḍī when much expansion took place in east Baghdad. In all these reports the length of Baghdad on both sides was almost the same. For the first figure, considering the length of Baghdad as stated by Istakhṛī and by Tayfur, Baghdad was, in 279/892, about 7½ km. in length and 6½ km. in width, while under al-Muktaḍī

(320/932) it was about 8½ km. in length and 7¼ km. in width.

Baghdād's geographical position, its active people (cf. Dīḡhī, *Baghdād*, 39; Tanūkhī, *Furūd*, i, 11), the encouragement of the state to trade (cf. Yaʿqūbī, 590) and the prestige of the caliphate, soon made Baghdad the great centre of commerce (see Dīrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāq al-Ḥisnī*, 143-157). Markets became an essential feature of its life, in Ruṣāfa and esp. in Karḫ. Each trade had its market, and among these were the fruit market, the cloth market, the cotton market, the market of booksellers which had more than a hundred shops, the money-changers' market and the *ʿaṭfīrīn* market in Karḫ. Markets for foreign merchants were at Sūk Bāb al-Shām. On the eastern side, there was a variety of markets including Sūk al-Tib for flowers, a food market, the goldsmiths' market, the sheep market, a booksellers' market, and a market for Chinese merchandise (Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 241, 246, 248, 254; Istakhṛī, 48; Khatīb, 22, 65 ff., 36, 69; Ibn al-Djawlī, *Manāhib*, 26, 27-8; Ibn Hawkal, 242). Since the time of al-Manṣūr a *muhāsib* was appointed to watch over markets, to prevent cheating and to check on measures and weights (cf. Khatīb, 20; Ṣābi, *Rasāʾid*, 124, 141-2; Mawūdī, 141-2). The *muhāsib* also supervised baths and *ṣunūʿ* watched over mosques (Khatīb, 78). He also prevented subversive activities.

Each market or craft had a chief appointed by the government. In a craft there were the *ṣānīʿ* and the *ʿUṣāḡ* (cf. *Ḥiṣn al-Safā*, i, 255; cf. Essays of Dīḡhī (ed. Sandhöft), 126). Baghdad exported cotton stuffs and silk textiles esp. kerchiefs, aprons, turbans, crystals turned into lathes, glass-ware, and various cups, pots and ewers (*Buldān* al-Ḥām, 132; Mukaddasī, 128). Baghdad manufactured shirts of different colours, turbans of thin texture and celebrated towels (Dīnawarī, *Taḡīra*, 26). Its thin white cotton shirts were peerless (Ibn al-Fakhī, 254). The *ṣāḥāfīn* (silk stuff), the *muḥām* and *ʿaṭfīrīn* (silk and cotton) of Baghdad were famous (*Buldān* al-Ḥām, 38; Newberry, i, 36). Abu'l-Kāsim, 35; Mukaddasī, 32; Ibn Hawkal, 261). Excellent swords were made at Bāb al-Tāḡ (ʿArb, 50). It was famous for its leather manufacture and for the manufacture of paper (cf. Ibn al-Fakhī, 251).

A great incentive to commerce and industry was the development of the banking system in Baghdad, as shown in the activities of the *ṣarāfīs* and *ḡhāḡhīs*. The *ṣarāfīs* had their main exp. in Karḫ (cf. Dīḡhī, *Baghdād*, 228) and primarily served the people, while *ḡhāḡhīs* served mainly the government and its officials.

Baghdād grew international in population. Its inhabitants were a mixture of different nations, colours and creeds, who came for work, trade, as recruits for the army, slave, and for other careers. It is noticeable that the populace began to play an important part in its life (see Ibn al-Aḡḡir, vii, 85-6; Miskawayh, i, 74-5; Istakhṛī, *Taʾrīkh* (Berlin), 130). On their revolt against the rise in prices in 307/919, and their efforts to keep order in 201/816 during the confusion which followed the murder of al-Aḡḡir (see Tabarī, ii, 1009-1010; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, vi, 228-9 and vi, 13-14). The activities of the *ṣarāfīs* and *ḡhāḡhīs* began at this period (see Tabarī, iii, 1008, 1386; MacGill, vi, 457; 461 ff.).

It is difficult to give an estimate of the population of Baghdad. Estimates of mosques and baths are obviously exaggerated (300,000 mosques and 60,000 baths under al-Muwaffak, 27,000 baths under al-Muktaḍī, 17,000 baths under Muʿizz al-Dawla,

5,000 under Aḡḡ al-Dawla, 3,000 baths under Bahāʾ al-Dawla; Khatīb, 74-6; Ibn al-Fakhī, i, 59b; Hāḡ al-Ṣābi, *Rasāʾid* *Dār al-Khūḍā*, MS. 27-30). Baths were counted in 383/993 and found to number 1500. Traditions stress that each bath serves about 200 houses (Ibn al-Fakhī, i, 59b, 60a; Hāḡ al-Ṣābi, MS. 20). If the average number in a house was five, then the population of Baghdad was about one million and a half. Al-Muktaḍī ordered Sīnān b. Ḥabīb to examine doctors and to give licences only to those qualified, and the result was that 860 doctors were given licences (Ibn al-Aḡḡir, vii, 85; Ibn Abī Usaybā, i, 221 f., 224, 310; al-Kūfī, MS. 20). If we add doctors serving in government hospitals and those who did not have licences, the number would probably reach a thousand. The number of people who prayed on the last Friday of the month at the mosque of Manṣūr and that of Ruṣāfa were judged by measuring the area for prayer to be 64,000 (Ibn al-Fakhī, i, 62a; see also Tabarī, iii, 1730). The number of boats about the end of the 3rd/9th century was calculated to be 30,000 (Ibn al-Djawlī, *Manāhib*, 24). From these figures and the area of Baghdad we can estimate the population of Baghdad in the 4th/10th century at a million and a half. If this, a contemporary, gives this estimate too.

There were aristocratic quarters such as Zāhīr, Shammāsiyya, al-Mahāsīn, al-Dār al-Awṣā, and there were poor quarters like Kaṭṭāf al-Kilāb, and Nahr al-Daḡḡī (Abu'l-Kāsim al-Baghdādī, 23, 106). Homes were of two stories, and those of the common people were of one story. Those of the rich had baths and were usually divided into three quarters surrounded by a wall—the ladies' quarters, the reception rooms, and the servants' quarters. Special attention was paid to gardens (*Ḍiḡhī*, ii, 73; iii, 31; ix, 144, v, 38, xvii, 120; Hāḡ al-Ṣābi, *Rasāʾid*, 32). Carpets, divans, curtains and pillows were noted items of furniture (Abu'l-Kāsim, 36). Fans and specially cooled houses and *ṣarāḡīs* were used in summer (see Dī. Mawūdī, *Madīra al-Islām*, 117, 30). Inscriptions and drawings of animals and plants or human faces decorated entrances (*ibid.*, 29; Abu'l-Kāsim, 7, 36).

A special feature of the life of Baghdad is the vast number of mosques and baths as indicated.

Baghdād was the great centre of culture. It was the home of Hanafī and Hanbalī schools of law. It was the centre of translations, in Bayt al-Hikma and outside, and of some scientific experimentation. Its mosques, especially Dīḡhī al-Manṣūr, were great centres of learning. The large number of bookshops which were sometimes literary salons, indicates the extent of cultural activities. Its poets, historians, and scholars are too numerous to mention. One can refer to the History of Baghdad by Khatīb to see the vast number of scholars, in one field, connected with Baghdad. Not only scholars, but also the *ḡhāḡhīs* and *ṣarāfīs* gave every encouragement to learning. The creative period of Islamic culture is associated with Baghdad. Later in this period, public libraries as centres of study and learning were founded, the most famous being the Dār al-ʿIlm of Abū Naṣr Ṣābūr b. Ardāzīr. When the *madrasa* appeared, Baghdad took the lead with its Niḡmāsiyya and Mustansiriyya and influenced the *madrasa* system both in programme and architecture.

Much attention was paid to hospitals, especially in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Of these, the Bīmārīstān al-Sayyida (306/918), al-Bīmārīstān al-Muktaḍirī (306/918) and al-Bīmārīstān al-ʿAdudī (372/

982) were famous. Ministers and others also founded hospitals. Doctors were at times subject to supervision (see above).

Under al-Raḡḡib there were three bridges in Baghdad (Yaʿqūbī, ii, 510). The two famous ones were by Bāb al-Khūḍān, and at Karḫ (cf. Yaʿqūbī, ii, 542; Dīḡhī, *Baghdād*, 254; Tabarī, iii, 1212). Al-Raḡḡib built two bridges at Shammāsiyya, but they were destroyed during the first siege (Ibn al-Djawlī, *Manāhib*, 20; Ibn al-Fakhī, i, 42a). The three bridges continued to the end of 3rd/9th century (Ibn al-Fakhī, i, 42a). It seems that the northern bridge was destroyed and Istakhṛī talks of two bridges only (Ibn al-Djawlī, *Manāhib*, 20; Istakhṛī, 83). In 389/999 Bahāʾ al-Dawla built a bridge at Sūk al-Thalāḡhā (Niḡmāsiyya al-Kaṭṭānīn) to become the third bridge. This indicates a shift of emphasis from N. Baghdad to Sūk al-Thalāḡhā (Ibn al-Djawlī, *Mundāqim*, vii, 171; cf. Ibn al-Djawlī, *Manāhib*, 20; Khatīb, 71-2).

Life in Baghdad was stable until al-Aḡḡir. The first siege brought out turbulent elements in the *ḡhāḡhīs*. Flood and fire also began to play their rôle from the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century. Flood in 270/883 ruined 7,000 houses in Karḫ. In 292/994 and 328/929 Baghdad suffered considerably from flood (Tabarī, iii, 2005; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, vii, 371; Abu'l-Mahāsīn, iii, 157 and 266). In 327/983 flood swept beyond the Kūfa gate and entered the city (Sūfī, *Rāḡh*, 278; Khatīb, 16). The neglect of canals, especially during the *ʿAmīr al-Uṣayr* period (324-334/935-945), was responsible for floods and for the ruin of the Bāḡḡrāy district (Miskawayh, i, 2; Sūfī, *Rāḡh*, 106, 225, 137-8). Consequently, whereas scarcities and plague were rare before 320/932 they were recurrent after that (cf. Ibn al-Aḡḡir, vii, 377, 387, 398). The scarcity of 307/919 was a result of monopoly and was quickly overcome. Scarcities occurred in 321/934, 326/937, 329/940 (with plague), 330/941, 331/942 (with plague), 332/943, 337/948 and life became unbearable (Sūfī, *Rāḡh*, 61, 104, 236, 251; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, vii, 282, 311; Istakhṛī, *Taʾrīkh*, 125; Abu'l-Mahāsīn, iii, 290, 274).

In 308/940 and 309/911 Karḫ suffered considerably from fire (Ibn al-Aḡḡir, vii, 39, 29). In 323/944 the fire of Karḫ swept over the quarters of the *ʿaṭfīrīn* (the drug sellers), the oilment sellers, jewelers and others and its traces could be seen years after (Sūfī, *Rāḡh*, 68).

The Buwayhid period was rather hard for Baghdad. Muʿizz al-Dawla (in 325/940) first repaired some canals at Bāḡḡrāy and this improved living conditions (Miskawayh, i, 163). A period of neglect followed and many canals which irrigated west Baghdad were in ruins. Aḡḡ al-Dawla (377-378/977-982) had them cleared up, and rebuilt bridges and locks (Miskawayh, ii, 406; iii, 69; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, vii, 518). Then we hear no more of such activities.

Building activities were limited. In 350/961 Muʿizz al-Dawla built a great palace at the Shammāsiyya gate with a large Maydīn, a quay, and beautiful gardens. For this palace he took the seven iron doors of the Round City and spent about a million *ḡhāḡhīs* (11 million dirhams). However, it was pulled down in 418/1027 (Tanūkhī, *Niḡmūr*, i, 70-1; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, vii, 207-8; iii, 256). Aḡḡ al-Dawla rebuilt the house of Sabuktaynī, chamberlain of Muʿizz al-Dawla, at upper Mukharrim, added spacious gardens to it, and brought water to it by canals from Nahr al-Khūḍān at great expense. It became the Dār al-Imāra or official residence of the Buwayhids (Khatīb, 58-9; Ibn al-Djawlī, *Mundāqim*, vii, 27-8; cf. Miskawayh, iii, 124).



'Adud al-Dawla found Baghdad in bad shape. He ordered that its houses and markets be renewed and spent much money in rebuilding its Friday mosque; he repaired quays by the Tigris, and ordered the wealthy to repair their houses on the Tigris and to cultivate gardens in ruined places which had no owners. He found the central bridge narrow and decayed and had it renewed and heightened. (Ibn al-Athir, viii, 558; Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, vii, 114; Miskawayh, ii, 404-406). In 372/982 he built the 'Adudī Hospital, appointed doctors, supervisors, storekeepers to it, and provided it with plenty of medicines, potions, instruments and furniture. *Wahā's* were allotted to it for its upkeep. (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, vii, 112-114).

However, Baghdad declined under the Buyayids (Tanūkhī, *Naghar*, i, 66 makes it in 345/956 one tenth of its size under al-Muktadir). The city of al-Manṣūr was neglected and had no life then (Mukaddasī, 120). Most of the quarters of W. Baghdad were in bad shape and had shrunk. The most flourishing section of W. Baghdad was Karḥ, where the merchants had their places of business. Thus the western side is called Karḥ (Ibn Hawkal, i, 241-2; Mukaddasī, 120).

The eastern side of the city was more flourishing, and dignitaries generally resided there (cf. Ibn Hawkal, 240). Here, the bright spots were the Bāb al-Tākh where the great market was, the Dār al-Imra at Muḥarrir and the caliph's palaces at the southern end (cf. Mukaddasī, 120; Ibn Hawkal, i, 240-1; Tanūkhī, 84). On Karḥ, the eastern side, Ibn Hawkal saw four Friday mosques: the mosque of al-Manṣūr, the Ruṣāfa mosque, the Barāḥā mosque, and the mosque of Dār al-Sultān (241). Then in 379/989 and 383/993, the Kaṭī'a mosque and the Harbiyya mosque became Friday mosques (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, vii, 671; Khattib, 53-4. Ibn al-Djawzi, *Manāḥib*, 21-2; Ibn al-Athir, ix, 48).

Ibn Hawkal saw two bridges, one out of order (cf. 241). It seems there were three bridges at the time of Mu'izz al-Dawla (one at the Shamusiyya gate (near his palace), the other at Bāb al-Tākh and the third at Sūk al-Thalāḥā). The first was transferred to Bāb al-Tākh, making two there, then one went out of order (cf. Ibn al-Djawzi, *Manāḥib*, 20).

Baghdad suffered much from the turbulence of the *Shimma*, from sectarian differences encouraged by the Buyayids, and from the *ṣayyārān*. Our sources talk much of the ignorance of the *Shimma*, their readiness to follow any call, their good nature and their lawlessness (cf. Maṣ'ūdī, v, 81, 82-3, 85-7; Ghazālī, *Fadā'ik*, 53; Ibn al-Djawzi, *Manāḥib*, 31-2; Baghdadī, *Firak*, 141). In 279/892 al-Mu'tadī forbade *ḥaps* and fortune-tellers to sit in the streets or markets, and forbade people to congregate around them or to indulge in controversies (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, v, 122, 121). Before the Buyayids, the Hanbalis were the source of trouble. They tried at times to improve morals by force (cf. Ibn al-Athir, vii, 229-30, 84-3, 157-8; Sūfi, *Risāla*, 198). At this period, sectarian troubles multiplied and caused much loss in property and people. The Buyayids made the 10th of Muḥarram a day of public mourning, ordered the closing of markets, and encouraged the populace to make processions with women beating their faces (cf. Ibn al-Djawzi, vii, 15). On the other hand, the Ghadir on 28 Dhū'l-Hijja was made a day of celebrations. This led the Sunnis to choose two different days, each eight days after the ones mentioned (cf. Ibn al-Athir, ix, 120). Conflicts between the Shī'ites and the Sunnis became usual occurrences at this period, starting from 338/949

when Karḥ was pillaged (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, vi, 361). In 345/959, fights between the two groups led to destruction and fire at Bāb al-Tākh (ibid., 390). In 361/971 troubles in Karḥ led to its burning and 17,000 people perished, 300 shops, many houses and 33 mosques were burnt down (Ibn al-Athir, vii, 207; cf. Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, vii, 60). In 363/973 fire burnt much of Karḥ (Ibn al-Athir, vii, 207). In 364/974 troubles broke out and fire recurred in many quarters (Ibn al-Athir, ix, 31). In 1016 the Nahr Ṭākh, Bāb al-Kutn and much of the Bāb al-Basra quarters were burnt (Ibn al-Athir, ix, 102; see also vii, 184, ix, 25-6, 32, 58). In 422/1030 many markets were ruined during the troubles (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, viii, 35). More damage and confusion was caused by the *ṣayyārān* who were especially active throughout the last quarter of the 4th/10th cent. to the end of this period (on their activities during the two stages of Baghdad see Tabari, ii, 877, 1002-1008, 1552, 1556-7; Maṣ'ūdī, vi, 450 ff.). Historians misunderstand their activities and show them as robbers and thieves. But their movement is a product of their living conditions. Much of political chaos, the rise was against the wealthy and the rulers, and this explains why their activities were directed primarily against the rich, the markets, the police and the dignitaries (cf. Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, ii, 106, 107-8; Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, vii, 174, 220; Ibn al-Athir, ix, 115). They had moral principles such as honour, and help to the poor and to women, co-operation, patience and endurance. The *ṣayyārān* were not so much related to their movement (cf. Ibn al-Djawzi, *Talāḥ*, 181, 392; Kuzayrī, *Risāla*, 113-4; Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, viii, 77; Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, ii, 180). In the 4th/10th century they were organised, and among the titles of their chiefs were al-Mutakaddim, al-Kā'id, and al-Amīr, and they had special ceremonies for initiation (see *Muntazam*, viii, 49, 151-78; Miskawayh, ii, 306; Kuzayrī, *op. cit.*, 113; Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, ii, 190). However they were divided into Shī'ite and Sunnite (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, viii, 78-9).

The *ṣayyārān* kept people in constant terror for life and property. They levied tolls on markets and roads or robbed wayfarers and constantly broke into houses at night. They spread havoc by sword and fire and burnt many quarters (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, viii, 78-9; Ibn al-Athir, ix, 115). In east Baghdad and Karḥ, as those were the quarters of the wealthy. People had to lock the gates of their streets, and merchants kept vigil at night. Disorder and pillage made prices high (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, viii, 151, 220, viii, 21-2, 44, 47-50, 54-5, 60, 72-3, 79, 82, 141, 161). A preacher travelled in 431/1040 'O God! Save the state from the populace and the rabble' (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, viii, 44). Burjūmī, a notorious *ṣayyār* leader, practically ruled Baghdad for four years 422-423/1030-1033, and spread havoc (ibid., 75-6). The government was powerless (cf. 49) and they were left to levy taxes and tolls to avoid their terror (ibid., 78). Many people left their quarters and departed for safety (ibid., 142). The terror continued till the advent of the Saljūqs (ibid., 161).

In 447/1055 Tughril Bey entered Baghdad, and the Saljūqs reversed Buyayid policy and encouraged the Sunnis (cf. Abu'l-Mahsin, v, 59). In 450/1058 Basāḥirī, a rebel, seized Baghdad in the name of the Fātimids (cf. Abu'l-Fida', ii, 186; Ibn al-Kalidī, 87). He was defeated and killed by the Saljūqs forces in 451/1059 (Abu'l-Fida', ii, 187-8).

During this period Baghdad assumed a shape which thereafter changed but little.

In 448/1056 Tughril Bey enlarged the area of Dār

al-Imra, pulled down many houses and shops, rebuilt it and surrounded it with a wall (Ibn al-Djawzi, viii, 160). In 450/1058 it was burnt down and rebuilt again (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, viii, 778). It became known as Dār al-Mamlaka. It was rebuilt in 509/1115, but was accidentally burnt in 515/1121 and a new palace was built (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Manāḥib*, 16; *Muntazam*, ix, 253). Muḥibbān enlarged and rebuilt the mosque of Muḥibbān, which was near the palace, in 484/1091 and was hence called Dīnānī al-Sultān. It was repaired in 502/1108 (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, ix, 159), and was finally completed in 524/1129 (Abu'l-Fida', ii, 211; Ibn al-Djawzi, *Manāḥib*; 23; Abu'l-Mahsin, v, 135).

Life centered in E. Baghdad around the caliphal palaces. Al-Muḥibbān (469-487/1072-1094) encouraged building; and the quarters around the palaces—such as Baḥaliyya, Kaṭī'a, Halaba, Adjama, etc. flourished. He also built the Riverain-palace (Dār Shāṭiyya) by the old Tāḡ palace (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, viii, 203; Ibn al-Athir, x, 150; cf. Le Strange, 253; cf. Ibn al-Fuwatī, 21). In 524/1129 the Tāḡ palace was pulled down and rebuilt (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, x, 41). These quarters were not walled and they suffered much from the flood in 1070. In 488/1095 al-Mustazhir built a wall around the so called Harim quarters. Then in 517/1123 al-Mustashir rebuilt it with four gates and made it 22 *dhira'* in width. The flood of 554/1159 surrounded the wall, made a breach in it, and ruined many quarters. The breach in it was mended and a dyke was begun, and completed later around the wall (cf. Ibn al-Djawzi, *Manāḥib*, 34; ibid., *Muntazam*, x, 189-190). Other attempts to rebuild the wall or repair it took place under al-Nāṣir and al-Mustansir (Ibn Fuwatī, 16, 111). This wall set the limits of East Baghdad till the end of Ottoman period.

Baghdad is in decline during this period and lived on its past glory. From the end of the 5th/11th century, there were many changes in its topography. Many quarters in western Baghdad were ruined, and waste land replaced previous gardens or houses (cf. Khattib, 67 and Tanūkhī, *Naghar*, i, 74-5). This probably explains the increase in the number of Friday mosques. The old quarters of Shamusiyya, Ruṣāfa and Muḥibbān were neglected (cf. Ibn Hawkal, 241).

Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdad around 567/1171, talks of the greatness of the caliphal palace, with its wall, gardens, a zoo and a lake. He speaks highly of the 'Adudī Hospital with its sixty doctors, and a sanatorium for the mad. He found 40,000 Jews in Baghdad with schools for them (*Itinerary*, ed. and tr. A. Asher, New York, 1869-2, i, text 34-64, tr. 93-105; Arabic tr. by E. H. Haddad, Baghdad 1915, 131-8). Ibn Dūbayr described Baghdad in 581/1185. He noticed the general decline, and criticised the arrogance of its people (218). Much of the eastern side was ruined, yet it had seventeen separate quarters, all with two, three or eight baths (218). The caliph's quarters, with its magnificent palaces and gardens, occupied about a quarter or more of the area (226-7). This side was well populated and had excellent markets (228). Kurayya was the largest quarter, (very likely between the modern al-Ahrās bridge and Kaṭī'a al-Karāya and near it the suburb (*raḥā*) of Murābba'a (probably by Sayyid Sultān 'Alī now). It had three Friday mosques, Dīnānī al-Sultān, north of the wall, and the Ruṣāfa mosque, about a mile north of the latter (228-9) and Dīnānī al-Khalifa. There were about thirty *madrāsas* (colleges), all housed in excellent buildings with

plenty of *wahf* and endowments for their upkeep and for the students' expenses. The most famous *madrāsa* was the Nizāmiyya which was rebuilt in 1120 (229).

He describes the wall, built by al-Mustashir, surrounding Shārkīyya as having four gates—1. Bāb al-Sultān to the north (later called Bāb al-Mu'azzam), 2. Bāb al-Zafarīyya (N.E.), later, Bāb al-Wastānī, 3. Bāb al-Halaba (S.), later Bāb al-Talāḥīn, 4. Bāb al-Baḥaliyya (S.), later al-Bāb al-Shārkī. The wall surrounded Shārkīyya in a semi-circle reaching the Tigris at both ends (229). He talks of the populous quarter of Abū Hanifa, while the old quarters of Ruṣāfa, Shamusiyya, and most of Muḥibbān were ruined (cf. 226; Ibn Hawkal, 241). In western Baghdad ruin spread everywhere. Of quarters here, he mentions Karḥ as a walled city, and the Bāb al-Basra quarter which contained the great mosque of al-Manṣūr and what remained of the old city (225). By the Tigris was the Shārkī quarter which constituted with Karḥ, Bāb al-Basra and Kurayya the largest quarters of Baghdad (225). Between al-Shārkī and the Bāb al-Basra was the quarter of Sūk al-Marṭin, a small city, with the famous 'Adudī hospital, which was well staffed and provisioned (225-6). Of other quarters he noticed the Harbiyya quarter as the northernmost, and the 'Attābiyya, famous for its silk-cotton (*ṭālib*) cloth (226). Ibn Dūbayr (229) talks of 2000 baths and eleven Friday mosques in Baghdad.

At the time of al-Mustashir (512-59/1118-1134) there was one bridge near the 'Isā canal, later moved to Bāb al-Kurayya. During the period of al-Mustashir (566-575/1170-1179) a new bridge was made at Bāb al-Kurayya, and the old one was returned to its place by the 'Isā canal. Ibn Dūbayr saw the first bridge only, but confirms that there were usually two bridges and Ibn al-Djawzi, who wrote just before the fall of Baghdad, confirms this (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Manāḥib*, 20; Ibn Dūbayr, 225).

Half a century later, Yāqūt (621/1226) gave some useful data. He shows western Baghdad as a series of isolated quarters each with a wall and separated by waste land of ruins. Harbiyya, al-Harim al-Tāhirī in the north, Caḥr Sūḡ with Naṣriyya, 'Attābiyyin and Dār al-Kazz south-west, Muḥawwal to the west, Karḥ to the east, and Kurayya and Karḥ in the south are the noted quarters. In East Baghdad, life centered in the quarters around Harim Dār al-Khalifa which occupy about a third of the area enclosed in the walls. Of the large flourishing quarters were Bāb al-'Araḍi with its markets, al-Maḥiniyya next to it, Sūk al-Thalāḥā, Nahr al-Muḥalla and Kurayya (Yāqūt, i, 232, 441, 444, 534, 635, ii, 88, 167, 234, 459, 532, 783, 917, 918, 919, 927, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985).

Friday mosques increased in Ghariyya (W. Baghdad) at this period, indicating the semi-independent status of quarters. Ibn al-Djawzi mentions six between 530/1135 and 572/1176 in addition to Dīnānī al-Manṣūr (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Manāḥib*, 23, 225). Ibn al-Fuwatī. The mosques of Karḥ were repaired by Mustansir (Ibn al-Fuwatī, 15), and Dīnānī al-Kar was renewed in 475/1082, and again by al-Mustansir in 673/1273 (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, ix, 3; Le Strange, 269). The Kanariyya mosque (still present) was built in 626/1228 (Ibn al-Fuwatī, 41).

The strength of Sūfi is shown by the large number of *Risāla* [e.g.] built during the last century of the caliphate. They were built by the caliphs or their relatives (cf. Ibn al-Fuwatī, 2, 74, 75, 79, 80, 87, 112, 261; Ibn al-Djawzi, *Muntazam*, ix, 11, Ibn al-Athir, xi, 77, 33, xii, 27, 67-8).







finances), and a *Khid*. A garrison was stationed in Baghdad with the janissaries as its backbone.

Few buildings were erected during the following period. In 978/1570 Murad Pasha built the Muradîya mosque in the Maydan quarter. The Gilâni mosque was rebuilt. Çiğazade built a famous inn, a coffee house and a *marîfât*. He also built *Dişânî* al-Sağîr or *Dişânî* al-Khaffîffî, and rebuilt the *Mawlawî tekke*, known now as the *Asâfiyya* mosque (ʿAzizîwî, iv, 116, 128-132; cf. Alûsî, *Masâidid*, 30-1, 62-4). Hasan Pasha built the mosque known after him, also called *Dişânî* al-Waṣîr (*Gulshan-i Khusûfî* 66; Ewliya Celebi, iv, 49). He also made a rampart and a ditch around Karğî to protect it from Bedouins.

Europeans travellers begin to visit Baghdad at this period. They speak of it as a meeting place of caravans, and a great centre of commerce for Arabia, Persia and Turkey. Caesar Frederigo (1563) saw many foreign merchants in the city. Sir Anthony Sherley (1590) saw "excellent goods of all sorts and very cheap" (Parchas, viii, 384). It had a bridge of boats tied by a great chain of iron, and when boats passed up or down the river, some of the boats of the bridge were removed until the traffic had passed (Ralph Fitch in 1583, Hakluyt, iii, 282-3). Rauwolf (1574) saw streets narrow and houses miserably built. Many buildings were in ruins. Some public buildings like the Pasha's residence and the great bazaar or exchange were good. Its baths were of low quality. The eastern side was well fortified with a wall, and a ditch, while the western side was open and low like a great village (Rauwolf, *Travels*, in Kay's collection, London 1605, i, 179 ff.). The city walls were built of bricks and had subsidiary works including four bastions on which heavy bronze guns in good conditions were mounted (Tessiera, *Travels*, Hakluyt ed., 31). The circuit of the walls is given as two to three miles. John Ilford (1585) noticed that three languages were spoken in Baghdad, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian (Hakluyt, iii, 325). Ralph Fitch (1583) found Baghdad not very great but very populous. The Portuguese traveller Pedro Tessiera (1604) estimated houses in east Baghdad at twenty to thirty thousand. There was a mint in Baghdad in which gold, silver and copper coins were struck. There was a school of archery and another of musketry maintained by the government (*Travels*, Hakluyt ed., 31).

Following the insurrection of Bakr the Sabahî, Shâh ʿAbbâs I conquered Baghdad in 1032/1623. School buildings and Sunnî shrines, including the mosques of Gilâni and Abû Hanîfa, suffered destruction. Thousands were killed or sold as slaves and others were tortured (Kâtib Celebi, *Faḡhâḡa*, ii, 30; *Kûlûb al-ʿAdhîr*, i, 383; ʿAzizîwî, iv, 278-182). In this period the Sarây (government house) was built by Sâḡ Kullî Khân, the Persian governor. Baghdad was regained by the Ottomans in 1048/1638 under the personal command of Sultân Murâd IV. He had the shrines, especially the tombs of Abû Hanîfa and Gilâni, rebuilt. On his departure, the Rîb al-Tîllîsîn was walled up and continued thus until it was blown up by the retreating Turks in 1917. His Grand Vizier put the Kalʿa (castle) in good repair.

Further information comes from travellers of this period, like Tavernier (1652), Ewliya Celebi (1655) and Thevenot (1663). The wall around east Baghdad was almost circular in shape. It was 60 *dhîrâʿ* high and 10-15 *dhîrâʿ* broad, with holes for guns. It had large towers at the principal angles, of which four were famous at this period—and smaller towers at short distances from each other. On the

large towers brass cannons were planted. The wall was completed on the river side for proper defence (the map of Naḡib al-Sîhîl drawn for Sultan Sulaymân in 1537 already shows this wall. A. Souts, *Atlas of Baghdad*, 12). There were 118 towers in the wall on the land side and 45 on the river side (Hadjjî Khalfâ, 1657). *Dişânî-nisâwî*, 437 ff.; Ker Porter (1819) reports 117 towers of which 12 were large (*Travels*, 263); cf. Buckingham, *Travels*, 372). The wall had three gates on the land side, (as the Tîllîsîn gate was walled up): Bab al-Imâm al-ʿAṣam in the north at 700 *dhîrâʿ* from the Tigris, Karanîlî Kapu (Bâb Kalwâḡhâl) or the dark gate in the south at 50 *dhîrâʿ* from the Tigris, and Ak Kapu (al-Bâb al-Waṣîl) or the white gate in the east. The fourth gate was at the bridge. Ewliya Celebi measured the length of the wall and found it 28,800 paces in slow walking or seven miles (1 mile = 4,000 paces), while Hadjji Khalfâ makes its length 12,200 *dhîrâʿ* or two miles (Niebuhr and Olivier consider the length of East Baghdad two miles). Wellsted thought the circuit of the wall 7 miles. Felix Jones, who surveyed Baghdad in 1853, gives the circuit of the walls of East Baghdad including the river face as 10,600 yards or about 6 miles (Olivier, *Voyage*, ii, 579-80; Wellsted, *Travels*, i, 255; Felix Jones, 318; cf. Rousseau, 5 and Tavernier, 84).

The wall was surrounded by a ditch, sixty *dhîrâʿ* in width, with water drawn from the Tigris. At the north-western corner of the wall stood the Kalʿa (inner castle), from the Rîb al-Muṣṣarraf to the Tigris; it was encompassed by a single wall with little towers upon which cannon were planted. Barracks, stores of ammunition and provisions as well as the treasury and the mint were there. The Sarây, where the Pasha resided, stood below the castle; it had spacious gardens and fair kiosks. On the other end of the bridge at Karğî stood a castle called Kughlar Kalʿat or Bird's castle, with a gate on the bridge (Ewliya Celebi, iv, 416; Hadjji Khalfâ, *Dişânî-Nisâwî*, 437-50; Tavernier, 64; Thevenot, *Voyage*, ii, 211). Ewliya Celebi refers to the numerous mosques of Baghdad and mentions nine important mosques. Of the schools, two were the largest, the Marjânîyya and Madrasat al-Khulafâʾ (Mustansiriyya). Of the money houses two were good. He mentions eight churches and three synagogues, and gives exaggerated figures for *tekkes* (700) and *hamâmîs* (500). The bridge of boats had 37-40 boats according to the height of the river, and some boats in the middle could be removed either for safety at night, or for river traffic, or as a military precaution. The main languages spoken in the city were Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Baghdad had the best carrier-pigeons.

However Baghdad was still in decline; its population was at the low figure of 15,000 (Tavernier, *Travels*, London 1678, 85-6; Ewliya Celebi, *Siyâhat*, iv, 420 ff.; Thevenot, *Voyage*, ii, 211).

Baghdad was governed by 24 pashas between 1048/1638-1116/1704 and there was no room for real improvement. The pashas were semi-autonomous, and the power of the janissaries was great. The power of the tribes rose and gradually became a threat to the life of the city.

Little was done beyond repairs to the city walls or mosques. Kûlûk Hasan Pasha (1642) built three towers near Burj al-ʿAdjâm. Khâṣakî Muhammad Pasha rebuilt Tabayrat al-Fâḡh and repaired the walls after the flood of 1657. Ahmad Bughnâk repaired the towers especially Burj al-Dîwânîh (Caḡhah) and built Burj al-Sûbûnî (1687). Mosques received some attention. Delî Husayn Pasha (1644) rebuilt the

Kamariyya mosque. Khâṣakî Muhammad (1657) built the Khâṣakî mosque at Ra's al-Karya. Shûbârî Husayn Pasha (1671) rebuilt al-Fadl mosque which became known as *Dişânî* Husayn Pasha and surrounded the shrine of ʿUmar Sulaymânî by a wall and brought water to it by a canal. ʿAbd al-Rahmân Pasha (1674) repaired the *Dişânî* Shaykh Ma'rûf and completed the dam started by his predecessor to protect ʿAzamiyya from flood. Kadiri Mustafâ (1676) rebuilt *Dişânî* al-Shaykh al-Kadiri which became known as *Dişânî* al-Kapli-niyya. ʿUmar Pasha (1678) repaired the mosque of Abû Hanîfa and allotted new *waḡḡs* to it. Ibrahim Pasha (1681) renewed *Dişânî* Sayyid Sulṭân ʿAlî, and *Dişânî* al-Sarây, Ismâʿîlî Pasha (1698) rebuilt *Dişânî* al-Khaffîffîn (ʿAzizîwî, iv, 27, 64, 109, 116, 143, *Gulshan-i Khusûfî*, 102, 103, 105, 106, Alûsî, *Masâidid*, 37, 57-8). Ahmad Bughnâk (1678) built the famous Khân Bânî Sa'd, while Shûbârî Husayn Pasha built a new bazaar near the Mustansiriyya.

The beginning of the 18th century saw the *ayak* of Baghdad terribly disorganised, the janissaries masters of the city, the Arab tribes holding the surrounding country, and peace or security for trade non-existent. The appointment of Hasan Pasha in 1704, followed by his son Ahmad, inaugurated a new period for Baghdad. They introduced the *Mamlûks* (*Kidwân*) to check the janissaries and laid the foundation for Mamlûk supremacy which lasted till 1831. The janissaries and Arab tribes were controlled, order was restored and the Persian threat averted. Hasan Pasha rebuilt the Sarây Mosque (Hadjji Hasan Pasha). He abolished taxes on firewood and on foodstuffs, and relieved *quṣṣars* from excessive levies. Most (Gardiner, *The Persian Gulf*, vol. i, pt. 1, 1193-4; Sulaymân, *Fâḡh*, *Harâb al-Firâsiyyîn*, MS. i, 18-19; idem, *Ta'riḡh al-Mamlûk*, MS. i, 4; *Hadikat al-Zawâd* (abridged), MS. 9; *Gulshan-i Khusûfî*, 225). Ahmad Pasha continued on the lines of his father and enhanced greatly the prestige of Baghdad. Nâdir Shâh besieged Baghdad twice, in 1737 and 1743, and though the city suffered much in the first siege, Ahmad Pasha held out and saved the city. When Ahmad Pasha died in 1747, Constantinople tried to reimpose its authority on Baghdad but failed, because of Mamlûk opposition. In 1749 Sulaymân Pasha was the first Mamlûk to be made governor of Baghdad. He was the real founder of Mamlûk rule in ʿIrâq. Henceforth the sultans had to recognise their position and generally to confirm their nominees to the governorship. Hasan Pasha, who was brought up at the Ottoman court (slave household), wanted to follow its example; he established houses and initiated the training of Circassian and Georgian Mamlûks and sons of local magnates in them. Sulaymân now expanded this and there were always about 200 receiving training in the school to prepare officers and officials. They are given a literary education and training in the use of arms, the art of chivalry and sports, and finally some palace education, to create an élite for government (Sulaymân Fâḡh, *Ta'riḡh al-Mamlûk*; *Dauhat al-Wuzarâʾ*, 8). A governing class was formed, trained, energetic, and compact. But their weakness came from jealousy and intrigues. Sulaymân Pasha subdued the tribes and assured order and security, and encouraged trade. ʿAlî Pasha followed in 1753/1762 and ʿUmar Pasha in 1771/1764 (*Ta'riḡh-i Dîwânîh*, i, 339-40). In 1766 the establishment of a British residency in Baghdad was sanctioned by Bombay (*Gazetteer*, i, 1223). In 1816/1772 a terrible plague befell Baghdad and

lasted six months; thousands died, others migrated, and commercial activities came to a standstill (*Gazetteer*, i, 324).

Security made Baghdad a great commercial centre. An eye-witness wrote in 1772, "this is the grand mart for the produce of India and Persia, Constantinople, Aleppo and Damascus; in short it is the grand oriental depository" (*Gazetteer*, i, 1243).

Disension and weak leadership among the Mamlûks led to a period of troubles, of tribal chaos, and the Persian conquest of Basra. It ended when Sulaymân Pasha the Great became governor (1793/1779) and combined Baghdad, Shahrîr and Basra. The tribes were checked, peace was restored and Mamlûk power revived (*Ta'riḡh-i Dîwânîh*, ii, 146, 157, 158; Sûfi, *Ta'riḡh al-Mamlûk*, 19 ff., 34 ff., S. Fâḡh, *Ta'riḡh al-Mamlûk*, i, 16-7).

Sulaymân Pasha repaired the walls of east Baghdad, and built a wall around Karğî and surrounded it with a ditch. He rebuilt the Sarây. He also built the Sulaymânîyya school and renewed the Kaplaniyya, Fadl and Khulafâʾ mosques. In addition, he built the Sûk al-Sarrâḡlîn. His *kahya* started building the Ahmadiyya mosque (*Dişânî* al-Maydan) to be completed by the *kahya*'s brother (ʿUḡmûn b. Sanad, (abridged, ed.), 70-73, 76-7). His last year (1800) saw a plague in Baghdad (*Gazetteer*, i, 1285; Vâḡf Elendî, *ḡḡḡ*, *ḡḡḡ* al-ʿAdhîr, 64). Kûlûk Sulaymân (1808) abolished execution except when religious courts decided it, and forbade confiscations and cancelled dues to courts, and allotted salaries to judges (S. Fâḡh, *Ta'riḡh al-Mamlûk*, i, 16; *Dauhat al-Wuzarâʾ*, 250).

Dâwîd Pasha came (1816) after a troubled period. He controlled the tribes and restored order and security. He cleared up some irrigation canals, established cloth and arms factories, and encouraged local industry. He built three large mosques, the most important being the Haydar-Khâna mosque. He founded three *madrasas*. He also built a *sâb* by the bridge. He organised an army of about 20,000 and had a French officer to train it. His energetic and intelligent administration brought prosperity to the city. However, he had to impose heavy taxes in Baghdad, Dâwîd's fall and the end of the Mamlûks came about as a result of Mahmûd II's centralising and reforming policy, aided by a terrible plague, scarcity, and flood, which affected most of the city population (1247/1831) (*Hadikat al-Zawâd* (abridged, ed.), MS. i, 43-44, 53, 55-58; A. R. Surwayyî, *Nisâwî al-Uḡḡ*, MS. i, 41-42; *Misʿad al-Zawâd*, 59; S. Fâḡh, *Ta'riḡh al-Mamlûk*, MS. i, 39-42; *Gazetteer*, i, 1316; Fraser, *Travels*, i, 224-5; *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, i, 80-1).

The administrative system of Baghdad was copied on a small scale from that of Constantinople. The Pasha held supreme military and administrative power. As the head of the administration was the *kutbkhâ* (or *kahya*) who was like a minister. He was assisted by the *dettârâr*, who was director of finances, and by the *divân* *endişîs* or chief of the chancellery. There was the commander of the palace guards and the aghâ of the janissaries. There was the *kâdî* as the head of the judiciary. The Pasha called the *divân* which included the *kahya*, the *dettârâr*, the *kâdî*, the commander and other important personages, to discuss important issues. In the palace there were houses, with teachers and instructors (*âllâl*) to educate the Mamlûks (*Dîwânîh*, ii, 287, iii, 204, ʿUḡmûn b. Sanad, 31-2, 56, 39; Rousseau, 25 ff.). The Mamlûk army was of 12,300 and in case of need it could be raised to



30,000 by local levies and contingents from other parts of the *vilāyat* (S. Fā'ih, *Mamālīk*, I, 51-2).

European travellers of this period give some data on Baghdad. Some notice that the walls were constructed and repaired at many different times, the old portions being the best (Buchingham, *Travels* (1827), 332; see Felix Jones, *Memoir*, 309). The enclosed area within the walls (cent) according to Felix Jones' measurement was 593 acres (cf. Dr. Ives, *Journey*, London 1778, 20; Rousseau, *Description*, 5). The wall on the river seems to have been neglected and houses were built on the bank (Olivier, *Voyage* (1804), II, 379). A large part of the city within the walls, particularly in the eastern side, was not occupied. The section near the river was well populated but even there gardens abounded so that it appeared like a city arising from amid a grove of palms (Niebuhr, II, 239; Buckingham, 373; Wellsted, *Travels* (1840), I, 253). The Sarāy was spacious, enclosing beautiful gardens, and was richly furnished (Rousseau, 6; Kor Porter, 263).

The western side Karḡh, was like a suburb with numerous gardens. It was defenceless at first, (Rousseau, 5; Ives, 28), until Sulaymān Paḡhā the Great built its wall. It had four gates—Bāb al-Kāsim (N.), Bāb al-Shaykh Ma'rūf (W.), Bāb al-Hilla (S.W.), and Bāb al-Karmāt (S.). The walls were 5,800 yards long, enclosing an area of 246 acres (F. Jones, 309). (Kor Porter (1818) found it well furnished with shops along numerous and extensive streets (Kor Porter, II, 253; al-Munḡhī al-Baghdādī, *Rikāʾa*, 37). Moreover it was not so populated as the eastern side, and generally inhabited by the common people (Niebuhr, II, 244; Rousseau, 4). The bridge of boats was 6 ft. wide and people use it or use "guffs" to cross the river (Kor Porter, II, 255; Niebuhr, II, 243; al-Munḡhī al-Baghdādī, 243).

The population gradually increased in this period. Rousseau (c. 1800) estimates it at 45,000, Olivier at 60,000, while the inhabitants put the figure at 100,000 (Rousseau, 8; Olivier, II, 385). Buckingham (1836) made the estimate 80,000 (*Travels*, II, 380). Kor Porter (1818) puts the figure at 100,000 (*Travels*, 265). Al-Munḡhī al-Baghdādī echoes local views in saying that there were 100,000 houses in Baghdad of which 1,500 were Jewish and 800 were Christian (*Rikāʾa*, 24). By 1830 the estimate was brought to 120,000-150,000 (Frazer, I, 224-5; and Wellsted). There was a mixture of races and creeds. The official class was Turkish (or Mamlik), the merchants primarily Arab, and there were Persians, Kurds and some Indians (Buckingham, 387; Niebuhr, II, 250; Kor Porter, II, 265; Wellsted, I, 251). There were numerous bazaars in Baghdad especially near the bridge, and the grand ones were vaulted with bricks, while the others were covered with palm trees. There were many *hāḡins*, 24 *hammāms*, five great *madrasas*, and twenty large mosques and many small ones (Buckingham, 378-9; Ives, 273; al-Munḡhī al-Baghdādī, 31; Niebuhr, II, 239; Wellsted, I, 257; Olivier, II, 382).

The streets were narrow, and some had gates closed at night for protection. Houses were high, with few windows on the streets. The interior consisted of ranges of rooms opening into a square interior court usually with a garden. *Sardābs* were used to avoid heat in summer, while open terraces were convenient for the late afternoon. In summer people slept on the roof (cf. Buckingham, 386). Baghdad had some industries especially tanneries and the fabrication of cotton, silk and woolen textiles (Rousseau, 9-10).

From 1831 to the end of the Ottoman period,

Baghdad was directly under Constantinople. Some governors tried to introduce reforms. Mehmed Raḡhd Paḡhā (1847) was the first to try to improve economic conditions. He formed a company to buy two ships for transport between Baghdad and Basra, the success of which led to the corresponding British project. Nāḡim Paḡhā (1853) founded the *damir-ḡhāna* which could repair ships (Chiba, 24, 38-9; *Gazetteer*, I, 1360, 1363-6, 1372). Midhat Paḡhā (1869-1872) introduced the modern *wilāyat* system. The *wālī* had a *ma'dūn*, or assistant, a *madīr* for foreign affairs, and a *ma'nūn* or secretary. The *wilāyat* was divided into seven *sandjaks* headed by *mutasarrifs*, Baghdad being one of them (*Gazetteer*, I, 1442, 1447-8). He abolished some obnoxious taxes—the *ḡhāḡ* (octroi duty) on all produce brought in the city walls for sale, the *ḡhāḡiyya*, a tax on river crafts, *ḡhāḡi katab*, or 20% on fuel, and *rūs ḡhāḡ*, a tax on irrigation wheels for cultivation, and replaced it by a *ḡhāḡ* on agricultural produce (*Gazetteer*, I, 1442). In 1870 Midhat founded a tramway linking Baghdad with Rikāḡimayn, and it continued for 70 years ('All Haydar Midhat, *Life*, 21). He established (1869) an early publishing house, the *ḡhāḡ* printing press in Baghdad, and founded al-Zawra', the first newspaper to appear in 'Irāk as the official organ of the provincial government; it continued until March 1917 as a weekly paper ('Azizī, vii, 241; 'All Haydar Midhat, *The Life of Midhat Paḡhā*, London 1903, 47-8; Tarrākī, *Arabic Press*, I, 78; *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, I, 81). With the exception of a few French Missionary schools, there were no modern schools in Baghdad. Between 1869-1872, Midhat established modern schools, a technical school, a junior (*Ruḡhd*) and a secondary (*Fāḡid*) military schools, and a junior and secondary civil (*Ma'dū*) schools (*Zawra'* No. 182; 'Azizī, viii, 21; *Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1900), 454; Chiba, 100-102). Midhat pulled down the city walls as a step towards its modernisation. He completed the Saray building started by Nāḡim Paḡhā (Chiba, 66).

The education movement started by Midhat continued after him. The first junior girls' school was opened in 1899 (*Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī*, 1218). Four primary schools were opened in 1890, and a primary teachers' school in 1900 (*Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī*, Istanbul 1900; S. Fayyāḡ, *Nidāḡ*, 28-9). By 1913 there were 193 schools in 'Irāk 17 primary, 29 junior, (*Ruḡhd*), 5 secondary and one college, the law college (*Lughat al-'Arab*, 1913, 335). Five printing presses were founded between 1884-1907. Newspapers appeared in Baghdad after 1908 and by 1915, 45 papers were issued by different people.

Walls followed Midhat in quick succession and little was achieved. In 1886 conscription was established (for Muslims only). In 1879 the hospital built by Midhat was finally opened (*Zawra'* No. 810). By 1902, a new bridge of boats, wide enough for vehicles to pass, and with a cafe on the south side, was constructed (Alūsī, 25; *Handbook*, II, 374). In 1908 Baghdad sent three representatives to the Ottoman Parliament ('Azizī, viii, 165). In 1910 Nāḡim Paḡhā constructed a band surrounding east Baghdad to protect it from floods ('Azizī, viii, 200-1). He was the last energetic *wālī*.

Administration was headed by the *wālī* assisted by a council, about half of which consisted of elected members, and the rest were appointed (*ex-officio*). About two of the elected members were non-Muslims. The *wālī* was assisted by a *ḡhāḡ* *mukīm* (*Zawra'* No. 1369). *Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (A.H.). Among important officers were the *Ma'sūf* directorate, the *Taḡa* directorate, the registration office, and the civil

courts (*Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1900), 82-96). Until 1868, Baghdad was the centre of the three *ḡhāḡs* of Mawsil, Basra and Baghdad. In 1861, Mawsil became separate and in 1884 Basra was separated and Baghdad became the centre of three *Mutasarrifliks* (Chiba, *Province*, 83).

The plague and flood of 1831 left terrible marks on Baghdad. Most of the houses of East Baghdad were ruined and two thirds of the space within the walls was vacant, while most Karḡh was ruined. The walls on both sides had great gaps opened by the flood. The city was in a miserable state compared to the days of Dāwūd Paḡhā (Frazer, *Travels*, I, 269, 233-4, 252). Southgate (1897) noticed that the city was slowly recovering from the calamity, and put the population at 40,000. But he saw the *madrasas* neglected and their allowances not properly used (Southgate, *Narrative*, 2 vols. 1851, II, 180, 165-6; *Handbook of Mesopotamia*, I, 80-1).

When Felix Jones surveyed Baghdad (1853-4) things had improved. He mentions 65 quarters in East Baghdad, 25 quarters in Karḡh, most of which still retain their names (*Memoir*, 339; cf. Frazer, 233-4).

The population of the city increased steadily after the middle of the 19th century. In 1851 they were about 60,000 (Felix Jones, 315, 320). In 1867, the male population of Baghdad is given as 67,273 (*Lughat al-'Arab*, 1913). In 1877 they were all estimated at 70 to 80 thousand (*Persian Gulf Gazetteer*, 8; Geary, *Through Asiatic Turkey*, 1878, I, 121). In the 1890s the estimate was 80 to a 100 thousand (Harris, *From Istanbul to Baghdad*, 209; Cowper, *Through Asiatic Turkey*, 270). In 1900 they were put at 100,000 (Chiba, *Province*, 165; see *Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1900), 454; Chiba, 100-102).

Another estimate for 1904 is given at 140,000 (*Handbook of Mesopotamia*, I, 80). By 1915, the population is given as 200,000 (*Handbook*, II, 334; Alūsī, *Aḡḡāḡ Baghdad*, 280-1; cf. R. Coke for the figure 185,000 in 1918, *Baghdād*, 298). Travellers were impressed with the great admixture of races, the diversity of speech and the rare freedom enjoyed by non-Muslims and the great toleration among the masses (Jones, 339; Ives, II, 385-9). This mixture left its imprint on the dialect of Baghdad ('Abd al-Latif, *Kāḡimāt Lahjati Baghdad MSS.*).

However, Arabic was the common language. The Arab population was increased by the advent of tribal elements (Geary, *op. cit.* I, 136, 214). Usually people of one creed or race congregated in a particular quarter (cf. F. Jones, *Memoir*, 339). The Turks generally occupied the northern quarters of the city, while Jews and Christians lived in their ancient quarters north and west of Sūk al-ḡhāḡ respectively. Most of the Persians lived on the west side but Karḡh was mainly Arab (F. Jones, 339; *Persian Gulf*, 9, 79-80; *Handbook*, II, 381; Southgate, II, 182). Though people of the three religions spoke Arabic their dialects differed (*Lughat al-'Arab*, 1913, 69-71).

At the turn of the century there were still some industries. Among the textiles of Baghdad were silk stuffs, cotton fabrics, stuffs of wool-silk mixture, striped cotton pieces, and coarse cotton cloth for head-scarves and cloaks, sheets and women outer garments. The silk fabrics of Baghdad were famous for their colour and workmanship. An excellent dyeing industry existed. Tanning was one of the principal industries, and there were about 40 tanneries at Ma'azam. Carpentry and the manufacture of swords were advanced. There was a military factory for textiles (*Handbook*, I, 231; *Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1900), 79, 136).

The Baghdad bazaars were covered, or uncovered like Sūk al-ḡhāḡ. At the eastern bridgehead was the chief place for trade in the bazaars of the Sarāy, Maydīn, Shorḡā and the cloth bazaar rebuilt by Dāwūd Paḡhā. Some bazaars had crafts with their own guilds and usually the bazaar was named after it, such as Sūk al-Sāḡīr (coppersmiths) Sūk al-Sarrāḡīn (saddlery), Sūk al-Sāḡhā, (silversmiths), Sūk al-ḡhāḡiḡāḡ (shoemakers), etc. (Ewliya Celebi, IV, 22; *M.G.T.B.*, I, 22-3).

There were two important streets, one from the North Gate to near the bridge, and the other from the South Gate to the end of the main bazaar. In 1915 the North Gate was connected with the South Gate by a road, now known as Raḡhd street (*Handbook*, I, 377; *Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1918 A.H.), 599-600).

In 1922 Nāḡim Paḡhā tried to repair some of the streets (*Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1918 A.H.), 60). In 1907/1899 Sirri Paḡhā transferred the Maydīn to an open square with a garden (see *Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1917), 76).

In 1895/1869 Midhat formed a municipal council by election and orders were issued to clear the streets. In 1879 municipalities were formed and orders were issued for achieving cleanliness and drainage (*Zawra'* No. 231, No. 878, No. 817, No. 1774, *Lughat al-'Arab*, I, 17; *Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1900), 136). Lighting with kerosene lamps was adopted and given to a contractor, but in fact only streets with notable residents lit (*Zawra'* No. 490, no. 837) (see further BALADHYA).

At the beginning of the 20th century the city of Baghdad covered an area of about four sq. m. The remains of the city wall on the East side demolished by Midhat formed with the river a rough parallelogram about 2 miles long with an average width of over a mile. About a third of this area was empty or occupied by graveyards or ruins, and towards the south much space was covered by date groves. Karḡh began further upstream than East Baghdad but it was much smaller in length and depth (*Handbook*, II, 276). In 1882 there were 26,305 houses, 600 inns, 21 baths, 46 large mosques (*ḡhāḡ*) and 36 small mosques (*maḡḡ*), 34 children's *maḡḡ* and 21 religious schools, 184 coffee-shops and 3,244 shops (*Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1900), 136). In 1884 the figures were: 16,426 houses, 205 inns, 39 baths, 93 *ḡhāḡ* and 44 *maḡḡ* and 36 children's *maḡḡ* (*Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1900), 335).

In 1903 Baghdad had 4,000 shops, 285 coffee-shops, 135 orchards, 145 *ḡhāḡ*, 6 primary schools, 8 schools for non-Muslims and 20 convents (*ḡhāḡ*), 12 bookshops, one public library, 20 *maḡḡ* for boys, 8 churches, 9 tanneries, one soap factory, 129 workshops for weaving, 22 textile factories (*Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1921), 179). By 1909 houses reached 90,000 in number. There were 5 private printing presses, 6 churches and 6 synagogues (*Silsilatu'l-Baghdādī* (1924), 231). Shukri al-Aḡḡī described 44 mosques in East Baghdad and 18 in Karḡh (Alūsī, *Maḡḡid*; Massigun, *Mission*, II, 63-5).

The temperature in Baghdad ranged from 114° to 121° F. in summer, and from about 26° to 31° F. in winter, but it sometimes rose to 125° F. in summer and fell to 20° F. in winter.

Baghdad produced some distinguished poets during the Ottoman period, like Fuḡḡī (p. 8). ḡhīnī (p. 8). Akḡḡā and 'Abd al-Bakī al-'Uḡḡā; historians like Murtadā, ḡhāḡḡ and M. Shukri Alūsī; jurists like 'Abd Allāh Suwaydī and Abu 'l-ḡhāḡ al-Aḡḡī (see Alūsī, *al-Miḡḡ al-ḡhāḡ*, Baghdad 1930).

Modern Baghdad has changed considerably, especially since the thirties. It has expanded to link



up with A'ramiyya and Kāzimayn to the north, with the eastern bend to the east, with the great bend of the Tigris to the south, and with the al-Maṭār al-Madīn and with nearby suburbs like Maṣūr and Ma'nūn cities. There are 76 quarters in Karbā and Ruṣāfa, 8 in A'ramiyya, 4 in Karrādī Shāriyya and 6 in Kāzimayn (Sousa, *Atlas Baghdad*, 21-5). The population of the Baghdad municipality in 1947 was 466,733; it had mounted to 735,000 by 1957. Traditional styles of building gave way to houses, built on western lines, in areas beyond the old city, while the old sections are being gradually transformed. The bridge of boats is gone, and four permanent bridges have been constructed.

The process of modernisation, both material and social, is too rapid to be recorded here.

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**BAGHDĀD KHĀTUN**, daughter of the amīr al-umara' Amīr Cāḥān, niece of the Bīghūd ruler of Persia Abū Sa'īd (regn. 717-726/1317-1333) (her mother was Abū Sa'īd's sister), and wife of Anīr Hasan the Dīlāwīd, commonly known as Shāykh Hasan Buzurg, whom she married in 725/1323. In 1325 A.D. Abū Sa'īd, quoting as precedent the *yās* of Čingiz Khān, attempted to force Shāykh Hasan to divorce Baghdad Khātūn in order that he might marry her himself, but was frustrated by Amīr Cāḥān. In October or November 1327 A.D. Anīr Cāḥān was treacherously put to death at Harāt by Ghīyāth al-Dīn the Kurt at the instigation of Abū Sa'īd, who was then able to carry out his design and marry Baghdad Khātūn. Baghdad Khātūn attained a position of great influence, and was given the *isāb* of Khudawandīqār ('sovereign'). In 732/1331-2 Shāykh Hasan was accused of conspiring with his former wife Baghdad Khātūn to murder Abū Sa'īd. This caused an estrangement between Abū Sa'īd and Baghdad Khātūn, but the following year, when the accusation was proved to have been false, he restored her to favour. In 734/1334 Abū Sa'īd married Baghdad Khātūn's niece Dīlshād Khātūn, and promoted her above his other wives. This aroused the jealousy of Baghdad Khātūn, and, when Abū Sa'īd died suddenly on 13 Rabi' II 736/30 November 1335, Baghdad Khātūn was suspected of having poisoned him, and was put to death by the amīr. Another version is that she was put to death because she had corresponded with Özbek, khān of the Golden Horde, and had invited him to invade Persia.

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(R. M. SAVORY)

**AL-BAGHDĀDĪ**, 'ABD AL-KĀRIM b. TĀHIR, ARḌ MAṢRĪ AL-SĪYAFĪ, d. 429/1037. His father took him to Nishāpūr for his education and there he made his home. Most of the scholars of Khurāsān were his pupils and he could teach 17 subjects, especially law, principles, arithmetic, *la-fa*, jurisprudence and theology. He left Nishāpūr because of rioting by Turks and went to Isfārā'īn where he soon after died. He was learned in literature as well as in law, was rich, helped other scholars and his books on law, arithmetic (one survives) and the law of inheritance were highly praised. He wrote several books on theology; *Kutāb al-Mīlāl* or *l-Nihāl* is lost; *Uyāl al-Dīn*, a systematic treatise, beginning with the nature of knowledge, creation, how the Creator is known, His attributes, etc. is rather like *al-muḥasab* of Muḥammad b. 'Unar al-Rāzī, but gives the views of the sects on each subject. It cannot be identified with any of the books named by al-Subkī. The tone throughout is objective, unlike that of his other book *al-Farḥ bayn al-Firāq*. This takes each sect separately, judges all from the standpoint of orthodoxy and condemns all which deviate from the strait path. It is not a plain tale of facts, like Shahrastānī's *Kutāb al-Mīlāl* or *l-Nihāl*, but a polemic. In spite of a chapter heading "Socrates and Plato" it deals only with Islam though it brands some aberrations as unworthy of the name. It ends with an exposition of orthodox belief. Two books, which presumably went into greater detail, *The Errors of Abu 'l-Hudhayl* and *The Errors of Ibn Karrām*, are lost. It is fair to say that he draws from doctrines, which he condemns, conclusions never envisaged by their authors.

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(A. S. TRITTON)

**AL-BAGHDĀDĪ**, AL-KHĀṬUN [see AL-KHĀṬUN, AL-BAGHDĀDĪ].

**BAGHL**, mule (pl. *baghl*, fem. *baghla*; but some think that *baghl* denotes the hybrid without distinction of sex, and that *baghla* is a singulative form which applies both to the male and female); the same word denotes both the hybrid, the offspring of a stallion and a she-ass (cf. however *kawdar* in al-Mas'ūdī, ii, 408; *contra*: al-Djāhiz, *Baghl* 120; al-Damiri, s.v. cf. al-Djāhiz, *Tarīḥ*, ed. Pellat, index, s.v.), and the mule, the offspring of a he-ass and a mare, the morphological characteristics of the two varieties being midway between those of the he-ass and those of the stallion, with however a tendency to be influenced by the mother's side. Kūrān (Korah; see al-Damiri) or Tahmīrāth (see al-Tabarī/Bal'sand, trans. Zotenberg, i, 101) was the first to bring about this cross-breeding, but the Kūrān (xvi, 8) naturally attributed the creation of the mule to God. Muḥammad himself possessed mules (notably Duldul, which lived up to the time of Mu'āwiyah), so that although the *ḥadīth* forbidding the consumption of the flesh of the mule (like that

of the ass) may be authentic, those concerning the interdict on the mating of asses and mares have less chance of being so; at all events, it was not observed, and the mule industry did not suffer by reason of it. The postal service used these animals, and eminent men and women of noble birth did not disdain to ride on them, in spite of their stubbornness and obstinacy, because their even gait and surefootedness made them valued mounts.

Men of an inquiring mind have been especially interested in this hybrid and its sterility; the Arab zoologists, however, thought that the she-mule was by nature fertile, but that it could not retain the male (*la taḥib*), or that it was too small-boned to give birth without losing its life; in order to prevent accidents of this sort it was sometimes "sewn up" (*maṭṭaba*). But al-Damiri relates that in 444/1052 a she-mule gave birth to a black filly and a white mule.

The size of its head and penis, its longevity (due to continence), its sterility, its obstinacy and other characteristic traits of the mule are proverbial, and the words *baghl* and *baghla* enter into a large number of everyday expressions (for an account of the she-mule of Abū Dulāma, which became proverbial by reason of its defects, see M. Ben Cheneb, *Abū Dulāma*, Algiers 1922; al-Djāhiz, *Baghl*, 100 ff.). Certain parts of the body of the mule, notably its teeth, hair, hooves, and blood, were used in the preparation both of drugs, and of charms and amulets. To see a mule in a dream was interpreted as a sign of a voyage, or of longevity, degeneracy, sterility, etc.

In addition to the other meanings collected by the Arabic dictionaries and Dozy, it is worth noting that the word *baghla* (pl. *baghlāt*) denoted in Egypt female slaves born of unions between Saklība and another race (see al-Djāhiz, *Baghl*, 66).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the usual works on zoology (in this category the dictionary of Damiri is a fundamental work), pharmacopoeia, necromancy, etc. (see for example the bibliography of the article *arṣ*), which give a certain amount of information, particular attention is drawn to the fact that mules, doubtless because of their curious origin, prompted Djāhiz to write a special study, *al-Kawf fi 'l-Baghl* (ed. Ch. Pellat, Cairo 1375/1955), which is a sort of supplement to the *K. al-Hayawān*, and in which the author quotes chiefly anecdotes and verses illustrating the character and usefulness of these animals.

(Ch. PELLAT)

**BAGHLI** [see DIRHAN].

**BAGHRĀS**, the ancient Pagrae, guarded the Syrian end of the Baylīn pass on the road from Antioch to Alexandretta across the Amanus, and was thus a place of transit and a strategic position of importance. This region, which had been laid waste at the time of the first wars between the Arabs and the Byzantines, was furnished with colonists by Maslama; this initiated a recovery, and Hishām built a small fort there; it was naturally included in the region of the 'awāsim (g.v.) organised by Hārūn al-Rashīd behind the Syro-Cilician *thughūr*, and there existed there at the time of al-Bāghlī a hospice for travellers, which is said to have been founded by Zubayda. The actual fortification of Baghrās was the work of Niroporus Phocas who had reconquered Cilicia and was planning the reconquest of Antioch (337-8/968), and Michael Bourizes set out from Baghrās when the following year he in fact occupied Antioch. Baghrās was occupied, without striking a blow, by Sulaymān b. Kūtlunigh and then by the



Crusaders. About the middle of the 6th/12th century it was captured by the Templars, but in 1188 was seized for a short time by Ṣāḥib al-Dīn, in 1191 was taken by the Armeno-Gilician Leo, and was only surrendered by the latter to the Templars in 1216. The Templars evacuated the town in 1268 following the capture of Antioch by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars. From then onwards Baghrās protected the frontier of the Mamlūk state against the Armeno-Gilician kingdom, as long as the latter continued to exist, and formed a special military command depending on the province of Aleppo. Baghrās is still mentioned incidentally in the operations conducted by the Mamlūk sultans for the protection of their northern frontier up to the time of the Ottoman conquest, after which it fell into ruins. Only a small village exists there to-day. The fortress, which has never been the object of a proper archaeological investigation, was of average importance, and seems to have been the work of the Byzantines and Mamlūks rather than of the Templars or Armenians.

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**BAGIRMI**, name in the 19th century of a negro Muslim State, situated on the right bank of the Shari, S.E. of Lake Chad. In Barth's time (1852) the capital was Massenya. There were a certain number of tributary regions within its orbit, lying between 10° and 12° N. and 15° and 18° E. This historical name is no longer in official use to-day; only a district of Massenya exists, the other tributary regions having been either attached to the district of Bouso or to that of Melé.

The regions which once bore the name Bagirmi form a vast plain at an elevation of 1,000 ft., sloping gently away towards Lake Chad. The level exposure of alluvial soil is only broken by barren dunes and in the East, in the canton of Bekakire, by isolated rocks. These regions are situated at the extreme limits of the Sahel and Sudan savannah zones. The year is divided into two seasons, a dry season, cold in winter, very hot in the spring and autumn, and the other, the summer, hot and damp. Rainfall fluctuates around 700 mm. (28 ins.), but there is excessive evaporation. The Shari is the only permanent river; the others (Bahr Erguig, Bahr Nara) only flow from August to December.

The region's economy is based on cultivation and stock breeding. The main crop is millet (bush millet and guinea-corn), which forms the basic food; maize, cultivated around the oases, provides a complementary crop in the intervening periods. In addition, peas, manioc, gombo, sesame and peanuts are also grown. Cotton growing has been introduced in the S.E. part of the region, along the river Shari. Pasturage, though of mediocre quality, makes possible the breeding of cattle, sheep and goats.

The population is made up of very diverse elements: negroes (Bagirmese, Bornuise, Sara, Massa), Arabs

(Yessé, Dekakiré, Ouled Moussa), Fulani and Bororo Fulani. In 1936, the total number of the inhabitants of the region amounted to 70,500 with a population density of 6.4 per sq. m.

The sedentary negroes (with the exception of the Massa, cattle herdsman) live by crop raising, food gathering and fishing. The nomadic Fulani migrate as far as the Logone and Lake Chad, the Bororo Fulani as far as the Ati and Monoro districts. The semi-nomadic Arabs and nomads, between their villages where in the rainy season they cultivate the ground, and the banks of the Shari, to which they resort at the end of the dry season.

With the exception of the Massa and the Sara, who have remained animists, these peoples were converted to Islam three hundred and fifty years ago under the influence of Fulani missionaries and Hausa merchants. Islam, however, has only made a somewhat superficial impression.

The state of Bagirmi, founded in the 16th century, at the outset enjoyed considerable prosperity; then, at the beginning of the 19th century, as the result of wars with the Wadai, it began to decline. In 1870 the Sultan of the Wadai took Massena and expelled the Sultan, Abū Salim. The latter's successor, Gaourang, threatened by Rabah (see *Bornu*), placed himself under the protection of France (1897), which resulted firstly for the Bagirmi in the terrible reprisals of Rabah, then, when the latter had been defeated and killed at Kousséri (22 April 1900), in the final pacification under French administration. The Sultan was retained for outward appearance, but his authority limited to the Massenya canton. Massenya, the capital, was an important town in Barth's time, enclosed by walls 7 miles in circumference. It was partly destroyed in 1870 and then abandoned at the time of Rabah's invasion. It was rebuilt once more 20 km. (12½ m.) to the S.E. It is, however, no more than a large village with a population of 1,700 inhabitants. Indeed the whole district lies remote from the main currents of trade. Only a small proportion of the local produce—groundnuts, butter, skins—, is taken to the markets at Bongor, Bokoro and Fort Lamy.

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**BĀH**, one of a number of terms in the Arabic language denoting coitus. *Fikh*, in the main, uses the term *waḥ*. In principle, *bāh* is *harām* (as well as sexual indulgences of a minor character) if the partners are not married to each other, or united by the bond of ownership (master and slave-concubine); if this is not the case, the penal law intervenes to punish and—most commonly by death (see *BĀD*, *ZINĀ*, *MUḤSĀN*), at least in theory. On the other hand, according to a celebrated *hadīth*, *waḥ* performed in a legal manner is an "adms" in the eyes of God. *Fikh* considers most practices permissible for the married couple, with perhaps a restriction regarding *waḥ* *fi dūbarkā*. *Bāh* is, in principle, permitted at all times, except in certain circumstances of a ritual character (by day

during the month of Ramaḍān, or when one is in *ḥajj* during the *ḥajj*) [q.v.]. On the other hand, a well-known text of the Qur'ān says: "Your wives are a tilth for you, so go to your tilth as you will" (ii, 231), and the Qur'ānic prohibition (ii, 230) of intimate relations during the menstrual period is not enforced by penalties, at least not in this world. *Fikh* does not forbid the sight of the partner's nakedness, but on the other hand, according to traditional Muslim belief in the matter of *waḥ*, behaved with the greatest modesty, both in this respect and in others. As regards the legality of contraceptive practices, see the article 'AZL. *Fikh* does not place any interdiction on relations with a partner who has not reached the age of puberty provided that the act is physically possible. The schools are not in agreement on the question whether the wife can demand the performance of the conjugal duty; in the Maliki school, the forsaken wife has the right to claim a divorce. On the other hand, the husband can always require his wife to be at his service, because *waḥ* constitutes the very essence of *nikāḥ* [q.v.]; *fikh* is here in agreement with etymology (*nikāḥ*=marriage, and *niḥ*=sex).

**BĀHĀ' GHĀBĪ:** See bibliography to the article 'AZL; add: O. Pesle, *La femme musulmane*.

(G. H. BOUTCHERT)

**BĀHĀ' ALLĀH.** — Founder of the new religion which took the name of Bahā' from his own name (literally, 'Glory, Splendour, of God'). In Persian it is known commonly as *Amr-i Bahā'ī*, 'Bahā' Cause', or *Amr Allāh*, 'Cause of God'; the adjective *amr* is used of publications, matters, and facts pertaining to the Cause, e.g., *naghrīyāt-i amr* 'religious publications', etc. Bahā' Allāh is generally called by his disciples *Qjamāl-i Muḥarrab*, 'The Blessed Beauty' and *Qjamāl-i Kidām*, 'The Ancient Beauty'. His name was originally Mirzā Husayn 'Alī Nūrī from Nūr, in Mazandaran, the place of origin of his family. He was born at Tehran on 3 Muḥarram 1253/2 November 1817 of a noble family which had given several ministers to the Persian court. According to the Bahā'ī tradition, and to what he himself declares in his writings, he never attended any school. His was a profoundly religious personality, and he relates in one of his works (*Laws-i Ra'ya*) how, right from his infancy, he was moved to religious thinking after a performance of puppets which, after the show with all its ostentation was over and they had been redispersed in their box, suggested to him the thought of the fallibility and the vanity of human power. After the declaration of the Mission of the Bāb [q.v.] in 1260/1844, he was one of his first disciples, and shared the fate of the Bābīs. Bahā' Allāh never knew the Bāb personally, and judge by a phrase in the *Kitāb al-Shaykh*, 122, he had never even read the *Bayān*, which he knew by heart. In 1853, after the attempt on Naṣir al-Dīn Shāh, he was arrested and thrown into the prison at Tehran known as *Siyāḥ Cāi* ('the black hole'), where he stayed from August of that year until 12 June 1855. In his work *Kitāb al-Shaykh* [q.v.] of the *Shaykh* [q.v.], known also as *Laws-i Iḥsān*, 126, 'Epistle of the Son of the Wolf' he narrates the story of his journey, fettered, from Niyawārān to Tehran, and his interesting mystical experience in the prison in the long nights he passed without sleep on account of the heavy chains which fastened his neck, hands and feet. It seemed to him, he tells us, that he heard a voice which cried to him, 'Truly, We shall succour Thee, by the names of Thee Thyself and Thy pen. Be not afraid . . . Thou art in

security. Soon God will raise up the treasures of the earth, namely those men who shall succour Thee for love of Thee and Thy name, by which God shall bring to life the hearts of the Sages'. At other times it seemed to him that a great torrent of water was running from the top of his head to his chest 'like a powerful river pouring itself out on the earth from the summit of a lofty mountain'. The Bahā'īs consider this experience as the first beginnings of the prophetic mission of their founder. Baniished with all his family to 'Irāq after all his possessions had been confiscated, he dwelt at Baghdād, where his spiritual influence over the Bābīs exiles continued to increase, whereas that of his half-brother Mirzā Yahyā—known by the name of Subḥ-i Aẓāl, which the Bāb had given him [v.s.v.], BĀH—was on the decline. From 1854 to 1856 Bahā' Allāh took himself to Kurdistan, where he lived as a nomadic dervish on the outskirts of Sulaymāniyya. When he returned to Baghdād, his growing influence, and the numerous visitors he received even from Persia, caused the Persian consul to request his immediate exile to Constantinople. A short while before his departure on 21 April 1863, in the garden of Naḡībī Pāshā near Baghdād—called by the Bahā'īs *bigḡ-i rafīqah*—Bahā' Allāh declared himself, to a select number of his followers, to be He Whom God Shall Manifest (*man yushiruh* 'Ilāh) as predicted by the Bāb. The exiles arrived at Constantinople in August, and after some months were sent to Edirne where they arrived in December. At Edirne Bahā' Allāh openly declared his prophetic mission, sending letters (known, like all Bahā' Allāh's letters, by the name of *lawḥ*, pl. *awḥā*, 'tablets') to various sovereigns, inviting them to support his Cause. At this time the great majority of Bābīs came out in his favour. The dissensions with the minority, who followed Subḥ-i Aẓāl, gave rise to some incidents, which impelled the Ottoman government to banish those who henceforth called themselves Bahā'īs to Acre ('Akka'), and the others to Cyprus. In August 1868 Bahā' Allāh and his family arrived at 'Akka. A stricter imprisonment in the fortress lasted until 1877, after which Bahā' Allāh was authorised to transfer himself to a country house which he had rented at Maṣra'a. From 1888/1871 to 1290/1874 Bahā' Allāh was engaged on writing the fundamental book of his religion, *Kitāb al-Aḥdās*, the 'Most Holy Book'. About 1880 he was allowed to transfer to the neighbourhood of Bahdīl, not far from 'Akka, where he died, after an illness lasting some days, on 29 May 1892. In 1890 he had received at Bahdīl Professor E. G. Browne, the only European who met him personally and on whom Bahā' Allāh made a deep impression. For the doctrine of Bahā' Allāh see BĀHĀ'.

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(A. BAUBANI)

BAHĀ' AL-DAWLĀ (see BUDWAYHĪS).

BAHĀ' AL-DĪN 'AMĪLĪ (see AL-'AMĪLĪ).

BAHĀ' AL-DĪN ZAKARIYYĀ, commonly known as Bahā' al-Hakīm, a saint of the Sufi order, was born at Kot Karor (near Multān) in 578/1182-83 according to Firdāsi. He was one of the most distinguished *khāṭis* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (q.v.) and is the founder of the Suhrawardī order in India. After completing his study of the Qur'ān according to its seven methods of recitation at Kot Karor, he visited the great centres of Muslim learning in Khirāsān, at Bīrdjār and Medina, and in Palestine—in order to complete his study of the traditional sciences. While in Medina he learnt *ḥadīth* with an eminent traditionalist, Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn Yamālī, and spent several years in religious devotions at the mausoleum of the Prophet. After visiting the graves of the Isra'īlī prophets in Palestine, he reached Baghdad and became a disciple of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. At this time he was, as his master said, 'dry wood ready to catch fire', and so after seventeen days' instruction, the latter appointed him his successor and ordered him to set up a Suhrawardī *khāṭkhān* in Multān. He lived and worked in Multān for more than half a century and his *khāṭkhān*—a magnificent building where separate accommodation was provided for all inmates and visitors—developed into a great centre of mystic discipline in medieval India. He died in Multān on 7 Šafar 662/22 December 1262.

Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn's order flourished most vigorously in Sind and the Panjāb, though he had attracted some disciples from Harāt, Hamadān and Baghdad. As a mystic teacher he was known for his *maḥfāz gīra* [intuitive intelligence] which helped him in apprehending and controlling the minds of his disciples. He differed from contemporary Cīghī mystics in several matters: (i) He did not allow all sorts of people to throw round him. The *Qalandars* and *Kalandars* seldom obtained access to him. 'I have nothing to do with the generality of the public', he is reported to have remarked. (ii) He lived in an aristocratic way and had granaries and treasuries in his *khāṭkhān*. (iii) He did not observe continuous fasts but ate and drank in the normal manner.

(iv) While among the Cīghīs the custom of *samā-i-bāz* prevailed, he never permitted anybody to bow before him. (v) He believed in keeping close contact with the rulers and the bureaucracy. (vi) He did not believe in mystic songs (*samā*).

Bahā' al-Dīn exercised great influence on mediaeval politics. He helped Iltutmish (607-632/1210-1235) in establishing his hold over Multān and accepted from him the honorary title of *Shaykh al-Jalāl*. In 642/1246 when the Mongols besieged Multān and the ruler of Harāt joined them, the Shaykh offered 100,000 *ḍinārs* to the invaders and persuaded them to raise the siege.

The Shaykh lies buried in Multān in an imposing tomb, surmounted by a hemispherical dome and decorated with fine enamelled tiles.

**Bibliography:** No Suhrawardī accounts of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā were available even in the early 16th century when Shaykh Dīnādī brought into his *Siyar al-Arifin*, Delhi 1311 A.H. all he could get from the Cīghī sources. For originals see, Hasan Sīdīqī, *Fawā'id al-Fuḍā*, Newal Kishore 1302 A.H. 5, 6, 30, 29 ff.; Hamid Kalandar, *Khayr al-Madghāl* (ed. K. A. Nizami), Aligarh 1936, 115, 137, 281; Mir Khudr, *Siyar al-Awliyā*, Delhi 1302 A.H., 77, 95, 158; Sayf b. Muhammad, *Ta'rikh-nima-i Harāt*, Calcutta 1943, 159-58; Dīnādī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, Newal Kishore 1915, 452. See also, 'Abd al-Hakīm Muḥaddīdī, *Al-Jalāl al-Aḥyā*, Delhi 1309, 26-7; M. Ghawālī, *Gulshar al-Hudayr* (As. Soc. Bengal, lexicon 98 f 181); 'Abd al-Rahmān Cīghī, *Mir'at al-Arifin* (MS, personal collection 494-97); Ghulām Mu'īn al-Dīn, *Ma'arīf al-Wilāyat* (Personal collection) Vol. 1, 389-95; E. D. MacLagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan District*, Lahore 1902, 339 f. (K. A. NIZAMI)

BAHĀ' AL-DĪN ZUHAYR, أَبُو 'L-FADL B. MUHAMMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-MUHAMMARI AL-AZŪF (generally known by the name of AL-BAHĀ' ZUHAYR), celebrated Arab poet of the Ayyūbīd period, born 5 Dhū'l-Hijja 581/27 February 1186 in Mecca. Whilst still very young, he went to Egypt, where at Kūs (Upper Egypt) he studied the Qur'ān and letters, finally settling at Cairo towards 625/1227. Al-Bahā' Zuhayr was in the service of al-Sāikh Ayyūb, son of the sultan al-Kāmil, and in 627/1232 accompanied him on an expedition to Syria and returned upon Neopotamia. In 632/1239, whilst returning to Egypt after his father's death, al-Sāikh was betrayed by his troops at Nābulus and handed over to his cousin al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, who imprisoned him. The poet remained faithful to his master in adversity and spent sometime at Nābulus. When al-Sāikh ascended the throne of Egypt, he appointed him *waṣī* and showered honours upon him. In 646/1248, he is to be found at al-Manṣūra at the side of his sovereign, who was fighting against the seventh Crusade (St. Louis). As the result of a misunderstanding, the poet fell into disgrace, and, in the death of his master, went to Syria, where he addressed his best elegiacs to the sovereign of Damascus, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, but without success. He returned to Cairo a disappointed man; there he experienced solitude and poverty, and died in 656/1258.

His *Dīwān*, preserved in Paris (MS 3173 of the B.N.) and elsewhere, and edited in Cairo (1314), is known. Palmer produced a fine edition with an English translation. In this *Dīwān* he is shown as being a poet very often sincere and a true *muḥamm* clan in verse. His choice of words, of form, measure and metre, the effects of rhythm and harmony,

everything shows a very mature taste. Without rejecting the poetics of his time or his rhetoric with its numerous figures, the poet in him scarcely allows a glimpse of the rhetorician.

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BAHĀ' AL-HAKK (see BAHĀ' AL-DĪN ZAKARIYYĀ).

BAHĀDÜR. A word common to the Altaic languages, equally well represented in Turkish, Mongol and Tungus dialects. Its adjectival meaning is 'courageous, brave', but it is universally used as a substantive with the meaning 'hero'. It also frequently occurs as a surname and an honorary title. The earliest occurrence is in the Chinese history of the Sui Dynasty, written in the early 7th century.

The Chinese transcription 莫賀咄 *mo-ho-to* suggests a trisyllabic *\*baryatar* which, transcribed *ḥaytarōḥ*, was in use also among the Proto-Bulgars in the 4th century. An Uyghur romance, as it is called, exists in the 8th-10th centuries has *batur* and it is this barytic form which is general in Turkish dialects, e.g. Osmanlı *batur*, Karakak, Bashkir *batur*, Özbek *batur*, Tuvin *mādur*, Chuvash *patūr*, etc. Some Turkish dialects have the trisyllabic form, e.g. Coman *baryatar*, but it is possible to see in them borrowings from Mongol. Beside the form already mentioned, Özbek has also *hapdur*. The word is attested in the earliest Mongol documents (13th century), always in the trisyllabic form, though the Chinese sources of the Mongol epoch usually transcribe 拔都 *pa-tu* for *bādur*.

Classical Mongol has *baryatar*, and variants exist probably in all the dialects. e.g. Kalenjuk *bātūr*, modern literary Khakha *batatur*, Monchur *bātūr*. Among Tungus forms one could mention Manchu *baturu*, Evenki *baturu*, Even *bagūr* and *bakūli*. It is impossible to state the directions in which borrowings were made, but it seems probable that either the Turkish or the Mongol trisyllabic forms were original, and that the Tungus forms are, originally, Mongol loan-words. In borrowings within the same group must have been frequent.

*Bahādur* is, clearly, a word of civilisation. It travelled far into the north and can be met in various Samoyedic and Finno-Ugric languages, in Siberia as well as in Europe, e.g. Ostiak *matur*, Hungarian *bátor* (18th century). These, and some of the Slavonic forms, e.g. Russian *bagatir* are borrowings from Turkish or Mongol. Persian *bahādur*, borrowed from Mongol, had a wide-spread use as a title or a surname among Muslim dynasties. As it was also used by the Great Mughals, it penetrated into Anglo-Indian, in the sense of a 'haughty or pompous personage, exercising his brief authority with a strong sense of his own importance' (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*).

The word found its way into Western European sources. Roger, Canon of Vézard, writing in 1244, gives *Bachator* as the name of one of the Mongol generals taking part in the campaign against Hun-

gary. The Portuguese ambassador to Tiflir, Clavijo (1404), has *Bahadur*, (D. Storer).

BAHĀDÜR KHĀN (see FĀRŪĠĪ).

BAHĀDÜR SHĀH (see NIZĀM ḡAṢḤĀ).

BAHĀDÜR SHĀH I. Muḥammad Ma'azzam was the second son of the Emperor Awrangzib 'Alamgir by his second wife Rahmat al-Nisā'. Nawāb Bāṭ, daughter of Rājā Rājā of Radwān in Kashmir, She was also the mother of Prince Muḥammad Sultān, who died in prison, 1087/1676, and Badr al-Nisā' Begum (1647-1670), who was a *Ḥafiz*. She died in 1691. Ma'azzam was born at Burhānpur in the Deccan on 30 Rājāb 1031/14 October 1643. His full titles were: *Alb Nār Sayyid Kutb al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh Rājāghar*. From the time of his elder brother's defection to Shāh Shujā' in 1068/1658 he was the prospective heir apparent, and was regarded as such on Muḥammad Sultān's death in 1087/1676. In Shāhāb 1086/October 1675 he received the title of Shāh 'Alam.

From 1663 he was actively employed by his father in the Deccan and against the Kingdom of Bidjāpur. In 1093/1683-4 he led an army through the Konkan to Goa, then being besieged by the Maratha rājā Shambhaji. But having fallen out with the Portuguese, he found his supplies cut off and made a disastrous retreat. He was then employed against Bidjāpur and the Kutb Shāhī dynasty of Golkonda. Awrangzib, already suspicious of Prince Ma'azzam's lack of rancour against his rebel son Akbar, interpreted an attempted mediation between his father and Abu 'l-Hasan of Golkonda as a plot against himself. Ma'azzam, now known as Shāh 'Alam, was arrested with his sons on 4 March 1687. At first treated with great rigour, the Prince found the severity of his treatment gradually relaxed, until in April 1693 he was released and appointed *Subādar* of Agra. In 1699 he became governor of Kābil province which he held at the time of his father's death, his eldest sons holding Tāttha and Multān.

On receiving the news of his father's death on 18 Dhū 'l-Hijja 1118, 22 March 1707, Prince Ma'azzam moved with great speed. He proclaimed himself by the title of Bahādur Shāh when near Lahore, offered to honour his father's will by leaving his brother A'zam Shāh the Deccan provinces, and arrived near Agra on June 12. On 18 Rāb' I 1119/18 June 1707, A'zam Shāh and his son Bidr Bakht were killed in a great battle near Jalau and Bahādur Shāh was master of the empire. Kim Bahāsh, the youngest son of Awrangzib, was defeated and killed near Haydarābād, Deccan, on 5 Dhū 'l-Kāda 1120/13 January 1709.

The short reign of Bahādur Shāh was occupied by three problems, the Marathas, the Rājputs and the Sikhs. On the advice of Dhū 'l-Fikr Khān, Shāh, the grandson of Shihwājī, was released and sent back to Mīhrāchrāṭ with a *Mughal manāsh* of 7000. His arrival there provoked a civil war between his supporters and those of Tāza Bāf, the regent widow of his uncle Rājā Rām.

In the cold weather of 1707-8 Bahādur Shāh regulated the succession of Amber and reduced the Rājput Rājā of Jodhpur to submission. But while campaigning against Kim Bahāsh the revolt flared up again. On his return in 1710 the emperor found himself confronted with a Sikh rebellion and had to make a compromise settlement with the Rājputs. The last Sikh *gūrā*, Govind Singh, was a supporter of Bahādur Shāh, but was murdered in the Deccan in 1708. The Sikh revolt in the north was then



revived by a man known as Banda who killed Wazir Khān, seized Sirhind and terrorised the east Panjab. Bahādur Shāh stormed Lahore and defeated but did not capture Banda in 1710-11. The last few months of his life were spent in Lahore where he died on 20 Muharram 1147/27 February 1712. The throne was immediately disputed between his four sons, Mu'izz al-Dīn Dīshādūr Shāh, 'Asim al-Shāh, Rafī al-Shāh and Dīshādūr Shāh, the first of whom was successful.

Irvine describes Bahādur Shāh as "although not a great sovereign . . . a fairly successful one". He was courteous, learned, pious, brave, capable and capable in temper. He was generous and found it difficult to refuse a request, a trait which earned him the nickname of *Shāh-e-Bahādur* or 'heedless one'. Not much is known of Bahādur Shāh's family life, but the names of three wives have survived: Mīr al-Nisā Begum, who accompanied her husband's body to Delhi, 'Aziz al-Nisā Khānum and Nūr al-Nisā Begum.

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(T. G. P. SPEAR)

**BAHĀDUR SHĀH II**, the last Mughal Emperor of India. He reigned as titular sovereign from 1253/1274 to 1274/1857. He was in fact, a pensionary of the East India Company, his actual authority being restricted to the limits of the Red Fort or *Kasaba* in Delhi. Bahādur Shāh, by virtue of which the British held Bengal from 1765, was never formally disowned by them, but the Charter Act of 1853 asserted British sovereignty over British held territories in India. On May 11, 1857, Delhi was seized by mutinous troops from Meerut who compelled the unwilling Bahādur Shāh, then nearly 82, to accept nominal leadership of the revolt. After four months of unenthusiastic headship he retired to Humāyūn's Tomb on the assault of Delhi by the British in September. With his favourite wife Zinat Mahāl and their son Mirzā Dīwān Bahkt he surrendered to Lieut. Hodson on a promise of his life. After much indignity and a trial of doubtful legality he was exiled by the British Government to Rangoon in Burma, where he died on 11 Jumādā I 1279/7 November 1862. Descendants of his are still to be found there.

Bahādur Shāh was born on 27 Shā'abān 1189/24 October 1775. He was the second son of Akbar

Shāh II (1221-1255/1806-1837) and Lāl Bāi. He was eleventh in direct succession from the emperor Bābur. In 1827 he was described as "the most respectable, the most accomplished of the Princes" by Charles Metcalfe, then Resident of Delhi. He had a tall spare figure, a dark complexion with strongly marked aquiline features. Like his grandfather Shāh 'Alam, he was a poet of some note, using the pen-name of Zafar. The poet Dhawak was his literary preceptor and Ghālīb attended his Court. His plaintive *ghazals* were long current in Delhi. He was also a calligrapher and musician of merit, and showed taste in repairing buildings and laying out gardens. His full title was *Abū'l-Muzaffar Sa'ad al-Dīn Muhammad Bahādur Shāh*.

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(T. G. P. SPEAR)

**BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ**, sultan of Gujjarāt 932/1526-943/1537. Second son of Muza'far Shāh II (917/1511-932/1526). Bahādur Shāh, on bad terms with his elder brother Sikandar, left Gujjarāt in 931/1525 and, travelling via Citor and Merut, to the court of Ibrahim Lodi was present, as an onlooker, at the battle of Panipat between the sultan of Dhilli and the Mughal Bābur.

Hearing of the death of his father and the accession of Sikandar, Bahādur Shāh hastened towards Gujjarāt to be greeted at Citor with the news of the assassination of Sikandar by Khwāhā Kadam. 'Imād al-Mulk. Rapidly gaining support from the Gujjarātī Muslim nobles, Bahādur Shāh assumed the insignia of the sultanate at Anahāwār-Patan on 20th Ramadān, 932/6th July 1526.

Bahādur Shāh was the last vigorous sultan of independent Gujjarāt. In 935/1528 he attacked Burhān Nizām Shāh Ahmadnagar in alliance with Muhammad II of Khondesh and 'Alā al-Dīn 'Imād al-Mulk of Berar occupying Ahmadnagar in 936/1529. The Nizām Shāh appears to have accepted the overlordship of Gujjarāt until 938-9/1532 at least, but statements in the Arabic and Persian histories that he read the *khutba* and struck coins in the name of the Gujjarāt sultan have not found corroboration in the discovery of such coins.

In 937/1533 Bahādur Shāh attacked Mahmūd II of Malwa, occupying Mandl. In 938/1532-3 he captured the Rājapūt strongholds of Ujjāin, Bilāsa and Rābhū together with their chief Silhādī. In Ramadān 941/March 1535 Gujjarātī forces, at the second attempt, captured Citor.

Meanwhile, however, in the autumn of 942/1534 war had broken out between Bahādur Shāh and the Mughal Humāyūn; Bahādur Shāh had given refuge to the Lodi Afghāns and to Muhammad Zānān Mirzā son-in-law to Bābur, who had escaped from confinement by Humāyūn in the fort of Bayāna.

Defeated by the Mughals at Mandasor and Mandl, and with much of his treasure captured by Humāyūn at the fall of Candahar in Safar 942/August 1535, Bahādur Shāh turned to the Portuguese for help.

In 937/1537, the Portuguese, under Nuno da Cunha, governor of Goa, had been defeated in their attempt to capture Diu. In Jumādā II 941/

December 1534, however, in return for a promise to aid Bahādur Shāh against the Mughals, the Portuguese obtained Basra and in Rab' II/October 1535 the right to build a fort at Diu where Bahādur Shāh himself had taken refuge. The nominal Portuguese assistance to the Gujjarāt sultan did not prevent Humāyūn from capturing Bahādur Shāh's capital of Ahmadābād.

Humāyūn's withdrawal from Gujjarāt in 942/1536 to face the threat from Sher Khān enabled Bahādur Shāh to recover most of his dominions from the now disunited, dispersed and disaffected Mughal forces.

Bahādur Shāh then turned to recover the rights surrendered to the Portuguese at Diu. In an atmosphere fraught with mutual suspicion of bad faith, Bahādur Shāh, who visited Nuno da Cunha on his flagship at Diu and, hurriedly returning to the shore after sensing treachery, was slain by the following Portuguese forces. His death occurred on 3 Ramadān 943/13 February 1537.

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(P. HARVEY)

**BAHĀT MEHMED EFENDI**, Ottoman jurist and theologian. Born in Istanbul in 1084/1696-6, he was the son of 'Abd al-'Aziz Efendi, a Kādī 'adler of Rumelia, and the grandson of the historian Sa'ad al-Dīn. Entering upon the *curriculum honorum* of the religious institution, he became *mudarris* and *molla* and was appointed kādī first in Salónica and then, in 1093/1685-4, in Aleppo. A heavy smoker, he was reported by the Beylerbey Ahmed Paşa, with whom he was on bad terms, and in 1094/1685-5 was dismissed and exiled to Cyprus as a punishment for what was then regarded as a serious offence. Towards the end of 1095 (early 1686) he was pardoned and in Muh. 1098/May-June 1678 appointed Molla of Syria; in Safar 1094/1644 he was transferred to Edirne, and in Rab. I 1095/May 1645 became Kādī of Istanbul. After his arrest as Kādī-Sacker of Anatolia and of Rumelia, he was appointed Shāhī al-Idān for the first time in Rajab 1099/July-Aug. 1649. According to the pre-

judiced evidence of his rival Karakösbizade, he was chosen because he was so endeared by excessive indulgence in narcotics that the Grand Vezir and the Sultān Walide thought they would be able to do as they pleased with him. His subsequent vigour, and his firmness in resisting certain of their demands, gave the lie to this accusation. The favour which he showed to the Mewlewī and Khāwālwi orders soon brought him into conflict with the orthodox religious party, which also objected to his approval of tobacco and coffee and his toleration of the dervish use of music and dancing. His fall, however, was due not to their efforts but to other causes. In Jum. I 1094/April-May 1681, in the course of a dispute which arose out of a question of jurisdiction involving the British Consul and the Kādī of Izmir, Bahāt Efendi placed the British ambassador in Istanbul under house arrest. For this breach of diplomatic usage he was dismissed and exiled to Midilli. He remained, however, at Gelibolu and Lampasa, and was reinstated in Ram. 1092/Aug. 1683; he continued in office until his death, of a quinsy, on 13 Safar 1094/Jun. 1684. He was buried in Fethi.

Bahāt was known both as a poet and as a scholar, and left a number of poems and fetwas. His best-known ruling was that in which he pronounced smoking lawful, thus ending the prohibitions and repressions of the early 17th century. He was himself a heavy smoker, and his contemporary Hādī Khāfī remarks of him that had it not been for his self-indulgence he might have become one of the most eminent scholars of the country. Bahāt's authorisation of smoking, however, was due, according to Hādī Khāfī, not to his own addiction but to a concern for what was best suited to the condition of the people, and to a belief in the legal principle that the basic rule of law is licitness (*ibāha ahlīyya*).

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(B. LEWIS)

AL-BAHĀT [see AL-'AMMIL]

**BAHĀT**, adherents of the new religion which was founded by Bahā' Allāh [q.v.], and of which the forerunner, according to Bahā' doctrine, was the Bāb [q.v.]. The foremost authority on the Bahā' religion, and its disseminator in Europe and America, was 'Abbas Efendi, the eldest son of the founder, better known among the Bahā'is as 'Abd al-Bahā' (Servant of Bahā'). Born on 23 May 1844 at Tehran, he accompanied his father on his journeys and in his exile, and at his death was recognised by the great majority of the Bahā'is as the authorised exponent and interpreter of his father's writings. Centre of the Covenant and "Model of Bahā' Life", in accordance with Bahā' Allāh's will (*Kutub-i-Ahādī*); this will, however, was contested by 'Abd al-Bahā's brother Muhammad 'Alī, who set up a rival group within the Bahā' organisation and contrived to compromise his brother with the Ottoman authorities, who were hostile to the Bahā'is. He was released from prison in 1908 under the amnesty granted by



the new Ottoman Government of the Young Turks, and in 1910 began his three great missionary journeys. The first was to Egypt (1910), the second to Europe (Paris and London, 1911), and the third to America and Europe (1912-13). From New York he made his way across the entire United States in eight months to Los Angeles and San Francisco, stopping in the main towns and preaching in evangelical churches, synagogues, masonic halls, etc. In September 1913 he returned to Europe and from England went again to Paris, then to Germany, Austria and Hungary. Finally at the end of 1913 he returned from Paris to Palestine. The first Bahá'í group in America had formed as early as 1894, and on 10 December 1908 the first American Bahá'í pilgrims arrived at Acre. 'Abd al-Bahá's journey, one of the objects of which had been to counter the propaganda of his brother's supporters, also notably strengthened the community of American adherents. In addition to this he formed Bahá'í groups in the European countries he passed through. In 1920 the British Government appointed him Knight of the Order of the British Empire. He died on 28 November at Hayfa and was buried beside the Báb, in the great mausoleum which was completed in 1937. In his will he had appointed Shoghi Effendi (Shaykh Effendi) Rabihá, the eldest of his grandsons (the eldest son of his eldest daughter) as "Guardian of the Cause of God" (*Wá'il-yi Amr Alláh*). Shoghi Effendi, who died on 3 Nov., was born at Hayfa in the last years of the last century. He studied at Oxford and in 1936 married the American Mary Maxwell, who took the name Rihyiyé Khánum. From 1923 onwards he lived in Hayfa in Israel, the world administrative centre of the faith.

The Bahá'í religion, while it claims to be "scientific" and opposed to dogma, has more clearly defined theological, philosophical, and social doctrines and forms of worship than some Orientalists have thought. I give them briefly below on the basis of the sources cited in the bibliography.

**Religious doctrine.** 1. God. A completely transcendent and unknowable entity. "Every road to Him is barred". The Bahá'ís are opposed to mystic pantheism. Mystics have only given form to their own imaginations. "Even the loftiest souls and the purest hearts, however high they may fly in the realms of science and mysticism, can never pass beyond that which has been created inside themselves" (*ma khiláfa bi anfa'isih bi-anfusihim*) (*Laws-i Salmá*).

2. Creation. The unknowable essence of God makes itself manifest and creates that which is not God. The Bahá'í idea of the beginning of things falls between that of creation and that of emanation. We could speak of *eternal creation*, seeing that the Bahá'í texts tend to keep the term *khálq* (creation), but at the same time maintain that since the attribute of *khálq* (creator) is co-eternal with God, there has never been a time when the world did not exist. Thus the world is eternal (*Laws-i Hikmah*).

3. A special form of the manifestation of God is that which features in the Prophets (The Bahá'í technical term is *ma'rifat-i iláhiyya*, divine manifestations, rather than *rasul* or *anbiya*). Thus the concept of *khálq* (incarnation) in the full sense of the word is not accepted. In this connection the letter of Bahá'í Alláh to Násir al-Dín Sháh (Laws-i Salmá) is particularly interesting, as is the *Kutub al-Shaykh*, in which he describes his own mystic experience in the prison of Siyáh Cal at Tehran.

The Prophet has two differing conditions: he is a man, but also a very clear mirror in which God is reflected. Thus in a certain sense it is not wrong to call him God, by way of abbreviation. The status of such a being as could be called "prophetic" is radically different from that of man; it falls between man's status and that of God. According to Bahá'í doctrine no man, however perfect he may become, will be able to attain prophetic status for better, that of "manifestation", just as no animal, perfect as it may be of its kind, can aspire to human status. The manifestation of God through the Prophets never ceases. The manifestations of the Divine are successive. The first prophet is Adam, then come the traditional prophets of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Zoroaster also is considered a true prophet, though the Buddha and Confucius are seen rather as great masters of the spiritual life. After Muhammad came the Báb (considered by the Bahá'ís as a true independent manifestation of God whose specific mission lasted only nine years), and Bahá'í Alláh. The Bahá'ís allow that other prophets better adapted to advanced stages of human progress may come after him, but "not before a thousand years" (*Ádás*). The prophetic periods are grouped together in larger cycles; with the Báb the cycle begun by Adam ends and the Bahá'í cycle begins. The latter is destined, according to doctrine, to last at least 500,000 years. It is thus incorrect to consider the Bahá'í religion as syncretistic. Although it accepts all the prophetic religions as essentially true, it claims that it is the one best adapted to the present time, and that it includes in itself all its predecessors.

4. Man. Bahá'í psychology is somewhat complex. 'Abd al-Bahá' (*Mu'awwidat*) distinguishes five types of "spirit": animal spirit, vegetable spirit, human spirit, the spirit of faith, and the Holy Spirit. The spirit of faith is given by God, and alone confers true "eternal life" on the human spirit (we are thus far a long way from a purely philosophical conception of the immortality of the soul). "Faith" is essential to Bahá'í spiritual life. The text of the first verse of the *Ádás* runs as follows: "The first commandment of God to his servants is knowledge of the Dawn of His revelation, and the Dayspring of His Decree (i.e., of the Prophet), who is his appointed Representative in the created world (*fi 'álam al-amr 'a'l-khálq*). He who has attained this knowledge has attained all good. He who knows it not is of the world of error, even though he performs all [good] works". Faith in God (which, God being by definition unknowable, can only be faith in His manifestation, the Prophet) confers immortality on the believer, who continues in the world beyond his eternal journey towards the unknowable Essence of God (expressive interest in these worlds on the part of Bahá'ís is discouraged; they are explicitly forbidden to take part in spiritualist meetings). Paradise and Hell are symbols, the first of which stands for the true believer's journey towards God, and the second the fruitless path towards annihilation of him who knowingly rejects the Faith and performs evil works. In the context of this progressive view of the world beyond Bahá'ís are allowed, and advised, to pray for the dead. Equally, the idea of reincarnation in this world is firmly rejected.

On the phenomenon of man Bahá'í doctrine accepts the theory of evolution, not, however, as propounded by Darwin, but rather in the traditional mystic sense already present in the *ma'rifat* of Mawlána Djalál al-Dín Rúmí (p. 2). "Man was always man throughout his evolution", even though

he may have passed through a series of stages of development.

**Moral and social principles.** The Bahá'ís accept the ancient formula attributed to 'All: "All private matters belong to the human sphere, all concerns of society to the divine". Hence the great emphasis in Bahá'í doctrine on the improvement of society, a task which is the change of the Bahá'í world administration (see below).

The moral and social tenets of the Bahá'ís are classified by 'Abd al-Bahá' under the following twelve headings: 1. Unity of the human race. 2. Need for an independent search for Truth. 3. Essential unity of all religions. 4. Need for religion to promote unity. 5. Need for science and religion to be in harmony. 6. Equal rights and duties for the sexes. 7. Opposition to all kinds of prejudice: national, religious, political, economic, etc. 8. Attainment of world peace. 9. Obligation to provide universal education, accessible to all. 10. Solution on a religious basis of the social problem, with the abolition of the extremes of excessive wealth and degrading poverty. 11. Use of an auxiliary international language. 12. Constitution of an International Tribunal.

The forms of administration and organisation which we now describe in brief conduce according to the Bahá'ís to the realisation of these aims:

The Bahá'í religion has no public ritual, nor any sacraments or private rites of a sacred character. The only religious duties of the Bahá'ís are: 1. To assemble every 19 days on the first day of each Bábí month (the Báb's calendar was adhered to by Bahá'í Alláh) for a communal celebration, called by the Western Bahá'ís the "19th day's Feast", and by the Persians *fiyá'at-i ráis-i náda'um*. It consists of readings of prayers and sacred texts (and even of passages from the Bible, the Qur'an, and other sacred texts if desired), followed by deliberations more properly administrative in character, when the community's financial affairs are reviewed, important announcements are made, etc. A small meal is then taken together, "even if nothing more than a glass of water", in accordance with the Báb's decree. 2. To fast 19 days, i.e., the entire Bábí month of 'Alá, from 2 to 21 March, the Bahá'í New Year's Day. The fast is of Islamic type, requiring abstinence from all food and drink, etc., from dawn till sunset. 3. To practise complete abstinence from all alcoholic drink. 4. To pray three times a day, morning noon, and evening, according to short, set formulas. The obligatory prayers (written in Arabic by Bahá'í Alláh) may be recited in any language. Some are preceded by ablutions, which are much simpler than Islamic ablutions, consisting only of washing the face and hands and reciting two very short prayers.

Apart from this the *Ádás* lays down precise rules for the division of inheritances (a portion of which falls to the teachers), levies a tax of 10 per cent on revenues, and prescribes numerous other rules and penal, civil and religious laws, which are followed in part only by the community Bahá'ís. Marriage is monogamous: although the *Ádás* allows bigamy, the provision was cancelled by 'Abd al-Bahá' ("Model of Bahá'í Life", on the basis of an explicit declaration by Bahá'í Alláh). For a marriage to be valid the consent of the couple's parents is required. Divorce is allowed, but discouraged.

The controlling bodies of the Bahá'í community are of two kinds, administrative and instructional, the first being made up of elected councils and the second of persons and associations appointed from above. The two types come together at the summit

of organisation in the person of the Guardian (*Wá'il-yi Amr Alláh*). The administrative bodies are as follows: 1. The local spiritual assembly (*Bayt al-'Adá-i Mu'allif*). These are formed wherever there are at least nine Bahá'ís. They are of nine members elected by universal suffrage. Election is considered as an act of worship, and the Bahá'í concept, unlike that underlying the electoral system of the parliamentary democracies, does not imply responsibility of the elected towards their electors, since the latter are merely instruments of the will of God. Elections are held each year during the period from 21 April to 2 May (Khidwá festival). At the present time there are local assemblies in more than 200 countries throughout the world. 2. Where there is a sufficient number of local assemblies a "Convention" of 19 members elected by universal suffrage elects a national spiritual assembly (*Bayt al-'Adá-i Milli* or *Markazi*) also of nine members, not necessarily from among its own members but from all adherents of the faith. There are at the present time more than twenty of these. 3. When sufficient national assemblies have been formed their members will elect a universal spiritual assembly (not necessarily from among themselves but from all adherents).

This assembly will be called *Bayt al-'Adá-i 'Umi*, Universal House of Justice. Its president will be the Guardian, by virtue of his office, and for the term of his life. The task of the Universal House of Justice will be to function as supreme administrative body and court, and in addition to frame in accordance with the needs of the time laws not laid down by the *Ádás* or the other writings of the Founder; these laws it will have the power to abrogate should need arise.

The jurisdiction of the different Assemblies is absolute within their sphere of competence and falls binding on all believing Bahá'ís, who should in theory bring before their Assembly even their private affairs and differences (in the first instance the local Assembly would be concerned, subsequently the national if the question proved insoluble).

Alongside these elected administrative systems, which are graded from the bottom up, is the instructional system, graded from the top down and made up of appointed members. At its head is the Guardian, whose powers, however, are interpretative only and not legislative. He has legislative powers only as a lawful member of the Universal House of Justice, on the same basis as the other members. The Guardian's position is hereditary, but his eldest son is not necessarily appointed his successor. He names his successor in his life-time from among the members of his family. Immediately below the Guardian in the instructional order come the "Hands of the Cause of God" (*Áyad-i-yi Amr Alláh*), of whom he appoints a varying number. The "Hands of the Cause" elect among themselves a Council of nine members whose duty is to assist the Guardian and confirm his choice of successor. The Hands of the Cause appoint their own subsidiaries in their turn, who assist them in their work of instruction and dissemination of the doctrine and spirit of the Faith ("Auxiliary Boards").

The Bahá'ís consider such a complex administrative system as of divine origin. The system is outlined in the *Ádás*, with additions and improvements by 'Abd al-Bahá', and by the present Guardian, Shoghi Effendi, in the matter of appointing assistants for the Hands of the Cause. For the Bahá'ís such a system is not merely a means of internal administration of the Community's affairs, but the







Mayyān, mother of Yazīd I. His nomad clan lived to the south of the ancient Palmyra, whither Mayyān afterwards brought the young Yazīd, and where the Umayyads remained after the congress of Džābiya and the battle of Marj Rāhit. Bahdal was thus the founder of the great prosperity of the Kalbites while the Umayyad dynasty lasted, though he did not himself take an active part in politics. As one of his sons was accused of being a Christian under the caliphate of Yazīd I, Bahdal must have died a Christian, probably before the battle of Siffin, in which one of his sons commanded the *Kuḥḥā* of Damascus, and at an advanced age. His sons succeeded him and became the first persons in the state; in consequence the partisans of the Umayyads were called Bahdalīya. His grandson Ḥassān, guardian of the sons of Yazīd I, after the death of Muʿāwīya II even dared to cherish the project of succeeding him. The undue preponderance of the Bahdalites and the Kalbites contributed largely to the division of the Arabs into two parties, that of Kays and that of Yemen, after the battle of Marj Rāhit.

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(H. LAMMENS)

**BAHDINĀN**, Bāhḍān, the Kurdish territory to the north and north-west of Mawṣil plain. From the latter years of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, circa 600/1200, until the middle of the 13th/19th century the area was a principality ruled from ʿAmādiya (q.v.), Kurdish *ʿAmādi*. It included ʿAkra (Kurd. *Ākrā*), Zāḥlā, and the Zāḥlā lands on the Great Zāḥl river to the east and Dahūk, and occasionally Zāḥlā, to the west. The principalities of Bāhḍān and Ḥakārī founded it in the north, and that of Sūrān in the south.

The eponymous Bāhāʾ al-Dīn family came originally from Ḥams al-Dīnā (Kurd. *Ḥamḍīnā*, [q.v.]). Sharaf al-Dīn Bihā, *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 100 ff., relates the history of the principality for two centuries from the time of the Timurid Shāhruḥ to 1396/1396. The Amir Ḥasan, and the agent of Shāh Ismāʿīl Sāfawī, extended his rule to Bahā and the Sūdā, area north of Zāḥlā. His son Sulṭān Husayn was confirmed in authority by Sulṭān Sulaymān the Magnificent. Husayn's son Kubāḍ was deposed and killed by a Mizziri tribal force, but his son Saydī Khān regained power with Turkish help. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century the ruler of Ardalān, under Shāh ʿAbbās, placed a governor in ʿAmādiya for a short time. There is then little record of the state for another century. Under Ottoman suzerainty the family appears to have reached its zenith with the reign of Bahārām Paṣhā the Great, 1138-81/1726-67. Bahārām's son Ismāʿīl Paṣhā, 1181-1213/1767-97, had to cope with his rebellious brothers, who established themselves at various times in Zāḥlā and ʿAkra. Murād Khān, son of Ismāʿīl, was driven from ʿAmādiya by his cousin Kubāḍ, with the help of the Bāhān paṣhā of Sulaymāniya. Once again the Mizziri tribe rose to bring about the downfall of a Kubāḍ in 1219/1804 and ʿAdil Paṣhā, son of Ismāʿīl, was confirmed in power by the Dīlādī paṣhā of Mawṣil. He was succeeded in 1243/1828 by his brother Zubayr. In 1249/1833 Muḥammad Paṣhā Kāzım, the ʿHūd Paṣhā, of Rawandiz, captured ʿAkra and ʿAmādiya, deposing the ruler Saʿīd Paṣhā, and proceeded to take Zāḥlā.

Although his sway only lasted a few years the Bahdalīn family never fully recovered its power and in 1254/1838 the area was finally incorporated in the *sandžik* of Mawṣil.

The name Bahdalīn is still applied to the area occupied by the following great Kurdish tribes: Barwārī, Dōkālī, Gullī, Mizziri, Raykānī, Silāyānī, Sindī, and Zāḥlā.

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(D. N. MACKENZIE)

**BÄHILA**. A settled and semi-settled tribe in ancient Arabia. The centre of their territory, Sūd Bāḥilā (Saud?) "corrected" in Hamādī by an unimproved copyist into Sawdā, extended on both sides of the direct route (described by Philby in *The Heart of Arabia*, vol. II) from Riyāḍ to Mecca. It is sufficiently well defined by the localities al-Kuwayf, Džazāla = Juzaila, al-Hufayr = Hufaira and the mountains al-Ratid = al-Djidd and (Ibn) Shāmāni = Idhnain Shamāl. The clan Dīʿiwa (Djawa) lived further westward at the western foot of the Ḥijāz in Dhālan and in the south-east corner of the later Hīmā Dārīya near the Ghāt, another group further to the south in the oasis of Bihja. To this group may have belonged the Banū Ummāma, guardians of the sanctuary of Dhu ʿl-Khalasa near the neighbouring Taḥlā. An old verse (ʿAmir b. al-Tufayl, *Sapp*, 162) runs: "... I will not visit the fair, even though Jaṣr and Bāḥilā journey thereto to sell their wares" (Jaṣr also in the oasis of Bihja). What kind of wares? Pottery? — clay was rare in Arabia.

The genealogy of the tribe is somewhat complicated. Bāḥilā is the mother of one son of Mālik b. Aʿsur and, through *niḥāl al-māt* with the other son, Maʿā by name, the mother of two of the latter's sons and foster-mother of two other sons. These other sons stem from two different mothers. Such artifices are familiar to the genealogists. Here only their accumulation is remarkable. This accumulation points indeed to the local separation of the groups of the Bāḥilā and also to a political opposition between the two greatest of their clans, the Kutayba and the Wāḥil. The connexion with Aʿsur makes of the Bāḥilā, who are also called *mawṣil*, Bāḥilā b. Aʿsur, brothers of the Ghāt. As we have seen above, they were in fact neighbours, of the Ghāt. Unfortunately, the period when the sobriquet Bāḥilā Dughlā for both these tribes originated is not certain. The Bāḥilā stood partly under the protection of the Kilāb and partly under that of the Kaʿb branch of the ʿAmir b. Saʿsaʿa. Only one warrior from amongst them is known, al-Mustajir, and this one because Aʿshā Bāḥilā (no. 4) made an elegy over him. We know of another episode from al-Nabigha *al-Dīʿādī*, no. 1x. Both instances lie shortly before the rise of Islam. Two documents of the Prophet have been handed down in Ibn Saʿdī, i, 11, 33, the first for the Bihilites in Bihja, the second for a chieftain of the Wāḥil.

The history of the tribe becomes clear for the first time under Ismān. Their exodus from Arabia was directed predominantly towards Syria (even the Bāḥilā in Khurāsān came there mainly with troops from Syria) and, for the rest, towards Basra. Bāḥilā (and Ghānī) tribesmen had a substantial share in the war of revenge fought by the Kays against the Kaḥ after the battle of Marj Rāhit. Wellmann, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 176). The Bāḥilā also developed an abundance of talents of

all kinds. The most important are the philologist al-Asmaʿī and the general Kutayba b. Muslim. A second exodus of the Bāḥilā from Arabia is to be distinguished from that of the *muhājirīn* — an exodus which brought a part of those who had remained behind in Arabia to the lower Euphrates, firstly towards al-Hufayr a short distance before Basra; from there they penetrated in the sandy tract of al-Tāfi, which was situated over against the Raḥāb, and after the Zafī had settled [in the Raḥāb] in 837, they began to infiltrate into the Raḥāb. In 871 the Bāḥilā there suffered punishment from troops which were on the march to meet the Zangī. The result was that the Bāḥilā took the side of the Zangī. Nothing more is known about them. Hamādī (p. 164) is the last who mentions the Bāḥilā in their native territory; yet this passage is hardly earlier than the parallel passage about Sūd (Saud) Bāḥilā (ibid., 147 ff.), the original source of which is set by de Goeje in about the year 250/864. Before that time there occurred the over-running of central Arabia by the Numayr. Only vague traces of a change of dwellings of the Bāḥilā in central Arabia are found in the literature.

**Bibliography:** Aʿshā Bāḥilā, in *The Divan of al-Aʿshā*, ed. R. Geyer; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Kitaḥ al-Ajam*, 36; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Dīḡharat al-nasab*, Arab. Museum MS. fol. 184r-186r; *Nabaʿ al-Djāwī* *waʿl-Faradī*, ed. Bevan, 215 and 1028, 1 and 3; M. Frh. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, vol. III, Wiesbaden, 1914, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47.

**BAHDJAT MUSTAFAʾ EFENDI**, Ottoman scholar and physician, grandson of the Grand Vizir Khayrullah Efendi and son of Khʿāḍja Meḥmed Emīn Shukhī. Born in 1188/1774, he entered upon the ladder of the religious institution, becoming a *muftaris* in 1206/1791-2. Specialising in medicine, he rose rapidly, and in 1218/1803 became chief physician to the Sultan (Ḥakīmbaḡhī or, more formally, *Raʿīṣ al-ʿIlmiyya al-Sultānī*). In 1222/1807 he was dismissed from this office, but was reappointed in 1232/1817. In 1237/1821 he was disgraced and banished, but was reinstated in the same year. In 1241/1826, after the destruction of the janissaries, he served as a member of the palace council presided over by Mehmed II. Besides these he held a series of important religious and legal appointments, including those of *Molla* of Ismīr (1221/1806) and of Egypt (1236/1820-1), *Kādīʿasker* of Anatolia (1237/1821-2) and of Rumelia (1247/1831-2). He died in Dhu ʿl-Kaʿda 1249/March-April 1834 and was buried at Ōskūdār.

Bahdjat Efendi was one of the last physicians of the old school, who combined the study of medicine with those of theology and law, and its practice with an ʿilmīy career. At the same time he was one of the pioneers of the new medicine, of European type, in Turkey. It was under his supervision, and that of his brother the Ḥakīmbaḡhī ʿAbd al-Hakk Malla, that a new hospital and also a new medical school were opened, with imported European teachers. He is said to have studied European languages under the chief dragoman Yahyā Efendi, and although his own medical work, as exemplified in his *Ḥizir Asār*, remained largely traditional, he was responsible for a number of important translations of Western medical and scientific books, including Jenner's booklet on vaccination, Buffon's *Natural History*, and other works on chemistry, syphilis, and milk-scurvy. His interest in the West was also shown by his Turkish translation of the history of the French occupation of Egypt by Al-Djabbartī.

**Bibliography:** *Sijill-i ʿOṭmānī*, ii, 31; ʿOṭmānī *Muʿallifleri*, iii, 209 f.; Fatṭu, *Teghbir* 29 f.; A. Süheyl Ünver, *Osmānī Tabahatı ve Tazimatı* *kahhāda yeni Natar*, in *Tanzimat*, i, İstanbul 1940, 936-9; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmānī Türklerinde İlim*, İstanbul 1943, 194 5; Osman Ergin, *Türkische Maasir Tarihi*, i, İstanbul 1940, 280 ff. For a contemporary impression see Adolphus Slade, *Record of Travels in Turkey etc.*, i, London 1832, 332-3.

**AL-BÄHİLĪ**, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Rabʿa, i.e. of the Bāḥilā tribe, Arab general, called Dhu ʿl-Nūr (Tabarī, i, 2663) or, according to Ibn al-Aḡfir (Kāmil, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1303, iii, 50), Dhu ʿl-Nūr, from the name of his sword. He commanded the van of Surkha b. ʿAmr, who was directed to Darband (Bāb al-Aḥwāb) by ʿUmar in 22/642 (Tabarī, *loc. cit.*). The main incident reported in the proceedings of the Muslims, now in force at the Caucasus for the first time, was an interview between ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Rabʿa al-Bāḥilī and the Persian commandant at Darband, who made his submission (Tabarī, i, 2663-2664; cf. 2667, 2669-2671). A treaty granted to him, together with "the inhabitants of Armenia and the Armenians", witnessed by ʿAbd al-Rahmān and Salmān b. Rabʿa al-Bāḥilī, his younger brother (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Idrāʾ*, 400), is cited by Tabarī (i, 2665-2666). On the death of Surkha in the same year ʿAbd al-Rahmān succeeded to the chief command and revived instructions from ʿUmar to proceed northward against the Khazars. He advanced through the passes at the east end of the Caucasus as far as Balandjār, which seems to have been raided repeatedly within the next few years (Tabarī, i, 2667-2668; 2690). In 32/652 he was again in Khazaria, besieging Balandjār (Tabarī, i, 2869 ff.; also 2668 ff.). After sharp engagements round the city, the Khazars made a sortie and were joined by their other forces. The ensuing battle was a total Muslim defeat. ʿAbd al-Rahmān was struck down as he tried to rally his men. His brother Salmān b. Rabʿa took up the standard and managed to lead off some of the survivors to Bāb al-Aḥwāb. The Khazars are said to have preserved the body of ʿAbd al-Rahmān and made use of it in prayers for rain (Tabarī, i, 2669, 2869). His defeat and death mark the end of the first Arab Khazar war. According to some (Ḥakīmbaḡhī, *Futūḥ*, 304; Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 221) Salmān b. Rabʿa al-Bāḥilī and the Arab general killed at Balandjār.

**Bibliography:** D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton, 1954, 47-57. (D. M. DUNLOP)

**AL-BÄHİLĪ**, Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ḥātim al-Bāḥilī, Arab philologist and author, a pupil of al-Asmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda and Abū Zayd, belonging to the school of Basra, lived first in Bagdad, then in Isfahān and finally settled in Bagdad again where he died in 230/835. As a rule he followed in his works the footsteps of his predecessors and like them wrote a book on trees and plants, camels, cereals and palm-trees, horses, birds and locusts, of which latter he was the first to treat. His works on proverbs, on proper names, and on the errors in the language of the common people, must also have contained many notes of great value to us, but unfortunately like all his other writings they have perished.

**Bibliography:** G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 81; *Fihrist*, i, 56; *ZDMG*, xii, 395. (J. HRAJ)



AL-BĀHILĪ, AL-HUSAYN [see AL-HUSAYN AL-BĀHILĪ].

BAHRĀ [see DUBAYRĀ].

BAHRĀ, a she-camel or a ewe with slit ears. The Kur'an and ancient poetry (cf. Ibn Hishām, 58) show that the ancient Arabs used to carry out certain religious ceremonies with respect to their cattle, which consisted firstly in letting the animal go alone without making any use of it whatever, and secondly in limiting to males permission to eat its flesh (after it had died). In the various cases the animals bore special names (*Bakira*, *Sā'iba*, *Wayla*, *Hāma*); on these names cf. Wellhausen, as cited below). The lexicographers are not quite agreed on the point in which cases a camel or sheep had its ear slit. According to some, it was after it had borne ten young ones, according to others when its fifth young one was female etc.—The Kur'an abolished these customs and stigmatised them as arbitrary inventions, Sūra v, 102: "God has made neither *bahrā* nor *u'ayla*, nor *wa'ila*, nor *hāma*; but the unbelievers have invented lies against God, and the greater part of them do not understand"; Sūra v, 139: "and they say: these cattle and fruits of the earth are sacred; none shall eat thereof but whom we wish (so they said); and [then are] cattle on whose backs it is forbidden [to ride etc.];" verse 140: "and they say: that which is in the bellies of these animals, is only for our men and forbidden to our wives; but it is born dead, then both partake of it, and He will reward them for their attributing [these things to him] for He is wise and knowing".

**Bibliography:** The commentaries on the Kur'anic passages quoted above: *Lisān al-'Arab*, v, 105 ff.; Freitag, *Einleitung i. d. Studium d. arab. Sprache*, 238 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, 112 ff.; Rasmussen, *Addenda*, 66 of the Arab. text, 60 trans. (A. J. Wessiers).

BAHRĀ, the name of a Christian Monk. Ibn Sa'ūd and Ibn Hishām offer two parallel traditions, confirmed by al-Tabarī (i, 113 ff.), according to which Muhammad, when either nine or twelve years old, whilst accompanying the Meccans' caravan to Syria, in the company of Abū Bakr or Abū Tālib, found himself in the presence of a Christian monk or hermit, who is said to have revealed the young man's prophetic destiny, either by finding on him the stigma of prophecy, or by noting the miraculous movement of a cloud, or the behaviour of a branch, which persisted in affording him shade, irrespective of the course of the sun. The reclusive acquaintance Abū Bakr (or Abū Tālib) with these marvels, according to him, preserved the child from the malice of the Jews (Ibn Sa'ūd), from the violence of the Rāhm (al-Tabarī, third tradition, 2123). The monk, says Ibn Sa'ūd, was called Bahrā (Aram. *Baḥrā*, the elect). Though Ibn Sa'ūd, coinciding with al-Tabarī, declares that the monk knew Muhammad because he had found the announcement of his coming in the unadulterated (*isāhid*) Christian books, which he possessed, and in which is another later form in the Pseudo-Wāḥidī, *Kiṭāb Fataḥ al-Shām*, Cairo 1934, 16, 1. 9-12, the *Maḥdīth al-Ḥayy al-Rāḥ* (iv, 436, 1. 30 ff.) says, commenting on the word *ḥāḍira*, (Kur'an v, 82), that it meant the "chiefs of the Christians" and that according to "Urwā b. Zubayr, it was one of these who remained in the authentic tradition of the Gospels, despite of the corruption introduced into them by the other Christians, by effacing the announcement of Mu-

hammad's mission (cf. the long polemic on the word *farāḥ*). In 831, in his *Kiṭāb al-Fitḥ al-Radd ala 'l-Naṣīra*, Djabīr (cf. Pellat, in *RSO*, 1952, 57-8) stresses (Finkel, *Three Essays*, Cairo 1924, 14, 1. 17) that the Christians, of whom the passage of the Kur'an (v, 82) speaks with benevolence, are not members of the Byzantine Church, either Jacobite or Melkite, but merely those of the type of Bahrā or of "the mission who served Bahrā al-Farāḥ". The outcome of all this was that, both at the end of the 2nd/3rd century and in the first part of the 3rd/4th century, the tradition, as it then stood, concurred in recognising in the monk Bahrā, the witness, chosen at the heart of the most important scriptural religion, of the authenticity of the Prophet's mission. Thus Islam provided a remedy for the absence of a textual promise concerning its founder, and this point, as is known, formed one of the essential arguments of the Christian polemic.

The tradition assumed a material form to the extent that the town of Boḥrā, where the meeting is said to have taken place, at a very early date showed the "monastery of Bahrā", and still continues to do so (al-Hariri, *Guide des lieux de l'Islam*, 1902, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1955, 17; (transl. 43) H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Boḥra, 265-270).

Djabīr's attitude shows that, for a Muslim of the 3rd/4th century, Bahrā was a historical personage, in spite of all the objections raised (Sprenger, *ZDMG*, xii, 248-249). The age at which the monk lived, this witness, 12 years of age, is the same as that of Jesus at the time of his first supernatural undertaking, the discussion with the doctors (Luke ii, 42-49), and here can be seen an attempt at polemical influence.

Whilst Bahrā is a witness and a guarantor in the Muslim tradition, for the Christian polemic against Islam, both in Arabic and in Greek, he is the heretical monk, whom Muhammad met at the beginning of his career, and who became his inspire and involuntary accomplice (*Ann. contre Makomē*, in *Par. Graec.*, civ, 1449b) in the composition of the Kur'an, this "false Scripture". The name given him varies according to the authors' sources of information and according to their allegiance. 'Abd al-Maṣḥī b. Ishāq al-Kinādi calls him Sergius and says that he subsequently had himself called Nestorius (ed. Anton Tien, 76-77). Further on, in what appears to be an interpolation of the primitive "apologia", this personage is duplicated: "Sergius surnamed Nestorius and John surnamed Bahrā". It must be noted that al-Maṣḥī (*Murūḡi*, i, 146) on the other hand, makes a synthesis of the two names Sergius and Bahrā. The Byzantine polemicists after the 3rd/4th century knew the name Bahrā, which they wrote *Basira* or *Pakhryas* (Bart. d'Edesse, in *P.G.*, cv, 1429 ff.). Whilst for 'Abd al-Maṣḥī b. Ishāq al-Kinādi he is a Nestorian, he is an iconoclast *Abd. de l'Int. de Philologie et Hist. Or.*, Brussels, iii, 1933, 9) in the famous "Apocalypse of Bahrā" (R. Gotthelf, *A Christian Bahrā Legend*, in *ZA*, 1928 1929). As a heretic, he is referred to both as a Jacobite (Anonymus, in *P.G.*, cv, 1440) and as an Arian (Const. Porphyry, *De Adm. Imp.*, in *P.G.*, cviii, 192 = Euth. Zigab., *P.G.*, cxxx, 1333 c). Sometimes his allegiance is not specified (Theophanes, in *P.G.*, cviii, 685, b-c = Codex, *P.G.*, cxxi, 809 a-b). For all the Christian authors, his work coincides with what is veracious in the Kur'an, whilst all the erroneous statements derive from subsequent compilers, such as 'Uḡaynā (Barth. of Edessa, in *P.G.*, civ, 1428-32) or even

contemporaries, perverse Jews ('Abd al-Maṣḥī, ed. A. Tien, 77-8, cf. *ZDMG*, xii, 699-708).

The Apocalypse of Bahrā, which exists in Syriac and Arabic, the textual history of which still remains to be established, and the chronology of which is disputed (cf. G. Levi della Vida and J. Bignami-Oddier, (see bibl.), 132, no. 3 and 133 no. 3, and A. Abel, *Ann. Inst. Phil. de Bruxelles*, 1935, 60, 7-9, and *Studia Islamica*, ii, 1054, 29 and 30), places the monk in the centre of a pamphlet, which assembles the indications of the ancient Danielic apocryphal of the Pseudo-Methodius (Knoke, in *Byzantion*, 1931, 273-296), and cleverly combines them with the Christian arguments on the apocryphal origin of the Kur'an and with the various aspects of the doctrine of the Bahadī (*Grail. Gesch. der Arab. Christ. Lit.*, *Shadi e Testi*, Roma, 133, 147-9). This work met with success in the Christian circles of the Orient, and up till the period of the Crusades, which even resulted in its being translated into Latin (Levi della Vida and Bignami-Oddier, *op. cit.*, 132-3 and 139-48, M.-T. d'Alverny and G. Vajda, in *al-Farabi*, xvi, 1952, 1, 128, 120 ff.). But even before the Crusades, the main theme of the false prophet inspired by a "wise man" was known in the West, as is attested by the work in verse, directed against Islam, under the name of *Historia Machometi*, attributed to Hildebert (Guy Cambier, *Embricon de Mayence (1010-1077) est-il l'auteur de la Vita Machometi*, *Paris, Lat.*, cxviii, 1341-1346, Latomus, 3, Brussels 1952 and 5). The *Monument de Villard, Le Studio dell' Islam in Europa nel xii e xiii secolo, Studi e Testi*, 110, 34-5).

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(A. ABEL)

BAHISHĪ [see DĪANNA].

BAHIZAT AL-BADIYA [see MALIK HIRNĪ NĀSIR].

BAHLŪL (Amīr), the name of three notable Kurdish figures, according to M. E. Zakī (*Maḥāḥir*, 1441): 1. A member of the Salaymāniyya family, amir of the Mayyāfarīn branch, son of Alwand Bey b. Shāykh Alwand. He was for a long period in the service of Iskandar Pasha, the *vallī* of Diyarbakr. Subsequently, he was for a time in command of the fortress al-Iṣkandariyya (between al-Hilla and Baghdad), and after that the sultan Yawuz Selim entrusted to him the stronghold of Mayyāfarīn. A man of great personal bravery, he perished in a fight with Shāhshūr Bey, a Son of Amir Zangid, chief of the Dunbuli tribe and resident at Turis. Died in 756/1359. 3. Son of Amir Farīdūn, also a chief of the Dunbuli, governor of Tabaristān and Diḡistān. A contemporary of Shāykh Haydar

Safawī, and one of his most loyal supporters, he fell in the battle between Haydar and Shāh Khālī Ak Koyunlu in 880/1475-6.—There is also a Bahāḥī Faḡha who was the Turkish governor at Bāyazid up to 1236/1821. He was dismissed in that year, and died four years later. Wagner (ii, 297 ff.) devotes several pages to him in a commentary vein.

**Bibliography:** M. E. Zakī, *Maḥāḥir al-Kurd wa Kurdistān*, Baghdad 1945; M. Wagner, *Reise nach Persien und dem Lande der Kurden*, Leipzig 1852.

(B. NIKITINE)

BAHLŪL LŌDĪ [see DELHI SULTANATE].

BAHMANIS. A line of eighteen Muslim sultans who ruled, or claimed to rule, in the Deccan from 748-933/1347-1527, after a group of Muslim nobles led by Ismā'īl Muḥib had successfully rebelled against the sultan of Dīblī, Muhammad b. Tughluq. The more vigorous Hasan Gangū supplanted Ismā'īl and was proclaimed Sultān 'Alā al-Dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh. (On the latter's origin see Major W. H. Hale, *Some Notes on the Bahmanī Dynasty*, *ASB LXXIII*, Pt. 1, (Extra No.) 1904, 463; *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1938, 304-8; H. K. Sherwani, *Gangū Bahmanī*, in *Journal of Indian History*, xx, Pt. 1, April 1942, 95 ff.).

**Table of the Bahmanī sultans.**

(a) Sultāns with their capital at Ahsanābād-Gulbarga:	
'Alā' al-Dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh	748/1347
Muhammad I	759/1358
'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥajjid	770/1375
Dāwūd I	779/1378
Muhammad II	780/1378
Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tahamtan	799/1397
Shams al-Dīn Dāwūd II	799/1397
Tāj al-Dīn Firūz	800/1397

(b) Sultans with their capital at Muhammadābād-Bidār:	
Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad I	825/1422
'Alā' al-Dīn Ahmad II	839/1436
'Alā' al-Dīn Humāyūn	862/1458
Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad III	865/1461
Shams al-Dīn Muhammad III	867/1461
Shihāb al-Dīn Māhūd	885/1484
Ahmad IV	924/1515
'Alā' al-Dīn	927-1521
Wālī Allāh	929/1523
Kālm Allāh	934/1526

[Coins and inscriptions suggest the last named roi *faislān* may have lingered in exile claiming the throne until 943/1536-7. See E. E. Speight, *Coins of the Bahmanī Kings of the Deccan*, in *IC*, ix, 1935, 168 ff.; and *Inscriptions of Bijāpūr*, *Mem. Arch. Sur. of India*, No. 49].

During most of its history the Bahmanī Kingdom was limited to the table-land of the Deccan. Geographically, the Vindhya range may be said to be the northern edge of Southern India with the Narbada river flowing almost parallel to it. But the country south of this quasi-barrier may be divided into three distinctive parts: (i) Malwa, with its general slope towards the West; (ii) the Deccan table-land proper which, along with Berar, forms the pivot of the lavas present where the ancient undisturbed rock begins to extend over the centre of the peninsula; and (iii) what is called "South India" which extends from the northern edge of the Mysore plateau and the line of the Tungabhadra southwards. The lavas uplands end abruptly in the Western Ghāts which



AL-BĀHLĪ, AL-BUSAYN [see AL-BUSAYN AL-BĀHLĪ].

**BAḤĪRĀ**, a she-camel or a ewe with slit ears. The Kur'ān and ancient poetry (cf. Ibn Hishām, 58) show that the ancient Arabs used to carry out certain religious ceremonies with respect to their cattle, which consisted firstly in letting the animals go about the house without making any use of it whatever, and secondly in limiting to males permission to eat its flesh (after it had died). In the various cases the animals bore special names (*Bahira*, *Sa'iba*, *Waṣila*, *Ḥāmi*); on these names cf. Wellhausen as cited below). The lexicographers are not quite agreed on the point in which cases a camel or sheep had its ear slit. According to some, it was after it had borne ten young ones, according to others when its fifth young one was female etc.—The Kur'ān abolished these customs and stigmatised them as arbitrary inventions, Sūra v, 102: "God has made neither *bahira* nor *sa'iba*, nor *waṣila*, nor *ḥāmi*; but the unbelievers have invented lies against God, and the greater part of them do not understand"; Sūra vi, 139: "and they say: these cattle and fruits of the earth are sacred; none shall eat thereof but whom we wish (so they say); and [these are] cattle on whose backs it is forbidden [to ride] etc."; verse 140: "and they say: that which is in the bellies of these animals, is only for our men and forbidden to our wives; but if it be born dead then both parts of it. He will reward them for their attributing [these things to him] for He is wise and knowing".

**Bibliography:** The commentaries on the Kur'ānic passages quoted above: *Lisān al-Arab*, v, 105 ff.; Freitag, *Einleitung i. d. Studium d. Arab. Sprache*, 238 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, 112 ff.; Rasmussen, *Adhdamat*, 66 of the Arab. text, 60 trans. (A. J. Wessely).

**BAḤĪRĀ**, the name of a Christian Monk. Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Hishām offer two parallel traditions, confirmed by al-Tabarī (i, 1123 ff.), according to which Muhammad, when either nine or twelve years old, whilst accompanying the Meccans' caravan to Syria, in the company of Abū Bakr or Abū Ṭālib, found himself in the presence of a Christian monk or hermit, who is said to have revealed the young man's prophetic destiny, either by finding on him the stigma of prophecy, or by noting the miraculous movement of a cloud, or the behaviour of a branch, which persisted in affording him shade, irrespective of the course of the sun. The recluse acquainted Abū Bakr (or Abū Ṭālib) with these marvels, admonishing him to preserve the child from the malice of the Jews (Ibn Sa'd) or from the violence of the Rīm (al-Tabarī, third tradition, 1123). The monk, says Ibn Sa'd, was called Bahīrā (Aram. *baḥīra*, the elect). Though Ibn Sa'd, coinciding with al-Tabarī, declares that the monk knew Muhammad because he had found the announcement of his coming in the unadulterated (*ṣābiḥ*) Christian books, which he possessed (this may be in another later form in the Pseudo-Wāḥidī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Shām*, Cairo 1954, 16, i 9-12), the *Maṭṭah al-Ghayy* of al-Rāfi (iv, 436, i 30 ff.) says, commenting on the word *Kasīdīn*, (Kur'ān v, 82), that it meant the "chiefs of the Christians" and that according to 'Urwā b. Zubayr, it was one of those who remained in the authentic tradition of the Gospels, despite of the corruption introduced into them by the other Christians, by effacing the announcement of Mu-

hammad's mission (cf. the long polemic on the word *farāḥīn*), In 851, in his *Riḥla* 19-*Radd 'ala 'U-Nasabī*, Ḍābiq (cf. Pellat, in *RSO*, 1952, 57-8) stresses (Finkel, *Three Essays*, Cairo 1924, 74, r. 17) that the Christians, of whom the passage of the Kur'ān (v, 82) speaks with benevolence, are not members of the Byzantine Church, either Jacobite or Melkite, but merely those of the type of Bahīrā or of "the monks who served Salma al-Farīd". The outcome of all this was that, both at the end of the 2nd/8th century and in the first part of the 3rd/9th century, the tradition, as it then stood, concurred in recognising in the monk Bahīrā, the witness, chosen at the heart of the most important scriptural religion, of the authenticity of the Prophet's mission. Thus Islam provided a remedy for the absence of a textual promise concerning its founder, and this point, as is known, formed one of the essential arguments of the Christian polemic.

The tradition assumed a material form to the extent that the town of Bōrā, where the meeting is said to have taken place, at a very early date showed the "monastery of Bahīrā", and still continues to do so (al-Farīdī, *Guide des lieux de l'islam*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1952, 17; (transl. 43) H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Raqqa, 265-270).

Ḍābiq's attitude shows that, for a Muslim of the 3rd/9th century, Bahīrā was a historical personage, in spite of all the objections raised (Sprenger, *ZDMG*, xii, 238-249). The age at which Muhammad met this witness, 12 years of age, is the same as that of Jesus at the time of his first supernatural undertaking, the discussion with the doctors (Luke ii, 42-49), and here can be seen an attempt at polemical influence.

Whilst Bahīrā is a witness and a guarantor in the Muslim tradition, for the Christian polemic against Islam, both in Arabic and in Greek, he is the heretical monk, whom Muhammad met at the beginning of his career, and who became his inspirer and involuntary accomplice (*Ann. contre Mahomet*, in *Pañr, Græc.*, civ, 1449 ff.) in the composition of the Kur'ān, "false Scripture". The name given him varies according to the authors' sources of information and according to their allegiance. 'Abd al-Mas'ih b. Ishāq al-Kinānī calls him Sergius and says that he subsequently had himself called Nestorius (cf. Aston Tien, 76-77). Further on, in what appears to be an interpolation of the primitive "apologia", this personage is duplicated: "Sergius surnamed Nestorius and John surnamed Bahīrā". It must be noted that al-Mas'udī (*Murājī*, i, 146) on the other hand, makes a synthesis of the two names Sergius and Bahīrā. The Byzantine polemic after the 3rd/9th century knew the name Bahīrā, which they wrote *Bacira* or *Pakhyras* (Bart. d'Edesse, in *P.G.*, civ, 1429 ff.). Whilst for 'Abd al-Mas'ih b. Ishāq al-Kinānī he is a Nestorian, he is an iconoclast (*Ann. de l'inst. de Philologie et Hist. Or.*, Brussels, iii, 1935, 9), in the famous "Apocalypse of Bahīrā" (R. Gotthelf, *A Christian Bahira Legend*, in *JA*, 1898-1899). As a heretic, he is referred to both as a Jacobite (Anonymus, in *P.G.*, civ, 1440) and as an Arian (Const. Porphyrt, *De An. Imp.*, in *P.G.*, cviii, 192 = Euth. Zigab., *P.G.*, cxxx, 1333 c. Sometimes his allegiance is not specified (Theophanes, in *P.G.*, cvi, 685, b-c = Codexus, *P.G.*, cxxi, 809 a-b). For all the Christian authors, his work coincides with what is veracious in the Kur'ān, whilst all the erroneous statements derive from subsequent compilers, such as 'Ughīn (Barth. of Edessa, in *P.G.*, cvi, 1428-32) or even

contemporaries, perverse Jews ('Abd al-Mas'ih, ed. A. Tien, 77-8, cf. *ZDMG*, xii, 699-708).

The Apocalypse of Bahīrā, which exists in Syriac and Arabic, the textual history of which still remains to be established, and the chronology of which is disputed (cf. G. Levi della Vida and J. Nigamni-Odier, (see bibl.), 132, no. 3 and 133 no. 1, with A. Abel, *Ann. Inst. Phil. et Hist. Or.*, Brussels 1925, 60, 79 and *Studia Islamica*, ii, 1954, 29) and which places the monk in the centre of a pamphlet, which assembles the indications of the ancient Dantesque apocalypse of the Pseudo-Methodius (Knoke, in *Byzantion*, 1931, 273-296), and cleverly combines them with the Christian arguments on the apocryphal origin of the Kur'ān and with the various aspects of the doctrine of the Mahādī (*Græc. Græc. der Arab. Christ. Lit.*, *Shadi e Testi*, Roma, 133, 147-9). This work met with success in the Christian circles of the Orient, and up till the period of the Crusades, which even resulted in its being translated into Latin (Levi della Vida and Nigamni-Odier, *op. cit.*, 132-3 and 139-46, M. T. d'Alverny and G. Valjda, in *al-Andalus*, xix, 1952, 1, 128, 129 ff.). But even before the Crusades, the main theme of the false prophet inspired by a "wise man" was known in the West, as is attested by the work in verse, directed against Islam, under the name of *Historia Machometi*, attributed to Hildebert (Guy Cambier, *Embric de Mayence (1010-1077) est-il l'auteur de la Falsa Machometi*, *Paris, Lat.*, cxvii, 1341-1366, Latomus, 2, Brussels 1952, 177, Monument de Villard, *Le Studio dell' Islam in Europa nel xii e xiii secolo*, *Studi e Testi*, t. 170, 34-5).

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(A. ABEL)

**BAHISHI** [see *DIANA*].

**BAHIZAT** AL-BADIYA [see MALIK HIRSI NĀSIR].

**BAHLŪL** (Amr), the name of three notable Kurdish figures, according to M. E. Zaki (*Maḥabbat*, 144) i. a member of the Sulaymāniyya family, amir of the Mayyāfarīnī branch, son of Alwand Bey b. Shāykh Ahmad. He was for a long period in the service of Iskandar Pasha, the sultan of Diyarbakr. Subsequently, he was for a time in command of the fortress al-Ikandariyya (between al-Hilla and Baghdād), and after that the sultan Yawuz Selim entrusted to him the stronghold of Mayyāfarīnī. A man of great personal bravery, he perished in a fight with Shāykh Bey. 2. Son of Amir Djamshīd, chief of the Dunbuli, tribe and resident at Turis. Died in 756/1359. 3. Son of Amir Farīdān, also a chief of the Dunbuli, governor of Tabaristān and Diḡistān. A contemporary of Shāykh Haydar

Safawi, and one of his most loyal supporters, he fell in the battle between Haydar and Shāh Khālī Ak Koyunlu in 880/1475-6.—There is also a Bahlūl Paghā who was the Turkish governor at Bāyazid up to 1236/1821. He was dismissed in that year, and died four years later. Wagner (ii, 297 ff.) devotes several pages to him in a commendatory vein. **Bibliography:** M. E. Zaki, *Maḥabbat al-Kurd wa Kurdistān*, Baghdād 1945; M. Wagner, *Reise nach Persien und dem Lande der Kurden*, Leipzig 1852. (B. NIKITINE)

**BAHLŪL LŌDĪ** [see DELHI SULTANATE].

**BAHMANIS**. A line of eighteen Muslim sultans who ruled, or claimed to rule, in the Deccan from 748-933/1347-1527, after a group of Muslim nobles led by Ismā'īl Muḥib had successfully rebelled against the sultan of Dīhlī, Muhammad b. Tughlāk. The more vigorous Hasan Gangū supplanted Ismā'īl and was proclaimed Sultān 'Alā al-Dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh. (On the latter's origin see Major W. Hild, *Some Notes on the Bahman Dynasty*, *ASB LXXIII* Pt. 1 (Extra No.) 1904, 463; *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1938, 304-8; H. K. Sherwani, *Gangū Bahmanī*, in *Journal of Indian History*, xx, Pt. 1, April 1941, 95 ff.)

*Table of the Bahman sultans.*

(a) Sultāns with their capital at Aḥsanābād-Gulbarga:

'Alā' al-Dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh	748/1347
Muhammad I	750/1348
'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad II	776/1375
Dāwūd I	779/1378
Muhammad II	780/1378
Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tahanman	799/1397
Shams al-Dīn Dāwūd II	799/1397
Tāj al-Dīn Firuz	800/1397

(b) Sultāns with their capital at Muḥammadābād-Bāḥr:

Shāhāb al-Dīn Ahmad I	825/1422
'Alā' al-Dīn Ahmad II	839/1436
'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥumayūn	862/1458
Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad III	865/1461
Shams al-Dīn Muhammad III	867/1465
Shāhāb al-Dīn Māhmid	887/1484
'Alā' al-Dīn	924/1518
Wālī Aḥmad	929/1523
Kāḥm Aḥmad	932/1526

[Coins and inscriptions suggest the last named roi *faïdant* may have lingered in exile claiming the throne until 943/1536-7. See E. E. Speight, *Coins of the Bahman Kings of the Deccan*, in *JC*, ix, 1935, 168 ff.; and *Inscriptions of Bijāpūr*, *Mem. Arch. Sur. of India*, No. 49].

During most of its history the Bahmanī Kingdom was limited to the table-land of the Deccan. Geographically, the Vindhya range may be said to be the northern edge of Southern India with the Nārbanda river flowing almost parallel to it. But the country south of this quasi-barrier may be divided into three distinctive parts: (i) Malwa, with its general slope towards the West; (ii) the Deccan table-land proper which, along with Berar, forms the base of the lavas present where the ancient undisturbed rock begins to extend over the centre of the peninsula; and (iii) what is called "South India" which extends from the northern edge of the Mysore plateau and the line of the Tungabhadra southwards. The lavas uplands end abruptly in the Western Ghāts which



have always tended to form a natural limit to the ambitions of the rulers of the Deccan table-land. Although the Bahmanis early managed to reach the sea at Dabul and Cowl they could never rule the coastal plain beyond the Ghâts effectively, and the south-western extremity of this lavaic country, Goa, had to be conquered and reconquered a number of times. While the table-land has a sheer fall of nearly 4,000 feet in the West, it has a very gentle slope eastward, and it takes more than 300 miles to reach the same level as the eastern coast line. It may be mentioned here that the importance of Golconda, which played such an important part during the later medieval period of Deccan history, and with it, of Hyderabad, lies in the fact that Golconda and a part of Greater Hyderabad stand on the last prominent spur of the table-land before the undulating plain begins. The effective southern limit of the Bahmani kingdom was the river Tungabhadra, the natural geographical limit of the Deccan, but it should be remembered that the Krishna—Tungabhadra Doab was always a bone of contention between the Bahmanis and their southern neighbours, the Rājās of Vijayanagar in much the same way as it had been a bone of contention between the Western Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas, and between the Yādavas and Hoysalas in ancient times.

The Bahmani sultans continually struggled to extend the area of their military and revenue paramountcy, and this involved them in wars against the sultanates of Malwa and Gujjarāt in the north and Vijayanagar in the south and in efforts, complicated by the intervention of Vijayanagar and the Hindu chiefs of Orissa, to assert their suzerainty in Telangana, south and east of the Godavari.

In the north, a successful war between Shāh al-Dīn Ahmad I and Hushang Shāh of Malwa over Kherla in 832/1425 followed in 834/1430-31 by an unsuccessful war against Gujjarāt in alliance with the Rājās of Jhalawar ended in stalemate. In 866/1461-2, Mahmūd Khaldī of Malwa, in alliance with the Gadiyapuri Rājās of Orissa, Kapildhara, succeeded in occupying Bidar itself; the Bahmanis were saved by the intervention of Mahmūd Shāh Bāgda of Gujjarāt. War again occurred in 871/1466 over Mahār and Ellichpur, but although Kherla was temporarily occupied by the Bahmani forces, a peace, which proved to be lasting, restored the *status quo ante*, between Malwa and the Bahmanis.

In the south, conflict over the fertile Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab with Vijayanagar was endemic. War occurred in 799/1399, 755/1354, 767/1365, 806/1398, 808/1406, 823/1420, 825/1422, 847/1443 and 886/1481 with varying fortunes, and the Doab region remaining a no-man's-land between the two powers, until after the accession of the Vijayanagar ruler, Krishna Deva Rāya in 935/1559, when the region was virtually incorporated into the Vijayanagar dominions.

In the west, despite Bahmani claims to Dabul and Cowl, the Bahmanis were unable to control the coastal region west of the Ghâts and were impotent to prevent continuing depredations by the Rājās of Khelna and Sangameswar, until the *waṣir*, Mahmūd Gāwān, succeeded in occupying Sangameswar and Goa in 876/1471 and 876/1472.

To the east, the Bahmanis raided Telangana successfully in the reign of Muhammad I and again in 826/1427 and 827/1428 when Warangal was captured, and a Bahmani governor established, but the local Hindu chiefs could usually rely upon help

from Orissa. The Orissan general Hanvira captured Warangal in 864/1460, but succession troubles in Orissa enabled the Bahmanis in campaigns between 882/1477-8 and in 885/1480, to extend their hegemony, though briefly, to the Bay of Bengal. Telangana was then divided into two provinces centring on Warangal and Rajahmundry.

While 'Alā' al-Dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh was the founder of the dynasty it was Muhammad I who organised it. The central Government was divided into three main departments dealing with civil, military and judicial matters respectively. The civil department was centred in the *waṣṣāṭ* *sultānat* or Prime minister who was assisted by *waṣirs* or ministers and *adibis* or secretaries. In the same way the judiciary consisted of the *kādīs* or judges and the *mufṭis* or interpreters of law, while peace and security of the cities was kept by the *khatāi* or Commissioner of Police and *mushāṭir* or the censor of public morals. On the military side the Commander-in-Chief had a number of subordinate officers at headquarters such as the officer at the head of *barbādār* who mobilised irregular forces in times of emergency, the *kāshidār* or the paymaster, the officer in charge of the *khāṣṣa ḥāṭī* or the body-guard of the sultan, a well-equipped and well-drilled force of 4,000 soldiers, and the officer in charge of 200 *yakha-giswān* or *sīlāḥdār* who handled the sultan's personal arms.

The whole kingdom was divided into four *atāf* or provinces and each *atāf* or province was placed under a *tarāṭīr* or governor. The *tarāṭīr* was originally responsible both for the civil and the military administration of the province and the *khāṣṣa* or commanders of the forts were placed under him. The four provinces of the Kingdom were centred round Dawlatābād, Berār, Ahsanābād—Gulbarga and Muhammadābād—Bidār (which included the small part of Telangana which was under the Bahmanis in the beginning). Out of these the province of Gulbarga, which was centred round the capital of the state, was naturally regarded as the most important and its *tarāṭīr* was generally one who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the ruler.

The century which followed the establishment of the dynasty saw a great expansion of the kingdom which finally extended from sea to sea and Mahmūd Gāwān, who was now *waṣir*, set to work not only on the redivision of the kingdom but also on the reform of the whole provincial administration. Firstly he redivided the kingdom into eight in place of four *atāf*. Berār was divided into two charges, namely Gāwāl and Mahār, part of the area surrounding Junnar was removed from Dawlatābād province and formed into a separate *atāf*, Radjmandrī was created a province distinct from the rest of Telangana and Bidjāpur was carved out of the old province of Gulbarga. The power of the *tarāṭīr* was also greatly curtailed. A *tarāṭīr* was previously supreme in both civil and military affairs of his province and could not only appoint *khāṣṣa* but also increase or decrease the number of soldiers on permanent duty according to his will and thus spend or save as much money as he liked out of the *dijār* set aside for military expenses. Mahmūd Gāwān curtailed the power of the *tarāṭīr* considerably. It was decreed that in future *khāṣṣa* would be appointed by the central government and a *tarāṭīr* was entitled to have only one fort and his direct command. Moreover every person who was responsible for the payment of salaries of soldiers was made accountable for the money he drew

from the *dijār* or *manṣab* as the case may be.

Another method by which the sultan was brought in direct relationship with the work of the provinces was that under which a large tract of land was set aside in every province as the royal demesne. Orders were also issued for a systematic measurement of land, fixation of boundaries all over the state and a good enquiry about the record of rights and assessment of revenue.

All these schemes however, proved to be still-born when Mahmūd Gāwān was murdered. Another attempt in the same direction was made twenty years later in 901/1495-96 by the minister Kāsīm Barīd, the progenitor of the Barīd-shāhs of Bidār [q.v.]. Under these reforms the smaller *manṣabs* were ordered to enrol themselves in the royal bodyguard and were henceforth called *sarāḥdār* or *kasulāḥdār*. This was only a half-hearted measure and affected only the small *dijār*dār and *manṣab*dār while the great nobles were left untouched. The great power and authority which the *tarāṭīr* were left to enjoy after the nullification of earlier reforms was one of the causes of the disintegration of the Kingdom and its resolution into five succession states, namely Bidjāpur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda, Berār and Bidār [q.v.].

The large influx of Persians and others from overseas created a peculiar political problem in the Deccan, for it divided the Muslim population of the State into two contending groups, viz. the *dāḥabīs* or the older colonists and the *djābīs* (sometimes called the *gharb al-diyār*) or the new settlers.

Their struggles were largely responsible for the downfall of the Bahmani Kingdom.

**Bibliography:** Storey I, 3, 739; J. S. King, *History of the Bahmani dynasty*, founded mainly on *Burhānī Ma'āthir*, Firāqīya, Gulbarga (Bombay), III; T. W. Haig, *Some Notes on the Bahmani Dynasty* (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, LXIII, Extra No. 1904, 1); E. E. Speight, *Coins of the Bahmani Kings of the Deccan*, in *IC*, Haydarābād Deccan, ix, 1935, 168 ff.; Mahmūd Gāwān, *Riyāṣ al-Ingīb*, Haydarābād Deccan, 1948; H. K. Sherwani, *Mahmūd Gāwān, the great Bahmani Warrior-leader*, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan: An Objective Study*.

(H. K. SHERWANI)

**MONUMENTS.** 'Alā' al-Dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh's new kingdom at Gulbarga was open to attack from all sides, by the Rājās of Vijayanagara, Telangana and Orissa, by the Gonds, and by the rival sultans of Khanderābād, Malwa and Gujjarāt; the first buildings of the new régime are consequently entirely military, surrounding the kingdom: to the north, Ellīpur, Gāwālgarh, Narālā (Bahmani inscriptions, T. W. Haig, *ETM* 1907-8, 17) in Berār, also Mahār; on the west, Parenda, Naldurg, Panhāl and Gulbarga itself; in the centre, Bidār, Golkonda and Warangal; on the south-west, Mudgal and Bāḥār. Many of these were existing Hindu, often Gonds, fortifications hastily occupied and modified; some were rebuilt later by Ahmad Shāh Wālī al-Bahmani after his transformation of Bidār [q.v.] fort, and during the reign of Muhammad III in consequence of Mahmūd Gāwān's policies. (References in Firāqīya, *passim*).

Gulbarga. The fortifications are well preserved, with double walls 10 m. thick, surrounded by a moat often 30 m. wide, well provided with bastions—many with barbettes added later for the use of artillery—and hornworks, large and compound crenellations, machicolations and barbicans. The one

major structure standing intact within the walls is the Dīāmī Masjīd, built 769/1367 by a hereditary Persian architect, Rāfi b. Shāms b. Manṣūr al-Karwīn (inscr., Haig, *ETM* 1907-8, 2), of a type unknown elsewhere in India, without open *jaḥs* but completely roofed over forming a pillared hall whose only illumination comes from the open side aisles and the clerestory of the central dome. The side aisles are characterised by their very wide span with unusually low imposts, an arch pattern used elsewhere in Gulbarga. Two mosques of nearly the same period at Delhi [q.v.] are partially covered; but this type was not imitated, presumably since the *ḥaṣṣa* and *minbar* were obstructed from the view of most of the congregation. The other Bahmani monuments at Gulbarga are the two groups of tombs. The first, near the south gate of the fort, includes those of 'Alā' al-Dīn (759/1358), Muhammad II, to whom the Shāh Bāzār Masjīd, an unpretentious building in the contemporary Tughlukian style of Delhi, is attributed (776/1375), and Muhammad II (799/1397); the first two of these show the battering walls and weak semicircular dome of the Delhi Tughlukian style; that of Muhammad II shows a similar dome, stilted below the haunch, to that of the Dīāmī Masjīd. To the east of the city is the *Ḥaṭṭ* Ganjīdār, including the tombs of Muḥammad and Dā'ūd c. 781/1380, Ghayyāth al-Dīn (c. 799/1397) and Firz (c. 823/1420); some of these are two adjacent domed chambers on a single plinth. That of Ghayyāth al-Dīn shows some Hindu influence in the *mihrāb*, and that of Firz in the carved polished black stone exterior pilasters, the dripstones and brackets; the interior of the latter is quasi-Persian in its paint and plaster decoration similar to the contemporary Sayyid and Lodi tombs at Delhi. Of other buildings, the *ḥaṣṣa* of Banda Nawāz (Kandahar *Desur*), c. 816/1413, shows the characteristic wide arch with low imposts.

Bidār. The Bahmani tombs at Aḥṣūr, 2½ miles east of the town, are on a larger scale, with loftier and sometimes more bulbous domes, than those at Gulbarga. None of these has battered walls, and none is double. The finest, that of Ahmad Shāh Wālī (c. 839/1436), shows the characteristic later Bahmani arch, stilted above the haunch, and is of great importance on account of its superb calligraphic decoration which includes two *ghazals* of the saint Ni'mat Allāh al-Kirmānī [q.v.]. That of 'Alā' al-Dīn II (862/1458) has striking encaustic tile-work and, unusually, some arches struck from four centres. That of Mahmūd, 924/1518, has its walls decorated with arched niches one above the other, more characteristic of post-Bahmani architecture. The Dīāmī Masjīd, called also Solah Khamba (= 'sixteen pillar') *masjīd* and Zānāl *masjīd* (827/1423-4), of the reign of Ahmad I but erected during Prince Muhammad's viceregency before the transfer of the capital—the earliest Muslim building at Bidār—and the royal palaces (Takht Mahal, etc.; cf. Sayyid 'Alī Tabṭabā, *Burhānī Ma'āthir*, Persian MSS. Soc. ed., 70-1), and the *madrasa* of Mahmūd Gāwān, all works executed under the Bahmanis, are in view of their subsequent redecoration and rebuilding by the Barīdis [q.v.], described under Bidār [q.v.]. The *Ḥaṣṣa minār* at Dawlatābād [q.v.], dated from the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn, and it may be observed that the earliest 'Adil Shāhī building at Bidjāpur [q.v.], *Asen Beg's masjīd* (918/1512-3) bears an inscription indicating Mahmūd Shāh Bahmani as ruler—presumably still acknowledged as paramount in spite of Yūsuf's recent independence.



The walls of Bidar fort are Bahmani; those of the town date from the Bārd Shāhā.

**Bibliography:** For the Deccan plateau forts, see G. Yazdani in *Hyderabad Archaeological Department Annual Report*, 1331-3 F. 1921-4 A.D., 2; *ibid.*, Appx. A, 17-27; "Farenda: an historical fort"; *Māhār fort*, *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report*, 1327 F. 1917-8, 8; *Yasulān*, Note on the antiquities of Kalyānī, *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report*, 1331 F. 1924-5 A.D., Appx. A, 19-23, also *EIM* 1935-6; Warangal fort, *ibid.*, 6; Yazdani, Note on the survey of Mudgal fort, *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report*, 1343 F. 1935-6 A.D., 25-7. See also Sir John Marshall, *The monuments of Muslim India*, Chap. XIII in *Cambridge History of India*, 1928, 630 ff. For Gulbarga see J. Burgess, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised edition; E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, Chap. XIII; *Hyd. Arch. Dept., Report for 1913-6*; for inscriptions, T. W. Haig, *Inscriptions at Gulbarga, EIM* 1907-8. For Bidar see bibliography under that head, especially Yasuni, *Bidar: its history and monuments*, OUP 1947 (full references and extensive plates, plans, inscriptions, etc.). For Bidar as a fortified city, see S. Toy, *The strongholds of India*, London 1957.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

**BAHMANYĀR**, ABD 'L-HASAN BAHMANYĀR B. AL-MAKRUZĀN, a famous pupil of Avicenna, died in 485/1092. Avicenna's *K. al-Mabshūrat* has some of the philosophical questions raised by Bahmanyār and answered by the master. Since he was a Zoroastrian, Bahmanyār's acquaintance with Arabic was imperfect. His *Mā ba'd al-Taḥā* and *K. fi-Mawāḍiḥ al-Waḍūḥ* were published in Leipzig in 1851 (and in Cairo in 1329 A.H.). His comprehensive interpretation of Avicenna's philosophy called *K. al-Taḥā* (or *al-Tahāḍī*) and consisting of logic, metaphysics and physics plus cosmology, was also published in Cairo in 1329 A.H. An extract (*ḡaṣṣ*) also exists (see Brockelmann, SI, 828) from his work on the existence of souls and active intelligences. Bayhaḡī (*Tatimmat*, 91) also mentions a *K. al-Zina* on logic by him, a work on ultimate happiness, and one on music, and adds that he wrote many other treatises.

**Bibliography:** Besides references given in this article, see also Nīrānī Samarqandī, *Caḥr Maḥāla* (ed. Karwānī), 252, and Ibn Abī Usayb'a, 'Uyūn al-Aḥbā' (F. RAHMĀN) -

**AL-BAHNĀSĀ**, a famous town in mediaeval times, in Middle Egypt, situated between the Baḥr Yūsuf and the foothills of the Libyā range, 13 km. west of Bant Mazr, a railway station 198 km. south of Cairo. It is the ancient Oxyrhynchus, in Coptic Pemdje.

During the Byzantine period it was a flourishing city, renowned for its churches and numerous monasteries. According to a Coptic legend, the Virgin and the Child Jesus are supposed to have stayed there during the Flight from Egypt. Certain Muslim exegetes have found a verse of the Qur'ān (XXIII, 52), to corroborate this tradition, which is of Christian origin.

At the time of the Arab invasion, it was a fortified place with thick walls; the Greek garrison seemed to have exhibited dauntless courage in its defence, which was long remembered, since their resistance inspired a popular romance, the *Conquest of Bahnāsā*.

At first the capital of a pagarchy (*bāra*), the place enjoyed an astonishing prosperity in the

Middle Ages, Bahnāsā gave its name to a province at the time of the administrative reorganisation carried out at the behest of the Fatimids *waṣir* Badr al-Djamālī at the end of the 5th/11th century. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes it as a great city surrounded by numerous gardens. Khālīl Zahrī still speaks of it as a large town, but it is already suggestive to note that Ibn al-Ḥafṣ who knew the province, passes the town over in silence. Henceforth it was never anything more than an insignificant township, which, in the 19th century was included in the province of Bant Suḥf (Suwayf), before belonging to that of Minya. The sands had covered it; about the year 1860, debris of all kinds, granite columns, fragments of capitals, of sculpture, pottery and bricks could be seen lying on the ground there; it is now no more than a confused heap of ruins, according to a recently published guide-book.

This lamentable situation may well be the result of the progressive deforestation of the region. Under the Fatimids and the Ayyūbids, the forests, classed as domain, were exploited by a State administration, for funds for naval construction. Makrīzī is here relying on an account by Ibn Mamūṭī, but adds: "This has all completely disappeared and one no longer hears anyone speak of this organisation, as private persons have had the trees cut down."

The town's prosperity was above all assured by its woven products. All kinds of cloths were manufactured there, from the most precious fabrics, such as silks litigated with gold, down to the most ordinary wares: curtains, tent coverings, ships' sails. Fabrics of great size were woven there in wool, linen and cotton, with pictures in fast colours, portraying all kinds of beasts, "from the insect to the elephant". According to Idrīsī, fabrics originating from Bahnāsā bore the name of the town and it is a fact that in the Museum of Muslim Art in Cairo there is preserved a piece of multi-coloured wool, with pictures of small hares framing a human head on which the name of Bahnāsā can be read. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa still praises its excellent woollen cloth in the middle of the 8th/14th century.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the authors cited in J. Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 5, 172-191, see Ibn Hawkal, 150; Idrīsī, *al-Maḡrib*, 30-31; Ibn Mamūṭī, II, 344-345; Ya'qūbī, trans. Wiet, 286; Makrīzī, ed. Wiet, I, 92-91, 307, 310, 312; II, 103, 108-109; IV, 126; Jean Pansy, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie*, 55; idem, *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine*, 40, 140; Harawī, *Ziyārat*, II, 43; trans. Sourdel-Thomine, 26, 101; Kalkachandī, II, 281, 307; Zahrī, 32; trans. 50; Isambert, *Itinéraire de l'Orient*, *Égypte*, 467; Baedeker Guidebook, Fr. ed., 1908, 199-200; 'Alī Pasha Muḥrāk, 2, 2-5; *EP*, Fr. ed., supplément, 267; *RCEA*, III, no. 939. (G. WIEG)

**BAHR** (see 'ARḌ).

**BAHR** (Ar.), sea and also large perennial river. — The articles which follow treat of the principal seas known to the Arabs, but it is convenient to note here that in Islamic cosmology, on the basis of a conception generally related to the authority of Ka'b al-Aḥbār (q.v.), the mountain Kūf (q.v.), which encircles the terrestrial sphere, is itself surrounded by seven concentric intercommunicating seas; these seas bear respectively the following names: Nīlas (or Bayṭāḥ), Kaynas (or Kabayn), al-Aḡnam, al-Sākin, al-Muḡallīb (or al-Murūl), al-Mu'annīs (or Marmīs) and finally al-Bāḥ. But it is probable that these names correspond to geographical realities;

in fact Nīlas (and its variant form) is an orthographic corruption of Buntus (= πόντος = the Black Sea); and Kaynas (and its variant) derives from Ukiyānūs (= ὠκεανός = the [Atlantic] Ocean); for the other names, a tentative identification will be found in P. Anastase-Marie de St. Élie, *Nuḡḡ al-Jazīra al-'Arabīya*, Cairo 1928, 83-4, and al-Ḥafṣ, *Taḥī* (ed. Pellat), s.v. *Buntus*.

**Bibliography:** Karwīnī, *Comog*, 104; Kīāḥ, *Kīyā al-Aḥbā'*, Leiden 1922-3, 9; see also the bibliography to the article ḡAF. (E.O.)

**AL-BAHR AL-ABYAD** (see BAHĀ AL-RUM).

**BAHR ADRIYAS**, name of the Adriatic in Arabic geographical works. (E.O.)

**AL-BAHR AL-ASWAD** (see BAHĀ BUNTUS, KARA DEMIZ).

**BAHR AL-BANĀT** i.e., "the Maidens' Sea", a name given by the Arabs to the Archipelago off the west coast of the Persian Gulf. Idrīsī calls it Baḥr al-Kīḥr.

**Bibliography:** Ritter, *Erkunde*, XII, 390, 569ff.

**BAHR BUNTUS**, the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea, in which the STRAS (NITAS) is a stereotyped error (name ductus of letters with different pointing and vocalisation). From the names of adjacent peoples or cities it was also called Baḥr al-Khazar or Sea of the Khazars (Ibn Khurādādhbih, 105, perhaps by confusion with the Caspian, Baḥr al-Khazar, (q.v.)), Baḥr al-Rūs (Sea of the Russians), Baḥr al-Burghān or Baḥr al-Burghān (Sea of the Bulgars), Baḥr al-Tarīq (Sea of Tarīq), Baḥr al-Bāḥ al-Armanī (the Armenian Pontus), Baḥr al-Kustānīfīyā (Sea of Constantinople) and Daryā-yi Gurziyān or Sea of the Georgians (only in *Hudūd al-'Ālam*). The name al-Baḥr al-Aswad (Black Sea) appears only in later times.

According to Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, 66-67), writing in 343/956, it extends from Lāzika (Greek Larikē) in the E. to Constantinople, a distance of 1300 miles, with a breadth of 300 miles. It is connected with the lake or sea of Māyūtīs (Sea of Azov, [see BAHĀ MĀYUTIS]). Among the rivers which flow into it are the Tanāḥīs (Don) and the Danube. From Baḥr Buntus issues Khālīḡ al-Kustānīfīyā (Strait of Constantinople), i.e., Bosporus, Sea of Marmara and the Dardanelles, which issues in Baḥr al-Rūm or Sea of the Greeks (Mediterranean). The length of the strait is 350 miles. In a parallel account written earlier (*Murādī*, I, 260-262) Mas'ūdī gives the length of Baḥr Buntus as 1100 miles and the course of the Don as about 300 *ṣārah*. The same general account is found in Ibn Rustā, 85-86 (about 290/900). It was thought by some, e.g., Ibn Khurādādhbih (103) that Baḥr Buntus issued from Baḥr al-Khazar (Caspian). Mas'ūdī denies this (*Murādī*, I, 273), saying simply that the two seas are connected (*Tanbih*, 67). According to *Murādī*, II, 18 ff., the route from Baḥr Buntus to Baḥr al-Khazar was via Khālīḡ Nītas (Strait of Kerch), the Don and the Volga, using the Don-Volga portage, i.e., the route called elsewhere the 'Khazarian Way'. Mas'ūdī himself, who shows much greater interest in Baḥr Buntus than geographers of the Balkh-Iṣṭakhī school, speculated on a direct connexion between the Black Sea and the Atlantic. This view was later held by al-Iḥrīqī (Karwīnī, *Ṣāḡīḡ*, 104).

As time passed new place-names on Baḥr Buntus appear, e.g., after the Seldūḡ conquest of Asia (Minor) the cities, formerly Greek, Sinūh (Sinope) and Sīnōn (Amisus) mentioned by Abu 'l-Fiḍā'. Similarly Nuwayrī can mention the Kīpḥāk cities, Sūḡāk and Kīnīn, the first of which, built in the

7th/13th century, for a time gave its name to the sea (Baḥr Sūḡāk). For Ottoman times, see KARA DEMIZ.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references in the article, Yāḡūtī, I, 306-307, 401, 499, 746; Abu 'l-Fiḍā', *Tahwīm*, 13, 391-393; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arāb*, I, 246-247; *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 32, 181-183. (D. M. DUNLOP)

**BAHR FĀRIS**, the Persian Gulf, in which Mas'ūdī includes the Gulf of 'Uḡmā; Iṣṭakhī and Ibn Hawkal apply the name to the whole Indian Ocean (Baḥr al-Hind). The *Hudūd al-'Ālam* distinguishes the Khālīḡ 'Irāq, the Persian Gulf, from the Khālīḡ Fīr, the Gulf of 'Uḡmā and the Arabian Sea. Mas'ūdī gives its width at the narrowest place as 150 *mil*; the Strait of Hormuz is actually some 29 miles across. In the Muslim geographers the modern al-Aḥsā' was called Bahrayn, the name Uḡl being given to one of the islands now called Bahrayn, Hindarābī was Ahrīn, Kīḡm was Lāḡ, Jazīra Bant Kīwān, or Barkawān, and Shāykh Shā'ayb was Lāwīn, Lān or Lān.

Mas'ūdī relates that one 'Abd al-Maṣhī, aged 350, told Khālīḡ b. al-Walīd that he had seen al-Nadīf covered by the sea, and ships sailing to the mouth of the Euphrates below al-Hīra. Mas'ūdī evidently believed the geographical fact if not the story. Most scholars have assumed that silt brought down by the rivers has been gradually filling up the Baḥr Fāris. The history of 'Abdān seems to support this. Mukaddasī and the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* speak of it as on the coast, Nāḥir-i Khurāsān as a league from the sea at low tide, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as 3 miles from the sea; it is now over 30. It has, however, been claimed (G. M. Lees and N. Falcon, *The Geological History of the Mesopotamian Plains*, Gf, 1932) that, though the level of the land has risen locally and though rivers have changed their courses, (see DIBLĀ, FUKAR, KĀRĀḤ), the area between the Arabian massif and the Persian mountains is one of tectonic subsidence, mitigated but not counteracted by the deposit of silt. The Tigris and Euphrates leave most of their silt in the marshes above al-Kūrna and the Baḥr Fāris, is materially affected only by the silt carried by the Kāḡrīn. There is no geological evidence that the head of the Baḥr Fāris has been N.W. of its present position since the Pliocene Age; it is even possible that it has been further to the S.E. in historical times. (See also correspondence in *Gf*, 1934).

The position of the Baḥr Fāris has been great but varying importance. Its history is very imperfectly known. A number of local chronicles are still in MS. and the story of the competition of the alternative trade routes through the Red Sea and across Central Asia has yet to be studied. Only the salient facts are given here; for further details see the articles on individual ports. Commerce was flourishing before the Arab conquest and Persians were already engaged in trade with China. The identification of the "Po sea" of Chinese records with Persians has been questioned, as the name can also refer to a Malayan people. It is, however, established by a reference (*Chou T'ang Shu*, VII, 19) to a Po ssu embassy of 103-4/722, which brought lions as a gift; the lion is not found in Malaya. The revolt of Huang Ch'ao and his sack of Canton (264-5/878) derailed the trade. Voyages from Persia to China appear to have ceased in the 4th/10th century. There is no indisputable evidence that Chinese ships came to the Baḥr Fāris before the Ming voyages of the early 9th/15th century. In early Muslim times the chief port was Sīrāf, near Tāhīr. It declined under the



later Būyids and hegemony passed to the Arab Banū Kayṣar of Kays (originally Kijl, Kib), afterwards subject to the Salghūrid Atabegs of Fars. In 1237/1239 the ruler of Hormuz, a vassal of Kirmān, captured Kays. The Banū Kayṣar then came to an end and in the next century the primacy of Hormuz was unchallenged. Following an attack by Čagatay bands in 699/700, the capital was moved from the mainland to the island of Dījīrū. Thus, as the commercial importance of 'Irāk al-Baharī declined, the trading centre of the Bahr Fāris was displaced to the south.

The importance of Hormuz, which was visited by Odoric of Pordenone and Marco Polo, among many others, was well known in mediaeval Europe. About 803/4/1488-9 it was visited by Covilha, the agent of the King of Portugal, who was collecting information about the trade routes of Asia. It is not known whether his report reached Lisbon (see BAHR al-KUTĀM). The Portuguese were more successful in the Bah Fāris than in the Red Sea, partly because it was nearer to their base in India, and partly because neither Persia nor the Ottoman empire controlled its coasts effectively. Even Basra was often semi-independent under Muntafik ṣayyikh. Albuquerque received the submission of Hormuz in 931/1507, but the disaffection of his captives forced him to withdraw. He established effective control in 927/1515 when he murdered the powerful *asir*, Ra'ib Hāmid, and built a strong fort. The Portuguese intermittently held Bahrayn and intervened in the affairs of Basra. After the Ottoman capture of Baghdad (942/1534) Turkish influence began to be felt in al-Basra, especially at al-Kut. Abbas I encouraged potential rivals to the Portuguese, and English and Dutch factories were founded during his reign. In 1037/1622 he constrained an East India Company fleet to assist him in taking Hormuz. The *Shāh* then founded Bandar 'Abbās, known to Europeans as Gombron, and Hormuz decayed rapidly. The Portuguese still visited Basra and for a time held a fort at Dījīrū (Ra'ib al-Khayma), but they practically disappeared from the Bahr Fāris when they lost their foothold in 'Uman in the middle of the century. At this time the Dutch enjoyed commercial supremacy which they began to lose to the English under the last Safawids. In the anarchy of Husayn's reign the 'Umanis captured Bahrayn and Kijlūn from which the *Shāh* expelled them; his own intervention in 'Uman ended in disaster (1157/1744). In 1179/1766 the pirate chief of Bandar Kig captured the last Dutch stronghold in the Bahr Fāris, Khārak. Towards the end of the century Arab dynasties, the Āl Khāḍifa and Āl Sabāḥ respectively, established themselves in Bahrayn and Kuwait; the latter profited commercially from the Persian occupation of Basra (1790/1779-1793/1779). The influence of the French, now the only rivals of the British, was eliminated when they lost Mauritius (1225/1810).

British intervention in the politics of the Bahr Fāris, aimed at suppressing the slave trade and the piracy which became better organised with the extension of Wahābī influence. The principal pirates were Rāḥma b. Dīḥir of Kuwait, and Sa'īd b. Sa'īd of the Kawāsim (Djāwāsim); this tribe held what came to be called the Pirate Coast. The pirate fleet came to include 63 large ships and was able to threaten Būḥayr, which had now displaced Bandar 'Abbās as the chief port of the Bahr Fāris. In 1224/1809 the Indian Government sent a force which comprehended Ra'ib al-Khayma and drove the Kawāsim inland. They returned about a year later and resumed

their depredations. In 1235/1819 a strong force from Bombay, joined by an 'Umanī contingent, again captured Ra'ib al-Khayma, and destroyed the forts and shipping along the coast. The chiefs and the *Shaykh* of Bahrayn then (1235/1820) signed a treaty renouncing piracy and slave-raiding. This was followed by supplementary treaties and in 1269/1853 they accepted maritime peace in perpetuity under British protection. At first the most important state was the Kawāsim principality of Ra'ib al-Khayma with which al-*Shārkā* (Sharqā) was closely connected and at times united. In the half century after the permanent treaty the dominant personality on the coast was Zayd b. Khāḍifa, the Banū Yās *Shaykh* of Abū Zāḍ; commercially the most prosperous was the emirate of Dubayy, belonging to the cognate Āl Bū Fahsā. The other states were 'Ajmān, Umm al-Kuwayn, and after 1285/1868 Qatar. Kalbā and Fudjāyra on the coast of the Gulf of 'Uman were for a short time recognised as having separate status; the former was incorporated in al-*Shārkā* in 1951. In recent years the presence, or suspected presence of oil on land or under the sea bed has given significance to frontiers which have rarely been defined with precision.

**Bibliography:** The bibliography of the Bahr Fāris is very large and cannot be given in detail. To the Muslim geographers summarised by le Strange and Schwarz, *Iran*, should be added the *Hudūd al-'Alam*. On sources for the mediaeval history of the Bahr Fāris, W. Hinz, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der Timuriden*, in *ZDMG*, 1935, 361-1, 379-81; J. Aubin, *Les Princes d'Ormus au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *J.*, 1953, with many further references and some extracts from the *Madīna al-Anṣab* of Muḥammad Ṣabāḥ-kirā'. The principal European travellers are mentioned in A. T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, Oxford 1928, which summarises, rather inaccurately, the modern history of the region. For trade and navigation, G. Ferrand, *L'Élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes*, *JA*, 1924; *Instructions nautiques et routières arabes et portugaises*; Hadi Hasan, *History of Persian Navigation*; G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*. The chief Portuguese sources are Barros, Couto, Castanheira, Correa, Barbosa, the letters of Albuquerque, the *Comentarios* of Albuquerque the younger, Teófilo Prius, and (written in Spanish) Teixeira and Faria y Souza. On the Dutch, H. Terpstra, *De Ophond der Westerkustvaren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*; H. Dunlop, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Oostindische Compagnie in Persië*. On pearling and modern sailing conditions, A. Villiers, *Sons of Sindbad*. For general description in modern times, see S. R. Miles, *Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, and Wilson, *op. cit.* On the first English traders, Sir W. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, and much source material in *The English Factories in India*. On the period of British power two valuable sources which have been somewhat neglected are *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, New Series, no. xxiv, and the *Annual Report on the Administration of the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency*; the published reports cover the years 1874/5-1904/5. Subsequent reports were not made available to the public. For laws and treaties, C. U. Atchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*, vol. xii, 137-186; *Persian Gazette*, vol. 1 no. 1, supp. no. 1, Oct., 1953. Some further geographical books in the Bibl. of AL-

'ARAB, DĪJĪRĀT. Cf. RA'ib AL-KHAYMA, AL-SHĀRKĀ, DUBAYY, and ZARĪ (C. F. DECKINGHUIS).

**BAHR AL-GHAZĀL:** (1) A tributary of the Bahr al-Djāḥal (upper White Nile) forming an outlet-channel for an extensive swampy area. The swamps are fed by numerous rivers (e.g. Tondj, Dīrī) originating in the Nile-Congo divide, and by the Bahr al-Arab which forms the southern limit of the *Bahāra* (p. 92), nomadism. The Bahr al-Ghazāl channel extends 244 miles from Maṣṣāra' al-Rik (the name is variously spelt and derived) to its confluence with the Bahr al-Djāḥal at Lake No, which it enters from the west at lat. 9° 29' N.

(2) The region formed by the basin of the streams which ultimately supply the Bahr al-Ghazāl channel. This is a rough triangle bounded on the north by the Bahr al-Arab, on the south-west by the Nile-Congo divide and on the south-east by the river Rohl or Na'im. The permanent swamp (Ar. *sadd*) in the lower courses of these streams (as in the Bahr al-Ghazāl channel and the Bahr al-Djāḥal) forms a barrier, as the Arabic implies, which long sealed the region from access by the Nile. The western part of the region consists of ironstone plateaus, between which and the *sadd* lies an area of flood-plain. The indigenous pagan negroes are, in the north and east, mainly semi-nomadic, cattle-herding Dinka. Tribes of the plateau include, in its northern portion (Dār Farī), the Farīkī and the Kreish; further south and now divided by the frontier of the Belgian Congo are the Azande (Niam-Niam; see Niam-Niam).

(3) A province of the Republic of the Sudan, approximating to the above region, with an area of 82,530 sq. miles and a population of 997,022. It is divided into four districts and has its capital at Wau. *History of the region:* Burckhardt (1814) mentions Dār Farī as an area supplying the Dār Fūr slave-trade. Penetration of the Bahr al-Ghazāl from the Nile began after the expeditions of Salim Khādīdīn to the Bahr al-Djāḥal (1839-42). Traders, including Europeans, entered the Bahr al-Ghazāl from the Nile in the 1850s seeking ivory, but as this became difficult to obtain, slave-raiding proved a profitable alternative. The penetration of ivory-traders into Dār Farī helped the slave-traders (*dallāla*) from Kordofān and Dār Fūr. The latter, after 1880, when the Europeans sold their claims to the 'Arab' assistants. These men, Sa'īdīs, Copts, and others, who came by the Nile (al-Bahr) were known as *Bahāra*. They had armed retainers, usually Danāḳla recruited in the north or slave-troops (*bāzīnār*), and fortified stations (*zārīnār*). They were virtually sovereign in the areas where they held a monopoly of trade.

The leading figure in the western Bahr al-Ghazāl was the Sudanese, al-Zubayr Rāḥma Maṣṣūr. Setting up as an independent trader in 1858, he moved westwards into unexploited country, ultimately reaching the Niam-Niam, where he formed a private army. Expelled from their territory, he established his rule over Dār Farī (1865). In 1866 he made an agreement with the Rīzaykāt Bahākira in the north which opened the trade-route to Dār Fūr via Shakkā. Khedīve Ismā'īl was now seeking to suppress the slave trade and to bring both the Bahr al-Djāḥal and the Bahr al-Ghazāl under Egyptian control. In 1869 the administration at Khartoum authorised an expedition under an adventurer from Dār Fūr named Muḥammad al-Baḥrī (or al-Hāḥī), who was assisted by al-Zubayr. His prestige grew and the importance of the north-western outlet which he controlled increased as a result of Sir Samuel Baker's expedition

to the Bahr al-Djāḥal (1869-73). However, while al-Zubayr was fighting the Niam-Niam (1872), the Rīzaykāt attacked traders on the Shakkā route, al-Zubayr's consequent hostilities against the Rīzaykāt led to an embroilment with their suzerain, Sultān Ibrāhīm of Dār Fūr. Al-Zubayr thereupon concerted plans with the Egyptian authorities to attack Dār Fūr. He was appointed governor of the Bahr al-Ghazāl and Shakkā. In 1874 Dār Fūr was conquered.

The next year al-Zubayr went to Cairo, where he was detained by the Khedīve. His son, Sulaymān, remained in the Bahr al-Ghazāl, where Egyptian authority was ineffective. In 1877 C. G. Gordon, the governor-general, appointed Sulaymān governor of the Bahr al-Ghazāl. A quarrel with a rival resulted in Sulaymān's revolt. He was defeated and killed in 1879 by Gordon's Italian assistant, R. Gessi, who succeeded him as governor and strove to pacify the province until his recall in 1880. Gessi's successor, the Englishman, F. M. Lupton, was confronted with the repercussions of the Mahdist revolt. After the Mahdī's capture of al-Ubayyīd and victory at Shaykīn (1883), he was cut off from assistance. Many of his officers were northern Sudanese who sympathised with the Mahdī. In April 1884 Lupton surrendered the provincial headquarters, Dayn al-Zubayr, to a Mahdist force under Karām Allāh Kurkūṣāwī. No effective Mahdist administration was established and Karām Allāh withdrew his army to Dār Fūr in 1886.

The Bahr al-Ghazāl then became an object of European imperial expansion. Two expeditions from the Congo Free State entered Dār Farī in 1894 and the chief of the Farīkī tribe accepted Congolese protection. Thereupon the Mahdist governor of Dār Fūr, Maḥmūd Ahmad, sent al-Muḥtātīm Mūsā to expel the Europeans, who had however already withdrawn since the Franco-Congolese agreement of August 1894 brought the Bahr al-Ghazāl within the French sphere of expansion. A French expedition under J.-B. Marchand crossed the region and reached the White Nile at Fashoda in July 1898, whence they withdrew in December in consequence of the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest of the Sudan. An Anglo-French agreement (21 March 1899) marked the relinquishment of French claims to the Bahr al-Ghazāl, the Congo-Nile watershed being the dividing-line between the two spheres of influence. The frontier was defined finally in 1924.

The re-establishment of administration began with the arrival of an expedition under W. S. Sparkes at Maḥḥāra' al-Rik in December 1900. The following years saw the opening of communication as the *sadd* was cleared and roads made. Patrols for exploration and pacification were sent out and government posts established. Roman Catholic missionary activity began in the western Bahr al-Ghazāl in 1903; the Anglicans started work in the eastern areas in 1905. The missions laid the foundations of an educational system, which has been increasingly subject to governmental control since 1925. Sporadic tribal troubles occurred for many years, otherwise the recent history of the Bahr al-Ghazāl has been uneventful.

**Bibliography:** See R. L. Hill, *A Bibliography of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, London, for material to 1937, and *A Biographical-Dictionary of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Oxford, 1937, for short notices of leading personalities. There are numerous articles, especially on tribes, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Khartoum, 1918 —, *Annual*



bibliographies appear in this periodical from 1948. Al-Zuhayr's life in Naṣim Shukayr, *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*, Cairo 1903, iii, 40-48, has been translated and annotated by M. Thilo, *Es-Zihir Rahmud Paschas Autobiographie, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sudan*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1921. On the Belgian penetration, see L. Lotar, 'La Grande Chronique du Boma', *Memories, Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Institut Royal Colonial Belge*, Brussels, and A. Abel, *Traduction de documents arabes concernant le Bahir-el-Ghazal*, Bull. de l'Acad. royale des Sci. coloniales, xxv, 1954, 1385-1409. A useful general work is M. F. Shukayr, *The Khedive Ismail and Slavery in the Sudan*, Cairo 1938.

**BAHR AL-HIND** is the usual name amongst the Arabs for the Indian Ocean, which is also called *Bahr al-Zandj* from its W. shores or—the part for the whole—the *Bahr al-Mahaghl*. The expression *Bahr Fāris* also sometimes includes the whole ocean.

According to Ibn Rustā, 87, its E. shores begin at Tiz Mukrān, its W. at 'Adan. Abu'l-Fidā', *Tahmil*, transl. ii, 27 = text, 22, gives *Bahr al-Sin* as its E. boundary, al-Hind as the N. and al-Yaman as the W., while the S. is unknown.

The various parts of the ocean bear special names derived from various lands and islands. If we neglect the N. arns, *Bahr al-Kulzum* and *Bahr Fāris* in the narrower sense, which are dealt with in separate articles, we have first *Bahr al-Yaman* stretching along the S. coast of Arabia with the *Khuryān Murayān* (Kuria Muria) islands and Sukutā. On the African coast we have, beginning at the strait of Bab al-Mandab, first the land of Barbarā, i.e. Somaliland to the harbour of Marka, then the land of the *Zandj* [see *BAHR AL-ZANDJ*] with the towns of Barawa, Malinda, Mumbasa and the island of Zanibar, i.e. roughly Kenya and Tanganyika Territory as far as the island of Kanbālī. Sūfā is joined to Kanbālī, and finally at an uncertain distance is al-Wākūq (Madagascar).

It once sets out from *Bahr Fāris* at Tiz Mukrān, one comes to the coast of al-Sind with the delta of the Indus (Mubān) and the commercial town of al-Daybul. On the shores of *Bahr Lāwā* (i.e. the sea of Lā or Gurgān) on the W. coast of India lie the towns of Kanbāva (Cambay), Sūbāra, Saymūr and Sindūbāra (Goa). The archipelago of al-Hindū (the Laccadives and Maldives) separates *Bahr Lāwā* from *Bahr Harkand* (Bay of Bengal with the waters to the S.). 'Harkand' has been explained as a miswriting in Arabic for Tanarāpti (Reinaud) or Harikē (Marquet, cf. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 211). Idrisi simply notes that the name is Indian (Jaubert, i, 63).

The last port on the Malabar coast is Kilām Mall (Kulam), the outermost of its islands is Sarandib (Ceylon). The route to the E. Indies appears to have lain straight across *Bahr Harkand* to the island of al-Rāmmī which is washed by the waters of *Bahr Harkand* and the *Bahr Shālhit*, al-Rāmmī (al-Rāmī, al-Rāmī = al-Lāmī, whence the sea there is called *Bahr al-Lāmī*) is Sumatra, to be more accurate N. W. Sumatra (cf. J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, 31), while *Shālhit* is S. Malacca. Voyagers sailing to China must have kept somewhat further N., for they touched at the islands of Lankalāhūt or Langlāhūt (the Nicobars) to the N. of which are placed the Andāman islands, and from there reached Kalāh Bār (Kodah) on the Malay peninsula. The strait of Malacca is therefore called *Bahr Kalah* (Kalāh Bār), while *Bahr Shālhit*,

when it is distinguished from it, appears to be the sea adjoining it on the S. We have now reached the land of the Mahārāj, the centre of which is the land of al-Zābāḡ. This name originally denoted Central and S. Sumatra, where Sribuza (Ferrand's reading) = Palenbang is to be sought for, then its use was extended to include Java (Djāba) and in its political application it includes a series of smaller islands to the coast of Malacca. Beyond these islands is *Bahr Karāḡin* or *Karāḡan*, the Gulf of Siam, which is continued on the coast of Kīnār (Khmer = Cambodia) in *Bahr Saif* (Champa), the sea of Annam and the waters adjoining it on the S. Passing the island of Sundurūlāt (?Hainan), we reach the *Bahr Sākhay* (China Sea), where *Khāfū* (Hsiao-Chia, Canton) is the great emporium for the trade with the West. The knowledge of the Arabs concerning al-Sūfā, al-Sūfā (Korea) and the Wākūq islands (Japan) was vague and limited.

The notions of the Arabs of the 10th century concerning *Bahr al-Hind* become more and more vague as one goes to the E. and S. and the interpretation of their statements more uncertain. In many cases they have merely copied the statements of predecessors. They have in addition utilised the accounts of their own voyages. Details from different sources were never properly assimilated to form a uniform picture. Sometimes *Bahr al-Hind* appears to pass into the 'Sea of Darkness', in which mariners driven out of their course are said to be tossed about for ever. Sometimes it is believed that it joins the 'Black Sea' or 'Sea of Pitch' (al-Bahr al-Zift) on the N. of Asia. Sometimes again E. Asia and S. Africa appear to be connected, as the use of the name al-Wākūq [g.r.] for Japan (or Sumatra, cf. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 228) as well as for Madagascar shows. This idea is supported by Idrisi, according to whom the Zābāḡ islands are opposite to the land of the Zandj.

The voyages of the Persians and Arabs, who availed themselves of the monsoons, had as their starting-place the Persian Gulf, Strīd and Shūhr are important harbours there. The most important commercial centres appear to have been the land of the Zandj, to which merchants sailed even from al-Zābāḡ—Madagascar was ultimately colonised from the Malay island, the whole of al-Hindū had relations with China. The commerce of the Muslims with China came to a standstill in 264/878 after the sack of Canton in the course of a rebellion (Abū Zayd al-Ḥasan al-Sirāfi in G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, 75 ff.; cf. Mac'ūdī, *Murūdī*, i, 302-308). But trade relations seem to have recovered to some extent, and became active again when the Mongols, as Ibn Batṭā'a's account of his voyage shows.

**Bibliography:** BGA, i, 28-36; ii, 33-41; iii, 47-59; iii, 10-19; v, 7, 9-16; vi, 60-72 (transl. 40-53); vii, 83 ff., 86 ff.; viii, 51-56; Ya'qūbī, i, 207 ff.; Mac'ūdī, *Murūdī*, i, 230-44, 325-95; Burzurg b. Shahrīyār, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind*, (ed. van der Lith, with French transl. by M. Devic, Leiden, 1883: 286); Kāwāḡī, 84; Wüstendelf, i, 120-121; Reinaud, *Introduction* to Abu'l-Fidā', *Tahmil*, transl., cccxxviii-cxxlv; G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, i-ii, Paris, 1913-4 (all published); idem, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine, rédigé en 851, suivi de remarques par Abū Zayd Ḥasan* (rev. 1910), Paris 1922 (ed. and transl. J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*,

Paris 1928, index); idem, *La Tablat al-Aḥwāb de Abū Ḥamid al-Andalūsī al-Garnāḡī*, in JA 1923, 91-111, 257-68; idem, *Instructions nautiques et routières arabes et portugaises des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, vols. i-iii, Paris 1921-8; Ḥādī Hasan, *Persian Navigation*, London 1928, 95-164; *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, especially Index A; G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton, *Oriental Studies*, Princeton 1951, 61-122; T. A. Shumovsky, *Tri neizvestnye loti Akhmad ibn Makhshida, arabskogo letopisma Vasho da Gamis*, Moscow 1957. (R. HARTMANN-D. M. DUNLOP)

#### BAHR KHAWĀRIZM (see ARAL SEA).

**BAHR AL-KHĀZAR**, 'the Sea of the Khazars', the common Arabic designation for the Caspian, which was also called al-Bahr al-Khazārī, 'the Khazar Sea', and has had a number of other names, al-Bahr al-Khurasānī, 'the Khurasānian Sea'; *Bahr Džurdjān*, 'Sea of Džurdjān'; *Bahr Tabaristān*, 'Sea of Tabaristān', etc., local names often being applied to the whole (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, i, 263). Al-Dimashqī mentions that in his time (circa 723/1320) the Turks called it *Bahr Kurram*, 'Beaver River' (ed. Mehren, 147), hence as we learn from *Abū Ḥabīb Mustawfī* (*Nizka*, 239, transl. 231) some people nicknamed the *Bahr al-Kulzum*, which properly signifies the Red Sea (Sea of Clysma). Al-Mukaddas refers to the Caspian simply as al-Buḥayra, 'the Lake' (*Digā*, II, 353, 361), perhaps identifying it with the Aral Sea (see below). The prevailing designation, *Bahr al-Khazar*, refers to the kingdom of the Khazars, who in the early Middle Ages occupied the shores of the sea N. of the Caucasus to the mouth of the Atīl (Volga) and yet further N. and E. Geographers of the school of al-Balḡhī devote the greater part of their account of *Bahr al-Khazar* to a description of the Khazar kingdom.

Under the Caliphate the Muslim possessions on *Bahr al-Khazar* never extended beyond the Caucasus in the W. and *Džurdjān* in the E. and included, as one travelled S. then E. from Bāb al-Aḥwāb (g.r.), Shirwān, Adharbaydjan with Mukān, Džilān (Djil), Tabaristān (later called Māzandarān) and *Džurdjān*, the N. of the Atrak which marked the frontiers of the last-named province far the desert of the Ghuzz Turks, and beyond that again, perhaps on the other side of the Ust' Ust' plateau, were the lands of the Khazars.

The principal rivers entering *Bahr al-Khazar* were the Džām (Djinn, Emba) and *Džaykh* (Ural) in the N., the Atīl (Volga) in the N.-W., and the combined stream of the Kur (Cyrus) and Aras (Araxes) in the W., with the *Džurdjān* and Atrak in the S.-E. corner. It is a remarkable fact, apparently well established (cf. Le Strange, 455-8), that from the time of the Mongol invasion of Khawārizm in 617/1220 for several centuries the main stream of the *Džaybūn* (Oxus, Amu Darya), which till then had flowed into the Aral Sea, passed to the Caspian. The river thus resumed its ancient course, known from accounts of the campaigns of Alexander the Great. Since some time in the 16th century it has changed course once again, and now flows into the Aral Sea as formerly.

The principal islands of the sea, as given by Ibn Hawkal and the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, were Siyākhūh or Siyākhūya, usually taken as present-day Mangishlak, and the island of Bāb al-Aḥwāb, which can now be identified with certainty (cf. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 235). With the exception of its S. and part of its W. shores the coast-line of *Bahr al-Khazar* is generally

low. The ranges of the Great Balḡhī and Little Balḡhī E. of Krasnovodsk, though not very high, are a conspicuous feature on the landward side. A modern estimate of the length of the Caspian is 760 miles. Al-Mas'ūdī gives 800 miles in length, in breadth 600 miles or more (al-Tamhīl, 60), but the latter figure is greatly exaggerated. Al-Mas'ūdī is well aware of the fact that *Bahr al-Khazar* is unconnected with *Bahr Mayūtis* (Sea of Azov) and *Bahr Nīlas* (Black Sea) (*Murūdī*, i, 273-4).

For a long time the Khazars served as middlemen between the peoples of the North and the inhabitants of the lands of Islam. There is plenty of evidence of mercantile activity in both directions, for which the waterway was the Atīl (Volga) and *Bahr al-Khazar* itself. Eventually Russian warriors began to make the descent of the Atīl through Khazar territory to the Caspian, and the presence of these marauders is a feature of the history of this part of the world for a considerable period from before A.D. 900. The Mongol invasions brought about the rise of new Muslim dynasties N. as well as S. of the Caspian. It is long since the Russian advance put an end to the power of the Khānates of the steppe, and at present Russia controls more of the coastline of the sea than did the Khazars at the zenith of their power.

**Bibliography:** Istakhfī, 217-27; Ibn Hawkal, ed. De Goeje, 276-87 and ed. Kramers, 386-98; Mac'ūdī, *al-Tamhīl*, 60-66; Idrisi, transl. Jaubert, ii, 333-43; *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, index; A. Zaki Validi 'Ugā, *Im Fudā's Reisebericht*, Berlin, 1883, xiv, 3; Leipzig, 1939 (conditions E. of the Caspian in the 14th/10th century); D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, index. For Russian raids on the Caspian littoral: Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadhkirat al-Umam* (in H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, Arabic text, ii, 62-67; transl. v, 65 ff.); V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953, index; idem, *A History of Sharran and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, index. (D. M. DUNLOP)

**BAHR AL-KULZUM**, formerly much the commonest Arabic name for the Red Sea, from *Kulzum* [g.r.], the ancient Clysma, near Suēz; the article is usually omitted when the name of the town is written alone, but retained when the sea is mentioned. It was also called *Bahr al-Hidjaz*, a common name which survived to modern times, al-Khālidi al-'Arabī, and, in Turkish, Şibb denizi (Şap denizi), 'the Coral Sea'. The names *Khālidi Ayla*, strictly the Gulf of 'Akaba, and *Bahr al-Yaman*, properly applicable to the southern part of the Red Sea or, were at times used for the whole sea. It was sometimes considered to end at the strait of Bāb al-Mandab, and sometimes, as by Yāqūt, to include the Gulf of Aden, known as *Khālidi Barbarā* or al-Khālidi al-Barbarī. Owing to European influence it is now almost always called al-Bahr al-Aḥmar or an equivalent (Kilfi Deniz, etc.).

The *Bahr al-Kulzum* presents great difficulties to the navigator because of contrary winds, currents and submerged reefs. The northern part was considered more dangerous than the southern, the neighbourhood of Ra's Muḥammad, the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula, being especially feared because of the meeting of winds from the Gulfs of Suēz and 'Akaba. It has always been customary for local shipping to sail close to the shore and anchor at night. Because of these difficulties and the consequent risk of missing the monsoon that would take them home, ships from India rarely ventured as far



north as Suez, but generally unloaded their goods at Aden, Djidda or, in the 17th/18th century, at Muḡha. It was the caravan trade with Djidda that gave Mecca its commercial importance in the 9th/15th century. Much merchandise, however, was merely transhipped to smaller vessels; according to Abū Zayd the local craft used for this at Djidda were known as Kulzum ships. Arab navigators thus had wide experience of the Bahr al-Kulzum and their nautical treatises show sound practical knowledge; Ferrand considered the relevant sailing directions in Ibn Maḡīd's *Kitāb al-faṣl* to be unsurpassed, except for their errors of latitude, by any European directions for sailing ships for the area. The Muslim geographers give the length of the Bahr al-Kulzum as 30 days' sail, or as from 1400 to 1500 mi; this figure is fairly accurate, but their estimate of the maximum breadth, 700 mi, is more than three times too great.

The whole area within the strait of Bāb al-Mandab was thought to have once been a fertile country, until a certain king cut a channel through which the ocean could flow and destroy his enemy's territory. Another legend connected with the Bahr al-Kulzum is that there is a magnetic mountain south of Kulzum, because of which local ships had to be constructed without any iron parts. This is perhaps a fanciful explanation of the fact that the local craft of the Bahr al-Kulzum and the western part of the Indian Ocean used to be made of planks, sewn, not nailed, together; this practice is now confined to small craft in the more remote places. The Bahr al-Kulzum was also believed to contain an island inhabited by al-Ḥassas, "the spy", a creature which collected information for al-Djādīdīl. The sea in which Pharaoh and his army were drowned was assumed to have been some part of the Bahr al-Kulzum. According to Yāqūt the incident took place at Kulzum, according to others, including Kalkasandī, at Birkat al-ḡharandāl, on the coast between Kulzum and al-Tūr, known as Surandala or Arandara to mediaeval Christian pilgrims.

In spite of difficulties to navigation, the lack of good harbours and the aridity of the littoral, the position of the Bahr al-Kulzum ensured its commercial importance. It must have been crossed in the south by the Semitic invaders of northern Abyssinia and again, some centuries later and in the reverse direction, by the Abyssinian invaders of S.W. Arabia. In early Muslim times piracy was rife in this region. Under the Banū Ziyād of Zabīd, according to Maḡdī, there was constant trade between the Arabian and African shores and there were Muslim settlements in Africa paying tribute to native rulers. Communication between the Bahr al-Kulzum and the Nile valley and the Mediterranean was at one time facilitated by a canal, sometimes called the Pharaonic, or Trajan's canal, known to the Arabs as Khaldīl Amir al-Maḡnūn, which entered the sea at Kulzum. Part of this canal, the Wādī Tīmīlī, had once been a natural branch of the Nile extending to Lake Tīmīsh; as the level of the land rose it became useless for navigation. It was cleared several times in antiquity and again by 'Amr b. al-'Ās, who used it to send corn ships to al-Djār, then the port of al-Madīna, in the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The Khaldīl is said to have refused to let 'Amr dig a canal from Lake Tīmīsh to the Mediterranean, lest it should enable Byzantine ships to enter the Bahr al-Kulzum. 'Amr's canal was navigable only when the Nile was high; it was again

cleared in the time of al-Mahdī, but fell into disuse soon after, though water sometimes flowed along it when there was an exceptional flood.

The trade of the Bahr al-Kulzum benefited from the increased power of Egypt under the Fāṭimids and the corresponding decline of 'Irāk. The Crusades, stimulated the demand for oriental products in Europe, and this transit trade became a factor of great importance to Egyptian prosperity. In its 378-9/1182-3 Renaud de Châtillon conveyed prefabricated ships from the Mediterranean coast to Ayla where they were assembled and launched to carry this commerce. The Franks attacked 'Aydhāb [g.c.] but were defeated at sea by Ḥusām al-Dīn Laḡūn and those who contrived to land in the Ḥaldīl wāḡ were annihilated. According to Abū Ḥāshim, Salāh al-Dīn ordered that no prisoner should be allowed to survive, so that there should be no one who could give information about the passage of the Bahr al-Kulzum. Later, attempts were made in Europe to ruin this trade by an embargo, but in spite of Papal injunctions, it was never applied effectively. In the early 8th/14th century Guillaume Adam advocated that a Christian naval force should occupy Sybura, (g.c.) and blockade the entrance to the Bahr al-Kulzum. About 893/1488 Pero da Covilhā, who sailed from al-Tūr to Aden and later visited Mecca and al-Madīna, collected information about the trade route for the King of Portugal; he was himself detained in Abyssinia and it is not known whether his report ever reached Lisbon. Having reached India by sea in 903/1498, the Portuguese attempted forcibly to divert the entire transit trade of the Bahr al-Kulzum and the Persian Gulf to the Cape route for their own profit. In the ensuing war against first the Egyptians and then the Ottoman Turks they secured naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean. In 919/1513 Albuquerque, who hoped to join the Abyssinians in an attack on Mecca, unsuccessfully besieged the city. His fleet was becalmed at Kamarin and suffered very heavy casualties. His successor had the same experience and, although in 947-8/1541 D. Estevão da Gama sailed within sight of Suez and landed a small force at Maḡawa' (Massawa) to assist the Abyssinians against the Somali invaders, Ahmad Grāh, the Portuguese never seriously challenged Turkish domination within the strait of Bāb al-Mandab. After the middle of the 10th/16th century Portuguese ships did not often visit the Bahr al-Kulzum and Portuguese travellers, mostly missionaries going to Abyssinia, usually sailed in disguise on native ships. Early in the 17th/18th century English (1028/1609) and Dutch (1025/1606) ships began to trade at Muḡha; they did not often sail further north. Though Muḡha [g.c.] attained temporary importance as an outlet for the coffee of al-Yaman (see KAHWA) the Indian and Far Eastern trade now mostly followed the Cape route. In the next century the need for rapid communication between London and Paris and the growing European possessions in India resulted in renewed interest in the Bahr al-Kulzum route, of which a very early example is the journey of Daniel. A general realisation of its strategic and commercial significance may be said to date from Napoleon's Egyptian campaign and to have culminated in the opening of the Suez Canal (1286/1869).

**Bibliography:** Ibn Khuradādhbih, 153; Mukaddas, 11; Maḡdī, *Murūdī*, 1, 237, 11; 34, 35; *Ushūd al-Faṣl*, 32; Idri, 164; Yāqūt, 1, 103; 19, 135; Kalkasandī, *Daw' al-Sayh*, 221; Maḡdī, *Khaldīl*, Cairo 1324-26, 1, 24-26; Ibn al-Wardī, *Ḥarīd al-*

'*Adhāb*, Cairo 1316, 96 ff.; Abū Zayd, *Aḥḥār al-Sin wa'l-Hind*, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948; G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et autres textes de portuques, passés; Heyl, Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*; A. Kammerer, *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'antiquité*, Cairo 1929, etc.; G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*; O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, has material on the history of the Sudanese coast. On the policy of the British in regarding the eastern coast, R. Lewis, *The Fāṭimids and the Route to India, in Istanbul Thikāt Fāḥilīzi Mecmuası*, 1950. On Renaud de Châtillon, Sir D. Newbold, *The Crusaders in the Red Sea and the Sudan, in Sudan Notes and Records*, 1945, reprinted in *Antiquity*, 1946; E. Cerulli, *Ethiopi in Palestina*, 1, 20-26; G. Adam, *De modo Sarracenis The Rūs in* printed in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens*, II, 1906. Portuguese accounts are too numerous to be listed in detail. There are important references in the works of Barros, Couto, Castanheda, Correa, Góis, Osorio, the letters of Albuquerque, the *Comentarios* by Albuquerque the younger, the works of F. Alvares and Castanhoso on Abyssinia, the *Relatório* of D. João de Castro and in Becard's collection, *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti*, Rome, 1905-17; annotated English translations of Albuquerque's *Comentarios*, and of Alvares and Castanhoso have been published by the Hakluyt Society. For the first half of the 10th/16th century, R. S. Whitman, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, is a convenient guide to the material. On the Dutch, P. van den Broecke, *Korte Historiē ende Journaelische Aenteykeninge etc.*, Haarlem, 1634 (translation and further references in *JRAS*, 1951, 64-81, 170-181); H. Terpstra, *De Opkomst der Waterhuurlingen van de Oost-Indische Compagnie. For early English contacts see Sir W. Foster, England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, giving many further references. On Daniel's journey, *A Journal or Account of William Daniel*, London 1702, reprinted and annotated in Sir W. Foster, *The Red Sea and adjacent countries at the close of the seventeenth century*, Hakluyt Soc., 1949.

**BAHR LŪṬ**, "Lot's Sea", is the modern Arab name for the Dead Sea which is usually called by the Arab Geographers *al-buḡayra al-mayyita* "the Dead Sea", *al-buḡayra al-muntina* "the stinking Sea", *al-buḡayra al-maliḡba* "the overturned Sea" (because it is situated in *al-ard al-maliḡba*, "the land that has been overturned"), the *ard haṣm Lūt*, *buḡayrat Sogkar* (Zogkar) "the Sea of Zogkar", also "the Sea of Sodom and Gomorrah". The Persian Nāḡiri Khuraw (15th/17th century) appears to be the first geographer to know the name *buḡayrat Lūt*.

The name Bahr Lūt refers to the story in Genesis xix which is often referred to in the Qur'ān though the sea itself is not named.

To the present day, names in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea—e.g. Djebel Sudum (Sodom) and legends current locally, recall the catastrophe related in Genesis xix. These are certainly founded less on popular than on learned tradition.

Geography. Between the steep and barren slopes of the "desert of Judah" and the mountainous land of Moab lies the Dead Sea, like a blue mirror 1150 feet below sea-level from north to south. Its length is about 50 miles, its mid-breadth 8 miles and it has no exit.

The deepest part of its bottom is 2600 feet below sea level. An isthmus (*ḡsān* "tongue") running out from its east shore separates the southern, quite shallow part from the northern basin. While on the East and West shores the mountains rise up from the shore to a height of over 3000 feet, in the north, at the mouth of the Jordan the land is low-lying, and in the south, where on the east shore of the *sahḡba* Pentapolis (Genesis xiv and xix) is to be sought for, it only rises slowly into al-ḡhar and al-'Araba. The composition of its water, to extraordinarily rich in salt, is unsuited to organic life and is even an impediment to navigation. On only a few places on the shore, inhabited oases of almost tropical character have survived.

Geology. The Dead Sea fills the deepest part of the Great Syrian system of depressions which was formed at the close of the Tertiary period. In the periods of alternate drought and rain of the diluvial epoch, the great floods filled the greater part of the Jordan valley and a part of the 'Araba with an inland sea; this was never connected with the Red Sea. There being no exit to this basin the water, which, to begin with, flowed partly from springs rich in minerals, came in course of time, by evaporation, to contain a high percentage of salt of peculiar composition. In the dry period of historic times the sea has dwindled into the area it at present occupies. In the last century a gradual rising of the level of the sea has been definitely ascertained. Tectonic disturbances have affected the surrounding district down to the present day. It is to one of the most recent of these that the origin of the southern basin is due.

The procuring of asphalt from the Dead Sea, as in antiquity (cf. the name *lacus Asphaltitis*) seems to have been an important business in the middle ages, also. The asphalt was used as a protection against insects in vineyards. It was also used for many medicinal purposes. To the waters of the sea itself, healing powers were also ascribed.

The rich products of the oasis of Zogkar (near the modern *ḡhar al-Safiya*) were borne across the Dead Sea. The Frankish Crusaders also sailed on it.

**Bibliography:** All earlier material has been collected and made use of in Meuninger, *Das Tote Meer* (Programme, Reizen 1927-1929); Arab accounts: Ibn al-Balḡī, 62; Ibn al-Hawāḡ, 123 ff.; Mukaddasī, 178, 184 ff.; Ibn al-Fakhī, 118; Ibn Khuradādhbih, 79; Yāqūt, 329; Maḡdī, *al-Tanbih*, 73 ff.; Maḡdī, *Murūdī*, 1, 96; Idri, *EDPP*, viii, 3; Yāqūt, 1, 516, 11, 934; Dimaḡhī (ed. Mehren), 108; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, 228; Ibn Bayṭar (trans. Southeimier, Stuttgart 1842), 1, 395 ff.; cf. also the Persian Nāḡiri Khuraw (ed. Schefer), 17 ff. and the Turkish Ewliya Celebi, *Seyahat-nāme*, ix, 516, 519, and *Ḥidāyāt Khaldīlā, Ḍikān-muḡā*, 555; the Muslim sources have been collected and translated in G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 64-7, 286-92, and A. S. Marmaridj, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1954, 25-18.

(R. HARTMANN)

**BAHR AL-MAGHRIB** (see BAHR AL-RŪṢ).

**BAHR MĀYŪTIS** or BUḡAYRA MĀYŪTIS, the Classical Lake Maerota, modern Sea of Azov. Other forms of the name are Māyṭis (Māwṭiḡh). Bahr Māyṭis is constantly mentioned with Bahr Nitās, 64, Bahr Buntus, [g.c.], to which it is joined by Khaldīl Nitās (Strait of Kerch).

According to Maḡdī (*Tanbih*, 66), Buḡayra



Māyūtis is 300 miles long and 100 miles broad. These dimensions, which are considerably exaggerated, were earlier given by Ibn Rūsta (86). Mas'ūdī also states that it lies at the extremity of the inhabited world towards the N. in the vicinity of Tāliya (Thule). The opinion which places Thule N. of the Sea of Azov is shared by Ibn al-Fakhī (8), according to whom one of the four principal seas (cf. article BAHR AL-RŪM, 4th paragraph) is that which lies 'between Rome and Khwarizm (as far as) the island of Tāliya. No ship was ever placed upon it'. (Ibn al-Fakhī reckons al-Bahr al-Khazarī or Caspian separately). Elsewhere Mas'ūdī says that the river Tanāis (Tanais, Don), which takes its rise in a great lake (unnamed) situated in the N., flows into Bahr Māyūtis after a course of about 300 *farasāghs* through cultivated countries (*Murūdj*, i, 204). The great lake in the N., with which Bahr Māyūtis is evidently confused, had already been mentioned by al-Kinī, his pupil al-Sarakhsī and others (*Murūdj*, i, 275). It came to be identified with Bahr al-Warānq, properly the Baltic. Hence in a Syrian map of about 1150 A.D. the Sea of Azov is called 'Warang Sea' (A. Mingana, cited *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 182; cf. *Ālī Rūstā al-Aḥḥār*, i, 200).

Mas'ūdī, who shows more interest in Bahr Māyūtis and Bahr Nītas than geographers of the school of al-Balḥī, (q.v.), maintains that properly they form a single sea. He is concerned also to refute on the testimony of travelling merchants those who say that Bahr al-Khazar, i.e., the Caspian, communicates directly with Bahr Māyūtis (*Murūdj*, i, 272). There is no trace of the river, via the Strait of Kerch, the Don and the Alt (Volga), using the Don-Volga portage, i.e., the so-called 'Khazarian Way' (cf. *Murūdj*, ii, 18 ff.). His own account of Bahr Māyūtis is by no means free from error, cf. above. He also appears to think that its waters are of greater extent and depth than those of Bahr Nītas or Black Sea (*Murūdj*, i, 272), which is the reverse of the case. Confusion is also introduced by the fact that Mas'ūdī occasionally speaks of Bahr Māyūtis as Bahr al-Khazar (e.g., *Tanbīh*, 138), following popular usage.

In later times Bahr Māyūtis was called Bahr Azāk, in Ottoman Turkish Azak Denizi.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references in the article, *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 180-183, and index, (D. M. DEXTER).

**AL-BAHR AL-MUḤĪT**, i.e., 'the Encircling Sea', also called Bahr Ukiyānis al-Muḥīṭ, or simply Ukiyānis, the circumambient Ocean of the Greeks (*Γενναῖος*). By some it was named al-Bahr al-Aḥḥār, 'the Green Sea'. It was regarded as enclosing the habitable world on all sides, or at least on the sides, W., N. and E. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 20, shows the S. boundary of the inhabited world was the equator. According to Ka'b al-Aḥḥār (q.v.) reported by Karzawī (*Cosmography*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 104), seven seas encircled the earth, of which the last enclosed all the others.

There was general agreement that the principal seas were directly connected with al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ, with few exceptions, notably the Caspian (Bahr al-Khazar), but not the Black Sea (Bahr Buntas or more usually Nītas, q.v.), which was supposed to be an arm or 'gulf' of al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ, like Bahr al-Maghrib, Bahr al-Rūm, Bahr Warānq (Baltic), Bahr al-Zandī, Bahr Fāris, Bahr al-Hind and Bahr al-Sin (the last four corresponding to the Indian Ocean and part of the Pacific). In general, these arms or 'gulfs' were thought of as forming an Eastern

and Western system (Yāqūt, *Bulḥān*, i, 504), meeting or at least approaching each other at the isthmus of Suez. There was some doubt as to whether the 'gulfs' were supplied from al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ (the prevailing opinion), or *vice versa*, given that nearly all the rivers of the world flowed into it.

But while in theory al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ was the circumambient Ocean, it frequently signifies simply the Atlantic. From another point of view, the Atlantic adjacent to Spain and N. Africa formed part of Bahr al-Maghrib (Karzawī, *Cosmography*, i, 123). In the sense of the Atlantic al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ is synonymous with al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ or Bahr al-Zulma or al-Zulmūt (Sea of Darkness), applied to the N. Atlantic as descriptive of its bad weather and dangerous character (Jaubert, *Géog. d'Edrisi*, ii, 335-336, cf. Dimasḥī, ed. Mevius, 124). Consistent among the islands of al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ, apart from Thule (usually taken to be the Shetlands), which the Arabs knew from translations of Ptolemy, were the Fortunate Islands (Canaries) and Britain (Bartāniyya, with variants). A persistent tradition, which seems to go back to a Classical source, gives the British Isles as 12 in number (Nallio, *Al-Bahān*, text, 26; cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 68).

The Arabic authors agree that al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ is impassable for ships (e.g., al-Kinī, cited Yāqūt, *Bulḥān*, i, 500, speaking apparently of the Arctic Ocean, cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 275; Battānī, *loc. cit.*; Yāqūt, *Bulḥān*, i, 504; Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Berberes*, T.I. Paris 1925, 187-8). Perhaps this assertion is to be taken as applying in principle to the mythical circumambient Ocean. It is in any case certain that Muslim ships sailed in Atlantic waters. After a descent of the Norsemen on Spain in 229/844, the Atlantic coast was patrolled by Umayyad squadrons, perhaps as far as the Bay of Biscay. In 355/966 the coast of Spain, at Lisbon and Kaṣr Abī Dīnis (Alcazar do Sal), was attacked by Danish Vikings, who were met and defeated at Silves by the Umayyad fleet. In 389/997 the fleet brought the infantry of al-Manṣūr (q.v.) from the Atlantic port of Kaṣr Abī Dīnis (already mentioned to Burtukāl (Oporto) by sea. (For these events, see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, Cairo 1944, 157, 218, 224, 393, 441).

In these instances coastal operations are presumably intended. There are also some indications of ocean voyages in the Atlantic. Apart from the reported journey of Yahyā al-Ghazālī to the court of the 'king of the Norsemen' after A.D. 844—variously localised in Jutland or Ireland—(refs. in Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, Sup. I 148; also H. Munis, *Contribution à l'étude des invasions des Normands en Espagne*, in *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Études Historiques*, 1929, Vol. II, fasc. 1, 1950), we read also of Khāṣṣ al-Fāris of Cordova, who embarked in ships upon al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ and returned with rich booty (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 258, cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 342, n.), and of the Adventurers (*al-muḥarrirīn*—so read) of Lisbon, who sailed for many days W. and S. into the Atlantic and after whom a street was named in their native town (Jaubert, *Géog. d'Edrisi*, ii, 26-7, cf. i, 200). An account of whaling in the neighbourhood of Ireland (Karzawī, *Cosmography*, ii, 368, quoting the 11th century Spanish geographer al-'Uḍrī) may also be mentioned here.

(D. M. DEXTER)

**BAHR AL-RŪM**, 'the Sea of the Romans', or AL-BAHR AL-RŪM, 'the Greek Sea', i.e., the Mediterranean, both names long in use from an early date to denote especially the E. Mediterranean, where Byzantine fleets were liable to be encountered. As

the Muslim conquests extended, these names were applied to the whole Mediterranean, for which Bahr al-Rūm is still in use. The Mediterranean was also called al-Bahr al-Shāmī, or Bahr al-Shām, 'the Sea of Syria', and Bahr al-Maghrib, 'the Sea of the West'.

The sea thus variously named began, according to Arabic geographers, considerably to the W. of the Strait of Gibraltar (al-Zulka) and was a gulf of the Western Ocean (al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ al-Maghribī). Legend had it that Bahr al-Rūm was originally formed in what had hitherto been dry land, after the Strait had been cut, by the Banū Dālūka, descendants of a Queen Dālūka who was supposed to have ruled Egypt after the Pharaoh of the Exodus (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 398). In order to interpose a barrier between themselves and the king of the Greeks (al-Karzawī, *Uḡayyūḥ*, 123), or the Strait was cut and al-Bahr al-Rūmī was joined to al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ by Alexander the Great at the request of the original Spaniards (Iḡbān), who wished to be separated from the Berbers (al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, i, 231-232). A detailed account of the fabulous bridge which Alexander built on this occasion, with diagrams, is actually given by al-Dimashqī (*Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 117).

Descriptions of Bahr al-Rūm regularly begin in the W. and proceed E.-wards, usually along the S. shore from Sālī or even al-Sūs al-Aḥṣā, past Tandia (Tangier) and Sabra (Ceuta) to Tarābulus (Tripoli) and Alexandria, then past the mouth of the Nile, along the Syrian coast to Antākīya (Antioch) and its harbour al-Sawāḍīyya, on to al-Thughūr (the Frontiers), then continuing W.-wards along the coast of Bilād al-Rūm (Asia Minor) to Constantinople, al-Ard al-Saḡīra ('the Little Land', i.e., mainland Greece), Balbūnis (the Peloponnese), Kallauriya (Calabria), al-Ankūwards (Lombardy), Irandīya (France), and S. again towards al-Andalus (Spain) (e.g., Ibn Hawkal ed. Kramers, 190-1). It is understood that a man could in theory at least make the circuit of Bahr al-Rūm till he reached a point in Spain opposite to where he started from, and that the countries lying to the S. of the sea are Muslim, while those to the N. are Christian. The dimensions of Bahr al-Rūm are variously given. Al-Mas'ūdī gives an estimated length, 8,000 miles, more or less; breadth, from 600 to 800 miles, but knows of another, said to be that of the celebrated al-Kinī and his pupil al-Sarakhsī: length, 6,000 miles; breadth, 400 miles (*al-Tanbīh*, 56, cf. *Murūdj*, i, 259). Ibn al-Fakhī, 7, estimated the length of al-Bahr al-Rūmī as 2,500 *farasāghs* from Antākīya (Antioch) to Dīshāq al-Sa'ida (the Fortunate Islands), breadth 1,500 *farasāghs*, and was quoted to that effect by al-Mukaddasī, 14. Al-Mas'ūdī in one place mentions that practical sailors disagreed with the philosophers and increased the dimensions of al-Bahr al-Rūmī (*Murūdj*, i, 282). (The actual length is about 2,400 miles; greatest breadth, about 1000 miles.) A nearly exact estimate of the length of the Mediterranean was made by the astronomer al-Marrakhsī in the 7th/13th century (Abū 'r-Rīdā, *Taḥṣīn*, introd., c. lxxxv).

Bahr al-Rūm is always regarded as one of the earth's principal seas. Al-Mukaddasī says that he knows only two, a Western, i.e., the Mediterranean, and an Eastern, i.e., the Indian Ocean, called by him al-Bahr al-Sūnī, 'the Chinese Sea'. He mentions that to these al-Balḥī added al-Bahr al-Muḥīṭ, the Circumambient Ocean, and al-Dīyahīd a fourth and fifth, viz., Bahr al-Khazar, 'the Sea of the Khazars' (Caspian) and Khālīj al-Kustāntīniyya,

'Gulf of Constantinople', i.e., the approaches to the Black Sea. Al-Mukaddasī points out that his own view corresponds with the Kur'ān (Sūra iv, 19 ff.): 'He has left unconnected the two seas which meet. Between them is a barrier which they do not transgress etc.' As al-Mukaddasī, 16, puts it, the 'barrier' is the isthmus between al-Farānā (Pelusium) and al-Kulsum (Clysma, mod. Suez), and it divides Bahr al-Rūm from Bahr al-Sūnī. He mentions that some interpreted another Kur'ānic text (Sūra xxxi, 26): 'If the trees in the world were pens, and the sea were filled thereafter by seven seas etc.' with reference to the five already mentioned plus al-Mahlūḥa, 'the Inverted (Lake?)' (Dead Sea) and al-Dīyahīdīniyya, 'the Dīyahīdīnīan (Lake?)' (Aral Sea). Another more reasonable list of the 'Seven Seas' is: Green Sea or Eastern Ocean, Western Ocean, Great Sea or Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, Caspian, Black Sea and Aral Sea (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 51-3). Al-Mas'ūdī in one place follows al-Dīyahīdīnī in giving five: Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, Caspian, Black Sea and Circumambient Ocean (*al-Tanbīh*, 50-241) and elsewhere says that most people reckon four (*Murūdj*, i, 271), Black Sea and Caspian presumably counting as one, but cf. Ibn al-Fakhī, 48. However many the seas were taken to be, the general view was that the Kur'ānic 'meeting of the two seas' (*maḥḥa' al-bahrayn*, Sūra xviii, 59/60) was at the isthmus of Suez, though some thought in this connection of al-Zulka (Strait of Gibraltar).

The different parts of Bahr al-Rūm had special names, e.g., Bahr Tīrīn, 'the Tyrrhenian Sea' (al-Rāzī); Dīhīn al-Bandīkīyīn, 'the Gulf of the Venetians' (Ibn Hawkal or al-Khalīfī al-Bandīkī, 'the Venetian Gulf' al-Idrīdī), in effect the whole of the Adriatic; Khālīj al-Kustāntīniyya, 'Gulf of Constantinople', the approaches to the Black Sea. The Black Sea itself was Nītas, a stereotyped mistake for Buntus (Pontus), which perhaps survived in some MSS. The Sea of Anov was Māyūtis (Maeotis). It was correctly realised that the two last-named seas were connected with each other and Bahr al-Rūm, but uncertainty and error attended the attempts made to explain the relative positions of the Black Sea and the Caspian (Bahr al-Khazar, q.v.) and a fortiori the Black Sea and the Baltic (Bahr al-Warānq, 'Sea of the Warangians') or the Arctic Ocean, of which the Arabs can scarcely have had direct information. The tendency to regard the seas last mentioned as connected with Bahr al-Rūm is illustrated in the maps of Ibn Hawkal.

Various islands in the neighbourhood of Bahr al-Rūm came to be known at an early date. Kūbūs (Cyprus) and Arwad (Aras), the little island off the Syrian coast, were the first to be occupied, under Mu'āwīya, and before his death (60/680) Rhodes, Crete and even Sicily had been attacked. Several other Mediterranean islands are mentioned by Ibn Khuradādhbih, 112. The geographers of the tradition of al-Balḥī give few islands in Bahr al-Rūm. Al-Mukaddasī, 15, in 375/985 speaks only of the three large islands Sicily, Crete and Cyprus. Al-Isṭakhrī, 70, earlier had mentioned the same three, with the addition of a fourth, Dīshāq al-Kūl (cf. Yāqūt, i, 392), identified by Reinold (*Murūdj al-Iḥḍār*, ed. Juyonville, v, 27) with Fraxinetum, now Garde-Freinet on the French mainland E. of Marseille, from which between circa 864 and 972 the Arabs raided as far as Switzerland (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, chapter 5). This identification is confirmed by Ibn Hawkal, ed. Kramers, 304, who mentions the place as being 'in the territories of France, in the hands of fighters for











nazionale di Studi Ruggieri, Palermo 1955, 136-1; idem, *Notes sur les Arméniens en Égypte à l'époque Ilâmite*, in *AIEO Algiers* xii (1953), 143-57.

**BAHRĀM SHĀH**, sultan of Ghazna, c. 510-552/1171-1157, son of Mas'ūd and great-great-grandson of Mahmūd of Ghazna, was born not earlier than 477/1084. On the death of his father in 508/1115, Bahrām's elder brother Malik Arslān disposed of other claimants to the throne and obliged Bahrām to flee first to Tūkhānā, then to Tūkhānā, and eventually to the court of the Saljūqī Sanjār where he found a welcome. Sanjār led an army against Malik Arslān, defeating him near Ghazna in Shawwāl 510/February 1117 and forcing him to withdraw to the Ghaznavid possessions in Hindūstān. Installed at Ghazna as a tributary by Sanjār, Bahrām defeated Malik Arslān, who had gathered forces from the Panjāb, imprisoned him and in 512/1118, slew him. In 512/1119, Bahrām Shāh twice marched into the Panjāb to subdue Muḥammad Abū Ḥafṣ, governor of Lahore.

As a protégé of the Saljūqīs and unable to draw upon the resources of a Mahmūd to enable him to mount major expeditions in Hindūstān, Bahrām's rule appears to have been uneventful until 525/1135 when he attempted to thrust off Sanjār's overlordship only to be compelled to acknowledge it again within the year.

About 523/1128, a violent quarrel broke out between Bahrām and the chiefs of Ghūr and Fīrūzkūh. Bahrām poisoned the Ghūrī Kutb al-Dīn Muḥammad, whereupon the latter's brother Sayf al-Dīn Sūr occupied Ghazna. Sūr's men captured it and slew Sūr with immunity. In 525/1135 the latter's younger brother 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn ('Djāhān-Sūr') defeated Bahrām Shāh and burnt Ghazna. Bahrām took refuge in Hindūstān and although he was able to take advantage of an *imbroglio* between 'Djāhān-Sūr' and Sanjār to re-occupy the remains of Ghazna before his death, the descendants of Mahmūd of Ghazna were never again able to regain and keep their authority in the area around their old capital. (For a discussion of the chronological problems surrounding the last years of Bahrām Shāh's reign see Ghulām Muṣṭafa Khān's article, named in the bibliography.)

Bahrām Shāh enjoyed a great reputation as a patron of the arts and figures in later *adab* literature. Among the *literati* who adorned his court were the poets Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznavi, Sanāʾī, Mas'ūdī Saʿdī Salmān and the translator into Persian of *Kaḥilā wa Dinnā*, Abū l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh.

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**BAHRĀM SHĀH** b. Tughruq Shāh, the Saljūqīd, was raised to the throne of Kirmān by the Atabeg Muʿayyad al-Dīn Rayḥān in succession to his father on the latter's death in 565/1170 but soon afterwards had to make way for his elder brother Arslān Shāh (q.v.). The two brothers thereupon fought with one another with varying success till the death of Bahrām Shāh in 570/1174-5.

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**BAHRĀM SHĀH**, al-Malik al-Awḥād, b. Farrukh Shāh b. Shāhānshāh b. Ayyūb, grand nephew of Salāh al-Dīn, was appointed by the latter to succeed his father at Baʿḥak when the latter died in 578/1182 ('Imād al-Dīn al-Jafāhān, *al-Bār al-Shāmī*, Bodl. MS. Marsh 425, 36\*, followed by Abū Shāna, *Rawdat* 194, 31-4), and kept Baʿḥak when the Ayyūbīd territories were divided up after the death of Salāh al-Dīn. From then on he seems always to have been a faithful vassal of the Ayyūbīd ruling at Damascus (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, years 599, 603, 606, 618, 623). At the end of his life, however, he was faced with rivals who found support in the ambitions of al-Malik al-Aziz 'Uḥaym al-Bayhaqi, son of al-Malik al-Muḥammad al-Muḥammad al-Kāmil and al-Malik al-Aḥraf settled their differences in order to seize Damascus from Dāʾūd, Bahrāmshāh was sacrificed; after ten months of blockade, al-Aḥraf annexed Baʿḥak, and Bahrāmshāh went to Damascus (626/1228); the following year he was assassinated by a slave who bore a grudge against him (Ibn Wāṣil, years 625-627; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, ed. Jewett, 441).

Among his contemporaries, Bahrāmshāh was famous less as a prince than as the most eminent man of letters among the Ayyūbīds; he had a small court of scholars, and himself composed a *diwan* of poetry, which has been preserved but not published (J. Rikāhī, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides*, 221 and n. 3).

**Bibliography:** For the secondary sources, cf. the article AYYŪBIDS. Modern works: H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, 111 and 129-30, with the notes. (CL. CAHEN)

**AL-BAHRĀYN**, "the Two Seas", a cosmographical and cosmological concept appearing five times in the Qurʾān (once in the nominative, xxxv, 12). The two seas are described as being one fresh and sweet, and one salt and bitter (xxxv, 12; xvi, 53). Fresh meat and ornaments are taken from the two seas, and on them boats are seen (xxxv, 12). Tabarī (*Tafsīr*, xxv, 55) says the fresh and sweet denote the waters of rivers and of rain, the salt and bitter the waters of the sea.

The two seas are divided by a barrier, called a *barzakh* (xxxv, 35; iv, 20) and a *ḥidhr* (xvii, 61). Muslim scholars provide several explanations for this concept, among which is the view that there is a sea in heaven and a sea on earth separated by a barrier (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxvii, 61). Most views are more geographical, with the preponderant number assuming the two seas to be the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea. The Qurʾān, however, mentions seven seas in xxi, 27.

The junction of the two seas, *maḥḥal al-bahrāyn*, is mentioned only once in the Qurʾān (xvii, 60). Some commentators regard the location as the meeting place of the Persian Sea and the Roman Sea (i.e. Baydāwī, Tabarī, Nasafī, Zamakhsharī, etc.), Others

have the two seas meeting at Bāb al-Mandab [q.v.], at the connexion between the Sea of Jordan and the Red Sea, or at the Straits of Gibraltar (e.g. Kurtubī). As Westwood points out in "al-Baḥrīn" in *JEP*, "A far fetched explanation is that the union of the two seas means the meeting of Mūsā and al-Khaḍir, the two seas of wisdom".

After the capture of Constantinople, Meḥmed II assumed the title *Sulṭān al-bahrāyn* sa ʿalā-bahrāyn, "Sulṭān of the two lands and the two seas", and this was among the titles used by succeeding Ottoman rulers.

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**AL-BAHRĀYN** (officially written Bahrain) is a British protected state in the Persian Gulf consisting of an archipelago of the same name lying between the peninsula of Katar and the mainland of Saudi Arabia, as well as another group of islands of which Hawr is the largest, just off the west coast of Katar. The Ruler of al-Bahrāyn and the Ruler of Katar disagree regarding the status of a small area surrounding al-Zubāra in north-western Katar.

The variety of explanations, none of them convincing, of the name al-Bahrāyn in the Arabic sources indicates that its history remains unknown. In pre-Islamic and early Islamic times the name applied to the mainland of Eastern Arabia, embracing the oases of al-Kaṭif and Haḍar (now al-Ḥaṣā) [q.v.]; later it was restricted to the archipelago offshore (cf. *History* below).

The largest island (Uwāil or Awāl in the older Arabic sources; now called al-Bahrāyn) is about 30 miles long and 12 miles at its greatest breadth. The capital, al-Manḥama, on the northeastern coast, is connected by a causeway 1½ miles long with the town and island of al-Muḥarrak to the northeast. Other islands are Sitra, from which an oil loading wharf extends to deep water; al-Nabīh Ṣābiḥ; Umm al-Subbān; Didd, once a quarry and now a penitentiary; and Umm Naṣāl (also called al-Naṣāl). The climate is hot and humid, though rainfall averages only about 7 cm. a year. A number of flowing springs (*ʿaynān*) support an area of relatively extensive cultivation along the coast of the northern half of the main island from al-Zallāk to Dīaww, as well as on several of the other islands. Sweet water also bubbles up through the salt water of the Gulf from springs (*ḥarasāt*) not far offshore. Dates, alfalfa, and vegetables are the principal crops, and some cows are kept for milking.

Geologically the island of al-Bahrāyn is an elongated anticlinal dome of sedimentary rocks. The centre of the island has a basin, 12 miles by 4, out of which the hill of al-Dukhkhān rises to a height of about 450 feet. Oil is produced here by the Bahrain Petroleum Co. (Bapco), owned by American interests. Production since 1957/1958 has averaged approximately 30,000 barrels a day, but the Bapco refinery processes over 200,000 barrels a day, most of which is crude oil shipped by submarine pipeline from Saudi Arabia. Bapco's offices and residences for foreign staff are at al-Awāl.

Oil has replaced pearling as the principal industry of al-Bahrāyn. About 500 pearling boats worked

out of al-Bahrāyn annually before the slump in pearl prices in 1948/1949 caused by the world-wide economic depression and the increasing use of Japanese cultured pearls. Now only a handful of boats are engaged in pearling, though fishing still affords a livelihood to many people, with most fish caught in tidal weirs. Boat building and repair and sail and net making remain minor industries, along with the manufacture of pottery, whitewash, and plaster.

A free port was opened in 1377/1958 to increase the entrepôt trade fostered by a 5% ad valorem customs rate for all but luxury items. An excellent natural harbour was created in 1375/1955 when a channel was dredged from the deep water of Khawr al-Kulay'a to the open sea. The airport on al-Muḥarrak is served by scheduled international flights and is the headquarters of Gulf Aviation Co., in which the Government has an interest, and which flies to many points in the Persian Gulf.

The population of al-Bahrāyn in 1369/1950 was 109,650, with 61% in the towns of al-Manḥama (39,648), al-Muḥarrak, and al-Hidd. There are Persian, Indian, and Pakistani communities, as well as over 2,000 Europeans and Americans. Muslims comprise 98% of the population, about half being Shi'is (mainly Dī'awī Two Isms, with some Shaykhī) and the remainder, including the ruling family, Sunnis (mainly Mālikīs, with some Hanbalīs). The Sunnis are concentrated in the largest towns, and the Shi'is in the agricultural villages. The Shi'is here, as in al-Kaṭif and al-Ḥaṣā in Saudi Arabia, are called *Bahrānīs* (sing. *Bahrānī*). To avoid confusion, Sunni residents of al-Bahrāyn ordinarily now use the name *Bahrāynī* for themselves. The Shi'is appear to be descendants of early inhabitants of the area, and there seems to be no justification for the hypothesis that they are of Persian origin. A good number of the Sunnis of al-Bahrāyn are Arabs or the descendants of Arabs once resident on the Persian coast; such are known as *Hawālā*.

#### History

For nearly a century investigators have sought the secrets of the early history of al-Bahrāyn in the burial mounds scattered to the number of perhaps 120,000 over the northern half of the main island. In 1806/1829 Capt. E. Durand opened one of the largest tumuli and several smaller ones; others were later probed into by Mr. and Mrs. T. Bent, F. Prieux, and P. Cornwall. E. Mackay excavated and reported on a series of different types of tumuli. Several mounds, one of which was probably a temple complex, have been studied by members of a Danish archaeological expedition which began work in 1373/1953 under P. Glob and T. Bibby. The early excavators supposed that the tumuli were of Phoenician origin, but this theory is no longer generally accepted. Materials found in the mounds, as well as those found by the Danish party in other sites such as near the ruined Portuguese fort of Kaṭaf 'Aḍḍāḍ and at Bārār, include bronze and iron objects, seal stones, alabaster vessels, ivory fragments, and bitumen-lined clay coffins. Similar tumuli occur in central Najd and along the Arabian coast, where a large one at Dīaww, north of al-Kaṭif, excavated in 1373/1952 by F. Virdal, has been dated c. A.D. 100. The multitude of mounds spread over such an area indicates the persistence of mound building over a long period of time. Many of the mounds are certainly much older than Dīaww.

Various scholars follow H. Rawlinson (JRAS 1880) in identifying al-Bahrāyn with Dilmun of



the Mesopotamian cuneiform records, but this identification has not been established with certainty; cf. S. Kramer (*IASOR* 1941) considers south-western Iran the most probable location of Dilmun.

Greek and Latin sources give meagre information on the ancient mainland coast of al-Bahrayn, where the port of Gerrha lay, the exact site of which remains undetermined. The few South Arabian inscriptions discovered so far contribute little to the history of the region before Islam.

Arab tradition speaks of some of the Lost Arabs in al-Bahrayn. Among the early historical tribes was al-Azd of Kahtān, many of whose members moved on to Oman; other members joined the confederation of Tanūkh, said to have been formed in al-Bahrayn. Among later migrants were adherents of 'Adnanite tribes such as Tamim, Bakr, and Taghlib, the last two of which were receptive to Christianity. At the time of the Prophet, 'Abd al-Kays (q.v.) of 'Adnan had become the dominant element in the population.

The Sāsānids, beginning with Ardāshīr I, intervened in al-Bahrayn, which was subject to a Persian *marzban* when the Prophet sent al-'Alī b. al-Baḥrān eastwards to secure the land. When the *ridā* broke out and a descendant of the Lakhmids in al-Bahrayn rejected the Caliphate, many of 'Abd al-Kays under al-Ḍjārūd, a converted Christian, did not desert Islam, and al-'Alī's defeated the rebels at Dīwānī in al-Baḥ. Muslim forces crossed over to the island of Dārīn opposite al-Kaṭīf and possibly to Uwāil as well.

In the 12th century the Khawārij under Naḡdā b. 'Amir and Abū Fudayk (q.v.) maintained a bastion of their power in al-Bahrayn. Christianity and Judaism had not yet died out completely; the Nestorians were still active enough to hold a synod at Dārīn in A.D. 676. 'Abbāsid rule was introduced during the next century, but the Arabic sources fail to tell much about its extent or effectiveness.

'Alī b. Maḥasūm, the inaugurator of the revolt of the Zandī (q.v.), a man who may have stemmed from 'Abd al-Kays, embarked on his career of turbulence in al-Bahrayn before moving on to 'Irāk. In 281/894-5 Muḥammad b. Nūr, the 'Abbāsid Governor of al-Bahrayn, led an expedition against the Bīḥlīte Imamate of Oman.

The Karmatians (q.v.) found devoted followers among both townspeople and Bedouins in al-Bahrayn. In 317/930 the Black Stone was brought from Mecca to al-Bahrayn, where it was kept for two decades. A victory by al-Muntaḥil in 378/987-8 revealed the weakness of the Karmatians, but they were still in control when Naḥr-i Khuraw visited al-Bahrayn 63 years later. In 450/1058 Abū 'Ubayd al-'Awḥān Ibn al-Zaḍḍīdī of 'Abd al-Kays defied them by reestablishing orthodox Islam on Uwāil in the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph. The tribe of 'Amir Rabi'a of 'Ukayl (q.v.), guardians of the island for the Karmatians, suffered defeat in a naval battle at Kaskis, an island off al-Kaṭīf. Within the next few years the final downfall of the Karmatians came at the hands of a new dynasty indigenous to al-Baḥ, the 'Uyūnids (q.v.) of 'Abd al-Kays, aided by the Salḡūks of 'Irāk.

Although no definite date can be set for the transfer of the name al-Bahrayn from the mainland to the nearby archipelago, from this point on it may be convenient to restrict the history of al-Bahrayn to the islands bearing this name today.

In the early period of the 'Uyūnids, who at times

kept their capital at al-Kaṭīf, the islands of al-Bahrayn came under their authority. When the unruliness of 'Amir Rabi'a undermined the 'Uyūnī power, al-Bahrayn became tributary to the Kay-sarids of Ḍjāzīrat Kay's (q.v.) in the eastern Persian Gulf. In 633/1235 al-Bahrayn and al-Kaṭīf were occupied by the forces of Abū Bakr b. Sa'd, the Salḡūrid Atābeg of Fārs, but in 651/1253 al-Bahrayn regained independence under the 'Uyūnids (q.v.), a clan of 'Amir Rabi'a.

The Tibis, merchant princes of Ḍjāzīrat Kay's, brought al-Bahrayn back within the orbit of their island, but their supremacy soon faded with the rise of New Hormuz farther east. About 730/1330 Tahamtan II of Hormuz annexed both Ḍjāzīrat Kay's and al-Bahrayn, and some 15 years later Turānshāh of Hormuz came to al-Bahrayn in person. The first mention of al-Mandira, the present capital, occurs at this time.

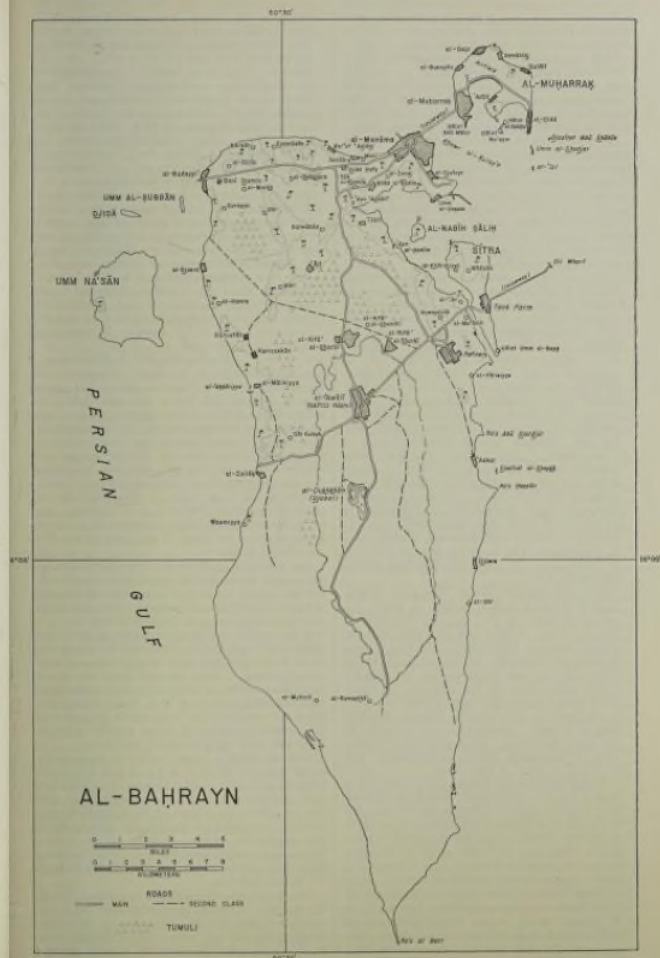
In the mid-9th/15th century 'Amir Rabi'a produced a new dynasty, the Ḍjāzīrids (q.v.), the foremost of whom, Adḡwad b. Zāmil, incorporated al-Bahrayn in his domains and promoted the ascendancy of the Mālikī element over the Shī'ī. The splendid reign of this Bedouin prince carried the fame of al-Bahrayn as far afield as Egypt and Portugal.

The Portuguese reached al-Bahrayn from the Indian Ocean as early as 920/1514, but did not seize it until a few years later, when in alliance with Hormuz they overthrew Adḡwad's uncle Muḥrim. Their fitful rule of about 80 years placed much reliance on Persian Sunnis as local governors. In the mid-16th/17th century the Ottomans challenged Portuguese hegemony in the Persian Gulf, but their admirals, better corsairs than administrators, won no permanent foothold in al-Bahrayn.

In 1013/1602 the Persians under Shīh 'Abbās I took al-Bahrayn, which they retained, with certain interruptions, for over 150 years. Persian sovereignty was not always accompanied by strong Persian influence, as the instruments of policy were often chiefs of the Huwala or other Arabs settled on the Persian coast, such as Ḍjābbāra of Tāhīrī and Nāḥir and Naḥr Aī Madḡkūr of Būshahr in the 12th/18th century.

In 1107/1793 Ahmad b. Khālifa of Banū 'Uṭba (al-'Uṭbī), Arabs who had migrated from Naḡdā to Kuwait and thence to al-Zubāra in Katar, drove Naḥr Aī Madḡkūr from al-Bahrayn and inaugurated the rule of the House of Khālifa, which has endured to the present. The energetic merchants of al-Bahrayn with their valuable pearl resources contested the primacy recently won by Muscat in the transit trade of the Persian Gulf, thus provoking attacks by the Bīḥlīte rulers of Muscat during the next 45 years. The first attack, in 1216/1801, brought Aī Sa'ūd of Naḡdā to the defence of Aī Khālifa, but political domination by Aī Sa'ūd was not prolonged and the Mālikī proclivities of the Sunnis of al-Bahrayn yielded little to the Hanbalism of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

Aī Khālifa in 1235/1820 concluded with the British Government the first of a series of treaties which by 1322/1904 placed al-Bahrayn fully under British protection, giving the British control of foreign affairs and exclusive rights in the development of natural resources. The growth of British influence has been the subject of repeated Persian protests for more than a century, and the Iranian Government still presses a vigorous claim to sovereignty over al-Bahrayn. Although the Ottomans occupied the Arab-





ian coast and Baṭar in the second half of the 13th/13th century and thus encircled al-Bahrayn until the First World War, the presence of the British prevented them from absorbing the islands.

After an absence of over a millennium, formal Christianity returned to al-Bahrayn in 1310/1893 when missionaries of the American Dutch Reformed Church founded a station. In 1315/1932 oil was discovered on the main island in the first of the prolific fields on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf.

From 1354/1935 to 1378/1958 al-Bahrayn was the principal British naval base in the Gulf, and in 1365/1946 the seat of the British Political Residency in the Persian Gulf was moved from Bāghlah to al-Bahrayn. Shāikh Salīm b. Hamād, who acceded to the rule in 1367/1942, concluded an amicable agreement with King Sa'ūd of Saudi Arabia in 1377/1958 fixing a marine boundary between the two countries, the first precisely defined boundary in any of the waters lapping the Arabian Peninsula.

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(G. RENTZ and W. E. MULLIGAN)

**AL-BAHRIYYA.** A Mamlūk regiment in Egypt. Most of the Ayyūbid sultans had mamlūks in their service, but it was only Sulṭān al-Sāliḥ Naḥḥān al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (637-47/1240-50) who recruited them in very great number. He seized the opportunity of the influx in the Muslim markets of Turkish slaves from the Kipčāk steppe and neighbouring areas who were uprooted from their homelands by the Mongol advance and created from amongst them a regiment of picked bodyguards numbering between 300 and 1000 horsemen. He called this regiment al-Bahriyya because he stationed its members on the island of al-Rawḍa on the Nile river (Baḥr al-Nīl).

The Bahriyya displayed at a very early date all the positive and negative characteristics of a mamlūk military society, viz. exceptional military ability and valor and unity against outsiders on the one hand, and internal dissension and rivalry on the other. It was they who were the battles of al-Mansūr (647/1249) and al-Ayyūb Dīlāwī (658/1260), but six years before the last-named battle a split tore their ranks which threatened their very existence. A short time after Ayyūb, one of their number, became sultan they tried to dethrone him, but failed. As a result their leader, Akṭāy, was killed and some 700 of them had to escape from Egypt and entered the service of various Ayyūbid rulers in Syria and of the Salḡūk ruler of Asia Minor.

After the death of Ayyūb group after group of the exiled Bahriyya returned to Egypt, but they never regained their early position because of the ageing of their members and the thinning of their ranks. The last one of them died in 707/1307. The name Bahriyya, however, persisted up to the 9th/15th century, for it was applied to various garrisons of the Syrian fortresses, the reason being that the original Bahriyya performed garrison duties, especially in the reign of the Sulṭān Kalā'ūn.

The importance of the Bahriyya regiment lies in the fact that its formation had ultimately led to the creation of the Mamlūk sultanate. It is wrong, however, to call the early part of the Bahriyya rule (648/1250-784/1382), in which the Kipčāk element was predominant, by the name of "the Bahri period". The common name in Mamlūk sources for that period

is Dawlat al-Turk, to distinguish it from the Circassian period (784-922/1382-1517) which they call Dawlat al-Bārkas (see D. Rylands, *Le régent Bahriya dans l'Armée Mamelouke*, in *REL* 1952, 133-41).

(D. AYALON)

**BAHRIYYA**, a group of oases in the Lybian desert. The Bahriyya is the most northerly of the Lybian desert. The Wāḥāt Bahriyya (also singular), i.e. the northern oases, are distinguished from the Wāḥāt Bahriyya, the southern oases, i.e. the Dāḡla (g.o.) and Khārga (g.o.). Between these two groups lie the little oases of Farafra (included in the Dāḡla by some), or al-Farāfra, called al-Farfarin by al-Bakrī and al-Ya'qūbī. The three large oases are also distinguished as inner, middle and outer; the inner is the Bahriyya which is also called the snail. It is sometimes also called the Bahnasīya as it used to be visited by the people of Bahnas. Bahnasā al-Sa'ūd and Bahnasā al-Wāḥāt are distinguished as early as al-Bakrī (*Maghrib*, 14). According to Bonnet Bey's *Dictionnaire Géographique*, the Bahriyya is a district of the province of Minia. It contains about 6000 inhabitants, and consists of four townships: al-Bawīṭ (B), al-Kaḥr, Maḥaba, and al-Zabā.

The Bahriyya, like the other oases, has the reputation of being exceedingly fertile and in the middle ages its dates and raisins were famous. Cereals, rice, sugar-cane and especially indigo were also cultivated there, and alum and green vitriol found, though the latter is not specially noted as being found in the Bahriyya. Some of the notices of this sort refer to all the oases together. The fertility of the oasis is due to hot springs containing various chemicals.

Only scanty information is available for the history of the Bahriyya. In the year 332/943-4 the oases are said to have been under the rule of a Berber prince 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and to have been independent. Under the Fātimids we hear of an Egyptian governor Abū Sāliḥ. In the time of al-Maḥrūrī and al-Qalkashandī, that is, under the Mamlūks, they were not governed directly by the state but by feudal tenants. At all periods the oases have suffered from the predatory raids of Arab and Berber nomads while the more southern ones (perhaps also the Bahriyya) were sometimes the object of forays by the Kings of Nubia. It is only in modern times that they have been placed in closer relationship to the Egyptian government. In the seventies they were visited by Schweinfurth and since then European travellers have often gone there.

In earlier times the oases must have been very much more important than they are now, as witness the remains of several ancient temples, built by the Romans, and of a church of the 6th century A.D. The Coptic Church appears to have been in a flourishing condition till a late period. We hear of solemn processions with the body of one of the disciples which was carried through the streets in a shrine (*ṭabūt*) by a team of oxen. No domes St. Bartholomew is named (al-Bakrī, 14 should no doubt thus be emended), or perhaps also St. George or both.

**Bibliography:** 'al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique* (ed. de Slane), 24 et seq.; Idriṣī, *al-Maghrib*, 44; Abū Sāliḥ (ed. Everts), fol. 93<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>r</sup>; Makrizī, *Kh̲iṭāṭ*, 4, 234 f.; Qalkashandī (*transl.* Wustenfeld), 1, 100; Ibn Dīnār, s. 648/1250-784/1382), in which the Kipčāk element was predominant, by the name of "the Bahri period". The common name in Mamlūk sources for that period

de l'Égypte, 390; Schweinfurth, *Prof. Dr. Auchenour Reise nach der Libyen Oase* (Petersmanns Geogr. Mitteil., vol. xxii, 264); Guides Bleus, Égypte, Paris 1956, 507-8. (C. H. BECKE)

**BAHRIYYA**, I. The navy of the Arabs until the time of the Fātimids (see Supplement).

II. The navy of the Mamlūks. The Mamlūk sultanate came into being a long time after Christian Europe had established its uncontested naval supremacy in the Mediterranean. Throughout that sultanate's existence this supremacy had been much strengthened. Under such circumstances there was little chance for Mamlūk sea power to demonstrate its existence. Mamlūk naval activities occupy a prominent place in the sources, mainly in connexion with Sulṭān al-Zāhir Baybars' ill-fated expedition to Cyprus in 669/1270, with Sulṭān Ḥārith's expeditions to the same island and to Rhodes in the years 827-829/1424-6, 847/1443; and with the expeditions against the Portuguese in 913/1507 and 921/1515. Otherwise such activities are mentioned only on very rare occasions. Thus it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to write the history and describe the structure and functioning of whatever navies the Mamlūks possessed. Some references to some technical aspects of Mamlūk naval power will be given in the bibliography.

The deficiency of Mamlūk sources in technical information on the navy is, however, largely compensated for by the insight they give us into the socio-psychological factors which dictated the Mamlūks' attitude towards the navy. As these factors have by no means been limited to Mamlūk society alone, their examination might be of benefit to the general history of Islam in the Middle Ages.

The two following and closely connected subjects will be briefly discussed here: (a) the attitude of the Mamlūks towards the navy and its consequences; (b) their policy towards their ports and coastal fortifications.

(a) As might be expected from a military society of horsemen the attitude of the Mamlūks towards the sea was extremely negative. Even Baybars I was no exception to this rule, in spite of his unusual grasp of wide strategic problems and in spite of the fact that he cared for the navy more than any other Mamlūk sultan and that in his days Mamlūk sea power had reached its peak. After the disaster which his flotilla suffered in 1270 off the coast of Limassol, he wrote a letter to the king of Cyprus in which he stressed the superiority of a victory on land won by horsemen over a victory on the sea won by oarsmen, and then he succinctly defined the essential differences between the night of Islam and the might of the maritime powers of Christian Europe as follows: "Your horses are ships, while our ships are horses" (*ashum khayyūlukum al-marāḥ wa nahna marāḥibukum al-khayl*) (Sulḡā, 1, 594, note 3). Not less illuminating was his reaction immediately on receiving the tidings about that disaster. He thanked God for the light punishment He allowed the evil eye to inflict upon him after having won so many victories. For all he had to sacrifice in order to save his land army from the evil eye was a certain number of ships and their crews, which were composed of fellahin and of common people (*al-fallāḥīn wa 'l-sa'adīn*) (Kh̲iṭāṭ, II, 194, 11, 24-25; Sulḡā, 1, 594, 11, 2-3; al-Nabḥī, al-Sadiṭ, in *Parologia Orientalis*, xii, 542, 11, 2-5). There can hardly be any doubt that elements of higher social status than the two above-mentioned ones served in the navy as well,



but in all probability they did not include the Mamliks, who occupied the highest rung in the social ladder. When Baybars' flotilla was wrecked off Limasol, the Franks succeeded in capturing the whole naval command of the Mamlik sultanate, including the captains (*rayis*) of all the three Egyptian ports: Alexandria, Damietta and Rosetta. A very long list of the prisoners' names had been preserved in Ibn Shaddad al-Hafsi's famous biography of Baybars (Ildiriz, *Sedime*, 1357, chronicle of the year 673 A.H. cf. the Turkish translation by Şerefidin Yaltikaya, İstanbul 1941, 46, where however the list of names is omitted). This list does not contain a single name of a Mamlik. Of all the prisoners not even one was considered important enough to be honoured with a biography. Nor is that all: Mamlik historical literature contains many thousands of biographies, none of which is dedicated to a naval commander. Al-Mahiri's statement that the designation *ahdîl* ("man of the navy") was considered an insult in the Ayyubid period after Saladin's reign (*Ġazâl*, II, 197, II, 2-3) is true for the Mamlik period as well. The scarcity of naval biographies greatly contributed to the weakness of Mamlik sea power. The "forests" of Egypt, always covering only a small area, practically disappeared under Mamlik rule as a result of neglect. In north-western Syria and in the vicinity of Beirut there were small forests which supplied wood for shipbuilding. From about the middle of the 9th/13th century the Mamliks imported great quantities of timber from Hittin in south-eastern Anatolia, which they carried in their own ships under the protection of heavy escorts of Mamlik soldiers. The contemporary sources hardly mention imports of timber from Europe, which must however, have been considerable.

The only source of iron-ore in the whole Mamlik sultanate was a small mine located near Beirut, the output of which was mainly absorbed by the local shipyard. Other metals were not to be found at all within the sultanate's boundaries.

Yet in spite of the great handicap caused to shipbuilding by the scarcity or absence of raw materials, this factor was only of secondary importance compared with the Mamliks' aversion to the sea.

As a matter of fact permanent Mamlik navy did not exist at all. Whenever a flotilla was constructed, it was only to exact reprisals for a very damaging and humiliating act of aggression by the Frankish corsairs. When a new flotilla was built, the older one had already ceased to exist for a very long time. Under such circumstances it was impossible to maintain a naval personnel worthy of its name. No wonder, therefore, that the Franks attacked the coasts of Islam at will and got away unscathed. The attacks usually caught the Muslims unawares, and when they did sound the alarm it was, in most cases, a false one.

With the advance of the years Mamlik sea power became even more insignificant, not only because of the general decline of the realm, but also—and mainly—because of the increasing employment of firearms in sea warfare. In the Mediterranean, the pressure of the Franks on the Muslim shores was greatly intensified. In the Indian Ocean small squadrons of a new type of ocean-going Portuguese ships armed with superior artillery easily annihilated the Mamlik warships sent against them, and thus paved the way for European domination of the sea routes to India and the Far East for many centuries.

(b) The steadily deteriorating naval power of

Islam drove the Muslims after many hesitations to the destruction of the Syro-Palestinian ports and coastal fortifications. As a result of the Crusades, the Muslims came slowly to realise that this was their only alternative. The destruction was started by the Ayyubids, but was mainly accomplished by the Mamliks. The turning-point was the battle of Hattin (583/1187) and the events which followed it in the next few years. These proved to the Muslims that however decisive their victory over the Franks might be on land, the Franks could always easily turn the tables upon them by means of their naval supremacy. 'Akkala, destroyed by the personal order of Saladin in 587/1191, was the first victim of that policy, which was followed up after that with unswerving determination.

When the Mamliks rose to power, they wiped out one after the other the fortifications of the Syro-Palestinian coast, and destroyed many of its ports from about the middle of the 13th century and up to the year 722/1322, in which Ayas near Alexandretta had been conquered. Of the numerous coastal fortresses (*ḥalâ*, sing. *ḥalâ'*) none was left. A few towers (*ḥalâ*, sing. *ḥalâ'*) were constructed on the ruins of some of them, mainly in order to keep watch on the sea and resist the first onslaught of a possible Frankish attack.

In addition, the Mamliks tried to strengthen their coastal defences by settling near the coast Kurds, *Ḳhwarizmians*, Turcomans, *Girats*, etc., who sought refuge in the sultanate and were called *Wādhiyya*. The attempts, however, failed, generally speaking, for the *Wādhiyya* soon assimilated with the local population and disappeared as a separate entity. Only the Turcomans are mentioned for quite a long period as guardians of the coast.

The port-towns of the Syro-Palestinian coast declined very greatly. Some of them entirely disappeared, others became small fishing ports and only very few recovered fairly quickly.

The most thoroughly destroyed and the most desolate part of the coast was the section stretching from the south of Sidon and up to al-'Arīḡh, i.e., roughly speaking the shores of Palestine. 'Akkala, Arsuf, Caesarea and 'Aḡlūḡh, remained in ruins up to recent times. The revival of Haifa started many years after the Mamlik reign, and even today was only insignificant hamlets under Aqkū and early Ottoman rule. The nearness of that part of the coast to Jerusalem and the flatness and comparative wideness of the plain adjoining it—which make it an ideal area for landing troops from the sea—were undoubtedly the main reasons for its thorough destruction.

The only towns which recovered from the blow fairly quickly were Beirut and Tripoli, but their defences were far weaker than those which they had had in the past. Thanks to the historian Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, we know much more about Beirut's system of defence than about that of any other Syro-Palestinian port. The picture revealed of the weakness of that system is very depressing indeed (*Ta'riḡh Bayrūt*, 28-42, 45, 67-9, 90-4, 100-112, 134, 168, etc.).

The Egyptian coast, on the other hand, was left almost intact. In the first half of the 13th century Tinnīs was permanently destroyed, but Damietta was very soon rebuilt after having been destroyed. The reason for the preservation of the Egyptian ports and coastal fortifications were first, that Egypt was the main base of the Crusaders only for very short periods; second, that trade with the outside world was vital

for the country's existence (economic considerations undoubtedly played a decisive rôle in the revival of Beirut and Tripoli as well); third, all the picked units of the Mamlik army were concentrated in Egypt (or more precisely in Cairo). They could easily be rushed from the capital to any point on the Egyptian coast.

From the above it should not be concluded that the Mamliks devoted much of their attention to the Egyptian coast. Alexandria as well as the other Egyptian ports were garrisoned by third-rate troops, including members of the declining non-Mamlik regiment of the *ḡalā* and Bedouins of the neighbourhood, equipped with most primitive weapons. When the Royal Mamliks were forced to garrison these ports in times of great danger, they stayed there only for very short periods. Even the most severe blow which the Franks inflicted on Alexandria in 1365 did not bring about any substantial change in its system of defence.

In the inner parts of their realm, and I mean mainly the mountain region of Syria and Palestine, the Mamliks pursued a totally different policy. There they rebuilt systematically the fortresses which were damaged or destroyed either by the Mongols or as a result of the fighting with the Crusaders. The term *ḡalā*, which has entirely disappeared from the coast, is encountered very frequently in the interior even in remote and little known places.

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one particular ship-building commodity; e.g., the island of Tenedos had a pine-wood for the ship-yards of Lemnos; see I. H. Üzünçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkezi ve bahriye teşkilatı* (Ankara 1948), especially footnote to p. 449), a new fleet was created in so short a time as five months, and with the help of this the Venetians were compelled to make peace and sign a — for them — inglorious treaty. Towards the end of the 16th century, the Ottoman fleet was weakened by the haphazard appointment of men with no naval experience to the *kaptan-ı paşalık*, the command of the naval forces. From the beginning of the 17th century the Venetian fleet replaced its oar-driven galleys by sailing galleons, while the Ottoman navy persisted in the use of oars. Partly for this reason and partly because the ships' crews were pressed men with no interest in seafaring, it had so little success that the islands of Tenedos and Lemnos fell into enemy hands.

Eventually, in 1682, during the grand vizierate of Kara Mustafa Paşa of Merzifon (1676-83), the principle was accepted that sailing galleons should form the basis of the fleet (a principle that had long been applied by the navy of Alexander, an Ottoman dependency). This principle was acted on with the Venetians in the Mediterranean, and in 1706, 1709 the island of Chios was recovered from them. A *şânin* relating to galleons, their commanders and crews, was promulgated in 1707.

During the 2nd half of the 18th century no battle was fought against the Venetians, whose power had weakened, but the main naval activity in the western Mediterranean passed to the French and English fleets. In the course of the Russo-Turkish war which began in 1782/1768, the Russian fleet, which the English had developed in the Baltic, entered the Mediterranean and in 1784/1770 succeeded in virtually annihilating the Ottoman fleet in the harbour of Çeşme. After the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1782/1774, prominence was given to naval matters, and a school of engineering was opened in the Arsenal, staffed by experts brought from Europe. In the reign of Selim III (1789-1807) great importance was attached to equipping the fleet by up-to-date methods, as a result of the zeal of Küçük Hüsnâ Paşa. The school of naval engineering was enlarged, and a school of military engineering founded. In the reign of Mahmud II (1808-39) the navy was not neglected, but a variety of causes, internal and external, impeded its development. Nevertheless training was given at the school of naval engineering to commanders and naval architects. As a result of the revolt of the Peloponnese, and the help afforded to the rebels by Britain, France, and Russia, the Ottoman fleet was destroyed in Navarino Bay in 1827/1827. Despite this disaster naval activity did not cease, and in 1840/1828 a naval academy was opened on Herakleia. The Ottoman navy attained a position of strength during the reign of 'Abd al-'Azîz (1861-76), in consequence of the importance attached to it, as also to the army, by this sultan. In the time of 'Abd al-Hamid II (1876-1909) however, the fleet, that had been built up with great enthusiasm, fell into neglect, as a result of the prevailing sentiment, in the result, the Ottoman empire, which had long coastlines on three continents, suffered severe territorial losses.

In the period of oared vessels, the principal types of Ottoman ships were the *bâdîrğa* (galley), *balîte* (galliot), and *firhate* (frigate). The individual commanders were known as *re'îs*, squadron-commanders as *kaptan*, and the commander-in-chief of the fleet

as *Kapudân-ı deryâ*. The great galley of the *Kapudân-ı deryâ* or *Kaptan Paşa* was called *balîrğa*. The *bâdîrğas* were of two classes: *bâdîrğa bahrî-gâharî* and *bey bahrî-gâharî*. The former were constructed by the government, the latter by the *sandjak beys* of the eyalet of the Kaptan Paşa.

After the introduction of sailing vessels as the basis of the fleet, it was entrusted to three admirals under the *Kapudân-ı deryâ*. They were, in order of seniority, the *bahrî-paşa* (Admiral), the *katrân-ı deryâ* (Vice-Admiral), and the *re'îsle* (Rear Admiral). The principal sailing vessels, in descending order of size, were the *burest*, the *firhateyn*, and two kinds of galley known as the *iki ambarlı bahrî* and the *ül ambarlı*. The crews of galleons were called *balîrğâdîs*, and included *aylâkâdîs* (temporary sailors), *murûrîs* (who were prisoners of war), *zabıyars* (who attended to the sails), *parafârâs* (craftsmen), painters, carpenters, blacksmiths, caulkers, and *sudâğçılar* (gunners).

Next in rank to the Kaptan Paşa in the Istanbul arsenal came the *terâne kethüdâsı* and the *terâne emînî*, and after them officers of the second and third rank. The accountant of the arsenal had the title of *hâşim-ı deryâ*. Till the introduction of sailing, the *terâne kethüdâsı* ranked as Vice Admiral and occupied himself with the discipline of the arsenal. The *terâne emînî* was trained at the Bâb-ı 'Âli and had control of supplies, income, and expenditure for the fleet and arsenal. This office was abolished in 1830 and its duties were entrusted to the Kaptan Paşa.

In 1841 new ranks were instituted for both army and navy. In 1851 the Navy Ministry (*bahriyye nâzîrîsî*) was created, with charge of the financial and administrative functions formerly exercised by the *terâne emînî*. The title of *Kapudân-ı deryâ* was abolished and a fleet command council was set up. In June 1876 the title of *Kapudân-ı deryâ* was restored. Finally, in 1881, the offices of minister and commander-in-chief of the navy were combined in one man, of the rank of *mîrîrâh*. This arrangement continued till the end of the Ottoman empire.

In 1922, after the establishment of the government of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara, the Navy Ministry (*bahriyye vekaletî*) was formed. In 1927, when this ministry was abolished, its duties were made the responsibility of the Ministry of National Defence, and have since been administered by a department headed by a permanent under-secretary (*mîrîrâh*).

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1928; P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Moldau*, Istanbul 1934, index (s. v. *kronika*); J. Deny, *Riyâla*, in *EP*; Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, letter 20.

**BAHSHAL**, AŞLAM B. SAHL AL-Wâsîlî AL-RAZZÂZ, author of a History of Wâsîl. Nothing is known of his life except the names of some of his authorities, among them Wahb b. Bakîyya (113-239/772-83), supposedly his maternal grandfather, al-Muḥabb al-Baḥdādī, Ṭarīḥ Bughdādī, xiii, 485-4, and the approximate date of his death, between 288/901 and 292/904-05.

The History of Wâsîl has come down to us in an incomplete manuscript in Cairo (Taymūr, *al-Fih* no. 1483) which had an interesting history and possesses considerable ascription value. It is the oldest preserved history intended to serve as an aid for *baḥth* scholars in evaluating the reliability of transmitters. Starting with a rather brief discussion of the early history of Wâsîl and its environs, it deals with the religious scholars who had some connexion with Wâsîl and were also linked to the author by an uninterrupted chain of transmitters. The biographies are arranged chronologically according to generations of scholars (here *bars*, for the more common *tabaka* "class"). They contain little personal information but restrict themselves as a rule to the name of the scholar, his authorities and students, and one (and, occasionally, more than one) of the traditions he transmitted. The work represents, if not the beginnings, at least an early simple stage of what was soon to become one of the most elaborate types of historico-biographical literature in Islam.

**Bibliography:** Yâkūt, *Irbid*, II, 256; Dīḥabī, *Maṭn*, Cairo 1325, I, 98; Safadī, *Wafī*; Ibn Ḥajjār, *Lisān*, I, 388, cf. also his *Muḥjam al-Muḥarrar*, MS. Cairo, must. al-baḥth nos. 82, 102; Brockelmann, S. II, 210; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden 1952, 85, 144 f., 406.

**BAḤṬH**, infinitive of the Arabic root *b-ḥ-ḥ*; from its original meaning, "to rake, to dig, to turn over soil (in order to search for something)", there later developed its meaning of "to look for, examine, consider", in the intellectual and spiritual sense. *Baḥth* became in this respect almost a synonym of *naḥar*, and, in fact, the two terms *baḥth* and *naḥar* are often found in association (e.g., Maṣ'ūdī, *Murūdī*, VI, 368; *ah* al-baḥth wa'l-naḥar, "specialists in philosophic inquiry and controversy"). A *Kitāb al-Baḥth* formed part of the corpus of writings attributed to Ḥijābī b. Ḥayyān, who dates from the 10th century (cf. Brockelmann, SI, 471). Since that time, *baḥth*, with its plural *baḥth*, appears in the titles of numerous works precisely in the sense of "study, examination, inquiry" (also in the form *mabḥaṭh*, pl. *mabḥaṭh*, which denotes not only the object of the inquiry but the inquiry itself) and in this strengthened form it is often used in modern Arabic, in the technical and scientific sense of "study"; e.g., *Mabḥaṭh 'arabiyya* of Bishr Farīs, Cairo 1930. (F. GABRIEL)

**BAḤWIRASIH** (see AL-MADĀ'IR).

**AL-BAḤŪŪŪ**, SHAḤWIR MANṢŪR B. YŪNUS AL-BAḤŪŪ, frequently referred to by the name of AL-BAḤŪŪ AL-MINJĪ, is usually considered as one of the most eminent doctors of Hanbalism in the first half of the 12th/12th century, and also as the last major representative of this school in Egypt. A native of the village of Bahūt in the Muḥriyya Ḥāriyya, al-Bahūtī belonged to a family which gave several

other 'alams', who enjoyed a certain notoriety, to Hanbalism. The following are cited among the best known of his teachers: Muḥammad al-Mardīnī (died 1026/1017) Muḥabbār, 96), also an Egyptian Hanbalī, and the traditionalist and lawyer 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bahūtī (*Muḥabbār*, 104), who was reputed to be well versed in the four major schools of *fiqh*. Manṣūr al-Bahūtī also counted a Shāfi'ī among his teachers, 'Abd Allāh al-Danawī-shāfi'. Little is known of his life, except that he devoted himself in Cairo to teaching *fiqh* and that he gave numerous legal opinions (*fatāwā*). His biographers praise his devotion and his charitable disposition. His teaching appears to have enjoyed great success: numerous students came to him for their training, in fact not only from Egypt, but from Syria and Palestine as well. Among his chief disciples two members of his own family are cited, Muḥammad al-Bahūtī and Muḥammad b. Abū-Sūrūr al-Bahūtī, and the Syrian Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Sālihi. He died in Cairo in Rabi' II/105/July 1141, apparently at a very advanced age, and was buried in the *ṭarba* of the *Muḥabbārīn*.

Manṣūr al-Bahūtī's work, which is still used today in Egypt for teaching Hanbalism, is devoid of any great originality on the part of the author. It stands, in the history of Hanbalism, as a prolongation of the work of Mūsā al-Ḥuḍayrī (died 968/950) (cf. Brockelmann, II, 325 and S. II, 447) and that of Shayḥ Taki al-Dīn al-Futūḥī, better known under the name of Ibn al-Nadīdī (died about 960/952) (cf. Brockelmann, S. II, 447). The Palestinian al-Ḥuḍayrī, who was *mawḍi* in Damascus where he taught at the 'Umayyādiyya and at the Mosque of the Umayyads, had composed a resumé of the *Mabūn* of Muwaffak al-Dīn b. Kudāma (died 620/1222), under the title of *Zād al-Mustanḥa*, and a manual of Law, the *Iḥdā*, which has become a classic in Hanbalism of the late period. Muḥammad al-Bahūtī wrote a commentary on the first of these works with the title *al-Rasād al-Marīf* b-*ḥiḥ* *Zād al-Mustanḥa* (Cairo 1352, 2 vols.). He also left a commentary on the *Iḥdā* (published at Cairo in three volumes). Shayḥ Taḍā al-Dīn al-Futūḥī, who received his training in Cairo, continued the *Mabūn* of Muwaffak b. Kudāma and the *Tamḥīl* of Hasan al-Mardīnī (died 970/1051; *Muḥabbār*, 77-78), in a single manual entitled *al-Mustanḥa*, which speedily achieved considerable success. We are also indebted to Manṣūr al-Bahūtī for a *ṣaḥḥ* on the *Musnad* (Cairo, 3 vol.) and for a *ḥāshiyah*, gloss on the same text.

He also wrote a commentary on the *Muḥabbār* of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Makḍī (died 820/1417; *Muḥabbār*, 65), a long poem in which the points of doctrine peculiar to Hanbalism are expounded. This commentary was published at Cairo, by the Salafīyya press, in 1343/1924 (and the actual text was again reprinted by the same publishers the following year, with brief notes taken from al-Bahūtī's commentary). Lastly, a commentary on the *Mabūn* is attributed to him (cf. *R.Ā.D.*, xii, 631).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references given in the body of the article: Muḥabbī, *Khulāṣat al-Aḥwāl* II *A'yūn al-Karr* al-Hādī 'Aḥwāl, Būlak n.d., iv, 426; Ḥamīd al-Shāfi, *Muḥabbār* *Tahḥīl* al-Hanbalīya, Damascus 1330, 104-106; Brockelmann, II, 447; H. Laoust, *Le Préfet de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1936, III.

**BAḤW**, an Arabic word primarily designating an empty and spacious place extending between two objects which confine it, has acquired, in the architecture of the Western Muslim World,



somewhat varied meanings, which are, however, related to the initial meaning of the word.

To this primary sense of the term, the *Lisān al-'Arab* adds the following apparently derivative meaning: *bahw* is a tent or pavilion chamber situated beyond the rest, which suggests the idea of a pavilion differing from that which it precedes both in situation and by its spaciousness and height.

One of the first examples of the use of the word which enables us to determine its meaning, is to be found in the description of the great mosque of al-Kayrawān by al-Bakrī. He speaks of the *Kubbat hīb al-bahw*, which de Siane translates: "Cupola of the door of the pavilion". We have no difficulty in identifying this cupola as the one which rises before the hypostyle chamber, in the middle of the narthex gallery opening on to the courtyard; it would, however, seem more appropriate to translate: "Cupola of the door of the central nave" and to recognise in *bahw* the term designating the axial nave leading to the *mihrāb*, which differs clearly from the others by its spaciousness, its being closed by the largest door and preceded by the cupola. The arrangement of the naves at right angles to the wall of the *bibla* and the adoption of a main nave occupying the centre, an arrangement which we are amply justified in considering as being inspired by pagan and Christian basilicas, is mainly encountered in the West, which explains why *bahw* almost exclusively belongs to the vocabulary of Western Muslim Architecture. Attributed to al-Kayrawān in the 15th century, the term is still used at Tunis to designate the central nave of the great mosque. The name *Bāb al-bahw* given to the door preceding this nave is a most likely corruption of the original term.

In Spain, the term *bahw* seems to be less strictly used. It is to be found in the description given by al-Makkari of the Unayyad palace built by 'Abd al-Rahmān III at Madīnat al-Zahrā'. The main building of the palace comprised 5 naves extending lengthways. The central nave, larger than the other four, was closed by a door called *bāb al-bahw*. The throne of the sovereign was situated at the end of this nave and there he gave audience. There it was that al-Hakam II received King Ordoño IV and caused him to be seated on the throne before him. However, the adjoining naves, also comprised in the ceremonial chamber, seem to have been to some extent confused with the central nave and are also at times referred to by the term *bahw*.

This confusion is emphasised by Ibn al-Baḥḥāwī, quoted by al-Makkari in relation to the great mosque of Cordova. Ibn al-Baḥḥāwī applies the word *bahw* to the 19 naves of the great mosque as an exception, being careful to add that they are normally called *balāḥ*, which is in fact the term most usually applied to the naves of a mosque. Al-Makkari, describing the mosque of Uclés, refers to the central nave by the expression *al-bahw al-aṣṣat*.

The sense of a nave extending lengthways and playing the role of a ceremonial chamber, as suggested by the description of the Unayyad palace, explains the use of *bahw* to indicate an audience chamber. There were two such chambers in the palace of Cordova to which Ibn al-Baḥḥāwī applies this term. According to al-Ḥijāzī, at Gābs, in the castle built by Ibn Makkī, an audience chamber was provided with a *bahw* where the master of the palace seated himself. We thus naturally identify this place of honour with the *bahw*, the central alcove, of Mesopotamian origin, which is to be encountered in the

houses of Fustāt of the Tūlūnid period and which was likewise known to Eastern Barbary from the 10th/11th century. This deep recess, the place of honour, set into the back wall of a large chamber, still exists in Tunisian and Algerian houses; in Tunisia it bears the name *bāḥ*, in Algeria, however, the name *bahw* seems to be not unknown.

**Bibliography:** See especially the very complete work by A. Devos Lamare, *Étude sur le bahw, organe d'architecture musulmane*, in *JA* 1936, II, 529-547. Main sources: Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. and trans. de Siane, 1912-1913; Makkari, *Analastes*, ed. Dossy, Dugat, Knehl and Wright, I, 1251 ff.; Ibn al-Baḥḥāwī, *al-Baḥḥāwī*, Cairo, 1319/1901-2. (G. MAERKUS)  
**BAIKAL**, in eastern Turkish (by folk-etymology) *Bai kōl*, 'the rich lake'; in Mongolian *Dalai nor*, 'the ocean lake'; the deepest lake (1741 m.), and the largest mountain lake in the world, between 51° 29' and 55° 40' north, and 103° 44' and 110° 40' east, surrounded by high mountain ranges, 635 km. long, and varying from 25 to 79 km wide, with an area of 32,500 sq. km. Flowing into it are the Selenga, the Barguzin, the upper Angara, and flows out to the Angara at Yenisei. The Lake Baikal railway (307 km. long, with 40 tunnels) — a branch of the Trans-Siberian railway — was completed round the southern part of it (between the Angara exit and the Selenga delta) in autumn 1904.

It appears that Lake Baikal was not known to Muslim geographers in Mongol times. It is mentioned only by Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ḍjīwā' al-Tawarīkh* (ed. Berzin III 186) (Trudl Vost. ed. Imp. Arizhob. Ob-va XIII). Here, the people living on its shores are called Bārkhūt († is the Mongol plural ending), and the region around it Bārkhūtīn (Tūkhūn), which is recalled by the river Barguzin. The lake became known in Russia in the first half of the 17th century, and in western Europe shortly afterwards.  
**Bibliography:** Brockhaus-Efron, *Enklop. Sogor* II A (= 4) 725-727; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Enciklopediya* 3, IV (1950) 49-52 (both geographical, with further geographical bibliography); H. Johansen, *Der Baikal-See in Mitt. Geogr. Ges. München* xviii, 1, 1925, 1-202; W. Leinbach, *Die Suedsibirien* (1930), 116-118; Th. Shalob, *Geography of the USSR* (1951), Reg. *Mosk. Gos. Univ. Ser. Geogr. and Leinbach*. (H. SELLERS)  
**BAILO** (see BĀLYŪ).

**AL-BĀ'ITH**, nickname of a satirical poet of Baṣra named *Ḥudhāḥ* b. *Ḥijr* al-Muḥallabī. Though held to be the greatest orator of the Tamīm, the Sallīm places him in the second class of the great Islamic poets. The critics, however, consider that his relative obscurity was only due to the renown of *Ḥijr*; al-Bā'ith's activity is in fact associated with that of the two rivals *Ḥijr* and al-Farazdaq; for many years he exchanged invectives with the former, but was obliged to call the latter to his assistance, who, moreover, did not always treat him gently (he also refers to him by the nickname *Im hamaḥ* al-*Ḥijr* 'son of the woman with the red' 'seriseum', an allusion to his mother's humble origin; she was a slave from Sidjastān). Yāqūt places his death in 134/752, but as he adds: "during the Caliphate of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik" (who reigned from 88 to 98/705-13), this date cannot be given credence.

**Bibliography:** *Ḍjāhiz*, *Bayān* and *Maymūn*, *Bayān*, Ibn Kutayba, *Sūṭ*, ed. Shihābī, 17-21; *Nahḥid Ḥijr* wa *al-Farazdaq*, *ḥawāṣi Ḍjāhiz* of *Ḥijr* and *Farazdaq*, *passim*; Ibn Sallīm,

*Tabaḥḥīl*, index; Ibn Durayd, *Ḥudhāḥ*, 147; Ibn 'Asākir, v, 122-4; *Amūdī*, *Ma'āḥī*, 56, 108; Yāqūt, *Udhāḥ*, xi, 52-53; C. A. Nallino, *Literatura*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

**BAKĀ'** wa-FANĀ'. The Sūfī terms *fanā'* (passing-away, effacement) and *bakā'* (subsistence, survival), refer to the stages of the development of the mystic in the path of gnosis. These categories, partly antithetical and partly complementary, are more or less equivalents of other pairs as *sukr* (intoxication) and *ṣakw* (sobriety), *ḍjām* or *wahda* (unity) and *faiḥra* or *katḥra* (separation, plurality), and *nafy* (negation) and *ḥikāḥ* (affirmation).

The doctrine has been developed especially since the extinction, in Baghdad in A.D. 322, of al-Ḥallāj who declared "I am God", when the Sūfīs turned to the task of a more sober description of the mystic experience in an effort to exonerate al-Ḥallāj from the un-Islamic idea of identifying the human ego with God and to demonstrate that Sūfism was not only truly Islamic but is the true Islam. Even though some Sūfīs, in their moment of ecstasy, have not been able to guard against utterances similar to that of al-Ḥallāj, especially in their poetry, they have usually categorically denied both the incarnation of God in man and the total merging of the individual and finite human ego in God. Two allied definitions have been offered of *fanā'*: (1) the passing-away from the consciousness of the mystic of all things, including himself, and even the absence of the consciousness of his passing-away, and its replacement by a pure consciousness of God, and (2) the annihilation of the imperfect attributes (as distinguished from the substance) of the creature and their replacement by the perfect attributes bestowed by God. It is quite obvious that *fanā'*, unlike the Indian Nirvāṇa, is not a mere cessation of individual life, but the development of a more ample and perfect selfhood afterwards.

Accordingly, *bakā'*, keeping the two definitions of *fanā'* in view, means (1) persistence in the new divinely bestowed attributes (*bakā' ḥiḥāḥ*), and (2) return to the mystic's ordinary consciousness of the creatural world. The second follows from the first, since being with God means also being with the world which has been created by God and in which He is manifested, however imperfectly. The Sūfīs generally regard this state of *bakā'* as being more perfect than that of mere *fanā'* and this is the meaning of their dictum that sobriety supersedes on intoxication. This "return" to the world—which is, emphatically state, not a simple return to the pre-*fanā'* state of the mystic, since his experience has given him an altogether new insight—means to perceive its inadequacies and to endeavour to make it more perfect.

The doctrine of *bakā'* throws into bold relief the distinction between the mystic and the prophetic consciousness. Whereas the ordinary mystic stops at *fanā'* and does not even wish to return to the world, it is the function of the prophet—the mystic par excellence,—to be constantly both with God and with the world, to transmute the course of history through the implementation of the religio-moral divine Truth.

**Bibliography:** Besides the works of the Sūfīs—of which the *K. al-Luma'* of Abū Naḥr al-Sarrāḥ and the *Kaḥf al-Mahḍūb* of al-Hudayrī, are the most important on the subject, the

most helpful account in any Western language is in R. A. Nicholson's *The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914, especially the last chapter. According to al-Ḥujwīrī, the author of the doctrine was Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāzī, but it was further developed by Ḥunayd and others no doubt under the criticism of the orthodoxy. A radical, forceful and lucid statement was developed, as a criticism of Ibn al-'Arabī, by the 17th century Indian Shāykh Ahmad Sirhindī whose Persian *Makshūb* have not been studied at all in the West. (F. RAHMAN)

**AL-BAK'Ā** (see AL-BĪK'Ā).

**BĀKĀLAMŪN** (see ABŪ KĀLAMŪN).

**BAKĀR**. In medieval Arabic literature, the term is confined to the prevalent meaning of *cattle* (*baḥ*), in contrast to more recent usage and to the application of corresponding forms in other Semitic languages. Arab authors distinguish between the domestic kind, *bahār ahlī* (= cattle), and the wild kind, *bahār waḥshī*, the latter being variously identified, either with the *mahd* (*Oryx capensis*; Newbury ix, 122) or the *ayyil* (*goat*); so according to the description in Kaḥwīl) or with a group of animals (referred to by Lane, 234, as *bovine antelopes*) which comprises, according to Damirī, in addition to these two species, also the *yahmūr* (roe deer) and the *ḥayṭal* (*babale antelope*). The distinctive epithet, however, is not always added, so that *bahār ahlī* or its nom. *baḥār* may also refer for several wild animals. This applies, for instance, to ancient Arabic poetry (see, e.g., *Ḍjāhiz*, v, 218) and its commentaries, to the respective data in the dictionaries (Ibn Sīdā treats *bahār* in the *Kitāb al-Fuḥūḥ*) and even to zoological writings (e.g., *Ḍjāhiz*, ii, 1999; iv, 3993). In works on the solution of dreams, where *bahār* holds an important place, it is difficult to determine the exact meaning in every case. Different traditions seem to have been intermingled also in pharmacological works. Here, the horns of *bahār* are frequently mentioned, while some Arab authors describe the *bahār ahlī* as a hornless animal. In the Kur'ān, where the term mainly occurs in biblical tales, the meaning is always cattle or cow. In addition, the term is found in ancient proverbs and in the *ḥadīṭ*.

**Bibliography:** 'Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Nābulusī, *Ta'ṭīr al-Anām*, s.v.; Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imdād*, i, 160, 164-66, 169-70, ii, 30 (transl. L. Kōpf, *Oriens* xii (1956), 463 (index)); 'All al-Tabarī, *Firdaws al-Ḥisām* (Siddiqi), 421 ff.; Damirī, s.v. (transl. Jayyārak i, 315 ff., 327 ff.); *Ḥayyān*, index; Hummel, *Singeltiere*, index s.v. *Kudhuk*; Ibn al-'Awwam, *Filāḥa* (transl. Clément-Mullet), lib. i ff.; Ibn Kutayba, *U'ayn al-Ḥabīb*, Cairo 1925-30, ii, 70, 75, 81, 94 (transl. Kōpf, 43, 50, 57, 70); Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Ḍjāma'*, Bālik 1291, 105 ff.; Ḍā'ūd al-Anṭākī, *Taḥḥīr*, Cairo 1324, i, 74 f.; Ibn Sīdā, *Muḥḥasas*, viii, 32 ff.; Ibn Sīrīn, *Muḥḥasas al-Kāḥim*, Bālik 33; *Ḥijāzī*, *Muḥḥas*, lib. 62, s.v.; Kaḥwīl (Wattenfeld), i, 380 ff.; Malout, *Arabic Zool. Dict.*, Cairo 1932, index; Mustawfī Kaḥwīl (Stephenson), 4 f.; Newbury, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ix, 322, x, 120 ff.; A. D. Caruthers, *Arabian Adventure to the Great Nafud in Quest of the Oryx*, London 1935. (L. KÖPF)

**BAKĀR**, 'ID (see BAYRĀM and 'ID).

**BĀKARGANĠ** (Bachergange), formerly a district in East Pakistan with headquarters at Bārsāl, (now itself a district comprising Bākarangan), lying between 21° 54' N. and 91° 2' E; Area 4,091 sq. m., of which 51 sq. m. are covered with water. The



population in 1951 was 3,642,185, of whom 2,597,769 were Muslims. The fertile lands known as Bākā (Bakā) constituted a *sarkār* in Mughal times prior to its occupation by Akbar Bākār, a prominent person at the Mughal Court at Dacca, owing allegiance to the Nawab of Murshidābād, and a land-owner of Burzurgmūndpur, in 1134/1741 when he successfully suppressed a revolt of the local Hindu landlords. He took as his headquarters a flourishing market-town which he named Bākargandj (nearly of Bākār) 13 miles to the south-east of Bīrsāl. On his death in 1167/1753 the entire estate passed on to Rājā Ballabh Rāy of Bīrkampur, a *dewan* [g.s.] of the Nāib Nāzim of Dacca. The area was several times raided by the Mughals, a predatory Burmese tribe, during the 12th/18th century. The Marāṭhīs penetrated into Bākargandj in 1162/1747-9 but were repulsed with the aid of Portuguese settlers. An agriculturally rich area, it supplied Murshidābād with rice during the terrible famine of 1184/1770. It is also famous for its fruit orchards. In 1238/1823-9 the district was visited by Karīmāt 'Alī Dīwānpūrī, a follower of Sayyid Ahmad Beḥlūl (g.s.), who along with Hādīd Shāh 'Alī and his son Dūdā Mīā preached *dīkād* against the foreigner (European). The movement collapsed with the death of Dūdā Mīā in 1279/1862. The bulk of the population speaks a form of Bengālī, known as Musalmānī, with a preponderance of Arabic and Persian words.

The district, in addition to being subject to heavy floods and cyclones, is noted for a strange atmospheric phenomenon, the 'Gunde', sometimes resembling the discharge of cannon and occurring at regular intervals. The occurrence still remains unexplained.

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(A. S. BAKER ANSARI)

**BAKHAMRĀ**, a place in medieval 'Irāk, the exact situation of which cannot now be fixed. According to al-Mas'ūdī it belonged to the Taḡf [g.s.], the frontier district between Babylonia and Arabia, and was 16 parasangs (about 60 miles) from Kūfa. Yāhūt says it was nearer to Kūfa than to Wasīt. Bākhāmra is famous in the history of the 'Abbāids for the decisive battle which took place there in 145/766 (while the Caliph was designing the new city of Baghdad) between the army of al-Mansūr, commanded by 'Isā b. Mīnā, and the troops of the 'Alid Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allāh in which the latter, after initial success, fell by an arrow-wound. The campaign thus terminated had represented a severe danger to al-Mansūr's position. The Aramaic place-name means "wine-vaux", and recalls the analogous name of Karayāt al-Nabḥ (grape-town) of a place in Palestine, North West of Jerusalem. Bākhāmra has no other claim to interest.

**Bibliography:** Yāhūt, i, 458; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murādī*, vi, 191; Well, *Chahin*, ii, 55 (wrongly vocalised Bachmar); Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate* (ed. T. H. Weir 1913), 456.

(M. STRECK-S. H. LÖNNQVIST)

**BAKHARZ** (also known as Gōwākhār), a region in Khurāsān between Harāt and Nīshāpūr (south of

Djān on the river Harāt), regarded as being particularly fertile. In the 10th century it was famous for its export of grain and grapes [and in the 14th century for its particularly good water melons as well]. Mālin (the variants: Mālin and Mālan) was the capital of the region, and in the 10th century it had a population of considerable size. According to descriptions of that time, it was situated on the site of the Shāh-i-Naw of today. The region included 128 villages, Dīwān Bākharz and others. Yāhūt explains the name (probably on the basis of folk-etymology) as Bād-har-hat ('wind in all places').

**Bibliography:** Mukaddasī 319; al-Fakh al-Hamadī 318; Ibn Rusta 171; al-Ya'qūbī 278 (= BGAT III, V, VII twice); Yāhūt, i, 458 (= Caribbe edition 1906: ii, 28), ii, 145, iv, 398 (= Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse* 741); Muhammad Hasan Khān, *Muḥd al-Jādī* i, 150; 'Awfī, *Lubb*, i, 68, ii, 156; Le Strange, 357.

(B. SPULER)

**AL-BĀKHARZĪ**, ABU 'L-HASAN (OR ABU 'L-KĀSIM) 'ALĪ B. ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ B. ABĪ 'L-TAYYIB, Arab poet and anthologist, a native of Bākharz. After receiving a good education in his father's house, he studied in particular Shāhī 144 and, at Nīshāpūr, attended the lectures of al-Dīwānī ('Abd Allāh b. Yūnūs [g.s.], where he made the acquaintance of al-Kundurī [g.s.]; the latter, when he became *waṣī*, took him to Baghdad as a secretary; previously, he had for some time been an official at Bagra. Subsequently, he was admitted to the chancellery, and later returned to his native place, where he was killed by a sabre stroke in Dha 'l-Ka'dī 467/June-July 1075.

The most famous work of al-Bākhārī is a letter of solace addressed to his benefactor al-Kundurī, on the subject of his castration. His *diwān* is lost, and only a few *mubattāt* have been published as an appendix to his *Dumayl al-Kar wa 'Uṣṣal al-Aṣr* (Aleppo 1349/1930); the latter work is an anthology which is a continuation of the *Yatima* of al-Tha'libī [g.s.] and comprises seven sections: Bedouin poets and poets of the Hūdūd; Syria; Dīyār Bakr, Ādharbaydān, Dīāra and Maghrib; 'Irāk; Rayy and Dīhāl; Dīwānī, Astarābādī, Dīhānī, Kūmī, Khā'arīm, Transoxania; Khurāsān, Kūhīstān, Sijīstān, Gharnā; *adab* authors. Another selection of his poems, entitled *al-Aḥsan*, is preserved in MS. in London. His poetry, which was but little appreciated at Baghdad despite the flattering opinions of the critics, is on the whole mediocre and artificial.

**Bibliography:** Introd. of the *Dumayl*; Sam'ānī, *Anab*, 57b; Yāhūt, s.v. *Bākhārī*; idem, *Irbād*, v, 121-28 = *Mu'djam*, xiii, 35-48; Ibn Khallikān, *Cairo* 1899, ii, 58-71; Browne, ii, 335 ff.; Brockelmann, S. I, 456; 'Alī 'Alī Tāhīr, *La Perse arabe en Irak et en Perse sous les Seldjūques*, Sorbonne thesis 1954 (unpublished), index.

(D. S. MARGOLIN)

**AL-BAKHRA'**, ancient site of Palmyra, well known in the Umayyad period. Al-Walīd II is known to have stayed there on several occasions and died there in 126/744. The Arab sources describe the military camp (*ḥayḍ*) which the Persians are said to have erected there in former times and the inner castle (*ḥar*) where the Companion al-Nu'mān b. Baḥr lived and in which the Caliph, besieged by the rebels, took refuge. The site has been identified with the ruins of al-Bāghra, standing 25 km. to the south of Palmyra, visited and described by A. Muhl in 1908, and, although the name is frequently deformed in the Arabic texts (especially into al-

Bahrā' or al-Naḡīrā'), the reading al-Bāghra' is not open to doubt since it is 'transmitted by the etymological speculations of the chroniclers, who derive it from the root *bāḥḥara*' (H. Lammens). The traces of a vast walled enclosure, furnished with towers 159 m. by 105 m., are accompanied to the north and the south by remains of dwellings around numerous wells, bearing testimony to the fact that from Roman times here was to be found, if not an 'important capital of the desert' as H. Lammens maintained, at least a 'fortified watering place' (A. Poidebard) on the Eosra-Palmrya desert road, which subsequently became an Umayyad palace. It was not long before the site was abandoned and those mediaeval authors who still indicate the existence of a fortress (849) of al-Bāghra', are no longer able to place it exactly.

**Bibliography:** A. Muhl, *Palmyrene*, New York 1928, 88, 141-43, 234, 285-87, 290-96, fig. 38 (plan); A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, Paris 1934, 52, 59, 66-67; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 1595; Tabari, index; *Aghānī*, Tables; Ma'ūdī, al-Tanbīh, 324; idem, *Murādī*, vi, 2; Yāhūt, i, 523; Bakrī, *Das geographische Wörterbuch*, i, 101.

(J. SEVERIN-THOMAS)

**BAKHSHĪ**, a word figuring from Mongol times (13th century) in Iranian and Turkish literature, particularly in historical literature. Like the Uighuric original, it begins by denoting the Buddhist priest or monk (= Tibetan: Lamas). During the 14th century the Uighurs (g.s.) were favourably disposed to, or gallant of, Buddhism, the number and influence of the *bakhshī* in Iran was considerable. In Iran, central Asia, India and the Crimea — after the suppression of Buddhism in Iran (in 1295) — *bakhshī* denotes only a scribe who wrote Turkish and Mongol records (which were kept to begin with in Uighur script = generally *bīdāh*). In the 16th century doctors (surgeons) were called by that name. Wherever *lamas* exist, i.e., among the Kalmycks, Mongols, and Manjūrs, the name *bakhshī* retained its original meaning of 'Buddhist priest' up to the 20th century. Amongst the Turkomans — and in the 15th and 16th centuries also amongst the Anatolian Turks — the name *bakhshī* came to mean a wandering minstrel; in Kirghiz it came to mean conjurer (Shaman), as also in the dialect forms *baksh* and *baksh*.

The etymology of the word *bakhshī* is disputed: it used to be almost generally accepted (e.g., by W. Barthold and E. Blochet) as deriving from the Sanskrit word *bhikṣa*, but this view has been opposed by P. Pelliet and others, who would derive it 'indirectly' from the Chinese *po-chi* (*po-chi* 'wise', 'well read').

**Bibliography:** Cf. excursus in Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, edited by M. E. Quatremère, i (1836), 184-9; M. F. Köprülü in *LA II* (1944-49), 233-38 (with bibliography); B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran* 4, Berlin 1955, 184, 347 (with bibliography concerning the etymology); W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Südasiens*, vol. iii, text, 46 ff.; R. Karzuz, *Unter Kirgisien und Turkmenen*, Berlin, no date (1928?).

(B. SPULER)

**BAKHSHĪSH**, or *bakhshish*, verbal noun from the Persian *bakhshādan*, 'to bestow', and used not only in Persian but also in Turkish and post-classical Arabic denote a gratuity bestowed by a superior on an inferior, a 'tip', or a 'consideration' thrown into a bargain, and also, though improperly, of bribes, particularly those offered to judges or

officials. A notable application of the term under the Ottoman régime was to the gratuity bestowed by a sultan at his accession on the chief personages of state and the Janissaries and other troops of the standing army—the *dīwān bakhshishī*. This involved the Ottoman central treasury in vast expenditure, which in the period of Ottoman decline it could ill afford.

**Bibliography:** Seyyid Mustafa Nūrī, *Nat'ijāt al-Wuḥūḥ*, ii, 98; Ahmed Rāsim, *Qāṣidat al-Ta'āshī*, i, 359-361, notes. (H. BOWEN)

**BAKHIT KHĀN**, Commander-in-Chief of the 'rebel' native forces, with the unusual and pompous title of 'Lord-Governor Bahādūr General Bakhit Khān', during the military uprising (also known as the Mutiny) of 1857 in India, was born at Salsitpur (Awadh) c. 1212/1797, where his father 'Abd Allāh Khān, a local descendant of Ghulām Kādir Rohilla, had settled after the dispersal of the Rohillas following the death of Hāfiṣ Rahmat Khān [g.s.]. 'Abd Allāh Khān had married a princess of the deposed Awadh ruling family and thus claimed close relationship with Royalty (C. T. Metcalfe, *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*, London 1898, 146). At the age of 20 (c. 1233/1817) he joined the 8th Foot Artillery, better known as the Bareilly Brigade, as a *Sābdār*, in which capacity he served continuously for forty years until the outbreak of the Mutiny. He has been described as "a most intelligent character" always "fond of English society". The field-battery, of which he was the Commander, had served at Djalābād during the First Afghān War, winning many distinctions and decorations for outstanding service.

He leapt into prominence after the sudden and carefully planned sepoy-rising at Bareilly on 31 May 1857, when all British residences collapsed and Khān Bahādūr Khān, a grandson of Hāfiṣ Rahmat Khān, was proclaimed the ruler of Kohāband as a viceroy of the Mughal Emperor. Bakhit Khān then marched to Delhi at the head of his artillery brigade and practically assumed all power. It was at his instance that a *fatwā* declaring a *dīkād* against the British was signed by the leading 'ulama' of the capital including Sadr al-Dīn Azurda (see AZURDA, 4284-4285) and Fazlī Bakh of Khayrābād [g.s.]. During the siege of Delhi he had some sharp and bitter encounters with the British and loyal forces, which ultimately succeeded in driving the rebels out of the city. With the fall of Delhi in September 1857, Bakhit Khān left the town in disgust, failing to persuade the effete emperor Bahādūr Shāh II [g.s.] to accompany him and his battered battalion to Awadh. His movements thereafter have not been precisely recorded. He is reported to have camped first at Djalābād (Dist. Harḍī), then at Bīlgrām [g.s.] and Mirāḥ Ghāt. He is finally reported to have joined the forces of Bāgham Hadrat Mahāl at Lucknow, and was killed in action on 16 Rabi'ulāwwal 1273/13 May 1859. According to another version, he fled to Nepal, disguised as a religious mendicant, and perished with other leaders of the revolt, now described by patriotic authors as the First War of Independence.

**Bibliography:** Charles Hall, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, London n.d., 508; T. Rieu Holmes, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, London 1868, 339-3; J. W. Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War in India*, London 1870, iii, 633; *Punjab Government Record Office Publications: Monograph* no. 15; *Parliamentary Papers*, London 1859, xviii, 22; *Insurrection in the East Indies presented to both Houses*



of *Parliament*, London 1858, 194; Nadim al-Ghannî Râmûrî, *al-Hikmah al-Sanadid*, Lucknow 1904, vol. II; Sayyida Anla Fâtima Barîwî, *1857 kî kîrê*, Aligarh 1949, 65 ff.; V. D. Savarkar, *The War of Independence 1857*, Bombay 1947, 295 and index; Surendra Nath Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-seven*, Delhi 1957, 83-4, 101-2, 371 and index; Ghulam Kasim Mîr, *1857 kî kîrê*, Lahore 1957, 120, 128; Intizâm Allâh Shihâbî, *Maghâzî-i Dîwân-i Âsâdî*, Karachi 1957, 442-45; Zâhir Dîhlawî, *Distîr-i Ghadr*, Lahore 1955, 135, 140-3; Shams al-'Ulayna' Mungî Dîwânî Allâh, *'Urdû-i 'Ahd-i Sultânât-i Ingîlîziyya*, Dîhli 1904, 676, 686, 696; Hasan Nûtmân, *Dîhli kî dîwânî*, Dîhli 1925; F. Cooper, *The Crisis in the Punjab*, London 1905, 201; G. Bouchier, *Eight months' Campaigns against the Bengal Sepoy Army*, London 1858, 44; Kamâl al-Dîn Haydar, *Kasay al-Tawârîkh*, Lucknow 1896, II, 312; Ra'îs Ahmad Dîwânî, *Bakhtîr Shâh Zafar aur unki 'ahad*, Lahore n.d., 835-33; Sir William Muir, *Intelligence Records of the Indian Mutiny of 1857*, (ed. Goldstream), Edinburgh 1904, II, 312.

(A. S. BAZMEER ANSARI)

**BAKHTIYÂR KHÂN**, a favourite eunuch, confidant and personal attendant of Awrangzîb [s.v.] who entered his service in 1605/1604 while the latter was still a prince. In 1609/1608 he was appointed *Darîgh-i Khawâssîn*. He died after a short illness at Ahmadnagar on 15 Rabi' I, 1096/1685 after faithfully serving Awrangzîb for 25 years. His death was personally mourned by the Emperor who held the funeral prayers and carried the bier for some paces. His dead body was brought to Delhi where he was buried in a tomb that he had built for himself in a township, named after him Bakhtîyârâpur, now called Basti Nâbî Karm.

Bakhtîyâr Khân was a great patron of art and learning. It was through his good offices that, among others, Shaykh Rafî al-Dîn of Bihârâpur, one of the compilers of the *Fatâwâ 'Alamgiriyya* [s.v.], gained access to the Court.

From his early youth he was an ardent student of history and had cultivated an elegant style of writing. The author of the *Ma'âzî-i 'Âlamgiri*, Muhammad Sâkî Musâ'îd, Khân's personal friend of Bakhtîyâr Khân as his private secretary and accountant.

It was Bakhtîyâr Khân who was entrusted in the year 1083/1674 with the task of ensuring, through legal rules, that the royal astrologers would not prepare horoscopes and almanacs any more.

Towards the end of his *Mir'ât al-'Âlam* (1078/1667), a general history rich in biographical material, the writer, who is none other than Bakhtîyâr Khân, gives a detailed account of his achievements. He claims the authorship of the following: (i) *Car'ânâ* or *Â'mîn-i Dîghî* (1068/1657), containing an account of the four battles fought by Awrangzîb which won him the throne (Brown, *Suppl.* 745); (ii) *Risâlat al-'Asâ'ir* (1061/1759), lives of celebrated divines and mystics, is preserved in the Archaeological Museum of the Delhi Fort. He is also the author of *Tarîkh-i Hindî*, a history of India from Bâbar to Awrangzîb (Princeton 468, Storey 317). A book of

Fatâwâ, a compendium of Hanafî law and a literary *pot-pourri*, called *Hamâm-i Bâgh*, were compiled for him by different authors.

Among the works of public utility founded and erected by him, he mentions the township of Bakhtîyârâpur, a number of mosques, caravanseras, including that of Bakhtîyârâwaraz, on the way to Fathâbâd, some bridges and canals for irrigation. He also laid out gardens, one in Lahore near the Shalâmâr and the other in Agharâbâd, three miles from Shâhjahânâbâd (Dehli).

**Bibliography:** *Ma'âzî-i 'Âlamgiri* (Bib. Ind.) 253 and index; *Mir'ât al-'Âlam*, last *afâyîsh*, *namâ* II (as reproduced in OCMIS Feb.-May, 1954); *Nasbat al-Khawâssîn* v, 89; Storey 137-133; Bîshnîdî, *Day-i Taghîr*, *al-Umâ* 1948; *Rica*, I, 125-6; Bâkîpûr Cat. VI, 477; Elliot and Dowson, VII, 150-3; OCM, Nov. 1948.

(A. S. BAZMEER ANSARI)

**BAKHTI**, Pen-name of Sultân Ahmad I; cf. Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, III, 208.

**BAKHTIGÂN**, the largest salt lake in the province of Fars, Iran. It is located ca. 30 km. east of Shîrâz at an altitude of ca. 1550 m. The size of the lake varies with the seasons, but at the greatest it is ca. 100 km. N-S, and 30 km. E-W. The water is very salty and the lake is exceedingly shallow. The lake is the basin of the Kurr or Band-i Anûr River.

In medieval Arabic geographical literature we find several mentions of Lake Bakhtigân. Ibn Khur-rad-dîghib, 53, refers to it as Lake Dîghânâ, Iy-takhtî, 122, gives a variant Badjakân, and an alternate name Badjîr, while Ibn Hawkal (ed. Kramers), 277, has al-Bakhtigân. The five lakes (*bahayrât*) of Fârs province are listed by Istakhrî, Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasî, 446, as follows: 1. Bakhtigân, belonging to the district (*khra*) of Istakhr; 2. Dasht Arzân in the district of Sâbir; 3. Tawwâr in the Sâbir district at Kâzarûn; 4. Dîghân near Shîrâz, Lake Mûr in Ibn Hawkal; 5. Bâsfâbiyya (Muk.-Bâshfâbiyya, Ibn Hawkal has al-Bâsfâbiyya) in the Istakhr district.

At the present Lake Bakhtigân is called Nîrîz. The other lakes have been identified by Herzfeld as: 2. Lake of Dâgh; 3. the lake of Fârs or Shîrî or Kâzarûn; 4. the Lake of Shîrî or Mahîrî. The name Bâsfâbiyya is probably the name of part of Lake Bakhtigân and perhaps identical with Badjîr. This lake has always had several sections connected by narrow arms of water, and the northern part was called Bâsfâbiyya or Dîghânâ, while the south was properly Bakhtigân or Nîrîz. The lake has been surveyed by Capt. H. L. Wells.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the geographers above, cf. Yâkût (ed. Wustenfeld), 3, 838; H. L. Wells, *Surveying Tours in Southern Persia*, *Proceedings RGS*, 5 (1883), 138; Le Strange, 277-9; Mas'ûd Kayhân, *Dîghîrî-yi mafâsîk-i Irân*, I, Tehran 1932, 59-62.

(R. N. FRYE)

**BAKHTIYÂR**, prince, son, heir apparent (344/955) and successor (350/967) of Mu'izz al-Dawla in 'Irâq, with the *lakhâb* of 'Izz al-Dawla. He appears to have had little talent for government, which, unlike his father, he entrusted to *wazîrs* (chosen without any great discernment) so as to be free to amuse himself, though he still took an interest in affairs by his impetuous verbal or active intervention. At the beginning of his reign he continued his father's policy of hostility to the Hamdânî Abû Taghlib of Mawrid and to the autonomous chieftain

of the Baṭṭiyya, 'Imrân b. Shāhīn. Furthermore, confronted with the new problem of Fātimid expansion in Syria, he drew close to the Karāmīya, who now sought to counter it. Bakhtiyār, however, was incapable of maintaining discipline among his troops, a prerequisite for the stability of the regime. Quarrels between the Daylamites and Turks became unbridled and ended in an open breach between Bakhtiyār and the latter, which was further complicated by popular struggles in Baghdad between Sunnis and Shī'īs, in which the 'ayyārān [s.v.] intervened. He was then obliged to appeal to his cousin in Fars, 'Adud al-Dawla, who noting the incapacity of the prince whom he had saved, conceived the idea of taking his place and was only temporarily prevented from doing so by the opposition of his father, Rukn al-Dawla, head of the Bāyid family; upon the latter's death, he was able to revive his plan and Bakhtiyār, who had ranged himself with Abū Taghlib and 'Imrân b. Shāhīn against him, was defeated and slain (366-2/967-8); the account of their struggles has been given in the article 'Adud al-Dawla. During the course of the struggle, the Caliph al-Mut'ī had been replaced by al-Tā'ī, a protégé of the Turks, for which reason he did not support Bakhtiyār in earnest.

**Bibliography:** cf. the articles BUWAYHIDS and 'ADUD AL-DAWLA. The chief source is naturally Mas'ûdî, *Taghîr al-Umân*, which is based on the lost History of Hib' al-Sâbî; among the sources, however, special mention must be made of Yalîyâ of Antioch, *Patrol. Or. X.XIII*, especially 354 f. An exceptional place, furthermore, is also occupied in our documentation by what has been preserved of the letters of al-Sâbî (Abū Ishâk), partial ed. Shakh' Arslân, Caliphal point of view) and of 'Abd al-'Azîz b. Yûsuf, analysed by Cl. Cahen in *Studi Orientalistici*... *Levi della Vida*, I, 83-95 (point of view of 'Adud al-Dawla); cf. also that of Ibn 'Abbâd, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhâb 'Azzâm and Shawkî Dayf, 1947, I, no. 7.

(CL. CAHEN)

**BAKHTIYÂR KHALDÎ** (see MUHAMMAD BAKHTIYÂR KHALDÎ).

**BAKHTIYÂR-NÂMA**, also known as the *History of the Ten Viziers*, Muslim tradition of the Indian history of Sindbâd or of the seven viziers (see *Sindbâd*). Like its prototype, the book consists of a story in the framework of which other tales are inserted, which are here closely connected with the basic story. The subject is brief; the son of King Âzâdabâgh is abandoned on the road, shortly after his birth, by his parents, who are fleeing; and brought up by brigands, in the end he is taken prisoner by the king's soldiers. The King, who likes him, takes him into his service under the name of Bakhtiyâr. When finally he has raised him to a high position, the King's viziers who are jealous, take advantage of an accident to slander him before the King; whereupon Bakhtiyâr and the queen are thrown into prison. To save himself, the queen explains that Bakhtiyâr wanted to seduce her. For ten days each of the ten viziers in turn tries to persuade the King to have Bakhtiyâr executed; the latter, however, is constantly able to gain respite from execution by means of a story appropriate to his situation. As finally it is to take place on the eleventh day, the leader of the brigands who had raised Bakhtiyâr appears and informs the King that Bakhtiyâr is his son. Thereupon the viziers are executed and Bakhtiyâr becomes king in his father's place, who abdicates in his favour.

Originally the work was composed in Persian. Nöldeke (see *Bibliography*), in the course of examining the various versions and their chronology, which had already been established by R. Basset, published and translated extracts from the oldest known Persian version (MS. dated 695/1296)—composed in a masterly and resounding style, the author of which asserts that he composed the work for a prince of Samarkand, not so far identified, but who lived, according to Nöldeke, during the second half of the 6th/12th century. The later versions, Arabic (one of which is inserted in the *One Thousand and One Nights*) and Persian, more simplified in style, differ in the order of the stories and the narrative details. With these can be placed the Uyghur version (ms. of 830/1433) and the Persian version in verse by Panâhî (6th/15th century; see *Bibliography*; Bertels). The Malay version and the Persian version in verse by Kathludâ Marzubân (1210/1795); Ethé, *Cal. Persian MSS. India Office*, no. 1726) are more recent. The purpose of the stories, taken as a whole, is to demonstrate the disadvantages and dangers of hasty decisions. Magical factors and the supernatural make virtually no appearance. The prose is generally free from excesses and prolixity.

**Bibliography:** Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, viii, 13-17 (editions and translations) viii, 78-89 (résumés of the stories); A. Jaubert, *Notice et extrait de la version turque du Bakhtiyâr Nâme, d'après le ms. en caractères ouïgours* (JA 1872); Ethé, *Gr. Jr. Ph.*, III, 323-25; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, XLV, 67-141; G. Kose, *Historia decem Vizierum et filii regis Azad Bacht* (Arab text, 1807); R. Basset, *Histoire des dix vizirs; Bakhtiyâr-Nâme*, 1883 French trans. with important introduction: "... this recension agrees absolutely with the addition given by Habicht in the 1000 and 1 Nights" vi, 101-143; Ouseley, *The Bakhtiyâr Nâme*...; Persian text with English translation, 1801 (trans. re-edited with introduction and notes by Clouston, 1883); Lescallier, *Bakhtiyâr Nâme ou le favori de la fortune*, trans. from Persian, 1805 (more extensive text and of greater literary merit; a pleasing trans.); J. E. Bertels, *Bakhtiyâr-Nâme, Persisch-ouïgische Sîmer*, Leningrad 1926 (ed. of a popular version with vocabulary); idem, *Nomja versija Bachtie Nâme, in Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR* 1929, 249-276; M. Foad Köprülü, in *IA* (s.v.). (J. HOROVITZ-[H. MASSE])

**BAKHTIYÂRI**. The Bakhtiyâris are a conglomerate of mixed races who migrated in the 10th century A.D. from Syria to Irân, where up to the 15th century they were known as the "Gûr Lurs"; they assert that they are not Iranian by origin. Although it is presumed that their ancestors migrated from Bactria, whence the word Bakhtiyâr, there is no confirmation of this hypothesis. They are probably of Kurdish descent.

By persuasion they are Shī'î Muslims and their language is of Iranian origin, yet they speak a patois of their own. Their population has almost reached the 400,000 mark.

Their land is called the Bakhtiyârî country, and extends from Isfahân to Maydân-i Naftûn in Khûzistân, a mountainous region, where rich oil fields are situated.

The Bakhtiyâris are divided into two major groups, the Haft-Lang and the Cahâr-Lang. The most important, the Haft-Lang, consists of 35 sub-tribes, while the Cahâr-Lang group has 24 sub-tribes. There is a sprinkling of Lurs and Arabs among them, for example: Mowri, Talikî, Nawadî,



Gandall, Carbur, Mirzawand, Livsel, Katski, etc. Being a gregarious people, they live "on the country," trekking long distances twice a year in search of grass, and hence they are called also the grass-folk.

The wealthy khāns or chieftains have their own residences in town. They possess also summer resorts where they live during the hot season. Although destitute of any bookish education, they maintain their *miras* or clerks. Nevertheless, they have recently awakened to the great importance of education, and are now sending their sons to Europe for an academic education; this tendency seems to be growing.

The Bakhitiyari woman is unveiled and goes about freely within the tribal area. As a khān's wife, she will attend to certain tribal cases during the khān's absence, and her findings and decisions are lawful and binding.

The tribeswomen weave their tents and also kilims, while their characteristic foot-gear, called *ghes*, is made by the tribesmen. Each tribal subdivision has its own so-called "healing man," who administers some herbs and in certain cases has recourse to incantations.

The Bakhitiyari have their own customs relating to birth, marriage, and death; divorce is practically unknown to them. They have their own particular poems, love songs and dirges, and also interesting games and a great variety of delightful folk-stories.

**Bibliography:** V. Melkonian, *The Bakhitiari*, 2nd ed. Basra 1954; D. L. R. Lormer, *The Popular Verse of the Bakhitiari of S. W. Persia*, in *BSOAS*, xvi, 1954, 542-555, xvii, 1955, 92-102.

**B. BAKI**, MAHMUD 'ABD AL-, Turkish poet. Born in Istanbul of modest family (933/1520). His father Mehmed was a *muḥaddithin* at the Fāṭih mosque. After working as an apprentice to a saddler, Baki began his regular studies in a *madrasa* where he had the good fortune to have as teachers some of the leading scholars of the time and many brilliant fellow students, including the historian Sa'd al-Din. He greatly profited from these invigorating surroundings, and the appreciation and encouragement of the old poet Dīshā'i whose shop was a sort of literary club for men of letters. In 962/1555 the sultan Süleyman returned from his Persian campaign and the young poet submitted a *ḥayḥa* to him. This gave him an entrée into the court and upper-class circles of the capital. His rapid and brilliant academic career and the favour of the Sultan who sent his own poems to Baki to be corrected and asked him to write *nasīb* to them aroused the jealousy of even his best friends and soon he found himself involved in the intrigues of the court. The death of Süleyman profoundly and he wrote the famous elegy which is his masterpiece. After a temporary eclipse, Baki continued his rise in the 'ulama' career, thanks partly to Sokullu's protection, and won the favour of Selim II and his successor Murad III. On his return to Istanbul after a period of office as *kāsh* of Mecca then of Medina, he was made, with intervals of disgrace, successively *kāsh* of Istanbul, *kāsh* of Ankara and later of Ruḥi, and then was retired without becoming *Shaykh al-Islām*, a hope which he had long cherished. The son of sultan Mehmed III appointed him again *kāsh* of Ruḥi, recognising thus his long services and his great reputation as the most distinguished poet, the *Sūfī al-Shā'ir*, of his time. The aging poet, whose ambition grew at the chance of reaching his goal, the highest office of his profession, took part in embittered court intrigues.

The Grand Vezir Khādin Hasan Paşa strongly recommended Baki for the office of *Shaykh al-Islām*, but the Sultan preferred his own tutor Khudja Sa'd al-Din. Baki's death in 1008/1600 was widely mourned and he was given a State funeral, the *Shaykh al-Islām* leading the funeral prayer.

Serious, dignified and with a keen sense of justice in his professional career, Baki was, as a private life, a man of the world, gay, a bon vivant, sociable, extremely witty, fond of jokes, repartee and the exchange of satire, even with friends. These characteristics made him many enemies and rivals, but also secured many powerful friends and protectors, thus smoothing the way to rapid progress in his career.

Apart from a few treatises, mostly on religious matters, Baki's main work consists of his *divān*. Unlike most poets of the classical period he wrote no *mathnawī*. The easy and happy life of the upper classes of the 16th century Istanbul, the colourful landscape, the gay and picturesque scenes of the pleasure resorts in and around the Capital are vividly reflected in Baki's poems. In his *ghazals*, minutely toolled with the care of a jeweller, he turned consistently to a favourite theme of diabolic poets: In this dreamlike and swiftly changing world all is ephemeral: The beauties of nature, youth, happiness, high estate are all doomed to perish. So, love, drink, and be merry while you can. "Forgo not this opportunity, for the pleasures of this world are as fleeting as the season of roses". Unlike Fudālī, Baki's temperament was not inclined towards religious enthusiasm and his lyrics did not lead towards mystical interpretation, although he often makes use of Sūfī terminology. Baki is the unequalled master of form. His perfect versification, meticulous choice of words, skilful use of onomatopoeic effect achieve a fascinating musicality which caused him to be recognised, by both his contemporaries and successors as his greatest *ghazal* writer of Turkish literature. In his hand the Turkish of Istanbul found its best expression in classical poetry. His great popularity and influence never diminished, and his pure and fluent style paved the way for Yahyā and Nedīm. In his prose works Baki avoided fashionable precious and ornate language, producing some of the best specimens of natural, unadorned, well-balanced style.

**Bibliography:** The *ṭuhfah* of 'Abdī, 'Aḥlik Celebi, Kınık-ade Hasan Celebi, and the biographical section in 'Aḥis Kerk al-Aḥḥar, s.v.; Pečević, *Ta'wīḥ*, passim; Kınık Celebi, *Fedhīe*, passim; Na'imā, *Ta'rikh*, passim; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. Osman. Dichtkunst*, II, 360; idem, *Baki's des größten türkischen Lyrikers*, *Diwan*, Vienna 1825; Gibb, *Osman. Poetry*, III, 333; R. Dvorkā, *Baki's Divan*, *Ghazaliyat*, 2 vols. Leiden 1908-1911; J. Ryppka, *Baki als Ghazeldichter*, Prague 1926; idem, *Sieben Ghazels aus Baki's Divan überstet und erklärt*, in *AIUON*, N.S. 1940, 137-148; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, Istanbul 1934, 259-320; idem in *IA*, s.v. (with critical bibliography); Sadek, *Nuḥḥet Ergun*, *Baki Divanı*, Istanbul 1935; idem, *Türk Şairleri*, Istanbul 1936, II, 714-797; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 337-346.

**B. BAKI a. MAKHLAD**, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān, celebrated traditionist and exegete of Cordova, probably of Christian origin, born in 201/817, died in 276/889. Like many Spanish Muslims, he visited the principal cities of the Orient, where he frequented the society of representatives of various *madhāhib*, in particular Ibn Hanbal; on his return to Cordova, he displayed such independence in doctrinal matters

(some count him however as a Shāfi'i) and he is regarded as having introduced the Zāhiri doctrines into Spain and opposition to *taḥlīl*, that he soon found himself regarded with hostility by the Mālikī *fuḥah*; he was even nearly condemned to death on a charge of heresy, and owed his escape solely to the intervention of the *amīr* Muḥammad (128-73/852-86), who allowed him freely to dispense his eclectic teaching. His chief works, all of which are lost, are a commentary on the Qur'ān, which Ibn Ḥazm considered superior to that of al-Tabari, and a *muḥḥad* in which the traditions were classified according to their subject under the names, themselves arranged in alphabetical order, of the Companions who had handed them down. Baki's chief biography was written by the prince 'Abd Allāh al-Zāhid, enjoyed at the end of his life a reputation for piety bordering on holiness, and Ibn Ḥazm considered him, in the sphere of the Traditions, the equal of al-Buḥārī and other illustrious traditionists.

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(CH. PELLAT)

**KN'ADJA BAKI B'ILLĀH**, Abū 'L-Mu'AYYID Rāfi' al-Dīn, also called 'Abd al-Baki or Muḥammad Baki b. 'Abd al-Salām Uwaysi Nakshbandi, was born at Kābul on 5 Dhū l-Hijja 971/16 Dec. 1563 and died at Delhi on Saturday, 25 Jumādā II 1012/2 July, 1603. He received his early education from Sādiq Ḥalwālī, in whose company he went to Samarkand to pursue his studies further. It was during his stay there that he cultivated a taste for *tasawwuf*. On the invitation of some of his friends, who held high posts in India, he left for that country, but instead of entering the Imperial army, as intended, he began to search for mystics and *pirs*. After a short sojourn in India he returned to Mā Warā' al-Nahr to receive formal initiation into the Nakshbandi order from Kn'adja Muḥammad Amkang, a great *pīr* of his times. Back in India again in 1008/1599 he decided to settle down at Delhi. His influence soon spread and Ahmad Sarbindi (q.v.) and 'Abd al-Jalāl Dihlawī (q.v.) accepted him as their teacher.

He is the author of: (i) *Silsilat al-Aḥrā*, a collection of his *rubā'iyyāt*, which have been commented upon by Ahmad Sarbindi (*Oriental College Magazine*, viii/4, 41); (ii) *Kulliyāt*, a collection of his poems, including a *mathnawī*, which has been partially reproduced in the *Zuhdat al-Mahabbat* (p. 66), (MS. in the I.O. D.P. 1095). A collection of his letters (I.O. D.P. 10984) has been published: (*Makātibāt-Ṣharīf* *Hadrat* *Kn'adja Baki b'illāh Dihlawī*, Lahore 1923). A commentary on the Qur'ān is also attributed to him, but no MS. seems to exist.

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**BAKI' al-GHARKAD** (also called *Imām al-Baki'* or simply *al-Baki'*), is the oldest and the first Islamic cemetery of al-Madīna. The name denotes a field which was originally covered with a kind of bramble called *al-gharkad*; there were several such Baki's in al-Madīna. The place is situated at the south-east end of the town, at a short distance from the Prophet's tomb, outside the town-wall, now demolished, through which a gateway, Bāb al-Baki' gave admittance to the cemetery (see the map of Madīna in Caetani, *Annali*, II, 273). The first to be buried in al-Baki', from among the *muhaddithin*, was 'Uḥmān b. Ma'qū'a (a Companion of the Prophet) who died in 3/62-7. The bramble-growth was cleared and the place consecrated to be the future graveyard of the Muslims who died at al-Madīna. The Prophet's daughters, his infant son Ibrāhīm, his wives (*ummal al-mu'minin*) and his descendants, and with the exception of al-Husayn are also buried here. The burial-place of Fāṭima al-Zahra' (q.v.) is, however, disputed. Among the other notables buried here are 'Uḥmān b. 'Affān, Mālik b. Anas (q.v.), his techer Nāṣif, Ḥallima al-Sa'diyya (the Prophet's wet-nurse) and al-'Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet. It gradually became an honour to be granted a last resting-place here among the *ahl al-bayt* (q.v.) the Imāms and Saints. The graves of the famous dead had grand cupolas and domes built over them; the domes of Hasan b. 'Alī and al-'Abbās for example, rose to a considerable height, as Ibn Dīshāwī tells us. When Durrhādī visited the place after the invasion of the Wahhābīs, he found it one of the most wretched cemeteries of the East. Like the grave of Ḥamza at Uhud and the first mosque in Islam at Kubā', a Medinese suburb, al-Baki' is one of the sacred places which the pilgrims to al-Madīna consider it an act of piety to visit.

During the life-time of the 'Prophet al-Baki' was a very small place, the graves of 'Uḥmān b. 'Affān and Ḥallima al-Sa'diyya not being within its precincts. 'Uḥmān b. 'Affān was buried originally in Baḥsh Karākib, which was included in al-Baki' by the Umayyads much later. Even the enclosure where some of those killed during the Umayyad occupation of al-Madīna were buried fell outside its present



boundaries. The domes and minarets destroyed by the early Wahhābīs in 1223/1806 were restored by 'Abd al-Hamid II (g.c.), sultan of Turkey, to be destroyed again in 1926 by 'Abd al-'Azīz Āl Sa'ūd. This action of the Sa'ūdī monarch gave rise to a serious agitation in India, and a deputation was sent to Mecca to lodge a strong protest. The king, however, did not yield and the graves are still without any tombs; they have insignificant head-stones without any inscriptions or epitaphs. Rutter, who saw it in 1926, shortly after the second Wahhābī occupation, compares it with the ruins of a town affected by an earthquake. In 1934 crenelated piers were laid, by the orders of King Sa'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, all over the cemetery for the use and convenience of visitors.

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(A. J. WENSINCK (A. S. BAKRĪ ANSĀRĪ))

**BĀKĪLLĀNĪ**, 'ABRĀHĀM-KULĀ AGĀZ, better known under the Russian form of the name, Bākil'lanov, and his literary pseudonym Kūld, Bākil'lanov, a Russian poet and philosopher, son of Mirzā Mamed Khān, ruler of Bāklā, driven from his throne by his brother Muhammad Kull Khān. He was born on 10 June 1794 in the village of Enur-Hadgīan in the Khānat of Bāklā, and died in 1847 at Kūba. After a thorough education in Persian and Arabic, in 1820 Bākil'lanov was appointed official interpreter at Tiflis in the headquarters of General Ermolov, Commander in Chief of the Russian armies in the Caucasus. There he learned Russian, through which language he became well acquainted with western literature. Shortly afterwards, he undertook a long journey which led him to Shīrwān, Armenia, Daghestān, Georgia, Turkey and Persia. During the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Persian wars, Bākil'lanov, who was a convinced advocate of rapprochement with Russia, was a staff officer at General Paskievich's headquarters. In 1833 he made a second journey, visiting the Northern Caucasus, Russia, the Baltic States and Poland. From 1834 onwards, he devoted himself to literature and published a large number of works in Agharī, Persian and Arabic. His most important work is: *Gulistan-i Irem* (1841) which traces the history of Daghestān and Shīrwān from ancient times down to the treaty of Gulistan. A Russian translation of this valuable work was

published in 1926 by the Association for the Study of Agharībaydīn in Bāklā, with a preface by S. Shosev and a biography of the author by M. G. Bakham; the Agharī text appeared in 1931 at Bāklā (Edition of the Academy of Sciences of the Agharībaydīn SSR).

His other works are: *Kiyād al-Kuds* (in Agharī), abridged biography of the principal Sufī saints, Islāmī, Kūndī, and Kūndī, Persian grammar; *Kaḡh al-Ghāḡh* (in Persian), containing a description of the discovery of America; *Tahḡīb-i Aḥḥab* (in Persian), treatise on Ethics and Moral Philosophy according to Arab, Greek and European authors; *Ḥāḡh al-Mīnā* (in Arabic), treatise on scholasticism and logic; *Asrār al-Malab* (in Persian and Arabic), treatise on astronomy, published at Tiflis; *Narīd-nāma* (in Persian), collection of moral precepts.

Finally several poems in Arabic, Agharī and Persian, some of which have been published in the newspaper *Feyṣal* of Bāklā (no. 28 of 1907), as well as a translation of Krilov's fables into Agharī.

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(A. BENSIGER)

**AL-BĀKILLĀNĪ** (i.e. the greengrocer), the kādī Abū Bakr MUHAMMAD b. AL-TAYYIB b. MUHAMMAD b. IḤSĀN b. AL-KĀNĪ, in most of the sources b. AL-BĀKILLĀNĪ, but in popular usage (and Ibn al-Balāḥ) simply AL-BĀKILLĀNĪ, Agharī theologian and Maliki jurist, said to have been a major factor in the systematising and popularising of Agharīsm.

The date of his birth is unknown. He died on 23 Dhū'l-Qa'dā 403/5 June 1013. Born in Bagdad, visits to Shīrāz and the Byzantine court are mentioned, and for a time he exercised the office of kādī outside the capital. He studied *waḥ al-dīn* under disciples of al-Agharī and is said to have attracted many to his own lectures. Various anecdotes are related to illustrate his skill in disputation. Kādī, writer, disputant, lecturer—these headings sum up his life as we know it from our rather inadequate sources.

A list of his works (to which the editors add three titles) is given by the kādī Ḥayyū. Six of these fifty-two works are known to be extant. The *T'adīl al-Kur'ān*, printed several times, is regarded as a classic work on the subject. The *Tamhīd* is the earliest example we have of a complete treatise on theological polemic. The *Tawḥīd* contains two parts: a version of the Sunni creed with brief explanations, and a detailed discussion of the incarnation of the Kur'ān, the *hadār*, the vision of God, and intercession (*shafā'a*). The *Manāḥib* (incomplete) is a defence of the Sunni position regarding the Imamate (Caliphate). The *Intisār* (incomplete) is chiefly concerned with textual integrity of the Kur'ān. The theme of *al-Bayān* (incomplete) is the apologetic miracle which vindicates the claim to prophethood.

Study of these works does not enable us to define precisely the author's contribution to the development of Agharī kalām. For we do not know enough about the work of his contemporaries and predecessors, e.g. Ibn Fīrāk, Abū Ishāq al-Isfārīnī, and others, to do so. This it is now clear that much of what once might have been attributed to al-Bākil'lanī already existed in al-Agharī's *Kuḥ al-*

*Jum'*. Ibn Taymiyya called al-Bākil'lanī 'the best of the Agharī madhābīn, unrivalled by any predecessor or successor' (*Shadharāt*, iii, 169), but this praise is not disinterested. Ibn Khaldūn's assertions (*Muḥabbarāt*, iii, 40), and the affirmations of Macdonald (*Development of Muslim Theology*, etc., 200-201), seem to be exaggerated. Since al-Bākil'lanī certainly did not introduce the doctrines of atomism and accidents. There is evidence of some originality in his discussion of the apologetic miracle. But the main virtues of his works appear to be those proper to careful and industrious compilation. His metaphysics is not profound, but he was clearly aware of the cardinal apologetic importance of such questions as the validity of tradition and the possibility of the apologetic miracle. Undoubtedly he did much to propagate Agharīsm, and he is mentioned fairly frequently by later writers.

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(R. J. MCCARTHY)

**AL-BĀKĪR** (A.) the Splitter, i.e. the Investigator, a name of the Imam Muhammad b. 'Alī (g.c.).

**BAKKĀ'Ā**, pl. bakka'ān, bakka'ā, "weepers", ascetics who during their devotional exercises shed many tears. Older Islamic asceticism and mysticism are characterised by a strong consciousness of sin, by austere penance, humility, contrition and mourning. Laughter was denounced. An outward sign of this attitude is the act of weeping. The Kur'ān (Sūra xvii, 109) and they fall down on their chins, weeping", and Sūra xix, 58: "when the signs of the Merciful were recited before them, they fell down, prostrating themselves, weeping", and then, above all, the *ḥadīḡ* acknowledge and commend the shedding of tears during devotional exercises. The Prophet Muhammad is said to have wept audibly at times in the course of the ritual prayers. A similar behaviour is reported of the first Caliph Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Of weeping ascetics or those who at least imitated the practice of weeping, a long list might be compiled from the *Ḥayy al-Awḡyā* of Abū Na'aym. To this class belonged such well-known names as Ḥasān al-Baṣrī, Ibn Sīrīn, Mālik b. Dīnār, Abū Ḍ-Ḍardā' (who even

wrote a special work called *Kuḥ al-Ribba* or *T-Bakā'*, Ḥarīm al-Nakha'ī, Abū Sulaymān al-Dūrānī, Fudayl b. 'Iyād, Ḥabīb al-'Adjamī, 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Dhū'l-Nūn al-Misrī, Yahyā b. Mu'adh al-Rāzī, etc. Yet there were but few who in fact bore the by-name of al-bakka' or were at least designated as weepers, amongst them being Yahyā al-Bakka' (in Bayr): *Ḥilya* 2, 247; Abū Sa'ūd Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Bakka' (*Ḥilya* 7, 385); Mutarrī b. Tarīf, Muhammad b. Sūka, 'Abd al-Malik b. Abdujār, Abū Sīnān Dirār b. Murra (these four in *Kūfa*: *Ḥilya* 5, 4 and 5, 91); Sayyār al-Nabāḡī (designated as *bakā'*; *Ḥilya* 10, 160); Ḥayyān al-Bakka' (Sufwīn b. Muḥta *Ḥabīb*, *Ḥadāḡ*, 5); Ḥishām b. Ḥassīn (Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning*, 83 f.), Ḥarīm al-Bakka' (Sulāmī, *Tahḥīḥ*, 87). Famous for their weeping are also Sālib al-Murī, Ghālib al-Djadhāmī, Kahmas, Muhammad b. Wāṣī. These "class", as R. A. Nicholson (*E.R.E.* 2, 100), A. J. Wensinck (*Some Semitic Rites*, 86), L. Massieu (*Essai*, 167), H. Lammens (*L'islam*, 152), Ch. Pellat (*Le milieu basile* à la formation de Ghāḡī, 94) and R. Dorey (*Suppl.*, s.v. bakka') seem to suppose, bakka' continued rather to be an appellative term applicable to all those who wept copiously, and given to an individual only occasionally as a by-name; it is comparable to some degree with the term *hamūd* found in *Ḥilya* 5, 69 as a designation for one who in joy and sorrow sings the praise of God. Therefore mention is also made of bakka'ān amongst the ancient Israelites (Ibn Kutayba, *U'yūn al-Aḥḡāb*, 2, 284; *Ḥilya*, 5, 164). Muhammad b. Wāṣī, himself a great weeper, deemed it absurd to call himself bakka' (*Ḥilya*, 2, 247).

Abū Ḍ-Ḍardā' gives three reasons for his weeping: fear of the fate that awaits us directly after death, the impossibility of striving further towards one's own salvation, and the uncertainty as to the verdict that will be made on the Day of Judgement (*Ḥabīb*, *Ḥilya*, 5, 151; var. Ibn Kutayba, *U'yūn*, 2, 559). Yāzīd b. Mayssara enumerates in general seven reasons for weeping: joy, sorrow, anguish, pain, hypocrisy, gratitude to and fear of God (*Ḥilya*, 5, 235). Abū Sa'ūd al-Kharrāz even names eighteen reasons, all of them subordinate, however, to three kinds of weeping: away from God, towards God, and with God (Sarrāḡ, *al-Lum'* h. T-Tasawwuf, ed. Nicholson, 229).

In the centre of the weeping of the bakka'ān are the fear of God (*Ḥabīb* *Ḥilya*), the Day of Judgement, doubt as to the verdict of God, the tortures of Hell. Often there is weeping over one's own sins, over specific personal weaknesses, over the wasted bygone years or the irrevocable past during the period of probation on earth; it can also arise from compassion for others, for those who err in their religion and for the dead who are no longer able to better their fate, or it arises from yearning for one's abode in Heaven, for God, and so on. They often wept in the expectation — and here too the *ḥadīḡ*, in a certain measure, could be adduced as an authority — of God's indulgence and kindness, of His protection on the Day of Judgement, of safeguard from Hell, of remission of one's own or even of other people's sins, of the attainment of Paradise, and of reward. Just as the beggar who can weep has a greater chance of success (Karl Hadank, *Die Mundarten von Khunūz*, etc., cix), so too the spiritual beggar, through weeping, hopes to arouse the compassion of God and thus, perhaps, to undergo



here and now some part of his future punishment. "Between Hell and Paradise", one text has it (*Hilya*, 7, 140), "there lies a vast desert that only the *bakkā'* traverses".

Prayer (including ritual prayer), thinking of God, reciting *Kur'ān* and *ḥadīth*, sermons, editing stories, pious discourses, meditative contemplation — these constitute the occasions for weeping. We learn that the pious Muslim would pass the night and weep until morning in solitary meditation over one or the other of those passages of the *Kur'ān* that deal mainly with the punishment of the sinner. At times there is weeping in prayers of supplication, often at the *Ka'ba*, clinging to the *ḥisā* or before the Black Stone, frequently too in burial grounds at the sight of the tombs. *Kur'ān* readers (*ḥurūd*), reciters of the *ḥadīth* preachers and narrators of editing stories (*ḥusūd*, sing. *ḥūṣ*) during their performance give free course to their tears, and often incite their audience to weep, or they just make them shed tears. One *hilya* is said to have asked his audience, before each discourse: "Lend me your tears!" (*Hilya*, 3, 112). Special gatherings (*mahdār*, sing. *mahdār*) were held, in which there was much weeping, followed by a meal (*Hilya*, 2, 347). Two pious Muslims, encountering each other, might enter into a discourse about religion and shed tears over it. Muhammad b. Sūka and Dirār b. Murra are said to have met regularly each Friday for this purpose (*Hilya*, 2, 3, and 3, 91). Badīl, Shamsay and Kahlana came together on one occasion in the house belonging to one of them and said: "Let us weep today over the cool water (that we shall be lacking on the Day of Judgement)!" (*Hilya*, 6, 213). The long lament of a weeper (with the characteristic *ḥayyū*) can be found in *Hilya*, 4, 255-260, the much shorter lament of a supposed Israelite in *Uyūn*, 2, 284, and a religious discussion between three weepers in *Hilya*, 10, 103.

The most incredible stories are reported concerning the amount of tears that a weeper was able to shed: one of them wept at times for three days and nights on end, others cried until their beads or their cushions were soaked, others again drowned entire sacks of sand with their tears. The tears of one weeper were heard splashing on his, another, after weeping, sat in such a puddle that he was thought to have carried out his ablutions there. One of them, pouring out tears on the ground, caused grass to sprout; another wept on purpose into a drain (*ṣarāb*). In some weepers the flow of tears furnished deep lines in their cheeks, others had their eyelashes and eyelids fall off, others again had their ribs deformed, and their eyes became weak-sighted or blind. Cases of fainting and even of death are mentioned.

The ability to weep was held to be a special privilege (*ḥudba*) and a sign of true religious fervour and divine grace. "Not every seeker can weep" ('Abd Allāh Anṣārī Harawī, *Rasā'id*, Tebriz 1319, 25). Abū Bakr, at the sight of some Yemenites who were weeping at a recital of the *Kur'ān*, called out: "Thus were we too, until our hearts were hardened" (*Dihāzī, Bayān*, 3, 151). 'Amīr b. 'Abd Kayṣ once struck himself in despair on the eyes and exclaimed: "Dry, paralysed, never to be wet again!" (*Diḥḥāṭ*, 5). For Dārānī, the inability to weep is a sign of abandonment by God (*Sulāmi, Taḥḥāt al-Sāfiyya*, Cairo 1953, 83). Yūsuf b. Husayn al-Kāfi saw in the fact that he no longer wept during the reading of the *Kur'ān* a sign that his countrymen might perhaps be right to call him a *ṣindīḥ* (*Hilya*, 10, 240).

On the other hand, Ṭahīb al-Bunān regards the gift of weeping as a sign that God grants his prayers (*Hilya*, 2, 323). Muḥammad is said to have entreated God to grant him "two raining eyes that weep a flood of tears" (*Hilya*, 2, 296 f. and 2, 280; Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rules*, 89). In this connection, the *ḥadīth* al-ṭahībī, "Weep or at least attempt to weep (or: at least pretend to do so)" enjoys general acceptance.

Among the ascetics four objections or, at least reservations have been raised against the practice of weeping. First of all, weeping was not an action. Secondly, it could be considered as relieving the load of grief and as unburdening of the heart and as such was rejected. In this connection Sūfiyūn b. 'Uyayna is said to have developed the technique of holding back the tears in his eyes by raising his head and thus, he said, retaining his sorrow longer within him (*Hilya*, 9, 327). Thirdly, weeping was something outward and could therefore be simulated. The false tears of Joseph's brothers (*Sūra* 12, 16) are mentioned as an example of this danger. Reference was also made to the supposed *ḥadīth*: "The believer weeps in his heart, the hypocrite in his skull". Since weeping is an outward manifestation, it never receives in the *Sūfi* manuals a chapter to itself, but is treated only in passing in the chapters on sadness (*ḥuzn*), contrition (*dhawā'*) and the like. The 27th chapter of 'Aṭṭār's *Makhlūṣiyya* (aka *ṣifāt ṣarīḥ*) is a special case, where, does not, we need not be told, here. Fourthly, many later *Sūfis* have held it to be a sign of weakness to let themselves be overpowered by their feelings to the point of weeping.

This is not the place for a full account of the weeping of the *Sūfis* in the *ṣawā'* and at the tombs of saints, the shedding of tears amongst pilgrims at the sight of Mecca, in 'Arafa and at the tomb of the Prophet in Medina, the weeping of the *Sūfis* over their Imāms or at their tombs, the weeping of the *ṭawwā'id* (those addicted to repentance) or of the *ḫawā'id*, etc. But it may be indicated here that the weeping of the *bakkā'ān* is one of the most evident links that bind together the pious asceticism of the Muslims with that of the Christians. From the early-Christian *gratia lacrimarum*, through the Coptic and Syriac monks (Isidore, Ephraem, John of Ephesus, Isaac of Nineveh, etc.), a direct line runs to the Islamic *bakkā'ān* — an instance of the well-known bifurcate development: a common root in early Christianity, with, thereafter, one branch in Western Christendom (Augustine, Cassian, etc.), and the other in the East. The eastern current divides thereafter into three branches: one represents the Eastern Christian continuation through Thomas of Marāṭh down to Barhebraeus, etc., the other is the Jewish offshoot (Wensinck) and the third constitutes the weeping in Islamic asceticism. Islam has, it is true, overlaid and indeed absorbed within itself other oriental forms of weeping (cf. the "weeping of the Magians" over Siyāwush, in Nārjakhī's *Ta'rikh al-Ruhānī*, ed. Schefer, at the sight of the weeping over Tammuz I). Nonetheless, the Muslims themselves were well aware that their pious weeping had its origin in the Jewish-Christian sphere and illustrated it with such examples as the tears of Adam, Noah (Nūḥ) etymology *nāḥa*), Jacob, David, Solomon, John the Baptist, Jesus and numerous monks. The *ḥadīth* al-ṭahībī might even go back to an utterance of Isaac of Nineveh (translated by Wensinck, 235): "If thou art no mourner in thy heart, let at least thy face be clad with mourning".

The *bakkā'ān* mentioned by Ibn Hishām, Sira, etc.

Wüstenfeld, 2, 595 f., do not fall into the category of the weepers discussed in this article.

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**BAKKĀL**, etymologically "retailer of vegetables", this word has become the equivalent of the present English "grocer" taken in its widest sense. With the latter significance it has passed into Persian and Turkish, and, from Turkish, into the Balkan languages.

In its etymological meaning, the word was known in the Spanish Arabic of Valencia in the 7th/13th century, glossed by *alerum venditor*. But in the dialect of Granada (end of the 9th/15th century), it corresponded to the Castilian *regador* (= *regador* "retailer of foodstuffs in general", which is also rendered by *ḫaddār*).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the *bakkāl* of the Moroccan towns was essentially a retailer of fats: oil, preserved butter, meat preserved in fat; he sold, in addition, honey, soft soap, olives in lemon juice, tea sugar and candles.

It is doubtful whether this extension of the word *bakkāl* is of long standing. Nearly everywhere, before the 20th century, the grocer (*senso lato*) was named either after the basic foodstuff which he sold (with or without vegetables), or after certain methods of his trade.

Algiers had its *sakkāhīn* "sugar-seller"; Tunis its *'atṭā'* (q.v.), literally "perfume-seller". As regards the Cairo of the first half of the 19th century, E. W. Lane only knew the *zayyāl* "seller of oil, butter, cheese, honey, etc.". In Syria, the usual term was *ṣawmān* "seller of preserved butter".

Elsewhere, the grocer of the towns (*senso lato*) was often considered as being the "shopkeeper", the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*

fundamental "seller". At Granada, *bakkāl* and *ḫaddār* were equivalent to *sābī* "market seller"; and the feminine *sābiyya* had as its Arabic synonym *ḫaddāra* and as its Castilian equivalent: *hacera* "seller of beans". In earlier days, in Constantine and Tunis, the *sābī* used to sell oil, preserved butter, honey, dates, pickled olives, etc.

Considered as being the "shopkeeper" *par excellence*, the grocer also received the name of *ḥawāṣī* (with variants) among the rural populations of Algeria and Constantine. The East, sporadically, used the terms *dakhānī* and *dakhānī*.

Arabic-speaking Spain had *wa'āḍī*, lit. "treating, developing", with the sense of "retailer of fruit and vegetables". Dozy's translation, in his *Supplément*, should be corrected on this point.

The retailer of vegetables is called, according to the country, *ḫaddār*, *ḫaddār* or *ḫaddār*. Spices are, in general, sold by the *'atṭā'*, in addition to perfumes (*'atṭā'*) and drugs; his trade comprises also small items of stationery, haberdashery and hardware.

For various reasons, the calling of grocer is often followed by people having the same ethnic origin.

In the towns of Morocco (except at Tetuan, until recently), the *bakkāl* is almost exclusively a Berber (pl. *ghulāl*) of Sūs, of the Ammāl tribe. In Algeria, the people of the Mārah enjoy the same *de facto* monopoly. In the East, the modern *bakkāl* is often a Greek.

**Bibliography:** W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 333; Dozy, *Suppl.*, under words mentioned in the article. (G. S. COLIN)

**BAKKAM** (a.) Sappan wood, an Indian dye-wood obtained from the *Caesalpinia Sappan* L. Al-Dīnawarī remarks that the word frequently occurs in ancient Arabic poetry, although the tree concerned (in Lewis's ed. read *ḫabbab* *ḫaddar* instead of *ḫaddar* according to later quotations) is not found in Arabia. It is a native of India and the country of the Zandj. Its stem and branches are red being used, in decoration, as a dye.

The word is said to derive from Sanskrit *paṭṭana* and probably entered Arabic through the Persian. Its foreign origin was recognised by the Arab philologists who based their view on the assertion that the paradigm concerned was not otherwise attested in the language. As an Arabic equivalent they generally indicate *'andam* which, however, rather denotes the dragon's-blood, a red gum exuding from certain trees. The wrong identification can be attributed to the fact that both *bakkam* and *'andam* were used as a red dye.

Muslim pharmacologists indicate several medicinal applications of the sappan wood. It brings about the cicatrization of wounds, desiccates ulcers and stops bleeding. Its juice makes the skin tender and embellishes its colour. The root yields a poison which works quickly.

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**BAKKĀR**, a fortified island in the river Indus lying between the towns of Sukkur and Rohri. Its importance was noted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who visited it during the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluk. In 1522, Shāh Beg, the founder of the Arghūn dynasty, made



its capital. When, in 1549, his son, Shāh Husayn, refused to grant an asylum to the fugitive emperor, Humayūn the latter unsuccessfully attempted to capture this island fortress. In 1574, in the time of Akbar, it was annexed to the Mughal empire. The best and fullest account of the Mughal conquest of Sind is to be found in the *Tārīkh-i Ma'āsim* of Mir Muhammad Ma'āsim, an inhabitant of Bakkāra. In 1736 Bakkāra was captured by the Kalhor rulers of Sind. It later fell into the hands first of the Afghāns and then of the ruler of Khayrpur. It was occupied by the British in 1839 and became their chief arsenal in Sind during the First Afghan War (1839-42). From 1865 to 1876 it was used as a jail.

**Bibliography:** A. W. Hughes, *Gazetteer of Province of Sind* (1896); E. H. Attkin, *Gazetteer of Province of Sind* (1907). — (C. COCHRAN DAVIES)

**BAKKĀRA.** Arabic-speaking nomads of the Sūdān, occupying territories from Lake Chad to the White Nile between 9° and 13° N. Their livelihood is the herding of cattle (*bakur*), whence their name. The dry season is spent in the southern river-lands. With the rains, they move northwards to the seasonal grasslands. Grain sown on their journey is harvested on the return. Bakkāra origins are obscure; the genealogies reflect existing groupings rather than give evidence of descent. They are probably connected with the Djabayna, who erupted into Nubia from Egypt in the 14th century. From the Nile, nomadic groups apparently made their way by the 17th century to the lands between Waddī and Lake Chad. Fusion with other elements in northern Africa may account for the tradition of a Hūlāt origin among some Bakkāra. Penetrating southwards into regions unsuitable for camel-breeding, they turned to cattle. Groups pushing eastwards, to the south of the cultivated areas of Waddī, Dār Fūr and Kordofān, (which were under Islamised dynasties) formed an Arab wedge between these sultanates and the pagan tribes who retreated southwards. The Bakkāra were uneasy vassals of these sultanates to which they paid tribute, migrating on occasion beyond the power of their overlords. Slave-raids on the southern pagans and consequent intermarriage have affected the physical type of the Bakkāra. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the powerful Riraykāt Bakkāra were under the suzerainty of Dār Fūr. Their quarrel with the Sudanese slave-trader, al-Zubayr Kalām Maṣrūṭ, led to the Egyptian conquest of Dār Fūr in 1874. The Bakkāra assisted Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdī (*q.v.*) to overthrow Egyptian rule but proved refractory to the Mahdist administration. The Khalifa 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad (*q.v.*), himself a Bakkārī of the Ta'āghib tribe, used the Bakkāra as troops and selected from them his chief assistants. In 1888-9 he compelled the Bakkāra of Dār Fūr to migrate to Omdurman and its vicinity, both to support his power against the *awlad al-balad* (*q.v.*) and to bring them under closer supervision. This migration and their losses in fighting and epidemics weakened the Bakkāra. During the Reconquest (1896-8) many regained their old homelands as broken tribes. They gave little trouble to the Condominium government (1899-1955) and this regime saw the gradual resettlement of the Bakkāra and their integration into the administrative system.

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**BAKLIYA.** name given to a group of Muslim dissenters in the Sūdān of Lower Nīl, associated with the Karmatians. A certain Abū al-Ḥusayn, 295/907-8, is said to have forbidden them garlic, leeks, and turnips, as well as the slaughtering of animals, and to have abolished religious observances. They rose in the area of Kūfa and Wādī under several leaders, notably Ma'ūd b. Hurayth and 'Isa b. Mūsā nephew of 'Abdallāh, at the time of Abū Ḥāshim's Euphrates expedition in 315/928-9. Their white banners bore Karmatian inscriptions recalling the liberation of the Israelites from Pharaoh's oppression. After initial successes they were put down by Muḥtadir's general Ḥārūn b. Ghārib. They were evidently also called Būriyāna.

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(M. G. S. HODGKIN)

**BAKR**, the Šū'ī Bāghl. A military commander and district-governor in central 'Irāk. Bakr achieved by 1029/1020, by unscrupulous brutality, an outstanding personal military and civil position under a weak Pasha of Baghdad. Successful in the field, he repudied to a conspiracy of his enemies in the capital by strong counter-action, established effective control of the province, and petitioned the Sultan for official investiture as Beylerbeyi, which title he now assumed. It was refused, and an army from the nearest loyal province, Diyarbakr, marched on Baghdad to restore legitimacy and order. Fierce exchanges took place for some weeks between the loyalist and the usurping forces, after which Bakr decided to withdraw his army to the river Shāh.

'Abbas of Persia to re-occupy 'Irāk, thus compelling Ḥāfiz Ahmad, of Diyarbakr, with great reluctance, to confirm him as Pasha of the province, since he alone could now prevent a shameful cession of Ottoman territory. The loyalist forces withdrew, those of Persia approached the city. Bakr refused to open the gates, and after negotiations full of calumnies by the Shah reduced it by siege. This was ended by the treacherous surrender of the city by the Šū'ī Bāghl's own son. Baghdad was sacked, hundreds massacred and Bakr put to a terrible death; 'Irāk remained under Persian rule until its reconquest by Sultān Murād in 1048/1038.

**Bibliography:** S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of the Sudan* (Iraq 1953), 31-2, and authorities quoted by him (p. 51 footnote); especially Murtaḍā Naḡmīzāda, *Gulshan-i Khayālāt* (Longrigg, 327). (S. H. LONGRIGG)

**BAKR s. WÄ'IL.** Ancient Arabic group of tribes in Central, East, and (later) Northern Arabia. The Bakr belonged to the same people—later known as Kalbās—as the 'Abd al-Kays (*q.v.*). Their place in the tribal genealogy is three grades lower than that of these. The Thā'labā (b. 'Ukāba) are to be re-

garded as the core of the Bakr. Joshua Stylites (8 57) mentions them under the year 593 as being the leading tribe of the northern Arabian Kinda Empire, and shortly afterwards they appear in a South Arabian inscription (Ryckmans 510. *Le Muséon* 1953). In the genealogy of Bakr, the Thā'labā are on a level with the tribes of 'Idjl and Hanifa b. Luḡaym, with the Yaḥṣuk b. Bakr three grades above them. The Thā'labā were themselves subdivided into the Banū Shaybān, Dhūb, Taymālīt (Taymālīth), and Kays. The Bakr tribes lived in the area of al-Yamāma. At that time, this embraced al-'Irā = Wādī Hanifa, and its tributaries Luḥā (Shaib Ha on the maps), Nisāb, and al-Sulayr, the district of al-Kharj to the south, and the district of al-Witr with its tributaries north of the watershed. Al-Haḍir, the capital of al-Yamāna (near al-Riyāḍ of today) was originally in the hands of the Hanifa. Later on, members of other Bakr tribes settled there too. The second largest town, Dījaww (Dījaww al-Yamāna, later al-Khidrīma), south-east of al-Haḍir, was also largely inhabited by the Hanifa, who likewise owned the oases Kurra and Maḥam on the far side of the watershed. Colonies of the Hanifa could be found further to the north-west in the regions of al-Waḥm and al-Sudayr. The Dhūbā b. Thā'labā lived, in (Karyat Banū) Sādās, named after one of their sub-tribes, on a wādī which runs into the Witr, the Kays b. Thā'labā among other places, in Manfūba, to the south of Riyāḍ. There is also evidence of villages of the Yaḥṣuk, Dhūb and Shaybān, and of al-Haḍir, in the region of an ancient culture, which is linked with the vanished tribes of Tasm and Dīdās in later legends. epics. Baityles (obelisks) could still be seen in Haḍir in early Islamic times, but in Dījaww these had been destroyed during the raid by a member of the southern Arabian dynasty of Ḥaṣān (al-A'ḡhā, no. 13, 16-21).

Date palms were cultivated in all oases, but in the 'Irā valley and in al-Kharj grain was grown. In good years corn was sent to Mecca, but in bad years it was not even sufficient for local consumption (Mutallamīs, ed. Vollers, no. 5, 8; al-A'ḡhā, no. 19, 24; 23, 22-23; Ibn Hishām, 997 f.). As the Bakr villages were rather close together, there were sometimes feuds between them, but the date and the palm groves were burned down (al-A'ḡhā, no. 15, 56-57; 38, 9-11; Yāḥūt, s.v. al-Muharraka, (below Sādās). Some Bakr escaped these conditions by leaving and becoming mercenaries (Aws b. Ḥaḍjar, ed. Geyer, no. 14; *Mutaḍḡaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, no. 119), many took up the nomadic life—which was later on embraced by considerable parts of their tribes.

It is possible that this movement was started by the appearance of the Kinda in the second half of the 5th century (amend art. 'ABD AL-KAYS, line 13; from 6th to 5th century). We have no definite information about the routes which the nomadic Bakr followed at that time, although later sources (Ryckmans 510; *Mutaḍḡaliyyāt*, (no. 13) indicate that they went to the west (and east?) of al-Yamāna. During this period there was a long feud between the Bakr and their brother tribe, the Taghlib, which only came to an end in the middle of the 6th century, in a peace concluded under the patronage of Mecca, in Dhū 'l-Maḡīz, outside the Haram (al-Hārith b. Ḥilliza, *Ma'sā'ib*, ed. Arnold, 66). The Yemen Kalab I is a battle between two heirs of the Kinda empire, in about 530, at Thāblān, S.-W. of Duwādān) is rightly regarded as an episode in

that feud. Shortly afterwards, the Taghlib—whose zone of migration was then from Sāḍir in the upper Sirr, to Naḥā near the Persian Gulf (*Mutaḍḡaliyyāt*, 430, 13; Hārith, *Ms* 5, 79)—left central Arabia, and settled in the steppes on the near side of the lower Euphrates, where, possibly, some of them had already settled earlier on. The Bakr followed them, but they stopped before Baṭn Fāḡl. Place names mentioned then and afterwards by the poets seem to show that the routes taken by the nomadic Bakr in the following decades ran from north to south. The area which was later vacated by the Taghlib and Bakr on the near side of the Tuwayk head was probably about 530 interspersed with Tamīm, whose home was along both sides of the Tasrīf. After 530, they spread over the Tuwayk to eastern Arabia. Since the nomadic routes of both groups crossed, there had somehow to be maintained, and there is in the next decades in fact little mention of fights between the Bakr and the Tamīm.

A number of outstanding Shaybān families emerged in the period in which the changing relationships between the Bakr and the Taghlib, the Tamīm, and the kings of the Kinda and of al-Hira, demanded leaders of political experience. The hero of E. Brāunlich's *Biṭām shā Qais* (Leipzig 1923) is a member of one of these families, the Dhū 'l-Dhaddayn. Connections with al-Hira were responsible for an early development of poetry, especially amongst the Kays b. Thā'labā, as witness the works of al-Murakkibūh (the legend concerning him appears for the first time in Tarafa, *Six Poets*, no. 13, 14-16, an imitation by a later poet of al-Hira; N.B. the 'younger Murakkibūh' never existed, as is evident from al-Farāḡdī, *Nabā'id*, 200, 15, to mention only one witness), those of 'Amr b. Kamāl's (*q.v.*), who never journeyed to Byzantium with Inra' al-Kays, those of Tarafa, and those of al-A'ḡhā, who lived on into the 7th century. Poetry also flourished among the Yaḥṣuk, to whom al-Hārith b. Ḥilliza belonged.

The nomadic Bakr entered a new period when the Taghlib vacated the steppes on the lower Euphrates, migrating up the river, after their chief, 'Amr b. Kulḥūm, had killed the king of al-Hira, 'Amr b. al-Hind in 567-70. About 580, a poet says (*q.v.*, no. 41, 11): "And Bakr—all 'Irāk's broad plain is theirs; but if so they will, a shield comes to guard their homes from lofty Yamāna's dales". Some ten years later, the Tamīm, and especially the Yarbūḥ, began to press forward, in order to pitch their tents in al-Harr during the spring. This gave rise to mutual raids, some of which, taking place between 605 and 645 (have been followed by Brāunlich in the above mentioned book). A great deal is known concerning the tribes of the nomadic Bakr at this period, and also something about the area they covered. The tribes concerned were the Shaybān, 'Idjl, Kays, and Taymālīt b. Thā'labā. The 'Idjl went as far as what later became the Kufan pilgrim route in the west, and as far as Tukayyid in the east; the Shaybān pitched their tents to the north and south of the line al-Kirzina (near the Bay of Kuwayt)—Ra's al-Ayn = al-Busayya (?)—Salmān, and the Kays b. Thā'labā south-east of these, between al-Musannāh (Yāḥūt, erroneously al-Muḥannāh) and Ra's al-Ayn (al-A'ḡhā, no. 14, 20; 29, 24). The Taymālīt, Kays and 'Idjl formed the confederation of Lahzīn, in order not to be overwhelmed by the Shaybān. It is not exactly known where the northern Bakr wintered, but the Kays b. Thā'labā appear



to have alternated—at least in the eighties—between al-Yamūna and the north (al-A'shā, no. 32, an early poem, especially v. 48). The Shaybān occasionally went as far as the oases of Bahrayn in eastern Arabia, whilst the 'Idlī appear to have remained in the north. During the summer, the tribes congregated where water could be found on this side of the Tāf between 'Ayn Sayd and Abū Ḥajar. It is in this area that the famous battle of Dhu Kār, in which the Dhūhī b. Shaybān repelled the advance guard of the Persian knights of Hamaṣ [q.v.], was fought around the year 605 (al-A'shā, no. 40). In spite of this, Bakr soon came under Persian influence again. At the same time, the hostility between Bakr and Tamīm in the north spread to Central Arabia, where the Dhūhī, Hawḍha b. 'Alī, of the Banū Ḥaṭṭā, a vassal of the Persians, was hard pressed by the Tamīm, until the Persian governor of Bahrayn drastically broke their valour (see al-A'shā, no. 13, 62-66). This brings us up to Islamic times.

Christianity was accepted by some of the Bakr in the north as well as in the south, particularly among the 'Idlī, and (within the Shaybān) among the Dhū Ṭ-Ḥaddayn. Al-A'shā and Hawḍha b. 'Alī were also Christians. The adherence of Yamūna to Musaylima [q.v.] shows that Christianity had not taken root there, but the position in the north was quite different: the case of the former Ghaz leader, Abjār b. Ḍāḥir, who died a Christian in Kūfa in 641, can hardly have been exceptional among the 'Idlī. The Dhū Ṭ-Ḥaddayn also retained their Christian faith. The paganism, about which there is an interesting passage in 'Amr b. Kānā, no. 2, 9-15, is hardly mentioned by the later poets, unless one counts al-A'shā, no. 39, 47, whilst the idol Muḥarrīk in Salmīn (Yāqūt iv, i.e. Muḥarrīk) is not mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī's *K. al-Aṣṣam*.

Muhammad had tried to get in touch with Hawḍha b. 'Alī even before the conquest of Mecca, but his message met with a cool and haughty reception. His successor in al-Ḥaḍra was Musaylima. Thumāma b. Uḥayl of the *sira* and the *rida* is, strangely enough, missing in the genealogy of Ibn al-Kalbī, which is based, in this respect, on a Bakrite authority. Information on the *rida* in eastern Arabia, which spread from the Kays b. Thā'aba, can provisionally be found in Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 20 ff. Meanwhile the Bakr in the north had taken advantage of the disputed succession in Ctesiphon (628-632) in order to raid the cultivated land (as they had done before Dhu Kār). A leader of the Dhūhī b. Shaybān, al-Mughannī b. Hattifa, distinguished himself on this occasion, and when he heard of the defeat of the *rida*, he joined Islam, thereby consolidating his leadership. Together with Khālīd b. al-Walīd he brought about conditions which later led to the capitulation of al-Hira. When the Muslims were placed on the defensive, after Khabī's departure to Syria early in 634, he covered the retreat in the battle of the Bridge, in the autumn of 634. His last great deed took place a year later at Buwayh, after which he succumbed to his wounds. Bakr (and Tamīm ?) also prepared the ground for the conquest of what later became the province of Baṣra. 'Idlī and Hanīla took part in the battle of Nihāwān in 642. The Bakr reached Khurāsān with troops from Baṣra, and in 715 there were 7000 of them there (Tabarī, ii, 1207). In both places they were partly responsible for the extension of the ancient tribal feuds, which continued there

on a larger scale. Together with the 'Abd al-Kays, they formed the Rabi'a group in Baṣra, and later they joined the Azd 'Uṣayn who immigrated around 650. As the Tamīm in Baṣra were associated with the Kays group (ahl al-'Alīya), a rift again occurred. Hostility subsided, however, after some fighting between the two parties on the occasion of the death of Yazīd I in 684, and after Mūlik b. Misna' (a member of the leading family of the Kays b. Thā'aba) had declared himself in favour of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, in 690, the Bakr kept the peace. The position was rather different in Khurāsān, where a bloody feud broke out in 684 between Bakr and Tamīm, followed by permanent friction between the Rabi'a-Azd and the Kays-Tamīm, which continued until 700, 705. The Bakr produced a sensible leader (Yahyā b. Hudayn). Their last remarkable personality was the general and statesman Ma'n b. Zaydā [q.v.], of the Dhūhī b. Shaybān.

Whilst the Bakr disappeared early from the steppes of Baṣra, they remained for a longer time near Kūfa. The 'Idlī retained their nomadic area, and later extended it towards the Tāf; east; the Shaybān, however, migrated towards the north-west, as far as the waters of al-Lajāl, not far from Kūfa, and later moved largely to the area of Mosul, in the north, where they settled along both banks of the Tigris. Three verses that have strayed into the *diwān* of 'Amr b. Kānā (no. 16) describe the romance of a girl on Khirān in the foreign lands, to the Sāṭidān (possibly the Diabāt Makhlīf, opposite the town); and reports of Abū Mikhnaf (Tabarī, ii) concerning the noble leader of the Khāridjites, Shāhib b. Yazīd (of the Dhūhī b. Shaybān; killed in 697) describe the curious vacillation between Bedouin life and urban civilization at that time. The Bakr spread thence to the north as far as Dīyar Bakr (a late name) and al-Jayḥarjīn. The Shaybān developed once again into a large nomad tribe. In spring and summer, they pitched their tents between the Upper and the Lower Zab, in winter they moved as far as the area below Kūfa. During the 9th century, they carried out frequent raids into the plain of Mosul, which resulted in a campaign against them in 931, led by the caliph al-Mu'taḍī. In the 11th century, they appeared again in the cultivated land of 'Irāq, but disappeared at the beginning of the next century. The name Rabi'a began to supplant the tribal names Bakr and 'Abd al-Kays in Baṣra and in Khurāsān, and the names Bakr and Taghīb in the eastern Dīyār = Dīyār Rabi'a. This also happened in Arabia. The royal family of 'Alī Sa'īd traces its family tree back to the Rabi'a.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Kalbī, *Dīnshara*, MS. London, 1934-226b; MS. Escorial, 1-49; Tabarī, see indices; *Nahd'id Dīyār wa'l-Farāsād*, ed. Bevan, see indices; the Arabic geographers; M. Frh. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1952, 211 f., 351 f.; Ulrich von, *Die Ortsnamen in der alghasbiyya Poésie*, Wiesbaden, 1958 (= *Schriften der Frh. von Oppenheim-Stiftung*, no. 3). (W. GASEL)

**AL-BAKRĪ** [see BAKRIYA and ZIDIDĪ].  
**AL-BAKRĪ**, 'ABD ALLĀH (see ABU 'UDAYN).  
**AL-BAKRĪ**, ABU 'L-HASAN AHMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUHAMMAD, appears to be the most acceptable form of the name of the alleged author, or final editor, of the historical novels dealing with the early years of Islam, who is credited with a *maṣnū'ā* and a fictional life of Muhammad. The

earliest biography devoted to him is to be found in al-Ḥababī, *Al-Man*, Cairo 1325, i, 53. Al-Ḥababī indistinctly describes al-Bakrī as a liar and inventor of untrue stories, whose books were available at the booksellers (and, presumably, enjoyed good sales). Considering the additional facts that a MS. of one of his works (Vatican Borg. no. 125) is dated in 694/1295 and that authors who lived as late as the end of the thirteenth century are quoted in the biography of the Prophet (Alwardi, *Vorarbeiten der arab. Hist.* ... 22, Berlin, no. 6242), al-Bakrī would seem to have lived in the latter half of the thirteenth century. While this conclusion must remain highly speculative for the time being, there exist no cogent reasons for doubting the historicity of al-Bakrī's elusive personality. If the occasional epithet of "Bakrī the Preacher" can be relied upon, he was active in 'Irāq.

It is by no means certain that all the works attributed to al-Bakrī go back to one and the same author. For instance, the biography of Muhammad quotes actual books and authors, while the other works are vague and confused in their references to sources and prefer fictitious names in the rare cases where transmitters are mentioned. Furthermore, it apparently was not yet known to al-Ḥababī, and a reference to it was added by Ibn Ḥudjar, *Lisān*, i, 202, in the biography he copied from al-Ḥababī. The relationship of the various works or recensions to each other has not yet been investigated, and in order to reach safe conclusions, it will be necessary to study all the numerous MSS. preserved in widely distributed libraries.

**Bibliography:** Knowledge of al-Bakrī in the West begins with L. Marracci, cf. C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti*, ii, 115. Cf., further, R. Paret, *Die legendäre Maghāzī-Literatur*, Tübingen 1930, 155-58; Brockelmann, I, 445; S I, 616 (basic but disfigured by many mistakes). A false forbidding the reading of his biography of Muhammad, by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haythamī, al-Fatāwā al-Ḥadīṣiyya, Cairo 1353/1934, 216. See further MAGHĀZĪ and TA'NĪGĪ.

(F. ROSENTHAL)  
**AL-BAKRĪ**, B. ABI 'L-SURŪR, name of two Arab historians of the notable family of Egyptian origin of the Bakriyya *tarīqa* (of the Shāhīdī order).

1. MUHAMMAD B. ABI 'L-SURŪR B. MUHAMMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-SIDDĪQĪ AL-MIṢRĪ, d. 1028/1619. His works include, in addition to a universal history in two parts (*Uṣūn al-Aḥbār*, *Nuṣaṭ al-Aḥbār*, also abridged under the title of *Taḥlīl* (or *Tadhkirat al-Zurāfi*), several histories of the Ottoman Turks (*Ḥayāt al-Manānīn*, *al-Durar al-Ḥimnī* by Ḥafīz Maṣṣaf *al-Uḥḍān*, and *al-Mināṣ al-Fahmāniyya* with an appendix on Egypt entitled *al-Latā'if al-Rabā'iyya*), one on the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (*al-Fatāḥ al-'Uḥmāniyya*), and a work on the attempt of Muhammad Paṣhā, wālī of Egypt, in 1071/1668-9 to suppress the tax called *ḥabṣ al-ḥalī* (*al-Taḥlīl al-Kubrī fi Dār* (or *Raf*), *al-Talab*).  
2. 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUHAMMAD B. ABI 'L-SURŪR, d. 1127. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, no. 352; Bahlinger, 147; Hadjidi Khallāf, ed. Flügel, nos. 2619, 4981, 8458, 9325, 13752; Ismā'īl Paṣhā Baghdādī, *Hadīṣat al-'Arifin*, Istanbul 1935, ii, 216. For his father Abu 'L-Surūr (d. 1071/1598-9) see Muhibbi, *Khulāṣa*, i, 117.

3. MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. ABI 'L-SURŪR, *al-Dīn* and *al-Nuṣaṭ al-Aḥbār*, son of the above, b. ca. 1003/1596, d. ca. 1060/1650. In addition to a universal history (*Samīr al-Aḥbār*) and two general

histories of Egypt (*al-Rawda al-Ma'nūna*, and *al-Rawḍa* (or *al-Nuṣaṭ*) *al-Aḥbār* fi *Wāḥid Mīr al-Kubrī al-Ma'nūniyya*), a third history of Egypt entitled *al-Kawāḍib al-Sā'ira* covers in fuller detail the Ottoman period down to 1045/1634. This work, unpublished as yet, was translated by S. de Sacy (*Le Livre des Étoiles errantes*) in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, i, 1798, 165-280 (a German translation from the French was published by G. Haase, Hildburghausen 1791), and was used extensively by J. J. Marcel for his *Histoire d'Égypte* (Paris 1848), together with a continuation of the work to 1168/1754 by Mustafā b. Ibrāhīm (cf. Marcel, *op. cit.*, XXV). His other works include a history of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (*al-Taḥf al-Bakriyya*), an abridgement of al-Makrī's *Kubrī* entitled *Kubrī al-Aḥbār* (this work is sometimes attributed to his uncle Muhammad b. Zayn al-'Aḥdīn b. Muhammad b. 'Alī, *Shams al-Dīn* Abu 'L-Ḥasan, d. 1087/1676; cf. Muhibbi, *Khulāṣa*, iii, 465), a biography of the Sūfī shaykh al-'Adjamī al-Kurānī (*al-Durr al-Dīwānī*) and a Sūfī treatise (*Durr al-Aḥdī*).

**Bibliography:** Brockelmann, II, 383; S II, 409; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, no. 352; Bahlinger, 188; works mentioned in the article.

(STANFORD J. SHAW)

**AL-BAKRĪ**, MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-SIDDĪQĪ AL-SHĀRĪ AL-AḤMĀRĪ ABU 'L-MAKRĪM SHĀMS AL-DĪN, Arab poet and mystic, born 868/1492, lived a year alternately in Cairo and Mecca, and died in 927/1525. Besides his *Diwān* (Bibl. Nat. Paris, *Catalogue des mss.*, ar. by de Slane, no. 3229-3233; *Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Pers. and Turk. Mss. in the Library of Trinity College*, Cambridge, 1870, no. 55-7), a collection of mystical poems entitled *Tarjūmān al-Aṣṣar* (Volles, *Katalog der islam. u. pers. Hss. der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig*, no. 573; Derenbourg, *Les mss. ar. de l'Escurial*, no. 430), and several small Sūfī treatises (of which the MS. Gotha no. 865 contains a collection) he composed a romantic history of the conquest of Mecca in verse, called *al-Durr al-Mukallāṭa fi Fath Makka al-Mubaddila*, (Cairo 1278/1861, 1282/1865, 1293/1876, 1297/1879, 1300/1882, 1301, 1303, 1304); as well as a work of substantially historical content entitled *Ḍiḥāḥ al-'Uṣūn wa Nafāḥ al-Fahām* (Pertsch, *Die ar. Hss. zu Göttingen*, no. 1378).

**Bibliography:** 'Alī Pāshā Muḥarāk, *al-Kubrī al-Tamīḥiyya al-Dīwāniyya*, Būlak 1306, iii, 127; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, no. 520; Brockelmann, II, 334, 382, S II, 412.

**AL-BAKRĪ**, MUṢṬAFĀ B. KAMĀL AL-DĪN B. 'ALĪ AL-SIDDĪQĪ AL-HANAFĪ AL-KHAWATĪ MUḤYI 'L-DĪN, Arab author and mystic, born in Dhū 'l-Ka'da 1099/Sept. 1688 at Damascus, being left an orphan at an early age, was brought up by his uncle and entered the Dervish order of the *Khalwatīya*. In the year 1122/1710 he made his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem; there he wrote his prayer-book *al-Faḥ al-Kawāḍib* and procured a certificate from 'Abī Kāḥish of Adrianople, that it was not a *bid'a*, as one of his opponents had said, to read this book aloud at the end of the night. He returned in Shā'ban of the same year (October 1710) to Damascus, but repeated this pilgrimage more frequently in succeeding years and made the acquaintance in Jerusalem of the journey Rāghib Paṣhā, whom he accompanied on a journey to Cairo. Under the protection of this patron he set out from Jerusalem early in 1735



(Oct. 1722) to Istanbul and reached it on 17 Shabwān 1142. Four years later he returned to Jerusalem. After making the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1148/1735 which he had planned as early as 1129/1717 but had given up on account of a quarrel with his uncle, he went to Istanbul for the second time in 1148/1735. From there he returned by ship, via Alexandria and Cairo. In the following year, in connection with a second pilgrimage, he went to Dīyar Bakr which he stayed eight months. After spending other eleven months in Nābulus, he again returned to Jerusalem in Shawwāl 1152/Jan. 1740. He died on 18 Rabī' II 1162/April 1749 in Cairo when on his third pilgrimage. His numerous mystic treatises, prayers and poems which are given by Brockelmann (see *infra*, cf. also al-Hikam al-Talīhiyya wa'l-Mawā'id al-Bakīyya, see Völkers, *Katalog der islam. wiss. Hds.*, der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig no. 850 ii, and al-Wasiyya al-Dalīla li'l-Sālikin Tarīḥat al-Khawāṭiriyya, *ibid.* iv; E. Littmann, *A List of Arabic Mss. in Princeton University Library*, no. 351 b.) are all still unpublished except a *Madīnaṣṣa Salawāt wa' Aḥādī* (Cairo 1308). He also wrote an account of his first journey from Damascus to Jerusalem in 1121/1710 entitled *Ḥawāṣir al-Hadīya fi 'l-Rihla al-Kubayya* (Albwardi, *Verzeichnis der Hds.*, zu Berlin, no. 6149). A journey to Damascus and his stay there were described in his al-Mukāṣṣa al-Sha'miyya fi 'l-Mahāṣin al-Sha'miyya (*ibid.* 6148).

**Bibliography:** al-Murādī, *Silāh al-Durar fi 'l-Ḥayāt al-Karā al-Ḍā'ira*, 1297-1301, iv, 129-307; al-Dīharī, *ʿAḍḍ*, 1297-1301, iv, 129-307; al-Dīharī, *ʿAḍḍ*, 1297-1301, iv, 129-307; 'All Pasha Mubārak, al-Ḥikāh al-Tawfiqiyya al-Dalīda, Bālik 1306, ii, 129; Brockelmann, II 348, s II, 477.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

**BAKRĪYYA**, a Dervish order which, according to Ḍ. Ohsen, took its name from Pīr Abū Bakr Wafāʾ, who died in Aleppo in 902/1496 or 909/1504. According to Rīmī, *Marāḥiṭ al-Khawāṭiriyya*, 271, they are a branch of the Shādhilīyya [q.v.].

**BAKRĪYYA**, a collective noun denoting all those who claim descent from Abū Bakr. In Egypt, the head of this family, the Shaykh al-Bakrī, has, since 1811, been the *naib* of the descendants of the Prophet (*agāh*), and, since 1906, the *shaykh al-maḥfūz*, that is to say, the *shaykh* of all the religious orders. See *RMF*, iv, 242 ff.; L. Massigne, *Annuaire du Monde musulman*, 1954, 274.

**BAKT**, lat. *pactum*, hell. *πάκτης*. In the Hellenistic world used both for a compact of mutual obligations and its connected payments. The Arabs designated with this expression what they regarded a tribute yielded by Christian Nubia to the country, because of its geographical situation and the bellicosity of its inhabitants, withstood the first impetus of the Muslim conquest, and after hard fighting under 'Amr b. al-'As (20 or 21/642-3), who ultimately had to recall his troops, his successor, 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarh, 'Uthmān's governor over Egypt, made a treaty with Nubia (31/652) on a bilateral basis, falling outside the normal *ṣāḥ* treaties known by the jurists. The two contracting parties agreed on bestowing free passage through the respective countries, while the right to take up fixed abode was to be prohibited. The Nubians bound themselves to repatriate fugitive *coloni*, slaves, and poll-tax paying *dhimmīs*. Besides the treaty agreed to defray the costs of the maintenance of a mosque to be built in Dinkūla (Dongola). Moreover they were to deliver

annually 360 slaves, originally at least their own prisoners of war, and the custom developed that they paid a further 40 head for the Arab officials, taking care of the transaction. The Muslims, on the other hand, were obliged to yield a corresponding amount of wheat and other cereals, and textiles. The Muslim jurists of a later time could not fit this into the frame of the system, and a tradition—or at least an interpretation of an existing one—sprang up that the Muslim quota originated from the restitution of the 40 slaves, after having been exchanged for wine and other supplies, as appears from the exposition of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (*Futūḥ Misr*, ed. C. C. Torrey, 189). The political state is otherwise called a *hudna*, truce. Mālik b. Anas thought it a juridical *ṣūb*, but a majority of his colleagues knew that it was only a treaty of non-aggression, and that the Muslims were not bound to defend Nubia against any third party. The treaty was confirmed by successive rulers; al-Taharī makes special mention of 'Umar II (*Annalen*, Ser. 1, v, 2593). Later the Nubians seem not to have paid their part very punctually, probably because of lack of prisoners of war, with the consequence that they had to replace the wanting number with their own countrymen. The animals for zoological gardens and for medical experiments which are included in the quota in later times may have made up for such deficiencies. Under al-Mahdī and al-Mu'taṣim we hear of readjustments; under the latter, when Nubia was on the verge of breaking the contract, it was found out that the tribute of the Nubians fell below what was paid by the Arabs. That the latter could not later demand a higher altering this radically is seen from the fact that a lenient course was followed, allowing the Nubians to pay the stipulated quota every third year only. On the other hand, the request to have the garrison in al-Kaṣr on Nubian territory withdrawn was not granted. That was the place where the quotas were handed over. It was only under Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (674/1276) that Nubia was subjugated for good, and part of it came fully under Muslim rule, while native petty princes maintained a more or less free position. After that time Islamisation went on rapidly, and no doubt the town *baḥī* fell into desuetude, having lost its meaning under the altered circumstances.

**Bibliography:** Makrūdī, al-Kāṣid, Bālik 1270 i, 199 f.; Cairo 1124, i, 122 ff.; Bālikdhūrī, *Futūḥ*, 236 ff.; E. M. Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, 42 ff.; C. H. Becker, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xxii, 141 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, new ed., 1942 8.9, *pactum*.

(F. LÖWENGAARD)

**BĀKŪ**, a town and district on the W. shore of the Caspian Sea, on the peninsula of Apscheron (Aḥsharīn). The name is currently said to be from Persian *bādūba*, 'wind-beaten', which is appropriate to the local conditions, but this derivation is not certain. The form *Bākū* appears already in the 4th/10th century (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*). Another early, authentic pronunciation is Bākūyah (Abū Dulaf, al-Bakūwī). Other forms (Bākhū, Bākū) are found in the Arabic geographers.

The early history of Bākū is obscure, though the locality seems to be mentioned in antiquity (cf. J. Marquart, *Erldshahr*, 97). It is perhaps to be identified with the *Gangara* or *Gaetara* of Ptolemy (*Geographia*, ed. C. Müller, I, ii, 929). Bākū is not apparently mentioned in accounts of the early Muslim conquests, nor by Ibn Khurādādhbih (3rd/9th century), but thereafter it comes fairly into view

and is known by name to the 10th century Muslim geographers, being mentioned by Abū Dulaf in his *Kisāl al-Ḥudūd* (cf. V. Minorsky in *Oriens*, v, 1952, 25). Abū Dulaf claims to have reached Bākūyah, as he calls it, from the S. and found there a spring of petroleum, the lease (*habāla*) of which was 1000 *dirhams* a day, with another well adjacent producing white petroleum, which flowed ceaselessly day and night and whose lease (*dawāb*) was also 1000 *dirhams*. These details are repeated in several much later accounts, notably those of Yāqūt, i, 477, and al-Karwī, *Aḥḥār al-Būdā*, 389. About the same time as Abū Dulaf, al-Mas'ūdī several times mentions Bākū. He gives an account of a Russian raid on the Caspian littoral circa 301/913-914, in the course of which the invaders reached the naphtha (or petroleum) coast in the country of Shirwān, which is known as Bākūh (*Murūgh*, ii, 21). Al-Mas'ūdī also speaks of Bākū as a place to which ships went back and forward from Dūl (Dūlān), Daylam, etc. on the Caspian, if not also from Atīl [q.v.], the Khazar capital on the Volga (*ibid.*, 25). In the *Tanbih*, a later work (written in 345/956) he again speaks of Bākū, its 'twelve naphtha' and its volcanoes (*dāwā*) (*BDG*, vii, 60).

The *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (written in 372/983 but making use of earlier sources) knows of Bākū as a borough or small town, lying on the sea-coast near the mountains. All the petroleum in the Daylamān country came from there (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 145, cf. 471); the naphthas used it for a kind of 'bathing'. In another passage (*ibid.* 272) the waters of the Kur and Aras rivers are said to 'flow between Mākān and Bākū to join the Khazar sea (Caspian)', where regions rather than cities are perhaps intended. Since it lay N. of the Aras, Bākū was usually reckoned as in Shirwān, but according to al-Mukaddasī, 376, in 372/989, who appears to be the first to mention its excellent harbour, Bākū was distinct from Shirwān and both were included in Arrān, to which al-Makaddasī gives a much greater extension than most Muslim writers (*ibid.*, 37, 374). Al-Isfahānī (circa 340/951) mentions Bākū and already knows of its petroleum (190).

The best description of mediaeval Bākū is by a native of the place, 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Sāḥ al-Bakūwī, who wrote in 866/1462, shortly after the campaigns of Timur in this region. The town was built of stone, actually on rocks, close to the sea, which at the time of writing had carried away part of the walls and reached the vicinity of the principal mosque. The air was good, but there was shortage of water. Since in consequence the district was infertile, provisions had to be brought from Shirwān and Mākān, though there were gardens situated at a distance from the town, producing figs, grapes and pomegranates, to which the inhabitants went in summer. There were two well-built fortresses in the town, of which the larger, on the seaward side, had resisted the attacks of the Tatars, although the other, which was very high, had been partially destroyed during the sieges. Day and night, in winter, high winds blew, sometimes so strongly as to sweep men and animals into the sea. At Bākū there were petroleum wells from which daily more than 200 mule-loads were drawn. A by-product in the form of a hard yellow substance was used as fuel in private houses and baths. At a *farṣakh* from the town was a perennial source of fire, said to be a sulphur mine, near which was a village inhabited by Christians, who made and sold lime. There were also salt-mines, the produce of which was exported to other countries. Nearby

was an island to which people went to hunt sharks. The skins when suitably prepared were filled with petroleum, after which they were loaded on ships to be taken to the different countries. There was also a considerable trade in silk. In some years a great fire was seen emerging from the sea, visible for a day's journey. The inhabitants were Sunnī Muslims.

Politically, Bākū at most times appears to have been subject to the Shirwān Shāhs. The last dynasty of Shirwān Shāhs came to an end only in 957/1550, when the Safawid Shāh Tahmasp occupied Shirwān. After vicissitudes in the course of which it belonged for a short time (1583-1606) to the Ottoman Turks, Bākū finally became a Russian possession in 1806. **Bibliography:** V. Minorsky, *Abū Dulaf Mas'ūdī, al-Maḥallī's Travels in Iran* (containing the Arabic text and translation of his *Second Kisāl*), Cairo 1935, 35, cf. 72; al-Bakūwī, *Talḥīq al-Aḥḥār wa' Aḥḥār al-Malik al-Kāḥar*, transl. De Guignes, *Notices et extraits*, ii, 509-510; Le Strange, 180-1.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

Bākū under Russian domination, was at first very slow to develop. In 1807 the town had only 5,000 inhabitants, grouped in the old citadel.

The naphtha deposits, the exploitation of which was a monopoly of the former masters of Bākū, became Crown property and the first drilling took place in 1842 on the Apscheron peninsula. In 1872 exploitation became free and the deposits were sold by auction.

This period marks the beginning of the town's rapid growth. This development was favoured by the building in 1877-78 of the pipe-line connecting Bākū with the oil fields of the Apscheron peninsula. In 1883 the town was connected by railway with Transcaucasia and the interior of Russia. Finally in 1907 the pipe-line was completed linking Bākū with Batumi on the Black Sea. In 1859 Bākū had still only 13,000 inhabitants, but in 1879 the 'oil rush' brought the number up to 112,000. On the eve of the Revolution, Bākū, which provided 95% of all Russia's oil, had already a population of 300,000.

During the Revolution, Bākū achieved the status of capital of independent Aḥdabardjān (31 July 1918 to 28 April 1920). Taken by the Red Army on 28 April 1920, it was henceforth the capital of the Aḥdabardjān Soviet Socialist Republic. Under the Soviet régime, the town continued to grow. In 1939 it was the fifth town of the Soviet Union with 809,300 inhabitants (about a third of whom were Russian and a third Armenian). It is now a great modern industrial city, centre of the oil industry. Bākū is also an important University centre, the seat of the State University and of the Aḥdabardjān Academy of Sciences.

(A. BERNARDINI)

**BA'KŪBA**, more correctly (but not now currently) BA'KŪBĀ, from the Aramaic Bāya'kūbā, or Jacob's House, a town situated 40 miles N.E. of Baghdad (40° 37' E, 33° 42' N), on the site of a very ancient pre-Islamic settlement, was in Caliphate times described as on the west bank of the Nahrāwān-Diyālā (q.v.) main canal. It formed an important station on the Baghdad-Kurān trunk road, and served as chief town of the Upper Nahrāwān district. Under 'Abbasid rule the place was highly prosperous, its date and fruit gardens famous, and the surrounding country fertile and populous, with scores of villages.

Modern Ba'kūba is an 'Irāqī provincial town with an Arab mixed Sunnī and Shī'ī population of some



5,000. It is the headquarters of the *liwā* of Diyāla with dependent *badā* of Mandali, Khālī, Khānīn, and Ba'kiba itself; the last-named *badā* contains the important *ahkīyah* of Kīn'ā and Makādīyah (formerly Shahrūbīn). The town is prosperous, partly transformed by modern buildings, streets and services, and good communications; the Baghdad-Irbil line of Iraqi Railways here crosses the Diyāla by a high-level bridge.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, i, 472, 672; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Tahkīm*, 294; the same, *Annal. modern.*, ed. Reiske, iv, 690; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Hist. des Mongols*, ed. Quatremère, 278 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 119; (Rousseau), *Descr. du Focahit de Bagdad*, 80; Biedor, *Am Kurdistan, en Mésopotamie et en Perse*, Paris 1887, 210 ff.; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, 1908, 357 ff.; S. H. Longrigg, *Iraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953.

**BAKUSĀYĀ**, a town and lesser administrative district under the 'Abbāsids. With four others it formed part of the rich and populous circle (*ardā*) east of Tigris, that of Bākūsāyā, in which the town of Bāndandīn (now vanished without trace) was a principal headquarters. Bākūsāyā is usually grouped with the adjacent district of Bādāyā (*q.v.*) (the modern Badra) by the Arab geographers, and like it enjoyed good water from the hills which mark the present Persian frontier. A modern village, within Persia, known as Bākūsāyā, a few miles S.E. of Badra, almost certainly marks the site of Bākūsāyā. The latter name strongly suggests the Syriac Bā-Kussāyā, and would indicate the home or district of the Kussāyā, the Greek *κουσσάιοι* and the Kāssū (modernised into Cassites) of the Babylonian inscriptions. The domicile of these people was entirely in the Zagros range, and the identification is tempting. Nothing remarkable is recorded regarding the town or its inhabitants, in which (as in modern Badra) Larish or other Iranian strains doubtless prevailed. The district is malarial, but in modern times produces a race of famous weight-lifting porters.

**Bibliography:** BGA, passim; Yāqūt, i, 477; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach d. Arab. Geog.*, i, 15; G. Hoffmann, *Auswies aus Syriaca*, *Abt. Hist. persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880), 61, 91; Nöldeke in ZDMG, xxviii, 101; idem, *Geschichte der Perser u. Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (1879), 239; G. Westphal, *Untersuch. über die Quellen u. die Glaubwürdigkeit der Patriarchenchroniken Mari ibn Sulaiman etc.*, Straßburg 1901, 121; Le Strange, 63, 80.

(M. STRECK (S. H. LONGRIGG).)

**BA'L** is an old Semitic or even Proto-Semitic word with the central meaning of "master, owner" and has been widely used in the sense of "local god" (fertiliser of the soil) and "husband" (in a society predominantly masculine). In the last century attention was vigorously drawn to the importance of this last meaning by W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885 (2nd ed. London 1903); but his thesis that the term itself had been borrowed by the Arabs from the Northern Semites could not be substantiated. The various meanings of the word have continued to exist in Classical Arabic with, however, a very variable vitality according to some, perforce areas.

1.—In the sense of "master (of)", ba'l was ousted in Arabic by various synonyms, so that, unlike the Hebrew *ba'al*, it does not make an appearance in

numerous compounds. It is survived better in the sense of "husband, spouse (of)", thanks most probably to the use made of it in three Kur'ānic passages (ii, 228; xi, 72; xxiv, 31 twice) in the singular and in the plural (*ba'ala*; subsequently Classical Arabic usually uses *ba'al* or *ba'āl*). The meaning "master" was still strongly felt: *ba'al* "my spouse", in i, 72, renders the Biblical *adoni* (in the mouth of Sarah, Genesis, xvi, 12; Targum Onkelos *ribboni*); for the feminine, Classical Arabic has the forms *ba'at* or *ba'at*. Several verbal forms developed from this conubial meaning.

2.—The Kur'ān, xxxvii, 125 (story of Elijah; cf. I Kings xviii, and the art. *Isyās*) has contributed most definitely to perpetuating the memory in Islam of *ba'al* as a pagan deity, in spite of all the confusion and reticence of the commentators. This meaning of the word, it is true, could not hope to enjoy much success in Muslim thought as such; it is to be encountered incidentally in the medieval authors in connexion with the etymology of Ba'al-bakk (*q.v.*) with fictitious details concerning an ancient idol at this place. What is more remarkable is the unqualified revival of the idea of the god *ba'al* in the two following cases:

a) The verb *ba'ala* and the adjective *ba'al*, "(to be) lost in astonishment", that is to say originally, as Nöldeke has shown (ZDMG, 1886, xi, 174), "(to be) possessed by Ba'al".

b) The terms *ba'al* and *ba'il* to convey the idea of unwatered tillage in a verse attributed to 'Abd Allāh b. Rawḥa, a companion of the Prophet, (LA, xii, 60), we read: *harrāḥa lā aḥdī maḥāla ba'ilin, wa lā shayn . . .* In an expression of this kind, *ba'il* may retain something of the original meaning, not understood by the author of the *Lisān*: that of the god (male) fertilising the land (female) by rain or sub-soil water. The contrast between watered land (with terms from the same root as *shayn*) and "dwelling or field of Ba'al" is well attested in the Targum and the Talmud (Jastrow, *Dict. of the Talmud*, b 'l and ḡ b y; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, London 1927, see Index; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitt in Palästina*, Gütersloh 1932, ii, 32-33).

In Classical Arabic of the early centuries of the Hijra, however, the term *ba'il* was to be encountered on several occasions meaning on its own—and not in a compound expression open to several interpretations—"unwatered cultivated land". In the works on jurisprudence, it is to be found with this meaning, mainly in relation to the prescribed tithe (*zakāt, sadaqa*) on agricultural produce. Muslim Law, both *Shāfi'i* and *Sunni*, does in fact reduce this impost to a half title or a twentieth when the crop is dependent on artificial irrigation requiring some exertion; in contrast, the *zakāt* is actually a tenth when the produce of a *ba'il* is involved. In this connexion, the term appears in various recorded *hadīths* from the *Muwatta'* of Mālik (2nd/8th century) onwards (see Bājī, *Musnad*, ii, 157-158), repeated in the 10th/6th century in works on *fiqh*, such as the *Shāfi'i K. al-Umm* (ii, 32) and the *Maliki Madhāwara* of Sahnūn (ii, 99, 108). In an almost identical form, these *hadīths* are to be found in Abū Dawūd (*Sunan*, no. 1596-1598) and in the early specialists on fiscal and land law (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries): Yahyā b. Ādam (*K. al-Kharīd*, Cairo ed. 1347 AH, no. 364-365, where an illuminating variant, no. 381, has "that which Ba'il has watered", thus reproduced in Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 70), Abū 'l-Ya'ay b. Sallām (*K. al-Amāl*, Cairo ed. 1353 AH, no. 1410-1421),

Kudāma b. Dja'far (*K. al-Kharīd*, part 7, ch. VII, *apud* De Goeje, *Glossaire* to Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 14; the *Maḥāṣin al-Ulūm* of al-Kh'arizmi on that point is merely a résumé of this work). Likewise in the Fātimid *fiqh* already established in Ifrīqiya (4th/10th century): *ḥādī al-Nu'mān, Da'ā'im al-Isām*, Cairo ed. 1951, i, 316; and naturally also in many later books.

These texts evoke, as regards the use of *ba'il*, the author's conviction of the word's being to be linked with Madinese and perhaps also Yemenite traditions, but appears to be unknown to the oldest 'Irāqī traditions (probably because 'Irāk is primarily a land of irrigation); Hanafism, of 'Irākī origin, does not normally employ the word, though on this point it states the same rule as the other *madhāhib*.

b) The *hadīths* containing this term insert it in an enumeration in which the *ba'il* appears to be distinct from lands watered by spring water, rain or surface drainage. Among the commentators and lexicographers, some nevertheless maintain that *ba'il* applies to all unwatered cultivated lands; others, influenced by the letter of the *hadīths* and perhaps by dialectal usages, offer a series of rather more restrictive interpretations revolving round the idea of unwatered land under dry cultivation: for some, it only applies to cases where plants obtain water through their roots beneath the surface alone (detailed argument in LA, loc. cit.; see also W. R. Smith, *Lectures*, . . . 98-99 and Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, Copenhagen 1950, 141).

Among works possessing the same or an adjacent meaning which frequently replace or accompany *ba'il* in the enumeration mentioned above, particular attention should be paid to the term *'aṭṭḥārī* (for example in the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Zakāt*, chap. 55), which it would be difficult to refrain from explaining by the name of the deity 'Aṭṭar (= Astarte, Ishtar): a male stellar god in the Arabian and South Arabian pantheons, 'Aṭṭar exercised an influence on the fertility of the land and was at times qualified by the name *ba'al* (Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, Paris 1903, 133-136; Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarab. Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen 1927, i, Index; Janme, in *Le Muséon* 1947, 85-100; G. Ryckmans, in *Ann. Acad. Scienc* 1948, 267; idem, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, 2nd ed., Louvain 1951, . . . and passim; Janme, in Brillant and Aigrain, *Hist. des Religions* 1950, iv, 264-5). The assimilation *'aṭṭḥārī* is attested in Classical Arabic and the semantic parallelism with *ba'il* here is striking.

The occurrence of *ba'il*, still with the same meaning, must also be noted in some versions of the stipulations which the Prophet is stated to have imposed as a land code in the year 9 AH, either on the oasis of Dumat al-Djandal (through its leader Ukaydir b. 'Abd al-Malik), or on the neighbouring Kalbīte tribes (through their leader Hāritha b. Kaṭan); see Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 1, 259-269 (event discussed by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1927, appendix VII, and by W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 364-5).

It is again to be met with, in connexion with the land tax (*khārāj*), in the great treatise on public law of the 3th/9th century: *al-Ulūm al-Sultaniyya* by the Hanbali Abū Ya'la (Cairo ed. 1938, 251) and by the *Shāfi'i* Mawardi (trans. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, 114). In calculating this tax, they recommend that account be taken of the source of the water: this envisages four categories of cultivated land, among which the *ba'il* is very closely defined, approximately

as above, in contrast to land irrigated or adequately watered by rainfall.

The geographer al-Mukaddas, in the 4th/10th century, uses the term on three occasions (BGA, iii, 197, 474), dealing with agricultural production near Ramla, Alexandria and in Sind, always in the phrase (*ṣāḥa'*-*ba'il*), this, however, does not suffice as a proof of the use of the term outside Syria-Palestine, the author's country of birth. In this geographical area where, "in spite of the illusion of an abundance of water, dry cultivation constitutes the basis of traditional agricultural exploitation" (J. Woulesse, *Paysans de Syrie*, Paris 1946, 144), at the present day we find: *ard ba'il* contrasted as in former times with *ard shayn* (G. Dalman, *op. cit.*, 30; already mentioned by E. Meier in ZDMG, 1883, xvii, 607).

Here is a special case of the use of this term in medieval Egypt: in Cairo under the Manikids, perhaps already under the Fātimids, a park near the Khālīj, which subsequently became a public promenade, was called *baṣṭān al-ba'il*, then *ard al-ba'il*; see Makrizi, *Khitat*, Būlak ed. 1270 AH, ii, 129, who takes *ba'il* here expressly in the geographical sense.

The Muslims of Spain, "exactly like the Spanish peasants of today . . . make a distinction between *secano* (Ar. *ba'il*) land and *regadío* (Ar. *shayn*) land, the former being especially reserved for cereal cultivation" (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. med.*, Paris 1953, iii, 270). The famous agronomist of Seville Ibn al-Awwām (6th/12th century) confirms this distinction (*K. al-Filāḥ*, ed. Banquer, Madrid 1902, i, 5). It appeared in contracts, especially those of plantation leases or *mughāra*: the notarial formula of Ibn al-Salām for example, *K. al-'Iḥā al-Munazzam*, Cairo ed. 1302 AH, ii, 21-22, in the 8th/14th century, has the two adjectival forms *ba'il* and *shā'ia*.

These two forms do in fact appear to have had a tendency in modern times to become nouns, perhaps in certain regions because of the model provided by *'aṭṭḥārī*. *Ba'il* has been noted alongside *'aṭṭḥārī* in the dialects spoken in Southern Arabia: Landberg, *Glossaire Dictionnaire*, Leiden 1920, i, 186, where *'aṭṭḥārī* must almost certainly be emended to *'aṭṭḥārī*. At a first glance it is not always easy to determine whether *ba'il* is at present used as an adjective or a noun in the East and in North Africa: it is frequently attached—more so than its opposite *sabū'*—to the name of a vegetable or a fruit: in such a case it stresses the good quality. At Fez, the feminine *ba'iyya* is applied to a succulent fig, whereas *ba'il* describes a man, avaricious, dry and hard as the land bearing the same name (information by L. Brunot).

As in the case of so many other elements of the vocabulary of spoken Arabic, it is to be regretted that we are far from knowing with sufficient exactitude the areas in which the words *ba'il* and *ba'il*, unknown to extensive Arabic speaking districts, are in fact used. The precise distribution of these words would be informative from various points of view.

**BALA** (Persian "bright, high") I.—Since 1262/1846 the term for a grade in the former Ottoman Civil Service, to which the Secretary of State (*mustaḥṣar*) and other senior officials belonged; he was addressed in correspondence as *'aṭṭḥārī efendi ḥakrī* (Further details in the article by M. Cavid Bayun in LA, ii, 262 ff.).

**Bibliography:** in M. C. Bayun (see above). (FR. TIESCHNER)







Egypt, and the Maghrib, and lastly, the occupation of 'Irāq and Persia. Remarks of importance for the history of culture and social conditions are interwoven with the historical narrative; for instance, al-Balādhurī discusses the change from Greek and Persian to Arabic as the official language in government offices, the quarrel with Byzantium concerning the use of Muslim religious formulas at the head of letters originating in Egypt, questions of taxation, the use of signet-rings, coinage and currency, and the history of the Arabic script. The work, one of the most valuable sources for the history of the Arab conquests, was edited by M. J. de Goeje, *Liber expugnationis regionum*, Leiden 1863/66, and reprinted repeatedly later on. English translation by P. K. Hitti and F. C. Murgotten, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, New York 1916 and 1921; German translation (continued to p. 239 of de Goeje's edition) by O. Roscher, Leipzig 1917/23.

2. His *Ansāb al-Aghlāf*, a very large work which was never completed, is genealogically arranged and begins with the life of the Prophet and the biographies of his kinsmen. The 'Abbāsids follow the 'Alīds. The 'Abd Šams, among whom the Umayyads claim a disproportionate amount of space, follow the Banū Hāshim. Next, the rest of the Quraysh and other divisions of the Muḥarrir are dealt with. The Kays, in particular the Ḥakīm, occupy the closing portion of the work; the last biography of any size is that devoted to al-Ḥajjāj. Though a genealogical work in outward form, the *Ansāb* are really *Ishtihād* in style, the *Ishtihād* arranged genealogically. This method of arrangement is not rigidly adhered to; for the most important events of the reigns of individual rulers are always added to the corresponding chapters. The *Ansāb* thus are one of the most valuable sources for the history of the Khawāridj. A portion of the work was discovered in an anonymous MS. and identified and edited by W. Ahlwardt, *Anonyma arabische Chronik*, *Id. XI*, Leipzig 1883. A complete MS. of the work was discovered by C. H. Becker in Istanbul, MS. 'Aghlī Efendi 597-98 (table of contents by M. Husnīdullah, in *Bull. d'Ét. Or. xiv*, Damascus 1934, 297-311). Of the edition of the work sponsored by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Vol. IVB (ed. M. Schlossinger, 1938-40) and Vol. V (ed. S. D. Goitein, 1936, with an important introduction) have been published. O. Pinto and G. Levi Della Vida have translated *Il Califato Mu'awīya I secondo il "Kātib Ansāb al-Aghlāf"*, Rome 1938. Cf. also F. Gabrieli, *La Rivista dei Muhallabī nel 'Irāq e il nuovo Baladīfuri*, in *Rendiconti, R. Accad. dei Lincei, Cl. sc. mor., stor. e filol.*, vi, 14, 1938, 199-236.

In spite of all al-Balādhurī's merits, his value as a historical source has been occasionally overestimated in certain respects. It is not correct to say that he always gives the original texts, which later writers embellished and expanded; it may be with much more truth presumed, from the agreement of essential portions of his works with later more detailed works, that al-Balādhurī abridged the material at his disposal in a number of cases, though he often remained faithful to his sources. Al-Balādhurī's style aims at conciseness at the expense, at times, of the artistic effect. We seldom meet with fairly long stories, though they do occur. In the *Futūḥ*, al-Balādhurī continued the old method of dividing up the historical narrative and presenting it in separate articles, but in the *Ansāb*, he attempted to combine the material of the books of conquests (Ibn Sa'd) and of the older chronicles (Ibn Isḥāq, Abū

Muḥammad, al-Maḥallī), with a third sort of style, namely, the genealogical literature (Ibn al-Kalbi). *Bibliography*: The oldest biographical source is the historian of Baghdad, 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ṭāhir Tayfur (not preserved). 'Ubayd Allāh and all the other old Arabic sources were utilised by Yāqūt, *Irbid*, ii, 127-32; some additional references can be found in the late compilation published in the introduction of *Shihir Komiya*, the edition of the *Futūḥ*. Cf. Brockelmann, I, 147 f.; S. I, 216.

(C. H. BECKER-F. ROSENTHAL.) **BALADIYYA**, municipality, the term used in Turkish (*belediye*), Arabic, and other Islamic languages, to denote modern municipal institutions of European type, as against earlier Islamic forms of urban organisation (see *MADINA*). The term, like so many modern Islamic neologisms and the innovations they express, first appeared in Turkey, where Western-style municipal institutions and services were introduced as part of the general reform programme of the *Tanzimat* (q.v.).

#### (1) TURKEY.

The first approaches towards modern municipal administration seems to have been made by Sultan Mahmūd II, among the reforms following the destruction of the Janissaries. In 1242/1827 an inspectorate of *ishākh* (*Ishākh Nizāret*) was set up, which centralised certain duties, connected with the inspection of markets, weights and measures, etc., hitherto performed by the 'Ulamā' class (see *MUTARRIF*); in 1243/1829, with the same general aims of centralising control and ending the laxness of the Imāms (in Lutfi's words: "*ve-mimārī mülümah edememi ilim*"), the system of headmen (*Muḥbīr* (q.v.)) was introduced in the town districts of Istanbul. Until then, there had been headmen in villages (*Köy Kāhāddā*) in Muslim villages, *Köfya* bagh among the Christians, but not in towns, where the duties of keeping the registers of the male population and recording movements, transfers and the like were the responsibility of the *kādis* and their deputies, or the Imāms. Under the edict of 1243/1829, these duties were transferred to the *muḥbīrs*, of whom two, first and second, were to be appointed to every town quarter (*mahalle*). Lutfi tells us that this innovation aroused some comment among the populace of Istanbul, who said: "Village headmen have been set up in the quarters of the town. Next thing we shall have *salāyine* registers." (Lutfi, ii, 173). A little later, the *muḥbīr* was reinforced by committee of elders (*ihyāyeh* *ihyāy*) of 3-5 persons; in time, this system was extended to other cities of the Empire.

In 1247/1831 the office of Commissioner of the City (*Shihir-kimī* (q.v.)) which had existed since the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, was abolished; some of its functions, relating to the care of public buildings, were transferred to the newly established Directorate of Buildings of the Domain (*Emīyeh-i Kāḥṣa*), (Lutfi, iii, 102; *Mafāḥih-i Unvān-i Baladīyeh* I, 98 and 196, quoting the decree in the official gazette, *Takvīm-i Vahā's* vii, 1247, no. 2).

The next phase began in the year 1271/1854, when two changes were initiated. The first of these was the creation of a new *Shihir-kimī* for Istanbul. Despite the name, this bore little resemblance to the earlier institution; it was rather an adaptation of the French *prefecture de la ville* and was chiefly concerned with the supervision of the markets, the control of prices, etc. The prefect was to be assisted by a City

Council (*Shihir Medjles*) drawn from the guilds and merchants. The *Ishākh Nizāret* was abolished and its duties handed over to the prefecture. This change in nomenclature seems to have had little immediate effect, and complaints were made about official neglect of municipal problems. A few months later, therefore, another decision was taken by the High Council of Reform (*Medjlis-i 'Alīa-Tanzimat*), to establish a municipal commission (*Medjlis-i Shihir Komīyeh*). A leading spirit in the commission was Antoine Allon, a member of a rich French banking family that had settled in Turkey at the time of the French Revolution. The other members were drawn chiefly from the local Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities, together with some Muslim Turks, including the *Hakim* Mehmed Sāliḥ Efendi, one of the first graduates of Sultan Mahmūd's medical school. The Commission was instructed to report on European municipal organisation, rules and procedures, and to make recommendations to the Sublime Porte.

A number of factors had combined to induce the Ottoman government to take these steps. European financial and commercial interests in Istanbul had been growing steadily, and a new quarter was developing in Galata and Beyoğlu (Pera), with buildings, apartment houses, shops, and hotels, in European style, and with increasing numbers of horse-drawn carriages of various kinds (see *ARABIA*). All this created a demand, which was put forward by the European residents, with the support of the Imperial Government, for the improvement of the town, and the improvement of the roads, the improvement of the streets, for proper roads and pavements, street-cleaning and street-lighting, sewers and water-pipes. The presence in Istanbul of large allied contingents from the West during the Crimean War gave a new impetus and a new urgency to these demands, and in the new phase of reform that began in 1854 some attention was given to the problems of municipal organisation and services in the capital. A good example of the attitude of the Turkish reformers to these questions will be found in an article, published in the newspaper *Tayyir-i Efkār*, by the poet and publicist İbrāhīm Şināid (q.v.) on the lighting and cleaning of the streets of Istanbul (reprinted in Abū 'Aḍya [Ebu-azra] Twfik, *Nusmeh-i Edhiyā'at-i 'Oḥmīyeh*, [1st ed. Istanbul 1296/1878], 3rd ed. Istanbul 1306, 227-233).

The record of the proceedings of the High Council of Reform on these matters reflect clearly the various preoccupations of the Ottoman government. The creation of a city prefecture, under the recently created Ministry of Commerce, was done, but an attempt to meet real need by installing the relevant European apparatus. There was also the usual desire to impress Western observers.

The Commission sat for four years, and reported to the High Council of Reform. Its chief recommendations were for the construction of pavements, sewers, and water-pipes, regular street-cleaning, street-lighting, the widening of the streets, where possible, the organisation of separate municipal finances, the imposition of a tax for municipal purposes, and the appointment of the commission to apply municipal laws and regulations (*madbata* of 27 Salar 1274/17 Oct. 1857, in *Medj. Um. Bul. i*, 1400-3).

In 1274/1857 the High Council decided to accept these recommendations, but to limit their application, for the time being, to an experimental municipality, to be established in Beyoğlu and Galata. This district, though the first to be organised, was officially named the sixth district (*ahāḍīḡ dā'ire*),

possibly, as 'Oḥmīn Nūrt suggests (*Medj. Um. Bul. i*, 1475, n. 93), because the sixth *arrondissement* of Paris was believed to be the most advanced of that city. The reasons for this step are set forth in a *madbata* of 21 Rabi' I 1274/9 Oct. 1857 (*Medj. Um. Bul. i*, 1416-8). Municipal services and improvements were badly needed, and should be provided; the cost should not fall upon the state treasury, but should be met by a special levy from the townspeople who would benefit. It would be excessive and impracticable to apply the new system to the whole of Istanbul at once, and it was therefore decided to make a start with the sixth district, consisting of Beyoğlu and Galata, where there were numerous properties and fine buildings, and where the inhabitants were acquainted with the practice of other countries and were willing to accept the expense of municipal institutions. When the merits of these institutions had been demonstrated by this example and had been generally understood and recognised, a suitable occasion would be found to apply them generally. The *madbata* refers explicitly to the large number of foreign establishments and the preponderance of foreign residents in the district.

The constitution and functions of the municipality of the sixth district, also known as the model district (*numūnah dā'ire*) were laid down in an *irade* of 24 Shawwāl 1274/7 July 1858. The Municipal Council was to consist of a Chairman and twelve members, all appointed by Imperial *irade*, the Chairman indefinitely, the others for three years. The Council would elect two of its members as vice-Chairmen and one as treasurer. All were to be unpaid. The permanent officials were to be an assistant to the Chairman, a Secretary-General, two interpreter-secretaries, a civil engineer, and an architect. All these were to be appointed by the Council and receive salaries. The terms of reference of the Council were defined generally as "all that concerns cleanliness and public amenities (*neḍāfah wa mīḥet-i 'umūmiyyeh*), and more specifically as roads and streets, sewers, pavements, street-lamps, sweeping and watering the streets, widening and straightening the streets, water-supply, gas, inspection and condemnation of ruinous and dangerous buildings, inspection and control of food supplies, control of prices, inspection of weights and measures, supervision of public places such as theatres, markets, hotels and restaurants, schools, dance-halls, coffee houses, taverns, etc. The Commission was further given the right to assess, impose, and collect rates and taxes, and raise loans, within limits laid down, and also to expropriate property in certain circumstances. The Chairman was to submit his budget to the Commission for discussion and inspection, and then to the Sublime Porte for ratification, without which it would not be valid.

From this it will be seen that the measures of 1271-4/1854-8, while accepting and providing for the discharge of certain new responsibilities in relation to the town, hardly represent an approach to the European conception of municipal institutions. There is still no recognition of the city as a corporate person, for such an idea remained alien to Islamic conceptions of law and government; nor was there any suggestion of election or representation. What was created was a new kind of administrative agency, appointed by and responsible to the sovereign power, but with specified and limited tasks and with a measure of budgetary autonomy. Such special commissions were by no means new in Ottoman administration (see *EMM*). The novelty lay in the kind of function entrusted to it.



The municipal commission of the model sixth district seems to have done good work. Among other achievements, it made a land survey of the district, laid out two municipal parks, opened two hospitals, and introduced many improvements for the health, security and convenience of the residents. All of which did not prevent the official historiographer Laflı Hüsni from condemning it in the most scathing terms cited by Özgün Şirî in *Şehircilik*, 127. The movement towards the introduction and extension of Western-style municipal services continued, however. In 1285/1868 a municipal code of regulations (*hukûmîye nizamnamesi*) was issued, the intention of which was to extend the commission system to the rest of the 14 districts of Istanbul. Each was to have a municipal committee of 5-12 members, who would choose one of their selves as Chairman. A general assembly for all Istanbul (*Umûmîye-i 'Umiyye*) of 56 members was to be formed, consisting of 3 delegates from each district, as well as a Council of the Prefecture (*Majlis-i Emlinî*) of six persons, appointed and paid by the Imperial government. These two bodies were to function under the Prefect (*Şehreminî*), who was to remain a government official. The elaborate provisions of this code seem to have remained a dead letter until 1293/1876-7 when, under the impetus of the constitutional movement, new codes were issued for the capital and for provincial towns. The Istanbul code of 1293/1876 was in effect a rearrangement of the earlier one, with a few changes, the most important of which were the increase in the number of districts from 14 to 20, and the change in the property qualification of members from an annual income of 5,000 piastres to an annual tax payment of 250 piastres. Perhaps the most significant innovation in the new code was less in its provisions than in the fact that it was promulgated, not by the Sublime Porte, but by the short-lived Ottoman parliament. However, the laws and codes that followed seemed to be as ineffectual as its predecessors. (An exception was the Princes Islands, where a seventh district was constituted: Sa'îd Paşa, *Şahîrî*, Istanbul 1328, I, 5; *Majl. Um. Ed.* I, 1457). Finally, in 1296/1879, a new and more realistic version was published, which in time was put into operation. This divided the city into ten municipal districts. The elaborate apparatus of councils and committees provided by the earlier codes was abolished. What was left was an appointed Council of Prefecture to assist the Prefect, and a government-appointed director (*muhtar*) for each of the 10 districts. This system remained in force until the revolution of 1324/1908.

In the provinces the policies of the reformers were much the same. The earlier authority of the *şeyh* and the *şehîr kethüdâsı* [92c] had been abolished. The *muhtar* system, inaugurated by Mahmud II, was introduced into the urban districts of most of the larger towns, and the *vildâd* law of 1281/1864 laid down regulations for their election (chapters iv and vi). In the *vildâd* law of 1287/1870, provision was made for the establishment of municipal councils in provincial cities, along the same general lines as in the code for Istanbul. There is no evidence that anything much was done about this. Some attempt, however, seems to have been made to implement parts of the provincial municipal code (*vildâdî hukûmîye nizamnamesi*) of 1294/1877. According to the law, every town was to have a municipal council, consisting of 6 to 12 members, according to the population. They were to sit for four years, with elections every two years to choose half the members.

The doctor, engineer, and veterinary surgeon of the region were *ex officio* advisory members. Membership was restricted to those paying 100 piastres a year in tax. One of the members of the Council became mayor (*hukûmîye reisî*), not by election but by government appointment. The budget and estimates were to be approved by a municipal assembly (*Umûmîye-i Baladîyye*) meeting twice yearly for this purpose. The assembly was responsible to the General Council of the province (*Majlis-i 'Umiyye-i Vâlîyye*) (*Majl. Um. Ed.* I, 1664 ff.).

After the Young Turk Revolution a new attempt was made to introduce democratic municipal institutions. The law of 1293/1876, with some amendments, was restored, and a serious attempt made to put it into effect. The experiment was not very successful. The personnel of the district committees, though enthusiastic, were inexperienced, and there was little co-operation between districts for common purposes. In 1328/1912 a new law finally abolished this system. In its place a single Istanbul municipality, called *Şehreminî*, was established, with nine district branch offices (*Şub'â*), each directed by a government official. The Prefect was assisted by a 14 man general assembly, of which 6 delegates were elected from each of the nine districts. In this as in so many other respects, the new régime was returning to a more centralised system of government. Despite many difficulties, some important progress was made by the Young Turks in improving the amenities of Istanbul. A new drainage system was planned and constructed, improvements were in policing and fire prevention, and the famous parks of days that had for long infested the Turkish capital were finally removed.

The first municipal measure of the republican government was a law of 16 Febr. 1924, setting up a prefecture (*Şehreminî*) in Ankara (*Konânî* *Majlis-i Ed.* II, 218). The first prefect was Ali Haydar, and he was assisted by a general assembly of 24 members. The constitution followed broadly that of Istanbul, but with some changes, the general purport of which was to restrict the autonomy of the municipality in financial and security matters and place it more strictly under the control of the Ministry of the Interior.

On 3 April 1909, a new law of municipalities was passed (*Resmî Gazete* 127, 1380; *ÖM.* 1910, 355). The old names of *Şehreminî* and *Şehreminî* were abolished, and replaced by *Beladîye* and *Beladîye reisî*, usually translated mayor. Under Sultan 'Abd al-Hamîd, the offices of Prefect and Governor of Istanbul had in fact been exercised by the same person. The Young Turks, by a law of 1325/1909, had formally separated the prefecture from the governorship. The new law laid down that in Istanbul, though not elsewhere, the office of mayor should be combined with that of Vali, the *vildâd* and *beladîye* administrations, however, remaining separate. Under the law, municipalities, like villages, have corporate legal identity and legally defined boundaries. The 116 articles of the law provided a systematic code of rules for the election and functioning of municipal bodies, and with some modifications remained in force to the present day. Under these rules, municipalities are administered by a Mayor, a Permanent Commission, and a Municipal Council. The Mayor is elected by the Council, which itself is elected directly by universal suffrage for a term of four years. Towns with from 2,000 to 20,000 inhabitants are called *kazas*, those with more than 20,000 are called *şehir*. The size of the

Council depends on the number of inhabitants, the minimum being 12 members, for fewer than 5,000 inhabitants. The Council meets three times a year, at the beginning of February, April and November. At other times it is replaced by a permanent commission (*daimî encümen*) consisting of three of its own members reinforced by the permanent officials of the municipality. The functions of the municipality include public health (hospitals, dispensaries, preventive medicine, sanitary and food inspections, etc.), public services (trams, buses, gas, electricity), town planning and engineering (roads and bridges within the town, public parks and gardens, street-lighting and cleaning, sewage, water-supply, etc.); in times of shortage, it is also entrusted with the distribution of commodities in short supply. It has its own enforcement agency (*sâdâ*). The municipality imposes taxes and has its own budget; its permanent staff, however, are civil servants.

**Bibliography:** the richest collection of material for the history of municipal institutions in Turkey will be found in 'Öğün Nûrî (= Osman Ergin), *Majlis-i Umûmîye-i Baladîyye*, 5 vols., Istanbul, 1330-1335; the first volume contains an elaborately documented history of municipal institutions in Islam and in Turkey, the second reproduces the texts of Ottoman laws and edicts on municipal matters, the remaining three deal with specific topics such as municipal contracts and privileges, health, public works, etc. For a brief general introduction to the subject by the same author, see Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Şehirciliğinin Tarihî Lihâzı*, Istanbul 1936. The texts of laws relating to municipal matters will be found in the *Düstur*, Istanbul 1872-1928, in the *Konânî* *Majlis-i Ed.* and *Konânî Dergisi* (1920 ff.), and in the *Resmî Gazete*, (French translations in G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford 1905-6; Aristarch, *Législation ottomane*, Constantinople 1874-8; *La Législation turque*, Istanbul 1923 ff.). Descriptions of the organisation of the *Şehreminî* and the provincial municipalities will be found in the general and provincial yearbooks (*sâlmame*) of the Ottoman Empire, the last of which appeared in 1328/1912. On the municipal laws of the republic see *La Vie Juridique des Peuples*, vii, *Toulon*, Paris 1939, 37 B; Albert Gorvine, *An Outline of Turkish Provincial and Local Government*, Ankara 1936. (B. Lewis)

## (2) ARAB EAST.

Town councils of the earlier period of reform, such as the *majlis* *Dimashq*, which had been established during the Egyptian occupation of Syria, 1832-40 (A. J. Rustum, *al-Mahfûz al-Malahîyya al-Misriyya: Bayân bi-Wahîd al-Shâm Beirut 1940-43*), and a council appointed by Nûr al-Dîn Paşa, a reforming *muhtar*, at Sawâkin in 1254 (J. Hamilton, *Sinai*, 1857), were unrelated to any legislative policy and were short-lived. The Ottoman municipal legislation of 1281-94/1864-77 was applied throughout the Arabic-speaking provinces of the Empire except in certain frontier regions and in Egypt where municipal development was following a different course. The new municipalities flourished where the will of the province was sympathetic to the *tasfiha*, and languished where it was not. Thus, under the guidance of Ahmad Mîshat Paşa, Baghdad in 1860-72 and Damascus in 1875-80 experienced an intensive if brief period of urban development involving the demolition of city walls, re-alignment of streets and construction of

covered markets and other public buildings. Participation of public-spirited local notables furthered urban reform. Mosul under its seigniorial families has had a continuous municipal history since 1869. Sectarianism hindered the smooth working of several municipalities in the communities (*nahîya*) of the autonomous *sandîsh* of Mt. Lebanon, and in Jerusalem where the complicated religious situation demanded that the chairman of the municipal council should be a Muslim. A weakness in all Ottoman provincial municipalities was the ineffectiveness of the municipal police (*beladîyye ta'ashîrât*, Ar. *shurât al-baladîyya*).

In spite of its shortcomings, which the consuls of the Powers were quick to report in their despatches, the Ottoman municipal organisation showed a remarkable ability to survive the disintegration of the Empire after the world war of 1914-18 when the withdrawal of Ottoman rule left a vacuum in local government in the Arab lands. To preserve continuity during the transitional period, the British in 'Irak, Palestine and Transjordan, and the French in Syria and Lebanon, continued to administer the Ottoman municipal code for several years until they introduced changes which reflected the influence of the Mandatory Powers. In 1922 a *muhtar* was appointed for Baghdad who was at once executive head of the *hiss* of Baghdad and chairman of the city municipal council; the two offices were separated in 1923. The Ottoman Law (*vildâdî hukûmîye Kâdîna*) of 27 Ramadan 1294/1877 was not however repealed until the promulgation of Law no. 84 of 1935 (*Idârât al-baladîyyât*). The Palestine Government did not finally break with the Ottoman system until the issue of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934. Conditions in Transjordan limited the councils to consultative functions, and the Municipalities Law of 1925 permitted the head of the municipality of the capital to be appointed from outside the municipal council, a situation existing also, and more recently, at Damascus.

In Lebanon the Ottoman Law of 1877 was replaced by a Municipal Decree of 1922 under which the minister of the interior took over the supervisory duties of the former Ottoman wali. In 1924 Beirut was given special status as a capital city and an organisation based on that of Paris though, from that year until the end of the French mandate, chairman and council continued to be appointed by the minister. By Legislative Decree no. 5 of 1954 the special status of Beirut was abolished and a municipal council of twelve members, of whom half were elected, was set up. The chairman, appointed from its members, is head of the municipal legislature, the *muhtar*, representing the state, is head of the city executive. The Syrian municipalities, including that of Damascus, are governed by a *Kâdîn al-baladîyyât* promulgated by Decree no. 172 of 1936.

The chairmen of the municipalities of Damascus, Beirut, Baghdad and Amman are styled *amin al-'ashima* to emphasise their particular importance in relation to the seat of the government; elsewhere the original designation, *ra'is al-baladîyya*, is retained. In the capitals the chairman is appointed by the council of ministers. In other municipalities he is chosen either by the municipal council or by the minister of the interior who usually has a department (*mislahat*, *nadiriyya*) in his ministry which supervises municipal affairs. In Egypt and the Sudan special ministries of towns and rural affairs have been created.



Egypt developed its own local government tradition. Owing to the presence of the European consuls and a European merchant community, Alexandria possessed the beginnings of municipal government as early as about 1835 when a consultative *majlis al-ta'lim* (council of the formal in Levantine parlance) was formed. This was followed in 1860 by a municipality having an appointed president and a partly elected council. The Khedive Isma'ili and his successors withheld municipal privileges from Cairo until 1949, though municipal commissions with restricted powers had long existed in the Egyptian provinces.

An ordinance of 1901 empowered the governor-general of the Sudan to establish municipal councils, but this measure was not implemented. In 1921 a consultative council was founded in the neighbouring towns of Khartoum, Omdurman and Khartoum North, with regional committees in each town. The formation in 1942 of the first municipal council at Port Sudan was followed in other towns. In 1945 the three regional committees at the capital were replaced by municipal councils, and a bill containing provision for further decentralisation became law in 1951.

In Arabia municipalities were established by the Ottoman Government in Medina, Jeddah, Ta'if and Yanbu' about 1870. In Mecca the maintenance of the simple public services was divided between the 'Ayn al-Zubayr water board (*al-majlis al-hamiyuna*) and a general-purpose council. These institutions had no roots in the Hijaz and disappeared in the year of 1925-26. In 1926 the Saudi Government issued an administrative instruction providing for elected municipal councils of notables and merchants in Mecca, Medina and Jeddah, with technical management boards in each of these towns composed of the director of the municipality and his heads of department.

A municipal authority was in existence in Aden by 1855, and an Aden local authority was established in 1900, though the elective element was not admitted to the Fortress until 1947. In 1953 the Fortress township authority was reconstituted as the Aden municipality with an appointed president and an official majority on the council, but with a broadened electoral base and control over its own budget. Bahraini municipalities have each a *ra'is al-majlis al-baladiyya* appointed by the Ruler, a partly-elected council, and a permanent director (*mu'dir al-wisay*, *shiriyat*). Kuwait municipality is managed by a *mu'dir* responsible to the *ra'is al-baladiyya*, a member of the ruling family. The Arabic-speaking communities of Musawa' and Harar have taken only a small part in town management. By decree of 1893, rescinded in 1907, the Italian Government instituted a municipal board at Musawa' with an insignificant representation of appointed natives and a narrowly limited competence. Two measures passed by the Ethiopian Government: Administrative Decree no. 1 of 1942, extended by Municipalities Proclamation no. 74 of 1945, provided for elected town councils.

Municipalities in the Arab East do not usually exercise direct control over electricity and water supply, and rarely over urban transport, undertakings which are operated either by concessionary companies, now mostly in process of nationalisation, or by boards under the authority of the central government, with or without municipal representation. Municipal councillors are chosen by direct suffrage of the electors, not by inferior councils in

town wards as in two-tier systems of municipal representation. Municipalities vary in the degree of publicity in which they pursue their activities. Those in the more politically advanced centres, such as Damascus, Beirut, Baghdad, Cairo and Alexandria, disclose their budgets and explain their policies; others are less communicative. The press is excluded from council meetings, and the somewhat negative attitude of the citizens to local, in comparison with national, affairs results in relatively small polls at council elections, though the inhabitants of Palestine under British mandate, denied an active part in national affairs, frequently vented their feelings in municipal politics. Municipalities also differ in the strictness with which they enforce building restrictions and traffic control, and in the importance which they attach to welfare and public amenities. Only in Egypt have women the right to be municipal electors and to be elected on municipal councils; women municipal employees are everywhere few.

In no state is there a nation-wide local government service with its own traditions existing parallel with the national civil service. Local government is considered as a regional branch of the central government, having no juridical or real financial independence. Yet the growing wealth and technical complexity of the larger municipalities, as well as their record of administrative maturity and good government, have in practice increased their civic autonomy.

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### (5) NORTH AFRICA — (i) TUNISIA

In Tunisia the first *baladiyya* appeared in the reign of Muhammad Bey, who set up by a decree of 30 August 1838 a municipal Council to administer the affairs of the town of Tunis, composed of a president, a secretary and twelve members chosen from among the foremost people in the land, a third of whom gave up their seats each year. The chief responsibilities of this council were to do with public money, roads, the acquisition for the public benefit of land needed for widening roads, and the issuing of building permits. The council received its administrative authority, which was only vaguely defined, from the sovereign. The constitution of the Tunis municipal council was altered after the setting up of the French protectorate, by a decree of the bey dated 31 October 1885. Two years later a decree of 1 April 1887 promulgated a municipal charter for the whole of Tunisia, and was soon followed by another decree (10 June 1889) which determined that all municipal councillors in Tunis were to be appointed by the government, listed the matters the municipal councils were competent to deal with, and organised the administration of the country through these bodies. Two subsequent reforms have been made, one by a decree of 10 August 1917 which relaxed the rule whereby consent had to be granted for all deliberations by the municipal councils, and the other by a decree of 15 September 1945, which provided for an elected municipal council in Tunisia, composed of an equal number of Tunisians and Frenchmen.

But the institution as a whole was profoundly modified by the bey's decree of 10 December 1917, which defined the commune: a collective body under public law, with civil status and financially autonomous, responsible for the conduct of municipal affairs. The deliberating body of the commune is the municipal council, elected for six years by direct suffrage by two electoral bodies, who appoint the Tunisian and the French councillors respectively. Half the members vacate their seats every three years. Of 64 communes in all, 39 appoint an equal number of Frenchmen and Tunisians to their municipal councils, the others appointing a majority of Tunisians, or Tunisians alone. The elections are held on a general basis of universal suffrage, with the proviso that Tunisian women, unlike Frenchwomen, do not have the right to vote. The municipal council holds four ordinary sessions annually. Its competence is restricted and does not extend to all the business of the commune. There is still administrative supervision centrally by the Minister of State and locally by the *Ka'id*, who has now taken the place of the French civil inspector. The executive body of the commune is made up of a president appointed by decree from among the *Ka'ids* other than the *Ka'id* responsible for the commune concerned, as a vice-president and deputies elected by the municipal council from among its members. This arrangement preserves the earlier relationship vis-à-vis the Tunis municipal council, elected for six years. The executive body of the commune is the *Shaykh al-Madina*, president appointed by the *Ka'id* of the town of Tunis, and assisted by two vice-presidents, one French and one Tunisian. Tunisia's communal organisation was changed after it became independent, under the municipal law of 14 March 1957. This new statute raised the number of communes to 94. The municipal councils are now elected directly in one ballot from a list of

Encyclopaedia of Islam

candidates, for three years, the electors being Tunisians of both sexes aged twenty and over. The minimum age for candidates is 25. Frenchmen can no longer be members of the municipal councils, but the law provides that Frenchmen and foreigners who have the right to vote may be appointed by the Tunisian government, which will fix the number of such persons for each commune.

Administrative supervision is exercised by the Minister of the Interior, and by the governors centrally and locally.

Two other important innovations must be mentioned: the president and deputies are now elected by the council. But the president of the commune of Tunis is still appointed by decree of the Prime Minister, the president of the council, on the nomination of the Minister of the Interior. On the other hand the municipal councils now deal with all the business of the commune. (CH. SAMARAN)

### (3) NORTH AFRICA — (ii) MOROCCO

Before 1912 there were no municipalities nor municipal life in Morocco in the sense these words have had in some European countries since the Middle Ages, a sense inherited from Roman tradition. The towns had no finances of their own; the expense of public services was met in large measure by the revenue of religious foundations or *hubs*, and building or improvements were dependent on the good will of the prince, who would levy the required sums on the public treasury. Nor were there any representative assemblies of citizens; the governor or *šaykh* held his power directly from the sultan, and the *mukhtasib* was not "the merchants' provost", as is often stated, as they did not elect him. A wise governor would take the advice of prominent people in his area, but was not bound to do so. The first modern municipal body set up by the French Protectorate was that of Fes (*al-majlis al-baladi*), instituted by the *dahir* of 2 September 1912. It comprised a council of fifteen members with right of vote, seven officials appointed on special grounds and eight other prominent men elected for two years. This organisation survived until the municipal charter of 1927.

A *dahir* of 1 April 1917 set up "municipal commissions in the ports of the Sharifian empire". It was recapitulated and clarified by the *dahir* of 8 April 1917. Nineteen towns were given the status of municipalities (1,822,746 inhabitants according to the census of 1911-12). The *dahir* determines the municipal authorities: the *paşa* or governor, still appointed by the central authority, and under the direction of a senior municipal services official, then from 1947 of an urban affairs delegate; and a municipal commission with right of discussion only, appointed and not elected, and made up of one French and two Moroccan sections (one Muslim, one Jewish). The municipalities provide services under the direction of the Head of municipal services: administrative, public works, sanitary and fiscal. They have budgets drawn from their own resources (direct and indirect taxes, revenues from land and excise, a share in the profits from services given).

Casablanca, like Fes, was given a special organisation, but only in 1927. The municipal commission, though still appointed, now had power to vote, and the French section now elected a French vice-president with special powers.

The system of municipalities was reformed in 1953 by the *dahir* of 18 September, which abolished the special organisations at Fes and Casablanca. The



main change it introduces is to set up elected, not appointed, municipal commissions, still of Moroccans and Frenchmen equally. The commission manages the affairs of the city, though approval of its decisions by the central supervising authority is required.

The administrative provisions of this statute have been given effect, but not those relating to elections. This was prevented by the political crisis of 1953. The old appointed commissions remained, and were dissolved when Morocco became independent.

The government of independent Morocco has made no change in the legislation on municipalities. Only French control and the commissions have gone, naturally enough. A new representative system is being prepared. It will relate not only to the towns, but envisages the setting up throughout the country of rural communes which would replace the old tribes or divisions of tribes, and would be run by elected councils. At the time of writing this law has not yet been promulgated. It seems to be inspired in large measure by the *daïr* of 6 July 1951, which set up elected '*djama'as*' with power of vote, usually within the framework of the tribe or tribal division.

In Algeria, the municipal organisation reproduces, in the towns and villages, the system in force in France. The old '*mixed communes*' administered by officials appointed by the government and subordinate to the sub-prefects have everywhere been replaced by '*communes with full powers*'.

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#### (4) PERSIA

In the 19th and early 20th century the chief city official after the governor was the *beglarbegi*; under him were the *dirvisha* and *haldar*; and over each of the quarters in the larger cities was a *haldiband*. In the bazaar the craft guilds enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy in internal affairs. The streets of the city were narrow, mostly unpaved, muddy in winter, dusty in summer, and unlit at night. There was, however, little demand for municipal reform and even after the grant of the constitution in 1906 scant attention was paid to the establishment of municipalities on modern lines. A Municipal Law was passed on 20 Rabi' II 1325/6 June 1907 but remained largely in abeyance owing to the fact that inadequate financial provisions had been made for municipal development. In 1919 during the premiership of Sayyid Dīyā' al-Dīn Tabataba'ī a commission was set up to prepare a scheme for a municipality for Tehran on modern lines but proved abortive (J. M. Ballour, *Recent Happenings in Persia*, London 1922, 240). In 1922 Dr. Ryan, an American, was engaged as municipal adviser to Tehran; he died in 1923 and was not replaced (A. C. Millspaugh, *The American Task in Persia*, New York and London 1925, 21, 212). During the reign of Rida Shāh (1925-41) considerable development took place in municipal affairs, and by 1927-8 there were some 134 municipalities in existence. By the Municipal Law of 1309 P./1930 the head of the municipality (*ra'is-i baladīyya*) was designated by the Ministry of the Interior. He was responsible for the execution of projects for municipal development and municipal administration; his duties included the supervision of weights and measures, control of the guilds, and the regulation of food supplies, prices and rents. The law also provided for an elected municipal council of 6-12 members. Its term of office was two years; its duties were to supervise the activities of

the municipality, approve the municipal budget, and propose through the head of the municipality to the Ministry of the Interior the levy of municipal dues. Much progress was made in the field of town planning under Rida Shāh but the high degree of centralisation and the close control of the Ministry of the Interior over municipal affairs meant that the local communities had little real responsibility for or control over municipal affairs. In 1328 P./1949 new legislation increased the size of the municipal council so that it was composed of 6-30 members and extended its term of office to four years. Its main functions were unchanged but its powers were somewhat increased. The head of the municipality was appointed by the Ministry of the Interior from among three candidates submitted by the council; he was dismissed in the event of the municipal council passing a vote of no confidence in him. The increase in the power of the municipal council was, however, offset by the fact that in the event of a disagreement between the governor-general and the municipal council the former could have recourse to the Ministry of the Interior whose decision in such a case was final. Subsequently modifications were made in the position of the municipality and the municipal council by Administrative Orders (*Idāra-i Idārat*) dated 11 Abān 1331 P./1952 and 25 Khordād 1332 P./1953 issued during the premiership of Dr. Musaddiq, and the Law of 13 Tir 1334 P./1955. In some respects the position of the municipal council was strengthened, but its freedom of action was limited by the fact that its dissolution could in certain circumstances be demanded by the Ministry of the Interior; in the event of there being no municipal council the Ministry of the Interior was deemed the council's successor. Under the Second Seven-Year Plan Law, approved in March 1956, Persia was divided into three areas for municipal development, for each of which a firm of consultants was allotted responsibility (F. C. Mason, *Iran, Economic and Commercial Conditions in Iran, August 1957*, HMSO 1957, 74-5). The *baladīyya* became known during the reign of Rida Shāh as the *ghabardī* and the *ra'is-i baladīyya* as the *ghabardī*.

(A. K. S. LAMSTON)

#### (5) INDIA

The indigenous village communities of India controlled by village councils or *panchayats* represented a form of local self-government but they had practically ceased to function during the anarchy accompanying the decline of the Mughal empire. Albuquerque, the Governor of the Portuguese possessions in India between 1509 and 1515, had retained the existing village communities in his administration of Goa. In 1674 Gerald Aungier had also made use of the ancient *panchayats* in Bombay. To a certain extent the *panchayat* system had survived in the territories of the Maratha Peshwa and traces were discernible elsewhere. This led Mountstuart Elphinstone in Bombay and Thomas Munro in Madras to advocate the preservation of these village councils where possible. Their representations however were little attended to and the institutions of local self-government introduced by the British in the middle of the nineteenth century were of a foreign type. Until the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in 1919 they resembled the French rather than the British system, for the district officer of British India like the French prefect of a department, rigorously controlled the provincial authorities.

There was far too much official interference and British administrators aimed more at efficient local government under official control than any genuine system of local self-government under popular control.

The development of municipal institutions under British rule began in the three Presidency towns of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. As early as 1687, by order of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, a municipal corporation and mayor's court were established in Madras. Similar bodies were set up in Calcutta and Bombay in 1726. These courts however were intended to exercise judicial rather than administrative functions. By the Charter Act of 1793 the governor-general was authorised to appoint justices of the peace for the municipal administration of the Presidency towns. In addition to their judicial duties they were to appoint watchmen and scavengers and levy a sanitary rate for this purpose. This worked with a certain amount of success in Bombay but not in Calcutta or Madras. The justices of the peace were government nominees and it was not until 1872 that the ratepayers of the Presidency towns were allowed to elect their own representatives.

Between 1842 and 1863 a series of regulations extended municipal institutions to other towns. After the 1861 Councils' Act municipal government was remodelled by the local legislatures. The need for associating Indians in local self-government was laid down by a resolution of Lord Mayo's government. The governor-generalship of Lord Ripon (1880-84) witnessed a great extension of local self-government which it was hoped would be a means of political education for Indians. At the same time rural boards, similar to the municipal boards, extended the system to the rural areas. It was not until the introduction of dyarchy under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms that local bodies were handed over to popular control and elected ministers became responsible for the administration of local self-government.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

#### (6) MALAYA AND SINGAPORE

The municipalities in Malaya, as in other parts of the British Commonwealth, are adapted from the local government system of England. The first appearance of such institutions in the area took place in the Straits Settlements of Malacca, Penang and Singapore. In 1827 the genesis of municipal institutions in the Straits Settlements was introduced in the form of a Local Committee concerned with the management of roads and drainage in Penang. This was soon followed by similar Committees in Singapore and Malacca. In 1836 the Government of India (East India Co.) enacted a law for the establishment of Municipal Commissioners of the three 'stations' of Singapore, Malacca and the Prince of Wales Island (Penang). In 1838 the meetings were

held twice monthly and were open to the public. The Municipal Commissioners of the station of the Prince of Wales Island (Penang) became the Municipal Commission of George Town in 1858. By the turn of the century there were three Municipal Commissioners for the town of Singapore, George Town in Penang and the town and fort of Malacca. Each Commission had a full time president appointed by the governor and a number of official members and non-official members who were chosen in the early stages by electoral procedure. This procedure was later restricted to only half the commissioners leaving the other half to be nominated by the governor. By 1913 when the Municipal Ordinance of the Straits Settlements was enacted electoral procedure was completely abandoned and all the commissioners were nominated to represent local opinion, business associations, religious or racial groups. The system of nomination continued until after the Second World War when the electoral procedure was re-introduced first in Singapore (1949) and later in Penang and Malacca. At this stage only two thirds of the commissioners were elected by general adult suffrage. By 1957 the Municipal Commissioners became City Councils (*Madgiti Bandar Ra'aya*) in Singapore and George Town which had become cities with fully elected councillors who in their turn elected their president who is styled '*mayor*' (*dati bandar*).

The Municipal Ordinance of the Straits Settlements stipulated that a member of a Municipal Commission must be able to speak at least English, since it was the language officially recognised. This stipulation together with the system of nominating commissioners tended to reduce public interest in the affairs of the Council. After 1957 the Chinese, Tamil and Malay languages were recognised as official languages together with English for the purposes of the Singapore Council meetings. In Malacca and Penang Malay, the national language of the Federation of Malaya, was also recognised with English. This helped to break the barriers between the public and the Council and it opened the door to the non-English educated members of the community to stand for election with accompanying tendencies towards radicalism.

The Municipalities of Singapore, George Town and the town and fort of Malacca have always exercised all functions expected of a local authority. In addition to this they were allowed to own undertakings for the supply of water, gas and electricity.

With the spread of British administration into the Malay States and the peninsula another type of local government emerged. This was called the Town Board. It was first established in the Federated Malay States of Perak, Negri Sembilan and Pahang. The non-federated Malay States adopted similar institutions with local modifications in nomenclature and powers. It must be noted that the Town Boards were less of a local government and more of a central government functioning locally. They were totally dependent upon the authority of the State and all their employees were officers of the State. Unlike the Municipal Commission they were not legally independent of the central government but agents of it. The president and the members were appointed by the central authority for an indefinite period and not for four years as was the case with the Municipal Commission. Again at variance with the Municipal Commissions Town Boards extended their authorities beyond the boundaries of the towns to the neighbouring villages.

The first attempt at the creation of municipalities



in the true sense within the Malay States came after the establishment of the Federation of Malaya in 1948. The Municipal Ordinance of the Straits Settlements was enacted for the whole Federation which by now comprised the nine Malay States together with the Settlements of Penang and Malacca. Singapore was left out of the Federation. In the same year the Town Board of Kuala Lumpur, the Federal capital, was transformed into a municipality. It retained its former responsibilities including those of the administration of the outlying villages around it. A distinction however was made between an inner municipal area and an outer municipal area. The former referring to the town proper and the latter to the villages around it. From then onwards changes began to take place. Town Boards became Town Councils (*Madjlis Bandar*). Electoral Procedure was introduced. Greater authority was vested in these Councils and great interest in local affairs became apparent. In fact local elections in Malaya have become equal in importance to their counterparts in other highly developed countries in the sense that they have become a testing ground for the opposing national political parties.

At present Municipalities (Berbandaran) in the Federation of Malaya are still in a state of transition. The Municipal Ordinance is not fully implemented all over the Federation. (Apart from George Town City Council and the Municipalities of Kuala Lumpur and Malacca 27 of the larger towns in the Federation have elected Town Councils, 12 of which are financially autonomous and the others are moving in the same direction.) It is expected that the Ordinance will be amended to give greater scope for local variations retaining however the basic essentials of a modern municipality.

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(M. A. ZAKI BADAWI)

#### (7) INDONESIA

We do not know much about political life or the kind of government in the ancient pre-Islamic cities and towns of Indonesia, either in such royal centres as the capitals of old Mataram or later Majapahit, or in commercial urban centres like Tuban, Gresik or Palembang.

There is no evidence, up to now, that there ever was any form of really local government or autonomy vested in locally-rooted public institutions. When, from the 7th/13th century onwards, Islam gradually penetrated almost the whole of Sumatra and Java and in many other regions of the archipelago, this lack of local public institutions in the towns and cities (neither big nor numerous) continued. Both European and non-European sources of the 16th and 17th centuries tell us that the inhabitants of cities or urban emporia were ruled by servants of the sultans or princes and that their towns never were considered to be a juridical entity. Neither in remote past nor in more recent times did the indigenous towns of Indonesia have any creative influence on the development of law as did the towns and cities of Western Europe through their law-giving authorities or special municipal courts.

In towns that came to be ruled by the Dutch East India Company or were founded by this chartered body (as Batavia) some urban institutions of 17th century Western type were created, of which the *weeskamer* (council for the affairs of orphans) perhaps may be mentioned because it has survived the Company itself. It reappears in the general legislation of the 19th and 20th century on the civil law of Europeans and non-Indonesian inhabitants of the archipelago.

When after the downfall of the Company and after the end of the British interregnum these islands became a part of the new kingdom of the Netherlands (1816) a highly centralised and exclusively official system of government was introduced. This system remained unaltered until the end of the 19th century, when under the influence of prominent colonial specialists some ideas of "decentralisation" began to carry the day. Though in 1894 and in following years several bills were conceived—which did not pass the parliament—it was not before 1903 that the so-called *Indische decentralisatie* (Act for decentralisation) was promulgated.

This act had a double aim: first, to pave the way for the creation of local and regional public councils; secondly to procure the financial means to be used by these councils. (The regional councils will not be dealt with here). So this act did not aim at reforms in the great diversity of Indonesian rural and truly indigenous institutions: in that field everything continued to be founded on customary law (*adat*) and special legal regulations made for it. This new chapter of the legislation prescribed (*inter alia*) how to set up urban municipalities.

Large cities, like Batavia (now Jakarta, Djakarta), Surabaya, Semarang, Bandung and many other places of urban character as well, were westernised in many respects. The great majority of Europeans and Chinese, and several other non-Indonesian groups lived there; even the Indonesian inhabitants often were of different origin, *adat* and language. Western business and industrial activity had its headquarters there. In these great half-western, half-eastern agglomerations the usual problems that are to be found in big cities everywhere were encountered. They

could be better served and solved by municipal authorities and services than by the general civil service officials of the central government. Further legislative measures, issued by the governor general in 1903, carried out what the fundamental act aimed at, and Batavia became a municipality. In its initial phase the members of its municipal council were appointed by the governor-general and not elected.

The resident of Batavia was officially the council's chairman. Meester Cornelis and Buitenzorg (now Djatinegara and Bogor) also obtained municipal councils in 1905. This new system gradually developed so that all the cities and big towns in Java as well as many towns elsewhere (Medan, Pangkajene, Padang, Makassar, Manado, etc.) became municipalities, while since 1918 the members of these councils could be elected by qualified inhabitants.

Since 1925 every male citizen of an urban municipality in Java who had attained his majority, had a yearly income of at least 300 guilders, and could read and write in Dutch, Malay or any vernacular, was given the vote. In the outer provinces, rules might be in force. These new urban municipalities were made corporate bodies. The rather limited activities of urban municipalities comprised such items as roads, streets, parks, sewage-systems, fire-service, public utility works, public health service and so on. Municipal regulations could be made.

In 1916 a new ordinance enabled the government to appoint burgomasters (*burgemeesters*) for those cities or towns that were deemed to need such an official (as in the Netherlands, the burgmaster was to be appointed by the central government). Their salaries were paid by the central government; a percentage of it was to be reimbursed by the municipal treasury. As these urban municipalities were considered western-type enclaves in the territory of *adat* law it seemed convenient, at least during the first two decades of their existence, to appoint only European burgomasters. The *weethouders* (aldermen) were chosen by the council from among its own members. They formed under the chairmanship of the burgmaster the executive committee of the council. Only in the last decade before the second world war did the government start appointing Indonesians as burgomasters.

In the present Republic of Indonesia the principle of decentralisation as well as that of autonomy and local government is maintained in article 131 of its provisional constitution. New legislative measures however to give practical effect to this principle are not yet in force. For Java at least, an act of 1948 (no. 21) promulgated by the former republic of Indonesia (*republic*: the Jogja-republic) has systematised the autonomous parts of the territory in three ranks: 1) provinces, 2) *kabupaten* or regencies and big cities 3) small urban municipalities and rural units. As a consequence of article 142 of the above-mentioned provisional constitution (*landelijk-ouding* *Republiek Indonesia*, promulgated 27 August 1950) all earlier regulations not explicitly abolished or altered are to be considered as decrees or regulations of the republic. So the essentials of the pre-war legislation as to urban municipalities are still in force, although the burgomasters are now officially called *walidha*, and the municipal council has influence on the appointment of these magistrates while the members of the councils are to be elected by all inhabitants of both sexes who have passed their 18th birthday or married at an earlier date.

(The special and temporary situation in Jakarta where the 24 members of the council are appointed by the government, need not be discussed here.)

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**BALĀGHA** (بَالَاغَة), Abstract noun, from *halāgh* effective, eloquent (from *halāgha* "to attain something"), meaning therefore eloquence. It presupposes *fasāḥa*, purity and euphony of language, but goes beyond it in requiring, according to some of the early definitions, the knowledge of the proper connexion and separation of the phrase, clarity, and appropriateness to the occasion. Even though those definitions are not infrequently attributed to foreign nations such as the Persians, Greeks or Indians, the demand for skill in improvisation and the recurring references to the *balāgh* (or orator) in connexion with the discussion of the concept make it abundantly clear that it originated in the Arabian milieu. The transfer of the concept to the written word and hence to literary criticism and, beyond this, its widening to denote a three-pronged science are the essential facts in the rather complicated history of the term.

Grammar and lexicology, the primary concerns of the early critic, became in the course of the sixth century, when stylistic perfection had been accepted as a desideratum in official pronouncements, integral parts of the education of the *balāgh*. The period appreciated systematisation not excluding the analysis of aesthetic experience. Acquaintance with the conceptual apparatus of Greek thought assisted in the articulation of critical insights even though the impulse toward a theory of *balāgha*, or aesthetic effectiveness on the verbal level, seems to have been germane to the Arab tradition which was then stimulated by an increased interest in structure and development of poetry and by the need to rationalise the aesthetic implications of the theological postulate of the uniqueness (*uḥūd*) of the Qur'an. The motivation for the first work exclusively devoted to certain formal characteristics of artistic expression, the *Kubāh al-Balāgh* of Ibn al-Mu'tazz (written in 887/88; ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1935), was the justification of the 'new' or 'modern' style, *al-balāgh* (q.v.), of which the second half of the ninth century had witnessed the victorious surge. This justification Ibn al-Mu'tazz sought to accomplish by means of the proof that the figures of speech whose generous employment appears to have been the most prominent (and hence the most frequently criticised) feature of the modernistic style in the eyes of the public, were without exception traceable in the Holy Book as well as in classical literature. The reason why Ibn al-Mu'tazz divided the eighteen figures of which he furnishes examples into the two categories of *balāgh* (five kinds) and *maḥāsin* (thirteen) still eludes us. We know, however, that the second part of his work (which deals with the *maḥāsin*) was added by the author after the first had encountered a certain amount of criticism. (W. Caskel, in *OLZ*, 1938, 146-47, sees the rationale for the distinction in the fact that it was only in the employment of the *balāgh* figures that 'modern' poetry differed from the classical tradition.)

The use of the notion of the 'rhetorical figure' in the interpretation of the Qur'an antedates the work



of Ibn al-Mu'tazz; the method is fully developed in the Kutayba's (d. 890) *Ta'wīl muḥall al-ḥurūf* (ed. A. Saqr, Cairo 1373); this fact may help us to understand why the doctrine of tropes and figures was the earliest aspect of *balāgha* to attract systematic investigation.

Kudāma b. Dja'far's (d. 922?) *Nahd al-Shi'r* is inspired by another tendency; Kudāma searches for an objective standard in the evaluation of poetry. Rhetorical figures are only one of the elements with which the poet and his critic have to deal. Like many of his Arab and Greek predecessors Kudāma was led, especially in his discussion of the defects of poetry, into problems that to our mind come within the purview of grammar and logic. The orderly fashion in which he coordinates the several viewpoints may have contributed to the three-fold structuring of the *'ilm al-balāgha* at which the scholastic age of Muslim critical thought was to arrive. Not much later than Kudāma one Ishāk b. Ibrahim b. Wahb, a *ḥadīth*, wrote (in or after 335/946-7) the *Kitāb al-Balāgha fi madkāt al-shi'r* (identical with the *Kitāb Nahd al-Shi'r* that had been attributed variously to Kudāma and to Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Ḥafḥāfi, d. 1262; it awaits publication; it is known only through an article of 'Alī Ḥasan 'Abd al-Kādir, *R.A.D.*, 1949, 73-81; cf. the discussion of the problem by S. A. Bonebakker in the introduction to his edition of *Nahd al-Shi'r*, Leiden 1967, 13-20). Ishāk continues the discussion of the various ways of expressing things which Dībhi, *Kitāb al-bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, had initiated; he criticises the limitations of his predecessors and, from our point of view, indicates one of the directions in which the final systematisation of *balāgha* was to occur. This system slowly takes shape in works like the *Kitāb al-jawāmi'at* of Abū Ḥilāl al-'Askarī (d. 1095).

The struggle between the Ancients and the Moderns which dominates literary life from the middle of the ninth to the close of the eleventh century kept the interest in stylistic analysis alive. Toward the end of this period, 'Abd al-Kābir al-Djurdjānī (d. 1078) refused to a degree never reached by any Arab (or Persian) critic before or after him the comprehensibility of the psychological roots of the aesthetic effect. In his *Asrār al-Balāgha* (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954) his principal concern was with simile, metaphor and analogy—later to become the domain of the *'ilm al-bayān*. Djurdjānī succeeded in explaining the (logical and) psychological foundations of the aesthetics implicit in the aspirations especially of the later phases of Arabic (and Persian and Turkish) poetry. His is the merit of having been the first to investigate the 'fantastic aetiology', the very life of Persian poetry in particular (although its technical designation, *ḥusn al-ta'wīl*, is found only more than a century later in Sakkākī; Djurdjānī's other important work, *Dala'il al-shi'r*, unquestionably spurred the rise of the *'ilm al-ma'nawī* as an integral part of rhetoric).

After Djurdjānī the scholastic held the field. In the third part of his encyclopaedia of the sciences, *Miftāḥ al-salām*, Sakkākī (fl. 1220 or 1229), gives the *'ilm al-balāgha* the organisation which it was to retain to the present. In his treatment it comprises three branches: the *'ilm al-ma'nawī*, 'notions', dealing with the different kinds of sentence and their use; the *'ilm al-bayān*, 'modes of presentation', with the art of expressing oneself eloquently and without ambiguity—both are concerned with the relation of thought to expression and with the different ways to

express the 'same' idea which the poet or writer has at his disposal; one must never forget that the *'ilm al-balāgha* as all Arab literary theory is primarily a *Kunstlehre*, an *ars dicendi*, and not an aesthetics in Plato's or our own sense, i.e., a *Schönheitslehre*. (At this point a distinct analogy may be drawn to Muslim treatment of political theory which, conversely, excepts such as Māwānī's (d. 1058) *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* notwithstanding, is concerned with the conduct of the ruler and his administrators rather than with the nature of kingship and administration). The third branch is the *'ilm al-ba'dī* which deals with the embellishment of speech and defines a large number of tropes classifying them in general on the ancient model in *ḥay'at al-kawā'id*, *ma'nawī*, and *al-ḥay'at*, *lāfzī*.

A tendency to proliferation of the figures identified is unmistakable. Where Sakkākī and his commentators al-Karwīnī, better known as *ḥadīth Dimaḡhī* (d. 1338), and al-Taftāzī (d. 1390), whose works *Talḥīṣ al-Matālib* and *Muḥṣaṣar al-Talḥīṣ*, have come to supersede Sakkākī's as the standard textbooks of rhetoric (but thirty *ma'nawī* figures (some subdivided further) and seven *lāfzī*, Ibn Kayyis al-Djawiyya (d. 1350), *Kitāb al-Fawā'id* has eighty-four *ma'nawī* alone.

The *Ma'nawī* *fi ma'yir aḥṣār al-'Adām* of the Persian Shamsi Kays (fl. 1204-30) is the first and a fairly successful attempt to apply Sakkākī's system to a literature other than Arabic.

A contemporary of Sakkākī's commentators, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hillī (d. 1349), inaugurated the fashion of the so-called *ba'dīyya*, a poem composed to illustrate the various figures of speech. The genre whose most celebrated representative is perhaps the *Ba'dīyya* of Ibn al-Hillī al-Hanawī (d. 1434) has been cultivated down to quite modern times.

It is difficult to find the Hellenising strain in the theory of *balāgha* its proper place in this presentation; but with the significant exception of Kudāma (cf. Bonebakker, *op. cit.*, 36-44) it has always remained on the edge of the developmental sequence. Both the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle found translators; the translation of the *Poetics* by the Nestorian, Abū Biḡr Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 940), has found several editions (philological: Oud 1857; Istanbul, Vienna 1928-32; 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, Cairo 1953), that of the *Rhetoric* has remained unpublished. Concern for these works has been confined to the *faṣiḥa*. Averroes included an abridgement of the *Rhetoric* in the section on logic of his *Shifā'* (ed. S. Sālīm, Cairo 1954) and Averroes summarised the *Poetics* (ed. F. Lassus, Paris 1872; 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, Cairo 1953). But the literary background that served as the vantage-point for Aristotle's ideas remained alien to the mediaeval Muslim. Respect for the protophilosopher rather than a desire to influence Arab literature or the reduction to theory of its techniques and aspirations motivated such occasional studies as were accorded those much-misunderstood works.

What Averroes observed with regard to Greek epic narrative in metrical form (in connection with *Poetics* xxi), that "all this is peculiar to them (i.e., the Greeks) and nothing like it is to be found among ourselves", could fairly be extended to the tradition of Greek literature and its theory as a whole—even though a good many motifs, conventions and definitions of tropes did find their way (in contrast to other Greek bequests apparently not through the mediation of the Syriac tradition) into Arabic literature and theory.

*Bibliography:* A. F. von Mehren, *Die Rhetorik*

der *Ascher*, Copenhagen and Vienna 1853, with extracts from al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) verified presentation 'Uḥūd al-Djūmān; Bonebakker's introduction to his ed. of *Nahd al-Shi'r*; Ritter's introduction to his ed. of *Asrār al-Balāgha*; Hājjī Khāliḥ, *Kaṣf al-Zunūn* (Flugel), II, 32-39; G. E. von Grunbaum, *Tenth-Century Document of Arabic Literary Theory and Criticism*, Chicago 1950; JNES 1944, 235-53; *Journal of Comparative Literature* 1952, 323-40 (German tr. *Kritik und Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1955, 101-29, 130-50); *Indiana University Conference on Oriental-Western Literary Relations*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1955, 27-40; J. Kraemer, *ZDMG* 1956, 230-16 (where most of the older literature on the 'Hellenisms' is referred to); additions, *ZDMG* 1957, 511-515. [A. SCHAADE-(G. E. VON GRUNBAUM)]

**BALAK**, Nūr al-Dawla BALAK b. BAHKĀM b. ARTUQ, one of the first Artukids, known chiefly as a tough warrior. He appears in history in 489/1096 as commander of Sarūj on the Middle Euphrates. This locality being taken from him by the Crusaders in the following year, and his uncle Ighāzī having been appointed governor of 'Irāq by Sultān Muḥammad, he accompanied him, and is found in the following years struggling vainly for the little towns of 'Ana and Hādīḥa, against Arabs, or protecting the Baghdad-Iraq road from the attacks of Kurds and Turkomans. After Ighāzī's disgrace in 498/1105 he returned to the city of Balak, the head-quarters of his family, as did his uncle, and in 1110 accompanied him on an expedition in Syria in which Sukmān al-Kuṭbī of Aḥlāt also took part. On Ighāzī and Sukmān's quarrelling he was carried off a prisoner by the latter. He was soon set free on the death of Sukmān, and in 1113 took advantage of the death of the Turkoman chief Iḡlāzī to occupy Pān on the eastern Euphrates (Murūd Sū). The princess mother of Tuḡhril-Arslan, the young Salḡūkid of Malatya, who had used of a protector against the Salḡūkid of Konya Ma'sūd, married Balak, making him the young prince's *ataḡe*. Strengthened by this alliance, Balak was now able to take the Ḳhāziri with its chief settlement the stronghold of Khartpert, which remained his chief residence (about 1113).

The encroachments which he made on the territory of Mengüçkīn in the north led him into a war against the latter and his ally Gavras, the Byzantine duke of Trebizond; with the help of the Dāniḡmandid Gümüşṭakīn he crushed them (1118), and incorporated in his principality the little tributary valleys on the right of the Murūd Sū as far as Tāyınḡhōz, and Murgard, while in the meantime his protégé Tuḡhril-Arslan had taken the province of Dījhān, towards Mar'ash, from the Armenian vassals of the Franks of Edessa. In 516/1122 he attacked Gerger on the Euphrates, and won military glory by capturing in quick succession Count Joscelin of Edessa and King Baldwin I. of Jerusalem and Murgard, while in the meantime his protégé Tuḡhril-Arslan had taken the province of Dījhān, towards Mar'ash, from the Armenian vassals of the Franks of Edessa. 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formed a battalion of their own from 1795 to 1859. An engagement was fought near Balaklava on 25 October 1854, during the Crimean War. Today Balaklava is a small market-town occupied with fishing and vine-growing.

**Bibliography:** P. Köppen, *Krimskii Sbornik*, St. Petersburg 1837, 210-227 (with a plan); V. Smirnov, *Krimskoye Khanstvo* . . ., St. Petersburg 1887, index; E. S. Zevakin and N. A. Pen'ko, *Is istorii social'nogo otnošeniya v genezishakh kolonizatsii Sev. Prichernomor'ya v XV veka, in Istoričeskiiye Zapiski*, 1946, no. 7; Broekhaus-Yefrem, *Encyclopaediciy Slovar*, vol. 4 (II A), St. Petersburg 1807, 783 ff.; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Enciklopediya*, IV (1950), 102 ff. Cf. on Balaklava in ancient times Pauly-Wissowa, xviii/2 (1942), col. 2498 (Ernst Diehl) and 2nd Ser., vol. IV A (= 7), (1931), col. 1097 (E. Oberhammer—with a full discussion about the place). Cf. on Balaklava under Genoese rule B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1943, 240 ff., 267, and 393 ff. (with further bibliographical references). (B. SPULER)

**BAL'AMĪ** b. BA'ŪNĀ, Bal'ām b. Bē'or of the Hebrew Bible. The Qur'ān does not mention him, unless perhaps in an allusion in vii, 175 (174), 176 (175). The commentators and historians keep the main elements of the Biblical story in their accounts of him. (Numbers xxi-xiv, xxxi, 8) and following the Jewish legends which have given other features of his portrait, make him responsible for the fornication of the Israelites with the daughters of Moab and Midian (Numbers xxv); note that he tends to absorb the figure of Balak, who appears rarely in the Muslim sources. Some traditions deviate from the Hebrew sources in making Bal'ām an Israelite or in dating him in the time of Joshua, an anachronism which despite Sidersky does not go back to a Samaritan tradition. — The statements of the *tafsir* on Qur'ān vii, 175 (174) are used by the mystics, at least since Muḥāsibī, to make of Bal'ām the prototype of the spiritual man led astray by lust and pride. — The *Balghit* attributes to Bal'ām somewhat confused philosophical views on the eternity of the world. — On the identification of Bal'ām with Luḥmān (a tradition taken up by Petrus Alphonsi) see *EP*, s.v. Luḥmān.

**Bibliography:** R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, 649-650; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'drif*, 21; Muḥāsibī, *Ri'āya*, 256 ff., 282; Tabarī, i, 508-510; idem, *Tafsir*, ix, 76 ff.; Ma'sūdī, *Murūj*, i, 99-100; Ps. Bal'ām, *al-Baḍ'* see *Ta'rikh*, i, 51/52, 72/77, 91/90, 74/75, 145/134; Tha'alabī, *Ar'ā'is al-Majālis*, 133, 196; Kisā'i, *Ḥita Prophētārūn*, 227; Ḡharāzī, *Iḥyā'*, iv, 293; Petrus Alphonsi, *PL*, dviij, 673; Sidersky 104-108 (on the Samaritan connexion, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, ed. Th. W. J. Juyon, Leiden 1948, 31/33-81/38). (G. VAYNA)

**BAL'AMĪ**, the *balā*, i.e., generic name, of two Sāmānid warriors, father and son, of whom the latter, as translator of the famous History of Tabarī, is at present better known. The reference of the name is uncertain. Sam'ānī (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*, fol. 90 r.) mentions the explanation of Ibn Mālikū (Broekelmann, i, 354) that it is from Bal'ām, 'a town in the land of the Greeks' (*balād min diyār al-Rūm*), not otherwise known, but which is perhaps the same as 'Balān', mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geographia de Legationibus*, ed. Bonn, 165) in A.D. 472, or that it is from Bal'āmān, a locality at Balāgherd near Marw, the opinion of al-Ma'dānī (cf. Sam'ānī, fol. 536 r.). Both authorities indicate that the ancestor of the

Bal'āmīs was an Arab tribesman of Tamīm in the early days of Islam, but by the former he is said to have accompanied Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik and by the latter, Kutayba b. Maslam.

(1) The father, ABU 'L-PAUL MUHAMMAD B. 'UBAYD ALLAH (sometimes 'ASMA ALLAH AL-BAL'AMĪ AL-TAMĪMĪ, issued by Sam'ānī more than once (fol. 90 r. and 262 v.) to have been *wasir* to the Sāmānid Ismā'īl b. Ahmad (279-295/892-907), but there appear to be no notices of his activity until the reign of Naṣr II b. Ahmad (301-331/913-942). He became *wasir* to Naṣr probably about 310/922 (cf. Barthold, *Turkistan*, 241), his immediate predecessor having been, according to Mukaddasī (337), Abu 'L-Faḍl b. Ya'qub al-Nuwaymir. In this year he was at Astarābād (Ibn al-Aḥḍir, vii, 96), and is thereafter mentioned repeatedly (Ibn al-Aḥḍir, viii, 196, 207, cf. Mukaddasī, 337), till he was replaced by the younger Ḍiyā'īd in 326/937-938 (Ibn al-Aḥḍir, viii, 283, but cf. Mukaddasī, 337). Istakhrī (286) mentions his houses at Marw, and a gate in Buḡhārā was named after him, Bāb al-Shaykh al-Diyālī (ibid., 307), the same apparently as that which in later times was called 'Shaykh Ḍiyālī'. The sources agree as to his capacity, and he was a patron of men of learning. He is said by Sam'ānī (fol. 262 verso) to have considered the poet Rūdāq without a peer among the Arabs and Persians. He died, according to Sam'ānī (fol. 90 r.), in the night of 20 Safar 329/14 November 940.

(2) ABU 'ALI MUHAMMAD b. MUHAMMAD AL-BAL'AMĪ, son of the foregoing, was appointed *wasir* to 'Abd al-Malik I b. Nūḥ (345-350/954-961) towards the end of his reign through the influence of the *khāḍiḡ* Alptāḡin (Gardizī, *Zayn al-Aḥḍār*, ed. M. Nāṣir, E. G. Browne Memorial Series, 1928, 42). He did not inherit his father's practical ability. Mukaddasī (138) calls him Amirak Bal'āmī, with the diminutive, and mentions that he was twice *wasir* to 'Abd al-Malik's successor al-Manṣūr I b. Nūḥ (350-366/961-970), from whom he received instructions in 352/963 (cf. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, i, 69) to compose the translation of Tabarī which has made him famous. This is one of the earliest prose works in modern Persian and inaugurates the long and brilliant series of Persian historical writings.

Bal'āmī did not attempt to bring the history down to his own time. He omits the *ṣināds* (chains of authorities) and alternative versions of the same event characteristic of Tabarī, presenting a continuous account derived from these. The same method was followed by later Arabic historians such as Ibn al-Aḥḍir (cf. G. Weil, *Geschichte der Kalifen*, iii, N. E.). The result is a work substantially shorter than the original (4 volumes in Zotenberg's French translation and one volume in the Lucknow edition, as against the 15 volumes of the Leiden Tabarī). Yet Bal'āmī's History is not simply an abbreviation of Tabarī. Occasionally he gives substantial additional information, as in the case of a series of episodes in the fighting between the Arabs and Khazars in 104/722 onwards (text in B. Dorn, *Nachrichten über die Chasaren*, see *Bibliography*), the source of which appears to be the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* of Ibn A'ḡham al-Kūfī (cf. Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Abū Muḥammad Ahmad bin A'ḡham al-Futūḥ kitāb al-futūḥ*, Ankara Üniv. İkt. ve Tarih-og. Fak. Dergisi, 1949, 255-284; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Tenth Khazar*, 58). Most surviving MSS. of Bal'āmī represent a later redaction, the approximate date of which is indicated by a short appendix, giving a cursory account of the 'Abbasid Caliphs down to the death of al-Mustaqhir and accession of al-

Mustarhid (312/1118). According to B. Spuler (*The Evolution of Persian Historiography*), the translation of Tabarī into Persian under the Sāmānids served no mere cultural purpose, but was intended to show the Persians that the destiny of their nation was linked with orthodox Islam.

Bal'āmī died, according to Garfild (ed. M. Nāṣir, 40), in Dīmāndī II, 363 (February 27th-March 27th, 974). The much later date for his death indicated by 'Uṭh ('Ta'rikh-i Yamīnī, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1286, i, 170), who says that he was appointed *wasir* by Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr for a short time after the fall of Buḡhārā in Rabi' 1382 May 992, seems less likely.

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(D. M. DUNLOP)

**BĀL-'ANBAR** [see TAMĪD].

**BALANDJAR**, an important Khazar town, lying on a river of the same name, N. of the pass of Darband, i.e., Bāb al-Aḥḍar [g.e.], at the mouth of the Caucasus. Its site is probably to be identified with the ruins of Endere near Andreyevka. Balandjar appears to have been originally the group-name of its inhabitants (cf. Tabarī, i, 894-896, and 'Barandjār' below). According to Ma'sūdī (*al-Tamīm*, 62), Balandjar was the Khazar capital before Atīl [g.e.] on the Volga, but in the accounts which we have there is no evidence that this was so. Balandjar was the subject of repeated attacks by the Arabs in the first Arab-Khazar war, and in 32/652 underwent a full-scale siege, which ended disastrously for the assailants. It was again besieged by the Arabs under Ḍiyārī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hakām in 104/722-723, and this time was captured. Most of the inhabitants are said to have emigrated. It is a well-known standstill that many of them moved N. Two hundred years after this the traveller Ibn Faḍlān (310/922) came across thousands of 'Barandjār' among the Volga Bulgars. According to the figures given by Ibn al-Aḥḍir (366 anno 104) for the amount of the booty distributed after the siege—300 *dirhams* per horseman in an army of 30,000—Balandjar was at the time of its fall and capture have been a place of great wealth. From this point its importance appears to have declined, and after the close of the second Arab-Khazar war in 110/737 it is scarcely mentioned.

**Bibliography:** *Hudūd al-'Alam*, 452-454; A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht*, AKM, XXIV, Leipzig 1939, 292-293, 299-299 nn.; D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Tenth Khazar*, Princeton 1952, index, s.v. *Balandjar*; M. Artamonov, *Ocherki drevneiše istorii Khazar*, 93.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

**BALANSIYA** (VALENCIA), a town in Spain, the third in size as regards population, which exceeds 500,000, lying on the east of the Peninsula, 3 miles from the Mediterranean and from its port, el Grau. It is connected with Madrid by two railway lines, one via Albacete, 306 m. (490 km.) in length, the other via Cuenca, 251 m. (402 km.) in length, and by road (218 m. = 350 km.); the distance as the crow flies is, however, only 188 miles.

Valencia is the capital of the province of the same name and the diocese of an archbishop. Its situation is a striking one, in the centre of the fertile Huerta de Valencia, which is watered by the Turia or Guadalquivir (Ar. *Wādī 'I-bayyad*, the "White River") and is the site of part of the lake of Albufera (see *enxarsa*), Ulluc Cordova or Toledo, the old capital of Valencia has seen its importance grow with the years and it remains the capital of the Spanish Levante, the *Sharḥ al-Andalus* of the Muslim period. It is still known officially as Valencia del Cid in memory of the part played in its history by the celebrated Castilian hero.

Valencia was founded by the Romans in 138 B.C. After the death of the rebel Viriathus, the consul, D. Junius Brutus established a colony there of veterans who had remained faithful to Rome. The inhabitants later took the side of Sertorius and in 75 B.C. Pompey partially destroyed the town which began to return to prosperity under Augustus. It was taken by the Visigoths in 413 and became Muslim in 714, when Ṭārik [g.e.] established himself there and at Saguntum, Játiva and Denia.

In the political history of Umayyad Spain, Valencia seems only to have been a place of minor importance. The country of which it was the capital soon became arabised by the settlement of Kayṣī colonies: the capital of Spanish Levante thus was one of the most active centres of Arab culture throughout the whole period of the Muslim occupation; on the other hand in the mountains along the Valencian littoral there were little islands of people of Berber origin. Valencia at this time was the capital of a province or *hāra*, as we know from the eastern writer al-Mukaddasī and the Spaniard al-Rūz (see Yāḡūt, s.v.) and the residence of a governor (*waḥīd*) appointed by the caliph of Cordova. It is only from the 9th/11th century, with the break up of the caliphate, that becoming the capital of an independent Muslim state and very soon one of the principal objectives of the Christian *reconquista*, Valencia began to occupy a more and more important place in the Spanish and Arabic chronicles of the mediaeval history of Spain that have come down to us.

The Muslim kingdom of Valencia was founded in 401/1010-11 by two enfranchised 'Amirids, Muḥarrak and Muḥaffar, previously in charge of the irrigation system of the district who declared themselves independent and shared the power. After a very short reign Muḥarrak died and Muḥaffar was driven from Valencia; the inhabitants of this town then chose another 'Sīd' (cf. *enxarsa*) to rule them, called Labi, who placed himself under the suzerainty of the Christian count of Barcelona. The principality of Valencia soon passed into the hands of a grandson of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Amir [g.e.], 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Rahmān who, like his grandfather, assumed the *lubb* of al-Manṣūr; he had previously been a refugee at the court of the Ṭaḡhībī Muḥallī b. Yahyā at Saragossa. The reign of 'Abd al-'Azīz, which lasted till his death in 452/1061 brought an era of peace and prosperity to Valencia. He recognised the authority of the caliph of Cordova, al-Kāim b. Hammūd, who gave him the right to bear the titles al-Mu'tamin and *Lḥu* 'l-Shihkātayn, and kept on good terms with the Christian kingdoms of Spain. His son 'Abd al-Malik succeeded him and took the title al-Muḥaffar. He was still a youth at his accession and the viceroy Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz acted as regent. Very soon afterwards, Ferdinand I of Castile and Leon attacked Valencia and almost captured the town, after



inflicting a severe defeat on the Valencians who made a sortie to attempt to drive off the besiegers. 'Abd al-Malik sought the assistance of the king of Toledo al-Ma'mūn b. 'Iḥu 'l-Nūn [q.v.] but the latter came to Valencia and soon dethroned the young king (457/1065). The principality of Valencia was then incorporated in the kingdom of Toledo and al-Ma'mūn left the vicar Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz there to govern it. When al-Ma'mūn died in 467/1075 he was succeeded by his son Yahyā al-Kādir, whose great incapacity soon became apparent. Valencia then gradually recovered its independence. al-Kādir sought the help of Alfonso VI, king of Castile, to bring the town under his authority again but he ended by having to surrender his own capital to him in 478/1085. For the course of events and part played in them by the great Castilian hero Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, the Cid of history and legend, cf. the article *al-Ḥif*.

On their arrival in Spain, the Almoravids tried to regain the kingdom of Valencia for Idmān but their efforts against the Cid were fruitless. When he died in 494/1099 his widow Ximena was still able to offer some resistance to the attacks of the Almoravids, led by Mazdālī. But in the end she abandoned Valencia after first of all setting it on fire and the Muslims entered it on 15 Rajab 495/5 May 1102.

Governors appointed by the Almoravids succeeded one another at Valencia until the middle of the 6th/12th century when the town gradually began to resume its independence in the troubled period which preceded the coming of the Almohads into Spain, and it linked its fortunes with those of Murcia whose series of ephemeral rulers it recognised. In 547/1157, Ibn Mardānīsh was proclaimed king of Valencia but four years later his subjects rebelled against him. Under the nominal suzerainty of the Almohads, Valencia continued in the hands of local princes until it finally fell into Christian hands, two years after Cordova, when James I of Aragon took it on 28 Sept. 1238.

**Bibliography:** All the Arab geographers who have dealt with Muslim Spain devote more or less attention to Valencia. Cf. al-Idrīsī, *Sifāt al-'Andalus*, ed. Dwyer and De Goeje, text 191, trans. 132; Yāqūt, i, 730-732; Abū 'l-Fidā', text 178, trans. 255; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-Mi'ḍir*, s.v.—On the Muslim history of Valencia, cf. Ibn 'Idhārī, ii, 111; Ibn Khaldūn, *Historie des Berbères* and *Uḥas*, iv; Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawḍ al-Kifāy*; the histories of the *Biḥār al-Ḥudūd*, *Arabo-Hispania*, Cf. also F. Codera, *Disolución y desaparición de los Almorávidas en España*, Saragossa 1899; González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris 1932, idem, *L'Espagne musulmane*, *Le X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1932; idem, *His. Esp. musul.*, index; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929 (very important); A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926; E. Tormo, *Levante* (Guías Calpe), Madrid 1925.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**BALARM**, Palermo, surrendered to the Arabs after a short siege in Rajab 126/August-Sept. 831, four years after their arrival in Sicily, and straight away it appears as the strong point of Muslim domination in the island. It was there that the governors made their seat in the name first of the Aghlabids, and then of the Fātimids of Africa, who,

however, had to send expeditions more than once to re-establish their authority over the rebel colonies; such were the expedition of 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrahim b. al-Aghlab in 267/900, sent by his father, and that of Abū Sa'īd in 304/916-17, which was sent by the Fātimid Maḥdī, who built the citadel of Qalā'ia (Cala) opposite the old town. In 316/928 the Fātimid governor al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Kalbi seized power in Palermo, and established a genuine local dynasty under Fātimid suzerainty, which lasted till about 442/1050. The period of Kalbite supremacy is for Palermo as for the whole of Sicily the most brilliant of the Arab era. In 445/1053 the last Kalbite, Saṣāḥīn, who had climbed to power after a period of turbulence and unrest and a direct intervention by the African Zirids, was driven from the town, which thenceforward managed its affairs through its *ḡama'a* or municipal council. During this time the ties between the capital and the rest of the country loosened, and finally disappeared. It was thus that Palermo played no special part in the defence of Muslim Sicily against the Normans, and awaited more or less in apathy the arrival of her conquerors beneath her walls, where, however, she defended herself vigorously. She surrendered at last to Robert and Roger d'Hauterville after a five months' siege, at the beginning of Rabī' II 464/January 1072, thus becoming Christian again after one hundred and forty years of Muslim domination. But the Arab character of Palermo was only very gradually obscured; although the great mosque was straightaway given over to Christian worship and the Muslims lived from then on as subjects of the Normans, it was more than a century before every trace of an Arab population and Arab monuments and customs disappeared. As late as 560/1164 the traveller Ibn Dūbayr, saw at Palermo districts reserved for Muslims, and mosques, schools and markets frequented by them, and heard much Arabic spoken. The condition of these Muslims in the capital of the Norman kingdom, which had been reasonable enough under the tolerant rule of the two Rogers, grew worse under their successors (there was an anti-Muslim riot or pogrom in 556/1161) and became intolerable in the circumstances which followed the death of William II (1190). By the end of the 6th/12th century the Arab colony in Palermo had almost ceased to exist, although some Muslims of rank managed to remain there in the court of Frederick II.

For the description of Arab Palermo we have the precious account of Ibn Hawkal, who visited the town in 361/972, and those of Ibn Dūbayr and al-Idrīsī, two centuries later during the period of Norman supremacy. The Kalbite capital as Ibn Hawkal knew it was divided into five parts: the Kaṣr (Cassaro), the old town surrounded by walls, the Qalā'ia (Calsa), founded by the Fātimids and also walled, and the open districts of the Ḥārāt al-Maḥdī and the Ḥārāt al-Jadīda in the south, and the Ḥārāt al-Kalbiya in the north. The population of Palermo in the days of the Kalbitēs is estimated by Amari<sup>1</sup> at three hundred or three hundred and fifty thousand. The remains that we have from the period of Arab domination (not counting the famous monuments of Norman-Saracenic art) are very scanty: the site of a mosque beside the church of S. Giovanni degli Ebrei, and some old work inside the royal palace (Torre pisana) which has recently been brought to light.

**Bibliography:** M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Catania 1913-28, *passim*; Ibn Hawkal, ed. De Goeje, BGA, I, 82-87; Ibn Dūbayr

ed. Wright-De Goeje, GMS, v, 331-333; Idrīsī, ed. Amari and Schiaparelli, *L'Italia nel libro del Re Ruggero*, Roma 1883, 22-23 (text) 21-27 (trans.); G. M. Columbia, *Per la topografia antica di Palermo*, in *Centenario Amari*, Palermo 1910, ii, 395-426; U. Rizzitano, *L'Italia nel Kitāb al-Raṣā' al-mi'ḍir* (Arabic text), Cairo 1958, 146-8.

(F. GARIBOLDI)

**BALĀSĠHŪN** or BALASAGHŪN, a town in the valley of the Ču, in what is now Kirghizia. The medieval geographers give only vague indications as to its position. Barthold, *Öldē o poyssidie v Sredneya Aziyi*, St. Petersburg 1897, 39, suggests its identity with Ak-Peshin in the region of Frunze. A. N. Bernsham, *Chuyshaya dolina in Materiali s' isledovaniya arkheologii S.S.S.R.*, No 14 (1950), 47-55, agrees with Barthold and gives a description of the site. The town was a Soghdian foundation and in Kāshghar's time, i.e. in the second half of the 11th century, the Soghdian language still survived alongside Turkish. According to Kāshghari Balāsaghūn was also known as Kuz-Ordu or Kuz-Uluḡ. The former name is also found in the Chinese account of the Kara-Khitay, and a variant of Kuz-Uluḡ — Kuz-Baligh or Ghuz-Baligh, *baligh like ulugh* meaning "town" — was according to Djuwaynī still current in the 7th/13th century.

According to a story in the *Siyasat-nāma* (ed. Schefer, 196) a religious war was planned about 330-1/942-3 against the "infidel Turks" who had conquered Balāsaghūn. These must have been the Kara-Khānids immediately prior to their conversion to Islam. Balāsaghūn afterwards became the head-quarters of the first Kara-Khānid invasion of Mā warā' al-Nahr under Bughra Khān b. Mūsā (d. 382/992-3). Shortly after 416/1025-6 the ruler of Balāsaghūn, Toḡhan Khān, brother of the Kara-Khānid ruler of Mā warā' al-Nahr, 'Alī Tegin, was driven out of his territory by other members of the dynasty ruling in Kāshghar (Bayhaki, ed. Morley, 98 and 651, ed. Ghani and Fayyad, 91 and 526). Balāsaghūn seems afterwards to have belonged to the same ruler as Kāshghar. The poet Yūsuf Khlop-Hādij, author of the *Kutadghu Bilik*, the oldest poem in the Turkic language, was born in Balāsaghūn (462/1069-70); the Bughra Khān to whom it is dedicated must be Bughra Khān Hārūn, who ruled over Kāshghar, Khorān and Balāsaghūn, first with his brother Toḡhril Khān and then, for 29 years till 496/1102-3, alone.

About 1130 Balāsaghūn was conquered by the Kara-Khitay [q.v.] and the ruler of the town, who had appealed to their leader (the Gūr-Khān) for help against the Kanghli and Karḡh nomads, was deposed. The real seat of the Kara-Khānids still remained the territory on the Ču while native princes ruled as vassals of the Gūr-Khān in Mā warā' al-Nahr and Kāshghar as well as in the districts of Semirechye north of the Il.

When the army of the Gūr-Khān was defeated by Muhammad Khwāram-Shāh in Rabī' I 607/August-September 1210, on the Talas, the inhabitants of Balāsaghūn, expecting the speedy arrival of the victor, refused the defeated army admittance to the town. After a 16 days' siege it was taken by the Kara-Khitay and plundered for three days, during which time, according to Djuwaynī, "42,000 of the chief notables were counted among the slain."

Balāsaghūn is seldom mentioned during the Mongol period. Barthold's assumption that it was taken without resistance by Gengiz-Khān's general Djirbe in 1218, in the course of his operations against

Küling, the Nayan ruler of Kara-Khitay, is based on a misreading of the name Ghuz-Baligh as ghuz baligh "good town". In the account of Timur's campaigns Balāsaghūn is never mentioned; like all the towns on the Ču, Il and Talas it must have been destroyed during the endless wars and struggles for the throne in the 8th/14th century. Muhammad Haydar, writing about the middle of the 17th/16th century, knew about Balāsaghūn only from books; of the town itself no trace was then to be found.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the works quoted above: W. Barthold, *Turkistan*; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1905; Kāshghari, *Divān al-Liḡat al-Turk Turcomen*, trans. B. Atalay, 3 vols., Ankara 1939-41; Djuwaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, trans. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols., Manchester 1958; Muhammad Haydar, *The Ta'rikh-i Raghā'ir*, ed. N. Elias, transl. E. Denison Ross, London 1895.

(W. BARTHOLOLD [J. A. BOYLE])

**BALĀT** (Ar.), a word with a number of varied meanings due to its dual etymology, Latin or Greek as the case may be. Deriving from *palatium* it means "palace" (Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbih*, 167; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zuhd*, ed. Dahan, i, 142 and 145; Mukaddasī, 147, and Ibn Hawkal<sup>1</sup>, 195, mention in the *Dār al-Balāt* at Constantinople; cf. M. Canard, *Extraits des sources arabes*, ap. A. A. Vanier, *Études de la Arabie*, ii/2, Brussels 1950, 412, 423 and n. 2). Deriving from *πάτρα* (through the intermediary of Aramaic), it has two principal meanings corresponding to those of the Greek term, denoting "a paved way", an old Roman road for example (see Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zuhd*, i, 164), "flagging" or, in the form of the noun of unity *balīṭa*, a "flag-stone" of any kind of material serving to pave the ground or to bear a monumental or memorial inscription (see for example, Muḡīr al-Dīn al-'Uyaynī, *al-Ḥas al-Djāhī*, Cairo ed. 1253 AH., 372), whence the meaning of "steele", or "portico" or "colonnaded gallery", more especially the "nave" of a mosque (see for example Ibn Dūbayr, *Rihla*, ed. De Goeje, 190).

The word *balāt* occurs in various rural and urban toponyms, both in the Muslim West (see infra) and East, where it is especially frequent in Syria-Palestine. The following are the main occurrences: the town of al-Balāt in Northern Syria, which was adjacent to a Roman highway (M. Canard, *Histoire des Hamānides*, i, Algiers 1951, 218),—the al-Balāt quarter of Aleppo, the name of which recalled the old monumental thoroughfare (J. Sauvaget, —the former village of Bayt al-Balāt, the *ghāṭa* of Damascus,—the village of Balāṭa or Balāṭa in Palestine (the name of which could also derive from the Latin *platanus*),—the Bah al-Balāt in Jerusalem (cf. J. Sauvaget, *Les perles choisies*, Beirut 1935, 99 n. 1),—the paved square of al-Balāt in Medina,—the quarter of Balat in Istanbul [q.v.],—the village of Balat, adjacent to the ruins of Ancient Milet in Asia Minor and corresponding to the Salḡidkāt town of Palatia (see Paulys-Winsowa, under *Miletos*).

**Bibliography:** E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks*, ii/1, Paris 1845, 277 n. 3, to be supplemented by J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, Paris 1941, n. 112 and *La mosquée omeyyade de Méloé*, Paris 1947, 69, n. 2. For the toponyms, see Yāqūt, i, 709.

**BALĀT**, now a small village on the site of the ancient Miletos in Caria. The word Balāt derives from "Balāṭra", the name used for this locality at least from the first years of the 13th century. Balāt



came under the control of the Begs of Menteşe [g.n.] towards the close of this century and, because of its favourable situation near the mouth of the river Melaendros (Büyüç Mendere), served them as a point of departure for their raids into the Aegean Sea and, later, as a commercial centre of some importance. The Venetians had a church and a consulate there by 1355. Balāt flourished at this time on the traffic in such commodities as saffron, sesame, wax, alum from Kutahya, slaves from the islands of the Archipelago, etc. The Ottoman sultan Bâyezîd I confirmed to the Venetians their privileges at Balāt, when, in the winter of 791-213/1389, he took over the coast-lands of Menteşe. Tufur Beg, after his defeat of the Ottomans at Ankara in 804/1402, set on the throne İlyas, a member of the local dynasty. This prince was forced, however, to become a vassal of Sültân Mehmed II in 818/1415 and by 829/1426 Menteşe had been absorbed once more, and this time definitively into the Ottoman state. Balāt, during the course of the 15th century, began to sink into a long and slow decline, due in no small measure to its fever-ridden climate and to the gradual silting of the river estuary. None the less, an active, although no doubt diminishing commerce was still associated with Balāt, when Ewliyâ Çelebi passed through this region in 1071-1072. Balāt, now assigned to the *aza* of Söğüt in the province of Aydin, lies today approximately 9 km. from the sea and had in 1945 a population of about 700 people.

**Bibliography:** Pauly-Wisowa, xv, Stuttgart 1932, cols. 1619-1621, s.v. Miletos; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1932, I, 544 ff. and II, 353 ff.; P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Menteşe* (Jahrbuch der Mittellateinischen Gesellschaft, Heft 2), Istanbul 1934, 185 (index); K. Wulzinger, P. Wittek, F. Sarre, *Das Islamische Mittel* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), Berlin and Leipzig 1935 (cf. also F. Taeschner, in *OLZ*, vol. 39, Berlin 1936, no. 70, cols. 621-623); 'Alī Dīwānī, *Ḍiḡḡirīyānī Laghāt*, Pt. I, Istanbul 1313 A. H., 191; Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Seyāḥ-nāme*, iv, Istanbul 1935, 246 ff.; *Id.*, s.v. Balāt (Besin Darıkon). (V. J. PAAV)

**BALĀT.** In Spain, the most general sense of the word *balāt*, the most general sense of the word "pavement"; it was thus used to denote the Roman roads of the Peninsula, as witness the vocabulary attributed to Raimundo Martín. The now ruined town of Albalat, on the border of Romanagordo, adjoining a ford across the Tagus, near the Almaraz bridge, must take its name from one of these roads. The battlefield of Tours and Poitiers, called Balāt al-Shuhadā' [g.n.] after the Roman road, would seem to confirm this meaning. But it is extremely doubtful whether such a concrete meaning applied to the whole *blām* which, according to al-Idrīsī, comprised a large part of present-day Spanish Estramadura, with Alange, Medellín, Trujillo and Cáceres, in addition to the Albalat already mentioned. On the other hand, the numerous Spanish place-names, Albalat, Albalate and their derivatives and diminutives, Albaladejo, Albalatillo, could better be explained by *al-balad*, or *al-balād* "place, terrain or locality"; thus, Albalat de la Ribera, near the river Júcar, Albalat dels Sordells, near Valencia, and Balat dels Tarongers, in the Sagunto region, do not seem to have any connexion with Roman roads and seem only to be names of hamlets or villages; the numerous Albalate, which exist in the provinces of Teruel, Huesca, Guadalajara, Ciudad-Rodrigo, Toledo and the Aljarafe of Seville, must be interpreted in the same way. The

derivation from *platea* or *palatium*, applicable to place-names in Jerusalem, Syria and Medina, is not found in al-Andalus.

In addition to the *blām* of al-Balāt in Muslim Spain, there was another *blām* in the Portuguese zone, al-Ballāta, situated in the Faixs Ballāta, a huge plain between Lisbon and Santarém; this *blām* contained, apart from these two towns, the town of Cintra, and its territory corresponded to present-day Ribatejo. The name given to it by al-Idrīsī coincides with that of Vallada, a small town in the commune of Arambujá; el-Campo de Vallada, a translation of Faixs Ballāta, is also quoted, although its extent is less than that attributed to it by al-Idrīsī; its etymological derivation from *platea* or *vallata* appears to be neither well-founded nor acceptable.

**Bibliography:** Idrīsī, text: 173-5, translation: 211, 225-6; Yāqūt, I, 709; E. Saavedra, *La Geografía de España del Idriasi*, 51-2; David Lopes, *Estudo dos nomes geográficos do território musulmano, que depois foi português*, 47.

(A. HUCI MIRANDA)

**BALĀT AL-SHUHADĀ'**, an expression used by the Arab historians for the Battle of Poitiers, which was fought between Charles Martel, at the head of the Christian Frankish armies, and the governor of Muslim Spain 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-ḡhāḡibī in Ramaḍān 114/October 732.

Neither the name of Poitiers nor that of Tours are mentioned by the Arab authors of the Middle Ages. As for the expression *Balāt al-Shuhadā'*, its occurrence is only recorded from the 15th/16th century onwards and only in Andalusian historians: Ibn Ḥayyān (died 469/1075), quoted by al-Makkārī, *Nafḥ al-Tib*, Leiden, II, 9, l. 15-16; Cairo 1949, IV, 15, 1-4 (the same author also called it *Waḡat al-Balāt*; Leiden, II, 9, l. 1-4; Cairo 1949, IV, 14, 1-9); the Anonymous Chronicle entitled *Ḍiḡḡirīyānī*, which dates from the 15th/16th century (ed. Lafuente y Alcantara, Madrid, 1868, text, 25; Spanish trans. 36 and no. 2); and subsequently in Ibn Baḡhwalī (died 578/1183), quoted by al-Makkārī, *op. cit.*, Leiden, II, 9, l. 16-17; Cairo, IV, 15, l. 5, but with the variant: *ḡhawāt al-Balāt*; Ibn 'Idhrī (died end of the VII/X century), *al-Bayān al-Muḡrib*, ed. Dorey, I, 371; ed. Colla, *op. cit.*, Leiden, 1902, 31; trans. Fagnon, I, 49, but the historian dates the event from 115, instead of from 114; Ibn Ḳhalḍūn (died 808/1406), *al-Ṣihar*, Būlak, IV, 119, l. 6, with lacunae which can be supplemented from the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris and from the integral quotation by al-Makkārī, *op. cit.*, Leiden, I, 146, l. 37; Cairo 1949, I, 220, l. 15; Ibn 'Idhrī (died 1042/1632, supra under Ibn Baḡhwalī) and Ibn Ḳhalḍūn: the first passage has been translated by Lafuente y Alcantara, *Apéndices to Aḡhar Maḡmūna*, 198, and the second by Pascual de Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. II (London 1843), 37 and note 27.

In the other Arab historians of the Middle Ages, a simple allusion is made to the effect that the Muslims and their leader 'Abd al-Rahmān 'id a martyr's death there [for Islām] (*yusāḡḡadu or usūḡḡhidu*): Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (died 257/871), *Faḡḡih Iḡḡriya wa' l-Andalus*, ed. A. Gateau, Algiers 1948, text 120, l. 11; French trans. 121, l. 22; al-Dabbī (died 999/1202), *Buḡḡat al-Muallim*, ed. Codera and Ribera, Madrid 1885, no. 1021, 353, l. 2 (with 113 at the end); Ibn al-Aḡḡir (died 1293/1351, v. 139 and 374) trans. Fagnon, *Annales*, Algiers 1902, 60, l. 6 and 94, l. 1-2.

The task confronting the modern historians, both

Arab and especially European, has mainly been to explain the term *Balāt al-Shuhadā'* and to determine the exact site of the battle. *Balāt* [g.n.] is borrowed from the Graeco-Latin and appears to render both *platea*: "wide paved road, paved public square", and *palatium*: "palace". It has been rendered, as regards the Battle of Poitiers, by "pavement" and by "highway". *Paḡḡ* [id. in: martyrs]; Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France, et de France, en Saranie, en Pimont et dans la Suisse, pendant les 8<sup>e</sup>, 9<sup>e</sup> et 10<sup>e</sup> siècles de notre ère*, Paris 1836, 49; Pascual de Gayangos, *op. cit.*, II, 33 and 37: "pavement of the martyrs"; Cf. Huar, *Histoire des Arabes*, 1913, II, 136; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, . . . (1875), 280, n. 3; M. Mercier and A. Seguin, *Charles Martel et la bataille de Poitiers*, 1924, 17, 26, 27, 29; C. F. Seybold, in *EJL*, 1935, 83; 'Abd al-Rahmān . . . al-ḡhāḡibī, *Chausée* [of the martyrs]; Dorey, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 1861, I, 252; 2nd. ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, 1932, I, 158 and n. 1; Lafuente y Alcantara, *op. cit.*, 36; Calzada; Fr. Codera, *Narbona, Gerona y Barcelona*, . . . 1909-1920, 191; Calzada; Ballesteros y Beretta, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, . . . II (1920), 9-10; Calzada; G. Marçais (and Ch. Diehl), *Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081*, 1936, 340 and n. 1; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, 1930, 62: "Highway" (or Roman road) of the Martyrs for the Faith".

Study of the texts and examination of the terrain in the region lying between Poitiers and Tours have led the investigators to the largely consistent conclusions, admirably summed up by Professor Lévi-Provençal in the following words: [the battle took place] "near to a Roman road which linked Châtelleraut with Poitiers, about twenty km. north-east of the latter town, probably at a place which is today still called Moussais-la-Bataille . . . in October 732 or Ramaḍān 114 . . . more exactly . . . between the 25th and the 31st of October 732" (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, I, 61-62).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the works and studies mentioned in the body of the article, the references should be consulted which are given by E. Lévi-Provençal in the 2nd. ed. of the *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* by Dorey, Leiden, 1932, I, 158, note 1, and in his own *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, Paris-Leiden 1930, I, 59-60. To this must be added: H. Zotenberg, *Note sur les invasions arabes dans le Languedoc d'après les sources chrétiennes et les historiens musulmans*, in Dom Cl. Devic and Dom J. Vaissette, *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, Toulouse 1875, II, 549-558 (Christian sources: 549-554; Arabic sources: 555-558). The bibliography given by M. Mercier and A. Seguin, at the end of *Charles Martel et la bataille de Poitiers*, Paris 1924, 93-99, containing 133 references, should also be consulted. See also the following modern Arab authors who base their studies almost exclusively on Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins*, . . . (Paris, 1836; English tr. by H. K. Sherwani in *IC* iv/1930 and v/1931), which is well over a century old: Shuḡlū Aslān, *Taḡḡīḡ ḡhawāt al-Ṣihar al-Balāt al-Muallim*, Cairo 1332/1913, 48, 56, 57, 84, 85, 92-103; Wāḡīḡ, *al-Balāt al-Shuhadā'*; M. 'Abd Allāh 'Inān, *Taḡḡīḡ al-Ṣihar fi ḡḡāḡiyyā*, . . . Cairo 1924, 35-59; idem, *Mawḡib ḡḡāḡiyyā fi Taḡḡīḡ al-Ṣihar*, Cairo 1347/1929, 16 and 214; idem, *al-Balāt fi ḡḡāḡiyyā wa Suḡḡar*, in the Cairo review *al-Risāla*, no. 72 (10 November 1934), no. 73 (26 November 1934), no. 74 (3 December 1934); Husayn Murād, *Taḡḡīḡ al-Ṣihar fi ḡḡāḡiyyā*, Cairo 1348/1930, 27

(does not use the Arabic term); Durrus al-Bustānī, *Maḡārib al-Ṣihar fi ḡḡāḡiyyā wa ḡḡāḡiyyā*, Beirut 1944, 55-56; Husayn Muḡnis, *Aḡḡar Zukūr al-Islām fi ḡḡāḡiyyā al-Siyāḡiyyā wa ḡḡāḡiyyā*, published by the Société Égyptienne d'Études Historiques, Cairo, iv, fasc. I (May 1935), 67-68, with Bibliography, 68, etc.

Lastly, the following two works should be noted: the Arabic translation by 'Alī al-ḡḡirī, under the title of: *al-Ṣihar fi ḡḡāḡiyyā*, Cairo 1366/1947, 27-28, of S. Lane-Poole's *The Moors in Spain*, London 1887, 2nd. ed. 1920; and the historical romance of ḡḡurḡī Zayḡīn (d. 1312/1914), *Sharḡ wa 'ḡḡad al-Rahmān*, Kūḡḡyā Taḡḡīḡiyyā ḡḡāḡiyyā, Cairo 1904, 4th. ed. 1926, 181, 185, 218, 219, 221, 230.

In conclusion, it is perhaps of interest to note that al-Taharī (d. 310/923), is absolutely silent on the Battle of Poitiers (there is nothing in his *Taḡḡīḡ al-Uḡḡā wa ḡḡāḡiyyā* [Annals], vol. anno 114, or in the two or three preceding or following years); likewise Ibn al-Ḳūḡḡiyya (died 657/1077), in his *Iḡḡāḡ al-Andalus*. (H. PERES)

**BALĀTUNUS**, mediaeval name of a Syrian fortress now in ruins and called Kaḡ'at al-Muḡḡāḡ, which was built on one of the first spurs of the ḡḡāḡiyyā Anḡḡiyyā, and, with the castle of ḡḡāḡiyyā, commanded the plain of al-ḡḡāḡiyyā and guarded the road from the Ottomans to ḡḡāḡiyyā, "its port" according to al-Dīnawarī.

According to the Arabic sources, it is supposed to have been begun by the clan of the Banu ḡḡāḡiyyā, then continued by the Byzantines who obtained possession of it and, in the time of Basil II, based the protection of the coastal region, in which they had taken up their quarters, partly upon it. It again passed under Arab control, but after the First Crusade, was to fall into the hands of Roger of Antioch, who bestowed it on the lord of Saḡḡa as a fief, and it remained in the hands of the Franks from 312/1118 to 584/1188. At this latter date, Salāḡ al-Dīn made himself master of it and in the ayūdḡūn period it became temporarily part of the Kingdom of Aleppo of al-Malik al-Zāḡir. After the Mongol invasion which had encouraged the efforts of a local family to establish their independence, it was obliged to surrender to Baybars in 667/1269 and became in the Mamūḡḡ period the centre of one of the six districts of the *niḡāḡa* of Tripoli.

It is not known when it fell into ruins and relinquished its ancient name (derived from the Latin *Platanus*) for the present term, which for a long time prevented its identification.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, I, 710; M. Hartmann, *Das Liva al-Ladḡiyya*, in *ZDPV*, xiv, 180; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1914-15, 283-288; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 1301; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 416; M. Gauthier-Demonbylles, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 113 and 226; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index; J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Alans*, Tours 1940, index.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMAS)

**BALĀWĀT.** This is a small village lying some 16 miles south-east of Mawḡil on the Dayr Maḡḡān-Kara Kūḡḡ road. It is mentioned by Yāqūt under "Balāḡḡḡ", which he describes as follows: "It is a village situated east of Mawḡil in the province of Nineveh and can be reached by a short journey



from Mawṣil. It is frequented by caravans and there exists in it a *khan* for travellers. It lies between Tigris and the Zab rivers'. Balāwāt is one of the villages in the Ḥamdāniyya *ṣūfiyya* in the Mawṣil *Liwa'* of 'Irāq. The majority of its inhabitants are of the Shābak faith (cf. Ahmad Ḥamid al-Sarāfi, *al-Shabak*, 10). Balāwāt's only claim to fame is the existence of a historical mound some few steps from it. This mound is known as 'Tell Balāwāt', and is one of the Assyrian historical sites excavated in the 19th century; Hormad Rassam, of Mawṣil, discovered there in 1878 the bronze gates of the palace of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (859-824 B.C.). These gates were taken to the British Museum, London. The inscriptions and scenery contained thereon illustrate the first third of the reign of this king, and also clarify some of the conditions prevailing in the 9th century B.C. From some of the Assyrian texts, it appears that the ancient name of Tell Balāwāt was Inqur-Eulil.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, i, 707; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakī, *Marāyid*, Cairo 1954, i, 214; E. Abdāl, *al-Lu'na* al-Nadīd, Mosul 1951, 213; Pinches, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vii 1882, 83-118; Pinches, *The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat* (1880-1902); H. Rassam, *Assur and the Land of Nimrod*, New York 1897, 200 ff.; Billerbeck & Delitzsch, *Die Palasttüre Salmansers II*, Leipzig 1907; King (L.W.), *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser King of Assyria*, London 1914.

(G. AWAD)

**BALAWHAR** [see BILAWHAR wa YŪDĀSĀF].

**al-BALAWĪ**, ARB. MUḥ. 'ABD ALLĀH b. MUḥ. al-MADINĪ, Egyptian historian; the dates of his birth and death are not known, but we can reasonably assume that he lived in the 14th/15th century. He belonged to the Arab tribe Balāwī, a branch of the Kudā'a, who were scattered in different parts of the Ḥijāz, Syria and Egypt.

The earliest biographical notice is that given in the *Fihrist*, which names several books. All of them are lost, but al-Balawī's *Sīrat Ahmad b. Tulūn* was discovered in about 1935 by the late Muḥ. Kurd 'Alī. He edited it with a long introduction and useful commentary (Damascus 1939). Kurd 'Alī took al-Balawī for an Isma'īlī writer, a point of view which has been wronged by Ivanov, by Abū 'Abd-Allāh al-Zinjānī, and by the late 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-'Abbādī.

There are other short biographies of al-Balawī in the later books of biography such as al-Tūlūn's *al-Fihrist*, al-Nadīd's *Kiṭāb al-Riḡāl*, al-Dhahabī's *Mizān al-Fidāl* and Ibn Ḥaǧǧar's *Lisān al-Mizān*. These all agree in saying that he was a 'hār' (he relating *ḥadīth*) and that he cannot be relied upon because he forges *ḥadīth*. Ibn Ḥaǧǧar adds that he is 'the author of al-Shāfi'ī's journey which was elaborated and beautified by him, but most of its contents were invented'.

His book *Sīrat Ibn Tulūn* is now considered the most important source for the study not only of the history of this great ruler but also of the history of Egypt, the 'Abbasid Caliphate and the Near East in general in the second half of the 10th century. It is more detailed than other sources on the same subject, such as *Sīrat Ibn Tulūn* by Ibn al-Dāya (abridged by Ibn Sa'd in *al-Maǧrib*), *Kiṭāb al-Maǧrib* by the same author, *Abḥār al-Salāwī* al-Muḥ. by Ibn Zillāl and *Kiṭāb al-Walī* wa *T-Ḥuǧūl* by al-Kinī.

Al-Balawī says in the introduction that he was asked to write a history of the Tulūnids in greater

detail than the earlier work by Ahmad b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Dāya, but he does not name the person who asked him to write this book. There are indications, however, that he was a statesman or a man of letters of the Ḥijāzīd period. For instance, al-Balawī mentions in his book the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadir, who was killed in the year 320/932, and this means that the book must have been written after this year (al-Ḥijāzīd began his rule in Egypt in the year 323/935-5). It is obvious too that al-Balawī wrote his book after the death of Ibn al-Dāya, and we know that the latter died in the year 330/942-2. The manuscript which was discovered by Kurd 'Alī bears the title *Kiṭāb Sīrat Ḍī Tulūn*, but only contains the biography of Ahmad b. Tulūn.

There is great resemblance between al-Balawī's work and that written by Ibn al-Dāya, although the former is more detailed. Kurd 'Alī says that al-Balawī copied from his predecessor but it seems more likely that both of them depended mostly upon the same main source, which was the official documents preserved in the first chancery office (*Diwān al-Inḡā'*) founded in Egypt by Ahmad Ibn Tulūn (see the *Sīrat* of al-Balawī, 100-1, 111, 122, 224, 228-9).

The *Sīrat* of al-Balawī is an invaluable source for many reasons. One of the oldest Muslim historical works written in Egypt, it sheds new light on the history of institutions, such as the *ḥijāzīd*, the police, justice, espionage, the post, etc. It also contains a number of official documents relating to that period.

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(G. E. SHAYYAL)

**BALBAḤ** [see DEHĪ SULTANĀT].  
**BALDJ n. BISHR** b. 'IYĀD al-KURĠAYK, an Arab military leader, of a brave but haughty disposition, commanded the Syrian cavalry in the army sent against the Berbers in 123/741 by the Caliph Ḥaǧǧar b. 'Abd al-Malik, under the leadership of Kulūthūm b. 'Iyāḍ, Baldj's uncle. After his arrival in Ifrīkiya (in Kamādīn 123/20 July-15 August 741), the violence and arrogance Baldj and his Syrians earned them the bitter hostility of the African Arabs, especially the Anṣār, who had fled westwards in a body after the battle fought in the Hara in 63/685. So it was that when near Tilmisān the Syrian army was united with the African army (together amounting to some 60,000 men), they all but came to blows through the arrogance of the Syrians and a quarrel which arose between Baldj and the commander of the African troops Ḥabīb b. Abī 'Ubayda. The Berbers, however, so as to exhaust the enemy, withdrew right up to the river Sebā, at the extreme limit of the Maghreb. Just before the encounter with the Berber army, Kulūthūm withdrew the command of the African contingent from Ḥabīb, who was well-versed in Berber fighting methods, but whose counsel was arrogantly rejected

by Baldj, and entrusted it to two Syrian officers, a measure which still further increased the resentment of the Africans. As a result, the Arabs suffered a complete defeat at Balḡāra (or Nabḡāra on the Sebā to the North of Fās, comp. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i, 294, rem. 1). Baldj himself, by his overconfidence and the impetuosity of his attack, which resulted in his becoming separated in the action from his foot-soldiers, was the real cause of the disaster (in *Ḥudūd al-Maǧrib*, 12-13, October-14 November 741). At the head of some 7,000 horsemen, he fought his way through to Ceuta, where he withstood a protracted siege by the Berbers, until the day when the governor of Cordova, 'Abd al-Malik b. Katān (q.v.), an Anṣārī, brought him over to Spain with his Syrians to use him against the Berbers who were in revolt there. Precautions, moreover, were taken on both sides; Baldj undertook to leave Spain as soon as the Berber revolt had been repressed; he was to give hostages as a guarantee. On his part, the governor 'Abd al-Malik promised the Syrians that when the time came for them to depart, they would be taken back to North Africa all together and not in separate groups, which would make them extremely vulnerable; and that, furthermore, they would be landed at a point on the coast of the Maghrib, where the hinterland was effectively under Arab control. The intervention of Baldj and his horsemen was decisive; the Berber rebels had formed themselves into three columns. Baldj countered swiftly and scattered the first group in the direction of Medina-Sidonia. The second was dispersed in the Cordova region. The third and most numerous column, engaged in laying siege to Toledo, was severely defeated at the battle of Wādī Salūt, (the arroyo of Guazalet, a small tributary of the left bank of the Tagus). Thereafter, the governor 'Abd al-Malik's only desire was to send his too burdensome auxiliaries back to Africa. But he did not adhere to his word, and tried to interpret the stipulations of the agreement contracted with him in the manner less favourable to the Syrians. When he sought to re-embark them for Ceuta the enraged *ghundis* swiftly surprised the weak garrison of Cordova, expelled the governor 'Abd al-Malik from his palace and installed Baldj in his place. In spite of his predecessor's advanced age, he made the mistake of having him put to torture. An encounter between the two parties took place a little later, in Shawwāl 124/August 742, at Aqua Portora, a few leagues to the north of Cordova, where the Syrians were the victors, in spite of the bravery of the governor of Narbonne, who mortally wounded Baldj with his own hand.

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**BALEARIC ISLANDS** [see MAYURKA].

**BĀLFURŪSH** [see BĀRBUŪSH].

**BALHĀRA** (al-Balḡhar or Balḡārah < Balḡah-rā, Prakrit form of 'Vallabha-rā', meaning 'the beloved king') represents the title of the kings belonging to the Rāḡhītrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan (c. A.D. 753-975), whose capital was at Mānyakheta, now Malkhed (Ar. *Māshir*), south of Gulbarga

(Mysore). Ibn Khurraḍādhbih and Ibn Rusta's information that Balḡhar meant 'the king of kings' or 'the king of the kings of India' is incorrect. Ibn Khurraḍādhbih's Balḡhar almost certainly pertains to Govinda III (A.D. 793-814); Sulaymān's to the same prince or to his son Śarva or Amoghavarsha (A.D. 814-878); al-Mas'ūdī's to Indra III (A.D. 914-922); and that of Ibn Hawkal also to Amoghavarsha. The later references are mostly repetitions of the information supplied by the earlier authorities. Arab writers generally acclaim these rulers as 'the greatest king of India' or 'the most illustrious', and epithets like 'the king of kings' or 'the supreme king of India' seem to reflect the glory and political supremacy of princes like Govinda III or Indra III. However, some authors present an exaggerated account of the extent of the Rāḡhītrakūṭa kingdom (e.g., *Abḥār al-Sin* 'beginning from the sea-coast called Kumkham (Konkan) and continuing onward up to China'; some authors 'have somewhat misunderstood Sulaymān [i.e. the *Abḥār al-Sin*] in saying that Kumkham was the name of Balḡhar-rā's country', see *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 238 n. 2). But generally the descriptions of the kingdom are confined to the coastal towns of Bombay, with which Muslim merchants and travellers were familiar, and in which large numbers of Muslims had settled. Arab writers are unanimous in stating that the Balḡhār loved the Arabs more than any other prince of India did, and that Islam was protected and openly practised in their kingdom. They even appointed Muslims as governors or heads of Muslim communities living in their kingdom. From their accounts it appears that the Arabs were aware, though not fully, of the sanguinary wars that took place between these princes, the Gōrjāra-Pratīhāras (al-Djura) of the North and the Pālas (Dhomy) of Bengal. The love of the Rāḡhītrakūṭas for the Arabs and their liberal attitude towards Islam, as well as the immense praise and glorification of the Rāḡhītrakūṭas by the Arabs, must have arisen from the Rāḡhītrakūṭas' considering the Muslims as allies against the Gōrjāra-Pratīhāras, who were inimical to the Arabs of Sind, and from the presence of large numbers of Muslims living in their kingdom.

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**BAL-HĀRĪTH** [see HĀRĪTH wa KA'SĀN].

**BĀLĪ**, one of the Muslim trading states in southern Ethiopia. It lay to the east of Lalḡ Awasa and the Ganale Doria, and extended to the Webi Shabelle near longitude 40° E., with a narrow piece stretching north of the Webi Shabelle to the edge of the Danakil lowlands, the railway marking approximately the northern boundary. The first mention of Bālī seems to be in the epikina in honour of 'Amāya Syon king of Ethiopia, 1312-42 (I. Guidi, *Rend. Lin.*, 1889, nos. viii and ix) where Bālī is described as part of the king's dominions. In the middle of the 14th century al-Umārī described Bālī as being 20 days' journey in length and six days in breadth, under a king who was tributary to the king of Ethiopia and possessed an army of 40,000 horsemen. A century later al-Makrīdī repeats al-



from Mawṣil. It is frequented by caravans and there exists in it a *khan* for travellers. It lies between Tigris and the Zab rivers'. Balāwāt is one of the villages in the Ḥamdāniyya *maṣāʾir* in the Mawṣil *Liwaʾ* of 'Irāq. The majority of its inhabitants are of the Shābak faith (cf. Ahmad Ḥamid al-Sarāfi, *al-Shabak*, 10). Balāwāt's only claim to fame is the existence of a historical mound some few steps from it. This mound is known as 'Tell Balāwāt', and is one of the Assyrian historical sites excavated in the 19th century; Hormuzd Rassam, of Mawṣil, discovered there in 1878 the bronze gates of the palace of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (859-824 B.C.). These gates were taken to the British Museum, London. The inscriptions and scenery contained thereon illustrate the first third of the reign of this king, and also clarify some of the conditions prevailing in the 9th century B.C. From some of the Assyrian texts, it appears that the ancient name of Tell Balāwāt was Inqur-Enlil.

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His book *Sīrat Ibn Tulūn* is now considered the most important source for the study not only of the history of this great ruler but also of the history of Egypt, the 'Abbasid Caliphate and the Near East in general in the second half of the 10th century. It is more detailed than other sources on the same subject, such as *Sīrat Ibn Tulūn* by Ibn al-Dāya (abridged by Ibn Sa'ūd, *al-Maǧrib*), *Kitaḥ al-Maḥdī* by the same author, *Abḥār al-Salawī* al-Muḥī by Ibn Zillāl and *Kitaḥ al-Walī* wa *T-Ḥaǧǧat* by al-Kinādi.

Al-Balawī says in the introduction that he was asked to write a history of the Tulūnids in greater

detail than the earlier work by Ahmad b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Dāya, but he does not name the person who asked him to write this book. There are indications, however, that he was a statesman or a man of letters of the Ḥijāzī period. For instance, al-Balawī mentions in his book the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Muḥtadīr, who was killed in the year 230/932, and this means that the book must have been written after this year (al-Ḥijāzī began his rule in Egypt in the year 323/935-5). It is obvious too that al-Balawī wrote his book after the death of Ibn al-Dāya, and we know that the latter died in the year 330/942-2. The manuscript which was discovered by Kurd 'Alī bears the title *Kitaḥ Sīrat Ḍī Tulūn*, but only contains the biography of Ahmad b. Tulūn.

There is great resemblance between al-Balawī's work and that written by Ibn al-Dāya, although the former is more detailed. Kurd 'Alī says that al-Balawī copied from his predecessor but it seems more likely that both of them depended mostly upon the same main source, which was the official documents preserved in the first chancery office (*Diwān al-Inḡāḡ*) founded in Egypt by Ahmad Ibn Tulūn (see the *Sīrat* of al-Balawī, 100-1, 111, 122, 224, 228-9).

The *Sīrat* of al-Balawī is an invaluable source for many reasons. One of the oldest Muslim historical works written in Egypt, it sheds new light on the history of institutions, such as the *ḥijāzī*, the police, justice, espionage, the post, etc. It also contains a number of official documents relating to that period.

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(G. E. SHAYYAL)

**BALBAṢ** [see DEHI SULTANATE].  
**BALDJ n. BISHR** b. 'IYĀD al-KURĠAYK, an Arab military leader, of a brave but haughty disposition, commanded the Syrian cavalry in the army sent against the Berbers in 123/741 by the Caliph Ḥaǧǧan b. 'Abd al-Malik, under the leadership of Kulthūm b. 'Iyāḍ, Baldj's uncle. After his arrival in Ifrīkiya (in Kamādīn 123/20 July-15 August 741), the violence and arrogance Baldj and his Syrians earned them the bitter hostility of the African Arabs, especially the Ansār, who had fled westwards in a body after the battle fought in the Hara in 63/685. So it was that when near Tilmisān the Syrian army was united with the African army (together amounting to some 60,000 men), they all but came to blows through the arrogance of the Syrians and a quarrel which arose between Baldj and the commander of the African troops Ḥabīb b. Abī 'Ubayda. The Berbers, however, so as to exhaust the enemy, withdrew right up to the river Sebā, at the extreme limit of the Maghreb. Just before the encounter with the Berber army, Kulthūm withdrew the command of the African contingent from Ḥabīb, who was well-versed in Berber fighting methods, but whose counsel was arrogantly rejected

by Baldj, and entrusted it to two Syrian officers, a measure which still further increased the resentment of the Africans. As a result, the Arabs suffered a complete defeat at Baddūra (or Nabdūra on the Sebā to the North of Fās, comp. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i, 294, rem. 1). Baldj himself, by his overconfidence and the impetuosity of his attack, which resulted in his becoming separated in the action from his foot-soldiers, was the real cause of the disaster (in *Ḍi* 1-Ḥijāzī, 12, 117, October-14 November 741). At the head of some 7,000 horsemen, he fought his way through to Ceuta, where he withstood a protracted siege by the Berbers, until the day when the governor of Cordova, 'Abd al-Malik b. Katān (q.v.), an Ansārī, brought him over to Spain with his Syrians to use him against the Berbers who were in revolt there. Precautions, moreover, were taken on both sides; Baldj undertook to leave Spain as soon as the Berber revolt had been repressed; he was to give hostages as a guarantee. On his part, the governor 'Abd al-Malik promised the Syrians that when the time came for them to depart, they would be taken back to North Africa all together and not in separate groups, which would make them extremely vulnerable; and that, furthermore, they would be landed at a point on the coast of the Maghrib, where the hinterland was effectively under Arab control. The intervention of Baldj and his horsemen was decisive; the Berber rebels had formed themselves into three columns. Baldj countered swiftly and scattered the first group in the direction of Medina-Sidonia. The second was dispersed in the Cordova region. The third and most numerous column, engaged in laying siege to Toledo, was severely defeated at the battle of Wādī Salūt, (the arroyo of Guazalet, a small tributary of the left bank of the Tagus). Thereafter, the governor 'Abd al-Malik's only desire was to send his too burdensome auxiliaries back to Africa. But he did not adhere to his word, and tried to interpret the stipulations of the agreement contracted with him in the manner less favourable to the Syrians. When he sought to re-embark them for Ceuta the enraged *ghundis* swiftly surprised the weak garrison of Cordova, expelled the governor 'Abd al-Malik from his palace and installed Baldj in his place. In spite of his predecessor's advanced age, he made the mistake of having him put to torture. An encounter between the two parties took place a little later, in Shawwāl 124/August 742, at Aqua Portora, a few leagues to the north of Cordova, where the Syrians were the victors, in spite of the bravery of the governor of Narbonne, who mortally wounded Baldj with his own hand.

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**BALEARIC ISLANDS** [see MAYURKA].

**BĀLFURŪSH** [see BĀRĠURŪSH].

**BALHĀRA** (al-Balharay or Balahārā < Balahārā, Prakrit form of 'Vallabha-rāṣa', meaning 'the beloved king') represents the title of the kings belonging to the Rāḡhtrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan (c. A.D. 753-975), whose capital was at Mānyakheta, now Malkhed (Ar. *Māshir*), south of Gulbarga

(Mysore). Ibn Khurraḍādhbih and Ibn Rusta's information that Balhārā meant 'the king of kings' or 'the king of the kings of India' is incorrect. Ibn Khurraḍādhbih's Balhārā almost certainly pertains to Govinda III (A.D. 793-814); Sulaymān's to the same prince or to his son Śarva or Amoghavarsha (A.D. 814-878); al-Mas'ūdī's to Indra III (A.D. 914-922); and that of Ibn Hawkal also to Amoghavarsha. The later references are mostly repetitions of the information supplied by the earlier authorities. Arab writers generally acclaim these rulers as 'the greatest king of India' or 'the most illustrious', and epithets like 'the king of kings' or 'the supreme king of India' seem to reflect the glory and political supremacy of princes like Govinda III or Indra III. However, some authors present an exaggerated account of the extent of the Rāḡhtrakūṭa kingdom (e.g., *Abḥār al-Sīn* 'beginning from the sea-coast called Kumham (Koukan) and continuing overlaid up to China'; some authors 'have somewhat misunderstood Sulaymān [i.e. the *Abḥār al-Sīn*] in saying that Kumham was the name of Balahār-rā's country', see *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 238 n. 2). But generally the descriptions of the kingdom are confined to the coastal towns of Bombay, with which Muslim merchants and travellers were familiar, and in which large numbers of Muslims had settled. Arab writers are unanimous in stating that the Balhārās loved the Arabs more than any other prince of India did, and that Islam was protected and openly practised in their kingdom. They even appointed Muslims as governors or heads of Muslim communities living in their kingdom. From their accounts it appears that the Arabs were aware, though not fully, of the sanguinary wars that took place between these princes, the Gūjara-Pratīhāras (al-Djura) of the North and the Pālas (Dhomy) of Bengal. The love of the Rāḡhtrakūṭas for the Arabs and their liberal attitude towards Islam, as well as the immense praise and glorification of the Rāḡhtrakūṭas by the Arabs, must have arisen from the Rāḡhtrakūṭas' considering the Muslims as allies against the Gūjara-Pratīhāras, who were inimical to the Arabs of Sind, and from the presence of large numbers of Muslims living in their kingdom.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Khurraḍādhbih, 16, 67; Sulaymān the Merchant, *Abḥār al-Sīn* wa *'Hind*, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, ed. Jean Sauvaget, Paris 1948, 12, 23; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, i, 177-8, 382-3, 253-4; ii, 85-6; Ibn Hawkal, 320; Ibn Rusta, 134-5; *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 238; *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, R. C. Majumdar (General Editor), BVB, Bombay 1955, 16-17; *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, iii, ed. N. B. Ulgalkar, Poona 1927, 106-7. (S. MAQDUS AHMAD)

**BAL-HĀRĪTH** [see HĀRĪTH wa KA'SAN].

**BĀLĪ**, one of the Muslim trading states in southern Ethiopia. It lay to the east of Lalḥ Awasa and the Ganale Doria, and extended to the Webi Shabelle near longitude 40° E., with a narrow piece stretching north of the Webi Shabelle to the edge of the Danakil lowlands, the railway marking approximately the northern boundary. The first mention of Bālī seems to be in the epikina in honour of 'Amāya Syon king of Ethiopia, 1312-42 (I. Guidi, *Rend. Lin.*, 1889, nos. viii and ix) where Bālī is described as part of the king's dominions. In the middle of the 14th century al-Umari described Bālī as being 20 days' journey in length and six days in breadth, under a king who was tributary to the king of Ethiopia and possessed an army of 40,000 horsemen. A century later al-Makrīzī repeats al-



'Umar's account, including the statement that the people of Bali were Hanafis. Till about 1542 the state remained tributary to Ethiopia, when 'Abdā the ruler made himself independent of Gāllawēwos king of Ethiopia.

**Bibliography:** 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Aḥdā*, tr. Gaudelot-Demonbynes, 1927, 2, 181; Makrid, ed. Rineck, Leyden 1790, p. 13; Perruchon, *Les Chroniques de Zār'a Ya'eqob et de Ba'eda Mār'yām*, Paris 1893; Conzelmann, *Le Chronique de Gāllawēwos*, Paris 1895. (G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD)

**BALI** (see BALIWA).

**BALIABADRA**, Turkish name for Pátrai, Patras (fourth largest town on the Greek mainland and the largest on the Morean peninsula), situated on the gulf of the same west of the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth (Turkish *Kardos*, [g.r.]), capital of the Nomos Achaia, seat of a bishop. It had about 85,000 inhabitants in 1951. The name Baliabadra comes from Παλαιά Πάτρας, or rather Παλαιά Πάτρα (Pátra is even today the colloquial name for the town), i.e., Old Pátrai, apparently because from the 14th century onwards New Pátrai denoted the fortress under whose protection the old settlement was. Nikiphoros Gregoriás (IV.9.4) describes it explicitly as *προσφύγον τὸ τῶν Νέων Πατρῶν ἐπιτελευλήτων*. The adjective would not, therefore seem to have been added to distinguish Old Pátrai from Nέα Πάτρα, a place near Lania (Turkish Zitrū, conquered by the Ottomans in 1393, which was itself more usually known as Patrazh [Πατράζης, from the Turkish Badradjik] although today, as in antiquity, it is once again known as Hyptai. In the west, Old Pátrai is known as Patras (from 'c 742 Πάτρας, compare the Italian Patrasco).

Additional data concerning its pre-Ottoman history can be found in the works of A. Bon, E. Gerland, Wm. Miller, D. A. Zakythinos, cf. bibliography at the end of the article. Only the following facts need be mentioned here: at the division of the Byzantine Empire in 1204, the town became the seat of the Latin duchy of Achaia, and also the seat of an archbishop. In 1408, it became Venetian. On 1 July 1428, the town was threatened—but not captured—by Palaeologus princes who were quarrelling amongst themselves. On 20 March 1429, the despot Constantine repeated the attack on the town. During the course of this attack, the population turned away from the Latin archbishop Pandolfo Malatesta, and their notables swore an oath of allegiance to the Greek despot on June 5th in the Church of St. Andrew. The fortress continued to hold out, and did not succumb to the Greeks until May 1430 (Zakythinos, i, 206 ff.). At the time, Sulhān Murād II objected to the taking of Pátrai, asking the Greeks to refrain from occupying it, as the inhabitants desired to pay their tribute to him. Sphrantzīs, the first governor of Pátrai (later a historian), negotiated with the Porte, and eventually succeeded in obtaining the Sultan's consent (Sphrantzīs, 152-3). It was, apparently, not until 17 years later that Murād II made an attempt to gain Pátrai for himself. According to Dukas (ed. Vas. Grecu [Bucharest 1958], 278, 13), he advanced in the winter of 1446/7 "as far as Pátrai and Klarentza" (the Kyllini to today), on which occasion he may have succeeded in taking the open town by a surprise attack, but it is hardly likely that he also overcame the almost impregnable fortress above. Cf. however Hammer-Purgstall, i, 473. The country all around was laid waste at the time, and some 60,000 people were led off into slavery. When the despot Constantine

became Emperor of Byzantium in 1448, his brother Thomas took possession of north-western Morea, that is to say, of the whole of Achaia, including Pátrai and Klarentza, where he may well have held court (cf. Zakythinos, i, 242). Mehemmed II, the Conqueror, went in person to Pátrai, in summer 1458, arriving from Mouchli (cf. E. Darlo in the Πρακτικά of the Academy of Athens, vi, Athens 1931, 22-29). He found it deserted and derelict. The inhabitants had fled to Venetian possessions on the Morean peninsula. This time, the fortress surrendered after a short resistance (cf. Kritoboulos, in the edition of G. Müller, Hildesheim, V, Paris 1870, 123, also F. Babinger, *Mémoires des Evénements et des Zéts*, Munich 1953, 176 ff. (French edition 1954, Italian edition 1957). The sultan considered Pátrai a suitable place for his commerce with the West, and he therefore invited the population to return, granting special privileges and tax reductions (cf. Kritoboulos, in the above mentioned book, 123; and Zakythinos (see above), i, 258). Later, early in 1459, there were Greek attempts to regain the town, but these failed (cf. Chalkokondyles, ed. I. Bekker, 457 f.). Pátrai remained, now as Baliabadra, an Ottoman possession for more than 350 years, without, however, regaining the great position it had once held in the times of the Roman Emperors, when there was a flourishing trade with Italy. Baliabadra became a Turkish provincial town and administrative centre, but was without any commercial significance. Attempts made by Venice to regain the town repeatedly failed. In summer 1464, Jacopo Barbarigo, Provveditore of Morea, made an ill-fated attempt on the town, which was successfully repulsed by Turakhan-oghlu 'Umar-Beg (cf. s.v. and also Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 84 f.). In September 1532, however, the imperial admiral Andrea Doria captured the practically unprotected Pátrai without fighting, but the re-occupation was only temporary (cf. J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, ii, 734 f.). In 1685, the Venetian general landed in Pátrai (with an army which largely consisted of German mercenaries) in order to drive the Turks from Morea. On 24 July 1687, Baliabadra (abandoned by the Ottomans and partly by the Turks) fell into the hands of F. Morosini's troops after a heated battle (cf. Zinkeisen, v, 132); but this re-occupation, again, did not lead to any permanent re-establishment of Venetian rule in Morea. In the middle of April 1770, the town was taken by surprise by a horde of Greeks, who were shortly afterwards either killed or taken as slaves by the Albanians and Turks. At that time, Baliabadra once again went up in flames, and only a few families saved themselves and their possessions, fleeing to the Ionian islands (cf. Zinkeisen, v, 931). The first big Greek rebellion against Turkish rule in Pátrai started on 6 April 1821. On this occasion, the archbishop of Pátrai (since 1806) Germanos (1771-1826) led the battle for liberation. On 15 April 1822, the Ottomans stormed the town for the last time under the leadership of Yusuf and Muhibb Pasha (from Serres), who razed the town to the ground. French troops came to the assistance of the Greeks and took possession of Pátrai in 1828, being relieved by the Bavarians in 1833. Since then, the town has been rebuilt in a regular checkerboard plan and has once again developed into a flourishing port, linked more recently with Athens (cf. Pátrai) overlaid by the Islanopolis Katas (130 km.).

Until the middle of the 18th century, whilst Baliabadra was under Ottoman rule, it had only once been described by a western traveller, viz.

Master Thomas Dallam (1599-1600), see *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. by I. Theod. Bent (London 1891; Hakluyt Society, vol. LXXXVII), 86. The first such description dates from 1740, when Richard Pococke (*A Description of the East*, ii/2, London 1745, 176 f.) mentions it as an unhealthy town in a swampy plain, seat of a Greek archbishop, with 12 parish churches, such with 30 Christian families, some 10 Jewish families and roughly 250 Turkish ones "who are not the best sort of people". At that time there were an English Consul General, a French Vice-Consul (the Consulate was in Modon), and a Venetian and a Dutch Consul in Pátrai. The description of the town by Dr. Richard Chandler (*Travels in Greece*, Oxford 1796) in 1795 is much the same. The description by the Ottoman globe-trotter Ewilyā Celbi (*Seyahatnâme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 288-292), who was there in 1680/1669, is much more extensive. He noted a mosque near the market (*çarşı*), donated by Mehemmed II, and one of Bāyazīd II in the citadel (*cf. ba'la*), also the mosque of the Kaya (Ketikhudā Dī), and not far from this, the mosque of Şeykh-Efendi; that of Ibrahim Cavus, and finally the mosque at the Dabblagh-khāne (i.e., tannery). Furthermore there were at that time three smaller houses of prayer (*masjid*), four Dervish monasteries (that of Şeykh-Efendi amongst them), and three baths (*hammam*). Ewilyā Celbi mentions places of pilgrimage near Baliabadra, amongst these the one of Şarī Saḥib Baba (i.e., i.e., 'Arrested Nicola', the one of 'Jovand-Baba'—doubtless old Christian places of pilgrimage. In his description, Ewilyā Celbi calls Baliabadra "ballu (balli) Baliabadra", i.e., "Baliabadra rich in honey"; compare "ballu Badra" (*Anonymous Giese*, 141, 6). Hādījī Khālifa (*Rumelt und Bosna*, translated by J. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812, 124 f.) gives only a few details concerning the port and administration in Baliabadra. The fever-ditch, swampy plains to the north, east and south-east of the town (cf. R. Pococke, in the above mentioned book, ii/2, 176), have long since been dried up. Commerce is largely concerned with currants, oil, and wine, as well as silk (which was already cultivated in Ottoman times, as is also described by Pococke), and this has made Pátrai into a flourishing trading centre. According to Ludwig Steub, *Bilder aus Griechenland*, Leipzig 1885, 236, in 1822, Pátrai consisted solely of the ruins of five mosques, fallen down churches, derelict houses, and only a few repaired and inhabited dwellings.

**Bibliography:** E. Thomopoulos, *Γεωγραφία τῆς πόλεως Πατρῶν*, Athens 1888; E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras*, Leipzig 1903; Emile de Borchgraves, *Croquis d'Orient: Patras et l'Achaie*, Brussels 1908; Wm. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, *passim*, especially 289 f., 363 ff., 388 ff.; 434 ff.; Wm. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge 1921, *passim*, especially 40 ff., 53 f., 100 ff., 448 ff.; D. A. Zakythinos, *Die Despotat Grec de Patras*, III, Paris 1927/1933; H. Bon, *Le Paléopont de Byzance jusqu'en 1204*, Paris 1933; concerning frequent descriptions of the town in the 19th century, cf. S. H. Weber, *Voyages and Travels in the Near East made during the XIX century*, Princeton 1928, 245, Patras, L. Steub, see above, gives a vivid picture of Pátrai and its inhabitants in the year 1846 on page 249.

**BALIGH** (ā), major, of full age; *baligh* puberty, majority; opp. *paghir*, minor, *jahil*, boy, Encyclopedia of Islam

*paghir*, minority. Majority in Islamic law is, generally speaking, determined by physical maturity in either sex (the *Shāfi's* explicitly lay down a minimum limit of nine years); should physical maturity not manifest itself, majority is presumed at a certain age: fifteen years according to the Hanafis, *Shāfi's* and Hanbalis, eighteen years according to the Mālikis (various other opinions are ascribed to the old authorities). Within these limits, the declaration of the person concerned that he or she has reached puberty, is accepted. Majority is one of the conditions of full legal capacity; the minor is subject to a legal disability (*hadhr*) and to the guardianship of his father or other legal guardian (cf. *walāya*). The major who is of sound mind (*ʿāqil*), is *mukallaf*, i.e., obliged to fulfil the religious duties, and therefore also responsible in criminal law. But majority (together with soundness of mind) does not by itself produce contractual capacity, the capacity to dispose of one's own property; in order to have this effect, it must be accompanied by *ruḥd*, discretion or responsibility in acting. The father or other legal guardian must not only encourage the minor to fulfil his religious duties regularly, but test his *ruḥd* when he approaches puberty, and hand over his property to him only when he shows that he possesses it (cf. *Kur'ān* iv, 6). The other schools of religious law do not lay down a time limit for this, but the Hanafis fix the age at which his property must be handed over to him in any case, at 25 years, an obvious adoption of the *legitima aetas* of Roman law. The Mālikis, in the case of a woman, make this kind of capacity dependent, in addition to majority and *ruḥd*, either on the consummation of marriage, or on a formal act of emancipation by the father or other legal guardian, or on becoming an "old spinster" (*ʿāṭa*); a somewhat similar opinion is also held by some Hanbalis. Islamic law envisages a gradual transition from the status of minor to that of major, as exemplified by the *munayyis*, the "discerning minor", and the *murūḥ*, the "minor on the point of reaching puberty".

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**BALIK**, Turko-Mongol word for "town" = or "castle" (also written *BALIK* and *BALIGH*); appears frequently in compound names of towns, such as Balikhli ("Five Towns"), at the present day in ruins at Gücen in Chinese Turkistan), Khānbalik (the "Khān's Town"), Turko-Mongol word for Peking (also frequently used by European travellers in the middle ages in forms like Cambalo), Ribalik (on the River Hsi, the modern Hsiang) etc. As the town of Balikhli is mentioned as early as the Orkhon inscriptions (mid-8th century), Balik, in the meaning of town, is one of the oldest of Turkic words, as is the word Balik "fish", which is similarly pronounced and is common to all Turkic dialects.

**Bibliography:** R. Rahmeti Arat, *IA* (s.v.). (W. BARTHOLD)

**BALIKESIRI**, Balikesir, a town of north-west Asia Minor, in the region known in ancient times as Mysia. The name Balikesir derives from the Greek "Πίζαλιος ἄστρον", Al-'Umarī, in his *Masālik al-*



*Ahiya*, refers to this locality as "Akira" (= "Oyupşa", a name current in the period of the Commens). The Roman Hadrianouthera is believed to have been situated in this same district. Balikeski was one of the chief towns in the emirate of Karasi (etc.), which came into being when the Turks wrested this area from the Byzantines in the years around 699-700/1300. Ibn Battuta, who travelled through Asia Minor c. 730-1330, judged Balikeski to be a beautiful and well-populated place. The emirate of Karasi was soon absorbed into the Ottoman state, a process which began in about 715-1335 and appears to have been gradually completed during the reign of Orhan Gazi. Ghazi, Karasi, under Ottoman rule, long remained a *sandjak* in the *eyalat* of Anadolu, until in the reign of Mahmud II it was attached to the *vilayet* of Kütahya. It is now a separate province with Balikeski as its administrative centre. Balikeski, situated at the foot of the Villan-dag ("mount of the serpent"), confronts a fertile plain noted for its production of cereals, vegetables and fruit. Its population was estimated in 1935 to be a little less than 34,000.

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(J. V. PARVEY)  
**BALINOS.** Silvestre de Sacy was the first to state that this name means Apollonius. The above form and Ballade are the most frequently used ones. Other forms are Abulliniyus (*Fihrist*, 266, Ibn al-Kifri, 61), Abulliniyus (Cheikh's personal MS. of Ibn Sa'd, *Tabakāt al-Umam*, 1912, 26), Abulliniyus (*ibid.*, 29, 31), Abulliniyus (Barhebraeus, ed. Salhani, 118), Abullinus (*Fihrist*, L.), 'Abū al-Ḥakīm, 26, 41, cf. Plessner, *Die astronomischen und astrologischen Schriften des Neuplatonikers 'Ibrāhīm*, 1928, 41; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, Contribution*, ii, 273 n. 3), Abūlūs (Ya'qūbī, i, 165) Abūlūs (Ps. Magrīfī, *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*, ed. H. Ritter, 1933, 107 ff.), the meaning Apollonius is proved by the fragment of a Hebrew translation in Cod. Adler 1920). For other forms see Kraus, *op. cit.*, 270, n. 6.

In Islam, two persons named Apollonius are known, the famous mathematician Apollonius of Perge in Pamphylia (ca. 200 B.C.) and a sage whose personality is based on the Greek tradition about Apollonius of Tyana in Cappadocia (1st cent. A.D.).

Apollonius of Perge appears in the biographical sources (not in the MSS. of his works) almost invariably with the epithet al-Naḍḍār (the carpenter), the origin of which has not yet been explained satisfactorily. Since G. Flügel, *al-Kindī*, 1857, 53 it has been customary to render this by "the geometer", and as a matter of fact, Apollonius was already in antiquity called "the great geometer".

Also Euclid was called the geometer, and Ibn al-Kifri, 62 (E. Kapp's quotation *al-muḥaddith*, in *Isis*, xlii, 1934, 161 n. 20 is wrong) calls him al-Naḍḍār in the heading of his article, but states afterwards that Euclid was a carpenter by vocation. However, no other place is known where al-naḍḍār appears as the translation of geometer, and no dictionary gives this translation.

A detailed discussion of the Arabic translations of, and commentaries on, Apollonius' famous *Conica* and his other works has been given by M. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, i, 1896, 180-187; cf. also G. Sarton, in *HES*, i, 173-175 and indexes of all three volumes; Brockelmann, index s.v. *Apollonius v. Perge* (instead of 852 read 850); M. Krause, *Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker*, 1936.

With regard to Apollonius of Tyana, there are considerable contradictions in the various sources, and the tradition about the *al-shāh al-islāmī*, as he is usually called (beside *al-kāshān*) has even, to a certain degree, influenced the reports concerning Apollonius of Perge. Our oldest source, Ya'qūbī, i, 165 rightly relates that Apollonius lived under the reign of Domitian (81-96), and the same is related by Ibn Abi Usayb'a, i, 73, and Barhebraeus, *Le*. But the same Ya'qūbī speaks on p. 134 of "Ballinūs al-naḍḍār" who is called the orphan, and he is the *al-shāh al-islāmī*, etc. The confusion lies not only in the use of the epithets of both Apollonius for one and the same person, but also in the addition "the orphan": in the preface of the *Sirr al-Khalīfa* (see below) Ballinūs calls himself "an orphan inhabiting Tyana" (cf. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 273 n. 3). In the *Ḥabshat al-Ishādar* (see below) Aristotle tells Alexander that he had received the book from Apollonius (the text in J. Rusk, *Tabakāt Sūwāqīna*, 1926, 72). Here Apollonius appears as a contemporary of Philip and his son Alexander, and so he does in al-Bal'ān's Persian version of Tabari (cf. Zotenberg's French translation, i, 510 f.; the whole passage is missing in the Arabic Tabari) and in Niḡmā's *Ishādar-nāma* (cf. W. Bacher, *Niḡmā's Leben und Werke*, 1912, 67 ff. and Persian text, 21; W. Hertz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1903, 43). This anachronism with regard to Apollonius the talisman-maker has, in its turn, influenced Ibn al-Kifri's dating of Apollonius of Perge; his article about the latter begins (p. 61): "Apollonius the carpenter, mathematician of ancient time, much earlier than Euclid; he wrote the book *Conica*". And in his article on Euclid, 62, Euclid, a carpenter, Trye explains and accomplishes for an unnamed Greek king two books of Apollonius on irregular polyhedra (this is in fact the subject of Euclid's *Elementa*). On 63 he speaks, on the contrary, of a commentary on Euclid's 10th book by an ancient (*hadim*) Greek man named Ballā (the variant readings show with almost absolute certainty that he speaks of Apollonius). Now, Apollonius of Perge lived about 80-100 years after Euclid's. (Kapp, *op. cit.*, 163-168 does not even point out this confusion!).

In Hunayn b. Ishāq's *Adab al-Falāsifa*, an Apollonius appears in two places: in part i, ch. 5 the saying engraved on his seal is reported, and of part ii the whole ch. 17 is dedicated to his apophthegms. None of these dicta is characteristic of either of the two Apollonius, but Abū Sulaymān al-Ma'arrī points to Apollonius of Tyana, when he, in the first paragraph of ii, 17 ("The pen is the most powerful sorcerer") substitutes "talisman" for "sorcerer". Also the six *sermons* in the *Turba Sulaymān*

attributed by Steinschneider (*Europ. Übers.*, aus dem Arab., II, SBAK, Wien, 1905, 67 ff.) and Rusk (T. Ph., 1932, 23 ff.) to Apollonius of Tyana are no more characteristic of him than do the other alchemistic *sermons* of their respective orators.

Of the Arabic books connected with the name of Apollonius of Tyana the following are preserved in this language either in full or partly or in quotations of some length:

1. K. al-'Ilal or *Sirr al-Khalīfa*, parts of which were edited and translated by Silvestre de Sacy (*Notices et Extraits*, iv, no. 71798-99, 108 ff.) and J. Rusk (*Tab. Sm.*, 124-163). The latter also proved that the famous alchemistic text known as *Tabakāt Sūwāqīna* has its original place at the end of this book; and P. Kraus, *op. cit.*, 303 has shown that the whole book is to be a commentary of that text. About the Latin translation by Hugo Sanctallensis, cf. Rusk, 177 ff. The analysis of the book by Kraus, 270-303 led to its dating in the time of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn and show its close relation to the Syrian *Book of Transcendence* by Job of Edessa (ca. 817 A.D.), ed. Mingana, 1935, as well as to the Greek *ἡρώδης ἀντίδοτρου* by Nemesios of Emesa (5th cent. A.D.). Cf. now also L. Massignon, in A.-J. Festugiére, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, i, 1944, 395 f., and the additions in the 2nd ed., 1950: A. E. Affifi, *BSOAS*, xlii, 1949-51, 847 ff. Kraus also showed the great influence of this book on Ḥabshat al-Hayyān; the latter wrote a considerable number of books on different subjects 'alā 'ay' Ballinūs, cf. Kraus, i, index, s.v. Ballinūs; J. W. Fück, *Ambis*, iv, 1951, § 12 and Commentary), parts of them were edited by Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, Textes choisis*, 1935.

2. *Riḍāla fī Ta'ḥīr al-Rūḥāniyyāt fī 'l-Ma'rakhabāt*, MS. Istanbul, A's'ad 1987 (Plessner, in *Islamica*, iv, 1931, 551 f.), Wehli 892 (courtesy of H. Ritter), Chester Beatty (cf. J. Bowman, *Glasgow Univ. Or. Soc., Transactions*, xiv, 1930-32); for other MSS., see Kraus, ii, 293 n. 5.

3. *al-Muḥallāt al-Kabīr dī 'l'im Af'āl al-Rūḥāniyyāt*, in all MSS. following no. 2. Hebrew translation in Paris, MS. Hebr. n. 1014 and Persian text, 21; W. Hertz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1903, 43). This anachronism with regard to Apollonius the talisman-maker has, in its turn, influenced Ibn al-Kifri's dating of Apollonius of Perge; his article about the latter begins (p. 61): "Apollonius the carpenter, mathematician of ancient time, much earlier than Euclid; he wrote the book *Conica*". And in his article on Euclid, 62, Euclid, a carpenter, Trye explains and accomplishes for an unnamed Greek king two books of Apollonius on irregular polyhedra (this is in fact the subject of Euclid's *Elementa*). On 63 he speaks, on the contrary, of a commentary on Euclid's 10th book by an ancient (*hadim*) Greek man named Ballā (the variant readings show with almost absolute certainty that he speaks of Apollonius). Now, Apollonius of Perge lived about 80-100 years after Euclid's. (Kapp, *op. cit.*, 163-168 does not even point out this confusion!).

4. K. *Talīzin* Ballinūs al-Akhar li-Waladīh 'Ahd al-Rahmān (I), Paris MS. 2250, fol. 84-134, identical with K. Ballinūs li-Ibnī fī 'l-'Ilāmāt, Berol. Pet. I 66, fol. 41v-72v (Ahlwardt 5908).

5. A *Kutub Atlas* (vocalization uncertain) *al-Ḥakīm* is one of the sources of the lists of images to be engraved on the stones of the planets, *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*, 107-124. Whether this book is the *Liber de imaginibus* quoted by Albertus Magnus, *De liberis libris* (cf. F. J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation*, 1936, 58 ff.), is still an open question.

6. The Hermetic book *Ḥabshat al-Ishādar* given to Alexander by Aristotle who received it from Apollonius has been elaborately discussed and partly edited and translated by Rusk, *Tab. Sm.*, 68-107; it contains also some of the talismans located by Apollonius in several towns. The connection between the prologue and the Babylonian report on the Flood has been stated by Plessner, in *Studia Islamica*, ii, 1954, 51 ff.

(For the Arabic texts belonging to the above nos. 1 and 6 as published by Rusk, cf. Plessner, in *Islamica*, xvi, 1927, 83 ff.).

7. In no. 3, the author alludes several times to his *Riḍāla Sal-sir*, which is as yet unknown in Arabic;

but perhaps the Hebrew *Miḥḡet muskelet* (Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.*, 848, cf. also *ZDMG*, xiv, 1893, 444) has something to do with it.

8. Al-Karwīn quotes in many places of his *'Aḡā'id al-Maḥḥabāt* (see the list in Bacher, *op. cit.*, 70 n. 20) a *Kutub al-Khawāṣṣ* by Ballinūs, which has not yet been traced. Steinschneider judges the title to be a fiction (*Hebr. Übers.*, 843 n. 7).

The vast number of medieval Latin and vernacular texts ascribed to Ballinūs (Bolesius and the like) cannot be dealt with here, cf. Steinschneider, *Europ. Übers.*, Index, and Carmody, *op. cit.*, index. But there is no doubt that some of the authors whose books are published or analysed in the *Laplatina del rey D. Alfonso X*, reproduced and partly edited by J. F. Montaña, 1881, are translations of Arabic books attributed to Apollonius; the full list in Sarton, ii, 837. Here belong: 1. Abolās (never deciphered, cf. G. O. S. Darby, in *Osiris*, i, 1936, 251 ff.), 2. Yluz, 3. Belyenus and Yis, 6. Plinius and Hermus (Hermes). A comparison of these names with the forms of the name of Apollonius in Arabic at the beginning of this article will furnish sufficient evidence.

The Greek *Apotelesmata Apolloniū Tyanensis*, simultaneously used by P. Nau, *Patrologia, Syriaque*, i, 1, 1907, 1363 ff., and F. Boll, *Cat. Codicum astrologorum Graecorum*, vi, 1908, 175 ff. contains passages which in the Latin translation from the Arabic can be traced in *Brit. Mus. MS. Royal 12 C XVIII* (Carmody, 73), and even an English translation in Sloane 3826. For another Latin (Vatican) MS. cf. Carmody, *Le*. Similar texts, also translated from Arabic, in Sloane 3848. The name of the disciple of Apollonius to whom the Greek text is dedicated has been identified with that of the author of a text edited in Syriac and Arabic by G. Levi Della Vida, *La Dottrina e i Dodici Legati di Stomathalassa*, *Abi Acc. Naz. Lit.*, (Cl. Sci. mor. stor. fil., viii/ii, fasc. 8, Rome 1951).

Another pupil of Apollonius is the famous Artemus (not Artelius, as in Brockelmann, S I, 429, nor Artorius, as in the additions in vol. ii, 1208), the author of *Classica sapientiae*, the Arabic original of which, *Miftāḥ al-Ḥikma*, has been discovered by Levi Della Vida, and described in *Speculum*, xiii, 1938, 80-85; cf. Kraus, 208 f.

**Bibliography:** On Apollonius of Perge, see also H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*; M. Krause, *Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker*; M. Steinschneider, *Islamische Astronomie und Astrologie*; *Handbuch der Mathematik und Physik, Historisch-Literarische Abteilung*, vol. xxxi, 1886). (M. PLESNER)

**BALIS**, former town in northern Syria, which was both a port on the Western bank of the Euphrates and an important stage, 200 km. from Aleppo and at the entrance to the *Dajra*, of the road from Antioch and the Mediterranean leading, via al-Rakha, to Bagdad and 'Irāq. The commercial and agricultural prosperity of the town was doubtless due to its situation at a point of intersection of river and land highways, and in a warm valley where the irrigation possibilities favoured the development of husbandry.

Known in antiquity under the Aramaic and Greek names of BYT BLS and Barbalissos, indicated both in the *Table de Peutinger* and the *Notitia Diocletiana*, and after the administrative division of the province of Syria which took place towards the middle of the 11th century A.D., belonging to the *Augeia Eparchatus*, it played the rôle of a



frontier town which was to continue in the Byzantine period, when it was several times pillaged by the Persians. It suffered particular damage during the campaign of Khuraw II Anaghriwan and was rebuilt by the efforts of Justinian. Previously, the hagiographers had made it the site of the martyrdom of Blachius, a famous saint of the area, whose relics are said to be preserved there.

Occupied by the Arabs as the result of a treaty concluded with Abū 'Ubayda after the capture of Aleppo and abandoned at that time by certain elements of the population, in the Umayyad period Bális formed part of the *dhimā* of Kinnasra and was subsequently, under al-Kashir, attached to the territory of the 'Awāsim (q.v.). It continued to retain its strategic importance for a long time in the vicinity of the Byzantine territories. The famous general Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik took an interest in it to the extent of having a canal excavated and improving the production of the land. He established himself there and it was to remain the property of his descendants. In 245/859, the town suffered from an earthquake which affected the whole of Northern Syria; subsequently it shared the fate of the cities of the area, escaping from Caliphal control and entering the orbit of the Tūlūnids, then that of the Hamdānids, until the Saljūqids, in their turn, extended their authority to the region. Its economic decline, according to the Hekwai, who, however, still mentions rich grain harvests, dates apparently from the end of the reign of the Hamdānī Sayf al-Dawla; but the brief information given by the geographers should not make us forget the signs of prosperity, borne out by archaeological remains, right into the Ayyūbid period. At the time of the Crusades, it was subject especially to indecisive incursions by the Franks, after which it continued to pass from hand to hand of various Muslim masters, among whom can be cited at the end the Ayyūbids al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāsi and al-Malik al-'Adīl Abū Bakr (who seems to have held it at least from 607/1210-11, the date inscribed on the minaret which he had erected).

At this time various indications seem to show that the population of Bális, whereas several *magāzīn* were venerated in connection with the memory of 'Alī and al-Husayn, was mainly Shī'ite. Subsequently the destruction wrought by the Mongol invasion destroyed the locality, which did not even appear in the administrative organisation of Mamlik Syria.

At the present day the ruins of Bális lie five km. from the small modern village of Miskat on a plateau overlooking the valley of the Euphrates, which flows at quite a distance from the site. The fortified enclosure can still be identified, with its monumental doors, the remains of a brick praetorium doubtless dating back to the times of Justinian and the site of the great mosque, indicated by the beautiful octagonal brick minaret, erected on a rectangular base and bearing four series of ornamental inscriptions. The numerous moulds where abundant potsherds are to be found have never been systematically excavated, but trial soundings carried out about 1925 revealed interesting sculptured plaster decorations with inscriptions dated 464/1072 and 469/1076-77.

**Bibliography:** Pauly-Wisowa, see Barbalissos; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, index, 45-53; A. Mouk, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1947, part. 114-205; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord*, Paris 1940, index; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdānides*, I, Algiers 1951, 88 and 226; F. Sarre

and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1910-11 (with an epigraphical contribution from M. van Berchem), I, 2-3, 214 and 225-29; G. Salles, in *Mémoires du 11<sup>e</sup> Congrès int. d'art et d'arch. iraniens*, Leningrad 1935, 221-26; *Répertoire chr. d'épigraphie arabe*, no. 4078, 272 and 280; J. and A. Soudou, in *Annales arch. de Syrie*, III, 1953, 103-105; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 417; Baladhuri, *Futūh*, 220-51; JGA, indices; Tabari, III, 52, 1440, 2028, 2200; Yāqūt, I, 477 ff.; Ibn al-'Adim, *Zuhā*, ed. Dahan, I and II, index; Ibn Shaddād, *Description d'Alep* (ed. Sourdel), index; al-Hariri, *K. al-Jayṣi*, ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 61. (J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

**BÁLISH** (Persian: "cushion"; Turkish: *yastak*, a 13th century Mongolian monetary unit, which was in use particularly in the eastern part of the Empire. It is, however, also mentioned frequently by the Bāghis [q.v.] in Irān. In China it appears as late as the 14th century. The *bālīsh* was coined in gold and in silver, and (according to Djuyayni, GMS, I, 16, and Wassaf, lthb. Bombay, 22), corresponded to 500 *mithāl* (according to W. Hiniz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden 1955, 1-8, on the basis of numismatic observations: 4. 3 g. each; Djuyayni, trans. J. A. Boyle, I, 22, writes *inc. ut.* of 50, instead of 500 *mithāl*). According to this assessment, a *bālīsh* would weigh 2.55 kg., and this would agree with a Western report by William of Rubruck, ed. Rochhill, 156, which states that one silver *bālīsh* corresponds to 10 (Cologne) marks, i.e., 2.538 kg.

W. Hiniz assesses the gold value (taking 2 g. of gold at a price of 2.88 gold marks) at 6,192 gold marks. If we assume the relative value of gold to silver (according to Ahmet-Zeki Validi (now Togan), *Mongoliar derivate Asasiyalar* [sic] *ölkisi*, *Türk hakik ve ulkati tarihi mecmu'i*, I, 1931, 142), to be 12:1 (cf. also B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 1955, 556 corresponding to 303), then one silver *bālīsh* corresponds to 516 gold marks.

According to Djuyayni (loc. cit.) a silver *bālīsh* has the value of 75 Rukhī dinars of 2/3 standard (so-called after the Bayid Rukh al-Dawla, 934-970); thus the value of one *bālīsh* would be 100 DM.

Other statements of the same period do not indeed agree with Djuyayni, but this may be due partly to fluctuations in value. According to Džūzjānī (Djauzjānī), *Tahabāt-i Nāṣiri*, trans. Raverty, 1110, the *bālīsh* corresponded to 60 1/3 dirhams; Wassaf, lthb. Bombay, 22, quotes the gold *bālīsh* at 2,000, the silver *bālīsh* at 200 dirhams (which corresponds to a proportion of 10:1 for gold: silver at that time). One *bālīsh* in paper money (*ṣao*) was worth 30, or (according to Wassaf, 506) only 6 dirhams (this is an indication of the rapid fall in value of the *ṣao*). W. Barthold assumed that here the silver dirham worth 3 *mithāl* is meant (cf. also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 464).

**Bibliography:** Rashid-Dīn ed. Quatremère, I, 320 f., note 120 (compilation of relevant parts of sources, although seen from the erroneous point of view that the *bālīsh* does not denote a definite sum of money but a "great quantity" of money); B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1955, 504 f., with notes; W. Barthold/W. Hiniz, *Die pers. Inschrift . . . zu Ani*, in *ZDMG*, 101 (1951), 241-269; W. Hiniz, in *Islam*, 1959, 1; W. Hiniz, *Boyle's translation of Djuyayni*, concerning *yastak*, cf. P. Pelliot in T'oung-Pao, 27 (1930), 190-2, *ibid.*, 32 (1936), 80; idem, *Notes sur . . . la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1959, 8. (B. SPULER)

**BÁLISH**, Belegb, Span, Vélez, a toponymic of Berber origin encountered on the coast of the Rif and at various places in the Iberian peninsula with the spellings بَالِش, بَالَش, بَالَش. Al-Bakri mentions the port of Bálīsh after those of Bādis and Bāqura, opposite Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera, on the Rif coast. Another Bálīgh, unidentified, is to be found beside the Guadalquivir after leaving Cordova in the direction of Tudmir and Murcia. Al-Idrisi gives the name Bálīsh to the Mar Menor of Murcia, a large lake formed by the waters brought down by various swift streams, situated 57 miles from Alicante and which is navigable by shipping. The Vélez, which the same author includes in the *ihlām* of Badjijāna (Pechina), with Almería, Berja and Purchena, is Vélez-Rubio, 105 km. from Almería and 12 km. from Lorca, in the valley of the Guadalquivir, a tributary of the Sangonera. A prehistoric cemetery, rock paintings and numerous coins, art objects and Roman inscriptions have been found amongst the ruins of its fortifications. It formed part of the *hara* of Tudmir and revolted with Ibn Hafṣūn (q.v.) against the amir 'Abd Allāh, being subsequently subdued by 'Abd al-Rahmān III in 113/925. When the Infante, the future Alfonso X, the Wise, took Lorca, it marked the frontier of the Kingdom of Granada. It was taken by Alonso Yáñez Fajardo in 1437, but again passed into the hands of the rulers of Granada in 857/1447, and the Nasrid ruler al-Zaghāl Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad XII resided there: it was finally taken by Ferdinand III in 891/1481, who, at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, ceded his overlordship to Pedro Fajardo, the first Marquis of both the towns of Vélez, el-Rubio and el-Blanco. Situated 5 1/2 km. from Vélez-Rubio is Vélez-Blanco, a town of some 10,000 inhabitants, belonging to the same marquise of the Vélez; on the ruins of the Roman citadel and the Moorish alcazaba rising on the hill above the two towns of Vélez, Pedro Fajardo erected a magnificent castle of imposing proportions and elaborateness, the shell of which is still preserved.

Another Vélez is that of Benadulla (Ibn 'Abd Allāh), in the province of Granada (ward of Motril), on the left bank of the Guadalquivir river, on the side of a small hill called el-Castillo, and possessing some 5,000 inhabitants.

Finally in the province of Málaga, 34 km. from the capital and three km. from the sea, on the left bank of the river Vélez or Benamargosa, is the town of Vélez-Málaga, with some 30,000 inhabitants. Very little is known to us, however, of its history in the Muslim period. Alfonso of Batañol, in his expedition through Andalusia in 119/1216, after reaching Granada and crossing the Sierra Nevada, advanced up to Vélez-Málaga, without being able to take it.

When in 283/896, the amir 'Abd Allāh was besieging one of these Vélez—it is not known which one—a number of infantrymen and cavalrymen of the regular Umayyad army, attracted by the inducement of better pay held out to them by Ibn Hafṣūn, went over to the rebel's service. Dory, who refers to this event without citing his source, confuses Bādi (now Vilches) with Belegb (Vélez), and situates it at Vélez-Rubio. The toponymic has passed to Latin America and is to be found at various places in Colombia, Uruguay and the Argentine. It is also a fairly common surname in Spain.

**Bibliography:** Idrisi, 175, 194 of the text, 209, 213 of the trans.; Bakrī, 90; Makkarī, *Analekta*, I, 103, 843; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, II,

185; al-Idrīsī al-Maughīyya, 78 of the text, 174 of the trans. Huici; F. Palanques, *Hist. de Vélez-Rubio*. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

**BALYYA** (Ar. pl. *balayā*), a name given in the pre-Islamic era, to the camel (more rarely the mare) which it was the custom to tether at the grave of its master; its head turned to the rear and covered with a saddle-cloth (see al-Būḥārī, *Tarikh*, ed. Pellat, index), and to allow it die of starvation; in some cases, the victim was burnt and, in other cases, stuffed with *ghumām* (Ibn Abū 'I-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Naḥḥ al-Balgha*, IV, 436). Muslim tradition sees in this practice proof that the Arabs of the *ghāzīyya* believed in the resurrection, because the animal thus sacrificed was thought to serve as a mount for its master at the resurrection, while those who rose from the dead without a *balayya*, and were therefore of inferior status, went on foot. According to another tradition, however, the same term also denoted a cow, a camel or a ewe which was hamstring at the grave of the deceased and allowed to die of hunger; in this way, it appears, the primitive symbol of belief in the resurrection seems to have become a funeral sacrifice, which paved the way for the funeral feast (*wadima*).

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(J. HELL-CH. PELLAT)

**AL-BALKĀ'**, name given by the Arab authors either to the whole of the Transjordanian territory corresponding approximately to the ancient countries of Ammon, Moab and even Gilead, or to the middle part of it, having, depending on the period, 'Ammin, [q.v.], Hushān or al-Salt as its chief town. Although a certain lack of precision still persists to-day in the use of the term, its geographical meaning is usually restricted to the limestone plateau (average altitude from 700 to 800 m.), comprised between the Wādī 'Zarqā' (the 'Jabbok') in the North and the Wādī 'Mudjīb (or Arnon) in the South. This is a region of tabular relief on the desert side, but the ground is considerably broken along the subsidence zone of the Dead Sea and the Jordan (peak of Nabl 'Usha' (1,096 m.) near al-Salt in the North, Mount Nebō (835 m.) in the vicinity of Mādābā), where the erosive action of rain has promoted the escarping of especially deep ravines; as a whole it is an arid land, but at the bottom of depressions and on the plains it affords possibilities of cultivation, which explain the praise bestowed on its fertility and the abundance of its villages in bygone times.

In the Hellenistic period the principal divisions were Peraea, on the Western fringe, with Gadara (near al-Salt) as its metropolis, the territory of Philadelpheia ('Ammin), a zone attached to the Decapolis, and the northern end of the Nabatean kingdom. Under Trajan, in 106 AD., the new province of Arabia extended over it, taking in Nabataea, which had also extended northwards to Bostra. On the other hand in the Byzantine period, the Arnon acted as the boundary between the province of Arabia, which then included the bishoprics of Philadelpheia, Ebus (Hushān) and Mādābā, and the new Palestina Tertia, created in the Southern part of the country.

This region, conquered by Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān



shortly after the fall of Damascus and the peaceful surrender of 'Ammā, retained its former prosperity under the Umayyads, and numerous caliphal and princely residences were situated there (al-Miḥṣṣī, al-Zīla, al-Kaṣāl, Um al-Walid, for example, without counting the castles scattered further towards the East such as Kusayr 'Amr, al-Kharīne, Kaṣr al-Hallabāt or Kaṣr al-Tūba). At this period the term al-Balā' had a wide connotation, still attested later by Yāqūt, and the reports of the chroniclers also included in it towns of the 'Ajlūn like Arḥad (Irbid), where Ya'fīd II died (al-Taḥrīr, II, 1474), or of the Ma'āb like al-Ma'āb (q.v.), the corresponding administrative district was provided with its own 'amīl and was in direct dependence on the *diwan* of Damascus before experiencing a variety of fortunes throughout the Middle Ages. The testimony of al-Yā'qūtī, who distinguishes two sections, the *ghāṣr* (main town: Jericho) and the *Zāḥir* (main town: 'Ammā), in this "canton of the colony of Damascus", may in fact be contrasted with that of al-Mukaddasī, a century later, for whom al-Balā' is dependent on the territory of Filastin; likewise, in the Ayyūbīd period, Abu l-Fida' connects it with the *Sharīf*, whilst al-Harazī deals separately with this country and the Balad Ma'āb. Finally, during the period of Mamlūk domination, the district of al-Balā' (main town: Ḥusban) belonged in principle to the southern march of the province of Damascus, though sometimes it was recognised as possessing a second *waḥda*, that of al-Salt, and it appears to have depended temporarily, in entirety or in part, on the *naḥḥ* of al-Karak.

The favourite etymology of the Arab geographers, who link the name of al-Balā' with that, however, the feminine of the adjective *ablah* "variegated" can be perceived, with that of an eponymous hero, a descendant of the Banī 'Ammān b. Lūṭ, evokes the Ammonites of Biblical tradition and the memories of Lot, localised in a region where the "town of the Giants" of the Qur'ān, v. 25/22, (identified with 'Ammā) and the Cave of the *Aḥḥāb al-Kaḥf* (q.v.), were also placed.

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**BALKAN**, the Balkan peninsula. The word *Balkan* means mountain or mountain range and, in the form of *Balkanli*, rugged zone in Turkish. The etymology of the word is now linked with *balā*, mud, and the diminutive suffix, -an in Turkish (according to H. Eren). There is a mountain called *Balkan* in Turkmenistan. The word *Balkan* was used first by the Ottomans in Rumeli in its general meaning of mountain, as in Kelle-Balkan, Catal-Balkan, and Uzunçere-Balkan (the Carpathians). But specifically it was applied to the Haemus range of the ancient and mediaeval geographers, who thought that it separated the barbaric north from the civilised south. When considered as a historical and cultural entity the Balkans can be given different boundaries in the north. The

Romans built their main defence line on the Danube with the extension of Trajan's walls between Carna-Voda and Constantia in the Dobruja. The boundary of the Byzantine empire in the north reached as far as the Danube and the Drava rivers (under Justinian I and Basil II). Finally by the Treaty of 843/844 the Ottomans and the Hungarians agreed reciprocally not to cross over the Danube, and up to the 17th century this river remained as the northern boundary of the Ottoman province of Rumeli, which included the whole peninsula south to this river. Both the Roman and Ottoman empires tried also to establish their control over the flat country on both sides of the Danube. Its lower part always became a passage for the Turco-Mongol peoples who invaded the Balkans one after another from the 5th up to the 13th century A.D., namely the Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Pečenegs, Kumans and Tatar-Kipčaks. The Avar invasions are thought responsible for the penetration and settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans in the 6th century. Then the native Vlachs and Albanians had to retire to the mountains and lived there a pastoral life for many centuries to follow. Toward 680 A.D. the Bulgars, a Turkish people from north of the Black Sea, settled on the lower Danube and, as a military aristocracy ruling over the Slavs, they created the first powerful state to rival the Byzantine empire in the Balkans. Their conversion to Christianity (864) had far-reaching consequences for the history of the peninsula because the Byzantine church and the Byzantine concept of the state gave definitive shape not only to Bulgarian Caesarea but also through it to the states that emerged subsequently in the Balkans (see F. Dölger, *Byzanz und vorbyzantinische Staatenswelt*, 262-282).

The first Muslim geographers who spoke of the Balkans are contemporary with these important developments. Ibn Khuradādhbih, whose information, like that of others, was derived from the reports of the three observers of the end of the 3rd/9th and the middle of the 4th/10th centuries (see Z. V. Toqan, *Balkan*, in *IA*) said that the country west of the Byzantine thence of *Tafila*, *Talabuya* and *Mahadunuya* was the *bilad al-Sakabiya* and that it lay north the *ard Burjān* (Bulgars). In the *Uḥūd al-ʿAlam* the Danube is called *Rūd al-Bulghārī* and the Balkan range *Kāh-i Bulghārī*.

It seems that Islam first appeared in the Balkans with the Anatolian saint Sari-Saltūk (q.v.), in 662/1264. After the incursions of the Anatolian Turks of the *ghāṣr* principalities in Western Anatolia in the first half of the 8th/14th century, the Ottomans finally settled firmly on the European shores of the Dardanelles in 755/1354. Even in the first period of the Ottoman expansion distinction must be made between the activities of the *ghāṣr* leaders who made continuous warfare in the *Uḡd*, the frontiers, and the Ottoman central government which was also concerned with the welfare of its subjects.

Perhaps the most important factor of the Ottoman conquest was the strong immigration movement into the Balkans from Anatolia in the 14th century which turkicised Thrace and Eastern Bulgaria (see *Studia Islamica*, II, 105-129). At that time the small Ottoman state was regarded rather as a useful ally in the complicated struggle among the small Balkan states, but, growing in power, the Ottoman sultan soon became the suzerain of his former allies. When later these attempted to form a common front or called on Western Christendom for help, they were disappointed (Cernoman 777/1374,

Kosova 791/1380). Bayezid I inaugurated a new policy by establishing direct control over the vassal countries. He had the ambition of establishing a unified empire in the Balkans. He conquered the whole of Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thessaly between 1393 and 1396, and attempted to seize Constantinople, the traditional capital. The victory of Timur over Bayezid (804/1402) had important consequences for the Balkans. Abandoning most of their Anatolian possessions, the Ottomans then considered the Balkans as their real home, and, Adriano (Eldir) became the real capital city of the sultans from then on. A fresh assault of the Anatolian Turks into the Balkans followed Timur's invasion. The successors of Bayezid I abandoned his imperial policy and Serbia and Byzantium enjoyed some freedom of action until Sütlü Mehmed II conquered Constantinople (857/1453), and resumed the policy of unification with energy and success. In 864/1459 Serbia, in 864/1460 Morea and in 867/1463 Bosnia came under direct Ottoman rule. But these Ottoman successes were due to more important factors than the military ones.

In the struggle against the Ottoman conquest and centralisation policy, the feudalised princes and local lords in the Balkans had turned their eyes to the West, with a readiness to make concessions not only from their territories but also on religious matters. Thus in the first half of the 15th century, while Hungary was establishing its suzerainty over Bosnia, Serbia and Wallachia, Venice had seized the most important points on the Albanian coasts, in the Aegean Sea and the Morea, and, after taking Salonica, she coveted Constantinople. Representing Catholicism and seeking political and economic domination, the Western powers and their feudal sympathisers in Byzantium and the Balkans were regarded with hostility by the masses at large and by the Orthodox clergy. The Ottomans profited from the alienation of the common people from their Western or native lords. They assumed the role of protector of the Orthodox church and tried to drive Catholicism out of the Balkans. Even before the institution of Genadius as oecumenical patriarch in Constantinople in 1454, the Orthodox priests were recognised and granted pensions and even *timārs* by the Ottoman state everywhere. On the other hand when the Latins were driven out of the Balkans in the second half of the 13th/15th century the native merchants, Muslims, Greeks and Ragusans, as well as Jews, replaced them in trade and financial Ragusans under Ottoman protection surpassed its mediaeval importance in the Balkan trade. Perhaps most important of all was the fact that the Ottoman land and tax system (see *DAFTAR-I KHAḲĀNĪ*) brought about a real change in the life of the Balkan peasantry. The Byzantine emperors in the 10th century had made great efforts to uphold the central power by protecting the peasantry against the magnates in the provinces who were constantly trying to enlarge their lands and power. With the Comneni, this struggle had ended in favour of the landed aristocracy, and under the Palaeologi, the central government had lost all its authority. But with the Ottoman state a strong centralised government was established again in the Balkans and this government tried to abolish feudal practices and to reconvert any local control over the peasantry. For example the old feudal services such as three days of forced labour, and the obligation to provide wood, hay and straw for the seigneur, were all converted by the Ottomans to one simple tax called *ḡit-ḡesmi* (q.v.). As the

direct agents of the sultan, the *ḡāṣr* (q.v.) and the *ḡāṣr-bulus* (q.v.) in the provinces secured the strict application of the laws. Thus it was no wonder that the Christian peasantry remained indifferent to the fate of their lords in their struggle against the Ottomans and until the 11th/17th century no serious rebellion is recorded among the Balkan peasants. It must also be noted that the Ottomans followed a conservative policy towards the previous social classes in the Balkans by adapting their status to the Ottoman system. The pre-Ottoman upper aristocracy, who mostly possessed *promēti*, were included by the Ottomans in the *timār* system or, later, taken into the sultan's court to become high officials. The members of the lower aristocracy, especially *voivods* (in Turkish *voynak*), who previously were the backbone of the empire of Stephen Dushan, were reorganised in *bēliks* (q.v.) in the greater part of the Balkans by the Ottomans and formed a section of the Ottoman army up to the 16th century, when they lost their usefulness and were made simple *reʿāyā*. Other military groups, nomad *Eflaks*, and *Mardos* were incorporated into the Ottoman forces in the provinces (see my *Fatih Deri*, I, Ankara 1954, 145-184). Even the *ghāṣr* had access to the ruling class through the *Dervişime* institution. In the classification of the *reʿāyā* (q.v.)—that is, the peasants, Muslim or Christian, a system similar to the pre-Ottoman system seems to have been followed and the Byzantine *paroikoi*, who were divided into *zeugurate* and *boldini* as well as the *cleutheroi*, appear to have survived under the Ottomans with different names, and several Byzantine taxes actually continued in the Ottoman taxation system as *ruḡḡat-i Sarfīyya* or *Sāde-i halifasna*. These taxes were assigned to the *timār*-holders, and the Ottoman *timār* system which was the foundation-stone of the empire in the first period acquired its final form in the Balkans. In conclusion we can speak of a continuity of Balkan history in its basic forms under the Ottomans. It was true that national cultures lost their former centres of development, but the peasantry and the church remained in existence and became the foundations of the national states in the 19th century.

During the 10th/16th century the Balkan peninsula enjoyed one of the rare periods of peace and prosperity in its history; everywhere new lands were brought under cultivation, the population increased (5 million about 1335), cities developed, as we can observe in the regular Ottoman land and population surveys, *defters*, preserved in the Turkish archives (see *İhtisat Fihristi Mecmuası*, Istanbul, no. 4, 11, 15). After Greek, Turkish became a common language of civilisation in the Balkans.

As Sir T. W. Arnold has already emphasised (*The Peaching of Islam*, London 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1890, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1935, 145 ff.) conversion to Islam in the Balkans were not in general the result of a state policy or use of force. However, three periods in this respect should be distinguished. Up to Bayezid II's time the Ottoman state followed a very liberal policy in the matter of religion. In this period voluntary conversions took place among the nobility especially among the Ottoman *askari* (q.v.) class incorporated in the Ottoman army in Bosnia. After Bayezid II, the Ottoman state became more conscious of being a Muslim state and more careful in the application of the *gharʿa*. From the 11th/17th century onwards, to begin with as a result of the activities of the Franciscan missions in the Balkans, which were supported by the Hapsburgs and the Venetians



for political purposes, the Ottomans had recourse to certain coercive measures against the Christians in Serbia, Albania and Danubian Bulgaria. This brought about some mass conversions in these countries. In 1900 the Patriarch of Peč took refuge in southern Hungary with 37,000 Serbian families. Large-scale conversions took place among the Albanians during the subsequent centuries (see ARNAVUTLUK). The third important islamised area is found on the Rhodope region where Bulgarian-speaking Muslims are called *Pomaks* [20].

For further developments in the Balkans under the Ottomans in the subsequent periods see RUMELI.

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**BALKAR**, a Muslim people of the Central Caucasus whose origins are the subject of contradictory hypotheses. For some the Balkars are descendants of Bulghar driven back towards the mountains in the 12th-13th century; according to others, their ancestors were the Khazar pushed back towards the upper Terek in the 11th century; finally, others see in the Balkar Ibero-Caucasians or indeed Turkicised Finns. The Balkar traditions say that their ancestors, once living on the steppes of the Kuban, were driven back towards the mountains by the Cerkas tribes (Adighes), whence in turn they drove away and partially absorbed the Ossets.

Prior to 1946, the habitat of the Balkar, on the northern slopes of the main range of the Caucasus, included the high valleys of the tributaries of the Terek lying between the Elbruz in the West and the Ossete country to the East. The Balkar people (numbering 31,307 in 1926, of whom only 2% were urban dwellers, 42,666 in 1939), are divided into 5 tribes.

In the 16th century the Balkar were subdued by the Kabard and thenceforth adopted the forms of material civilisation of their sovereigns, copying their feudal structure, which persisted practically intact until the Russian conquest. It had five classes: 1. the princes, *naebi* (analogous to the *paši* of the Adighes); 2. the nobles, *udages* (*urukh* among the Adighes); 3. the free peasants, *karakash* [*l'fakhash* among the Abzars]; 4. the serfs liable to corvée duties, *zagar* (or among the Kabard); and 5. the slaves, *kashah* (*wanat* among the Kabard).

Sunni Islam of the Hanafī rite was introduced among the Balkar at the end of the 18th century by the Crimean Tatars and the Nogai of the Kuban, but pre-Islamic survivals (Christian and animist) still persisted at the beginning of the 20th century.

Russian penetration of the high valleys of the tributaries of the Terek, begun at the end of the 18th century, was completed in 1827 by the conquest

of the Balkar country, but was not followed, as in the case of the Adighes, by rural colonisation; the Russian authorities preferred to favour the setting up of villages of Kumik, Ossets and mountain Jews in the midst of the Balkar country.

**Soviet Balkaria.** — The Soviet regime, temporarily proclaimed in December 1918, was finally established in March 1920. By a decree of the All-Union Central Executive Committee dated 21 January 1921, the Balkar *okrug* was attached to the Soviet Socialist Republic of Mountain-dweller (Gorskaya ASSR). On 1 September 1921, the Balkar country, joined to the Kabardinia, became the Autonomous Kabardino-Balkar Region of the RSFSR, and on 1 December 1936 became the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR. Balkaria was briefly occupied by the German armies during the second world war, was suppressed as an administrative formation by decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 25 June 1946, and the Balkar people was deported to Central Asia. A part of it (the valley of the Balkan) was attached to the Georgian SSR and the remainder to the Kabardinian Autonomous SSR. A new decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 9 January 1957 re-established the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR and authorized the deported Balkars to return to their country.

The Balkar language, which is simply a dialect of Karadag [21], belongs to the Kipčak group of Turkish languages. It has been strongly influenced by Ossetic and the neighbouring Tatar-Caucasian languages: Kabard, Čečen and Abaza.

Balkar-Karačai, previously not a written language, was endowed in 1920 with a slightly modified Arabic alphabet (ع = 1, 5 = 0), replaced in 1925 by the Latin alphabet; the first works were published in Balkar-Karačai in the following year: a collection of poetry by 'Unar 'Aliev and a Chrestomathy (*Bilim*) by Akhbat Bilgiev. Also in 1926 the first newspaper, *Karakhalik*, of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Region made its appearance at Nažik, with alternate pages in Adighie and Balkar-Karačai. In 1937 the first daily, *Tavels-Dzaghaz*, in Balkar-Karačai was published at Mikoyan-Shakhlar, the administrative centre of the Karačai Autonomous Region (now Klugher). Finally in 1938 the Latin alphabet was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet.

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(A. BEN-SIGHEES)

**BALKAYN** [see KAYN].

**BALKH**, an important city in ancient and mediaeval times, now a village, located in what is today northern Afghanistan, ca. 67° E. Long. (Greenw.) and 36° 45' N. lat. It was located on the Balkh river, now dry.

Ancient Bactria was the name of a province of the Achaemenid Empire as well as its chief city.

In the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius we find the form *Baktrik* in the Avesta *Baktri*, and in Greek *Baktria*. Perhaps the original form was \**Bāgdrī*, from the name of the river (cf. Markwart, *Catalogue*, 54). Balh after the conquests of Alexander the Great was a centre of the Greco-Bactrians, then of the Kushans and Hephthalites. In pre-Islamic times the city was a Buddhist centre with a famous stupa, the Nawbahār, the head of which, Barokh [22], seems to have exercised political control over the city. Balh was also famous in Zoroastrian tradition and there must have been five temples there before Islam. The city, at least from the time of Alexander the Great, was protected by great walls. The various traditions on the founding of Balh, as found in Arabic and Persian sources, are discussed by Schefer and Schwarz (refs. below), where it is apparent that the Arabs knew of the antiquity of the city.

In 32/653 the Arab commander al-Ahnaf b. Kays [23] raided Balh and obtained tribute (Balādhuri, 408). The area was not conquered until the war between 'Alī and Mu'awiya was decided in favour of the latter in 40/641. Balh was reconquered by Kays b. al-Haytham or 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura (cf. J. Marquart, *Eréndaher*, Berlin 1907, 60). On this expedition, or the first one of al-Ahnaf, the Nawbahār shrine is said to have been destroyed by the Arabs (Le Strange, 422). During part of this period a local prince, called *Nēzak Tarighān*, occupied Balh and caused trouble to the Arabs (cf. Markwart, *Weber und Arang*, 47-2). Unfortunately, the events and chronology of this area under the early Umayyads are confused in the Arabic sources. There were frequent revolts against Arab rule and it is not until the time of Kutayba b. Muslim (d. 96/715) that Balh could be considered subdued. The city seems to have suffered considerably from warfare, and there are indications in Tabari that the city was in ruins about 705 A.D. (Schwarz, 436). The Arabs did not reside in Balh but maintained a garrison at Barokhān, two farsakhs from Balh until the governor of Khurasān Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ka'bi moved the garrison to Balh rebuilding the city in 107/725. In 118/736 Asad transferred the capital of Khurasān from Merv to Balh with the result that Balh prospered. Abū Muslim had to capture and recapture Balh from the Syrian troops of the garrison loyal to the Umayyads who were helped by local troops, but his lieutenant Abū Dā'ūd al-Bakri finally secured Balh and Tughristān for the 'Abbāsids.

Under the 'Abbāsids the governors of Khurasān became practically independent, and in Balh the descendants of the princes of Khuttal held sway (cf. *Eréndaher*, 301). One of them, Dā'ūd b. 'Abbās al-Bāndjīrī, succeeded his father as governor of Balh, and was driven from his capital by Ya'qūb b. Layth in 256/870. In 287/900 'Amr b. Layth was defeated and captured near Balh by Ismā'īl b. Ahmad, and Balh passed under Samanid rule. It is Balh in the 4th century which is described by the geographers in Arabic as *wasn al-bīdā* 'the mother of cities'. The later Samanid governors of Balh such as Fā'ik, Alptakin and Subuktakin were virtually independent. During the rule of Mahmūd of Ghazna 387-421/997-1030, Balh was captured once by Ilak Khan in 397/1006, but Mahmūd shortly recaptured it. Although Balh was in the centre of the arena of warfare between the Saljūqs and the Ghaznavids,

and was threatened with capture by the former after their victory at Dandankān in 431/1040, it was not until 431/1050 that they definitely occupied the city. The city changed rulers several times during Saljūq rule and at the end of Saljūq's reign it fell into the hands of the Ghuz Turks, and was destroyed by them in 550/1155. The Karā Khānīy rulers then included Balh in their domains from about 560-1/1165 A.D. In 594/1198 Balh' al-Dīn Sām of Hāmāniy occupied Balh for the Ghūzids and in 603/1206 Muhammad Kh'irānshāh captured it. Shortly thereafter, in 617/1220, although Balh surrendered to Čingiz Khān, the city was destroyed and its inhabitants massacred. It took long to recover from this blow, for Ibn Batūta in the early 8th/14th century describes the ruins of the city.

Balh regained some of its past splendour under the Timurids, and some of the masterpieces of Timurid architecture were erected in Balh. The citadel of Balh which had been razed by Timur was rebuilt by his son Shāh Rūkh in 810/1407. The end of Balh as a great centre, however, was forecast by the discovery (ca. 1480 A.D.) of the 'so-called' grave of 'Alī in the vicinity of Balh. In 886/1481 a shrine was erected at the site ca. 20 km. to the east. By the 16th century around this shrine had developed the present city of Mañr-i Sharīf at the expense of Balh. In 912/1506 Shāhīn Khān of the Ōzbekk conquered Balh. Bābūr held the city for a short time as did the Safawids under Shāh Isma'īl, but most of the time Balh remained in Ōzbek hands. The Ōzbekk controlled the area until the rise of Nadir Shāh, except for a short period when Shāh 'Abbās and the Safawids obtained the allegiance of the local khān, and from about 1647 to 1647 when the Mughals occupied it. In 1737 Nadir Shāh suppressed a revolt against his rule by the Ōzbekk of Balh, but after Nadir's death the district passed again under local Ōzbek rule. This was soon followed by submission to Ahmad Shāh Durrān and the Afghāns about 1754. In the early 19th century the area of Balh was raided several times by the Ōzbek Khān of Bukhārā, but from 1841 it remained in Afghān hands.

The importance of Balh came in great measure from its geographical position on a fertile plain, the meeting place of trade routes from India, China, Turkistan, and Iran. It was natural that a great centre should exist between the Oxus River and the Hindu Kush Mountains. At the present time the ruins of Balh occupy a large area, and the site of so much promise actually has been very disappointing to archaeologists. At the present day the village of Balh has only a few thousand inhabitants. The visible monuments of Balh include the ruins of extensive walls (ca. 10 km. perimeter) enclosing the modern village, and two shrines on the square of the present village. One is the Green Mosque in Timurid style but probably built at the end of the 16th century A.D. by an Ōzbek Khān, 'Abd al-Mur'min. Facing it is the tomb-shrine of Kh'ajā Abū Nāṣir Parsā, a Sufī of the 16th century. A nearby *madrasa*, erected by Sa'id Subhān Kūll Khān (d. 1702), has only one left. In the northwest section inside the walls, are the ruins of the shrine of Kh'ajā 'Akkaḡhāh Wālī from the late Timurid period. In summer the area of Balh is very hot and dusty, in the winter the area is almost a swamp.

**Bibliography:** The information of the Arabic geographers is gathered by P. Schwarz, *Eréndaher*, 24 *den arabischen Nachrichten über Balh*, in *Oriental Studies in Honour of C. E. Paenzy*,



London 1933, 434-43. The text of a Persian history *Faḍā'il-i-Balḥ* with historical notes is given by Ch. Schreier, *Chrestomathie Persane*, I, Paris 1883, 36-94, 65-103; Le Strange, 420-3; *Ḥudūd al-'Alam*, 337; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 76-8. For the history of Balḥ under the Ōghuzs see A. A. Soumarov, *Makim-Khanakaya Tatariya*, Tashkent 1956, *passim*. For photographs and a plan of the present site see A. Foucher, *La vieille Route de l'Inde de Badkash à Taxila*, I, Paris 1942, 39, and O. von Niedermeyer, *Afghanistan*, Leipzig 1924, 48, 64. For a summary of the monuments see E. Caspani, *Afghanistan Crociera dell'Asi a*, Milan 1951, 240-2, and further D. Wilber, *Annotated Bibliography of Afghanistan*, New Haven, Conn., 1956, 177-8.

(R. N. FEYR)

**BALKHĀN**, two mountain ranges east of the Caspian Sea, which enclose the dried-out river-bed of the Ōbsoi (cf. Abū Dāwūd). To the north of this river lies the Great Balḫān, a high plateau of limestone, difficult of access, with steep slopes; the highest elevation is at the Dūnagh Kal'e, about 1880 metres. The Little Balḫān, south of the Ōbsoi and cut with numerous ravines, attains (in the west) a height of no more than 800 metres. These mountains, where according to Mukaddas, 285, l. 14 ff., wild horses and cattle lived, were once searched for iron by the surrounding peoples. The area became, in about 420-2/1029-31, a place of retreat for Turkmen tribes coming from Khurāsān (cf. Ibn al-Aṭfīr, ed. Tornberg, ix, 267). During the following centuries the region was thickly settled with Turkmen and lost more and more its economic importance. The establishment of Russian harbours in the Balḫān Inlet of the Caspian Sea (after 1869) and the construction of the Trans-Caspian railway (after 1881) restored to this area a certain importance, which declined, however, after the building of the Orenburg-Tashkent line (1905).

*Bibliography:* Brockhaus-Yefron, *Enciklopediĭskiy Slovar*, vol. 4, St. Petersburg 1894, 834; *Islāḡiyya Sovetskaya Enciklopediyya*, IV (1950), 167 ff.

**BALKHĀSH**, after the Aral (q.v.), the largest inland lake of Central Asia (18,432 sq. km.), into which the Ili and several other less important rivers flow. The lake's existence was unknown to the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-'Alam* (372/982-983; comp. J. Margart, *Osteuropäische und asiatische Streifzüge*, xxx, makes the Ili (Ili) into the Irdū-Kul. Of all the Muslim authors, Muḥammad Ḥaydar is the only one, to our knowledge, who, towards the middle of the 10th/16th century (*Tarīkh-i-Raḡhāt*, trans. by E. D. Rosa, 366) describes lake Balḫāsh. The author gives the lake, which then marked the boundary between the country of the Ōghuzs (Chaghatāi) and that of the Mongols (Mughlīstān), the name of *Rūkhā-Teniz* or blue lake, and describes it as a body of fresh water. But he greatly exaggerates its length and breadth and considers the Volga (Iḍl) as a derivative of Balḫāsh. Nevertheless, Muḥammad Ḥaydar's statement on the taste of the waters of the lake is important. In point of fact, all the modern geographers have looked upon Balḫāsh as a salt lake. It was only in 1905 that the investigations undertaken by the Turkestan section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, completed in 1931 by the works of the State Institute of Hydrology and in 1941 by those of the Institute of Geological Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the

USSR, established that a part of the waters of the lake is fresh water.

The Kalnaks were the first to give the lake its Mongol name of Balḫāsh. They did in fact dominate in these regions in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. The name 'Balḫas' occurs with a reproduction of the lake, very exact for the period, on a map by the Swedish non-commissioned officer J. G. Renat, who spent seventeen years in the country of the Kalnaks, from 1716 to 1733. Comp. *Carte de la Dismarchie dessinée par le seldois Renat pendant sa captivité chez les Kalnaks de 1727 à 1733*, ed. Russ. Imp. Geog. Society, St. Petersburg 1881.

The appearance of the neighbourhood of Balḫāsh is extremely desolate and arid and until the October Revolution the lake had never played a rôle of any economic importance. Its development began in 1936 with the building of a large industrial city, Balḫāsh, on the bay of Bertis on the Northern shore of the lake.

**AL-BALKHĪ**, ABŪ-BALKHĪ (ABŪ ALLĀH B. AHMAD b. MAHMŪD), also known as Abū'l-Kāsim al-Ka'fī al-Balḫī, the Mu'tazilite, born at Balḫ, he lived for a long time at Baghdat, where he was the disciple of the Mu'tazilite Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Kharrāṣī. He founded a school at Nasaf, converted to Islam a number of the inhabitants of Khurāsān, and died at Baghdat at the beginning of 324/936 325/August 321. Among his disciples were Ibn Sijbāh (Abū'l-Tayyib Tharīḥ b. Muḥammad), who died after 350/962, and al-Abḡah (Abū'l-Ḥasan). Among his works are mentioned the *Kitāb al-Maḥallāt* and the *K. Maḥāsin Khurāsān*, in which he speaks of Ibn al-Rawandī.

He defended the optimistic Mu'tazilite thesis which states that God cannot abandon the better for that which is less good. Man, he says, can and must do that which is better, whereas God cannot, because there is nothing superior to Him to oblige Him to do better than that which He has done. In agreement with the Mu'tazilite, he did not recognise in God attributes distinct from His essence. He held that non-existence capable of existing is a well-determined entity, existing as such, in a single essence. He considered the atom as inextensive and devoid of qualities of its own; the qualities of the body derive from the aggregate of the atoms, which are therefore not essential but accidental. He distinguished between sensation and impression: man, he says, perceives by his reason the sensible objects which affect his different senses; but the reason by themselves can perceive nothing; they are the routes by which organic impressions reach the reason. The voluntary act, he says, presupposes hesitation and decision, which are characteristic of Man, an imperfect being, whereas in God such an act is totally absent. —The inanimate, he says, must return to the Kurayyah, but if a conspiracy is suspected, a non-Kurayyah it can be elected instead.

*Bibliography:* Al-Aḡḡar, *Maḥallāt al-Iḥd-miyyin*, Istanbul 1929, 314, 555; al-Balḫaddī, *al-Fark*, (Cairo 1328/1910, 93, 165, 166, 167; al-Iḡl, *al-Manāḥil*, Cairo 1357/1939; al-Isfārā'ī, *al-Taḥrīr fī Dīn*, Cairo 1940, 52; al-Kharrāṣī, *al-Futūḥ*, Cairo 1925, *passim*; al-Mallāt, *Kitāb al-Tanbih* (edited by Doderer); al-Ka'fī, *Maḥāsin K. al-Fark*, Cairo 1924, 119, 120; al-Rūḡ, *Maḥāsin al-Fark al-Muḥaddithin*, wa'ḡ Muta'addihīn, Cairo 1325/1905, 37; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Mīḡal wa'ḡ Nihāl*, in the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, Cairo 1347/1928, vol. i, 62, 82; *Nihāyat al-Iḥdām* edited by A. Guillaume, Oxford 1934,

238, 240, 343; Ibn al-Murtadā, *al-Munayya wa'ḡ Amal*, Haydarābād 1316/1902, 45-51; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo 1929, 4, 347; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fīḡal*, Cairo 1347/1928, vol. iv, 154; *Ḥalabī, Sharḡ al-Manāḥil*, Istanbul 1286/1867, 312; Aḡmad Amīn, *Duḡa al-Iḡdām*, Cairo 1360/1941, vol. iii, 141; Brockelmann, I, 343; A. N. Nader, *Le Système philosophique des mu'tazilis*, Beirut 1956, *ḡḡar Allāh Zuhdī, al-Mu'tazilis*, Cairo 1366/1947, 135.

**AL-BALKHĪ**, AḤMAD ZAYD AḤMAD b. SAḤ, a famous scholar known today principally for his geographical work, was born at Shāhīstūyān, a village near Balḫ in Khurāsān, about 236/850. He died upwards of 80 years old in Dhū T-Ka'da 322/October 934. His father was a schoolmaster from Sijistān. As a young man, wishing to study the doctrine of the Imānīyya sect to which he belonged, al-Balkhī travelled on foot to ḡrak with the pilgrim caravan. He remained there for eight years, becoming a pupil of the celebrated Al-Kīndī and visiting the neighbouring lands. In later life he refused to cross the *ḡjayhūn* (Oxus) to go from Balḫ to Buhārā, when invited by the *amir* of the latter place.

During the years which al-Balkhī spent in ḡrak his studies included philosophy, astrology and astronomy, medicine and natural science (*Yāḡūḡī Irḡād*, I, 143-45). For a time he was torn between his earlier sectarian religious allegiance and the tenets of judicial astrology, then much in vogue, but he finally became strictly orthodox in his opinions, and pursued the study of the religious sciences side by side with 'philosophy'. He is cited as an almost unique example of one who was equally expert in both fields, as named by Shahrastānī (*Mīḡal*, ed. Cureton, 348) among the philosophers of Islam. He himself relates that he lost his patron, the general Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Marw-al-Rūḡī, through the publication of one of his books and Abū 'Alī al-ḡjayhānī, also his patron, the *wasir* of the Sāmānīd Nasr b. Aḡmad, through the publication of another, though the general was a Karmāṭite and the *wasir* a Duāḡlī. (This Abū 'Alī was the son of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-ḡjayhānī, [q.v.], the geographer, who is perhaps here meant, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 12). Yet the works of al-Balkhī on religious subjects were much praised by competent judges, especially his *Nasḡ al-Ku'ḡlīn*, evidently a work of *Isfār* (*Irḡād*, I, 185). Yāḡūḡī (*Irḡād*, I, 142-3, cf. 150) gives the titles of 69 out of about 67 works of al-Balkhī, i.e., he added 13 titles to the 43 listed in the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 135). Of these Ḥadḡḡī Khālifa mentions less than half-a-dozen, and in our own time, apart from a *Kitāb Maḡlīḡ al-Abḡdān wa'ḡ T-Anḡus* (for which see Brockelmann, S I, 408), al-Balkhī is known by a single work, apparently no longer extant as such.

This is the so-called *Suwar al-Abāḡim*, otherwise *Taḡḡim al-Bulāḡin* (neither title in the list of his works in Yāḡūḡī), which is generally admitted, since De Goeje's monograph appeared (see *Bibliography*), to be the basis of the geographical works of al-ḡḡakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḡal, and thus to mark the beginning of what has been called the classical school of Arabic geography. It seems to have been a world-map divided into 20 parts, with short explanatory texts (Mukaddas, 4). It has been suggested by Barthold (*Ḥudūd al-'Alam*, preface, 18, n. 5, cf. V. Minorsky, *ibid.*, xv) that al-Balkhī in his book may simply have added an explanation to maps by Abū *ḡḡafar al-Khāḡin* (Brockelmann, SI, 387). Al-Balkhī's fame as a geographer depends solely on this work, which in any case

can scarcely be said to have been completely original, in view of the *ḡira Ma'āḡinīyya*, also apparently a series of maps, mentioned by Ma'āḡī *ṭempore* al-Ma'āḡinī (Caliph 108-218/113-83) (*Tan-Mā*, 33). Al-Balkhī's interest in geography may have been due to his teacher al-Kīndī, for whom a translation of Ptolemy's treatise on the subject was specially made (*Fihrist*, 268), and another of whose pupils, Aḡmad b. al-Tayyīb al-Sarāḡḡī, wrote a *Kitāb al-Maḡlīḡ wa'ḡ Maḡlīḡ* (*Tanbīḡ*, 67), apparently the first of several geographical works in Islam with that title. Though Mukaddas (88, 260) observes that al-Balkhī did not travel widely, he admits that he was an expert, especially for his own province, mentioning in particular his familiarity with the *ḡivās* (i.e., registers of taxes) of Khurāsān (*ibid.*, 307). This is consistent with what we read elsewhere of al-Balkhī having acted as a secretary (*kāḡib*) to one of the Sāmānīds (*Irḡād*, I, 147). His work is cited also by Makrīḡī (*Khāḡid*, ed. Būlāḡ, I, 115).

*Bibliography:* Yāḡūḡī, *Irḡād*, I, 125, 141-152; al-Bayḡakī, *Taḡḡima ḡivās al-ḡḡima*, ed. Muḡammad Shaḡīf, 26-27; M. J. de Goeje, *Die Islāḡī-Balkhī Frage*, ZDMG, xxv, 42-58; J. H. Kramers, *La question Balkhī-Ibn Ḥawḡal et l'Asie de l'Indus*, in *Asia Orientalis*, 8, 9-30; *Ḥudūd al-'Alam*, Preface, 15-23; V. Minorsky, *A False Jāḡḡānī*, in *BSOAS*, III (1940), 93-94. (D. M. DUNKER)

**BALKUWĀRĀ** (see SĀMARRĀ).

**BALTA LIMĀNĪ**, situated on the European shore of the Bosphorus between Boyač-Köyü and Rumelī Hisar, takes its name from Balḡa-oghlu Sulaymān Beg, the commander of the Ottoman fleet at the time of the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. It is in fact the ancient Phalaea and was also known as Gynaikōn Limnē (Portus Mulierum). Gyllius (mid-16th cent.) refers to it as the "... sinuum Phalaeae, et portum mulierum ...", which the Greeks called Sarantacopa from the maiden bridge there across the marshlands ("... quon Graeci nostrae aetatis appellant Sarantacopam ... ita nuncupatus a ponte limon ... quo paludes transeuntium canis plene ..."). Balta Limānī, in the 18th and 19th centuries, was a resort popular with the wealthier classes of Istanbul. Several international treaties were signed at Balta Limān in the first half of the 19th century: the Anglo-Turkish agreement of 25 August 1818, which accorded to England large commercial privileges with a most-favoured nation clause and also decreed the abolition of trade monopolies in all the territories under Ottoman suzerainty, the pact of friendship, commerce and navigation (3 August 1839) between Belgium and the Porte, and the Russo-Turkish convention of 3 May 1849, which modified the organic regulations of 1813 relating to the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia.

*Bibliography:* Pauly-Wissowa, V, Stuttgart 1897, s.v. Bosporos, col. 748; P. Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracico Libri III*, Lugduni 1561, lib. II, cap. XIII, 121, 124; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopel und die Bosporos*, II, Pesth 1822, 227-229; Hammer-Purgstall, I, 528 and 670; G. F. de Martens, *Nouveaux Recueil de Traité*, Göttingen 1817-1842, xv, 695-702, xvi, 958-964 and *Nouveaux Recueil Général de Traité*, Göttingen 1843-1875, ix, 278 ff.; *Asiye Kütüphanesi*, I, Istanbul 1873; *IA*, s.v. Boğaziçi M. Tayyib Gökḡḡḡin; *Tarīḡe Bulḡas* (q.v.). (V. J. PAROY)

**BALTADJĪ**: a name given to men composing various companies of palace guards under the Ōtō-



man regime down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The term was used alternatively with the equivalent Persian *bahadūr*, both words meaning, literally 'ase-man', and hence 'woodcutter', 'pioneer', 'halibearer'.

It would appear that originally the *bahadūjs*, whose corps was recruited from the *ʿAdīmī Oghlans* [q.v.], were employed in connexion with the army in the felling of trees, the levelling of roads, and the filling of swamps, but that even before the conquest of Constantinople some of them were posted as guards to the imperial palace at Adrianople. Thereafter, with the foundation at Istanbul in turn of the 'Old' and 'New' Sarays, Galata Saray, and the saray of Ibrahim Paşa, other companies of *bahadūjs* were formed for each. The men of all these companies except that of the New, later called the Topkapı Saray, were admitted, after a certain length of service, to the *ođah* of the Janissaries, whereas those of the Topkapı Saray enjoyed the privilege of entry into the *Sipah* and *Sildāhār* *idimsi* [q.v.] of the standing cavalry. The men of this privileged company were known as *sūlūfī bahadūrs*—that is to say "blinkerered" *bahadūrs*—for the curious reason that, since one of their duties was to carry the wood required for heating the imperial *harem* into that forbidden precinct, on the occasions of their performing this duty, in order to prevent them inadvertently catching sight of the ladies of the establishment, they were "blinkerers" made of cloth or gold lace hanging down on either side of their faces from their tall pointed caps (the Persian *sal* signifying 'a lock of hair'), as well as special jackets furnished with exceptionally wide upright collars.

Upon the closure in 1673 of the sarays of Galata and Ibrahim Paşa, their *bahadūr* companies were abolished. By this time also recruitment by *devşirme* had all but ceased. The remaining companies were mostly recruited therefore from free-born Anatolian Muslims, though the relatives of palace servants were also sometimes admitted into them. The *Sūlūfī Bahadūrs* were suppressed by Mustafa III but revived by ʿAbd al-Hamid I, and remained in being until the palace service as a whole was reorganised by Mahmūd II. They were commanded by a *kāhya* (*höđhādā*) responsible to the sultan's principal page, the *Sildāhār Ađha*.

Twelve *hājas* of the *Sūlūfī Bahadūrs*, distinguished by their literacy, had various special duties. Thus they would bring out, and stand behind, the sultan's throne at his accession and upon *bayram* [q.v.]; guard the Prophet's Standard (*standārd-i šarīf*) and read the Qurʾān beneath it on campaign; take charge of the belongings of the *harem* ladies every year when they and the sultan returned to one of the summer *hökkes*; and—from the seventeenth century—present officials of the Sultan Ahmed mosque with sherbet, rose-water and incense at the yearly celebration of the Prophet's Birthday (*Mawlid*).

Each of the chief officers of the palace, moreover, had one or more *Sūlūfī Bahadūrs* in attendance on him; and two important offices in the palace service were filled by *hājas* of the corps: that of the head cook of the *Kash-khāne* (the imperial kitchen) and his second in command.

The *bahadūrs* of the Old Saray, which from the late fifteenth century was the residence of the sultan's mothers, were responsible down to the seventeenth century to the *Kāpı Ađhās* [q.v.] and thereafter to the *Kizlar Ađhās* [q.v.], to whom those who could acquire enough learning in the Baykād *ma-*

*drises* might act as confidential secretaries or as clerics for the *awāsh* of the Holy Cities, whereas other senior members of this corps might serve the Wālide Sultān and other princesses as chief coffee-makers (*bahadūji-kađh*).

A number of Grand Viziers were *keten* *bahadūjs*, of whom perhaps the best known are Baltajī Mehmed Paşa, who defeated Peter the Great on the Pruth in 1711, and Newshahīdī Ibrahim Paşa, the last minister of Ahmed III.

**Bibliography:** Koçu Bey, *Kıssile* (Istanbul, 1303) 26; D'Osson, *Traité de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. 30-1; Tappirskide Ahmed ʿAlā, *Tarīkh-i ʿAlā*, 3, 290-291, 297, 299, 305-7; *TA*, art. by L. H. Uzuncarslı; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, I, part I, index.

(H. BOWEN)

**BALTIŠTĀN**, known to Muslim writers as Tibbat-i ġhur or Little Tibet, lying between 34° and 36° N and 75° and 77° E between Gilgit and Ladākh, extends some 120 miles on either bank of the Indus, covering an area of 8,522 sq. miles. A mountainous country, it has some of the highest peaks in the world: Godwin Austen (K 2), 28,239 ft., conquered in 1935; Gasherbrum, 26,470 ft., conquered in 1938, and Haramosh, 24,000 ft. Skardu the chief town, was electrified in 1951. It has an airstrip, a modern hospital and a number of schools. A new bair has been recently built.

The Balts were converted to Islam in the thirteenth century partly by Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadān of Srinagar (Kashmir) and partly by his *khālifa*, Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Baksh. They are polygamous and of the Shīʿite persuasion. Their neighbours, the Hunzas, are followers of the Ađhā Khān. The language used by the Balts is a mixture of Ladākhī and Tibetan but has a sprinkling of Arabic and Persian words, indicative of the influence of Islam.

The old rulers of Baltištān are known as Rājās or Gūlās, the most famous being ʿAlī Shīr Khān who flourished in the thirteenth century and also built a fort at Skardu. His expeditions to neighbouring regions still form the theme of many a native folk-song. In the early thirteenth century another Gūlāp, ʿAlī Mir, chief of Skardu, invaded and conquered the lower-land of the Balts. The last of the Gūlās, Ahmad Shāh, lost his independence to the Dogra general, Zōber Singh in 1840, when Baltištān was annexed to the Kashmir State, then ruled by Gulāb Singh. It came under the British sway in 1846 by the Treaty of Amritsar when it was placed under the Wazir Wazīrat of Ladākh.

In February 1948, the people of Baltištān rejected the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Kashmir and requested the Pākistān Government to take over control of the area. Since then it is being administered by the Chief Adviser, Kashmir and Baltištān. It has made general progress; almost the entire area now has a net of pony tracks. Skardu is linked with Rawalpindi by air. An annual service has also been introduced between Baltištān and Pākistān. Improved educational, medical and other facilities have been provided raising the standard of living of the people. Large amounts have also been sanctioned for the economic development (specially the construction of roads) of the area.

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183-8 and *passim*; *Bulletin* No. 9 of the Pākistān Society, London, July 1957, 21-23; G. T. Vigne, *Traité en Kashmir, Ladakh, Zaskardu*, London 1892. (A. S. BAZMER ASSAHI)

**BALŪĀ** (Balŭc) of the USSR, elements who emigrated from Khurāsān at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, whose emigration in fact continued after 1918. They are sometimes erroneously confused with the Gōsies of Central Asia (see 1,014). At the 1926 census, 936 Balŭc were counted; this figure underestimates their true number, as some of them were reckoned with the Turkmen and others with the Čingāns; on the other hand, the estimate made by Grande (*Spisok narodnostey SSSR, in Revolyutsiya i Natsionalizm*, no. 4 of 1936, 74-83), who assessed them at 10,000 in 1933, is excessive. The Balŭc inhabit the SSR of Turkmenistan, in the region of Mard. They are Sunnī Muslims of the Hanafī rite and speak the Makrānī dialect of Balŭc; this, however, is disappearing, gradually ceding ground to Turkmen, which is used as the literary language, and to Tadjik. Until 1928, the Balŭc were nomads, but between 1928 and 1935 they were settled and grouped in stock-rearing kolchozes. Their carpets, the manufacture of which is a craft, are locally famous. (A. BENVENISTE)

**BALŪCISTĀN** (BALŪCISTĀN), land of the Balŭc. A. Geography and History. The exact boundaries of Balŭcistān are undetermined. In general it occupies the S.E. part of the Iranian plateau from the Kirmān desert east of Bam and the Baghagird Mts. to the western borders of Sind and the Pandjāb. This arid and mountainous country contains a predominantly nomadic population. It is divided between Iran and Pākistān. At present Balŭc are also found in Sind and the Pandjāb, in Sīstān and a few nomads in the USSR near Marw, [see above].

The rivers of Balŭcistān are small and unimportant. One may consider the country a plateau with the rugged Solaymān range in the East and several mountain ranges in the West, the most spectacular peak of which is the volcano Kūh-i Tāftān (13,500 ft.). The town of Irānshahr (formerly Fāhrād) is the capital of Persian Balŭcistān with Kalāt the most important centre in the East. The seaports, such as Tiz, Pānd and Gwādar, formerly active, now have lost their importance.

The population of the area, including Brahōis, is uncertain, hardly more than two million today. Although the Balŭc are the majority of the population, with the Brahōis the largest minority, there are also Džats and other Indian elements on the eastern coast, and negroid people in the port towns especially in Persian Balŭcistān. The Balŭc are divided into two groups separated from each other by the Balŭc in the Kalāt area which accounts for the two major dialects.

The earliest mention of the area, called Maka, is in the Old Persian cuneiform inscription of Darius at Behistun and Persepolis. Other names occur in classical sources, but very little is known of the country in pre-Islamic times. It is probable that Iranian speakers were late in coming to Balŭcistān and the southern and eastern parts of Balŭcistān were predominantly non-Iranian until well after the Islamic conquests. The Balŭc probably entered Makrān (i.e., western Balŭcistān) from Kirmān about the time of the Sāldjūq invasion of Kirmān.

Kirmān was conquered by the Muslims in 236/44 in the caliphate of ʿUmar. In the mountains of Kirmān they met Kufi or Kōf and Balŭc or Balŭc

who were marauding nomads. At this time the Zuff or Džats were in Makrān, which was not conquered by the Arabs. In the time of Muʿawwya, ca. 41/64, the towns of Makrān were occupied and war was waged with the Māda of the coast, while raids extended as far as Sind.

In the time of al-Hādīdī b. Yūsuf (86/705) in the inter-Arab struggles the ʿAlīdī Arab faction was driven into Sind to be followed in 89/707 by Muḥ. b. Kāsim with an Arab army. It is difficult to identify the places he captured, but Muslim rule was extended by him through Balŭcistān to Sind. It is probable that the Arabs maintained their influence only on the coast, but we have very little information about the entire area throughout the ʿAbbasid caliphate. Mahmūd of Ghazni maintained authority over Kūsdār (the Kalāt plateau) acc. to the *Tahakāt-i Nasiri*.

The Balŭc and the Kōf tribes during the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid caliphates raided from Kirmān, spreading into Sīstān and Khurāsān. According to Yāqūt the Balŭc were decimated by ʿAdud al-Dawla the Būyīd (338-372/949-982). They continued their depredations until Mahmūd of Ghazni sent his son Masʿūd against them, who defeated them near Kāshāb. Shortly after this time the eastward movement of the Balŭc began, for they left Kirmān and went into Makrān. It is possible that the strong centralised government of the Sāldjūks made raiding unprofitable for the Balŭc who consequently moved eastward. Two centuries later the Balŭc are found in Sind. In the Kalāt highlands the Brahōi confederacy, including some Balŭc and Ađghān tribes, kept the main body of Balŭc from invading the area, and the Balŭc then moved into Sind and the Pandjāb. No permanent kingdom was established but each tribe was under its own chief and inter-tribal fighting was common.

The first tribes of which any records have survived are the Rinds under Mir Čākur and the Dōdāis under Mir Sulayb who appeared at the court of Shāh Husayn Langāh at Multān, who ruled from 874-908/1467-1502. The tradition is that Mir Čākur and his Rinds came from Sīst and took service with Shāh Husayn. Other Balŭc followed and, according to ballads, there was war between the Rinds and Dōdāis. In these legends the memory of the migration of the Balŭc to India is preserved.

The Dōdāis and Hōs, another Balŭc tribe, spread up the Indus valley and Bāhar met them as far north as Bhēra and Khushāb in 1519. The towns of Dera Ismaʿīl Khān and Dera Ghāzī Khān were founded by the sons of Sohrāb Dōdāi in the time of Shēr Shāh, who confirmed their possession of the lands of the lower Indus valley. According to tradition these Balŭc aided Humāyūn in his reconquest of Dīlī and were in the good graces of the Mughal rulers.

The only history we have of Balŭcistān in the later period concerns the Brahōi confederation. The Brahōi confederation began to expand in the 17th century on the basis of these rulers. Mir ʿAbd Allāh extended his power west throughout Makrān and south to the sea. Nadir Shāh of Persia regarded the Brahōi Khāns with favour, for after his Indian conquests he awarded them lands in Sind taken from the Indian Kalbāfcs.

Almad Shāh Durranī established his authority over Makrān, and the Brahōi Khān recognised him as his suzerain. This Brahōi, Nadir Khān, extended his rule over Las-Bēla including Karāčī. He organised







founders in the Turkish service. It passed also, from the Turkish, into various languages of south-east Europe. The nickname Balyemez, occasionally given to Ottoman army commanders, is a secondary derivation from the name of the gun.

**Bibliography:** H. J. Kissling, *Italiencz*, in *ZDMG*, 101 (1951), 333-340, where further bibliographical references will be found (see also *MAT* and *Tor*). (H. J. KISSLING)

**BÄLYÖS**, Bälýo (originally Baylô), the Turkish name for the Venetian ambassador to the Sublime Porte—in Italian, *bailo* (Venetian ambassadors at Byzantium had borne this title since 1082; other *baili* were at Tyre and Lajazzo/Payaz near Alexandretta). The Venetians, immediately after the conquest of Constantinople, sent off as *bailo* Bartolomeo Marcello, who on 18 April 1454 made with the Porte a commercial treaty which renewed the agreement already existing with the Ottomans since 1408. Under this new treaty Venice had the right to maintain at the Sublime Porte a bailo with his seat in Pera and with the power to issue passes for Venetian merchants and to exercise in relation to those merchants certain legal functions. The representatives of Venice sat in Constantinople, except in time of war, until the fall of the Republic in 1797; their tenure of office lasted, during the 17th and 18th centuries, in principle for three years. There were also turnover special ambassadors to the Porte who also bore the name of *bailo*. The *baili* played, in the 16th and 17th centuries, an important rôle politically; several amongst them, in times of tension or of war, were thrown into prison (as a rule in Yedikule). The reports (*relazioni*) which they submitted to the *Signoria* bear witness to their perspicacity. These reports have been published in two series: (i) E. Alberti, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ser. II: Turchia, 3 vols., Florence 1840-1855; and (ii) N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Le Relazioni degli Stati Europei lette al Senato dagli Ambasciatori Veneti nel secolo diciannovesimo*, ser. V: Turchia, Venice 1866, 1872.

**List of the Bails:** Cf. (i) Barozzi and Berchet, *op. cit.*, I, 9 ff.; and (ii) B. Spuler, *Die carpathische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel*, Pt. IV, in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Osteuropas*, I, (1936), 229-247 (with additional references).

With the generalised meaning of European diplomatic or consular agent, the word is also encountered in some Arabic dialects and in Swahili.

**Bibliography:** W. Andread, *Staatskunst und Diplomatie der Venezianer im Spiegel ihrer Gesandtenberichte*, Leipzig 1945; H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, 3 vols., Vienna 1905-1934; M. L. Shatz, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734 as revealed in despatches of the Venetian Bails* (*Ilinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. XXV, no. 3), Urbana, Illinois 1944. Cf. also the standard works on Ottoman history and, in addition, M. Cavid Bayson, article in *JA*, II, 291-295. (B. SPULER)

**BAM** (Arab. Bāmīn). District and town in the VIIth *asān* of Persia. In the middle ages the district was one of the five into which the province of Fārs was divided. The town is situated in an oasis on the south-western fringe of the great desert of Dādā-tā. Lāt, Bam is 1257 km. from Teheran and 193 from Kirmān; Zāhidān, on the further side of the Dādā-tā Lāt, is 324 km. distant. Standing at an altitude of 2,100 metres, Bam is hot in summer, but the winter climate is temperate. Situated as it is on the most practicable of the routes linking south-west Persia

with Sīstān, Afghānistān and Balūchistān, the town has, ever since its foundation in Sāsānid times, been a place of some strategic and commercial importance. Since the 17th/18th century Bam has been noted for its citadel, which was for long regarded as impregnable; this citadel has often served as a bastion against invaders and marauders from the east. During the war between the Safāwīd Ya'qūb b. Layth (d. 81) and the Tāhirids in 260/875, the fortress was used as a prison. The *Hudūd al-'Alam*, 125, describes Bam as it was in the latter part of the 10th/11th century: "Bam, a town with a healthy climate ... in its gables stands a strong fortress. It is larger than Jirūt and possesses three cathedral mosques ... one belongs to the Khārijites, another to the Muslims, and the third is in the fortress. From it come cotton stuffs (*karbās*), turbans (*'amīma*), Bam-turbans (or *kerchiefs*, *dastār-i bāmī*) and dates". Similar details are given by Istakhfī, Ibn Hawkal and al-Muqaddasī. In those days the citadel, which was in the centre of the town, contained part of the bazaars. The houses were of sun-dried brick. There were a number of baths, the best known being in the street or lane of the willows (*zāhid al-bigh*).

In 1131/1719 Mahmūd, the Ghaznavī ruler, captured Bam, but abandoned it some months later owing to a revolt in Kandahār. In 1234/1271 he captured the town again and it remained in Afghān hands until their power was shattered by Nādir (q.v.) in 1747/1749-50. It was doubtless in order to guard against any possible future attack from the east that Nādir greatly strengthened the defences of the town.

It was at Bam that Aghā Muhammad Khān captured the gallant Lutf 'Allī Khān, the last of the short-lived Zand dynasty, in 1220/1795: in order to celebrate his success the Khādjā erected a pyramid there consisting of the skulls of 600 of his adversary's followers (R. G. Watson, *A History of Persia from the beginning of the XIXth Century to the Year 1858*, 25). In 1256/1840-1 Bam came into prominence again, when Aghā Khān Mahallāt occupied it during his revolt. In the old town, which is now almost entirely in ruins, the only building of interest, apart from the striking citadel, is the shrine of the Imām Zayd b. 'Allī Zayn al-'Abīdīn. The modern town, which is some 500 m. to the south-west of the old one, has a population of 13,500; it is divided into four quarters by two broad avenues (*āghāyān*) which intersect in the centre. As in former times, the principal products of Bam and the surrounding district are dates and cotton-stuffs.

**Bibliography:** In addition to works mentioned in the article: Istakhfī, 106; Ibn Hawkal, 223; Muqaddasī, 465; Ibn al-Fakhr, 206 and 208; Ibn Khurrazmī, 49, 54, 196, 242; Ibn Rusūd, 106, 286, 308; al-Bakrī, 162 ff.; Yāqūt, 190 *serbo*; Abu'l-Fidā, 336; Hamīd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nusha*, 76; E. Pottinger, *Travels in Belochistan and Sindh*, London 1816, 192-204; K. E. Abbott, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xiv, 42-3; Sir F. J. Goldsmid, in *the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxvii, 284-5; O. B. St. John, in *Eastern Persia*, London 1876, I, 85-86; E. Smith, in *Eastern Persia*, I, 241-244; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, II, 232-4; Le Strange, 312; Ramārāz and Nawtāsh, *Farhang-i Dughāyā-yi-yā Irān*, vii, 52-2; A. Costa and L. Lockhart, *Persia*, London 1957, 38-9 and plates 75-78. (L. LOCKHART)

**BAMAÑO**, chief town of the territory of the Sudan (French West Africa), on the Niger, at the

junction of the two navigable stretches of the river, at the end of the Dakar-Niger railway, served by an important aerodrome. Formerly a trading post on the routes between the Sahel and the Southern region, and between the Sudan and Senegal, Bamaño occupies a central position in French West Africa which is the reason for its flourishing state; the population of the town, numbering 800 in 1883, had risen to 37,000 in 1945, and today (1958) has reached 100,000 (of whom 4,000 are Europeans). It owes its importance to its administrative and political rôle.

Bamaño was founded by a Bama hunter and named by his Niaré successor, who came from Kaarta, Bama-ko = "after Bama" (the etymology "river of the crocodiles" is incorrect). The size of the original village increased as there came to it first fishermen, and then men from Draa (the Dravé) and Touat (the Tawdi) who brought with them slaves; the town thus comprised four quarters: Niaré, Touré, Bozola, and Dravé, the basis of the present city.

In a short time Bamaño, a bridgehead on the Niger, became a French political objective; after the war of 1870, a move was made in its direction, and it was occupied in 1883 by Col. Bornis-Desbordes. From then on, as a base for French operations in the Sudan, its population was constantly swelled by groups of Senegalese and Sudanese. In 1904, the railway reached the town, which became in 1907 the chief-town of Upper Senegal and Niger: a large administrative, military and medical (Institute of Leprosy and Tropical Ophthalmology) centre grew up, and the town also tended to become a university (Federal School of Public Welfare and cultural (French Institute of Black Africa) centre).

Bamaño is an Islamic city, but its Islam is africanized, lax, and often tainted with animist survivals. Far from being a centre of religious expansion, the city has always been under the influence of the ancient Muslim towns in the region and of families of Moorish marabouts. The Kādīriyya and the Tijāniyya have long been established there; at first in the majority, the Kādīriyya were supplanted by the 'Umarīyya; between the two wars, Hamalīsm, in a more sober form, developed there; at the present time there has come into being a reformist group which proposes to purify the local form of Islam. It is possible to foresee Bamaño, following its present line, seeking to assume a leading rôle in an Islamic revival. In conclusion, it should be noted that Bamaño has a small Christian community and is the seat of an archbishop.

The town, originally built of mud, does not possess any ancient historical monuments.

**Bibliography:** Scanty. Information should be sought in official publications and in historical works on the Sudan. (M. CHAILLEY)

**BAMĀYĀN** (see *MANDE* and *SUDAN*).

**BÄMYÂN**, in the Arabic sources frequently **AL-BÄMYÂN**, a town in the Hindu-Kush north of the main range in a mountain valley lying 8,480 feet above sea level, through which one of the most important roads between the lands of the Oxus watershed and the Indus leads; the town is therefore naturally important as a commercial centre and was important in the middle ages as a fortress also. Although the valley, that of the Kunduz river, really belongs to the Oxus watershed and is separated from Kābul by high mountain passes, e.g., the Shibar and Unnai, its political association has often shifted from north to south. In recent centuries Bāmyān has tended to belong to Kābul and Ghazna rather than to the Oxus territories, and the pass of Ak-

ribāt to the north-west of Bāmyān has marked the boundary between Kābulistān and Afghān Turkhān.

The early history of Bāmyān is obscure. Rare coins of the Kushāns have been reported there but no monuments or other remains of that period have been discovered (J. Hackin, in *JA* 1935, 287 ff.). The Chinese sources, of which the earliest are scarcely earlier than the 6th century A.D., century, usually transcribe the name Fan-yen-na or Fan-yān (see J. Marquart, *Erdbühel*, 215 ff., and P. Pelliot's note in J. Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bāmyān*, Paris 1928, 75). According to Marquart the "Olden Middle Iranian" form was Bāmānā. The valley and town at this date are described by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-Tsang who found there a great centre of Buddhism with more than ten monasteries and over a thousand monks. He noticed that the language, coinage, script and religious beliefs current differed but little from those of Turkhān. The royal town was on the cliff above the valley, south-west of the great Buddha figures. These two colossal figures, which have for centuries excited the wonder of travellers, both Arab (cf. especially Yāqūt, I, 481) and European, have recently been described in detail, together with many of the associated caves and fresco paintings. Their age is still uncertain but the weight of evidence indicates that the early work, including the two great figures, dates from the latter half of the 6th or early 7th century A.D., and that the excavation and painting of caves continued well into the 8th. During this period Bāmyān appears to have been ruled by a dynasty, perhaps of Hephthalite origin, but certainly subject to the prince (Yabghu) of the Western Turks. This dynasty was still ruling in the first quarter of the 8th century and still professed Buddhism (cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-hou (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg, 1903, 291-2, and Hackin, *loc. cit.* 1928, 83).

The prince of Bāmyān bore the title *Shāh* (written *Shir* or *Shār*) which Ya'qūbī (*Hudūd* 280) erroneously translates "lion"; the word means "king" and is to be derived from the old Persian *šāhāyriyā* (Marquart, *loc. cit.*); Islam was first adopted by those princes in the time of the 'Abbāsids, according to Ya'qūbī's geography (*loc. cit.*) in the reign of al-Manṣūr, according to the same author's history (cf. Houtsma, II, 479) in that of al-Mahdī. The relations of this dynasty to the lands south and north of the Hindu-Kush are not quite clear. According to Ya'qūbī Bāmyān belonged to Turkhānistān, i.e., the lands of the Oxus territory, which is probably confirmed by Tabarī's statement (II, 1092a) that about 170/77 a foreigner from Bāmyān ruled in Qhūtal (north of the Oxus); on the other hand Istakhfī (277) says that the district (*amāl*) of Bāmyān only included the lands south of the Hindu-Kush with the towns of Parwān, Kābul, and Ghazna. Under the later 'Abbāsids the members of the dynasty of Bāmyān, like many Central Asian princes, held influential positions at the court of Baghdad; Tabarī (III, 135) tells us that a *Shāh* of Bāmyān was appointed governor of Yaman in 229/844. There was still a large Buddha temple in Bāmyān in which there were also idols in the 3rd/9th century. This temple was destroyed by the Safāwīd Ya'qūb and the idols brought to Baghdad in 257/874 (cf. the comparison of Tabarī, III, 1851 and *Fihrist*, 346, by Hartold in *Oriental. Stud. (Nöldeke-Festschrift)*, I, 327).

The native dynasties seem to have been finally



overcome by the Ghaznavids. A branch of the house of the Ghurids ruled in Bamiyān for half a century (550-609/1141-1212). Bamiyān was then the capital of a kingdom which comprised all Fārs, Khorāsān and some districts north of the Oxus, and stretched to the north-east as far as the borders of Kāshghar. Like the other lands of the Ghurids, this kingdom also was incorporated in the kingdom of Muhammad Shāh of Ghaznī in the beginning of the 7th/13th century; Bamiyān was granted with Ghazna and other lands to Jalāl al-Dīn the eldest son of the Ghaznavīshāh (Nasavī, ed. Havel, text 25, tract 44). Soon afterwards followed the destruction of the town by the Mongols (605/1212). Mūlūgen, a grandson of Cingiz Khān, fell at the siege of the town; in revenge for his death the conqueror razed the town to the ground and exterminated its inhabitants; the place received the name of Mo-balk (evil town) or, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, Mo-kurgān (evil fortress) and was still uninhabited 40 years later in the time of the historian Jūwaynī. In the past few centuries Bamiyān has always been combined with Ghazna and Kābul; like these towns it belonged, down to the 12th/18th century, to the empire of the Mughals, and afterwards to the newly formed Afghan kingdom of which it is still a part.

At present Bamiyān is a district town connected by motorable roads with both Kābul and Kandahar. The population of the valley belongs mainly to the Hazāra stock, but there are also villages of Tajiks. The inhabitants speak two languages, Persian and Paḡtū (Afghān), but the former is the more widely spoken. The modern settlement lies immediately beneath the cliff with the great images. About two miles south-east lies the ruined fortress of Gulistan, situated on a promontory on the south of the valley. This has been generally recognised as the town built on a hill which Cingiz Khān destroyed, and is probably also the strong fortress referred to by Yāqūt and Ya'qūbī. Whether it is also the site of Huan-Chuang's royal town is not clear, as the pilgrim states that it lay on the cliffs south-west of the images. No remains have been reported in this direction.

**Bibliography:** The geographical position is discussed by A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde*, Paris 1942. The Buddhist monuments are described by J. Hackin and A. & Y. Godard in *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyān*, Paris 1928; and J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Nouvelles Recherches à Bamiyān*, Paris 1933. Hackin's views on the dating should be compared with those of B. Rothenfeldt, *Wall Paintings in India, Central Asia and Ceylon*, Boston, 1938, particularly when corrected by Bachholer, *Art Bulletin*, 1938, 230 ff. Hackin (*loc.cit.* 1928) includes most of the Chinese and European travellers' reports, but Marquart (*loc. cit.*) and Chavannes (*loc.cit.*) are still indispensable. The Hephthalite connections are discussed by R. Ghiesbreght, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, Paris 1928. For the later history see Barthold, *Turkeshān*, 2nd ed., London, 1928. On the Ghurids of Bamiyān see *Tahabāt-i Nāsrī* (ed. Nassau Lees), 101 ff.; *ibid.* transl. Raverty, 142 ff. On the Mongol conquest, see the text of Jūwaynī (*Tārīkh-i Dīkhān-khūy*) in Schöler, *Chrestomathie Persane*, ii, 142 ff.; and d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, i, 294 ff. (W. Barthold, tr. E. Rieu).

**BAMPŪR**, a district and small town in the VIIth sūbā of Persia (corresponding approximately to the province of Kirmān and Persian Balōchistan). For administrative purposes, Bampūr and its district come under Irānshāhr (formerly Fāhrājī),

situated 23 kilometres to the east. Bampūr, which has a population of 5,000, is chiefly remarkable for its citadel which crowns an eminence 100 feet in height. The inhabitants, who are Sānds and are Balōḡ-speaking, are mostly engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits. The surrounding district, which is well supplied with water, is very fertile and produces corn and dates.

After the assassination of Nādir Shāh in 1160/1747, Nāzir Khān, the Governor of Balōchistan, transferred his allegiance to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (24.), of Afghanistan, but later became independent. Persian authority over Bampūr was not restored until 1849.

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**BĀN** (A. and P.), the hen-out tree (*Moringa aptera Gaertn.*). Dioscorides knew of its existence in Arabia and other neighbouring countries. Galen, speaking of a remedy obtained from the tree, says that it was imported from the Arabs. Abū Hanīfa reports that the fruit, called *ghā*, was a commodity greatly in demand which was bought and paid for in advance even before being ripe. The wood, because of its lightness, was used for tent-poles. On account of the high and slender growth of the bin and the softness of its wood, Arab poets used the word as a simile for a tender woman of tall stature.

The fruit, known to the Greeks as βάλανος (*balanos*), and to the Romans as *glans unguetaria*, was put to various medicinal uses. Especially a fine oil, extracted from the seeds, was applied against several skin diseases. The juice of the fruit, mixed with vinegar and water, was given to horses as a remedy for cardialgia. In addition to its application in medicine, the oil of the bin was much used in the manufacture of perfumes.

**Bibliography:** Abū Hanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *The Book of Plants* (Lewin), no. 75; Ashundov *Hist. Sindhia pharmacol. Inst. 20 Dorpat*, iii, 165, 349; Dā'ūd al-Antākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1324, i, 61 f.; Ghālibī (Meyerhof-Soboy), no. 118; Ibn al-Awām, *Filāḥa* (transl. Clément-Mullet), ii/b, 145 f.; Ibn al-Bayṭar, *Dīwān*, Būlak 1293, 79 f.; Kāzwinī (Wüstenfeld), i, 249; Kindī, *Kimyā' al-Ḥīr* (transl. Garberi), 59 ff., 281 ff.; Lōw, *Die Flora der Indes*, ii, 124, 325, 330; Nāṣirī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, xi, 275 f., xii, 78 ff. (cf. Wiedemann in *Arch. f. d. Gesch. d. Naturw. u. d. Techn.*, iv, 419 ff.); *Tuhfat al-Abbāh* (Renaud-Collin), no. 382.

**BANĀKAT**, more correctly B/Pinākāt (thus in Mukaddasī, 277, l. 1; in Sogdian: B/Pinākāt, "chief town", "capital", but in Jūwaynī, l. 47 *Fāhrājī*); a small town at the confluence of the Hāk (today the Aharangān/Arang), flowing from the right, with the Jaxartes (Iranian: Kāshān—cf. *Madād al-Ālam*, 128, 210 ff., and also *ibid.*, 72, where it is named Ūzganī). It lies almost south-east of Taghleb (Cāṣ/Shāh) and was once a flourishing place (*Madād al-Ālam*, 118), possessed however no walls and had its mosque in the bazaar (Mukaddasī, 277; cf. also al-Khāṣṣī in C. A. Nallino, *al-Hawāsimi e il suo rinascimento della geografia di Tolomeo*, Rome 1895, 36, and Yāqūt, i, 760). The town was conquered in 616/1219 by a Mongol force, 5000 strong according to the sources, under the command of Ulugh Noyon and Suktūr, its inhabitants

being either slain or else carried off to serve as assault troops in further sieges; there is no mention that its buildings were destroyed (Jūwaynī, i, 70-74; Mirshā'ad, ed. Jachert, 140).

It is clear that, during the following centuries, Banākāt fell into decline, for in 794/1392 it was "rebuilt" by Timur and named, after his own son, "Shāhrūkhīyya" (Shāraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yāsdi, *Zafarnāma*, ed. Hāhidā, Calcutta 1885-1888, ii, 636). The place is mentioned in the period from the 15th to the 17th century as a strong fortress, but later it sank once more into decay. Ruins (now bearing the name "Sharikarya") are still to be seen and were examined for the first time in 1876 by a Russian expedition.

**Bibliography:** Barthold, *Turkistan*, 269; Le Strange, 482 (with a wrong date for the rebuilding of the town); B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*<sup>2</sup>, Berlin 1955, 28, 417 ff. On the name itself, cf. J. Marchart, *Webri and Arang*, Leiden 1918, 162-163, note; and V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, xviii/2 (1955), 462.

**BANĀKITI**, (for the vocalisation, see the preceding article), FAKIR AL-DIN ABU SULAYMĀN DĀWŪD B. ABŪ'Ā-FADL MUHAMMAD, Persian poet and historian (d. 730/1329-30). According to his own account, he was made *malik al-gh'awā'*, or "king of poets", in 602-3 by the Mongol ruler of Persia, Jāḥān Khān, Dawlatshāh (*Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, 227 records one of his poems. His historical work, entitled *Rasād al-'l-'Alabāh fi Tawārīkh al-Ashār wa l-'Anabāh*, was written in 717/1317-8, under the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd; the preface is dated 25 Shawwāl 717/31 Dec. 1317. Apart from a few very brief remarks on the events of the reign of the ruler, it is a résumé of the *Dīwān* of al-Tawārīkh of Rashīd al-Dīn, the arrangement of the subject matter being different. According to E. G. Browne (ib. 101), the range of the second half of the work affords evidence not only of a wider conception of history (probably under the influence of Rashīd al-Dīn), but also of a spirit of real tolerance towards non-Muslim peoples and of a real knowledge of these peoples, doubtless promoted by the position which the author held at the court of the Ilkhān. Blochet (*Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols* . . ., Gibb. Mem. Series, xii, 98) seems to assert that the Chinese sources of the *Dīwān* of al-Tawārīkh are indicated only by Banākāt and not by Rashīd al-Dīn; Rashīd's text which contains these indications was, however, published as early as 1886 by V. Rosen (*Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orient. du Ministère des Aff. Étrang.*, ii, MSS. persans, St. Petersburg 1886, 106-107). The *Rasād* is divided into nine parts: prophets and patriarchs; ancient kings of Persia; Muhammad and the Caliphs; Persian dynasties contemporary with the 'Abbāsid caliphs; the Jews; the Christians and the Franks; the Indians; the Chinese; the Mongols. The eighth part (China) was published in 1677 (Berlin); then, in 1679, at Jena) by A. Muller, in Persian and Latin, under the erroneous title of *Abdallae Beidawāsi Historia Senensis* (later translated into English by S. Weston: *A Chinese Chronicle, by Abdallāh of Beyza* . . . London 1820). Quatremère, however, proved that it belonged to the *Rasād* of Banākāt.

**Bibliography:** Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse* . . . par Rashīd al-Dīn, Paris 1836, lxxxv, lxxxvi and 425; H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, iii, 55 ff.; Kieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS.*, i, 79 ff. Other references in Storey, section ii, fasc. 1, 8-12.

(W. BARTHOLO-DE MARSSE)

**BANĀT** [see TEMERVĀR].

**BANĀT NA'ŠH** [see NOḤḤE].

**BANĀT SU'AD** (Su'ad has departed) are the opening words of a *basīda* or ode, composed by Ka'b b. Zuhayr (q.v.) in praise of the Prophet Muhammad. The events which led to its composition may be briefly stated as follows. After the fall of Mecca in 6 A.H., Ka'b's brother Bugayr, who had embraced Islam, warned him of the fate which had overtaken some of the poets there, and urged him to come in to Medina or seek asylum elsewhere. Ka'b replied in verses disapproving of his brother's conversion. Threatened by the Prophet, Ka'b in despair came to Medina at last and presented himself before the Prophet, who was then seated in the mosque after the morning prayers surrounded by his companions. Ka'b succeeded in obtaining the Prophet's pardon; and in token of his gratitude recited in public his famous poem, in which he lauded the generosity of his benefactor. The Prophet was so pleased with it that he bestowed his own mantle (*burda*) on the poet.

The poem is, therefore, often called *basīda al-burda*. The poem consists of 38 verses, and in its general features conforms to the usual pattern of the pre-Islamic Arabian ode. Numerous commentaries have been written on it. It was first published by Lett in Leiden in 1740, and subsequently by *Preisig* with a Latin translation (Halle 1823) and also by Th. Nöldeke in his *Delictus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum*, Berlin 1850, 170 ff. R. Basset edited it with a French translation and two commentaries, Algiers 1910. An English translation will be found in R. A. Nicholson's *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*, Cambridge 1923. There is also an Italian translation by G. Gabrieli (Florence 1901) and a German translation by O. Rescher (Stuttgart 1930).

The poem of Ka'b inspired another famous hymn in praise of the Prophet, viz., the *basīda al-burda* ("Mantle Ode") of al-Dūstī (q.v.).

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, 67 ff., 387-93 (= A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, Oxford 1915, 597 ff., and Well's translation ii, 225 ff.); Ibn Kutayba, *al-Sh'ar*, ed. De Goeje; ed. A. M. Shākir, Cairo 1364 A. H., 104-107; *al-Madīna*, xv, 147-51; Ibn Hādjar, *Iṣāba*, s.v.; W. Muir, *Life of Muhammad*<sup>2</sup>, 436-7; Cantani, *Annali*, ii, 223-4; G. Gabrieli, *al-Burda*, Florence 1901; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire de Bibliographie Arabe*, col. 1362; Brockelmann, i, 32-33; S. i, 68-70, where other editions, translations, and commentaries are listed.

(St. INAYATULLAH)

**BANBALŪNA**, Pampluna, Span. Pamplona, a town in the north of Spain, chief-town of the province of Navarre, with a present population of about 80,000. No Arab geographer has left us an accurate description of Pampluna in the late Middle Ages. The *Rasād* of M'Qāṣ, which devotes most space to it, depicts the town as the capital of the land of the Basques (Fāscos, *Ar. Rashūniyāh* (q.v.)), a group of mountain tribes established on the southern slopes and at the western end of the Pyrenees, not far from the Atlantic Ocean. Their territory bounded, in the West, the land called *al-Aḥsa* wa l-'Kūfā' (q.v.), i.e., of Alava and the Castles (the original Castile); in the East, it reached the mountainous regions inhabited by the Gascons (Ar. *Gashān*) and the people of Cerretania or Cerdagne. Pampluna was taken by the governor 'Uṭba b. al-Hādīdī in 121/779; it rebelled against Cordova and, in 161/778, was taken by the Franks in the course of Charlemagne's expedition. It passed under the sway of the Franco-Gascons for a number of



years and, from about 825 A.D. onwards, became the capital of an independent principality with Inigo II in close connexion with the powerful Mūsā b. Mūsā, who was his maternal uncle and at the same time his brother-in-law and father-in-law. In 1278/42, 'Abd al-Rahmān II led the Umayyad forces as far as Pampeluna, which was sacked. In 1285/89, bands of Scandinavian pirates, the Norsemen, penetrated as far as Pampeluna and took prisoner the king García Iñiguez. 'Abd al-Rahmān II succeeded in taking possession of the town for a time in 1212/94, in the course of his campaigns against the Navarrese, and demolished it. Other attempts by Muslim armies against Pampeluna were made in 1221/94 and during the dictatorship of the two 'Amirid bādīshahs al-Manṣūr [q.v.] and al-Muḥallaf [q.v.].

**Bibliography:** Idrisi, ed. and Span. trans. by Saavedra (*La España de Edrisi*), 59-71; Abu 'I-Fidā', *Tahrikat*, ii, 180-189-60; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im, *al-Hinayāt*, al-Rawḍ al-Nawāḥ, Spain, no. 31; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ii, index; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leiden 1932, index; Lévi-Provençal, *Du nouveau sur le royaume de Pampelune au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Bulletin hispanique*, IV, no. 1, 1953.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL—A. HUCI MIRANDA)

**BAND** ("bond"), a Persian word denoting anything which is used to bind, attach, close or limit, both literally and figuratively (e.g. saddle, procreation); it has also passed into Arabic and Turkish. In Persian, it has various meanings when used in compounds (e.g., *band-i anghūl*, the phalanx; *band-i pā*, ankle-bone; *dar-band*, defile, inlet; *dast-band*, bracelet; *rū-band*, head-veil; *band-i shakhs*, the name of a musical air). It denotes in particular dams (*band-i dā*) built for irrigation purposes; for instance, the *Band-i Kayser*, built across the river Kārin at Shustar by order of the Sāsānid king Shāpūr I (3rd century A.D.), several arches of which were carried away by floods about 1880; on the other side of Shustar, on the way from Akwāz, the *Band-i Gargar* (the *Maḥrūkān* of the Arab geographers), on a lateral drain of the Kārin, which was excavated during the Sāsānid period; the *Band-i Miya* ("middle dam"), constructed during the same period and several times restored, notably at the beginning of the 19th century by a son of Fath 'Alī Shāh (hence its other name: *Band-i Muḥammad 'Alī Mirā*); some 40 kms. downstream from Shustar, near *Band-i Kīr* ("bitumen dam"), are the ruins of a great dam of the same period (on these dams, see E.F. & F. Kārin, 823-826, and *Guide Bleu, Moyen-Orient*, 1936, 718-721). In addition to these, the *Band-i Amīr* (or *Band-i 'Adad*) on the Kurr (formerly the Cyrus; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 477, n. 2), about 80 km. north of Shīrāz, was constructed in the 10th/16th century at the order of the andr river were built the *Band-i Kārdīghī* and the *Band-i Kāzār* ("the fuller's dam"), which were restored by Faghār al-Dawla Cawī, atabak of Fārs under the Saldūghs (on these three dams, cf. the interesting passage in Ibn al-Balghī, *Fārs-nāma*, Gibb. Mem. Series, 131-132). Near Kāghān, in a mountain gorge, is situated the *Band-i Kūhrūd*, built under the Sāfawids (Hānd Allāh Mustawfī, *Naksha*, 71-72; de Seroux, *La Perse en 1839*, 210). In Turkey, nine dams contribute to Istanbul's water supply: on the heights overlooking Bāyıldere (on the European side of the Bosphorus), north of Bahçeköy, the *band* of Mahmūd I (Mahmūd bend), built in 1732, and the *band* of the mother of Selim III (Valide bend), 1796;

some five kms. further away, in the neighbourhood of the forest of Belgrat, four other *bands* from which water flows, as required, into the Bāgh Hāwā (Bağ Havat) or cistern of Pyrgos, and thence towards the city via two aqueducts—the most notable being the *Büyük bend* ("great dam") built in the 6th/12th century by Andronikos I and restored by several sultans, and the *Paşaderesi bendi*, the work of the same Byzantine Emperor (details of these dams: *Guide Bleu: Turquie*, 1958, 179-181).

**Bibliography:** Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, 103-112, fig. 97 and 98 (Shustar, Diarbīl); *Survey of Persian Art*, 3, 370 (Belgrat), and ii, 1226 (id.); Polak, *Persien*, i, 161; E. G. Browne, *A year among the Persians*, 186; Binning, *A Journal of ... Travel in Persia*, ii, 305-6; R. Walsh, *Voyage en Turquie*, 16 (map of the reservoir); Andronikos, *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace*, 416; P. de Tchihatchef, *Le Bosphore et Constantinople*, 49.

**BĀNDĀ**, town in Uttar Pradesh (India), situated in Lat. 25° 28' N and Long. 80° 20' E; headquarters of the district of the same name. Pop. (1951) 30,327. The town, otherwise unimportant, attracted notice during the Sepoy Revolt of 1857 when its last ruler, Nawāb 'Alī Bahādur II, put up a hard fight against the British. The town, however, finally surrendered in April 1858. A new village till the end of the 12th/18th century, it began rapidly to expand when Shāhshīr Bahādur, said to be a natural son of the Pāshwā Bājī Rāo I (1739-53/1726-40), by one of his concubines who had adopted Islam, made it the chief town of his estate conferred on him by the Pāshwā. Shāhshīr Bahādur, who fought on the side of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat (1757/1761), was seriously wounded and subsequently died at Bharatpur. His son, 'Alī Bahādur I, colonized many places in Bundelkhand, with the help of the Sindhi of Gwalior. He was succeeded by his son, Dhru 'I-Fakr Bahādur, who entered into an agreement with the British in 1227/1812 and was awarded the title of Nawāb and confirmed into his *dhūl* of Bāndā. An ill-built town, it has a very large number of places of worship, both Muslim and Hindu. The congregational mosque, the largest in the town, was built by the last Nawāb, 'Alī Bahādur II. A patron of learning, he has been praised by the Indian poet in Urdu and Persian, Mirzā Ghālib.

**Bibliography:** *Imp. Gaz. of Ind.*, s.v. Bāndā; Ghulāna Rasūl Mīr, 1857 K2 Mughlādī, Lahore 1957, 168-171; *District Gaz. of the United Provinces*, Bāndā, Vol. XXI, Alīshāhād 1909.

(A. S. BAEMER ANSARI)

**BANDA ISLANDS**, a group of small islands in Indonesia, Long. 130° E., Lat. 4° 12' S., inhabited by less than 10,000 people of mixed origin who are partly Muslims. From the view point of institutions these Muslims are not different from those in other parts of Indonesia [q.v.]. The islands, however, played an important part in the history of the struggle between Islam and Christendom, as the nutmeg trees which are grown there attracted the Portuguese. They arrived in 1512 in Malacca whence they sailed to the Banda Islands a year later, thus transplanting the Iberian war, which had ended a few years earlier, to South and South-East Asia. The Dutch appeared on the scene in 1599. From 1619 to 1942 the islands were under Dutch control, from 1942 to 1945 occupied by the Japanese. (C. C. BERO)

**BANDA NAWĀZ**, SAYYID MUHAMMAD (see SAYYID MUHAMMAD)

**BANDAR** (BENDER), a Persian word which has passed into Turkish, denoting a seaport or port on a large river; it has passed into the Arabic of Syria (Barthelme) and Egypt in the sense of market-place, place of commerce, banking exchange (Bothor, Vollers) and even workshop (Cuche). *Shāh-bandar*, in Persian, means customs officer, collector of taxes; in Turkish, it means consul and, formerly, a merchants' syndicate. In compounds, it occurs in Persian geographical nomenclature on the Caspian Sea (southern shore: *Bandar-Pahlān* (formerly Enzeli); *Bandar-Gaz*, the safest harbour in the region; some 50 kms. to the north, *Bandar-Shāh*, the terminus of the Trans-Iranian railway—the other terminus being *Bandar-Shāhpūr*, on the Persian Gulf; other ports on the shores of the Gulf are: *Bandar-Dāylam*, *Bandar-Rīg*, *Bandar-Būghīr* (see Enzeli), *Bandar-Makūn*, *Bandar-Līngā*, *Bandar-'Abbās* (see following article).

**Bibliography:** P. Schwarz, *Iran in Mitteleuropa* (index: *bandar*). On the places mentioned: *Guide Bleu: Moyen-Orient* (index: *Bandar*); R. Vadala, *Le golfe Persique*, Paris 1920, *passim*.

(G. HUART—H. MASSE)

**BANDAR 'ABBĀS**, a Persian port situated in the VIIIth *sūdan* (which comprises part of Fārs and Kirmīn). The town, which is on the coast of the mainland 10 km. north-west of the island of Hormuz [q.v.], stands on bare, sandy ground rising gradually to the north; it has a frontage of 2 km. along the shore. The position of *Bandar 'Abbās* at the entrance to the Persian Gulf and the fact that it is the terminus of trade routes from Yazd and Kirmīn to the north and Lar, Shīrāz and Isfahān to the north west have made it a place of some strategic and commercial importance. Owing to the shallowness of the sea, large vessels cannot berth alongside the quay or jetty and have to anchor some distance offshore and load or discharge their cargo by means of lighters.

There are grounds for believing that the town is situated on or near the site of the small fishing village of Shahrū (see *Istakhrī*, 67) or Shahrūvā (see the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 124 and 375). When the neighbouring island of Dīārīn (or Dīarrīn) ceased to be so called and was given instead the name of Hormuz at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the former name was transferred to Shahrū. When Hormuz developed into a great commercial centre, the importance of Dīārīn as the point of transhipment for goods in transit between the island and the mainland gradually increased. Early in the 10th/16th century the Portuguese established themselves on Hormuz and subsequently also on the adjacent stretch of mainland, Dīārīn, or *Indarū*, as it then came to be called, thus passing into Portuguese hands. In 1613 the Persians recovered Garatu from the Portuguese and seven years later, with the naval aid of the English East India Company, they also drove the Portuguese out of Hormuz. In gratitude for its services, Shāh 'Abbās I allowed the Company to set up a factory in Garatu (or Gombroon, as the English usually called it) and not only exempted it from customs dues there, but also gave it the right to receive half the customs dues. An additional reason for the granting of these privileges was the Shāh's desire that the town should become the chief port in his realm: it was in token of this desire that he named the port *Bandar 'Abbās* after himself. The Shāh's hopes were soon realised, with the advent not only of the English East India Company, but also of the Dutch East India Company

and the French, the port became the most important in Persia. When Chardin was there in 1674, he stated that the town contained between 1,000 and 1,500 houses; he also remarked upon the hot climate and its deadly effect upon the European residents (*Voyager*, Paris 1811, viii, 508, 511-512).

The overthrow of the Sāfawid monarchy by the Ghāzay Afghāns in 1722, followed by the Russian and Turkish invasions and numerous internal revolts, paralysed the trade of the country and brought stagnation to *Bandar 'Abbās*. The expulsion of the Afghāns led to a temporary revival of prosperity, but this was soon nullified by Nādir's exorbitant tax-collectors. Furthermore, his creation of a naval base at Būghār [q.v.] dealt another blow at the supremacy of *Bandar 'Abbās*, and it was not long before the former port became the leading one of the country. When Planiol was at *Bandar 'Abbās* in 1750, he found that nine out of every ten houses were deserted (*Journal from Calcutta ... to Aleppo in the Year MDCC*, London 1758, 11). A few years later the Dutch and English East India Companies abandoned *Bandar 'Abbās*, thus causing it to decline still further.

In 1793 the town, together with a coastal strip 150 km. in length, was leased to the Sultān of 'Uman, in whose hands and those of his descendants it remained until its reversion to Persian control in 1868.

In recent times *Bandar 'Abbās* has recovered something of its former prosperity, thanks to the construction of motor roads from Kirmīn and Yazd and also from Shīrāz. The modern town has a population of some 11,500 (this total undergoes quite considerable seasonal fluctuations). Living conditions have improved with the provision of a piped water supply from 'Iain, 16 km. to the north-west. The main thoroughfare, the Khayyābān Rīdī Shāh-i Kabīr, runs through the town approximately parallel with the shore, at a distance of some 200 m.; the governmental and most of the municipal buildings are in the central part of this avenue. The chief mosques are the Masjid-i 'Djāmī' (for the Shī'a) and the Masjid-i Gāll-Dārī (for the Sunnīs). Modern industry is represented by a fish-canning plant.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the works mentioned in the article, F. Valentini, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië*, Amsterdam 1753, v, 302; C. de Bruyn, *Travels into Muscovy, Persia and Parts of the East-Indies*, London 1737, ii, 73-75, 132-133; English East India Company, the *Gombroon Diary (Persia and the Persian Gulf Records)*, India Office Library, I-VI; F. Savary des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce*, Paris 1741, i, 403; E. Ives, *A Voyage from England to India, Persia, or Indurā*, as it then came to be called, London 1773, 107-102; C. Ritter, *Erdbunde*, iii, 739-40; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, Paris 1884, ii, 276-7, 286; W. Tomaschek, in the *SBK Wien*, CXKI, part vii (1890); Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii, 418-26; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, Paris 1895, ii, 229-4, 295; Le Strange, 292, 293, 319; Sir A. T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, Oxford 1928, ii, 140, 146, 151-2, 160-7, 173-9, 188-9, 332, 359, 283; Kamzārī and Nawāshī, *Farhang-i Dīghardīyā-yi Irān*, viii, 50-7; L. Lockhart, *The Fall of the Safawi Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1928, 372-9, 403-6. (L. LOCKHART)

**BANDAR PAHLAWI**, principal port (*bandar*) of Iran on the Caspian Sea; situated at 37° 28' N and 49° 27' E. Formerly called Enzeli, the town was



renamed in honour of the Pahlawi dynasty by its founder Rāšā Shāh who came to the throne in 1926. Bandar Pahlawi itself lies on a tongue of land to the west of an inlet between the Caspian Sea and a freshwater lake called Murdāb. To the east of the inlet is the older settlement of Ghāziyān. From Bandar Pahlawi a bridge carries the motor road across the inlet and into Ghāziyān, from there the road proceeds to Rašt, the principal commercial town of the Caspian littoral region, and then on to Tehran, a total distance of 364 km.

In the early 19th century there were only a few hundred houses at the site, in the first decade of this century about 9,000 people, and the present population is given at 48,500. Persian, Gilāki (a local dialect) and some Turkish are spoken. The inhabitants are Shī'īs. There are no monuments of any interest or real antiquity in either Bandar Pahlawi or neighbouring Ghāziyān.

During the second quarter of this century the settlement above has been developed into a shallow, but sheltered, harbour. In the period March 1951–March 1952 some 298 ships entered or left the port. Between 1930 and 1940 there was considerable transit traffic of goods and passengers from Bandar Pahlawi through the USSR and to Europe, but in recent years nearly all the trade has been directly with Russia.

Owing to its proximity to Russia the port town has been the scene of international incidents. In 1722 Russian troops landed on the south side of the Murdāb and again in 1804 another force landed at Enzeli. In March 1920 Soviet troops, following a British force retreating from Baku, landed at Enzeli and later gave support to the establishment of a short-lived Soviet Republic of Gilān. During the Anglo-Soviet occupation of Iran Bandar Pahlawi sheltered a Soviet garrison from 1941 until May 1946.

*Bibliography:* Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 652 ff.; Mas'ūd Kaykānī, *Diwāghriyā-i Mafāḥ-i Irān*, Tehran 1912, ii, 276–7; Rāsmānī-i Irān, *Diwān-i Diwāghriyā-i Shāhī*, *Arāḥ*, Tehran 1951, part 3, 50; *Annual Account of Trade between Iran and Foreign Countries, Year 1330/1331* (in Persian), Tehran 1952. (D. N. WILDER)

**BANDIRMA**, a port on the Sea of Marmara, near the site of the ancient Cyzicus. The medieval Greek name for the town was Panormos. Villehardouin mentions a castle called 'Palormie', which the Latin Crusaders fortified in 1204. It was used thereafter as a base for their operations against the Greeks in north-west Asia Minor. Under Ottoman rule Bandirma was included in the *sandjak* of Karasā [s.c.]. According to the evidence of travellers who visited the town in the 16th–17th centuries, most of its inhabitants seem to have been not of Turkish, but of Greek or Armenian descent. Much of Bandirma was burnt down in 1871. It now forms part of the province of Balıkesir and is an active commercial centre, exporting the varied products of the hinterland—cereals, sheep and cattle, boracic, sesame, etc. The population of Bandirma in 1950 stood at a little less than 19,000.

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285–295; R. Fitner, *Aus Kleinasien und Syrien*, Rostock 1904, 70–72; F. W. Hasluck, *Cyprus*, Cambridge 1910, 50–51 and also 310–321 (bibliographical section), *passim*; 'All Dīawād, *Tārīkh-i Irān*, *Diwāghriyā*, Pt. I, Istanbul A.H. 1313, 151–152. (V. J. PARRY)

**BANDI**, an arabised Persian word, originally from the Sanskrit, denoting a narcotic drug, more exactly the henbane (*hyoscyamus*). The meaning of the Sanskrit *bhaṅḍā* is really "bemp" (*cannabis sativa L.*), i.e., the variety which grows in southern climes which contains in the tip of its leaves an intoxicating resinous substance (Arabic *baḥḍā*), whence the *Zand bānā* "drunkenness". In Persian the loanword *bān* was applied to the henbane and for this reason Hunayn b. Ishāq, in his Arabic translation of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides, (c. 235/859) equated it with the Greek *ῥοισμα*. With this meaning, the word *bān* is found in the early Persian medical writers who, as a rule, write in Arabic (al-Rāzī, Ibn Sīnā) and in more modern Persian medicine in Abū Maṣ'ūd Mawālā b. 'All (4th/10th century), while it appears to be unknown in the old Arabic poetry, as al-Bīrūnī in the chapter on *bān* in his pharmacology (MS. in the Bursa library) gives no quotations from the poets, which he would not otherwise have omitted to do. The early physicians of western Islām (Ibāḥ b. Sūwayr, Ishāq b. Sūwayr, Ibn al-Dīawād and others) also identified *bān* with henbane and called it in Arabic *sayḥān*, which, however Ahmad al-Ghāḥikī (an Arab physician of Spain of the 6th/12th century) in his pharmacology considers wrong. *Shahbūd* is however the Syriac term for henbane and the Arabic *sayḥān*, *alshān*, *ghāḥān* etc. is derived from it; but the later Arab botanists used the name for another henbane (*hyoscyamus matricaria*) which drives the taker mad, and also for the hemlock (*scicula*). In modern times the word *bān* (in the popular dialect of Egypt *bing*) is used for every kind of narcotic and the verb *bānawā*, "to narcotise" and also to "send to sleep, to anaesthetise", infinitive *bānā*, "narcosis" etc. is derived from it.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Sīdā, *Muḥabbarat*, xi, 162; *TA*, ii, 101; Ibn Sīnā, *Kāwān*, Bīlāḥ, i, 273; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Dīwān* i. *al-Mufradāt al-Aḍwiyā*, Bīlāḥ, i, 117; L. Leclerc, *Traité des simples par Ibn el-Beytār*, Paris 1877, i, 271; Lane, *Lexicon*, i, 238; Löw, *Flora der Juden*, iii, 359; Meyerhof and Sobhy, *The Abridged Version of "The Book of Simple Drugs" by Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ghāḥikī*, fasc. ii, Cairo 1933, 324 ff.; Renaud and Colin, *Tuḥfat al-Abbāb*, Paris 1934, 35; Dymock, Warden and Hooper, *Pharmacographia Indica*, London-Bombay-Calcutta 1890–1892, ii, 626 and ii, 318 ff.; E. G. Browne, *A chapter from the History of Cannabin Indica*, in *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Journal*, March 1897. (M. MEYERHOFF)

**BANDJARMASIN**, town on the southern coast of Kalimantan (Borneo, Indonesia), at Lat. 3° 18' S. and Long. 114° 35' E. It has been known from the 14th century onwards as a centre of inter-island trade and capital of a small principality. It was the capital of a sultanate in the Dutch period (1859–1912) and during the Japanese occupation. The population of approximately 300,000 is Muslim, though the influence of the Javanese civilisation is considerable, especially among the members of the nobility. (C. C. BRZO)

**BANGĀLA**, a geographical term, derived from the word Bang, originally denoting a non-Aryan people of this name and later applied to their homeland in the southern and eastern parts of Bengal, now in East Pakistan. Abū 'I-Faḍl, in his *Āṭin-i Akbarī*, remarks "The original name of Bengal was *Bang*. Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province called *Āl* (Sanskrit—*Āli*). From this suffix the name Bangal took its rise and currency". But both the words, Bang and Bangāl (or sometimes Bhāṅgal) were used in Sanskrit records. It is generally supposed that Bangāl was a smaller division, limited to the southern districts of East Bengal, while Bang was a wider unit. This distinction is purely hypothetical. Among the early Muslim historians, Minhāj al-Sirājī, in his *Tabāḥāt-i Nāṣirī*, uses Bang, and Dīwā al-Dīn Baranī, in his *Tārīkh-i Firāghīyā*, employs *Dīyār-i Bangāl*, or *Ārṣar-i Bangāl*, for the same region of East Bengal—a geographical division which maintained its integrity till about the middle of 14th century A.D.

Shamūd Sirājī 'Alī, in his *Tārīkh-i Firāghīyā*, gives to Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh the titles of *Shāh-i Bangāl* (the king of Bangāl), and *Shāh-i Bangālīyān* (plural of Bangāl) meaning the king over the people of Bengal. As Ilyās Shāh reigned for the first time both the kingdoms of eastern and western Bengal under him, he well deserved the titles, given by 'Alī, and it is after him that Bangāl came to denote a wider geographical region, comprising the whole Gangetic Delta; and this is the sense in all subsequent writings, Persian chronicles, Chinese travel accounts, and European works. But the Indians began to use the older term Gauda for this whole region.

From the middle of 16th century A.D., the city of Bangālā is mentioned in some of the European accounts, and also marked in their maps. But no local tradition or record speaks of such a city. Its position in the old maps is never identical, nor do the descriptions of different authorities tally with one another. Probably the important ports, or the capitals, visited by the Europeans, were variously called the city of Bangālā by different authorities. The mint "*Gau-Bangālā*", occurring in the coins of the Mughal emperor Akbar, may refer to the city, or the country, of Gauda in Bangālā (or "*sur* Bangālā", more probably the latter).

The kingdom of Bangālā grew out of the original Muslim conquest of Lakhnāwī (north-west Bengal) to which were added Satgāṇ (part of south-west Bengal) and Sonārgāṇ (east Bengal). Ilyās Shāh integrated these three regions into an independent Muslim Sultanate in A.D. 1352. His descendants ruled, with occasional revolutions, till A.D. 1484, when they were supplanted by their Abyssinian guards and officers. Within about ten years the oppressive Abyssinian rulers were overthrown by their own popular minister 'Alī al-Dīn Husayn Shāh, an Arab of noble lineage, who inherited in an age of peace and prosperity for the kingdom. The independence of Bangālā was finally crushed in 1538 when Shīr Shāh annexed it into his Indian Empire, but its unity continued as a *suba* (province) even under the Mughals, from 1576 onwards.

The political unity of Bangālā led to the cultural cohesion of the people who were called Bangālī, a term also applied to the local language which developed its literature in this period.

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(A. H. DANI)

**BANGANAPALLE**, a small state in south India prior to its merger in the Madras State in 1948. It had the distinction of being the solitary State south of the Tungabhadra ruled by a Muslim chief, in this case belonging to the Shī'ī persuasion. In 1948 it had an area of 275 sq. m. and a population of 44,631. The State lay between latitudes 15° 3' and 15° 29' N. and longitudes 77° 59' E. and 78° 22' E.

Banganapalle has had a chequered history. The ruler family claims descent from a minister of Shāh 'Abdā II of Persia on the paternal, and from a minister of the Emperor 'Alauddīn on the maternal, side. The ancestor of the family, Mīr Tāhīr 'Alī, migrated from Persia to Bidjāpūr. A number of family quarrels arose there resulting in his murder. His widow and four sons sought refuge with the Mughal *ḥaṣḍār* of Arror. One of these sons married the grand-daughter of the *dāstār* of Banganapalle, and thus came in contact with what was to be the home of the family.

Banganapalle itself changed hands a number of times. In 1643 it became subject to Bidjāpūr along with a large part of the Vijayanagar territory; but soon the Bidjāpūr hegemony gave place to Mughal rule and the rule of the Asaf Dildars. The *dāstār*, Husayn 'Alī, paid allegiance to Haydar 'Alī of Mysore and fought many a battle under his banner. But when Tipū Sultān succeeded his father he resumed the *dāstār* on a mere pretext. On Husayn's death his widow took refuge with the Nizām of Haydarābād, and one of the representatives of the family is said to have defeated Tipū's *ḥaṣḍār* in 1790 and taken possession of the town. The *dāstār* came under British supremacy by the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1800. It remained under the Madras Presidency till 1859 when it was taken over directly by the Government of India.

By the sanad of 1862 the British Government guaranteed succession according to Muslim Law in case a ruler died childless. In 1867 the hereditary title of *Nawāb* was conferred on the *dāstār*. In 1897, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign, the Nawāb was addressed as 'Your Highness'. The last ruling Nawāb, Mīr Faḍl 'Alī Khān, died soon after the merger, and the title now devolves on his eldest son Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Khān.

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**BANGKA**, island in Indonesia near the East coast of southern Sumatra, between Lat. 4° and 4° S. and at Long. 106° E. It owes its fame to its tin mines and its trade which attracted foreign merchants from early times. The economically weaker part of the population is Indonesian and Muslim of the normal Indonesian type. The most important part of the population consists of Chinese immigrants. (C. C. BRZO)

**BANHĀ**, a town in the Nile Delta, situated on the Damiyā branch, one of the main stations on the railway between Cairo and Alexandria and



45 kilometres north of Cairo. In mediaeval times, it formed part of al-Shariyya province and is today the chief town of al-Kalshiyya province, with some thirty thousand inhabitants. The Arabic name is a transcription of Coptic *Panakh*.

The locality occupies a place in the traditional history of the diplomatic relations between the Prophet and the enigmatic Mukawis, the so-called sovereign of Egypt. Among the presents which the latter sent to Muhammad, honey from Banāh is mentioned, and it is the result of just this detail which its nickname *Banāh al-'asā*, "Banāh of the honey", is supposed to evoke. The story may also well be an embellished explanation of an actual fact, for one of the earliest geographers, al-Ya'qūbī, states plainly that the village of Banāh produces famous honey. Yāqūt, in turn, extols the quality of this honey, which was one of the glories of Egypt.

The description given by al-Idrīsī seems to be of the following translation: "Banāh al-'asā forms an extensive domain, its lands planted with trees and producing much fruit; the cultivated fields succeed one another without a break; opposite, on the Western bank of the Nile, stands the main centre, which has given it its name".

Banāh does not appear to have played a rôle in history. At the end of the last century, it was exporting considerable quantities of the commodity to which it owed its name, as well as oranges and mandarins, which were highly esteemed".

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**BANĪ SUWAYF** (Bani Suf, Beni Suf) a town in Egypt, on the west bank of the Nile, 75 km. (120 km.) south of Cairo. According to al-Salḥāwī (902/1497) the old name of the town was Binnu-suwayf, from which popular etymology derived the form Banī Suwayf (the *بنى سوية* of Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Tuhfa al-Sunniyya*, 172, and the *بنى سوية* of Ibn Dūnān, *al-Futūḥ*, v, 10, ought probably to be read *بنى سوية*). In still more ancient times the capital of this district was Hierapolis Magna, 10 m. (16 km.) west of Banī Suf, which only attained importance under Muhammad 'Alī.

From the time of the division of Egypt into provinces (*mudiriya*), Banī Suf became the chief town of the second province of Upper Egypt, comprising three districts (*markaz*), and gave its name to this province. The town, numbering 10-12,000 inhabitants, is an agricultural centre of considerable importance, with a certain amount of commercial and industrial activity. Situated on the railway and the main road which follow the Nile, it is linked by a track to the Coptic monasteries on the Red Sea. The *makām* of the Shaykh Ḥifriyya, situated in the oldest mosque, Ḥishām al-Bahr, is venerated locally.

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**BANĪKA**, (plur. *banā'ik*), an Arabic word which has been subject to considerable semantic evolution. In early Arabic, its meaning is disputed by the lexicographers (cf. Ibn Sīdā, *Muḥāsana*, iv, 84-85;

*TA*, s.v.). The primitive meaning seems to have been "any piece inserted (*ba'la*) to widen a tunic (*banā*) or a leather bucket (*dalā*)". In the case of the *banā*, according to some authorities, *banā'ik* were "snippets" of material, in the form of very elongated triangles, inserted vertically below the armholes, along the lateral seams of the garment, to give greater fullness. According to others, they were pieces inserted on both sides of the fore-part of the collar (*ḥash*) to take the buttons and button-holes. As equivalents, the dictionary gives *ḥash*, *ḥashā*, *ḥashān*; *banā* (and its variant *banāka*), like the two latter words, may be of Persian origin.

In the Arab West, *banāka* is at times employed for a kind of man's tunic, though more frequently it is applied to an element of women's hair-covering. Spanish has retained *albanega* "a hair-net for gathering and covering the hair" and the Arabic of Tetuan still uses the word with a very similar meaning. At Algiers, it is a kind of square head-dress, provided with a back flap, which women use to cover their heads to protect themselves against the cold when leaving the *hammam* (= *banika*).

In its final development, the word, in the towns of Morocco, has come to mean "a small cell, a closet serving as an office for a minister", in the old *maḥalla* (q.v.): a back parlour (cell in a prison for the insane); a small room or lumber-room (in a flat)". According to oral tradition, the *banika* was originally a silk scarf in which all ministers coming to the Council carried their documents.

For the semantic evolution, compare with that of the French "*poindre*" and also (ministerial) portfolio and cabinet.

**Bibliography:** For the Moroccan ministerial *banikas*, cf. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui* (= 1902), chap. XI.

**BĀNĪYĀS** (or *Buluniyas*), the ancient Balanea, which also bore the name of Leuay; attempts have several times been made to identify it with an "Apollonia which never existed on this site" (R. Dussaud). It is today a small township on the Syrian coast situated some fifty kms. to the south of Latakia. This ancient Phoenician settlement, which became a Greek city minting its own coinage and, later, the seat of a bishopric, was incorporated in the *diḥ* of Hims at the time of the Arab conquest. It was, however, especially at the time of the Crusades, that its small harbour, protected by a fortress and dominated by the mighty castle of Markab (q.v.) on its rocky spur, was for a long period a scene of activity. Occupied by the Franks in 503/1109, Valencia, the position of which was strengthened by the taking of Markab in 512/1118, was one of the important fiefs of the principality of Antioch, at the extremity of the county of Tripoli and, after it was entrusted together with Markab to the Hospitallers in 572/1186, remained one of the last centres of resistance to the Muslim conquest. The attacks to which it was subjected, especially by Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn, until its conquest by Kālī'ūn in 684/1285, so completely ruined it that during the Mamlūk period it entirely lost its administrative rôle to the advantage of Markab, and its site and gardens alone remained the attraction of the Arab geographers. The present town does not even possess archaeological remains evocative of its ancient prosperity.

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index (see under Banyas); G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, especially 424 and 504; Balādhūrī, *Futūḥ*, 131; BGA, index; Ibn al-Aḥbār, x, 334 (which already has Bānīyās); Yāqūt, I, 729, iv, 300; Abu'l-Fidā', *Tahwīn*, 255; Dimaghī, ed. Mehren, 209.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

**BĀNĪYĀS**, the ancient Panaea, owed its name to the presence in the vicinity of a sanctuary of Pan, established in a grotto and serving as the main sources of the Jordan. The present place, situated 24 km. north-west of al-Kunaytra, on the road running along the southern frontier of the Syrian Republic, occupies a pleasant site, with plentiful water and rich vegetation, in a smiling valley of Mt. Hermon. Its neighbourhood, moreover, has always been praised by Arab writers for its fertility, and especially for its lemons, cotton and rice cultivation.

The town, though doubtless possessing an older history, is only mentioned since the Hellenistic period. It was embellished by Herod the Great and especially by his son Philip, who bestowed on it the name of Caesarea in honour of Augustus. It was then called Caesarea Philippi (to distinguish it from Caesarea in Palestine), then Caesarea Panaea. Later on the second part of the name survived alone. In the 4th century A.D. it became the seat of a bishopric, dependent on the province of Phoenicia, and the Arab conquest, when it is known to have served the army of Heraclius as a base before the battle of the Yarmūk, made it the chief town of the district of al-Bānīās. Somewhat later al-Mukaddas emphasises the prosperity of the township and the surrounding villages, into which inhabitants of the *thughūr* had emigrated. At the time of the Crusades, however, when the position of Bānīyās, lying at no great distance from Tyre, between Damascus and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, acquired strategic importance, its history became more eventful and its successive masters applied themselves to fortifying the castle of al-Subayba, whose ruins still dominate the town today.

Ceded in 520/1126 by Tughtakīn, Atabek of Damascus, to Bahrām, leader of the Ismā'īlīs, who were then active in Syria, it was handed over to the Franks in 524/1130, following the death of Bahrām and the violent action undertaken at Damascus against the followers of the sect. Recovered by force of arms by Būrf in 527/1132 and delivered up to Zankī, it was then besieged by the Franks who, with the help of the Damascenes, reincorporated it in their possessions in 534/1140. Nūr al-Dīn, after being repulsed twice in succession, Baldwin III and his army coming to the assistance of the threatened garrison on each occasion, finally made himself master of Bānīyās and its citadel in 559/1164 and its adversaries, in spite of their efforts, never succeeded in setting foot there again.

Bānīyās then played the rôle of a frontier stronghold between the countries of Islam and the territory of the Franks who, in Ibn al-Bayḥār's time (1460/1184), peacefully shared the exploitation of the surrounding plain with the Muslims. It was presented by Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn to his son al-Aḥdāl and then passed into the hands of various Ayyūbīd princes, who improved its defences, as is still born out by several extant inscriptions. Baybars, in his turn, was to carry out the restoration of a fortress, the continued importance of which is emphasised by the Mamlūk authors, who even make it the residence of an amīr, independent of the governor of the place.

At this period, Bānīyās was the chief town of a *sulḥa* forming part of the *siyāḥ* of 'Adjla, in the south of the province of Damascus. It was, however, soon to decline to its present state of a small township.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

**BANJALUKA** (alternative spelling Banja Luka), a town in Yugoslavia, in the north-western part of Bosnia, situated on both sides of the river Vrbas. It is a centre of culture and commerce of considerable importance in the district, has been on a railway line since 1873, and had 42,213 inhabitants in 1956, of whom about one third were Muslims (in 1948 the number of inhabitants was 37,223, of whom 9,957 were of "unspecified nationality"). S.E. Serbo-Croat speaking Muslims who did not declare themselves as either Serbs or Croats). Apart from the quarter called "Novoselija" which developed in the 12th/18th century, and more modern parts ("Varoš" and "Pregradje"), the town consists of two other parts—an upper city, ("Gornji Seher")—where a fortress, or settlement, existed before the Turkish conquest (1527 or 1528)—and a Lower City ("Donji Seher") which was built in the second half of the 16th/17th century. Both these parts contain survivals of the Ottoman rule. Of the 27 mosques of the town, two should be especially mentioned: the oldest of them, built immediately after the Turkish conquest, stands in the Upper City and is called the Emperor's Mosque ("Hunkarija" or "Careva džamija"), which was subsequently repaired and rebuilt three times (the building to be seen at the present day is said to date from the year 1824/25). The most beautiful one in the Lower City is the Mosque "Ferhadija džamija" built in 1279 by Ferhād Sokolović, governor of Bosnia at the time. The *mahallas* (i.e., quarters) of "Gornji Tabaci" and "Donji Tabaci", in the Upper City, recall the tanner's trade—the principal trade in nearly all Balkan towns in the 16th/17th and 18th/19th centuries. In the Lower City, on the banks of the Vrbas, there is a citadel ("Kaštel") which was built during the reign of Murād III (1595-1603) as the town's second fortress.

The statement which is found first in Ewelija Čelebi, that the first part of the name "Banjaluka" is the Serbo-Croat word "Banja" (bath), is merely an example of folk-etymology, based on the fact that there are hot sulphur springs in the town. The name is actually formed from the archaic possessive adjective of the noun "Ban" (a governor, in this case of the Hungarian King), and the word "Luka" (meadow by the river),<sup>1</sup> it thus means the meadow of the Ban.



After the fall of the kingdom of Bosnia (in 1463) the Hungarians acquired the area of Jajce. It is probable that Banjalučka was built at that time (it is mentioned for the first time in 1492) to serve as a fortress for the newly built Jajce-Banates. Immediately after the fall of Jajce, Banjalučka was conquered by the Turks (in 1527 or 1528). Under Turkish rule Banjalučka gained in importance, especially after the residence of the governor of the *sandjak* of Bosnia was moved from Sarajevo to Banjalučka in the middle of the 16th century. The quick rise of the town was largely due to the names of the first governors who resided in Banjalučka, in particular Ferhād Sokolović, a cousin of the Grand Vizier Mehmed Paša Sokolović (Sokolli). Ferhād Sokolović was governor of Bosnia from 1574, and became Berberbeg of the newly formed Pašaluk of Bosnia in 1580. Banjalučka remained the seat of the Berberbeg of Bosnia until it was moved to Sarajevo in 1638. In 1661, when Ewliya Celebi visited Banjalučka, it was a flourishing town with two fortresses, 42 mahallas, 45 mosques, and several *madrasas* and baths, with 300 shops and a Bezistân. The town itself (which numbered 3,700 houses) was then the seat of the representative (*Kā'im-mahmûl*) of the Vizier of Bosnia.

Banjalučka was conquered for a short time in 1688 by the Austrians under the Margrave of Baden, and they burnt down some parts of the town in their retreat. During the 1737 war, Banjalučka was besieged by the Prince of Hildburghausen, but was relieved by the Bosnian Vizier 'Alī Paša Hekimoglu as the result of the victory of August 4th. This war was described by 'Omar Efendi of Novi (Babinger, 276-277). Since then, Banjalučka has developed more or less unsheltered, although it could not regain its former greatness until the end of Turkish rule. There were 37 mahallas and 1,126 houses liable to taxes in Banjalučka in 1851. From then on it was the capital of one of the six Bosnian *sandjaks* (districts).

At the time of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia (1878), Banjalučka capitulated (without offering resistance) as early as 19st July. Nevertheless, there was a battle with the Bosnian Muslims on 14th August. The town remained under Austrian rule until 1918, when it became part of Yugoslavia.

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(B. DJORDJEVIĆ)

**BANKING** [see *DIANAHAD* and *SAVRAFI*].  
**BANKĪPŪR**, the Western suburb of the city of Patna, the 'Arzīmābād of the Muslim historians, situated in 25°37' N. and 85°5' E. on the right bank of the Ganges. The great landmark of BankīpŪr is the brick-built beehive-shaped silo or grain store-house constructed by Warren Hastings after the terrible famine of 1769-70. In Oriental circles the town is famous for its fine collection of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, some of which are extremely rare. The BankīpŪr library, called in the Trust Deeds "The Public Oriental Public Library", also known as the "Khudā Baghkh Library", contains many valuable books on Islamic literature. The founder, Mawlāwī Khudā Baghkh, (d. 1908) an advocate by profession, was a native of Chaprā (Bihar) who dedicated his entire life to the collection

of rare manuscripts from such ancient centres of culture as Cairo, Damascus, Beirut and places in Arabia, Egypt and Persia. It was Lord Curzon, Governor-General of India (1899-1905) who commissioned Sir Edward Denison Ross to reorganise the Library and to prepare a systematic catalogue. So far 31 volumes, describing some 4,000 MSS. out of a total number of over 6,000, have been published, as a result of sustained and patient collaboration between Sir Edward Denison Ross, 'Abd al-Muk-tadīr, 'Azīm al-Dīn Ahmad, 'Abd al-Hamīd and Mas'ūd 'Alī, Na'īm al-Dīn.

**Bibliography:** V. C. Scott O'Connor, *An Eastern Library*, Glasgow 1920; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur, Calcutta 1908-1939*; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi, 382-3.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**BANNĀʾ** [see *RIKĀʾ*].  
**AL-BANNĀʾ**, AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD [see *AL-DIMYĀTĪ*].

**AL-BANNĀʾ**, HASAN, founder and Director-General of al-Iḥwān al-Muslīmūn, was born in the year 1906, the son of Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad al-Bannāʾ al-Sāʾit. In addition to carrying on his trade of watch-maker, his father was a keen student of the traditions of al-Fayyās and the editor of the *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal.

Paternal influence was of the greatest significance in shaping the formative years of Hasan al-Bannāʾ and his early education followed the ancient pattern of that of the sons of the 'ulamāʾ—the memorising of the Qurʾān and the study of *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* and *ḥugha*. In addition to his conservative religious upbringing he appears to have possessed an innate spiritual bent for at an early age he became drawn towards Sūfism and was initiated into the Ḥashāfiyya order when he was fourteen years of age.

After a period at the Junior Teachers' School at Damanihūr he entered the Dār al-ʿUlūm in Cairo, at that time an independent teachers' training College. Even at Damanihūr his precocious capacity for organisation and impulse towards active proselytising had shown themselves in his founding of al-Dīnāfiyya al-Ḥashāfiyya al-Khāfiyya. At the Dār al-ʿUlūm he developed further his thesis that the sicknesses of Islamic society could only be cured by a return to the regenerative springs of the Qurʾān, *ḥadīth* and *ṣūra*. Together with a group of fellow-students he began to spread the Islamic mission by preaching in the mosques and meeting-places of the City.

On completing his course of training in 1927 he was posted to Ismāʿīliyya as a government school-teacher and in the following year founded the Muslim Brotherhood. He remained at Ismāʿīliyya until 1933, preaching, lecturing, pamphleteering and perfecting the organisational structure of his movement on the cell principle. During this period he travelled indefatigably up and down the Canal Zone and offshoots of the Ismāʿīliyya headquarters sprang up between Port Saʿd and Suez.

Following upon his transfer to a teaching post in Cairo, Hasan al-Bannāʾ entered upon a period of intense activity and the movement rapidly gained ground throughout Egypt. Subsequent to 1936, when he espoused the cause of the Palestine Arabs, he became increasingly involved in the political arena, lobbying successive prime ministers with pleas for action and reform. The years of the Second World War saw a hardening of the attitude of the government towards Hasan al-Bannāʾ. Under both Sirrī Paša and al-Nukrāḥī he was arrested for

brief periods and the activities of the Brotherhood severely curtailed. In the immediately post-war period tension between them and the government increased, culminating in their suppression following the murder of al-Nukrāḥī in December 1948. A few months later, in February 1949, Hasan al-Bannāʾ was himself assassinated.

**Bibliography:** Iḥḥā Mūsā Husaynī, *al-Iḥwān al-Muslīmūn*, Beirut 1957, (English translation with additional material, Beirut 1956); J. Heyworth-Dunn, *Religious and political trends in modern Egypt*, Washington 1957; Jean and Simone Lacouture, *Egypt in transition*, London 1958; Tom Little, *Egypt*, London 1958. For a further bibliography see article *al-Iḥwān al-Muslīmūn*, (J. M. B. JONES).

**BANNĀʾ**, KAMĀL AL-DIN Shīr 'Alī BANNĀʾ HARAWI, PERSIAN poet, the son of a *ḥasan* (*ḥanūf*) of Harāt, hence his choice of the pseudonym "Bannāʾ". He spent his youth in the entourage of the famous poet and Maecenas of the period 'Alī-Shīr Nawāʾī [g.e.], but fell into disgrace on account of his bitter jests, and had to take refuge at the court of the Ak Koyunlu [g.e.] prince Sultān Yūsuf b. (884-896/1429-1491), at Tabriz. After a reconciliation with 'Alī-Shīr, he returned to Harāt, but he had to leave his company once more in order to go to Samarkand, to the court of the Timurid prince Sultān 'Alī (902-953/1497-1546), son of Sultān Ahmad (823-899/1468-1494), son of Sultān Abū Saʿīd (855-873/1451-1468), who ruled over Transoxania. He composed in his favour a *ḥarida* in the dialect of Marw, with the title of *Madīyat* al-Karshīk. He was also poet of Sultān Mahmūd, who ruled over this region between 899 and 900 (1494-5). In 906/1500-1, when Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Muhammad Shaybānī Khān [g.e.] (Shaybak Khān: Shāhī Beg Özbek) occupied Samarkand, he remained for a time in prison and later became the official poet of his court and chief military judge (*ḥāfi* 'uskar), and at the same time one of the favourites of his son Muhammad Timur. After the death of Shaybānī Khān on 30 Shāʿbān 916/2 December 1510, he returned to Harāt, his native town, but he was slain during the massacre at Karshī, perpetrated in 918/1513 by Naḍīm al-Dīn Yār Ahmad Isfahānī, known as Naḍīm-ā Thānī, on the orders of Shāh Ismāʿīl the Safawid. Bannāʾ tried his hand at all types of poetry. He wrote at first under the pseudonym Hāmī, and in addition to his *diwān*, still unpublished (in which he constantly tried to imitate Hāmī), he has left two epics: 1) *Shaybānī-nāma*, on his patron's campaigns; 2) *Bāgh-ā Tram* or *Bāhrām-ū Būhrā*, a poem several times incorrectly attributed to the great Sūfī poet Sanāʾī (as a result of the word Bannāʾ being corrupted to Sanāʾī) and published in a collection with the works of *Abd al-Faḥḥār Ghūr* al-Shawʿad wa 'l-Aḥḥār and the *Tadhkirat* of Nawāʾī, at Taghleb in 1336/1918. He was also a musician, a composer, the author of two small works on music and a fine calligraphist.

**Bibliography:** Mir 'Alī-Shīr Nawāʾī, *Madīyat al-Nawāʾī*, two 16th century, Persian translations, edited with an introduction and annotations etc. by 'Alī Asghar Hilālī, Tehran 1945, 60, 223-3; Sīm Mirzā Safawī, *Tadhkirat* Sāmī (section 7), ed. in the original Persian, with index, Persian and English prefaces, variants and notes by Mawlāwī Iḥḥā Husaynī, Patna 1934, 27-30; *ibid.*, complete Tehran edition 1314/1936, 98-100; Saʿīd Naḥfīy, *Tadhkirat* al-yi *Mukhtasar-ā Adabiyāt* al-*Irān*, in *Sāʿid-nāma-yi Dārs*, 1326, 12-13. (SAID NAḤFĪY)

**BANNĀNĪ** [also *AL-BANNĀNĪ*], name of a family of Jewish converts to Islam of Fās (Fās), which from the 12th/18th century has produced a number of eminent religious scholars and still belongs, together with a few other families of Jewish extraction, to the aristocracy of Islamic learning in Fās. Its most important members are:

(1) ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-SALĀM B. HAMBŪC (d. 1165/1750). He is considered the last great representative of the older school of Fās in which he occupies a key position, uniting in his person the main traditions of Mālikī scholarship in the Maghrib (cf. J. Berque, in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1949, 88), combining with them the Mālikī traditions of the East where he also studied, and forming a great number of disciples. His *Fahrasa* [g.e.] is an important source on the legal studies in Fās in his time. His commentary on the *al-ḥikāh al-kābir* of al-Shāḥīdī [g.e.] testifies to the lasting connection of his family with the Shāḥīdī *tarīq*. His main work is a commentary on the *K. al-Idhār* of al-Kalīf, on the military expeditions of the Prophet and of the first three Caliphs. His son 'Abd al-Karīm composed a biography of him.

**Bibliography:** Muhammad b. al-Tayyib al-Kāḥḥī, *Naghr al-Maḥḥān*, ii, 257; Muhammad b. Dīʿfar al-Kattānī, *Salawāt al-Jalīl*, i, 146-148; Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattānī, *Fihrist al-Fakhrī*, i, 160-162; Muhammad b. Muhammad Maḥḥlūf, *Shadīqat al-Nūr al-Zahyā*, i, 353; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Chorja*, 312 L; Brockelmann, S II, 686.

(2) ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B. HASAN B. MAS'ŪD (d. 1194/1780). He wrote a gloss (commentary) in 1173/1779-80 on al-Zurkān's [g.e.] commentary on the *Mukhtasar* of Khallīl b. Iḥḥā, a commentary on the *Mukhtasar* al-Manṣūf of al-Sanūsī [g.e.], a commentary on the *Sūllam* of al-Aḥḥārī [g.e.], often printed, and a reputed *Fahrasa*.

**Bibliography:** al-Kāḥḥī, *Naghr al-Maḥḥān*, ii, 257; Muhammad b. Dīʿfar al-Kattānī, *Salawāt al-Jalīl*, i, 161-162; Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattānī, *Fihrist al-Fakhrī*, i, 162 L; al-Nasīr al-Salawī, *al-Idhār*, iv, 129; Muhammad b. Muhammad Maḥḥlūf, *Shadīqat al-Nūr*, i, 357; Sarkis, i, 590; Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens*, 146, n. 7; Brockelmann, II, 625, 615, S II, 98, 355, 706. (3) MUSTAFA B. MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-KHĀLIL, wrote in 1211/1796 a gloss on the *Mukhtasar* of al-Tafāzūlī [g.e.] on rhetoric, printed several times, also with notes of Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Anḥālī (d. 1313/1895).

**Bibliography:** Sarkis, i, 590; *Catalogue Cairo*, ii, 181; Brockelmann, i, 355, S I, 518.

(4) MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD 'AKARAH B. 'ABD AL-SALĀM B. HAMBŪC (d. 1245/1829-30), a grand-nephew of no. 1, became Mālikī mufti of Mecca.

**Bibliography:** Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattānī, *Fihrist al-Fakhrī*, i, 163 f.

(5) MUHAMMAD, called Fīḥ'AWN (d. 1281-82/1865), author of a *K. al-Waḥḥ* which was printed several times, also with the commentary of 'Abd al-Salām b. Muhammad al-Hawārī (d. 1328/1910).

**Bibliography:** Berque, in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1949, 102; Sarkis, i, 590. (6) For other members of the family Bannānī, see Ben Cheheb and Lévi-Provençal, *Essai de répertoir chronologique des éditions de Fās*, in *R. Afr.*, 1921 and 1922 (index by H. Pérès and A. Sempéret, in *Bull. Etudes Arabes*, no. 32, 1947, s.v. Bannānī); Sarkis, *Madīyat al-Maḥḥān*, i, 389-391; Muhammad b.



Muhammad Makhlūb, *Shādjarat al-Nūr*, I, 431; 'Abd al-Hafiz al-Fāsi, *Riyāḍ al-Dīwana*, II, 20 ff., 100 f. (?) Not to the family Bannānī belong 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Izz al-Lāh al-Bannānī (d. 1198/1784), who derives his *niska* from a village in the neighborhood of Monastir (Muhammad b. Muhammad Makhlūf, *Shādjarat al-Nūr*, I, 142; Sakhīs, I, 591; Brockelmann, II, 109, S II, 105), and Abu 'r-Rāsim Ibrahim al-Warrāk (earlier than 900/1495), whose *niska* is uncertain (Brockelmann, I, S, 585).

(J. SCHACHT)

**BANNŌ**, town and headquarters of the district of the same name in West Pakistan, situated in 33° N. and 70° 30' E. Population in 1957 was 27,516 for the town and 307,193 (District).

The present town was founded by Lt. Edwardes Herberts in 1848 on a strategic site and named Edwardesābād. The name, however, did not become popular and soon fell into disuse, giving place to Bannā, the old name of the valley derived from the Bannā'ān, an Afghān tribe of mixed descent. The valley, strewn with ruins of great antiquity, was, according to local tradition, overrun by the armies of Mahmūd of Ghazna, who raised all Hindu strongholds to the ground. A century later the valley was peopled by the surrounding hill-tribes, the Bannā'ān, the Marwats and the Nihāzīs. For two centuries thereafter it remained under the loose sway of the Mughals. It was conquered in 1778 by Nādir Shāh Afghān and subsequently over-run by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. In 1821, the Sikh ruler of Lahore, Ranjīt Singh, occupied the valley to be constantly harried by the Afghāns. It was, however, formally ceded to the Sikhs in 1838. After the first Sikh War (1845-46), the valley came under the British influence. In 1847/48, Lieut. Edwardes, as a representative of the Sikh Durbar of Lahore, marched on the valley along with a large army under Gen. van Cortlandt. In 1849 with the annexation of the Panjāb, Bannā passed on to the British. Contrary to expectations, it remained absolutely peaceful during the military uprising of 1857.

The valley has yielded finds of great archaeological value, among them being coins with Greek or pseudo-Greek legends. The Akra mound near the town is reputed to be of great antiquity.

After its construction in 1848 the Bannāi fort was named Dalipgarh, after Mahārājā Dalip Singh, a grandson of Ranjīt Singh. As usual a town soon grew up around the fort. It is now the centre of considerable trade. The town is expanding fast and large sums have been recently sanctioned by the Government for the economic development of the area.

**Bibliography:** S. S. Thorburn, *Banna or Our Afghan Frontier*, London 1876; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi, 392-402; *Banna Gazetteer*, Ferozwar 1907; T. L. Pennell, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghans*; E. Herberts, *Panjab and the Frontier*, 2 vols., London 1857; H. L. Nevill, *Campaigns on the North-West Frontier*, London 1912, index; George Dunbar, *Frontier*, London 1912, 49-69; *Bilṭur-nima* (transl. A. S. Beveridge), index, (A. S. BAKKIE ANSARI).

**BANTAM** or **BANTEN** (see BĀWA).

**BANŌC**, followed by the name of the eponymous ancestor of a tribe, see under the name of that ancestor.

**BANŌC ISRĀ'ĪL**, "the Children of Israel".

1. This designation of the Jewish people occurs in the Qur'ān about forty times. The terms *Yahūd*, Jews, and its derivatives as well as *Nasārah*, Christians,

appear only in the Medinese period, although they had been widely used in pre-Islamic poetry and certainly were familiar to every Arab townsman (Joseph Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 144 ff. and 253 ff.). On the other hand, *Banā Isrā'īl* never occurs in authentic pre-Islamic poetry (*ibid.*, 25). It would therefore seem to follow that the exclusive use of this term during the Meccan period has something to do with the Prophet's original knowledge of, and attitude towards, the monotheistic religions preceding him.

In most of the Meccan verses, the *Banā Isrā'īl*, appear in connexion with Moses and the stories which are paralleled in the Biblical book of Exodus or its apocryphic amplifications; they are, in chronological order according to Noldeke-Schwally: x, 47, 80, 94 (disensions among the *Banā Isrā'īl*, see below); xlv, 30; xxvi, 17, 22, 59; xvii, 2, 103; xl, 53; xxxii, 23-24; x, 90; vii, 105, 134, 137, 183. This explains also the form of the name: "the Children of Israel", as in the book of Exodus, and not "Israel", as was common usage in Jewish literature in the period preceding Muhammad (with few exceptions; see *Tarbiḥ* 3 (1912), 413, n. 158.)

However the *Banā Isrā'īl* were more than the "people of Moses" (vii, 147, 158; xxviii, 76). In Sura xvi, which bears the name of *Banā Isrā'īl* (but also *al-Isrā'īl*), 4-8, the destruction of the First and the Second Temple is described as the fulfilment of a heavenly decree included in the "Book" (perhaps an allusion to Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28), while liii, 59 makes Jesus appear among the *Banā Isrā'īl*.

Finally, there are a number of Meccan passages which clearly indicate that the *Banā Isrā'īl* were also understood to denote persons living in Muhammad's time. Doubtful is xli, 10: "If a witness from the *Banā Isrā'īl* testified about [a message] similar to this [Revelation (Muhammad's) or another part of the Qur'ān] and believed"—a verse generally regarded by Muslim tradition as alluding to the Jewish convert 'Abd Allāh b. Sālm (see the sources collected in Tabari's commentary, vol. 26, 6-9). For as the word "a message" similar" shows, the reference is probably to "the book of Moses" (xli, 12), as indeed Tabari himself thought possible, although he rejected that interpretation.

However xxi, 107 "Is it not a proof for them (the Meccans) that the scholars (or knowledgeable men) of the *Banā Isrā'īl* know it (the content of Muhammad's message)?" hardly makes sense without the assumption that the persons referred to were known to his hearers; the more so as the following verses, xxvi, 198-9, allude to missionary activities of non-Arabs. Likewise xvii, 101 "Ask the *Banā Isrā'īl*" is to be compared with such passages as x, 94 "If you (M.) are in doubt concerning what We sent down to you, ask those who read the Book before you," cf. xxxi, 7; xvi, 43; xxv, 59; ii, xii (xlii, 45) is no proof to the contrary, as in xii, 7 and xlv, 34 the Meccans are addressed.

In any case, the *Banā Isrā'īl* must be regarded as contemporary with Muhammad in those Meccan verses in which reference is made to their dissensions, which will be settled either by the Qur'ān xxvii, 76, or on the day of resurrection, xxxii, 23-5; xlv, 16-17; x, 95. This use of the term is even more evident in al-Madīna, where the *Banā Isrā'īl* are admonished to believe in Muhammad's message and warned of the consequences of their disbelief (ii, 40-1), or where they are censured for their behaviour, obviously actually observed (ii, 83-85; they fight one another, but ransom those that were taken captives).

In order to establish which group of contemporary monotheists were meant by *Banā Isrā'īl*, one has to bear in mind that already in the Meccan Sūra liii, 59 (see above), Jesus appears among the *Banā Isrā'īl*, and does so rather frequently in Meccan passages iii, 49; v, 72-74; 78; lxi, 6, la lii, 14 it is said explicitly that one group of the *Banā Isrā'īl* believed in him and another did not. Cf. also v, 110, where God protects him against the *Banā Isrā'īl*.

However, when in v, 12-13 the *Banā Isrā'īl* are reported to "those that say we are Christians", v, 14; or are censured in v, 70 together with "Those that say the Messiah, son of Maryam, is God", v, 72, it seems indeed that the Qur'ān, where addressing Muhammad's contemporaries as *Banā Isrā'īl*, meant Jews. To this interpretation point also the references to the dietary laws in ii, 93 and the quotation from the *Miḥna* (Sakhīs, 4, 3), which is introduced as an injunction imposed by God on the *Banā Isrā'īl*. The Muslim commentators indeed explained the Qur'ānic diatribes against the *Banā Isrā'īl* as directed against the Jews of al-Madīna, with whom Muhammad had so many dealings.

From this use of the name *Banā Isrā'īl* it does not follow that the word or the ideas connected with it had come to Muhammad from Jews. On the other hand, the term of the word (*Isrā'īl*, not *Yisrā'īl*) does not prove that it is derived from Syriac, for the Hebrew spelling with Y and Sin was merely traditional, while the pronunciation of initial yā as i was as common among Jews as among some other Aramaic-speaking peoples.

In any case, it is most likely that the term *Banā Isrā'īl* became known to Muhammad together with the general ideas on revelation and prophecy centering around it: there was only one true religion laid down in a heavenly book; that book had been "sent down" through Moses "before Muhammad" xlv, 12, 30; xl, 17. However, instead of uniting the *Banā Isrā'īl*, its very revelation caused dissension among them xxxii, 23-25; xlv, 16-17; x, 93. The same happened to the followers of Christ xlii, 13-14. Finally, Muhammad's own mission, which was destined to settle "most" of the dissensions of the *Banā Isrā'īl* xxvii, 76, was not recognised by Jews and Christians ii, 120 (see *ib.* ii, 111, 113), so that it, too, had the effect of dividing humanity xxviii, 3. This tragic discord was explained as brought about by God's own inscrutable decree xli, 43; xli, 110 (Muslim book); x, 19 (humanity originally was one *umma* or religious community); xvi, 93 (God could unite humanity in one *umma*, but He "chooses" whom He likes xlii, 13). This conception was in a way reminiscent of the *Midrash* applied to the history of the ancient *Banā Isrā'īl*. Aaron, when rebuked by Moses for making the Golden Calf, excuses himself by explaining that he did so in order to avoid the *Banā Isrā'īl* becoming divided xx, 94.

Muhammad, as the son of a caravan city, knew of course about Jews and Christians. However, the idea that these two had their common origin in the *Banā Isrā'īl*, the numerous stories about them and the belief that the various religions should rightly be one, are too specific to have come from this source. As only the term *Banā Isrā'īl* or other general designations for the earlier book religions occur during the whole of his Meccan period, it seems most probable that this use of the term is to be traced to a monotheistic tradition which emphasised the common rather than the dividing aspects of the monotheistic religions.

2. In the *ḥadīth*, *Banā Isrā'īl* denotes both the old Israelites, e.g., when 'Umar is compared to a king of

the *Banā Isrā'īl* (Heseekiah), Ibn Sa'd ii, I, 257, I, 2 ff., or when David's Araamah (Samuel II 24, 21) is referred to, Ibn Sa'd iv, I, 13, I, 23, and also the Jews and Christians in general, e.g., in the chapter "What was said about the *Banā Isrā'īl*" in Bukhārī (60) *Anbiyā'*, 50. Although, by chance, only Jews are mentioned there separately, Christians are referred to by implication in a story about a *rāḥib*, which normally denotes a monk. A story about Dīrjadyī, "who was a monk among the *Banā Isrā'īl*" is reported by Abū'l-Layth al-Samarqandī in his *Taḥṣīl al-Ḥikāya* 206.

The question why the ancient *Banā Isrā'īl*, the chosen people, Sūra ii, 2, 47, 122; xlv, 32; xlv, 16, should have disappeared, considerably occupied the mind of the Muslims. Their answers to this question echoed of course their own tribulations, such as deviations in the fields of theology and religious law ("the *Banā Isrā'īl*" perished, because they practised *Ka'f* [see *Asṭaḥ al-Ka'f*]), or public morals "because their women indulged in wigs" (Bukhārī (60) *Anbiyā'* 54) or "in high heels" (Fakīh, ii, 366, quoted by Dozy, *Suppl.* ii, 391 a).

For the Muslims regarded those *Banā Isrā'īl* as their brothers, as in the famous *ḥadīth* Farḥad-Huḍayfa: "What excellent brothers are the *Banā* to you! They (experienced) the bitterness and the sweetness," quoted e.g., by Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Auliya'* iii, 50, I, 5. The saying obviously refers to "the burden and the chains", i.e., the many religious obligations which were incumbent on the *Banā Isrā'īl* (both Jews and Christians according to Sūra vii, 157), cf. Ibn Kutayba, *Muḥṣal al-Ḥadīth* 142, ult.

In a *ḥadīth* quoted by Saḥl al-Tustarī in his *Taḥṣīl al-Kur'ān*, 57, the Muslims even identify themselves with the *Banā Isrā'īl*: "We are the *Banā Isrā'īl*, we, the sons of Naḍr b. Kināna. We do not follow our mother (who was the wife of both Kināna and his father Khuzayma, see Ibn Hishām i-2) nor our fathers (i.e., Naḍr, Kināna, Khuzayma); with 'we' the Arabs are meant."

However, as in the Qur'ān, *Banā Isrā'īl* denotes in the *ḥadīth* also contemporary Jews and Christians and is thus synonymous with *Abi al-Kithāb* and similar expressions. Cf. the very often quoted saying of Muhammad: "*ḥadīthū 'an Banī Isrā'īl wala haraḍi*" "Relate traditions which come from the *Banā Isrā'īl* without scruples"; cf. *Concordance of Islamic Tradition* *Mawṣū'at*, v, 441 b, s.v. *hrḍi*; and Wenckstein, *Handbook*, 237a; al-Shū'fī, *Riḍāla*, Cairo 1910, 101 (1212, 105).

Again, as in the Qur'ān, when used of contemporaries, *Banā Isrā'īl* mostly means Jews. Cf. the characteristic story about the wigs of the women of the *Banā Isrā'īl* which is given in Bukhārī (60) *Anbiyā'* 54, the first time (ed. Krehl ii 370) with a general reference to the *Banā Isrā'īl* but a second time (Krehl ii 380, I, 10) in a detailed story about the Caliph Mu'awiya, who, while visiting al-Madīna, was disgusted to find the women there wearing wigs (a habit which they might have adopted from their Jewish neighbours). "I have nobody seen doing this", the old Caliph said, "except the Jews". Thus the familiar picture of the *Ḥabir min ḥabir Banā Isrā'īl* (e.g., Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya* ii, 372, I, 22 = Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn al-Aghḥār* ii, 359, I, 32) is to be understood as describing a rabbi; and when Maḡdī al-Dīn Ibn al-Aḡfir, Nihāya, s.v. *ḥay* I 136 refers to "the rabbis, *ḥabir*, of the *Banā Isrā'īl*", after Moses "who compiled the *Miḥna* (al-maḡḥnā)" he means of course Jews.



It is from this usage of *Banū Isra'il* that the word *Isra'īlī*, Israeliite, was derived as a more polite designation for a Jew than Yahūdī. We find this term already in full use in the third/ninth century, e.g. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih* 70, 7 (the Israelites in 'Irāq); 113, 3 (Israeliite translators of the Bible); 219, 9 (Israeliites divided into three sects), cf. also *ibid.*, 103, 7; 112, 18; alongside with Yahūdī 113, 9; 184, 14. Similarly, Muslim scholars and men of letters refer in this way to their Jewish colleagues, e.g., Ishāk al-Isrā'īlī, the famous doctor and author (M. Steinschneider, *Arab. List. d. Ind.*, Frankfurt 1903, 38-45); Jewish converts to Islam also, such as the poet Ibn Sahl al-Isrā'īlī of Seville (Brockelmann S. I, 483) were styled thus.

A later, scientifically minded, age tried to distinguish with more precision between *Banū Isra'il* and *Yahūdī*. Al-Kalkashandī xviii, 252, quoting 'Unād al-Dīn (i.e. Abu'l-Fida'), states that *Banū Isra'il* are the ancient Jews by race, while the term *Yahūdī* includes also the many converts to Judaism from Arab, Rūm and other stocks. This statement is not without foundation in the usage of ancient sources. Thus Ibn Sa'd, viii, 85, l. 27 says with regard to Sāfiyya, the Jewish wife of Muhammad, that she was from the *Banū Isra'il* i.e., from pure Jewish stock, a descendant of the high priest Aaron.

As is natural, to an ancient people such as the *Banū Isra'il* things were ascribed which originally had nothing to do with them. Thus a Maghribī handbook on agriculture advises against doing farmwork on certain days, because they were the days of punishment (*ṭiğā*, cf. Sūra 7, 162) inflicted on the *Banū Isra'il*, see J. M. Millas-Vallicrosa, in *Andalus* 19 (1954), 132.

The most important aspect of the image of the *Banū Isra'il* in Muslim literature is the piety attributed to them. "The pietists (*'abid, muta'abbidin*) of the *Banū Isra'il*" is a common expression, cf. e.g., 'Abd al-Kādir Jilīlī, *Ghunya* ii 62, Abū Nu'aym, *Histop al-Ashraf* ii 373, l. 4 ff. Of a man who devoted himself to worship and asceticism it was said that he was like the *Banū Isra'il*, Sakḥawī (d. 902/1497), *al-Daw' al-Lami'* vi, 146, 20-22. Many of the stories about the pious men of the *Banū Isra'il*—quite a number of which have found their way into *Al-Layla wa-Layla*—can be traced in the Talmud and the Midrashim, such as the beautiful parable about the pious Hury of the *Banū Isra'il* in Ibn 'Asakir's *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, 32, or the story of an Ashkīzī's *Ta'rikh Domariya* of Babylonian, Talmud, Sa'adith 23. Cf. ISRA'ILY'YAR, where also an attempt is made to explain, why pietism was connected with *Banū Isra'il*.

**Bibliography:**—in the article. See also S. D. Goitein, *The Banū Isra'il and their Contemporaries, a study on the Qorān* (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* iii, (1912), 410-422; J. Horowitz, *Enc. Jud.* 8, 369 ff. and the literature noted there.

**BANQIR**, an ancient town (East Panjab, India) situated in 30° 34' N. and 76° 47' E., 9 miles from Ambāla and 20 miles from Sirhind. The old Sanskrit name was Vahnīyūr which became, during the course of centuries, Banqīr and finally Banīr. The ruins extend right up to Chānī (in French), *Tarikh* iii, (1912), now in ruins 4 miles away. It was first mentioned by Bāhor when it was, and still continues to be, famous for its white jasmine flowers and the otto distilled from them.

Another ancient name of Banqir, according to tradition, was Pūṣpā Nagari or Pūṣpāwāli (lit. city of flowers) but it bears no resemblance to its

present name. During the rule of the Sayyid dynasty (817-55/1414-51) the town seems to have gained in importance and even just before the establishment of Pākistān (1947) was peopled mainly by *sayyids* who, like the *sayyids* of Bīlgrām, trace their descent to Abū 'l-Farāh of Wāsit, said to have migrated to India after Hūlāgū's sack of Baghdad (656/1258). The tomb of Malik Sulaymān Khān, father of the Sayyid ruler Khādīr Khān (817-24/1414-21) existed till 1947 when the local Muslims migrated en masse to Pākistān. Sayyid Ādam al-Banīrī [g.e.] (d. Madina, 1053/1643) one of the leading *ḥādīth* of Ahmad Sirhindī [g.e.] was a native of this town. It was overrun early in the 12th/18th century by the Sikh adventurer Banda Bayrāgī, and passed into the possession of the Singhpurīyā Sikhs. It was occupied in 1771/1763 by Āla Singh, the chief of Patiala and remained in the possession of his descendants till 1936 when the State was eventually merged into the new province of East Panjab. It was defended by two forts, Mughal and Sikh, which are still extant as ruins.

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(A. S. DARGAZ NISARI)

**AL-BANQIRI**, Mu'izz al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh ĀDAM B. S. ISMA'IL, one of the premier *ḥādīth* of Ahmad Sirhindī [g.e.], was a native of Banqir [g.e.]. He claimed descent from Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm [g.e.], but it was disputed on the ground that his grandmother belonged to the Mahawīlī tribe of the Afghans and he too lived and dressed after the fashion of the Afghans. His name was again questioned when in 1052/1642 he was in Lahore accompanied by 10,000 of his disciples, mostly Afghans, by 'Allādī Sa'd Allāh Khān Chingīyī, the chief Minister of ShāhJahān, and by 'Abd al-Hakīm al-Siyākūtī [g.e.], who had been deputed by the Emperor to ascertain in the company of such a large visit to Lahore in the saint the reason of his force. Not satisfied with the explanation of the *Shaykh*, the emperor ordered him to quit Lahore, go back to Banqir and proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca and al-Madīna.

During the early years of his life he served in the Intelligence branch of the Imperial army but gave up service after which he was able to devote his time to take up a life of piety and spirituality. He first became a disciple of Hādījī Khān Rūghānī Būhlūlpuri and on his advice later contracted his *bay'a* with Ahmad Sirhindī. During the transition period he visited a number of places including Mutlān, Ambāla, Pānīpat, Shāhabād, Sirhind, Lahore and Sāmāna in search of dervishes and mystics.

There are conflicting statements in the *Nihāt al-Ashr*, a collection of his *maṭnawāt*, and the *Manāshih al-Hadārāt*, his authentic biography, regarding his educational attainments. While the *Nihāt* describes him as an "eminent 'ālim" the *Manāshih* records that he read primary books like the *Mūzin al-Sarī* and *Mawāṣiḥ* with Mullā Tārīq Lāhaurī, a well-known scholar of his days. His military argument, however, suggests that he was fairly well educated.

He died at al-Madīna on Friday, Shawwāl 13, 1053/December 25, 1643 and was buried in al-Bakī' near the tomb of 'Uḡayyib b. 'Affān. During his life-time he wielded great influence and at the time of his death more than 400,000 persons owed spiritual

allegiance to him. His meagre religious education, rigid attitude and contempt for State dignitaries was constantly criticised, but he remained steadfast in his mission and won over to his side both scholars and laymen like Muḥammad Anūb Badakhshī, 'Abd Khālik Kasūrī, Shaykh Abū Naṣr Amīnālāwī, his brother Ma'adūd and Shaykh Muḥammad also of Ambāla. Among his *ḥādīth* are counted more than a hundred persons, including Hāfiz 'Abd Allāh of Akbarābād, spiritual guide of Shāh 'Abd al-Rahīm, father of Wālī Allāh al-Dihlawī, and Sayyid 'Alam al-Aīlāh, one of the ancestors of Ahmad Badakhshī [g.e.].

An incidental reference in the *Nihāt al-Ashr* reveals that he was 46 when the book, as internal evidence shows, was compiled during his sojourn in the Hijāz in 1052-3/1642-3. This means that he was born c. 1005-6/1506-7. His youngest son, Muḥammad Muḥsin, was born at Gwalior in 1052/1642, while he was on his way to Mecca, a fact which further supports the view that he died at no very advanced age.

He is the author of: i) *Nihāt al-Ashr*, dealing with abstruse mystical problems and their *Sūfī* exposition, interspersed with personal experiences of the author in the spiritual field and casual biographical references; ii) *Ḥadīqat al-Ma'rifat* (in 2 vols.) is more or less a continuation of the former. The entire work is in Persian and is still in MS. He is also the author of a commentary on *al-Futūḥ* which forms the first part of the *Nahādī al-Haramayn*, compiled by Muḥammad Amin Badakhshī, who claims to have lived for fifty years in the Hijāz and also accompanied Ādam al-Banqirī on his pilgrimage to the holy cities.

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**BANYAR**, a confederation of South Arabian tribes, mainly Banū 'Amir, Banū Yūsuf (Ayyūb), Āl

'Azzān and Āl 'Umar, living north of Kawr 'Awḡhilla (cf. art. 'Awḡhilla) in al-Dihlī, Marjha and Wādī Ma'fart (also called W. Banyar). The Banyar once belonged to the Sultanate of al-Kaṣās in Miṣwara; their chief town is al-Bayḡlī (cf. art. ayyūb). Here is the residence of the common head ('*shāh*) of all Banyar, while the Banū Yūsuf in the north are said to have an '*shāh*' of their own in al-Farjā. The Banyar territory corresponds, roughly speaking, to that of the MDHY in inscriptions (cf. art. MAMMUD).

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(O. LÖFGREN)

**BANZART**, (Bīzarta), a town on the Northern coast of Tunisia. It stands on the site of the ancient town of Hippo Diarrhytus, the memory of which is perpetuated in the modern name. Phoenician, Carthaginian, Roman and Byzantine in succession, it was taken by Mu'awīya b. Hudayfī in 47/667 and again occupied, simultaneously with Carthage, by Ḥasan b. Nu'mān. In the 4th/10th century, it is mentioned by Ibn Hawkal as the capital of the province of Saffūra (north of Tunis), although at the time it was practically deserted and in ruins. It recovered from this decline. In the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī speaks of the stone wall surrounding the town, as well as of its great mosques, bazars, baths and gardens. Fish is cheaper there than elsewhere. The lake (*būhayra*) offers wonderful fishing, different kinds of fish stocking it in turn. Not far from the roadside, called the *Marsā al-būha*, and from the town, there are some forts (*Kūfā* Banzart), which served as a refuge, a place of retirement for men of piety and a refuge for the local people, when they feared a Christian landing.

Following the invasion of the nomadic Hīlāl and the abandonment of al-Kayrawān by the Zīrid sultan al-Mu'izz, Banzart became virtually independent; soon, however, it was forced to pay tribute exacted by the Arabs holding the countryside, as a guarantee against being pillaged by them. Taking advantage of the rivalries which reft the population, the Arab chieftain al-Ward al-Laḡhmī entered Banzart and there set himself up as the ruler. He endowed his capital with the requisite institutions and made the town relatively prosperous. His son succeeded him and the Banu 'Umar continued in Banzart until the Almohad invasion (554/1159). The seventh of this line, the amīr Ṭūs, made his submission to 'Abd al-Mu'mīn.

At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, Banzart was occupied by the Banū Ghāniyya Almoravids and from that time entered on a decline, confirmed at the beginning of the 10th century by Leo Africanus. However, it received some Muslim emigrants from Spain, who founded the "suburb of the Andalusians" and, like all ports of the Barbary coast, it turned its attention to privateering. Having repudiated the authority of the Hafids of Tunis, in 240/1554 it submitted to Khayr al-Dīn, the master of Algiers. Charles V took it in the following year and it remained in the hands of the Spaniards until 285/1592. Banzart having once again become a Turkish town, its corsairs became an ever increasing danger. Their depredations provoked reprisals on the part of the Christian powers, namely naval expeditions by the Knights of Malta and bombardments, that of 1124/1785 by the Venetians almost completely destroying the town. The suppression of privateering and the



sitting up of the harbour brought about Banzart's ruin. Bizerta, now no more than a wretched village, was taken by the French in 1881. Considerable works were undertaken, which made it a great port, accessible to the largest ships, equipped with a military arsenal and defended by modern forts.

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(G. MARGAIS)

**BĀ'OLĪ**, Urdu and Hindi word for step-well, of which there are two main types in India, the northern and the western. The northern variety is the simpler, consisting essentially of one broad flight of stone steps running from ground level to level below the waterline, the whole width of the site; subsidiary flights may run opposite and at right angles to these below water-level, thus constricting the cistern itself into successively smaller squares, and these may be supplemented by cross-flights reducing the final cross-sectional area of the cistern to an octagon. The sides other than that composed of the main flight are vertical, of stone or, less commonly, of brick. The whole site is usually rectangular—the Bā'olī outside the Buland darwāza at Fatehpur [sic] Sikrī, associated with Shāykh Salīm Chishtī is a notable exception, the nature of the terrain having made an irregular polygon the only shape possible—with apparently no consistency in orientation: e.g. the Bā'olī at the dargāh of Nigām al-Dīn Ḥusaynīya, near the city of Agra, tomb, Delhi, runs north and south in alignment with the shrine, while that at the dargāh of Khwāzida Kutb al-Dīn Bahā'udīn Kāhī at Mahrawīl, near Lilloot, Old Delhi, runs east-west and is not aligned with any major structure. Such Bā'olīs are functional structures, from which water may be drawn and in which ablutions may be carried out, and into which men dive, often from a balcony at noon, to recover alms cast in by pilgrims. They are usually unadorned, but often of a monumental beauty on account of their size: e.g. that of Nigām al-Dīn is 37.4 m. long by 16.2 m. broad, and some 20 m. deep from ground level to average water-level.

Bā'olīs are found at the principal shrines associated with Chishtī [sic] Sūfis; besides the examples already noted, a fine rock-cut Bā'olī is at the dargāh of Shāykh Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī at Ajmer. The reason for this particular association is not clear. Other Bā'olīs, smaller but of similar type, are not uncommon at other Islamic sites in N. India, concerning which there is no reason to suppose any Chishtī connexion. Pre-Islamic examples are not recorded.

The western variety, generally known by the Gujarati word *av*, is of high artistic and architectural merit as well as functional; it is more elaborate than its northern counterpart, consisting of two parts: a vertical circular or octagonal shaft, from which water may be drawn up as from an ordinary well, and a series of galleries connected by flights of steps, with pillared landings on the lower galleries supporting the galleries above; passages from each landing run to the shaft, where there are frequently chambers which form a cool retreat in the hot season. Such structures are known in Gujarāt from pre-Muslim times: Mātā Bhavānī's *av* near Ahmadābād, the best preserved Hindu

prototype, is probably 11th century A.D. (Burgess, *ASW*, viii, 1-3); Bāl Harīr's *av* in Ahmadābād, which bears a Sanskrit inscription of A.D. 1499 and an Arabic one of 8 Jumādā I 906/30 Nov. 1500, has ornament very similar to that of the treasury in the niches of the minarets of local mosques. The *av* at Adilābād (*ibid.*, 10-13) is a cruciform, with three main flights down to the first landing. Other *av*s occur scattered throughout Gujarāt from Baroda (Baroda) northwards; one of these, at Māndvā on the left bank of the Vātruk, is of peculiar construction, having a brick circular shaft with chambers in three storeys on one side reached by spiral stairs within the wall of the shaft itself.

The northern Bā'olīs are not dated; that at the dargāh of Nigām al-Dīn is said (Sayyid Ahmad Khān, *Atār al-Sandīd*, Lucknow edition 1900, 42) to have been built by the Shāykh (636-725/1238-1325) himself, and it is probable that other examples date from the same approximate period.

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(J. BURGESS-PAGE)

**BĀONĪ**, formerly a petty Muslim state in the Bundelkhand Agency of Central India, is now administered as part of Madhya Pradesh (area: 122 square miles; population: 25,256, of which only 12% are Muslims). Its rulers were descended from 'Umaid al-Mulk Ghāzī al-Dīn, the grandson of Aṣaf Dīsh, the Nizām of Haydarābād. About 1784 Ghāzī al-Dīn came to terms with the Marāṭhās who granted him a *dar* of 25 villages; the same Bāonī became detached from Bāon (fifty-two). This grant was later recognised by the British, because of his loyalty during the 1857 revolt, the nawāb was granted a *sanad* 1862 guaranteeing the succession. In 1884 the nawāb ceded lands for the Betwā canal and received the usual compensation. There is little else of historical importance to record.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

**AL-BĀRĀ**, place in northern Syria, belonging to what is called the region of the 'dead towns', in the centre of the limestone plateau, some fifteen kms. west of the important township of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. In the Middle Ages, as attested by the Arabic and Western texts, it served as a fortified cathedral town and its site is still marked today by extensive ruins, among which the modern villages of al-Kafr and al-Bāra (names corresponding to the ancient Greek and Syrian terms, *Kaprophra* and *kaw' Bār*) rise on both sides of a *wādī*. In bygone days, local trade as well as the olive oil and wine industries ensured the growth of this 'town of Apamea, situated between the two dominant masses of the Djabal Zāwīya, at a point which had to be passed through' (G. Tchalenko), and, in the Byzantine period, contained a complex assembly of churches, monasteries and living quarters. It continued to flourish

after the Arab conquest. But at the time of the Crusades, it was coveted from many sides, being taken in succession by Tancred and Raymond of Saint-Gilles in 492/1098, reconquered by Rūḍwān in 496/1102, then left to the Franks by the treaty of 514/1120, to be recaptured in 516/1123 by Balak and again by Nūr al-Dīn in 543/1148. Sorely tried by these struggles and by the ravages of the Turko-mans, it declined in the 6th/12th century, and thereafter no longer appeared in the lists given by the Arab geographers. The importance of its medieval fortress, known under the name of Kal'at Abī Saīyūn (see Abū SAYYĀS), has already been noted but other remains, inscriptions and small mosques likewise bear witness to its persistent vitality at the beginning of the 6th/12th century when, from various indications, it has been concluded that its Muslim population were for the most part Shī'īs.

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(J. SOURDET-THOMINE)

**AL-BĀRĀ'** b. 'ĀZĪZ b. AL-ḤARITH al-Awsī al-Anṣārī, a Companion of the Prophet. He was too young to take part in the Battle of Badr, but he accompanied Muhammad on numerous other expeditions and later took part in the wars of conquest; he brought Rayy and Ḳazwīn under Muslim dominion. He later espoused the cause of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and fought under his banner at the Battle of the Camel (see AL-BĀRĀMA', at SHĪFĀ 602), and at al-Nahrawān [602], the famous *baḥḥ* of Ghāfir Khumayr [602] was killed on his authority. After his retirement to Kūfa, he lost his sight towards the end of his life, and died about 70/612.

**Bibliography:** Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 317 ff.; Ibn Sa'd, *iv*, 80 ff.; Tabarī, i, 1358, 1371-2; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, ii, 106, 117, 118, 12, iv, 278; *idem*, *Uṣd al-Ghāib*, i, 171-2; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 172-3; Saḍādī, *U'myūn*, 124; Ibn Ḥajar, *Isāba*, no. 618; I. Goldziher, *Mak. St.*, ii, 216; Caetani, *Annali*, index.

**AL-BĀRĀ'** b. Ma'wūn, a Companion of the Prophet. Among the seventy-five proselytes who appeared at the 'Akaba in the summer of 622 at the pilgrims' festival to enter into alliance with the Prophet, the aged Shāykh al-Bārā' b. Ma'wūn of Hiraṣrā was one of the most important, and when Muhammad declared he wished to make a compact with them that they should protect him as they would their wives and children, al-Bārā' seized his hand, promised him protection in the name of all present, and sealed the compact. In the same assembly, the so-called second 'Akaba, twelve men were chosen as preliminary representatives (*wakīl*) of the new community in Yaḡrib, and on this occasion al-Bārā' was appointed chief of the Banū Salma. He is also famous in the history of Islām, for having changed the direction of praying, even

before Muhammad, by turning towards the sanctuary of Mecca. When Muhammad reproved him, saying that Jerusalem was the true *kibla*, he obeyed him, but on his deathbed ordained that his corpse should be turned towards Mecca. He died in Medina in Ṣafar, a month before Muhammad's arrival there, after bequeathing to the Prophet one third of his estate.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Sa'd, *iii*, Part 2, 146 ff.; Ibn Hishām, i, 294 ff.; Tabarī, i, 1217 ff.; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ii, 70-75; *idem*, *Uṣd al-Ghāib*, i, 172 ff.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii, 89; Caetani, *Annali*, index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTADT)

**BĀRĀ SAYYIDS**, the descendants of Sayyid Abū 'I-Farāḥ of Wāsiṭ near Baghdād, who with his twelve sons emigrated to India in the 7th/13th century and settled in four villages near Patilā in the *sarkār* of Sīkand in the *saba* of Dillī. The four main branches of the family were named after these four villages. Sayyid Dāwūd settled in Tihānpūr; Sayyid Abū 'I-Fadl in Chatbanūr or Chatraun; Sayyid Abū 'I-Fadl in Kūndī; and Sayyid Naṣīm al-Dīn Ḥusayn in Jāger or Jhājer. From this area they later migrated into the Muzaḥfāmāgar district of the Ganges-Jumna *shāl*. The Kusūdwāl branch settled in Maḡbara; the Chatbanūr branch near Sambāhara; the Jāger branch in Bīdāl and Patrī; and the Tihānpūr branch in Dhārī and Kumbhara.

The derivation of the term *Bārā* is uncertain. Some derive it from *bāhar* (outside), because the Sayyids, disgusted with the debaucheries of the Mīna *khār* at Dillī, preferred to live outside the city. Others derive it from the fact that the Sayyids, being Shī'īs, were followers of the twelve (*bār*) Imāms. The authors of the *Tahakāt al-Bārā* and the *Tawāḥid al-Bārānī* derive the name from the twelve villages in which they settled in the district of Muzaḥfāmāgar. This is the most probable explanation. The contention of H. M. Elliott and M. Elphinstone that one of the Sayyid settlements was named Bārā has been shown to be incorrect (see W. Irvine, in *JASR* 1896, 175).

Sayyid settlements in the district of Muzaḥfāmāgar can be traced back to the middle of the 8th/14th century. From the reign of Akbar onwards the Bārā Sayyids took part in every important campaign and became renowned for their courage. The Tihānpūr branch was the most important. To this branch belong the famous Sayyid brothers, Ḥasan 'Alī and Ḥusayn 'Alī, the king-makers of the first two decades of the 18th century. They rose to prominence in the service of 'Arīm al-Shāh, the son of Mu'azzam al-Dīn who became the emperor Bahādur Shāh. For their gallantry at the battle of Jājān (1707), which gave the throne to the father of their patron, the older brother, Ḥasan 'Alī, afterwards known as 'Abd Allāh Khān, was entrusted with the government of Allāhābād and the younger brother with that of Patna. On the death of Bahādur Shāh in 1712, distrustful of the power of their enemies at Dillī, they overthrew Dīshādūr Shāh and replaced him by Farrukh-siyar. As his ministers they enjoyed the highest dignities that the emperor could confer. 'Abd Allāh Khān was appointed *waṣīr* of the empire with the title of Kutb al-Mulk. Ḥusayn 'Alī became first *lakḥnāwī* with the title of *amir al-umaw*. They are generally given the credit for being the first to abolish the *ghizya* after the death of Awrangzīb, but the latest researches disclose that they were merely continuing the policy already introduced by the *waṣīr* Dīgh 1-Fikhr Khān (see *Jiyas in the Post-Aurangzīb Period* by S. Chandra, in *Proceedings of*



the *Indian History Congress*, Ninth Session, 120-126). Farrukh-syar was an ingrate who plotted against his benefactors, his efforts came to naught and eventually, in the seventh year of his reign, he was deposed, blinded, and finally executed by the infuriated Sayyids. The Sayyids next raised two miserable puppets to the throne, Rafī al-Durādī and Rafī al-Dawla, both of whom were consumptive youths who died in the year 1719. In the same year the Sayyids crowned Muhammad Shāh as Emperor. The administration of the six Decan provinces was entrusted to Husayn 'Alī, the younger Sayyid brother, but he was soon recalled to Dihli by 'Abd Allāh, whose position was being undermined by court conspiracies in which the Emperor was involved. It was at this juncture that Nūr al-Mulk, leader of the Turfī nobles and for that reason opposed to Sayyid predominance at Dihli, deemed it advisable to abandon Mīlwa, of which he was governor, and establish himself in the Decan. This naturally alarmed the Sayyids who took immediate steps to coerce him, but before their forces had marched many miles beyond Āgra, Husayn 'Alī was assassinated and in a very short time 'Abd Allāh was overthrown by a powerful combination of Turfī and Irānī nobles at Dihli. This took place in 1720. In 1727 the descendants of the two brothers were slaughtered or dispersed when the Rohillas sacked Jaunpur. From this date their power rapidly declined. After the establishment of British paramountcy many Sayyids returned to their former villages only to fall victims to the vile money-lenders.

**Bibliography:** Abu 'I-Fadl 'Alī, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, translated by H. Blochmann, vol. 1, Calcutta 1873; Blochmann used the family history, the *Sāḍat-i Bārā*, written 1864-69 by one of the Sayyid family; E. T. Atkinson, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, vol. iii, Allahābād 1876; S. Chandra, *Early Relations of Farrukh Syar and the Sayyid Brothers*, in *Aligarh Medical Indian Quarterly*, vol. ii, nos. 1 and 2, 1934; C. C. Davies, *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. vii/1957, Ch. xxiii, *Kislovas in India*; W. Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, in *JASB 1896*; this contains detailed references to the original Persian sources; H. R. Neville, *District Gazetteer of the United Provinces*, vol. iii, *Muzaffargarh*, Allahābād 1903, reprinted 1924.

**BARĀ WAFĀT** is a term used in India and Pakistan for the 12th day of Rabī' I, observed as a holy day in commemoration of the death of the prophet Muhammad. It is compounded of *bārā* (in Urdu = twelve) and *wafāt*, death. On this day, portions of the Qur'ān (*Sara Fāṭika*) and other works in praise of the Prophet's excellences are read in private houses and mosques, and sweet dishes are prepared, partaken of and also given away along with fruit as *alma*. Most of the ceremonies described in Herklot's *Islam in India* in connexion with Bārā Wafāt are now things of the past. It is now a day of rejoicing rather than mourning for the Muslims, who consider 12th Rabī' I at the same time as the birthday of the Prophet. As such it is known as 'Id Mīlād al-Nabī and is observed as a public holiday in Pakistan.

**Bibliography:** *Islam in India*, composed under the direction of G. A. Herklot; revised edition by W. Crooke, OUP 1921, 188.

(SR. ISAYATULLAH)

**BARĀʾA**, I. — This substantive is derived from the Arabic root *brʾ*, which is frequently used to denote the general idea of "release, exemption" (from a duty, from an accusation—therefore "innocence"—, from risk, from responsibility), a meaning to be found repeatedly in the Qur'ān. With this is connected the notion of "freedom from disease, cure", which is equally expressed by this root in classical Arabic. There is undoubtedly good reason to distinguish, as Kur'ānī, of "create", when speaking of God (Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 70).

The word *barāʾa* itself occurs twice in the sacred book. In Sūra liv, 43, it means without doubt "immunity, absolution". On the other hand its interpretation, when it occurs as the first word of Sūra ix (and one of the titles given to this Sūra) is a matter of some difficulty: "*Barāʾat*" of Allāh and his prophet towards those polytheists with whom you have concluded a treaty". The following verse, which accepts a sacred truce of four months, might give rise to the supposition that the reference here is to an immunity. But the traditional interpretation explains this *barāʾa* on the basis of verses 1-5, according to which Allāh and his prophet will be "unbound" (*harīʾ*) in regard to the unbelievers, whom the Muslims will then be able to kill with impunity (see the translation and notes of Blachère). The *barāʾa*, refers then to the "breaking of the ties"—the religious and social ties—, a kind of dissociation or excommunication, the dire consequences of which are the opposite of immunity. *Barāʾ*, indeed, is the term used for a person or persons who have broken off all relations with an individual or a group, mainly with fellow-tribesmen; the term *barāʾa* enters into those phrases which mean "to exile or to remove from the protection of the law" (for the *tabrīʾa*, an Ḥabṣī penal sanction, see below), and the *yamīn al-barāʾa* is the oath, condemned by the *kadi*s (notably Abū Dāwūd, *Sanan*, no. 3238), but still in evidence today, by which a person renounces on his own behalf, if he should swear falsely, adherence to Islam or the protection of God. The *Shāfiʿ*s advocate the "expiation" (*barāʾa*) of the enemies of 'Alī and his descendants, as opposed to the "Attachment" due to this line; *contra* the whole practice of *barāʾa-wafā*, see the condemnation of the Hanbalī school *ahūd* H. Tamout, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Rafīʿ*, Damascus 1925, 162. The evil implications of the *barāʾa*, this understood, justify, in the view of certain Muslim scholars, the exceptional absence of *barāʾa* at the beginning of Sūra ix.

In legal terminology, *barāʾat al-dhimmā*, or simply *barāʾat* is the "absence of obligation"; *Bayʾ al-barāʾa*, for example, is the sale without guarantee wherein the seller is freed from any obligation in the event of the existence, in the sale-object, of such a defect as would normally allow the sale to be rescinded (see Santillana, *Institutiones*, ii, 149, for a striking resemblance of formulae in this regard between Muslim Egypt and Christian Tuscany). Hence the term *tabrīʾa* is variously used for all sorts of declaratory or constitutive acts which absolve from responsibility. One may cite the *tabrīʾa* of the present-day Moroccan Bedouin. This is an "indemnity paid by the parents of the murderer to the victim for continuing to live within the tribe" (Loubignac, *Textes arabes des Zaʾir*, Paris 1952, 359); see the similar use of *barāʾa* < *barāʾ* noted in the Bethlehem region (Haddād, in *ZDPV*, 1917, 231).

The following derived technical terms may be noted here.

1. *Mubārakaʾa*: a form of divorce by mutual agreement where husband and wife free themselves by a reciprocal renunciation of all rights (Bergrasser-Schacht, *Grundzüge*, 85; Santillana, *Institutiones*, i, 272; cf. Averroes, *Idārya*, ed. Cairo 1935, ii, 66, who gives an accurate definition by way of comparison with some similar forms of *iddah*).

2. *Iḥṣān* or "confirmation of emptiness", with two quite distinct connotations: a) temporary abstention from sex-relations with a slave-girl, in order to verify that she is not pregnant, on the occasion of her transfer to a new master or a change in her circumstances (see 'Ann), and b) an action of the left hand designed to empty completely the *wafā*, before the cleansing of the *orifion* or *istidhāq* which must follow satisfaction of the natural needs (Lā, i, 25; Abū 'I-Ḥasan on the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd, ed. Cairo 1930, i, 144).

Proceeding now to the general theory of law as found in the classical works, the notion of *barāʾa* is there to be found in the maxim, generally accepted by orthodox and vitiated by a *Shāfiʿ* doctrine: *al-ḥal barāʾat al-dhimmā*, "the basic principle is freedom from obligation". This means, according to the standpoint one adopts: "The only obligations to which man is subject are those defined by God", or: "In the absence of proof to the contrary the natural presumption is freedom from obligation or liability".

In its first sense this *barāʾa al-dhimmā* embodies a theological notion: it contradicts the Mu'tazilite thesis which is founded upon the rationality of the legal values (*ahkām*) of a certain number of human acts, and which holds that, before the promulgation of the revealed law, all those other acts which do not admit of a rationalist assessment are all illicit (according to some) or all permissible (according to others) or unqualified (according to a third group). See Ghazālī, *Mustaḥṣal*, ed. Cairo 1937, i, 40-42, 127-132; or better: Amīdī, *Iḥṣān*, ed. Cairo 1914, i, 130-135. Both these works refute the Mu'tazilite thesis. But for almost the totality of the orthodox scholars (two exceptions are indicated, for the Mālikīs by Ḥajjī, *Iḥṣān*, ed. Tunis 1931 A.H., 123, 130-131;—the work of Lapanne-Joinville, *Le Semaîne Interne*, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1952, 85, calls for certain corrections), the legal values are based, absolutely and exclusively, upon the revealed law; before this law and outside it, human acts have no *ḥukm*; and this kind of fundamental indifference, which must not be confused with permissibility, denies the notion of any obligation.

In its second sense, which, however, the authors do not attempt to distinguish from the first (the confusion is obvious in the *Shāfiʿ* and Hanafī works entitled *al-Aḥkām* *al-Naḥṣ*; Suyūṭī, ed. Cairo 1936, 39, Ibn Nujaym, ed. Cairo 1208 A.H., 29), the *barāʾa al-dhimmā*, whether combined or not with the principle of the "continuance of facts" (*istidhāq* *ḥal*), comes to support in theory innumerable solutions—whether strict legal rules or legal presumptions—throughout the whole field of *fiqh* (Lapanne-Joinville, *op. cit.*, 82-88; Brunschwig, in *Studi ... Levi Della Vida*, i, 75).

However, the word *barāʾa* has been increasingly employed in a concrete sense to denote written documents of various kinds (pl. *barāʾat* or *barāʾat*) by virtue of a semantic development which starts from the idea of "discharge", or doubtless, to be more precise, "financial, administrative discharge"

(Khawāzīmī, *Maḥāṣin al-Uḥūm*, ed. Cairo 1930, 37; Leikgaard, *Islamic Taxation*, Copenhagen 1950, 159; Spuler, *Iran in frühislam. Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 238-248). This first sense is to be found, in the context of transactions concerning customs duties, in the treaties concluded with the Christian powers since the Middle Ages, notably by the *Maḥāṣin* (14th-15th centuries); the Latin or Roman versions have: *abura*, or *arura* (Mac-Latze, *Traité de paix et de commerce*, Paris 1866-72; refer to the glossary). Equally, one can see there the sense of "official licence" which the word had come to acquire. It was by now quite readily applied to what we would term a "licence, certificate, diploma", to various written documents originating from administrative bodies or addressed to them: for example "a demand for payment or a bill of exchange", "a passport" (Dour, *Suppl.*, i, 63). "A label to be attached by the *amīn*" to a piece of merchandise (Sakātī, *Manuḥ al-Hisāb*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1937, 61), "a request or petition to the sovereign" (Brunschwig, *Beobachtungen Orientalis*, ii, 144, n. 3). The languages of the Iberian peninsula have inherited and preserved meanings of the same kind: the Catalan *albarà*, the Castilian *albard*, the Portuguese *albard*.

Neo-classical Arabic knows the term *barāʾat al-tanfīḍ* for the consular *exequatur*, and *barāʾat al-thiba* for the diplomatic "credentials" (the dictionaries of Berber and Wehr).

In the colloquial Arabic of N. Africa, *barāʾa* > *brā* is widely used, often in the diminutive form *brayya*, with the meaning of a simple "letter, missive, note", (whence the Berber *brāt*, with the same meaning). At Fez, semantic development has led to the name of *brayya* being given, in Arabic, to a pastry consisting of a pâte enclosed in a pastry-case which is folded in the same way as a letter (Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, i, Glossary, Paris 1932, 40).

Finally we must note the expression, very common in the East, "night of the *barāʾa*" (Arabic: *laylat al-barāʾa*, Turkish: *herat gecesi*, Persian: *shab-i barāʾat*) to describe the night of mid-*Shāʿbān*, a religious festival (see the paper by H. H. Erdem, *Herat gecesi kahlula bir tedbir*, Ankara 1953). Here the precise meaning of *barāʾa* escapes the author, since none of the explanations offered by traditional interpretation or by Western scholarship are convincing: "immunity" (for those beings whose lot is favourably cast on that night), "revelation" (to Muhammad of his prophetic mission by the archangel Gabriel), "creation" (of the world: referring to the Hebrew *berāʾa*, Plessner, art. *MAHABAD* in *EL*). It would first be expedient, in order to orientate etymological research, to determine, with such precision as is possible, the antiquity of the expression and the circumstances of its origin, for it is not commonly encountered in the mediaeval texts which deal with the mid-*Shāʿbān* celebration.

Under the Ottoman Turks the administrative use of the term was particularly developed in the form *barāʾat* [pl.] (*barāʾat*), which they distinguished from *barāʾat* (*barāʾat*).

**Bibliography:** in the text of the article.

(R. BRUNSCHWIG)

II. — The theme of the *barāʾa* was particularly developed by the Khāridjites with their religious zeal and their emphasis on separation. In opposition to the *wilāya*, which is the dogmatic duty of solidarity and assistance to the Muslim, the *barāʾa* was for them the duty to repudiate all those who did not deserve this title. Throughout the heresiologies can be found the particular applications given by



the numerous sects to the principle of *barā'a*. It is only by means of the Ḥadīth catechists that we can arrive at a direct and full exposition. The oldest text which has come down to us, that of Abū Zakariyyā al-Djānāwūdī (eleventh century), imposes on a man who has reached puberty, and is in his right mind, repudiation of a) all the *kāfirān* of both worlds, living and dead, known or unknown; b) the unjust *imām*; c) those who are censured (*maḥmūdūn*) in the Qur'ān and acknowledged rebels (*muḥāfiḥūn* bi'l-*ma'siyā*); d) the man who, personally known, has committed a grave sin.

A decision concerning the children of persons subject to the *barā'a* was postponed until they attained their majority. The *barā'a* was cancelled in respect of the sinner who had carried out the *tauba*.

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(H. Ronsard)

**BARABA**, steppe of Western Siberia, situated in the *oblast'* of Novosibirsk of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic, between lat. 54° and 57° North, and bounded on the East and West by the ranges of hills which skirt the banks of the Irtysh and the Ob'. This steppe, which extends for 127,000 sq. km., has numerous lakes, most of which are salt; the biggest is Lake Kul. The ground, which is partly marshland, also has some fertile zones, but it is essentially a cattle-rearing region. It has a cold continental climate.

The population (over 500,000 inhabitants in 1949) is unequally distributed; its density, which reaches 6 to 9 inhabitants per sq. km. in the central and southern part, does not exceed 1 to 1.5 in the North. It is made up of a majority of Russian and Ukrainian colonists, with a Tatar minority, some of whom have emigrated from the Volga at a recent period, whilst others are autochthonous.

The latter, whom the Russians call "Baraba Tatars" or *Barabinty*, form a small community near to the other Tatar groups of Western Siberia (Tobol Tatars, Tumen Tatars [q.v.]), which, however, shows signs of disappearing. Their very complex ethnogenesis gives rise to contradictory hypotheses. It appears that they issued from autochthonous Uralian peoples who became partly Turkicized when they made contact with the Turkish tribes who emigrated at the time of the foundation of the Siberian Empire. This Turkicization, which continued during the 16th/17th centuries, was completed in the 19th century with the large-scale influx of Tatar immigrants from the Middle Volga.

From the conquest of the Siberian Empire by the Russians under Ivan IV until the time of Peter the Great, the Baraba steppe separated Russia from the Empire of the Kalmaiks. The frontier region contained between the towns of Tara (on the Irtysh) and Tomsk (to the East of the Ob') was then called "Baraba district" (*Barabinskaya volost'*); the indigenous population, in addition to speaking their own language, spoke Kazan Tatar and Kalmaik, and initially paid tribute to the Russians, and then later, through the Russians only. In the 18th century a large number of exiles from European Russia were settled in the Baraba as colonists. At the end of the 19th century, when the Trans-Siberian railway had been built, the steppe was systematically developed

with the help of a new wave of Russian and Ukrainian colonists.

The autochthonous Tatar population, which in the 17th century was established in villages, was pushed back at the end of the 18th century towards the sterile zones of the steppe. Since then, its numerical importance has steadily declined. According to the data collected by Radlov in 1865, there were then 4,635 "Baraba Tatars" in existence. At the census taken in 1897, 4,433 were counted and, in 1926, only 39, the remainder having had themselves re-classified as "Kazan Tatars".

The Baraba Tatars at present occupy a small number of villages (wholly Tatar or Tatar-Russian) near the lakes Sabral, Yurukh and Manggh and in the basin of the river On', especially in the Kuybyshev district (formerly Kalmaik), along the Trans-Siberian railway.

The Islamization of the Baraba, which commenced in the 16th/17th century with Central Asia (Khwarizm and Bughara) continued as the result of the activities of the Tatar merchants and missionaries of Kazan, who made their way up the Irtysh. However, it seems most probable that it was only in the 19th century, after the Kazan Tatar colonists had established themselves in Western Siberia, that the majority of the autochthonous Tatars adopted Sunnī Islam of the Hanafī rite.

Radlov saw several old men who remembered their fathers making pagan sacrifices in the manner of the inhabitants of the Altai and being dressed differently from the Muslims.

The Baraba Tatar dialect, which has not been studied much as yet, possesses certain phonetic peculiarities: (a) in the place of *z* for example, it has almost entirely given way to Kazan Tatar and Russian.

Like the Russians, the Baraba Tatars live by agriculture, stock breeding and fishing; trapping animals for fur has greatly diminished.

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(W. Barnholtz-J. Benveniste)

**BARĀBRA** (for Barābir; sing. Barāb); Nubian-speaking Muslims inhabiting the Nile Banks between the First and Third Cataracts. The term includes the Kunūṣ, Salkūt and Mahas. The name Barābra is not commonly used by these peoples of themselves, and is stated by Lane (i, 177, col. 3) to be a late and modern application of the term used by earlier writers for the Berbers of the Maghrib. The Danākiya [q.v.], who live above the Third Cataract, are linguistically and physically allied to the Kunūṣ but do not regard themselves as Barābra. The territory now inhabited by the Barābra forms the northern part of

the Christian Nubian kingdom of Makurra, which entered into treaty-relations with 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd in 31/652. Arab settlement began with a migration of Rabī'a into the Aswān region in 869. After the defeat of Abū Bakwa (396/1006), the Fātimid al-Hākim is said to have conferred the title of *Kān al-Dawla* on the *Shaykh* of Rabī'a at Aswān (al-Mahallī, *al-Bayān* 107). *First Second* *bi-ard Mir min al-Aḥād*, ed. by F. Wustenfeld, "El-Macrisi's Abhandlung über die in Ägypten eingewanderten arabischen Stämme", *Göttinger Studien*, II, vii, 434-5, 473, Göttingen 1847), whence the Barābra of the vicinity, resulting from Arab-Nubian intermarriage, are known as *Ḥān Kan* or *Kunūṣ*. In the 18th/19th century the Kingdom of Makurra disintegrated under Arab pressure; its territories took place and Islam superseded Christianity. After Selīm I's conquest of Egypt, garrisons of Bosniak troops (locally called *ghuzs*) were established at Aswān, Ibrīm and Sāy, while the Barābra territory was placed under a *kāḍī*. In spite of intermarriage and the adoption of Nubian speech, the *ghuzs* remained a distinct group until the 20th century. In the 18th century the northern Barābra were under the suzerainty of Ḥamān Abū Yūsuf, the powerful *shaykh* of the Hawwāra. On the eve of Muhammad 'Alī Pasha's invasion of the Sudan, the Barābra *Kāḍīgh* was held jointly by three brothers whose headquarters were at Darr. The *ghuzs* enclaves of Aswān, Ibrīm and Sāy were under the rule of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Uthmān al-Mirghāl, the founder of the Bāghdādī order, travelled from Aswān to Dinkulā a few years before Muhammad 'Alī's conquest and won many adherents. The poverty of the Barābra territory has been a stimulus to emigration. In the 18th century Mahast colonies were formed on the Blue Nile by immigrants who had a reputation as holy men and established Qur'ānic schools. From the 18th century travellers have noted the "Berberine" servants in Cairo.

**Bibliography:** H. A. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, I, 12-34, 155-190 and Index; J. S. Trimmingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949. Both these works contain extensive bibliographical references. The condition of the Barābra in the early 19th century is fully described in J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819. (P. M. Holt)

**BARADĀ**, referred to by Naḥmān the leper (Kings, ii, 3, 12) by the name of Abana, and by Greek and Latin authors called Chrysothraos, is the most important perennial river of the eastern slopes of the Anti-Lebanon. It has determined the site of Damascus and permitted the development of the *shihra*.

It owes its existence to the high peaks which dominate the gap between Zabādān and Sarghāya. At the foot of a limestone cliff over 1,000 m. high, a copious Vaulerian spring forms a vast lake on the Western side of the Zabādān hollow at the foot of the Djabal *Shaykh* Manṣūr. It is the overflow from this lake which gives birth to the Baradā, which meanders over the gentle slope of the Zabādān plain, receiving the waters from many springs in the area. After setting out peacefully on its course, the Baradā turns eastwards, following the axial change of direction of the eastern branch of the Anti-Lebanon. At Taḥiyā (hydro-electric station), it flows upon its fall. It then assumes the aspect of a racing torrent bounding through an enclosed gorge, the walls of which are formed of plocene andocene conglomerates. At Sūk Wādī Baradā (ancient

Abila) the gorge widens a little and then, 30 km. from its source, 'Ayn Fāḍja empties into it. This spring, situated only a few metres above the level of the Baradā, almost doubles the volume of the river. It is an overflow spring with a large and very regular flow of water, welling up in the cretaceous limestone; above the grotto is a Roman temple. At low-water, it brings down 3 cub. m. of water per second and without this influx the Baradā might well dry up during the summer. Part of this spring is harnessed and piped down to provide Damascus with drinking water. Though the Baradā races impetuously towards Damascus, man's intervention checks its impetus and brings it under control. Without the skill of man, the Baradā would have hollowed out a sluggish bed through the centre of the Damascus depression; its valley would have been no more than a narrow ribbon of greenery in the midst of parched steppes, finally losing itself in swamps. Through the ages, man has diverted the river into successive channels, flowing at different levels parallel to the main bed of the river, before reaching the outskirts of Rabwa. There, at the foot of the Kāyān, the six main canals, called *marj*, fan out. By means of manifold ramifications, their waters carry life-giving moisture to the arid land, transforming an area of over 25 km. in length by 15 km. in breadth in the basalt depression of Damascus, filled with marl brought down in the form of deposits by the river, into a fertile oasis. The Baradā, which irrigates nearly 10,000 hectares of orchards and gardens, has pushed back the desert to a distance of 20 km. from the mountains; beyond the Ghūṭa, the *Marj* is covered by extensive cultivation and from December to June displays a carpet of green meadows.

Water not absorbed by irrigation passes on towards the steppe where, in a trough devoid of outlet, it becomes stagnant in the marshes of 'Uṭaybiya.

Going downstream the following canals lead out of the Baradā: at Ḥamā, on the left bank, the Naḥr Yazid, of Nabatean origin, restored by the Caliph Yazid I, goes to swell the Naḥr Ḥawra. At Dammār, on the right bank, N. Mizāwat carries water to the market-towns of Marza; then, still on the same bank, the Dīrānt which supplies Dāris and Dīrāyā; after that, on the left bank, the N. Ḥawra, of Aramaean origin, which by itself irrigates nearly half the oasis. On the threshold of Rabwa, two canals, in the main urban, diverge: the Kanawāt, of Roman origin and restored by the Umayyads, swells the older watercourse; the N. Bānīs (literary form of Bānīyās, an Aramaean creation, about 670, Arnold mentions *maṣra IV flaminia*, which are those existing in 724 under Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Malik; Yazid, Ḥawra, Bānīs and Kanawāt, and in the 6th/12th century, in Ibn 'Ashūr's time. According to a plan of Damascus prepared by German travellers in 1572, the Baradā is shown as a navigable waterway.

In the town, the Kanawāt, the Bānīs and the Baradā itself provide water for *hamams*, mosques, fountains and houses (drinking water has only recently been piped from 'Ayn Fāḍja) to pass on again into the countryside. A most ingenious system of irrigation has made possible the creation of an artificial oasis of exceptional fertility. The manifold canals diverted from the Baradā weave a close network watering the villages and the vegetation of the Ghūṭa. The Baradā plays a major rôle, making up for the lack of adequate regular rainfall (Damascus receives only about 200 mm.). It imparts humidity



to the atmosphere, gives rise to the autumnal and and spring rains and renders plant and animal life possible and thus, the human habitat.

Yāqūt (l. 396) indicates a village with the name of Baradā to the East of Haleb. Lammens recognised it as Barad in the *Ujbal Sin'an*. He also indicates (iii, 69) a canal called Baradā, associated at al-Jamāla by the Unweyred Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik.

**Bibliography:** Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Maḍīna Dimashq*, F.A.D., 1951, 145-148; Yāqūt, *Ma'āḍim al-Balad*, ed. Beirut, i, 378-79; Kurd 'All, *Qisṣa Dimashq*, F.A.D., 1952, 124-129; P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 276; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, 57-59, 205 f.; Wulkenberg and Watzinger, *Damascus*, 1924, ii, 371; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 1927, 287 f.; R. Tross, *Irrigation dans la Ghouta de Damas*, in *REI*, 1929, 459-553; L. Dubertret, *L'hydrologie... de la Syrie et du Liban...*, in *Rev. Géogr. Phys. et Géol. dyn.*, 1933, vi, 439; J. Sauvaget, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas*, in *REI*, 1934, 427; R. Thomsen, *Géographie humaine de la Syrie Centrale*, 1936, 32-90; M. E. K. Zaki, *Le Cœur, Les Bains de Damas*, in *PFD*, 1942, i; Dubertret, *Aperçu de Géographie Physique sur le Liban, l'Anti-Liban et la Damasurie*, *Notes et Mémoires* iv, 1948, 191. (N. ELISEEFF)

**BARADĀ** or **BARADĀN**, the ancient Cydnus, now *Ğayhūn*, a river rising in Cappadocia, which flows towards the West, irrigates the gardens near Ma'raḥ and those of Tarsūs, brings down alluvial deposits to the low-lying plain of Cilicia and empties into the sea on the Western side of the Gulf of Alexandretta. In ancient times, small ships sailed up it as far as Tarsūs.

**Bibliography:** Ma'fūl, *Murūḡ*, i, 264; Yāqūt, i, 389, iii, 326; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 63, 378, 439; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, 140-151. (N. ELISEEFF)

**BARADĀN**, a town in 'Irak in 'Abbasid times. According to the Arab geographers it was situated some 15 miles north of Baghdad on the main road to Sāmarrā and at some distance from the east bank of the Tigris, a little above the confluence of the Nahr al-Khālīs and the latter. The Khālīs canal, a branch of the Nabrawān (or Diyālā) flowed immediately past Baradān. The caliph al-Maustur held court here for a brief period, before he definitely resolved on building a new capital on the site of the modern Baghdad (cf. Yāqūt, *Bulḍān*, 256). There was a bridge in Baghdad, a street and a gate (after this a cemetery also) in the eastern half of the town called after Baradān which was two post stations distant; cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (1909), 360 (index). When the author of the *Marāḥid* made his extract from Yāqūt (about 700/1300), Baradān was quite desolate and unknown. It is doubtless to be sought for in the present mound of ruins at Barḍān, the position of which agrees admirably with the statement of Arab authors. Arab sources suggest that the name Baradān is arabised from the Persian *barḍā-dān* ('the place of the prisoners'), which suggests the possibility of a Jewish colony settled here presumably by Nebuchadnezzar.

**Bibliography:** BGA, *passim*; Yāqūt, i, 551 ff.; Marāḥid, *Lex. genre*, (ed. Juybnoll), i, 168; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographien*, ii, 230 ff.; Le Strange, 30; Weil, *Chalife*, ii, 169; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient* (1861), ii, 172; Cerulli, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, Erg.-Heft 44, 34, 38, 38. (M. Streck/S. H. Lowmige)

**BARĀDŪST** (Brādūst), name of two Kurdish districts. The first in the south, between Ughūn, Rāyat and Rawāḍi, with Kīm Reḡ as its chief town, perched on a crag, at an altitude of 4,372 feet. In the north it borders on Gird (Shandūn), in the West on *Ğayhūn* and in the East on Bībās. The massif of Kandī (cf. J. Edmonds, 244, n.) constitutes the framework of the district. The sources of the Little Zab (Lāven, then Kālu in the Persian section) are situated in this region. The famous Urtu arto vielo of Kūlā Shīn is likewise situated there, on the pass of the same name. There is another Barādūst, called Shūnāy Barādūst, lying to the North, between Targavar and Kōtir, with Çehrik Ka'f as the principal residence (B. Nikitine, 79, 251). It was there that Bāb was held before his execution at Tabriz. The early history of Barādūst is not well known to us. According to M. E. Zaki (*Tārīkh*, 388, 389), the founders of this principality were the Hasanwayhids (348-406/959-1015) in the person of Nāṣir al-Dawla Haḍḍ and his three sons, *Ğhāḍ* Kīrān b. Sulṭān Ahmad was the most famous *amir* of this line. At the outset he opposed Shīh Ismā'īl, but subsequently his relations with him improved. The Shīh bestowed the *lāḥab* of *Ğhāḍ* Kīrān on him and gave him the districts of Targavar, Sūmāy and Dīl as an *ihdā*. Thus it was that this valiant *amir* remained independent as regards internal affairs until the famous battle of Galdīrān (920/1514), after which, like others of the Kurdish *amirs*, he rallied to the Ottoman sultan. The latter recognised his worth and gave him numerous districts, *nawāḥā*, in the wilāyats of Arbīl, Baghdād and Dīyārbaḥr. The amirate of Sūmāy was founded by Shīh Muḥammad Bek b. *Ğhāḍ* Kīrān, whose descendants ruled it down to the extinction of the *amir* of Sūmāy in 1905, the *amir* of this branch likewise derived from the Barādūst tribe. Sharaf Khān says that Nājir Bek b. Khānir Bek b. Shāykh Hasan was *amir* of this region in his time (16th/17th century). The *amir* Khān Yākas was the most famous representative of this branch. He had defended himself in the fortress of Dīmīn, which became one of the main themes of Kurdish literature. He was *amir* at the beginning of the reign of Shīh 'Abbās I, against whom he revolted, shutting himself up inside the fortress. These events took place in 1077. Among the other Kurdish chieftains of Barādūst, may be mentioned in the south Fayḍ Allāh Bey, referred to by Layard (373, 374), and Yūsuf Bek, who made himself famous by his fight against Mir Muḥammad of Shandūn. In spite of their being bound by an agreement, he killed him treacherously, whence is derived the saying '*Barādūst bir ey dāst*'. (Barādūst friend of a month...), In the north, there was Sāḍik Khān, who played a rôle in the accession of the Kādījī dynasty. Later, he rose against Fath 'Alī Shāh (1217/1796). Closer to us in time, Ismā'īl Aḡā Sīmko 'Aldoy must be mentioned, well known during and on the eve of the Russo-Turkish war on the Russo-Turkish front and in 'Irāk. In February 1928, Sīmko lured the Nestorian Patriarch Benyamin Mār Shūn'ān into a trap and had him assassinated. For a while, Sīmko remained master of the whole region West of Lake Urmīya, but in 1922 a Persian punitive expedition expelled him from the region. He sought refuge near Rawāḍi and a few years later tried to return to Persia and re-establish his position, but was killed near Ughūn.

**Bibliography:** BGA, *passim*; Yāqūt, i, 551 ff.; Marāḥid, *Lex. genre*, (ed. Juybnoll), i, 168; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographien*, ii, 230 ff.; Le Strange, 30; Weil, *Chalife*, ii, 169; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient* (1861), ii, 172; Cerulli, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, Erg.-Heft 44, 34, 38, 38. (M. Streck/S. H. Lowmige)

name has lost its importance. At present, the Bālāḥ tribe is the most powerful in the South, numbering some ten thousand families. Their territory in the massif of Kandī is difficult of access. Its centre is the township of Rāyat. Formerly, the *amir* Solrān was dominant there; it was his custom to take a man from each family to incorporate in his army. When Solrān's line died out, the tribe regained its independence, which it still retains down to the present time (1936). Its present chief is 'Aziz Bek (M. E. Zaki, *Khūḍān*, 392). In the north, the Shīkh constitute the main tribe, who number some 2,000 families (M. E. Zaki, *Khūḍān*, 412). According to the *Tārīkh-i Dīrūdān*, quoted by M. E. Zaki (*ibid.*, 238), both they and the Haydarānā shared a common origin. Their original habitat was in the neighbourhood of Mayyāfārikān.

**Bibliography:** H. C. Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey through Persian Kurdistan*, in *RGCS*, 3, 207; Layard, *Notes on the Kurds*, in *Journal*, 1853, 173-174; Diander, *Voyage au Kurdistan*, 1887, 1031; F. Millingen, *Wild Life among the Kurds*, 1870, 345 ff.; O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mubri Kurden*, 1906, i, 4, 19-48 (Dīmīn), 24 n. 17 (Kānī Reḡ); Westarp, *Unter Halbmond u. Sonne*, 1912, 211-225; M. E. Zaki, *Tārīkh al-Dawla... al-Kurdīyya*, *Calcutta*, 1945; *Khūḍān*, *Tārīkh al-Kurd*, Baghdad 1936, 200-206 (Dīmīn); C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks, Arabs*, OUP 1937; *Fieldiana Kyrmāna*, Erivan 1936, 567-578 (Dīmīn); Erivan 1937, 100-125 (Dīmīn); B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 1936, 79, 80, 263 (Çehrik Ka'f). (B. NIKITINE)

**BARĀHIMA** (Brahmans). The Arabs' knowledge of the Brahmans and Brahmanism was, with the exception of al-Bīrūnī, very scant (probably their acquaintance with Buddhists, called *Samanīyya*—cf. the term *Samanas* applied to them by later Greeks like Alexander Polyhistor—was more direct since these were spread in Persia and eastern 'Irāk). In Muslim theological works, the doctrine most persistently attributed—from Ibn Hazm to Tahānawī (in his *Dictionary of Technical Terms*)—to the Brahmans is a denial of Prophecy. The accounts given in Ibn Hazm and al-Shahrastānī are probably versions of the same argument. According to the former, the Brahmans say that if God wanted to lead people aright through the prophets, why does He not compel the reason of each individual to the truth? According to the latter, they base their denial of prophecy on the self-sufficiency of the human reason. Al-Bīrūnī (ed. Sachau, 51-52) says that the Hindus deny the need of prophets in connexion with the Law and Ritual which they regard as having been established once and for all by the Rishis, their wise and holy men,—but assign their need for the spiritual well of mankind at special times when evil becomes rampant.

As for the derivation of the word Brahman, Ibn Hazm says that they claim descent from an ancient king called Barahm (or Barham) al-Mas'ūdī thinks they have descended from Brahman, a king who, with the help of sages, founded the Hindu religion, astronomy and other sciences. Al-Bīrūnī refers to the Hindu myth that the Brahmans have originated from the head of Brahmā (or Brāhmā) which signifies Nature and that they are thus regarded as the choicest part of mankind. Tahānawī, *op. cit.*, asserts that they claim descent from Brāhmā, the Prophet, a doctrine which possibly reflects a much later Hindu opinion which wanted to claim this Judaic-Christian-Islamic figure as its own.

The only authentic source is undoubtedly al-

Bīrūnī, who, although he wrote his work in 'Ġazna (about 1030 A.D.), had stayed in the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent, learnt Sanskrit, translated many works from that language and had acquired an intimate knowledge of Hindu philosophy, religion, law, literature, society and sciences, as a missionary. In the preface he complains that no reliable work on Hindu India existed, that even Abu 'I-'Abbās al-Irāghshārī who had written accurately about Judaism and Christianity had failed to do so with regard to Hinduism and that he himself undertook to write this work at the instigation of his master Abū Saḥī 'Alī al-Muḥsin b. 'Alī b. Nūh. (Al-Mas'ūdī mentions the works of Abū 'I-'Kāsim al-Balḥī and al-Ḥasam b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhlī). Al-Bīrūnī first narrates the difficulties which beset a foreign student; the difficulty and artificiality of the written Sanskrit, the utter difference between Hinduism and Islam and the almost total social Hindu taboos against foreigners, etc. Then follow six sections on Hindu Religion and Metaphysics and so on. The author gives a detailed description of the manners of the Brahmans their way of life, etc.

In the works of Muslim travellers in India it is usually the Yegs, their practices and way of life that gain prominence; there is little about Hindu philosophy or the Brahmans. The practices of Yegs, as a way of attaining spiritual bliss or knowledge, have sometimes aroused curiosity, but have generally been regarded as suspect if not altogether damnable. (F. RAHMAT)

**BARĀHŪT** (see *BARĀHŪT*).

**BARAK** (see Supplement).

**BARAK BARA**, a Turkish dervish who acquired some celebrity in the time of the Il-Khāns. He is said to have been a disciple of the famous Sarf Saltuk (q.v.), and is mentioned in connexion with the Bālā'ī, Bekṭāshī, and Mewlewī movements. His followers were called Barak; his *Khalifa* was Hayrān Emīrjī. A story preserved by Yazīdīghūlu 'Alī makes him a Sāḍīkī prince, converted to Christianity by the Greek patriarch and then reconverted to Islam by Sarf Saltuk, who transmitted his supernatural powers to him and gave him the name Barak. The Arabic sources describe him as a native of Tokat (the *Bāḥā* in the printed text of Ibn Ḥaḍḍar should be amended accordingly), and say that his father was a high officer and his uncle a well-known scribe. From Turkey he travelled to Iran, where he is said to have exercised some influence on *Ğhāḍān* and *Ğayḥūṭ*. In *Ẓumr* I 706/Nov. 1396 he arrived with a party of disciples in Damascus, where his dress and behaviour were sufficiently remarkable to win him a place in the Arabic chronicles of the Mamūk Empire. He visited Jerusalem, but was prevented from visiting Egypt, and then returned to Iran. In 707/1307-8 he prevailed on *Ğayḥūṭ* to send him on a mission to Gaylān, where he was killed.

The Turkish name Barak is sometimes, by confusion with the Arabic *Barāḥ* (q.v.), misspelt thus. The form *barāḥ*, given by Haart, is also mistaken. The name is in fact a Turkish word for a special kind of dog, identified by Köprülü as a 'hairless dog' (*Chamanisme* 14-15, n. 26) and by Pelliot as a 'long-haired, more or less fabulous dog' (*Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'or*, Paris 1930, 57-8). The name is not infrequent among Mongols and Turks in the 13th-15th centuries (for some examples see G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, Budapest 1942-3, s.v.).



Βαράκος and Παράκι; see also BURAK HÄĞİR and BURAK HİSAR.

**Bibliography:** AĦĦĦ, *Manālik al-ʿArīfīn*, tr. Cl. Huart, *Les saints des deriches (saints)*, Paris 1918-22, II, 324; Makrūd, *Sulūk*, II, 28-9 (Quatremaire, *Mamlouk*, II, 267-8); Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, I, 473-4; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuǧūm*, Cairo, viii, 160-70; *Manhal Safi* (Wiet, n. 638); ʿAynī, *ʿIḥd al-Diyān*, cited by Husayn Ḥusān al-Dīn, *Amayya Taʿrīḥ*, 40-4. Barak Bāba has been studied by M. F. Köprülü, who sees in his teachings and conduct an expression of the influence of Turco-Mongol Shamanism on Islam. See his *Türk Edebiyatında ilk Mutasavvıflar*, İstanbul 1918, 235 and n. 1; *Anadoluda İslamiyyet, DİR al-Fünūn Edebiyyatı Fihristi Medjidi* vol. II, 1922, 399-4; *Anadolu Selçukluları tarixinin yerli Kaynakları*, İstanbul, vii, 1943, 431 n. 1; *Influence du Chamanisme turco-mongol*, ..., İstanbul 1926, 14-17. See further P. Wittek, *Yazılıqlıqlı ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, BSOAS, xlv, 1932, 650, 658-9; Abdülhakî Gölpinarlı, *Yusuf Emre hayatı*, İstanbul 1936, 38-49 (not seen).

(B. LEWIS)

**BARAKA**, blessing. In the Kurʿān, the word is used only in the plural: *barakāt*, like *rahma* and *salām*, are sent to man by God. It is translated by "beneficent forces of divine origin, which causes superabundance in the physical sphere and prosperity and happiness in the psychic order". Naturally, the text of the Kurʿān (*kalām*-*ilāh*) is charged with *baraka*. God can implant an emanation of *baraka* in the person of his prophets and saints; Muhammad and his descendants are especially endowed therewith. These sacred personages, in their turn, can communicate the effluvia of their supernatural potential to ordinary men, either during their lifetime or after their death, the manner of transmission being greatly varied, sometimes strange. God, however, can withhold his *baraka*.

Among agricultural peoples, a *baraka* is recognised in cereals, causing them to multiply miraculously. *Baraka* is to be met with, here and there, attributed to the most diverse objects. Already in the Kurʿān, the olive tree and the 27th Ramadan are *mubarak*. In practice, the word ended up by taking the secular meaning of "very adequate quantity": *ma fih baraka*. It is used in the vocabulary of the Almohads in the sense of "gratuity which is added to a soldier's pay". The Maghribi dialects have various uses of the word in the adverbial sense of "enough".

Derivatives of the word *BRK* occur in numerous formulas of politeness: expressions of thanks, compliments, ephemerisms; they are often associated in the context with derivatives of the root *ʿSD*. The rather obscure *tubarakallāh* (Kurʿān, lxxv, 1) is commonly used as a prophylactic against the "evil eye".

**Bibliography:** Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidenhums*, 139; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, I, 35-261; M. Cohen, *Genes, familles, force dans le domaine chamanico-samitique*, in *Mémoires Henri Basset*, Paris 1928, I, 203; J. Chelhod, *La Baraka chez les Arabes*, RHR, 1935, I, 33-8. *Baraka* (by Karl H. Kottabi), RSC, 5, COLON.

**BARAKA KIĀN** (see *BARAKI KIĀN*).

**BARAKĀT**, the name of four Sharifs of Mecca. (1) Barakāt I b. Ḥasan b. ʿAdlān belonged to the seventh generation after Kaʿbāda b. Idrīs (see *al-ʿARAB, QIḌIRĀT; MAKKA*), the founder of the last line of Sharifs. As a youth Barakāt was associated

with his father in the role (809-21/1407-18), which was challenged by several cousins. The father abdicated because of his age in 821/1418, though he lived on until 829/1426. After being confined in office by Barsbī, the Manlik sultan of Egypt, who had made himself the supreme authority over Mecca, Barakāt reigned until 845/1442 in the face of opposition by his brothers. Unseated then by other members of the line, he returned to power in the last years of his life (851-9/1447-53). During Barakāt's time the Manlik sultan Cabrak appointed an inspector (*naẓir*) for the Holy Cities and established a garrison of 50 horse in Mecca. A noteworthy increase in Indian trade and the number of Indian pilgrims went hand in hand with greater Egyptian control in the Red Sea. Barakāt visited Cairo in 851/1447. He was succeeded by his son Muhammad (regn. 859-903/1459-97).

(2) Barakāt II b. Muhammad, a grandson of Barakāt I, shared the rule with his father from 878 to 903/1473-97. From 903 on he struggled against his brothers Ḥazāʾ and Aḥmad Dīnār. In 908/1503 Barakāt was sent to Cairo in chains, leaving the way open for another brother, Ḥunayyā, to become Sharif. Restored in 910/1504, Barakāt remained the lord of Mecca until his death in 931/1525. From 910 to 931/1525-26 his brother Kānūsh was associated with him, and thereafter his young son Muhammad Abū Numayy II. The new threat of the Portuguese prompted the Manlik sultan Kānūsh al-Ghūr to delegate Ḥusayn al-Kurdī with a military force to protect Dīddā, which he enclosed with a wall and towers. Upon the entry of Selīm Yavuz into Cairo, Barakāt sent Abū Numayy (ad. c. 12) in 923/1517 to wait upon him, and the Ottoman conqueror recognised the status quo in Mecca. For some reason Selīm did not take advantage of this opportunity to make the pilgrimage, though the first Ottoman *mukmal* was sent out in 923 and the first shipment of wheat for the population of Mecca went by sea from Suez to Dīddā. Barakāt was succeeded by Abū Numayy (regn. 931-7/1525-66), from whom all the subsequent Sharifs of Mecca were descended.

From the first half of the 11th/17th century to the 14th/20th century, three clans among the progeny of Abū Numayy II contended with each other over the Sharifate: Dhawū Zayd, Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh, and Dhawū Barakāt. The eponym of Dhawū Barakāt was Abū Numayy's son Barakāt, who never held the office of Sharif himself.

(3) Barakāt III b. Muhammad b. Bīrḥīm, a great-grandson of the eponym of Dhawū Barakāt, was the first of this clan to wear the dignity, according in 1012/1672. His installation was the work of a North African, Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdīnī, an enemy of Dhawū Zayd and an intimate of the Ottoman Grand Vizier, Aḥmad Kōprülü. During the first part of Barakāt's tenure Muhammad b. Sulaymān instituted a number of radical reforms designed to improve the lot of the foreign elements and the poorer classes in Mecca at the expense of the old aristocracy. With the death of Kōprülü in 1057/1676 the reformer's star declined. Barakāt stayed on as Sharif until his death in 1093/1682, being succeeded by his son Saʿīd (regn. 1093-5/1682-4).

(4) Barakāt IV b. Yahyā, a grandson of Barakāt III, ruled less than two months (1135-6/1723). After the abdication of his father, he was defeated by Dhawū Zayd, whereupon he and his father fled to Syria.

The last Sharif of Dhawū Barakāt was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn, a nephew of Barakāt IV, whose

reign was almost as brief as his uncle's. Placed in power in 1184/1770 by Muhammad Abū Dhahab, the general sent to the Hijāz by ʿAlī Bey (g.s.) of Egypt, he lacked the strength to maintain himself after Abū Dhahab's withdrawal. From then on the Sharifate remained the exclusive property first of Dhawū Zayd and then of Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh.

**Bibliography:** F. Wustenfeld, ed., *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Göttingen 1857-61; Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān, *Khulāṣat al-Kalām*, Cairo 1305; Aḥmad al-Shibʿī, *Taʿrīḥ Makka*, Cairo 1322; C. Smoek Hurgonje, *Mekka*, The Hague 1888-9.

**BARAKZAY** (see *AFGHANISTĀN*).

**AL-BARĀMIKA** or **AL BARMĀK** (Barmakidei, an Iranian family of secretaries and *waiz* of the early ʿAbbsīd Caliphs.

1. Origins. — The name *Barmak*, traditionally borne by the ancestor of the family, was not a proper name, according to certain Arab authors, but a word designating the office of hereditary high priest of the temple of Nawbahār, near Balḫ. This interpretation is confirmed by the etymology which is now accepted, deriving the term from the Sanskrit word *parmak* — "superior, chief". The term Nawbahār, moreover, likewise derives from Sanskrit (*nāha rishā* — "new monastery") and evokes the name of the famous Buddhist monastery, visited in the 167th century by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang, at Po-Ho, another name for Balḫ (Hsuan Tsang, *Mémoires*, trad. St. Julien, I, Paris 1857, 30-32). Furthermore, some of the Arab geographers likewise affirm that the Nawbahār was dedicated to the worship of idols (*ḥabāt al-idāghā*); the description of it left by Ibn al-Fakḥ (322-25) also corresponds in the main with that of a monastery and describes a monument, which can be recognised as the characteristic Buddhist *stupa*, in spite of the distortion of its name. The later authors (Yāqūt, IV, 819; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, III, 198), who make this sanctuary a Zoroastrian Fire-Temple, were doubtless influenced by the tradition which envisaged the Barmakidei as the descendants of the ministers of the Sāsānid Empire, and especially Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, trans. Schefer, 224). It is difficult to ascertain when these imaginary interpretations, universally disseminated in subsequent literature (especially local literature, see *Fakḥ al-Balḫ*, ap. Ch. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, I, Paris 1883, 71), which have been accepted for too long by modern scholarship, arose. The view just sketched has been held that they may have seen the light of day in al-Manṣūr's reign. It would, however, be more accurate to consider them as being much later than that period.

We possess little precise information on the Nawbahār and its high priests during the first century of the Islamic Empire. The lands attached to the temple, amounting to some 2,500 sq. km. are known to have been the property of the family, who appears subsequently to have retained them, at least in part, whilst the rich village of Rawān, near Balḫ, belonged to Yahyā b. Khālid personally (Yāqūt, II, 742).

According to al-Balḫāghūrī (*Futūḥ*, 499), the Nawbahār, centre of national resistance, was attacked and damaged under al-Manṣūr, but Yahyā, the "Iron brother" of Hārūn, the son of al-Mahdī. Finally in 158/773, shortly before al-Manṣūr's death, a heavy fine seems to have been imposed on Khālid, but he was pardoned and appointed governor of the province of al-Mawrah, where a Kurdish revolt had broken out. At the beginning of the Caliphate of al-

but there are no grounds for supposing that it was rebuilt as a Fire-Temple, as is sometimes assumed. As for the last Barmak, the father of Khālid, he is a figure known to us by information which is to a large extent legendary.

Thus it is that he is held to have possessed medical knowledge and to have treated, among other patients, the Umayyad prince Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (Tabarī, II, 128). One tradition, moreover, intended perhaps to benefit the sons of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim, makes the latter, who with his brother Kutayba had participated in the repression of the revolt of Balḫ in 86/705, and not Barmak, the real father of Khālid (Tabarī, *loc. cit.*). Furthermore we do not know whether Barmak, who was again in Balḫ in 107/725-26, had previously gone to the Court of the Caliphs, as has been maintained, and had there embraced Islam. However that may be, his sons left Khurāsān for ʿIrāq, where they settled at al-Basra and there became clients of the Aḥd tribe (L. Massignon, in *Westfälische Abh. Tachau*, Wiesbaden 1954, 159 and 168). There Khālid seems to have been the first to be converted, followed by his brothers Sulaymān and al-Ḥasan.

**Bibliography:** L. Bouvat, *Les Barmakides*, Paris 1912, 23-36; S. Nadvi, in *Id. Culture*, VI, 1932, 19-28; H. W. Bailey, in *BOSOS*, XI, 1945, 3 (on the word *barmak*) and the references given above.

(W. BARNROD-D. SOWERBY)

2. Khālid b. Barmak — Practically nothing is known of Khālid's activities until the moment he appeared, towards the end of the Umayyad period, in the ranks of the Hāghmīte movement; he was then entrusted with the distribution of the plunder in Kaḥḥāb's army. Shortly after that, the new caliph al-Saffāḥ entrusted the management of the *diwān* of the army and land-tax (*al-dīwān waʿl-dharrāj*) to him, and then the control of all the bureaux, so that, as one chronicler says, he played the role of a *waiz*; attached to the personal service of the Caliph, he had the honour of seeing his own daughter suckled by al-Saffāḥ's wife whilst his own wife acted as foster-mother to his sovereign's daughter. Under al-Manṣūr, Khālid continued to play an important role, without however being, as is too frequently averred, the right hand of the Caliph. He seems to have remained for at least a year director of the office of land taxation, though he was soon ousted from the central administration by the intriguer Abū Ayyūb. Appointed governor of Fārs, he appears to have stayed there for about two years. Later we see him at Bagdad persuading the Caliph, according to a well known tradition, to refrain from destroying the Iwān Kīrā, participating in 147/764-65 in the manoeuvres which led to ʿIsā b. Muṣā agreeing to renounce his rights to the succession, proffering advice to Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muʿawwiyā, who was returning from al-Rāy. Subsequently appointed governor of Tabaristān, he remained there for about seven years (ruins struck in his name between 150/767 and 154/771 are known), took possession of the fortress of Ustīnādān near Damāwand and made himself popular with the inhabitants of these regions, where he founded the new town of al-Manṣuriya. It was probably about this time that his damānqar al-Faḥl b. Yahyā became the "Iron brother" of Hārūn, the son of al-Mahdī. Finally in 158/773, shortly before al-Manṣūr's death, a heavy fine seems to have been imposed on Khālid, but he was pardoned and appointed governor of the province of al-Mawrah, where a Kurdish revolt had broken out. At the beginning of the Caliphate of al-



Mahdī, we find him in Fīrs and, in 163/779-80, he appears to have further distinguished himself, at the same time as his son Yahyā, during the siege of Samālū in Byzantine territory, though he died shortly afterwards in 163/781-82, approximately in his 75th year.

*Bibliography:* L. Bouvat, *Les Barmakides*, 37-43; Tabari, index; *Ḍjaḡhiyārī, K. al-Waṣaʾi*, index; Maʾḥḍī, *Mawāḍiʿ*, v, 41; Ibn al-Faḍl, 314; Yāḳūt, i, 284; Ibn al-Balāḥīn, Cairo ed. 1947, i, 203-96; J. Walker, *Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1946, lxxv.

3. The *Wazīra* and the fall of the Barmakids—When Yahyā b. Ḳāḍī was chosen as *waṣīr* by Hārūn al-Raṣīd, he already had a fairly long career behind him. After assisting his father in his various governorships, Yahyā had been appointed in 158/773 governor of Ḍjārbayḡān. He was still at Ḳāḍī's side in Fīrs at the beginning of al-Mahdī's Caliphate, and in 161/778 he had become secretary tutor to Prince Hārūn, in the place of Abū b. Ṣadāka, and had accompanied the Prince on the Samālū expedition, on which he had been especially entrusted with the commissariat of the army. A little later, when his position had been acknowledged as the second heir and appointed governor of the western provinces as well as of Ḍjārbayḡān and Armenia, Yahyā had administered this part of the empire. After the death of al-Mahdī, though he was confirmed in his office, he found himself the object of the hostility of the new Caliph al-Ḥādī, who accused him of supporting Hārūn against him and of encouraging him to maintain his rights to the succession, which very nearly brought about his downfall. The very night, however, when Yahyā, who had been thrown into prison, was, we are told, to have been executed, al-Ḥādī was found dead and other reports suggest that the Queen-mother al-Ḳhayrūn, who supported Hārūn, was not unconnected with the occurrence.

In any case, as soon as Hārūn had been hailed as Caliph, he hastened to summon Yahyā and entrusted him with the direction of affairs, investing him, according to tradition, with a general delegation of authority. The able secretary received the title of *waṣīr* and from the outset associated his two sons al-Faḍl and Ḍjaʿfar with his administrative and governmental duties. They frequently presided with him and also began to have been styled *waṣīr*. Yahyā remained in office for seventeen years, from 170/786 to 187/803, this period being referred to by some authors as "the reign of the Barmakids" (*ṣulṭa al-Barmak*). Engaged in "righting wrongs" in the name of the Caliph, he was likewise empowered to chase his own secretaries, who acted as his delegates, and was in practice head of the administration; even the office of the Seal, initially withheld from him, was soon placed under his control. Tradition likewise has it that al-Raṣīd handed his personal seal over to him, a symbol of the new authority enjoyed by the *waṣīr*. This seal, entrusted to Ḍjaʿfar, subsequently returned to Yahyā, who relinquished it when he set out to stay in Mecca in 181/797; it was then entrusted to al-Faḍl and afterwards to Ḍjaʿfar, being taken back by Yahyā after his return.

Yahyā's two sons, al-Faḍl and Ḍjaʿfar, were not satisfied with merely seconding their father. They likewise enjoyed important responsibilities. Al-Faḍl was the eldest and, moreover, Hārūn's "foster-brother", played a major rôle in the early years. In 176/794 or perhaps even earlier, he was placed at the head of the Western provinces of Iran and was

sent by the Caliph against the 'Aḥd Yahyā b. 'Aḥd Alīsh, who had revolted. He obtained the latter's submission by negotiation. In the following year he was appointed governor of Ḳhurasān, where he played the rôle of a conciliator and a builder. He pacified the country of Ḳābul and recruited a local army, part of which, we are told, was sent to Bagh-dād. Upon his return to Court, he left a deputy in his province, which he retained until 180/796. In 181/797, he appears to have been in charge of the government during his father's absence. Nevertheless, he was the first to lose the Caliph's favour. He gravely displeased Hārūn and was deprived of all his offices, except his appointment as tutor to Prince Muḥammad al-Amin, for whom he had obtained recognition as heir-apparent in 178/794.

As for Ḍjaʿfar, whose eloquence and legal erudition the authors are fond of stressing, in 176/792 he received the governorship of the western provinces, though he remained at Court, which he only left in 180/796 in order to suppress the risings in Syria. He was next appointed temporarily governor of Ḳhurasān and was placed in charge of the caliphal bodyguard as well as being entrusted with the direction of the Post Office and of the office of the Mint and textile manufactures (in fact his name appears on the coins struck in the East from 176/792 and, subsequently, also on those of the West). He was likewise tutor to Prince 'Aḥd Alīsh al-Ma'mūn, who was proclaimed second heir in 182/798. But above all he was the Caliph's favourite, if not his Gaymade as has often been supposed, and willingly took part in his pleasure parties, of which his brother, on the other hand, disapproved.

Thus with Yahyā's two sons entrusted with the tutelage of the two princely heirs-apparent, between whom an actual division of the empire was contemplated, power might have remained in the hands of the Al Barmak for a long time, had al-Raṣīd so permitted. The Caliph, however, on returning from the Pilgrimage which he accomplished with his suite in 186/802, suddenly decided to put an end to their domination; during the night of Saturday the 7 Safar 187/28-9 January 803, he had Ḍjaʿfar executed, al-Faḍl and his brothers arrested, Yahyā placed under observation and the property of all the Barmakids (with the exception of Muḥammad b. Ḳāḍī) confiscated. Ḍjaʿfar's remains were left exposed in Bagh-dād for six years. Al-Faḍl and Yahyā himself, whose wish had been to share his sons' fate, were conducted to al-Rakka as prisoners; there Yahyā died in Muharram 190/November 803, 70 years of age, and al-Faḍl in Muharram 193/November 805, aged 45 years.

The brutal fall of the Barmakids came as a surprise to their contemporaries, who had no satisfactory explanation to account for it and therefore invented various fictitious reasons, such as the story of 'Abḥāsā [i.e.], which have too long been given credence. The origin of their fall still remains partly a mystery for modern historians; but it can hardly be seen as the result of a sudden caprice on the part of the Caliph. Even if it was not "prepared well beforehand" as W. Barthold said, it was at least contemplated long in advance by the sovereign who had come to endure the tutelage of his ministers with increasing impatience and who at times accused them of pursuing a policy contrary to his own interests.

The vizierate of the Barmakids was not really the period of perfect harmony which came to be portrayed in later legend. In spite of what has been said on the matter, causes for disagreement did exist

between the Caliph and his former tutor, whose hands were never completely free to govern. Not only was he obliged in the early years, as W. Barthold has already pointed out, to render account to al-Ḳhayrūn, who, nevertheless, constantly gave him her support as long as she lived, but later he was often forced to come to terms with al-Raṣīd's wishes and to resort to that cleverness for which he was so highly reputed. In some cases he was not even successful in imposing his views, and the man appointed to replace al-Faḍl in Ḳhurasān in 180/796 was appointed against his advice. At other times he found himself having to play a highly compromised rôle. Thus we see him hastening from Bagh-dād to al-Rakka in 183/799 to divert the sovereign's ire from al-Faḍl and succeeding only at the cost of condemning his son's behaviour. Very early on also, intrigues had contributed to weaken his position and the Caliph, upon the death of his mother, had been eager to bestow honours on the accomplished courtier al-Faḍl b. al-Raḥī, in whom he had for long begun to take an interest and whom, furthermore, he appointed *ḡāḍī* in 179/795 in the place of the Barmakid Muḥammad b. Ḳāḍī; the new dignitary exercised a growing influence at Court, where he stigmatised the shortcomings of his enemies and provoked the resentment of al-Raṣīd against them.

The Caliph's relationships with Yahyā's sons were similarly not always harmonious. Al-Raṣīd did not think well of the pro-'Aḥd policy of al-Faḍl, who does not seem to have been endowed with the same flexibility as his father. He was removed from power in 183/799, four years before the final disgrace of his family. Even Ḍjaʿfar, who apparently enjoyed the Caliph's complete confidence, retaining his influence with him the longest, was not secure from the suspicions of a restive master and was reproached upon occasion for abusing his powers.

It was, of course, quite normal for the attitude of al-Raṣīd towards the Barmakids to become modified during the seventeen years of their supremacy. The Caliph, at his accession, when he was 23 years old, was content to follow his mother's advice and to relieve himself of certain responsibilities, by entrusting them to Yahyā. Later, however, this humiliating situation began to weigh upon him, the more so since the desire to impose his own will increased with the years, whilst the Barmakids, filling the most important posts with their relatives and clients and preparing themselves to institute some kind of hereditary vizierate, constituted an actual State within the State. At the same time, they had amassed great wealth, which excited the cupidity of the sovereign and to which their proverbial generosity continually called attention. Yet if the different reasons are adequate to explain their fall, nevertheless the brutality of the treatment inflicted on Ḍjaʿfar was doubtless the reason for the affection which was bestowed on him by the Caliph and which may perhaps have postponed the inevitable outcome.

On the other hand, imputations of impiety, which are sometimes levelled at the Barmakids during the period of their ascendancy, do not seem to have contributed to the disgrace which befell them. Such accusations do not even appear to have had any basis in fact. These secretaries of Iranian origin did, it is true, display a special interest in the literary masterpieces which came from Iran and India, as well as in the various philosophical and religious doctrines, which they liked to hear discussed; but these were tastes widely disseminated in Bagh-dād

society of the period and were not necessarily accompanied by heterodox opinions. The Barmakids, moreover, had completely adapted themselves to the usages of the 'Abbasid Court at which they lived; they thought highly of Arabic poets and writers and, like so many other *mawālī*, displayed an ostentatious generosity, inspired by ancient Bedouin traditions. Though they frequently assumed a conciliatory attitude towards the inhabitants of the provinces or of certain tributary states, they appear to have made no attempt to favour al-Ma'mūn, the "son of the Persian woman", at the expense of his brother. They seem primarily to have served the Caliphate effectively and loyally, pacifying Eastern Iran, repressing the risings in Syria and even Ifrīkiya, obtaining the submission of rebels, including 'Alids, directing the administration in an orderly fashion, guaranteeing to the State important resources, undertaking works of public interest (canals of Ḳāḍī and Sībī), settling wrongs aright with equity in accordance with the requirements of Islamic law and reinforcing the judicial administration by the institution of the office of the great *ḡāḍī*. Doubtless by their behaviour they accentuated the process of irānization which became evident from the beginning of the 'Abbasid regime, imparting to the vizierate a style which did not fail to attract subsequent imitators; in spite of their new prerogatives and exceptional prestige, however, their influence was a highly personal thing, as was the tragedy which terminated it. It does not appear that they ever sought to transform the vizierate in accordance with a hypothetical Sāsānid model.

The activity of the Barmakids was not merely political and administrative. An important cultural and artistic achievement is also due to them. Indeed they acted as patrons of poets, distributing rewards for their panegyrics through the intermediary of a special office created specifically for the purpose, the *diwān al-ḡhīr*; they favoured scholars and gathered theologians and philosophers in their home, in assemblies (*maḍāliḥ*) which have remained famous. They encouraged the arts, and as great builders, left numerous palaces in Bagh-dād, the most famous of which, that of Ḍjaʿfar, subsequently became the Caliphal residence.

Neither did the influence of the Barmakids disappear with their fall. It continued to be exerted during the ensuing years through the medium of the *waṣīrs* and secretaries who came to power under al-Ma'mūn and who, for the most part, were their former clients and dependants, as in the case of the famous al-Faḍl b. Sahl. It is actually known that, at the time of their ascendancy, the ministers of al-Raṣīd had gathered around themselves a group of especially competent *ḡāḍīs*, whom they had trained in their methods, and the following Caliphs were unable to dispense with them.

Finally *adab* literature laid hold of the Barmakids, stressing their edifying and remarkable traits of character, often with some exaggeration (Yahyā's "wisdom" and his gift for foretelling events, al-Faḍl's haughtiness and ostentatious generosity, the elegant language of Ḍjaʿfar) whilst some stories, such as those later to be incorporated in the *Thousand and One Nights*, popularised the figure of Ḍjaʿfar, the *waṣīr* and intimate companion of al-Raṣīd.

*Bibliography:* L. Bouvat, *Les Barmakides*; D. Sourde, *Le vizir 'Abbaside* (appearing shortly); *Ḍjaḡhiyārī, Kitāb al-Waṣaʾi*, index; Ibn 'Aḥd Rabīb, *al-'Iḍā*, Cairo ed. 1945-53, III, 26-34; Tabari, *Ya'ḳūt*, Maʾḥḍī, index; Ibn al-Balāḥīn, *i.e.*



4. Other members of the Barmakid family.—Yahyā had a brother, Muḥammad b. Khālid, who was *khāḍḡ* from 172/788 to 179/795 and was the only one spared by the Caliph when they fell.

In addition to al-Faḍl and Dīyar, he had two other sons, Muḥammad and Mūsā, who though less brilliant, nevertheless played a role at Court. The latter, known for his military bravery, was governor of Syria in 176/792. They were thrown into prison in 187/803 with their father and brother, but were released by al-Amīn who showed himself generous towards them. Mūsā remained in 'Irāk and fought in the Caliphal army; subsequently rallying to al-Ma'mūn, who later appointed him governor of Sind. He died in 222/835, leaving a son 'Iḥrām who succeeded him and distinguished himself in several expeditions. Muḥammad, on the other hand, had joined the Court of al-Ma'mūn at Marw, where he had been preceded by his son Ahmad and his nephew al-'Abbās, the son of al-Faḍl.

Of the numerous descendants of the Barmakids, one especially was famous as a musician and man of letters: Ahmad b. Dīdāfar, surnamed Dīdāfar [g.s.], grandson of Mūsā b. Yahyā and intimate companion of the Caliph al-Muktadir.

*Bibliography:* L. Bouvat, *Les Barmakides*, 101 ff.; Dīdāghiyārī, K. al-Winārā, Cairo ed., 297-98.

5. The nisba *al-Barmakī*.—This nisba was also borne by persons not belonging to the Barmakid family. A first category comprises their clients and their manumitted slaves with their descendants. Others were natives of the quarter of Baghdad which had received the name of *al-Barmakīya*. They included the singer Dānīnīr, the man of letters Muḥammad b. Dīdān, an astrologer who was present at the siege of Samānī, a *wasī* of the Sāmānids and an envoy of the Ghaznawids.

A number of dynasties, both in Iran and North Africa, were later to claim descent from the Barmakids (Sarbādārān in Khurāsān, Barmak in Touat). Finally a tribe, from whom the dancing-girls called *ghawwād* were recently still being recruited in Egypt, claimed to be descended from them; doubtless the reputation of these dancing-girls has imparted to the word *barmakī* the pejorative sense which it sometimes assumes in modern Egyptian.

*Bibliography:* L. Bouvat, *Les Barmakides*, 105 ff.

**BARAN**, an old name for BULAND-SHAHR [g.s.].

**BARANĪ**, Dīyā' al-Dīn, historian and writer on government under the Delhi sultanate. Born not later than 684/1285, (and probably earlier as he was old enough to remember witnessing convicts' parties and to have read the whole of the *Kur'ān* in the reign of Dīlāl al-Dīn Khāḍḡ (689-92/1290-6). Baranī was well connected with Delhi ruling circles. His father, Ma'ayyid al-Mulk, was *na'ib* to Arkāt Khān, second son of sultan Dīlāl al-Dīn Khāḍḡ, becoming *na'ib* and *khawāḍ* of Baran in the first year of the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khāḍḡ. Baranī's paternal uncle, Malik 'Alā' al-Mulk was *khawāḍ* of Delhi under 'Alā' al-Dīn Khāḍḡ and a prominent royal councillor. His maternal grandfather, *siyāh-sālār* Huḍām al-Dīn, *waḥīd al-dār* to Malik Barsak, was appointed to the *ghāḡnā* of Lakḡnawī by Sultān Balḡan.

Baranī himself became, for seventeen years and three months, a *nadīm* of Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughlūk (725/1325-732/1331). The *Siyar al-Awliyā'* describes him as an entertaining conversationalist and as having been a friend of the poets Amīr Khusrav and Amīr Hasan.

At the beginning of the reign of Firūz Shāh

Tughlūk (752-90/1351-88) Baranī was banished from court and, according to his own statement in the *Na'at-i Muḥammadi*, was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Paḥlōt. It is a possible hypothesis that he was associated with the attempt of Khwājā Dīdān Ahmad Aylāz to place a minor son of Muḥammad b. Tughlūk on the throne while Firūz Shāh Tughlūk and the army were extricating themselves from Muḥammad b. Tughlūk's expedition against Thatta in Sind.

Baranī spent his remaining years in penurious exile, writing both in the hope of being restored to favour and of atoning for the sin to which he ascribed his misfortunes. He died not long after 758/1357 and was buried near the grave of Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' at Dīlghāḡpūr. Four of Baranī's works, the *Ta'riḡh-i Firūz Shāhī*, the *Fatāwā-yi Dīdāndārī*, the *Na'at-i Muḥammadi* and his translation of anecdotes on the Barmakids, the *Alḡhīr-i Barmakīyān*, are known at present to be extant.

Baranī is a significant (though in the total context of medieval Islam, not original) figure in Indo-Muslim thought on government. Holding the first four caliphs to have been the only truly *ghāḡ* rulers in the history of the community, Baranī aimed in the *Fatāwā-yi Dīdāndārī*, a work of the *Furqan* type, and in the *Ta'riḡh-i Firūz Shāhī*, to educate the *de facto* ruler, the sultan, in their duty towards Islam in a corrupt age. In the form of *diḡā* by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna, the *Fatāwā-yi Dīdāndārī* advises sultans to enforce the *shar'ia*, to curb unorthodoxy (*sūf*, especially *ghaḡfa*), to abuse the infidel, to employ only pious servants and to remain inwardly humble towards God though governing with the pomp and circumstance of pre-Muslim Persian kings, that is, in opposition to the ascetic *sanna* of the Prophet and the orthodox caliphs, as Baranī, under Sūfī influence, conceived them.

The avowedly didactic *Ta'riḡh-i Firūz Shāhī*, dedicated to Firūz Shāh Tughlūk, shows what happens in history when the precepts in the *Fatāwā-yi Dīdāndārī* are disregarded. It covers the period from the beginning of the reign of Balḡan (661-85/1268-87) to the sixth year of Firūz Shāh Tughlūk. The account of each sultan of Delhi is treated as a parable in which success or failure is explicable in terms of the sultan's adherence to or deviation from Baranī's politico-religious theories. For example, Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khāḍḡ is depicted as a successful sultan in so far as he subjugated the Hindus, overcame sedition, forbade strong drink and reduced the cost of living, but as an impious one since, Baranī says, his motives were worldly, he neglected his own religious observances, wished to become a prophet, appointed low men to office and avoided the company of the religious—in particular of Shāykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' whose *maymūn* and *barkāt* were the true cause of the *ghawwād* reign. True 'Alā' al-Dīn Khāḍḡ dies of suspected poisoning and within four years his family is exterminated. Baranī's *Ta'riḡh-i Firūz Shāhī* is not an annual or chronicle; it is an important example of didactic historiography in Islam. (See further *Ta'riḡh*.)

*Bibliography:* Storey, I, 1, 305-9; I, 2, 1311; *Fatāwā-yi Dīdāndārī*, Ethel No. 2563; *Na'at-i Muḥammadi*, Ethel Library Rānāpūr, MS. No. Ta'riḡh 127; *Alḡhīr-i Barmakīyān* or *Ta'riḡh-i Alā' Dārmaḡ*, lith. Bombay 1889; S. H. Baranī, *Ziādnām Baranī*, in *IC*, Jan. 1938, 76-97;

Shāykh 'Abdur Raḡhīb, *Ziā ud-dīn Baranī*, in *Muslim University Journal*, Aligarh 1942, 248-78; A. B. M. Habibullah, *Re-evaluation of the Literary Sources of Pre-Mughal History*, in *IC*, April 1941, 209-13; S. Nurul Hasan, *Sakīya-i Na'at-i Muḥammadi of Zia ud-din Barani*, in *Madani Indian Quarterly*, 1, 3, 2, 4/1954, 120-27; S. Moīn ul-Haq, *Some Aspects of Dīya al-dīn Baranī's Political Thought*, in *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, 10/3, Jan. 1956, 3-26; P. Hardy, *The Oratio Recta of Baranī's Ta'riḡh-i Firūz Shāhī — Fact or Fiction?*, in *BOS*, 33/1957, 315-21. (P. KARVY)

**al-BARĀNIS**, name of one of the two groups of tribes which together constitute the Berber nation [g.s.], that of the other being the Būtr. It represents the plural of the name of their common eponymous ancestor: Baranus; for a possible origin of this name see Būtr.

According to Ibn Khāldūn, the Barānis comprised five great peoples: Awraḡa, 'Aḡliḡa, Anḡāḡa, Maḡḡa-Ghūmra, Kutīna-Zawīa, Subḡāḡa, Hawwra. Whether, however, the last three belong to this group is a matter of controversy; they are considered by some to be descendants of Hīmyar and therefore non-Berbers. Neither they nor the Maḡḡa will be dealt with here.

The most ancient habitat of the Barānis in the true sense of the term is the massif of the Awraḡa, the eastern provinces of Constantine and the two Kabylia where they used to live as sedentary mountain dwellers. At the time of the first Arab invasion, in the first quarter of the 7th century, the Awraḡa of the famous Kusayla [g.s.] had to abandon the Awraḡa, after the defeat and death of their chief. They went to northern Morocco, where they established themselves from the massif of the Zāḡfīn to the river Wāḡḡa; the names of some of their old tribes are to be met with today along the banks of this river: Luḡāḡa, Maryāḡa, Raḡḡiwa. The rôle they played in connection with Idrīs I [g.s.] is known.

We possess no information on the conditions in which some of the Barānis arrived and established themselves in the North of Taza. At all events, al-Bakrī indicates some of the Barānis and Awraḡa in contact with the kingdom of Nukr [g.s.]. In the present tribe (in dialect 'B-Brānes, ethnic 'B-Barnōs) which contains a sub-group called the Werba, the memory of the prince of the Awraḡa who received Idrīs I (at Wallāla) has been retained and even the remains of his palace are shown there.

The Barānis-Awraḡa participated in the expeditions launched from Morocco against the Iberian Peninsula; some of them settled there and bequeathed their name to the Djabal al-Barānis, now the Sierra de Almadén, to the North of Cordova. Some of the Barānis (from the North of Taza) formed part of the "Būtr" contingents who took Tanger (1084). A village of the *faḡh* of this latter town bears their name.

As for the Arḡāḡa (and Misiḡna) Barānis, nothing is known of the reasons for their establishing themselves in the region of Oran; some of the Misiḡna still live in the region of Bādis [g.s.]. There is the same lack of information concerning the Kutāna of Morocco.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Khāldūn, *Histoire des*

Leo Africanus, trans. Épaulari, 305; Tregua, *Les Brānis*, in *AM*, 1, 3 and 4; G. S. Colin, *Le parler arabe du Nord de la région de Taza*, in *RIFAO*, xviii (1920), 33; idem, *Sayyid Ahmad Zarrīq al-Barnāsi*, in *Rivista della Tripolitania*, 1925. (G. S. COLIN)

**BARANTA**, a term used in the eastern portion of the Turkish world (Talest, Kirgiz, Kazak etc.) though today regarded as old-fashioned (for the forms of the word cf. *barama*, *barloma*, *barama*, *parlanti*; the forms *barantale* and *barantaly*, encountered in some sources, are not yet fully understood, while Seyyid Süleymanī *barant* and H. K. Kadī's *baranta* must be mistaken), generally with the meanings 'loot, robbery, plunder, pillage, looting'; 'for one who is owed money or has been wronged to get his own back by raiding his adversary's livestock'; hence 'cattle-lifting'. For related terms, cf. *barimāḡ* (Af), 'cattle-lifter, marauder' (*parimāḡ*, 'robber'); *barimāḡ*, 'to get one's own back by driving off other people's livestock, to capture on foray'; *barimāḡ*, 'to quarrel together about property' (*ḡarāḡ meḡn ḡiḡdas ḡolḡne*, *hay meḡn barimāḡ*, 'rather than be friendly with a poor man, quarrel with a rich').

The term has passed into Russian with the same meaning: *baranta*, 'revenge, retaliation; taking reprisals for a robbery by driving off cattle; foray, incursion' etc., and the derivatives *barantat*, *barantōshch*, 'participant in a hostile incursion; robber'; *barantōvsk*, 'pertaining to a foray'; *barantōvsk*, 'to raid' etc.

M. Vasmer (*Russ. etym. Wb.*, Heidelberg 1950), noting that the Russian *baranta* is used in eastern Russia and the Caucasus, indicates that it has been taken from Turkish, into which language it has passed from Mongol. See in the Mongol dictionaries *barim*, *barimda*, 'clutching with the hand', *barimdalay*, 'to be seized, held fast, to preserve, to keep'; *barimdalai*, 'the act of holding fast, of tightening etc'. Cf. in particular G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.* (Helsinki 1935): *bārmā* 'to seize, hold fast, assault, attack'; *b. kəpə*, 'to go on a foray in order to take from one's adversary a surety for future engagements'; *bārmāyū*, 'to take, hold fast' (cf. *bārd*, *bārmāz*, etc.).

It is clear that among the nomad Turkish peoples this term once represented a specific legal concept; in Turkish as in Mongol it involves the notion of 'pledge, surety', and our sources show that *baranta* was done only with a specific purpose and subject to certain rules. It is *baranta* when a man who has been wronged appropriates a quantity of his adversary's property in order to recover his due; the return of the property depends on the result of ensuing litigation between the parties. It is likely that reciprocal *barantas* sometimes covered a wider group. The rule demanded that the use of *baranta* to redress a wrong should be in daylight and with prior notice. *Baranta* at the same time afforded an opportunity for young men in the nomad society to display their bravery, skill and resourcefulness; to earn the appellation of 'hero', and to be held in honour. With the changing bases of social life, and changing economic conditions, *baranta*, like many another institution rooted in customary law, has lost its importance; the term has suffered a gradual diminution and has come to mean simply 'theft'.

In the limited areas where the old customs are still preserved, however, the *baranta* system survives, and the laws of the land feel the need to take cognisance of it. E.g., on 16 October 1924 the Russian



central administrative organ (VTSIK) studied the system of Baranta in connexion with offences against the customary law in the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Oyrat Autonomous Region, under three heads: simple, armed, and tribal.

**Bibliography:** Apart from works mentioned in the text, see V. Barthold and A. Ivan in *IA* (art. Baranta); Radloff, *Wb.* (1893-1911). Budagov, *Sayen, sloz. tur-lat. nar.*, Petersburg 1869; Bokin, *Rus.-Kirg. sloz.*, Tashkent 1885; Ganiade, *Rus.-lat. sloz.*, Baku 1902; K. K. Yudasin, *Kirgiz shlagi* (Turk. tr. by A. Taymas), Ankara 1945; A. N. Kulikov, *Spraz. sloz.*, Petersburg 1901; N. V. Gornyay, *Spraz. dimni. sloz. russ. yaz.*, Tiflis 1896; L. V. Pavlovskiy, *Russko-nemetsk. sloz.*, Leipzig 1911; Kovalevskiy, *Mong.-russ.-frans. sloz.*, Kazan 1846; I. J. Schmidt, *Mong.-Deutsch-Russ. Wb.*, Petersburg 1835; F. Boleng, *Mong.-Engl. Dict.*, Stockholm 1954; *Sibirsk. slozets. entsikloped.* (1929); *Entsikloped. sloz.*, Petersburg, 1801 and 1805; *Die Gross. Steinkau.*, Leipzig 1929. [R. RAKHETI ARAT]

**BARĀTHĀ**, the name of a residential quarter on the western side of ancient Baghdad to the south of the quarter of Bāb Muhawwar, originally some 3 kms. from ancient Baghdad. There used to be in Barāthā a mosque, designed for the prayer of the Shī'ī sect, which Yāqūt (d. 626/1228) mentions as being totally demolished. He also remarks that the quarter itself was destroyed without trace. This mosque was built in 329/941; later on it was pulled down by the 'Abbasid Caliph Al-Rāḍī Billāh; later still, it was reconstructed and maintained its normal function until after 450/1058, when it was finally abandoned.

Prior to the building of Baghdad, Barāthā was a village where, as the Shī'īs claim, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib passed by and performed prayers on the site of the mosque. The name Barāthā, derived from the Syrian word Baraythā, has the meaning of "outer".

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, i, 532-4; Marāṣid, Cairo 1954, i, 174; Al-Sūbī, *Akhbār al-Riḍā wa 'l-Mutahh* (ed. Dunne), Cairo 1935, 136, 192, 198, 285 (French transl. by M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index); Al-Iḥṣā' al-Baghdādī, Ta'arūḥ Baghdad (the topographical introduction) (ed. Salmon), Paris 1904, 126-7, 148-51, 166; Ibn Hawkal, 241; Ya'qūt, Buldan 244; Ibn al-Djauzi, *Manāhib Baghdad* (ed. al-Aḥṣā), Baghdad 1342 A.H., 27, 22; Ahmad Ḥāmid al-Sarāfi, *Al-Shahab*, Baghdad 1954, 270-81; 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Isbahānī, *Ta'arūḥ Masājid Barāthā*, Baghdad 1954, 21; G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900, 153-6, 320; Stroek, *Baraythā nach den Arab. Geograph.*, i, 52, 71, 90, 94-5, 132-3; Fränkel, *Die Arab. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, 38.

**BARAWA** (BARAVA), a coastal town of Italian Somaliland. The inhabitants, c. 9000, are mostly of the Tūmī tribe of the Digil Somali, who displaced the Adjirān and are mingled with Boraq Galla. The soil is comparatively fertile, skins, grain and butter are marketed and leather is worked. Barawa is perhaps Yāqūt's Bāwāw, which exported amber, and Idrīs's B-rwa (var. M-rwa) on the pagan frontier; other Islamic geographers do not mention it. Barro, following a Kilwa chronicle now lost, says Zaydīd from Al-Absāḥ founded it soon after Malikdīgh; Sulḡān's informant ascribed it to the Khālidī 'Alī b. Malik b. Marwān in 77/696-7. In the 8th/14th century it was subject to Pute. The Chinese visited "Fu la" about 821/1218. In 908-9/1503 12 shaykhs

captured by Rui Lourenço Ravasco made Barawa tributary to Portugal. In 912/1507 Tristão da Cunha and Albuquerque stormed and burnt it; Barawa mustered 4000 defenders and afforded rich booty. It recovered temporarily but decayed after the rise of the Galla. Portuguese suzerainty was recognised intermittently. Portuguese writers describe it as a republic, governed by 12 shaykhs; Gullian mentions a council constituted by the heads of 5 Somali and 2 Arab tribes with a monarch elected for 7 years, whom he was told, it had once been the custom to kill after that time. Barawa was nominally subject to the Āl Bā Sa'ūd (q.v.) who asserted their authority against the Maṣri c. 1238/1822, but tribute was sometimes paid to Somali chiefs. For about 2 months in 1292/1875-6 it was occupied by the Egyptians. The Anglo-German declaration of 1303/1886 recognised Bā Sa'ūd rule. Three years later Italy announced a protectorate over the coast and Barawa was subsequently leased to her (see SOMALILAND). Harbour works were begun in the hope of making it the port of the Jūbā (Juba) region but were later abandoned.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, i, 485; Idrīs, 1st ed., 1st climate, pt 7; Storbeck in *MSOS* 1914; *J.Afr.S.* 1914-15, 178; *Ming Shih* ch. 326; *T'oung Pao* 1933, 297 and 1938-9, 354; J. Strandes, *Die Portugiesentzeit von Deutsch- und Englisch Ost-Afrika*, gives the important Portuguese references; Beccart, *Roman Africanorum Scriptores*, vol. 8, 323; G. Gullian, *Document. de l'Histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale* tom. i, 572-3 tom. iii, 158 ff.; C. H. Stigand, *The Land of Zing*; R. Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders and The Exploitation of East Africa*; G. Piazza, *La regione di Brava nel Benadir*; *Guida dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*. [C. F. BECKINGHAM]

**BARBĀ**, a name given by the Egyptians to all the temples and ancient monuments. This statement by Ibn Dībāyir is corroborated by Yāqūt, according to whom *barbā*, "which is a Coptic word", is applied to solidly constructed ancient buildings of pagan times, which served as laboratories for magic: they were wonderful buildings, full of paintings and sculptures. 'Abd al-Latif, in turn, noted the excellence of the art of the construction, the balanced proportions of their forms, the prodigious volume of the materials employed, and was astounded by the great multitude of inscriptions, figures, sunk carving and relief sculpture. In the eyes of some Arab writers, these various representations served a utilitarian purpose, namely to reproduce the techniques and tools of various crafts and to preserve a description of the sciences for future generations.

The Christian historian of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Severus of Aghmūnāy, employs the word *barbā* in the very precise sense of pagan temple, in contrast to the buildings of the Christian cult. The Arabic word *barbā* is, in fact, a transcription of the Coptic *g'p'p'w*—"temple", and usage has endowed it with a classical plural *barbā*. The expression *barbā* is also reported by Leo Africanus. Many authors recount impossible stories concerning these temples, either that they tell of the means of defending the country against external enemies by means of talismans or that these talismans help in discovering treasures, which they take a greater delight in elaborating.

The only relatively serious description, from the pen of Ibn Dībāyir, concerns the temple of Aghmūn, which no longer exists.

**Bibliography:** *Fihrist*, i, 353; ii, 188; Sā'id,

*Tahakki al-Umam*, trans. Blachère, 85; Ibn Dībāyir, 67, trans. Broadhurst, 27 ff.; 'Abd al-Latif, 182; Yāqūt, i, 165, 531; Leo Africanus, ed. Epaulari, ii, 537; Makrīdī, ed. IFAO, i, 162; S. de Sacy, *Observations sur le nom des Pyramides*, in *Bib. des arabisants français*, i, 243-250; Quatremère, *Recherches sur la langue et la littérature de l'Égypte*, 278-280; *L'Égypte de Muriak*, introduction by G. Wiet, 98-104. [G. Wiet]

**AL-BARBAHĀRĪ**, AL-HASAN b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn Abū MUHAMMAD AL-BARBAHĀRĪ, a famous Hanbali theologian, who died at Baghdad at a great age. He was both a traditionalist (*shā'im*), and a jurist (*faḥih*), being, above all, one of those popular preachers (*na'iq*), who, in the history of the Caliphate during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, played so important a rôle in the struggle of Sunnism against the Shī'ī missionaries (*da'wā*) and who, without exhibiting the least spirit of compromise, successfully managed to oppose the progress of Mu'tazilite and semi-Mu'tazilite-inspired theology (*kalām*).

Al-Barbahārī was schooled in Hanbali doctrine by Abū Bakr al-Marwāzī (died 275/888) [q.v.] (cf. *Ta'arūḥ Baghdad*, iv, 212-215; *Tahakki al-Hanbalīya*, i, 56-63; *Iḥṣā'ī*, 32-34) who was supposed to have been one of Ibn Hanbal's favourite disciples and one of the most assiduous reporters of the great imām's *responsa*, both in the field of jurisprudence (*fiḥh*) and, more generally, in that of moral theology (*akhḫāq*), the rules of civility (*ādāb*) and of religious beliefs (*aqā'id*). The famous jurist Abū al-Tuḡayyī (died 283/896), who founded the Sālimiyya school (cf. *ET*, iv, 119) and who was to exert an influence on several other major representatives of Hanbalism, was likewise his teacher.

Al-Barbahārī is the author of a profession of faith, the *Khiṭāb al-Sunna*, the text of which has been transmitted to us in great measure by the kādī Abū 'l-Buḡayyā in his *Tahakki* (ii, 18-43), and which recalls that composed by Ahmad Ghulūm Khallī (died 275/888), an opponent of the extremist Sūfiism of Abū Hamza and al-Nūrī (died 297/910) and himself an author with Hanbali affinities (cf. L. Massignon, *Textes inédits*, 212-213). Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Agh'ārī (died 329/941) is held to have composed his own *Imān* after a discussion with Al-Barbahārī, an assertion which a comparative study of the two professions of faith does not show *a priori* to be inadmissible.

Al-Barbahārī's profession of faith is primarily a polemic work denouncing the multiplication of suspect innovations (*bid'a*) and energetically enjoining a return to the precepts of the "old religion" (*al-dīn*), as it was understood at the time of the first three Caliphs, before the schism which followed the assassination of 'Uḡmān b. 'Affān and the succession of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The principle underlying this restoration resides in imitation (*taḥlīl*) of the Prophet, of his companions and their pious successors, among whom al-Barbahārī frequently cites, with Ibn Hanbal, Malik b. Anas (died 179/797), 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (died 187/797), Pūḡayy b. 'Ṭayf (died 187/803) and Hāḍir b. al-Ḥarīḥ (died 227/842). Al-Barbahārī does not condemn the use of reason (*aql*); on the contrary he perceives therein a grace diversely distributed by God among his creatures and necessary to final salvation. Neither does he entirely reject what is *hāḍir* as opposed to what is *zāhir*, that is to say, what is inward and profound in contrast to what is outward and in conformity with the letter of the text,

provided this *hāḍir* has its basis in the Qur'ān and the Sunna. What he condemns above all else are the pernicious deviations, which result from the personal and arbitrary use of reasoning (*ta'wīl*; *ra'y*; *hiyā*) in the domain of religious beliefs. His theodicy, on the problem of the divine attributes (*ṣifāt*), is limited to an attempt to reproduce the data of the Qur'ān and the Sunna.

Politically, he appears as an energetic defender of the rights of Kuraysh to the Caliphate, though he none the less remains believers of the duty incumbent on them to obey all established authority, except where disobedience to God is involved. He is particularly severe in his condemnation of all attempts at armed revolt (*akharūḍī* bi 'l-*ṣayy*), considering in fact that the re-establishment of the Law should be effected by appeal to public opinion, by the duty of missionary preaching (*da'wā*), of enjoining the Good (*amr* bi 'l-*ma'rūf*) and of proffering good counsel (*naḥi*). The re-establishment of the Law, in a world in which Islam had split up into numerous sects, was incumbent especially on the "people of the *ḥādīq*", on the *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-ḡayma*, whose triumph God had definitely assured. True to his doctrine, al-Barbahārī conducted so vigorous a personal action against *bid'a* and against the sects (*fiḥra*), especially against Mu'tazilism and Shī'ism, that he was at times accused of entertaining political ambitions.

Indeed, al-Barbahārī's influence is to be discovered behind several popular demonstrations and insurrections which broke out in Baghdad between 329/941 and 329/941. He was not unconnected with the opposition encountered by al-Ṭabarī who, in 309, was invited by the *awāl* 'Alī b. 'Isā to come to discuss with his Hanbali opponents points of doctrine which separated them and who, in 310, had to be buried at night in his own house because of the hostility of the mob (cf. on these incidents, especially *Bidāya*, 21, 132 and 145-146).

In 317/929 there was a brawl in Baghdad involving considerable bloodshed between al-Barbahārī's followers and their adversaries, arising from the interpretation given to verse xvii, 87/79: "Perchance thy Lord will send thee to a sojourn worthy of praise (*maḥim mahmūd*)". Al-Barbahārī's disciples maintained that this was to be interpreted as meaning that on the Day of Resurrection, God would seat the Prophet on His throne, whilst, for their adversaries, who followed the doctrine of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Khuzayma, this was merely a question of the great excitement (*ḡaḡā'a*) of the Prophet in favour of believers culpable of grave faults on the Day of Judgement (cf. *Bidāya*, xi, 325-163).

In 321/923, during the Caliphate of al-Kāhir, when the question arose of having Mu'āwīya cursed from the pulpit, a measure aimed directly at Hanbali doctrine, the *hādīq* 'Alī b. Yalbak ordered a search to be made for al-Barbahārī, who managed to conceal himself, though a number of the Hanbali theologian's disciples were exiled to Basra (*Kāmil*, vii, 201; *Bidāya*, xi, 172). The measures then taken by the Caliph al-Kāhir for the re-establishment of morality were designed in some degree to appease the Hanbali critics.

Although the supporters of al-Barbahārī do not seem to have played a direct rôle in 322/934 at the time of the trials of al-Shālmaghīnī and of Ibn Mūsān, nevertheless the Qur'ān reader Ibn Shānabādhī, likewise accused of public teaching of *bid'a*, was sentenced to death by the Caliph al-Kāhir for the re-establishment of morality being designed in some degree to appease the Hanbali critics.



swair Ibn Muḥla and sentenced (cf. al-Ṣūlī, trans. M. Canard, I, 109 and 145), apparently as the result of a noisy demonstration by the Hanbalis of Baghdad.

The agitation by al-Barbahārī's supporters reached its apogee in 325/935, at the beginning of al-Rāḍī's Caliphate, still under the vicerate of Ibn Muḥla, on the eve of Ibn Rāḥ's appointment as *amir al-umara'*. Muslim historians (al-Ṣūlī, I, 114; *Kāmil*, viii, 229-231; *Diwān*, xi, 181-182) depict the Hanbalis looting shops, intervening in commercial transactions to impose the prescriptions of the Law, attacking the wine-sellers and singing-girls, smashing musical instruments, pushing their way into private dwellings and denouncing to the Prefect of Police any man found in the street with a woman, not being her *mahram* (cf. K. V. Zetterstien, *ETP*, ii, 1160, s.v. Rāḍī). The Caliph authorities then prohibited al-Barbahārī's supporters from meeting and teaching and the Muslims from praying behind an *imām* following the Hanbali doctrine. As the ardour of al-Barbahārī's supporters did not diminish, a decree by the Caliph al-Rāḍī (text in *Kāmil*, viii, 230) was issued in 325, condemning Hanbalism and excluding it from the Muslim community; it accused it of developing an anthropomorphic theodicy (*ḥashsh*) and of forbidding the visiting of the tombs of the great imāms (*ziyarat al-habib*). This condemnation only prevented Hanbali demonstrations for a while.

Al-Barbahārī's supporters resumed their agitation with violence in 327/939 under the auidate of Baḥḡam; they mobbed people going to the *mayyā* festival, that is to say the ceremonies organised in some mosques during the night of the 14th/15th Shā'abān (cf. al-Ṣūlī, I, 204 and 205). The Prefect of Police issued orders for al-Barbahārī to be found, but once again he concealed himself, though one of his lieutenants, a certain Dalīlā, was executed.

The likelihood of dismissing the hostility of al-Barbahārī's supporters was further diminished by the fact in 328/940 the *amir* Baḥḡam had the mosque of Barḥā rebuilt. This mosque had been demolished under the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir and was considered by Sunnis as the "nest of Shi'ism" (cf. al-Ṣūlī, I, 242 and 208). When in 329 the *amir* Baḥḡam was assassinated by a band of Kurdish brigades, the Hanbalis noisily gave vent to their satisfaction, attempted to demolish the mosque of Barḥā and also attacked the quarter of the money-changers and bankers, in the Darb 'Awn, which was at the heart of the financial and commercial life of the 'Abbasid metropolis (al-Ṣūlī, ii, 16 and 19). The Caliph al-Muṭṭaḥī was obliged to have a number of Hanbalis arrested and to place the Shī'ī mosque under a heavy guard.

At this juncture, in Raḡab 329/April 941, al-Barbahārī died in the house of Fāḥrā's sister, where he had hidden himself and where he was buried (*Tahakkūt al-Hanbalīa*, ii, 44-45; *Diwān*, xi, 201).

Al-Barbahārī's influence also manifested itself in several contemporary Hanbali doctors, especially Ibn Baṭṭa al-Uḥairī (died 379/997), who met him at Raḡadā on a number of occasions and who drew inspiration in his *ḥikma* from his *ṣakāda*. His influence is likewise to be encountered, through the medium of Ibn Baṭṭa, on the *kādi* Abū Ya'la b. al-Farrā' (died 438/1066) and several of his disciples, especially the Sharīf Abū Dja'far al-Hāshimī (died 471/1078), who investigated several violent popular demonstrations against *būda*.

**Bibliography:** Abū 'I-Husayn b. al-Farrā', *Tahakkūt al-Hanbalīa*, Cairo 1371/1952, ii, 18-45;

Ibn Kathīr, *Diwān*, xi, 201-202; Nābulus, *Iḥḥār Tabahāt al-Hanbalīa*, Damascus 1350, 299-309; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shahādāt*, ii, 319-323; H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, in *PiEF* 1935, xxviii-xli and index.

(H. LAOUST)

**BARBAROSSA** [see KHAYR AL-DĪN].

**BARBASHTURU**, an ancient city on the R. Vero, a tributary of the Cinca, N.E. of Saragosa (Saragosa), in the approaches to the Central Pyrenees (modern Barbastro). It lay 50 km. almost due E. of Washka (Huesca). Barbashturu is stated by Ibn Hayyān to have become Muslim at the time of the conquest of Spain, and to have remained in Muslim hands continuously thereafter for upwards of 500 years. It became a bastion of the defences of al-Ṭaḡar al-A'la (the 'Upper Frontier'), in which system it formed a link between Saragosa and Lārīda (Lérida).

In an account of the expedition of 'Abd al-Malik al-Murraṭṭir in 396/1006 against Pamplena, Barbashturu is mentioned as the last place in the lands of Islam (Ibn 'Udhārī, iii, 122). At the time of its capture in 435/1044, one believed it belonged to the Banū Hūd of Saragosa, and evidently contained a large population and substantial wealth, though the figures given by the Arabic historians who, following Ibn Hayyān, describe this event, appear to be exaggerated. In the summer of 1064, a Christian force estimated at 40,000 men presented itself before Barbashturu. These included Normans under Robert Crespin — the name is given by a Latin chronicler — and others, who with Papal support were engaged in what has been described as *una crusada antes de las cruzadas*, 'a crusade before the Crusades'. After a siege of more than a month they succeeded in taking the town. Though the part played by the Christians of Spain is obscure, and though Barbashturu was retaken after a year, its fall marked a stage in the reconquest of the country. It was spoken of by contemporaries as an event without parallel, the greatest disaster which had ever happened in Muslim Spain, and Ibn Hayyān's painful reflections on the state of al-Andalus were prompted by what had taken place there (cited in Ibn 'Udhārī, iii, 254-255).

It was characteristic of the dismay among the Spanish Muslims that the 'Abbasid al-Muṭṭaḥī did not send only 500 horsemen to al-Muḥṭar b. Hūd of Saragosa, his nominal ally, then assembling forces for a counter-stroke, though urged to march in person by al-Hawzānī, a noble of Seville (Ibn Sa'īd, *Al-Mughrib fi ḥulā al-Maghrib*, ed. Sh. Dayf, I, 234). Thanks to a corps of crossbowmen, al-Muḥṭar b. Hūd succeeded in retaking the town. Yet Barbashturu was not destined to remain much longer in Muslim hands. It was finally taken for the Christians by Pedro of Aragon in 1101, an event which seems to have been known to Yāḥyā (cf. *Ma'āḍ al-Buldān*, s.v.).

**Bibliography:** Ibn 'Udhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, iii, 225-228, 253-255; al-Makkarrī, *Amal al-ṭarīq*, ii, 749 ff.; R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'Espagne et la littérature de l'Espagne*, ii, 335 ff.; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929, p. 165 ff.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

**BARBAT** [see 'ĀṬ].

**BARCELONA** [see BARSHALUNĀ].

**BARDASIR** [see KIRMĀS].

**BARDESANES** [see DAYSAMNĪYA].

**BARDHĀ'A**, Armenian Parac, modern Parā, a town S. of the Caucasus, formerly capital of Arrān, the ancient Albania. It lies about 14 miles from the

R. Kūr (a or a *farāshā* according to the Arabic geographers; Mas'ūdī says inaccurately 3 miles, *Ma'āḍī*, ii, 75) on a river of its own (Mukaddasī, 375), the modern Terter (Ṭarṭūr, Yāḥyā, *Buldān*, i, 560). It was built, according to Balāḡhūrī (134), by the Sāsānid Kubād (ruled A.D. 488-531). This is varied by Dimighrī (*Geographie*, ed. Mehren, 189), who mentions as founder a ruler named Barā'a b. Ḥarmīd (?), earlier than Kubād. The Arabs attempted to explain the name as from Persian *barā-dār*, 'place of captives', from the original purpose to which it was put.

Bardhā'a served the Sāsānids and the Arabs later as a frontier fortress against invasion from the N. and W. At the time of the Arab conquest it was taken after a short resistance by Salmān b. Raḍī al-Bihlī (Balāḡhūrī, 201), probably before 32/653, the date of the Arab debacle at Balāḡjār [s.v.]. Thereafter Arrān, the province of which Bardhā'a and its territory formed part, was usually joined with Armenia, sometimes with Armenia and Aḡhar-Bayḡlūn, under a single governor. In the Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik its fortifications were requisitioned by al-'Azīz b. Hātim (Dihādī, *Diwān al-Idān*, i, 40, 205 anno 865/705) and perhaps further improved by Muḥammad b. Marwān a little later (cf. Balāḡhūrī, 205). After this Bardhā'a was well fitted to be 'the spearhead of Muslim domination and policy in those parts' (V. Minorck), and is mentioned repeatedly during the second Arab-Ḥakkar war and later under the 'Abbasids. As late as the 10th century the population retained their own Arrān dialect (Iṣṭakhṭrī, 192).

When Iṣṭakhṭrī wrote (circa 320/932), Bardhā'a was at the height of its prosperity, though decline was soon to set in. It covered an area of several miles in length and breadth in a fertile and well-watered region, and in more size challenged comparison with Rayy and Irbān. In the district of Andarāb, beginning a mile or two from the town, gardens and orchards extended continuously in every direction for a day's journey or more. Hazel-nuts and chest-nuts of the finest quality and a local fruit resembling that of the service-tree were to be found in abundance. Bardhā'a also produced superior figs, and especially during the latter reported to produce the finest mulberry-trees on which the silkworms fed; were public property and according to Ibn Hawkal (see below) most of the population had a hand in silk-production. Of several kinds of fish caught in the R. Kūr was one called *ṣarmāḥ* or *ghūrmāḥ* (Persian = 'salt-fish'), which when salted was also exported. The names of Bardhā'a mentioned by Mukaddasī (380) were appreciated as far away as Central Asia (at Samarkand in 416/1025, Barthold, *Turkistan*, 283). These and other commodities, such as the furs from the North mentioned by Mas'ūdī (*Tamhīd*, 63), madder and caraway-seeds (*Hudūd al-'Alam*, 143), were no doubt mostly offered for sale at the Sunday market (*ṣūḥ al-kurāḥ*, from *Kupac*), the Lord's day, reflecting the Christian religion of the inhabitants earlier, situated in the suburbs outside the Gate of the Kurds (Bāb al-Akrād), to which visitors came even from 'Irāk. The public treasury at Bardhā'a dated from Unayyad times (Ibn Hawkal), and according to the older fashion was in the Friday Mosque, beside which stood the palace of the governor.

This description serves also as the basis of Ibn Hawkal's account nearly 50 years later (379/977), the chief difference being that Ibn Hawkal knows of the capture and occupation of Bardhā'a by the Russians in 334/943. A notice of this remarkable

event is given by Ibn al-Aṭhīr (viii, 308-10) and in greater detail, evidently from eye-witnesses, by Ibn Miskawayh (*The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. D. S. Margulouth, ii, 62-67; English translation, v, 67-74, reprinted in N. K. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History*, Cambridge 1946, 138-144). The Russians, whose number is not given but who must have numbered at least several thousands, appeared in the Caspian, undoubtedly from the Khazar (cf. country on the Volga, as on other occasions) of D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, 209 ff.; 258 ff.), and having sailed up the R. Kūr, defeated the forces of al-Marzubān b. Muḥammad, the Musafir ruler of Aḡhar-Bayḡlūn, and gained possession of Bardhā'a. The Russian occupation continued for many months (a year according to Yāḥyā, ii, 834), and they were only dislodged with the greatest difficulty, after an epidemic had decimated their numbers.

Ibn Hawkal mentions the ill effects of the Russian invasion but, as is now clear from the second edition of his work (see *Bibliography*), he does not ascribe to a catastrophic decline of Bardhā'a in his time, illustrated by a report that there are now only five balars in the town where formerly there were 1200, mainly to devastation caused by the Russians. Rather this was due, he tells us, to 'the injustice of its rulers and the management of imams' (1<sup>st</sup> ed., 243), phrases which are amplified and explained in his second edition (336) as fiscal molestations which have 'taken up it and its people', and to 'the neighbourhood of the Georgians (al-Kurjān)' (and ed. 337, 339). The latter appears to have reference to interference from the direction of Ganḡā (Djanzā), later Elizavetpol, only 9 *farāshā* distant from Bardhā'a (Yāḥyā, ii, 559), where the Shaddādids ruled in the 2nd half of the 4th/10th century. Otherwise the Muslim government and excessive taxation of which Ibn Hawkal speaks must probably be ascribed to the Daylamite Musafirids, unwilling to see Bardhā'a recover its former position to the detriment of Arrāb. Bardhā'a may have revived somewhat, since an attack upon it by a king of the Abḡhāz is said to have provoked reprisals by the Saldjūk Alp Arslān in 461/1067. But it is scarcely mentioned in the Mongol period, and the long interval which has elapsed since then can hardly have been much more than it is today, a village in the midst of ruins.

**Bibliography:** Iṣṭakhṭrī, 182-184; Ibn Hawkal, 1st ed. (De Goeje) 240-1, 2nd ed. (Kramers), 336-337; Mukaddasī, 375; Yāḥyā, ii, 558-561; Kāzawlī, *Aḡhar al-Buldān*, 344; *Hudūd al-'Alam*, indices; V. Minorck, *Studien in Caucasian History*, Leningrad 1953, 126-127, 65, 104, 117; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, index.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

**BARDJAWĀN**, *Asu 'l-Furūḡ*, a slave who was for a while ruler of Egypt during the reign of al-Ḥākim. He was brought up at the court of al-'Azīz, where he held the post of intendant (*Kātib* ii, 31; Ibn Taghribirdī, Cairo, iv, 48; Ibn Khallikān, 201). He was a eunuch, and was known by the title *Ushāḡ* [s.v.]. His ethnic origin is uncertain—Ibn Khallikān calls him a negro, Ibn al-Kāṭin simply a white (*abyad al-lawn*), al-Makrīṭī either a Slav or a Sicilian, the readings Saklī and Skillī both occurring in the MSS. of the *Khāṭ* (cf. S. de Sacy, *Chronologie*, i, 130).

Bardjāwān was appointed guardian of the young heir to the Caliphate by al-'Azīz, and on the latter's death in Ramaḍān 386/October 956, he proclaimed



his ward as the Caliph al-Hâkim. His rôle was at first limited to the guardianship of the young sovereign, the effective power in the state resting with the Wazīra [q.v.] Ibn 'Amûr al-Kutûmî, the leader of the Berber troops and faction. Ibn 'Amûr's power was no doubt irksome to the young Caliph and his guardian; the supremacy of the Berbers undoubtedly angered the Turks and other Easterners in the army, and probably also the general Egyptian population. Bardjâwân threw in his lot with the Easterners, and in 386/996 wrote to Manquâtûn, the Turkish governor of Damascus, inviting him to come with his army and save Egypt and also the person of the Caliph from the tyranny of the Berbers. Manquâtûn, with Turkish, Daylamite, Negro, and local Arab support, advanced against Egypt, but was defeated near 'Asqâlin by a Berber force sent by Ibn 'Amûr and commanded by Sulaymân b. Dû'far b. Fâllih. Bardjâwân was compelled for the moment to submit to Ibn 'Amûr, but a little later the support of Dîwân b. Samâna, a disaffected Berber officer, enabled him to challenge Ibn 'Amûr again, this time successfully. In an open clash Ibn 'Amûr was defeated and driven into hiding, while Bardjâwân took his place as *sûdîs* and effective master of the state (28 Ram. 387/ Oct. 997). Bardjâwân dealt leniently with the defeated Berbers in Egypt, but the breaking of their power proved to be permanent. In Damascus the Berber governor was dismissed and his Kutûmî troops massacred. A period of disorder followed in Syria, which was ended by vigorous action on the part of Bardjâwân. Arab rebels were suppressed in Palestine and Tyre, and Byzantine attacks by land and sea repelled. Diplomatic negotiations ended with a ten-year truce between the Byzantine and Fatîmî Empires. In the West, Bardjâwân conquered Barca and Tripoli, both of which were placed under emir governors. The latter conquest was of brief duration.

Emboldened by these successes, Bardjâwân adopted a high-handed attitude to the Caliph, even going so far, according to some sources, as to restrict his riding on horseback and his expenditure on gifts (Nuwayrî, Bar-Hebraeus). Nuwayrî tells a revealing story, according to which Bardjâwân used to call al-Hâkim 'the lizard' (arṣabāḥ), this nickname rankled, and when al-Hâkim summoned Bardjâwân to his death, the message ran: 'Tell Bardjâwân that the little lizard has become a large dragon, and wants him now'. Al-Hâkim's resentments were encouraged by another slave eunuch, Abū 'I-Ḥadî Raydîn al-Saklâtî, who warned the Caliph that Bardjâwân was trying to emulate the career of Kâfir, and promised to deal with him. Kâfir had dealt with the Ikhshîdîs. Bardjâwân was stabbed to death by the hand of Raydîn, and by order of the Caliph, in the night between 26th and 27th Rabî' II 390/3 April 900 (Ibn al-Sayrafi, who does not, however, mention the exact day; Ibn Khallikân; al-Makrîzî; Ibn Muṣarrif—the reading *sa'ûn*, instead of *hi'ûn*, is an obvious error; Ibn al-Kalânî, followed by Ibn al-Aṣlî, gives the year as 389).

The killing of Bardjâwân aroused the anger of both the populace and the Turks, who no doubt feared a revival of Berber rule. The Caliph, however, appeared to the armed crowd above the door of his palace, and defended his action; accusing Bardjâwân of plotting against him, he appealed for help in his youth and inexperience. Leaders to the same effect were also sent out. In the *Draue* episode *Al-Sira al-Mustahima*, by Hamza, there is an interesting passage in which the execution of Bardjâwân by the

youthful caliph, without fear of the anger of the troops, is presented as an act of unprecedented daring, presaging the miraculous quality of al-Hâkim's rule (al-Mukhtab, v, 305).

Bardjâwân is said to have been a man of taste and a lover of the pleasures of this world. His house was a meeting place of poets and musicians. On his death, he astonished his contemporaries by the size and variety of the wardrobe, library, stables, and establishment which he left. A street in Cairo was named after him.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Sayrafi, *Al-Ishâra ilâ man nâla al-wisâra*, 27-8; Severus b. al-Mukaffâ, *Patriarche*, II, 121; Ibn al-Kalânî, 44-56, 59; Ibn Muṣarrif, 57, 53, 54-5; Ibn Khallikân, I, 120 (Eng. tr. I, 253) and II, 207; Ibn al-Aṣlî, 18, index; Ibn Khallidûn, *Thar*, IV, 57; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronographia*, Eng. tr. 180, 182; Ibn Taghribirdî, Cairo, IV, index; Yahyâ b. Sa'îd al-Anṣârî, *Amalek*, ed. Cheikh, 180, ed. Kratschkowsky and Vasiliev, 453, 462. The fullest account is given by al-Makrîzî, *Khitât*, II, 1-4; cf. *ibid.* 285 (= Silvestre de Sacy, *Chronologie arabe* I, Paris 1826, 32, 33 and 94 ff. of the translation). See also Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Draues*, I, Paris 1838, cclxxxiv-cocxv; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 124-5; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, 197-9; M. A. 'Inân, *Al-Hâkim bi-amrillâh*, Cairo n.d., 44-9; I. Hrbek, *Die Slaven im Dienste der Fâtîmiden*, (Aro, x), 1933, 575-6.

**BARDO** (see TOUSIA).

**BAREILLY** (Bareilly) a district town in the Uttar Pradesh, India, situated in 28° 22' N. and 79° and 24' E. stands on a plateau washed by the river Râmghangâ. Population (1931): 194,679. Founded in 944/1537, the town derives its name, according to tradition, from Bâ, Dâs, a Barhîlâ Râjdîpt by caste. It is popularly known as Bânâ Bareilly, partly to distinguish it from Râd Bareilly, the birth-place of Sayyid Ahmad Brelwî [q.v.], and partly due to the proximity of a bamboo (*bâm*) jungle.

During the reign of Akbar, a fort was built here to check the depredations of the Râjdîpt tribes of Rohilkhand. As usual a town gradually grew up round the citadel, and by 1605/1666 it had developed into a *pargana* head-quarters. It remained of little importance till the reign of Shâh Dîwân when it was made the capital of Kôter (the old name of Rohilkhand). In 1668/1657, a new city was founded by Makrân Rây, who was appointed governor in place of 'Alî Kûlî Khân, who had held the office since 1628/1628. During the Mughal period the city was ruled by a governor. After the death of Aurangzib in 1707/1707 the Hindus of Bareilly turned out the Mughal governor, refused to pay the tribute, and assumed power. They, however, soon fell out among themselves, and invited 'Alî Muhammad Khân, the Rohilla chieftain, to assume the reins of power. He soon extended his sway right up to Almorâ, a Muslim town. In 1728/1726 Muhammad Shâh, King of Delhi, marched against him and took him a prisoner to Delhi. He, however, soon won back his freedom and returned to the governorship of Bareilly in 1760/1748. On his death in 1762/1749 he was succeeded by Hâfîz Rahmat Khân, who after some sharp encounters with Awadh forces, strengthened by Maharrâta contingents, became the unquestioned ruler of Rohilkhand in 1774/1770. Nâḡib al-Dawla defeated Rahmat Khân with the help of Maharrâta troops under Sindhiya and Holkar. Shujâ' al-Dawla,

however, came to the rescue of the Rohillas but soon afterwards fell upon them, killing their chief, Rahmat Khân. In 1787/1774 Sa'adât Yâr Khân was appointed governor of Bareilly under the Awadh suzerainty. In 1216/1802 the town was ceded to the British, when entire Rohilkhand fell into their hands. In 1220/1805 Amir Khân Pindârî raided Bareilly but was driven off with heavy losses. In 1232/1816 the residents rose against the imposition of a local tax but were dealt with in iron hand. In 1251/1837 and 1257/1842 serious Hindu-Muslim riots took place. The town was badly disturbed during the "Mutiny" of 1273/1857 when Khân Bahadur Khân, grandson of Hâfîz Rahmat Khân, was proclaimed governor. After the fall of Delhi in September 1857, Talafoddin Husayn Khân, Nawab of Farrukhabâd, Nânâ Shihî from Duddhâ, and the Mughal prince, Fîrîz Shâh, the rebel leaders, made the city their stronghold. They were, however, defeated, and the city was re-occupied by the British on 3 May 1857. In 1287/1871 a Hindu-Muslim riot again took place and since then several religious riots have occurred. With the establishment of Pakistan in 1366/1947 the bulk of the Muslim population migrated from Bareilly.

General Bahkt Khân [q.v.] of the Bareilly Brigade, who was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the rebel forces during the "Mutiny", was a native of this town. Ahmad Ridâ Khân (d. 1340/1921), a theologian and scholar whose followers formed themselves into the *Hiab al-Ahmâd*, popularly known as the *Barhîs*, also belonged to this town. The *Hiab al-Ahmâd* is a sub-sect of the *Hiab*, and, contrary to other Sunnis, believe that the Prophet possessed prescience or knowledge of the future. It is an article of faith with the *Barhîs* and has occasioned much strife among the 'ulama' in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

The only building of note is the tomb of Hâfîz Rahmat Khân, constructed by his son, Shihî-Fakîr Khân, in 1169/1775. This tomb has been repaired several times, the last in 1902-3 by the British Government.

**Bibliography:** Gulzârî Lâli, *Tauzîr-i-Hâ Bareilly* (MS); *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, VII 3-13; *Alif 'Alî Bareilly, Hayât* (Hâfîz Rahmat Khân), Badayîn 1333/1913; *JRAS*, 1897, 303; for the article see the article on *Shihî al-Hâdîm* (quarterly), Karachi, III 28-32; al-Hâdîm (Bib. Ind.), index. (A. S. BAZME ANSARI)

**BARFURCUSH**, formerly Barfurghush ("the village where loads are sold") and renamed Bâbul in 1927, is the chief commercial town in the second *Utân* (Mâzârând). It is situated four miles to the east of the Bâbul river, midway between the foot of the Elburz range and the coast. It is 12 miles from Bâbul-i Sar (formerly Maghad-i Sar), the port at the mouth of the Bâbul river.

The town was founded at the beginning of the 16th century on the site of the ancient city of Mâmîr or Mâmâtîr (see Melnigun, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspiischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, 127). Shâh 'Abdîs I used to visit the town and he laid out a garden to the south-east called Bâgh-i Shâh or Bigh al-Iram. Barfurghush remained a place of little importance until the reign of Fath 'Alî Shâh [q.v.].

In recent years many new buildings, including administrative offices, a hospital and a number of schools, have been erected. The population in 1930 was 19,296.

Much silk, cotton and rice are produced in the neighbourhood.

**Bibliography:** B. Dorn, *Muhammadianische Quellen*, IV, 99; Le Strange, 375; Curtius, *Persia and the Persian Question*, I, 379, 380; H. L. Rabino, *Masandaran and Asterabad*, 12, 21, 37, 43, 46; Sartîp H. A. Ramârâ and Sartîp Nawîzîh, *Farhang-i Dughayirâ-yi Irân*, II, 25, 37.

(L. LOCKHART)

**BARGHASH** a. Sa'û b. Sulṭân, sultan of Zanibar, succeeded his brother Majdî, 7 Oct. 1870, and reigned till his death, 27 March 1888. He tried to seize power on his father's death in 1856, and again in 1859 when he was defeated by British intervention and sent to Bombay for two years. The British supported his accession but he at once resisted their efforts to suppress the Slave Trade, for he relied partly on the Ibâdî Ikhwan faction which was hostile to all European intervention in such affairs. In 1873 Barghash was obliged to suppress all slave markets and prohibit all export of slaves, even to other parts of his realm; he was then invited to London. In 1876 the movement of slave caravans on land was forbidden. To enforce this policy Lloyd Mathews began training African troops in 1877. The British agent Kirk won Barghash's confidence and became the dominant personality in Zanibar till he left in 1886. In the African hinterland Barghash had inherited wide claims and some prestige but very little power. In 1877 the failure of negotiations with Sir Wm. Mackinnon for a concession for the development of the country between the coast and Victoria Nyamru ruined Barghash's best chance of enforcing his authority in the interior. In 1881 his proposal that Britain should guarantee the throne to his family and should exercise a regency if he died leaving a minor as heir was rejected. In 1884 the German agent Peters concluded twelve treaties with chiefs whose suzerain Barghash claimed to be; their territories lay along the trade route to Tabora and Ujiji. In 1885 Germany took them and the Sultan of Witu under her protection. Barghash's protest was met by the visit of five German warships and an ultimatum which lack of British support forced him to accept. A commission of British, German, and French representatives then met to determine the extent of territory over which his authority would be recognised. Under British pressure Barghash accepted their decision (for details see *at* Sa'ûn). His health was now broken and he died immediately on his return from a visit to 'Umûn. Barghash was an able and energetic ruler who did much for Zanibar, supplied it with pure water, organised the import of cheap grain and worked hard to restore the clove industry after a cyclone in 1872. Contemporary Europeans often called him xenophobe but his position was extremely difficult. Britain, which he was powerless to resist, especially after the collapse of France in 1870, forced him to adopt an anti-slavery policy highly unpopular with his subjects and at the same time gave him no support against the Germans.

**Bibliography:** R. N. Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*, 1905; Emily Rûbe (Barghash's sister who eloped with a German), *Mémoires d'une arabienne Prisonnière*, 1886; R. Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa*, 1939, giving references to British official sources and the private papers of British officials.

(C. H. BECKER [C. F. BECKINGHAM])

**BARGHAWĀTA**, a Berber confederation belonging to the Masmûda group, established in the Tâmasâq [q.v.] province, extending along the Atlantic coast of Morocco, between Sâf and Sâfi, from the 2nd/8th to the 6th/12th century.



They were an important confederation, able, according to the Andalusian geographer al-Bakrī, to put more than 12,000 cavalry into the field simultaneously. They appear to have played a certain political rôle up to the arrival of the Almohads (second half of the 11th/12th century). Prior to this time, our information on the Barghawāta is almost exclusively due to the Eastern traveller Ibn Hawkal (second half of the 11th/12th century) and the geographer al-Bakrī (second half of the 11th/12th century); several subsequent chroniclers merely reproduce the latter's narrative with slight variations of detail (see Bibliography). Al-Bakrī says that he derived his information from statements, evidently preserved in Spain, made by a Barghawāta emissary to the Umayyad Caliph al-Hakam II, who came to Cordova on a mission in Shawwal 332/October-November 963. Indications of the rôle played by the Barghawāta at the time of the conquest of Morocco by the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'izz are to be found in the *memoirs of al-Bayḍāq* (*Doc. inéd. d'Hist. almohade*) and in the *History of the Berbers of Ibn Khaldūn* (see Bibliography). In addition to the political importance of the Barghawāta confederation, they practised a special religion, which was nevertheless clearly derived from Islam; al-Bakrī alone gives us some meagre information on this subject, and the other chroniclers confine themselves to reproducing this.

Undenably the Barghawāta's appearance in history is connected with the Khāridjite revolt of Maysara: the populations known under the name Barghawāta (several chroniclers affirm without adequate proof that this was not their contemporary name) embraced the Khāridjite cause and in 127/744-745, if we are to believe a number of them, grouped themselves round an individual called Tarif, whose origin is much disputed; some introduce him as a chief of the Zanūta and Zuwāgha Berbers, some as deriving from a Berber group in Southern Spain (Barbūt, the distorted pronunciation of which was supposed to give Barghawāta), whilst others even accord him a Jewish origin. The Sunī authors, it should be noted, sometimes display a tendency to attribute such an origin to the strongest personalities of the dissident sects: e.g. the Shī'ī Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh (cf. Goldfischer, *Moh. Shaw.* 1, 304). Nobody, however, says that Tarif was descended from a family established in the Tāmasān in early times. Whether or not he was the promoter of a doctrine derived from Sunnī or Khāridjite Islam, he certainly does not seem to have professed it. His son Sālih may perhaps have been the progenitor of the new belief after living and studying in the East. If we accept the chronology of al-Bakrī, completed by Ibn Khaldūn, Sālih came to power about 132/748-749 and transmitted it to his son al-Yass' about 178/794-795. It was only the latter's son Yūnus who, openly professed and spread the new doctrine during his 43 years reign, from 228/842-843 to 271/884-885. We possess no information on the relationships which must have existed at this period between the Idrīsids and the Barghawāta; nobody mentions any conflict between them. Nevertheless, there is an indication of a bloody battle supposed to have been won near the Wādī Bāb by Abū 'Ubayy al-Yūnus's nephew and successor (271-300/912-913). The Barghawāta would thus appear to have attempted to take advantage of the decline of the Idrīsids to extend their domination and propagate their doctrine.

In the middle of the 4th/10th century, they

appeared to Ibn Hawkal as infidels against whom the Sunnīs tended to conduct a holy war from the *ribāṭ* of the region of Salé. Their economy seems to have been prosperous, as they maintained commercial relations with Fās, Aghmāt, Sūs, and Sādjilmasa. They attempted to open diplomatic relations with the Caliphate of Cordova. Soon, however, they were subjected to a series of attacks by Dī'a'far al-Aḥdādī, a client of the Umayyads, in 367/977-978, by Balazgh b. Zīd, viceroy of the Fātimids in Ifrīkiya, from 368 to 372/982-983, and by Wādīh, the manumitted slave of al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Amr, in 380/990-991. The decline of the Caliphate of Cordova enabled them to recover their breath, but about 420/1029, they were subjected to attacks by Abū 'Ismā'il Tamīm, chief of the Banū 'Irān, who conquered them. His death in 424, gave them a new respite until the arrival of the Almohads in 451/1059. After putting up a fierce resistance, which cost 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn, the spiritual leader of the new conquerors, his life, the Barghawāta were completely defeated and destroyed. Some, however, still remained in the Tāmasān, where the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'izz undertook the subjugation of Morocco after the conquest of Marrakech (544/1147). Since they had embraced the cause of rebels against the new authority, the Almohad chief sent several expeditions against them and finally got the better of them in 543/1148-1149. From that date their group ceased to exist and gradually their name disappeared. Leo Africanus (beginning of the 16th/17th century) no longer quotes their name, though he knows that the Tāmasān was formerly inhabited by 'heretics'.

Their doctrine, according to the glimpse which al-Bakrī affords of it, appears as a Berber distortion of Sunnī Islam with a number of Shī'ī infiltrations and an entirely Khāridjite austerity as regards morals. Ibn Hawkal stresses the ascetic life and good morality of the Barghawāta. Moreover, the institution of numerous prayers (five during the day and the same number at night) frequent fasts, very complete abstinence, the harshness of punishments inflicted on thieves (death), fornicators (stoning) and liars (banishment) can be ascribed to Khāridjite strictness. On the other hand, the fact that Sālih promised that he would return when the seventh chief of the Barghawāta had assumed power and declared that he was the Mahdī who would fight against the Antichrist (*al-dajjāl*) at the coming of the end of the world with the help of Jesus, can be considered a sign of Shī'ī influence. The month's fast in Rajab or Shawwāl, the communal prayer instituted in Thursday, the food taboos (no heads of animals, no fish, eggs or cocks), and the rules of marriage are merely distortions of Muslim Law, as was the existence of a Qur'ān in the Berber language of 80 shars, bearing names of prophets, animals etc.

The continual use of Berber language, the frequent resort to astrology and magic (healing by means of applications of the saliva of members of the Berber tribes on the faith of the Barghawāta. It is to be regretted that apart from a few ritual expressions and the beginnings of a *ṣūra* cited by al-Bakrī, we possess no original documents on this religion. In such circumstances it is impossible to arrive at an accurate idea of it.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Hawkal, 1, 82-83 (tr. de Sane, *J.A.*, 1842, 1, 209-212); Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afr. Sept.*, ed. de Sane, Algiers 1917, 331-171 (tr. of idem, Algiers 1913, 259-271); *Fragments*

*hist. sur les Berb. au Moyen Age*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 15, 18, 36, 47, 52, 58, 74, 77, 80; Ibn 'Idhārī, (tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1907, 1, 324-331); *Doc. inéd. d'Hist. almohade*, ed. and trans. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1928, 106-107, trans. 176-177; Ibn Abī Zar', *Raṣa'id al-Kifāya*, ed. and trans. Toubert, Uppsala 1842-1846, 12-84, trans. 112-114; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.*, trans. de Sane, Algiers 1852, II, 124-133, III, 222; Leo Africanus, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, trans. Epaulard, Paris 1936, I, 257-262; G. Marcy, *Le Dieu des Abidites et des Bargawata*, in *Hesp.* 1936, 33-56; A. Bel, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, Paris 1938, I, 170-175; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, Paris 1946, 126-128.

(R. LE TROUENEAU)

**BARHEDRAUS** (see *LEN AL-'IBRĪ*).

**BARHŪT** (also Barahūt or Balahūt), a *wādī* in Hadramawt, in one wall of which is the famous Bīr Barhūt, now known to be a cave rather than a well. The *wādī*, which lies east of the town of Tarfūn, empties into al-Maḍā, the lower stretch of Wādī Hadramawt, from the south. At the mouth of Barhūt is Kaḥr Hūd (see *IBR*), the most sacred shrine in southern Arabia, which is the object of a *ṣayra* every Shā'abān.

Early Islamic traditions describe Bīr Barhūt as the worst well on earth, haunted by the souls of infidels. Barhūt probably came to be known throughout Arabia because of its association with the tomb of Hādī, rather than vice versa (cf. Wessink, citing von Kromer, in *EP*, II, 328); it is unlikely that a mere cave would have acquired such notoriety. The true nature of Bīr Barhūt was first revealed by D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, who explored it in 1931. About 300 feet above the floor of the valley they found a typical limestone cave, with nothing whatever volcanic about it. The curious but innocuous smell inside does not come from sulphurous vapour; it is probably due to the dust from the weathering of the rock or, perhaps, to bats'. An examination of the main corridor and various side corridors failed to disclose any noteworthy remains.

*Bibliography:* For the old erroneous beliefs regarding Bīr Barhūt, see the references cited by J. Schleifer in *EP*, I, 554, to which should be added C. von Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, I, Leiden 1901, 432-47, 481-4. For the cave, see D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Hadramawt*, Leiden 1932.

(G. REYER)

**BARID**, word derived from the Latin *veredus*/Greek *beridos* (of uncertain origin, perhaps Assyrian) 'post horse', usually applied to the official service of the Post and Intelligence in the Islamic states, and likewise to the mount, courier and post 'stage'. The institution of the state postal service was known to the Byzantine and Sāsānid Empires, from which it would appear the first Caliph only required to borrow it. Its foreign origin being confirmed by a partly Persian terminology, the *barid* operated from the Umayyad period and 'Abd al-Malik is considered as having strengthened its organisation, once he had re-established internal order. From the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd regime, the Post was one of the most important governmental services and its direction was entrusted to intimates of the Caliph, such as Dī'a'far the Barmakid, or to Palace eunuchs. The various Caliphs developed the system of stages which, in the middle of the 3rd/9th century, covered the whole Empire.

The actual organisation of the post in the 'Abbāsīd period is sufficiently well known thanks to the works of Ibn Khurraḍdhbih and Kādīmā, composed for the use of the secretaries of state in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, which provide lists of stages. The Empire contained no less than nine hundred and thirty stages (*ṣabāḥ*, also called *ribāṭ* in Iran and *marḥab* al-*barid* in Egypt), theoretically, situated two *farasāh* (12 km.) apart in Iran and four (24 km.) in the western provinces; officials (*murattabīn*) were responsible for ensuring the transport of the post (*al-ḥarāṭ*) within the times allotted. The messengers (*ṣayāḥ*, *farāḥīn*) used mainly mules in Iran and camels in the West, but sometimes horses as well. The organisation, however, remained flexible and several times a Caliph, a *ṣayr* and even an ordinary governor were to be found temporarily strengthening the postal service on a particular route for political or military reasons. Pigeons were also employed for sending urgent news. The Post being an official service, it only transmitted private letters as an exception to the rule. The mounts also served to carry men, when these were agents of the State, and we even find the new Caliph al-Hādī availing himself of the services of the *barid* to return to Baghdad from Ḥijūzīn after the death of his father al-Taharī, III, 547 and al-Dīghshiyarī, K. al-Wusarā', Cairo ed., 1927.

The Postmasters (*ashāb al-*barid**), who came under the authority of the director of the department of the Post (*ashāb dīwān al-*barid**) were not restricted in their duties to the transmission of official letters emanating either from local officials or from the central services. Thanks to a text of al-Taharī relating to the Caliphate of al-Mansūr and to a diploma of investiture preserved by Kūḥlāna, we are acquainted with the duties of these officials. They had to provide the central government with all necessary information on the state of their province and agents' activities, on the attitude of the commissioners for land taxation and Crown lands and that of the *kiddā*, and on the monetary and economic situation. Their supervision extended also to the governor of the district, as is shown by the episode of Tāhī's (4.6.) autonomy in Ḥijūzīn and, in some cases, they were also entrusted with the duty of redressing grievances (Miskawayh, *Ecclipses*, I, 25). In Baghdad the reports assembled by the director of the *dīwān* were communicated directly to the Caliph, at least in the early period. In addition, there was a director of intelligence (*shāḥar*), entrusted with the supervision of the officials and officers of the capital, including the *ṣayr* himself when necessary (Miskawayh, *Ecclipses*, I, 24); this office, which seems to have been independent of the Postal Service properly so-called, was entrusted to eunuchs or amirs enjoying the sovereign's confidence.

If we are to credit the account in the *Ta'rif* of al-Umarī, the Buwayhids 'cut off' the *barid* so as to deprive the Caliph of his means of gaining information, thus bringing him more surely under their tutelage. It was in fact in their time that 'runners' (*ṣayāḥ*) first appear in the East. Gradually the postal service seems to have become increasingly disorganised until its suppression by the Saljūqids (455/1063), after which extraordinary 'emissaries' alone were used. At the time of the Crusades, the Zangids and Ayyūbids had no real postal service at their disposal, but made use of runners, swift cameldrivers and pigeons.



In the Mandālik State, the postal service for a time recovered its former importance, and its workings are known to us through texts and archaeological remains. Its reorganisation was the work of Baybars, who not only drew upon the example of the 'Abbasid Caliphs, but also on that of the Mongol Empire, with which he had to contend. The Mandālik *barid*, an organ of the State closely linked with the Holy War, therefore, assumed primarily a political and military rôle, although later it was adjusted to favour commercial traffic. Directed initially by the sultan himself, it later passed into the hands of the secretaries of state, recruited from the famous family of the Banū Fadl Allāh, who imparted to it a bureaucratic character, before passing back to the *amir dawūdīyār*. In addition to couriers (*baridī*) commanded by a *muhaddam al-baridīyān* and recruited among the mamliks of the sultan's household, the personnel included stage grooms (*shayk*) and "outsiders" (*ṭawāṣiṭ*). The postal service first operated in Egypt and on the Cairo-Damascus route (a distance normally covered in a week) and was subsequently extended to the towns of the Syrian coast and the fortresses on the Taurus borders. The stages for changing horses, theoretically four *farṣakh* apart, were first established in public caravanserais. These, special buildings were erected for the purpose, of which the almost universal type, apart from architectural improvements, corresponded to the requirements of "stabling the sultan's horses and housing the small number of men in charge of them" (J. Sauvaget). The routes were then adjusted to ensure a quicker and more regular service. At the same period, the reception of the couriers by the sultan was accompanied by a special ceremonial and their badge of office, known from its employment in Mandālik heraldry, was given a more sumptuous appearance. Pigeon post and a system of visual signalling were also developed. The invasion of Timur (803/1400), however, destroyed this organisation and swift cameldiers and runners were again used for carrying official mail.

The institution of the Post existed in the various Muslim states, where it met practical requirements and harmonised with the ethical principles of the Qur'ān, the inviolability of letters and state secrets; its form, however, was not always very developed. In Muslim Spain in the 4th/10th century, the State postal service had not the same importance as it possessed in the East; it employed messengers mounted on mules and Sumatran runners (*ṭawṣiṭ*), which reveals the sketchy character of the organisation, and was directed by a *pāshā al-barūd*, a high official, who seems also to have had a network of agents at his disposal to provide intelligence. In the Hāshid state in eastern Barbary, the Post assumed a more rudimentary aspect; the couriers had to provide their own mounts, and there were no fixed stages where they could change their horses. The Post also existed in Safawid Iran as well as in the Ottoman Empire (see further *POSTA*, *BARUKĪ*, *TATAR*, *ULAK*).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the occasional references in the chronicles of the 'Abbasid period, see especially Tabarī, II, 435; Khwārizmī, *Muṣṣab al-'Udā*, Cairo ed., 42; Ibn Khuradadhbih, *pavim*; Richani b. Du'ayy, *K. al-Kharid*, ed. De Goeje, 184, and Kiperli, MS, f. 15-16; N. Abbott, *The Koran Fayy*, Chicago 1938, 15-16; A. Springer, *Die Post- und Resourcen des Orients*, Leipzig 1864; A. Mez, *Revue de l'Orient*, 464-471; J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des*

*Mamelouks*, Paris 1941; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. med.*, II, 28-29; R. Brunschwig, *La Barbérie orientale sous les Hāshidīn*, II, Paris 1941, 65.

**AL-BARIDĪ**, *naba* made especially famous by three brothers, sons of a postmaster of al-Basra, and called Banū T-Baridī for that reason. They played an important rôle at Baghdad and in 'Irāq during the Caliphate of al-Manṣūr and his successors. Shī'ī tax-farmers and military leaders, they distinguished themselves by their ambition and acts of provocation and had, even at an early age, very characteristic of the period preceding the advent of the Buwayhids.

The eldest of the three brothers, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ahmad, appeared on the political scene during the second vizierate of 'Alī b. 'Isa (313-316/927-928). Disaffected with the subordinate offices to which he and his brothers were then appointed, he obtained from the next vizier, Ibn Mukla, against a gratuity of 20,000 dirhams, the tax-farm of the province of al-Ahwāz for himself and lucrative appointments for his brothers. When arrested two years later, upon the fall of Ibn Mukla, these tax-farmers, who had rapidly grown rich, were capable of meeting a heavy fine as the price of their liberty. Somewhat later, under the following Caliph al-Kāthir, Abū 'Abd Allāh again became influential. He financed the expedition against the former supporters of al-Muktadir and recovered the tax-farm of al-Ahwāz, still retaining it, in spite of numerous vicissitudes, at the beginning of the reign of al-Rādī (322/934), after having benefited from Ibn Mukla's return to power. Appointed secretary to the chamberlain Yaḥyā, he succeeded in getting rid of him (324/936), and becoming the sole master of al-Ahwāz, where he unscrupulously amassed considerable wealth, constantly deferring payment of the moneys due to the central government, whilst at Baghdad he was represented by his brother Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb.

The *amir al-sawāq*? Ibn Rā'ik soon undertook to subvert this underling governor and occupy al-Ahwāz, but al-Baridī was astute enough to take refuge with the governor of Fars, the *amir* 'Alī b. Buwayh, whose support he obtained. In 325/937, he succeeded in becoming reconciled with Ibn Rā'ik, who again granted him the tax-farm of al-Ahwāz and the governorship of the province. When, subsequently, Ibn Rā'ik was faced with a rival in the person of the Turk Badkhan, al-Baridī alternatively allied himself with them both and in 326/938, when Badkhan had prevailed, Abū 'Abd Allāh obtained the vizierate, at the same time retaining his province and paying tribute to the Caliph. He was soon deposed, but after Badkhan's death, at the beginning of the reign of al-Mutadī (329/941), the Baridīs entered Baghdad in force and Abū 'Abd Allāh recovered the vizierate, which he retained until a military mutiny obliged him to return to Wasit. The following year (330/942), Abū 'Abd Allāh entrusted his brother Abū 'I-Husayn with the command of an army which succeeded in occupying Baghdad, forcing the Caliph and Ibn Rā'ik to take refuge with the Hamdanids at al-Mawṣil. Abū 'I-Husayn, however, incurred much bitter hatred that he was soon banished from Baghdad and Wasit by the Hamdanid troops. The three brothers held out at al-Basra in spite of the costly war which they had to conduct against the ruler of 'Umān, who landed and occupied al-Ubulla. These adventures had exhausted Abū 'Abd Allāh's

resources and he did not hesitate to have his brother Abū Yūsuf assassinated in Sa'ar 332/November 943 for the simple purpose of possessing himself of his wealth. However, he himself died shortly afterwards in Shawwāl 333/June 944 and was replaced by his son Abū 'I-Kāsim. The latter had to protect himself against the intrigues of his uncle Abū 'I-Husayn who, seeking to obtain the governorship of al-Basra for himself, was in the end condemned to death and executed in Baghdad at the end of 333/944. He was then obliged to fight the Buwayhid Mu'izz al-Dawla who, in 336/947, expelled him from al-Basra. Forced to flee to the Carmathians of al-Buhayra, his political rôle came to an end. He died in 340/950. Abū 'Abd Allāh had four other sons, to whom incidental references are made in the chronicles.

**Bibliography:** Buḥārī, *Diwān*, I, 217; Sölī, *Al-Khāṣṣ al-Rādī*, trans. Canard, Algiers 1946-1950, I, 103 n. and II, 40 n. 4; Tanūkhī, *Niḡāwī*, I, 88, 104, 307, 347; Idem, *Farāḡ*, 1938 ed., I, 165; II, 119-120 and 164; 'Arābī, ed. De Goeje, 128; Miskawayh, ap. H. F. Amrooz and D. S. Margon-Bouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1920-21, index; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, index; H. Derenbourg in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Gießen 1906, I, 193-196; Zamharī, 15; L. Massignon, in *EDMG*, 1938, 380; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, I, Algiers 1951, 440-443 and 510-511.

(D. SORUCEL)

**BARID SHAHIS.** A dynasty founded by Kāsim Barid, who was originally a Turkish slave sold to Muhammad Shāh III, the 13th of the line of the Bahmanids (q.v.). A man of outstanding personality, a good calligrapher and musician, he also proved his mettle on the battlefield and was, by the *biḥāṣ* in the reign of Mahmūd Shāh, and after the death of Malik Hasan Nizām al-Mulk, arrogated to himself the office of chief Minister of the tottering Bahmani State. He had often to contend with the more powerful fietholders of the Kingdom who had become virtually independent at Bidjāpur, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda, but his chief strength lay in his being always at the capital, Bidar (q.v.). Kāsim died in 910/1504 and was succeeded by his son Amīr Barid. The authority of the Bahmani Sultāns had been shattered by Kāsim, and what was left of it was now put an end to by his successor, till, after the flight of the last titular monarch, Kalīm Allāh he became supreme at Bidar. But he had to cope with the power of 'Alī Shāh of Bidjāpur, who actually occupied Bidar after routing the Barid ruler. The citadel was restored after a while, but only after the forts of Kandhār and Kalyān had been annexed to Bidjāpur. Amīr Barid tried to bring at least the small fietholders under the direct control of the centre, much as Mahmūd Gāwān had done (q.v.), but he was not successful. He died in 950/1543 and was succeeded by his son 'Alī.

'Alī Barid was a lover of literature, art and architecture and the Rangin Mahal within the fort at Bidar and his own well-proportioned mausoleum are two outstanding monuments to his taste. He was blessed with a long reign. He was the first of the Baridīs who adopted the royal title, although he was content with the epithet *al-Malik al-Mahī*, which appears in beautiful mother-of-pearl inlay in the Rangin Mahal. He was of the four allied monarchs who finally put an end to the power of Rāma Rāya, the regent of Vijayanagar, in 1565 and was put in command of the left wing of the allies along with Ibrahim Kutb Shāh. He died in 987/1579.

The fortunes of the dynasty came quickly to a close after 'Alī Barid. He was followed by Ibrahim and then by Kāsim II who was succeeded by his infant son known as Mirzā 'Alī Barid Shāh. A relative, known as Amīr Barid Shāh II put him aside and occupied the throne. He was succeeded by a ruler who is called in a bilingual inscription Mirzā Walī Amīr Barid Shāh. It was in his reign that the Baridī dynasty came to an end and Bidar annexed Bidjāpur in 1028/1619.

Very few Barid coins have been found. Although Fergita says that even Kāsim Barid struck his own coins the only coins known so far are either the Bahmani copper coins with the punch-matched legend *Amīr Shāh*, which are attributed to Amīr Barid II or else copper *ḥis* and *ḥal ḥis* with "Amīr Barid al-Sultān" but without any date. These are all in the Haydarābād Museum.

**Bibliography:** Fergita, *Gulshan-i Ibrahīm*; 'Alī Tabāṭabā, *Darīn-i Ma'āthir*; *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Kutb Shāh*; Zubayrī, *Ḥādīq al-Salaf*; G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its History and Monuments*; Sherwanī, *The Bahmanids of the Deccan*.

(H. K. SHERWAN)

II. — **MONUMENTS.** All the monuments of this dynasty are in the town of Bidar (q.v.) as successors to the well-established Bahmani dynasty they inherited many fine structures, and their building activity was more a matter of adaptation and rebuilding than of the erection of any major structures. The progress of the Baridī style is well illustrated in their tombs, which form a royal necropolis some 6 km. west of the city walls, and occupy a large area on account of the vast garden-enclosures of each tomb. Page references in the following account are to G. Yazdani, *Bidar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947.

The tomb of Kāsim I, d. 910/1504, is a small insignificant building with a plain conical dome, p. 149. That of his successor, Amīr Barid I, was left incomplete on his sudden death in 949/1542, without a dome; there are two storeys of arches on each façade, pierced by a central arch running through in both storeys, all stilled at the apex as in the earlier Bahmani buildings (pp. 150-1). The reign of 'Alī Barid (949-87/1542-79) saw much building activity: large scale improvements to fort and city fortifications, including the mounting of many more large guns; rebuilding of the Rangin Mahal, with fine mother-of-pearl inlay work and intricate wood-carving in which Hindu patterns are mixed with Muslim designs (449); much alteration of Tarkash Mahal, especially the upper storey, in which the chain-and-pond motif, characteristic of Barid work from now on, is apparent (pp. 57-9); and 'Alī's tomb, very well sited, with an imposing gateway having wide arches with low impostes and upper rooms decorated with a profusion of small cusped niches. Each wall of the tomb consists of an open arch, through which the fine sarcophagus of polished black basalt is visible; the interior is thus very bright and airy, and is embellished with good encaustic tile work (verses from 'Alī's, Kur'ānic texts, in *Zuhūr*), though not over-elaborated. Since the tomb is open on all sides there is no *hība* enclosure, and attached to the tomb there is a separate mosque with slender minarets, a vaulted ceiling, and fine cut-plaster decoration on the façade. Tomb, gateway and mosque have the trefol parapet which originates in the late Bahmani period (pp. 151-60). The tomb of Ibrahim (d. 994/1586) imitates that of his father on a smaller scale.



but is incomplete and presents surfaces of lime-laid masonry. Carved corner jambs show the Hindī *śakra* as part of their decoration (pp. 160-1). Both these tombs have a large dome, not stilted but recurved at the base to form a three-quarter orb, which appears somewhat top-heavy for the structure. This constriction of the dome is characteristic of the contemporary buildings of the Kutb Shāhi and 'Adil Shāhi (q.v.) dynasties at Golkonda and Bidjāpur also. The single opening is reverted to in the tomb of Kāsim II, which is better proportioned, but the open design is apparent in the dome over the *mihrāb* of the Kāsi (black) *maṣgid*, pp. 296-7. The Dīlāsi *maṣgid* of the town (see Bīḥās), a late Bahmāni building, was restored during the Baridī period (chain-and-pendant motif in spandrels of the façade), pp. 103-4.

From the time of 'Alī Barid the buildings become more ornate in their minor detail, and the influence of the Hindī mason becomes more apparent; in some Baridī buildings—e.g., the Kāsi *maṣgid*—the forms used in stone often seem more appropriate to wood-work. Much of the later work shows that meretricious character often apparent in the buildings of a dynasty in decline.

**Bibliography:** Fuller details of many of the above buildings are given in the article on Bidar, [p. 5]. See particularly Yāsāni, *op. cit.* for full references, extensive plates, drawings, plans, etc., and bibliography given in article Bīḥās.

(J. BURTON-PAER)

**BĀRĪA** (Ar.), a term applied to a wild animal or bird which passes from right to left before a traveller or hunter; although opinions differ on this point, this is generally interpreted as a bad omen, because, it is said, it presents its left side to the hunter who does not have time to take aim at it; it is an animal which passes from left to right (*saḥāb*) is on the contrary of good omen. The *maḥī* approaches from the front, and the *ka'ūd* from the rear.

**Bibliography:** Freytag, *Einschlung*, 163; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 202; Doust, *Magie et religion*, 359; *Tārīḥ*, ed. Pollat, index; L.A. s.v.; *Mayānā*, under *man bi-ḥi-sāḥib al-āḥir*.

(L.S.)

**BĀRIMMĀ** (see BĀRĪN, BĀRĀL).

**BĀRĪRA**, a slave-woman who had arranged to buy her freedom in nine (or five) annual instalments, appealed to 'Āḥīḥa who agreed to pay the whole sum. The owners were willing to sell her, but insisted on retaining the right of inheritance from her. When the Prophet heard this he told her to buy her, for the right of inheritance belonged to the one who set a person free. 'Āḥīḥa therefore paid the money and set Barira free. She remained as 'Āḥīḥa's servant and is said to have died during the Caliphate of Ya'qūb I (660-683). In the tradition of the lie she was consulted regarding 'Āḥīḥa (cf. *Buḥārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15). Three *ṭumās* are connected with her: (1) The Prophet said the right of inheritance belongs to the one who sets a person free. (2) She was given her choice about staying with her husband Muḥibbī who was a negro slave, and when she refused in spite of the Prophet's plea for Muḥibbī she was told to observe the *idda* period appropriate for a divorced woman. Muḥibbī is said to have followed her in the streets of Medina weeping. (3) Once when the Prophet came to a woman when meat was being cooked and was given something else to eat he asked her reason. On being told that the meat was *ṣaḍāḥa* given to Barira, he said it was *ṣaḍāḥa* to Barira but a gift to him, meaning that one who had received *ṣaḍāḥa*

could give some of it as a present to another. Barira is said to have warned 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān that if he became ruler he must avoid shedding innocent Muslim blood.

**Bibliography:** Wensinck, *Handbook*, art. Barira; The 'Abd al-Barī, *Tārīḥ*, 208; Ibn Ḥaḍḍar, *Iḥṣā* (No. 177 in *Kutub al-Niḍā'*), *Taḥḍīb al-Taḥḍīb*, xii, 405; Ibn al-Aḥḍar, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, Cairo 1280/1863-4, v, 409 f. (J. ROUSSEAU)

**BARĀA**, a word applied by the Arab writers both to a town—now al-Marjī—and to the region which belonged to it, that is to say Cyrenaica, a broad African peninsula jutting out into the eastern Mediterranean between the gulf of Bomba and that of the Great Syrtis, situated, therefore, between long. 20° and 30° east of Greenwich and the parallels 30° and 33° of latitude. To the east begins the Marmarica, whilst the vast eastern Libyan Sahara stretches away to the south.

The relief is made up of plateaux, resulting from the folding, in the Miocene age, of thick layers of Cretaceous limestone and lower Tertiary; they slope gently towards the south, where the Sahāra table has not been raised up, giving way to low alluvial plains and falling away to the sea in graded levels. The high plateau, the Djabal Akhdar (Green Mountain) rises from 500 to over 600 metres, reaching its highest point at 866 to the south of the ruins of Cyrene. An intermediate plateau, from 250 to 400 metres, narrow in the north, widens out to the west and south-west; it contains al-Marjī and dominates the coastal plain of Benghazi, which is also of limestone. That Cyrenaica is not a desert like its vast hinterland is due to the influence of sea and altitude: its temperatures are moderate in summer and it enjoys relatively high rainfall. January and July-August temperatures are 13.5° C. and 25.8° at Benghazi, at sea-level, 10.4° and 25.5° at al-Marjī at an altitude of 285 metres, and 8.4° and 22.3° at Cyrene, situated at 621 metres, where snow is not unknown. Rainfall, slight on the western littoral (266 mm. at Benghazi) and inadequate for almost all cultivation without irrigation as the local soils are often heavy, increases in the northern parts of the first plateau with 471 mm. at Marjī, and especially on the second, where more than 300 and even 600 mm. fall in the region of Cyrene. In contrast, rainfall declines towards the east (300 mm. at Derna) and, very rapidly, towards the south-east and the south. Likewise, the *wādis* running down towards the Sahara only have water after the heaviest rains and end in vast enclosed basins of stagnant water. The only perennial flow in the Mediterranean tributaries, only the *wādī* Derna has a perennial flow of water. The waters filter away into the limestone of the plateaux and only reappear in a few "Vauclusean" springs at the base of certain escarpments. The plateaux have a "carric" relief, with swallow-holes, sink-holes, extensive areas without surface drainage and grottoes. The high plateau, the Djabal Akhdar, still supports, to the south of al-Marjī and Cyrene, several fine forests of horizontal cypress *Cupressus sempervirens*, var. *horizontalis*; green oaks, Aleppo pines and Phœnician junipers; in the main, however, it is covered by low forest and a scrub of masties and wild olives. Cyrenaica comprises 110,000 hectares of forest and scrub. The clearings, extended by man, afford good pasturage and fertile brown, and grey land for cultivation. This very limited good region quickly passes on the coast and to the south into scanty heath dominated by a few junipers and broom

by increasingly extensive stretches of steppe. The large rocky outcrops enclose somewhat narrow areas of red clay soils, relatively fertile, but for the most part requiring too much water for so slight a rainfall. 55 kilometres to the south-east of Benghazi and 60 to the south of Derna, begins the Sahara, with its very scanty pastures and light soils.

"Servicable" Cyrenaica, a narrow fertile region and one favourably to sedentary life, isolated by the steppes of the Marmarica and Syrtica and by the vast Libyan desert, has always been a dependency of the East. A land of nomadic Libyans, it became the sole African dependency of the Greek world with the five colonies of the Pentapolis founded between the 7th and 5th centuries B.C.: Cyrene, the first to be created, and admirably situated in the heart of the Djabal Akhdar, its port Apollonia (Marā Sūsā), Barikē (al-Marjī), Euesperidēs (Benghāzī) and Teuchira (Tora). It was subsequently attached to Ptolemaic Egypt, at which time Ptolemaios (Tolmētā) and Darnis (Derna) originated. As a Roman province, it was beset by frequent disturbances and was far from prosperous. In the 4th century A.D. it was attached to the Eastern Empire and formed part of the Byzantine Empire down to the 7th century, without ever recovering its activity of the Greek period. On the eve of the Arab conquest, its agriculture was receding before the advance of pastoral life. Cyrenaica was occupied by the Arabs after two campaigns conducted by 'Amr b. al-'Ās in 22/642 and 643. Subsequent expeditions crossed it, gradually reaching and conquering the Maghrib. Thus it became a major thoroughfare, both military and commercial, from Egypt westwards, either via the southern depression and oases such as Awjīḥa or by the detour of the northern plateaux. The Berber tribes, the Lawāḥa, the Hawira and the Awjīḥa, intermingled with Arab elements, took increasingly to stock-breeding, which spread at the expense of agriculture: exports to Egypt then consisted of live-stock, wool, honey and tar Bakrī, trans. de Slane, 15; Barāa remained the only considerable centre. The region, linked to Egypt, was, like the latter, dependent in turn on Damascus, Baghdad and then the Fatimids. The Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaym invaders, who, in the 5th/11th century left Egypt and spread over the Maghrib, crossed the Barāa region, which gradually became completely debauched. In Ibn Khaldūn's time, in the 8th/14th century (*Histoire*, trans. de Slane, i, 164-165), its towns and villages were ruined and the population, the 'Azza, were shepherds of a nomadic kind, living in the region of the oases in the south to the northern plateaux and cultivating barley; Barāa and Bernik (Benghāzī), however, still continue to be mentioned as well as the oases of Awjīḥa and Adḍābiya. The region, in theory at least, continued to depend on Egypt and, like the latter, was occupied by the Turks in the 10th/16th century. It was, however, placed under the authority, more nominal than real, of the governors of Tripoli, whom the Karāmanlī dynasty supplanted from 1711 to 1835. Barāa disappeared and, at the beginning of the 19th century, Cyrenaica, a European term, apart from the southern oases, only possessed two centres, which owed their existence to foreign immigration: Benghāzī, ancient Euesperidēs, originated at the end of the 15th century, from an immigration of Tripolitani, and Derna, on the site of ancient Darnis, founded somewhat earlier by Andalusians, owed its modest rise to the Bey Muḥammad, who, in the 17th century,

reorganised the irrigation: it has become a small palm oasis beside the sea with pretty gardens. In the interior, al-Marjī arose from the construction of a Turkish fort in 1840 on the site of Barāa. In the second half of the 19th century, however, Cyrenaica came under the *de facto* authority of the great Sanāḥiyya confraternity, an effective politico-religious power based on a sound commercial organisation. Finally, in 1897, Muslims from Crete, fleeing before the Greek conquest, founded the modest Marā Sūsā on the ruins of Apollonia.

When the Italians landed at Benghāzī and Tripoli in 1911, they found it, except for these modest urban centres, to be entirely a country of Bedouin, without a single village outside the oases. The population was made up entirely of semi-nomadic and nomadic herdsmen, living only in tents. The tribes formed two main groups, the Mrābīṭn (Murābīṭān) and the Sa'ādī. The Mrābīṭn are thought to have a Berber origin and comprise two groups: the Barābīḥī to the west, whose main tribes are the Maghribī (Syrtic), the 'Uḥā and the 'Abdī (al-Marjī), and, on the other hand, the Harbī, who include the Derna, on the littoral, the Hāsa, the 'Aylat Fā'īd and the Brā'āsa north and south of the central Djabal Akhdar and especially the 'Abidat on the plateaux south of Derna and the Gulf of Bomba. As regards the Sa'ādī, they lay claim to purely Arab origin: they are the Fawḥar and the Awjīḥa on the steppes of the south-west, by minor tribes of the Marmarica and the nomads of the Awjīḥa-Djabal region. Outside the urban centres, the entire population were Sunnī Muslims of the Maliki rite; all spoke Maghribi type Arabic dialects, except the inhabitants of Awjīḥa in the south, the first Berber-speaking locality to be encountered going westwards.

It was not until the end of 1931, after determined resistance by the Bedouin and Sanāḥiyya, that the Italians became masters of the whole of Cyrenaica with its hinterland. They did their utmost to colonise it. The first colonists settled, in rather hazardous conditions, on the unpropitious Benghāzī plain and in the vicinity of al-Marjī. Systematic effort, however, was directed towards the exploitation and settlement by Italians of the Djabal Akhdar, where, between 1934 and 1939, a dozen villages were founded. "Demographic" and then "mass" colonisation was extended over a total of 80,000 hectares, producing wine and olive oil. On the 9th January 1939, Cyrenaica, like Tripolitania, was integrated with its hinterland in Italian territory. By this time, the Italians had begun to provide Cyrenaica on a large scale with the equipment and services of a colonial country in the course of modernisation: a railway line from Benghāzī to al-Marjī and Solik (164 km.), a network of roads in the west and the north, ports (especially at Benghāzī), aerodromes, educational establishments and hospitals, postal services, works to supply water, notably a pipe-line over 200 km. with pumping stations, reservoirs and branch conduits to serve the villages of the Djabal Akhdar, etc. Cyrenaica entered the war period in full development. But all Italians left the country in the face of the final victorious offensive of the British Eighth Army in November-December 1942 and it then came under British Military Administration. The British then placed Idrīs, the leader of the Sanāḥiyya, at the head of the amirate of Cyrenaica and, in 1951, assisted him to accede to the throne of the Libyan Federal Union, which, with Cyrenaica, comprises Tripolitania and



Fazzān. Nothing remains of the agricultural work of the Italians; the country has reverted to pastoral life, with a little barley being grown, and the villages have fallen into ruin. Likewise nothing survives of the few industrial undertakings (fish-ranning-factories, breweries and distilleries, boot and shoe factories), which they had set up at Benghazi. Exports now only include a few products derived from stock breeding, salt and sponges harvested by the Greeks in the Gulfs of Domba and the Great Syrta. Cyrenaica, pre-owned by its immense Saharan hinterland, stretching to lat. 20° and embracing the oases of Kufra, covers 855,400 km<sup>2</sup> (out of a total of 1,759,500 for the whole of the Federal Union of Libya), though it contains only 291,350 inhabitants, almost all in the North (out of a total of 1,091,800). Its average yearly production is 360,000 quintals of cereals (barley and wheat), and it has a stock of between 450 and 500,000 sheep, 350 and 400,000 goats, 30 and 35,000 head of cattle and 20,000 camels. Sparsely populated, very poor in spite of the fertility of some of the regions in the north, deficient in financial resources and administrative personnel, Cyrenaica is dependent on the financial and technical help provided by Great Britain, by the United Nations and the United States.

**Bibliography:** see LIBYA. Also F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Hattatides*, Paris 1952; P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica romana*, Rome 1943; E. de Agostini, *La popolazione della Cirenaica*, Tripoli 1925; G. Narducci, *Storia della colonizzazione della Cirenaica*, Milan 1942; W. B. Fisher and K. Walton, *The Aberdeen University expedition to Cyrenaica in 1951*, in *Scottish geogr. mag.*, 1952-1953; N. A. Ziafah, *Barka*, Beirut 1959. (J. Thureau).

**BARKA'ID**, in 'Abhā'id times one of the sequence of small towns on the main route between Nisibīn and Mawṣil, in the Ḥazira province, the others being Adhrama to the west, and Bā'aynūthā and Halad (where the Mawṣil-Singlar road bifurcated south-westward) to the east. Barka'īd, of which the modern Tall Rumayliya, north of the railway line (and near to Tall Kocheh station thence) may possibly mark the site, was probably just inside the Bec de Canard (eastward extremity of the modern Syrian province of Ḥazira), and lay some 50-55 miles from Nisibīn, and 80 from Mawṣil. It is described by a number of Arab geographers as a place of considerable scale, especially in the 3rd/9th century, with its walls, enclosures, gates, excellent springs, 200 shops (largely wine-shops) and busy traffic. It was, in its best days, the country-town of the district of Barka', which covered most of the country between Mawṣil and Nisibīn. It continued as a recognised staging-post until the 7th/13th century, but much diminished in scale by reason of the natural aversion of travellers and caravans to avoid a place always notorious — indeed proverbial — for its population of thieves and robbers; Barka'īd declined, therefore, to mere village status while its better reputed neighbours (notably, it is said, Bāghaziz, on an alternative route) increased.

**Bibliography:** IGA, *passim*, particularly Vol. vi, 214. Note 1. (also 164); Yāqūt, I, 574 ff., 701; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, ii, 204; Harūthi, *ibn. Maḥḥimā*; Le Strange, 99; K. Ritter, *Erdbunde*, ii, 162-3; F. Tuck in *DDMG*, I, 62-64; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persisch. Golf* (1900), ii, 143-144; 167-8 (de Goeje's Note).

(M. STRECK-S. H. LONGRIGG.)

**BARKŪK**, AL-MALIK AL-ZAHIR SAYF AL-DIN, Manlik Sultan of Egypt. He was the first of

a new series of rulers, to whom history refers as Circassians in memory of the country where they were originally purchased as slaves, and as Burjī (see BORGIRYA), became Barkūk was the first to have belonged to a regiment with their barracks in the dungeons (*burj*) of the Cairo Citadel.

Barkūk provided the link between the two dynasties of Manlik sultans: before ascending the throne, he ruled Egypt as Marshal of the Armies, *atabak al-askar* [g.c.], during the turbulent reigns of two sultans, both minors, of the line of Kālmāsh.

Purchased in the Crimea, Barkūk, unlike the rest of the Mandūks, was no son of an unknown father but could state in his monumental inscriptions that he was the son of Anas; the latter was invited to come to Egypt, where he occupied a position of some standing.

Sold to the all-powerful Yibughū 'Umārī, the Marshal who had succeeded in breaking the ill-fated Malik Nāṣir Hasan, Barkūk was for a short while imprisoned after the execution of his master. He passed into the service of the Court, but was soon involved in the conspiracy which ended in the assassination of Malik Ashraf Shā'ibān in 778/1377.

He was then promoted to be Marshal of the Armies by Malik Maṣūr 'Alī, a seven year old child. He had to contend with the ambitions of his fellows, and there was continual warfare, from which he finally emerged the victor. He was then able to gather a group of clients round himself and, when the Sultan died of plague in 784/1382, Barkūk began by placing a brother of the late ruler on the throne, the eleven year old Ḥādīdīl. In the end he threw off the mask and, on the pretext that an energetic ruler was needed for the protection of the country, at the end of the same year had the crown offered to himself by a council of the magistrates presided over by the Caliph.

Barkūk was soon up against serious difficulties, which were momentarily to make him less powerful. They started with the revolt of the governor of the province of Aleppo, Yibughū Nāṣir, who was joined by a dismissed Manlik named Muṣṭafā. The rest of the Syrian governors joined the movement, including the governor of Sis, on the remotest part of the frontier. When the Sultan, after causing his principal officers to renew their oath to him, made up his mind to take action, Yibughū already held the whole of Syria and it was beneath the walls of Damascus that he defeated the legitimate army, which came to bring him to his senses, in Rabī' I 791/March 1389.

The sultan raised a second army corps, making his preparations in some haste, for Yibughū's troops had penetrated into Egyptian territory at Katyā and were encamped at Silihiya. The Sultan set out to take up his position at Matariya, but returned to Cairo in despair, for the majority of his officers, guessing who would win, went over to the enemy camp. Nevertheless, he wished the matter to be decided by the arbitrament of war and the battle was fought to the north of Cairo and beneath the city's walls on the day Ḥumādā'ist May, without any decisive result. Day by day, Barkūk saw the devotion of his men vanishing and, in the end, he left the Citadel in disguise and went into his hiding.

He was discovered, and sent off to prison at Karak in the land of Moab, whilst Ḥādīdīl was replaced on the throne. As his masters, the latter had the factious generals, who proceeded to indulge themselves in the trivial occupation of street-fighting. Barkūk took advantage of this confused situation

and, escaping from imprisonment, gathered together an army composed in the main of Bedouin Arabs. After numerous vicissitudes, some of which read like an adventure story, he made his triumphal entry into Cairo in Safar 792/February 1390.

Clearly Ḥādīdīl could do nothing but withdraw, but apart from this he was not troubled. Sultān Barkūk, moreover, had not disposed of his old opponent Muṣṭafā and a campaign of two years was needed to get rid of him.

As can be seen, these two reigns of the Sultān Barkūk were eventful but contributed nothing to the glory of Egypt: the last fifty years of the 8th/14th century were indeed lustrous, but other events must be noted, though at the time the seriousness of their implication was not evident. Already in 788/1386, during Barkūk's first reign, rumours had been current in Cairo that a certain 'Mongol rebel named Tīmūr' had marched on Tabriz and this was soon confirmed officially by a dispatch from the Ḥalā'irid sultan of 'Irak, Ahmad b. Uways, who urged Barkūk to be on his guard. The Manlik government then sent one of its intelligence agents to conduct an inquiry on the spot: in Rajab 789/July 1387, the latter brought back somewhat alarming news. Detachments of the Mongol army had entered Upper Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, at Edessa and Malatya, after having scattered the troops of the Turcoman ruler Karā Muhammad.

In the middle of the year 795/1393, Tīmūr again made his presence felt; an embassy from the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd urged the Egyptian government to take military precautions, whilst the Sultan of Baghdad, Ahmad b. Uways, expelled from his domains by the Mongol hordes, took refuge in the Manlik kingdom. Tīmūr had nevertheless approached Barkūk amicably, though the latter, casting aside all pretence, had the Mongol ambassador put to death.

The Egyptian sultan had left for Syria at the head of an army; at that time only a few skirmishes occurred. Barkūk made a certain number of appointments relating to the Syrian frontier, so that the fortresses of Malatya, Tarsis, Edessa and Kal'at al-Rūm resolved new commanders. Epigraphy, moreover, reveals that works were carried out at this time at the citadel of Ba'bak, the command post at the entrance to Coele-Syria. Thus, thanks to these meagre indications, we may assume that in the course of his passage through Syria, Barkūk saw to the defence of the territory; he was back in Cairo on the 13 Safar 797/8 December 1394.

The end of the reign is devoid of historical significance; the sultan died on the 15th Shawwāl 801/20th June 1399, as the result of an attack of epilepsy.

Barkūk was 63 years of age, and for over twenty years had governed Egypt firstly as Marshal of the Armies and then as sultan. The disturbances caused by the Syrian governors gave him much trouble. They can probably be explained by normal feelings of jealousy and instinct for intrigue, which at all times agitated the Manuks. Certain synchronisms, however, are suggestive and one may well ask whether the great Syrian officers were not induced to rebel by skilful propaganda conducted by the emissaries of Tīmūr, who was to benefit from the disorders.

**Bibliography:** *Manhal Sāfi, Biographies, M.I. Egypte*, xix, no. 650; Wiet, *Histoire de la Nat on Egyptienne*, iv, 508-520; Ibn Taghribirdi, ed.

Popper, vols. v-vij; Cairo ed., vol. xi; Hautesseur et Wiet, *Les Monarques du Caire*, index; Ibn Furat, Vol. 2. (G. WERT)

**BARKYĀRŪK** (BIRKAYARUK), fourth Saljūkid Sultān, in whose time the visible decline of the regime began. Although the eldest of the sons of Malikshāh, he was only thirteen years old on the latter's death (Shawwāl 485/November 1092) and, unlike his father, who at a similar age had been guided by his vizier and *atabeg* Nizām al-Mulk, he lacked a man of undisputed authority in his entourage. Moreover, Malikshāh's last wife, Turkan Khān, a woman also of the noblest birth, had dominated her husband in the latter years of his life and now, with the treasury at her disposal, she was able to have her four year old son Mahmūd proclaimed Sultān at Baghdād. Already caliphal arbitration seems to have become a significant factor in the succession to the sultanate, which had previously been decided within the Saljūkid family. Furthermore, Tāj al-Mulk, the enemy and successor of Turkan Khān's counsellor, Nizām al-Mulk, had been unable to destroy the considerable armed following surrounding the sons of the late vizier, and was seeking vengeance. The Nizāmīya abducted Barkyārūk from Isfahān and at Rayy, their centre, proclaimed him Sultān. Finally, in the absence of any law of succession, a vague tribal tradition favourable to family sharing and to the pre-eminence of the eldest member of the extended family encouraged the pretensions of Ismā'īl b. Yāqūt, Barkyārūk's maternal uncle and Malikshāh's cousin, of Tutugh, the latter's brother, who held Syria as his appanage, and of Arslan Arghūn, another brother, who was active at Khurāsān. They then began a complex civil war, which was to prove much more serious than the skirmishes engendered by the accession of Alp Arslan and Malikshāh. Ultimately Barkyārūk prevailed because, following the killing of Tāj al-Mulk by the Nizāmīya, death claimed Turkan Khān and Mahmūd; Ismā'īl, who alternatively sought to join with Turkan Khān and Barkyārūk, was likewise killed by the Nizāmīya; Tutugh, the most dangerous of all of them, had succeeded in gaining recognition by the whole of Mesopotamia (including Baghdād) and had invaded the Iranian plateau, but first his great Syrian amirs Akasur of Aleppo and Būzān of Edessa deserted him and then the amirs of Iran, fearing the advent of a new suzerainty, offered resistance and Tutugh perished in the final battle; finally Arslan Arghūn, whose limited aim was to make Khurāsān an autonomous appanage, after overcoming Būrbāns, the last of Malikshāh's brothers, despatched against him by Barkyārūk, likewise died in due course. Thus from 488/1095, Barkyārūk was acknowledged by the Caliph in the Arab provinces of the Empire and on the Iranian plateau and in the following year he was able to proceed to Khurāsān to receive the submission of the province and even to renew the claim to Saljūkid sovereignty over Samarkand and Ghaznā. But the Empire over which he ruled was far from resembling that over which his predecessors had held sway.

Alp Arslan and, more clearly, Malikshāh had indeed already formed appanages and great commands for the benefit of princes of their family and in exceptional cases, for high amirs; in the main, however, frontier or remote districts were affected and, in spite of ominous incidents, they had not seriously compromised the unity of the Empire.



Under Barkyärük, things developed differently and the Empire assumed the guise of a federation of autonomous princes. In Syria, the sons of Tutugh, Dukak of Damascus and Rudwän of Aleppo, acknowledged his sovereignty in principle, without, however, Barkyärük ever being able to intervene in their affairs. In Khuzistan, in the inaccessible mountain regions of the East, rebels persisted—a cousin of Malikshäh, a descendant of Yabghu, Tughril Beg's brother, etc., so that Barkyärük deemed it prudent to constitute the whole of Khuzistan an appanage for his brother Sandjar, assisted by a governor whom he appointed. He did the same thing for Adharbaydjan (with its frontier districts), another of the frontier marches, dangerous—as recalled by Isma'ili b. Yikhtir's attempt—by reason of the numbers of Turkomen always ready to support any enterprise showing a likely prospect of booty. Here Barkyärük installed his youngest brother, Muhammad, accompanied by an *ashik*, whom he likewise appointed.

Barkyärük's difficulties, however, did not end there. Muhammad and Sandjar, co-uterine brothers (but by a different mother from Barkyärük's) were incited, especially by Nigam al-Mulk's son, Mu'ayyad al-Mulk, (who had been dismissed from the visierate by Barkyärük, in favour of a brother with whom he had quarrelled) to throw off all control by their elder brother and revolt against him. Subsequent to operations which were complicated by several *andis* constantly changing sides, and in the course of which both protagonists were in turn forced to flee, an agreement was negotiated by the moderate elements of both sides. In accordance therewith, Muhammad was given the title of *sauk* and resolved Adharbaydjan with Armenia, under the suzerainty of Barkyärük, the *sauk* sultan, Muhammad, dissatisfied, reopened hostilities, but was forced to flee into Armenia. Finally, however, in 497/1104, Barkyärük, ill and weary of the war, agreed to an actual division of the sultanate. Though in addition to the *Diqlah* with Rayy, he retained Tabaristan, Fars and *Rühizistan*, Baghdad and the Holy cities, in other words the towns of greatest consequence and the core of the central territories, he was obliged to acknowledge his brother in Isfahan, half of Iräk, and all the western frontier territories from Adharbaydjan to Syria, and to accord him the direction of the Holy War. As for Sandjar, he was to pronounce the *khutba* for Muhammad and himself simultaneously, disorganizing Barkyärük. It is difficult to say what the outcome of this agreement might have been, if Barkyärük's death and the provisional renunciation of the Empire which ensued under Muhammad had allowed time for it to come to fruition. In any event, even within the territories as attributed to each brother, the reality of their authority was far from being everywhere assured.

It had been impossible to keep watch over the attempts at regional independence, and the support of the *andis*, vacillating between the pretenders, had had to be purchased. The result was that even in Upper Mesopotamia, Kerbügü and especially his successor *Özbeknigü* were to be found almost independent at Mawsil, whilst the Artukids were taking the initial steps towards the unification of Diyar Bakr to their own advantage. In Armenia, in the Turkomen principalities established in former Byzantine territory and that of the Rawadids of Ani, which continued to exist, there was added that of Sukman al-Kutbi, one of Isma'ili's former officers, who made himself the *Shih-i Armin* at Aghlat, on

the borders of Iräk, the masters of the Balha and the Mazayaddi Arabs became powers to be reckoned with. Leaving aside Khuzistan and the Caspian provinces, where autonomous principalities had always been accepted, and the old principalities, belonging to ancient Buyid and Kurdish families, had similarly been tolerated, the *genesis* can be observed in Iran and even Khuzistan of hereditary feudal families, issuing from great Saljuqid officers, the best known of them being that of the sons of Buruk at Tustar. The successive vicissitudes of Barkyärük, the three sons, Nigam al-Mulk, 'Izz al-Mulk (died 487/1094), Mu'ayyad al-Mulk, disgraced after a year, and Fajhr al-Mulk (493/1099), then 'Abd al-Djalil al-Dihistad, who fell in battle, and al-Maybudi (495-498), were doubtless primarily occupied in finding money by all possible means (confiscation, pressure exerted on the Caliph, harassing the Christians, etc.) and in countering the intrigues of hostile classes; the difficulty confronting them lay in making themselves accepted by the *andis*, as is illustrated by the assassination of the *muhtasif* (Director of Finances) Majid al-Mulk al-Baladani, on the pretext of *Shihism*.

It is true that, in comparison with Muhammad and the early Saljuks, Barkyärük did not enjoy the reputation of being a militant defender of orthodoxy. The dissensions of his reign benefited the Nizari Isma'ilis of Hasan al-Sabbah, who acquired impregnable fortresses in the mountains of northern Iran and around Isfahan, not to mention the former Isma'ili seignory of Tabas in the desert, which went over to them. When the Nizariyya took Muhammad and Sandjar's side, Barkyärük's lieutenant in Khuzistan was even to be found soliciting considerable contingents from Tabas. However at the end of the reign, the influence acquired by the Isma'ilis and the disaffection of Barkyärük's supporters, due to the toleration he had shown them, appeared dangerous to him and he encouraged massacres of Isma'is at Baghdad and in Iran, without, however, anything being done to deal with the bases of their power.

Barkyärük died in Rähä II 498/beginning of 1105, when 25 years of age. He was certainly not a great man and the clumsiness with which he alienated the Nizariyya, for example, was a grave error indeed. Yet it must be remembered that he was very young and it would be unjust not to recognise that his factors of disintegration which manifested themselves in his time were latent even in the regime of the Great Saljuks.

**Bibliography:** The sources will be examined in the article *Saljuks*. The main ones are the History of the Saljuks of 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani (ed. in the version of Bundard by Houtsma, *Revue*, II, 1888), the relevant part of which is based on the Persian memoirs of the vizier Anushtegin; the *Kamil* of Ibn al-Athir, s, which combines certain information from Iräki and Khuzistan sources etc., with that provided by the above work; and the *Saljuk-näma* of Zahir al-Din Nishapuri, ed. of an approximative text by Golabeh Shihwar, Tehran 1953, with its derivative, the *Rahit al-Sulär* of Rawand, ed. Mub. Irbäl, GMS 1921. To these may be added, for the revolt of Tutugh, the Muslim and Christian sources of Syrian history, in particular Ibn al-Kalidä, ed. Amédroz. See also the *Muqbil al-Turuk* in Persian, anonymous, ed. Bahar 1938, short but contemporary, and the Nestorian chronicle of Mari etc. ed. Gismund. Modern works: Deffémery, *Recherches sur le règne du*

*sultan Barkyärük*, in J.A. 1853; Sanallah, *The decline of the Saljuqid Empire*, Calcutta 1938; M. G. Hodgson, *The order of the Assassins*, 1955.

**BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT** [see BILAWMAR WA YÜDSAR].

**BARMAKIDS** [see BARMAKI].

**BARNIK** [see BENGÄZ].

**BARÖDA**, formerly capital of the Indian State of the same name, now merged with Madhya Bharat, situated in 22° 25' N. and 73° 15' E. on the Vajh-miri river. Population in 1951 was 211,007. It is known to the inhabitants as Waddöara, said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *valldar* which means 'in the heart of the banyan-trees', and the vicinity of the town still abounds in these trees. The word *bar* in Urdu also means a banyan-tree. An old name of the town is Virakhetra or Virawati which means 'a land of warriors' and was used by the 11th/17th century Guggarüt poet, Parmasand. Early English travellers call the town Barödara. The city proper was enclosed by the walls of the old fort, which have now been demolished.

The history of Baröda is closely linked with the history of Gondä. In 1140/1727 Pildji Gäkwar, the founder of the dynasty which ruled over Indian India till 1949, when the State was merged with the British India, wrested Baröda from Sarboland Rahn, the Mughal governor of Guggarüt. In 1144/1731 Peshwä Baji Räs invested the town with the intention of turning off Pildji but had to give up the siege on hearing that he was about to be attacked by Nigam al-Mulk Asad Diah. But the very next year (1145/1732) Pildji was murdered and Abhay Singh, the ruler of Didihpur, taking advantage of the confusion, captured both the fort and the town. Dämäji, who had succeeded Pildji as the ruler of Baröda, recaptured the town in 1147/1734. Thereafter he entered into an alliance with Mubün Rahn, the Mughal governor of Guggarüt. Dämäji was one of those Maharatta chiefs who fought against Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1757/1761 in the third battle of Panipat. On the death of Dämäji, the town was occupied by his youngest son Fath Singh, on behalf of his insane eldest brother Säyid Räs. The House of Gäkwar continued to rule the city independently till 1221/1806, when along with the State it was included in the dominions of the East India Company.

There are many beautiful buildings in Baröda including Lakshmi Viläs, the chief palace, built in the Indo-Saracenic style at a cost of £ 400,000. Among the State jewels is a finely embroidered cloth studded with precious stones and seed-pearls which was designed as a covering for the Prophet's tomb at al-Madina. Baröda has a fine library and its Gäkwar Institute of Oriental Research has published a number of Persian works on Indo-Muslim history.

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[A. S. BÄZME ANSAR].

**AL-BARRÄDI**, ABU 'L-FADL ABU 'L-HÄSÄN B. ISRAHIM, a North African Ishäqi scholar, who lived in the second half of the 8th/14th century. He was a native of Damascus in Southern Tunisia, where he studied under Abu 'L-Bakä Ya'qub al-Djarid. Thence he moved on to Yefron, in the *Diqlah* Nefisa, to attend the classes given by Shaykh Abü

Säkin 'Amir al-Shammäshi (died in 792/1390). On completing his studies, he settled in *Qierba*, where for several years he devoted his energies to teaching, holding his classes in the Wadi al-Zabib mosque. He died at *Qierba*, leaving several sons. According to al-Shammäshi, the most famous of them was 'Abd Alläh Abu Muhammad, who made a reputation especially in the science of *ayd*.

His main work is the *Kutub Qianashir al-Musäshih* (lithographed at Cairo in 1302/1885), which forms a complement to the *Kutub Tabat al-Mafädh* by the 7th/13th century Maghrabi author, Abu 'L-'Abbas Ahmad al-Darjili (p.c.). The book is divided into two categories (*fabaka*), the first of which reviews from the Ishäqi point of view the history of the early period of Islam, omitted by al-Darjili, and contains the biographies of those famous men, whom the latter failed to mention; the second subjects al-Darjili's work to a critical examination, adding a number of new facts and brief excursions. It ends with a catalogue of the books of the sect, which has been published and translated by A. de Motylinski.

According to al-Shammäshi, al-Barrädi was also the author of a *Risäla*, addressed to Shaykh Abü 'Abd Alläh Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Safghayän, in which he explicitly states his theories on faith and the unity of God; likewise of a *Shahr* on the *Kutub al-Dä'ir* by Ahmad b. al-Nazzari and of a *Shahr* on the *Kutub al-'Adä* by 'Abd al-Färah by Abü Ya'qub b. Ibrahim al-Sadräli. There is no reference in al-Shammäshi to the *Siyar al-'Undusiyya*, quoted by Lewicki (*Handschriftenk. v. N. Ishäqiyya*), a MS. of which exists at Lwów.

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[R. RUBINCAMI].

**BARSÄY**, AL-MALIK AL-AĞRAF ABU 'L-NÄSÄR, Malik, sultan of Egypt from 845/1442 to 847/1448. He joined the Mamluks of Sultan Barük, received his first promotion during the reign of Shaykh and then became governor of the province of Tripoli. Like many officers, he did not avoid imprisonment, spending some time in the jails of Markab and Damascus. Fortune favoured him at the accession of Tatar and, in spite of the brevity of the latter's reign, he was able to gain ascendancy in Cairo.

From the moment Barsäy acceded to the sultanate, he displayed the salient features of his nature: greed, bad temper, and cruelty. One of his first acts was to renew the ban on Christians and Jews which prevented them from entering government service. This may have been a tax in disguise, since when non-Muslims were the object of such a decree, they usually circumvented it by payment of a sum of money. But it may also be interpreted as a measure of defiance, for European privateers were then very



active in the Mediterranean. Hence the Draconian decree: European private property was impounded both in Egypt and Syria and no European was permitted to return to his own country. There then followed the temporary prohibition of the circulation of European currencies, a measure which had uncertain effects. The government of Egypt also took serious military precautions, building a number of small forts on the coast and fitting out a flotilla of corvettes. The sultan, however, continued without respite, his preparations for the realisation of his great idea, an expedition against the island of Cyprus. After several preliminary reconnaissances, a large-scale attempt was launched; the only engagement, which was particularly bloody, ended unfavorably for the Cypriots, whose king, Janus, was taken prisoner and brought back to Cairo. He was led through the town in fetters; he only recovered his freedom and his kingdom on payment of a yearly tribute. A part of the booty was devoted to the restoration of various monuments in Mecca (859/1427).

Nevertheless, this relatively easy victory revealed a dangerous state of indiscipline among the troops and on the occasion of a frontier conflict with the army of the White Sheep Turkoman prince, Karā-Yülük, the Mamlūks, after taking the town of Edessa by storm, perpetrated the most revolting atrocities there. This disagreement between neighbors severely impaired the prosperity of Upper Mesopotamia, which was already devastated on one side or the other. After considerable hesitation, Barsbāy mobilised a large army, which finally proceeded to invest Āmid (Diyār-bakr). They were, however, unable to take the Turkoman capital, to Barsbāy's great annoyance. Faced with the growing discontent of the army, the sultan was obliged to resign himself to negotiate. Karā-Yülük accepted his proposals for peace and, in several formal formulas, recognised the sovereignty of the sultan of Egypt. The Mamlūk army made its way back to Cairo; their progress was the stampede of a discontented soldiery. The troops proceeded in the greatest disorder, giving the impression rather of the hasty retreat of a defeated army (857/1423). The sultan had left half the total strength of his army behind in Mesopotamia.

There then ensued a strange diplomatic struggle with the Timurid sultan Shāh-Rukh. The Mongol ruler claimed the right to cover the Ka'ba with a veil. This was, in fact, a privilege of the Egyptians consecrated by immemorial custom and Sultan Barsbāy, supported by his council of chief judges, was unwilling to relinquish it. The dispute, fanned by lawyers' quibbles and cruelly desirous treatment of the ambassadors, gave rise to the exchange of pithy diplomatic documents. However, it entailed no immediate consequences during the reign of Sultan Barsbāy.

No doubt the policy of the ruler of Egypt was based on considerations of prestige, but primarily he wished to prevent the Mongol sultan from gaining a foothold in Arabia through official agents, which might possibly endanger Egypt's commercial interests.

Indeed, Barsbāy had recently requested those merchants coming from India to land their wares at Djeddah, instead of putting in at the port of Aden, as previously. It was a good beginning, but, in his insatiable greed, Barsbāy determined to force the merchants to proceed obligatorily to Cairo for the purpose of paying taxes. This vexatious regulation was soon formally modified, but through the mer-

chants were excused from proceeding to the Egyptian capital, they still had to pay exorbitant dues at Djeddah. This port, however, henceforth became a commercial mart of the first importance. Half the dues collected there went to the Sharif of Mecca and half to Egypt. The tax-collectors belonged to the Egyptian administration.

Barsbāy's end is a pitiful and tragic tale. An epidemic of plague broke out and, fearing lest he might catch the disease, he resolved to suppress the vexatious economic measures to which we have referred; he proceeded to distribute alms in plenty, though at the same time he also had his physicians put to death. On the 15th Dhū 'l-Hijja 847/16 June 1428, he fell a victim to the plague. To summarise our impressions of Sultan Barsbāy, we must bear two aspects of his character in mind. He was constantly haunted by the morbid fear inspired in him by his rival, Dīnābakr Sūfi, whom he had imprisoned at his accession and who made good his escape. This in itself induced him to make haphazard gestures, which, however, were milder than those suggested to him by his own passions. There flourished a series of practices which led the Mamlūk regime to disaster: the sale of offices, confiscation of fortunes which were too noticeable, the unprecedented extension of state monopolies and the institution of the compulsory purchase of primary commodities, bought up in advance by the Government. The latter historians advise that there was an intelligent administrator, an able and poised politician, but the facts speak against this assessment. All his actions are dominated by the spectre of Dīnābakr and, precisely because of his erratic changes of mood, we can scarcely consider him as a wise and sagacious statesman. His preparations for the Cyprus and Diyār-bakr campaigns appear to have swallowed up large sums of money and the latter was a resounding failure.

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(G. WIEY)

**BARSHALCNA**, Spanish Barcelona, the old Iberian town of Barcinon (compare *Barcinon*, from which Ronsseil is derived), which incidentally has no connexion with Hamilcar Barca, Barcelona, once the home of the Laetians, gradually supplanted Tarraco-Tarragona, situated to the south-west of it, as the capital of north-eastern Roman Spain (Hispania-Tarraconensis). From the fragments of the works of al-Idrisi and al-Bakri compiled by Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'īn al-Himyari, it is clear that Barcelona in their day was already a large town. It was encircled by a strong rampart and its port was rockbound, so that only captains familiar with the channels could steer their ships into it. It was in Barcelona, the capital of his country, that the 'King of Ifrandja' resided. This monarch owned armed ships for travel and corsair raids. The Genoese (Catalans) were of an aggressive temperance which spurred them on to great daring.

The territory of Barcelona produced a great deal of wheat and other cereals, as well as honey in large quantity. There were as many Jews living there as Christians. In 96-98/714-16 it fell to the Arabs under 'Abd al-'Azis b. Mūsā b. Nuwayr after a single attack. In Arabic the town is called Barshālā, a name derived from the low Latin Barcinona (Orosius already has Barcinona, the Geographer of Ravenna Barcelona, cf. Hübner in *Pauly-Wissowa*,

s.v.), but it is still more commonly called Barshālā, from which the present Barcelona derives. The form Barshālā is rarer. This is in the origin of the name al-Barshālāni, the short title which later Arab writers often gave to the king of Aragon and Catalonia (cf. *JA*, 1907, II, 279 ff.).

In 85/804 Louis, the son of Charlemagne, as king of Aquitaine, conquered Barcelona, which from that time became the capital of the Spanish borderlands of the Frankish Empire, and from 888, of the independent counts or marquesses of Barcelona or Catalonia. In 242/856, Barcelona was temporarily occupied by the Arabs (*al-Bayda al-Mughribā*, II, 95-6). In 375/985, it was taken by assault in the last time by the great Almoravid (Drey, *Histoire des Musulmans*, II, 238-9), but in 987, Count Ramon I reconquered it. In the twelfth century (1137) it was reunited with the kingdom of Aragon. Worthy of note is the order given in 450/1058 by the Muslim king of Denia, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Amrī by virtue of which the Mozarabic bishoprics of Baleares [s.v.] like those of Denia and Orhuela were placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Barcelona (Simonet, *Historia de los Mozarabes de España—Memoria de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. 201, Madrid 1905, 653-4; Campaner, *Bosquejo histórico de la dominación islámica en las islas Baleares*, Palma 1888, 82-84).

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(C. F. SEYBOLD-[A. HEIC MIRANDA])

**BARSHĀWISHI** [see NUGGŪC].

**BARSHĀ**, the name of a pseudo-historical figure, a recluse, who is to be connected, according to a later interpretation, with the Antonian tradition. In its folk-lore aspect, the tradition concerning Barshā must have assumed several forms, because at a late period Ibn Batṭūta came across, between Tripoli and Alexandria, a *hazir* Barshā al-'Aḥid, a name which recalls the career of St. Antony and his long period of seclusion in an old cell (*ḥiḍā*). The Arabic etymology of the name Barshā calls to mind the highest sacerdotal office, one considers the *shā* as denoting the pectoral of the high priest, or the topknots of the sacerdotal coiffure. In Muslim Tradition, Barshā is the hermit who, after a long career of asceticism, succumbs to the successive temptations of the Devil who finally induces him to deny God, and then abandons him to eternal despair. These remarks refer to the commentary on Kur'ān lix, 16, which deals with hypocrites who tempt the faithful . . . "in the likeness of the Devil, when he says to Man, 'Disbelieve', but when he disbelieves, says, 'I am quit of thee; I fear Allāh, the Lord of the Worlds'". There are two rival interpretations of 'Man', and al-Tabarī (xxviii, 31 f.) sets them before us: is it a question of a particular man, or of mankind as a whole?

The first four traditions which al-Tabarī produces in the case of "Man" denoting a particular person, relate to a recluse, either a monk (*raḥib*) (Tabarī, xxviii, 332), or an ascetic (*raḥib min Ḥanī Ṭarīq*, 'abid), or a Christian priest (*ḥisā*). The story about this person is relatively constant: three brothers entrust to him their sister, who is ill, while they are absent on a journey. The monk, yielding to the suggestions of Satan, seduces her, gets her with

child, and then, in order to get rid of her and thus of the evidence of his fall, kills her and buries her in a secret place (under a tree, in his house). The brothers, on their return, believe at first that she died a natural death, but Satan reveals to them in a dream the ascetic's crime. The ascetic, panic-stricken at the realisation that his crime has been discovered, is approached in his turn by Satan, who offers to save him if he will prostrate himself before him and deny God. When the wretched man has stooped to this ultimate degree of sin, Satan mocks him, in the terms of the verse in the Kur'ān, lix, 16. After al-Tabarī, Tradition rediscovered the name of Barshā and applied it to the hero of this legend. In *EP*, Duncan B. Macdonald (s.v. *Barshā*) enumerated these sources. The first author who seems to have mentioned the name of Barshā is Abū Layth al-Samarkandī (d. 985 or 993), in his *Tanbih al-Ghāfilin*, who was followed by al-Baghawī (d. 1122), Goldziher-Landberg, *Legende vom Mönch Barshā*, fills in the history of the later development of the legend, as narrated in al-Kawfī (ed. Wüstendahl, I, 368), in the *Masṭudat* of Ibn Badaynī, chap. 64, in al-Suyūṭī, and thence, in the *Forty Vezirs*, the Istanbul edition of which, 1303 A.H., 120-126, contains a long account, of greater length than the one translated by Pétis de la Croix and Gibb.

This account, either via Spain, or through the medium of a translation of the *Forty Vezirs*, must have become the source of the 'Gothic' romance of Monk Lewis, *Ambrasio or the Monk*, in which every detail was dealt with at length and adapted to the taste of the day.

**Bibliography:** Duncan B. Macdonald, in *EP*, and *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, s.v. *Barshā*, and addenda in *JA* s.v. *Barshā*; Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VIII, 128 ff.; A. Abel, *Barshā, le Mönch qui défit le Diable*, Bruxelles 1959, in *Publications de l'Institut de Philologie et d'histoire orientales*. (A. ABEL)

**BARTANG** [see BADARSHĀN].

**BĀRČD**.

I. — GENERAL.

In Arabic, the word *naft* (Persian *naft*) is applied to the purest form (*pafta*) of Mesopotamian bitumen (*ḥaf*—or *ḥaf*—*ḥaf*). Its natural colour is white. It occasionally occurs in a black form, but this can be rendered white by sublimation. *Naft* is efficacious against cataract and leucoma; it has the property of attracting fire from a distance, without direct contact.

Mixed with other products (fats, oil, sulphur etc.) which make it more combustible and more adhesive, it constituted the basic ingredient of 'Greek fire', a liquid incendiary compound which was hurled at people, the various siege weapons which were made of wood, and ships. The Muslims of the East, as is well known, made spectacular use of it against the Crusaders and the Mongols. This new product retained the name of *naft*. A specialist, *naft-sh* or *carab*, discharged the 'Greek fire' in the form of a jet, by means of a special copper tube: *naft-sh*, *sarrāb*, *makhūla*; this instrument, the prototype of our flame-throwers, seems to have been a sort of huge syringe, similar to the 'pumps' of the earlier firemen of Constantinople. 'Greek fire' could also be discharged in 'pots' (*ḥisāra*) hurled by various types of ballistic apparatus, or in cartridges fixed to arrows, in the 'Chinese' fashion (*ḥisāra ḥiḍā'iyya*).

With the introduction of the use of salpêtre, about 1250, the word *naft* assumed new meanings. Since a remote period, the Chinese had known of the



igniting properties of nitre, but they only used it to propel rockets used in firework displays or in war. Knowledge of the properties of saltpetre (and of the procedure for refining it by washing) probably passed from China to Persia; in Persian, in fact, in addition to the Iranian term *shûra* (archaic: *shûra*) "nitrous earth, nitre", there existed the synonym *namak-e chî* "Chinese salt". In Arabic, in addition to *ghasradî*, a loan-word from Iranian, and the vernacular forms *milh al-hîrî* "sea salt" (cf. *infra*) and *milh al-dahîrî* "desert salt", one finds *ḥalîlî* (pl. *ḥalîl*) "Chinese stone", *ḥalîl al-sîn* "stone of China", one also meets the terms *akhar kadjar asyîrî*, lit. "flower of the stone of Asos" (an ancient town of Troas or Mysia), a sort of marine saltpetre, a powdery salty efflorescence deposited by sea spray on friable rock resembling pumice-stone, something like aphronite. Ibn al-Bayṭar gives *ḥîrî*, the history of which will be traced below, as the Maghribî equivalent of the last three terms, which apply to pharmaceutical saltpetres.

Saltpetre was at first incorporated in the igniting powder of fireworks, which retained the name of *naṭf*. Shortly afterwards, the same name was used for gunpowder.

As far as our present knowledge goes, the first word used by the Arabic-speaking peoples to denote the new saltpetre-containing powder, a word of universal application, was *daṣṣ* "remedy, medication, drug". It was in fact the term used by Hasan al-Rammah (died 694/1294) to denote the mixture used to fill the *naḍîḥa*: 10 parts of *ḥîrî*, 2 of charcoal and 1.5 of sulphur. This term is still used in Arabic (cf. Landberg, *Glossaire arabe*, I, 893). Semantically, it is parallel to the Persian *dâra* (see *infra*), although it is impossible to determine whether it is pure coincidence, or whether it is a case of a loan-word transmitted through translation, and in what sense the latter could have been effected.

Far more widespread, at least in the Mamlūk East, was the term *naṭf*, the name of the earlier "Greek fire" transferred to the new compound. In Muslim Spain, the earliest recorded name (from 724/1324) is *naṭf*. In the *Vocabolista* (a Latin-Spanish Arabic vocabulary compiled in the region of Valencia, in the 13th century), one finds opposite *Ignis* and *Igneum exulatore*, the word *naṭf*, but its meaning is not given with any precision; at all events, this term recurs at Beirut in the sense of "match". At Tunis, *naṭf* is a fire-cracker. In many Arabic dialects, words derived from the root *n-f* (*naṭf*, *naṭṭa*) have the meaning of "ampulla" (under the epidermis). This may perhaps be an echo of *ḥawrîr al-naṭf*.

The form of the word *ḥîrî*, with *h*, is not classical. It seems to appear for the first time in the *Ḍiḥrî* of Ibn al-Bayṭar (d. 646/1248). It is stated there that it is the name given in the Maghrib by the common people and physicians to the "stone of China" or "saltpetre", a substance with medicinal properties (cf. trans. Leclercq, I, 71). Al-Rammah uses the word in this sense in his formula for gunpowder. Again, for Ibn al-Kutubî (710/1310, cf. *infra*), *ḥîrî* only meant saltpetre.

In his *Tarîḥ* (1312 ed., 208), al-'Umari (d. 748/1348) twice uses the word *ḥîrî*. In one instance, he is talking about a substance incorporated in the "naphtha pots" (*ḥawrîr al-naṭf*), projectiles used in naval warfare. In the other, he is talking about *makhlûṭ al-ḥîrî*, where the word could be taken to refer to a propulsive saltpetre compound (see *infra*: II).

It is thus difficult to state with any accuracy at what date and in what country "gunpowder" assumed the name of its principal ingredient.

In Muslim Spain, the change in meaning took place in the course of the second half of the 13th century. "Gunpowder" then became *ḥîrî*, and "saltpetre" *malḥ al-ḥîrî*; *naṭf* (pl. *naṭṭ*) then denoted "cannon", and *naṭṭ* "gunner" (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.v.).

In this new sense of "gunpowder", the word *ḥîrî* is widespread throughout the Arabic-speaking world; it is in general pronounced with an emphatic *r*. As subsidiary terms, Arabia recognises representatives of *daṣṣ* (cf. *supra*). Tunisia has *ḥarṣi* "couscous", and Kabylia *ḥarṣin dherḥin* "black couscous", names (perhaps euphemistic) deriving from the resemblance of the two products, both rolled up (*maṭṭ*) and granulated. In Libya, in addition to *ḥîrî*, one finds *ḥîrî*, which can be connected either with the Arabic root *ḥ-y-r* "to flash (lightning)", or with *ḥîrî*, the Greek *stiron*.

The word is used in Turkish, mainly in the form *ḥîrî*, a pronunciation which recurs in various southern Arabian dialects: 'Uman, Hadramawt (and even *ḥîrî*, cf. Landberg, *Glossaire arabe*, I, 130). The Turkish term has been borrowed by Persian and by the Balkan languages: modern Greek, Albanian, Serbian, Bosnian. From Persian, the word has passed into Kurdish and Hindīstānī; but in the latter, as in Afghānī, it has a rival in the Persian *dâra*, lit. "remedy" (= *daṣṣ*). Representatives of *ḥîrî* recur in several African languages in the sense of "gunpowder": Amharic, Swahili, Hausa, etc. In addition to the current and popular term *ṭarṭar*, borrowed from Turkish, modern Greek recognises, as a scholarly word, *ṭarṭar*, which has been seen as the origin of *ḥîrî*. But this etymology is not absolutely certain.

Al-Kafīdī (s.v.), an Egyptian author who died in 1060/1659 after a long residence in Turkey, devoted to the word *ḥîrî*, in his *Shi'at al-Qahālī* (ed. Cairo, 1282, 35), a long notice in which he said: "this word is written with a *dāl* without a dot, and *ḥîrî* is an erroneous form. In the *Mā la yaṣīḥ al-Tahīḥ* *Ḍabḥ* (the work of Baghdadī physician Ibn al-Kutubī, written about 1310), one reads as follows: "this is, in the Maghrib, the name of the 'flower of Assyria' (cf. *supra*, the quotation from Ibn al-Bayṭar). In their vernacular dialect, the people of Ṭeik apply this term to saltpetre (*milḥ al-hîrî*) which appears as an efflorescence on old walls, where it is collected. It is used in fireworks (*ṭarṭar al-naṭf*) which rise into the air and move about; thanks to it, the fireworks rise more rapidly and ignite more quickly". The Egyptian author resumes: "this is a post-classical word (*muṣallaḥ*), derived from *ḥîrî* 'iron filings', because of the similarity of the two products. At the present time, *ḥîrî* is applied to a compound of this salt, charcoal and sulphur; it has assumed the name of one of its components". For the Ṭeiks of the beginning of the 8th/14th century, *ḥîrî* still denoted only saltpetre, but was already used in pyrotechnics.

Equally interesting is the notice devoted to this word by Ibn Khallaf al-Tiberī (in his Persian dictionary *Burḥān al-Qāṭ*) (Tehran ed. 1330/1951): "it is the *ḥîrî* of *ṭarṭar* 'remedy of collyrium for the musket'. In the Syriac language (*ṣarṭar*) it is the name given to *ḥîrî* 'nitre, saltpetre', which constitutes the principal element of *ḥîrî*. I do not know where the Persian lexicographer got his information from. But it is a fact that the *Lexicon Syriacum* of Brockelmann, (2nd. ed. 1928, 93),

records an instance of *ḥîrî* "nitrum", culled from an alchemical text.

From these two indications, the word *ḥîrî* could therefore have had an Aramaic origin, which would correlate well with its morphological pattern *ṭaṭl*.

In Armenian, the name of gunpowder is *rapōd* (for *rapōd*, with a dotted *r* which, for phonetic reasons governing word-transference, could not be directly connected with *ḥîrî*). However, the Armenian word appears to have an etymology (popular?) founded in Armenian itself: *rap* "to burn" and *awē* "air". Could the Aramaic word be of Armenian origin? (Information supplied by Professor Feydit, Paris).

De Gejele proposed for *ḥîrî* another etymology which seems to have been evoked (cf. *Quelques observations sur le feu grégeois*, in *Homages to A. D. Coderre*, 1904, 96): it could stem from *ḥîrî*, in the first place "a soothing collyrium (*ḥalī*) used for inflammation of the eye", which in the end was applied to all powdery collyriums (cf. Ibn al-Haṣṣhā, *Glossaire sur le Manṣūrî de Rasāʾid*, ed. Colin Renard, 1947, 18). The Baghdadī physician Ibn Khallaf (d. 491/1098) in his *Mā la yaṣīḥ* headed the use of "flower of the stone of Assyria", or marine saltpetre, in collyrium to strengthen the sight and make it clearer and also to get rid of leucoma. As regards the change of quantity in the first vowel, other examples of the change *a > i* are known in Maghribī Arabic nouns belonging to the same morphological pattern and also denoting medications: *ghāṣil* (already in Ibn al-Bayṭar), *ḥāṣil* "gun ammoniac", etc. One is encouraged not to pass over this hypothesis in silence by the fact that, in numerous Arabic-speaking countries, the term *ḥāṣil* "collyrium tube" has been used for "musket". Let us not forget that the first Arabic word for gunpowder was *daṣṣ* "medicament". In the field of Iranian linguistics, gunpowder is sometimes termed "medicament or collyrium of the musket". Finally, in an altogether different field, Malay too has *ḥalī ḥalī* "medicament of the musket". In the case of "gunpowder", as in that of "fire-tube", it could have been a case, to begin with, of a euphemistic name. The Arabic *daṣṣ* has further other senses of the same origin: "poison", "deplimentary compound" (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*). To sum up, the origin of *ḥîrî* is still obscure.

On least days, the rural population of North Africa devotes itself to the *ḥîrî al-ḥîrî* "gunpowder game", with guns charged with blanks, either on horseback (*ḥîrî al-ḥîrî*, the "tipping" of Europeans) in which the participants imitate the *ḥîrî* of *ḥîrî* or *ḥîrî*, or on foot ("the musket dance"). For an accurate picture (in dialectal Arabic), cf. G. Delphin, *Recueil de textes*, . . . 213, 255; V. Loubigier, *Textes arabes des Zaʿr*, 79; in French, L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, 234.

From *ḥîrî* has been formed the derivative *ḥîrîḥ* "musket" (cf. *infra*); the Moroccan word *ḥîrîḥ* "ferrous sulphate", which is used as a black dye, is explained by the colour of the powder. (G. S. COLLIN)

## II. — THE MAGHRIB

The first firearms which appeared were siege engines. According to Ibn Khaldūn (8th/14th century), the Mamlūk sultan Yaʿqūb, when besieging the town of Saljuḥīya in 692/1274, brought into action against this town mangonels (*maḡḡanīl*) and ballistas (*ṭarṭarīl*), as well as a naphtha engine (*ḥindām al-naṭf*) which discharged iron grape-shot

(*ḥayl al-ḥadīd*) expelled from a "chamber" (*ḥḥama*) by the fire kindled in the *ḥîrî* (cf. *Ybar*, *Būlūk* 1284, IV, 138, at the bottom). This precise information is unfortunately doubtful for such an early period. In fact, in his account of the same siege in his history of the kings of Tiemcen (*ṭibāṭ*, 83), Ibn Khaldūn speaks only of siege engines (*alḥāt al-ḥîrî*), without any reference to this marvellous invention. On the other hand, the source used by the author for his account of this siege appears to be the *ḥawrî al-Karīf* and its parallel history al-*Ḍabḥ* al-*Ṣanīʿ*, Fās, 225; ed. Bencherch, 158; and these two texts mention only mangonels and ballistas.

It is not until the year 724/1324 that one comes across an indication of something which appears to have been a true firearm. At the siege of Huescar (68 m. (120 km.) N-E of Granada), which was held by the Christians, the king of Granada *ḥawrî* used "the great engine which functions by means of *naṭf*" (*al-ḥāt al-ḥîrî al-muṭṭaḥḥaḥ bi 'naṭf*). The latter buried a red-hot iron ball (*ḥurāt ḥadīd muḥḥad*) against the keep of the fortress. The ball, when discharged, threw out showers of sparks, and landed in the midst of the besiegers, causing damage as great as that caused by a thunderbolt. Several poets celebrated this event (cf. Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, *al-Ḥāṭa*, Cairo 1319, I, 231; idem, *al-Lamḥat al-Badrīyya*, Cairo 1347, 72).

Nineteen years later, at the siege of Algeiras (743/1343), the Muslim defenders fired against the Christians, by means of *ṭarṭar* (lit. "thunderclaps") large thick arrows as well as heavy iron balls (cf. *Cronica del rey Don Alfonso el octavo*, ed. Ribadeneyra, Ch. 270, 344, and Ch. 279, 352). But what exactly is meant by "thunderclaps"? Actual firearms, or machines analogous to the "thunderers" or *raʿḍāḍ*? It is only during the last years of the Nāṣirid period (1382-1392) that there begin to appear in the sources the terms *ḥîrî* "gunpowder" and *naṭf* (pl. *naṭṭ*) "cannon", siege cannon for the Castilians, fort artillery for the Granadans. At the siege of Moclin (1480), the Castilians employed cannon which hurled "rocks of fire" (*ṭarṭar min nār*); the latter soared into the sky and fell back as a mass of flame (*ṭarṭar nār*) on the town, killing and burning all on whom they fell. It should be noted that, during this period, the plural *naṭṭ* is in general accompanied by the word *ḥadīd*, which is properly applied to classical engines of the catapult type. In fact, at the famous siege of the suburb of al-Bayyāḍīn, at Granada (1486), *naṭṭ* and *maḡḡanīl* were seen in action together (cf. Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*, especially 18 and 20).

In his *Vocabolista* of the Arabic spoken at Granada (compiled in 1501), P. de Alcalá translated *artilheria* by *ḥadīd*; but *artilheria* is *naṭṭ*, derived from *naṭf* "bombard"; and *trebuchet* "trebuchet" has as its corresponding term *maḡḡanīl*. He knew in addition a sort of culverin: *ṭarṭar*, *ṭarṭar* "robadoquin, passaballante". But he only mentions the arbalest, and does not speak of portable firearms.

The latter appeared, in the Maghrib, at the beginning of the 16th century. It was a Maghribi who presented the first arquebus (*ḥawrîḥ*) to the Mamlūk sultan Kāṣhūn al-Ghawrī (906-22/1500-16), saying that this weapon, which had appeared in the territory of the Ifrāṅjī, was in use in all the lands of the Ottomans and of the Ḡharb (cf. Ibn Zuhayr, *Fath*, Paris 1852, I, 230). Leo Africanus, who left Morocco in 1510, gives us a picture of the army of the Ḥawā Waṭṭās (s.v.) as furnished with cannon, and arquebuses carried



by horsemen. In regard to Tunis, at the same period, he mentions that the king had a band of footguards composed of Turks armed with blunderbusses (cf. *Description de l'Afrique*, trad. Epanard, 239, 387). It was mainly under the Sa'dids (q.v.), however, that the use and manufacture of firearms was intensified. The sultans of this dynasty organised their army on the Turkish model; they formed a corps of Turkish and Andalusian musketeers, and surrounded themselves with more or less renegade Europeans (*hulād*) who initiated them in new techniques, notably that of casting cannon.

In 1575, the army of the sultan Mawlay Muhammad possessed more than 150 cannon, among which was one with nine barrels (now in the Musée de l'Armée in Paris). In 1578, at the famous battle of Wādī T-Majdhūn, the Moroccan army had 34 cannon; it also had 3000 Andalusian arquebuses on foot and a thousand arquebuses on horseback.

In 1591, the expeditionary force sent against the Sūdān included 2,000 Andalusian arquebuses and renegades on foot, and 500 renegade horsemen armed with blunderbusses; it carried off six mortars and numerous small cannon (cf. *Historie*, 1021, 672). These firearms facilitated the defeat of the Sudanese, who were armed only with assegais, bows and swords. At Tinahūta, the extremely hybrid—descendants of the Moroccan musketeers still constitute a sort of class: the *arma*, from the Arabic *rumāl*.

In Morocco, during this period, "cannon" was *naḥḥ* (sic), while "musklet" was *midfa'*. It is only later, in the 17th century, that this latter word took on the meaning of "cannon", while the new "blunderbuss" took the name *mukhḥala*, which came perhaps from the East. The following fact is characteristic of the date of this change of meaning: in the part of his *Naḥḥ al-Tib* in which he reproduces a Granadan Arabic text of 1540, al-Makkīrūn from Tlemcen (d. 1041/1632), who wrote it is true in the East, on several occasions substitutes the word *midfa'* for *naḥḥ* (cf. *Naḥḥ*, Bāḥk ed., 1279, II, 1265; Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*).

In 1610, a Moroccan who had fled to Tunisia wrote in Spanish an important manual of artillery, based on German techniques. It was translated into Arabic (in a popular form) in 1638 by another Moroccan who had taken refuge at Tunis after having lived for a long time at Marrakesh, for the purpose of distribution to the Ottoman sultan Murād and other Muslim rulers (cf. Breckinmann, II, 465; S II, 74). A slightly abridged version exists in the Bibliothèque générale at Rabat; D. 1342). It is stated in this work that *midfa'* denoted "cannon" at Tunis, but "musklet" in Morocco; and that conversely, *naḥḥ* "cannon" in Morocco, denoted "fireworks" at Tunis, which the Moroccans called *amḥayyāt*.

The bronze cannon cast by the Sa'dids in Morocco, in their workshops at Fez, Marrakesh and Taroudant (or on their orders, in Holland), are particularly graceful. Many of them still exist in the ports of Morocco, usually decorated with the *shamsa* (or *iqḍāra*) of the reigning sultan. Portable firearms were imported from Europe, usually as contraband.

The artillery of the 'Alawid dynasty comprised mainly pieces seized from the enemy, on land or sea, and pieces brought as gifts by foreign ambassadors. Otherwise, cannon and mortars were bought abroad and then an engraved inscription in Arabic was superimposed. On the other hand, it was under this dynasty that the manufacture of muskets spread in Morocco, especially in the south, but also in the north, at Tetuan and Tārgūt.

However extraordinary it may appear, *midfa'* (accompanied by *cannon* and *mortars*) were used in Morocco up to 1729, not only in siege warfare but also in expeditions in mountainous areas (cf. *Archives marocaines*, ix, 107, 162, 169, 180).

Throughout present-day North Africa, the general word for "cannon" is *midfa'*; *hira* (dial. *hara*), *kar*, is "cannon-ball, shell"; everywhere the artilleryman is called *fādīl*. The "mortar" is *mihriya*; it throws a bomb, *bomba*, a Latin word received through Turkish. In Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, the old locally made musket bears names derived from *mukhḥala*; the two principal types are called: *bā-ghir* "fired by a flint", and *hā-baba* "fired by percussion-cap". Secondary appellations are derived from the name of the armourer or from the place of manufacture, or even from the length of the cannon measured in spans (*ghir*). The vocabulary of the Maghribi dialect preserves the memory of earlier portable weapons of European origin: *kābis* "pistolet" (*arabais*), *maḥḥat*, (*muschets*), *ghibḥiḥ* (*cecpet*), *bārēla* (*corabins*), etc. In Morocco, the European breech-loaded military musket is called *khita* (Spanish *culata*); the different types are named after the number of cartridges held by the magazine. In eastern Tunisia, in Libya, the local musket is called *hinda*, and the rifled carbine *shakhḥān* (from Persian, "with a sexangular barrel", received through Turkish).

We have seen that, in the western Maghrib and up to the beginning of the 17th century, *naḥḥ* denoted "cannon" and *midfa'* "portable firearm". This semantic pair has been preserved to the present day (with the variant *naḥḥ*) in the Berber dialects of the same region; it is also found in the Arabic dialect of Mauritania. However, among the Twāreg Berbers, a musket is *h-barūd*. In Anaharic, the meanings are reversed: *naḥḥ* "musklet", *naḥḥ* "cannon".

For the nomenclatures of the Moroccan musket, cf. Joly, *L'industrie à Tétouan*, in *Archives marocaines*, xi, 391; Delhomme, *Les armes dans le Sous occidental*, in *Archives Berbères*, II, 123).

The introduction of portable firearms, their employment for the *ghibḥa*, and the necessity for a period of training in the technique of shooting with *amḥayyāt*, led to the creation of societies of marksmen (pl. *rumāl*) of a religious character (cf. *Archives marocaines*, iv, 97; xvii, 73; xx, 242; L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, 134).

On the other hand, the use of such weapons for hunting forced the jurists from the beginning to study the question whether prey killed by this method was licit (*halāl*) or not (the *ahkām al-bunduk* literature).

(G. S. COLIN)

### III. THE MAMLŪKS

In the present state of our knowledge, the earliest reliable information on the employment of firearms in the Mamlūk sultanate is from the mid-sixties of the fourteenth century, i.e., some forty years later than the corresponding information on the use of firearms in Europe. There exist in the sources earlier references to these weapons, but their authenticity needs further proof. If Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari speaks of firearms in his *al-Ta'rīf bi'l-Muṣṭalah al-Sharīf*, Cairo 1312 A.H., 208, II, 17-22), which he compiled in the year 241/1347, this would mean that the Mamlūks started to use firearms several decades before the mid-sixties.

Some words may be said about the terms by which these weapons were designated. These were *maḥḥat* (sing. *mukhḥala*) *al-naḥḥ* and *madfa'*

(sing. *midfa'*) *al-naḥḥ*, or simply *naḥḥ* (pl. *naḥḥ*). Subsequently the first two terms were shortened into *madfa'* and *maḥḥat*. From the Mamlūk sources it cannot be learnt whether *mukhḥala* and *midfa'* designate different types of firearms or not. During the first years following the introduction of the weapon one comes across the terms *naḥḥ* *al-naḥḥ*, *naḥḥ* *al-naḥḥ*, *midfa'* *al-naḥḥ*, *midfa'* *al-naḥḥ*, which also mean firearms. But all these last-named terms soon died out. (For detailed proofs that the above mentioned terms mean firearms and not naphtha or "Greek Fire", which is also called in Arabic *naḥḥ*, see D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamlūk Kingdom*, 9-14).

In Mamlūk historical sources the term *birūd* is designating the whole mixture of gunpowder is extremely rare during the major part of the Circassian period (754/1382-922/1517); only during the last decades of Mamlūk rule do references to it become quite frequent. The term *naḥḥ* remains, however, dominant until the very end of the Mamlūk sultanate. It would appear that the final victory of *birūd* over *naḥḥ* took place after the Ottoman conquest.

Though the use of artillery in the Mamlūk sultanate increased steadily since the closing years of the 8th/14th century, a long time had to elapse before they could entirely supplant the veteran siege-engine, the mangonel (*mandjānīk*, pl. *midjānīk*). For many years the *midfa'* and the *maḥḥat* served only as auxiliaries to the *mandjānīk*, fulfilling but minor tasks. The Mamlūk sources provide abundant information on the negligible damage they caused to targets against which they were aimed. At the end, however, artillery had the upper hand. The mention of *mandjānīk* in action becomes rarer and rarer during the second half of the fifteenth century, though they manage to survive up to the very end of Mamlūk rule.

The Mamlūks used their artillery in siege warfare only (both as a defensive and offensive weapon), consistently refusing until the very end of their rule to use it in the battlefield.

The ever increasing participation of artillery in sieges in the Mamlūk sultanate on the one hand, and its total absence on the battlefield on the other, can by no means be ascribed to accident. The reason for its easy adoption in siege warfare is to be found in the fact that it did not, especially during its early history, bring about any sweeping changes in the traditional methods of siege. Cannon was preceded by the *mandjānīk* which performed precisely the same function, and which for a long period was superior to firearms. In the open, however, conditions were entirely different. Here artillery constituted a complete innovation, no similar weapon having preceded it; here it was bound to effect changes in tactics and methods of warfare, thus causing the Mamlūk military hierarchy to adopt a course in sharp contrast to its very spirit.

Sultān al-Ghawri did make some concessions to the use of firearms which, though on the face of it considerable, were in reality not very significant. For in all these concessions one condition was implied: the existing structure of Mamlūk military society should not be subjected to any important change. Such an attitude amounted, in fact, to a death sentence on the scheme of reorganising the Mamlūk army and on preparing it for the final test; for without transforming Mamlūk society, along with all the conceptions for which it stood, there was no hope of making effective use of firearms. Nor was

this all: al-Ghawri made up his mind, side by side with his decision to extend the employment of firearms, to revive traditional methods of warfare.

His plan had three main points: first, to increase considerably the number of cannon cast; second, to renew *farāsiyya* exercises and the traditional military training; and third, to raise a unit of arquebuses. Of them, only the first and third counted as basic.

The Casting of Cannon. A few years after his accession to the throne al-Ghawri started casting cannon at a rate and on a scale never known before in the history of the sultanate. Near his newly built hippodrome (*maydān*) he established a foundry for cannon (*maḥḥat*) which turned out great quantities of artillery at short intervals. Unfortunately our source (Ibn Ḥayn) does not say what the number of guns involved on each occasion; in four cases, however, he does. In one there were 15 guns; in another 70; in a third 74; in a fourth 75.

This huge output of artillery was not intended at all to be used against the Ottomans in the open field. The bulk of it was directed to the ports of Egypt both in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea in order to strengthen the coastal fortifications or to be used on board warships.

From the dispatch of so much artillery to the coast and to coastal fortifications it should not be concluded that strategic centres inland were not supplied with considerable quantities of cannon. As to the interior of Egypt, there is no doubt that both in al-Ghawri's time and in the preceding generations a very great portion of the total output of cannon was allotted to the capital, including the citadel. This is first of all borne out by the fact that most of our information about the weapon comes from Cairo; it is further confirmed by the concentration of great quantities of Mamlūk artillery in the battle of al-Rayḍāniyya (January, 1517). As for Syria, our knowledge of the fortunes of artillery in that part of the Mamlūk realm is scanty, both in regard to the coast and to the interior. From Ibn Ṭūlūn's chronicle we learn that there were great quantities of firearms in Damascus. This leads us to suppose that more detailed histories of Syria than those we possess might reveal that artillery played the rôle of a far bigger part than may be concluded from the available sources.

The Creation of a Unit of Arquebuses. Arquebuses (or hand-guns or portable firearms) are referred to in the Mamlūk sources by the term *al-bunduk al-raḥḥ* ("the pellets of lead"). The later designation for the hand-gun, *bunduḥiyya*, stems undoubtedly from *bunduḥ*, while *raḥḥ*, the bullet or cartridge, is derived from *raḥḥ*. The fact that a considerable traffic of arms was conducted in the period under review by Venice (in Arabic: al-Bunduḥiyya) might also have contributed to the choice of the term *bunduḥiyya*. It would appear that the process of transformation from *bunduḥ* *raḥḥ* to *bunduḥiyya* did not take long. Ibn Ḥayn himself mentions *bunduḥiyya* three times, while in the works of his contemporaries Ibn Zuḥayr and Ibn Ṭūlūn, who died only a few decades after him, *bunduḥiyya*, *bunduḥiyyi* and *bundiḥ* are already of most common occurrence. They also mention *bunduḥ*, but the combination *bunduḥ* *raḥḥ* is already extinct in their works.

The aversion of the Mamlūks to the use of portable firearms was far more pronounced than their reluctance to employ of artillery in the open field. For artillery is the province of specialised



technicians, whose numbers form only a small part of the fighting force, requiring little change in the structure of the army. The arquebus, on the other hand, is a personal and mass weapon, and its introduction affects a large number of troops. Hence its large scale adoption was bound to involve far-reaching changes in the organisation and methods of warfare. To equip a soldier with an arquebus meant taking away his bow and, what was to the Mamlūk more distasteful, depriving him of his horse, thereby reducing him to the humiliating status of a foot soldier, compelled either to march or to allow himself to be carried in an ox-cart.

Any attempt, therefore, to extend the use of the arquebus had to be based on non-Mamlūk and thus socially inferior elements of the army. This is what the Mamlūk sultans were forced to do from the very outset. As a result, a clash between the interests of the sultanate and those of the military hierarchy ensued. The growing danger from without did, to be sure, enable the sultan to widen somewhat the very narrow limits imposed on the use of the arquebus by Mamlūk resistance to it and to incorporate into the arquebus regiment men from other units whose social position had been somewhat higher than that of the earlier arquebusiers. But his success did not go further than this, and hence the doom of the arquebus was inevitable.

The very date of the introduction of the arquebus by the Mamlūks is significant. It is mentioned for the first time in the sources as late as 893/1490 (the rule of Sulṭān Kāyihāy), i.e., only twenty-seven years before the destruction of the Mamlūk sultanate and one hundred and twenty five years later than in Europe (the hand-gun began to be used in Europe in about 1365). Artillery, on the other hand, was introduced into the Mamlūk sultanate only about forty years later than in Europe. The much greater time-lag in the adoption of the hand-gun in comparison with the adoption of artillery is by no means accidental.

The units operating firearms were mainly composed of black slaves (*ʿabid*) and sons of Mamlūks (*awlad nās*) [30]. Members of these two categories seem never to have served in the field. So many times the black slaves constituted the predominant element in the firearms personnel and sometimes the *awlad nās*.

Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Abu ʿl-ʿSaʿādiddīn Muḥammad (901/1495-904/1498), Kāyihāy's son, who ascended the throne at the age of fourteen, made a very serious attempt to create a strong unit of arquebusiers composed of black slaves, on whom he wanted to bestow a higher social status. The Mamlūk *amirs* intervened, however, forced him to disband the unit and made him promise never to raise it again.

About twelve years after the murder of al-Nāṣir Abu ʿl-ʿSaʿādiddīn, in 916/1510, Sulṭān Kānūth al-Ghawrī, who enjoyed an incomparably higher prestige than the previous sultans, being, and in whose time the need for the arquebus was far more pressing, made, with much greater caution, a second attempt to create a unit of arquebusiers. Though it fared better than his predecessor's unit, its existence was very precarious, its status very low and its achievements quite insignificant.

It was called *al-tabaḥ al-ḥāḥimīya* because it did not receive its pay together with the rest of the army in one of the five official pay days round the middle of the month, but separately on a fifth payday at the end of the month. It was also called *al-ʿaṣhar al-mulafāḥ*, i.e., "the motley army" or "the

patched up army", because it was composed of heterogeneous elements which, according to Mamlūk criteria, were of low origin. It included in its ranks—besides *awlad nās*—Turkoman, Persians and various kinds of artisans, such as shoe-makers, tailors and meat vendors. Only when Sulṭān al-Ghawrī, in 920/1515, launched his big expedition against the Portuguese, were Royal Mamlūks joined to it. It is significant that in spite of its heterogeneous character *al-tabaḥ al-ḥāḥimīya* is never said to have included black slaves.

Though the members of this unit occupied a very low rung in the socio-military ladder and received a much lower pay than the Royal Mamlūks, the very heavy pressure was brought to bear on the sultan to abolish it, on the ground that it was favoured over other units and that its creation was the main cause for the emptiness of the treasury. The sultan gave way, at last, and dissolved it on Muharrar 920/March 1514. This dissolution was, however, on paper only. *Al-tabaḥ al-ḥāḥimīya* continued to exist because it was urgently needed on a very vital front.

The fact that the Ottomans adopted firearms in the proper way and on a gigantic scale, whereas the Mamlūks and all the other important rulers of Islam neglected them, had a decisive influence on the destiny of Western Asia and Egypt. Within a matter of two and a half years (August 1514-January 1517) the Ottomans routed the Safawids, destroyed the Mamlūk sultanate and added to their realm territories of the old Muslim world which they kept up to the very dismemberment of their empire in the twentieth century and which were far bigger than their combined conquest in Europe throughout their history. Without their overwhelming superiority in firearms such a swift and extensive expansion could never have taken place.

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#### IV. THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

There is no evidence to show precisely when the Ottomans first began to use gunpowder and fire-arms. A passage in a Turkish register for Albania of the year 835/1431 permits, however, the inference that cannon had been introduced at least in the reign of Mehmed II (1413-1421) and, perhaps, even somewhat earlier (Inalcik, in *Balkan*, xxi, 1957, 309). Other sources mention the Ottoman use of guns for siege warfare in 1422, 1424 and 1430, and again in 1440, 1446, 1448 and 1450 (cf. the references listed in Wittek, 142 and in Inalcik, *op. cit.*, 509). It is well known, moreover, that Mehmed II (1451-1481) had a large number of cannon, when he besieged Constantinople in 1453 (Ducas, 247-249, 258, 273; Spiranides, 216 ff., *passim*; Chalcocondylas, 385-386, 414-415; Critobolus, bk. I, chaps. 20 and 29 (with additional references given in the notes); Wille, 10 f.; Jähns, 791-792, 1141-1144). Field guns seem to have made their appearance amongst the Ottomans not long before the battle of Varna (1444), i.e., during the course of the Hungarian war waged in the reign of Murad II (1441-1446). The first clear indication that the Ottomans employed cannon of this type in a major field engagement relates to the second battle of Kosovo (1448) (Wittek, 142-143; Inalcik, *op. cit.*, 509-510), but it was not until considerably later that advances in technique rendered possible the emergence of an effective Ottoman field artillery. The arquebus, too, was taken over in about 1440-1443 during the Hungarian wars under Murad II and its use much extended in the reign of Mehmed II. Note the less, the change to a more general adoption of the new weapon, e.g., within the corps of Janissaries, was a slow and gradual one, destined to remain long incomplete (Wittek, 143; Inalcik, *op. cit.*, 506, 510-512; Ayalon, 38 (note 89); Jorga, II, 228. Cf. also Pronuntorio, 36 (*arabellano*), Chalcocondylas, 356 (*arabellano*), Dolfin, 13 (*arabellano*), terms uncertain in meaning, but perhaps referring to the arquebus? See, in addition, Lokotich, 172 (Ar. *arabellano*) and Ayalon, 61: *arabellano*). After the reverses which the Ottomans endured in the Cretan war of 1453-1491 against the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria, Murad II (1447-1481) increased the number of Janissaries and provided them, and other categories of his troops, with arms more efficient and of greater offensive power than the weapons previously available; the Sulṭān also spared no expense to create a more mobile and more com-

petently manned artillery force (Alberi, ser. 3, iii, 21 (a report dated 1503); cf. also Inalcik, *op. cit.*, 506). The arquebus, slow to load and cumbersome to handle, was ill-suited to the needs and capacities of horsemen. It found little favour therefore, in the 15th and 16th centuries, with the Ottoman timariots and the Sipahis of the Porte, i.e., the "head" and the "household" cavalry of the Sulṭān. The use of fire-arms in this field had, in general, to await the appearance of new and more manageable types of hand-gun, i.e., the earlier forms of the musket and the pistol. A corps of mounted "arquebusiers" was, however, to be found in Egypt soon after the Ottoman conquest of 1517 (Ayalon, 96-97 and 129 (note 247a); Terci Kuratlı, in *Balkan*, iv (1949), 67 and 68; *alla tufekci namini*).

The troops concerned primarily with gunpowder and fire-arms, and with their practical application in time of war, can be listed thus: (a) the *Yıldırımçılar*, i.e., the Armourers, who had charge of the weapons and munitions of the Janissaries—bows, arrows, swords, etc., but also hand-guns (*tefnik*), powder (*barut*), quick-matches (*filiz*), lead for bullets (*barutlu*) and the like. Members of this corps served both at Istanbul and in the provincial fortresses of the empire (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu Ocakları*, II, 1-31). Venetian reports written between 1571 and 1590 state that almost all the Janissaries had adopted the arquebus, the Ottoman model of this gun being made with a longer barrel than was normal amongst the Christians and loaded with large bullets, "come le (*archibugi*) barbareschi" (Alberi, ser. 3, i, 421-422, II, 99, III, 220, 343; cf. also Bombaci, in *RSO*, xx (1941-1943), 296, 299 (hand-gun firing shot which weighed 40-50 dirhams) and Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, i, 366 and II, 8 (note 2: hand-guns that took shot 4 and 5 dihanis in weight), 13-14, 28-29). (b) the *Topçular*, i.e., the Artillerists, who were responsible for the actual production of guns and for their maintenance and operation in war. These specialised troops had as their chief centre the arsenal (*Top-khâne*) at Istanbul, but served also in the various fortresses of the empire and in provincial cannon foundries and munition depots (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, II, 33-35). The Ottomans at first carried into the field supplies of metal, rather than complete, but ponderous guns, and cast their cannon as need arose during the course of a given campaign (İbn Kemāl, *Tedric-i Aḥd Osman*, 462-463; 462-463 [= 420-421, in the transcription]; Dolfin, 10-11; Pronuntorio, 61, 85; Jorga, II, 227; Wittek, 142; Inalcik, *op. cit.*, 509). This procedure, still current during the reign of Mehmed II, left gradually into disuse as further advances in technique and in methods of transportation rendered it, in general, superfluous. Chemical analysis has shown an Ottoman gun cast in 868/1464 to be composed of excellent bronze, allowance being made for the imperfections of the smelting process in use at that time (Abel, in *The Chemical News*, 1868). A Spanish artilleryman, Collado, in his treatise of 1592, describes Ottoman cannon as ill-proportioned, but of good metal (*Manual de Artilleria*, 8 v: "la fundición Turquesca por la mayor parte es fea, y defectuosa, aunque es de buena liga"). An account of the methods employed in the Top-khâne at Istanbul for the casting of guns is given in the work of Evliya Çelebi (*Seyahat-nâme*, I, 456 ff., Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, II, 41 ff.). (c) the *Top-khâne 'Arabidjilar*, i.e., the corps responsible for the transport of guns and munitions (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, II, 95-115). Wagons (*'araba*), drawn by horses, oxen or mules, carried the cannon, both large and



small, but much use was also made of camels to bear the lighter types of gun, especially in difficult terrain (Promontorio, 33; Menavio, bk. v, chapt. xxxix: 276; Ibn Tülin and Ibn Zuhbî, cited in Ayalon, 123 (note 206) and 127 (note 220); Albert, ser. 3, li, 432, 436, 437, 439. There is mention, here and there in the sources, of guns on wheels, i.e., passages which refer perhaps to the "araba" itself or possibly to some form of wheeled gun-carriage (Tauer, *Campaigns...*, *contre Belgrade*, 48 (Persian title): 64); *Viaggio di Impresa...* di Dia, 173 v; Giovio, li, bk. XXX, 101 r. Moreover, the Ottomans maintained on the Danube a flotilla which had a major role in the transportation of the siege artillery, field guns and supplies needed for the great campaigns in Hungary (cf. *Uzunçarşılı, Bahriye Teshkilâtı*, 403-404 (also *ibid.*, 404-405: the arsenal at Bircilik on the Euphrates); and Albert, ser. 3, iii, 153: mention of flat-bottomed boats (*palandaris*) which carried horses, cannon, stores, etc.). (d) the *ghumardagilar*, i.e., the bombards concerned with the production and use of *gomadon*, bombs, portable mines, artificial fire, etc. (*Uzunçarşılı, Kapakulu Ocakları*, ii, 115-127); (e) the *Laghimçilar*, i.e., the sappers who, with the aid of the large labour forces set at their disposal, prepared the trenches, earthworks, gun-emplacements and subterranean mines indispensable in siege warfare (*Uzunçarşılı, op. cit.*, ii, 129-133).

The Ottomans, even before the death of Mehmet med II in 1481, had acquired the main types of weapon and technique involving the use of gunpowder, i.e., siege and field artillery, mortars, bombs, the arquebus, mines and artificial fire (Jorge, ii, 227-228). A large share in the transmission of these new armis fell to the peoples of Serbia and Bosnia. Artillerists and arquebusiers, recruited in these countries and still retaining their Christian faith, are known to have been in the service of Mehmed II (Inalek, *Fatih Devri*, i, 152, 154-156 and also in *Billeten*, xxi (1957), 518). Masters came, too, from still farther afield, e.g., Jörg of Nuremberg (Kissling, 356). Reliance on specialists of European origin—at first mainly German and Italian, but with French, English and Dutch elements becoming more numerous in later times—was to be henceforth a permanent and indeed essential characteristic of the various Ottoman corps concerned with gunpowder and fire-armis.

Information of a technical nature about the types of cannon in use amongst the Ottomans can be found here and there in the Western sources of the 15th and 16th centuries. The guns are of course classified in accordance with the system of classification then current in Europe (and indeed in the Ottoman empire too), i.e., in terms of the weight or size of the projectile thrown (Promontorio, 61 and 85; de Bourbon, 139-v, with mention of iron and bronze cannon, e.g., culverins, basilisks, sakers and also mortars firing marble shot and copper or bronze "boulders" filled with artificial fire; Utano, 40 and 41). An Italian account of the campaign against Dia in 1538 lists some of the guns which the Ottomans had with them on that occasion (*Viaggio di Impresa...* di Dia, 169; Collado, 131; Albert, ser. 3, li, 432). The *ghalyba* (cf. the Hungarian *szajha*), a name given to a certain type of boat, but also used for the guns mounted on such craft: cf. Hâdjîdî Khalîfa, *Fedhiche*, li, 330; Ewliya Celebi, viii, 378 (a mention of cannon (*shaykha* *topları*) that fired stone shot weighing eighty okkas each), 382 (*shaykha nâm prânîha* *topları*); Fevzi Kurtoglu, in *Billeten*, iv (1940), 68; *Uzunçarşılı, op. cit.*, ii, 49, 50, 81 (large, medium and small *shaykha* cannon); L. Felete, in *Magyar*

*fihâr*, when a field battle had to be fought, i.e., the *wagenberg* with the gun-carts chained together and the cannon set between them—a device which seems to have been taken over from the Hungarians (Inalek, in *Billeten*, xxi (1957), 310; cf. also von Fraunholz, 234 and *Uzunçarşılı, Kapakulu Ocakları*, li, 255-264. A similar type of battle order ("in accordance with the custom of Rûm", i.e., of the Ottoman empire: *Rûm destûrî bile*) was known in Muslim India and in Persia: *Bahar-Nâma*, ed. Hünslki, 341 and 438). The method used by the Ottomans to breach the walls of a fortress is described in the work of the Spaniard Collado: medium guns, e.g., culverins, capable of deep penetration and firing along transverse and vertical lines, undermined and split the stonework, large basilisks which threw heavier and more destructive shot, violent in the force of their surface impact, being then discharged in salvo to bring down the weakened structure (*Manual de Artilleria*, 135, 200, 320; cf. also Pelevi, li, 193).

The Ottomans had of course their own nomenclature for guns and related instruments of war (cf. *Uzunçarşılı, Kapakulu Ocakları*, li, 48-51). In addition to phrases of a mere poetical character (e.g., *serper-dikan* and *mîr-len*: "dragon-mouthed" and "earth-bodied"—cf. Na'ima, li, 148) and names given to individual weapons (e.g., "the *Yedigöze*", i.e., the gun captured from Katsianer, the Imperialist general whom the Ottomans defeated in 1537 near Ezerék on the Danube—cf. Selânikî, 31), terms which have a precise technical sense can also be found here and there in the Turkish chronicles and documents. Among the types of cannon most often mentioned in these sources are (i) the *badgîngiba* or *badgîngiba*, a large siege gun (perhaps the basilisk?); cf. Selânikî, 35, 38, 41; Hâdjîdî Khalîfa, *Fedhiche*, li, 29 (guns of this kind firing shot which weighed sixteen okkas each), 31, 33; Collado, 131, 320; *Uzunçarşılı, op. cit.*, li, 49, 80, 81. (ii) the *balyemez* (g.y.), the name of which derives perhaps from the German "Faule Metze" (Kissling); cf. Pelevi, li, 302; Ewliya Celebi, viii, 415, 498 (where it is described as *manâ* *topu*, i.e., a long-range gun); Silbîdâr, li, 46 and 47 (cannon using shot of 20-40 okkas in weight are here defined as *balyemez*).

(iii) the *holanborna* (cf. the Italian *columbaria*), i.e., the culverin; cf. Selânikî, 8; Pelevi, li, 198; Hâdjîdî Khalîfa, *Fedhiche*, li, 29 (culverins which fired shot weighing eleven okkas each) and i, 33 (*lomborna*); Silbîdâr, i, 300 and ii, 46 and 47 (cannon throwing shot of 2-9 okkas in weight are here classed as *holanborna*); *Uzunçarşılı, op. cit.*, li, 49, 81; *Viaggio di Impresa...* di Dia, 169; Collado, 131; Albert, ser. 3, li, 432. (iv) the *ghakalot* (cf. the Hungarian *szakallás*), apparently a kind of light cannon which threw small projectiles of stone or metal; cf. Selânikî, 37, 41, 145; Pelevi, li, 242; Süheyl Ünver, in *Billeten*, xvi (1952), 500; L. Felete, *Die Siyâhat-Schrift*, 130, 61 and 694, and also in *Magyar Nyelv*, xxvi (1930), 264; Redhouse, s.v. *kalalot*. References to guns that fired small shot can be found in Ducas, 211 (cf. also Jâhûs, 811) and in Giovio, li, bk. xxx, 104r. (v) the *shaykha* (cf. the Hungarian *szajha*), a name given to a certain type of boat, but also used for the guns mounted on such craft: cf. Hâdjîdî Khalîfa, *Fedhiche*, li, 330; Ewliya Celebi, viii, 378 (a mention of cannon (*shaykha* *topları*) that fired stone shot weighing eighty okkas each), 382 (*shaykha nâm prânîha* *topları*); Fevzi Kurtoglu, in *Billeten*, iv (1940), 68; *Uzunçarşılı, op. cit.*, ii, 49, 50, 81 (large, medium and small *shaykha* cannon); L. Felete, in *Magyar*

*Nyelv*, xxvi (1930), 265. On the guns used in the boats which the Ottomans maintained on the Danube, see Giovio, li, bk. xxxvi, 194r. (vi) the *darbaan* or *darbaan*, a gun cast in various sizes (cf. L. Felete, *Die Siyâhat-Schrift*, i, 604, 605; small (300 dirhem shot), medium (1 okka shot), large (2 okka shot) and also a *parbaan-i laika-i hisâr* firing shot 36 okkas in weight); cf. Ibn Kemal, *Tevârik-i Âl-i Osman*, 464, 509 (= 422, 458 in the transcription); Selânikî, 8, 35 (*ghâfi darbaan* *topları*); Pelevi, li, 193 and ii, 140, 147, 196; Du Loir, *Foyages*, 226-227 (*ichâsi zambârân* = "Vasconquais rovers"); Silbîdâr, li, 47 and 37; *Uzunçarşılı, op. cit.*, li, 49, 50, 76, 79, 81; Ayalon, 80, 90, 119 (note 92), 127 (note 220).

The Ottomans, in their sea warfare, seem to have used in general the same types of gun as in their campaigns on land. Among the cannon employed in the Ottoman fleet can be numbered the *holanborna*, the *darbaan* and the *ghalyba* (Barozzi and Berchet, i, 274, li, 20; *Uzunçarşılı, Bahriye Teshkilâtı*, 460, 462, 463, 468, 469, 512-513. Further information about the naval armament of the Ottomans is available in Albert, ser. 3, i, 68, 140, 292-293, ii, 100, 150, 342, li, 243, 354-355; Barozzi and Berchet, li, 165; Marsigli, Pt. I, chapt. lxxiv, 142 and Pt. II, chapt. xxxvii, 172-173; de Warnery, 131) and also the *prânîha* or *prânîha*, i.e., the "Yedigöze", 193; Kemalâhâdî, *Mohâddîjat*, 54 (Turkish text); Bumbaci, in *RSO*, xx (1941-1943), 292 and xxi (1944-1946), 190; *Uzunçarşılı, Kapakulu Ocakları*, li, 49, 83 and also *Bahriye Teshkilâtı*, 462, 468, 469, 512-513).

The sources often mention instruments of war other than cannon, but based on the use of gunpowder, e.g., the *hasârî* (cf. *Uzunçarşılı, Bahriye Teshkilâtı*, li, 425, note 1); *Uzunçarşılı, Kapakulu Ocakları*, li, 49) and the *hasârî* (Ewliya Celebi, viii, 407, 419, 471, 472; Yusuf Nâhî, 43; Silbîdâr, li, 47), i.e., mortars which fired bombs and also shot of stone or metal (Promontorio, 61; de Bourbon, 139; *Viaggio di Impresa...* di Dia, 169; Mairand, 202; Scheitherr, 81; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. ix, 30-31). (ii) the *ghumardagilar*, i.e., bombs (Tauer, *Campaigns...*, *contre Belgrade*, 35, 58 (Persian text: 79, 80); Selânikî, 40-41; British Museum MS. Or. 1137, 74v (bombs made of glass, and of bronze: *ghide ghumardagilar*); Ewliya Celebi, viii, 407, 414, 432, 483 (*hasârî* (*hasârîha*) *bombara*); Na'ima, i, 304; Silbîdâr, li, 47 (*ghumardagilar*); Scheitherr, 75, 81; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. ix, 33; Fevzi Kurtoglu, in *Billeten*, iv (1940), 68. (iii) the *ghumardagilar*, i.e., hand-grenades (Ewliya Celebi, viii, 414, 432, 471 (grenades of glass, and of bronze: *shira* or *rud* of *bombara*); Silbîdâr, li, 467, 484, 502; Scheitherr, 77; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. ix, 33); (iv) the *laghim* i.e., explosive mines of various types and sizes (Hâdjîdî Khalîfa, *Fedhiche*, li, 255 and Na'ima, iv, 143 (a large mine contained 150 *hanfars* of powder); Ewliya Celebi, viii, 424 (a mine with three galleries and three powder-chambers), 425, 432, 495; Silbîdâr, li, 55, 56 (a mine of the type known as *pushurma* and holding 30 *hanfars* of powder), 66; Scheitherr, 72-73; Montecucoli, iii, chapt. lxvii; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. xi, 37 seq.). Numerous references to mines can be found in the Ottoman accounts of the Cretan War (1645-1669), e.g., in Hâdjîdî Khalîfa, *Fedhiche*, li, 279 ff., *passim*, in Silbîdâr, i, 409 ff., in Na'ima, iv, 116 ff., *passim*, and in Ewliya Celebi, viii, 396 ff. (cf. also *ibid.*, viii, 468 ff., enumerating the guns, munitions, etc. found in the fortress of Candia after its conquest from the Christians in 1669—an account rich in the military terminology used by the Ottomans at that time).

The Ottomans drew from the territories under their control the indispensable raw materials of war—iron, lead, copper and the like. Moreover, the mines producing such metals often served as centres for the manufacture of munitions, e.g., cannon-balls (Albert, ser. 3, i, 66-67, 146-147, 422, li, 145, 342; li, 351; Barozzi and Berchet, li, 685-686, 225, 327; Ahmet Refik, *Türk Asiyatleri*, docs. 27, 33, 42, 48, 86, 106, 112 and *Türkiye Madenleri*, docs. 2, 6, 7, 14, 21, 25, 27, 35, 36, 54 and *ibid.*, *Parakanda Veshakih*, docs. 3, 4, 7 and 8; Anbeger, *Beilage*, i, 138-140, 148-149, 205-206, 210-211 and ii, 209, 209-210, 206-208, also *Nachtrag*, 492-494; *Uzunçarşılı, Kapakulu Ocakları*, ii, 72 ff., *passim*). There were, in addition, mines yielding the saltpetre and sulphur which was needed for the production of gunpowder (*bîrâri-i tufenâ* and *bîrâri-i sıyâk*: cf. L. Felete, *Die Siyâhat-Schrift*, i, 696, note 8) at İstanbul and in the provinces of the empire (Ewliya Celebi, i, 483 and 564-565; *Uzunçarşılı, op. cit.*, i, 247 and 333-335; Ahmet Refik, *Türk Asiyatleri*, docs. 53 and *Türkiye Madenleri*, docs. 11-13, 16-20, 22-24, 26, 28-30; Albert, ser. 3, i, 146, 422, ii, 349-350, iii, 398; Barozzi and Berchet, i, 177, 275, li, 27, 163; Montecucoli, iii, chapt. xxxii; Marsigli, Pt. I, chapt. lxxiv, 142). War material also came to the Ottomans from Europe. Indeed, supplies obtained from the Christians were at times of great importance to the armies of the Sültân, e.g., during the long wars against Persia (1578-1590) and Austria (1593-1606), the one involving the establishment and maintenance of numerous fortresses and garrisons in the wide mountainous regions to the south of the Caucasus, the other developing into a bitter conflict of sieges, and both necessitating a vast expenditure of guns and munitions. The English, in these years, sold to the Ottomans cargoes of tin (essential for the making of bronze cannon), lead, broken bells and images (from the churches despoiled in England during the course of the Reformation), iron, steel, copper, arquebuses, muskets, sword-blades, brimstone, saltpetre, gunpowder (Cal. State Papers, Spanish: (1568-1570), no. 609 and (1580-1586), no. 265; Cal. State Papers, Venetian: (1603-1607), nos. 470, 494 and (1607-1610), no. 860; Brander, 479 (tin, bell-metal, lead; Charrrière, iv, 907, note 1 (broken images); Sir Thomas Sherley, *Discours*, 7 (the Janissaries have "not one corn of good powder but that whiche they gett from overborne Christians, or els is broughte them out of England"; 9, to the English "keepe 3 open shops of armes and munition in Constantinople... Gunpowder is sold for 23 and 24 chikinos the hundred... Muskettes are sold for 5 or 6 chikinos the peyce"; (chikino = chequino, sequia, i.e., the "reschine"), a Venetian gold coin, of which the Ottoman equivalent was the gold solido; cf. *The Travels of John Sanderson*, Appendix A, 294-295); Cal. Salisbury MSS., Pt. XI, 111 and Pt. XIII, 666-667). It was not long before the Dutch entered into this traffic, and to the marked advantage of the Ottomans, e.g., in the Cretan War of 1645-1669. The Western sources dating from the 17th and 18th centuries emphasise how much the Ottomans owed to this trade in munitions, how great was their reliance on European techniques in regard to the use of fire-armis and gunpowder, and how numerous were the experts of Christian origin enrolled in their service as engineers and artilleryists—experts of Italian, French and German, of English and Dutch birth (Scheitherr, 75, 80; Montecucoli, iii, chapt. xxviii and xxx (copper from the Dutch, English,



French and also the Swedes); Barozzi and Berchet, II, 173, 222, 231-232; Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. 18, 23 (the Ottomans made cannon according to the designs of the Italian author Sardi, one of whose works had been translated into Turkish—probably *L'Artiglieria di Pietro Sardi Romano*, Venice 1621 and 33; cf. Warnücy, 92-93).

The 16th and 17th centuries witnessed in Europe notable changes in the art of warfare (J. R. Hale, in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, II, 481 ff.; O. Laskowski, in *Türkische Geschichte*, 15 (1956), 106 ff.; M. Roberts, *The Military Revolution 1550-1660*, also *Gustavus Adolphus and the Art of War*, in *Historical Studies*, I, 66 ff., and *Gustavus Adolphus*, II, 166 ff.). These changes imposed on the Ottomans a constant need to adopt or otherwise to meet in an effective manner the innovations automatic in the European practice of war—a process of adjustment which was at times slow and difficult. A Muslim from Bosnia, writing not long after the battle of Keresztes (1596), lamented that the Christians, through their use of new types of hand-gun and cannon, as yet neglected by the Ottomans, had won a definite advantage over the armies of the Süllin (Thaloccy, *Staatsarchiv*, 35, 1514; Garstin de Tassy, in *J.A.*, IV (1824), 281; cf. Salvethog Balagâç, *Nisam ul Aclom*, 13; British Museum MS. Harleian 5490, 350v). None the less, as the appearance of new, or the more frequent use of hitherto unusual terms in the Turkish chronicles and documents will make clear, the Ottomans did in fact assimilate to a large degree the latest devices and techniques elaborated in Europe during this time (Boudah, in *RSO*, xx (1941-1943), 303 (*rapna topur*, i.e., guns firing a form of grape-shot; cf. also Hâdîdî Khâlîla, *Fedâike*, I, 34 and II, 245, 317, 319, 321; Süldâr, I, 596, 598 (*miskât*); Pelevî, II, 109 (cf. Na'mâ, I, 164; muskets which fired shot 15-20 dirhems in weight); Ewilyâ Celâbi, vii, 179 (*muşkal tüfekleri* with shot weighing 40-50 dirhems, and *bul İnkeler*) and viii, 398, 410, 415, 416, 417 (*baddûlha nam müşkal*); İnalç, in *Türk Veshâli*, III (1943), 377 (*ette tabanula tüfeki*); Uzunçarsılı, *Kapulu Ocakları*, II, 8, note 2 (*altu tüfenkleri*); Pelevî, II, 212-213 (cf. Na'mâ, I, 190); an account of how an *aghâdî top*, i.e., a petard, was made). Further evidence can be found in the Western sources (cf. Alberi, ser. 3, II, 432 (*archibuzi*); Camillo, II, 307, in regard to the arquebus; but it is said that the Ottomans had not yet adopted the pistol and 404 (the increasing use of the arquebus in the Ottoman fleet); Barozzi and Berchet, I, 265 (the *spahi di paga*, during the Hungarian war of 1593-1606, had begun to arm themselves with the arquebus and the *terranella*, i.e., a short-barrelled arquebus) and II, 16 and 158; Rycant, 349 (the Sipahis of the Porte made use of pistols and carbines, but had no great esteem for fire-arms); Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. viii, 15 and 16; the Ottomans learned new methods from the Christians in the Cretan War (1645-1669); the Janissaries and most of the Ottoman horsemen carried pistols). It was in the time of the Köprülü viziers that this gradual transformation attained its full effect. Not well qualified to judge the Scheitler, Montecucoli and Marsigli, describe in much detail, and often with approval, the weapons employed by the Ottomans, noting the excellence, for example, of their mortars (Scheitler, 75), their muskets (Montecucoli, III, chapt. xiv) and their mines, in the construction of which the Armenian *laghimdilar* had a pre-eminent rôle (Marsigli, Pt. II, chapt. xi, 37 ff.; cf. also

Levinus Warnerus, 69, 101 and Ewilyâ Celâbi, I, 515 ff.). Montecucoli (II, chaps. xxx and xxxi) observes, however, that the Ottoman artillery, although of notable effect when well served, consumed large quantities of munitions and was cumbersome to handle and transport, and that, in respect of the mobility and practical efficiency of their guns, the Christians had achieved an undoubted advantage over their Muslim foes.

The Ottomans failed in the end to keep pace with the developments which occurred in Europe. Their methods, with regard to fire-arms in general, seem to have been, during most of the 18th century, but little in advance of the techniques current in the time of the first Köprülü viziers (cf. de Warnücy, 34-35, 40-41, 52, 70, 75, 91-94, 105. This author states [op. cit., 94] that in 1739 the Ottomans, both to accept good advice, persisted in conducting their siege of Belgrade "à leur ancienne mode"). There were indeed attempts at reform, e.g., by Khum-baradî Ahmed Paşa (i.e., the Comte de Bonneval; cf. Uzunçarsılı, *Kapulu Ocakları*, II, 118 ff., and 122 ff., also British Museum MS. Or. 1131 (*Ta'vîh-i Subh*), 68v-69v), by the Baron de Tott (Uzunçarsılı, op. cit., 40, 56, 67, de Tott, *Mémoires*, II, Pt. III, *passim*), and by Khâdîl Hamîd Paşa (Ahmed Djewdet, II, 57 ff., also *ibid.*, II, 230-240; Uzunçarsılı, *Kapulu Ocakları*, II, 67-68, 91-93, 120, 125-127 and also in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v (1935), 225 ff. and 233 ff.), but their efforts had only a limited success. The reign of Selim III (1789-1807) witnessed, however, the introduction of radical measures designed to modernise the Western line the armed forces of the Ottoman state (cf. Enver Ziya Karal, 43 ff., and especially 45-49, 59-63 and 63-71). Ottoman fire-arms, considered as a whole, now begin to lose those features which had given them hitherto a distinctive character, their subsequent evolution becoming more and more identified with the general course of technical advance and improvement made in Europe. It will suffice to note here that the reforms carried out in the first half of the 19th century led to the emergence, within the Ottoman army, of an efficient and well equipped corps of artilleryists able to sustain a not unfavourable comparison with its European rivals (cf. *Unser Tage*, Heft XXXVI (1862), 580 and 586 ff.).

*Bishkôpky*: (page references given in the text are not repeated in the British Museum MS. Or. 1131, 1137 and Harleian 5490). But Kemal (i.e., Kemâlîşâhâde), *Tevrik-i Âlâ Osman*, VII, Dafter, ed. Şerafettin Turan (*Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları*, I, Ser. no. 5), Ankara 1954 (Transkripsiyon, ed. Şerafettin Turan, Ankara 1927, 393 [index] s. v. Topi); Kemâlîşâhâde, *Makûlât*, ed. Pavet de Courcelle, Paris 1859; İnalç, *Ta'vîh*, Istanbul A.H. 1281; Pelevî, *Ta'vîh*, Istanbul A.H. 1281-1283; Hâdîdî Khâlîla, *Fedâike*, Istanbul A.H. 1280-1287; Ewilyâ Celâbi, *Seyâhatnâme*, I, Istanbul A.H. 1314, vii and viii, Istanbul 1928; Yûsuf Nâbi, *Ta'vîh-i Fâhâvâ-ı Kamûla*, Istanbul A.H. 1281; Na'mâ, *Ta'vîh*, Istanbul A.H. 1281-1283; Süldâr, *Ta'vîh*, Istanbul A.H. 1282; Ahmed Djewdet, *Ta'vîh*, II, Istanbul A.H. 1292; F. Tauer, *Histoire de la Campagne du Sultan Süleyman I contre Belgrade* en 1521, Prague 1924, and also *Additions à mon ouvrage "Histoire de la Campagne... contre Belgrade en 1521"*, in *ArO*, VII, Prague 1935, 191-196; A. Bombaci, *La fondi turche della battaglia di Gerbe* (1506), in *RSO*, XIX, Rome 1940-1941, 193-248, xx, Rome 1941-1943, 279-304, xxi, Rome

1944-1946, 189-218; *Bâbur-nâme*, ed. İlmînski, Kazan 1857; Abu 'l-Fadl 'Allâmî, *A'vâ-ı Akhâr*, ed. Blochman, Calcutta 1867-1877; the chronicles of the Byzantine historians Ducas (Bonn 1834), Sphrantzes (Bonn 1838), Chalcondyles (Bonn 1843) and Critobulus, ed. C. Müller, in *Fragmenta Historiarum Graecorum*, V, Paris 1870, 40-161; *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*: 1568-1579, London 1894, and 1580-1586, London 1896; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*: 1603-1607, London 1909, and 1607-1610, London 1904; *Calendar of the Salisbury MSS*, Pt. XI, London 1906, and Pt. XIII, London 1915; E. Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ser. 3, 3 vols., Florence 1840-1855; N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Le Relazioni degli Stati Europei lette al Senato dagli Ambasciatori Venetiani nel secolo decimosesto*, ser. 5: *Turchia*, Pts. I and II, Venice 1866-1871; E. Charvriat, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, 4 vols., Paris 1848-1866; *Belagerung und Eroberung von Constantinopel im Jahre 1453 aus der Chronik von Zorzi Dolfino*, ed. G. M. Thomas, Munich 1868; F. Babington, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Jacopo de Promontorio de Cambis über den Osmanenstaat von 1475*, in *Silbiyâr*, Ak., Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1926, Heft 8, Munich 1927; Denodo da Lezzer, *Historia Turcica* (1300-1514), ed. I. Ursi, Bucharest 1909, 140 ff.; G. A. Menavino, *I Cinque Libri della Legge, Religione, e Vita de' Turchi*, Venice 1548, bk. IV, chaps. xiv-xv, 118 ff.; Jacques de Bourbon, *La grande et merveilleuse et très cruelle oppugnation de la noble cité de Rhodes*, Paris 1567; *Vision et Impression*, Douvres 1925 (printed in A. Manzius, *Viaggi fatti da Vinetia alla Tana, in Persia, in India, et in Constantinopoli*, Venice 1543, 159f-180f); J. Maurand, *Histoire de Constantinople* (1544), ed. L. Dorez, Paris 1904; P. Giovio, *Historiarum Sui Temporis Libri XLV*, Lutetiae 1558-1560; Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, *Do cerco de Diu, ou os Turcos journal a fortaleza de Diu*, Coimbra 1556; L. Collado, *Practica Manual de Artilleria*, Milan 1592; Sir Thomas Sherley, *Discovers of the Turkes*, ed. E. Denison Ross, in *Camden Miscellany*, XVI, London 1936; D. Ufano, *Tratado de la Artilleria*, Brussels 1621; P. Sardi, *L'Artiglieria*, Venice 1621; *Les Voyages du Sieur Du Loir*, Paris 1654, 210, 224 ff., *passim*; Levinus Warnerus, *De Rebus Turcicis Indolentibus*, ed. G. N. du Rieu, Lugduni Batavorum 1683; J. B. Scheitler, *Noovissima Praxis Militaris*, Braunschweig 1672; *Memorie del Generale Principe di Montecucoli*, Colonia 1704, bk. III (*Afforismi applicati alla Guerra possibile col Turco in Ungheria*), *passim*; P. Rycant, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1732-37, 383, 402; E. Marsigli, *State Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, Pt. I, chaps. xxi, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxxiv and Pt. II, chaps. viii-xi, xxvii; de Warnücy, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs et des Russes*, Breilau 1771; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tatars*, Amsterdam 1784, II, Pt. III, 320-377, 383, 402; E. Marsigli, *State Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, Pt. I, chaps. xxi, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxxiv and Pt. II, chaps. viii-xi, xxvii; de Warnücy, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs et des Russes*, Breilau 1771; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tatars*, Amsterdam 1784, II, Pt. III, 320-377, 383, 402; E. Marsigli, *State Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, Pt. I, chaps. xxi, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxxiv and Pt. II, chaps. viii-xi, xxvii; de Warnücy, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs et des Russes*, Breilau 1771; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tatars*, Amsterdam 1784, II, Pt. III, 320-377, 383, 402; E. Marsigli, *State Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, Pt. I, chaps. xxi, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxxiv and Pt. II, chaps. viii-xi, xxvii; de Warnücy, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs et des Russes*, Breilau 1771; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tatars*, Amsterdam 1784, II, Pt. III, 320-377, 383, 402; E. Marsigli, *State Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, Pt. I, chaps. xxi, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxxiv and Pt. II, chaps. viii-xi, xxvii; de Warnücy, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs et des Russes*, Breilau 1771; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tatars*, Amsterdam 1784, II, Pt. III, 320-377, 383, 402; E. Marsigli, *State Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, Pt. I, chaps. xxi, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxxiv and Pt. II, chaps. viii-xi, xxvii; de Warnücy, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs et des Russes*, Breilau 1771; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tatars*, Amsterdam 1784, II, Pt. III, 320-377, 383, 402; E. Marsigli, *State Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, Pt. I, chaps. xxi, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxxiv and Pt. II, chaps. viii-xi, xxvii; de Warnücy, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs et des Russes*, Breilau 1771; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tatars*, Amsterdam 1784, II, Pt. III, 320-377, 383, 402; E. Marsigli, *State Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, Pt. I, chaps. xxi, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxxiv and Pt. II, chaps. viii-xi, xxvii; de Warnücy, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs et des Russes*, Breilau 1771; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tatars*, Amsterdam 1784, II, Pt. III, 320-377, 383, 402; E. Marsigli, *State Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, Pt. I, chaps. xxi, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxxiv and Pt. II, chaps. viii-xi, xxvii; de Warnücy, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs et des Russes*, Breilau 1771; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tatars*, Amsterdam 1784, II, Pt. III, 320-377, 383, 402; E. Marsigli, *State Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, Pt. I, chaps. xxi, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxxiv and Pt. II, chaps. viii-xi, xxvii; de Warnücy, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs et des Russes*, Breilau 1771; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tatars*, Amsterdam 1784, II, Pt. III, 320-377, 383, 402; E. Marsigli, *State Militaire dell'Imperio Ottomano*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, Pt. I, chaps. xxi, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxxiv and Pt. 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#### V. THE SAFAWIDS

A consideration of the use of firearms in Persia under the Safawids falls under two heads: artillery (generic name, *tûp*), and hand-guns; the latter, used by both cavalry and infantry, comprised arquebuses, muskets and carbines, all of which were termed, without differentiation, *tûpân*.

According to the traditional account of European writers, artillery was introduced into Persia during the reign of Shâh 'Abbâs I by the English soldiers of fortune Sir Anthony Sherley and his brother Sir Robert Sherley, who arrived in Kazwin in December 1598. Among Sir Anthony's party of 26 persons (Sir H. Denison Ross [ed.], *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventures*, London 1935, 13 and n. 3) was "at least one cannon-founder" (Browne, iv, 105). Sir Anthony's steward, Abel Pinco, states that the Persians at that time had no artillery at all (Denison Ross, 163), but his interpreter, Angelo, asserts that Shâh 'Abbâs "has some cannon, having captured many pieces from the Tartars; moreover there is no lack of masters to manufacture new ones, these masters have been sent against the Turk and have come to serve the King of Persia" (Denison Ross, 29). Purchas, writing in 1624, claims that such progress was made under the guidance of the Sherley brothers that "the prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war, and he which before knew not the use of ordinance, has now 500 pieces of brass" (Denison Ross, 21).

There is abundant evidence, however, in both the

European and the Persian sources, that the Persians were familiar with the use of artillery long before the time of 'Abbâs I. The Venetian ambassador d'Alessandri, who arrived in Persia in 1575, states that the Ottoman prince Bâyezid, who sought refuge with Shâh Tahmasp in 966/1559, brought with him thirty pieces of artillery (*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th centuries*, London 1873, 228). Herbert (*A Relation of Some Years Travels etc.*, London 1634, 298) states that the Persians "got the use of cannon from the Van quired Portugal", and Figueroa states that the Persian artillery was manipulated by Europeans "and particularly by the Portuguese" (*Tadhkirat al-Mulûk*, 33). We know that in 955/1548 the Portuguese furnished Tahmasp with 10,000 men and 20 cannon at the time of the Ottoman sultan Sulaymân's second invasion of Persia (*A Chronicle of the Carnegies*, I, 29). Direct evidence that artillery was used by the Persian army even earlier than this is found in the contemporary Persian chronicle *Akân al-Tawârîkh* (ed. C. N. Seddon, *Arak 1937*). In the Safawid army which laid siege to Dâmghân in 935/1528-9 there was a certain *tûpân* (i.e., "mortar") [of the craft of the *shâhshâh* the great (1602)]. In a pitched battle with the Ôzbeks near Mashhad, later the same year, Tahmasp stationed in front of his army the wagons containing the *dârhan* (probably a type of light cannon, cf. the Mamlûk term *dârhan*; see D. Ayalon, *Guns powder and Firearms in the Mamlûk Kingdom*, London 1956, 127, n. 220) and (*tûpân*) *farangî* (AT, 224); the gunners and musketeers (*tûpân* and *tûpân*) were, however, unable to use their guns because the Ôzbeks did not approach from the front (AT, 217). In 945/1538-9 the besieging Safawid forces destroyed the towers (*burgî*) of the fort of Bîkrîd in Shîrwân by artillery fire (AT, 287). In 946/1539-40 we hear for the first time of a *tûpân-bâgh* (commander-in-chief of artillery), in an action against Amîr Kûshid, the rebel governor of Astîk (AT, 291). From this time onwards artillery was frequently used by the Safawids in siege warfare, for instance at Gulistân and Darband (954/1547-8) (AT, 321-2). At the siege of Kîzh near Shâkhi in 958/1551-2 the Safawids used "Frankish cannon" (*tûpân farangî*), and in addition a type of cannon called *bîldîg* (cf. P. Horn, *Das Heer- und Kriegswesen der Osmanen*, Leipzig, 1894, 17), and mortars (*hâshîh*), which are mentioned for the first time as the towers of the fort were destroyed after twenty days' bombardment (AT, 350).

It is clear, therefore, that the claim that the Sherleys introduced artillery into Persia is entirely without foundation. In fact, artillery was in regular use at least as early as 935/1528-9, that is, within a few years of the accession of Shâh Tahmasp, and fifteen years after the Safawid defeat at Căldîrân [q.v.], a defeat for which the Ottoman artillery was largely responsible. It must be emphasised, however, that even before Căldîrân the Safawids were familiar with the use of artillery, and that consequently the Safawid lack of artillery at Căldîrân can only be attributed to a deliberate policy not to develop the use of firearms in the Persian army. The Persians had an innate dislike of firearms, the use of which they considered unmanly and cowardly (Nasr Allâh Falsafi, *Qizâs-i Căldîrân, in Majallâ-yi Dāneshkhā-yi Adabiyat-i Tūhrān*, 1/5, 1953-4, 93), and in particular they disliked artillery, because it hampered the swift manoeuvres of their cavalry (*Tadhkirat al-Mulûk*, 33). It is remarkable that, although we have frequent instances of the use of artillery in siege

warfare, little attempt seems to have been made to emulate the Ottomans in the use of artillery in the field. At the battle of Maghadh in 935/1528-9 (see above), the one occasion on which the sources specifically record the use of artillery in the field by Tahmasp, its immobility rendered it ineffective, and we hear no more of field artillery until the time of Shâh 'Abbâs I. Even under the latter, however, the use of artillery was still mainly confined to siege warfare (Nasr Allâh Falsafi, *Zindaghi-yi Shâh 'Abbâs-i Avn*, 6, Tehran 1314 solar/1935, 490).

It seems that the use of artillery, as in much else, the Safawids were the heirs of the Ak Koyunlu. Long before the establishment of the Safawid state, the Ak Koyunlu rulers of Diyar Bakr and Âdharbâjdân had sought to equip their armies with artillery: the Venetians sent Uzun Hasan (d. 852/1478) "100 artillerymen of experience and capacity, who were immediately sent on to Persia, for in the matter of their artillery the Persian armies suffered greatly from a paucity of cannon, while on the other hand the Turkish armies in Asia were very well equipped in this arm, and they could effect much damage in their attack" (*Dûn Jan of Persia*, ed. trans. G. Le Strange, London 1926, 98). When a Safawid force of 10,000 men under Muhammad Beg Ustâldî had died to Him Kayis in Diyar Bakr about the year 913/1507-8, they made use of "a mortar of bronze, of four spans, which they brought from Mirdin (Mardin) . . . . This mortar was cast in that country at the time of Jacob Sulayn (Ya'qûb Sultân Ak Koyunlu, d. 896/1490), and by his orders . . . . and Castagliola (Muhammad Beg Ustâldî) also had another larger one cast by a young Armenian, who cast it in the Turkish manner—all in one piece. The breech was half the length of the whole piece, and the mortar was five spans in bore at the muzzle" (*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, 133). About the same time (probably in 912/1506-7) Isma'îl sent a force of 10,000 men under Bayram Beg (Karamallî?) to lay siege to Wan. Bayram Beg, "having two moderate-sized cannons in his camp, began to batter the castle; but they were able to do no harm, as the walls were too strong and the gunners too little skilled". After besieging the castle for three months, however, the artillerymen succeeded in destroying the source of the defenders' water supply, and the castle was thus at their mercy" (*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, 161-3). In 916/1510 Isma'îl is said to have captured four cannons from the Ôzbeks after his great victory at Marv (Djamil Kuzânî, *Tadhkirat al-Nizâmî-yi Irân*, vol. I, Tehran 1315 solar/1936, 372; no authority is quoted for this statement). It seems, therefore, from the evidence available, that although the Safawids used cannon in siege warfare during the first decade of the reign of Isma'îl I, the number of guns available was small, and the gunners were as yet inexperienced.

Sir Anthony Sherley has also been given the credit for the formation of a corps of musketeers by Shâh 'Abbâs I. In a letter dated 22 April 1619, the traveller Pietro della Valle says that the corps was created by Shâh 'Abbâs "a few years ago" (see the advice of Sir Anthony Sherley (*Tadhkirat al-Mulûk*, 33). Sir Anthony's interpreter, Angelo, however, stated in Rome on 28 November 1599 that Shâh 'Abbâs could provide horses for 100,000 men, who were armed with bows, arrows and scimitars, and that in addition he had 50,000 arquebuses; "at one time the King did not use arquebuses, but now he delights in them" (Denison Ross, 29). Sir Anthony's party left Isfahan about the beginning

of May 1599 (see Denison Ross, 22), and it seems unlikely that a corps of 50,000 men could have been organised during the five months which Sir Anthony spent in the Persian capital. Of the various members of Sir Anthony's party who have left a record of their travels, not one claims that Sir Anthony was responsible for the formation of this corps, and Sir Anthony himself, in his own account of his journey to Persia, states (with reference to Shâh 'Abbâs's victory over the Ôzbeks in Khurâshân on 9 Mûlarram 1007/12 August 1598) that "thirty thousand men the King took with him for that war, twelve thousand Harquebusiers which bare long pieces, half a foot longer than our muskets, slightly made . . . . which they use well and certainly" (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. London 1905, 409-10).

Apart from Sir Anthony's own testimony to the existence of a large and efficient body of musketeers in the Persian army before his arrival in Persia, there is conclusive evidence, again in both the European and the Persian sources, that Persian troops were equipped with hand-guns and skilled in their use long before the time of 'Abbâs I. One of Sir Anthony's companions, Munwattar, explicitly states that the Persians were already "very expert in their pieces or muskets; for although there are some which have written now of late that they had not the use of pieces until our coming into the country, this much must I write to their praise, that I did never see better barrels of muskets than I did see there; and the King hath, hard by his court at Asfahane, above two hundred men at work, only making of pieces, bows and arrows, swords and targets" (Denison Ross, 222). Even earlier (c. 1571) is the valuable account of d'Alessandri: "they use for arms swords, lances, arquebuses, which all the soldiers can use; their arms also are superior and better tempered than those of any other nation. The barrels of the arquebuses are generally six spans long (*A Chronicle of the Carnegies in Persia*, London 1939, I, 33, gives "7 palms" = 1.75 m.); incidentally this version of the text contains an obvious mistranslation, and carry a ball a little less than three ounces in weight. They use them with such facility, that it does not hinder them drawing their bows nor handling their swords, keeping the latter hung at their saddle-bow, till occasion requires them. The arquebus then is put away behind the back, so that one weapon does not impede the use of another" (*A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, 227). Herbert (*op. cit.*, 298) states that the Persians had used muskets "since the Portugals assisted King Tahamas with some Christian auxiliaries to fight the Turk (probably in 935/1528) so as to . . . in 1627 they are become very good shot". In the contemporary Persian chronicle *Akân al-Tawârîkh*, however, there is direct evidence that hand-guns (*tûpân*) were in use in the Persian army even before the death of Isma'îl I: in 927/1520-1 a detachment of the Safawid garrison at Harât drove off the troops of 'Ubayd Shâh Ôzbek with arrows and hand-guns (*fir u tufang*) (AT, 172). This is the first reference to hand-guns in this chronicle, and from then on they are mentioned frequently. In 930/1523-4, the year of Shâh Isma'îl's death and Shâh Tahmasp's accession, infantry armed with hand-guns (*fir-yadagân-i tufang-andâ*) constituted part of the Safawid garrison at Harât, and reference is made to two successful actions against the Ôzbeks in which hand-guns were employed (AT, 186). In 934/1527-8, when Harât was besieged for four months by the Ôzbeks, the Ôzbek *amir al-*



amār Yārī Beg was killed by a shot fired from a hand-gun by one of the defenders (AT, 206). In 935/1530-9 Tahnāp himself led an army to Khurāsān against the Ōrghs, and laid siege to Dūghūh; his forces included a group of Rīmīn *infānqīn* (AT, 212). A few months later, the Ōzbeqs laid siege to Mashhad; musketeers (*infānqīyān*) formed part of the Safawid garrison (AT, 221). While the *Ahsan al-Tawārīkh* thus affords positive evidence of the use of muskets in the Persian army as early as 927/1520-4, there is a strong indication in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia* that they were in fact in use even before the battle of Chaldīrān. In the description of the siege of Hīm Kayfā by Safawid forces about the year 913/1507-8, there is a reference to "guns" which, in the context, can only mean "hand-guns", and we are also told that the defenders possessed three or four muskets of the shape of "Asseni", i.e., of *Ṣāḡṣani* or Persian design; these muskets had a small barred noel, with the aid of "a contrivance locked on to the stock about the size of a good arquebuse", had a good range (*op. cit.*, 153).

It is clear, therefore, that the claim that the Sherleys initiated the formation of a corps of musketeers, if it has any historical foundation at all, can only be true in the sense that Shāh 'Abbās was the first to create a regular corps of musketeers, which formed part of a standing army paid from the *khizāna* revenue, as opposed to the units in existence under Isma'īl I and Tahnāp, which, like the rest of the Persian army at that time, were probably raised on a tribal basis and paid from the revenue of the *diwān-i mamālīk*. There is no doubt, however, that the practical advice of the Sherleys was of great benefit to Shāh 'Abbās, who held Sir Robert Sherley in such esteem that, after Sir Anthony's departure, he appointed him "Master General against the Turks" (G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, I, 574). In addition to the corps of musketeers (*infānqīyān*), 12,000 strong (Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, ed. Landis, Paris 1811, v, 305), who were intended to be infantry but were gradually provided with horses, Shāh 'Abbās created two other corps to form part of the new standing army, namely, the artillery (*shāpīyān*), also 12,000 strong (Chardin, v, 312-3), and the "slaves" (*khālār*, *ghulāmīn-i khizāna-yi shāhī*), a cavalry regiment recruited from Georgia and Circassia, armed with muskets, and numbering 10-15,000 (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 31). The Safawid army was at its strongest under Shāh 'Abbās I; its numbers declined under his successor Saif (d. 1052/1642) and were reduced still further by 'Abbās II (d. 1077/1666), who took the extraordinary step of abolishing the corps of artillery: when the 1697-1698 Russo-Persian war broke out in 1655, no successor was appointed (Chardin, v, 312-313), and artillery does not seem to have reappeared on the scene until the reign of Shāh Sultān Husayn (1705-1735/1694-1722) (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, 33). At the battle of Gulnāhād against the Afghāns (8 March 1722), the Persians had 24 cannon, under the command of the *shāpī-bāgh* Amād Khān and under the supervision of a French master gunner named Philippe Colombe (L. Lockhart, *The Fall of the Safawid dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia*, London 1958, 135, who quotes Krukowski's scathing remarks on the incompetence of the *shāpī-bāgh*); the artillery was overrun by the Afghān advance, and both the *shāpī-bāgh* and Philippe Colombe lost their lives (*ibid.*, 142). It is not too

much to say that the Safawids never really made any effective use of artillery in the field.

*Bibliography*: in the text. (R. M. SAVORY)

#### VI. — INDIA

Naphtha (*naff*) was used by the Muslims in India by Muḥammad b. Kāsim in 93/711 against Rājā Dhārī. *Tir-i āshīn* (fiery-arrows) were the simplest fire missile used by the Muslim Indian rulers in the early part of the 7th/13th century. The department of *āshīn-bāz* (firerworks) was placed under the *Mīr* of *Ālāh*. Firishāh's statement that Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna employed *tāp* "cannon" and *infānq* "muskets" against Anand Pal near Peshawar in 390/1000 is an obvious anachronism. It may, however, refer to his use of a missile carrying naphtha (*bāhrān-i naff*)—a weapon mentioned by Firishāh in another place regarding Sultān Mahmūd's campaigns in India. Saltpetre, an important ingredient of gunpowder, is commonly found in India. The word *hūsh-andūz* mentioned in the 13th century MSS., *Ādāb al-Mulūk* (f. 118 b) and *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* (f. 30), needs a minute examination. The *Farhang-i Sharaf-nāma-i Ahmad Munyārī* (compiled in 875/1470) gives its meaning as: "a perforator, or an instrument for throwing stones or a *ghā* (ball) projected by the expansive force of combustible substances". Stein-guns explains it as a cannon or cannon ball. According to the *Bāhr-i 'Adām*, it is an instrument of war worked with gunpowder. From this it would seem that a machine which discharged balls by some explosive force was used in India by 628/1230. *Sang-i Maghrībī* "Western stone", mentioned by both Baranī and Amir Khosraw as being used under 'Alāh al-Dīn Khiljī (693-712/1296-1316) can not be taken as denoting "gun". This new implement was borrowed from Spain and North Africa—countries which were called in Arabic "the West". Generally the besiegers employed this machine to bombard a fort. How the stones were thrown is not clearly stated, but this much is certain, that the stone balls were discharged by the force generated by gunpowder.

It is very difficult to discover the real nature of fire-arms used in the 7th/13th or the beginning of the 8th/14th century in India, as the term *shāh-bāz* (firerworks) is applied to pyrotechnic displays as well to artillery, thus rendering the meaning of the passages ambiguous. However *tāp* and *infānq* are mentioned as being in frequent use from the middle of the 8th/14th century. When Sultān Mahmūd fought against Thāir at Delhi in 800/1398, the former's elephants carried howdahs in which were *ra'd-andūz* "throwers of grenades" and *lakhū-andūz* "throwers of rockets". Artillery was improved under the Lodīs (855-932/1451-1526). Bīrām Lodi employed *tāp* and *darbān* "mortars" against Bābur at the battle of Pānīpat in 932/1526.

In the latter half of the 15th/16th and beginning of the 9th/15th century, the use of cannon became very common in the Deccan. The chief reason was that the Deccan States were in contact by sea with Arabia, Iran and Turkey, from which they received artillery and engineers. Firishāh records that Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Bahmānī installed a firearms factory in 797/1395; he was the first of the Muslim rulers of the Deccan to do so. Sultān Ḥusayn Bahmānī, with the help of his Turkish gunners sank with his guns a large Portuguese ship at Dū in 918/1509. Bahādūr Shāh of Guljārāt excelled his contemporaries in artillery; his master gunner, Rūm Khān, cast many cannon. One of the reasons for Bahādūr's success against the Portuguese was his superior

artillery. All these facts show that cannon were used in India long before Bābur employed them at Pānīpat in 932/1526.

The Mughals paid much attention to the art of artillery. Bābur had a limited number of heavy guns at Pānīpat. He uses the words *dāgh*, *firīng* and *darbān*, but does not mention their number. He used his artillery "chained together according to the custom of Rīm with twisted bull-hides". Bābur's gun could be discharged eight to sixteen times a day only and after improvement could cover a range of rion strikes. Rockets became common in India after 927/1520. The bands of Akbar's (963-1001/1556-1605) matchlocks were of two lengths, 66 ins. and 41 ins. They were made of rolled strips of steel with the two edges welded together. The longer of the two weapons could only be used by a man on foot. The flintlock was little known to the Mughals. The artillery was much improved, and was more numerous, in Awrangzib's reign (1008-1118/1658-1707). Besides Indians, Turks, Arabs and Portuguese, the Dutch were also employed by Awrangzib. There was one Dutch artillery engineer who served Awrangzib for sixteen years and went home in 1077/1667.

Heavy field guns were used both by the Mughals and the Deccanis. The *haft gāz* in Bidār was constructed in 977/1570. It measures 7 ft. in length. The *mālāh* *maydān* "area of the battlefield" was built in 937/1530 by Burhān Nigām Shāh. The metal is an alloy of 80,427 parts of copper to 19,573 parts of tin. It weighs 400 maunds and the bore is so wide that a man can sit and move about in it easily. The weight of its iron shot is ten maunds (Akbar's scale). The *haft-a-hūdā*, used by Dārā in 1068/1658 at Sīmgarh, was made of 80% tin and weighed 25 ft. in length. During the contest for the throne between the sons of Bahādūr Shāh in 1123/1712, three large guns were removed from the fort of Lāhore, each being dragged by 250 oxen aided by five or six elephants, and it took ten days to reach the camp although it was not more than three or four miles distance.

*Tāpshāna*, *Zar*, or *tāpshāna-i Dīwanī* was light or mobile artillery. The *padmāl* or *kaṭmāl* was fired from the back of an elephant. *Shāh-nāl* or *Shāh-n* denotes the same weapon, a swivel-gun. According to Baranī, the *sambhār* was "a small field-gun of the size of a double musket". It threw a ball of two or three pounds. The *ghawshak* and *sakhā* were also small field-guns. "A single musket" consisted of about thirty-six barrels so joined as to fire simultaneously. Revolvers with four chambers were only in the possession of the nobles.

*Bibliography*: Fajhrī; Muddahīr, *Ādāb al-Mulūk*, Ind. Off. Lib. 647; 'Alī b. Hamīd, *Chach-nāma*, B.M. Or. 1287; Husayn Nigām, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, SOAS London MS 18967; Amir Khosraw, *Khosraw-nāma*, 'Asiatic Soc. 1027; Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firīng Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1862; 'Alī Yaqdī, *Zafar-nāma*, B.M. Add. 25924; Zāhir al-Dīn Bābur, *Tāzāk-i Bāburī*, B.M. Add. 24416; Abu 'I-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, Vol. II, Calcutta 1819; Firishāh, Ind. Off. Lib. 1251; 'Abd al-Rahmān Lāharī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, Calcutta 1867-68; Muḥammad Sākhī, *Ma'āshir-i 'Ālamīyīn*, Bibl. Ind. 1871; Sir Henry Elliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Histories of Muhammadan India*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1849, 340-58; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (G.), 4; W. Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, London 1903, 113-50; *Journal of Indian History*, 1937, 185-88; IC, Vol. XII/1938, 405-18. (YAR MUHAMMAD KHAN)

AL-BĀRŪDī, MAHMŪD SĀMī, Egyptian and statesman, born 27 Rājāb 1255/6 October 1839, died in Cairo in 1332/1904; his genealogy went back to Naṣrīz al-Aṭṭākh al-Malāk al-Aṣghar, brother of Barsbay (d. 842/1438). "Al-Bārūdī" is the nickname of a small town in the province of Lower Egypt: al-Bāhira, called Itāy al-Bārūd. He lost his father, then an official in the Donogla, at the age of seven. After completing his primary studies, he entered, in 1267/1851, the Cairo Military Training School, during the reign of the Viceroy 'Abbās I (1848-1854), and left it in 1271/1855 with the rank of *bāghdādī* (quartermaster-sergeant), at the beginning of the reign of Sa'īd I (1854-1863).

His taste for poetry developed from this time onwards; his reading and personal researches, his contacts with the men of letters and poets of the period, made him, despite his military duties in his capacity as an officer which took up most of his time, one of the leaders of the literary renaissance in Egypt. A return to the true sources of poetry, that is to say to the great poets of the *ghalābiyya* and particularly of the 'Abbāsid period, seemed to him essential; but he wished also to belong to his own epoch, and for this reason he took advantage of every opportunity to broaden his knowledge in all fields of literature, to begin with, Turkish and Persian, and later, French and English. He lived for some time in Constantinople, with the title of Secretary for Egyptian Foreign Affairs. At the time of the visit of the Viceroy Isma'īl to the Ottoman capital, he brought himself to the notice of the new viceroy who had just succeeded Sa'īd (1279/1863): al-Bārūdī thereupon joined the military establishment of the Egyptian sovereign. Promoted *tabāghhī* (battalion-commander) in Maharram 1280/July 1863, he assumed command of the Viceroyal Guard. He was a member of the military mission sent by Egypt to Camp de Chalons, in France, and thence to London. On his return in 1281/1864, he was promoted *kā'im-makīm* (lieutenant-colonel) of the 3rd regiment of the Guard and, shortly afterwards, *amīr-āḥyā* (colonel) of the 4th regiment of the same Guard.

He took part in the war in Crete in 1282/1865, and his services won him the Turkish decoration *Wīlāim 'Uḡmānī*, 4th class. Isma'īl, who since 1283/1866 had been Khedive, kept al-Bārūdī at the head of his Guard, and later appointed him private secretary and sent him to Constantinople, during the Serbo-Bulgarian war, to perform various diplomatic missions. At the time of the Russian war in 1294/1877, al-Bārūdī proved himself a brilliant and courageous officer, and as a result was promoted *amīr al-luḍ* (brigadier-general). From 1296/1879 to 1282, al-Bārūdī busied himself with the reorganization of the Egyptian General Staff, under the Khedive Tawfīk 'Abd al-Wahhīd, and since 1296/1879, meanwhile, appointed Minister of *Wafā*, he tried to clear up the position regarding property in mortmain, and used the sums thus recovered for the construction of public works: mosques and dwellings; he began the construction of the Khedivial Library, and proposed the creation of a Museum of the Fine Arts.

Promoted *farā* (lieutenant-general), and decorated with the *Nigām Madjīdī*, he became, in 1298/1881, Minister of War as well as Minister of *Wafā*, and thus found himself constrained to participate in the nationalist movement then in its infancy, and to intervene in the serious conflict between the locally recruited Egyptian army and the Turko-Circassian officers. From then on, al-Bārūdī found



himself involved, either as a spectator or as an active participant, in what is known as *Thawrat 'Arabīl Pasha* or *al-Thawra al-'Arabiyya*, "the Revolt of 'Arabīl Pasha" (the name is also pronounced 'Urbīl). Summary of events: fall of the minister Sharif Pasha; formation of al-Bārānī's Cabinet; proclamation of the Constitution of 1299/1882; bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet; landing of the British army; defeat of 'Arabīl Pasha at Tell-al-Kebir (near Cairo); occupation of Egypt by Britain; exile of the leaders or promoters of the "Revolt", among whom were al-Bārānī, 'Arabīl Pasha and Shāykh 'Abduh.

For seventeen years, from the end of 1882 until the beginning of 1900, al-Bārānī was obliged to reside in the island of Ceylon. He profited by his enforced leisure to study English, to devote himself to teaching his compatriots and co-religionists, and above all to take up again his favourite studies in Arabic poetry and to give his inspiration free rein to compose the major poems of his diwan.

When he returned to Egypt after having been pardoned by the Decree of 18 Muḥarram 1318/18 May 1900, he had amassed numerous poems selected with discrimination from the collections and *diwans* of the 'Abbasid period, and which, arranged in categories, constituted the most representative anthology of *muṣallaḥ* or *muḥallaḥ* ("modern") poets. These categories are as follows: 1. *Adab* (poetry); 2. *Adab* (poetry); 3. *Rithā'* (threnody); 4. *Sijda* (descriptive); 5. *Nasib* (erotic); 6. *Hudūd* (pastoral); 7. *Zuhd* (renunciation of the world). The poets quoted, arranged in chronological order, are thirty in number, and the total verses quoted under each of the above headings are respectively: 1,697, 24,185, 3,400, 3,593, 4,616, 1,420 and 473, making a grand total of 30,593 verses. The number of verses of the *muḥallaḥ* category is particularly remarkable. More important, it seems to me, is the importance attributed to certain poets. Ibn al-Rūmī and al-Buḥārī lead the field with 3,732 and 3,597 verses. Two poets have between 2,500 and 3,000 verses: Sibī Ibn al-Ta'wīdī and al-Sharīf al-Raḍī; four between 2,000 and 2,500 verses: al-Arḥūṣī, Abū Tammām, al-Mutanabbī and al-Sūrī al-Raḍī; al-Mutanabbī is therefore placed seventh; two between 1,500 and 2,000 verses: Ibn Nūbātā al-Mirī and Miḥyār al-Daylamī; five, between 1,000 and 1,500 verses: al-Aḥwālī, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Ḥayyūb, Abū T-ʿAlī al-Maʿarrī, Surraḍī; eight, between 500 and 1,000 verses: al-Tughhrāʾī, Abū Nuwās, ʿUmar al-Yamanī, al-Tahmānī, Ibn Hishām al-Andalusī, Ibn Sīnā al-Khāḍirī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Ibn al-Jayyārī; and, finally, seven, between 50 and 500 verses: Abū Fīrās al-Hamḍānī, Muslim b. al-Walīd, Abū T-ʿAdhīya, Ibn ʿUnayn, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf, Baḥshār b. Hurd and Ibn al-Zayyāt.

The *Mukhlḥat* of al-Bārānī did not appear in any bookseller's before the death of the author, but were published in Cairo in four volumes, two in 1327/1909 and two in 1329/1911, through the efforts of the scholar Yāqūt al-Mursī.

Al-Bārānī's *diwan*, which similarly did not appear until after his death, was first published, thanks to the scholar and commentator Maḥmūd al-Imām al-Manūfī, in three volumes in two poems with rhymes *ḥamza* to *lām*, n.d., 536 and 536 pages, and was published a second time in 1910 with a preface by M. H. Haykal and a commentary by ʿAlī al-Djārim and Muḥammad Shāfi Maʿrūf; it reveals the same eclecticism. Occasional pieces are numerous; accurate descriptions of places enable one to follow

the poet-statesman through its various stages; some of the poems composed at Colombo (Ceylon) are particularly moving. It is not possible, within the limits of this article, to go into the detail which would be required by a more profound critical appreciation of the subject matter, not to mention the form, of his poems. Let it suffice to say that al-Bārānī attained an undisputed mastery of poetic language in its purest classical form; vocabulary, figures of speech, stylistic devices, held no secrets for him. He did not seek to make innovations in the pattern of the *bayḍa* or in the poetic metres (there is a rare exception in the *diwan*, 1, 61-4), and remained faithful to his models. His admiration for the passed led him to imitate several famous poems, with resounding success. For example, his imitation of the *Burda* of al-Dūsī, using the same metre (*baḥr*) and the same rhyme (*ma*), under the title of *Kaḥf al-Ḥumma fi Madh Sayyid al-ʿUmma* (Cairo 1327/1909, fvo, 48 pages, 447 verses, whereas the *Burda* only contains 172). The themes used in his *diwan*, however, are very modern and, in this respect, al-Bārānī is justly considered to be one of the most effective pioneers of the renaissance of contemporary Arabic poetry.

**Bibliography:** The reader is referred to the very full references given by J. A. Dagier, in his *Madāʾir Dīwan al-Bārānī* (Cairo 1900-1901, Beirut 1955, 139-152). To these should be added, with regard to the *Thawra 'Arabiyya*, the following two works which give all necessary documentation: M. Sabry, *La genèse de l'esprit national égyptien* (1863-1882), Paris 1924, and Osman Amin, *Muḥammad 'Abduh, Essai sur ses idées philosophiques et religieuses*, S 1344—Cf. also the notice in Broekmans, S 111, 7-8.

**BARĀDĪQURD** (or BURĀDĪQURD), a town in the Vith *sudā* (Luristan) of Persia, situated on the road connecting Hamadān with Ahwāz via Khurramābād; it is the seat of a *fārmāndā* (deputy governor). The population is 47,000.

The town stands on an extensive and well-cultivated plain that is bounded on the west by the Zagros mountains. The climate is temperate in summer, but cold in winter. There are some 900 shops most of which are in the two large bazars. The Masjid-i Dīlāmī (cathedral mosque) dates from the Mongol period.

It was at Barādīqurd that the Saljuq prince Barkiyūk (d. 1145/1109) defeated the forces of his mother Turkān Khātūn, who, after her husband Malikshāh's death, had espoused the cause of her younger son Mahmūd.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, I, 288, 289; de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, II, 302-7; A. H. Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1877, I, 288-291; Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, II, 130-2; Sartip Razmārā and Sartip Nawāsh, *Farhang-i Dīwānīyā-yi Irān*, Tehran 1330 solar 1951, VI, 42.

**AL-BĀRĀNĪ**, SULAYMĀN, contemporary Tripolitanian ḥadīth scholar and politician, who inspired the Arabs of his country in their struggle against Italy. He belonged to an old and noble Berber family of the Djabal Naḥḥa (with branches at Djādo, Kābāb and Djerba, where there is a private *barānīya* library) and was the son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Bārānī, the theologian, jurist and poet, who taught at the *zāwiya* of al-Baḥbāḥiyya, near Yefren. Sulaymān was suspected by the Ottoman govern-

ment of nurturing separatist ideas and plotting the founding of an Ḥadīth imāmate. Proceedings were instituted against him, but the sentences pronounced were not fully executed because of the disturbances which they provoked, especially in the Djabal. Finally he was granted an amnesty, but upon the Ottoman authorities requesting him to present himself in Constantinople, he fled to Cairo.

A man of unusual culture (having studied at Tunis, al-Azhar and in the Mzab), he founded a printing office, which had the outstanding merit of disseminating several old ḥadīth works. He also founded a newspaper, which however only enjoyed an ephemeral life, its circulation in the Ottoman provinces, Tunisia and Algeria, being prohibited.

After the promulgation in Turkey of the constitution following the Young Turks' revolution, Sulaymān al-Bārānī was elected deputy in the *lumi* of the Djabal and called to Constantinople; thereupon he learnt Turkish in two months of intense study.

When Italy's designs on Libya became evident, al-Bārānī endeavored to obtain consignments of arms from his government. After the Italian landing at Tripoli (11th October 1911), he was one of the most active promoters of the Arab resistance, which made Turkey decide to stand firm, and which continued even after the signing of the Tuno-Italian Peace Treaty at Ouchy near Lausanne, 18th October 1912. In the western Djabal sector, where al-Bārānī was conducting operations and was aiming at the formation of a Berber amirate, the issue was decided at the battle of al-Aḥbāb (al-Aḥbāb) on the 23rd March 1913. Upon his return to Constantinople, al-Bārānī was appointed senator, receiving the title of pasha.

When Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers (1914), al-Bārānī was sent to Solhūm (October 1914) with the brother of Enver Pasha, Nūrī Bey, to induce the leader of the Sanūdā, Ahmād al-Sharīf, to attack the British from the West. His mission failed; the plot to force the Sanūdā's hand was discovered and al-Bārānī arrested. Nevertheless he managed to escape (January 1915). He resumed his work as an opponent of Italy, when the latter entered the war. However it was not until the end of 1916, when Turkey had appointed him Governor-General and Commander of Tripoli and its dependencies, that he landed at Misurata from a submarine. The Italians were in a precarious situation, having entrenched themselves at Tripoli, Homs (al-Khums) and Zaara, and the Arabs also were in a state of complete confusion. Their leaders had divergent aims and the tribes were fighting amongst themselves; al-Bārānī restored harmony. Nevertheless, he soon lost his pre-eminence; after proceeding to western Tripolitania, he was there defeated by the Italians (16th and 17th January 1917). At Khums and Zaara, since the month of January 1917, the Turks replaced him by a military man, the Nūrī Pasha referred to above. In November 1918, that is to say after the signing of the Armistice between Turkey and the Allies, the nationalists, under the influence of the Wilsonian principles, established the Tripolitanian Republic (*al-Dawla al-Tarbihiyya*) and influential in Tripolitania, to which Berber family of the Djabal Naḥḥa (with branches at Djādo, Kābāb and Djerba, where there is a private *barānīya* library) and was the son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Bārānī, the theologian, jurist and poet, who taught at the *zāwiya* of al-Baḥbāḥiyya, near Yefren. Sulaymān was suspected by the Ottoman govern-

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ment here is the effect of a law of nature established by God.

In eschatology, the word *barzakh* is used to describe the boundary of the world of human beings, which consists of the heavens, the earth and the nether regions, and its separation from the world of pure spirits and God. See the pictures representing this conception in the *Ma'rifaṭ-nāma* of Ibrāhīm Ḥakīmī (Būlāq 1251, 1255); cf. also Carra de Vaux, *Fragmentes d'eschatologie musulmane*; K. Eklund, *Life between Death and Resurrection according to Islam*, Uppsala 1941.

The *Ṣūfī*, too, use the term in the sense of space between the material world and that of the pure spirits; hence several shades of meaning; cf. C. E. Wilson, *The Mansur*, book ii, vol. ii, note 20.

The same expression is also found in the philosophy known as "illuminating" (*al-ḥikma al-maḥmūdiyya*). It there denotes the dark substances, i.e. bodies: the *barzakh* or the body is dark by nature and only becomes light on receiving the light of the spirit. The celestial spheres are "animated" or "living" *barzakh*s, inanimate bodies on the other hand are "dead" *barzakh*s (cf. Carra de Vaux, *La Philosophie éliminative d'après Suhrawardī Maqṣūdī*, in *JA*, Jan.-Févr. 1902).

The term *barzakh* is sometimes rendered by Purgatory, on the analogy of the Christian idea of Purgatory, but this is inaccurate. It is used in the sense of "limbo". See further al-Tahāwī, *Dif. Def. Technical Terms*, s.v. (B. CARRA DE VAUX\*).

**BĀRZĀN**, a Kurdish village on the left (eastern) bank of the Great Zab river, approximately 80 km. due north of Arbil, in what was formerly the territory of the *Zakāri* tribe. *Sharaf al-Dīn Bihārī, Shihā-nāma*, i, 107, in 1005/1096, numbered it among the possessions of the Bahāddūn princes under the name of Bāzrān. Since the middle of the 13th/10th century Bāzrān has been the residence of a *Nakshbandī* *Shaykh*. The *Shaykh*s and their followers, now known as the Bāzrānī tribe, maintained a turbulent independence of Ottoman authority until, early in 1333/1915, the Mawālī authorities at Sulaymāniyya to Bāzrān, where he gathered support and rebelled against the government. He had some initial success against government forces, but was finally obliged to retire, early in 1364/1945, to Persia. He assisted at the inauguration of the Kurdish People's Republic at Mahābād on 10 Muharram 1365/15 December 1945 and was made a Field-Marshal. On the collapse of the Republic Mulla Muṣṭafā escaped to Soviet territory, while *Shaykh* Ahmad surrendered to the Irāk government.

**Bibliography:** W. A. & E. T. A. Wigram, *Cradle of Manhood*, 1361f., London 1922; B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, Paris 1956; S. H. Longrigg, *Iraq, 1900 to 1950*, London 1951; Sidiq al-Damīqī, *Imrāt Bāhādūr al-Kurdīyya*, Mosul 1952. (D. M. MACKENZIE).

**BARZAND**, a village and township (*dākhā*), in the district (*shahristān*) of Ardabil, county (*bakhsh*) of Garmī, lying in the mountains overlooking the plain of Mughān to the north. The name

may mean "high place". The village lies ca. 47° 40' E. long. (Greenw.) and 39° 20' N. lat.

A confusion between Barzand and Bazzandī (near Tiflis) appears in several of the mediaeval geographers (cf. Yāqūt, i, 36; *Hudūd al-'Alam*, 103). This confusion, together with a remark of Mirkhādī, 378, that Barzand was a market for Armenians, helps to explain why several geographers (e.g., Yāqūt) placed Barzand in Armenia.

We find no notice of the place before the time of Afshār (q.v.), who in 1220/835 made Barzand one of his headquarters in the campaign against Bihāk (q.v.). Several sources also relate that Afshār rebuilt Barzand after he had found it in ruins (Schwarz, 1904). Bihāk may have destroyed the town, since it was a strategic point on the main road from Ardabil north to the Mughān steppe. After the time of Afshār Barzand became a large town with a prosperous bazaar, noted for textiles. It may have suffered during the Mongol conquests, for Hamd Allāh Mustawī, Naṣhā, trans. G. Le Strange, 94, says the town was in ruins in his time (mid 8th/14th cent.). Later the area was included in the pasture land of the Shāh Sevān tribe (q.v.), and the people spoke Aghār Turkish as they do today.

At the present the township has a population (1950) of ca. 3820, and the central village is called Kālā-yi Barzand.

**Bibliography:** P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 8 (1934), 1094-98, where references to Islamic sources are given. Add to these *Hudūd al-'Alam*, 142, 403; Le Strange, 175-6; Ruzmārī, *Farhang-i Qizghāfiyā-yi Irān*, iv, Tehran 1952, 87. (R. N. FRYE).

**BARZŪ-NĀMA**, Persian epic, attributed to Abū 'Alī 'Atā' b. Ya'qūb, known as *Atā'ī* (called "Atā' b. Ya'qūb, known as 'Atā'ī" Rādī in Blochet, *Catal. Mss. persans Bibl. Nat. Paris*, iii, 15, no. 1289). According to Ridā Kullī Khān Hādīyāt, "some people have wrongly considered these names to represent two poets. This is not so; they are the same person" (*Majma' al-Fuṣṣal*, i, 342). "Atā' was a poet in both Arabic and Persian (see his account in *Ḥikāyat-i Dīmāy al-Kāfir*) and an official in the reign of the Ghaznavid sultan Ibrāhīm (1059-1099) who, dissatisfied with him, ruined him and held him prisoner for more than eight years at Lahore. "Atā' died in 491/1098, according to Awfī (Lubāb, i, 72-75). At the end of a remarkable elegy (*marṭiyya*) his contemporary Mas'ūdī Sa'dī Salmān gave his name clearly: "as safa-i 'Atā' īn-i Ya'qūb, khaṣṣar shāh saqlān-i Sāmān" (by Ibn al-Farīdī, *Ḥikāyat al-Shams al-Shamsiyya* in this world received a new stimulus"). His principal work was the *Lay of Barzū* (*Barzū-nāma*), the longest and one of the most important epic poems based on the ancient Persian traditions in imitation of the *Book of the Kings* (*Shāh-nāma*) of Firdawsi (from which the *Barzū-nāma* in several parts is directly derived). Barzū, son of Salāh al-Dawla of Rustam, was born among the Tūrānians to a woman called Shāhūr. Persuaded by Afrāsiyāh, leader of the Tūrānians, he went to fight the Persians; at the end of protracted hostilities, Rustam recognised him and reconciled him to the Persians. Finally he died, killed traitorously in the course of a war against the Slavs, represented as demons (*djinn*) ruled over by the *djinn* Shāhīl. Nöldeke, seeing in these adventures (as J. Mohl did before him) a variant of those of the heroes Subhān and Dījānāgr, assumed that the work was one of pure invention. The episode of the Tūrānian singing-girl Sūsan, who captured the chief

Persian heroes by a trick, and had decided to send them in chains to Afrāsiyāh, when the Persian hero Farāmūz came suddenly to rescue them, is one of the most brilliant parts of the poem; it may be considered as a work of art on its own merits. Fragments of the *Barzū-nāma* (two MSS. in the Bibl. Nat. Paris, Blochet, *Catal. mss. persans*, iii, 15 and 16) were published by Turner Macan (*Shāh-nāma*, iv, 2160-220), Koezartan (*Mines de l'Orient*, v, 309), Vallers (*Chrest. Schahnam*, 87-99). Also it seems possible to attribute to 'Atā' the epic poem *Biḍān-nāma*, concerning the exploits of another Persian hero, the last line of which is: "Gā sin dāstān dīl bi-parādhān, xāy-i rāzmi Barzū kamī tikhān", "when I had freed my heart of this poem, I quickly began the Lay of Barzū" (Rien, *Catal. Persian Mss. British Mus.*, 132-133).

**Bibliography:** S. de Sacy, in *Journal de Saavants*, 1236, 207 ff.; J. Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, introd. 151 ff.; T. Nöldeke, in *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie*, ii, 209; Éthé, *ibid.*, 234; V. Ruzmārī, *Suven la contrée, in Geom. Soc. Asia. italiana*, xi, 1897-98; Zabihollah Saifi, *Hamdān-sarā' dar Irān*, Tehran 1324/1946, 258-259; idem, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyāt dar Irān*, Tehran 1350/1958, ii, 477 ff.

(CL. HUART-H. MASSÉ).

**BARZŪYA**, Arabic name, attested by Yāqūt, of a fortress to which modern writers, following a reference to it by Anna Comnena, prefer to apply the name Bourzey. The local people call it Kalāt Marza. The ruins of this castle, standing on the eastern slope of the Alawite massif, still dominate the marshy depression of the Ghāb. It had a troubled history from Hellenic times, when the impregnable position of Lysias was known. At the time of the Syrian expedition of the Emperor Trajan in 113/97, it passed from Hāmānīd hands into those of the Byzantines. Subsequently it was occupied by the Crusaders and, forming one of the best defences of the principality of Antioch (at which time it appears to have been the name Rochefort) was retaken by force by Salāh al-Dīn in 584/1188. From the Mamlik period it rapidly lost its importance and the chroniclers merely make passing references to it.

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**al-BASĀSIRI**, Abū 'l-Harith Asad b. Murāṭfar, originally a Turkish slave, who became one of the chief military leaders at the end of the Buwayhid dynasty. He owed his *niṣba* al-Basāsiri (al-Fasāsiri) to his first master who was from Basā (Fasā) in Fars. A *mawālī* of Bahā' al-Dawla, he subsequently rose to the highest rank, though we only hear of him from the reign of Dīlāwī al-Dawla (426-435/1025-1044), in the struggles between the latter was obliged to make peace with the nephew Abū Khādir and the 'Ukayyids of al-Mawālī. During the reign of al-Malik al-Rahīm Khuraw Firuz

(440-447/1048-1055), a period of continuous troubles due to the indiscipline of the Turkish troops at Bagdhād, the struggle between Sunnis and Shī'is in the capital, the ambitions of the 'Ukayyids and Buwayhid pretenders, the depredations of the Arab and Kurdish tribes, and, finally, the intervention of the Saljūqīd sultan Toghrul Beg in the affairs of Mesopotamia, al-Basāsiri came to play a major rôle (Anbār taken from the 'Ukaylid Karwāsh, 441/1050, Bagra taken from the brother of Malik Rahīm, 444/1052, operations against the Arab and Kurdish brigands at Bawāzīl, 445/1054, assistance given to the Mazyadīd Shī'ī Dubays, who had been attacked at al-Jam'ān, the future Hilla, by the Banū Khafāgī, etc.). However in 446/1054, he was unable to stop the rebellion of the Turks in Bagdhād, followed by scenes of pillage and famine and an incursion by the troops of the 'Ukaylid of al-Mawālī, Kuraysh, to Barādān, whence they carried off the camels and horses from his stables. In November of the same year, Kuraysh took Anbar, al-Basāsiri's fief, and, breaking with the Buwayhid, pronounced the *khilāfa* in the name of Toghrul Beg.

At Bagdhād al-Basāsiri had a powerful adversary, the Caliph's vizier the *ra'īs al-ra'as* Ibn al-Muḥsin, who, foreseeing the end of the Buwayhids, had already formed a connexion with Toghrul Beg, because in 446/1054-1055, in which year the Turkish leader's quarrel with the Caliph and his entourage became effective, al-Basāsiri accused him of having summoned Toghrul's Ghuzz, who had been at Hulwān since 444/1053-3. The vizier prevented al-Basāsiri from taking action against supporters of Kuraysh who had come to Bagdhād, to which he reacted by imposing one of the vizier's boats, withdrawing the monthly pensions paid to the Caliph and the vizier, and, in March 1055, retaking Anbar by force. Upon his return to Bagdhād, he refrained from calling to pay his respects to the Caliph.

Al-Basāsiri probably already had Shī'ī leanings. In 447/1055, at the time of the Suni demonstrations in Bagdhād, extremists, doubtless at the vizier's instigation, seized a ship carrying wine destined for al-Basāsiri, who was then at Anbar, and broke the wine-jars. As the cargo belonged to a Christian, al-Basāsiri thereupon obtained a *fatwā* declaring the smashing of the jars to be illegal. Thereafter the vizier seditiously designated al-Basāsiri in the eyes of the Turks of the army, and of the Caliph al-Kā'im. He accused him of being in communication with the Fātimīd al-Mustansir, caused his house in Bagdhād to be pillaged and burnt by the Turks, and ordered the Buwayhid to send him away. Meanwhile the troops of Toghrul Beg, who had announced his intention of performing the pilgrimage and of proceeding to Syria and Egypt to dethrone the Fātimīd, arrived before Bagdhād. Al-Malik al-Rahīm again set out towards Bagdhād, whilst al-Basāsiri went to his brother-in-law, the Mazyadīd Dubays; the Turks of Bagdhād, deceived by the vizier, regretted his departure. The Caliph, his vizier, and al-Malik al-Rahīm accepted Toghrul's presence, and his name was pronounced in the *khilāfa* on Friday 15th December 1055; on the 18th, he made his solemn entry into the capital. Disorder however was not slow to arise between the inhabitants and the Ghuzz of Toghrul. Toghrul held al-Malik al-Rahīm responsible for the scenes of pillage which subsequently occurred, and had him arrested on 23rd December.



On Toghrul's orders, Dubays was obliged to break with al-Basāsiri, who proceeded to Rabba on the Euphrates. He wrote to the Fātimid Caliph Mustansir asking him to receive him in Cairo. The vizier al-Yāziri did not agree, but the Caliph responded to his request for Fātimid aid to conquer Baghdad in his name and prevent the Saljūqids from marching on Syria and Egypt; he gave him the governorship of Rabba and sent him 300,000 dinars, clothes of a like value, 500 horses, 10,000 bows, 2,000 swords, and lances and arrows.

According to the autobiography of the Fātimid missionary al-Mu'ayyad b. ʿI-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, who was apparently the instigator of the revolt and a real Fātimid plenipotentiary in the affair, al-Basāsiri was not the first to approach Mustansir; Mu'ayyad had written to him prior to Toghrul's arrival in Baghdad, though the letters did not reach him until after the Saljūqids had entered the city. It was Mu'ayyad who brought the money and supplies sent by Cairo to al-Basāsiri at Rabba as well as the Fātimid Caliph's patent of investiture.

The year 448/1056-7 was marked by intense Fātimid propaganda, attested by the numerous letters addressed by Mu'ayyad to the amirs of ʿIrāk and the ʿIjāzira to win them to the Fātimid cause. The excesses of the Ghuzz favoured his success. The *khawfa* was pronounced in the name of Mustansir at Wasit and other places in ʿIrāk, and Dubays, who had been constrained to do likewise for Toghrul, returned to the alliance with al-Basāsiri, reinforced by the Arab nomads and the Baghdadī Turks who had been expelled by Toghrul, marched in Dubays's company with a considerable body of troops on the region of Sindjār, where he inflicted a bloody defeat on the Saljūqid troops commanded by Toghrul's cousin Kutlumush and his ally Kuraysh of al-Mawāl. Kutlumush fled to Aḡharbaydān; Kuraysh was wounded and captured by Shāwīl 448/January 1057 and thereupon made common cause with al-Basāsiri, who proceeded to al-Mawāl where the Fātimid Caliph was acknowledged.

Toghrul's reaction was not long delayed. He left Baghdad on the 10 Dhu ʿl-Kaʿda 448/10 January 1057, and, after receiving reinforcements from Persia, marched on al-Mawāl, took the city and then proceeded towards Wasit. When Kuraysh rallied to him, whilst al-Basāsiri returned to Rabba with the Baghdadī Turks and a group of ʿUkayl. However, after the arrival of the sultan's brother, Ibrahim Ināl, who heartily disliked the Arabs, Kuraysh rejoined al-Basāsiri, whilst Dubays regained Dīnawar via Rabba. After wreaking his vengeance on Sindjār for the affair of 448 and leaving Ināl at al-Mawāl, the sultan returned to Baghdad, where he was solemnly received by the Caliph, who conferred on him the title of King of the West and the East (26 Dhu ʿl-Kaʿda 449/4 January 1058).

The sultan's brother, Ibrahim Ināl, however, who coveted the sultanate, got into communication with al-Basāsiri and sent a messenger to the missionary Mu'ayyad, who had come back to Aleppo, with a view to obtaining Fātimid support in wresting the sultanate from his brother, promising that the *khawfa* should be pronounced in the name of the Fātimids. He abandoned al-Mawāl, to which al-Basāsiri and Kuraysh returned. After the taking of the ʿIjāzira, which held out for four months, al-Basāsiri returned to Rabba. However, Toghrul reconquered al-Mawāl and the ʿIjāzira, and, whilst, according to Mu'ayyad's autobiography, al-Basāsiri, undoubtedly alarmed, directed his steps

towards Damascus. Then it was that Ināl rose in rebellion and set out for the ʿIjāzira. Toghrul left Nisibin on the 15 Ramaḍān 450/5 November 1058 and set off in his pursuit.

Now that ʿIrāk was free of the Saljūqids for a time, there was nothing to oppose al-Basāsiri's return and counter-offensive. News was soon received of his arrival at Hit and then at Anḥir. The Caliph Kāʾim hesitated as to the attitude to adopt and, in spite of the proposal of the Maryādī Dubays, who offered him a refuge, stayed on in Baghdad, counting on being able to resist. On 8 Dhu ʿl-Kaʿda/27 December 1058, al-Basāsiri entered western Baghdad with 400 poorly equipped cavalrymen accompanied by Kuraysh at the head of a further (two hundred). The following Friday, 7 January 1059, the Shīʿi *adīn* was heard and the *khawfa* was recited in the name of the Fātimids at the Mosque of Manṣūr. Then, re-establishing the bridge of boats, al-Basāsiri crossed the river and, on the 8th of January, the name of the Caliph Mustansir was proclaimed at the Rusūfa Mosque. The Caliph had his palace fortified, but al-Basāsiri not only had the aid of the Ghuzz on his right side, but also the large numbers of Sunnis impelled by hatred of the Ghuzz and the lure of pillage. After defeating a group of Ḥashimites and palace eunuchs urged on by the vizier, near the racetrack, al-Basāsiri attacked the palace on the 8 Dhu ʿl-Hijja/19 January 1059, entering the *hārīm* by the Bāb al-Nūbāt. The Caliph, seeing that the game was lost, placed himself and the vizier under the protection of Kuraysh, who got them away, whilst the palace was sacked. Al-Basāsiri appropriated the Caliph's insignia, *mindū* (turban), *ridāʾ* (cloak) and *ghubbā* (lattice screen), which were sent to Cairo as trophies. He solemnly celebrated the Feast of the Victims on 29 January 1059 at the *masalla* with the Egyptian standards. He agreed to leave the Caliph with Kuraysh, who placed him in safe-keeping at al-Ḥaḍra of ʿAna with his cousin Muḥarrish, but insisted that his enemy, the vizier Ibn al-Muslīmā, should be handed over to him. After parading him with ignominy, he had him put to a terrible death on 16 February 1059. Al-Basāsiri then took possession of Wasit and Bāra, but was unable to gain ʿIjāzira to the Fātimid cause.

But already al-Basāsiri was virtually abandoned by Cairo. Initially great hopes had been raised there by his action; Mustansir relied on his bringing him the Caliph al-Kāʾim as a captive and had the Little Palace of the West at Cairo made ready for him, and the was greatly displeased when al-Kāʾim was handed over to Kuraysh. In addition, the vizier ʿYāziri, blamed for ruining Egyptian finances to support al-Basāsiri, had been deposed and then put to death. From June 1058, Ibn al-Maḡribī, a former secretary who had fled from al-Basāsiri at Baghdad, was vizier. When the latter wrote to him, he replied in such terms as to leave him no expectations of support. Toghrul, however, had triumphed over his brother in Dīnawār II 451/July 1059 and was preparing to return to Baghdad. He offered to leave al-Basāsiri in Baghdad, provided he would pronounce the *khawfa* and coin money in his name and restore the Caliph al-Kāʾim to the throne. In such an event, he himself would not return to ʿIrāk. He asked Kuraysh to leave al-Basāsiri in the event of his refusing to agree to this proposal. For his part, al-Basāsiri attempted to negotiate with Toghrul, but persuaded him to break away from the Saljūqids but without success. Kuraysh drew his attention to

Fātimid ingratitude and let him hope for a pardon by Toghrul, but he would not accept the offer and Toghrul then started to march on Baghdad. At the Saljūqids' request, Muḥarrish freed the Caliph al-Kāʾim, who met the sultan at Nahrāwīn on 24 Dhu ʿl-Kaʿda 451/3 January 1060, arriving with him at his palace on the following day. Kuraysh had already left al-Basāsiri, who quitted Baghdad with his family on 6 Dhu ʿl-Kaʿda/14 December, proceeding in the direction of Kūfa and leaving the secretary of the Saljūqid vizier al-Kundurī on 8 Dhu ʿl-Hijja/15 January 1060 at Saky al-Furāt, near Kūfa. His head was brought to the sultan.

Thus ended the adventure of al-Basāsiri. For a year he had gained acknowledgement of Fātimid sovereignty at Baghdad. The *khawfa* in the name of the Fātimids is said to have been pronounced there forty times. The episode of attempted expansion by Fātimid on the one hand and Saljūqid on the other, and more generally the struggle between Sunnis and Shīʿis, definitely profited the cause of Sunnism and ʿAbbāsid legitimacy, of which Toghrul Beg showed himself the interested champion.

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#### BĀSHĀ (see PASHA).

#### BASHDEFTERDĀR (see DAFTARDĀR).

**BASHIDJIRT** (BASIKURT) is the name of a Turkish people living in Baghkuristan in the S. Urals, which is now a Soviet republic. Their place of origin is doubtful; some evidence says that they came from S. W. Turkistan (see Togan, *Türk Tarih Dersleri*, 1927, p. 123). In the *ʿIbār* (Paris, 1955, 3), whilst other sources indicate that their present habitat is their original home (the Παρυσηναι, Γερουσι, Ταχτοι, Βορροιστοι and Σουφροιστοι, Ptolemy, iii, 5, 22, 24 and iv, 14, 9, 11 may be identified with "Bashyrt" and the tribal names "Geyne", "Tabin", "Burdul", and "Savin"). Ibn ʿAsadīn, ed. Togan, ii, 377; *ʿIbār*, ed. Paris, Bibl. nat. Suppl. Pers. 1364, fol. 1340. Isfahāni says that the Baghkuris lived in a mountainous

and wooded country into which it was difficult to penetrate, and that the centre of this region was 25 days journey from the Bulgars; and al-Bīrūdī calls the Urals "the Baghkur mountains". Ibn Fadlan, who made a personal survey of the country, religion, and customs of the Baghkuris in 310/322 says that he came on their tents after crossing the rivers Kinal and Soḡh, i.e., on approaching the borders of the Bulgars. He also states that they were all pagans (i.e., Shamanists). Idriʿi, by combining the stories of his contemporaries about this province with those found in the Arabic translation of Ptolemy, has given rather more complicated details about their cities, iron and copper manufactures, arms, exports of beaver and squirrel furs, etc., but much of this probably refers to the Magyars. Confusion arose because Muslim sources called the Baghkuris "the inner Baghkuris" and the Magyars "the outer Baghkuris", while the Baghkuris of the Urals divided themselves into "inner" and "outer" Baghkuris. To their neighbours the Kazaks and the Nogays they were after the 15th century known as "Islek", which gave rise to the Ottoman term "Islekh". The Yumurtal and Yenel tribes of the Baghkur were among the Turkish tribes that swayed over the Magyars in the 12th century; and theories that the Baghkuris were Magyars who did not become Turkicized till the time of the Mongols (cf. Nemeth, *Magyar Hungaria*, 95; KCA, iii, 73) lose their force with the statement of Mahmūd Kāshghari that the Baghkur and the Yemek, i.e., N. Kipchaks, dialects were closely connected. Ibn al-Dīn al-Dimashqī (died 1257) and Abu ʿl-Faḥr Khān also connect the Baghkur with the Kipchaks. In fact the Baghkuris were Muslims long before the time of the Mongols. Yāqūt, who met some Baghkuris from Hungary who came to study at Aleppo, relates traditions from them that their ancestors had learnt Islam from the Volga Bulgars and states that they were Hanafis, that they had 30 villages, spoke the "Atrandi" language and served in the army of the "Hungar" monarchs, though not taking part in expeditions against Muslim countries. The 12th century writer Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, who lived for some time among the Baghkuris in Hungary, states that like the Bulgars they were Hanafis and says that there were 78 Baghkur towns in Hungary, extending the name Baghkur to the non-Muslim Magyars.

The Baghkur lands were close to the summer camping-grounds of the Mongol Khāns of the Golden Horde, and when they came under the Mongols they were forced to serve in the Mongol army. They were, however, allowed to have a separate Muslim judge. Prominent in the service of the Ilkhāns were the Amir Baghkur, who put down the rebellion of Sulaimān in Asia Minor during the time of Ghāzān Khān, and Sarkān Baghkur, a lieutenant of Öljāyṭu. Baghkuris were also found in the service of the Egyptian Mamlūks, among them ʿAlam al-Dīn Saḡdīr al-Baghkurī, who was Kālakwī's deputy in Syria.

In the first half of the 16th century the Tura (Shibān) Khāns held the northern and eastern parts of Baghkuristan under their sway, while the Kazan Khān Sāhib Gerey won influence over the "Kazan Yoll" and the Nogay Princes gained S. Baghkuristan. Two of the Ulu Nogay princes, Ismāʿīlghī Uruṣ Mirā and his nephew Ishtikīn Mirā, governed the "Nogay Yolu", i.e., S. Uralian, Baghkuris on behalf of the Kālakwīs until 1608. At one time Uruṣ Mirā made representations to Sulṭān Sulaymān I urging him to annex the Volga basin. He also sent am-



bassards to Czar Ivan IV because the Russians occupying Kazan and Astrakhan had pressed on to the east of the Volga, had made Samara, Yevliska and Ufa into Russian fortresses, and had imposed taxes on the neighbouring Bashkurts, and protested that the "Bashkurts-lets" paid taxes only to him, and that by taxing them the Russians were interfering in the internal affairs of the Nogay province (Pekarsky, *Kogda osnovany goroda Ufa i Samara*, 1872, 8). However, despite certain conciliatory moves the Russians gradually extended their control. In 1659 500 Bashkurts families were under the Russians. By 1700 the number had risen to 7,000. Under the Russians the province was organised very much as it had been before. The community was divided into several classes: the *mirzas* (Russian *knyaz*) who came from the Mongol and Tatar aristocracy; the *boys* (Russ. *strazhaki*) and *tarikhans* who were tribal leaders; the *asaks* (Arabic *ashab*; Russ. *volyniki*) who held hereditary fiefs and served in the army; the *yasaklis* who were peasants liable to military service, and the *tipfers* who were peasants registered in place of fiefholders; the *bobis* (old Turkish and Mongol *beg* = captive) who were landless peasants; and the *tsanals* who were nomads tied to a particular village. The *mirzas*, *boys*, and *tarikhans* were sent to discuss general political questions at congresses (*ayrlyk*) held at Khan Tobet in the neighbourhood of what is now the village of Baidjili Yurmut. There were also departments called *duwan* (= *diwan*) which dealt with the affairs of the province. The territory of the Yurmut tribe was the military centre of the province, and the *asaks* were stationed along four military roads leading from there: the Nogay road to the south, the Kazan road to the west, the Osa road to the north, and the Siberia road to the east.

There was fierce resistance to Russian annexation and risings were frequent. The Kütümids, the popularly chosen leaders of the Bashkurts, were generally at the head of these movements, which were sometimes combined with other movements in the Ukraine and N. Caucasus and with enterprises of the Crimeans, the Kalmauks and the Ottomans, with all of whom they had contacts. During the 17th and the first quarter of the 18th centuries the Bashkurts joined in movements in W. Siberia, the lower Jaxartes, Astrakhan, Don and Daghistan regions and even in the Debreczen area of Hungary. It was in 1667, during the reign of Küçük Süleiman, that Ismail Çelebi visited the Bashkurts between the Terek and Astrakhan together with the Kalmauks, and was greatly impressed by their military ability and by their national and religious fervour (*Seyyah-nâme*, vii, 261, 811-25, 815-6).

The Bashkurts made their risings at times when Russia had external difficulties. For example, the rising of 1679, during which several Russian towns in the Volga and Kama basins were burnt, was connected with the Turkish victory over the Russians at Ceperio and their occupation of the S. Ukraine. The Bashkurts were also skilful at making arms, and they were able to supply the Karakalpaqs and the Kazaks as well as themselves. The Russian government laid great importance on cutting off the Bashkurts' foreign contacts and on closing their iron and steel works. In 1679 they issued an edict forbidding them to manufacture iron, but this had no effect. However, by establishing works at Petro in the Urals and by deporting masses of Russians to them, they succeeded in increasing the Russian element, in spite of external difficulties.

In 1678 was the Kalmauk Khan Ayuk who was responsible for the death of Küçük Süleiman, and the

struggle against the Russians was carried on by two of his sons, Murad Süleiman and Khuzey (Ibrahim) Süleiman. During the Russo-Swedish wars in the reign of Peter the Great these caused the whole of Bashkuristan to rebellion. They were in close contact with the Crimean Khans, the Nogays and the Don Cossacks, and Murad Süleiman went to the Crimea and to Istanbul in an unsuccessful attempt to seek help. In 1708 he took part in a joint attempt with the Kuban Nogays and the Circassians to occupy the Russian fortress of Terek, but he was wounded, captured by the Russians, tried and executed. According to a Bashkurts' envoy who visited Süleiman Ahmed III in 1716 the Bashkurts together with their allies the Karakalpaqs and Kirgiz, had raised another rebellion in which they attacked Terek as a reprisal for the execution of Murad Süleiman and killed up to 40,000 Russians (Rizhskiy, *Tavris*, iii, 127). They were supported by the Kazaks, for at the beginning of the 18th century they had come under the suzerainty of the Kazak Khan Tölebi-Zhaghdy Kayib Khan, whose capital was at Tashkent. The correspondence of Kayib Khan with Süleiman Ahmed III in 1715-6 is preserved in the Ottoman archives (Istanbul, *Bahçealtı Arşivi*, *Naime Hümayun defterleri*, vol. viii, 351-3).

The rebellion lasted 17 years and exhausted the Bashkurts. At length in 1728 a delegation was sent off to St. Petersburg and a peace treaty was concluded. However in 1735 there was another rising led by Kilmek Abiz and Kusimoglu Akay against Russian efforts to encircle Bashkuristan and isolate it from the Karakalpaqs and the Kazaks. This was the bloodiest of all the Bashkurts' risings. Kilmek Abiz and Akay were eventually captured, and taken to St. Petersburg and executed, but in 1737 the fighting flared up again under the leadership of two boys from the Kuvakan tribe, Pepene and Tungevur Kösep, with the support of the Kazak Khans. Pepene proclaimed Hadja Ahmed Süleiman the son of the Kazak Khan Abu 'I-Khayr as Khan of the Bashkurts. The movement was put down only with very heavy casualties.

The fighting was renewed in 1740 under a leader known as Karasakal. This was, in fact, Baybulat, last of the Kütümids, who together with a nephew had been working with the support of the Crimean Khan among the Bashkurts since 1738 (*Tatar. Zapiski*, vol. xxiv, 102). After two years fighting Karasakal was defeated by the Russians and fled to the Ortaik Karak Khan and took refuge with Barak Khan. After this nothing more is heard of the Kütümids, but further risings occurred in 1755 and in 1774.

In 1798, in accordance with her policy of conciliating the Bashkurts, Catherine the Great divided the province into a traditional tribal cantons. She also set up Bashkurts' regiments, which were armed with bows and arrows and wore their national costume. These regiments were used in the Napoleonic wars, and actually advanced as far as Paris. However in 1861 the cantons were abolished, as were the regiments in 1862, though some small units were not disbanded until 1882. In 1872 the Bashkurts, who had previously been dealt with by the Foreign Ministry, were given the same status as other Russian subjects, though they had their own administrative and land laws.

The Bashkurts played no important part in the 1905 revolution. In 1917, in accordance with a resolution of "The General Assembly of the Muslims of Russia" held on May 1-10, which called for autonomy for Muslim Turkish regions, the Bashkurts

representatives set up a 3 man central committee (Zeki Velidi, Sa'ad Miras, Allah Berdi Djefet) to deal with the administrative organisation of their province. They came to an agreement with the Kazak-Kirgiz, and held the first Bashkurts Congress which urged that the Bashkurts should join with other peoples struggling for autonomy (the Kazaks and Uzbeks, etc.) (*Bashkurts' Aynalı*, Ufa 1925, vol. 1, 3). In the autumn they began to form an army, and an administrative centre was set up in the Caravanserai at Orenburg under Bekhovağa Yunus. In 1918 this government was supported by the Russians and its members were imprisoned at Orenburg but later escaped. In June the Bashkurts rose again, formed 2 military divisions, and revived the government at Orenburg. In order to include Kazak-Kirgiz detachments the divisions were turned into a separate army corps under the command of General Jigdalov. But the Allies, alarmed at the German drive in the Ukraine and Caucasus, wanted no national Kirgiz and Bashkurts army in the Urals and in the steppes and sought its disbandment. In accordance with their wishes General Kolzak proclaimed that the army and government would not be recognised (21 Nov. 1918).

On 19 February 1919 the "Bashkuristan" government concluded a peace treaty with the Soviets, which protected its army and its autonomy in internal affairs. Afterwards there were efforts to unite the Bashkurts with the Kazaks, but they were rejected by the Soviets, and Isterlitamak was made the administrative centre for Bashkuristan, and Aktube for Kazakhstan. This was "Little Bashkuristan", with an area of 84,874 sq. km. and a population of 1,250,000, some 5% of whom were Turks. The premier was Yumurtoglu, afterwards Z. V. Togan (Valdivov). On 29 June 1920 the members of the government withdrew from office and went to Turkistan to take part in the movement of the Basmachis (g.s.) against the Soviets. A completely Soviet government was formed and the army was disbanded. In June 1922 the Soviets united Bashkuristan with the province of Ufa, which was predominantly Russian, as "Great Bashkuristan". According to the 1933 census its area was 131,840 sq. km. and its population 2,975,400 only 51% of whom were Turks.

The Bashkurts' dialect occupies an intermediate place between the Kazak and Kazan dialects. Under the Soviets it has been reduced to writing and books have been printed in it.

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**BASH-BOZUK**, a term, meaning 'leaderless', 'unattached', that was first applied late in the Ottoman period both to homeless vagabonds from the provinces seeking a livelihood in Istanbul and to such male Muslim subjects of the sultan as were not affiliated to any military corps. From this last usage it came to signify 'civilian' (cf. Redhouse, *Turkish-English Lexicon*, s.v.) and for this reason individual volunteers forming bodies attached to the Ottoman army at the time of the Crimean War were called *bash-bozuk* 'sakhri' ('civilian' or 'irregular' troops). These irregulars, largely recruited among Albanians, Kurds, and Circassians, furnished their own arms and mounts (some being cavalry) and had their own commanders. In the course of the war an attempt was made to subject them to normal military discipline; but this was not successful; and during the next Russo-Ottoman war (of 1877) the *bash-bozuk* 'sakhri' earned so much opprobrium for their savagery and love of loot that their employment was thereafter abandoned.

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**BASHR B. SA'D**, Medinese companion of the Khawraj tribe, and an early convert to Islam. He attended the second 'Akaba meeting with the Prophet, and after the Prophet's emigration to Medina, took part in all the ensuing battles and himself led two expeditions, one in Sha'ban 31 December 629 against the Banu Murra at Fadak, and the other later in the same year against a force of Ghatfan which 'Umayya b. Hishm was assembling between Wadi al-Kura and Fadak in order to attack Medina. The first expedition ended in complete disaster and Bashir himself fought bravely but was wounded and left for dead. During the night, he managed to reach the house of a Jew in Fadak where he sheltered for a few days before returning to Medina. The second expedition, carried out with 300 men, was successful, 'Umayya's force was dispersed and much booty captured. In the same year, when the Prophet visited Mecca for 'Umat al-Kada' in accordance with the agreement of the previous year at al-Hudaybiya, Bashir commanded an armed contingent which escorted him but did not enter Mecca.

On the death of the Prophet, Bashir supported the claim of Kuraysh against the Medinese attempt, in the *Sahifa* meeting, to elect an Ansari successor, and was the first—or one of the first—to make the decisive move of paying homage to Abū Bakr. Later he joined the expedition to 'Irak, and was present when al-Ukra was captured by 'Abd al-Walid. He died at 'Ayn al-Taur in 22/33, though it is not certain whether he was killed in the fighting



or died from a wound he had received shortly before.

Baghir was one of the few who knew the art of writing. He was the father of al-Nu'mān b. Baghir [q.v.].

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**BASHIR ÇELEBI**, a physician who flourished in the middle of the 9th/15th century. According to the little treatise *Hikāyat-i Baghir Çelebi* (of which one MS. has been published in facsimile by I. H. Ertaylan as *Tārīk-i Edirne: Hikāyat-i Beğir Çelebi, Türk Edebiyatı Örnekleri* iii, İstanbul 1946), he was summoned from Konya to Edirne by Mehmed II very soon after his accession; he explained to the Sultan the advantages of the climate of Edirne and recommended to him the site for the building of the New Palace (begun in 855/1455, cf. *IA*, article *EDİRNE* [M. Tayyib Gökbilgin], p. 127b).

The Ottoman history attributed to him (*Tarih-i Al-i Osman, Türk Edebiyatı Örnekleri* iv, İstanbul 1946) is probably not another MS. of the *Giese Annamensis Chronica* (as demonstrated by Adnan Erti in *Bull.* XIII, 1929, 182-5; the MS. is very close to Giese's *Witten*). = Flügel No. 953. Neither this History nor the *Tārīk-i Edirne* is the work of Baghir Çelebi.

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**BASHIR SHIHAB II**, Amir of Lebanon, 1788-1840. Born in 1780/1767 in the village of Ghazir, Baghir lost his father Amir Kāsim in his early years and was soon compelled to try his fortune in the field of politics in Dayr al-Kamar, the capital of Lebanon. Robust, intelligent, and circumspect, he soon attracted attention as a possible candidate for the governorship of Lebanon. Shaykh Khāim Jumblat, a wealthy and powerful feudal lord, was the first to appreciate Baghir's gifts and possibilities. His first approaches were successful, and Kāsim and Baghir became friends and allies. The change for common action came in 1788. Wearied by the heavy exactions of the Turkish Pashas of Sidon, Tripoli, and Damascus, Amir Yūsuf Shihāb, governor of Lebanon, called the Notables of the Land to a meeting in Dayr al-Kamar to discuss the general situation. To their surprise, Amir Yūsuf confessed his inability to come to an understanding with Dījazār Pasha [q.v.] of Sidon and called for advice regarding his successor. Shaykh Khāim and his supporters suggested young Baghir, and Amir Yūsuf agreed. Baghir made the usual journey to 'Akkā, Dījazār's fortress, and came back Governor of Lebanon.

A rapacious intriguer, Dījazār Pasha stimulated in 1799/1794 a number of Lebanese notables to revolt and induced one of the sons of Amir Yūsuf to make a bid for the governorship of Lebanon. He then promised support to Baghir in return for a large sum of money. Having satisfied the greed of the Pasha, Baghir immediately set himself to the task of internal consolidation. In 1794, he permitted the Jumblats and the Amads to murder several Nakad chiefs in his own reception hall. Then, with the help

of the Jumblats, he forced the Amad chiefs to leave Lebanon and seek refuge elsewhere (1799, 1808, 1819). In 1822/1827, he burdened the Jumblats with very heavy contributions; and, in 1824, he defeated them in open battle and put them to flight. In the mean time, Baghir strengthened his local levies and made of them the strongest military contingent in all Syria-Palestine. His fifteen thousand men were more than equal to all the soldiers of all the Pashas of Syria put together. In addition, Lebanese levies were daring and extremely skilful in the manipulation of arms.

In the meanwhile, Baghir's grants in aid to Christian Patriarchs and Archbishops and his acts of toleration were winning for him clerical support and French consular aid. In 1817, Pope Pius VII wrote in person to thank the Amir for his policy of religious toleration; and in 1815, Pope Gregory XVI addressed the Amir as a faithful son and praised his conversion. With his own co-regulations, the Druzes, Baghir behaved differently. Until his time the Druzes had had only one religious head, the Shaykh al-Akl. Baghir introduced a second head and set him up against his colleague.

Baghir's greatest ambition was to ward off local Turkish intrigue and protect the historic autonomy of Lebanon. Circumspect and fofy, he refused to commit himself either for or against Napoleon when the time of his advance into Palestine. And, as soon as the French forces withdrew into Egypt, Baghir went down in person to the Grand Vizier's camp in al-Arslā, 1799, and procured an Imperial firman which tied the Lebanon directly with the Sublime Porte. When the Grand Vizier died, this firman became null and void, and Baghir had, by other means, Dījazār's successor, Sulaymān Pasha (1800, 1819), was more humane; and Baghir courted his favour to stem the cupidity and inordinate desires of Kandī Pasha of Damascus. In 1820, Yūsuf Kandī Pasha claimed direct control of the fertile valley of the Bekaa. When no amount of persuasion could change his desire, Baghir marched on Damascus at the head of a force, 15,000 strong, and took it to Egypt. In 1820, Baghir had to march again on Damascus and for the same reason. A year later, Darwish succeeded in gaining the good will of the Sublime Porte and marched against Baghir's ally, 'Abd Allāh Pasha, with substantial assistance from his colleague the Pasha of Aleppo. 'Abd Allāh then locked himself up in the fortress of 'Akkā, and Baghir sought allies. The change for common action came in 1828. Wearied by the heavy exactions of the Turkish Pashas of Sidon, Tripoli, and Damascus, Amir Yūsuf Shihāb, governor of Lebanon, called the Notables of the Land to a meeting in Dayr al-Kamar to discuss the general situation. To their surprise, Amir Yūsuf confessed his inability to come to an understanding with Dījazār Pasha [q.v.] of Sidon and called for advice regarding his successor. Shaykh Khāim and his supporters suggested young Baghir, and Amir Yūsuf agreed. Baghir made the usual journey to 'Akkā, Dījazār's fortress, and came back Governor of Lebanon.

Muhammad 'Alī Pasha [q.v.] of Egypt was then laying the foundation of independence. He had already sensed the hostile intentions of the Sublime Porte and was preparing himself for a war of liberation. He realised fully well the military importance of Amir Baghir and the strategic significance of Mount Lebanon. The two conferred together and soon arrived at a complete understanding of the situation. Muhammad 'Alī intervened in favour of 'Abd Allāh Pasha at Constantinople and Baghir came back to Lebanon completely victorious.

In 1247/1831, Muhammad 'Alī decided to strike. The Sultan had lost heavily in both the Greek War of Independence and in the Russian War and had, in 1826, dissolved the Janissaries of the Sublime Porte promised full respect of the privileges of Mount Lebanon, but Baghir's answer was, "You should not expect help from those whom you have always neglected". Lebanese levies fought 'Uthmān Pasha in Tripoli, joined in the march on Damascus, protected the Egyptian commissariat and rear as far north as Aleppo. In return, Muhammad 'Alī Pasha

recognised the ancient privileges of Lebanon, and promised to eschew direct interference in its internal affairs, (1833-40). But as the Sultan could never consider the new situation consistent with his dignity and honour, Muhammad 'Alī had to remain prepared for another trial. This meant more men for his army and more money for his growing expenses, and actually led to disarmament, compulsory military service and increased taxation. Unable to understand the Lebanese mentality, he ordered application of his new regulations in Lebanon and in the Druze Mountain of the Hawran, and had to suffer the consequences. Troubles flared up in the Hawran in the autumn and winter of 1837-1838; and several thousand Egyptians perished. In the summer of 1253/1838, the Egyptians were routed again in the Anti-Lebanon.

The impending clash between the Egyptian forces and the Ottoman Army took place in the early summer of 1839 at Neft on the Turkish border. As the Egyptians met the Turks to flight and threatened to march on Constantinople, and as Russia was bound to come to the help of Turkey by the terms of the Treaty of Hunkār İskelesi (1833), and as France had consistently favoured Muhammad 'Alī Pasha, the Eastern Question was open again for discussion. British and Turkish emissaries visited Constantinople in an attempt to win over Amir Baghir to their side. Baghir himself procrastinated, but the Lebanese rushed to arms in open revolt. By the summer of 1256/1840, France was isolated and the rest of the Big Powers, including Russia, signed the Treaty of London. Allied naval units arrived in Lebanese waters and a Turkish force was landed off the Bay of Junieh. Lebanese, Druze and Mshar, isolated defeated British troops at Bahrsaf, and Baghir III was proclaimed Governor of Lebanon. Baghir II surrendered to the British in Sidon and was carried to Malta in exile. Several months later, he was allowed to establish himself in Asia Minor. He passed away in 1852, and was buried in the Armenian Catholic Church in Galata, Constantinople. In 1946, when Lebanon achieved the status of independence, Baghir had sought, the Government of the Republic brought his remains to Lebanon and deposited them in the family vault in Bayt al-Din.

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**BASHIR** (see BASHMIR).

**AL-BASHKUNISHI**, the Basques, a people of uncertain origin inhabiting the W. end of the Pyrenees and the adjacent part of the Cantabrian Mountains, with the Atlantic coast to the N. 'Baschunish' is evidently from Latin 'Vascones', with the phonetic change v < b elsewhere. The Basque language is called *al-baghziyya* (*Al-Rawd al-Mifrah*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 56).

The principal centre of the Baghkunish was Pampeluna (Arabic Bāmbalūna, from an original Pompeipol), which became eventually the capital of Navarre. Their territory was invaded by Mūsā b. Nusayr at the time of the conquest of Spain (*Kutub al-Imma* wa 'l-Siyasa, *Colleción de Obras Arabicas*, ii, 132 ff.), and then or later but in any case before 1004/718-719, as Codera showed, Pampeluna capitulated to the Muslims. 'Uthba b. al-Hadijādī (Unayyad governor of Spain for five years from 116/711) settled a Muslim garrison there (Ibn 'Idhar, ii, 28). A few years later (138/755-756) the Baghkunish were in revolt and destroyed a force sent to Pampeluna by the amir Yūsuf al-Fihri, etc., about the time of the arrival in Spain of 'Abd al-Rahmān I. At the time of the famous invasion of northern Spain by Charlemagne (801/778) Pampeluna submitted to him, but it was probably bands of Basques, joined by the Muslims, who cut his rear-guard to pieces at Roncesvalles (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 1944, 89). In 164/780-781, or in the following year, towards the close of his long reign, 'Abd al-Rahmān I was obliged to move in person against the Baghkunish.

By 798/812 the Basques of Pampeluna had renounced their Muslim allegiance, permanently as it turned out, and declared themselves vassals of Alfonso II, king of the Asturias. We soon hear of an independent Basque chief at Pampeluna, Gharsiya b. Wauke (García Iñiguez), who, as it appears, through his granddaughter Ifiga, married to the Unayyad 'Abd Allāh, became the ancestor of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, al-Nasir. A fresh grouping of power among the Baghkunish took place in 905, when Sancho Garces I set aside the elder line, and effectively established the kingdom of Navarre. The western Basques continued to be subjects of the king of the Asturias. Henceforward what from the point of view of Muslim Spain has been called the 'Basque menace' (E. Lévi-Provençal) is represented by the history of Navarre especially.

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**BASHMAKLIK** (see AL-SAL' AL-IBARTI).

**BASHMAKLIK**, a term applied under the Ottoman regime during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to fief revenues assigned to ladies of the sultan's harem for the purchase of their personal requirements, particularly clothes and slippers (*baghmaq* or *paghmaq* meaning 'slipper' in Turkish). The word has not yet been found in any document earlier than the end of the sixteenth century, and ceased to be used from the beginning of the eighteenth. The ladies who qualified for the receipt of *baghmaqs* were the sultan's mother (*valide*), his sisters, his daughters, his *badins*, and his *ghayretiks*; but information is lacking on the different values of those assigned to each of these ranks,—if indeed there was any fixed scale at all. We know, however, that they were assigned for life and that during the seventeenth century they were often improperly enlarged beyond the usual revenue limit of 20,000



added a year by the addition to them of military fields that had fallen vacant. Though from early in the eighteenth century the term *baghmālikā* fell out of use, *fiat* revenues were still assigned to these members of the imperial *harem*, being known, therefore, simply as *khān* and consisting, since virtually all revenues were by that date collected by tax-farm (*mubtāʿa*), of the advance payments made by contractors for certain such farms. Towards the end of that century the practice was adopted of granting *mubtāʿas* to the ladies concerned on *malikāne*, or life, tenures; but in the reform period such grants were finally abolished, annual cash allowances were paid to them in lieu.

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#### BASHSHARĀK ʾ. DURD (see MALĪYĀ).

**BASHSHAR ʾ. DURD**, Abū Muʿāzz, a famous ʿIrāqī Arabic poet of the 2nd/8th century. His family was originally from Tulhāristān or eastern Iran. His grandfather had been captured and taken to ʿIrāq at the time of the expedition of al-Muhallab (g.a.); his father, who was finally freed by an ʿUmayyid Arab lady of Basra, was a bricklayer of that town. Bashshār was born in Basra, the date being uncertain but probably about 90 or 95/714-15. For a long time he attached himself to ʿUmayyid as a dependent, without forgetting to glorify the memories of ancient Iran in accordance with his Shuʿubī leanings; but this was equally, no doubt, a good means of turning his detractors, attention away from his humble origins, which the fiction of his royal ancestry ill concealed (v. the naïve genealogy of Bashshār given in *Aghānī*, III, 135).

The gift of poetry is said to have been revealed in Bashshār when he was ten years old (see *Aghānī*, III, 143, 144; from a Basra source). His Basra environment was nothing if not favourable to the growth of such a talent; the caravan halt or *mawḍ* which was of such importance up to the middle of the 3rd/9th century (cf. Pellat, *Mélanges berberis*, 158 ff.) was for the young artist a kind of school in which he must have soaked himself in the poetic tradition then in full flower in central and eastern Arabia (see the anecdote in *Aghānī*, III, 143-5, which recounts the meeting of Bashshār with the Tāmihi ʿUmarī, then at the height of his fame; Brockelmann's suggestion, S I, 109, of confusion with a homonym of ʿUmarī cannot be accepted). Bashshār's career embraces the activities of a writer of panegyric, elegy and satire. It is remarkable that blindness from birth and exceptional ugliness did not cause him to be shunned by women or by the important figures of his day. But he knew how to impress and to make himself feared by the quality of his praises and his epigrams.

From the fragments or pieces which have come down to us Bashshār appears as the court poet of Umayyad governors such as Ibn Hubayra (g.a.) (see *Aghānī*, III, 197, 236) or Salm b. Kutayba (g.a.) (at the latest in 132/750) (see *ibid.*, 190), or prince Sulaymān, the son of the caliph Hishām (see *Diwān*, I, 291-303); we even have a panegyric on the last Umayyad ruler, Marwān (see *Diwān*, I, 306 ff.). The advent of the ʿAbbāsids does not seem to have checked the rising career of the poet, who was not thirty-seven years old. He was too clever a man not to adapt himself to the new state of affairs. It is difficult to follow the process in detail, but an ode originally in honour of the ʿAlid ʿIbrāhīm b. ʿAbd

Allāh is said to have been finally dedicated to the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Mansūr (*Aghānī*, III, 213 bottom; cf. al-ʿAsʿadī, *Diwān al-Maʿnū*, I, 130); if this fact is correct it is characteristic. Bashshār lived in Baghdad from the time of its foundation in 148/764 (see al-Marzubānī, *Mawḍūʿshah*, 247-8). His panegyrics were then dedicated either to prominent figures in Basra such as Sulaymān al-ʿAbdī (governor in 142/759-60) or his son (governor about 176/792) (see *Aghānī*, III, 165-7, 207; Pellat, 166, 280) or to such figures as ʿUkba b. Salūs (governor in 174/784) (see *Aghānī*, III, 174-5; cf. Pellat, 168) or his son, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (governor in 151/768) (see *Aghānī*, III, 210; cf. Pellat, 281); several anecdotes give the impression that Bashshār was much in favour under the caliph al-Mansūr, whom he probably accompanied on pilgrimage to Mecca (see *Aghānī*, III, 153, 159, 188, 212, 239 especially *Diwān*, I, 257, 275 (*ḥasida* of 29 verses) and II, 24); later relations between the monarch and the poet were to become strained (see *infra*). To these official connections we owe much precious material on the poet's life. But doubtless they are not as important as Bashshār's connections with the grammarians of Basra, such as Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlī, Abū ʿUbayda or al-ʿAsmaʿī (g.a.) or with religious folk in that town such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (g.a.) (cf. 110/218; *Aghānī*, III, 169 ff.) or Malik b. Dīnār (g.a.) (cf. 131/748; v. *ibid.*, 170). His career in the last years of these last two persons are in line with, and confirm, his taste for consorting with people ostracised because of their manners or religious beliefs. A "literature" more anecdotal than valuable gives a picture of this aspect of Bashshār's life: his adventures and half-sarcastic escapades (thus *Aghānī*, III, 185-6, on a pretended pilgrimage to Mecca; and 233, on his relationship with some Kūfa libertines). His diatribes against Ḥammād ʿAdrad show how lively these relations sometimes were (see *ibid.*, III, 137, 205, 223 bottom; al-ʿIḍḥārī, *Bayān*, I, 30). His caustic temperament, his character and above all his sensitivity on the subject of his infirmity and lack of inheritance explain in large measure the poet's pungent invective against his rivals or enemies, though in these grounds he should not be forgotten which explain the rancour of these quarrels on the ideological plane.

Shuʿbīism is one of these causes (thus *Aghānī*, III, 138, 139 and especially 174-5, against the Bedouin poet ʿUkba b. Ruʿba; v. also *ibid.*, 166 the fragment against a Bedouin, and 201-4 in which a nobleman reproaches the poet with having stirred up quarrels against the Arab patrons). Bashshār's position on the subject of Muʿtazilism reflects his fluctuating opinion of Wāṣil b. ʿAlī (g.a.) (cf. 135/748-9 in Basra), whom he satirises, having previously flattered him (see al-ʿIḍḥārī, *Bayān*, I, 16 ff., and again in *Aghānī*, III, 145 f.; v. also the violent diatribes against each other of Bashshār and the Muʿtazilite poet Saʿwān al-Anṣārī of Basra, on which see Pellat, *Mélanges berberis*, 175-7 with a translation of Saʿwān's verse).

Bashshār's religious views remain unclear; they seem to have fluctuated, and Bashshār, as an opportunist, to have concealed his true mind. The reservations he makes on the subject of poets he appreciates such as al-Kumayrī or al-Sayyid al-Hinayfī who lived in Rome from 147/764 to 157/773-4 (cf. *Aghānī*, III, 225, VII, 237, but the facts are uncertain) would tend to indicate that he was not a Shiʿī (but see Pellat, 178, who thinks that Bashshār brought together the Shiʿī views of the Kāmilīyya, on which see *id.*, 203). The accusation of *zandaka* made against Bashshār and the anecdotes

which illustrate it rather than give it substance point to his holding heterogeneous views; among these views there are in fact to be found Manichaean beliefs strongly tinged with Zoroastrianism (see al-ʿIḍḥārī, *Bayān*, I, 26; citation of the celebrated verse *the Earth is dust and the Fire is resplendent and the Fire has been worshipped from the time that it existed*; cf. the reference to this affirmation of Bashshār's in the refutation of the Muʿtazilite Saʿwān, *ibid.*, I, 97, line 7; cf. also *Fihrist*, 338, line 10, which puts the poet among the Zindīth-Manichaeans of the mid/8th cent.).

But along with these beliefs there would seem always to have been a profound scepticism (see *Aghānī*, III, 227, line 1 ff.; *Diwān*, II, 246) mingled with a fatalistic outlook leading Bashshār to pessimism and hedonism (*ibid.*, 232, and the citation from Ibn Kutayba, ʿUyūn, I, 40 bottom). Like his fellows, Bashshār had to fall back on the *hikaya* and profess an orthodoxy and a pious zeal which was totally opposed to his real convictions (thus, his verses against the heretic Ibn al-ʿAwwādī, who was executed at Kūfa, *Aghānī*, III, 147, and above all the verse of the *Diwān*, II, 36, line 3, showing a strict Islamic orthodoxy).

His prudence in this respect was not allowed to obscure the scandal of his manners, his epicureanism and his heterodoxy. A riot ensanguined in Basra effected his ruin in the eyes of the caliph al-Maʿlūf (see the anecdotal accounts in *Aghānī*, III, 243 ff.), impinging as it did on matters of wider import, viz. the persecution under that ruler of all those covered by the name of *zindīk* (g.a.) (see *ibid.*, 246 bottom and ff.; especially, Gabrieli, *Appunti*, 158). Bashshār was seized, beaten, and exiled to the island of the Baṭṭā (al-Talāt, Cairo ed., v, 401; *Aghānī*, III, 247 ff.). This occurred in 167 or 168/784-5 when the poet was over seventy years of age (not ninety, as has been said through an orthographic confusion; cf. *Aghānī*, III, 247, 249, giving the two figures, of which only the second features in al-Khathīb al-Baghādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, VII, 118 and Ibn Khallikān, I, 88).

Bashshār was famous in his day as an orator and letter-writer or prose-writer (al-ʿIḍḥārī, *Bayān*, I, 40), but he owes his renown above all to his poetic gifts. His work in verse was as abundant as it was varied, but unfortunately has not come down to us in its original form. Being blind Bashshār was dependent on *rhētor*, of whom we know the names of four, notably the notorious Khāl al-Aḥmar (see *Aghānī*, III, 137, 164 and *ibid.*, 112, 170, 189); but none of them troubled to put together the *diwān* of their master. Occasional pieces, impromptu and epigrams were very quickly lost, while at the same time poems of more or less doubtful authenticity were attributed to Bashshār (see gloss on *Diwān*, I, 309). From the 3rd/9th century the poet's work was then known only through the collections of the anthologists, such as Ḥārūn b. ʿAlī (cf. 288/900-1; cf. *Fihrist*, 144) or Ahmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Tayfūr (cf. 280/893), who had compiled an *Iḥṣāyā Shʿr Bashshār* (see *Fihrist*, 147). It is known that in the last quarter of the 4th/10th century Ibn al-Nadīm consulted a collection of selected poems of about a thousand pages (v. *Fihrist*, 159 bottom). No account should however be taken of the *Iḥṣāyā min Shʿr Bashshār* of the two brothers al-Khāṣṣīdī of Mosul, which is not mentioned among their works by Ibn al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, 169. This last work we know only through the extracts given by al-Tuḥṭīḥī (5th/11th cent., ed. al-ʿAlawī, Aligarh 1935). A single manuscript of eastern origin (of the 6th/12th century 7), containing

poems on rhymes from a to z, has been the basis of the edition of Ibn ʿAṣḥr (5 vols., Cairo 1950-57), which is far from satisfactory. We see that the work of Bashshār can be studied only with caution.

Bashshār writes in formal, tripartite *ḥasida*, in a tant style, and though his poems may be conventional in form and theme they show a break with those of the preceding generation. The pitilessness of his epigrams places him in the Umayyad satirist tradition (thus, *Diwān*, II, 66, against Ḥammād ʿAdrad; also *Aghānī*, III, 188, 202); here also his taste for the burlesque or far parody leads him to make innovations (thus, the prosopopoeia on his ass, *Aghānī*, III, 232 bottom). But it is probably in elegy that he has made his name most remembered. Frequently, already, his *basīra* themes tend towards the love-song, which might well be considered the abandonment of a tradition of which the pastiches attributed to al-ʿAṣḥā Maymūn (g.a.) are questionable examples. The anonymous elegies make up an important part of this work, and are addressed mainly to a Basran lady named ʿAbda, but also to other heroines whose names are probably fictitious. Now sensual and even realistic (thus *Aghānī*, III, 155, 165, 182, 200 etc.), now suffused with courtly ingenuity, these poems seem to give two different responses to the eternal conflict within the oriental Poems of an intellectual cast are also common, and though Bashshār is not really profound he avoids triviality and can make acute observations.

Adaptability is the key-note of Bashshār's manner, which can be stylised and archaizing in the *ḥasida* (thus, *Diwān*, I, 306 ff.), but looses and becomes delightfully free in the anonymous elegies, in which the poet allows himself daring licences of language (thus *Diwān*, II, 5, line 7; 10, lines 31, 35, line 2). The dominant influence on Bashshār was indeed always the tradition he inherited from the desert poets; in many respects he is close to the Hijāzī "school" as we see it in ʿUmar b. Abī Rabʿa (g.a.). But he contrived to enrich this tradition with the wealth of his own interior universe, the hard experience born of his physical disgrace and his contact with a confusing and turbulent world.

The importance of Bashshār's place in the transitional period of poetry in the middle of the 2nd/8th century cannot be overestimated. The influence of the man and the artist is attested by the enthusiasm or hatred he awoke in his contemporaries. All in all he was considered one of the *glories* of Basra. His poems, often set to music, delighted the young and the feminine public, while the *connoisseurs*' opinion emerges from the "value judgements" attributed to such scholars as Abū ʿUbayda, al-ʿAsmaʿī, Khāl al-Aḥmar and a host of others (see *Aghānī*, III, *passim*). We know on the other hand in what esteem al-ʿIḍḥārī held him (see *Bayān*, index). Finally, Bashshār profoundly influenced the following generation of poets; statements to this effect in the biographies of Abū ʿAṭābiya (g.a.), al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnāf (g.a.), Abū Nuwās (g.a.), Salm al-Khāṣir and many others are confirmed by the study of their works. At the present day eastern critics have readily been able to see in Bashshār one of the greatest names in Arab poetry.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Shʿr* ed. De Goeje, 476-79 and index; al-ʿIḍḥārī, *Bayān*, ed. Ḥārūn, I, 49 and index (24 references of Bashshār); *Aghānī*, III, 135-249, IV, 15, 28-29, 33-34, 70-2, VI, 227, 229, 232, 237 and tables; *Fihrist*, 138; Khathīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, VII, 112-8; Marzubānī, *Mawḍūʿshah*, 246-50; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, I, 89-90, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid (Cairo), I,



243, no. 110; for the other secondary biographical sources v. Brockelmann, S. I, 40. On the background, v. A. Mez, *Renaissance*; G. Vadja, *Les Zindiqs... au début de la période abbaside*, in *RSO*, xvii (1937), 173-229; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Gôlâh*, Paris 1953, 170-8, 246-9 and index. Special studies on this poet by Di Matteo, *La Poesia araba nel I secolo degli 'Abbasidi*, Palermo 1935, 9-124; F. Gabrieli, *Appunti su B.I.B.*, in *BSOS* ix (1937), 51-65.

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**BASİŞAR** al-**SHĀ'IRI**, Shī'ite heretic, flourished in the second century A.H. He lived in Kūfa and earned his wealth by selling barley (*ḡa'ir*), whence his name. According to the *Mīnāḥidī* and the *Muntahā*, he was sometimes mistakenly referred to as al-Aḥḡārī, instead of the correct al-Shā'irī. According to traditions related by al-Kaḡhībī, he was in 249/80 to appoint his son al-'Abḥār heir-apparent (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī* vii, 146; read 'Alī al-Baḥrī and congratulatory verses on the occasion of the accession of al-Mu'tazz to the throne 4 Muharram 252/25 January 866 (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī* vii, 378). This seems incidentally that contrary to the statement of Marzubānī he did not die during the civil war 251/865. Ibn Ḥaḡḡar placed his death in the reign of al-Mu'tamid (256-79/870-92).

**Bibliography:** *Fihrist* 123; Marzubānī, *Mu'djam al-Sha'irā* 314; Krenkow; Ibn Ḥaḡḡar, *Lisān al-Mitān* iv, 438; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī* vii, 328 ff., 346. See also Kāllī, *Amālī*; Ibn Shadjarī, *Ḥamāli* (register s.v. a. 'Alī al-Darī); *Tha'ālibī, Ḥimāli al-Kūbā* 44, 164, 268, 485, 496; *Aḡḡābi* x, 108; x, 41.

**BAŞİT**, (c.1465-1535) Turkish and Persian poet. Although Latīf and 'Alī (*Kunā* al-'Abḥār) record that he came to Rūm from the realm of Persia, it is clearly stated in the *taḡhīras* of Rīyāḡī and in the *Kaḡf* al-Zunūn that he was from Ḥaḡḡād. Because of a diseased condition (*ḡarāḡ*) from which he suffered, he was called Aladja ('Blotch') Rūm. He grew up in the scholarly and literary milieu of Harāt, and frequented the circles of Sultān Ḥusayn Baykārā (1438-1507), Dīnālī (1424-92), and Nawā'ī (1441-1501). As he is not mentioned in the last-named's *Maḡḡilās al-Nalā'is*, he could not yet have won fame in that environment, but he is mentioned among the poets of Sellm I in the supplement written by Ḥaḡḡādī. Muhammad al-Shāh Kazwīnī in his Persian translation of the *Maḡḡilās al-Nalā'is*, Baḡī left Harāt for Rūm some time before 1492, bringing the books and *ghazals* of Dīnālī and Nawā'ī, and various commissions to execute for them. For a while he was in the service of the Ak Koyūnlu. When Ahmad Gōde, son of Ughurica, came to the Ak Koyūnlu throne (1496), Baḡī was sent as his ambassador to Sultān Baykārā II, reaching Istanbul in 1496 or 1497. On Ahmad Gōde's death in battle in the neighbourhood of Isfāhān in the latter year, Baḡī decided not to return to Persia but to settle in Istanbul. He later attached himself to Mu'ayyaddāde,

who was nicknamed al-Baḡī and al-Darī (for *anti-phrasen*, see A. Fischer, *ZDMG* 61, 430). When Sāmarrā was built in 221/836 he went to the new capital and in spite of his strong and even extreme Shī'ite leanings he succeeded al-Mu'tasim and his successors. He attached himself to al-Faḥr b. Khākhān [s.v.] and his nephew 'Ubayd Allāh b. Yahyā (see Ibn Khākhān) and praised them in his poems (see e.g. Ibn Shadjarī, *Ḥamāli* 117; Muḥarrar, *Kāmil* 6; Yāḡūt *Iṣṣād* vi, 122; Ibn Raḡḡīb, *'Umda*, i 78). He was acquainted with Abu 'T-Yaynā' [s.v.], Sa'ūd b. Humayyid, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir [s.v.], Abū Ḥāshim and other men of letters; they were devoted to each other in literary and esthetic labours. He was a gifted writer; some of his admirers ranked him even higher than Dīrī. He had a poor opinion of the poetry of Abū Nuwās and Muslim b. al-Walīd (see Marzubānī, *Munawwih* 282 f.). Abu 'T-Hasan Ibn al-Munajjid in the appendix to his father's *Kāb al-Baḡī* and Ibn Ḥaḡḡar al-Nu'ayn in his *Adḡḡ al-Kaḡḡā* devoted both a chapter to his poems (*Fihrist* 144, 1166, 23). His *Diwān* and the collection of his letters are lost. Amongst his verses which have come down to us, are some, that can be dated: e.g. a poem, composed in 247/861, when al-Mutawakkil went from Sāmarrā to his new residence al-Dī'a-riyya (Yāḡūt, ii, 87; read *al-Baḡī* instead of *al-Baḡī*), a few lines of a long poem, arguing in 249/80 in 249/80 to appoint his son al-'Abḥār heir-apparent (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī* vii, 146; read 'Alī al-Baḡī) and congratulatory verses on the occasion of the accession of al-Mu'tazz to the throne 4 Muharram 252/25 January 866 (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī* vii, 378). This seems incidentally that contrary to the statement of Marzubānī he did not die during the civil war 251/865. Ibn Ḥaḡḡar placed his death in the reign of al-Mu'tamid (256-79/870-92).

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*baḡī* 'asher from 1503 to 1507, and became one of his intimates. The testimony of the *taḡhīras* is that it was Baḡī who brought the *diwān* of Nawā'ī to Rūm.

While he wrote Persian poetry, Baḡī, being brought up in the circle of Ḥusayn Baykārā and Nawā'ī, had a detailed knowledge of Turkish language and literature. After his arrival in Rūm, he adapted himself to his new literary environment with such success, thanks to his powerful intellect, as to win the favourable mention of the authors of the *taḡhīras*. Being an elegant and witty versifier he was much in demand in the salons of the great. In the reign of Süleymān he was one of the associates of the *defterdar* İshender Celebi, and was given an income from the *avāḡ* of Aya Sofya and from the imperial treasury. His poems, both Persian and Turkish, show that he had a sound knowledge of the sciences which in that age were the necessary concomitants of poetry and on which poetry fed. The chief features of his poetry are wit, elegance, and particularly the devices of *diwān* and *ihām*. Although it influenced the local literature, his work does not display the characteristics of 16th-century Anatolian classical literature, but is closer to that of 15th-century Persia. His neat lampoons and witticisms offended no one. Some of these witticisms are quoted in the *taḡhīras* given by himself incorporated into the *diwān*. Apart from his Turkish *diwān*, he wrote a *Diwān*-name. He died in Istanbul, in his 70th year.

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(ALI NİHAZ TARIHAN)

**AL-BASIT**, Span. Albacete, Spanish town, chief town of the province of the same name which comprises the north-western portion of the old kingdom of Murcia, situated S.-W. of la Mancha and New Castle, on the S.E. slopes of the Meseta de Central Iberia at an altitude of 700 m. The modern name derives from the Arabic al-Basit ('*logar ancho y extendido y llano y sano*') and not from al-Basṭa 'the plain' as is still often stated. The place and the name are found for the first time in al-Dabḥī of Cordova and Ibn al-'Abḡar of Valencia in the 7th/13th century, in connection with the great battle of 20 Sha'bān 540/5 February 1146, a date confirmed by a laconic passage in the *Annales Toledanos* [ed. Huici Miranda 347, in *Las Crónicas latinas de la Reconquista*, I]; 'Cabañola (Seyt al-Yusuf al-Mustansir Ahmad b. Hūd) did battle with the Christians, and they killed him in the month of February 1144' (Spanish era = 1146 Christian era). The battle, which was quite an ordinary engagement, was not between Alfonso VII of Castile and his tributary, the short-lived king of south-eastern Spain which was entirely subject to him, but between the latter and the seignior Count sent by Alfonso VII to subjugate the rebels of Baeza, Ubeda and Jaén, who withheld their tribute from Sayf al-Dawla. The rebels, seeing their lands pillaged by the Christians, again submitted to their *amir* in order that he might save them from the Counts, who refused to suspend operations and, when Sayf al-Dawla took up arms against them, routed him and took him prisoner. While he was being led to their camp, certain soldiers, called *Pardos*, put him to death, much to the regret of the Counts and Alfonso VII himself'. With him was killed his ally the governor of Valencia 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad b. Sa'd; the latter is for this reason known by the Arabs as Šāḡib al-Basit, 'Master

(martyr) of Albacete'. The battle is also called the battle of al-Luḡḡī (Ibn al-'Abḡar: *bi 'l-mawḡ* 'la *ma'raḡ* bi 'l-Luḡḡī wa bi 'l-Basit 'ala malabara min *ḡindḡilla*) in the vicinity of Chinchilla. Al-Luḡḡī the place (and the river) may be identified either with Leraur to the west, or with Alaiur to the east of Albacete, on the northern slopes of the Sierra of Chinchilla (in the latter case it should read Latuḡḡī). It is not possible to settle the problem; Faby al-Luḡḡī is found as early as Ibn al-Kardābī (cf. Dozy, *Scriptores arabum loci de Alabacete*, ii, 19). **Bibliography:** Dabḥī (ed. Codera and Ribera), 33; Ibn al-'Abḡar, *al-Hullā al-Sayrā* (Dozy, *Notices*, 215, 219, 226); Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almorávides en España*, Saragossa 1899, 86, 109; Gaspar Romero, *Marcia Muslimana*, Saragossa 1905, 179 ff.; Seybold, in *ZDMG*, lxi.

(C. F. SEYBOLD-[A. HUGI MIRANDA])

**BASIT** (see 'ARḌ).

**BASIT WA MURAKKAḤ**, *Basit* and *murakkaḥ* (simple and composite) are translations of the Greek ἀπλοῦς and σύνθετος. In Arabic grammar (but also in philosophy and medicine), the term *murafad* is used for *basit*. In grammar, *murafad* and *murakkaḥ* correspond to simple nouns and their construct states, in medicine to constituents and their compounds. In logic, mathematics and music, a *riḡla*, the term *mu'alafal* is more commonly used for *murakkaḥ*, while it is in physics and medicine alone that the term *munamā'iz* is used sometimes as an equivalent of and sometimes as distinguished from *murakkaḥ*, *secundum prius et posterius*.

Something can be simple either absolutely or relatively: an absolutely simple thing is that which cannot be further sub-divided into simpler parts either physically or conceptually; an atom is an example of the first, a highest genus of the second type (for the definition of the simple as indivisible see, e.g., Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 989b 17). A relatively simple thing is a constituent in a further complex while in itself it may be divisible. Again, from the point of view of the 'composition' of form and matter (and the whole of the material world is so composite), either purely immaterial entities are simple or the primitive matter which is devoid of any form, although Aristotle and the Muslim philosophers restrict the term metaphysically to the former category.

In the actual material world (for the primitive matter does not exist), the four elements, fire, air, water and earth are regarded as the basic simple bodies by the composition of which every other material object comes into existence. According to Aristotle (the chief treatment of the subject is *De Gen. et Corr.* I, ch. 10), a form of composition in which the constituents retain their identity is *syntetis*, e.g., when sugar is mixed with sand, while in a *res* composition, called *peḡḡiz*, the parts lose their identity and share a common quality which, in many cases, may be different from that of the individual constituents. The former kind of 'composition' is not mentioned by the Muslim philosophers. They say that in certain combinations, e.g., in the case of compound numbers, figures or tones, a certain total quality emerges which does not belong to individual parts which also keep their identity, while in others the parts as such share the quality of the whole (e.g., in flesh) which is called *mutaḡabbih al-aḡḡiz* (ὁμοιοπαράτης). Whereas in the animal organism, each part, e.g., flesh, bones etc. is separately constituted in this way, but not the total organism, in the case

A disciple of the Khattābiyya (g.) group among the extreme Shī'a, Baḥḥār is said to have preached the doctrine that 'Alī was superior to Muhammad, since 'Alī was God and Muhammad only a messenger. He accepted the teachings of the Khattābiyya on four of the five deified persons, namely 'Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn, but denoted Muhammad, to whom he assigned the rôle which the Khattābiyya assign to Salmān al-Fāris. He was also accused of preaching libertinism, the denial of divine attributes, and metempsychosis. His followers were known as 'Uḡḡayyā (s.v.), a name that is variously interpreted. One version is that they were so called when Baḥḥār, after teaching these doctrines, was changed into a sea-bird ('alyā).

**Bibliography:** Al-Kaḡhībī, *Ma'raḡat al-Kidjāl*, Bombay 1317, 252-4; Al-Astarābādī, *Mīnāḥidī* al-Makhlī, Tehran 1307, 68-9; al-Hārī, *Muntahā al-Makhlī*, Tehran 1302, 65; L. Massinon, *Salmān al-Fāris*, Tours 1912, 28, 44-5; R. Strothmann, *Morgendliche Geheimnisse in al-Buhārī'scher Forschung*, Berlin 1953, 41-2; W. W. Rajkowski, *Early Shi'ism in Iraq*, London University Ph. D. thesis 1955.

**AL-BASIR**, AND 'ALĪ al-FARĪ b. DĪ'FAR b. AL-FARĪ b. YUNUS al-ANBARĪ al-NAGHĀ' al-KĀFĪ, poet and letter-writer of the first half of the 9th century. He was born in Kūfa in a family of Persian origin which had been living in al-Anḡar, but moved to Kūfa and settled in the quarter of the Yemenite tribe al-Naghā'. On account of his blindness he



of the heavenly bodies, each body is *mutashābih al-ādām*. The final qualitative pattern resulting from definite proportions of the constituents of a given mixture (i.e., hot, cold, moist and dry) is called *mināj*, whereas the particular form which a compound takes on due to this *mināj* is called *sūra* (or *ḥay'a*) *ḥay'at*. Thus the *mināj* (temperament) of a piece of living flesh is the final pattern of the mixture of the four primary qualities, while its *sūra ḥay'at* is the form of "fleshiness" (cf. Aristotle, *De Part. An.* 622a 18f.; *De An.* 408a 5 f.).

We said above that pure forms unmixed with matter are simple in the real sense. This is patently the case with intellect which not only knows pure universals but in whose act of knowing the duality of subject and object is removed. This kind of simplicity again admits of various degrees and works upwards from the human mind, through the separate intelligences, to God, in whose mind there is no multiplicity of objects. According to philosophers like Avicenna, who believe everything other than God to be composed of essence and existence, God alone is absolutely simple, not only in the operations of His mind but also in the necessary fact of His existence (see *MĀHĪYA WA WUJŪD*).

There is no special treatise on the subject and the various applications of the term can be studied only within the contexts of the special discourses of the philosophers, chiefly in their physical and metaphysical works. As a further Greek source of the Muslim's physical doctrine see Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Scripta Minora II*, περὶ ἀπορίας καὶ εὐσεβείας. (F. RAHMAN)

**BASMAČIS** (in Ōzbek "brigand"), the name given by the Russians to a revolutionary movement of the Muslim peoples of Turkestan against Soviet authority which broke out in 1918 and lasted 1919 or even later. See *TURKISTĀN, ŪZBEK, TĀDĪK, KHORASĀN, KHIVA, TÜRKMĒN, ENWER PASHA*.

(A. BENNIGSEN)

**BASMALA** is the formula *b'ism* *illāh* *l-raḥmān* *l-raḥīm*, also called *tawmīya* (to pronounce the [divine] Name). Common translation: "In the name of God, the Clement, the Merciful"; R. Blier's translation: "In the name of God, the Merciful Benefactor", etc. The formula occurs twice in the text of the *Kur'ān*: in its complete form in *Sūra* xxvii, 30, where it opens Solomon's letter to the queen of Sheba: "It is from Solomon and reads: In the name of God, the Merciful Benefactor"; on a second occasion, in its abbreviated form in *Sūra* xii, 43: "(Noah) said: Ascend into the ark! May its voyage and its anchorage be in the name of God". Finally in its complete form, it begins each of the *Kur'ānic* *Sūras*, with the exception of *Sūra* ix.

The invocation of the *basmala*, at the beginning of every important act, calls down the divine blessing upon this act and consecrates it. It gives validity, from the Muslim point of view, to a very widespread custom, invalidating the Arab formulae of the *ghibṭiyya*: "in the name of al-Lāz" or "in the name of al-Uṣṭ"; and even the formulae where the name of a deity did not appear, such as the invitation to a wedding feast *b' ṭarīf* *on* *l-banin* or again *b' l-yumn*. The Meccans, when they were not yet converted to Islam, protested against the reference to *al-Raḥmān* (see below). At the treaty of Hudaibiyya (628), they succeeded in having *bismilla* *al-Raḥmān* ("in your name, O my God") adopted.

In writing it is customary to omit the initial *alif* of the word *ism* "name" (*isim*). Tradition rests this orthography on the authority of 'Umar, who is

suggested to have said to his scribe: "Lengthen the *bā'*, make the teeth of the *sin* prominent and round off the *mim*." Tradition also indicates that the *lām* of *Allāh* should be inclined. The formula became a popular motif of devotion in manuscripts and architectural ornamentation.

The benedictory power of the *basmala* is widely put to work in the composition of the talismans admitted by the *sihr* (lawful magic). It is said that the formula was inscribed upon Adam's thigh, upon the wing of the angel Gabriel, the seal of Solomon and the tongue of Jesus (see Douteil, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 211).

#### Problems.

1) In the *Kur'ān*, Zuhayrīsharī informs us that the readers of the *Kur'ān* and the jurists of Medina, Basra and Syria did not count the *basmala* at the beginning of the *Fātiḥa* and the other *Sūras* as a verse. In their view its presence in these places served simply to separate the *Sūras* and as a benediction. This is also the opinion of Abū Hanīfa, and explains why those who follow his doctrine do not pronounce these words aloud during the ritual worship. On the other hand the readers and the jurists of Mecca and Kūfa did reckon the *basmala* as a verse and pronounced it aloud. This is the view of al-Shāfi'ī. It is founded upon the usage of the ancients, for they wrote the *basmala* on the leaves on which they recorded the *Kur'ānic* texts, whereas they omitted the word *amin*. This opinion is followed in the current official edition of Cairo.

2) In the acts of daily life. Acts which are classified as obligatory or praiseworthy should always be preceded by the *basmala* unless "the Law-giver has decided otherwise", as, for example, in the *ṣalāt* which begins with *Allāhu Akbar*; also, according to tradition, in the recitation of a *ghibṭa* (repeated mention of a divine Name). In all other cases the *basmala* must be written or pronounced. *Ḥadīth*: "every important matter which is not begun with the *basmala* will be cut off (or mutilated or amputated, according to the different versions)", that is to say "will be defective and hardly blessed by God; apocryphally complete, it will be spiritually incomplete". Al-Bāghūrī (*Ḥaṣṣiya*, 3) comments: "The adjective 'important' signifies: a thing having a legal value (*ḥukm*), that is to say having a certain relationship with the law. It is not, then, a question of a thing which is bad, nor of one which is forbidden or blameworthy". Particular application: Solomon writes or acts ought to begin with the full formula. It is required in its abbreviated form before the commencement of the approved acts of daily life, especially before eating (cf. the *Risāla* of al-Kayrawānī, 236). An act the quality of which may differ according to the circumstances will receive divine blessing if it is preceded by the *basmala* (narrated, for example, al-Bukhārī, *ṣaḥīḥ*, 8); exorcisms for which the *basmala* is authorized where it is a question of an act which by accident becomes forbidden or blameworthy (al-Bāghūrī, *ibid.*).

3) The meaning of "Rahman" [g.s.]. In general the Muslim commentators regard *rahīm* and *rahīm* as two epithets from the root *RHM*, whence the translations: clement, or benefactor, or most merciful for *rahīm*, and merciful for *rahīm*. However, contrary to the opinion of B. Carré de Vaux (*REP*, s.v. *Basmala*), it seems certain that *Rahmān* was in use prior to Islam in southern and central Arabia (Yaman and Yamāna) as a personal name of God, meaning the single and merciful God. On the day following

the death of the prophet Muṣaylima still appears in the Yamāna claiming to receive direct revelations from *al-Rahmān*. In the *Kur'ān*: 1) *rahīm* alone appears in the list of the most beautiful Names (adjectives), and it is to be found, in the mass of the text, sometimes as *al-rahīm* and sometimes as *rahīm* without the article; *al-rahīm* on the other hand is always preceded by the article; 2) the Meccans of the *ghibṭiyya* refused to recognise *al-Rahmān* as a Name of God (cf. J. Jonier, *Le nom divin "al-Rahmān" dans le Coran*, 366-367, with references to al-Tabarī). It seems that this divine Name appears in the *Kur'ānic* preaching in order to stress more force fully the absolute Mercy of the Single God; furthermore "whatever is said in the *Kur'ān* about *al-Rahmān* is said elsewhere about *Allāh*" (Jonier, 370).

That *al-Rahmān* should have been the name of the single God in central and southern Arabia is in no way incompatible with the fact that, when adopted by Islam, it assumes a grammatical form of a word derived from the root *RHM*. The tripartite formula which "opens" each *Kur'ānic* *sūra* and each consecrated act of Muslim life evokes the mystery of the One God who is Lord of the Mercies. It is in this mystery that the *basmala* opens, in the eyes of the Muslim who pronounces it, its power of benediction.

**Bibliography:** The references in the text of the article may be supplemented and expanded by: Bāghūrī, *Hāshiya*... *alā* *Ḍiḥḥarāt al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1332/1934, 2-4; Kayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed. Būkhārā, 1339, and the translation of Fagnan, Paris 1914, 130-132; R. Blier, *Le Coran*, Paris 1947, 1-2, Introduction, 242-244; J. Jonier, *Le nom divin "al-Rahmān" dans le Coran*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, II, Damascus 1957, 361-381 (containing numerous references to the text and the commentaries); Y. Mouharac, *Les études d'épigraphie sémitique et la naissance de l'Islam*, second part, *REF* 1957, 38-62. For extremist Shi'ite interpretations of the *Basmala*, see Ivanov, *Studies in Early Persian Islamism* Bombay 1955, 68; and R. Strothmann, *Morgenländische Geisteswissenschaften*... Berlin 1953, 41-2.

(B. CARRÉ DE VAUX [L. GARDEY])

**AL-BASRA** (in medieval Europe: Basora; in Tavernier: Balsara; orthodox modern European texts: Basrah, Basra), a town of Lower-Mesopotamia, on the Shatt al-'Arab, 279 m. (420 km.) to the south-east of Baghdad. In the course of history the site of the town has changed somewhat, and we may distinguish between Old Basra, marked today by the village of Zubayr, and New Basra, which was founded in the 11th century in the proximity of the ancient al-Thudla [g.s.] and which is the starting point of the modern town of Basra, for the rapid growth of which the discovery of oil to the west of Zubayr is responsible.

#### I. Basra until the Mongol conquest (656/1258)

Although probably built on the site of ancient Diridīs (Terelod) and more certainly on the site of the Persian settlement which bore the name of Yahūdīshādīh Ardshāhīr, the Muslim town can be considered as a new construction. After having camped, in 14/635, on the ruins of the old Persian post called by the Arabs al-Khurayba ("the little ruin"), the Companion of the Prophet 'Uthā b. Ghazwān [g.s.] chose this location, in 22/638, to establish, on orders from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the

military camp which was the basis of the town of al-Basra (the name of which is probably derived from the nature of the soil). Situated at a distance of approximately fifteen km. from the Shatt al-'Arab, this camp was destined to afford a control over the route from the Persian gulf, from 'Irāq and from Persia, and to constitute a starting base for the subsequent expeditions to the east of the Euphrates and the Tigris, while at the same time it contributed to the settlement of the Bedouin. At the outset the dwelling places were simple huts made out of rushes which were easily gathered from the neighbouring Bātā'ih [see AL-BATYIA]; they were subsequently strengthened with low walls, and then, after a conflagration, rebuilt with crude bricks. It was only under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān that the latter were replaced by baked bricks and that the town began to assume a truly town-like appearance, with a new Great Mosque and a residence for the governor; the rampart, bordered by a ditch, was not constructed until 133/721-2. At all times the supplying of al-Basra with drinking water posed a grave problem and, in spite of the digging of different canals and the utilization of the bed of the ancient Pallacopas to provide the town with a river port, the inhabitants were forced to go as far as the Tigris to get their supplies.

This inconvenience, added to the rigours of the climate, would have been enough to prevent the military encampment becoming a great city, but political, economic and psychological factors were sufficiently strong to keep the Basrans in the town which owed its development to them, until the time when other factors intervened—in the first place the foundation of Baghdad, and then the degeneration of the central power and political anarchy, which ushered in a decline as total as the growth had been rapid.

At the beginning of its existence, al-Basra provided contingents for the Arab armies of conquest, and the men of Basra took part in the battle of Nihāwand (21/642), and the conquests of Irbīl, Fars, Khuzrān and Sijistān (29/650). At this stage the military camp was playing its natural role, but then the booty began to flow in and the men of Basra began to be aware of their importance; then it was that the pace of events accelerated and the town became the stage for the first great armed contest in which Muslims fought against their brother Muslims, the battle of the Camel (36/656 [see AL-DJAMAL]). Before the fight the inhabitants had been divided in their loyalties, and the victory of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib served only to increase their disorder, but, on the whole, the population remained, and was to remain, more Sunnī than Shi'i, in contrast to 'Alid Kūfa. In the following year (37/657) men from Basra took part in the battle of Siffin [g.s.] in the ranks of 'Alī, but it was, at the same time, also from Basra that a considerable number of the first Khilafids were recruited. In 41/662 Mu'āwīya reasserted the authority of the Umayyads over the town, and then sent there, in 45/665, Ziyād, who may, to a certain degree, be considered as the architect of the town's prosperity. Basra was divided into five tribal departments (*ḥiṣma*, pl. *ahḥiṣa*): Abī al-'Alīya (the inhabitants of the high district of Hīdḥa), Tamīm, Bakr b. Wa'il, 'Abd al-Kays and Ad. These Arab elements constituted the military aristocracy of al-Basra and absorbed, in the rank of *masā'id* or slaves, the indigenous population (indoubtedly relatively few in number) and a host of immigrant peoples (Iranians, Indians, people from Sind, Malays, Zangī, etc.), who espoused



the quarrels of their masters, among whom the old tribal 'ajabiyya was slow to lose its force. The local situation was aggravated under the rule of the governor 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, and on his death (64/683) serious disturbances broke out; after a period of anarchy the Zubayrids seized control of al-Basra which remained under their authority until 72/691. During the following years the primary concern of the Umayyads was to be the suppression of a number of uprisings, the most important of which was that of Ibn al-Ash'ath (g.c.) in 81/701. The period of calm which then prevailed until the death of al-Hajjaj (95/714) was only to be further disrupted by the revolt of the Mulabbids in 101-2/710-20 and certain seditions of a minor character. The town then passed, without too much difficulty, under the control of the 'Abbasids, but the proximity of the new capital was not slow in robbing al-Basra of its character of a semi-independent metropolis which it had possessed since its foundation; it became henceforth a simple provincial town, periodically threatened by revolts of a character more social than political; first the revolt of the Zulfī (g.c.), who spread a reign of terror in the region from 205 to 220/820-35, then the Zanū (g.c.), who seized power in 257/871, and finally the Karimatis who plundered it in 311/923; shortly after this it fell into the hands of the Barīdids (g.c.), from whom the Duwayhidis (g.c.) recaptured it in 356/967; then it passed into the hands of the Ma'wīdīs (g.c.) and experienced a resurgence of prosperity, although the new rampart constructed in 517/1123, at a distance of 2 km. within the old one, which had been destroyed towards the end of the 5th/11th century, is sufficient proof of the decline of the town. The neighbouring nomads (in particular the Muntafik) took advantage of the political anarchy to subject the town to their depredations; from 537/1142/3, affirms a copyist of Ibn Hawkal, a number of buildings were destroyed; and in our time there is nothing left of the ancient metropolis save a building known by the name of Masjid 'Alī and the tombs of Talha, al-Zubayr, Ibn Sīn and al-Hasan al-Basri.

The town reached its zenith in the 2nd/8th century and the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. At this period it was fully developed and its population had increased to considerable proportions. Although the figures given are wildly divergent (varying from 200,000 to 600,000), al-Basra was, for the Middle Ages, a very great city and, what is more, a "complete metropolis": it was at the same time a commercial centre, with its own mint, was halting place for caravans and its river port, al-Kallā, which accommodated ships of fairly large tonnage; a financial centre, thanks to the Jewish and Christian elements and the bourgeois of non-Arab stock; an industrial centre with its arsenals; even an agricultural centre with its numerous varieties of dates; and finally the home of an intense religious and intellectual activity. "Basra, in fact, is the veritable crucible in which Islamic culture assumed its form, crystallised in the classical mould, between the first and 4th century of the *hijra* (from 16/637 to 311/923)" (L. Massignon). It is, in fact, worth remembering that it was here that the Arabic grammar was born and made illustrious by Sibawayh and al-Jahiz; that al-Basra was the seat of the 'Umayyad caliph al-Walīd, and that Mu'azzilism was developed with Waḥīd b. 'Aṭā, 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, Abu 'l-Hudhayl, al-Nazzām and so many others; here also it was that scholars such as Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā, Abū 'l-'Āḍa, al-

Asmā' and Abu 'l-Hasan al-Maḍīnī collected verses and historical traditions which nurtured the works of later writers. In the religious sphere the sciences shone with an intense brilliance, while al-Hasan al-Basri and his disciples founded mysticism. In the field of poetry al-Basra can claim the great Umayyad poets and the modernists Baḥshār b. Burd and Abū Nuwās; finally it was in this town that Arabic prose was born, with Ibn al-Mukaffā, Sahl b. Hārūn and al-Dīhāz. After the 3rd/9th century the intellectual degeneration is not so clearly marked as the political and economic decline, and, thanks to Ibn Sawwār, the town was endowed with a library whose fame was to endure; the 'Ishā'īn al-Safī' and al-Harīfī made their contribution to the maintenance of the ancient city's prestige, but Arab culture in general was already decadent, and Baghdad, as well as other provincial capitals, tended to supplant al-Basra completely.

**Bibliography:** The history of al-Basra was written by at least four authors—'Umar b. Shāhīn, Maḍīnī, Sijīdī and Ibn al-'Arīdī—but their works have not been discovered and it is necessary to refer to the great historical, biographical and geographical texts of Baladhūrī, Tabarī, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Fakhr, al-Iṣṭakhārī, Muḥaddasī, Idrīsī, Yāqūt etc. These works have, moreover, been used by L. Caetani, *Annali*, iii, 292-309, 759-84 (see also the same author's *Chronographica*, *poetica* and *Le Strabone*, 14-6, as well as by Ch. Pellat, *Le Mideux barbares et la formation de Gāhīn*, Paris 1953, where there is to be found a history of the town from its foundation up to the middle of the 3rd/9th century and a bibliography, to which might be added particularly J. Saint-Martin, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Mésopotamie et de la Chanaan*, Paris 1878, 47 ff., Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, iii, 290 and Nāṣirī-Ḳubraway, *Safar-nāma*. The ancient topography of the town is the subject of a detailed monograph by Sāḥib al-'Alī, *Khilaf al-Basra*, in *Sumer*, 1952, 72-83, 281-303 (see also the subsequent numbers of *Sumer*), and of a stimulating paper by L. Massignon, *Explication du plan de Basra* in the *Westminster Abhandlungen*, 1952, 1-10. . . Wiesbaden 1954, 154-74, with two sketch maps showing firstly the site of both Basras and secondly the location of the *al-ḥammā*. The social and economic institutions of the 1st/7th century have been studied in a most profound way by Sāḥib al-'Alī, *al-Tanzīm al-ijtimā'iyya wa-l-iktisādiyya fī l-Basra*, Baghdad 1953 (with a full bibliography). (CH. PELLAT)

## II. Modern Basra

Basra, already much reduced in size and vitality in the 3th/7th-13th centuries, was further and faster debilitated by the destruction, near-anarchy and neglect which followed Hulagū's visit to 'Irāk in 656/1258, and the installation there of an Il Khān in 1282/2765. The establishment of European (British, French, Italian) permanent trading-posts, consulates and missions slowly gained ground, but disorder scarcely diminished and tribal threats increased with the rise, after 1256/1740, of the powerful Sa'dīn leadership in the Muntafik. The siege and occupation of the city and district in 1186-1194/1779-89, by the Russian forces of Suleymān Khān, brother of Karīm Khān Zand (g.c.) was a curiously detached episode of Basra's history; it was succeeded by the return of all the familiar conditions. Threats to Basra by the fleet of the Imām of Maskat in

but its cultural and economic life declined throughout the Dīlārī and Turkomān periods of 'Irākī history—740/1340 to 914/1508—and when at last at the latter date it fell with all 'Irāk to the Persian power of Shāh Ismā'īl for a brief generation—914/1508 to 947/1554—it was, in its now established new position two miles upstream, a main canal of the modern 'Aḥzār Creek, a provincial town of little interest apart from its sea-port status, its gardens, and its predilection for local independence from distant suzerains.

The Ottoman conquest of 'Irāk in 947/1534, which further strengthened the Sunni elements in the population already prevalent, had little other effect on its status or fortunes; the Turkish paḡḡa of Baghdad was satisfied with a minimum of respect and tribute from the marsh-surrounded and tribe-threatened city of the far south; and when in 953/1546 the independent airs of Basra became too offensive, two expeditions from central 'Irāk succeeded in restoring some semblance of the Sultan's authority as against powerful local (tribal or urban) candidates for power. A longer and more successful attempt at quasi-independence, under merely nominal Imperial suzerainty, was made by a local notable of now unascertainable origins, Afrāziyāb (g.c.), and his son and grandson 'Alī Paḡḡa (1034/1624) and Husayn Paḡḡa (c. 1060/1650). This interesting dynasty opened the gates of Basra and its waterways to the representative and merchandise of the West—Portuguese, British, Dutch—then active in the commerce of the Persian Gulf; it survived, with vicissitudes and interruptions, for some 45 years against the armed and diplomatic efforts of the Paḡḡa of Baghdad, the threats of the Safawid Shāh, and the intrigues of local rivals and turbaned tribesmen. And its restoration to the Empire was still incomplete until after a further full generation of local uprising and Persian penetration, tribal dominance (of the Huwayza tribes and the Muntafik), and domination by plague.

Throughout the two centuries (12th-13th/18th-19th) following these events, Basra remained the metropolis of southern 'Irāk, the country's sole port—however primitive and ill-equipped—the base for a decayed and microscopic fleet, the centre of the date trade, and the gateway to the tribes and princes of Arabia, Khūzistān, and the Persian Gulf. The city, whose administration evolved only after 1247/1831 slowly towards modernity, was ever at the mercy of tribal marauders and even invaders, notably by the great Muntafik tribe-group, and by plague and internal dissension.

During the campaigns of Nādir Shāh in 'Irāk in the mid-century Basra was threatened and for a time besieged, and his withdrawal was followed by the usual attempts at secession. Sound and vigorous government was witnessed under rare Mutasallims of higher quality, including Sulaymān Abū Laylā from 1286 (1749) and Sulaymān, the Great Khan from 1282/2765. The establishment of European (British, French, Italian) permanent trading-posts, consulates and missions slowly gained ground, but disorder scarcely diminished and tribal threats increased with the rise, after 1256/1740, of the powerful Sa'dīn leadership in the Muntafik. The siege and occupation of the city and district in 1186-1194/1779-89, by the Russian forces of Suleymān Khān, brother of Karīm Khān Zand (g.c.) was a curiously detached episode of Basra's history; it was succeeded by the return of all the familiar conditions. Threats to Basra by the fleet of the Imām of Maskat in

1213/1798 came to nothing, though rivals for tribal or governmental power in southern 'Irāk sought him as an ally, for example in 1241/1825. The great plague of Baghdad in 1247/1831 did not fail to infect the Port also, and increased its weakness and disorders.

The period 1248-1332/1832-1914 was one of slow development, improving security and increasing commercial links with Europe and America. Basra became a *wilāyat* in 1267/1850 and, among its eminent families and personalities, a centre of nascent Arab nationalism.

During the British occupation of 'Irāk (from 1332/1914) and subsequent Mandate (1339-1351/1920-32), the transformation of Basra into its most modern form was rapid. The port was constructed on spacious modern lines and fully equipped, a deep channel at the mouth of the Shaḥ al-'Arab dredged, and the town itself and its suburbs improved by a variety of new roads, buildings and public services. It became the southern terminus of 'Irāk Railways, and an air centre of increasing importance. Under the 'Irāk Government it became the headquarters of a *liwa* which included the dependent *ḥudūd* of Abū 'l-Khaṣīb and Kurna. The city, with its suburbs of Ma'ālī and 'Aḥzār, contained in 1955 some 200,000 souls. With improved security and communications Basra took its place as by far the leading port and entrepôt of the Persian Gulf, and 'Irāk's indispensable outlet. During the three decades preceding 1377/1957 further improvements were carried out in its town-planning, streets (including an imposing Corniche road), public and commercial buildings, and public services and facilities. The vast date gardens (within which, however, life remained poor and primitive) and the magnificent waterway of the Shaḥ al-'Arab offer a remarkable setting to the modernised city of Basra and its spreading suburbs with their characteristic mixture of the primitive, the medieval, and the fully modern. The date export trade has been further organised and centralised under a Board located at Basra, Exploration for petroleum by a Company of the 'Iraq Petroleum Co. group—however primitive and ill-equipped—the base for a decayed and microscopic fleet, the centre of the date trade, and the gateway to the tribes and princes of Arabia, Khūzistān, and the Persian Gulf. The city, whose administration evolved only after 1247/1831 slowly towards modernity, was ever at the mercy of tribal marauders and even invaders, notably by the great Muntafik tribe-group, and by plague and internal dissension.

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about 12½ m. (20 km.) south of al-Kaṣr al-Kabir, is occupied, according to Timor, the site of the Roman town of Tremulae. Founded about the same period as Arzila (Arzila [g.a.]), and probably therefore by Idrīs II, at the beginning of the 9th century, it was doubtless intended to be the summer residence of the Idrīsids of Fās. When Muḥammad b. Idrīs II partitioned his kingdom, al-Basra fell to the share of his brother al-Kāsim together with Tangier and its dependencies. In the following century, it became the capital of a small state comprising the Rif and Ghumaland, the administration of which was entrusted to the Idrīdī prince Ḥasan b. Gūnim; it was soon afterwards captured (15 Muharram 353/6 October 973) by the army of the Umayyad caliph of Cordova, al-Ḥakam II; Yalyā b. Ḥamdūn set himself up there as an independent ruler before being driven out by Buḡgāḡ b. Zīrī, who razed the fortifications of the town. These are almost the only definite statements we have on the history of al-Basra.

Despite the statement of al-Mukaddas (ed. trans. Pellat, 27) that it was in ruins, the town seems to have preserved a certain prosperity in the 14th/15th and 16th/17th centuries, as is asserted by Ibn Ḥawkal and al-Bakrī, who speak of its walls pierced by ten gateways, its baths, its mosque, and the gardens, pastures and fields of corn and cotton which surrounded it; nevertheless, it rapidly declined and eventually fell into complete ruin; at the time of Leo Africanus, it was inhabited by no more than 2,000 households, and its walls stood in the midst of deserted gardens; to-day, only the stone wall remains.

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**BAST** (Pers.), "sanctuary, asylum", a term applied to certain places which were regarded as affording an inviolable sanctuary to any malefactor, however grave his crime; once within the protection of the *bast*, the malefactor could negotiate with his pursuers, and settle the ransom which would purchase his immunity when he left the *bast*. In Persia the idea of *bast* was connected in particular with (1) mosques and other sacred buildings, especially the tombs of saints (for example, in 806/1404 Timūr is said to have recognised the tomb (*maṣḥid*) at Ardābil of Shāhshāh Saif al-Dīn, founder of the Safawid order, as constituting a *bast*), (2) the royal stables and houses (the wrong-doer could claim sanctuary by standing either at the horse's head or at its tail), (3) the neighbourhood of artillery, especially in the Maydān-i Tūpkhāna in Tehran. According to Chardin, under the later Safawids the royal kitchens, and the gateway of the 'Alī Kāpū palace at Isfāhān, also constituted a *bast*. Malcohn states that the residences of the *madhabs* in general were considered as *bast*, and that in the case of one particularly celebrated *madhhab*, his residence continued to be regarded as *bast* even after his

death. When telegraphic communications were introduced into Persia in the second half of the 19th century, the telegraph offices were at first invested with the status of *bast*. About 1869 Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh attempted without success to abolish the institution of *bast*. (For details of the violation of the *bast* of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1891, see the article *QAMAL AL-DIN AL-ARJĀNĪ*).

In the present century, the institution of *bast* (also termed *labasjan*), assumed great importance during the events which led to the granting of the Persian Constitution by Muṣṭafā al-Kāzīm Shāh in 1906. In December 1902 a group of merchants, *mullās* and students, in order to compel the Shāh to take note of their grievances, took refuge first in the Masjid-i Džūmī in Tehran, and then, after having been forcibly expelled from this sanctuary, in the shrine of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm, 6 miles SSE of Tehran. A month later, on the receipt of certain promises and assurances from the Shāh, the *bastīs* left their sanctuary. The "Second *Bast*" occurred in July 1906, when some 12,000 people, led by the 'ulama, merchants, and members of the trade guilds, took refuge in the garden of the British Legation in Tehran, and ultimately (August 1906) succeeded in obtaining from the Shāh the promise of the grant of a Constitution. During the disturbances which attended the election of the members of the National Consultative Assembly, which sat for the first time on 7 October 1906, the constitutionalists again took refuge in the British Legation in Tehran; in the provinces, British Consulates, notably those at Tabriz and Kirmānshāh, and telegraph offices were used by the constitutionalists as places of refuge. In June 1907 a group of *mullās* and others hostile to the Constitution took *bast* at Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm in an unsuccessful attempt to rally opposition to the constitutionalist movement.

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**BAST** (A.), a technical term of the Sūfīs, explained as applying to a spiritual state (*ḥāl*) corresponding with the station (*maḥal*) of hope (*radjā*): it is contrasted with *ḥabḥ* (g.a.). The Kūfī and authority generally quoted for these terms is: "And God contracts (*yakḥib*) and expands (*yawḥid*)" (ii, 243). As *bast* is a *ḥāl*, it bears no relation to personal mental or spiritual processes, but is a sense of joy and exaltation vouchsafed to the mystic by God. For this reason many Sūfīs accounted it to be inferior to *ḥabḥ*, on the ground that, until God is finally attained and the human individuality is lost in Him, any feeling other than that of desolation is inappropriate. The following saying of al-Baṣrāwī thus translates this point: "The fear of God contracts me, and the hope for Him expands me . . . When He contracts me through fear, He causes me to pass away from self, but when He expands me through hope, He restores me to myself" (Kushayrī, *Risāla*, 43). These lines of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (al-Ta'yyyin al-ḥabībī,

ii, 646-7) summarise the Sūfī theory excellently: "in the mercy of expansion the whole of me is a wish whereby the hopes of all the world are expanded, and in the terror of contraction the whole of me is an awe and over whatsoever I let mine eye range, it reverts me" (tr. Nicholson, in *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, 356). Hodgkirk writes (tr. Nicholson, 374): "Kāshānī diagnoses the contraction of the heart in the state of being veiled, and *bast* denotes the expansion of the heart in the state of revelation". The mood of *bast* appears to be similar to that in which Pascal cries: "The world hath not known Thee, but I have known Thee. Joy! Joy! Joy! Tears of joy!"

(A. J. ARBERY)

**BASTA**, Spanish Baza, *Basti* in ancient geography, now chief town of a *partido* of the province of Granada. It is situated to the north-east of Granada, 123 kilometres distant from it by road. Al-Idrīsī describes it as being of medium size, pleasantly situated, flourishing and well populated. It was a fortified town and had several bazars. It was a commercial town where local artisans pursued a diversity of trades. Mulberry trees were prolific in the town and, in consequence, there was a large silk industry. Baza was also rich in olive groves and all kinds of fruit trees. It was here that the workshops (*harāṭ*) for the weaving of prayer carpets (*masālī*-called *bastīs*) were located. These carpets were made from brocade which had no equal. The galena (*ḥabḥ*) or sulphide of antimony used in eye washes was taken from deposits in the mountain known as Djabal al-Kahl which was situated near the town. During the Umayyad Caliphate, Baza had an important Mozarab community with a bishopric subordinate to Toledo. The *Bayda* in its last section, at present in course of publication, gives the names of a number of the town's Almohad governors. In 645/1247, Baza came under the rule of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Almad, founder of the Nasrid kingdom (see *Nasrids*).

**Bibliography:** Idrīsī, text 202, translation, 247; Yāqūt, i, 624; Kazwīnī, *Com.*, ii, 344, according to al-Uḡḍīrī; R. Lévi-Provençal, *La Pensée théologique*, 56-7. (A. HUGH MINARD)

**al-BASŪS** BIKT BAKSHI (A. SAHĪB MINARAD) was a legendary figure of the pre-Islamic sagan (*ayyām al-'Arab*), said to be responsible for the murder of Kulayb b. Rab'ā'a al-Taghlibī and the ensuing war (*harb al-Basūs*) between the tribes of Bakr b. Wā'il and Taghlib b. Wā'il. For the question of the historical background see art. KULAYB b. RAB'Ā'A. In the legend Kulayb is represented as a tyrant who disregarded the time-honoured customs of the Bedouins and usurped for himself the right of pasture and of hunting in his self-chosen preserves. Once al-Basūs, while staying with her nephew al-Djassās, Kulayb's brother-in-law, let her she-camel (*nar*, the she-camel of Sa'd al-Djāmal, her husband, or according to others, her protégé) graze on Kulayb's pasture and he killed the camel (*nar*, killed her food and her livelihood in the saddle). Outraged by this violation of the host's rights al-Djassās (*nar*, together with his cousin) killed Kulayb and this led to the war between the two tribes. Kulayb's killing the she-camel and his death are alluded to by al-Nabigha al-Djāmal, d. ca. 65/684 but without mentioning al-Basūs (see *Aḡḥāṭ* iv, 127, 140 and M. Nallino, in *RSO* xiv, 495 f.). Her name is given for the first time in the proverbial *shā'asā min nāḥal al-Basūs* (see, e.g., al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *Fakhḥ*, 76). The full story is told on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda in the *Nakā'id al-Djāwī wa l-Farāzdaq* 905-7 and with slight variations by other

collectors of the *ayyām al-'Arab*. In the *Fakhḥ*, 76, in Thibridī's Commentary on the *Hamāda* 420 (on the authority of Abū Rīyāḥ 330/930) and elsewhere four verses are put in the mouth of al-Basūs, addressed to Sa'd and indirectly compelling al-Djassās to take revenge on Kulayb; they are a fine specimen of *lahrij* "vintennet", and are cited in the *Rasā'id al-Jahān al-Sa'd*, Cairo 1347, i, 133, as an example of the tremendous effect which poetry can have on man's actions.

The proverb *shā'asā min al-Basūs* was by some scholars thought to refer to the pathetic figure of the heroic age, but to her namesake, a Jewess, who by her stupidity forfeited the three wishes which God had granted to her husband.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references given in the text: Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Jhd*, Cairo 1316, iii, 66 f.; Maydānī, *Madīna* al-Anḡāl (ed. Freytag), i, 683-7; Yāqūt i, 130; Ibn al-Aḡḍī i, 385 f.; *Khawāṣṣ al-Adab* i, 300 ff.; W. Cackel, *Aḡḥāṭ al-'Arab* (us-Islamica vol. II, suppl.) 76 and 97 (German translation of Nab. 909, 10096, 31-); For al-Basūs the Jewess see *LA* and *TA* s.v. *bas*; Freytag, *Proverbia Arabum* i, 687, Dandl s.v. *Kalb* (translated by R. Basset, 1904, text, i, 18) tells the story but omits the wife's name. For the motif of "the three wishes" see J. Holte and G. Polivka, *Anmerkungen zum des Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* II (1913) 223. (J. W. FOCK)

**BAŞVEKALET ARŞIVI**, formerly also BAŞKALEK ARŞIVI, the Archives of the Prime Minister's office, the name now given to the central state archives of Turkey and of the Ottoman Empire. The formation of the Ottoman archives begins with the rise of the Ottoman state, but the present collection, though containing a number of individual documents and registers from earlier times, dates substantially from after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The archives became really full from about the middle of the 16th century, and continue to the end of the Empire.

The organisation of the Ottoman records in the form of a modern archive collection dates from an initiative of the reforming Grand Vizir Muṣṭafā Reşid Paşa, who in 1262/1846 erected a new building for the archives in the grounds of the Grand Vezirate, and transferred to it a large number of record collections, previously kept in bales and boxes in various repositories and offices in different parts of the city. The building, designed by the famous architect Fossatī, was provided with a staff and a director. This record office, in Ottoman times known as the *Kāḫane-i Ewāk*, originally consisted of two main groups of documents; the records of the Imperial Council (*Dīvān-i Humāyūn*) and of the Grand Vezir's office (*Bāb-i 'Ahl* or *Pasha Kapısı*). To these other records were from time to time added, notably the records of the finance department and the registers of the cadastral survey office. From the start, the *Kāḫane-i Ewāk* was attached to the establishment of the Grand Vezir. Under the Republic it was, after a brief period of uncertainty, attached to the office of the Prime Minister. The old name was replaced by the modern one by a law of 1937.

A new phase in the organisation and study of the archives had begun in 1911, after the formation of the Ottoman Historical Society (*Ta'riḥ-i 'Oḡḥmānī Endüsmeni*). The opening article in the first issue of the society's journal, written by 'Abd al-Rahmān Şheret, the last official historiographer and first



president of the society, contained a statement of the society's aims, the first of which was the classification, study, and publication of archive documents (*TOEM*, 1911, 9-19 and 69-9; cf. P. Witte, *Les Archives de Turquie, en Turquie, et en Syrie*, 1938, 691-9). In the years that followed, Turkish scholars working in the archives began to sort and classify the records, and also published many individual documents. This work was interrupted by the Revolution and war of Independence, followed by the transfer of the capital and a general mood of revolution from the Ottoman past. In 1932, however, a new start was made, and since then work has continued in housing, organising, and cataloguing the records. In 1936, Professor L. Fekete was invited to advise on the methods to be followed in these tasks (see L. Fekete, *Über Archivwesen und Archivwesen in der Türkei*, AO, Budapest, III, 1935, 179-200).

The contents of the *Bayvekalet Arşivi* may be divided broadly, according to the form in which they are preserved, into two groups—*evrak*, papers, and *defterler*, bound registers. The former, ranging from Imperial decrees drawn up in due form to odd notes and minutes by minor clerks, are estimated to number many millions, of which only a very small proportion has been catalogued. A first classification of papers was made in 1918-1921 by a committee under the direction of Ali Emiri, which sorted 180,316 documents in strict chronological order, by regions, from 'Oghlana I to 'Abd al-Majid. The great majority are of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. In 1921 a second committee, under İbrahim Mahmut Kemal, sorted 46,467 documents, from 1757 to the 19th centuries, into 25 subject groups, the largest of which are those of financial (12,200) and military (6,227) documents. Within each group the documents are in rough chronological order. A third team, under Mu'alla Cevdet (Djavidet), worked from 1932 to 1937 along much the same lines as İbrahim, and sorted 184,256 documents into 16 subject categories. Here the largest groups are military (54,084), *waşf* (35,351) and internal affairs (17,668 documents). These 1937 classifications are nearly cited as the *klasifikasyon* of the three persons who directed them.

Since 1937 this kind of pre-scientific classification has been abandoned, and a new start made on more modern lines. Papers are being completely separated from registers, and classified according to the offices and departments to which they belonged, as far as possible preserving the original order and sequence. In addition to the main classification, the archives staff has undertaken the preparation of a number of special series, such as 'Imperial witnesses' (*Kâhî-i Humûyân*), decrees (*irâde*), treaties, *waşf* documents, etc. A special catalogue is being prepared of the papers and records of 'Abd al-Hamid II, which were transferred to the Bayvekalet Arşivi from the Yıldız Palace.

The *defterler*, bound registers, are estimated to number about 60,000 in all Turkish collections, the great majority being in the Bayvekalet Arşivi. They are of two basic types: statistical, containing figures and other factual information required and collected for various administrative purposes; and diplomatic, containing registries copies of the texts of outgoing orders, letters, and other communications. The *defterler* may be considered in three main groups: a) the Imperial Council and Grand Vizirate. The latter, which in the 17th century grew into a separate bureaucratic organisation, eventually took over most of the functions of the former, and the

archives of the two together thus record the workings of the chief centre of Ottoman Imperial government. Of the many series of registers included in this section by far the most important is the *Mühimme Defteri* (register of important, i.e., public affairs). This consists of 263 volumes, covering the years 961-1323/1551-1905. It is a day by day record of outgoing correspondence of all kinds, in simple chronological sequence. (On the *Mühimme* see G. Elezović, *18 Carigradskih Turških Arhiva Muhimme Defteri*, Belgrade 1931, and U. Heyd, *Documents on Ottoman Administration of Palestine* 1323-1651, A Study in the *Mühimme Defteri*, Oxford, in the press). In the course of time a number of separate series were started, dealing with matters formerly included in the *Mühimme*. From 1039 to 1355/1649-1742-3 complaints from the provinces and the decrees answering them are dealt with in separate 'Complaints Registers' (*şikâyet defterleri*). These are still in purely chronological order, but from 1155 to 1306/1742-9-1889-9 are replaced by the 'Decrees Registers' (*ahkâm defterleri*), geographically subdivided into 17 separate provincial series. The Complaints and Decrees registers together number 330 volumes. Other offshoots of the *Mühimme* include a series on military affairs (68 volumes, 1196-1320/1781-1906); a series of specially sorted *Mühimme* (10 volumes, 1207-1241/1788-1877), and a series on Egyptian affairs, the last volume of which is sorted (15 volumes, 1119-1313/1707-1914). Among the numerous other series contained in this section, are the Royal Letters (*Nâme-i kumâyân*), 17 vols., 1111-1336/1699-1917, the *Tanzimat* Council registers (50 vols., 1272-1335/1854-1914), as well as other series dealing with foreign consuls and merchants, privileges (*irâde*), legal rulings (*mahkâmâ*), treaties, sentences of confinement to fortresses (*hâfendîk*), *shâhi*, appointments, churches, minority communities, etc. etc.

b) The Cadaster (*tapu*), comprising the great land and population survey of the Empire. It was formerly a separate department of the government (see DAPKARTER 181-182), and was housed in the Defterhâna near the Sultan Ahmed mosque. The greater part of the registers was transferred to the *Bayvekalet Arşivi*, which now reports the possession of 1135 volumes. The remainder, about 250, are in the General Survey Directorate (*Tapu ve kadastro umum Müdürlüğü*) in Ankara. The earliest, a register of *timars* in a *sandjak* in Albania, dated 835/1431, was edited by İbrahim (Süleyman) Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavud, Ankara 1934). These registers, which were renewed at frequent intervals, cover almost all the provinces of the Empire in Europe and Asia, including parts of Transcaucasia and Western Persia. Arabia, Egypt, and North Africa are excluded.

c) Finance (*Mâlîyye*). The surviving records of the Ottoman financial administration are now in the *Bayvekalet Arşivi*, and comprise many series of registers, as well as vast quantities of papers. They include the accounts and records of the Chief Comptroller's Department (*hâshmetkârâne*) from the 16th to the 19th centuries; of the various special commissioners' departments (*emânet*)—arsenals, cereals, meat, artillery depot, mints, kitchens, powder-magazines; of provinces, departments, and tax-farms, mines, customs, *zehmets*, etc. A good example is the *dişvîye* series (418 vols., 958-1255/1551-1849). Part of the series is sub-divided by provinces, and some registers contain copies of *dişvîye* documents and receipts, with lists of *dişvîye* payers, sent in from provincial capitals.

Apart from the main collection in the *Bayvekalet Arşivi*, there are numerous other smaller collections in Turkey. The most important are the palace archives preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı (p. 2), the records of the General Directorate of *waşf* in Ankara, and the collections of legal documents known as *şâhidîye şerhîyye* (see signals).

**Bibliography:** For a general survey of the archives, with a description and classification of the papers and registers, see Midhat Sertoglu, *Mühimme Bâhşanman Bayvekalet Arşivi*, Ankara 1935. On the history of the collection this may be supplemented by Salâhaddin Elber, *Maddatü'l-Bâhş ve Türk Arşivçiliği*, in *IV Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 1952, 182-9. See further B. Lewis, *The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands*, in *JRAS*, 1951, 139-155; *idem*, *The Ottoman Archives, a Source for European History, Report on Current Research, Spring 1956*, Washington 1956, 17-25 (reprinted with minor modifications in *Arabic Studies* 1957); *idem*, in *JSOAS*, xvi, 1954, 469-501 and 599-600. A bibliography of Ottoman archive studies will be found in Ananiasz Zajackowski and Jan Reychnan, *Zarys Dyplomatyki Osmanlijsko-Tureckiej*, Warsaw 1955 (English translation to be published).

(B. LEWIS)  
**BAŞVEKİL** (Başvaka), the Turkish for Prime Minister. The term was first introduced in 1818, when, as part of a general adoption of European nomenclature, this title was assumed by the Chief Minister in place of Grand Vezir or *Sadr-i 'A'zam* [p. 2]. The change of style was of short duration, lasting only for 1½ months, after which the old title was restored. A second attempt to introduce the European title was made during the first constitutional period. Introduced in Safar 1293/Feb. 1878, it was dropped after 114 days, restored in Sha'bân 1296/July 1879, and then dropped again, after about 3½ years, in Muharram 1300/Nov. 1882. Thereafter the title Grand Vezir remained in official use until the end of the Sultanate, when it was finally replaced by Başvekil (or, for a while, Başbakan), in the Republic.

**Bibliography:** 'Abd al-Rahmân Sherif, *Ta'rih-i Medhalat*, Istanbul 1340, 264 ff.

(B. LEWIS)

**AL-BATÂ'ITHA** (Batthari), a small *dellâs* tribe (*ghayr asîd*, d. 49) of (approx.) only a hundred males, on the south Arabian coast between Ra's Naws and Ra's Sawkira facing the Kuria Islands. They live mainly by fishing and goat herding but have also some camels, frankincense trees, and trading boats. Besides Arabic, they speak Batthari (*Batthariyya*), in which 'ayn is preserved more than in the related southern Semitic oral tongues: Mahri of al-Mahra, Harusi of al-Harâs, Shabri of al-Shahra and there overlord al-Kura', and Sukuti (basically Mahri but greatly modified by the new of Sukuti). In religion al-Batthari are Shâfi'i Muslims, and in political faction they are Ghâlibis.

The main groups (names in Arabic) are: al-Mahabigha (Mahabaghiti, al-Mahabigha (Maghrami), al-Mahabigha (Mamiri), al-Mahabigha (Mad'ari), and al-Mahabigha (Makdaji). The last named live in the mountains of Zulfir (p. 2) and are known as the *Mad'ariyya*. Of al-Mahabigha only six males were left after ten died of "fever" c. 1376/1957. Al-Mahabigha have two sections, Bayt Hubayyah (Ibn H.) and Bayt Mahdira (Ibn M.), to which latter belonged in 1378/1959 the tribal leader, Huthayyih, who succeeded his father,

Muhammad RA'î Hamra', c. seven years earlier. (The title *muhammad*, pl. *muhaddimîn*, def. art. a-, is now frequently replaced by the Arabic term *shaykh*). Although not subservient to them, the leader may confer on important matters with the chief men of al-Djanaba and al-Mahra. With prosperity overwhelming regard for purity of blood, the social status of al-Batthari does not preclude marriage with any of the neighboring tribes.

The neighbours nearest to them in their rough coastal district—small beside the area of the interior which they claim to have once owned—are al-Kara' and al-Shahra to the southwest, al-Harâs and eastern groups of al-Mahra in the interior, and al-Djanaba to the northeast. Hence, with regard to geographical names in their territory, great variety if not confusion exists between forms in non-Arabic languages and those in dialectical Arabic—especially that spoken by al-Djanaba. Because political and economic developments are accelerating the aggrandisement of Arabia, such toponyms may eventually be the principal if not the only surviving mementoes of historic non-Arabic tongues, both here and elsewhere in southern Arabia.

**Bibliography:** Bertrant Thomas, *Four Strange Tongues from Central South Arabia* . . . reprint from *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xviii, London 1932, 331-341; *idem*, *Arabia Felix*, New York 1932, London 1932 and 1936, 47, 48, 84, 130; *idem*, *Descent of the Unknown Tribes of South Arabia*, in *JRAS*, 59, 1929, 37-111.

For general reference: Younsik Mounbache, *Éléments de Bibliographie Sud-Sémite*, in *REI* 1935 (pub. 1957); *Index Islamicus* (1906-1955), Cambridge 1958. (Esp. important are newer studies by Dr. Wolf Leslau, University of California at Los Angeles, and Dr. Ewald Wagner, Mainz). (C. D. MATTHEWS)

**AL-BATÂ'ITHI** [see AL-BATÂ'ITHA].  
**AL-BATÂ'ITHI**, ABD 'ABD ALLAH MUHAMMAD B. FÂTİK, called AL-MÂ'WUS, Fâtîmîd *wasir*. Born of obscure parents, his father having been an Egyptian agent (*ghâzî*) in 'Irâq, al-Batâ'ithi rose to power through the patronage of the caliph, Fâtîmîd *wasir* al-A'îd, in whose assassination he was implicated (551/1151), and whom he succeeded as first minister of al-Amir (ruled 495/1101-524/1130).

The creation of an observatory at Cairo had been planned by al-A'îd. Al-Batâ'ithi took up the work, in which the Spaniard Abû Djâfar Yûsuf b. Hasdîr, a friend of the philosopher Ibn Biddîja, played a prominent part, together with other scholars, native Egyptian and foreign, till 519/1125. In that year al-Batâ'ithi incurred the suspicion of the Caliph, and fell from power. Among the crimes reckoned against him was the construction of the observatory, and it was alleged that he was naming it after himself 'al-Mawdû' was proof that he aspired to the Caliphate. When al-Batâ'ithi had been arrested, the Caliph refused to go on with the work, and none dared mention it to him. He gave orders for its demolition, and the materials were removed to the government stores. The workmen and experts fled. The latter included, as well as Abû Djâfar Yûsuf b. Hasdîr, the *hâfî* Ibn Abî 'U'ayb of Tarrabulus the geometer, Abû 'I-Nadja' b. Sîad of Alexandria the instrument-maker (p. 460), and the geometer Abû Mahmûd 'Abd al-Karim of Sicily. Al-Batâ'ithi himself was crucified by the Caliph's orders. His large house in Cairo was still used as a residence more than thirty years later, but Ibn Khaldûn, who gives this



information (tr. De Slane, ii, 426), adds that in this time it had become a *hanafi madrasa*.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Aṣḥr, s. 437, 443-444; Makrizi, *Khitaṭ*, ed. Būhār, i, 135-137; Ibn al-Kalbi, 294, 299, 312. (D. M. Dunlop)

**BATALYAWS**, Spanish Badajoz, today the fortified capital of the province of the same name, the largest in Spain, embracing the southern half of Spanish Estremadura. The town, situated on the left bank of the Guadiana, before it turns south near the Portuguese frontier, has 100,000 inhabitants. The identification of its name with that of Pax (Julia) Augusta or Colonia Pacensis is without foundation, based on a false local patriotism. In fact, it is not the name of Badajoz which derives from that of the Roman colony, but rather, that of the Portuguese town of Beja (Arab. *Bijja* = *Béja*, derived from *Pacem*). The identification of Badajoz with the doubtful *Badia* of Valerius Maximus and of Plutarch is equally uncertain. The first time that the name of Badajoz appears indisputably in history is in the Arabic form of Batalyaws (present in the root of the modern Spanish name of Badajoz). Batalyaws is of modern foundation, having been built by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Marwān, called al-Ḍiflī (the Galleian), with the authorisation of the amīr 'Abd Allāh who put at his disposition for this purpose a certain number of mansons and some capital. 'Abd al-Rahmān began by constructing the mosque-cathedral; he also built a special mosque inside the citadel. It was also he who built the baths near the gate of the town which had already served him as a point of support and bulwark against the Caliph of Cordova Muḥammad I. It was not until 37/930 that this place could be retained from the courageous son of Ibn Marwān, under 'Abd al-Rahmān III (Bayan, 103 ff., 140, 195, 213-14, 216). The new town of Arab construction (Abu 'l-Fida' 173; *waḥiya muḥaddath al-islāmiyya*), Batalyaws, gradually replaced in importance Colonia Augusta Emerita, Arab. *Mirida* = Mérida (37 m. = 60 km. east, upstream of Badajoz on the north bank of the Guadiana) which continued to decline. Indeed, at the time of the decadence of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova, Batalyaws became the brilliant residence of the Aftasids [g.n.] who, from 1022 to 1094, resided in a single important kingdom the largest part of the north of the former Lusitania. After the disastrous defeat of the Christians at al-Zallāḳā (Saccalān) in 1086, north-east of Badajoz, the principality of the north-west, namely Badajoz, as well as the other Reyes de Taifas, became gradually subject to the Berber Almoravids [g.n.], who had rushed out of Morocco to the aid of their co-religionists, these auxiliaries themselves becoming strong enough in 1094 to take all of the territory which formed a part of the Spanish province, or dependency, of the Almoravid Empire of North-West Africa, and, after its fall, of the Almohad Empire which succeeded it. In 1168 Alfonso I Henriques of Portugal took Badajoz by surprise, and was expelled at once by Ferdinand de León. Badajoz became once more Almohad. Only in 1230 did Alfonso IX of Castile and León conquer it finally. Badajoz is the birthplace of a number of Arab scholars, among whom the most eminent is 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Sid al-Batalyawī who died in 322/1127 (cf. Brockelmann, i, 427; where read 444/1053; Ibn Ḥaṣḥakūb, 639).

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, i, 664; *Marāḥid al-Iḥdā*, i, 150, iv, 344; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii, 183 ff., 207, 238, 260; Madoz,

*Diccionario*, iii, 256 ff., M. R. Martínez y Martínez, *Historia del reino de Badajoz*; Bakrī, *Foz MS.*, 260; Idriṣi, text 180, trans. 260; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, 58; A. Houti, *Las Grandes batallas de la Reconquista durante las Invasiones africanas*, 19-82; (see also ARTASIDS).

(C. F. SEYDOLD—A. HOUTI-MORAND) **AL-BATALYAWSI**, AḤM MUḤAMMAD 'ABD ALLAH B. MUḤAMMAD IBN AL-SIT, celebrated Andalusian grandjurist and philosopher, born at Badajoz (Batalyaws [g.n.] in 444/1052, died in the middle of Rejeb 321 (month of July 1122, at Valencia, where he had lived after having incurred the disgrace of Ibn Razhā [see RAZH, RAN] and after having taken refuge for a time at Saragossa. Ibn al-Sid who, at Valencia, had had a notable disciple in Ibn Ḥaṣḥakūb [g.n.], is the author of some twenty works, including his commentary on the *Adab al-Kalāb* of Ibn Kutayba (under the title of *al-Ḥidāyah fī Sharḥ Adab al-Kalāb*, ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Busthi, Beirut 1901); *Kutāb al-Ḥadāyih* (ed. trans. Asō, 1940), which had some influence on the philosophy of religion among the Jews (see the Hebrew trans. published by D. Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Batalyawis in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie*, Budapest 1880); a *Fahrasa*; a commentary on the *Muwatṭa'* of Mālik; a commentary on the *Saḥīḥ al-Muṣṭafī*, which is lost, but the criticisms made by Ibn al-'Arabī about this work provoked a counterblast by Ibn al-Sid, entitled *al-Iḥṣār min-man 'adala 'an al-Iḥṣār* (ed. Hāmid 'Abd al-Majid [Magedi], Cairo 1955); *al-Taṣṣif fī T-Tanbīḥ 'ala 'al-Ḥadāyih allāh andjābat al-Ḥidāyih*, Cairo 1319 (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*), 1925, 336, n. 116).

**Bibliography:** Ibn Ḥaṣḥakūb, no. 639; Dabīb, no. 892; Ibn al-Kutīb, *Ma' al-Ma'ad*; *Shāḥidat*; Ibn Ḥaḥlāḳā, ii, 332 (trans. de Slane, ii, 61); Shakundī, (trans. García Gómez, *Elogio del Islam español*, Madrid 1934, 54 and n. 50); Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 151; González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura árabe-española*, 1945, 229; Sarkis, 569-70; Brockelmann, i, 122, 427, 5, 1, 195, 758.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**BATH** (see HAMMAM).

**BATH' (Ar.)**, literally "to send, set in motion"; as a technical term in theology it means either the sending of prophets or the resurrection.

1. The Mu'tazila [g.n.] said that God could not have done otherwise than send prophets to teach men religion as He must do the best He can for men; orthodoxy denied this but held that the sending of prophets was dictated by divine wisdom. One of the reasons for condemning Brahmins and the Sumanīyā was that they denied the existence of prophets.

2. Philosophy taught that resurrection (*baṭh*, *nashr*, *nashr*) was of the soul only so orthodoxy condemned it as a heresy, insisting on the resurrection of the body. From the first Muhammad recorded the reality of the after life where he assumed that the judgement came with the end of this world suddenly (vi, 31), heralded by the sound of a trumpet (ix, 13; in xxxix, 68 are two blasts, each introducing a distinct stage in the action) the graves open and all hurry to appear before the judge (xxxix, 75, lxxxix 21/22) and the just who he gives their rewards in their right hands (xvii, 73/77). For the signs which precede the end of the world, see DARRA, DARḤ, 158.

The soul is not naturally immortal and its existence depends on God's will though some late passages (ii, 149/154, iii, 163/168) imply the continuous existence of the soul and that those who died for

God's sake are already in bliss. Later reports are little more than elaborations of these ideas, and do not form a consistent whole. The soul of a good man leaves the body easily but that of a bad man has to be dragged out painfully (see 'AḤRĀS AL-KARR). The body decays in the grave except for the lowest bone of the spine to which the essential parts of the body will be restored. Most reports say that the grave till the judgement but a few are not so bound; some are in *barzakh* [g.n.]. When Isra'īl [g.n.] blows his trumpet, the world will return to chaos, the sun will be darkened and men will rise from the grave as they were created, barefoot, naked, uncircumcised, and will gather at the place of judgement, a level plain with no place in which or behind which a man may hide, perhaps it is in this world, perhaps specially created. Another version makes the first blast kill everyone except Iblīs [g.n.] and the four archangels; a second blast brings all back to life. The heat of the sun is such that all sweat, a flood which with some will reach as high as the ears. They wait there 300 years or 30,000 without food or drink but worse than the physical pain will be the terror of the judge; each one will be so anxious for himself that he will pay no heed to others. They will turn to Adam to ask his intercession but all prophets in turn will refuse and refer them to Muḥammad who accepts the task and to him God listens. Other forms of judgement are the bridge, thinner than a hair and sharper than a sword, over the fire; believers pass over safely but unbelievers fall off; the scales in which man's life is weighed and the books in which his deeds, good and bad, are recorded. Sinners will be accompanied by the tools of their sin, a musician will have the instrument which distracted his mind from religion; a man's good deeds will become an animal on which he will ride to judgement. Some believe that all living creatures would rise at the last day. It is obvious that much of this is older than Muḥammad; the ancient Egyptians knew of the weighing of souls and the books of record and the Persians knew of the bridge. Later ideas are mixed. Some men turn to dust in the grave and their souls wander in the world of sovereignty (*malakūt*) under the sky of this world, some sleep and know nothing till the trumpet wakes them and they die the second death; some stay two or three months in the grave and then their souls fly on birds to paradise; some ascend to the trumpet and stay in it for there are as many hiding places in it as there are souls. Muḥammad stayed on earth for thirty years till the murder of Husayn [g.n.] when he ascended to heaven in disgust.

**Bibliography:** Muḥammad b. 'Adī Sharīf, *Kutāb al-Mawḍi'at*, 187 f.; Ghazālī, *Bayān al-Salam*, vol. 4, ch. 8, part, 2; idem, *al-Durr al-Fakhira* (*La Perle Précieuse*, 1878); Tha'ābi, 'Arāḥis al-Maḥallī; Wolff, *Muḥammadanische Eschatologie*, 1872. (A. S. TROTTON)

**BATH' (see HAMMAM)**

**AL-BATHĀNIYYA**, district in Syria with Adlathā [g.n.] as capital. It is bounded by the Djabal al-Drūz to the east, the Laḡḡā plain and the Djabdīr to the north, the Djablan to the west, and the hills of al-Djmal to the south, where the boundary is a little imprecise. Also called al-Nukra, "the hollow", it corresponds to the ancient Batanaea mentioned together with Trachonitis, Atrazyes and Garsaites as part of the old kingdom of Bashan and referred to in the Old Testament. The region is fertile, as its name derived from *batna* (lowlands and even plain) indicates. It has from ancient times been densely populated; the texts and the numerous

extant burial mounds are proof of this. Since then its reputation for being the "granary of Syria" has been maintained. According to the Arab geographers, the area was throughout the Middle Ages dotted with villages. It lay on the main route of communication connecting Damascus with al-Urdun, a highway which owed as much to the Manlik *barid* as to the Syrian pilgrim caravans.

Conquered by the Arabs in 13/651, al-Bathāniyya, like Hawrān, became *ḥarāḍī* land, and was subsequently joined to the *diwān* of Damascus although more usually connected with the Hawrān region. During the period of the Crusades it suffered from Frankish incursions. Later under Ottoman rule it was affected by two important factors: the invasion of the nomadic 'Anḍa, followed by the Revilla which introduced a reign of disorder and insecurity lasting until the end of the 19th century, and the settlement on its soil of the Hawranese hill folk expelled from their homes by the Druzes. These latter had from the 17th century begun to infiltrate into the Hawrān, where in 1861 they were joined by certain elements from the Lebanon.

Al-Bathāniyya should be distinguished from the small plain situated to the north-east of the Djabal al-Drūz, called in antiquity Saccān and in the Arab period *ar-Raḥāniyya*. This term has been translated to mean the "march of Baḥāniyya" but one of the local names Buḡḡiyye, leads one to suppose that the area had been considered rather as a "small Baḥāniyya".

**Bibliography:** Ya'qūb, *Baldan*, 326 (trans. 174); Balāḡhūrī, *Futūḥ*, 126; Tabarī, index, BG4, indices; Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārat*, ed. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1935, 17 (trans. Damascus 1957, 4 & n. 4); Yāqūt, i, 493; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 34; A. S. Marmaridī, *Textes géographiques arabes sur le Palestine*, Paris 1921, esp. 151; M. Gaudery, *Démomylines, La Syrie à l'époque des Mandouks*, Paris 1925, 66; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1935-38, esp. ii, 155; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 325-327; J. Cantineau, *Les parlers arabes du Hordn*, Paris 1946, 6 ff.; D. Sourdel, *Les cultures du Hawran à l'époque romaine*, Paris 1952, 21; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1934-36, index (s.v. Der'at). (D. SOURDEL)

**AL-BATHĀ**, ("the marshland"), the name applied to a meadowlike depression which is exposed to more or less regular inundation and is therefore swampy. It is particularly applied by the Arab authors of the 'Abbasid period to the very extensive swampy area on the lower course of the Euphrates and Tigris between Kūfa and Wāḥit in the north and Basra in the south, also frequently called al-Bathā' (plural of al-Bathā) and occasionally, after the adjoining towns, the *Bathā* (*Bathā*) al-Kūfa, al-Wāḥit or al-Basra.

The existence of considerable swamps in southern Babylonia goes back to high antiquity. The alluvial plain is soft and almost flat, the river beds are shallow and exposed to rapid silting, the banks are soft and low, therefore the flood waters overflow the banks, causing extensive marches; these would normally disappear but for the annual floods, and the rivers change their courses which, in turn, leads to new marshes. Even in the canaliform incursions the *qanāt* (swamps) and *abwād* (reedlands) are often mentioned; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterb.*, 17, 115. In particular, the whole country between Muḥammara in the south, a point beyond Kurna



in the north, and beyond the river Kārda to the east, must have been covered by an enormous swampy lake; cf. Delitzsch, 627; Dougherty, *The Sea Land of Ancient Arabia*, 1937.

The Greek and Roman writers are likewise acquainted with it (as *λίγνη* or *chaldæica lacus*). Nearchus's account is particularly instructive, for he crossed this area of water and gave its breadth as 600 *stadia* (80 miles). The *Tabula Peutingeriana* also defines the Babylonian swamps; on it, in addition to *Paludae*, is mentioned the name *Ditaki*, probably to be emended to *Batābi* = *Batā'ib*. On the notices in cuneiform inscriptions and classical authors, cf. Andreas in *Papiri-Wissowa*, I, 736, 815, 1878 ff.; 2812; Weisbach, *ibid.*, III, 2041 VI, 1201 ff.; Streck, v, 1147 (s.v. *Ditaki*); Ainsworth, *Kesarschi* II, 186 ff.

Since ancient times the great marshy lake has been gradually filled up by the deposits of sediment brought down by the rivers, and the modern delta has arisen. Some places, however, remain under water. These places extend around the present Hor (Khawr) al-Buwayya, Hor al-Hammār, Hor al-Shūniyya, and probably further north.

The origin of the swamp may be a syndune which occurred in geological times; parts of it were filled by the huge amount of silt, while others remained low and were filled by water; they formed what medieval Muslims called al-Batā'ib. The syndune may have eroded in historic times (cf. G. M. Lees and N. L. Falcon, in *Hydrography History of the Mesopotamian plain* in *Geographical Journal*, On the retreat of the sea, cf. De Morgan, I, 4-8; Seton Lloyd, 19).

The Sāsānids as a rule devoted a great deal of attention to the irrigation system and drainage in Babylonia. This should have led to the decrease of swamps. Under later kings of this dynasty, however, large areas of flourishing country were swallowed up by floods, and the region of swamps grew to such an extent that the Arabs wrongly date the beginning of the Batha from this period. They claim that during the reign of Kubādh Pīrē (457-484 A.D.) a large breach occurred, near Kaskar, and inundated large areas of cultivated lands. It was not until the reign of Khusrāw I Anušīrwan (502-529) that the dykes were partially repaired, and some of the lands brought under cultivation. But in the year 6 or 7/647, in the reign of Khusrāw II Parwiz, the waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris rose again, in a flood such as had never been seen. Both rivers burst their dykes, causing huge breaches. The water reached the places of the swamps, inundating the farms of several *parāgd* there. During the succeeding years of anarchy, and when the Muslim armies began to overrun 'Irāk, breaches occurred in all embankments, and the *Dikāni* were powerless to repair the dykes so that the swamps increased in all directions (Balādhuri, 229-31; Kūlāna, 240; Yāqūt, 668-9; Ma'sūdi, al-Tanbih, 33 Ibn Rusta, 96). Under the Sāsānids, too, the first great shifting of the Tigris occurred from the eastern channel (the present course) to the western channel (the present Shāfi al-Dujaylā). This change turned all the country bordering the older eastern course into hills and desert.

The Umayyads took interest in the work of reclamation of the Batha; the Darrādī reclaimed for Mu'awiyah from the Batha lands which yielded 3 millions dirhams annually. He did that by cutting the reeds and controlling water with dykes. These lands were called al-Djāwāmid (Balādhuri, 294;

Ma'sūdi, I, 225-6). In the year 81/704, however, they were inundated again, owing to a new burst which al-Balādhuri deliberately neglected repairing.

Immediately afterwards al-Balādhuri built Wāsit in the alluvial plain near the Batha. This should have led to restoration of the neglected system of canals, the erection of dams and sluices, and to the reclamation of lands. He dug the two canals of Khil and Zaid to lead away part of the superfluous water of these two large rivers before they flowed into the Batha, and at the same time to water and fertilize the dry areas above Wāsit (Balādhuri, 290-2; Kūlāna, 240; Streck, I, 29-32, II, 303-304; Le Strange, 27). Al-Balādhuri also settled in the marshes the Zutt (p. 30), an Indian people, with their buffalo herds numbering thousands. Musāma, the Caliph's brother, spent about 3 millions dirhams on repairing the dykes, and in turn obtained vast areas of reclaimed land (Balādhuri, 294; Kūlāna, 240-2; Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich*, 1902, 150-5).

Reclamation of land continued, especially at the time of Hishām, and his governor of 'Irāk 'Abd al-Kasr, who built a dike on the Tigris (Balādhuri, 293; Kūlāna, 240; Ibn Rusta, 93), dug several canals, e.g., the Nahr al-Kumūn, and the Nahr al-Mubdrak; he thus reclaimed large areas of lands, which yielded a large income, but resulted in the use of a great amount of water, and to a decrease in the volume of water available for irrigation.

When the 'Abbasids came to power (121/750), new bursts occurred in the dykes which, in turn, increased the swamps. In the Euphrates region, similarly, thickets formed, parts of which were reclaimed.

In the north-west, the Batha extended nearly to Kūfa and Nīfar, while farther to the east it began at a considerable distance from Wāsit. This part is called by many medieval Muslim sources *Batā'ib al-Kāfa*. Their crude maps (cf. Miller, *Mappe Arabica*) do not show them connected with the southern Batha, but do they mention any dwelling-places or cultivation there. Nevertheless 4th/10th century sources assert that the Euphrates discharged into the Batha between Wāsit and Basra (Ma'sūdi, *Ma'arid*, I, 215; Suhairi, 118). This suggests that the present lower Euphrates region was covered with *Batā'ib* up to the 6th/12th century, when sources mention that the lower Euphrates joined the Tigris in Mattāra (Yāqūt, II, 553). This must have been due to hydrographic changes, in the depression of Shūniyya, which must have then been deeper, and the reduction of the amount of water and silt, owing to the numerous canals, which took water from the Euphrates to irrigate north and central Babylonia (cf. Le Strange, 73 ff.).

The Tigris, from about the end of the Sāsānid period to the first half of the 10th/16th century, flowed in the western bed (the modern Shāfi al-Dujaylā) past Wāsit and several towns until, in the 4th/10th century, it joined the Batha (Balādhuri, I, 288; Suhairi, 118-9, 123; Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī, 52; Ibn Rusta, 185). According to Mustawfi, Ketr is 30 parasangs (about 107 m. = 172 kms.) south of Wāsit (Nasha, 166), according to Kūlāna (193), 22 parasangs.

The southern limits of the Batha border on Basra (Balādhuri, 294; *Awāb al-Asrār*, v. 237). Suhairi (123) describes the Batha as consisting of four Haws: Bahawā, Bakawā, Baqarā' and the Haws al-Muhammadiyya. Each Hor had plenty of water, with no reeds, but each one was linked with the other by a narrow passage of reeds. The Hor of

Muhammadiyya was the largest, and the reed passage extended from it to the Nahr Abī Asad, which passes to Hilla, Kawānā and then to the "one-eyed" Tigris (al-Dujaylā al-'awṣā'). Yāqūt mentions the Haws of Shālim, (III, 311), Dujrān, (II 36), Gharrāf (III, 381) and Rahbāb, (II, 134).

In the flat soil alluvial plain of south Babylonia hydrography could not be static, especially since the canal and irrigation system was subject to change according to the political and economic situation. Though these changes have not been yet studied in detail, nevertheless one may see an indication in the 6th/12th century, when Yāqūt mentions that the Tigris was divided below Wāsit into five arms which, together with the Euphrates, joined in Mattāra, which was a day's journey from Basra (II, 531). The area of the lands covered by the Batha undoubtedly changed according to the amount of control exercised over the flood water and the amount of water used for irrigation in the north.

Although water covered most of the lands of the Batha, nevertheless there were areas of dry land, farms, cities and villages as well as rivers and canals (Mukaddas, 129; Sa'ad al-'Awāb, s.v. *Batā'ib*; Ibn al-Jābir, *Ladhā*, I, 129). Ibn Rusta (95) says that "the higher places became mounds which are known in *Batā'ib* and are called Sartughān, Tustaghān and Ukr al-Sayd, places where the Zutt live". Mukaddas, (154) calls the Batha a district (*nahiya*) with Sultay as its chief town, and the further towns of Zaynāda, Harān, Hishādiyya and Zubaydiyya. Most of these towns were north-west of Wāsit. Yāqūt mentions as towns of the Batha Hilla (of Dubayā) (I, 594, II, 323) Khaytamiyya (IV, 884), Harrār (IV, 970) Manṣūra (IV, 664) and other places, and as its rivers the canals of Abbā, Khur, al-Zutt (II, 930, IV, 840) and Yamnā (IV, 1020).

Of the western marshes of the Euphrates about the middle of the 19th century European travellers and archaeologists give fairly accurate descriptions. The main course of the Euphrates passed through Babylon, Hilla and Diwāniyya. Several branches and cuts diverged from this branch, many of them re-uniting near Al-Kirāyat, which was at the head of the delta. During the season of the floods, the spread for about 30 miles in length, 10-14 miles west of the main channel and to a much greater distance on the east side. This regress forms the Lamām marshes. Thirty years later, the bulk of the Euphrates' waters went through the western Hindiyā canal which was dug in the 17th century by the Indian Asaf al-Dawla. This emerged into the plain further north and created the shallow lake al-Nadgāf and Shūniyya marshes, which remained even after the erection of the Hindiyā barrage in 1911 to increase the water of the Hilla branch. These swamps are situated in a large depression, wider in the mouth, about 40 m. (65 kms.) long and 15 m. (25 kms.) wide; the depth of the flood water varies from 1-2 metres in the south to 2-3 metres in the middle. Several sub-Hors branch off from it; in the east are the Haws of al-'Ujja, al-Wurjdī, Ibn Nadjīm, al-Khabāsa, Abū Ghālib, al-Kammāb, al-Hawā and Abū Hishār; to the west of the Shūniyya branch are Ghādiqd, Rughāla, Gīlbi, Abū Hinnāna, Zaylāda and Hwāha; near the Kūfan branch are the Haws of Tubay, Ghazālāt and Sīb. The areas of these Haws shrink after flood, and the land becomes excellent for rice cultivation.

The Tigris below Baghdad flows through a flat plain, and the banks are not high enough to retain the huge volume of flood water. This leads to a

number of breaches and levees on both sides of the river which produce numerous marches. The largest of them between Baghdad and Kut is Hor Shawdīya, which is a natural depression of land extending some 37 m. (50 km.) along the Tigris and 15 m. (25 km.) in width. Into this Hor flows the water of a number of minor streams from the mountain regions of Pashāī Kūh. The rather narrow Hor Hujwīya extends from 'Alī al-Ghārl to 'Amīra where it reaches Hor Sāfiyya. Near 'Amīra numerous branches diverge from the Tigris, e.g., Muḡarrāb, Cahla, Muḡayyib. The waters are dispersed in the 'Amīra rice area, where the flood waters are led out of the main channels, but these branches are well defined in spite of the Haws they form. They empty into the Hor of 'Arem which is connected with Hor Hujwīya. They receive an inflow from the Dwidjī, and Tib rivers as well as from al-Karīha (the ancient Choaspe). The annual intake of water of these Haws is estimated at 7 million cubic inches. These waters flow back in the summer into the Tigris by several channels which begin a short distance beyond 'Arem.

On the right bank of the Tigris, the major branch below Kut is the Musandak escarp, 450 metres wide at its head, which expands rapidly to almost lake-like proportions and finally branches into a number of relatively small, shallow channels into the Hor al-Sāniyya. This Hor is a large natural depression fed by the Musandak escarp and several smaller branches and flood irrigation channels which divert water from the Tigris during the floods. Water passes successively through the Shihār, al-Duwma, Dīfāt Shāh 'Alī, Shāturiyya Haws, and Hor Durhān, 'Uda, Sirimān, Sīḡā, Ruwīda and Saffār, until it reaches the Hammār lake near Hammār village. During the peak of the Tigris floods, an area of over 421 sq. km. (160 sq. mi.) is inundated by the Hor al-Sāniyya. After the flood recession no water except minor amounts of surface drainage from pump irrigated fields enter the depression of Hor al-Sāniyya, which diminishes to an area of less than 77 sq. m. (200 sq. km.) through seepage and evaporation losses.

The Hammār lake is the largest Hor, covering about 2007 sq. m. (200 sq. km.). It extends from the affluents of the Euphrates near Suk al-Shaykh down to Karna 'Alī (about 80 m. = 130 km.). The southern part of it is called Hor Sūfī, which receives water from the Euphrates and Gharrāf as well as the waters coming down from the Musandak through the several above-mentioned Haws. The total flowing into the Hammār area is about 2340 *cumes* (cubic metres per second) from all sources. The evaporation and transpiration losses are about 500 *cumes*. The edge of the Hammār lake has a seasonal low water level of 0.6 to 0.8 metres in the late autumn and a high water level of from 3.0 to 2.8 metres near the end of the flood season in May or June. At low water the area is roughly two thirds lake and marsh with a few areas of open water connected by a maze of narrow channels running in all directions through the reeds. The deeper channels (1-2 metres) usually run in a north to south or north-west to south-east direction. There are also mazes of deep water passages (*Gawādh*) between the reeds which may be a few yards wide, but deep enough for boat navigation.

A few very deep channels (10-20 metres) are found around the islands in the vicinity of Sāliyal island. Tide effect is felt in the southern parts. There are many shallow areas. The southern borders of the



Hammar are bare, uninhabited land, exposed to annual floods from the lake.

On account of its inaccessibility, the Baṭṭha was a hiding place for all sorts of robbers and rebels, and an asylum for the discontented.

The Zait [g.n.] who were transplanted with their vast herds of buffaloes in the marshes by al-Ḥajjīdījādī, made themselves, together with some other *mauḍil*, in the early 'Abbasid period, a nuisance to 'Irāq by robbing and plundering, and disturbing communications and trade with the south. Their effect was felt to a greater extent at the time of Ma'mūn. It was only after strenuous efforts that the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim succeeded in subduing them, and in removing them to the northern Syrian borders (Balādhurī, 171-175; Tabarī, iii, 1044-5, 1167-70; Ma'sūdī, *al-Tanbih*, 555). They have given their name to the Nahr al-Zait (Yāqūt, iv, 840).

Far more dangerous, however, proved the great rising of the Zandī [g.n.] who, under the leadership of 'Alī b. Muhammad [g.n.], stirred up near Basra a formidable rebellion (255-270/869-883) and dominated the Baṭṭha for several years (Tabarī, iii, 1742 ff.; Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, 146-175; F. al-Sāmī, *Zunarat al-Zandī*, Baghdad 1952).

In the following centuries (see Banū Shāhīn (see 'Isrā' b. Shāhīn) and after them the family of al-Muza'far [g.n.] founded a more or less independent kingdom in the swamp lands which they shared at a later period with the Mazyādiyya [g.n.] who ruled from 495 A.H. until 448 A.H. in Ḥilla. After the decline of the Mazyādiyya, the Banū 'l-Muntaṭik began to play their part, although the Caliph al-Nāṣir succeeded in destroying their leaders, the Banū Ma'rūf, in 617/1220.

When the Mongols conquered 'Irāq (656/1253), the Baṭṭha fell in their hands, but the Arab tribes remained a source of disturbance. From then on it was called al-Ḥizārīr ('the islands') or al-Ḥizāwīr. It was conquered by Tamerlane (793/1388), and then by Uways the Ḍalā'irīd (826/1421); in the year 846 A.H. it was conquered by the Maḥmūdīyā [g.n.], who remained until the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān occupied it in 953 A.H. Ottoman rule of the region, however, was not firm, and they could not destroy the several tribal principalities, e.g., the Āl 'Ulyān, who ruled over the Hammar until they were destroyed in 975 A.H.; the Banū Līm dominated the lower Tigris, until they were challenged by Alī b. Muḥammad and gave the Ottomans a chance to control them. The al-Muntaṭik family ruled over the lower Euphrates up to the year 1867, when Midhat Paṣha was able to establish a *mulazarrīyya* under the control of the governor of Baghdad (Lugoniez, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford; 'A. 'Azāwī, *al-Ḥayān Ḥitāyān*, 8 Vols, Baghdad 1937-37; Field, *The Anthropology of Iraq*, in *Field Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 30, part 1, no. 2, 1949).

Large numbers of the originally Aramaic (and Christian) population of Babylonia (the Nabats of Arab writers) remained in Baṭṭha for a long time, so that many sources call them the swamps of the Nabat (I.A., iii, 237; cf. also Ma'sūdī, *al-Tanbih*, 161; Miskawayh, ii, 499; Mubārīz, 123). Probably another ancient remnant is the Mandaeans or Subba, the mediaeval Muḥṭāṣila, cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, 349; Ma'sūdī, *al-Tanbih*, 161; these Subba still survive in a few places in the marshes such as Sūk al-Shaykhī, Ka'at Šāhī, and in Ḥor al-Baywayza (Ḥawīza) where the town of Hawīza is their chief centre (cf. Drower, in *Bibliography*).

Nevertheless some Arabs settled there. Ibn Rusta says that Yaḥyā, Bābīla and Banu 'l-Anbar lived near the Baṭṭha before its formation. Balādhurī refers to the Bābīlī clients who joined the Zait in their disturbances at the time of Ma'mūn. Tabarī, iii, 1858, 1859, 1903 refers to some of the Bābīlīs who joined the activities of the Zandī in the 300th century. He refers also to 'Irāq in the Baṭṭha (ii, 1759). The Mazyādiid domination must have brought Bad Asad [g.n.] until they were destroyed by Al-Nāṣir. Ibn Khallīb mentions Raḥ'a as the domain of the Zait (ii, 12), by whom he probably means the Muntakā [g.n.]. Ibn Bāṭūta mentions Khafāḍja and the Ma'sūdī (ii, 2, 4).

The greater part of the modern inhabitants is composed of semi-nomads and farmers of Arab stock, organised on tribal lines. They are Shi'ī Muslims except for a few Sunnis, the most prominent of whom are the Sa'ūdī family.

The most important of these Arab tribes, which are themselves divided into a large number of subdivisions, are:

(1) The Banū Līm who in the 16th century were able to establish their authority over the Tigris lands from Hawīza as far as the environs of Baghdad in the north, and to the outer spurs of the Puḡḡī Kūn in the east. Kūn al-Andara was the nucleus of their Shaykh in the early decades of the 19th century, but their lands and authority diminished in the 19th century and became confined to the lands east of Tigris and north of 'Imāra. They are a sheep owning tribe, and are still semi-nomadic.

(2) The Althā (= Althā) Muḥammad. They also live east of the Tigris, beside the banks of the Cabla and its main tributaries where they settled two generations ago, and have since expanded over the canals and marshes on either side of the Tigris between 'Imāra and 'Uzayr. They are mainly cultivators but also marshmen, who are occupied in breeding buffaloes and making reed mats.

(3) Raḥ'a. To the west of the Tigris. Their subdivision al-Mayyil extends along the Gharrīf up to Shaṭra, with Hayy as their chief centre.

(4) Zubayd, west of the Tigris. Their lands lie between Baghdad on the north and Kut al-Hayy in the south-east. In the south they adjoin the land of the Khazā'īl.

(5) The Khazā'īl, south-west of the Zubayd. They dwell from the district between Keḥl and the ruins of Nūfār, along the Euphrates from Shūyān to the south of Dūwānīya where they border on the country of the Muntakā.

(6) The Muntakā, a loose confederation of tribes provided over by the al-Sa' dīn who came in the 13th century from the Hijāz and were able to establish their authority over the tribes of the Lower Euphrates, and to expand at times even as far as Basra. They retained their semi-autonomous authority up to 1867, when Midhat Paṣha was able to abolish their rule and establish a *mulazarrīyya* in Nāṣiriya.

The Muntakā fall into three main divisions: 1) al-Adwād, who dwell from Darrādī to the vicinity of Sūk al-Shaykhī, and on the lower parts of the Gharrīf; 2) Ibn Mūḥallā, who live on the borders of al-Hammar; 3) Banū Sa'ūd, who live near Karna Bad Sa'ūd.

(7) Al-Ḥizārīr. The Ḥizārīr ('islands') also called Ḍawāwīr are the swamp lands as opposed to *Shāmīya*, the dry and desert land). The term has given its name to a confederation of tribes which are repeatedly mentioned in the Mongol and Ottoman

sources up to the 20th century. Their country was part of the Maḥmūdīyā state ('Azāwī, *Ta'riḫ*, iii, 112, 174, 272) then of Al-'Ulyān ('Azāwī, iv, 107); was conquered by the Ottomans ('Azāwī, iv, 50 quoting *Mir'at-i Kā'ini*, 127; Kūwīya Cehelī iv, 414), at times dominated by the Persians and by the Muntakā, until it was finally brought under Ottoman control at the time of Midhat Paṣha, who made attempts to reclaim some of its lands (*Al-Zawr*, 568). The tribes of Al-Ḥizārīr formed a confederation composed of (1) Banū Asad [g.n.] who settled between Sūk al-Shaykhī and Kurna, with their centre in Cabāyish; (2) 'Al-Buṣaynī; (3) Banū Hutayr in Hawān; (4) 'Al-Buṣaynī between Sūk al-Shaykhī and Cabāyish (cf. Ibn Khallīb, ii, 310-12); 5) Banū Muḥammad, settled near Kurna.

(8) The Ma'sūdī. They are probably the Ma'sūdī who are mentioned by Ibn Bāṭūta as dwelling between Kūfa and Wasīt (ii); Loftus (120-2) has described their primitive life and conditions. They dwell in the marshes, are organised tribally in a small way, and have no cohesion on a large scale. They are fishermen, reed-gatherers, and breeders of buffaloes. The other Arabs despise them for their profession and for their moral code, which differs slightly from that of the Bedouins.

The settlements of the inhabitants of the swamps are usually on terraces and islands, which are not entirely submerged by the annual inundation, and sometimes form villages. They consist of long huts built of reeds and reed matting (*ṣarfā*) (Thesiger, *op. cit.*; *Shākir Salim al-Cibāyish*, Vol. 1, 23-4, Baghdad 1957; cf. also Nöldeke in *WZKM*, xvi, 198, Note 1).

The most important product of the marshes is rice. Other produce are barley, yellow maize, sorghum, millet, lentils, melons, watermelons, and to some degree lady's finger (*ḥimya*, gumbos, okra) and onions.

One source of revenue is the reed, which is used for all household purposes and from ancient times has been much used for writing implements (see *OLZ*, ix, 190). The reed pens of mediaeval Wasīt and, in the 19th century, of Diālā were considered the best in the east (cf. C. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman*, 1908), 43). Even at present 30-70 thousand tons of reeds are cut annually in the vicinity of Cabāyish (*Tam*, 60).

In addition there is great abundance of fishes, which afford a continual food supply to the natives who are exported to other districts. Ibn Rusta (ii) refers to the importance of the Baṭṭha products of reeds and fish in mediaeval times. At present it produces about 2000 tons of fish annually, employing about 500 fishermen.

Buffaloes are an important source of wealth to the marshmen south of 'Imāra and of the Hammar. The butter from their milk is exported to the surrounding cities and to Baghdad. Sheep are also reared to a moderate extent, while cows are found in various places, especially in Kurna.

As to the remaining fauna of the Baṭṭha, water fowl of all sorts are numerous, such as gulls, wild duck, geese, swans etc.; there are flocks of cranes, pelicans, flamingoes, storks, bustards and bitterns. There are also some carnivorous animals. The lion, which was known in this country in ancient and mediaeval times, was last mentioned in the 19th century (Loftus, *op. cit.*, 242 ff.). In addition, a number of leopards, jackals, wolves, lynxes and wild-cats have their lairs here. Wild-bear (*Sus scrofa*), wallow in large herds in the marshes.

The countless swarms of mosquitoes and midges form a terrible plague, and were a source of endemic diseases, e.g., malaria, which must have been an important factor in the decline of the district (cf. *Shākir Salim al-Cibāyish*, Vol. ii).

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(M. STRECK-SALIM EL-ALI)

BĀTIL wa FĀSĪD (see FĀSĪD).  
BĀTIL wa ZĀHIR (see ZĀHIR).

AL-BĀTIN, a large *wadī* in north-eastern Arabia, formerly the lower course of Wādī al-Rumayh [g.n.] but now cut off by the sands of al-Dahna [g.n.]. AL-BĀTIN runs north-easterly 385 km., from below Khudhīm al-Qumāmīl in al-Dahna<sup>2</sup> to a plain 13 km. SW of al-Zubayr. In width it is unusually regular, being 10-13 km. between banks and 2-3 km. on the floor. Its only surface water is lateral flow from local rains. Most of al-Bātin is a channel through former deposits of Wādī al-Rumayh, as the sands of al-Dibidha [g.n.] on both sides contain



graves from the Arabian Shield [see art. *DIJLAH* al-*ʿAṣṣā*, (ii) & (iii)].

Al-Bāṭīn, though a historic route from al-Baṣra to al-Hijla, contains few known archaeological remains: the most prominent are the 12 tiered walls, which may be Yāqūt's *Hafar Abi Mūsā*, near the village of Hafar al-Bāṭīn. The only settlement in al-Bāṭīn, al-Hafar consists of 200 houses and the fort of the Aulrate which reports to the Governorate of the Eastern Province at al-Damām.

At an undefined point at the junction of al-Bāṭīn and its tributary, al-*ʿAḥḥā*, the boundaries of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, 'Irāq, and the Saudi Arabia-*ʿIrāq* Neutral Zone converge, according to the al-*ʿUkayr* agreements of 1922.

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**AL-BĀṬĪNA**, a lowland district in eastern Arabia lying between the sea coast of the Gulf of Oman and the mountains of al-Haḍir. It is bounded on the north by the headland of Khawāt Māḥā, and on the south by the village of Hayl al-*ʿUmayr*, south-east of the town of al-Sib and west of the city of Muscat. The district varies in width from 10 to 20 miles. Near the coast the land is a level dotted with many shallow wells. Farther inland the soil is clay, and then the ground becomes stony as the foothills of the mountains are approached. Numerous *wādīs* cut across the district and run down to the coast, where their beds broaden out. The name al-Bāṭīna means the low-lying region, in contrast to al-*Ẓāḥira* [q.v.], the higher region on the western side of al-Haḍir, which is reached from al-Bāṭīna by two important passes, Wādī al-*Ḍīr* and Wādī al-Bawāsina.

Al-Bāṭīna is primarily a region of fishing and date culture, though the interior supports a number of semi-nomadic folk with their herds. Along the sea coast stretches an almost continuous date-palm belt, which in places extends inland to a depth of about seven miles. Wheat, cotton, barley, sugar-cane, lucerne, mangoes, bananas, figs, lemons, melons, and olives are also grown, being irrigated from the copious wells. Domestic animals are sheep, goats, donkeys, and especially the *Bāṭīniyya* riding camel, which among the three famous breeds of Oman is the one most noted for its comfortable gait. Fishing is often carried on in the *dhūḥā*, a small sailboat with palm branches (*dhārī*) similar to the *warabiyā* of Kuwait. Larger vessels sail to the Persian Gulf, southern Arabia, Zanzibar, and Fāḥisān for trade.

Al-Bāṭīna was first proselytised for Islam in 8/629 by Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs [q.v.], who were welcomed in Suhār [q.v.] by the house of al-*ʿIḥḥā*. In the 7th/13th century the country was twice invaded by the Persians, who maintained a foothold until finally driven out by the Portuguese in 928/1522. Although the Portuguese took the tribute formerly sent to the ruler of Hormuz, they did not continually occupy the al-Bāṭīna coast until 1025/1616. Until the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1033/1623 by the dynasty of al-Yaʿsiriya [see *Yasiri*], Suhār rivalled Muscat and Hormuz as a trading port. Persian attempts to regain permanent possession of al-Bāṭīna during the reign of Nādir Shāh [q.v.] were beaten off largely by the efforts of Ahmad b. Saʿīd of Al Bā Saʿīd [see *al-Bāṭīn*]. His nine-month defence of Suhār in

1136/1743 brought him prestige which secured for himself the Imamate of Oman and for his descendants the Sultanate of Muscat.

The Sultan of Muscat has *wāḥis* at al-Sib, Barkā, al-Maḥḥā, Suwayḥ, al-Bāṭīna, and Suhār. The customs and *zakāt* revenue from these places seldom exceeds the administrative expenses. The settled population of al-Bāṭīna was estimated by Lorimer in 1908 as about 105,000 persons, half of whom were living along the coast. The number of Bedouins roaming the interior is far less. Among the sedentary population, the chief tribes are Al Saʿīd and al-Bawāsina. Many of the Bedouins in the district come from the same two tribes and Hard Khārīs. Lesser tribes are al-Bidwāt, Al Hanād, Al *Ḍīr*, al-Mawālīk, al-Nawālī, Al Bā Kurayn, Al Bā Rughayd, and al-Shubūl. The great majority of the people of al-Bāṭīna are Hindu in politics and *ḥādī* in religion, although the Baluchis and negroes tend to be Sunni.

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**BĀṬĪNIYYA**, a name given in the 10th/16th in medieval times, referring to their stress on the *batin*, the "inward" meaning behind the literal wording of sacred texts; and (b), less specifically, to anyone accused of rejecting the literal meaning of such texts in favour of the *batin*.

(a) Among the Ismaʿīlīs [q.v.] and some related Shīʿī groups there developed a distinctive type of *taʾwīl* [q.v.], scriptural interpretation, which may be called *bāṭīnī*. It was symbolical or allegorical in its method, sectarian in its aims, hierarchically imparted, and secret. All branches of the Ismaʿīliyya as well as its Druze offshoots have retained the *bāṭīnī taʾwīl* in one form or another. The like system of the Nusayris seems to be a corrupt form of *bāṭīnī* circles associated with the later Twelver *imams* [see *enṣiklāt*].

Certain aspects of this type of *taʾwīl* can be matched in Jewish and Christian prototypes (for instance, in the symbolical exegesis of Origen) and other aspects can be matched among the Gnostics. Its immediate origins, however, are Muslim: the symbolical *taʾwīl* ascribed to the *imams* among the later Twelver Shīʿīs (with which it has in common its symbolical and sectarian character and something of its secrecy), its beginnings can be traced to the Shīʿī *ḥādī* of the 2nd/8th century in 'Irāq. Thus

al-Mughla b. Saʿīd (d. 119/737) is said to have interpreted the mountains' refusal to undertake the faith (Kurʿān xxxiii, 72) as symbolising 'Umar's rejection of ʿAlī Abī Maḥmūd al-*ʿIḥḥī* is said to have held that the "heavens" symbolised the *imams* and the "earth" their followers; and is credited with the key notion that while it was the Prophet who brought the text of the Kurʿān, it was the *imam* alone was charged with its interpretation, *taʾwīl*. Among the followers of Abū ʿI-Ḥaṭṭāb (d. 138/755-6) such allegorical *taʾwīl* seems to have been especially popular; some of them supposed that in each generation there is a speaker, *nāṭiq*, to declare publicly religious truth, and a silent man, *ṣāḥib*, to interpret it to the elect. Presumably it was from the *ḥaṭṭābiyya* that such elements of the *bāṭīnī taʾwīl* entered the Ismaʿīlī movement, where the *taʾwīl* was elaborated till it became the hallmark of that movement.

The *bāṭīnī* system can be described in terms of four essential notions: *batin*, *taʾwīl*, *ḥāḍir* as ʿ*imam*, and *ṭabīyya*, all which were presupposed whatever particular doctrine was taught.

It was held that every sacred text had its hidden inner meaning, the *batin*, which was contrasted to the *ṭabīr*, "apparent" or literal meaning. Not only to passages which were in any case metaphorical, but in historical passages, moral exhortations, legal and ritual prescriptions, each person, ask or object mentioned was to be taken symbolically. The things symbolised often were explained one by one as objects of approval, obedience, hatred, and the like, according to the passage; but sometimes whole anecdotes were read as extended allegories. Number and letter symbolism was freely used. The same procedure applied to non-Muslim sacred books as well; and indeed to the whole of nature. For the *batin* represented in esoteric world of hidden spiritual reality, parallel to the reality of the *ṭabīr*, the ordinary visible world, which cloaked and concealed it. The true function of scripture was to point to that hidden world even while keeping it disguised in symbols.

*Taʾwīl*, the educing of the *batin* from the *ṭabīr* text, was therefore as fundamental as *imam*, the revelation of the literal sacred text itself, and was equally dependent upon divine intervention. For every prophet who was given *imam*, a revelation to be proclaimed publicly to mankind, there must be a *waṣī*, an executor (in the case of Muḥammad, this was ʿAlī) who was given the corresponding *taʾwīl*, which he propounded privately to the worthy few, that is, the members of the sect which accepted his authority. Muḥammad, then, were divided into *ḥāḍir*, the elite who know the *batin*, and ʿ*imam*, the ignorant generality. The *ḥāḍir* were those who had been ceremonially initiated into the sect, that is, into knowledge of and obedience to the *imam*, representative of ʿAlī and sole authorised source of *taʾwīl* in any given generation. Among the Ismaʿīlīs, a series of hierarchical ranks (*ḥudūd*) of teachers mediated between the *imams* and the simple initiate. To the latter the *batin* was imparted only in gradual stages (the number of which varied) and in purely authoritarian fashion.

The *batin* was "inward" not only in being unevangelical but also in being secret. Knowledge of it must not be imparted to those *Ummā*, the ordinary followers of the *ṭabīr* revelation, lest it be misunderstood in an unauthorised way and abused. The Shīʿite principle of *ṭabīyya* [q.v.], precautionary dissimulation of one's faith, was accordingly reinterpreted to imply

the obligation not to reveal the *batin* to any unauthorised persons even apart from any danger of persecution. For some, therefore, the practice of the *ṭabīr* ritual of the *ḥaṭṭā* even in its frankly Shīʿite form came to be regarded as *ṭabīyya*, in that it kept the *batin* concealed.

Despite an authoritarian hierarchism, the *taʾwīl* (as we know it in its Ismaʿīlī form) never achieved any strict uniformity. For any given ritual action different authors gave widely differing *bāṭīnī* interpretations; even the same author sometimes gave multiple explanations in the same book. Thus the inner meaning of the obligation of *zakāt* was held to be that the *ḥāḍir* or fifth of one's income must be given to the *imam*; or that one should give all one's surplus to the poor; or that the only true wealth is knowledge. What the *taʾwīl* did accomplish was to replace what seemed a "naïve" Kurʿānic world view with a more "sophisticated" intellectual system; one which seemed to go beneath the superficial differences among the quarrelling religious communities with their incompatible dogmatic claims, to reach a profounder common truth. A unity of spirit was given to the *taʾwīl* among the Ismaʿīlīs by its being used for three large and interrelated purposes. It presented a cosmology derived from neo-Platonist sources; it interpreted eschatology in terms of cyclical religious history (and sometimes of reincarnation); finally, it justified the religious hierarchy of the sect, whose grades corresponded more or less to the several dignities of the neo-Platonist cosmos.

The desire for sophisticated freedom from commonly accepted dogmas made for a persistent tendency toward radical exaltation of the *batin*. In official Fāṭimid Ismaʿīlism the *ṭabīr* and *batin* were both held to have their own spheres of relevance, at least in matters of ritual and law, in which they were binding on the initiate. But there was a frequent recurrence among the *bāṭīniyya* of a total rejection of the *ṭabīr* meaning even of the *ḥaṭṭā*, or at least of its ritual prescriptions, as superfluous for whoever knows the *imam* and hence the *batin*; this happened, for instance, among the Nizārī Ismaʿīlīs after 559/1164. Those who rejected the *ṭabīr* altogether often tended also, consistently, to exalt the *waṣī* (ʿAlī) to a higher rank than that of the Prophet (Muḥammad), since the *taʾwīl* was worthier than the *imam*; this was the attitude of the Nusayris.

The *bāṭīniyya* movement seems to have left traces among such later groups as the Ḥurūfīs, the Rawḍiyyān, and the Bāḥīs, who also used symbolical exegesis, though in somewhat different contexts. Its terminology and conceptions, freed of their sectarianism, have likewise influenced the symbolism of Sūfī thought. Perhaps above all, however, the radical positions it took had the effect of rendering Muslim Orthodoxy all the more suspicious of any kind of symbolical *taʾwīl*. Thus Ghazālī used the Ismaʿīlī *bāṭīniyya*, in his *al-Kawāḍ al-Mutalib*, as a point of departure for his analysis of the legitimate limits of *taʾwīl* in general.

(b) Sunni writers have subsequently used the term *bāṭīniyya* polemically to condemn any writers who, in their judgment, go beyond the recognition of the evident meaning of scripture to the rejection of such a *batin*. Thus the Tayyibiyya applies the term not only to the *bāṭīnī Shīʿā* but to some Sūfīs and to such *jalālīya* as Ibn Rushd. Sūfīs commonly hold that there are rich *bāṭīnī* meanings in the Kurʿān open to the properly contemplative spirit; but they



are generally careful to avoid a position which could be labelled *batini* in this sense, Ibn al-'Arabi, for instance, whose interpretation of scripture often seems particularly free, defends himself against the charge of being a *batini* on the grounds that he accepts the *sūrah* alongside the *kalām*.

**Bibliography:** see the articles ISMĀ'ĪLIYYA, NUSAYRIYYA, QUBĀT. Also: I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranexegese*, Leiden 1920, chapters 4 and 5; and H. Corbin, *Étude préliminaire*, in *Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Kitāb-i Jamī' al-Hishmānī*, Tehran and Paris, 1953.

(M. G. S. HOSKINS)

al-BĀTĪYA [see *muḥṭab*]

**BATJANG**, a small island in Indonesia [q.v.], near the equator, at Long. 127° E., one of the earlier sultanates and centres of Muslim propaganda. It lost its importance as a spice-island about 1650 when the trees were destroyed as a result of a treaty between the sultan and the Dutch East India Company.

(C. C. BEAN)

**BATLAMIYŪS**, the almost exclusively used transliteration of the Greco-Latin Ptolemaeus; al-Ma'sūdī, *Tanbih*, writes invariably *ḥatmīyas*, which may be read *ḥatlamāyas*, the truest possible Arabic transliteration. In one place, 129, he gives the explanation "*ḥatlamāyas hi-l-ḥatmīyas*". About his surname al-Kāfīdī al-Ma'sūdī remarks that some people believe him to be a son of Claudius, the "sixth" Roman emperor (see *loc. cit.* "second", 1, 4, 6, Tiberius), who was in fact the third. He himself puts him in his true time, and so does Ibn Sīdī al-Andalus, *Tahṣīl al-umam*, 29 (Cheikh), and already the *Fihrist*, 267 (Flügel). Al-Ma'sūdī, *loc. cit.*, and others also refute the false identification of the astronomer with one of the Hellenistic kings of Egypt.

Since no Greek scientist dominated medieval astronomy and geography, and even *Weltanschauung*, as much as Ptolemy, the Western no less than the Oriental, we have restricted ourselves to listing some books which show his influence on a large scale:

1. General: G. Sarton, *IHS*, I-III, Indices; idem, *The Appreciation of ancient and medieval science during the Renaissance*, 1955, ch. III, § 10; idem, *Ancient science and modern civilization*, 1954, ch. II; L. Thorndike, *History of Magic etc.*, I, 1923, 104 ff., other volumes see Indices.

2. Astronomy: C. A. Nallino, *l'im al-Falah*, 1914, Italian in *Raccolta di Scritti*, v, 1944; O. Neugebauer, *The transmission of planetary theories in ancient and medieval astronomy*, Emanuel Stern Lecture, New York, 1939.

3. Astrology: F. Boll, *Kleine Schriften aus Sternkunde des Altertums*, 1930.

4. Geography: E. Honigsmann, *Die 7 Klimate*, 1929.

5. Harmonics: Ingenhar Düring, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios*, 1950; Christ-Schmidt-Schäfer, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.* 5, 2, 1924, 904.

6. Optics: Ch. Steinhilber, *ibid.*

Here is a list of Ptolemy's writings in the order of the above paras 2-6, so far as they have left an impact on Islamic science. Under each item the Greek writings appear first, then come the titles known only in Arabic or translations thereof.

The sources are: *Fihrist*, (Ibn Sīdī al-Andalus), (Ibn al-Kūfī) and (Ibn al-ʿArabī), besides Brockmann and the catalogue of manuscripts. For the Western translations, we use, additional to M. Steinschneider, *Die europ. Übersetzungen a.d. Arab.*, and the works by Sarton and Thorndike quoted above, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en*

*los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*, 1942; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation*, 1950 (not throughout reliable); L. Thorndike, *Notes upon some medieval Latin astronomical, astrological and mathematical manuscripts at the Vatican*, 188, 47, 1935, 397-404; the same, *Notes on some ... manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*, journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 33, 1957, 112-172 (offprints on sale).

2. Astronomy.

a. The *Almagest*. Since Nallino has corroborated by new arguments Koppe's suggestion that the word is derived from *παράγειν σύνταξιν* by *naḥ* (*Raccolta*, v, 252), the former opinion deriving it from *παράγειν* (Suter, *EP*, s.v. *Almagest*), has generally been abandoned. The Arabic form is *al-Majīstī* (so explicitly stated by Ḥādīdī Khallāḥ, v, 385); Barhebraeus also gives the correct Greek title *Σύνταξις* (ed. Salliani, 123). An elaborate survey of the contents of books 14 in al-Ya'qūbī, I, 131-134, cf. Klamroth, in *ZDMG*, 42, 17-18. *Tasṣīl al-Majīstī* by Ḥādīdī b. Kurra, cf. Brockmann, I, 384, 1, 72. The first translator is not Saḥl al-Ṭabarī (and this man is not identical with Saḥl b. Bihār, as proposed by Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. der Juden*, 24), as stated by Sarton, *IHS*, I, 362. The whole problem has been discussed anew by Nallino, *loc. cit.*, who also gives a new interpretation of the account in *Fihrist* (*Raccolta*, v, 251), and arrives at the conclusion that the first translator is unknown. The MS. Esc. 915 has been used by O. J. Tallgren, *Un point d'astronomie gréco-arabe-romaine*, *Neophilologisches Mitteilungsblatt*, xxix, 1928, 39-44; cf. also the same, *Survivances arabo-romaines du Catalogue d'étoiles de Ptolémée*, *Stud. Gr. Soc. Or. Fenn.*, II, 1928, 202-285. A hitherto unknown commentary by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥakīm (Brockmann, I, 385) has been discovered by G. Vajda (Paris, BN, ar. 4821, 9, cf. *RSO*, xxv, 8), another one by Ḍiḥr b. Ḥayyān is only known by name, cf. Kraus, *Jahrb. im Hayyān*, I, 1945, no. 2834.

Ch. H. Haskins and D. P. Lockwood have stated that the first Latin translation has been made directly from the Greek, 12 years before Gerard of Cremona's version of the Arabic, in 1175 (*The Sicilian Translators of the 12th Century and the Latin version of Ptolemy's Almagest*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxi, 1910, 75-102; cf. also J. L. Heiberg, in *Hermes*, xlv, 1910, 57-66, xlv, 207-216). See also Carmody, 15, and Millás, ch. xxxv.

b. The *πρόχειρον κωνίων* (*Tabular manuals*), cf. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, I, 217 and 341. Al-Ya'qūbī, I, 129 = Klamroth, 23, calls the work which he analysed, *Kitāb al-Kānīn fi l'im al-Nuḍūm wa-Ḥisāb al-wa-Kīmal Ajā'ib wa-Ta'dād*, but, as Honigsmann, 118 f. shows, this is not Ptolemy's book. This last has already in Greek times been confounded with the commentary written by Thos Alexandrinus. This was known to some Arabic scholars, as shown by Honigsmann, 120. There's no commentary on Ptolemy influenced al-Kindī, as proved by F. Rosenthal in his analysis of MS. Ayta Sofya 4830 (*Studi ... G. Levi della Vida*, 1956, II, 436 ff.).

Special attention must be paid to one of the Tables, the *κωνίων ἀστρονομικόν*, or as C. Wachsmuth in his *Einstieg in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, 1805, 394-396, repeatedly with transliteration in Arabic numbers and Christian years for every king in F. K. Ginzl, *Handbuch der mathematischen u. technischen Chronologie*, I, 1906, 139. The text is quoted by al-Ya'qūbī, I, 261, for the Greek and Roman kings. In this table Alexander the Great comes after Darius

III, then Philippos (Arrhidaios) "that one with Alexander the Builder", then "the other" Alexander (i.e. the posthumous son of Al. the Gr.). During the reign of the latter (317-305 B.C.) falls the beginning of the Seleucid Aera, which was therefore also called *Aera Alexandri*. This canon has been taken over by al-Bīrūnī, *Āḥḥ*, 88 ff., as expressly stated 1, 3. On 89 he calls rightly Alexander the Great al-*ḥanān* (Greek *κρίτης*), and 92 he calls Alexander's son al-*ḥānī*. The Arabic tradition, however, calls this latter *Ḥū* "Ḥ-Karaya", apparently because his predecessor was also called Philippos. Several authors point rightly to the difference of 12 years between the death of Alexander the Great and the beginning of the Aera allegedly called after him, Ḥādīdī Khallāḥ, III, 430, no. 6471 says *Ta'wīḥ* of Philippos the Rōmā, the Builder", but adds correctly: "the brother of Ḥū 'Ḥ-Karaya'. Two of the Achaemenid kings are given by al-Bīrūnī 2 years more than by Ptolemy. Nevertheless, from Buḥār-nasār until Alexander's death also the al-Bīrūnī MSS. have Ptolemy's total of 424 years, which number was replaced by Sachau, according to arithmetic, by 428 (86 nlt.). Cf. also K., 96 (Lippert), al-Ṭabarī, 1337/1339, I, 412 f.; S., 30 (Cheikh).

c. Ἐπιτομή των πλανητικῶν, perhaps the book named in F 268 k. *fi sayr* (not 1394!) al-*ḥabṣa*, cf. Steinschneider, *Ar. Ūb.*, 211, who rightly states, that the real Arabic title is *ḥabṣa al-ḥabṣiyya*, as quoted by K. 98, cf. Brockmann, I, 384, 78. The Arabic text (the number of MS. Leiden is 1045, not 1044, which contains the *Almagest*), an *Īḥḥ* by Ḥādīdī b. Kurra, is for book 2 the only one preserved. Both books have been translated into German by L. Nix and printed together with the Greek text of book 1 in Ḥādīdī Ptolemaeus *Opera astronomica minora*, ed. J. L. Heiberg, 1907 (Bibl. Teubn.).

d. *ῥάσις ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων*, Arabic *K. al-anūd* (S 29). As for the meaning of this title, cf. Nallino, *l'im al-Falah*, 133 ff. (= *Raccolta*, v, 291 ff.), also I. Kratchkovsky, in Abū Hanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *K. al-Āḥḥ* al-*Tawīḥ*, *Préface* etc., 1912, 40 ff. Description of the book in al-Ma'sūdī, *Tahṣīl*, 17. Boll, *Sphæra*, 1901, 131 f. does not believe that Abū Ma'sūd used this book for his list of Paranalattenta, ed. and tr. by A. Dyroff, *ibid.*, 490 ff.; he rather supposes a falsified book attributed to Ptolemy.

e. Ἀρλούσιος ἐπερνεύειας σφαιρικός (*Planisphaerium*). F 269 mentions under Pappos *Taḥṣīr al-Baḥāyīs fi taḥṣīr al-ḥara*, transl. by Ḥabīb al-Ya'qūbī, I, 152 analyses the *K. fi Ḥabīb al-Ḥabīb*, cf. Klamroth, 30 ff. The text of Maallana al-Majīstī's Compendium, formerly known in Hebrew and Latin translations only, was recently discovered by G. Vajda, *RSO*, xxv, 8 (MS. Paris, Ar. 4821, 10). For the Latin translation see Carmody, 18.

f. Al-Ya'qūbī, I, 157 also mentions a book on the *ḥabṣa* called *K. fi ḥabīb al-ḥabṣiyya* al-*Āḥḥ*, cf. Klamroth, 23 ff. and Steinschneider 215-216. For editions of the Latin translation see Carmody, 18. For Ptolemy's influence on Arabo-Spanish astrologues see J. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaigé d'historia de los ideas físicas y matemáticas a la Catalogue medieval*, 1951, ch. vi-vii.

3. Astrology.

a. Ἐκ τῶν ἀστρονομικῶν σύνταξιν, or *τετράβιβλος* ed. and transl. into English by F. E. Roberts, 1949 (Loeb Class. Libr., together with Manetho), new edition by F. Boll & An. Boer, 1957, F 268; *K. al-Arḥa'a*, S 21; *K. al-Mahallāt al-Arḥa'a* (Barh, 123; *al-Arḥa'a* Mahallāt) fi *Ḥakīm al-Nuḍūm*, Latin

translations Carmody, 18, Millás, ch. XXXVII, comm. by 'Alī b. Ridwān, *ib. ch. XXXIX*. The quotations from it in *Ḍiḥr* b. *K. al-ḥabḥ* collected by Kraus, no. 2834 (168, n. 1). For Ḥādīdī's compendium cf. Honigsmann, *Sieben Klimate*, 116.

b. *Κατὰ τὴν φράσιν οὐρανολογικῶν*, not authentic. F 268; *K. al-Ḍamara*, the commentary by Ahmad b. Yusuf al-Majīstī al-muḥandīs (the biographer of Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn) is also mentioned, cf. Brockmann, I, 229. A new edition of the Greek text by An. Boer, 1952, Latin translations in Carmody, 16, Millás, ch. XXXVII-XXXVIII. For a and b see also Thorndike, *Journal of the Warb. etc.*, and *ibid.*, *loc. cit.* Ten aphorisms are quoted in Ps. Magīstī's *Ḍiḥr al-Ḥakīm* (*Picatrix*), ed. Ritter, 1933, 323-324, Ahmad's commentary on aph. 9 in *extenso* quoted there, 55. A new fragment has been discovered by P. Kraus in MS. Taimur, *Ḍiḥḥ*, 290, 14, cf. his *Dirāḥ*, I, 1939, 6.

c. The book on Comets quoted by F 268 as *K. Ḥisāb al-Ḥabṣiyya*, cf. Steinschneider, *Ar. Ūb.*, 218, no. 22. Carmody, who discusses the Latin translations (16-17), calls the text "an amplification of (*Centiloquium*) prop. 99".

d. On nativities, F 268; *K. al-Mawāḍiḥ*, quoted by Ḍiḥr b. *K. al-Mawāḍiḥ al-Ṣaḥḥ*, cf. Kraus, *Jahrb.*, II, 238, n. 1, who does not believe the book to be genuine either.

e. Another pseudopigraphic book, *K. al-Maḥama*, is known from numerous quotations in Yāqūt's *Geographical Dictionary*, cf. the collection of place-names mentioned in it, and further literature in Honigsmann, *Sieben Klimate*, 125-34. The meaning of *maḥama* is not quite clear, and the quotations do not furnish sufficient evidence as to the real character of the book.

f. Recently, a short text has been edited which refers to Ptolemy, namely, *Ḍiḥr mā ḡiḥ* fi *ḥ-nayras wa-ahḥimā min-mā jāsarāḥ* Batlamiyūs al-ḥakīm wa-waḥḍajāḥ 'an 'ilm Dāniyāl (I), ed. from Ist. Murad Molla 338 by 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn, *Nawādir al-Maḥāḥ*, 5 (II), 1373/1954, 45-48 (information from Mr. M. Schwarz of the Hebrew University Library). It discusses the significance of the week-day on which falls New Year.

g. A book on the images which rise in the 360 degrees of the celestial sphere named *Liber imaginum Ptolemaei* and the like, exists in Latin in many MSS. cf. Steinschneider, *Ar. Ūb.*, no. 1772, Carmody, 20, Thorndike, *Journ. Warb. Court.*, 118. An Arabic text entitled *Kitāb fi Samā' al-Darajāt* ascribed to Ptolemy is one of the sources of the *Safnat al-Aḥḥ* by a certain Ḥadrāt al-Nusayrī, MS. Berlin Pet. I, 676 and Br. Mus. Add. 23,400 (the number in the Catalogue, 848, is distorted by Steinschneider, *Arab. Ūb.*, Philos., 90 and General Index into 1348, Math., 217 into 843, and 553 into 874); but the identity of the Arabic and Latin texts has not yet been examined. For the meaning of the title cf. Boll, *Sphæra*, 426 ff.

h. The *Liber ad Heronem* or *Aristonem de iudiciis* (Steinschneider, *Ar. Ūb.*, 218, no. 11) has been analysed by Millás, 175, cf. also for similar texts ascribed to Ptolemy, Carmody, 17 and 20.

i. Menesalch (= Mī ḡā' Alī) cf. *Philosophum de astronomia*, printed Venice, 1599, cf. Steinschneider, *Ar. Ūb.*, no. 1640, and *Arab. Lit. d. Jud.*, 22, no. 26, has been tentatively identified by Carmody, 47 with a *Kitāb al-Ḥabṣiyya*, MS. Esc. 915. Another MS. with the same title is quoted in Brockmann, II, 205 ad 1, 302; it exists in Alexandria, *ḥarṣ*, 12.

According to Thorndike, *The Latin Translations of*



astrolological works by *Mossabala*, in *Oriens*, xli, 1956, 60, the work is erroneously attributed to Mā'ishā' Allāh, and its author is Saḥb b. Bāghr. The Venice print is not mentioned by him, and consequently he does not make clear whether Polony's book is supposed to be a different work or whether the print points to conscious authorship. The matter is still open for investigation.

#### 4. Geography.

J. H. Kramers' account on the Arabic translations of the Γεωγραφικὴ ὁρογραφία and its influence on the geographical views of the Muslims (*ILIR*, Supplement, s.v. *Diwān al-ḡiyā*) is by no means out of date, cf. also his contribution *Geography and Commerce in The Legacy of Isidore*, 1931, 79-107. We refer the reader to the works quoted in those articles and to Stein-schneider, *Ar. Uss.*, para. 119, and Kuska's review of H. v. Meißl's publications, in *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 24, 77-81. For the translation made for Mehmed Fāthī, the conqueror of Istanbul, preserved in MS. AS 2596, cf. Honigsmann, 114; Fleissner, in *Islamica*, iv, 1916, 547; Ritter, in *Id.*, xi, 1931, 32 f., where another MS., AS 2610, is described too.

#### 5. Harmonies.

For its influence on al-Fārūḍī's *K. al-Masīḥi al-Kabīr* cf. P. Kraus, *Jahrb.*, ii, 204, n. 2.

#### 6. Optics.

The Arabic title given by S. 29 in *K. al-Manādir*, Latin translation listed by Fleissner, 45. For its influence on Ibn al-Haytham see Stein-schneider, *Ar. Uss.*, para. 122.

#### 7. Alia.

A book on the properties of stones, *K. Manāḥi' al-ḥijār*, is contained in MS. Paris 2772, cf. J. Kuska and W. Hartner, *Katalog der orientalischen und lateinischen Originalhandschriften, Abdrücke und Photographien des Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften in Berlin*, 1929, 78 (not in G. Vajda, *Index generalis*, 1953).

**Bibliography:** In the text, cf. also 'Abdurrahman Badawī's introduction to his *Fondu Graeco* (*nos*) *doctrinae politicae Islamicae*, 1934; L. Thorndike, in *Isis*, 30, 1070, 33-50.

(M. FLEISSNER)

#### BATMAN (see WAGH).

**BATM**, probably the Semitic word for "stomach", with the additional sense in Hebrew of "uterus", implied in Aramaic by the verb of the same root which means "to conceive", and in Arabic by expressions such as *ḥaṭḥ baṭniha* "fruit of her womb", as well as by the use of the word to designate "a fraction of a tribe", retained as analogous to *rahim*, *rahīm* and an entire series as designations of a sterine relationship. The distinction between *awlad al-baṭn* "cognates" and *awlad al-rah* "agnates" is still used in modern Arabic, according to the notations of Weiststein for Damascus (see also *Arabica*, v, 1, 80-81; M. Canard's review of an article by Vinitskii). The interpretation of Arab philologists who place *baṭn* between *rahīm* and *rahim* in accordance with the order in which the parts of the body are enumerated, is to be rejected according to W. Robertson Smith (*Journal of Philology*, ix, 86) who believes that he has found for Hebr. *batan* that meaning of the Arab. *baṭn*, by an ingenious exegesis of Job 29, 17, where *honey batan* baffled the commentators; it would correspond to the Ar. *band baṭn* (*Kinship and Marriages in early Arabia*), 28). For a discussion of his theory cf. the articles 'Aṭṭā, 'Aḡḡlā, *kaṭṭā*, etc.

Used figuratively, *baṭn* "depression, basin" appears in geographical names (cf. Yāqūt, i, 665 ff.),

while in the sense of "interior" there are the derivations *batm* and *batmīyya* (s.v.), important in Islamology.

(J. LECLERC)

#### BATRĪK (see BATRĪK).

**BATRĪN** (or *BATRĪN*), Graeco-Roman Bostrys and the Bostron of the Crusaders; a small town on the Lebanese coast, situated 36 kms. north of Bayrūt; it witnessed the passage of all the armies of conquest, covering as it does the Bayrūt-Tarābulūs road to the south of the precipitous promontory of Rīs 'Ṣakka (Thouropoulos). According to a tradition cited by Josephus (*Antiq.*, viii, 32, 1), it was apparently founded by Ithobaal, king of Tyre. In reality it is of much older origin and is mentioned in the Tell al-'Anama letters (15th century B.C.) as a dependency of Byblos (Bibayl). At one time it was a nest of pirates, who were dealt with by Antiochus III Megas. To judge from the remains of a vast amphitheatre, the city, already famed for its vineyards, must have been of some towns, it was destroyed by the earthquake and tidal wave of 16 July 551.

In the period of the Crusades, Bostron was the seat of a bishopric depending on the county of Tripoli. It was a port where the Pisans enjoyed a number of privileges. For a long while the Bovenland family of al-Aqarūn were its lords. In 1271, following a quarrel among the Franks, the manor was razed by the Templars. Sultān Kalāwūn took Batrīn in 1289 without difficulty. Under the Mamluks of Egypt, the town was attached to the *nizāma* of Tarābulūs. In the 19th century the town enjoyed a certain prosperity due to sponge fishing which, however, today only occupies a few boats. The town now has a population of about 3,000, the majority of whom are Maronites.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, i, 494 (Bostrā ed. i, 338); Idrīsī, *Syrie* (Gildemeister) 17; (Jaubert) i, 356; Du Cange, *Les Familles d'Orient-Mor*, 257-259; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 251-252; W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce au Levant*, 4, 321; Lamm, *Die Syrie*, ii, 28; Desmaiz. *Trois siècles d'histoire de la Syrie*, 71; Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, iii, 688, 745; 'Aḡḡlā Imāḡū, *Histoire du Liban du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*, i, 53, 114. (N. ELIASSEFF)

**AL-BATĀL**, 'ABD ALLĀH, famous ghāṣi of the Umayyad period who took part in several expeditions against the Byzantines. His surname means "foe", "hero", but has also a pejorative sense (cf. for example Ibn Hawkal, 85; and the dictionaries). Concerning this person there is a comparatively meagre historical tradition, a pseudo-historical tradition and, moreover, an Arab romance *Siḥat Duhannā* wa *Ḥaṭḥ al-Batāl*, and related to it, a Turkish romance, *Sayyid Batāl*.

According to the early chroniclers (Al-Ya'qūbī, Al-Tabarī), al-Batāl did not appear before the year 109/727-28, during the reign of Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (105-125/724-43). Likewise the Byzantine historian Theophanes and the author of the Syrian chronicle, known as Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Mahre, only mention the year of his death, in 746. However (assuming of al-Batāl's date by Bal'amm) who wrote in 352/963, associates al-Batāl with Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik in his famous expedition against Constantinople in 98/717. We are dealing with a largely legendary account and we cannot know whether it contains reliable historical elements.

Historically, al-Batāl at the head of the vanguard

of Mu'awīya b. Ḥishām conquered Gangra in Paphlagonia in 109/728. In 113/731-32 he took part in the expedition in which another celebrated Umayyad ghāṣi perished, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Baḡhī. In 114/732-33, or 115, in the course of an invasion by Mu'awīya b. Ḥishām of Phrygia in the region of Akroinon, he routed and captured a Byzantine leader called Constantine. There is no further mention of him before his death in 122/740. During that year several parts of Anatolia were attacked by the troops of Sulaymān b. Ḥishām. Al-Batāl's detachment, commanded by the governor of Malatya, Malik b. Shabbī (or Shu'ayb), was surprised and routed by the Emperor Leo III and his son Constantine near Akroinon. The two leaders perished, their survivors fleeing south towards Synnada where they managed to rejoin Sulaymān. The date of al-Batāl's death is nevertheless placed in 121, 123 or even in 113.

If the early chronicles do not appear to have exploited much importance to his person, his military career was celebrated early by popular tradition in various accounts and anecdotes. In the period of al-Ma'wūdī, the first half of the 4th-10th century, he was known as one of the illustrious Muslims whose portrait the Byzantines had hung in their churches (*Murūj*, viii, 74), beside that of the famous *amir* of Melitene, 'Amr b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Aḡḡr, defeated and killed in 84/685. It is not impossible that the legend of both developed shortly after that date, as an after-effect of the first Byzantine success.

In Bal'amm's account of Maslama's expedition, al-Batāl is appointed to hold one city of Constantinople open while Maslama entered the city alone on horseback, and to enter in force should anything befall Maslama. Al-Batāl is even associated with Maslama in the account of the siege of the Byzantine capital in the *Kutāb al-Uyūn* (5th/11th or 6th/12th centuries), where one finds as well under the year 715 the romantic account of a single-handed combat by al-Batāl. The popular account of Maslama's expedition by the great Andalusian mystic Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 638/1240), related to that of Bal'amm, attributes also an important rôle to al-Batāl, commander of the contingents of Djaḡra and Syria, chief of Maslama's scouts, and charged with the same mission before Constantinople as in Bal'amm's version.

In a long biographical notice going back to Ibn 'Asḡir (d. 57/1176), a Syrian tradition reproduced more or less completely by various historians including Ibn al-Aḡḡr, Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Kutaybī, Ibn al-Batāl, Ibn al-'Umar and Ibn Kaṭhīr, one finds after a brief allusion to the rôle of al-Batāl in Maslama's expedition, romantic anecdotes of which certain reappear in the romance of al-Batāl. These are 1) al-Batāl the boy: he appears one night in a Greek village where he hears a mother threaten her crying child with giving him to al-Batāl if he does not stop crying; 2) his entrance into a Greek convent: al-Batāl, weakened by violent abdominal pains, is led by his horse to a convent where he is given asylum. He escapes the investigations of a Byzantine patrician thanks to the abbeys, follows him when he leaves, kills him, and returns to the convent where he takes captive all of the nuns and marries the abbess; 3) his entrance into Anatolia by a river: separated from his companions he arrives at Amorion where he gains access to the patrician by pretending to be a messenger from the Emperor, and forces him to indicate the whereabouts of the Muslim army, which he rejoins; 4) the death on the battlefield where the

Emperor Leo attends his last moments, looks after him and permits his burial by the Muslim prisoners.

The authors who report these anecdotes distinguish them from the "lies" of the *Siḥat Duhannā* wa *Ḥaṭḥ al-Batāl* (see below) of whose existence we know already during his period from the Jewish convert Samaw'al b. Yahyā al-Maḡribī, who wrote in 565/1169-70.

The early authors say nothing of the origin of al-Batāl. According to later historians he came from Antioch (or from Damascus), lived in Antioch, and was a *mawālī* of the Umayyad house, as was his companion 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Baḡhī, who also plays a major rôle in the *Siḥat Duhannā*. His *kuṣya* is sometimes Abu Muhammad, sometimes Abu Yahyā, sometimes Abu 'Ḥuṣayn. His father's name is Ḥuṣayn or 'Amr. On the origin of al-Batāl, such as it is given, whether in the *Siḥat Duhannā* or in the Turkish tradition of *Sayyid Batāl*, see the articles on these two romances.

**Bibliography:** Ya'qūt, ii, 395; Tabarī, ii, 1559, 1561, 1765; Tabarī-Bal'amm, *trans.* Zotenberg, iv, 239 ff.; *Kutāb al-Uyūn*, in *Fragm. Hist. Arab.*, ed. De Goeje, i, 28 ff., 90, 91, 100; Samaw'al b. Yahyā al-Maḡribī, *Iḥṣān al-Yāqūt*, in M. Schreiner *Monatschrift für Geogr. u. Wiss. d. Zeit.*, N.F. II (1898), 418; Ibn al-Aḡḡr, *ed.* Fiedler, v, 120, 118, 314, 486-87; Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī, *Miftāḥ al-Zawā'id*, MS. Paris 5179, fo. 128 v-129 r, 160 r ff.; Ibn Shikr al-Kutubī, *Uyūn al-Ta'wīḡ*, MS. Paris 1587, fo. 152 v-153 r, 177 v-179 r; Ibn al-'Arabi, *Muḥaddarat al-Aḥrār wa-Muḥaddarat al-Aḥyār*, Cairo 1906, II, 223-233; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Aḡḡr*, *ed.* P. Taeschner (*Reichert über Anatolien*), 1929, 64-66; Dhabābī, *Ta'wīḡ al-Islām*, Cairo 1907, IV, 227, V, 26; Dhabābī, *Kutāb al-'Iḥṣān*, MS. Paris 1584, fo. 36 r; Dhabābī, *Kutāb Duwal al-Islām*, Baydarābād 1937, i, 39; Ibn Kaṭhīr, *Al-Bidāya wa'l-Nihāya*, ix, 331-334; Abu 'Ḥ-Mahāsin, *al-Nuḡdīm*, Cairo ed., i, 272, 274, 286; Suyūṭī, *Ta'wīḡ al-Khulafā'*, Cairo 1905, 96; Karamānī, *Aḡḡr al-Duwal*, in the margin of Ibn al-Aḡḡr, *Bidāya*, iv, 214-215; Ps.-Dionys. of Tell Mahre, *trans.* Chabot, under 1046/734-5, 25; Theophanes, A.M. 6251, *ed.* de Boor, 411; Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, 87, 322; Le Strange, 153; Weil, *Chalifen*, i, 638-9; A. Lombard, *Constantin F.*, 32; E. W. Brooks, *The Arabs in Asia Minor*, in *Journal of Hell. Stud.*, xxi (1898), 194 ff., 198 ff.; M. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople*, in *J.A.*, ccviii, 86 ff., 100 ff., 110 ff.; F. Gabrieli, *Il Califato di Ḥishām*, 1935, 87-91.

(M. CANARD)

**AL-BATĀL** (SAYYID BATĀL *Qaṣṣa*), a champion of the Arabs in the wars against Byzantium in the Umayyad period, is transformed, in the Turkish romance devoted to his adventures, into a hero of the 'Abbasid period. Al-Batāl thus became the contemporary of the *amir* of Melitene, 'Amr b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Aḡḡr (d. 349/963) and was incorporated into the epic cycle of Melitene. After the conquest of Melitene by the *amir* Dānişmend in 495/1102, the Turks adopted the epic of Melitene, incorporating it in their own epic cycles and tracing their national heroes back to the legendary al-Batāl. It is a Turkishised Batāl embodied by an 'Alid connexion and answering to the name of Dja'far that we find in the Turkish version. The Turkish historians who used this epic romance as a historical source often took the legendary elements for historical facts and were even led to accept the chronology of the story. Thus Esfīyā Celalzade



Battāl a contemporary of Hārūn al-Rāshid, whose reign he transferred to 248/859—the year in which he made him besiege Constantinople. The same anachronism exists in the Turkish version of al-Tahiri; it was made by an anonymous translator who introduced into his work accounts taken from the Turkish epic tradition.

Al-Battāl appears in two great epic romances: the Arabic romance of *Ḍalāl al-himma* (*Dellemma*) (see *Dellemma*) and the Turkish romance of Sayyid Battāl. These two works, although related, were not subject to reciprocal influences; they probably both go back to an Arabic tradition concerning al-Battāl of which we possess no written trace, but whose existence is confirmed by two pieces of historical evidence of the 6th/12th century (cf. M. Canard, in *JdI*, cviii, 116; id., in *Byzantion*, vii, 186).

The Turkish romance. After their conquest of Anatolia, the Turks adopted as their own the local epic traditions celebrating the Arabo-Byzantine Wars. These accounts transformed by the addition of Turkish elements and Turkified Persian elements, gave rise to a new Anatolian epic having as its subject the conquest of Asia Minor. The romance of Battāl is the prototype of this literature; however, from the first, elements of Turkish folklore crept in, containing events which took place in a fantastic world peopled with anthropomorphic demons and supernatural beings, themes taken from Persian fairy stories or epic tales, popularisations of the *Shāh-nāma*, motifs from historical romances of heterodox ideology, such as the *Romance of Abū Muslim*, a work found all over the Turkish world. The Turkish romance of Battāl appears as a mosaic where the elements of different sources are amalgamated. Among these elements, the book which recounts the insurrection and the capture of the heretic Bābak stands out from the rest of the work because of its historical basis, which is evident through the trappings of the legend. In this account, which takes place in the Caliphate of al-Mu'tasim (833-842), Battāl has been substituted for the real hero of the campaign, Afghān, whose name was proscribed after his disgrace and death in 235/848. This book is probably one of the *Bābak-nāma* whose existence we know about from Ibn al-Nadīm, and which is incorporated in the romance of Battāl.

Similarly in the *Dellemma* the Turkish romance contains reminiscences of the time of the First Crusade. It was probably composed during the 6th/12th century, or right at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, because the *Romance of Malik Dāwūd*, which celebrates the exploits of the first Turkish conqueror of Melitane and which was first written down in 643/1245, was conceived as a continuation of the romance of Battāl; some narrators of the *Sāḍīk* period added a chapter in which they told how the tomb of the hero was discovered by the *Sāḍīk* of Anatolia. There exists a version of the romance of Battāl in verse, attributed to Bakāʾī, in the reign of Muṣṭafā III (1757-1774). Independently of the epic cycle, the name of Battāl still lives on in numerous Anatolian legends and in particular in the hagiographical stories of the *Sāḍīk* and *ḥalīfah* sects (see *Ḥalīfah*, *Ḥalīfah*).

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(I. MELIKOFF)

AL-BATTĀNĪ (his full name is Aḥmad 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. 'Izz al-Dīn Sīyāh al-Battānī al-Harrānī al-Sabī'), the Albategni or Albatenius of our mediaeval authors, one of the greatest of Arab astronomers, was born before 244 (838) very probably at Harrān or in its neighbourhood; the origin of the *nisba* al-Battānī is quite uncertain. His family formerly professed the Sabian religion, whence the name al-Sabī; although our author was a Muslim. He spent almost his whole life at al-Rakha on the left bank of the Euphrates, where several families from Harrān had taken up their abode; from 264 (877) he devoted himself to astronomical observations which he regularly pursued for the rest of his life. Having had occasion to go on business to Baghdat he died on his return journey at Kay al-Djāris, a little to the east of the Tigris and not far from Sāmarrā in 317 (929).

He wrote: 1. *Kitāb mar'at maṭālī al-aburāğ* *fi mā bayna arṣi' al-falak*, "the book of the science of the ascensions of the signs of the zodiac in the space between the quadrants of the celestial sphere"; i.e., of the ascensions of the points of the ecliptic which are not, at the given moment, one of the four "maṭāl" or pivots (see the article *maṭāl*); it deals with the mathematical solution of the astrological problem of the "direction" of the significator, 2. *Kitāb fi taḥkik addir al-ittisāl*, "a letter on the exact determination of the quantities of the astrological applications", i.e., the rigorous trigonometrical solution of the astrological problem of the *profectio radiorum* (see the article *maṭāl*) when the stars in question have latitude (i.e., lie outside the ecliptic), 3. *Shārḥ al-makālāt al-arṣi' fi Bāḥāniyya*, "commentary on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*", 4. *al-Falāq*, "Astronomical treatise and tables", his principal work and the only one that has survived to us; it contains the results of his observations and had a considerable influence, not only on Arab astronomy but also on the development of astronomy and spherical trigonometry in Europe in the middle ages and beginning of the Renaissance. It was translated into Latin by Robertus Retemius or Ketenerius (died at Pamplona in Spain after c. 1143 A.D.); the version is lost) and by Plato Tiburtinus in the first half of the 13th century (an edition of the text without the mathematical tables was published at Nuremberg in 1557 and at Bologna in 1645). Alfonso X of Castile (1252-1282) had it translated directly from the Arabic into Spanish (incomplete MS. in Paris). Three insignificant astronomical pamphlets, of which a Latin version exists in several manuscripts, which give their author's name as Betham, Boetem, Berem, Barent, have been wrongly attributed to al-Battānī.

Al-Battānī determined with great accuracy the obliquity of the ecliptic, the length of the tropic year and of the seasons and the true and mean orbit of the sun, he definitely established the Ptolemaic dogma of the immobility of the solar apogee by demonstrating that it is subject to the precession of the equinoxes and that in consequence the equation of time is subject to a slow secular variation; he proved, contrary to Ptolemy, the

variation of the apparent angular diameter of the sun and the possibility of annular eclipses; he rectified several orbits of the moon and the planets; he propounded a new and very ingenious theory to determine the conditions of visibility of the new moon; he emended the Ptolemaic value of the precession of the equinoxes. His excellent observations of lunar and solar eclipses were used by Dunthorne in 1749 to determine the secular acceleration of motion of the moon. Finally he gave very neat solutions by means of orthographic projection for some problems of spherical trigonometry, solutions which were known to and in part imitated by the celebrated Regiomontanus (1456-1476).

**Bibliography:** al-Battānī sive Albategni *Opus astronomicum* . . . . . Arabic editum, *Latine versum, adnotationibus instructum a C. A. Nallino*, Mediolani Insoburni, 1899-1907, 3 vols. in-4°. Regarding the misinterpretation of the text of al-Battānī, 1. 31-2, by C. A. Nallino, see emendation proposed by J. Vernet and J. J. de Orús in *Transformación de coordenadas astronómicas entre los drabes, in Gaceta Matemática*, 1st. series, ii, no. 3, Madrid 1950, and also J. M. Millis, *Una nueva obra astronómica alfonsí: El Tratado del cuadrante "semmeret", in al-Andalus*, xxi (1950), 125. On the influence exercised by al-Battānī's work on the Jew of Barcelona Abraham bar Hiyya (5th-6th/11th-12th century), see J. M. Millis, in *Actes du Congrès intern. des Orient.*, Leiden 1931, and *La obra "forma de la tierra" de R. Abraham bar Hiyya al-Bargeloni*, Madrid-Barcelona 1956. (C. A. NALLINO)

BATU (in Arabic script Bāṭu), Mongol prince, the conqueror of Russia and founder of the Golden Horde (1227-1255), born in the early years of the 13th century, the second son of Djöči (see *Qöčü*). During Čingiz-Khān's lifetime Djöči, as his eldest son, had received as his *yurt* or appanage the territory stretching from the regions of Kayakāl and Khawāram to Saksin and Bulghār on the Volga "and as far in that direction as the hoof of Tartar horse had penetrated". The eastern part of this vast area, i.e., Western Siberia, the present-day Karakaghstān and the lower basin of the Sir-Darya, passed upon Djöči's death in 624/1227 to his eldest son Orda, whilst to Batu fell the western part, i.e., Khawāram and the Dağhī-A Kipčak or Kipčak Steppe to the north and north-east of the Black Sea. On the first ten years of Batu's reign we know only that he was present at the *kurultay* or assembly of the Mongol princes held in 626/1229 in Mongolia, at which Ögödei was elected Great Khān, probably also at the *kurultay* of 632/1235 in which it was decided to renew the war against the Russians and neighbouring peoples; he was never again in Eastern Asia. In the army which set out in the spring of 633/1236 there were also sons of Čaghatay, Ögödei and Toluy, but Batu was in supreme command. The Mongol forces are said to have reached the territory of the Volga Bulgārs by the autumn of the same year, but the destruction of the town of Bulghār does not seem to have taken place until the autumn of 635/1237, during which year the Mongols were engaged in operations against the Kipčak Turks in what is now Southern Russia. In Bah' I-II 635/November 1237 they crossed the frozen Volga and attacked the Russian principalities, capturing city after city, until by Rajāb-Sha'ban 635/March 1238 the road lay open to Novgorod. The Mongols had approached within 65 miles of the town when they

suddenly withdrew to the south, evidently fearing that the spring thaw would render the roads impassable. After a long period of rest in the lower Don basin and minor campaigns in the Caucasus in 636/1239, the war against Russia was resumed in 637-1240 in a campaign which ended with the fall of Kiev on the 6th of December of the same year. From the Ukraine simultaneous attacks were launched upon Poland and Hungary. Through Poland the Mongols penetrated into Silesia defeating Duke Henry the Pious at Legnica on the 25 Ramadan 638/9 April 1241 and then passed through Moravia to join the main army, which, led by Batu in person, had crossed the Carpathians into Hungary and inflicted a decisive defeat on the Hungarians at Mohi (27 Ramadan 638/11 April 1241). The combined Mongol forces passed the summer and autumn on the Hungarian plain; and on Christmas Day Batu in person crossed the frozen Danube to take the town of Ezerseg. The last major operation was an expedition through Croatia and Dalmatia to the shores of the Adriatic in pursuit of Béla IV of Hungary. The armies were apparently poised for a general assault on Western Europe when news arrived of the death of the Great Khān Ögödei (5 Dhimād 11 639/11 December 1241), and Batu decided to withdraw his forces. Retiring by way of the Balkans he finally reached his encampments on the Lower Volga late in 1242.

It was now that Batu laid the foundations of the Golden Horde. Of the lands invaded in the years 635-9/1237-1241 only Russia had remained subject to the Mongols. As early as 639-40/1200-1241 Grand Duke Yaroslav I of Vladimir came to Batu's aid to pledge his loyalty and was confirmed by the Khān in his rank as "senior of all the princes of the Russian people"; in 1000/1245 Prince Daniel of Galicia had to be confirmed in the same way and do homage to Batu.

During this period Batu's attention was largely diverted to events in the East. Ögödei's eldest son Güyük, a personal enemy of Batu, had been raised to the throne in succession to his father at the *kurultay* of 644/1246. Batu had been represented at the ceremony by five of his brothers, excusing his own absence, according to Rashid al-Dīn, on the ground of physical infirmities. Early in 1248 the new Khān left Kara-Korum in a westerly direction. He gave it out, according to Rashid al-Dīn, that he was proceeding, for reasons of health, to his *yurt* on the Enil in what is now eastern Kazakhstan, but Toluy's widow suspected that his real intention was to attack Batu, to whom she accordingly sent a warning. Güyük died suddenly *en route* in a place called Kum-Sengir on the Upper Urungui, according to the *Yüan shih* in the third month (29th March-24th April) of 1248. Djuyaynī and Rashid al-Dīn disagree as to Batu's whereabouts at the time of Güyük's death. According to Djuyaynī he was advancing eastwards to meet the Khān, at the latter's invitation, when he received the news of his death in a place called Ala-Kamak, a week's journey from Kayakāl, probably in the Alatau mountains to the south of the Il. On the pretext that his horses were lean Batu summoned the princes to meet him in this place. On the other hand, according to Rashid al-Dīn, this meeting took place in Batu's own territory; and the sons of Ögödei, Čaghatay and Güyük are represented as refusing to make the long journey to the Kipčak Steppe.

The result of the meeting, wherever held, was that Möngke, the eldest son of Toluy, was, on Batu's











and 1310/1892 (Sarkis, *Mu'djam* 1928, 310). She also versified Qur'ānī, al-Mu'djam wa 'l-Kharā'ij al-Khawāssiya (Brockelmann S II 181<sup>2</sup>); and in an *urdu*isa, entitled al-Ishārāt al-Khawāssiya fi 'l-Mandil al-'Alīya (Hādijī Khāfi, i, 96) abridged Harawī's 80th manual *Mandil al-Sā'ir*. In another *urdu*isa she abridged Saḥāwī's al-*Ḥawl al-Baḥrī* fi 'l-Salāt 'alā al-Ḥabīb (Hādijī Khāfi, i, 162). She was married and had a son, who she died in Damascus in 1321/1806 (Shahārūt viii, 117; Zirikli al-Aṣḥab, Cairo 1927, ii, 458).

(7) and (8) were not particularly prominent though both produced some poetry, the latter mostly in the form of verse summaries of the reigns of Mamlūk sultans. The former died in 910/1505 the latter in 916/1510 (Shahārūt, viii, 48; Kāmilī, i, 73, 147; and cf. Brockelmann II 66, S II 33 for Muhammad's work).

After (8) Najīb's line seems to pass out of history for there is no reference to it in Muhibbī's *Ḥuldā*. (W. A. S. KHALIDI)

**BĀWAND**, (Persian Bāwand), an Iranian dynasty which ruled in Tabaristān for over 700 years (45-750/605-1349). The centre of the dynasty was the mountainous area, although they frequently ruled the lowlands south of the Caspian Sea. The name Bāw, traced back to an ancestor Bāw who was either 1) named Ispahbad of Tabaristān by Khurasaw Parwiz (Rabino, 411), or 2) a prominent Magian of Rayy (Marquart, *Erindāsh*, 128, where an etymology of the name is also given). The several rulers of the Bāwand dynasty were called *ispahbad* or *malik al-ḥibād*, and they were usually independent, though sometimes tributary to caliphs or sultans.

The dynasty can be divided into three branches: 1) the Kayniyya, which ruled 45-397/605-1006, when the *ispahbad* Shahrīyār revolted against Kābūs b. Waḥmīd, was captured and later put to death; 2) the Ispahbadiyya, who ruled 406-606/1013-1210, when Muhammad Kh̲arāsmīyār invaded Tabaristān; 3) the Kīnākh̲rīyā (653-750/1217-1310), when the last ruler Fakhr al-Dawla Hasan was assassinated.

The first branch took its name from Kayū b. Kābād the Sāsānid, possibly the grandfather of Bāw. The early history of the family is uncertain. The ninth ruler Kān b. Shahrīyār accepted Islam in 240/855 and was called Abū 'l-Mulūk. The family lost its power after 507/1106, but several princes continued to rule in localities in the mountains. One of them, Muhammad b. Wāndār, had a mausoleum erected in 1021, known as the Milā Rādīn (cf. E. Dietz, *Kurassische Bodenmutter*, Berlin 1918).

The second branch had their capital in Sāfī, ruling over Gilān, Rayy and Kīmis as well as Tabaristān, and were vassals of the Saljūqs, then of the Kh̲arāsmīyār. Towards the end of their rule the Ismā'īlīs spread in Tabaristān and obtained power at the expense of the Bāwand dynasty. Finally the Kh̲arāsmīyār assumed the rule when Shams al-Mulūk Rustam Bāwand was assassinated.

After the Mongol invasion there was anarchy in Tabaristān, and finally a member of the Bāwand family, Hunād al-Dawla Arslān b. Kīnākh̲rīyār was chosen ruler by the people. He moved his capital from Sāfī to Amul for safety's sake. Under his rule (12 or 15 years) the Mongols invaded Tabaristān. His son, Shams al-Mulūk, was put to death in 663/1264 by Abakā Khān after ruling 18 years. This dynasty ruled as vassals of the Mongols but they suffered nonetheless from Mongol invasions and depredations.

In 750/1349 Fakhr al-Dawla Hasan, last of the Bāwand family, was assassinated by members of the prominent family of Kīyā.

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**BĀWĀZIDĪ**, (see *asīwāzī*).

**BĀWĀZIDĪ**, of Bawāzid al-Malik, in 'Abbasid times a town in the province of Mosul on the right bank of the Lesser Zab, not far from its mouth.

The name is the Syriac Bēth Wāzīk, "the house of the toll-collector". As the Sāsānid name, there appears occasionally Khunayyā-Sābur "Shāpur's son", after the usual style of the poetical names of towns common in the Sāsānid period. In the older geographers and historians the place is only briefly mentioned along with Takrīt, Tūrān and Sinn. Some one with an accurate knowledge of the town has, however interpolated a detailed description in the text of Ibn Hawkal (ed. De Goeje, 169, note 9). The place was notorious in the middle ages as the abode of the Kijānīyās—the inhabitants say they are descended from the troops of Sālī b. Abī Thālib—and as a nest of robbers. The town lived by receiving goods stolen by the Banū Shāyban Bedouins from caravans. Yāqūt however also mentions some scholars who were born in Bawāzidī. A portion of its inhabitants must have been Christian; the miracle-working bones of a Syrian martyr Bābōye were there. There was occasionally a Jacobite bishop of Bēth Kounān (i.e. the village of Bārmān) and Bēth Wāzīk, or a Nestorian of Shennā (i.e. Sinn) and Bēth Wāzīk.

The ruins of the town have not yet been discovered. **Bibliography:** Ibn Khuradādhbih, 94; Ibn Hawkal (ed. de Goeje), 169, note 9; Bakrī, 183; Yāqūt, s.v.; G. Hoffmann, *Syrische Akten Persischer Märsche*, 189, cf. his notes; De Goeje, *Ibn Khuradādhbih*, translation, 68; E. Herzfeld, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie etc.*, in *Memoirs*, i, 1907, 1 and 2; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet* (1910-11), chap. iii; Le Strange, 91 and 98. (L. HARTWELL)

**BAY** (Bev), name applied to the ruler of Tunisia until 26 July 1957, when the Bey Lamine (al-Amīn), 10th ruler of the Husaynid dynasty, was deposed and a Republic proclaimed in Tunisia.

To discover the origin of this title, we must go back to the end of the 16th century. It was at that time that the Bey 'Uthmān created the Office of Bey (in Turkish: *beg*), without consulting the Porte, whose vassal he was. He entrusted the holder of the office with command of the tribes, the maintenance of public order and the collection of taxes. Equipped with these extensive powers, the Bey soon became the most important man in the country. This was the title which the Agha of the soldiery, Husayn b. 'Alī, founder of the Husaynid dynasty, subsequently assumed upon receiving the investiture at Tunis on 10 July 1793.

It was only later that the order of succession to the throne was regulated by a Charter included in the

Tunisian Constitution of 26 April 1861, article 1 of which decreed: "Succession to the throne is hereditary among the princes of the Husaynid family, by order of age, according to the rules in use in the Kingdom". This was in fact the codification of a traditional rule which, with two exceptions, was adhered to in regard to accession to the throne of Tunisia from the founding of the dynasty.

The enthronement of the sovereign was accompanied by a dual ceremony, the first private, in which the great men of the Kingdom and intimates participated, the second public, open to the broad mass of subjects. This recalled the old dual ceremony of doing homage (*al-bay'a al-ḥāṣiya* and *al-bay'a al-sayyā*). As a result of the establishment of the Protectorate, the representative of France in Tunisia became associated with the ceremony of the enthronement of the Bey, bestowing on the new Bey the "solemn investiture" in the name of the protecting Power.

Articles 3 and 4 of the Decree of 26 April 1861 stated: "The Bey is the head of the State. At the same time, he is the head of the ruling family. He has full authority over the princes and gentlemen of his family, none of whom may dispose either of their persons or of their property without his prior consent. He exercises a paternal authority over them and is obliged to give them the benefits of such. Members of the family owe him filial obedience."

The titles borne by the Bey contained a number of expressions expressly designating his sovereign function. In official documents his appellation was: *Sayyidunā wa-mawlānā . . . Bāgha Bay, ṣāhib al-mamlaka al-tūnisīya* (= Our Lord and Master . . . Pasha Bay, possessor of the Kingdom of Tunis). This old style, in part dating back to the Hafṣids and partly to the middle of the 18th century, was augmented by a new element, namely *Muḥṣir* (Marshāl), bestowed by the Porte about the year 1839, which however was only borne by three Bays. Unlike the Hafṣid styles, however, no titles (*al-shāh*) of a personal character occur.

Among the special insignia of sovereignty, mention must be made, in addition to the dynastic throne, of the ceremonial costume worn by the Bey on solemn occasions. These material attributes were enhanced by the kissing of hands ennobled on Tunisian subjects, and other marks of royalty. The Bey had a civil list, a guard of honour (the Bey's Guard), a standard, bestowed decorations (*Nishān al-dam*, *'Aḥd al-amān*, *Nishān al-iftikār*) and honorary military ranks. Finally, each Thursday there took place the Ceremony of the Seal, at which the Bey applied his seal to governmental decisions in the form of a decree, thus giving them executive force.

The heir apparent bore the title of Bey of the Camp (*bay al-amāl*). This title originated in the duty incumbent on the heir apparent to proceed twice a year at the head of a military expedition to the south and north of the country both to assert the authority of the central government and to overawe tribes who might refuse to pay their taxes. The Bey of the Camp was head of the army by virtue of this institution, but it disappeared with the advent of the Protectorate. (CH. SAMARAN)

**BAY'** (a). Two roots are used in Arabic to designate the contract of sale: *bay'* and *sh-r-y*; in the first verbal form both usually mean "to sell", but also "to buy", in the eighth form exclusively "to buy"; the function of expressing both sides of a mutual relationship is shared by these two roots

with a number of other old legal terms. *Bay'* originally means the clasp of hands on concluding an agreement, *sh-r-y* perhaps the busy activity of the market. In the technical usage of Islamic law, the normal term for selling is *bay'*, for the contract of sale, the infinitive *bay'*, and for buying, *sh-r-y*, or *ishrā'*. The frequent use of *ghard* for a profitable and of *ighard* for an unprofitable transaction (in the metaphorical sense) in the Kur'ān is parallel to that of *hasaba* "to be credited" and *istahaba* "to be debited" (cf. Schacht, in *Studia Islamica*, i, 301).

Commercial law in pre-Islamic Mecca had undoubtedly reached a certain level of development; the trade on which alone the existence of the town depended, occupied such a predominant place there that the Kur'ān not only referred to it often but used a number of technical terms of commerce to express religious ideas. On the other hand, the importance of the Meccan trade in absolute terms ought not to be overestimated; cf. G.-H. Bosquet, in *Hesp.*, 1954, 233 f., 238 ff.). To this body of ancient Arab commercial law can be traced the *ribā* contracts which the Kur'ān was to prohibit, certain dealings involving credit and speculation, and possibly the *bay'at al-mudārā'*, a special right of option, which seems to go back to a local Meccan custom (cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 159 ff.); to all appearance the legal construction of the contract as being constituted by offer (*ījāb*) and acceptance (*qabūl*), as well as part of the terminology of Islamic law and, perhaps, some of its legal maxims, belong to this pre-Islamic stratum; the term *ījāb* itself seems to reflect another, unilateral, construction of the contract (cf. Schacht, in *OLZ*, 1927, 664 ff.). The Kur'ān directly envisages commercial law in the general exhortations to give full weight and measure and to carry out agreements, in the specific demand that forward deals should be put in writing (Sūra ii, 282 f.; in the system of Islamic law this injunction has been deprived of its binding character), and above all in the two prohibitions of interest (*ribā*) and of games of chance (*mayyit*), which include aleatory transactions (Sūra ii, 219, 275 f.; v, 90 f.); in contrast with the attitude of the contemporaries, *bay'*, i.e. legitimate trade, is sharply opposed to *ribā*. The implications of these prohibitions have been worked out to their last details in Islamic law. Tradition contains a certain number of teachings regarding commerce in general and the duties of the good and the punishment of the wicked merchant (see *ṬIḤĀRA*); it also elaborates the teachings of the Kur'ān. As legal principles which now appear for the first time may be mentioned: the recognition of the right of withdrawal (*shūḥūḥ*), unconditional during the negotiation, and under certain conditions either agreed or fixed by law after the agreement has been made; the legal maxim *al-ḥarādī bi 'l-damān* ("profit goes where the responsibility lies"); the rule that the produce in existence at the moment of sale belongs to the vendor, unless the contrary is stipulated; the prohibition of a sale the object of which cannot be exactly defined (in the case of a sale of ripe fruits on a tree etc., the main group of traditions is satisfied with an estimate); the prohibition of a re-sale of foodstuffs or of merchandise in general before possession has been taken (a consequence of the prohibition of *ribā*), or in general of the sale of things which are not already the property of the vendor; the exclusion of certain things from commerce, ritually impure or forbidden as well as things which, like surplus water, are common property; finally,







of the *bay'a* (*bad'id al-bay'a*) whereby the Caliph or Sultan has recourse, during his reign, to a new *bay'a* in favour of himself or his heir apparent; and this may be repeated twice or more. The ruler resorts to this to establish the loyalty of his subjects.

III. Effects of the *bay'a*. A question peculiar to the *bay'a*—election is that of knowing whether it has the effect of investing the ruler with authority or whether it is simply confirmatory. It is in favour of the latter notion that the doctrine has generally become established, the ruler being held to receive his investiture from God.

Those who perform the *bay'a* and, along with them, the rest of the community become firmly and definitely bound. This binding effect is reinforced by the religious character which the *bay'a* acquired from early 'Abbasid times. As a result of the development of the theocratic nature of power the obligations undertaken towards the ruler are considered as being, in reality, obligations undertaken towards Allah. Furthermore this sole earthly sanction for the violation of the *bay'a* is one of extreme severity; in principle, it is death. The binding effect of the *bay'a* is personal and life-long; the idea of a *bay'a* made for a limited period is, indeed, unknown.

This effect, however, is limited by the law. For the *bay'a* is made on condition that its recipient remains faithful to the divine prescriptions, which means that if the ruler does not abide by these prescriptions those who have performed the *bay'a* in his favour are thereby released from their obligations.

*Bibliography*: Drey, *Suppl.*, s.v. *Bay'*; Farrā', *Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, Cairo n.d.; Fayrūzshāhī, *Al-Kimāli al-Muḥibb*, s.v. *Bay'*; Ibn al-Jāzī, *Mubāḥḥaṭ*, ed. Beirut 1900 (Eng. tr. by F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, 1, 428 ff.); Lane, s.v. *Bay'*; Miawardi, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, Cairo n.d.; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, Paris 1934, 1, 315 ff., 1957, II, 605, 129 ff. (with references). (E. Tyan)

**BAYÄN**, an Arabic word meaning lucidity, distinctness; the means by which clearness is achieved, explanation; hence, clarity of speech or expression, and the faculty by which clarity is attained. In technical language *bayän* develops from a (near-) synonym of *balāgha*, eloquence, to the designation of a particular aspect of it which, within the *ʿilm al-balāgha* is dealt with by the *ʿilm al-bayän*. Common usage, however, continues to employ *bayän* in a wider variety of meanings (cf. also colourless phrases like *bān bayān* or *dar bayān*, where nothing more than *fi* or *dar* is intended). Occasionally, *ṭibḥān* takes the place of *bayän* without suggesting a different shade of meaning; e.g., *Ḥāṭṭāh* (d. 996 or 998), *K. Bayān fīdā al-Kurʿān*, MS. Leiden 1654 (Cod. Waver 615), 5<sup>a</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>; the rank of the various kinds of speech differs with regard to their *ṭibḥān*; *ibid.*, 8<sup>a</sup>; people believe of certain near-synonyms that they are equal in conveying the *bayän* of what the presentation intends to convey.

What seem to be the earliest types of statements on the nature of *bayän* are descriptive aphorisms rather than definitions. "Reason is the guide of the soul, knowledge, the guide of reason, and *bayän*, the interpreter of knowledge." (Sahl b. Ḥārūn, the famous *Shuʿab* d. 215/330-37, *apud* Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḥd al-farīd*, Cairo 1353/1935, 1, 221; also Abū Ḥilāl al-ʿAskari, *Diwān al-Maʿnī*, Cairo 1352, 1, 141; similar al-Ḥusayn al-Kayrawānī, *Zahr al-ʿAdab* (on margin), *al-ʿIḥd al-farīd*, Cairo 1321, 1, 134). Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 908), *Adab*, ed.

I. J. Kratchkovsky, *MO*, 1924, 111, begins a longish passage of hymnic praise of *bayän* by describing it as "the interpreter of the heart (quoted *Zahr al-ʿAdab*, 1, 114), the polisher (*sayhal*) of the mind, the dispeller of doubt". Another saying of this kind is preserved in *al-ʿIḥd al-farīd*, 1, 221: "The soul is the pillar (*ʿimād*) of the body, knowledge, the pillar of the soul, and *bayän*, the pillar of knowledge" (repeated, e.g., by Ibn Rashīq, *ʿUmda*, Cairo 1353/1934, 1, 212).

On occasion, *bayän* is primarily connected with *ḥisāb*, purity and euphony of language; thus, e.g., by al-Jāzī (d. 869), *K. al-Bayān wa'l-Taḥyīn*, ed. H. al-Sandbil, 2nd ed., Cairo 1366/1947, 1, 325, where *ḥisān al-balāgha* means 'good enunciation, "orthodoxy"'; Abū Ḥilāl al-ʿAskari, *K. al-Sināʿatayn*, Constantinople 1320, 77, where *ḥisāb* is referred to as the perfect instrument, *ala*, of *bayān*; Ibn al-Aḥfir, *al-Maḥall al-Sāʿir*, Cairo 1312, 65: "*ḥisāb* is making evident, expounding clearly, *bayān*, not obscurity and concealment". In general, however, the concept is linked with *balāgha*. Nowayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Cairo 1322 ff., VII, 10, quotes an expanded version of Sahl b. Ḥārūn's dictum: "al-bayän is the interpreter of the mind and the training of the heart; and *balāgha* is what the common people understand and what gives satisfaction to the elite..."; Ibn Rashīq, *op. cit.*, 1, 215-16, reports two definitions of *balāgha*, one identifying it as "the power of *bayän*, clear exposition, together with good organisation"; and the other as "the opposite of 'yay' and 'yay' is the inability to achieve *bayän* (i.e., to express oneself clearly)". Tawḥīdī (d. 1023) warning against *ṭibḥān*, constraint, *Risāla fī 'l-Sulm* in *Kutub al-Ḥikma*, Constantinople 1301/1884, 206, uses *bayän* practically as a synonym of *balāgha*. *Diḥrī*, *op. cit.*, 1, 95, puts together on the same level *balāgha*<sup>1</sup>, *ḥuṭaba*<sup>2</sup> and *ahyān*<sup>3</sup> (plur. mult. of *bayān*) those elegant and clever in their speech. The judgment on the 300th century Maliki jurist and poet Ahmad b. al-Muʿadhdhal that he was equally outstanding in his command of the Arab vocabulary, *ḥuṭaba*, *bayān*, literary education, *adab*, and wit, *ḥalwa* (*Zahr*, II, 276), shows how close *bayän* came to denoting *balāgha*. Cf. also the praise bestowed by al-Ḥasan b. Wahb (d. ca. 860) on Abū Tamīm because of the *bayān* of his composition, *miḥmā*, *ibid.*, II, 134). As a specimen of later non-technical *bayān* cf. Ibn Kayyās, *al-Djāwāziyya* (d. 1350), *K. al-Fawā'id*, Cairo 1327/1909, 5, where *ḥisāb*, *balāgha*, *ḥisāb* (literary excellence), *bayān*, *ḥawāṣid* (subtleties of language) and beautiful composition are mentioned on the same plane as distinctions which God has imparted to the Kurʿān.

A definition *sensu stricto* of *bayän* is recorded in *ʿIḥd*, I, 221, and with immaterial variants by Abū Ṭāhir al-Baḥḡalī (d. 1123), *Kāmil al-Balāgha* in *Rasāʾid al-Bulaghā*<sup>4</sup>, ed. Muh. Kurd ʿAlī, 3rd ed., Cairo 1946, 432. "Whatever lifts the veil from a concealed idea, *maʿnā*, so it comes to be understood and accepted by the mind, 'aḥḥ, is *bayān*". The same line of analysis is followed in the more elaborate definition ascribed to *Diḥrī* al-Barmakī (d. 802), *Bayān*, 1, 118 (also: Ibn Kutayba, *ʿUyūn al-Aḥbār*, Cairo 1343-48/1924-30, II, 171; *Zahr*, 1, 126): *Bayān* means "that the word (*ism*; later one would have used *kalām*, discourse) covers the idea completely and renders your intention (fully), lifting it from ambiguity, *shubḥa*, so you do not need the assistance of reflection (to understand what is meant); it (*bayān*) must be free from constraint, *ṭibḥān*, remote from artificiality, *panʿa*, without obscurity,

*taʿāḥid*, and comprehensible without interpretation, *laʿwīl*". (Translated from *ʿUyūn al-Aḥbār*; *Bayān*'s text is somewhat longer; *ʿUmda*, I, 225, offers a definition of kindred intent but different phrasing).

What to my knowledge may be the first attempt to integrate *bayän* in a system of rhetorical analysis is preserved as the statement made by Ibn al-Kirīrīya (d. 847/90) on letter, word and discourse or speech, where speech is divided in ten *ahād*, seven of them 'preliminaries', *faṣṣiḥ*, and three, 'comprehensive (qualities)', *ḥawāṣid*. In this listing *bayän al-ḥalām* figures as the fourth of the *faṣṣiḥ* among requirements such as "the courage to speak up", "refraining from clearing one's throat and hemming", being able to begin and end at will (quoted *Kāmil al-Balāgha*, 433).

*Diḥrī*, *K. al-Hayawān*, Cairo 1353/1907, 1, 17, notes that both men and animals possess the faculty of *dalāla*, the indication of a meaning; but only man possesses that of *istidlāl*, the power of inferential thinking, along with it. The term *bayän*, however, in *Diḥrī*'s view, covers both kinds of *dalāla*. Human *dalāla* (or *bayän*) has five forms: word, writing, counting on fingers or knuckles, *ʿuḥād* (not *ʿahd* as Sandbil vocalises in *Bayān*, 1, 756<sup>5</sup>), indication, *ṭibḥān*, and *nishā*, posture or attitude (not *nusha* as *ibid.*, line 11); on *nishā* cf. Nallino, in *RSO*, 1919-21, 637-46, who lists, 640-41, later grammarians using the term; *Diḥrī* repeats this doctrine in the five forms of expression in *Hayawān*, 1, 23, and *Bayān*, 1, 76. Ibn al-Muḍabbir (d. 892), *Risālat al-ʿAdab*<sup>6</sup>, ed. Z. Mudrak, Cairo 1350/1931, 40, restates *Diḥrī*'s fivefold division of *bayän* and adds the correct observation that the concept of *nishā* goes back to Aristotle (whose seventh category is *ṭibḥōtati*; *Hut* (d. 1061), *Zahr*, 1, 123-25, discusses *Diḥrī*'s view without reference to a possible source). Abū Ṭāhir, *Kāmil*, 424, confines himself to repeating it concisely. Rummānī (d. 901), *K. al-Nuḥāt fī l-ʿIḥd al-Kurʿān*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm, Delhi 1934, 26, with his division of *bayän* in *kalām*, *ḥāl*, the situation, *ṭibḥān* and *ʿadāma*, sign, seem to go back to *Diḥrī*, too; the origin of the modifications is as yet unexplained. No later references to *Diḥrī*'s theory are known to me.

Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahb, who after 335/946-7 wrote the *K. al-Burḥān fī Wadīḥ al-Bayān* (I). The exposition of the various ways of explaining (things)—until recently wrongly attributed to Kudāma b. *Diḥrī* and published under the title of *Nahd an-Naḥr* by Ṭāhī Ḥusayn and ʿA. H. al-ʿAbnādī (Cairo 1933)—corrects his work to correct the insufficiencies of *Diḥrī*'s presentation of the subject. Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm distinguishes four ways of expression: a. "things may become intelligible by their essences, *ḥawāṣid* (i.e., by the very fact of their being as they are), even though the words which (commonly) express them are not used; b. they may become intelligible by coming into the heart when thought and intellect are applied (i.e., presumably *Diḥrī*'s *istidlāl*); c. they may become understandable through articulating sounds with the tongue; and, finally, d. by writing, which reaches those who are far away or do not (yet) exist." (Trans. S. A. Bonebakker, *The Kitāb Naḥd al-Siʿ of Qudāma b. Ḥalaf al-Kūṭb al-Balāḡī*, Leiden 1936, 16; words between brackets are the writer's). It can easily be seen that Iṣḥāq's concept of *bayän* is very different, and both wider and narrower, than that which *Diḥrī* endeavored to formulate. Regarding the manner in which Iṣḥāq applies his concept to his material it must suffice here to note that in his discussion

of c. he lists, 44-64, sixteen *ahām* al-*ʿQāra*, categories of verbal expression, that include, without further classification, *figura etymologica*, comparison, suggestion (*rama*), metaphor, parable, enigma and inversion.

A completely different strain of thought is represented in Rummānī's division of *balāgha* in ten parts, *ahām*: concision, *ḥifz*, comparison, metaphor, and so forth, of which *ḥam* al-*ḥam*, successful exposition, is the tenth. In line with this concept, Ibn Rashīq (d. 1064 or 1070), *ʿUmda*, I, 225-28, has a chapter on *bayän* (with two pertinent quotations from Rummānī) paralleling, as it were, on the same classificatory level his chapters on *balāgha*, *ḥifz*, *naḥm* (composition), *maḍīʿ* (transfer of meaning), *istʿāra* (metaphor), *al-muḥāḍara*<sup>7</sup> wa *ʿl-badʿ* (invention and the 'original'), etc. It deserves notice that nowhere in the tenth and eleventh centuries is there an anticipation of that treatment of the *bayān*, especially in its relation to the *badʿ*, that was later to become the dominant doctrine. Neither *ʿUmda* (d. 987), who in his *K. al-Mawāḍiʿa bayna Abi Tamīm wa ʿl-Shaḥrī*, Constantinople 1287, 6, divides *badʿ* in *istʿāra*, *taḍjīs* (paronomasia) and *fiḥāḥ* (antithesis), nor Abū Ḥilāl al-ʿAskari (d. 1003), who in *Sināʿatayn*, (e.g.) 205 and 290, treats *istʿāra* and *ḥindya* (metonymy) on the same level as all other tropes, nor again Bakrī (d. 1013), *Ḥifāḍī* (d. 1073), and Abū Ṭāhir, who still subsumes *istʿāra* and *ḥindya* under *ḥifz*, *Kāmil*, 435-459 (cf. in particular the list of forty-two rhetorical figures on 416), made any contribution to the development of the basic organisation of rhetoric, the *ʿilm al-balāgha*, or as ʿAbd al-Kāfir al-Djurdānī (d. 1078), *Dalāʾil al-ʿIḥd*, Cairo 1317/1913, 4, still prefers to call it, the *ʿilm al-bayān*, to him the greatest of all sciences, Djurdānī, to whom we owe *inter alia* the aesthetically most sensitive analysis of the metaphor, notes, *Dalāʾil*, 349-50, that the development of the *ʿilm al-bayān* wa *ʿl-bayān* differs in two points from that of the other sciences: the early authorities of this *ʿilm* expressed themselves in hints and metaphors rather than plainly and directly; and besides, in no other area were the opinions of the ancients transmitted with as little criticism. But Djurdānī's interest is not in the theory of *bayän* and his innovations are made on another plane of literary analysis. This fact is reflected in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 1209) *Nihāyat al-ʿIḥd fī Dirāyat al-ʿIḥd*, Cairo 1327, which according to the author's statement, 3-5, is an attempt to organize Djurdānī's *Dalāʾil* and *ʿIḥd al-Balāgha* (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954; German translation, Wiesbaden 1959), and which fails to offer any explicit discussion of *bayän*.

When Ibn al-Aḥfir (d. 1234) writes *al-Maḥall al-Sāʿir fī Adab al-Kūṭb wa ʿl-Shaḥr* thinking on *bayän* has taken a new turn. To what extent it was Ibn al-Aḥfir himself who was responsible for this change we have no means of deciding. Ibn al-Aḥfir places, p. 2, the *ʿilm al-bayān* in the same relation to the composition of both poetry and prose as the science of the *uṣūl al-fikḥ* to the individual judicial statutes or decisions, *ahkām*. (On p. 114, he refers to the representatives of this field of learning as *ʿulamaʿ al-bayān*). He divides his book in a preface, *mukaddima*, dealing with the foundations, *ʿilm ʿilm al-bayān*, and two sections treating the handling of wording, *al-ḥināʾ*, *ʿilm al-bayān*, and of content, *al-ḥināʾ*, *ʿilm al-bayān*, respectively. The subject of the *ʿilm al-bayān* is *ḥisāb* and *balāgha* whose constituent elements he investigates in regard to both wording and meaning. He shares with the grammarians,



naḥṣ, his concern for the manner in which words indicate meanings; but he goes beyond the grammarian's interest by a concern for the aesthetic qualities of the various ways of verbal rendering of ideas (p. 3). In the terms of his critic, Ibn al-Haddid (d. 1257), *al-Falaḥ al-Dalīr* 'alī *ṭi-Maḥall al-Sāḥir*, Rombay 1308, 41-42 (al-Maḥall, 287-297). Ibn al-Haddid's *ṣim al-bayān* is basically a 'rational' science, *ṣim 'aqlī*, that argues from general principles by means of 'aql and *ḥawā*, taste; it does not deduce its judgments empirically from Arabic literature, *bi-l-ḥawā' min aḥwāl al-'Arab* (for *ḥawā* cf. also Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddima*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1858, II, 312-317; 349-50 trans. F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, II, 358-62; 396-98). The bearers of the *ṣim al-bayān* is to Ibn al-Aḥfir the doctrine of *ḥabība* and *maḥjās*, the proper and the transferred use of words (p. 23). It is in the nature of his system that he does not differentiate between comparison, metaphor and metonymy on the one hand and the other tropes on the other—a differentiation which was to be one of the principal features of the system that was to become dominant in Arabic rhetoric when Ibn al-Aḥfir wrote.

This doctrine originated with Ibn al-Aḥfir's contemporary, the Khorezmi al-Sakkāki (d. 1229) who, according to his own statement, *K. Miḥlak al-'Uṭm*, Cairo n.d. (ca. 1896), 2-3, set out to treat the *anwā' al-adab*, the kinds or elements of literary education, with the exception of *ḥuḡa*, lexicology. These 'kinds', *anwā'*, include: a) *as-sawā'ir*, or morphology, *ṣim al-sarf*, and b) grammar proper or syntax, *ṣim al-naḥw*, which is defined to comprise (1) *ṣim al-ma'ānī* (the different kinds of sentence and their use to which 'definition' and 'deduction' are attached); and (2) *ṣim al-bayān*, the art of (eloquent) presentation, which requires 'prosody' and 'rhyming' as subsidiary branches of study. The *ṣim al-bayān* deals fundamentally with three subjects, *miḥl*: (1) comparison, *baḥṭā*; (2) *maḥjās* (and *ḥabība*); (3) *ḥināya*, metonymy. The remaining tropes are relegated to the end of the book, 224-229, under the heading *al-badī'*.

It is presumably due to Sakkāki's commentator, al-Karwī (d. 1338), and to the *muḥasir* of the latter, al-Taḥṭānī (d. 1396), that Sakkāki's structuring of rhetoric received the more consistent form which has continued to make authority to this day. Karwī no longer wishes to deal with *adab*. To him, *baḥṭā* is the term for the science of rhetoric as a whole which he divides in the three branches of *ṣim al-ma'ānī*, *ṣim al-bayān* and *ṣim al-badī'* (as the doctrine of the embellishment of speech) [cf. BALAGHĀ]. *Ṣim al-bayān* is no more and no less than the science that deals with the various possibilities of expressing the same idea in various degrees of directness or clarity. Since the word used may indicate either the concept in its totality or merely a part of it, or again point to it through evoking an element external to it in which the hearer perceives a necessary connection with the concept actually intended, a certain number of modes of expression are open to the speaker. In their descriptive function and power, comparison, metaphor and metonymy correspond to those three basic possibilities of word-concept relations. For this reason they are treated apart from the other tropes that are dealt with under the general category of *badī'*, embellishments. This presentation of Karwī's view is based in part on his *Talḥīṭ al-Muḥl*, Cairo 1314/1923, II, 256-260; also in A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen and Vienna 1853, 6-7 of Arabic text,

Trans. 53-54 of German text; and in part abstracted from the tenor of the *Talḥīṭ* as a whole; a rather full summary of Karwī's doctrine of *bayān*, *ibid.*, 20-42).

While al-Nuwayrī (d. 1332), *Nihāya*, VII, 35, already follows the tripartite structure of *ṣim al-ma'ānī*, *ṣim al-bayān* and *ṣim al-badī'*, however, distributing the tropes accordingly, Ibn Kayyīm al-Jawziyya, *Fawa'id*, a work whose purpose is the analysis of the uniqueness and inimitability, *ʿiḍāḥ*, of the Qur'ān, still uses *ṣim al-bayān* for rhetoric as a whole and divides his presentation of it in sections (I) on *ḥabība*, *baḥṭā*, *ḥabība* and *maḥjās*, metaphor, comparison, *maḥjās* (expression by way of a simile, analogy), causation, and reversion of word order; and (II) on *ṣim al-bayān* proper which he subdivides in (a) eighty-four *ṣināʿigara* (including metonymy as no. 17) and (b) twenty-four further tropes; he notes, 218, that this second *ḥawā* of (II) is also called *al-badī'*. Like Ibn Kayyīm, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) sees the value of the *ṣim al-bayān* in its leading to the understanding of the *ʿiḍāḥ*, and like him he uses *ṣim al-bayān*, the name of the subsection first to be explored by Arab critics, as the designation of the 'science of expression' as a whole. But the strictness of his systematisation sets him apart from Ibn Kayyīm. *Bayān*, the manifestation of ideas, is achieved either by verbal expression, *ṣimā*, or by writing, *ḥabība* (*Muḥaddima*, II, 242-43; Trans. de Sano, Paris 1860-61, II, 281-82; trans. Rosenthal, II, 281-82). The *ṣim al-bayān* consists of the three sciences of *baḥṭā*, in Ibn Khaldūn's description a combination of grammar and *ṣim al-ma'ānī*, *bayān* and *badī'*. Ibn Khaldūn adds that it is the Easterners who give special attention to *bayān* whereas the Westerners show particular interest in the *badī'* (*Muḥaddima*, II, 289-91; Trans. Sano, II, 324 ff.; Rosenthal, II, 312-19). Ibn Khaldūn recognises the importance of Sakkāki and Karwī, with whose works he is clearly familiar and whose authority had already grown beyond challenge.

*Bibliography*: in the article.

(G. E. VON GROENBAUM)

**BAYÂN B. SAM'ÂN AL-TAMIMI**, Ṣhīfī leader in Kūfa. (Often, improperly, *Bayān* in the latter, al-Taḥṭānī (d. 1396), that Sakkāki's structuring of rhetoric received the more consistent form which has continued to make authority to this day. Karwī no longer wishes to deal with *adab*. To him, *baḥṭā* is the term for the science of rhetoric as a whole which he divides in the three branches of *ṣim al-ma'ānī*, *ṣim al-bayān* and *ṣim al-badī'* (as the doctrine of the embellishment of speech) [cf. BALAGHĀ]. *Ṣim al-bayān* is no more and no less than the science that deals with the various possibilities of expressing the same idea in various degrees of directness or clarity. Since the word used may indicate either the concept in its totality or merely a part of it, or again point to it through evoking an element external to it in which the hearer perceives a necessary connection with the concept actually intended, a certain number of modes of expression are open to the speaker. In their descriptive function and power, comparison, metaphor and metonymy correspond to those three basic possibilities of word-concept relations. For this reason they are treated apart from the other tropes that are dealt with under the general category of *badī'*, embellishments. This presentation of Karwī's view is based in part on his *Talḥīṭ al-Muḥl*, Cairo 1314/1923, II, 256-260; also in A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen and Vienna 1853, 6-7 of Arabic text,

Bayān's followers apparently formed a party, the Bayāniyya (or Banāniyya, or the Sam'āniyya, said

to have ascribed to the imāna prophecy through an indwelling particle of divine light; to have expected the return of various religious figures after death; and to have discussed the 'greatest name' of God. Some are said to have regarded Bayān as an imām, citing Qur'ān, III, 128. Like other Ṣhīfīs they supported Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh at least after the 'Abbasid triumph.

*Bibliography*: *al-Aḥṣān*, above; Nawbahūtī, *Firāḥ al-Ṣhīfā*, Nadīd 1335/1936, 28, 34; Wāḥidī, in the anon. *Kūbā al-Uyūn wa 'l-Hadā'ib*, ed. M. J. de Goeje and P. de Jong, *Fragmenta Historiarum Arabiarum*, I, Leiden 1869, 230-31; Ibn Kayyīm, *Uyūn al-Aḥbār*, Cairo 1246/1928, II, 148; Khaliḥ, *Maḥāṣin al-Ḥikāḥ al-Riḍā*, Bombay 1371/1899, s.v. *Abū 'l-Ḥāṭib*, especially 190; al-Tabarī, II, 1619 f.; Aḥṣārī, *Mahāṣin al-Idāmiyyin*, Cairo 1366/1950, I, 66; al-Baḥḥālī, *al-Farḥ bayn al-firāḥ*, Cairo 1367/1948, 27, 138, 145; al-Shahrastānī, 113; Ibn Hāzim in I. Friedländer, *JAOS* Vol. 28 (1907), 60-61, Vol. 29 (1908), 88.

*BAYAS* [see *PAYAS*].

**BAYAT**, an Oghuz (Turkmen) tribe. The Bayat are understood to have taken part in the conquests of the Saljuqs in Anatolia. The nickname al-Bayātū given to Sankur, representative in Bayra in 512-3/1119 of the Saljuqid amir Ak Sankur al-Buḥārī, is quite properly connected with this tribe. There were numerous places called Bayat in central and western Turkey in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries of which few survive today. Most of these place-names, no doubt, belonged to the Bayat who participated in the conquest of Anatolia. There were Bayat among the Turkmen in northern Syria in the 8th/14th century. An important part of those, called Ṣhām Bayat, used to go in the summer like other Turkmen tribes to the Sivas and Berek (Yozgat) regions. From the beginning of the 9th/15th century onwards the northern Syrian Bayat began to figure in the activities of the Ak-Koyunlu. In the 10th/16th century, there were, besides those around Aleppo and Yozgat (Ṣhām Bayat), small Bayat clans in the provinces of Diyarbakir, Kirdis and Teylūn. In the same century they are also seen in Iran, particularly around Kazzā and Karahīrd, to the south of Hamadān. They numbered about 10,000 tents, and were perhaps more recently called Ak Bayat, probably to distinguish them from the rest of the Bayats in the country. The Ak Bayat reared some very fine horses known as *ḥabīb* and *ḥabīb*. *Ḥabīb* was also used to send those horses as gifts to the ruler of India. The Bayātī mode (*maḥjās*) found in classical Turkish and Persian music has its origin in the songs of this tribe. It seems likely that these Bayats went to Iran from Syria with the Ak-Koyunlu conquest. Some of the Bayat clans in Iran live in Kūrasān and these are called, to distinguish them from the rest, Kara Bayats. One of the clans of the famous Kādīr tribe was of the Ṣhām Bayat. In fact, as shown by names of its clans, the Kādīr tribe has its origin in Turkey. Some Bayat are also found in 'Irāq, particularly around Kirkūk. The castle called Bayat south of Baghdad quite probably takes its name from them. This tribe produced a number of famous men: Kerkut Atā (Kerkut), and Fuzūlī (Fuzūlī) were of this tribe. Hasan b. Mahmūd Bayātī, author of *Ḍiḥāḥ* *Ḍiḥāḥ* *Ḍiḥāḥ*, a work dedicated to the Ottoman Prince Ḍiḥāḥ, as is indicated by his *nisba*, of the Bayat tribe.

*Bibliography*: Faruk Sümer, *Bayatlar*, in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, İstanbul 1932, 18/4, 373-398. (FARUK SÜMER)

**BĀYAZID** (DOĞU-BAYAZIT), a small town belonging to the Turkish Republic and situated a little to the south of Mount Ararat (Ağrı-Tağ), close to the frontier with Iran. It has been suggested that the town was named after the Ottoman Sültān Bayazid I (791-805/1391-1403) who, according to this view, fortified the site as a post of observation against Timur Beg. A more recent interpretation is that the name derives in fact from a prince of the Djallayrid dynasty, i.e., from Bāyazīd, the brother of Sültān Ahmed (784-811/1382-1401). The Ottomans captured the town in 920/1514, but did not obtain definitive control over the region until after the Persian campaigns of Sültān Sulaymān in 940-942/1533-1536, 955-956/1548-1549 and 960-962/1553-1555. Bāyazīd and its adjacent territories formed, under Ottoman rule, a *sandḥāḥ* which was dependent at times on the *eyālet* of Van, but more often on the *eyālet* of Erzurum. The Russians, in the course of their wars with the Ottoman Turks, occupied the town in 1828, 1854, 1877 and again in 1914. Bāyazīd, now included in the Turkish province of Ağrı, (Ağrı) had in 1935 a population estimated at 1860 inhabitants, the comparable figure for the entire *badā'* amounting to just over 20,000 people, most of whom are of Turkish or Kurdish descent. Sheep and cattle rearing, the production of wool, hides and leather and the weaving of carpets constitute the main economic activities of the area.

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(V. J. PARRY)

**BĀYAZID**, (BĀYEZID) I, called Yıldırım, 'the Thunderbolt', Ottoman sultan (regn. 19 *Ḍu*-māddā II 791-13 *Ṣhā*'bān 805/15 June 1398-8 March 1402), born in 753/1354 of Murād I and Güldāsh Khatūn. In about 782/1384 he was appointed governor of the province which was taken from the Gerniyyāns in guise of a dowry from his wife, Sültān Khatūn. Settled in Kütahya, he became responsible for the Ottoman interests in the East. He distinguished himself as an impetuous soldier (hence his surname) in the battle of Erenk-ḥādī against the Karamānids (Karamān-oghlu) in 788/1386. The assumption that he also became the first governor of Amasya (Kemāl Paḡa-zāde) stems from the fact that some territory to the west of it came under the Ottomans when they supported Süleymān of the Djāndir dynasty in Kastamonu (Kastamonu) against his father 786/790-1384-1388) and Ahmed, the Amir of Amasya, who accepted Ottoman protection against Kādī Burhān al-Dīn (*ḥāṣṣ* *wa Rasm*, 302, 308).

When, in the battle of Kosovo plain (15 June 1389), Murād I was mortally wounded, he asked his pashas to recognise Bāyazīd, his eldest and distinguished son, as sultan (*Ḍustur-nāme*, 87; Anon-



meus *Tavârih*, 27) which they did, and his only surviving brother (the others, called Savdî and İbrahim, were already dead) was immediately put to death to prevent a civil war. Lazar, the Serbian prince, was also executed on the field.

The new sultan left hurriedly (Stanojević, 417) for Bursa, his capital, because the vassal prince in Anatolia had risen up in revolt. Karaman-oghlu 'Alâ al-Dîn 'Alî, their leader, taking Beyşehir, advanced as far as Eskişehir, Germiyan-oghlu Ya'qub II recovered his patrimony and Kâdî Burhân al-Dîn captured Kırşehir (*İsmâ u Râzm*, 387). Bayezid reached an agreement with the Serbs who promised him Lazar's daughter Olivera (Despina) as his wife and an auxiliary force under Stefan Lazarević. Constantly under Hungarian pressure, Stefan remained faithful to Bayezid and accompanied him in his expeditions. But Vuk Branković in Upper Serbia (Prigita, Skoplje etc.) resisted the Ottomans who tried to take possession of the mining towns in his territory. Pasha-yigit continued the operations against him and later took Skoplje (Üsküb, 793/3391) and settled it as a Turkish base for his raids into Bosnia and Albania.

Bayezid spent the winter of 792/1389-1390 in taking Philadelphia (Alaşehir) and annexing the Turkish principalities in Western Anatolia, namely Aydı, Saruhan, Menteşe, Hamid and Germiyan. Süleyman the Elîndârîd and Manuel Palaeologus were with him during this expedition. In Dîvânîd II 792/May 1390 he was in Karahisar (Afyon), preparing to march against Karaman-oghlu. He recaptured Beyşehir and laid siege to Konya. At this time Süleyman, back in Kastamonu, formed an alliance with Kâdî Burhân al-Dîn against Bayezid to help Karaman-oghlu. Apparently this threat made Bayezid give up the siege of Konya and sign a treaty with Karaman-oghlu in which he abandoned the whole region west of the Çarşamba river. The following year (793/1391) Bayezid attacked Süleyman, but Burhân al-Dîn defied him in support of his ally. In the spring of 793/1392 Bayezid made great preparations against Süleyman. A Venetian report of 12 Dîvânîd I, 794/6 April 1392 stated that as a vassal of Bayezid, Manuel Palaeologus was about to take part in the naval expedition against Sinop (Silbereschmidt, 77). This expedition ended with the annexation of Süleyman's territory (except Sinope) and his death. Then, in spite of Burhân al-Dîn's protests and threats, Bayezid occupied Ösmangîk. But Burhân al-Dîn finally attacked Bayezid near Çorumlu (Çorum) and forced him to retreat. Burhân al-Dîn's raiders reached as far as Ankara and Sivrihisar. Besieged by Burhân al-Dîn's forces the Amir of Amasya handed over the castle to the Ottomans (794/1392). Next year Bayezid came and entered the city. Local dynasties such as Tađî al-Dîn-oghulları (in Çarşamba valley), Tađhan-oghulları (Merzifon region) and the lord of İsfah recognised Bayezid as their suzerain. Burhân al-Dîn harassed the Ottoman army on his way back (*İsmâ u Râzm*, 418-20).

Bayezid then found things more pressing in the west. After the victory at Kosovo he had increased his control on Byzantium. His support first secured the throne to John VII (27 Rabî' II 792/14 April 1390) and then to John V and his son and co-emperor Manuel (16 Shawwâl 793/17 September 1391) who had showed his faithfulness to the sultan by accompanying him in his expeditions in Anatolia (Fr. Dölger, *Johannes VII*, 27-8). When Anatolian affairs kept Bayezid busy in the east, his *Uđî-beys*

[*u.s.*] by their raids held enemies under restraint on the western borders: Pasha-yigit submitted Vuk; Evrenuz (Evrenos) [*u.s.*] conquered Kütros (Citros) and Vodenâ and advanced into Thessaly; Fîrîz Beg raided in Wallachia, and Şahîn was active in Albania. But Mircea of Batran managed to take Silistre back and attacked with success against the *akâşigî* in Karlovac (Karnobat) when Bayezid was in Anatolia. Venetian activities in Morea, Albania and in Byzantium on the one hand, and Hungarian attempts in extending influence in Wallachia and the Danubian Bulgaria on the other made Bayezid decide to concentrate his efforts in the Balkans. He first occupied Trnovo (7 Ramadân 793/17 July 1393) which had been under Ottoman control since 790/1388 and Czar Şişman had to move to Nicopolis as an Ottoman vassal. In the winter of 790/1393-94 Bayezid summoned all of the Balkan princes and the Palaeologi to Serres and there attempted to strengthen their ties of vassalage.

In particular he wanted Theodore Palaeologus to hand over his main cities in the Morea against Venice. In despair, the Palaeologi, Theodore and Manuel turned against Bayezid and sought help in the West, especially in Venice. It seems that Bayezid then reconquered Thessalonica (Neshri, 88, gives the date as 19 Dîvânîd II 796/21 April 1394; the city was taken once in 789/1387 and lost probably in 791/1389). Bayezid also conquered Thessaly, the county of Salona, Neopatria, Evrenos, and Morea, but Theodore had given Azov to the Venetians (27 May 1394) (J. Lœwertz in *REB*, I, 171-85). Another Ottoman division put southern Albania under direct Ottoman rule and Şahîn exerted pressure on the Venetian possessions on the Albanian coasts (see ARNAVUTLUK). Bayezid also started the blockade of Constantinople (796/Spring 1394) which lasted for seven years. In 797/1395 he invaded Hungary, and on his way attacked the castles of Stanbaken, Tîd, Becskerek, Temeghyar, Caraghova, Caransebes, Mehedea (see *Actes du X. Congrès Int. d'Et. Byz.*, 220). Defeating Mircea on the Argeş river in Wallachia (26 Radjab 797/12 May 1395) he then put Vlad on the Wallachian throne. Bayezid then passed over the Danube to Nicopolis and seized and executed Şişman (13 Şahbân 797/3 June 1395).

These bold conquests caused Hungary and Venice to conclude at last an alliance (796/1394) and to form a crusade in Europe against the Ottomans. When in 799/1396 Bayezid was making a major effort to take Constantinople the Crusaders under Sigismund came to lay siege to Nicopolis. Hurrying there, Bayezid inflicted a crushing defeat upon them (21 Elhâ 1-Hidjâz 799/25 September 1396) and took Vidin from Stratsimir, the last independent Bulgarian prince. Now the fate of the Balkans and Constantinople were in Bayezid's hands. In the imperial capital Manuel had to agree to Bayezid's settling there a Turkish colony with a *şâhî*. Evrenuz took Arges and Athens (799/1397). Then the sultan went back to Anatolia because of the hostile movements of Karaman-oghlu during the crisis of Nicopolis. He defeated and executed Karaman-oghlu at Aktaş and incorporated his territory with Konya (800/Autumn 1397). The following year he incorporated also the region of Dîvanik and the territory of Burhân al-Dîn [*u.s.*] and disregarding his alliance with Egypt against Timur (Tamerlane) [*u.s.*] conquered Albistan, Malatya, Behlül, Kahla and Diyarbakır.

Marshal Boucaut's attack on the Turkish coasts and the small force he brought to Constantinople were not enough to relieve the city (800/Summer 1399),

so Manuel II went to Europe to ask more help (to Rabî' II 802/10 December 1399). In the Autumn of 1399 Timur once more appeared in eastern Anatolia, and hopes were high in the West as they were during his first invasion of eastern Asia Minor in 796/1394. From 801/1399 on Timur claimed suzerainty over all the rulers in Anatolia as the representative of the Dîvânîdîkhids whereas Bayezid claimed to be the heir of the Saldûkîs there. Timur hesitated before attacking the sultan of the state. Timur gave refuge to the Anatolian rulers expelled by Bayezid who, in his turn, protected Kaşî Yusuf and Ahmad Dîvalî'r. This exasperated Timur. He took and sacked Sivas (802/August 1400), in which Bayezid retaliated by capturing the Amir of Erziğân, a protégé of Timur named Mutahbarten (803/1401). Finally Timur and Bayezid came to grips at Çubuk-near Ankara (17 Elhâ 1-Hidjâz 804/28 July 1402). Defeated and taken prisoner by Timur, Bayezid died in captivity at Akşehir (13 Şahbân 805/8 March 1403). Bayezid's hastily founded empire collapsed. The Anatolian princes, who all regained their respective territories (804/1403), as well as the Ottoman princes, who divided the rest of the country among themselves, recognised Timur as their suzerain. It was not until Mohammed II that the Ottomans again assumed the offensive in East.

Bayezid was responsible for the foundation of the first centralised Ottoman empire based upon the *Kud* system and the traditional administrative methods perfected under Muslim-Turkish states in the Middle East. Popular tradition credited him as an innovator in finances, administration and manners.

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**BAYAZID II**, Ottoman Sultân (886-918/1481-1522), was born most probably in Shawwâl or Elhâ 1-Ka'da 851/December 1447 or January 1448 (some sources give the date of his birth, however, as 856 or 857/1453 or 1453). During the lifetime of his father, Mehmed II, he was governor of the province of Amasya and served in the war against Uzun Hasana, the leader of the Ak Koyunlu Turcomans, being present at the battle of Otluks Belli in 898/1473. On the death of Mehmed II in 886/1481 a conflict for the throne broke out between Bayezid and his younger brother Dîen, then governor of Karamân, with his residence at Konya. The support of the Janissaries and of a powerful faction amongst the great officials at the Porte ensured the accession of Bayezid to the throne. Dîen, defeated in battle near Yenî-Şehir in Rabî' II 886/June 1481, with-

drew to Syria and thence to Egypt. He now gathered together new forces with the assent of the Mamûk Sultân Kâzî Bâi, but, after a fruitless campaign directed against Konya and Ankara, despairing of success and sought refuge at Rhodes (Dîvânîd II 887/July 1481) with the Knights of St. John, who removed him to France in September of the same year. Henceforward, until the death of the unfortunate prince in February 1495, the Ottomans had to face the constant threat that a coalition of Christian states, using Dîen as their instrument, might invade the empire. As long as Dîen was alive, Bayezid could not take the risk of committing his forces irrevocably to a major enterprise, either in the East or in the West.

Herzegovina was brought fully under Ottoman control in 888/1483. The fortresses of Kila on the Danube estuary and of Ak-Kernâs at the mouth of the Danister fell to Bayezid in the course of his Moldavian campaign during the summer of 889/1484—a success of considerable importance in that it strengthened the Ottoman hold over the land route to the Crimea, where the Tatar *Khan* ruled as a vassal of the Sultân. A less fortunate issue of events awaited the Ottomans in their war of 890-896/1485-1491 against the Mamûkîs of Egypt and Syria, fought to determine which of the rival states should exert political dominance over Cilicia and the adjacent march-lands along the Taurus frontier. The Ottomans met with a number of reverses in the field, above all at the battle of Agha *Çayrî* near Adana in Ramadân 893/August 1488. The peace made in 896/1491 which marked in fact the failure of the Ottomans to win effective control in Cilicia. None the less, it should be noted that, with Dîen still alive and a captive in Christian hands, Bayezid had not been free to use his full resources in this war and had chosen therefore to wage a conflict limited in its objectives. Moreover, the situation on the Taurus frontier in 896/1491 was in no wise more favourable to the Mamûkîs, despite their victories, than it had been six years before.

The ceaseless warfare of Muslim *ghazî* against Christian marcher lord along the Danube and the frontiers of Bosnia flared out with great violence in 897-900/1492-1495. The Ottoman warriors launched massive raids across the Danube and the Sava and into the Austrian duchies of Styria, Carinthia and Carinthia, suffering defeat at the Vilâk in 897/1492, but on the other hand almost annihilating the Croat forces at Adina in 898/1493. A truce concluded for three years with the Hungarians brought these hostilities to an end in 900/1495. Conflict now arose between the Ottoman empire and Poland. The Ottomans and the Krim Tatars formed, as it were, a barrier which denied to the Poles access to the Black Sea. Poland began in 902/1497 a campaign designed to break down this barrier through the capture of Kila and Ak-Kernâs and through the reduction of Moldavia to a state of dependence on Poland. The Moldavian forces, however, with the aid of the Ottoman legs along the lower Danube, offered a successful resistance, the Poles being repulsed before the fortress of Sasava and, in the course of their subsequent retreat, beaten at Kolîn in the Bukovina (October 1497). Ottoman *ghazîs* from the Danube lands, with reinforcements of Moldavian and Tatar horsemen, now laid waste much of Podolia and Galicia in the summer of 1498, but a second raid directed against Galicia in the late autumn of the same year ended in disaster amid bitter snowstorms on the Carpathian mountains.



Poland, however, made peace with Moldavia in April 1499, this agreement being soon followed by a renewal of the former truce between the Ottomans and the Poles.

After the reverses experienced in the war against the Mamluks, Bâyezîd sought to provide his troops with arms more efficient and of greater offensive power than the weapons hitherto available, and also to create a more mobile and more competently manned artillery force. At the same time efforts were made to increase the size and strength of the Ottoman fleet, numerous vessels of war being built in the ports of the Aegean and the Adriatic. A new war was indeed imminent, which would test the worth of these armaments and of the much augmented naval forces of the Sultân. Friction along the borders of the Venetian enclaves on the coasts of the *Morea*, Albania and Dalmatia, where the Ottoman *ghazis* faced the Greek, Cretan and Albanian mercenaries in the service of the Signoria, and also the repeated occurrence of "incidents" at sea, induced Bâyezîd to make war on Venice in 1499/1500, a decision influenced by the fact that, since the death of Djem in 1495, some of the high dignitaries at the Porte had been urging the Sultân to pursue a more aggressive policy towards the Christians. Lepanto, lacking all hope of relief from the sea, because the Venetian fleet had been driven to take refuge under the guns of Zante, fell to the Ottomans in Muharram 905/August 1499. Meanwhile, the army of Bosnia carried out a great incursion into the Friuli and then, reinforced after the capture of Lepanto, ravaged the Venetian lands as far as Vicenza. Modon, Coron and Navarino in the *Morea* yielded to the Ottomans in 905/1500, and also Durazzo on the Adriatic coast in 907/1501. Venice, finding the conflict too expensive, sought peace in 908/1502 and in the final agreement concluded in 909/1503 renounced all claim to Lepanto, Modon, Coron, Navarino and Durazzo. Bâyezîd could feel well satisfied with the outcome of this war, which had brought solid territorial gains in the *Morea* and on the Adriatic shore and, more notable still, had underlined the fact that the Ottomans were becoming a formidable power at sea.

The years 909-918/1503-1511 witnessed the growth of a major crisis in the East. In 1503, the head of the religious order known as the Safawîyya, had begun in 904/905/1499 a career of conquest which soon made him the master of Persia. The Safawîyya had long conducted, on behalf of the Shî'î faith, a vigorous propaganda amongst the Turcoman tribes of Asia Minor—a propaganda so successful that the armies of the new regime in Persia consisted to a large degree of warriors drawn from those tribes. As orthodox or Sunni Muslims, the Ottomans had reason to view with alarm the progress of Shî'î ideas in the territories under their control, but there was also a grave political danger that the Safawîyya, if allowed to extend its influence still further, might bring about the transfer of large areas in Asia Minor from Ottoman to Persian allegiance. An additional threat arose from the fact that Shî'î beliefs flourished in those regions along the Taurus frontier which were in dispute between the Ottomans and the Mamluks. Ottoman intervention here against the adherents of the Safawîyya might well drive the Mamluks, despite their profession of the Sunni faith, into an alliance with the new Shî'î state in Persia.

Bâyezîd, aware of the danger, ordered in 907-908/1502 the deportation of numerous Shî'î elements from Asia Minor to his recent conquests in the

*Morea*. He also garrisoned his eastern frontier in force, when in 913/1507-1508 Shâh Ismâ'îl, then at war with 'Alâ al-Dawla, the prince of Albidân, occupied Diyar-Bakr and large areas of Kurdistan. How critical the situation had become was made clear on the outbreak, in 917/1511, of a great Shî'î revolt in Tekke, a region of Asia Minor long noted as a centre of heterodox religious ideas. The rebels, after plundering Kutahya, advanced on Bursa, but then, retreating in the face of superior forces, suffered a total defeat between Kayseri and Sivas in the summer of 917/1511—a conflict in which both the Ottoman Grand Vizier 'Alî Pâshâ and the rebel chieftain, Shâh Kûllî, were slain.

Meanwhile, the Ottoman empire had come to the verge of civil war. The practice that a new Sultân, on his accession to the throne, should order the death of all his brothers and their male children imposed on the sons of an ageing Sultân a dire pressure to prepare for armed conflict on, or even before, the death of their father. These had been war between Bâyezîd and Djem in 886-887/1481-1482; now, the issue was to rest between Selim, who was governor of Amasya, and Selim, who had charge of the remote province of Trebizond (Sokadd), the eldest of the three surviving sons of Bâyezîd, enjoyed little favour at the Porte and had but a minor rôle in the events which now occurred. Selim, in 916/1511, sailed from Trebizond to Kaffa in the Crimean peninsula, with the support of the Tatar Khan, moved with his forces across the Danube, demanding of his father the government of a province in the Balkans. Bâyezîd, reluctant to make war on his own son and worried about the revolt of Shâh Kûllî in Asia Minor, yielded to the wishes of Selim and, in a formal agreement, conferred on him the great frontier province of Semendria. The news that the Grand Vizier 'Alî Pâshâ, who favoured the cause of Ahmed, had been sent with a strong contingent of Janissaries to crush the Shî'î rebellion aroused in Selim the fear that, if Shâh Kûllî should be defeated, 'Alî Pâshâ might make a bold effort to raise Ahmed in the throne. Selim now marched on Adrianople, where his father was in residence. Bâyezîd withdrew in the direction of Istanbul, but there stood firm at Çaldıran-deresi near Corb. The Janissaries, although well disposed towards Selim, remained loyal to the old Sultân. Here, on 8 Djumâda I 917/5 August 1511, their skill and discipline routed the Tatar horsemen of Selim, the prince himself fleeing from the battlefield to seek refuge in the Crimea.

Ahmed, after the defeat of Shâh Kûllî, advanced towards Istanbul, hoping to cross the Straits and ensure his own accession to the throne. Disturbances amongst the Janissaries at the capital in Djumâda I 917/August 1511 overawed the adherents of Ahmed at the Porte. Ahmed, realising that the Janissaries had thus declared their support for Selim and their intention not to accept himself as Sultân, now used armed force to bring much of western Asia Minor under his control—a course of action which amounted to open rebellion against his father. The result was that Bâyezîd consented to recall Selim from Kaffa and to restore to him the province of Semendria. There was, however, a growing fear at the Porte that Ahmed would make an alliance with the Shî'î régime in Persia. This fear, together with the demand of the Janissaries for the abolition of the tax on the now inevitable campaign against Ahmed, hastened the issue of events. Bâyezîd was compelled to abdicate in favour of Selim in Safar 918/April 1512. The old Sultân had chosen to retire to the town of

his birth, Demotika, but, while travelling to this destination, died on 10 Rabi' I 918/26 May 1512.

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**BÄYAZID** (or BÄZID) as engraved on his seal, *Tağhih al-Abrâr* f. 88a) **ANŞÂRÎ** (Pîr-i RAWŞAN (or RAWŞAN) 'R. 'ABD ALLAH KÂDÎ B. ŞAHAB MUHAMMAD, the founder of a religious and national movement of the Afghans (called Pîr-Târîk by the Mughal historians etc. after Hâjjî Mullâ Muḥammad, commonly known as Mullâ Zangî, a leader of the Pîr's chief opponent Aḥmad Durrânî, who was the first to dub him thus (*Tadhkira* f. 92). He claimed descent through Sh. Strâj al-Dîn (his fifth ancestor) from (Abû) Ayyub al-Anşârî, the famous Companion of the Prophet, (his 21st ancestor). His mother Aymana (varr. Dîh-bîn, Bîban, Ma'âṭir al-'Umarî), d. 1213, the second cousin of his father, was a daughter of al-Hâjjî Abû Bakr of Jalalābād, in which city Bâyezîd was born c. 911/1525, i.e., a year before Bâhūr had founded his Empire in India. His father left for Kānigūm (Wazīrīstān), his home-town, before the child had completed his forty days. Alarmed by the establishment of the Mughal supremacy, the people of Bâyezîd fled (c. 930/1559) to Bîhār and thence went with a caravan to gharām. 'Abd Allāh, who had another wife (and several children by her), now developed an aversion for Aymana and divorced her. Bâyezîd, then about seven, found his subsequent home life extremely unhappy and gradually he developed a life-long estrangement from his parents and step-brother. His early schooling was interrupted as he was called upon to attend to home affairs and trade, but he turned to his studies whenever possible, though always confining himself only to what related to the questions of divine worship. He applied himself diligently to acquiring a detailed knowledge of, and a punctilious performance of, devotional exercises and other religious duties. But he felt himself hindered in every direction, for his father would not let him perform the *ḥajj* or go elsewhere for further studies, or allow him to become a disciple of a Pîr. When he was nearing sixteen, his father took him along on one of his trade journeys. Later, Bâyezîd made several more. On these he must have met (as in *Tadhkira*, f. 82b) the Muḥid (Imā'ud-Dīn) Sulaymān, whose influence can be seen, among other things, in the excessive emphasis on the doctrine of the Pîr-i Kāmil ('perfect spiritual director'), the frequent use of *ḥaṭṭ*, for example in dealing with the "five pillars of the faith" (*arkān-i ḥamisa*), *ghusl* etc., in certain Ḥurūfî doctrines











only a narrow strip of the coast, while the Mamlūks held all of the crests.

The seventeen years of Baybars' reign show a balance of thirty-eight campaigns in Syria. Of the nine battles with the Mongols, only the last was due to the initiative of the sultan, the others being considered counter-attacks. There were five significant engagements with Little Armenia. The Ismā'īlī sectaries, the Assassins, suffered three attacks. On the Franks, the most abused, the Egyptian troops inflicted twenty-one defeats.

The military activity of the sultan was not the result only of the orders which he gave; he took personal command in fifteen battles, not fearing when it was necessary, to expose his own life. A few figures give an idea of Baybars' travels: he does not appear to have spent more than half the period of his reign in his capital at Cairo; he left it twenty-six times, and certainly covered more than forty thousand kilometres.

One sees in the rule of Baybars a splendid example of energy, bringing to light an unexpected political recovery. Under the impetus of this exceptional leader, Egypt, who had just undergone an internal revolution and had been the target of powerful enemies—Crusaders, Mongols, Ismā'īlīs—was suddenly to impose its rule upon the Orient. The revolution following the fall of the 'Abbāsid caliphate in Baghdad, the hosts of alliance between Crusaders and Mongols, the potential conspiracies of the dispossessed Ayyūbid princes, and the personal ambitions of the high ranking Mamlūk officers, are all elements of the tragic combination which makes Baybars' success so extraordinary.

It was a stroke of genius on his part to welcome a refugee of the 'Abbāsid family, after the disastrous invasion of the Mongols in 656/1255, and to recognise him in Cairo as supreme pontiff. It was not merely a spiritual gesture, for the ruler had seen in it immediate and tangible consequences: suzerainty over the Holy Cities of the Hijāz. Finally, the Egyptian state might from that time on style itself the 'Islamic Kingdom'.

The exploits of this extraordinary warrior made him a legend in his own lifetime; the epic of Baybars is well below his actual biography. His life is indeed a story of adventure: the death of the hero, drinking a cup of poison prepared by another, is but part of the perfect romance.

**Bibliography:** The two chief primary sources for the life of Baybars are the biographies of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir and of Ibn Shaddād, neither of which is fully extant. A British Museum manuscript of a version of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, covering the period up to the beginning of 663/1265, was published, with an English translation, by Mrs. S. F. Sadeq, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Duca 1936. A more complete ms. of the same version, preserved in the Fritsch library, is being edited by Mr. A. A. Khowaitir (see further B. Lewis, in *Speculum*, xxvii, 1952, 488; Cl. Cahen in *Arabica*, v, 1958, 211-2; P. M. Holt in *BEOAS*, xcii, 1959, 34-55). A unique and incomplete manuscript of Ibn Shaddād's biography of Baybars, covering the years 670-76/1272-78, was found in Edirne by S. Yalçınlar, who published an abridged Turkish translation of it (*Baybars Türkçe*, İstanbul 1941) without the Arabic original. Further information will be found in the general historical sources (Makrid, Dhahabī, Ibn Taghribirdī, etc.). See also E. Quatremère, *Sultans Mamelouks*, t II; M. F. Köprülü, *Baybars*, in *IA*; M. Dj. Surur, *al-Zāhir Baybars*, Cairo 1938, and

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**BAYBARS II**, al-MALIK, al-MU'AWWAZ, RUKN AL-DIN MAS'UD B. DASHGIR, Mamlūk sultan of Egypt. Perhaps of Circassian origin, Baybars belonged to the Mamlūks of Sulṭān Kālāwīn. Appointed *major domo*, *usdār*, during the first reign of Muḥammad b. Kālāwīn (693-94/1293-94), he was promoted to commander of a thousand by Sulṭān Katbughā, and his power increased, at the same time as that of his rival, Salār. Both were equally ready to assume power upon the assassination of Sulṭān Lādīn in 698/1299.

They put on the throne for the second time the young Muḥammad b. Kālāwīn. The two men were not bound by any deep friendship but they were too afraid of one another to allow their differences to persist, and so resigned themselves to ruling jointly, at the expense of a monarch then aged fourteen. At every mention of an important measure taken during that period, the Arab historians do not neglect to attribute it to both *amirs*, for example, in the rigorous directives against the Christians and Jews in 700/1301. The *dawamis* managed a vigorous resistance to the invasion of the Mongol Ghāzān. They put down, with unbridled cruelty, an insurrection of the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt, who had elected two chiefs with the sarramān Baybars and Salār. Ten years later Muḥammad, weary of their tutelage, abdicated.

Baybars, possessing more Mamlūks than Salār, was able to succeed alone to the sultanate, in Shawwāl 708/April 1309, and it was then that his weakness became apparent. In fact, Muḥammad was able to form an army from the forces of Karak, to which he had retired, and in Ramadan of the following year/February 1310, he began his third reign. Baybars had fled. Apprehended, he was brought to Cairo and strangled on 15 Dhū l-Ka'dā 709/16 April 1310.

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**SIRAT BAYBARS**, an extensive Arabic folk-tale purporting to be the life-story of the Mamlūk sultan Baybars I (1260-77). Many of the people and the events in the *sira* are historical, but its overall character, as well as most of the descriptive detail, is fictitious. Its only historical value lies in the fact that it represents the type of idealised narrative most accepted by large parts of the Muslim population in Cairo in the late Middle Ages and in the following centuries. Its real interest lies rather in the fields of sociology, folklore, and history of literature.

The novel opens with a description of the end of Ayyūbid times and the beginning of Mamlūk rule, up to the accession of Baybars. Later sections treat the hero's warlike exploits, particularly these

against the Christians (Byzantines and Crusaders) and the Persians (= Mongols). Towards the end, the novel grows more and more into a fantastic tale of adventure, sorcery and recovery. Traditional tales and motifs, also to be found in other Arabian contexts such as the *Thousand and One Nights* (as well as some which are known in the Iranian tradition), have been used. Baybars's cunning but basically faithful servant 'Uḡmān—half groom-cum-pickpocket, half saint—and (in the later parts of the novel) an Ismā'īlī master of disguise by name of Shība also play large parts. Shība is constantly on the move, reconnoitring, freeing Muslim prisoners, and harming or at least scaring his enemies with his craftiness and pranks. His opponent on the Christian side is the dangerous Gawḥā (= Juan?; the original name given is Gīrgis), a deadly enemy of Islam. Besides the Mamlūks, there are also Syrian Ismā'īlīs (i.e., Assassins, even though they are never called such) who take part in the battles. The printed editions give an outline, at the end, of the history of Egypt from Mamlūk times to the present day. This is a subsequent addition, which has nothing to do with the actual novel.

Historical events are presented as seen from a bourgeois point of view. The novel has a special predilection for rich-overworked merchants or craftsmen. Pictures of life in the streets of Cairo are particularly attractive. Amongst the degenerate Mamlūk soldiery, Baybars appears as the just ruler who protects his subjects and fights corruption. Crude jokes, puns, and situations of a certain primitively comic nature, appealed to the uncultured taste of the listeners (the *sira* was probably always meant to be recited, not read). A definite Islamic conception of the world underlies the whole. Christian and other opponents of Islam are—unless they are later converted—painted in the blackest colours. There is an underlying offensive religious fanaticism. As all non-Muslims are necessarily villains, they have no claim to decent treatment, still less to pity, and none whatever to respect. Things are occasionally very harsh among Muslims too, but, on the other hand, honourableness receives due praise. Great stress is laid on abstaining from wine; adultery is decried; saints are frequently mentioned. Ahmad al-Badawī appears in the story of Baybars's youth. The most prominent saint in the later parts of the *sira* is Sīdī 'Abd Allāh al-Madghī, He is the Muslim's helper in all plights, particularly in journeys across the sea (Wangelin, 360-2).

The literary form of the *sira* corresponds to that of similar Arabic popular tales. The prose tale is interrupted and enlivened by sections of rhymed prose and interspersed with poems. These (in part quotations, in part verses made up for the *sira*, in classical metres as well as strophic forms) are not, however, evenly distributed. So far there has been no close study of these (cf. Wangelin, 307). The language is somewhat colloquial, particularly in the manuscript texts.

The first literary mention of *Sirāt Baybars*, though indirect, is a note by Ibn Yās (Wangelin, 307) at the beginning of the 16th century. According to U. J. Seetzen, E. W. Lane, and I. G. Wietstein, public recitals of the *Sirāt Baybars* were very popular in Cairo and Damascus in the 19th century. Ṭāhā Husayn mentions such recitals and the sale of printed editions (or part-editions?) of the *sira* amongst the Egyptian fellahs in the story of his youth (*Al-Ayyām*, Cairo 1929, 21 and 83). Some

parts of the novel have been given in translation by E. W. Lane in *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, and in G. Weil's first edition of his translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*. W. Ahlwardt has given a detailed description of some of the Berlin manuscripts of the *sira*. Helmut Wangelin has produced the first monograph on the novel, giving an extensive table of contents based on the first printed edition of the year 1908-09. The manuscripts of the *Sirāt Baybars* are comparatively recent. Levi Della Vida describes a version in the Biblioteca Vaticana which dates from the 10th/16th century, and which, unlike the other texts, has only some 500 pages. Possibly this represents an earlier stage in the development of the novel. The two texts quoted by Ahlwardt (vol. 8, 143 f.) under the numbers 9163 and 9164, on the other hand, appear to be subsequently shortened versions. This is also borne out by the *absence* of interpolated songs. The history of the development of the *sira* would probably become clearer if the different manuscripts were to be classified and compared in detail. It is questionable, however, whether it would be worth the time involved.

**Bibliography:** W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, vol. 8 (= Handschriftenverzeichnis der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol. 20, Berlin 1896, 114-44 (= Nos. 9153-64); Cl. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1894, 745-9 (Nos. 1186-96); W. Perleb, *Die arab. Hss. der Hag. Bibl. zu Göttingen*, iv, Göttingen 1883, 367-93 (Nos. 2600-29); Mac Guckin de Slane, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Paris 1883-95, 627 f. (Nos. 2968-20); E. Blochet, *Cat. des man. ar. des nouvelles acquisitions*, Paris 1923, 12 and 46 (Nos. 4746-54 and 4081-97); G. Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei Manoscritti Arabi Islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana* (= *Studi e Testi* 67), The Vatican 1935, 240 (Codici Barberiniani Orientali, 35); Printed texts (50 parts in 10 volumes), Cairo 1226-27/1908-09; 1311-14/1923-26.

—E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed., London 1860, 400-13 (Chapter XXII); G. Weil, 2001 *Nacht*, arab. *Erzählungen zum ersten Male aus dem Orient* überübersetzt, in: Ploetzheim 1841, 743-931; D. B. Macdonald, *Baybars. The Romance of*, in: E. P. Helmut Wangelin, *Das arabische Fabelbuch vom König ar-Rashīd Baybars*, Stuttgart 1936 (= *Bonner Orientalistische Studien*, 7). (R. PARKER)

**BAYBARS AL-MANṢŪRĪ**. This Mamlūk general and historian began his career as a slave of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Kālāwīn (thence his by-name 'al-Manṣūr'). In the retinue of Kālāwīn Baybars participated in 663/1265 in the campaign of Sulṭān Baybars I against the Syrian Franks, in 664/1266 in campaigns in Syria and Cilicia, in 666/1268 in the siege of Antioch and in 673/1273 in another campaign in Cilicia. Kālāwīn, who had become sultan of Egypt and Syria, appointed Baybars governor of the province of al-Karak in 685/1286. His son and heir al-Malik al-Aṣraf Ḳālāwī removed Baybars from this post in 690/1291, whereupon he returned to Egypt and took part in the siege of Acre, in the siege of Kal'at al-Rūm in Asia Minor in the following year and in two expeditions against the Mongols. When in Muharram 693/December 1293 al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad elected sultan, he appointed Baybars general (*mukaddam alī*) and gave him the high post of *amīr al-dawla* (chief of the chancery). From that time



Baybars' career was linked to the fate of this prince, who was twice deposed and reinstalled. Baybars lost his post after al-Malik al-Mansūr Jalāl had become sultan instead of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, but he was reinstated on al-Malik al-Nāṣir's return to the throne, in 698/1299. In the following years he fulfilled both military and administrative tasks, until he was deposed from his post of *dauidār* in 701/1300-05. Meanwhile al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had lost all influence on the government and had become a mere puppet in the hands of two powerful generals and at last he abdicated formally. Baybars al-Mansūrī was an ardent partisan of this prince and made strenuous efforts to have him reinstalled. When this came about in 709/1310 Baybars was entrusted with various administrative tasks and on 17 Djumādī I 712/1 October 1311 he was appointed viceroy of Egypt (*nāṣir al-salṭa*), second to the sultan only. But he held the post less than a year. In Rabi' II 712/August 1312 he was deposed and sent to the state prison in Alexandria, where he remained for five years. He died on 25 Ramaḍān 725/4 September 1325, about eighty years old.

Baybars was a pious Muslim, fond of theological studies, and besides his military and political activities he found time to write theological works, which he did with the help of a Christian secretary. His chief work was a general history of the Islam until the year 724/1324 called *Zubdat al-Fihra fi Ta'riḥ al-Hidra*. This voluminous work, which is divided into centuries, is based in its former parts on the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, whereas its last part is an important source for the history of the Bahri Mamlūks, since the author tells the story of campaigns and political events in which he participated himself. The strong personal note of the *Zubdat al-Fihra* is even more conspicuous in the account which Baybars al-Mansūrī gives of the political history of Egypt at the end of the 13th and at the beginning of the 14th centuries, where he does not conceal his strong bias for al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. His work was much used by other historians, among whom al-Aynī should be mentioned especially. It was abridged and continued by a later author, whose work is preserved in MS. Bodleiana I, 704. Baybars al-Mansūrī himself wrote a shorter history of the Bahri Mamlūks, which he called *al-Ta'rikh al-Mamlūkiyya fi'l-Fihra al-Turkīya*. This work, partly written in rhymed prose, relates the history of the Mamlūks up to 711/1311-12. Al-Sakhāwī also mentions a History of the Caliphs as written by Baybars. It was called *al-Liṭā'if fi al-ḥikāh al-khaldāfi*.

*Bibliography:* Brockelmann II, 44, S II, 43; Eusebius, *History of Modern historiography*, 75, 127, 135, 418.

**BÄYBÜRĀD** (BAYBURĪ), known to the Byzantines in the time of Justinian as Βαυβουράδιον, is situated on the Çoruh river, about 200 km. to the north-west of Erzurum. The Saldjūks Turks overran this region in the years 446-447/1054-1055. After the battle of Manzikert in 463/1071 Bāybūd came under Turkish rule, now of the Saltuḳids at Erzurum and now of the Dānişmendids at Sivas, although the Byzantines, who still held Trebizond, did in fact recapture the town for a time in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos. During the 13th and 14th centuries Bāybūd, under the political domination of the Saldjūk sultans of Rūm and later of the Mongol Il-Khāns of Persia, prospered from the active commerce which, in the hands of Christian (i.e., Venetian and Genoese) as

well as Muslim merchants, flowed along the route leading from Trebizond to Erzurum and thence eastward to Tabriz. The Dānişmendids and, after them, the Ak Koyunlu Turcomans had control of the town from about the mid-14th to the close of the 15th centuries. Bāybūd fell to the Ottomans in 920/1514 during the course of their Cāldirān campaign against the new Ṣafawid state in Persia. Ottoman rule over Bāybūd and its adjacent territories was consolidated in 940-942/1533-1536, when Sultān Sulaymān organised on a firm basis the *eyālet* of Erzurum. The Russians occupied the town in 1829, much of the old fortress of Bāybūd being ruined in the course of the fighting. Russian forces also defeated the Ottomans in the battle of Bāybūd (July 1916) during an offensive directed against Erzurum. Bāybūd was in Ottoman times a *hadd* of the *sandjak* of Erzurum in the *eyālet* of that name, but is now included in the present Turkish province of Gümnüşhine. Its population was estimated in 1915 at 10,339 inhabitants, the figure for the entire *hadd* being given as 64,812 people. The region is noted for its production of cereals, wool, hides, etc.

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**AL-BAYDĀ'Ī** (AL-BEYĀ'Ī), "the white town (castle)", a common Arabic place-name, designating localities scattered all over the Islamic territory. Hamdānī (*Sifa*) quotes four places with this name; Yāqūt has sixteen different al-Baydā'īs. Most important of these is the Persian town al-Baydā', situated in the province Fars, N. of Shirāz and W. of Isfahān. Its original name was Nāsā. Being the chief town of the Kāmfirūz district, it was as large as Isfahān in the 4/10th century, surrounded by fertile pasture lands. Several scholars carry the name of this place (see AL-BAYDĀWĪ). Also al-Hallakī (a.c.) was born here. For the S. Arabian town al-Baydā', the main place of Upper Bayhān, see BAYHAN.

*Bibliography:* Al-Hallakī, I, 126, 197; Ibn Hawkal, 107; Ibn Khuradādhbih, 46 f.; Mukaddasī, 24, 432; Yāqūt, I, 792 f. (*Muḥḥarrik*, 77); Le Strange, 280; H. von Wissmann and Höfner, *Beiträge zur histor. Geogr. des vorislamischen Südarabien*, 14, 23, 58, 62, 66.

(O. LÖFGREN)

**BAYDAK** (see BHATRASJĪ).

**AL-BAYDĀWĪ**, 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'UMAR B. MUHAMMAD B. 'ALĪ ARḤ-ḤUSAYN NĀSIR AL-DĪN. He belonged to the SHĀFI' school, and attained the position of chief *hadd* in Shirāz. He had a reputation for wide learning, and wrote on a number of subjects including Qur'ān exegesis, law, jurisprudence, scholastic theology, and grammar. His works are generally not original, but based on works by other authors. He is noted for the brevity of his treatment of his various subjects, but his work suffers on this account from a lack of completeness, and he has been blamed for inaccuracy. His most famous work is his commentary on the Qur'ān, *Awṣaf al-taḥṣīl wa-awṣaf al-taḥṣīl*, which is largely a condensed and amended edition of al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshaf*. That work, which displays great learning, suffers from Mu'tazilite views which al-Baydāwī has tried to amend, sometimes by refuting them and sometimes by omitting them. But on occasion he has retained them, possibly without fully realising their significance. In his introduction he does not claim to be producing an original work. He says that he had long wished to produce a book which would include the best of what he had learned from leading Companions, learned Followers, and upright men of early days who were of lesser rank. He also purposed to include allusions which were the result of his own and his predecessors' researches. It would contain some readings of 'the eight famous imams' (for al-Baydāwī adds Ya'qūb of al-Basra to the more normal number of seven readers of the Qur'ān), and would also include readings peculiar to one or other of the recognised readers. The result is a work which has been popular and has accordingly been published in many editions. Numerous commentaries have been written on the whole work, or on parts of it. Of these Brockelmann lists 83, after which he mentions two works which draw attention to places where al-Baydāwī has failed to remove al-Zamakhsharī's heresies. Of the many editions of the work mention may be made of that by H. O. Fleischer (Leipzig 1846-8), 2 vols., *Indices* by W. Fell (Leipzig 1878); and that of Cairo, 1330 A.H., 4 parts in 2 vols., with the commentary of al-Khatib al-Kharūnī, prescribed for sixth year students in the Azhar. Other editions are mentioned in Brockelmann and Sarkis. Among al-Baydāwī's other works which are extant in print or in MS are: *Minhaj al-awṣaf* (*the al-awṣaf* [jurisprudence]); *al-dhāya al-bayṣ* (manual of law); *Lubb al-ḥikāh fi 'im al-ṣab* (grammatical); *Majma' al-awṣaf* and *Tawḥīd al-awṣaf min maḥall* (*al-awṣaf* [scholastic theology]). He also wrote a work in Persian, *Nisām al-tawḥīd* (ed. with notes in Hindustani by Sayyid Mansur, Haydarābād 1930), dealing with the history of the world up to 674/1275. Al-Suyūṭī says that al-Baydāwī died in 685/1286, quoting al-Safādī as his authority. He says that al-Sabīh mentioned 691/1291, but al-Sabīh does not give a date in his *Tabaḥṣīṭ*. Yāqūt gives 691/1293. Rieu (*Suppl. to the Cat. of the Arab. MSS in the B.M.*, p. 68) quotes a statement that he died in 715/1316.

*Bibliography:* Sabkī, *Tabaḥṣīṭ al-Shāfi'iyya al-hubra*, Cairo 1324, v, 59; Suyūṭī, *Buḡyat al-awṣaf*, Cairo 1320, 286; Yāqūt, *Min'at al-djānān*, Haydarābād 1337-9, iv, 220; Brockelmann, I, 530 ff., S I, 738 ff.; Sarkis, *Dict. Encyc. de bibl. arab.*, Cairo 1928-30, 616 ff.; Margoliouth, *Chrestomathie Islamica*, London 1894; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qurān*, 2nd edn., Leipzig 1909-1938, II, 176, III, 212.

**AL-BAYDHĀK**, ARḤ BARR B. 'ALĪ AL-SUNHĀWĪ, author of *Memoirs* on the beginnings of Almoḥad history. His name was known only through extracts quoted by Ibn Khaldūn in his *K. al-'Iṣṣar*, by the anonymous author of al-*Ḥad al-Baydhāwīya*, and from various passages in which Ibn al-Kattān, author of the *Naṣm al-Djāwida*, reproduces him. The discovery of the bundle of papers (no. 1919) in the library of the Escorial by E. Lévi-Provençal, and their publication in the *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, brought al-Baydhāk to light, as through a trap-door, from the obscurity in which he lay. We find in his work "the actual *Memoirs* of the experiences of one who frequently took an active part in the events he sets down and who immediately appears as one of the early Almoḥads. At the first glance it can be seen that this is no chronicle of the usual type or form. The new information provided on each page and its character of authenticity nearly always enables us, in a remarkable manner, to complete our knowledge of the Almoḥads in North Africa, which has hitherto been exiguous. The thirty six pages of the manuscript have no lacunae in the text. Unfortunately, however, the beginning is missing and also no title is given. The information we possess on al-Baydhāk is limited to what it himself tells us in his work, but this is too vague to serve as the basis for a biography. We find him in the following of the Mahdi, after the latter reached Tunis, and in that of 'Abd al-Mu'min, close to their persons and acting as a servant. And it was as such that he recorded in his work merely what he actually saw and heard". An enthusiastic convert, he adds to the facts he relates all such incidents of a supernatural order as serve to confirm the divine mission of Ibn Tūmart and the predestined choice of 'Abd al-Mu'min. We do not know whether he came with his master from the East. However, the appellation *baydhāb*, which passed from Persian into Arabic, is still in use among the Berbers of the South for the paws in the game of chess. The one thing certain is that al-Baydhāk's mother tongue was Berber and that he did not know Arabic very well. This is born out by the colloquialisms abounding in his *Memoirs* and the Berber phrases appearing in his narrative. Remaining in the background as a faithful and devoted servant without political ambitions, and having served the Mahdi, 'Abd al-Mu'min and even Yūsuf I, down to whose time the information he provides extends fragmentarily, he disappears from the Almoḥad scene as suddenly as he appeared, silently and without fame".

*Bibliography:* E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, ix-xi; G. Marcy, in *Hespérie*, 1932, 61 ff. (A. HENRI MIRAMBA)

**BAYDU**, the fifth in succession of the Mongol Il-Khāns of Persia and a grandson of Hülegü, the founder of the dynasty. He reigned only for a few months since Gayḡathu, his predecessor, was strangled on Thursday 6 Djumādī II/21 April 1295 and he himself was put to death on Wednesday 23 Dhu 'l-Ka'da/2 October of the same year. Insulted by Gayḡathu, this young and apparently unimportant prince had become involved in a conspiracy of the Mongol amirs against the Il-Khān which resulted in the latter's deposition and execution, and the conspirators had then invited Baydu to take possession of the throne. The new Il-Khān was at once opposed by his second cousin Ghāsan [a.c.], the son of the Il-Khān Arghun and the nephew of Gayḡathu, who advanced from Khurāsān at the head of an army to demand



satisfaction for his uncle's death. An uneasy truce was concluded between the cousins; and when hostilities were later resumed the issue was decided without bloodshed in Ghazân's favour thanks to the address and diplomacy of his general Nawrûz and in particular to Ghazân's having, at Nawrûz's suggestion, adopted Islam and so won the support of the Muslims. Baydu was deserted by his adherents and met his end in Nîghârûn (the present-day Nakhichevan in the Azerbaijan S.S.R.) whilst attempting to escape. During his brief reign he is said to have shown special favour to the Christians and so given offence to the Muslims, although according to Ilar Helwanî he was himself a convert to Islam.

**Bibliography:** C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timur Bey en Tamerlan* (2nd ed.), Vol. iv, The Hague and Amsterdam 1855; R. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, (Berlin 1955).

(W. BARTHOLOMÆUS, J. A. BOYDÉ)

**BATHAK**, formerly the name of a district to the west of Nîghârûn in Khurân. In Tâhidî times it contained 390 villages with a revenue assessment of some 236,000 *dirhams*. The chief towns were Sabzawâr and Khurawdîgh. It capitulated to a Muslim army under 'Abd Allâh b. 'Aunî in 305/501. In 318/513, it was devastated by the Ghaznawids. According to Hamd Allâh Mustawfî its people were *îfânâ* 'Ajdârî *îfânîs*. Among its famous men were Nîzâm al-Mulk, the *waiz* of Alp Arslân and Malikshâh, Abu 'l-Faḍl Muhammad b. Husayn Bayhaki, the author of the *Ta'riḥ-i Bayhaki*, and 'Abd al-Razzâk, the founder of the Sabzadî dynasty. Formerly marble quarries were worked there.

**Bibliography:** *Ta'riḥ-i Bayhaki* by 'Abd al-Razzâk, Mukaddimâ, 118, 126; Hamd Allâh Mustawfî, *Nasb*, 149-50; Muhammad Hasan Khân, *Mir'ât al-Buldân*, I, 327; Dawlatshâh, 277; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 130.

(A. K. S. LAMONT)

**al-BAYHAKI**, **ABD BAKR AHMAD b. al-HUSAYN b. 'ALĪ b. MUSA al-KHURAWDĪGHĪ**, traditionist and Shāfi'ī *faḥih*. He studied Tradition with Abu 'l-Hasan Muhammad b. al-Husayn al-'Alawī, al-Hākim Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh and others. He travelled in many countries in pursuit of this subject and is credited with having had a hundred *ṣūḥuf*. In theology he was an Ash'arite. He was of a frugal, pious, and scholarly nature. Towards the end of his life he went to Nîghârûn where he taught traditions and transmitted his books. Al-Bayhaki was a voluminous writer, his writing being said to have reached 700 fascicules. Although he was a traditionist of some note, he is reputed to have been unacquainted with the works of al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, and Ibn Māǧā; and it is suggested that he had not seen the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal. He used al-Bihār al-Mudhahar, freely. Al-Dhahabī said that his compas in Tradition was not great, but that he was an adept at dealing with it, being versed in the sub-divisions and the men who appear in *isnads*. Among his writings his *K. al-ṭinan al-kubrī* (publ. Haydarābād, 2 vols., 1344-56) is perhaps his most notable work. It has been held in high esteem; for example, al-Buhārī declared that there was nothing in it in adjustment, arrangement and excellence. In this work notes are frequently added about the value or otherwise of traditions and traditionists, and attention is often drawn to the fact that particular traditions are included in one or other of the recognised collections.

The Haydarābād edn. has in each vol. a valuable index of men of the first three generations and traditions traced to them, with indication of the nature of the transmission. Another work which was valued is his *Nawā' al-Shāfi'ī*. He has been said to have been the first to collect al-Shāfi'ī's legal precepts, but al-Dubāhī denies this, saying he was the last, for this collection included more than earlier efforts, and therefore there was no need to repeat the work. Al-Djawaynī, Indm al-Haramayn, highly praised his writings in support of Shāfi'ī doctrine. Al-Bayhaki was born in 384/994, died in 451/1060 in Nîghārûn, and was buried in Khurawdîgh.

**Bibliography:** *Iḥabāt*, *Taḥ*, *al-ḥaf*, II, 309 ff.; Subḥī, *Tabaḥ al-Shāfi'ī* *al-kubrī*, II, 31 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, No. 27; al-Sam'ānī, I, 1014; Yāqūt, *Ma'āḍ al-ḥadīth*, III, 81; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shaharīḥ al-Dhahabī*, III, 304; Brockelmann, I, 445 f.; S. I, 618 f.; Sarānī, *Diḥ. ency. de bibl. pers.*, 420 f. (J. ROUSSEAU)

**BAYHAKI**, **ABU 'l-FADL MUHAMMAD b. HUSAYN KATIB** (in Persian: Dabib), famous Persian historian of the 5th/11th century, born in 385/995 at the village of Hārīthābād in the district of Bayhāk (today the district of Sabzawār in Khurāsān). At an early age he went to study at Nîghārûn, then an important centre of learning. He soon entered the chancellery of the Ghaznawid ruler, and, with the function of secretary, and in this city spent most of his life. He was at first the assistant of the celebrated writer Abū Naṣr Muḥṣin, the director of this chancellery, and was charged with drafting and making copies of the most important official documents dispatched by Mahmūd the Ghaznawid (389-421/999-1030) and his son and successor, Maḥmūd II (421-1049-51). During Maḥmūd II's reign his first major died, in 417/1026, and was replaced by Abū Saḥl Zānāl, with whom he was not always on good terms. During the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥḥīm (440-43/1049-51), he was appointed director of the chancellery, but was dismissed after a short time. At the king's order, a Turkish slave named Nîzām confiscated all his property, and he was imprisoned, but he had no master in the end, he settled his wife's dowry. He remained in judicial imprisonment until the usurper Taghribirdī occupied the throne in 443/1051 and imprisoned him in a fortress with other courtiers held in custody. After his release, he did not seek employment at court after the year 451/1059, and he died in the month of Safar 490/2 August-21 September 1077. Bayhaki is the author of a voluminous history of the Ghaznawid dynasty, written in an archaic and sometimes complicated style. He states that he commenced his history with the year 409/1018-19, but a large part of the work has long been lost, and the only traces of it are found in the borrowings of other Persian historians—the last of whom lived in the 9th/15th century. The work, which comprises 30 volumes, has been variously entitled by different authors: *Diḥmā al-Tawārīkh*, *Diḥmā fi Ta'riḥ-i Sababtagia*, *Ta'riḥ-i Al-i Maḥmūd*, *Ta'riḥ-i Nāṣiri*, and *Ta'riḥ-i Al-i Sababtagia*. It is almost certain, however, that the different volumes referring to each ruler would have borne different titles. Thus the whole collection of 30 volumes would have had a general title of *Diḥmā al-Tawārīkh* or *Ta'riḥ-i Al-i Sababtagia*; the first part, relating to Sababtagia, would have the title of *Ta'riḥ-i Nāṣiri*, the second part, relating to Maḥmūd, that of *Ta'riḥ-i Yamīni* or *Mahmūd-i Maḥmūdī*, the third part, of which the most important portions have come down to us,

would have had the title of *Ta'riḥ-i Maṣ'ūdī*, while the title of the final part or parts must remain a subject for conjecture. The part which has come down to us comprises volumes 5 to 10; volumes 11 to 30, and the first four volumes, are lost. As regards the six volumes which we possess (5 to 10), which are usually known as *Ta'riḥ-i Bayhaki*, and which ought rather to be called *Ta'riḥ-i Maṣ'ūdī*, the title which I have given them in my edition, there are certain noticeable lacunae in the sequence of events, which indicates that a portion of these volumes has also been lost. Volumes 11 to 30 must have covered the end of the reign of Maṣ'ūd and the reign of his successor, but to the beginning of the reign of Rāḥīm in 451/1059, that is to say, the reigns of Maḥmūd, Maṣ'ūd II, Abū 'l-Hasan 'Alī, 'Abd al-Raḥḥīm and Farrukhshāh, which extend over 19 years in all from 432/1040 to 451/1059. The known MSS. of the part which has come down to us close with the events of the year 432/1040, and it is easily to be seen that this part was written later, doubtless from notes made at the time, because the author five times gives us the date 451/1059 for the composition of certain passages. On one of the occasions on which he mentions this date, he states that he has been in the service of the Ghaznawids for twenty years, which proves that he entered their service in 431/1040 at the age of 46. Consequently 451/1059 was the year in which he began to write up his notes, which covered a period of 42 years from 409/1018 to 451/1059. He states that events prior to 409/1018 had been related by his predecessor the historian Maḥmūd Warrāk, whose work is lost. The end of chapter ten of the *Ta'riḥ-i Maṣ'ūdī* which has survived includes a portion of a chronicle on Khawāram, written in Persian by the great savant Abū 'l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 1362-40/973-1048) under the title of *al-Masūdī's fi Ḥikmah-i Khawāram*, which is incomplete and of which no other version exists. Bayhaki seems to have written other works, one of which bore the title of *Mahmūd-i Abū Naṣr-i Muḥṣin*, a collection of reminiscences which had been related to him by his master in the Ghaznawid chancellery. Some fragments of this work have been quoted by more modern authors. Another work, quoted by the author of the History of Bayhāk, bore a title which can be read either as *Raḥat al-Kutub* or *Zinat al-Kutub* and seems to have been a manual of literary style as is indicated by its title. The fragments of the *Ta'riḥ-i Nāṣiri* which have come down to us were incorporated in the *Diḥmā* *al-Raḥḥīmī* *waṣṣaṣ* *Lamīmī* *al-Rindī* of Muhammad 'Awfī (two recent incomplete Tehran editions), the *Tabaḥ-i Nāṣiri* of Miḥāj al-Dīn b. Sīrīdī al-Dīn al-Djurdjī (editions: Calcutta and Kabul-Lahore), and the *Madīna* *al-Anṣab* of Muhammad b. 'Alī Shāhānkārī (MSS.). The surviving portion of the *Ta'riḥ-i Yamīni* is incorporated in the last-named work, and the surviving portion of the final parts of the *Ta'riḥ-i Maṣ'ūdī*, which we possess, is quoted by 'Awfī. The passages from the *Mahmūd-i Abū Naṣr-i Muḥṣin* are quoted by 'Awfī and by Sayf al-Dīn 'Aḥlī in his work on the lives of the *wasīs* entitled *Āḥḥ al-Wasā'ir* (MSS.). The famous historian Hājjī Abūrdī has also reproduced certain passages from the last portion in his own monumental history. The author of the History of Bayhāk states that the *Diḥmā* *al-Tawārīkh* comprised more than 30 volumes; of these he had seen only a few in the library at Sarakhs, certain other volumes in 'Māh-dī 'Irāk' library and still others

in the possession of various people. This proves that a large part of Bayhaki's chronicle had disappeared within a short time after its composition, since already in the 6th/12th century this author did not have access to all the volumes. Only 'Awfī (6th/12th century) Miḥāj al-Dīn (7th/13th century) Shāhānkārī (8th/14th century), and Hājjī Abūrdī (9th/15th century) had at their disposal certain—or perhaps fragmentary—portions of the work. The *Mahmūd-i Abū Naṣr-i Muḥṣin* was consulted by Aḥlī in the 9th/15th century, but no one has mentioned his work on the epitaphary art except the author of the History of Bayhāk. The MSS. of the *Ta'riḥ-i Maṣ'ūdī* so far known nearly all come from India and indicate a common source.

**Bibliography:** W. H. Morley (ed.), *Ta'riḥ-i Bayhaki*, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1867; *Ta'riḥ-i Bayhaki* (lith. ed.), Tehran 1305-7 A.H.; Ghānī and Fayyāzī (ed.), *Ta'riḥ-i Bayhaki*, Tehran 1324 solar/1945; *Ta'riḥ-i Maṣ'ūdī*, with corrections, notes and commentary by Saïd Naṣīr, 3 vols., Tehran 1319 solar/1940, 1320/1947, and 1332/1953; Saïd Naṣīr, *Āḥḥ-i Garmānā-ya Abū 'l-Faḍl-i Bayhaki*, Tehran 1335 solar/1956; Abū 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Zayd Bayhaki, *Ta'riḥ-i Bayhaki*, Tehran 1317 solar/1938; Rūḥ-ol-Dīn Shāhānī, in *Armagān*, 110, year 12, and 12th year, nos. 1-2; Šāhānī Ḥabībī, in *Armagān*, 13th year, no. 1; W. Barthold, article *Bayhaki* in *EF*; see also the works quoted in the body of this article. (SAÏD NAṢĪR)

**al-BAYHAKI**, **ZAKĪS al-DIN ABU 'l-HASAN 'ALĪ b. ZAYD b. FUNDUK**, Persian author, born at Sabzawār, the administrative centre (*ṣāḥab*) of the district of Bayhāk (W. of Naysabard) in Khurāsān in 493/1100. The date 499/1106 in Yāqūt (*Irād*, v, 208), though cited from Bayhaki's autobiography (see below), has been shown to be wrong by M. Karwīn. Of his numerous works (more than 70 titles on an encyclopaedic range of subjects listed in Yāqūt) the best known are a history in Persian of his native district, *Ta'riḥ-i Bayhaki* (to be distinguished from the *Ta'riḥ-i Bayhaki* of Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaki (see preceding article), and an Arabic supplement (*fatima*) to the biographical *Ṣiḥn al-bakna* of Abū Sulaymān al-Sidḡistī. The *Ta'imad Ṣiḥn al-Hikma* was translated into Persian probably about 730/1330. It has been edited together with the Persian version by M. Shāfi'ī (Lahore 1935), and under the title *Ta'riḥ-i Bakamā* al-Fadīm by M. Kurd 'Alī (Damascus 1948). The *Ta'riḥ-i Bayhaki* though scarcely very original (it is based, the author tells us, on an earlier history of Bayhāk, as well as on a 12-volume *History of Naysabard* by al-Hākim Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh), is full of interest. The contents have been analysed by Rieu (*Supplement to the Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, 60 ff.), and in 1951, with an important introduction by M. Karwīn.

The family of Bayhaki, which had been distinguished for several generations previous to his time, called themselves Hākimīs from an ancestor, al-Hākim Funduk (*Ta'riḥ-i Bayhaki*, 102), and traced their descent back to a Companion of the Prophet, Dhū 'l-Shabbāḥayn Khuraysh b. Dhābit. Bayhaki also claimed relationship with Tabat, the historian (*Ta'riḥ-i B. yab*, 19). It appears from his autobiography, given in his last historical work *Maḥmūd al-Taḥḥir* *waṣṣaṣ* *al-Gharīb* (or *Maḥmūd al-Taḥḥir* *fi 'l-Tawārīkh*) and taken over by Yāqūt, that he had his higher education at Naysabard and



Marw, and that his career was mostly in Khurāsān. For a short time (526/1132) he was *hāfi* of Bayhān, probably owing to the influence of his father-in-law, Muḥammad b. Maʿbūl, a former governor of Kays, then *muḥarrir al-mawḍiʿ*, but he found his duties irksome and soon resigned. A short time later we find him studying algebra and astrology in Rayy (*Irshād*, v, 220). The autobiography comes down to 549/1154-55, when Bayhākī was in Naysābūr. Nothing is there said of a visit which he paid with his father to 'Umar al-Khayyām in 507/1113-14 (*Taḥmīna Ṣāḥib al-Hikma*, 118), nor of an incident which took place in 543/1148. This was the arrival in Khurāsān at the court of Sulṭān Saḍḍār of an envoy from the Christian King of Georgia, Demetrius, with certain questions, presumably on religious topics, written in Arabic and Syriac (*ḥāṭi n-suriyān*). These questions were answered at the instance of Saḍḍār by Bayhākī, as he tells us (*Taʾrīḫ al-Bayhān*, 163), in the same two languages. The *Maḥabir al-Taḍḍir* appears to have dealt with the history of Iran from about A.H. 410-560 (M. Kawtāl), i.e., approximately A.D. 1020-1165 or nearly 150 years, and was intended as a sequel to the *Taʾrīḫ al-Yamīn* of 'Uṭbī (*Taʾrīḫ al-Bayhān*, 20). Yāqūt quotes the work elsewhere, e.g., *Irshād*, v, 124. It is quoted also by Ibn al-Aḥlir (xi, 247-49, cf. 253) for the career of Sulṭān Shāh of Khurāsān, and by Dīwānī (*Taʾrīḫ al-Bayhān*, vol. II, 1-2). J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Compass*, 277 explicitly for the origin of the Khurāsān Shāh (where Dīwānī says incorrectly that it was a sequel to the *Taḍḍir al-Umm* of Miskawayh), but probably also elsewhere without specific acknowledgment (cf. *Taʾrīḫ al-Bayhān*, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 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984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

Some portions of Bayhākī's poetical anthology *Wāḥid al-Dumya*, a continuation of the *Dumyā al-Kayr* of Bāghar and including specimens of his own poetry in Arabic, are known. See Brockelmann, and H. Ritter, 'Philologia XIII', no. 173 (*Oriens*, vol. I, 1930, 77). There was also a supplement entitled *Dumyā al-Wāḥid* (*Irshād*, v, 221).

A work on judicial astrology by Bayhākī in Persian, *Dīwānī* al-Aḥlām, is preserved in Cambridge University Library (H. G. Browne, *Handlist of Muhammadan Manuscripts*, 255), and a compendium of this work at one time existed (*ibid.*, 254).

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, *Irshād*, v, 208-18; Muḥammad Kawfī, *Muḥaddith al-Taʾrīḫ al-Bayhān*, ed. A. Bahmanyar, Tehran 1327/1908; Storey, 353-54, 1105-06, 1295-96, 1350; Brockelmann, I, 324 and S. I, 557-58; Muḥammad Shāh, 'The author of the oldest biographical notice of 'Umar al-Khayyām & the notice on question, in *Islamic Culture*, vol. vi (1932), 586-623.

(D. M. DUNLOP)

**AL-BAYHAKI, ISRAHIM b. MUHAMMAD**, Arab author, of whose life nothing is known beyond that he belonged to the circle of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and wrote the *adab* book *Kutub al-Mabshur wa'l-Mansur* (ed. by F. Schwally, Gießen 1902, reprinted Cairo 1906) during the reign of the Caliph al-Muhtadī (295-320/908-932).

(C. BROCKELMANN)

**BAYHĀN** (Bēhān), wādī and territory in South Arabia, situated between Wādī Harb [g.c.] in the west, and Wādī Marḡha (with the high plateau of the Nisyrīn) in the east (cf. art. 'AWLAḤ). This long valley, stretching from the Kawt 'Awadhilla (cf. art. 'AWMATH) ca. 100 km. (65 miles) northward, until its dry "delta" disappears in the desert Kanafat Sabatayn, was once the centre of the ancient state of Katabān [g.c.]. Thanks to the American expedition in 1930 the main part of Bayhān now is by far the best known of all South Arabian districts.

In Katabān inscriptions BYHN often means a tribe (Bēh Bayhān) or a temple. This fact does not seem to favour the etymology of Landberg (*Arabica*, v, 4) "common pasture land" (opp. *hawl*). From Sabaeen texts we know of another Bayhān, a place situated in the Dīwān (Ryckmans, I, 342; Grohmann, I, 178; v. Wissmann, A. Höfner 15, 77), according to the *Sūfa* of Hamādī, Bayhān was irrigated from Kadmān and Hasl, but got its drinking water from Wādī Sūdān. The inhabitants belonged for the most part to Banu Muzā, whose leader of Āl Makramīn enjoyed a high reputation in the tribe of Maḥādī. Yāqūt has Bayhān in his list of South Arabian districts (*mukhlāf*).

There are three Bayhān districts to be distinguished:

(1) Bayhān al-Dawla (Bayhān al-ʿAḥā) is the narrow, barren and sparsely populated upper part of the valley, from its beginning into the Nisyrīn on the frontier of Bayhān al-Kaṣāb. Like the territory of the Banayr [g.c.] it formerly formed part of the Rasāḥ sultanate, but now belongs to the state of Yaman. The climate is unhealthy, owing to the stagnant waters of the Ghayl. The capital al-Bayḍā [g.c.] is in the S.

(2) Bayhān al-Kaṣāb, the fertile central part of the valley. See the following art.

(3) Bayhān al-Aṣṭal, the remaining, northern part of the wādī, is a sparsely populated plain, gradually turning into the wide sand desert. Its four districts (Haw, al-Shatt, Bakha, 'Asaylan) were dominated by descendants of the Prophet—the two first-mentioned by *sayyida*, the last two by *gharib*. Hence the denomination Bīd al-Sādāt al-Aṣṭal for the whole country. The capital is Nuḥayl, with a landing-ground for aircraft. Numerous Bedouins also live here, mostly belonging to Bal Harīb; this tribe also controls the important salt-mines of Aḥḍīm far into the desert.

In antiquity this whole area was more intensively cultivated, thanks to the aqueducts, and for centuries the kingdom of Katabān had its centre here, along the income road, between Shubha [g.c.] and Marb [g.c.]. Special interest is attached to the tell Harjān Kuhlān a little S-W of 'Asaylan. As already Rhodokanakis has inferred from the inscriptions, this is the place of ancient Tinnā/Tinnā [g.c.], the capital of Katabān (Pliny: Thoma). Thanks to the finds made here in 1930, esp. of Roman Aretine ware, its final destruction by fire can be fixed to ca. 200 A.D. The excavation of two palaces (VTSH and HDTH) has yielded a lot of inscriptions, a bronze statue of princess DRT and two fine bronze lions of Hellenistic type, with infant riders. At Hayd bin 'Aḥlī the cemetery of Tinnā was found and partly investigated. Antique ruins also were found further to the south, at Hana al-Hajar and Harjān bin Hunayd. Here, at the junction of Wādī Bayhān and Wādī Maḥlaka, a huge cross-section of the stratified mound was made, which allowed to establish a pottery sequence back to ca. 1000 B.C., when

the first houses were built here. In the 1200 years down to the abandonment of the irrigation system the field level increased by about 8 m. (1 cm. every year and a half). A building of two courses marks the highest point in the excavations at Harjān bin Hunayd; this house probably was constructed in the first century B.C.

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(O. LÖFGREN)

**BAYHĀN AL-KAṢĀB** forms the central part of the Wādī Bayhān (see the preceding art.), lying between Bayhān al-Dawla (S) and Bayhān al-Aṣṭal (N). It includes also W. Khīr which starts in the south, to the west of W. Bayhān, until it meets the latter near the town of al-Kaṣāb. Bayhān al-Kaṣāb, together with Bayhān al-Aṣṭal, now forms the Independent Territory of Bayhān in the Western Aden Protectorate. The Territory's boundaries in the S-W and N-W are a part of the "status quo line" of 1934 between Yaman and the Protectorate. The other boundaries are, in the E the Upper 'Awlaki mountains, in the N-E the Kurāt tribes and the Fringes of the Empty Quarter (al-Rub' al-Khālī).

Bayhān al-Kaṣāb (6-8000 inhabitants) is rich in subterranean waters often found at the depth of a few yards; there are well over two hundred wells in operation and the irrigation system is adequate. Rainfall is not regular and sometimes there may be no rainfall for a number of years. The region is rich with palm and *zāḥ* tree groves and other kinds of vegetation. The main products and crops are dates, *nahḥ*, figs, grapes, wheat, barley, millet, *duḡḡ*, sesame, indigo and cotton. There is good pasture land for sheep and goats and the region is famous for a breed of camels. The inhabitants form the tribe of al-Muḥābaya, who have, as is evident from the dual form of the name, two main branches: Āl Ahmad and Āl 'Aḥlī. They are settled in a great number of villages. The main town is al-Kaṣāb, also called Hīṣū 'Abd Allāh, which is the main trading centre of the area and an important seat of administration. There is a landing ground and a wireless station at al-Kaṣāb.

The Aḥlī and Sayyids form no tribal group. They had always had the support of the Bal Harīb of Bayhān al-Aṣṭal and of one section of al-Muḥābaya, the Āl Ahmad, when Sharīf Ahmad b. Muḥsin signed a treaty with the British in 1903. The subsequent development in the internal situation of the area and the security requirements in face of the claims of Yaman to the territory and to the allegiance of the population led to the consolidation of the authority of the "Treaty Chief", with

the help of the Protectorate British authorities, over the whole territory and the tribes of W. Bayhān. In 1914 the Regent of the then minor Sharīf of Bayhān entered into an agreement with the British by which he undertook to accept advice on the administration of his country and the expenditure of his revenues. The Sharīf's capital is al-Nuḥayl, where there is a landing ground. Recently the Muḥābaya have been treated as semi-independent and were given a minor agreement for the protection of a landing ground. There is one *gharḥ* court and one Common Law (*ḥarf*) court, and two elementary schools for boys, in Bayhān.

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**AL-BAYHĀSIYYA** [see ABŪ BAYHĀS].

**BAYINDİR**, one of the Oḡuz (Turkmen) tribes. The Ak-Koyunlu, founders of the dynasty called by the same name, are a clan of this tribe, and some historians call the Ak-Koyunlu dynasty 'Bayındir Khan Oghlanlar' or 'Ālī Bayındiriyye', and the Ak-Koyunlu state 'Devlet-i Bayındiriyye'. It is possible that the Bayındir took part in the seldjuk conquest of Anatolia. There were many places in central and western Turkey called after them in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. No doubt most of these belonged to the Bayındir who took part in the conquest of Anatolia. We find Bayındir among the Turkmen in Syria in the 8th/14th century. The Ak-Koyunlu clan of this tribe was engaged in political activity in the Diyarbakir region in the same century. The most important Bayındir clan in the 10th/16th century was in the Tarsus region, and was engaged in agriculture. There were other Bayındir clans in the Tripoli and Aleppo regions of Syria, and in the Yemīl II, south of Sivas. The Bayındir of Aleppo were called by the Ottoman government to take part in the expedition against Austria in 1690. A Bayındir clan lived in the Astarābād region among the Göklen Turkmen. Members of the Ak-Koyunlu dynasty believed themselves to have descended from Bayındir, ancestor of the Bayındir tribe, and used its mark on their coins, monuments and edicts. Bayındir was also used in the past as a personal name in Turkey and Iran.

**Bibliography:** Faruk Sumer, *Bayındir, Fırat neh ve Yürüğürlü, in Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, xli/2-4, 317-22. (FARUK SUMER)

**BĀYKARĀ**, a prince of the house of Tinnūr, grandson of its founder. He was 12 years old at the death of his grandfather (Shāḥbīn 702/February 1402) so he must have been born about 793/1393-3. His father 'Umar Sharīf had predecessor Tinnūr, Bāykarā is celebrated by Dawlat-Shāh (ed. Browne, 374) for his beauty as a second Joseph and for his courage as a second Rustam; he was prince of Balḥ for a long period. In the year 817/1414 he was granted Luristān, Hamādān, Nihāwand and Burḡudīz by Shāh Rūḡ; in the following year he rebelled against his brother Iskandar and seized Shīrāz but was afterwards overthrown by Shāh Rūḡ. Pardoned and allowed to go to Prince Kayḍ al-Kandahār and Garmat, he stirred up a rebellion there too, and was seized by Kayḍ in 829 (1416-7). Shāh Rūḡ pardoned him again and sent him to India; whether further is known of him. This account, which is based on Hāfi-i Abru, does not agree with







an improvised brick throne, still extant at Kalānāwār. Soon after wards Hīnū, originally a corn-chandler from Rīwārī, near Alwar, who commanded the Sīr troops, attacked Delhi, and Tardī Bēg, the Moghal governor, fled from the city without offering even the feeblest resistance. Bayram, who was now all-powerful, ordered the execution of Tardī Bēg, apparently as a lesson to others but most probably to avenge the insult which that officer had had the audacity to offer to Humāyūn in the hour of his distress when he was fleeing from Kandahār. Firghīas justifies this murder, although on purely political grounds. In 964/1556, when Hīnū clashed with the Imperial forces, the battle-field was at Pālpāt, Bayram scored a clear victory and, with the tacit approval of the monarch, killed the wounded general. Bayram has been adversely criticised for this callousness towards a fallen foe, but it should not be forgotten that in despotic monarchies, decapitation was the order of the day, especially in the case of rebels, rivals to the throne or State enemies; an example is the execution by Awarazād of Dīk Shukh, whose head was publicly exhibited in Āgra. Further, it was idle to expect any mercy from Bayram towards a low-caste upstart who nurtured the ambition of wearing the crown, and who had had the audacity to oppose the Emperor in person. With the defeat of Hīnū and the break-up of the Afghan army, the crown of Hindūstān fell into the lap of Akbar like a ripe apple. Bayram was now at the height of his power and practically ruled the empire in the name of his ward. Akbar, however, had begun to show signs of resentment towards the Protector, who interfered in his boyish pleasures and desired him to maintain a princely demeanour. His marriage in 965/1557 to Salīmā Sultān Bēgum, a cousin of Akbar and the daughter of Humāyūn's sister, Gulrahī, forcibly introduced Bayram into the royal family, thus adding to his prestige and personal glory. This marriage was celebrated with great pomp and show at Džulmūdār (Džalandhār), on (9.6.96), his way back from Māhlot (now Kānkot, in Džammū), where earlier in the same year Bayram, in a joint command with Akbar, had compelled Sikandar Sūr to surrender after a long siege. Prior to his marriage to Salīmā, which was purely of a political character, he had been married to the daughter of Džamāl Khān, a Mīwāt chieftain, who gave birth to Mirzā 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān, *Khān-i Khawān* (9.2.), only four years before his death. The Mīwāt territory, which was Tardī Bēg's assignment, had already been conferred by Akbar on one of his confidential servants, Mullā Fir Muhammad Shirwān.

Bayram committed a tactical mistake in appointing Shaykh Gadāl Kambōh of Delhi, a bigoted Shi'ī, as *nāib al-yūdār* in 966/1558-9. This caused great resentment among the people and the Tūrānī nobles, who were almost all of them Sunnīs, and al-Badā'īnī (I.iii, trans. ii, 22-4) makes it the peg on which to hang his 'most bitter gibes and venomous puns'. This, coupled with his other indiscreet acts, such as the elevation to State offices of members of the Shi'ī sect, the execution of Tardī Bēg of the Sunnī persuasion, the non-allocation of the privy purse to the Emperor, whose needs were fast multiplying with his increasing years, the meagre allowances for the royal household, and his own arrogant behaviour and over-estimation of his services, brought about a change in Akbar's attitude towards the Protector and he began to look for an opportunity to throw off the trammels

of tutelage. Māham Anaga, Akbar's wet-nurse, who, at the head of a small but powerful Palace clique, had been secretly striving to compass Bayram's ruin, played no mean a rôle in estranging the ward from the guardian. Bayram realised that the scales were weighted against him, deciding to clinch the issue by force of arms, and, on the pretext of leaving for Mecca, came to Džulmūdār with the intention of taking it, after lodging his family in the fort of Bhattinda. He was defeated in a pitched battle by the Emperor's forces and was made to return the insignia of office. Deprived both of his office and the aid of *Khān-i Khawān*, now consorted on Mun'ūn Khān, Bayram saw no way out but humbly to submit, and was pardoned by Akbar. Dejected, disappointed, and fallen from grace, Bayram, in fulfilment of his earlier intention, set off for Mecca, but was treacherously murdered by a vengeful Afghan enemy, Muḥarrā Khān Lūhānī, whose father had been killed in the battle of Mādhīwāra (963/1555). Bayram was killed while encamped at Patan (Aḥmadnagar), on 14 Džumādī I, 968/15 January 1561. His camp was plundered and his family, including the 4-year old Mirzā 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān, reached Ahmadābād almost penniless. The commandant of Patan, Muṣā Khān Pāllāhī, who had hospitably received Bayram Khān, did not even give the dead hero, formerly so wealthy, a decent burial. Some poor and God-fearing people buried the former *Khān-i Khawān*, who was, in due course, in accordance with his wishes, was transferred in 971/1563-4 to Maghad from Delhi, where it had been brought from Patan for a temporary and modest burial. Now he lies buried in a high-domed tomb in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Imām Muṣā al-Rūḍī.

As accomplished scholar, a good poet in Turki and Persian, a connoisseur of art, a liberal but orthodox Shi'ī, Bayram Khān was a truly great man who patronised the 'ulama' and men of letters, no less than poets, artists, musicians, singers and craftsmen. He has received a generous tribute from even a carping critic like al-Badā'īnī for his qualities of head and heart. His *diwān* was published at Calcutta in 1910.

Akbar, who like his father owed his throne to Bayram Khān, tried to atone for his ingratitude by bringing up Mirzā 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān, his orphaned son (who later on became *Khān-i Khawān* and is better known to history than his father) and by marrying Salīmā Sultān Bēgum, his widow. If the execution of Tardī Bēg is a stain on the good name of Bayram Khān, his undignified dismissal by Akbar is no less a blot on the escutcheon of the 'Great Mogul'.

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**BAYRAMIYYA**, a *tarīqa* deriving from the *Khawāṭiyya* and founded at Ankara in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries by Ḥadīdī Bayrām-i Wall (Vel). In Sūfī tradition, the Prophet enjoined on Abū Bakr the *dhikr-i Bāṭin*, and on 'Alī the *dhikr-i dīnī*. The Bayrāmīyya's preference for the *dhikr-i dīnī* being shared by the Nakshbandīyya, it has been regarded as a blend of the *Khawāṭiyya* and Nakshbandīyya, but in fact its relationship to the latter is slight, its practice of the *dhikr-i Bāṭin* being a product of its Malāmī origin.

On the death of the founder, the Order split, one branch adopting the *dhikr-i dīnī* and following Ak Shams al-Dīn; these became known as Bayrāmīyya-i Shamsīyya. The other branch, under 'Umar Dede of Bursa, abandoning *dhikr*, *awrad*, their individual costume, and *tahyas* (*tekkas*), called themselves Malāmīyye-i Bayrāmīyya. Later, a third branch, the Djalawatiyya, emerged under 'Atiz Maḥmūd Hudā'ī (d. 1098/1682-3).

The chief doctrinal peculiarity of the Order, and another mark of its Malāmī origin, is that the devotee was introduced to the concept of *wahdat al-wuḥūd* at the beginning of his spiritual career, and not at the end of it as in other Orders. He must first grasp that all acts are from God (*isḥād-i a'wāl* or *isḥād-i a'wāl*); next, that the acts are a manifestation of the attributes, all of which are God's (*isḥād-i a'wāl* or *isḥād-i a'wāl*); finally, that the attributes are a manifestation of essence, that existence is one, and that all things are manifestations of the *ay'yan-i 'Ulūmīyya* which exist in God's knowledge (*isḥād-i a'wāl* or *isḥād-i dīnī*).

The headpiece of the Order was a six-panelled *hadd* of white felt, said to symbolise the six attributes (up, down, right, left, front, rear) and so to indicate that the wearer comprehended all existing things.

From the first, the Order's connections with its parent Malāmīyya were strong; more than one Bayrāmī shaykh was recognised by the Malāmīyya as the *ḥafiz* of the time.

At the dissolution of the *tarīqa* in Turkey in 1925, the centres of the Order were Istanbul, Ankara, Izmit, and Kastamonu.

**Bibliography:** See the long article *Bayramīyya* in *JA*, by Abdūllahī Gölpinarī, of which this article is a condensation. (G. L. LEWIS)

**BAYRŪT** (currently written Beyrouth or Beirut), capital of the Lebanese Republic, situated 33° 34' lat. N. and 35° 28' long. E., is spread at first on the north face of a promontory, of which it now occupies almost the entire surface. The etymology of the name, long disputed, is no doubt derived from the Hebrew *be'erot*, plural of *be'er*, (well), the only local means of water supply until the Roman period. As a human habitat the site is prehistoric, traces of the Achaean and Levalloisian periods

having been found there. It is as a port on the Phoenician coast that the agglomeration appears under the name *Beruta* in the tablets of Tell al-'Amarna (14th century B.C.), at that time a modest settlement long since eclipsed by Byblos (Jubayl). During an obscure period of twelve centuries *Beruta* underwent the passage of armies coming up from Egypt or descending from Mesopotamia, among whom was Ramses II in the 13th century and Aschaddon, king of Assyria, in the 7th century.

Towards 200 A.D., Antiochus III the Great gained a victory over Phraates V and annexed *Bayrit* to the Seleucid kingdom and Syria. The town, for a time called Laodicea of Canaan, was destroyed about 140 B.C. by the Syrian usurper Tryphon. Despite this disaster the port saw a great rise owing to the commercial relations with Delos, the Italians and the Romans; *Bayrūt* then found its vocation as a link between Orient and Occident.

Taken by Marcus Agrippa in the name of the Emperor Augustus, the town was rebuilt, embellished by remarkable edifices and peopled by veteran Roman legionaries. In 14 B.C. it was raised to the rank of a Roman colony (*Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus*). Very rapidly *Berytus* became a great administrative centre (Herod the Great and his successors were resident there, an important station of commerce and exchange and a well attended university city. Its school of law, from the 3rd century A.D., enjoyed particular acclaim and by its brilliance rivalled Athens, Alexandria and Caesarea. The increase in population made it necessary to construct for its water supply an important aqueduct (*Kanūnī Zubayda*) in the valley of the *Macorus* (Nahr *Bayrūt*).

By the end of the 4th century *Berytus* was one of the most important cities in Phoenicia and the seat of a bishopric. A violent earthquake, accompanied by a tidal wave, destroyed *Bayrūt* in July 551. Justinian had the ruins restored, but the city had lost its splendour, and it was a town without defences that the troops of Abū 'Ubayda took when they entered in 140/95 the most Roman of the cities of the Orient.

Under Muslim domination a new era began for *Bayrūt*. The Umayyad caliph Mu'awīya had colonists brought from Persia to repopulate the city and its surrounding area, sericulture prospered again, and commercial relations resumed at first with the interior (Damascus) and later with Egypt. In the first centuries of Islam *Bayrūt* was considered a *ribat*, and the holy imām of Syria, Al-Awā'ī, installed himself there in 157/774. In 364/975 John Tzimiskes conquered the city, but shortly after the Fātimids retook it from the Byzantines. The Arab geographers of the 4th and 5th/10th and 11th centuries all mention that the city was fortified, and subject to the *ghinn* of Damascus.

The Crusades brought fresh troubles. In 492/1099 the Crusaders coming from the north along the coast did no more than provision themselves at *Bayrūt*; they returned there after the capture of Jerusalem. In 503/1110 Baldwin I and Bertrand of St. Gilles blockaded the city by land and sea. An Egyptian fleet managed to get supplies to the besieged, but a reinforcement of Fīsan and Genoese ships enabled them to launch an assault and take the city on 23 Shawwāl 503/1110. In 1112 nomination of the first Latin bishop took place, Baldwin of Boulogne, who relieved the patriarch of Jerusalem, since in the Greek ecclesiastical organisation of the 11th century *Bayrūt* had been subject to Antioch. The Hospital-



lers built the church of St. John the Baptist, which became the mosque of Al-'Umarî. In Rabî' II 578/ August 1282, Salâh al-Dîn sought to separate the County of Tripoli from the Kingdom of Jerusalem by retaking Bayrût, but it was not until the second attempt in Djumâda II 584/August 1287 that the city capitulated. In Dhû l-Ka'da 592/September 1297, Amalric of Lusignan took the city, whose Ayyûbid garrison had fled. The Ibelins restored the defences of Bayrût and renewed its influence throughout the Latin Orient. In 1231 Riccardo Filanghieri occupied the city, but not the castle, in behalf of the Emperor Frederick II.

Shortly after the accession of the Mamlûks at Cairo, the lords of Bayrût were reduced to treat with them in order to preserve their independence with respect to the other Franks. In 667/1269 Baybars gave a guarantee of peace. In 684/1285 Sultân Kalâ'ûn granted a truce which allowed a resumption of commercial activity, and finally, on 23 Raddâb 690/ 23 July 1296, the Amir Saadijâr Abû Shaddâd, coming from Damascus, occupied Bayrût in the name of Al-Malik Al-Ashraf Rihâlî.

Under the Mamlûks Bayrût was an important *wilâya* in the province (*djund*) of Damascus, and its governor an *amir jalâlîyah*. During the entire Middle Ages, possession of Bayrût was a powerful trump card, for one could procure there two rare "strategic materials", wood, from the pine forest south of the city, and iron, from the mines nearby.

In the 8th/14th century, commerce was troubled, the port having become the scene of rivalries between Genoese and Catalans, and the Mamlûk princes reinforced its defences, Tughlî (743/1343) and Barkûk (784-791/1382-1389) each having a tower constructed. In the 9th/15th century, Bayrût continued to be the meeting-place of western merchants who came there seeking silks, while fruit and snow were exported to the court at Cairo.

At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the Frankish merchants were subjected to the extortions of the semi-autonomous governors nominated by the Porte. Under Fakhr al-Dîn (1593/1614) the city saw a brilliant period, and relations were warmer with Venice. In exports silk surpassed citrus fruits, while rice and linen cloth was imported from Egypt.

In the middle of the 18th century, Bayrût was the most heavily populated coastal city after Tarîbulûs, the nucleus of the population being the Maronites protected by the Druze amirs. Suffering the counter-attacks of the Russo-Turkish war, Bayrût was bombarded several times and finally occupied by the Russians in October 1773, until February 1774. From 1783 on, despite the competent administration of Bashîr II the Great (1788-1850), the campaign of Ibrahim Pasha, which terminated in the bombardment of Bayrût by a combined Austrian, English and Turkish fleet in 1840, ruined commerce. A new era began in 1860. The massacre of the Christians in Syria led to a major exodus towards Bayrût, and the tiny city of 20,000 acquired a dense Christian inport.

Having begun about a century ago, the rise of Bayrût continues. The city has developed very rapidly and for several decades has surpassed the brilliance of its Roman period. After having been, during the French Mandate (1920-43), the residence of the High Commissioner of France for the States of the Levant, Bayrût became the capital of an independent state and the seat of Parliament and the Administration of the country. The extremely heterogeneous population, predominantly Arab, is more than 200,000 (1958), which is doubled during

the week with the daily influx of villagers, workers and merchants from the surrounding areas.

Three universities (American, French and Lebanese), numerous academic establishments of every nationality, and a National Library make of Bayrût one of the most important intellectual centres of the Arab Middle East. The city is also a centre of commerce and exchange. A port continually expanded since 1893 and linked by railway to Syria and Jordan permit important transactions (2,500,000 tons in 1950), despite the competition of Haifa and, more recently, Latakia, the port of Syria. The volume of transactions has led to the creation of a Stock Exchange, and the foundation of branches by all the large international banks. An aerodrome of international class (Khalid) permits contacts with the entire world. A centre of transit and distribution, Beirut is by vocation a link between Orient and Occident.

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**BAYSÂN**, a little Palestinian township in the valley of the Jordan, situated 30 kms. (18 miles) south of Lake Tiberias and 98 kms. above sea-level on a terrace raised 170 ms. above the low-lying ground through which, some distance away, the Jordan winds its way. Avoiding thus the extreme tropical heat which reigns elsewhere in the Ghawr [26], it has all the same a hot and humid climate which Arab geographers did not fail to criticise, at the same time deploring the poor quality of its water (they nevertheless point out the merits of 'Ayn al-Fulûs, a well which a wide-spread tradition regards as being among the four springs of Paradise). Irrigation formerly made possible the cultivation of rice which was the country's wealth at the time of al-Makdûl, whilst of the palm groves, mentioned in traditions, the geographer Yâkûb, in the 10th/11th century, observed only two single palm trees. But Baysân, thanks above all to its remarkable commercial and strategic position on the main stream of the traffic joining Damascus and the interior of Syria to Galilee and thence to Egypt and the Mediterranean coast, has succeeded in preserving its urban character up to the present day, despite innumerable historical vicissitudes.

The settlement of this site, proved for the period before the 3rd millennium by the excavations of Tall al-Husn which have succeeded in reaching the chalcolithic level, goes back indeed to very far-off times. We know of the Egyptians' interest in the ancient Bethsan, or Bethshân, whose name they transcribed as Bt'shn and which they annexed for three centuries after the victory of Thutmose III in the plains of Megiddo, leaving numerous traces of their occupation. Then this important village, equally coveted by Philistines, Israelites and Medianites, which at one time formed part of the kingdom of

Solomon but remained always hostile to Judaism, became in the Hellenistic and Roman periods one of the most important cities of the Decapolis under the name of Scythopolis. Hellenism flourished there and the success which Christianity attained later was confirmed by the construction of various churches and monasteries. Its bishop was Metropolitan of Palestine Secunda and the celebrated hagiographer, Cyril of Scythopolis, was born there.

Exposed to the first Arab attacks, for as early as 13/634 the troops of Khalid b. al-Walid attacked and annihilated a Byzantine army not far away, the town which now resumed its original native name softened into Baysân, was 'definitely occupied in 15/636 at the time of Shurabîl b. Hasana's conquest of the Jordan region and was certainly visited by Abû 'Ubayda b. al-Djarrâh whose tomb according to some authors is situated there. As administrative centre of one of the districts of the *djund* of al-Urdunn, it seems to have prospered peacefully among its gardens until it was attacked by the Franks of the First Crusade who annexed it to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem after it had been taken by Tancred in 492/1099. They created the barony of Bessan but transferred the episcopal see to Nazareth. Its history continued to be a troubled one. Muslim attacks ended in its reconquest by Saladin in 521/1187 and later there was a new raid by the Franks of the Fifth Crusade who plundered it in 614/1217. The invasion of the Mongols who were defeated not far away at 'Ayn Djâlût (648) in 648/1260 was a heavy blow to it but later on in the time of the Mamlûks it was to become the capital of a *wilâya* in the second southern frontier of the province of Damascus. At this time the caravanserai of Salâr was built in its immediate neighbourhood on the route of the present-day railway. This was used by the mounted mail couriers whose itineraries was modified in this way by the initiative of the chief of the chancellery, Ibn Fadl Allâh, in 743/1340.

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**BÂYSONGHÖR**, (J. SOURDEL-THOMINE) Bâsh Bâshîk and grandson of Tughlî, was appointed by his father in 820/1417 to the office of chief judge at the court; in 823/1419 on the death of Jura-Ybâk, he took possession of Tabriz and was appointed governor of Astârâbâd in Safâr 835/October 1431, but he never ascended the throne; the astrologers having predicted to him that he would not live more than forty years, he gave himself up to dissipa-

tion and died at Harât on Saturday, 7 Djumâda 857/ 19 December 1435, at the age of thirty-six. He was buried in the Mausoleum of Princess Gawhar-Shâd. An artist and patron of the arts, he was a designer and an illuminator; in the library which he founded, forty copyists, pupils of Mi-'âh, inventors of the nasta'liq script, were occupied copying manuscripts. His example had a considerable influence on the development of the art of painting in Persia in the period of the Timurids. In 829/ 1425-6 he caused a critical edition of the *Zuhd-nâma* of Firâwâz to be undertaken and a preface to be written to this work, the longer of the two which we possess.

*Bibliography:* Cl. Huart, *Calligraphes et miniaturistes*, 97, 208, 324, 336; J. Mohl in Firdawî, *Le livre des Rois (Shâh-nâmâ)*, Vol. I, 8v, note 1; Mirzâ'âd, *Rûdâd al-Safâ*, VI, 212, 213; Khâ'ndamir, *Hâth al-Siyar*, III, Part 3, 116, 123, 120. (C. HUART)

**BÂYSONGHÖR**, second son of Sultân Mahmûd of Samarkand, grandson of Sultân Abû Saïd (d. 6.), born in the year 582/1178-8, killed on 10 Muharram 905/17 Aug. 1493. In the lifetime of his father he was prince of Dughlâra; on the death of the latter in Rabî' II 900/30 Dec. 1494/17 Jan. 1495, he was summoned to Samarkand. In 901/1496, he was deposed for a brief period by his brother Sultân 'Alî and in 903, towards the end of Rabî' I 901/1497, finally overthrown by his cousin Bâbur. Bâysonghor then betook himself to Hîsar where he was successful in defeating his brother Mas'ûd and taking the country with the help of the Beg Khosraw Shâh, who came over to his side; he was soon afterwards betrayed by this same Beg and put to death. Bâysonghor is described by his rival Bâbur as a brave and just prince. He was also famous as a Persian poet under the name 'Adilî; his *ghazals* were so popular in Samarkand that they were to be found in almost every house (Bâbur-nâma, ed. Beveridge, I, 68 b.).

(W. BARTHOLO)

**BÂYSONGHÖR**, the name of another prince, of the Ak-Koyunli dynasty in Persia, son and successor of Sultân Ya'qûb; he only reigned for a short period from 896-7/1490-2 and was overthrown by his cousin Rustam. (W. BARTHOLO)

**BAYT**, the common Semitic root of the word for "dwelling", whether the "tent" of the nomads, or the "house" (stone, wood or brick) of sedentary peoples. It may sometimes designate a "sanctuary": thus in Arabic with the article *al-bayt* is applied par excellence to the holy place at Mecca, also called *al-bayt al-harâm* (sacred dwelling) or *al-bayt al-shâh* (ancient). Geographical names composed with *bayt* are equally frequent, and the first element is often found reduced in Syro-Palestinian toponymy to the prefix *bt*, derived from the Aramaic (*Beit*) *bt*, but also known from Canaanite, to judge by several examples of it in Biblical Hebrew (*Beit-gên*, etc.).

In Arabic, the definitions, always detailed, of the lexicologists limit the term to a dwelling of medium dimension, perhaps suitable for one family. And the sense of "family" is found precisely in all of the Semitic languages. As, by contrast, *BAYT* does not figure among the technical designations of tribal subdivisions, one might see there an argument in favour of a classical distinction between the family, however large, and these other various groupings, if unfortunately the same metonymical association were not to some extent encountered in all languages, too generally to be provocative. (J. LECHE)







Organisation. All the various offices derive their powers by delegation from the Imām who is the head of the *bayt al-māl*. In *Sunni* law a firm distinction is drawn between the public authority with which the Imām is invested in this connection and the personal control of his private purse. (See Tyan, *op. cit.*, I, 391 f. and II, 195. Also Mez, *Renaissance*, 113-116 (Eng. tr., 120-122), for the position in practice.) This distinction does not apply to the same extent in the law of the Twelver Shī'ā, where the ownership of certain properties which in *Sunni* law belong to the community as a whole is vested in the person of the divinely inspired Imām. (See Querry, *Le Droit Musulman*, I, 178, 337. Bailie, *Iranica Codic*, 362.)

The actual collection and distribution of State revenues is the responsibility of the *Sāhib bayt al-māl* who controls the several officials in charge of the various categories of revenue listed below. Freedom, Islam, moral integrity ('*adala*' [see 'Aḥq] and competence are essential qualifications for such appointments, and in addition the quality of *idghāḥ* [g.n.] is required to those offices which involve discretionary assessment or expenditure. Minor agents of collection or delivery may be slaves, or *dhimmīs* when dealing only with their co-religionists. The records and accounts of Treasury business are dealt with by a special administrative department under the control of the *Kātib al-dīnār*, for which office '*adala* and professional competence are the only two essential qualifications.

Within this skeleton framework the nature and scope of individual offices is a matter for the discretion of the Imām. "Neither for general nor for particular appointments does the *Shār'ī* define the terms" (Ibn Farjūn, *Tahīrat al-Iḥkām*, II, 141, 158).

Sources of Revenue. Not all State revenues are "assets of the Treasury" (*ḥukūk bayt al-māl*) as such. These latter may be defined as those monies or properties which belong to the Muslim community as a whole, the purpose to which they are devoted being dependent upon the discretion of the Imām or his delegate.

Thus the only portion of the *ghanima* [g.n.] which qualifies as one of the assets of the Treasury is that fraction of the fifth (*al-ḥamsa*)—which term may here be taken to include the levy on mined products and treasure trove—which is the share of Allāh and the Prophet and which is to be spent in the interests of the community as a whole. The remainder of the fifth is earmarked for specified classes—the relatives of the Prophet, orphans, poor and travellers—and as such is removed from the discretion of the Imām. Similarly the proceeds of *sadaka* or *zakāt* [g.n.] are destined for particular classes of the community and though, like *ghanima*, these monies may be controlled by Treasury officials or lodged in the vaults of the Treasury pending the determination of the entitled recipients, membership from the moment of payment, vests in the entitled recipients and not in the *bayt al-māl*. Even the Hanafī jurists, who allow the Imām to appropriate out the *sadaka* at his discretion to one or more of the specified beneficiaries to the exclusion of the rest, draw a clear-cut distinction between *al-sadaka* and *mal al-Muslimīn*. (See *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, 80, 149, 187.)

The primary source of the Treasury's income is, then, the revenues collectively termed *ḥaq'*, i.e., the taxes of *khārāj* and *diya* [g.n.]. The position of the tax '*uḡr*' [g.n.] is somewhat confused. Some jurists appear to regard it as *ḥaq'* and others as *sadaka*,

while in one view it is treated as *sadaka* if paid by Muslims and as *ḥaq'* if paid by non-Muslims. Among the subsidiary sources of income are:

(i) Property with no known owner—e.g., runaway slaves when apprehended, or property found in the possession of arrested brigands. The proceeds from the sale of such property if movable, or its exploitation if immovable, belong to the *bayt al-māl*.

(ii) The property of apostates. While the great majority of jurists maintain that all the available property of apostates belongs to the *bayt al-māl*, the Hanafī jurists are divided between denying the claim of the Treasury altogether and restricting it to such property as was acquired after apostasy. (iii) Estates of deceased persons. [See *ḥukūk*]. The Treasury is especially favoured in this respect in Mālikī law, where it will always succeed, as residuary heir, in the absence of any entitled '*awāla* and such Kur'*ānic* heirs as would exhaust the estate by the sum of their allotted shares. With no heir of either category the Treasury is assured of at least two thirds of the estate, since bequests may not exceed in value one third of the net estate. In the law of the other schools, however, the presence of any Kur'*ānic* heir or blood-relative will exclude the Treasury, and in Hanafī law, failing such heirs, testamentary disposition may embrace the whole of the estate. Here then the Treasury only succeeds by a species of *catch-all*.

Expenditure. Claims upon public monies fall, according to Māwardī (*al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya*, 367 f.), into two main categories.

(i) Claims in regard to which the liability of the Treasury is absolute. Such claims are either for services rendered to the State—e.g., the stipends of the armed forces, the salaries of State officials, the price of equipment purchased—or for expenditure which is a specific obligation upon the State—e.g., the duty to maintain its prisoners. The satisfaction of such claims is the first obligation upon the Treasury and payment may only be deferred when (as is the case with an ordinary debtor) the Treasury is insolvent. At the discretion of the *Sāhib bayt al-māl* loans may be raised to satisfy these claims.

(ii) Claims in regard to which the Treasury's liability is dependent upon the existence of the necessary funds and the satisfaction of all claims in the previous category. Here the expenditure involved is for purposes of the public welfare and interest—e.g., the construction of roads, water supplies, the repair of damage to *khārāj* lands.

When all outstanding obligations have been met the Hanafī jurists advise that any surplus should be preserved to insure against possible future need, while the Shī'ī maintain that any surplus should be expended immediately in the public interest. Beyond these general principles the law does not go, content to leave the detailed determination of the public interest to the discretion of the Imām, with the one proviso that public funds are not to be devoted to purposes prohibited by the law—e.g., gambling, music etc.

Procedure. The administrative work of the *dīwān* (analysed by Māwardī, *op. cit.*, 370-373) raises three main legal issues.

(i) Legal proof. While it is a fundamental principle of *Shār'ī* law to deny any validity to written evidence, in Treasury practice official documents and records are *ḥaq'* in a sufficient basis for action. Shī'ī law endorses this practice by drawing a distinction between "private rights" (*al-ḥukūk al-ḥayā'a*) and "public rights" (*al-ḥukūk al-ḥimma*),

but the Hanafīs declare that Treasury documents can only serve as a basis for action when their authenticity is established by oral testimony. Secularity of payment of taxes is established in Treasury practice by the written receipt of the collector. Legal doctrine, however, requires the oral acknowledgement of his signature by the collector; and further, in Hanafī law, such an acknowledged written receipt must be substantiated by oral acknowledgement of actual receipt. Finally written authorisation for payment from the Treasury is in practice accepted as a sufficient basis for Treasury accounts, while the jurists ideally require in addition oral acknowledgement of actual receipt by the designated receiver.

(ii) Procedure in disputes. The paramount question of the allotment to the contending parties of the respective rôles of plaintiff and defendant is governed by normal *Shār'ī* principles. The plaintiff, upon whom falls the burden of legal proof (failing which effect is given to the defendant's oath of denial), is the party whose claim runs counter to the initial legal presumption attaching to the case. Thus in disputes arising from the inspection of officials' accounts by the *dīwān*'s officers (the presentation of accounts to the *dīwān* being obligatory upon officials concerned with the collection or disbursement of *ḥaq'* revenues), the accountant of the *dīwān* holds the rôle of plaintiff if the dispute concerns the income of the Treasury and that of defendant if the dispute concerns expenditure.

(iii) Jurisdiction. Disputes between private citizens and Treasury officials are justiciable by the *Sāhib al-dīwān*, unless he is expressly denied this function in his terms of appointment. Such judicial competence belongs naturally to an office of which the principal duty is that of assuring the application of the rules and regulations of fiscal law. In the case of disputes between officials of the treasury and the officers of the *dīwān*, when the *Sāhib al-dīwān* is, in effect, a party to the dispute, the principle that no one can be judge in his own case applies and jurisdiction belongs to the ordinary courts.

Fundamentally concerned with the strict regulation of man's relationship with his Creator, the *Shār'ī* deals with the relationship between the individual and the State only in general terms, restricting itself to demanding the observance of a few relevant principles. This attitude is particularly evident in the field of criminal law, where, outside the *ḥudūd* offences (in which the notion of man's obligations towards Allāh predominates) the determination of offence and punishment is left to the discretion of the sovereign. So it is with fiscal law. Only those limited aspects of public finance which are deemed to constitute man's obligation towards Allāh (e.g., *zakāt* tax) are regulated in detail; and thus the law concerning the *bayt al-māl* is essentially within the province of the administrative regulations (*ḥukūb*) of the political authority and not of the *Shār'ī*.

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[N. J. COLLISON]

II. History. The institution can be traced back to Muḥammad in so far as there already existed in his time the embryonic notion of a Treasury of the Community, supplied by diverse forms of contributions; but its real origin is to be found in the contact between the new needs of the Community which had become the conqueror of an Empire and the pre-existing fiscal institutions of the conquered States. Tradition is certainly correct in attributing to the Caliph 'Umar several essential preliminary steps, although the details are undoubtedly surrounded with much confusion. For 'Umar the immediate problem was the organisation of the system of stipends (see '*ḥaq'*), the fiscal regime itself and the collection of taxes remaining almost exclusively in the hands of the native population. Afterwards the progressive development of a bureaucratic and centralised Muslim State had a particular effect on the elaboration of the scheme of taxation, the methods of financial administration and the organs of this administration. It is obviously impossible here to encompass the whole history of the institution, particularly after the time of the fragmentation of the Muslim world into individual States whose differences became more and more accentuated; moreover no history of this kind has as yet been written. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to making certain observations of general validity and indicating certain desirable lines of enquiry.

The simple taxes of the early Muslim community could, in their broad concrete lines if not in their theoretical basis, be assimilated to the more complicated taxes of the States to which Islam fell heir and whose fiscal structure the Arabs, like the majority of conquering nations, respected—to such a degree, indeed, that throughout the length of Islamic history the former Byzantine territories (differing among themselves) and the former Sāsānid territories (not to mention the West) remained quite distinct areas from the fiscal point of view. To this was added, at the outset, a further distinction, afterwards resolved, between the towns conquered by force of arms, which were directly subject to Muslim taxes and tax-collectors, the towns of '*ahd*' which paid a fixed tribute and raised it independently in their own fashion, and, between these two extremes, the towns of *suk*, where the taxes were Muslim taxes but were raised by the native administration. For two thirds of a century the fiscal records continued to be written in the native languages, until 'Abd al-Malik, (685-705) ordered the translation of the fundamental documents into Arabic (the example of the Egyptian papyri proves that it was by a slower process that Arabic came to be exclusively used in the work of the subordinate administration).

Both practice and theory fairly soon distinguished between the taxes and sources of revenue:

The basic tax was the land tax, *khārāj*, originally levied upon all the lands of the non-Muslim natives. When a large part of the indigenous population became Muslims by conversion, it became necessary, in spite of certain minglings, in order not to ruin the fisco, to decide that the land was not affected by the change of faith on the part of its possessor and must always be subject to the *khārāj*. From the point of view of the Islamic theory, the *khārāj*



*raḥī* constituted a permanent rent from the land for the benefit of the Muslim community, the supreme owner. This is the doctrine of *ḥayʾ*, the immovable properties acquired by conquest, a foundation in perpetuity for the benefit of successive generations of the community, in contrast to the movable booty, *ghanima*, which was distributed immediately. From the point of view of the indigenous population, the *ḥarāḍī* merely continued the pre-Islamic land-tax. In addition to the *ḥarāḍī* non-Muslims are subject to a capitation tax, *ḡḡiya*, which does lapse upon conversion to Islam. The distinction between *ḥarāḍī* and *ḡḡiya*, though sharp in theory, is not always so in terminology and in practice, particularly because the Byzantine Empire, it seems, had practiced a combined land-capitation tax.

The tax, or rather voluntary alms, peculiar to the Muslim was the *sakāt* or *ṣadaka*, levied upon both landed and movable property. As regards landed property it was applied on the one hand to Arab properties (especially in Arabia) and on the other hand to the *ḥiḡāʾ* conceded from the State domains to Arab notables and, later, to the military leaders of every race. In its relation both to landed and movable property the *sakāt* was closely allied to the tithes, *ḡḡr*, which was known to the Near Eastern pre-Islamic societies and was so called.

To these taxes were added for the *ḡḡr* the right to one fifth of the booty, the produce of mines, treasure trove from the land or from the sea and the *maṣāʾir* *ḡḡriyya*, succession to the inheritance of persons dying without legal heirs.

In addition, the State lands, *sawāʾif*, when they were not conceded as *ḥiḡāʾ*, whatever the method of their exploitation, brought in revenues similar to those of private properties. Further the State appropriated the proceeds from judicial fines.

It was only the taxes listed above which were held to be legal by the theory. But in practice many others were discovered or invented. Some were supplementary increases upon the normal taxes for the delinquency of attendance or for any other reason (*ḡḡraʾ*, *ḡḡḡḡ*), in contrast to the basic tax, *asī*, and others fell upon the most varied forms of economic activity (*ḡḡraʾ*, *ḡḡḡḡ*). These last were generally condemned by the jurists, who were often connected with commercial circles, under the name of *ḡḡḡḡ*, and certain pious rulers attempted to abolish them, though naturally this was without any lasting effect. The police often demanded the payment of a particular *ḡḡḡḡ*. Finally the State was always punishing high officials who had enriched themselves by confiscations (*ḡḡḡḡ*) etc.

The peculiarities of the assessment and the collection of each tax will be studied under their respective titles and so nothing more need be said on the subject here.

In general terms, the recovery of taxes can be effected either by direct administration (through the agent or *ḡḡḡḡ*) or by farming out, *ḡḡḡḡ*. The system of tax-farming, which was as well known to antiquity as the direct levy, gained ground with the growing decadence of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, but it was perhaps never practiced to such an extent as has often been believed by those who have failed to distinguish properly the notions of *ḡḡḡḡ*, *ḡḡḡḡ* and *ḡḡḡḡ*, which, although there may be occasional confusions of terminology, are utterly different things. *Kabala* can only come into operation where there exists a group of tax-payers collectively responsible for the tax. By agreement between the

group and the agent of the *ḡḡḡḡ* it may be decided, as was the case in the later Roman Empire, that the tax will be paid by one or several individual persons of standing, and it will be left to them to reimburse themselves afterwards with some small additional sum by way of compensation. The *ḡḡḡḡ*, therefore, does not modify in any way either the amount of the tax owed to the State or its direct recovery by the agents of the State from the basic group. The tax-farmer, *ḡḡḡḡ*, on the other hand, is an individual who, often for one or more provinces and for a number of years, pays annually to the State a contracted sum, less than the calculated revenue from the tax, and afterwards undertakes its recovery on his own account, which will, of course, reimburse him with profit. If the State is reduced to this method it is assured of a precise and immediate return from the pockets of rich individuals, but it loses a portion of the money paid by the tax-payer and, for the duration of the contract, the control of operations. As for the *ḡḡḡḡ*, he may well be a *ḡḡḡḡ*, but he has at the same time the unique position of a sort of official money-changer cum surety; for he verifies and standardises by exchange the different types of currency, good and bad, paid by the tax-payers in return for a small percentage collected as a supplementary tax from the latter.

Furthermore, since the territories subject to the normal taxation, levied directly or by farming out, there were other areas in regard to which the State had renounced some part of its fundamental rights. In some areas—*ḡḡḡḡ*—the State temporarily refrained from sending agents of collection, abandoning the revenue to an army commander so that he might cover therefrom the expenses of his army's maintenance. In other areas—*ḡḡḡḡ*—he is carefully distinguished from the *ḡḡḡḡ*—the State was content with a contracted tribute, without concerning itself with the theoretical scheme of taxation: equivalent to the primitive *ḡḡḡḡ*, this was applied in particular to the vassal rulers of regions which were not completely subdued. The *ḡḡḡḡ*, in its original form of a concession of land from the State domains which was subject to the payment of the title, had not any particular fiscal character; but later there were assigned under this name to army officers as the equivalent of their salary the fiscal rights of the State in *ḡḡḡḡ* districts, initially subject to the payment, by the beneficiaries, of the title for the area concerned, then later with no attached condition, the result of professional military service (see Cl. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'Égypte*, in *Annales ESC*, 1933). These different methods of alienation of the revenues of the *ḡḡḡḡ* naturally diminished the returns, but they equally alleviated the expenditures in a manner which often involved hardly any break with the previous position, since in any case the proceeds of the taxes from a province were never sent to the *ḡḡḡḡ* until the provincial expenditure had first been satisfied on the spot. The danger to the State was only serious in proportion to the extent, which varied in the different regions and at different periods, to which these alienations resulted in a relaxing of the fiscal control itself and consequently also of the appreciation of the resources of the territory concerned.

This appreciation was obtained with fairly reasonable accuracy not only through the lump evaluations of the budget but also from the daily sessions, following the ancient custom, devoted to the detailed assessment of lands and their fiscal value, as well as of persons subject to the *ḡḡḡḡ*

and, in all probability, the *ḡḡḡḡ*, not to speak of the other taxes. The best example preserved concerns the Fayyūm in the 7th/13th century (*Arabica*, 1936), but what we know of the fiscal *ḡḡḡḡ* of the province of Kūman in Iraq, etc., and in a general way of the methods of the administration, allows no one to doubt that there are almost everywhere parallels in 'Abbasid times. The value of each fiscal unity was the object of an assessment, *ḡḡḡḡ*, which continued to serve as an authority so long as there had been no revision, although naturally, the administration itself had to admit annual variations. Diverse works, such as the *Maḡḡḡḡ al-ḡḡḡḡ* and the Egyptian papyri, allow us to follow from another angle the precision of the daily accounts of the refunds of taxes and of the reliefs granted to tax-payers. Arrears (*ḡḡḡḡ*) were meticulously noted and claimed in following years, although it was in practice often necessary, when arrears had accumulated, to settle them by compromise. Recovery of taxes necessitated a distinction between the two calendar years, for only the personal taxes or the payments *ex contractu* could be based on the legal lunar year, while the taxes on land and its produce were of necessity based on the solar year, Persian or Egyptian.

These methods, which were the pride of the *ḡḡḡḡ* and the *ḡḡḡḡ*, allowed the 'Abbasid Caliphate, until the beginning of the 4th/10th century, and certain regional rulers after that date, to establish veritable budgets, at any rate of receipts (the arbitrary activity of the rulers in the matter of expenditure not allowing equally comprehensive appreciations in that phase). The numerous 'Abbasid budgets have been preserved, undoubtedly based upon good archive sources, the relative agreement of which guarantees the accuracy, if not of all the details, at least of the main and broad essentials. They do not provide a complete statement of the total receipts of the Caliphate, for the *ḡḡḡḡ*, the *ḡḡḡḡ* on movable property and, a *ḡḡḡḡ*, the *ḡḡḡḡ* only figure there exceptionally (their non-variable character and the fact that they did not issue from the same services being obvious). Such as they are they show us a total of income exceeding 400 million dirhams for the second half of the 2nd/8th century, falling short of 300 million by the beginning of the following century, and at the beginning of the 4th/10th century down to 140 million *ḡḡḡḡ*, which is approximately equivalent to 200 million dirhams. This shrinking of the receipts was due to the territorial losses of the Caliphate and not, except at moments of crisis, to diminishing fiscal values within each province. The increasing financial difficulties of the Caliphate were, therefore, not occasioned by any economic catastrophe, for which supposition there is absolutely no foundation, but by the relatively increasing burden of necessary expenditure, particularly military, which it was impossible to reduce in proportion to the decline in the provincial tax returns. Without attempting here to cover all the details of the military organisation of the Caliphate, we may try to show something of the financial burden which it constituted: a foot-soldier's usual pay being of the order of 1000 dirhams per annum, and that of a horseman double this amount, it can be estimated that the cost of the stipends alone for an army fifty thousand strong would be in the region of seventy five million dirhams. To this, of course, it is necessary to add the exceptional salaries of the commanders, the gratuities and the cost of equipping and maintaining the armies

and the fortifications etc., and one writer maintains that in the middle of the 3rd/9th century the army was costing at one time some 200 million dirhams, which means to say that at that moment there would be a surplus only of approximately one half of that sum (not counting the taxes which did not figure in the budget) for all 'civilian' expenditure. This latter expenditure is more difficult to assess, although we know the salaries of the principal officers of Government and Court under the 'Abbasids and the *ḡḡḡḡ*, not to speak of later periods (see especially *ḡḡḡḡ al-ḡḡḡḡ*, *ḡḡḡḡ*, and al-Makrizī, *ḡḡḡḡ*, 101).

It is difficult to give a precise description of the various organs of the central fiscal administration which often, and in a varying manner, overlap and are confused with each other under ill-defined titles. The fiscal administration was the primary duty of the *ḡḡḡḡ* in particular and in general, consequently, of the viziers when this latter developed. But it was impossible for a single organ to deal at the same time with both the operations and the fundamental rules (*ḡḡḡḡ*) of assessment and collection and the daily accounts of income and expenditure. In spite of the difficulty of the texts it is apparently to this division of duties that the institution of the *ḡḡḡḡ al-ḡḡḡḡ* corresponds, for this office, which was later known in the East as the *ḡḡḡḡ* (the director being the *ḡḡḡḡ*) appears to be the service of *accountancy*. From the time of al-Mahdi it controlled the accountancy services attached to each *ḡḡḡḡ* as well as those of the provincial administrations. Expenditure was the province of a special *ḡḡḡḡ*, the *ḡḡḡḡ al-ḡḡḡḡ*, while expenditures relating to the army were the province of the *ḡḡḡḡ al-ḡḡḡḡ*. With the inauguration of the system of the fiscal *ḡḡḡḡ* this latter *ḡḡḡḡ* in fact came to possess duplicates of the survey registers for receipts. The *ḡḡḡḡ al-Mā* properly so called was the service to which the income was delivered and from which the expenditure was drawn, the Treasury. An army of scribes, *ḡḡḡḡ*, and accountants, *ḡḡḡḡ*, worked in these offices, some under the control of others, applying the accountancy techniques which the didactic fiscal treatises of the *ḡḡḡḡ* period have revealed to us. For the representation of numbers they employed what is known as the *ḡḡḡḡ* script, which consisted of letters and particular signs devised from abbreviations of the names of numbers, and which was to remain in use almost up to the present day in certain countries, to the exclusion of the 'Arabic' numerals.

Still further subdivisions existed in the services, in particular, as regards the receipt of the land taxes, between the service for the *ḡḡḡḡ* and that for the *ḡḡḡḡ*, that is to say landed properties subject solely to the tithe. On the other hand a regional division was gradually established, by virtue of which we can distinguish a *ḡḡḡḡ* of *Sawād* (province of Baghdad), one of the east and one of the west (Arab territories). Special services administered confiscated properties; these were sometimes returned, sometimes distributed. Again, dues paid in kind, presents and gifts received, the valuable products of the *ḡḡḡḡ* etc., were stored in the *ḡḡḡḡ* or *ḡḡḡḡ*, and the general term of *ḡḡḡḡ* appears to have almost replaced, in the administration of the later Caliphate, the term of *ḡḡḡḡ al-Mā*, the change reflecting, undoubtedly, the proportionate increase of presentations in kind and the diminution of fiscal receipts in hard cash.

The Muslim State, however, always recognised the distinction between the private Treasury of the



Caliph or the Prince, *Bayt māl al-khāyṣa*, and the public Treasury, *Bayt māl al-maḥṣūm* or simply *Bayt al-māl*. But the distinction was by no means a rigid one, for the private Treasury was supplied not only with the revenues from the sovereign's personal estate but also with different public revenues such as fines, confiscations and even capitation fees and land taxes from certain provinces of Irāk and southern Iran, out of consideration for both the needs of the Court and also all the pious works which the Caliph and his successors had to undertake. In practice, whatever the personal position of the Caliphs, the privy purse was often to play the rôle of a simple reserve for the public Treasury, furnishing it with advances which might or might not be reimbursed (W. Fischel, *Le Bayt Māl al-Khāyṣa*, in *Actes du 19<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes*, 1938, 538-41).

Each of the provinces had, on a small scale, an organisation parallel to that of the central government. They did not despatch to the latter the sum total of their fiscal revenue but only the residue after local expenses had been satisfied. Furthermore the provinces did not send on this residue as and when it was received, but in bulk, and when the needs of the State were particularly pressing the *ḥisāl* would resort to sending promissory notes, guaranteeing the delivery of sums received, which the *Diwān* could then use in negotiations with its creditors. The autonomy of the provincial fiscal administration is among the reasons which explain the ease with which independent régimes could establish themselves in the different areas without undue complication.

The interests of State, subordinate rulers and tax payers caused a variation, at different times and in different places, of the proportion of payments in cash and payments in kind which made up the tax returns. Moreover the East paid in silver and the Mediterranean countries in gold. The result was that the early accountancy of the fiscal services had to operate in different categories. At the end of the 300th century, however, an effort was made to establish a unified system of accountancy on the basis of the gold standard, with a legal tariff for the exchange of the dirham and a regulated price list for the different commodities; in this way the budget estimates could be more clearly established.

The theory, basing itself upon the early machinery of taxation in the Muslim community, never accepted the principle that all fiscal revenue ought to be devoted without distinction to each and every expenditure incurred. In particular the theory held that the *zakkāt*, inasmuch as it was a Muslim tax, ought to be used for pious works, for alms, the holy war, the ransom of Muslim slaves and aids to travellers etc., and ought, in principle, to be expended in the locality of its collection and not delivered to the focus. It is impossible to appreciate the extent to which such distinctions could be respected in practice; there was evidently no question of their being observed in times of crisis. The only sources of revenue which were assured of an employment in conformity with the precepts of the law were the private foundations *waḥfs*, *ḥabūs*. These, naturally, did not form part of the fiscal revenues, but they were firmly under the control of the State, usually through the intermediary of the *ḥabūs*, in order to prevent abuses.

It can scarcely be doubted that the fiscal régime was oppressive, even if no more so than that of the neighbouring non-Muslim States. Apart from the "neck-brand" of those subject to the *ḡizya*, brutal

methods of collection, such as those described for the early 'Abbāsid period by (the pseudo?) Dionysius of Tell-Mahré (*Arabica*, 1954), were often employed despite the efforts of certain princes and *sultans*. Egypt, as it did in Roman and Byzantine times, continues to present us with a picture of taxpayers fleeing their homes to escape the taxes, and the Coptic revolts of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries had in general no other than fiscal causes. The autonomy of the provinces, even if it did not alleviate the tax burden itself, did improve the situation in general, since the interest of the local rulers lay in being self-supporting and in at least expanding on the local revenues which had formerly gone to enrich the favourites of the Caliph. A few echoes of the conflicts between the democratic and aristocratic notions of taxation have come down to us (for example in Ibn al-Kalābī, 343 and 352-3).

The growing, albeit variable, spread of the régime of the fiscal *ḥisāl* from the beginning of the 4th/10th century considerably diminished the importance of the fiscal administrations, as it also did that of the direct resources of the State. It is out of the question here to trace the financial history of the different Muslim principalities which were the heirs of the Caliphate. It must suffice to say that until modern times the countries which have not been affected by the Mongol invasion have retained for the taxpayers almost the same system of taxation, that the rights of the State have only ever been partially alienated and that in consequence certain methods of assessment and budgetary estimates have always been possible. The countries incorporated, during the 7th/13th century, into the Mongol Empire, not to speak of the subsequent series of changes of rule, experimented with forms of fiscal administration which combined with the old Muslim traditions new elements taken from the conquerors. Such elements were also introduced into Asia minor, where, in addition, there still persisted Byzantine traditions which had become interwoven with the local *Saddikī* Muslim institutions; and these three elements apparently influenced, though in a way which has not yet been discovered, the original formation of the future Ottoman institutions. The figures quoted in such and such a source have often been adduced to demonstrate the decadence of the fiscal revenues and consequently of the economy; but these figures can only be interpreted on the basis of a consideration, in the first place of the proportion of taxes accruing directly to the State and that alienated to individuals, and in the second place of the value of currency and market prices; and it would be wise for the moment to refrain from any positive assertion.

**Bibliography:** We can naturally do no more here than note certain sources of particular importance. For the origins references may be found in Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 368-47, to which may be added Abū 'Ubayd b. Salīm, *K. al-Amāl* (see 5233); the majority are drawn from the works on *khazānī* composed in the first 'Abbāsid century by Abū Yūsuf and Yahyā b. Adām (of which an annotated English translation by A. Ben Sheshem, Leiden 1958 has just appeared), and, later, from the *K. al-Futūḥ* of Balādhurī. The *K. al-Khazānī* (not wholly preserved) of Kūdāma (cf. A. Makhlūf, a typewritten thesis, Sorbonne, Paris) and the scattered information in the *Maḥāṣin al-'Uṭūm* of Khwāzīmī date from the 4th/10th century, and the *Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya* of Māwardī from the 5th/11th century. The

budgets studied by A. V. Kremer in his *Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, i, ch. VII and *Das Einnahmebudget . . . vom Jahre 306* (Dienkür, d. h. *Abad. d. W. Wien, Ph.-Hist. Kl.* xxxvi, 1888 (the oldest one, now also accessible in *Diabshiyat*, *K. al-Wasār*, cf. *Maik*, 179-182, or Cairo 1938, 87-88) are drawn from various chronicles. In the Būyid period belong the didactic treatises on fiscal mathematics of al-Būzādī (a study is being prepared by Saleh al-Ah, Baghdad) and of the anonymous author of the *K. al-Hisāl* (analysed and commented upon by myself in *AEIO*, x, 1952). Much information can naturally be obtained from the Egyptian papyri, edited by A. Grohmann, see his commentaries in the articles in the *Archiv Orientalny*, v, vi, 1933-1934, and by C. Levever in *ZDMG*, 1953. Among the historical chronicles and works the most valuable are evidently the *Tadhkirat al-'Uṣmān* of Ibn Miskawayh with their supplement by Rudjrawat, the *K. al-Wasār* of Rūḥ al-Sibt and the *Ta'rikh-i Kūm* of Hasan b. M. Kūmī, much used in A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, especially chap. II. Certain official correspondence, such as that of the Būyid vizir Ibn 'Abbād, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Aziz and Shukri Dayr, 1947, may be consulted with advantage. For unexplained inheritances will suffice to note certain recent publications: for the Ayyūbids, in addition to the classical *Kawānīn al-Dawānīn* of Ibn Mammūl (ed. Astruc, 1943), the short works of 'Uḡayḍ b. Ibr. al-Nābulūsi (*Description of Fayyūm*, see my analysis in *Arabic* 1956, and *Lam'at al-Kawānīn*, edition prepared by myself); for the Mongols, the *Ḥikayat Jalālīyya* of 'Abd al-Wasār<sup>2</sup> of Kīyā al-Māzandarān ed. W. Hinz and studied by him in *Der Islam*, xxix, 1949; for the Yemni, R. B. Serjeant and myself will publish a valuable work of the 9th/15th century, the *Mulakhḥḥas al-fitan* (cf. *Arabic*, iv/1957, 23 f.). For Egypt in general and the Mamlūks in particular the importance of Makrīfī, *Khilāf*, and of Kalkashandī, *Sūbḥ* need not be emphasised.

There does not exist any financial history of the Muslim world; there are, however, certain useful partial studies. See particularly, for the period of the origins, D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll-Tax in early Islam*, 1951; for the whole of the "classical" period, Fr. Lökkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, 1951 (a great documentary and technical achievement, but not uniformly reliable) which refers to the works, important in their time but now superseded, of C. Becker, etc., and Chapter 8 (cf. 6) of Mez in *Renaissance*. Useful observations will be found in the Sorbonne thesis of D. Sourdel on *Le vizir al-'Abbāsi*, when this is published. Among other more specialised studies, apart from those which are cited in the text of the article, see: W. Fischel, *Origins of Banking in Medieval Islam*, in *JRAS*, 1933, and H. Gottschalk, *Die Māḡārat-ṭayyān*. An exposition of the classical doctrine may be found, for example, in S. A. Siddiqi, *Public Finance in Islam*, Karachi 1948.

In the Ottoman state the distinction was carefully maintained between the private treasury of the Sultan (*Khazine-i Endirān* or *II Khazine*) and the public treasury or treasuries of the state (*Khazine-i Emiriyye*, *Khazine-i Devlet*, *Khazine-i 'Amir*, etc.). On the Ottoman treasury and finances see further DAFTARĀR, *EMAZINE*, *MALİYYA*. The term most commonly applied

to the state treasury was *Miri* (from *emir*), which was also used in the more general sense of government property (cf. *BEVĀLİK*). In Ottoman administrative documents the treasury is not normally called *bayt al-māl*, though the expression does occur, usually in the form *bayt al-māl-i Mūsūlīm* or *bayt al-māl-i 'Uṣmān* (as for example in some legal rulings of Abū 'I-Su'ūd quoted by Omer Lutfi Barkan in *Tanzimat*, İstanbul 1940, 333, 336, 343; and in a few *hüsn-nāmes* published in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 297, 300, 326. In all these the context is the rights of the *bayt al-māl* over certain categories of land, called *arḥ-i miri* or *arḥ-i mülk*). In common Ottoman usage the term *bayt al-māl* was normally restricted to a certain group of revenues belonging by law to the public treasury. These consisted of various categories of forfeited, escheated, and unclaimed property, and are enumerated and discussed in a number of documents. The most important were property belonging to missing and absent persons (*māl-i ḡayb* and *māl-i mawḥūḥ*); unclaimed or escheated inheritances (*mawḥūḥāt*, *mawḥūḥāt*); runaway slaves and stray cattle (*'abd-i dīb*, *baḥān*, *yara*). The collection and care of these properties was the function of an official called the *Emīn bayt al-māl* or *bayt al-mālīf*. Most legal sources agree that unclaimed inheritances are to be held for a period of time, variously determined, as a trust, to give the heirs the opportunity to assert and establish their claim. Only after their failure to do so does the money or estate become the property of the treasury. There are frequent complaints that this rule was disregarded, and that property was seized too quickly and without proper verification (e.g., Lutfi Paḡha, *Asṭūḥ*, ed. and tr. R. Tschudi, Berlin 1910, text tr. 12, 13; cf. Sarī Mahmūd Paḡha, *Naḡḡat al-Wasār*<sup>3</sup>, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1935, 71).

The Ottoman *hüsn-nāmes* contain elaborate instructions and safeguards concerning the claiming of these properties and the assigning of the proceeds. Property claimed for the *bayt al-māl* could be and frequently was assigned to *'imāls*, to *sandīkch*-boys, and even to *sipahis*. As early as 883/1479, a *ferman* of Mehemmed II lays down a distinction between reversions worth less than 10,000 aspers, and those worth 10,000 and over. The former were to be paid to the *'imāl*, or tax-farmer of the area; the latter were reserved to the Imperial treasury (*haysā*) (Hali Inalcik, *Fatih Sultan Mehmet'in Fermandari*, *Bell*, no. 44, 1947, 599-700). A similar distinction is made in a late 15th century *hüsn-nāme* (Anhegger-Inalcik 70-1), and is common in *hüsn-nāmes* and registers from the 16th century onwards. The normal rule was that these properties, or the fees payable if they were successfully reclaimed by their owners, belonged to the treasury. In fact the share of the treasury was limited to items worth 10,000 aspers or more, and to property left by the servants of the Sultan, a category including the *sipahis* and other persons in the Sultan's employ. In the earlier period it also included the Janissaries. The remainder was part of the *ḥisāl* of the *sandīkch*-boys. There were some exceptions to this division. In the so-called *'irāq timars* (*irak timari*), the *bayt al-māl* revenues were assigned to the *timar*-holder, and not, as in ordinary *timars*, reserved to the Sultan's or the governor's *ḥisāl*; in some *waḥf* lands too, notably those in favour of the *haramayn*, they were included in the *waḥf* revenues. From the 16th century the Janissaries had a special officer of their own, the *Odjaḡ bayt al-mālīfisi*, a kind of regimental



treasurer one of whose duties was to collect and assess the *mukhallafat* of heirless *nasabiyas*, 'façient egliaus, etc. These or their equivalent were placed in the regimental chest (Ismail Hakki Unaygar, *Ösmânî Devleti tashkilatında Kuvvalah Oskânî*, Ankara 1943, 311-320). Another interesting example of corporate privilege occurs in Jerusalem, where the *Zahiriya* of Maghribî *mudjâwirs* were collectively given the right of retaining the *mukhallafat* of any one of their number who died without heirs. This right was granted by Saladin, and confirmed by the Mamluk and Ottoman Sultans (Baycekal, *Arabic law*, *reçetier* no. 127, p. 932/1276; cf. A. S. Tritton, *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages*, London 1957, 123). A similar privilege appears to have been given to the monks on Mount Athos (P. Lemerle and P. Wittek, *Recherches sur l'histoire et le statut des monastères orthodoxes sous la domination turque*, *Archives du droit orientel*, li, 1948, 443, 542, 453, 465).

*Bibliography:* Kânûnîme-i Sulhân *her Mâchûr-ı Orfâ* 'Ösmânî, ed. R. Anhegger and Halil İnalçık, Ankara 1956, 70-71; Kânûnîme-i Halâ 'Öthmân, TOEM supplement 1329, 21, 58, 70-71; 'Öthmânî Kânûnîmelerî, MTM, i, 75, 91, 321, 343; Ahmed Refik, *Osmanlı 'Asr-ı âhidre İstihlâk hayâtı*, İstanbul 1335, 19, 210-12; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Kanunlar*, İstanbul; 'Abd al-Rahmân Wefik, *Tahkik Kanûnî*, İstanbul 1326, 66-67; D'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, 134, 240, 260, 318; Hammer, *Des romanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna, 1815, i, 289, and index; L. Fekete, *Die Siyâsat-Schrift*, i, Budapest 1955, index. (D. Lewis)

The Muslim West. As long as the Maghrib and al-Andalus were under the direct administration of the Umayyad or the 'Abbasid Caliphate they posed no particular problems of financial organisation; the local *bayt al-mál* was only a branch of the *bayt al-mál* of Damascus or of Baghdad.

It was only when some part of the Muslim west slipped from the control of the eastern Caliphate that separate administrations were organised there.

Except for the chapters of Ibn Khaldûn devoted to administration (*Muqaddima*, Cairo, 219), one cannot point to any theoretical treatise concerning the administration of the public finances or even any systematic treatment of the situation at any given period or place. There is no alternative but to try to give some idea of what happened from the slight and scattered indications in the chronicles and diverse documents available.

L. al-Andalus. The work of E. Lévi-Provençal has shown that in Muslim Spain the term *bayt al-mál* was nearly always taken in a limited sense. In effect this expression, which is often found in the form *bayt al-mal-muslimin*, designates the treasure composed by the revenues of pious foundations (*awqaf*) and clearly distinct from the public treasury properly speaking, which is commonly called *khizmat al-mál* and much more rarely *bayt al-mál*. This treasure from pious foundations was quite naturally placed under the authority of the *hâdî* who looked after its administration, and was kept in a religious building, at Cordova in the *madhira* of the Great Mosque (Ibn 'Idhârî, *Nasab*, iii, 98). The sums which constituted it originated for the most part from the revenues of pious foundations often assigned to strictly determined expenditure, but also from irregular deposits that could not be touched, in particular the goods of 'absentees' (*ghâ'ib*), that is Muslims who, for one reason or another, had

abandoned their possessions without designating a legal mandate for their administration.

The *hâdî* was assisted in the provinces by the inspectors of the pious foundations (*na'ib al-awqaf*) and was only qualified to authorise expenditure. These funds could only be employed for the ends indicated by the donors, or if the objects were only expressed in vague terms, for works of public utility and religion like help for paupers, the upkeep of mosques and the payment of their staff, the building of institutions of learning and the payment of teachers, etc. The *hâdî* could authorise advances from the public Treasury for pious works like the organisation of a military campaign against the infidels or the restoration of a defence work on the frontier of the *dâr al-islâm*.

This system still functioned at the beginning of the 6th/12th century during the Almoravid occupation, as is shown in Ibn 'Abdîn's discourse on the *âshûs*, edited and translated by E. Lévi-Provençal (see bibliography).

II. Maghrib. Nothing leads us to believe that the term *bayt al-mál* was used in the Maghrib in such a restricted sense. It seems to have been used in its wider meaning of the public Treasury and it designates at the same time the administration of public finances.

So far the financial organisation of the different states of the Muslim West has not been the object of a systematic study. It must be added that the information supplied by the Arabic chronicles is slight and very scrappy. We must be content with very general observations on the matter.

The Aglabids of al-Kayrawân do not appear to have been innovators in this respect and seem to have been content with the system they found when they came to power in 848/860.

If the Fâtimids did not change much in the administration and nomenclature of the taxes, they obtained, according to the indications of Ibn Hawqâl (ed. De Goeje, 69) a remarkable return from the taxes, the annual total of which reached 7 to 8 million dinars. The Zirids could only maintain the system so well organised by their predecessors. We know practically nothing about the financial organisation of the Almoravids, except that their first ruler, Yûsuf b. Tâghulbî felt obliged to contest himself with "legal" taxes—an attitude which his successors did not keep up, and that they maintained in Spain the organisation that they found in force there.

The only precise indication that we have on the subject of the Almohads is the establishment by 'Abd al-Mu'min in 535/1166 of a sort of cadaster intended to cover the whole Maghrib and to help in the assessment of a land tax (*sharâ'ij*) (*Rawâ' al-Kirdis*, ed. Tornberg, 126; 174).

R. Brunschvig's study on the Hafsids contains all the details possible—and they are comparatively few—on the financial organisation of the eastern Maghrib from the 7th/13th to 9th/15th centuries. The official who directed it bore the name of *sâhib al-ashghâl*, a term also used by Ibn Khaldûn (*loc. cit.*), then of *munaffiqh*. It was characterised by the fact that, in a number of instances, it renounced Kor'anic "legality" but it was successful, for the Hafsîd treasury was nearly always well filled.

Nothing precise is known about the Hafsîd 'Abd al-Wâd. It is possible that the thesis being prepared by M. Mongin may clarify the subject.

The rare and scattered indications on the financial organisation of the Marînids can be found in the

*Maadîk* of Ibn Faḍl Allâh-al 'Umari (tr. M. Gauderoy-Demonchy, *BGA*, ii, Paris 1927) and in the *Musnad* of Ibn Marâk (ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Hasp.*, 1928). They all concern the reign of Abu 'I-Hassan (the middle of the 13th century).

A text of al-Iḥrâḍ (*Nuḥbat al-Hâd*, ed., Houdas, 38-40; tr. 70-75) gives interesting information on fiscal matters at the beginning of the Sa'îdî period and on the establishment of a new land tax called *al'dba*. Finally, the work of E. Michaux-Bellaire gives quite a clear picture of the financial system under the 'Alawid dynasty at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

It may be hoped that the Turkish archives preserved in Tunis and Algiers contain the materials for a study of Turkish fiscal policy in the Maghrib, at least from the 18th century.

*Bibliography:* E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musul.*, iii, 13-134; idem, *Seille musul. au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1-3; M. Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie or, sous la dynastie des Beni-ʿAḥlab*, Paris 1927, 170-171; H. Terrasse, *Hist. du Maroc*, 2 vols., Casablanca, 1949-1950; Jeanine E. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie or, sous les Hâfides*, ii, Paris 1947, 68-69; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Les impôts marocains*, in *AM*, i, 56-90; idem, *L'organisation des finances au Maroc*, in *AM*, xi, 171-311; J. F. P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary*, London 1958.

(R. LE TOURNAU)

AL-BAYT AL-MUKADDAS [see AL-KUDES]

BAYT RÂS, a village in Transjordan, known by the Arab geographers, and situated about 3 km. N. of Irbid in the district of 'Ajlûn (q.v.), on an eminence (89 m) surrounded by ruins which mark the deserted site of the ancient Capitolias. This town of the Decapolis, the name of which corresponds to the Arabic name which outlined it and doubtless relates to its dominant position in a less hilly region, was noted by the early itineraries along with Adhîrâḥ (Dor's), Abila (Tall Abil) and Gâdara (Umm Kayal), which were neighbouring places. Formerly a Nabatean possession, it had increased in importance during the Roman period, being declared autonomous in 97-8, the first year of Trajan's reign, and had maintained its importance as a Byzantine bishopric of Palestina Secunda. Occupied by Shurahbîl b. Hasana at the beginning of the period of Arab conquest and incorporated in the *dîwân* of Urdunn, it enjoyed during the Umayyad period a position which is attested by various notices in the poets and chroniclers. These sing the praises of its wine, "already praised by the pre-Islamic poets Nâbigha Ḍhubaynî and Ḥassân b. Ḥabîb" (H. Lammens) and still known by Yâkût in the 6th/13th century, and mention it as the seat of the caliph Yazîd II, who lived there with his favourite Ḥabâba (the tradition which makes it the birthplace of the caliph Yazîd I seems however more doubtful, and may be based on a confusion with the village of Bayt Rînis in the *Qhûta* of Damascus, as has already been pointed out by H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade M'awwiyah Ier*, Beirut 1908, 379 and n.). The fame of Bayt Râs, at a period when the Marwânîd rulers preferred to reside in the region of al-Balâḥ [q.v.], which is rich in archaeological remains that can be attributed to them, was followed by a rapid decline, and the site was almost completely abandoned. It is a cause for regret, however, that the ruins which still exist, and which have been briefly described by travellers, have never formed the subject of serious study which might

enable one to distinguish the traces of an Umayyad establishment in the midst of the earlier buildings.

*Bibliography:* F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1933-38, ii, 2945 (5v. Capitulin); G. Schumacher, *Northern 'Syria*, London 1899, 154-168; G. Schumacher and G. Steiermann, *Der 'Adichân*, Leipzig 1927, 478 ff.; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 32, 415; A.-S. Marmarîji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 4, 6, 23; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 1126 (year 18 A.H.); ibi, 396 (year 15 A.H.); H. Lammens, *Études sur la siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1931, 171, 213, 231; Nâbigha Ḍhubaynî, *Dîwân*, ed. Dierschbourg, xxvi, 165-66; Balâḥuri, Futûḥ, 116; Ibn Khurrâdhaghî, 78; Bakrî, *Géographiques Wörterbuch*, i, 189; Yâkût, i, 200, 776-77.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMIRE)

BAYTÂR is the most frequently used form of the word which denotes the veterinary surgeon. It is an arabised form of *βιαιτάρης*, and, as a matter of fact, the more exact term *biyâr* is to be found in ancient poetry, as well as *baylar*. The preservation of the original Greek form in Oriental languages is also proved by the 12th century *Mufaḥḥis Numeri rubâ*, 9, where *βιαιτάρ* is expressly written. However, the Greek hippiatric writings do not seem to have been known in Islam, if the quotation of Heracleides in al-Bîrûnî, *al-Djâmi' fi Ma'rifa al-Djâwahir*, 101 does not mean Heracleides of Tarnum (ca. 75 B.C.), who wrote, amongst others, a hippiatric book, cf. M. J. Hasehmi, *Die Quellen des Steinbuches des Brûnî*, Thesis, Bonn 1935, 44. A pseudo-Hippocratic work on the subject bearing the title *De Curationibus infirmulorum ascorum*, was translated by a Jew named Moses of Palermo for Charles I of Anjou (1266-1285), and printed in Bologna 1865, in P. Delprat, *Trattati di medicina attribuiti ad Ippocrate tradotti dall'arabo in latino*.

The oldest Arabic work on *baytâr* is ascribed to Hunayn b. Ishâk by Ibn Abî Usayb'ca, i, 200, 26; it is also the only work on the subject noted by Taḡhîrîrîdî, *Mufaḥḥis al-âḥida*, i, 270, who calls it "sufficient" (*ḥâfî*). A writer contemporary with Hunayn is the first author on hippiatrics whose works are preserved, namely, Abû Yûsuf Ya'qûb b. Aḡlî Hîrân, stablesman at al-Mu'tasim and al-Mu'tadid (second half of 3rd/9th century), cf. Brockelmann, S I, 412 f., where further bibliography is quoted. A great many manuscripts of books by several authors were listed by H. Ritter in an annex to his review on 'Aḡlî b. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Hudhayl al-Andalusî, *La parure des cavaliers*, ed. L. Mercier, 1922 (*Der Islam*, xviii, 1929, 119-126). The words *baytâr* and *baytâr* are still in use in modern Spanish (*albellar* and *albellaria*). A French article on the veterinary medicine of the Bedouins was translated into Arabic by Péro Anastase, *al-Machirî*, i, 1898, 684, 942.

*Bibliography:* (additional to books quoted in the text): T.A. s.v.; al-Aḡmâlî, ed. Ahlwardt, 3, 8; Faradîk, ed. Hell, 484, 1; S. Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, 265; M. Steinschneider, *Über. a. d. Arab.*, i, 1904, 100, 86; W. Colln, *Jüdische Charaktere aus Hefe Karl I.*, von Anjou, *Königs von Sizilien*, in *Monatshefte f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judentums*, 79, 1935, 246 ff.; G. Sartori, *IHS*, ii, 89, 793, 1091, 1093; ibi, 284, 1216, 1238, 1837 f.; E. Lucianche, *Hist. de la méd. vét.*, 1936; L. Moult, *Hist. de la méd. vét.*, 2 (méd. vét. arabe), 1896.

(M. PLESSNER)



**BAYYĀNA**, Spain. Baena, a small town in the province of Cordova, 39 kilometres from the capital. During the Muslim period it belonged to the district of Cabra; with al-Zuhra', Ecija, Luena and Cordova, it formed the *ihim* of al-Kambāniya (la Campiña). Situated on a hill in the Campiña of Cordova and watered by the Marbella, a tributary of the Guadajoz, it was surrounded by gardens, vineyards and olive groves, as at present, and enjoyed great prosperity during the Umayyad period. The town possessed a solid fortress, situated on the slope facing the river, a cathedral mosque built by the order of 'Abd al-Rahmān II, markets and baths. Ibn Hafṣūn (p. 2) succeeded in conquering Bayyāna during the period of the *amir* 'Abd Allāh but, with the fall of the caliphate and the ensuing disorder of the *fitna*, it lost much of its rural tranquillity. Its present location dates back to the Muslim period, as no Roman traces have been found there nor in various parts of its environs, as far as the neighbouring ridge of Antigua. Alfonso, the Warlike on his famous expedition into Andalusia, passed by Baena without taking it, shortly before the battle of Amisol (Sfar 520/March 1126). When the town fell into the hands of Ferdinand III in 1240, it had a double enclosure, an internal wall which enclosed the *alcázar* and the *medina*, and an external wall which encompassed the outskirts occupied by the civilian population. The *mudajir* who remained at Baena were transferred to Castile in 1271, but a royal decree authorised their establishment at Cordova until their final expulsion. The most important celebrity of the town was Kāsim b. Aḥagḥ b. Muḥammad, b. Yūsuf b. Nāṣir b. 'Aṭā', a traditionist and philologist who was born at Baena in 247/862 and died at Cordova in 340/951.

*Bibliography*: Idrisi, *Desc.*, 174, 205, of the text, 209, 232 of the trans.; Yāqūt, II, 131; 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Miṣbūr*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, 59 of the text, 64 of the trans.

(A. HUCI MIRANDA)

**BAYYĀSA**, Spain. Baeza, a town in the province of Jaén, 48 kilometres from the capital. Its present population is about 17,000 and it is situated on a hill whose slopes descend to the south of the Guadajoz and the Guadajoz. Of Iberian foundation, it was called Bistra, according to Ptolemy. Pliny calls its inhabitants *Vicienses*, and the Goths made it the seat of the diocese *bistensis*. Upon its fall to the Muslims it took the name Bayyāsa. Its corn and barley were praised, according to al-Idrīdī, who did not however mention its olive groves which today cover half its area.

During the Umayyad caliphate Ibn Hafṣūn (p. 2) conquered it, but it was retaken by 'Abd al-Rahmān III in 227/810. In 412/1022 the town belonged, with Jaén and Calatrava, to the *fiat* of Zuhayr *faṭā* 'Amirī. It was occupied by the Almoravids, whose last champion in al-Andalus, Ibn Ghāniya, surrendered it in 521/1126 to the emperor Alfonso VII; the latter kept it until he evacuated it in 522/1127 at the same time as Ubeda, shortly before his death and after the loss of Almería. For nearly a century it belonged to the Almohads, and in 602/1212 al-Nāṣir on his way to Las Navas de Tolosa, moved his camp from Jaén to Baeza. After the rout, the inhabitants of Baeza fled to Ubeda, and on 18 Sfar 609/20 July 1212, the victors entered the deserted city and burned it. When the Christians had retired, it was rebuilt and repopulated. In the following year, Alfonso VIII besieged it with difficulty during the winter of 1213-14, and was forced to retire without success.

A nephew of 'Abd al-Mu'min, Abū 'Abd Allāh, who held the governorships of Bougie, the Balearics and Valencia, must have lived a long time at Baeza, for his ten sons had the surname al-Bayyāsi, and the eldest, 'Abd Allāh revolted at Baeza against the caliph al-'Azīz and al-Mu'min. He allied himself with Ferdinand III and received a Castilian garrison in the *alcázar* of Baeza. When he was killed by the Cordovans in 625/1226, the inhabitants of Baeza again abandoned their city, and it was finally occupied by Ferdinand III on 19 Jhu 1-Hijjja 624/59 November 1227. During the 14th and 15th centuries, Baeza, as a stronghold of great strategic importance, was on its situation on the frontier between Castile and the kingdom of Granada, played a major rôle in the struggles of the Reconquest between the Nasrids and the Moriscos.

*Bibliography*: Idrisi, *Desc.*, 203 in text, 249 in trans.; 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Miṣbūr*, 57 in text, 72 in trans.; G. Virot, *Chronique latine des rois de Castille*, 115; Perrañs de Cózar, *Noticias y documentos para la historia de Baeza*, 1884; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index; A. Huci Miranda, *Historia del imperio almohade*, II, 432-6.

**BAYYINA** (plural *bayyindī*), etymologically the feminine adjective "clear, evident", was already in use as a substantive with the meaning of "manifest proof" in numerous passages of the Kur'an in *as-sūra*, 2 for example, whence it is that the *Sūra* itself is entitled *al-Bayyina*. In legal terminology the word denotes the proof for *acclamation*—that established by oral testimony—, although from the classical era the term came to be applied not only to the fact of giving testimony at law but also to the witnesses themselves. There are other words to express other aspects or degrees of the notion of proof, notably *hujja* (plural *hujjāt*) "argument, proof (in general or at law)", "a document constituting proof", *dall* "conclusive indication" and *ḥukm* "demonstration".

In the legal field the Kur'an is concerned with proof in diverse matters, both civil and penal. It is at once noteworthy that it is fundamentally to oral testimony (*shahāda* [p. 2]) that the Kur'an prescribes recourse. It recommends that certain legal acts should be established by witnesses—divorce by repudiation (IV, 2), testamentary dispositions (V, 106-108), accounts of guardianship (IV, 7) and the contracting of debts (II, 282). And while, in this last case, the Kur'an strongly supports written evidence, this is closely tied up with the eye-witnesses who ought to corroborate, as soon as it is completed, the recognition of the debt dictated to the scribe by the debtor. Such are the modes of proof which the Kur'an, albeit in a summary fashion, regulates. It notes, in addition, the need for a double number of witnesses (four in place of the ordinary number of two) to establish legal proof of fornication (IV, 19, XXIV, 4, 23) or to provide for the case where the husband cannot produce this difficult standard of proof of his wife's adultery, institutes the exceptional procedure of the mutual "oath of imprecation" (*ḥay'a*) between the spouses (XXIV, 6-9). This procedure, although it does not, properly speaking, establish proof, has, nevertheless, important legal effects. On the other hand the sacred text has nothing to say about the primitive institutions of physical ordeal and oaths of compurgation.

Classical Islamic law consecrated the superiority of proof by testimony, requiring, for its validity,

the fulfilment of some fairly stringent theoretical conditions (see 'AḤL and *SHAHĀDA*). And it was only in so far as written evidence could be construed as a *Zayyir* (*zayyir* [cf. the *testatio* of Roman law]) that it became, generally and more widely accepted, though not without keen discussion, reservations and precautions, even in the case of notarial acts (see E. Tyan, *Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman*, *Annales École française de droit de Beyrouth*, 1945, no. 2). In the Kur'an verses relating to testamentary dispositions (V, 106-108) the witnesses, in case of suspicion, or new substitute witnesses, were invited to take an oath by Allāh; but traditional theory regards as abrogated the precept contained in this passage, which is the only one in the Kur'an where third-party witnesses are required to support their own evidence by an oath. Occasional and exceptional instances can be added, under Islam, of *ḥay'a* subjecting suspect witnesses to the oath. The doctrine, however, established a clear-cut distinction, as far as the "legal proofs" (*ḥujjāt shar'iyya*) which it enumerates and regulates are concerned, between proof by testimony and the oath. The celebrated maxim declares: "The burden of proof (by testimony) lies upon the one who makes the allegation and the oath belongs to him who denies (*al-bayyina 'alā l-mudda'ī wa-l-yamin 'alā man ankar*)" with the variant "to him against whom the allegation is made (*'alā l-mudda'ī 'alā yāḥ*)". It ought to be noted that in the process of the action "the one who makes the allegation" is not necessarily the original plaintiff (and hence the burden of proof may fluctuate), and further that, in the view of the scholars, evidence can only normally be given to positive facts.

In principle the *bayyina* itself has a self-sufficient authority: where the legal conditions of validity are satisfied it is, as a general rule, binding upon the judge. Several early attempts to support testimony with an oath taken by the plaintiff wholly failed, apart from cases where the defendant defaults or suffers from some incapacity, to influence the classical law (Schacht, *Origins*, 187-188; see Ibn Kudāma, *Mughnī*, ix, 277; for the contrary view of the Fātimids, *al-Nu'mān*, *Ḥikāyāt*, Damascus 1957, 163). The Hanafi school held strictly to the letter of the maxim mentioned above, and indeed certainly contributed to the spread of its influence, if not to its very formulation; for, contrary to the doctrine of the other *madhāhib*, Hanafi law does not allow the plaintiff to take the oath in order to complete an imperfect *bayyina* (a single witness) in disputes concerning property, nor does it allow the oath declined by the defendant to be returned to the plaintiff. In the mutual taking of the oath (*ḥay'a*) which the Hanafis, along with the other schools, uphold in certain cases where *bayyina* is lacking, each of the two parties stands in relation to other in the position of defendant. For other developments of the judicial oath see the article *yamin*. We will only observe here that the pre-Islamic oath of compurgation survives, in Islamic law, as a method of proof in a limited field of penal procedure (see *ḥay'a*).

It is possible, especially in regard to property claims, that contradictory *bayyindī* may confront each other. The *fiqh* texts concern themselves with this *al-bayyindī al-bayyindī* and endeavour to destroy the conflict by officially declaring one of the proofs superior on the basis of criteria which differ considerably among the different schools and may

result in diametrically opposite solutions. Should the proofs concerned nevertheless still prove equal, the solutions, even within the schools themselves, vary between their reciprocal cancellation, resort to a supplementary and decisive form of evidence, and their being taken at face value—which then necessitates either division of the property or the drawing of lots.

Superior though the *bayyina* might be as a mode of proof, it is difficult to regard it in all circumstances as "stronger" (*ahd*) than an acknowledgement (*iḥdār* [p. 2] or, less technically, *ḥay'a*). Indeed the contrary is expressly stated by the *Ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Hāzim, *Muḥalla*, II, 426. The doctrine requires less in the way of personal capacity for an acknowledgement than for testimony, by reason of the basic presumption of truthfulness on the part of the person making the acknowledgement. But the authors usually—and quite wrongly—distinguish in this regard between the acknowledgement whose only effect is to bind the one who makes it (*'alā nafsi*) and the acknowledgement which affects the rights of third parties (*fi ḥaqq ḡayri*), and their decisive force and their legal consequences differ considerably.

In addition it would be relevant, on the subject of *bayyina*, to enquire into the position, in relation to it, of the expert evidence which may be required by the judge. Further, if one were to attempt a general theory of proof in Islamic law, it would be fitting to take account of the discussions relating to the judge's personal knowledge of the facts of a case, to underline the considerable importance and the abundance of legal presumptions, and to note the rôle and the importance of certain auxiliary indications or initial steps in proof recognised by the law. In this field of proof at law two Islamic tendencies may be observed: the desire to establish, in a humane fashion, what is most probable by regulated means rather than to pursue the strict truth, the certain knowledge of which belongs only to God,—and a tendency towards rationalisation, which, though it does not prevail always and everywhere, is nevertheless latent in, for example, the position allotted to the oath of compurgation and the complete absence of ordeal in the form of physical trial (despite tenacious survivals of this in the customary practice of tribal societies up to the present day).

*Bibliography*: The texts of *fiqh*, the articles of the *Fi* to which reference has been made above, and the modern studies to which reference will be made in *Revue de la Société Jean Bodin*, vol. *La Preuve* (to be published in 1960) as well as in the article *BAYYINA* (p. 2). (R. BOUSCHON)

**BAYYŪMIYYA**, an Egyptian *farḥa* founded by 'Alī b. Ḥijrāt b. Muḥammad al-Bayyūnī al-Ḥafṣī, born c. 1208/1199 and died in Cairo in 1183/1176. After joining the Almadhiyya and *Khawāṭiyya* (the latter through the Demirdashīyya) *farḥas*, Bayyūnī, by developing a *ḡayr* characterised by particularly loud and emphatic utterance, established a virtually independent *farḥa* of his own. Another feature of his *farḥa* was its appeal to the poorest classes and specifically to highwaysmen, many of whom, after a period of chastisement at Bayyūnī's hands, swelled the ranks of the vast armed retinue that accompanied his rare appearances in the streets. But perhaps his influence was chiefly due to the extremes of excitement and passivity that he experienced during the *ḡayr*. The *'ulama's* attempt to ban his *ḡayr* sessions (held every Tuesday at the Husaynī Maghaddī) was thwarted by *Shaykh*



Shahrawī, Rector of the Ashar, whose determination on this occasion contrasts favourably with his behaviour on others (Djibarti, I, 195). Bayyūmī's works include handbooks on the Demirdaghiyya and Bayyūmīyya and a commentary on Dīf's *Ṭarḥ al-Kīmīl*. He seems to have been *naṣṣ* at home in *ḥaḍḥ*, on which he lectured when Shahrawī invited him to the Taybarsiyya College at the Ashar. The mosque in which he is buried was built by Muṭṭalā Paṣhā, a *sultān* of Egypt (probably between 1757-1760), when according to Djibarti he became grand vezir (probably sometime between 1764-1765). Bayyūmī did not leave any distinguished *ḥaḍḥ*-but his *ḥaḍḥ* was still popular during the *mawṣiṭ* in Lane's days.

**Bibliography:** To Brockelmann, II 462, S I 784, S II 146, 478 add: *Risālat al-Tanṭih al-Muṭṭalā li-man lahu al-Wuḍūʿ al-Kīmīl* (MS in writer's possession); Sarkis 622; Djibarti, I, 339; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 249, 461.

**BAYZARA**, (Arabic), denotes "the art of the flying-hunt", and is not restricted to the designation of "falconry". (Its Persian origin from *bāz*: goshawk; see below) is more closely related to the notion of "osting art"). Derived from *bayzār*, "ostinger", an Arabised form of the Persian *bāyār/bāzār*, it was preferred to its dual form *bāzāra*; the words *bāyāza* and *bāyāza* were scarcely used in the Muslim Occident. The use of rapacious predators (*bāz*, pl. *hawādir*) as "beasts of prey" (*ghirāḥ*, pl. *ghirāḥ*) was undoubtedly known to the Arabs before Islam, and Imru' al-Qays sketches, in his *ayyām al-bayd*, some descriptions of flying-sport. However, hawking only assumed importance with them after the great Muslim conquests which brought them into contact with the Persians and the Byzantines. It quickly won the favour of the new leaders who discovered in it the possibility of diversion and of satisfying peacefully their passion for riding. Caliphs and high Muslim dignitaries were zealous in elevating it, with veneration, to the rank of an institution under the direction of a "master of chase" (*amīr al-bayd*), and *ghirāḥ* (*amīr ghirāḥ*). The Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Mu'awīya (680-83) was one of the first to show an unbridled enthusiasm for the flying-hunt. Historians, biographers and chroniclers in the Arabic language provide information, each according to his own period and country, on the current practice of hawking, and relate for the occasion lively anecdotes of the exploits of certain persons in this field. (see al-Tabarī, Ibn al-Aṭṭar, al-Sayyūṭi, al-Makrīṭi-Quatremaire, in J. Sauvaget, *Introduit, à l'hist. de l'Orient Musulman*). Much more valuable is the information concerning bayzara found in certain encyclopedic works, edited for the purpose of adab or philological learning, such as the *K. al-Hayawān* of al-Djāhiz (Cairo 1947), the *Al-Muḥāsana* of Ibn Sida (Alexandria 1904, vol. vii, and indices by M. Tāhī, Tunis 1950), the *K. Saḥā al-ʿAṣā* of al-Kāḥkashandī (Cairo 1913, vol. ii), the *K. Mawāḍiʿ al-Dhahab* of al-Manṣūfī.

The Maghrib and Muslim Spain, as well as the Orient, had their enthusiasts for the hawking-sport. In Aghlabid Ifriqiya, the governor Muhammad II (864-75), called not without reason the "Crassus" (Abū Ṭaḥarīnī), exhausted the state exchequer with his wild expenses on the "flying-play" (*baʿṣ*) (see Ibn Ṭhābir, *Bayān*, trans. Faḡam, Algiers 1901, 147-48). Later, the Hafṣids, too, were smitten by hawking. Like a Sāsānid prince, al-Mustanṣir (1249-

77) found his pleasure with the hawk on his fist, in a vast "preserve" (*mayyad*) near Biserta (see Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIṣār*, trans. De Slane et Casanova, II, 238). In the 15th century his descendant Ṭūmān (1435-88) spent several days a week in this entertainment (see R. Brunschwig, *Deser, récit de voyage inédit*, Paris 1926, 21). At the Umayyad court in Cordova, the Grand Falconer (Sāḥib al-bayṣir) enjoyed a high office, close to the ruler (see Ibn Ṭhābir, *op. cit.*, in E. Lévi-Provençal, X<sup>e</sup> s., Paris 1932, 53). The fashion of hawking, widespread in the countries of Islam during the Middle Ages, was the livelihood of a great number of people, and its practice was not limited to the privileged classes, as it was in Christian Europe. The rural population and the nomads continued to devote themselves to it and preserved the tradition, down to the beginning of the 20th century. From this fact it is easy to evaluate the rôle played by the sporting-bird in Muslim economic life, especially during the medieval period, by the commerce it provoked and the people required for its maintenance. (see A. Talas, *La vie économique au I<sup>er</sup> et II<sup>es</sup> siècles de l'Hégire*, in Arabic in *Madjallat al-Madina* al-ʿIrāqī, 1932, II, 271-301; al-Djāhiz (I), *K. al-bayṣir*, in *ʿI-ʿIṣār*, ed. H. H. Abdul-Wahab, Cairo 1935 34-35, trans. Ch. Pellat, in *Arabica*, I, 2, 1954, 160-61).

Most often, in fact, the master of the hawk-keepers train one to be a falconer in the strict sense of the term, and he only put on the glove (*dastabā*; Maghrib: *buḍḍā*) during the hunt. The care of the "hawk's room" (*bayt al-bayṣir*) was entrusted to hawkers' assistants (*ghulām*, pl. *ghulām*) who had besides the task of keeping the aviary well provided with pigeons and other game-birds, for the nourishment and training of the hawks. The latter, a technical term of the bayzara, necessitated, according to the kind of sporting-bird, the competence of the ostinger (*bāyār* pl. *bāyāza*). On the preference of *bāyār* to *bāyāza* see Ibn Saʿīd al-Akḥfān, *Irḥāḍ al-Makḥūd*, 92; the terms *bāyāza*, *bāyāzī*, *bāyāz*, *bāyār*, *bāyārī* in the general sense of hawker, are Spanish-Maghribi, and frequently give way to *bayṣir*, or of the falconer (*ṣāḥib*); both were often used by the *ballabās*, the master of the hawking-pack who sets his greybonds (*ṣaḍāḥ*, pl. *ṣaḍāḥiyya*) on the gazelle or the hare, and the Goshawk, occasionally the Saker Falcon or even the eagle, flying "waiting on" (*baʿṣ*), distances the pack and binds to the quarry.

The traditional classification in the Orient of predators worthy of training and *dastabā*, based on the black or yellow colour of the iris denoting remarkable visual powers, corresponds exactly to the modern ornithological system. In fact the "dark-eyed birds" are found only in the genus *Falco*, "falconidae", who alone have a black iris. These are "long-winged sweeping birds", "lured-birds", used to "highflying" (the flight of the heron: *ṣaḥḥān*, of the crane: *ḥarḥ* or *ḥarḥān*, of the crow: *ghirāḥ*, from time to time the eagle: *ʿaḥāḥ*, the kite: *ḥidā*, and the wild water-fowl: *ṣayr al-mā*). The Arabist is often puzzled by the abundance of terms designating sporting-birds, a such abundance not being due to the multiplicity of types, but to the great variety of adjectives qualifying the innumerable shades of plumage worn by the birds according to its sex, its age and habitat. The Arabs saw several different types when it was only a question of individual birds of the same family, whether immature, young or adult, male or female. One can discover, however, among that accumulation of names

the generic term, with the aid on the one hand of scientific inventories of the avifauna of each country, and on the other, of the descriptions provided by the great Muslim naturalists, such as al-Karwīnī (1029-1089) in his *K. ʿAdḍiyya al-Maḥḥāḥ*, al-Damīrī (1141-1409) in his *K. Hayāt al-Hayawān*, and especially by the authors of cynegetic works (see below).

Thus the *sāḥib*, falconer, was occupied in training only: a) the Ger-Falcon, *Falco rusticolus*, (*ṣaḥḥār*, *ghuṣḥār*, *ghuṣḥār*) which, unknown in the Arab countries, had to be imported at great expense from Siberia, and which often figured among the ceremonial gifts upon an exchange of ambassadors; b) the Saker Falcon, *Falco cherrug*, (*ṣaḥr*, *ṣaḥr al-ghuṣḥār*, *ḥarḥ*); c) the Peregrine Falcon, *Falco peregrinus*, under its three oriental sub-species: *perigrinator*, *babylonicus* and *calidus* (either *ghāḥin* or *ḥabīr* for the "Passage-Peregrine"); d) the Black-winged Kite, *Elaeus cataractus* (*ṣaḥr*, *ṣaḥr al-ghuṣḥār*, and *ṣaḥr*); e) the Merlin, *Falco columbarius* (*ṣaḥr*); f) the Hobby, *Falco subbuteo* (*ḥawṣiḥ*); g) the Kestrel, *Falco tinnunculus* (*ʿaḥḥ*); h) the Lesser Kestrel, *Falco Naumanni* (*ʿaḥḥ*); i) the Red-footed Falcon, *Falco vesperlinus* (*ḥawṣiḥ*) (see A. Maʿlūf, *Maʿḍam al-bayṣir*, Cairo 1932, to be consulted with great care in view of the numerous errors in a scientific apparatus so often outdated).

In the Muslim West highflying hawking knew only four *falconidae*: the Saker (*nabīl* or *ḥabīr*, derived from the name of the Andalusian town Niebla, which points to a loanword); the Barbary Lanner Falcon, or the "Alphane" of the Christian falconers, *Falco naumanni* (*ḥawṣiḥ*); the Barbary Falcon, *Falco peregrinus peregrinator* (*ḥarḥ*); and Eleazar's Falcon, *Falco eleonorae* (*ḥabīr*) (see Leo Africanus, *Il Viaggio*, Venice 1857, 166; L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, Paris 1927, ch. V, *La fauconnerie*, 81-106, and bibl.; E. Draumas, *Les chevaux du Sahara*, Paris 1953, with the *Réflexions de l'Emir Abdelhader*, 339-372). These four *falcones* are described in the Maghrib as "noble" (*ḥawṣiḥ*). As the "yellow-eyed birds", raised only by the *bāyār*, ostringer, they are the class most used in the hawking-sport. They are all "short-winged soaring birds" or "list-hawks" trained for "lowflying". This category is composed largely of the genus *Accipiter* or *accipitridae* and includes in some parts of Persia and Turkey the smaller *glaucididae*.

The bird which has enjoyed the greatest favour since remote antiquity and in every country of the Orient is undoubtedly the Goshawk, *Accipiter gentilis*, and its subspecies *accip. albidus* (either *bāz*, or *ghāḥid*) which, because they do not belong to the avifauna of the Arabic countries, were imported by merchants from Greece, Turkestan, Persia and India; the Maghrib scarcely knew of them. It was believed that the Goshawk was born to the flying art. Its Persian name *bāz*, passed into Arabic before Islam, was applied apparently through ignorance to every sporting bird, and the term *bayzara*, osting art for the experts, meant hawking in general. Conversely, it was "falcon" which prevailed over "goshawk" in Europe, and "falconry" covered the technique of the osting art. In the arabisation of the name *bāz*, it was necessary to give it a trilateral root, of the choice caused some trouble among philologists and lexicographers. Three alternatives were proposed: a) BZW-BZY, giving by derivation *bāz*, *al-bāz*, *bāziyy*; pl. *ḥawṣiḥ*, *ḥawṣiḥ*, *ḥawṣiḥ*; b) BWZ-BYZ giving *bāz*, *pl. abāz*, *abāz*; c) BZV giving

*baʿṣ* pl. *baʿṣiḥ*, *abʿṣ*, *baʿṣiḥ*, *baʿṣiḥ*, *baʿṣiḥ*, *baʿṣiḥ*. After the Goshawk, it was the Sparrow-Hawk, *Accipiter nisus* (*bāḥḥ*, *ulām*, *ḥāḥ*) and its short-footed subspecies called "Shikra", *Accip. badius brevipes* (*bayḥḥ*), which was preferred owing to its docility and the vast area of its distribution; its hen (*ḥāḥ*) is still used at Cape Bon in Tunisia for flying at the passage-quail in spring (see D. M. Mathis, *La chasse au faucon en Tunisie*, in *Bull. Société Sc. Natur. de Tunisie*, II, 3-4, Tunis 1949, 107-18 and illustrations; idem, in A. Boyer et M. Planol, *Traité de Fauconnerie et d'Autournerie*, Paris 1948, 242-48; L. Lavaden, *La chasse et la fauconnerie en Tunisie*, Tunis 1920, 20-21; al-Labṣī, in Arabic, Tunis, May 1955, 24-27 and illustrations).

As for eagles, they never have had in fact the rank of sporting-birds (*ḥāḥ* al-bayṣir); however, Persians and Turks trained with success the Crested Hawk Eagle, *Spizacus circhatus* (*ṣaḥḥār*), Bonelli's Eagle, *Hieracus fasciatus*, and the Booted Eagle, *Hieracus pennatus* (both called *ḥawṣiḥ*). The Harriers (*ḥawṣiḥ*) and Buzzards (*ḥawṣiḥ*) were neglected owing to their untamable ferocity; the kite and the vulture (*ḥawṣ*) as well, because of their taste for carrion. The Persians carried the art of training as far as the Eagle Owl (*bāḥ*) which served to attract the other predators. All of the "yellow-eyed birds" were remarked for the lowlying at the quail (*ḥawṣiḥ*, *ḥawṣiḥ*), the partridge (*ḥawṣiḥ*), the Chukar partridge (*ḥawṣiḥ*) and the See-See (*ṣaḥḥār*), the sandgrouse (*ḥawṣiḥ*), the Bustard (*ḥawṣiḥ*), the Little Bustard (*ḥawṣiḥ*), the Francolin (*ḥawṣiḥ*), the Ruddy Sheldrake (*ḥawṣiḥ*) and other game-birds of the steppe and desert.

The techniques proper to bayzara were early in Islam the objects of numerous treatises; but, for the most part, have not survived; Ibn al-Nadīm mentions ten of them in his *Fihrist*. On the other hand a large number of the manuscripts in the public and private libraries in Europe and the Orient have yet to be studied (cf. Brockelmann, chapters on "Naturwissenschaften" and "Jagd"). Nevertheless these techniques are comparatively well known to us thanks to several works already edited. The oldest of these texts, treating falconry, might be the basis of the Latin-Coman versions not yet identified but attributed to the two authors Moamīn and Ghāfirī (see the excellent critical edition of these texts by H. Tjerneld, Stockholm-Paris 1945). Recently, the Syrian Kurd ʿAlī had the happy idea of publishing (Damascus 1953) a treatise *al-Bayzara* devoted to the falconry of the Fātimid caliph al-ʿAzīz bi-ḥish (975-90); the anonymous author offers us the profit of his own long experience and that of the specialists in hawking (*baʿṣiḥ*) in a style stripped of extraneous erudition: poetical citations are arranged in a special chapter. This work is by far the most valuable of those we possess in Arabic on the training methods. At almost the same time, Aṣʿad Ṭālas edited (Baghdād 1954) the oldest known Arabic text, *K. al-Maṣāyid wa-l-Maṭāʾir*, the work of the famous poet al-Kuḥshūjī (d. 961 or 971) (cf. Brockelmann, I, 85, and S I, 137; Talas, *Madjallat* . . . *op. cit.*, with an analysis of the work). This complete treatise on ventry and falconry was one of the sources most exploited by later authors of cynegetic works; there emanates from it unfortunately too great a preoccupation with *adab* which relieves it of any practical significance. Very different and far more lively and useful are the "hawking-sport memories" of Ḥusām Ibn Muḥammad (d. 1188) in his *K. al-Faḥār* (ed. P. Hitti, Princeton 1939, ch. III,



192-229) composed during the period of the Crusades (see Drenbourg, *Vie d'Ouslma*...), and texts, Paris 1885 and 1893). The work of the Manlik Muhammad al-Mangli, K. *Uns al-Malik al-Hakim al-Fadl*, written in 1371 (cf. Brockelmann, II, 136 and S II, 167) and published (Paris 1886) with a mediocre French translation by Florian Pharaon, has lost much of its value since the treaty of Al-Kashghim has been available. Further, *bayzara* is treated in didactic poems such as the *bayza* in 213 lines of the Maghribi al-Fadl (d. 1514; Brockelmann, II, 196), and the *Diwan* of al-Fayyaz (Ms. Escorial, n. 992) of a certain 'Isa al-Azuli (16th century?) often cited by al-Mangli. These compositions deserve publication, though they have already been exploited by L. Mercier (*op. cit.*) who has in addition used the manuscripts of Al-Fahili (d. 1541) and Al-Ash'ari (1444) (MSS. Paris, B.N. nos. 2831 and 2834). Talas (*Madjalla*...) has restored to its original version the beautiful *ardja* on the flying-sport in Ibn Nuhita (1287-1366) entitled *Fari'd al-Suluk fi Masayid al-Malak*.

From all these texts it results that snaring and training methods were nearly the same for all species of sporting-birds. The young hawk was caught "eyas" or "yellow beak" (*ghifri*, *ghifri*) or "tranchers" ("croakers", i.e., the nest-forsakers (*nahfi*) from her cry; when "fired" (*har*) or "baited" (*ba'ah*) ("native" (*bi*) or "passage-hawk" (*hafi*) or *ridfi*), she was lured or snared by means of nets, of nooses and chiefly of "flying-decoys" (*haraq*) (cf. the system of the hut in Ibn Munkidh, *op. cit.*, 200-07; M. Planiol, *op. cit.*, 154-56). When, captured, she was "reclaimed", i.e., made tame (*af'ir*, *ba'af*); her eyelids were "beautified" (*khafi*) and she was "adorned" (*ladfi*, *lanbi*) by fasting and then, progressively unsewn, she was induced to step, of her own accord, on the fist by offering her some "beakfuls" (*talhin*) and tempting her with flesh of live preys (*talbi*). When become tame and stepping on to the fist at call, she was tied to the "restraint" (*fiwila*), and it was now the beginning of her training by stunts at such and such games. Her carnivorous instinct was awakened and her keenness (*farsha*) to bind to the quarry developed by releasing before her training-birds (*haraq*) selected from the species for which she was being trained to hunt. These exercises were patiently repeated, each time at a greater distance. When estimated "soured" (*masa'af* *bi-l-ras*), the pupil was fitted with "nooses" (*al-shah*) (*al-shah*) (*al-shah*) and then she was accustomed to wear on her head the "hood" (*burha*, *kumma*, Maghribi: *hambal*) and to be "mailed in the sock" (*babal*), gaining some "manning" (*mas*) by long hours spent among the crowds of the streets and markets. Once familiarised with people, horses, dogs and domestic animals, she was taken to the hunting places where she was given "fire food" (*al-fadl*) at waterfall and sparrows. She returned at the sound of a drum (*tanbal*) attached to the saddle of the falconer (see L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, 98), and she was allowed to "take her pleasure" (*idha*) on one of her takes. In the Maghribi training was never carried to such a degree of refinement: always taken in adulthood, the bird was retrained and underwent only a rudimentary training (cf. L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, 96-104). Being set down to rest, the hawk was placed on the "block" (*hamila*, *bulfi*) or on the "perch" (*shida*, *bandara*), and was "weathered" (*daghril*) in the sun, near her bathing-pool. During the period of moult (*hama*, *labril*), she

was kept apart, from any noise, and her "mutes" (*ghar*, *rang*) were carefully controlled. By this means her good health was assured. The treatises on *bayzara* devote long chapters to the diagnosis of diseases, particular to sporting-birds and their cure, revealing most often a barbaric empiricism combined with hygienic superstitions.

From the time of the Prophet the question has been posed, with regard to Kur'anic law, of the legality of eating a game-bird caught by means of a trained (hawk) predatory; it was a question of whether the bird caught to be slaughtered in accordance with the rites. Averroes, in his *Bidayat al-Mudhakk*... (cf. Averroes, *La terre de la chasse*, *Art de la Bida*, text and trans; annotated by F. Viré, in *Revue Tunisienne de Droit*, nos 3-4, Tunis 1954, 228-59), gives a clear account of the different positions adopted by each of the four schools of law. This same question constitutes the introductory part of all of the works dealing with falconry and venery.

The *bayzara* on the other hand did not fail to inspire poets and, from the time of the Umayyad period, it became with the coursing hunt one of the principal themes of popular poetry in *radja*. In fact the *ardja*, more supple and lively than the rigid classical *bayza*, soon became, with al-Shahid (d. 1254), al-Aghidji (d. 870/80), his son Ru'ba (d. 1437/60) and several others, the typical form of the epycletic poem (*taraduyd*). The latter, very much in fashion under the 'Abbasids, was adopted by the great masters of verse such as Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Kughāghī and Al-Nāghī, and afforded them, through research into rare terms (*ghawā*), the occasion of displaying their learning" (Ch. Pellat, *Langue et Littérature Arabes*, Paris 1952, 108-09) (on the *taraduyd*, see idem, *Le milieu barbare*, 100 ff. and notes. *Taraduyd* are found in the *diwāns* of the poets; those of Abū Nuwās are for the most part cited by Al-Jāhiz, *Hayawān*). It is regrettable to note that this poetic erudition led to the use, by those who took pleasure in it, of a language which has very little in common with that employed by the lovers of the flying sport. In Muslim Spain the poets, especially from the 11th century on, exploited principally the theme of the hawking-sport, which could not escape their pronounced taste for nature. They were able to inject into it that romantic note unknown to Oriental versifiers (cf. H. Poërs, *Poésie Andalouse*, Paris 1953, 340-9). Besides these creations in learned language, there was a poetry of falconry prolonged and preserved, in their different dialects, by the great Arab nomads. It is interesting to note that the Touaregs have never known of the hawking art (cf. H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951). The *diwān* displayed by the Arab anthropologists for the "vulgar" tongue has deprived us of these Bedouin "songs" which were never really honored in the courtesans of the Sahara, revealing in their descriptions of the hawk, her flight and her quarry, a realism difficult to find in classical poetry (cf. M. Sidoum, *Chants sur la chasse au faucon attribués à Si El-Hadi Aissa, Chérif de Laghouat*, in *R.Afr.*, nos 270-71, 1908, 272-94, text, trans, notes).

The very large role played by the hawking-bird, as a theme of inspiration, Islamic works of art, is material for considerable study. In fact the artistic modes of expression: miniatures, decorative sculpture in stone, in stucco, wood and ivory, engraving on crystal, glass and copper, moulding in bronze, glass and precious metals, ceramics, tapestry

and embroidery, owe to the "hawk motif" a great deal of their inestimable accomplishments. Indeed, it is from this motif, in its innumerable interpretations, that Muslim art of East and West has drawn many of its characteristics (cf. A. C. Pope, *A survey of Persian Art*, Oxford 1939; G. Migon, *Art Musulman*, Paris 1956; G. Marçais, *L'Art de l'Islam*, Paris 1946). We add in conclusion that this same motif was vastly exploited by Manlik heraldry (cf. L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford 1932; Artin Pacha, *Conte à l'école du blason en Orient*, London 1924).

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(F. VIRÉ)

**BĀZ** (see BAYZARA).  
**BĀZ BAHĀDUR**. The last ruler of independent Māwa before the Mughal conquest in the time of Akbar, Bāz Bahādur was the son of Shujā' Khān, a relative of Shīr Shāh Sūr, whom the latter appointed governor of Māwa after its conquest by Shīr Shāh's forces in 949/1542. On the death of Shujā' Khān in 969/1554, Bāz Bahādur murdered his brother Dawlat Khān, governor of Ujjain (Ujjain) and had himself proclaimed as sultan in 969/1555. He then brought most of Māwa under his rule by forcing his youngest brother Mustafā Khān to give up Rāisin and Bhūsa. In 968/1560-1, a Mughal army under Adham Khān advanced to conquer Māwa. Bāz Bahādur was forced to relinquish his capital Mandi. The next year he succeeded in defeating Pir Muhammad, Adham Khān's successor. Towards the end of 969/1562 was obliged by Mughal reinforcements to flee into the hills of Gondwana. Though from his refuge there Bāz Bahādur made several guerrilla attacks upon the Mughal forces, he grew tired of the struggle and in 978/1570 submitted to Akbar eventually to receive a *mansab* of 2000. He died not long after and is probably buried at Agra.

Bāz Bahādur is celebrated in popular legend for his love for his mistress Rūpmati for whom he is said to have composed love-songs and verses. He is also an eponymous figure in the development of a new passionate style of central Indian painting, in which the twin cultures of Māwa, Hindu and Muslim, were blended.

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199-398, fourth series iv, London 1904, 93, 97; H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage of the Sultans of Malwa*, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, fifth series, xi, London 1911, fifth series xii, London 1912, 46 and Plate IV; C. R. Singhal, *On Certain Unpublished Coins of the Sultans of Malwa*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series iii, 1917, *Numismatic Supplement*, xlvii, Article no. 349, N. 137; Zafar Hasan, *The Inscriptions of Dhar and Mandla*, in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909-10, 8-9; S. H. Hodivāla, *Studies in Indian History*, ii, Bombay, 1957, 225-227; *The Ahmad al-Umarā'*, trans. etc. L. M. Crump, London 1926; E. Barnes, *Dhar and Mandla*, in *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xxi, 1902-1904, 370-372; G. Yandani, *Mandla The City of Joy*, Oxford 1929, index; Bāz Bahādur, 125, *Rāpmati*, 130; *Central Indian Painting*, with an introduction and notes by W. G. Archer, *Faber Gallery of Oriental Art*, London 1948, 4-5. See also plate 4, 10-11; *Gabriel Painting*, with an introduction and notes by W. G. Archer, *Faber Gallery of Oriental Art*, London 1954, plate 4, 10-11. (P. HARDY)

(P. HARDY)

**BĀZHAR**, Bezor, a remedy against all kinds of poison, highly esteemed and paid for throughout the Middle Ages up to the 18th century, and in the Orient even up to this very day. The genuine (Oriental) Bezor-stone is obtained from the bezor-gnat (*Capra aegagrus Gm.*) and, according to the investigations of Friedrich Wöhler, the famous chemist (1800-1882), and others, it is a gall-stone. The stone seems to have been unknown to ancient Arabs, for neither in the lexica, nor in Sidiyūs, *Studium über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, 1919, is the word mentioned. The generally accepted etymology is Persian (*bāz*)-*har* "against poison" (P. Horn, in Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundr. d. ir. Phil.*, ii, 259). The Arabic books of stones and drugs present various spellings and etymologies that do not always correspond with each other, nor are the etymologies themselves throughout correct (see later).

For the first time in Islamic literature the Bāzhar seems to appear in some of the Hermetic writings (none of them printed), and in the (partly edited) pseudo-Aristotelian writings inspired by the Oriental translations of the Alexander Romance. In the Lapidary ascribed to Aristotle (J. Ruska, *Der Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, 1912, 104 f.) Bāzhar is erroneously stated to be Greek, while the explanation is the usual *al-nāfi* is 'I-*naamm*. The poisons coagulate the blood; this effect is prevented by the stone which frees the body of the poison by strongly sweating. Aristotle also registers the different colours of the Bāzhar and the places where it is found, namely: China, India, and 'East' and Khurāsān. Also as amulet and sealing-stone the Bāzhar is useful, as well as against the sting of poisonous insects (see below).

Some MSS. of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Sir al-Aṣār* (*Secretum secretorum*) offer a chapter on precious stones, namely, Oxon. Laud 210 and Paris 2418. The text of the former was translated in *Opera hucius*, inedita, Rogeri Baconi (i), V. *Secretum secretorum*, ed. R. Steele, 1920, 253; the latter has only been noted by 'Abdurrahīm Badawī, *Fontes Graecae (sic) doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum*, i, 1954, 167, n. 3. Steele also gives (174) the Latin text according to ed. Achillini, 1507, and







Upper Egypt led to a Muslim expedition, which defeated the chief, Khatma, and imposed a treaty (516/833). The caliph was acknowledged as suzerain, mosques in Bedja territory were to be respected, Muslim merchants and pilgrims were to pass in safety, and collectors of *ṣakl* from converts were to be allowed entry. Other provisions sought to prevent an alliance of the Bedja with Christian Nubia. Further raids and withholding of tribute from the gold-mines ensued. A cavalry expedition, sent by sea, defeated the Bedja camel-men, whose chief went to Šimāra in 241/855-6 to make his personal submission to al-Mutawakkil. Soon however the Bedja began to raid al-Fustāt itself. After a particularly severe attack, a force mustered by 'Abd al-Kahmān al-'Umarī intercepted a raiding-party and killed its chief. Supported by the Kabā'a and Qiyāyā, al-'Umarī established control over the mining districts (c. 255/868-9) and, after his death, Rabā'a, who intermarried with the Hadārīb, came to dominate the area. Al-Mas'ūdī describes the chief of Rabā'a in 332/943-4 as the owner of the mines; he commanded 5,000 Arabs and 30,000 Bedja camel-men. The ratio is probably more significant than the numbers. The rise of 'Ayyūbīb (c. 255) in the mid-15th/11th century increased the importance of the Hadārīb, whose territory was crossed by the route from the Nile valley to the port. A chief, called by Ibn Battūṭa al-Hadārīb, shared in the customs of 'Ayyūbīb. Information about the southern Bedja is sparse. Al-Ya'qūbī lists six Bedja "kingdoms". Al-Uṣūlī depicts the farthest Bedja as a fragmented, pagan society, in which each group had its own *kāhin* to give guidance on grazing and raids.

Decline of the Hadārīb and formation of the tribes. By the 18th/14th century the gold-mines had been abandoned and 'Ayyūbīb was in decline. These economic factors may explain the disappearance of the Hadārīb, who appear to have migrated southwards, perhaps becoming the Balaw ruling-caste which dominated the Bedja of the Suakin-Maṣāra hinterland. The spread of Arab tribes up the Nile and the establishment of the Muslim Funj sultanate (c. 902/1504) resulted ultimately in the general, if superficial, islamisation of the Bedja. This is reflected in the adoption of Arab pedigrees. Some of these (e.g. the derivation of the Bishrīn, Ummārī and 'Aḥāḥa from Khālīd b. al-Walīd or al-Zuhayr b. al-'Awwām) are obviously fictitious; others, such as the Hadānawīa claim to descent from an otherwise unknown Hūḡāḡ refugee from the Ottomans, may be a genuine memory of the tribe's development. The Funj period saw the appearance and expansion of the modern tribes. Funj suzerainty was recognised by the southernmost group, the B. 'Amīr, a congeries dominated by a caste of Sudanese-Arab descent, the Nabṭīb, which had superseded the Balaw about the end of the 16th century. The 18th century witnessed the westward expansion of the Ummārī and the drive of the Hadānawīa to the Kāḡh and 'Aḥāḥa. (See also 'ARABIA and 'ARABIA). Suakin had meanwhile become the principal port of the region and was connected with the Sudanese Nile by several routes across Bedja territory. From 1317 it was an Ottoman possession but by the early 19th century the port was controlled by a Bedja group, the Hadārīb, probably distinct from the medieval Hadārīb but, like them, linked genealogically with Hadramawt. They were ruled by the five Artayka clans.

The Egyptian conquest to the present day. The Egyptian conquest of the present day. The Egyptian conquest of the Nubian Sudan

(1821-22) did not immediately affect the Bedja. Khatma-gatherings at al-Taka (the Kāḡh region) failed permanently to subdue the Hadānawīa, and an administrative post was founded at Kasala (1840), which became a trading centre and the headquarters of the important Khātmiyya *ṭarīqa*. The Ummārī led tolls on the Suakin-Berber trade-route, and, like the Hadānawīa, were employed in transport. Although administrative control was imperfect, this was a time of pacification and economic progress. Artayka took the lead in developing the agriculture of the Baraka, previously slightly cultivated by the B. 'Amīr. Attempts were made to grow cotton commercially in the Kāḡh and Baraka deltas. The growing security and prosperity were shattered by the Mahdiyya. This aroused no response among the Bedja until the arrival of 'Uḡmīnā b. Abī Bakr Dikna in 1885. He owed his success less to his partly Bedja ancestry than to the support given him by the local head of an indigenous *ṭarīqa* which had left the rivalry of the government-backed Khātmiyya. 'Uḡmīnā Dikna cut the Suakin-Berber route, captured the government posts in Bedja territory and threatened Suakin itself. His followers, mainly Hadānawīa and Ummārī, fluctuated in their support, and the capture of his headquarters at Tūkar in 1891 by an Anglo-Egyptian force marked the beginning of the Mahdist decline among the Bedja. Pacification and development were resumed under the Condominium (1899-1956). The tribal organization was reconstructed. Security was effectively established. Schools and hospitals were set up in the towns. Contacts between the Bedja and the outside world were increased by economic developments—the creation of Port Sudan, the construction of railways linking the coast and Kasala with the Nile valley, the commercial production of cotton in the Kāḡh and Baraka deltas. The old way of life is however slow to change, and the full integration of the Bedja into the Sudanese polity remains a problem for the new Republic.

**Bibliography:** Principal references only. K. al-Maḡrībī, *K. al-Maḡrībī*, ed. G. Wiet, Cairo 1922, II, 267-80, which incorporates the 10th century account of Ibn Sulaym al-Uṣūlī and other material. Wiet's footnotes give valuable bibliographical references. Modern European sources to 1937 are listed in R. L. Hill, *Bibliography of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, London 1939. To this should be added O. G. S. Crawford, *The Funj Kingdom of Senaar*, Gloucester 1931; A. Paul, *A History of the Beja Tribes*, Cambridge 1954; and the following articles in *Sudan Notes and Records*: D. C. Cunningham, *A History of Kasala and the Province of Taba*, xxv, 1937, 1-66, xxviii, 1940, 1-54; xxviii, 2, 223-271; W. T. Clark, *Managers, Customs and Beliefs of the Northern Bedja*, xxvi, 1938, 1-30; S. F. Nadel, *Notes on Beni Amer*, xxvii, 1945, 53-64; A. Paul, *Notes on the Beni Amer*, xxxii, 2, 1950, 223-245. The collection made by the late Sir Douglas Newbold, entitled *History and Archaeology of the Beja Tribes of the Eastern Sudan*, now in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, contains tribal and other material. Copious documentation on the Bedja during the Mahdiyya exists in the Mahdist archives, held by the Ministry of the Interior, Khartoum.

(P. M. HOLY)

**BEDJĀWĀN** [see BĀDĀWĀN].

**BEDOUINS** [see BĀDŪW].

**BEG** or **BEY**, a Turkish title, "lord", used in a number of different ways. The various dialect forms (*bāg*, *bāh*, *bek*, *bey*, *bīy*, *bi*, *pig*, etc.) all derive from the old Turkish *bāg* as seen from the Orkhon inscriptions (8th Century) and the Chinese transcriptions concerning the Turks of Mongolia of the same period. The word has no Altaic origin. Mongol *begi* being a later loanword from Turkish; the series Turkish *bāh*, *bāg*/Mongol *bārka*, *bāsi* "strong, sound", etc., owes nothing to the old Turkish *bāg* and should be dissociated from it; the same is true of the series: Turkish *bāg*, *bāg* "wise-man, sorcerer", Mongol *bāg*, *bā* "Shaman". Like many other titles, *bāg* is a loan word possibly deriving from the Iranian *bāg*, viz. the title of the Sāsānid king "divine", from an older form *bāga* "God", cf. *Bāg-dād*.

In the Orkhon inscriptions the compound term *bāg-lar* refers to the "nobility", "the order of beys", as opposed to the *bodun* "people, masses". The word *bāg* also appears in these texts to denote the second rank in the hierarchy of high dignitaries. Finally, there is the evidence of a *Bars* *Bāg* who becomes *Khān* and brother-in-law of the Turkish Grand Khan. These different usages show that the title *bāg* (as later with *beg* or *bey*) does not imply a specific position or duty but is essentially honorific. Hence among many Turkish peoples it is joined to the name of the "elder brother": *agha* *bāg* *agha*, or *agha* *bāg* = old Ottoman *agha* *bey* "lord elder brother". Some Turkish societies have reserved the title for personages of high rank; others have given it an extended general meaning of "chief", "master", "husband" or "Mr.". It can only assume a precise connotation in a given social and administrative context, often as the second part of a compound (as *beg* "chief of tent", "comptrol", Golden Horde; Ott. *sandjak beyli*; etc.); or as a title when used with a proper name which it usually follows: *Bars Bāg*, *Mehmed Bey*. The feminine title of *Begum* [q.v.] is simply a possessive form of the 1st pers. sing. of *beg* = *bāg-im* "my lord", thence "my lady"; cf. *Khān-im*, a similar possessive formation which has assumed a feminine connotation.

(L. BAZIN)

In Islamic times we find the word applied under the Karakhanids to at least one high official; and it was the title first borne by Tughrul and his brother Çağrı, the founders of the Saljuqid empire. Under the Saljuqids and other subsequent Turkish régimes, as Turkish terms began to be used officially side by side with the traditional Arabic and Persian, *beg* came to be employed as the equivalent of the Arabic *amir*, as in the titles *begler-beg* or *beylerbeyi*, equivalent to *amir al-umard*, and *sandjak-beyi*, equivalent to (*amir*) *livā*. Under these régimes, again, whereas the great monarch would be entitled *Khān*, *Khān*, or *sultān*, lesser sovereigns, such as those of Anatolia, or state successors to the Saljuqids, the Karakoyunlu, and the Akkoyunlu, were entitled *beg*, as indeed was the great Timur himself.

Under the Ilkhanes *beg* was sometimes used for women, and under the Moguls of India the feminine form, *begam*, was common. Under the Safawids, since the ruler went by the title *shāh*, *beg* lost ground for lesser personages to *khān* and even *sultān*. Under the Ottomans, on the other hand, it remained in wide use for tribal leaders, high civil and military functionaries, and the sons of the great, particularly *paḡas*.

**Bibliography:** *EP*, art. *Beg* by Barthold;

*IA*, art. *Beg* by Köprülü; *Rehsoze*, Turkish-English Lexicon, s.v. (H. BÖRKS).

**BEGDİLİ**, a tribe of the Boz-ök branch of the Oghuz (Turkmen) peoples. Anōghṭag, ancestor of the Khwārimshāh dynasty, is sometimes believed to be of this tribe, but this is probably not so. A large Begdili community was found among the Turkmens in Syria in the 8th/14th century. At that time they were led by Tashkhūn (Tashkūn) Oghlān. They were regarded as one of the most important Turkmen tribes in Syria in the 9th/15th century. Another important branch of this tribe lived in the 14 villages of the Gūlār district of the 101 province in the same century; their leaders were in possession of fiefs (*ḍarāḥ*). The Begdili of Syria were the largest of the Turkmen tribes in the Aleppo region in the 10th/16th century; they had 40 clans during the first half of the same century. The Syrian Begdili also had important clans in the Yemī II and among the Boz Ulus in the Diyārḥakr region. Another branch of these Begdili went to Iran together with the *khān* Shāhīn. The finest grazing grounds between Dīyārḥakr and Aleppo were, in the 11th/17th century, in their possession. They were, however, punished by Khūsraw Pāshā during his Baghdad expedition (1039/1630), for refusing to pay taxes and for allowing their cattle to destroy the crops of the local people. They are estimated to have had 12,000 tents during the second half of the same century. Like many other tribes, the Begdili were called to take part in the Austrian campaign in 1101/1600. A few years later the government made an attempt to settle the Begdili and other Turkmen tribes living near them, in the Rakka region. Consequently some Begdili settled in Rakka and the rest in the Aleppo and 'Aynṭab region. As already mentioned a branch of the Syrian Begdili went to Iran together with the Shāhīn. Many important Safawī commanders and governors were of this tribe. A branch of Begdili is seen among the Gīkīn III in the Astarābād region.

**Bibliography:** Faruk Sümer, *Buḡala Oğuz Boylarına Dair*, in *Dil ve Türk ve Coğrafya Fakhri Dergisi*, x/1, Ankara 1953.

(FARUK SÜMER)

**BEGLERBEGİ**, *beylerbeyi*, Turkish title meaning 'beg of the begs', 'commander of the commanders'. Like other titles it suffered progressive debasement: having originally designated 'commander-in-chief of the army' it came to mean 'provincial governor' and finally was no more than an honorary rank. In the first sense it was used by the Saljuqs of Rūm as an alternative title for the *malik al-umard* and by the Ilkhanids as the title of the chief of the four *umard* *al-ulus*. In the empire of the Golden Horde the title was used for all the *umard* *al-ulus*. In Mamlūk Egypt it was perhaps used for the *alibak al-ashīr*. (For references to the sources see M. F. Köprülü, *Osmanlı Müesseselerinin Örneği*, İstanbul 1937, 190-5 [Italian translation: *Alcune osservazioni* ...], Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente di Roma, 1944, and I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatı Medhal*, I, 1941, index; cf. also D. Ayalon in *BSOAS* XVI [1953], 59).

Among the Ottomans too the title seems to have meant originally 'commander-in-chief' (in which sense it is used by Sa'd al-Din, l. 69). It is said to have been first bestowed on Lala Shāhīn by Murād I when, after the capture of Edirne, he himself returned to Bursa (Giese's *Anon.*, 22a = Uroğ. 22). Lala Shāhīn was succeeded by Timurtaş, still apparently the sole *beglerbeyi*, who was left to guard Anadolu



when Bayezid I marched against Mirā (Neshir [Taschmer] 186). When Müsā, during the 'time of troubles', had seized the European territories he appointed a *vezir*, a *kādī* and a *beglerbegi* (Giese's *Ann.* 451). But *beglerbegi* of Rumeli in Cevall 290 and 'Saldjukscheile' (Giese 189). By the end of the reign of Mehmed II at the latest there existed two *beglerbegis*, with territorial designations, one 'of Rumeli' and one 'of Anadolu' (cf. 'Afr.' 181, '*beglerbegis* of Anadolu' and 183, '*beglerbegis* of Rumeli'; such reference for earlier periods in later historians may be anachronisms). This was clearly the case under Murad II, by which time the *beglerbegis* of Rumeli and Anadolu were the governors-general of the two provinces, their main responsibility being the supervision, through the *sandjak-begis* (q.v.), of the feudal *sipahis*, whom in time of war they led into battle. As Ottoman territory expanded, new provinces were created, so that by the end of the 16th/17th century the *beglerbegis* numbered nearly forty. The *beglerbegi* of Rumeli (who from 1521/1536 onwards was admitted to the *divan*, cf. Forlister 1, 593) always took precedence, the others, if of the same rank (see below), taking precedence according to the dates of the conquest of their provinces. It was not unknown for the Grand Vizier to hold also the office of *beglerbegi* of Rumeli.

It is clear from a *Kānūn-nāme* of Mehmed II that already in his reign *beglerbegi* had come to be also an honorary rank (as it had perhaps been under the Saldjuks of Rūm, cf. Köprülüzeade, *op. cit.*, 192), holders of which took precedence immediately after *vezirs*. By the end of the 11th/12th century *Rumeli beglerbegis* too had become an honorary rank, besides denoting the actual governor-general. Conversely, from the 16th/17th century onwards, the office of *beglerbegi* of important provinces was often bestowed on holders of the rank of *vezir*, who had authority over *beglerbegis* of neighbouring provinces. The *vezir* was entitled to three tugs, the *beglerbegi* to two. Both *vezirs* and *beglerbegis* bore the title *paşa*, whence the *sandjak* in which the *beglerbegi* resided was known as *paşa sandjakı*.

The *beglerbegi* was regarded as 'viceroy', *salname şehidi*; he had a miniature coat of arms and presided at his own *divan*. At first he had full powers to grant *timars* and *25'40ims*, his appointments being automatically ratified, but after 937/1530 he could grant with his own *herid* only the smaller (*teğhirsiz*) *timars*.

In the 12th/16th century the terminology became further confused, for (1) the name *paşa* (q.v.) was increasingly given to the governor-general, and *beglerbegi* in this sense fell into desuetude (except for the *beglerbegis* of Rumeli and Anadolu, to judge from D'Osson, *Tableau général*, vii, 278); (2) the Persian *mirā mirān*, *mīrān* (q.v.), which had earlier been used indiscriminately (together with *Ar. amir al-umara'* [q.v.] as a synonym for *beglerbegi*, was increasingly given to the governor-general, and *beglerbegi*, and bestowed as such even on governors of *sandjaks*. With the thorough re-organisation of provincial administration by the law of 1281/1864 the term *paşa* became the official designation of the provincial governor (cf. A. Heidhorn, *Droit public et administratif de l'Empire Ottoman*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1908, 137 ff.). Thereafter only the terms *Rumeli beglerbegi*, *mīrān* and *mirā amir* survived, and they only as honorary titles.

In the Safavid state the *beglerbegis* formed the second of four classes of provincial governors (*Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, tr. and comm. V. Minorsky,

GMS New Series xvi, London 1943, 25, 43, 163). *Bibliography*: Hammer-Purgstall, *Staats-, passim*; P. A. von Tschendorf, *Das Lehnenwesen in den Osmanischen Staaten*, Leipzig 1872; J. Deny, *Sommaire des Archives Turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, 41-52, and articles *Paşa* and *Timir* in *EP*; W. L. Wright, *Ottoman Statescraft*, Princeton 1935, index; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, index; idem, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, index; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, s.v. *Beglerbeyi*; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the World*, (1), Oxford 1950, 137 ff. and sources there referred to. For the syntactical use of the word see Deny, *Gr.* 55 2115-7.

(V. L. MENAGE)

**BEGTEGINIDS**, an important seigniorial family which, though it never completely freed itself from the overlordship of its powerful neighbours, possessed for a century extensive lands in Upper Mesopotamia, partly in the east around Irbil and partly in the west for a shorter period, around Harrān. The founder of the family, Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Kūšūk b. Begtegin, was a Turcoman officer whose fortune was linked from the beginning with that of Zenki. Probably as a result of his participation in this prince's campaigns in Kurdish territory, we find him in possession of a number of districts, stretching from the Great Zab to the lands of the Hanayid and Hakkari Kurds, Takrit, and Şahrūr, with Irbil at their centre. In 530/1145, after the revolt of the Saldjuksid Alp-Arslan at Mosul, Zenki further gave him military control over this town. Despite this power he remained a faithful lieutenant of Zenki's two successors in Mosul, Sayf al-Dīn and Kuth al-Dīn, as well as of their vizier Djamāl al-Dīn al-İsfahānī, until the time of his disgrace; the last-named of these princes added to his territories Sindjar and Harrān, the latter in compensation for Jūm in Syria which one of his brothers had to give up to Nūr al-Dīn, the uncle of Kuth al-Dīn and prince of Aleppo. However, at the end of his life Zayn al-Dīn surrendered all his lands to Kuth al-Dīn, securing in exchange his own right of succession to Irbil alone. He died an old man in 563/1168, and left the reputation of being brave, upright, temperate, and a protector of the devout.

His fate, however, was surpassed by that of his son Muzaffar al-Dīn Gökburī. The latter, ejected first from Irbil by the governor of that town (and later of Mosul), Kāimān, to the advantage of his younger brother Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf. From Kuth al-Dīn he received in compensation Harrān, which his father had held. At the opportune moment he aligned himself with Saladin, who added Edessa and Samosata and married him to one of his sisters. From that time on he played a glorious part in most of Saladin's campaigns, in particular the conquest of Palestine and Syria and the struggle against the Franks (third Crusade). Then in 586/1190, his brother Yūsuf having died after he also had had to surrender to the confederate armies in front of Acre, Gökburī surrendered his *Diyar* Muḥar territories to Saladin on behalf of his brother Takī al-Dīn 'Umar and obtained from him as *de facto* overlord of the Zenkids the succession to the entire province of Irbil. He held this for forty-four lunar years, until he was eighty-one years old, and judging from his revenues considered himself from the time of Saladin's death as the vassal of the Caliph alone. He played an astute part in the struggles which went on all this

time among the various rulers of Upper Mesopotamia, supporting first the Ayyūbids against the Zenkids, and later the weakened Zenkids, to whom he married two daughters, according to the sons of al-'Adīl. Finally he set himself to opposing the ambitions of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', the lieutenant and successor of the Zenkids, who was an ally of the Ayyūbids al-Aḡraf. At the end of his life, having no son and fearing the intervention of his different neighbours, Gökburī bequeathed his principality to the Caliph, who brought it under effective occupation (630/1233).

Apart from diplomatic and military matters Gökburī was concerned with various enterprises of social value, especially at Irbil, though their influence extended beyond the town itself. He instituted *madrasas*, *ḫanahās*, hospitals and almshouses, and public services in aid of pilgrims, as well as contributing to the ransom of prisoners of the Franks, etc. He seems to have been the first prince to celebrate formally the *Marid* festival, perhaps as a reaction to the Šh'P nativity festivals or Christmas as kept by the Irbil Christians. He was a devout and a well-read man, much visited by scholars and writers from foreign lands. In governing he was assisted, particularly on such occasions, by his vizier, who was known by reason of his former activities as *Mustafā* of Irbil, and compiled the history of the town. Ibn al-Khalikān and his family were among their most famous protégés. Around the town of Irbil, which had always remained Christian and somewhat aside from the current of Muslim history, there grew up a new lower town, and the whole became transformed into a Muslim centre of some standing. This advance, which was attended by a rather severe fiscal policy, was set at naught by the Mongol sack of 634/1237.

*Bibliography*: Apart from the historians of Saladin, see especially Ibn al-Aḡfir, *Atabeis* and *Kāmil* (index); Sibṭ b. al-Djauṭi, *Mir'at*, 680-683; Ibn Wāṭil, *Muḥarrir*, Bibl. Nat. Paris 1702, 288 v-289 v; Ibn al-'Amīd, ed. Cl. Cahen, in *REO* 1958, year 630; Ibn al-Khalikān, ed. 638, trans. De Slane 535 ff. (cf. 532); Ibn al-Furāt, ed. Must. Djawād, 44 ff.; Yāqūt, i, 186-187; the coin catalogues of the British Museum (Lane-Poole, iii) and Istanbul (İsmail Ghalib); H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, 13-14; 'Abbas al-'Azizī, *Al-Bektigin Gökburī an imir al-Irbil fi 'Sādihim*, dans *Madgalla...* *Revue de l'Académie arabe du Caire*, XXI-XXII, 1956-1959, see also the articles *IRBIL* and *MALWIT*. (CL. CAHEN)

**BEGTİMUR** (see *ŞHARH ARMAN*). **BEGUM** (Indo-Persian BEGAM, Turkish BİGİM), feminine of BEG (q.v.). During the Mughal period of Indian history its use, as an honorific, was confined to the royal princesses only. Dīshānārā Begam (q.v.) the unmarried daughter of Şāhjdjāhān (q.v.), bore the official title of Pādshāh Begam during the reign of her father. She retained it even after the dethronement and subsequent incarceration of Şāhjdjāhān. During Akbar's rule the Begams (queens and princesses) received from 1228 to 1610 rupees per annum as privy purse. After the death of Dīshānārā, his widow Nūr Dīshān, received 200,000 rupees per annum allowed her by Şāhjdjāhān. Mumtāz Mahal, the consort of Şāhjdjāhān, drew 1,000,000 rupees annually from the Imperial Exchequer while Pādshāh Begam enjoyed an allowance of 600,000 rupees per annum, half in cash and half in lands. Awrangzib gave the latter 1,200,000 rupees per annum. Before the establishment of Pakistan (1947), Indian Muslim ladies of high and noble

birth were designated as "begams". Now all married women in Pakistan, with the exception of those belonging to the poorer classes, are called "begams", the equivalent of *khānim* Mrs., or Madame. In this sense the word is practically unknown to the Arabic and Persian speaking countries. Husbands, in public and private, not infrequently address their wives as begam, scrupulously avoiding pronouncing their given names. Domestic and menials, as a rule, address their mistresses, in India and Pakistan, as begams. Conventionally, every newly-born girl bears this word as a suffix to her name, but the practice is now fast disappearing.

*Bibliography*: Hobson-Jobson, s.v.; *Asaf al-Lughāt*, s.v.; Sayyid Ahmad, *Farhang-i Asafiyā*, s.v.; 'Abd al-Hamid Lāhūtī, *Bādshāh-nāma* (Bibl. Ind.), i 96 and index; *Ā'in-i Akbari* (Eng. transl.), i 612. (A. S. RAEMEE ANSARI)

**BEHARISTĀN** (see *BEHĀM*).

**BEHESNĀ** (see *BEHĀM*).

**BEHISTUN** (see *BEHISTUN*).

**BEHNESĀ** (see *BEHNESĀ*).

**BEHRĀM** (see *BEHRĀM*).

**BEIRUT** (see *BEIRUT*).

**BEJA** (see *BĀDJA*).

**BEKRİ MUSTAFĀ AGHA**, the name of a drunkard, who lived in the reign of Sultān Murād IV (1623-1640), and is said to have led him into habits of drunkenness; the name *bekrī* therefore in Turkish still commonly means a drunkard. In the popular literature and in the Karagöz plays the drunkard Bekrī Mustafā Agha is a well-known figure, characterised by his sharp and ready wit and his Bohemian way of life. Evliya even gives the title of a *Tahidī Bekrī Mustafā the Blind Arab Beggar* (*Seyahat-nāme*, i, 654).

*Bibliography*: Jacob, *Traditionen über Bekrī Mustafā Agha*, in *Kelid Sazmle*, v (1904), 271; T. Menzel, *Bekrī Mustafā bei Mehmed Tefik*, *shid.*, vii (1906), 83; H. Ritter, *Karagöz*, Wiesbaden 1953, index. (F. GIESE)

**BERTĀSHIYYA** (see *BEKTAŠIYYA*). **BERTĀSHIYYA**, a Dervish order in Turkey. The patron of the order is Hādījī Bektāsh Wall, whose biography as given in the order's traditional writings, (the first version of which goes back to about the beginning of the 9th/15th century) is legendary, its purpose being manifestly to bring together the saint with famous religious personalities and to account for the later political importance of the Bektāshīyya by insisting on the activity of its alleged founder. It is quite out of the question that Bektāsh was ever in relation with 'Oghmān and Orkhān or that he consecrated the Janissary corps (established for the first time under Murād II), as is maintained by the Bektāshī tradition and by some historical sources written under its influence.

We can however consider as certain the appearance in the 7th/13th century, among the dervishes of Anatolia, of Hādījī Bektāsh from Khurāsān. He was probably a disciple of Bābī Ishāq (see *BĀWĀ*), whose revolt had taken place in 638/1240. The aristocratic entourage of the rival Mawlawīyya order later laid emphasis on this. According to the researches of M. Fuad Köprülü, the order originated from the circle of his disciples. However, in the *Mahāshī* of Hādījī Bektāsh, originally written in Arabic and translated into Turkish verse by Khālīl-oghlu and afterwards rendered also into Turkish prose, the secret rites and doctrines characteristic



of the Bektāshīyya are not particularly emphasised. At all events, the order, whose immediate predecessors appear to have been the Abdālīn-Rūm, already existed in the 8th/14th century; it was at the beginning of the 10th/16th century that the grand master Bālm Sultān, the "second Fīr", gave it its definite form.

Turkish dervish institutions had received their characteristic features in western Turkestan from Ahmad Yasawi (d. 562/1166); they had acquired an ever increasing expansion in Anatolia, but at the same time they had adopted heretical tendencies. The Bektāshīyya was able to conserve a good deal of the pre-Islamic and heretical elements in those regions where the order absorbed Muslim as well as Christian sects it came to include a large part of the population, as for instance in southern Anatolia and particularly in Albania, where there arose a kind of mixed religion, composed of Islamic and Christian elements. Also other communities with closely related related dogmas and rites, and especially the groups comprised under the denomination of Kīrlībāshī, stood in certain relations to it.

The attitude of the Bektāshīs towards Islām is marked both by the general features of popular mysticism, and by their far-reaching disregard for Muslim ritual and worship, even including the *ṣalāt*. In their secret doctrines they are *Ṣūfīs*, acknowledging the twelve imāms and, in particular, holding *Ḍjā'far al-Ṣādiq* in high esteem. The centre of their worship is 'Alī; they unite 'Alī with Allāh and Muḥammad into a trinity. From 2 till 10 Muḥarrarūn they celebrate the nights of mourning (*mīlām gūjeler*); also the other 'Aīd martyrs and especially the *ma'yāmīn pāk* (those who perished in infancy) are highly venerated by them. In the 9th/15th century the cabalistic number speculations of the Hurūfīs spread among them, while the *Djīvān* of Fadl Allāh Burūfī in its Persian redaction, and the Turkish exposition of the doctrines of the sect written by Ferīd-oghlu under the title *ʿAḥḥādīna*, have canonical authority with them. Furthermore they believe in the migration of souls.

The Christian elements may already partly have belonged to the Anatolian predecessors of the Bektāshīs; other parts were perhaps taken over from Christian groups who joined them later. On the occasion of the reception of new members there is a distribution of wine, bread and cheese, which is probably a survival of the Holy Communion as practised by the Aristoītes. Moreover the Bektāshīs make a confession of sins before their spiritual chiefs, who grant them absolution. Women take part in their rites without veiling their faces. A narrower group vow themselves to celibacy, the celibates wearing earrings as a distinctive mark. It is not yet made clear whether celibacy existed already in early times among the Bektāshīs; probably it was introduced for the first time by Bālm Sultān.

The Bektāshīs not seldom settled in famous places of pilgrimage, explaining the sanctity of the latter in conformity with their own traditions, for instance in Seyyid Ḡhāfīr near Eskişehir and in several places in Albania. The miracles described in the legends of their saints have often conserved shamanistic features.

The entire order was governed by the Čelebi, who resided in the master monastery (*ḡīr-ḡāh*) at Māḡḡīdī Bektāshī, constructed over the saint's tomb (between Kīrşehir and Kayseri). This office used to pass in the 18th and 19th centuries from father to son; it was not, however, always hereditary.

The celibates have their own grand master or *dede*. The head of one single monastery (*tekke*) is called *bāba*; the fully initiated member *dergīh*, the member who has only taken the first vow *muhīb*, the not yet initiated adherent *ʿāḡīh*. The discipline is chiefly governed by the relation of the *muhīb* to his disciples and novices.

The Bektāshīs wear a white cap, consisting of four or twelve folds. The number four symbolises the "four gates": *ḡharīʿa*, *ṭarīka*, *ma'rīʿa*, *ḡhāḡīka*, and the four corresponding classes of people: *ʿāḡīd*, *ʿāḡīf*, *ʿāḡīf*, *muhīb*; the number twelve points to the number of the imāms. Particularly characteristic are also the twelve-fluted *ladīm lādīm*, which worn round the neck, and the *teher* (double-axe). Illustrations are to be found in the work of J. K. Birge (see bibliography).

The big *tekkes* comprise the following parts: *maydān evi*, the monastery proper with the oratory; *ekmek evi*, the bakehouse and the women's quarters; *ak evi*, the kitchens; *mīlmām evi*, the guest quarters.

Among the many earlier settlements of the order the following should be mentioned. In Rumelia: Dimetoka and Kalkandelen; in Anatolia: Ḡḡmūdīnīk north-west of Anasya and Elmalı in Lycia; near Cairo first at Kasr al-'Ayn and soon afterwards also on the Muḡattām slope (already as early as the 9th/15th century); there are others in Baghdad and at Karbādī.

The Bektāshī form of the dervish religion deeply influenced the pious attitude of the Turkish people. Next to the mystical writings proper of the order there flourished also a rich and fervent lyric poetry of Bektāshī poets.

The order's political importance was due to its connexion with the Janissaries; the latter had been from the beginning, in the same way as all other early political institutions of the Ottomans, under the influence of religious corporations. In the second half of the 9th/15th century at the latest the Bektāshīs acquired exclusive authority amongst them. The receptivity of the Janissaries to Bektāshī beliefs may perhaps be explained by their Christian origin. Their connexion with this strictly organised order gave the Janissary corps the character of a closed corporation. The Bektāshīs also took part in several dervish rebellions against the Ottoman power, e.g., the revolt of Kalender-oghlu (933/1526-1527). The destruction of the Janissaries in 1243/1826 by Mahmūd II affected also the order to which they were linked; many monasteries were destroyed at the time. Towards the middle of the 19th century began the renewal of the order, and the rebuilding of the monasteries; the Bektāshīs experienced a revival which found expression in its literary activity at the end of the 19th century and even after 1908.

In the autumn of 1925 the Bektāshīs, like all dervish orders in Turkey, were dissolved; it was, however, precisely the Bektāshīs who had opened the way for many measures inaugurated by the Turkish republic (relation to Islamic orthodoxy; position of women). To-day the Bektāshīs continue their existence in the Balkan peninsula, particularly in Albania where their chief monastery is in Tirana; according to certain documents, there were still 30,000 Bektāshīs in Turkey in 1932 (cf. C.O.C., 1932, 206).

**Bibliography:** Pioneer works in critical research are the studies of G. Jacob and Kīrşehirli Mehmed Fuad and his school. These writings and the remaining bibliography are mentioned in: J. K. Birge, *The Bektāshī Order*

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**BELEN** (see BAYLĀN).

**BELEYN.** The name of a tribe-group of herdsmen and cultivators in the southern part of the Keren province of Eritrea. Known to themselves as Bogas, and numbering some 30,000 souls, they are organised in two main tribes, the Bayt Tarkē and Bayt Tawke, strictly similar in culture and habit, though claiming distinct (mainly mythical) origins. A characteristic master-and-serv relationship has long been traditional among them, but tribal has now largely given place to direct government authority. The Beleyen generally followed Coptic Christianity until the Egyptian occupation of Keren area in 1277-1294 (1860-1876), but have since adopted Islām.

The Beleyen language, unknown elsewhere, is an unsentimental dialect of the Agau group of Kuschitic (Hamitic) languages. This, and their social structure and folk-lore, indicate that their presence in Eritrea is due to the immigration of little-known Agau elements from northern Ethiopia in the 10th and 11th (16th and 17th) centuries into territory previously occupied by folk of lower culture and energy.

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**BELGRADE** (in modern Serbian *Beograd* = White City), capital of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and of the People's Republic of Serbia, at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube. It comprises Beograd, the old town on the right bank of the Sava and the Danube, Novi Beograd (= New Belgrade), a new settlement still under construction, on the left bank of the Sava, and Zemun, the old town on the Danube. A number of smaller places on both banks of the Sava and the Danube also belong to Belgrade. It has more than 500,000 inhabitants.

Since Belgrade became the capital of Yugoslavia in 1918, it has begun to spread to the far side of the Sava and the Danube. In former times it covered only the area along the right bank of the Sava and the right bank of the Danube below the confluence. It was here that the Celtic Scordisci founded a settlement and named it *Scordis*, a name which the town retained in the days of Roman rule (Singidunum). During the Bulgar rule in the 9th century, the town received its Slavonic name, which it retained, despite frequent changes of rulers (including Byzantine and, later, Hungarian

ones). It was, however, frequently translated (Alba Bulgaria, Nandor Alba, Nandor Fejervár, Alba Graeca, Griechisch Weissenburg). In their day, the Turks referred to it as *بلگراد* (Belgrad).

In order to distinguish it from other towns in Albania, Hungary, and Transylvania which also bore the name of Belgrade, the Turks occasionally called it *Belgrad Uğures* (in the 15th century), *Aḡaḡī Belgrad*, *Tama Belgrad*, *Edipgrad*, *Semendire*, or similar names. In some Turkish documents, and in contemporary geographical and historical works, Belgrade is sometimes designated by names applied in the Islamic world to border towns and strategically important fortresses. Thus the name *dār al-ḡhīdīd* is found frequently, and this has led some of the earlier Serbian historians to state that this was the Turkish name for Belgrade. Prof. F. Bajraktarević has proved that such a statement is unfounded.

Up to the First World War, Belgrade was an important fortress on the road from Central Europe to the Near East. Thanks to its strategic importance, Belgrade has had a stormy past. After it had changed rulers frequently in the Middle Ages (Byzantines, Bulgars, Hungarians, and Serbs), Belgrade was ceded to the Hungarians after the death of the Serbian despot Stevan Lazarević (1427). For nearly a century, it was the most important base for the defence of the southern borders of Hungary against Turkish raids.

If we disregard some uncertain reports concerning a siege of Belgrade by Illyerids, the Turks twice attacked Belgrade prior to 863/1459: in 843/1440, when the town resisted a six months' siege, and under Meḡmūd II the Conqueror, who in 866/1456, arrived with a great army, a fleet, and strong artillery. Encircled on the landward side, with the Turkish fleet blocking the Danube, and heavily bombarded, Belgrade now the less held out. Assistance reached the town, and under the leadership of János Hunyady, who took over the defence after the break-through, the garrison of Belgrade resisted successfully, despite the fact that the Turks had penetrated into the lower fortress. After a premature assault, the Turks gave up the siege on July 23rd. This was the second occasion on which Belgrade won fame as "The outer wall of Christendom". In 845/1441-2, the Turks built a fortress opposite Belgrade, on the mountain Avala (Havala). This fortress played an important part in the Turkish raids on Belgrade after Serbia finally fell under Turkish rule (863/1459). The defensive power of Belgrade decreased during the first decades of the 10th/16th century in the clashes with the Turks. Broken by financial and political crises, Hungary was not able to give regular pay to the garrison; still less could it improve its defences.

During Sultān Sulaymān's first campaign (927/1521), the Turkish army entered Belgrade on 29 August 1521, after a long siege. The Hungarian troops were sent home, the Serbian population was settled in Constantinople, and some of the Serbian crews of the warships in the Danube became sailors in Turkish service. At that time, the west of the *sandjak* of Smederevo (Semendire) was moved to Belgrade, and Bālī-bey (died 933/1527) the son of Yahyā Paḡḡa, was made governor. In order to make Belgrade secure, Bālī Bey destroyed all settlements in the neighbouring areas of Syria, and he used the building materials of these destroyed Syrian towns for Belgrade's new fortifications,







on his minister Khwāja Dīshān. It was captured by Bābur in 1505/1529. During the reign of Akbar, Rājā Dījay Singh Sawā'i built many a temple and an observatory here, the latter is now in ruins. Shihābādīn appointed his eldest son, Dārā Shukoh, as the governor of the town when he came into close contact with Brahmans and imbibed Hindu learning. Avraṅzīb, enraged at Muslim students also being taught by Brahmans, ordered the closure of its *madrasas*. He also built a mosque on the site of an ancient Hindu temple which he destroyed on the plea that it was being used as a seat of conspiracy. The name of the city was also changed to Muḥammadshāh but it never gained popularity, although it appears on his coins struck here. Muḥammad Shāh "Rangīlā" (1132/1719-1162/1748) bestowed the *pargana* of Benares on Maṣārīm, a Rājput zamindār, whose son Balwant Singh sided with the British during the Battle of Buxar, (1764) when he became independent of the Nawab of Awadh. It was ceded to the British in 1169/1775. In 1930 the estate was merged into the Indian Union forming part of the Banāras Division (Uttar Pradesh).

Kabir, the Indian *sāfi*-poet, came of a weaver family of this place. 'Alī Hazin, the Persian poet, lies buried here. It is also the birth-place of Aghā Ḥaṣhr, an Urdu dramatist. Benares is famous for its silks and brocade manufactured by Muslim weavers. The morning at Benares, like the evening at Lucknow, has become proverbial in Urdu literature.

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(A. S. BAIME ANSARD)

**BENAVENT**, (in al-Idrīsī b.n.d.h.), Benevento, never captured by the Muslims, even for a short period as were Bari and Taranto. However, in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries the Muslims became involved in the history of the town and principality of Benevento, having frequently been both enemies and allies of its princes in their domestic struggles, as well as often plundering and threatening its territory. The period on which we are best informed, thanks to the Latin sources, is the middle portion of the 3rd/9th century (the Arab sources are silent in this regard or give only very vague information). We know that in 228/84 a Saracen *amir* Apolaffar or Apolaffar (Abū Dī'ālī), who had come

from Taranto, became the ally of prince Sicomulph against his rival Radelechis, but eventually quarrelled with Sicomulph and was killed defending Benevento. In 237/851 we find a certain Massar (Abū Ma'shar), with a troop of Saracens, allied to this same Radelechis. Massar was later treacherously seized by Radelechis and executed together with his family. Some years after this Benevento was again threatened by Sawdān, the emir of Bari. It was only during the 4th/10th century that the Muslim danger receded, to disappear in the 5th/11th century with the Norman conquest of Sicily. According to the testimony of al-Idrīsī the town of Benevento is very old (*al-Idrīsī* says its population is large).

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(F. GABRIELI)

**BENAVENT**, a Muslim leader who inspired Arab resistance to the Normans in eastern Sicily from 462/1072 until 479/1086. His name figures as *Benaout* or *Benaouth* in the account of the historian of the Normans, Malaterra. This person, of whom the Muslim sources make no mention, defeated the son of Count Roger in 467/1075 near Catania, captured this town in 474/1081, and in 478/1085 led expeditions from it into Calabria. In the following year he was besieged by Roger in Syracuse, and made a supreme effort to free this stronghold, which seems to have been the centre of his power. He was killed in the ensuing naval battle in the port, on 8 Šafar 479/25 May 1086. The real Arab name of this champion of Islam in Sicily was Ibn 'Abdāb. His memory has been handed down only by his enemies, who admired his courage. Almost certainly he was a forerunner of the Muḥammad b. 'Abdāb who a century and a half later led the last great revolt of the Sicilian Muslims against Frederick II, by whom he was put to death.

**Bibliography:** M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, III, 151-160. (F. GABRIELI)

**BENDER**, a town in Bessarabia; the name appears on a coin of Mengli Gerey dated 905/1499-1500. It is found in the Tatar documents as *Bender-Kerman* (V. Zernov, *Materialy*, 16). Bender, from Persian *Bandar*, was called earlier *Tigana* or *Tigiana*, which may have a Kuman origin. That the town was first established by the Genoese is a legend (*Chronique d'Ércebe*, ed. Girescu). Its rise as a trading town with important customs revenue was due to its being on the "Tatar-route" on which an active trade was carried on between Lvov and the Crimea and Ak Kirmān (2.6.) in the 14th century. The place seems to have passed under the rule of the Tatars to that of the Moldavian princes around 1490. The Tatars tried to reconquer it (Ulugh Muḥammad in 1428 and Imnek Mirzā in 1476), and, finally Mengli Gerey in cooperation with the Ottomans took it with Kavhan and Tombasar in 1484. When in 945/1538 Süleyman II invaded Moldavia and formed the new *sandak* of Ak Kirmān with the incorporation of the south Bessarabia he ordered the erection of a strong castle on the new border at Bender. A good description of the castle was given by Ewliyā Celibī (v, 116-120) in 1097/1686-87. It became the seat of a *sandak*-begi toward 1570 and later it was attached to the newly formed *şeykh* of Ozi. The khān of Bender had 40 *şahīr* (2.6.) under his jurisdiction and the customs house, always active, was under an *emīn* (2.7.). Ewliyā Celibī reported that its "xaruch" lying on the west and

the south of the castle consisted of 7 Muslim and 7 non-Muslim districts with 1700 houses and about 200 shops. Bender was, Ewliyā adds, "the key of the empire" in the north, a stronghold especially against the Cossacks of Dnieper.

Bender was also famous as the refuge of Charles XII of Sweden between 3 August 1709 and 17 February 1713 and of Potocki in 1768. The Russians captured it first on 27 September 1770, in 1789 and on 8 November 1806 keeping it only with the treaty of Bucharest, 28 May 1812.

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(HALIL İNALCIK)

**BENDER** [see BANGAR].

**BENG** [see BANGG].

**BENGAL** [see BANGALA].

**BENGALI**.

(i) Muslim Bengali Language.

Bengali belongs to the Indo-European family of languages. It may have begun to evolve as a separate language with a distinct identity, out of Gauṛa Apabhraṃsa, about the 8th or 9th century A.D. The greater part of the vocabulary of Bengali was derived or borrowed from Sanskrit.

The Muslims conquered Bengal at the beginning of the 13th century, and ruled the country for nearly six hundred years. Under Muslim rule Persian was one of the languages of culture, provincial administration, and inter-state communication. Because of this, large numbers of Persian words and, through Persian, Arabic and Turkish words, became part of the Bengali language.

In 1856 English replaced Persian as the language of administration. From then onwards Persian no longer enjoyed the same status as before in the national life of Bengal and of northern India generally. Before the handing over of power in 1947, which resulted in the partition of Bengal, words of Perso-Arabic origin constituted nearly 8% of the total vocabulary of Bengali, and a little more than 15% of Muslim Bengali vocabulary. Hindustani began to be spoken in Calcutta from the latter half of the 18th to the middle of the 19th century, and a number of Hindustani words were received into Bengali vocabulary. At the beginning of the 19th century, there was in written Bengali something of a conflict between Sanskritised Bengali, that is, Bengali in which Sanskrit words preponderated, and Persian Bengali, examples of this can be found in the works of Mityunajay Bidyānankar and Rām Rām Basu. During this period innumerable Muslim *punthi*, known as Musalmānī Bāṅlā, appeared. These were written in a mixture of Bengali, Hindustani and Awadhī.

Words of Persian, Turkish or Arabic origin which have become part of Bengali can be classified under seven broad heads, namely: (1) Administration and warfare, e.g., *phauj* (soldiers) < *ḥawāḍ*, *ṭahṭh* (throne) < *ṭahṭh*, *ḥayṭ* (war) < *ḥarīṭ*, *shahīd* (martyr) < *shahīd*, *ḍiāḥam* (wound) < *zakhm*, etc.; (2) Revenue and law-courts, e.g., *ḍjāmi* (land) < *zamin*, *khāḍḍ* (revenue) < *khāzina*, *āin* (law) <

*d'īn*, *ḥakīm* (judge) < *hākim*, *hazī* (judge) < *ḥāḍī*, *ḥāḍāla* (judgement) < *ḥayyala*, etc.; (3) Religion and ritual, e.g., *Āllāh* (God) < *Āllāh*, *ḥādī* (God) < *ḥādī*, *nāmāz* (prayer) < *namāz*, *roḡḡā* (fasting) < *ruḡḡā*, *ḥajj* (pilgrimage) < *ḥajj*, *ḥarbīn* (sacrifice) < *ḥarbīn*, etc.; (4) Education, e.g., *dān* (school) < *dawān*, *ḥālam* (pen) < *ḥalam*, *ḥāḍḍ* (paper) < *ḥiḡḡḡ*, *tāḥlīm* (student) < *tāḥlīḥ* 'ḡīm, etc.; (5) Races, religions, and professions, e.g., *Ḥindī* (Jew) < *Yahūdī*, *Ḥudud* (Hindu race) < *Yahūdī*, *Muslim* (Muslim), *Phirangī* (English) < *Farangī*, *dardj* (tailor) < *dard*, etc.; (6) Culture and civilisation, e.g., *rumāl* (handkerchief) < *rūmāl*, *ḡāḍḡ* (iron) < *ḡāḍḡ*, *āṭar* (perfume) < 'ḡir, *āṭar* (mirror) < *d'īna*, *korma* (preserved meat) < *kurma*, *ḡoṭī* (meat ball) < *ḡaṭṭa*, *ḡāḍḡ* (a type of sweetmeat) < *ḡāḍḡ*, etc.; (7) Common things and notions in life, e.g., *naram* (soft) < *narm*, *ḡāḍḡ* (Well done!) < *ḡāḡ*, *ḡāḡḡ* (Bravo!) < *ḡāḡ* *ḡāḡ*, *ḡāḡḡ* (news) < *ḡāḡḡ*, etc.

Persian contributed as many as 5,500 words to Bengali vocabulary in general, and nearly another 2,000 words to the vocabulary of the Muslims inhabiting the south-eastern part of East Pakistan in particular. In addition, Persian suffixes like *ī*, *dān*, *dānī*, *dār*, *ḡḡḡḡ*, *ḡāḡḡ*, *ḡāḡḡ*, etc., are used to form Bengali adjectives, abstract nouns etc., e.g., *ḡāḡ* + *ī* = *dānī* (country-made), *ḡāḡ* + *dānī* = *ḡāḡḡḡ* (flower-vase), *ḡāḡḡ* + *dār* = *dāḡḡḡḡ* (shopkeeper), *ḡāḡ* + *ḡḡḡḡ* = *ḡāḡḡḡ* (drunkard) *māmā* + *ḡāḡ* = *māmāḡḡ* (litigant), *ḡāḡḡ* + *ḡāḡḡ* = *ḡāḡḡḡ* (interested in fashion), etc. Persian words like *nār* and *māda* denote gender in Bengali, e.g., *ḡāḡḡ* (pigeon), *ḡāḡḡḡḡ* (male pigeon), *māḡḡḡḡḡ* (female pigeon). Similarly *māḡḡḡ* and *māḡḡḡ* before a Bengali word of common gender denote the male and the female of the species respectively, e.g., *māḡḡḡḡḡ* (dog), *māḡḡḡḡḡḡ* (bitch).

Arab merchants developed commercial relations with the people of the south-eastern coastal regions of Bengal long before the political conquest of the country by the Muslims. The Muslim conquest in later times strengthened the religious and cultural ties of the people of this area with the Islamic way of life, and resulted in an increase in the numbers of the Muslim population. It left its mark on the pronunciation of words in this part of Bengal; for example, in the districts of Noakhali, Cīṭṭāṅṅ and Sylhet the use of the Arabic voiceless velar fricative *ḡ* (ḡ) in place of the Bengali plosive *ḡ* and *ḡ* of the same category, e.g., *ḡāḡḡḡ* < *ḡāḡḡḡ* (cloth), *ḡāḡḡ* < *ḡāḡḡ* (I eat), etc., and the Arabic voiced alveolar fricative *ḡ* (ḡ) in place of the Bengali voiced plosive *ḡ* (ḡ) affricate *ḡ* of the standard Bengali dialect, e.g., *ḡāḡ* < *ḡāḡ* (I go), *ḡāḡḡ* < *ḡāḡḡ* (to know) etc.

Since the handing over of power in 1947 there has been in East Pakistan a growing tendency to absorb words of Perso-Arabic origin in large numbers through Urdu, as a result of cultural and political contact with West Pakistan.

**Bibliography:** Halhed, *Bengali Grammar* 1783, intro. (M. ANOUB HAI)

(ii) Muslim Bengali literature.

Formative Period (900-1200 A.D.) Bengali sprang up as a distinct branch of the Indo-Aryan language about three hundred years before Muslim rule in Bengal and flourished as a regional literature a century and a half after the Muslim conquest. But it did not exist either as a language or as a literature before Bengal came in contact with Islam and the



Muslims. Archaeological excavations at Pāharpur (Rājbāh) and at Maināmati (Tripura), which led to the discovery of a few 'Abbasid coins of the period from the 8th to the 13th centuries, and the history of Muslim saints like Rāyazīd Hishām (d. 874) at Nāyārabā, Cīttāgar, Sūltān Mahmūd Mahāveṛī (1047) at Mahāshib, Bāgura; Muhammad Sūltān Rīmā (1055) at Madanpur Myrnesingh, Bābā Adam (1119) at Vīkrampur, Dacca, prove that there were constant maritime and missionary communication between the Muslim world and Bengal while the Bengali language was being formed.

**Turki Period (1201-1350 A.D.).** The Turks conquered Bengal in 1202 and took 150 years to establish their administration all over the country. This was the period of creation of an Islamic atmosphere through administrative, religious and social machinery. Sanskrit, the fountainhead of Hindu culture, fell into desuetude; Persian, the official and cultural language of the Muslims, came into prominence; and Bengali, the language of the masses, developed rapidly. Shāh Sāhibzādā, a Sanskrit hagiologist, in Shāykh Djalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī (d. 1223), wrote *Nāṭan-pur Rūglamā*, a Bengali ballad by Kānāi Pandit, contain sufficient materials indicative of the growing Islamic atmosphere in Bengal.

**Period of Independence (1351-1575 A.D.).** Bengal became independent under Sūltān Bīrīs Shāh (1342-1357) and preserved her independence for 225 years. The Sultans of Pandua and Gaud identified themselves with the people and extended their patronage liberally to Bengali literature irrespective of caste and creed. The *Rihāṭnāma*, *Kāmyāna* and *Mahābhārata* were translated into Bengali under their direct patronage; the great poets Vidyapati and Candidās flourished; and Muslims, participating with their Hindu neighbours, opened up new avenues of literary themes primarily derived from Persian-Arabic culture.

The first attempt at popularising Bengali among Muslim scholars was perhaps made by the saint-poet Nūr Kūtub-ā-Ālam (d. 1416) of Pandua, who introduced the '*Rihāṭnā Style*' in Bengali, in which half the homiletic was composed in pure Persian and the other half in unornate Bengali. The saint was a disciple of Ghayyūth al-Dīn 'Aṣṣan Shāh (1397-1410) and a life-long friend of the Sūltan, under whose patronage Vidyapati of Mithilā and Muhammad Saqlit of Bengal, the author of the first Bengali romance *Yūsuf-Zulaykhā*, flourished. Other writers of romances, like Bahārīn Khān with his *Laylā-Majnūn*, Sābirīd Khān with his *Hānīd-Kayyāpārī*, Donāghāzī with his *Sayf al-Mulk* and Muhammad Kātib with his *Madhūmāṭī* (1583-1588), followed Saqlit in quick succession.

Muslim historical tales too were introduced in Bengali by a few poets. Zayn al-Dīn wrote *Rasul Vījay* on the exploits of the Prophet, under the patronage of Yūsuf Shāh (1478-1488), who also helped Mulkīddār Hān to compose *Shirīdrīgha Vījay*. Sābirīd Khān also wrote a *Rasul Vījay*, while Shāykh Fayd Allāh (1545-1575) composed *Ghāṭ Vījay* and *Gorāghāṭ Vījay*.

The earliest Muslim poet introducing Islamic precepts in Bengali literature, was Afīd 'Alī. His book of admonition, *Nāṣihat-nāma*, was written on the tenets of Islām. He was also a composer of songs, in one of which he mentions the name of Pirāz Shāh (1528-1531).

Positive literary evidence on the fusion of Hindu and Muslim culture is found in Shāykh Fayd Allāh's *Satpāpīr* (1575). He described in it the beliefs and

practices of a new cult aiming at a common platform of worship for Hindus and Muslims alike. Cānd Kāḍī and Shāykh Kabīr, two composers of songs on the common ideals of Sūfis and Vaiṣṇavas, flourished during the time of Husayn Shāh (1493-1519) and his son Nurāt Shāh (1519-1531).

**Mughal Period (1575-1757 A.D.).** Bengal came under the Mughals in 1576, to whom the country was a 'hell full of the bounties of heaven'. They introduced their own culture with more stress on Persian and neglected the provincial literature. Notwithstanding this, Hindu literature developed on the themes of Cāndī, Manasā, Dharmā, Annadā and Gaṅgā; Vaiṣṇav literature reached its climax and Muslim Bengali literature, deeply influenced by Indo-Persian literature, flourished as never before.

Among Muslim literary figures, two major poets deserve special mention, namely, Sayyid Sūltān (1550-1648) and Ālāwal (1607-1680). The former was the saint-poet of Cīttāgar; Nābī Faṃbā, his magnum opus, rivalled the Bengali *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* in all respects; the latter, who was a scholar poet of the Mughal Court, adopted the theme of *Padmāvatī* (1651), from Hindi. Both of them exerted a wide and abiding influence on successive generations of poets, who not only improved upon the old themes, but also discovered new ones.

In the field of religion, the *Nāṣihat-nāma* of Shāykh Parīn (1550-1615) and *Kutub al-Masālīn* of Murtazā (1572-1606) are outstanding. Nāz Allāh Khān (1560-1625), a prolific writer on religious subjects, wrote the *Shar'at-nāma*, *Māzīr Saṣāl* and *Hudayāt al-Islām*. The Bayanāt of Nawāzish Khān (1638), *Hasir Masa'il* of 'Abd al-Karīm (1698), *Nāṣihat-nāma* and *Shihāb al-Dīn-nāma* of 'Abd al-Hakīm (1620-1660), *Sarfarīz Nih* of Kanar 'Alī (1670) also deserve notice.

In the realm of Muslim tales, the *Nābī Faṃbā*, *Rasul Vījay* and *Shāh-e-Mirāsī* of Sayyid Sūltān; *Djāng-nāma* of Nāz Allāh Khān (1560-1625), *Amir Hamza* (1684) of Ghulām Nābī and *Ambya' Vāpī* (1758) of Hayāt Mahmūd narrate many legends about the Prophet and his uncle Hamza. Sayyid Sūltān's *Hilā-nāma*, Muhammad Khān's *Riyāzat-nāma*, Shāykh Parīn's *Nūr-nāma* and Muhammad Shāh's *Nūr Kandī* were built up with the Muslim concepts of Sūfāt, Dismāyat and Cosmogony respectively.

Romances introduced earlier were developed by 'Abd al-Hakīm in his *Yūsuf Zulaykhā* and *Lilmātī Sayf al-Mulk*, Nawāzish Khān in his *Gulī Bakīnālī* (1698), Ghārib Allāh in his *Yūsuf Zulaykhā* and Muhammad Akbar in his *Zeb al-Mulk* (1673). When pure romances became monotonous, Sherābī in his *Fīr-nāma* and Shāykh Sa'dī in his *Gudā Mālīkhā* (1712) introduced moral instruction in romances.

A good elegiac literature developed centring round the tragedy of Karbalā. Muhammad Khān in his *Maktūl Husayn* (1643), 'Abd al-Hakīm in his *Karbalā*, Hayāt Mahmūd in his *Djāng-nāma* (1723), and Muhammad Ya'qūb in his *Maktūl Husayn* (1694) contributed largely to the wide popularity of this theme.

**British Period (1757-1947).** The Hindus took advantage of Western education at least half a century before the Muslims, and revolutionised Bengali literature by the introduction of a new prose and a new poetry embodying Western ideas, thoughts and forms. Iwar Chandra Vidyāsāgar (1820-1891), Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1835-1894) and Maghu-

sūdan Datta (1824-1873) played a great rôle in this literary regeneration.

The Muslims entered the field half a century later. Mir Musharrāf Himsay (1848-1931), Pandit Riyāz al-Dīn Maṭṭḥādī (1850-1919) Shāykh 'Abd al-Rahīm (1859-1931), Kaykubād (1858-1931), Muzammil Hakk (1860-1935) and Dr. Abu 'l-Husayn (1860-1916) took to this new Bengali to lay the foundation of modern Muslim Bengali literature and a host of others came in their wake. Among them Iwar Husayn Shīrāzī (1870-1931) was the most illustrious.

Meanwhile, Rābīdrānāth Tagore (1860-1941), the Nobel prize-winner, appeared on the literary scene of Bengal and raised her literature to a world status.

Nāṣir al-Islām (b. 1899), the Rebel Poet of Muslim Bengal, ushered in a new school of realistic poetry full of life, light and vigour. He shared the sorrows and sorrows of his countrymen in particular and of oppressed humanity in general. He was the only singing bard to herald a new era of common men and awaken them to struggle for the independence of their motherland, a struggle which culminated later in the creation of Pākistān. In his wake, the poet Djasim al-Dīn (b. 1902) came forward to sing the songs of rural Bengal, particularly of its east portion, now known as East Pākistān.

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**BENGHĀZĪ**, the principal town of CYRENEA, formerly the district of Barka [q.v.], situated on the western plain on a strip of shore partly cut off from dry land by lagoons. Its position is not advantageous, as its harbour is exposed to winds from the north and west, while the neighbouring regions are arid and the fertile districts on the al-Mardj and Djabal Aghdar plateaus are some way off. The town is built on the site of the former Eubesperides, a colony founded by the Greeks in the fifth century B.C. During the reign of the Egyptian Ptolemy III Euergetes the settlement became known by the name of his wife Berenike, and retained this name, as Bernik, in the Middle Ages. It was always a town of secondary importance, and declined in the Middle Ages, possibly vanishing completely.

The modern town dates from the immigration at the end of the 19th century of Tripolitarians from Zliten and Mesrata who had commercial connexions with Derne, an Andalusian settlement established some time previously on the eastern seaboard of Cyrenaica. It takes its name from Sidi Ghāfi, a saint buried locally, but about whom little is known. The Tripolitarians were gradually reinforced by immigrants from the other Ottoman countries, notably Cretan, who came in numbers before and after the Greek conquest of their island (1897); and other immigrants were Jews from Tripolitania, tribesfolk and oasis-dwellers from various districts of Cyrenaica, and a few Europeans. The population of the town was 5,000 at the beginning of the 19th century, and 15,000 towards 1900, including about

a thousand Italians, Maltese and Greeks and 2,500 Jews. It had risen to 19,000 when the Italians landed at Benghazi in 1911. Formerly the centre of a Turkish *vilāyat*, Benghazi then became the chief town of the eastern part of the colony of Libya, which was finally pacified only in 1931. It was connected by railway to Solik in the south (35 miles) and al-Mardj in the east (68 miles), and became the terminus of the road skirting the Great Syrtē, as well as of those which radiate out across the northern plateau, the heart of the country. A new harbour was built, protected by breakwater, and the town was provided with municipal services as in a European city. The old town had been built within a quadrilateral 700 metres long by 300 metres wide, to a fairly regular plan. The great mosque, dating from the 16th century, was restored. A new, generously planned suburb was built to the south of old Benghazi, in the direction of the former suburb of El Berka which had sprung up around a Turkish barracks. In 1938 Benghazi had 66,800 inhabitants, of whom 22,000 were Italians. Its harbour was the busiest in Cyrenaica, and several industries were based in the town: leather and footwear, furniture, building, and tunny-fish processing. Greeks and Italians fished in the Great Syrtē, and this, together with the salt-pans on the coastline, increased opportunities for employment.

Benghazi suffered much from the bombing of late 1942, and from the departure of the Italian population, who evacuated it and the whole of Cyrenaica on the arrival of the British 8th Army. It became the capital and seat of the sovereignty of the Federal Union of Libya (1951), and the principal town of Cyrenaica, but lost its industries and much of its importance as a port. The value of its airfield is primarily strategic. Its population in 1954 was about 63,000, all Muslims except for a very small number of Jews and Europeans.

**Bibliography:** See BARKA and LIBYA.

[J. DESFOIS]

**BENJAMIN** [see BENEAMĀN].

**BENNĀK**, also called *bennāk* in the 9th/15th century, an Ottoman 'arṣī ('arṣī) tax paid by married peasants (*muzawwajīn re'āyā*) possessing a piece of land less than half a *ḥiṭ* [q.v.] or no land, the former being called *chindī bennāk* or simply *bennāk* and the latter *djābī bennāk* or *djābī*. The word *bennāk* might possibly be derived from the Arabic verb *banaḥa*.

Actually the *bennāk re'āmi* made part of the *ḥiṭ re'āmi* [q.v.] system and can be considered originally as consisting of two or three of the seven services (*bulbūl, khidmet*) included in the *ḥiṭ re'āmi*. The rate of *bennāk* was 6 or 9 *akā* in Mehemmed II's *kanūnname* [q.v.], but in some areas (Taher, 829/1425) it was only 5 *akā*. In later times it was usually 9 for *djābī bennāk* and 12 for *chindī bennāk* and when the *ḥiṭ re'āmi* system was extended to eastern Anatolia in 1540 the rate there was 18 for *chindī* and 12 or 13 for *djābī bennāk*.

In principle *bennāk re'āmi* was paid by the Muslim peasants directly to the *timār*-holders for whom they were recorded as *re'āyā* in the *defter* [q.v.].

In the *defters* the term *bennāk* showed the peasants themselves paying *bennāk re'āmi*. If a bachelor was married he was immediately subject to this tax. If later divorced he paid only the bachelor tax (*māḍīr-re'āmi*). If married, the nomad *re'āyā* without stock animals paid also *bennāk*. Thus this tax was considered essentially as a poll-tax and called also *re'āyāt re'āmi*.



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(HALIL İNALCİK)

**BERÄR**, formerly a province of British India consisting of the four districts of Amroli, Akola, Baddhis, and Yerru, area: 17,800 sq. mi.; population: 3,651,866 of whom 315,169 were Muslims (1941 Census). Under British rule it was administered as part of the Central Provinces. It has recently been incorporated in the Bombay State.

The territories of the Vakāṭas, contemporaries of the Guptas, roughly corresponded to modern Berar. It was first invaded by Muslims in 1224 but was not permanently occupied until 1248. It formed the northernmost province (barā) of the Bahmanid kingdom of the Dakhn but towards the end of the 15th century became an independent sultanate under the 'Imād Shāhīs until annexed by the Nizām Shāhīs of Ahmadnagar in 1574. It was conquered by Akbar towards the end of his reign and remained a saba of the Mughal empire until 1724, when Asaf Dīsh Nizām al-Mulk became independent in Hyderabad. Until the defeat of the Marāṭhās by Arthur Wellesley at Assaye in 1803 it was frequently overrun by Marāṭhā forces (see *NAUPUR*). In 1804 the Berar territories ceded by the Bhopāl Rājā of Nāgpur were handed over to the Nizām. During the governmentship of Lord Hastings, Berar was for a time controlled by the East India Company (vide *Preliminary Report to the Russell Correspondence relating to Hyderabad*, C. Collin Davies, *The Indian Archives*, vol. vii, no. 1, 1954 ff.). In 1853 Berar was assigned to the East India Company and its revenues were partly employed in the payment of the Nizām's debts and partly in maintaining the Hyderabad Contingent. By a fresh agreement in 1902 Lord Curzon reaffirmed the rights of the Nizām over Berar but the province was leased in perpetuity to the Government of India at an annual rental of 25 lakhs of rupees. During the viceroyalty of Lord Reading a demand by the Nizām for the restoration of Berar met with no success. Later under Lords Willington and Lindley a number of petitions were made to the Nizām, but Berar continued to be administered as part of the Central Provinces until 1956.

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(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

**BERÄT**, A word of Arabic origin (for the Arabic meaning see *BARÄT*) which in Ottoman Turkish denotes a type of order issued by the Sultan. Several words of Turkish or other origin were used with the same meaning: the Turkish *bitir*, *yarlıq*, *huyarısın*, the Arabic *berät*, *emr*, *ahkām*, *tevkif*, *menâşir*, *niğân*, *irâd*, the Persian *fermân*, *niğân*. Some of these words were used during the entire Ottoman epoch, others were used only during certain periods; some of them had only a general meaning, others had also a more special, limited meaning. In the same document several words could be used to designate the "sultan's order"; they could denote an order in the wider sense and also in a narrower, more limited sense.

*Bitir* meaning a sultan's order was not much used after 1500. *Emr* (*amr*), in use for 400 years, did not only mean a general order issued in the name of the

sultan, but also a special order which decreed the issue of a *berät*; hence the expression in the preambles of the *berät*: *eli emirü* "he who has the order concerning the issue of the *berät* in hand". *Ahkām* (*ahkām*) always occurs in the sense of general order, but also meant a special type of order, the documents of which used to be separately dealt with by the administration and which, at present, are registered in the Turkish archives as a separate archival unit (*ahkâm defterleri*). The *niğân* meant all orders, without any restriction of subject, that were provided with the *tugra* (*niğân*), but (since the 16th/17th century) especially those which were drawn up by the highest financial department of the empire, the *defterhâne*, and were concerned with financial matters. Synonymous with the term *niğân* was *tevkif* (*tevkif*) which could be used, without further limitation, to designate any document which was provided with the *tevkif*. (Their identical meaning is proved by the derivatives of both words, the *tevkif* and the *niğân*), which are synonymous). An order of higher rank was meant by the more rarely used *menâşir*, the *niğân* and the *irâd* (in use only since the 19th century). The *berät* had a more limited meaning, that of a "deed of grant", "a writ for the appointment to hold an office"; the documents belonging to this group were also handled separately by the administration; the memory of this is preserved in the designation of some public resorts: *evkârîye berät defteri* "the دفتر of the beräts issued in matters concerning the Orthodox Greek Church"; *kadük berät defteri* etc. (Midhat Sertoglu, *Muhtesem bahmından Başvekkil Arızi*, 29, 32).

As all grants in the Ottoman empire derived from the sultan, the *berät* was always issued in the sultan's name and its constant attribute was: *şerif* or *hümâyün* ("imperial berät").

In the Ottoman empire all appointments were made by "grants", those which were paid by a temporary tenure of estates as well as those paid in ready money; thus all appointments to the civil service, whether that of a high-ranking *paşa* or that of a low-ranking employee of a mosque, were effected by a *berät*. The bishops of Syria also received their licenses from the sultan in the form of a *berät*. *EP*, 678, s.v. *Baräts*. Even the vassals of the empire, e.g., the princes of Transylvania, received their recognitions in their principality in the form of a *berät*, with the difference that in the diploma issued to them the expression in question was complemented the following way: *bu beräti hümayün ve 'ahdümün sâk-niğânına verdim* "I have issued the imperial berät and the treaty full of faith". Thus under the name of *berät* an exceedingly great number of orders were issued and these could be grouped according to their contents: *westif* *berät*, *timär berät*, *mülhikne berät*, *silâsım berät*, and, if issued for the benefit of a corporation, *ođlaklı berät* etc.

The word *berät* became especially part of the many expressions used in connection with the administration of the *timär*-estates, e.g., *beräti 'alilighın ilân lâğihine verildi* "the instruction (for warrant) called *lağihine* given for issuing a high *berät*", *beräti şerifim verilmek fermânını elmağış* "since my imperial order has been given for issuing a high *berät*", *lağihereyi berät etmemek* "to exchange one writ called *lağihine* for a *berät*", *lağiheli berät alomak* *bulûdu kâfi hümayün yâdir olmağış* "as the sultan's order has been issued for the renewal of the *beräts*" (such procedure was usually ordered

after the sultan's accession to the throne), *eli berät* "having a berät in hand" (corresponding to this expression is the above quoted *eli emirü*), *el-i berät* "who has a berät", and in official documents there is often reference to issued *beräts*. The word *berät*, however, often does not occur in the deeds of grant and it has to be inferred from the contents of the document whether it is at the same time a *berät* or not.

According to the dimension of the grant, the *berät* has simpler or more elaborate variants, but the *berät* is always written in *divan* style and the structural elements, as well as their order are usually the same. After the *ad-vel* and *tugra* standing outside the text, the text may begin with two formulas: one is more ceremonial: *niğân-ı şerif* "illighine salâm" . . . , *hümâyün olâr ki* "The high and noble sultan's emblem . . . whose order reads as follows", the other is more simple: *sehb-i tabir-i hurâf olâr ki* "the cause of the writing of this document is as follows". In the ceremonial variant the sovereign expresses in a phraseology appropriate to Persian style that owing to his power received from God, he considers it his duty to reward his zealous subjects, and the therefore, starting with an exactly fixed day, he charges a certain subject of his (mentioned by name) with a certain office or service or endows him with possessions herewith. If the office or service was connected with the enjoyment of certain estates (and most of the cases were such), then these were enumerated (*dihir e şerh e beyân olmaş*). This enumeration is externally the most prominent part of the text, in *siyah* script, but written with the ordinary Arabic numerals, forming a separate section in the document. This is followed by the proper admonition to the inhabitants concerned, to recognise the person in question as *su-hâşî*, *sandıkbaşî*, etc. and as a conclusion the usual phrase of the sultan's orders: "let everybody acknowledge these and give credence to the imperial emblem, the *tugra*". In some cases the *berät* has no date, in others it has, in a type of writing different from that of the document, written by another hand, by the so-called *ta'rifliğî kalem*, the recording office called "dating department". At the bottom of the document, in the lower left-hand corner of the paper can be read the place of issue (*hicmahal* or, when the Sultan was in the field, *hic-yer*).

A certain fee had to be paid for drawing up a *berät* (*resm-i berät*). The official rate for this is, to the best of our knowledge, not known. According to numerous known instances, with grants of smaller value it varied between 1 and 3 per cent. (see Laszlo Velics and Ernő Kammerer, *A magyarországi török korszak története*, Vols. I-II, Budapest 1886 and 1891).

It can be stated from Persian deeds of grant, of which fewer are known (Makar Khabūza, *Persidiye firaki i shahi Masruya Gazi*, I, Tiflis 1949); B. S. Puturidze, *Gruzinskerisidie (istoricheskie dokumenty)*, Tiflis 1955; A. D. Papasiyuk, *Persidskie dokumenty*, Moscow 1956), that they consist of the same structural elements and for the most part of them the same phrases as the Turkish *berät*, but the word *berät* does not occur in them and, when used in Persian, has not the same meaning as in Turkish (see also *BARÄT*).

**Bibliography:** For information about the *berät* see: L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatie der türkischen Botschaftszeit*

in Ungarn, Budapest 1928, XLVI-XLVII, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Tugra ve pençerler*, İktisat no. 17/18, Ankara 1941; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin Saray teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, 284; İ.A. II, 523-524; Midhat Sertoglu, *Muhtesem bahmından Başvekkil Arızi*, Ankara 1955. Texts of *beräts* were published (on the basis of texts of *niğân* books) by Ahmed Feridun in *Münâşirât al-Salâtin*; Friedrich Kaeferle, *TÖRK* vol. V, 240; with facsimile Franz Babinger: *Le Monde Oriental* XIV (1920), 115, L. Fekete, op. cit.; L. Kulisch, *Mitteilungen der Ausland-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin*, Jg. xli, Abt. II, Westasiatische Studien, 125; Gibb and Bowen, vols. 1 and 2, 1050-7, index.  
(L. FERIKET)

**BERÄTİ**, *berät*, holder of a *berät*, a name given in the late 18th and early 19th centuries to certain non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, who held *beräts* conferring upon them important commercial and fiscal privileges. These *beräts* were distributed by the European diplomatic missions, in abusive extension of their rights under the capitulations. Originally intended for locally recruited consuls or officers and agents, they were sold or granted to growing numbers of local merchants, who were thus able to acquire a privileged and protected status. The Ottoman authorities attempted to curb this traffic, and at the end of the century Selim III sought to compete with the European consuls by himself issuing *beräts* to local Christian and Jewish merchants. In return for a fee of 1200 piastres, *beräts* conferred the right to trade with Europe, together with important legal, fiscal, and commercial privileges and exemptions. These grants, enabling Ottoman *ghimmi*s to compete on more or less equal terms with foreign (*musta'min*) merchants, created a new privileged class, known as the *Avrupa tedjidi*. In this class the Greeks, thanks to their maritime skills and opportunities, were able to win a position of preeminence, which was reinforced by the advantages of the neutral Ottoman flag during part of the Napoleonic wars. Early in the 19th century the system was extended to Muslim merchants, who for a fee of 1200 piastres could obtain a *berät* of membership of the analogous guild of the *Eden-i İslâmîye*. The number who availed themselves of this offer was, however, very limited. Both terms and guilds fell into desuetude after the Tanzimat.

**Bibliography:** Djewdet, *Tarih*, VI, 129-30; Othman Nûri, *Muğallâs-ı Umûr-i Hâdisiyye*, I, İstanbul 1922, 675-680; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, İstanbul 1948, I, 115-7 and 780-3; Gibb and Bowen 115 110-1.  
(B. LEVENS)

**BERBER** (Barbar): (1) Tribal territory. The name originally signified the territory of the Mirafâb (Mayra'ab), an Arabic-speaking tribe claiming kinship with the Dja'ilya. It extended on both banks of the Nile from the Fifth Cataract (lat. 18° 25' N.) to the river Atbara. The Mirafâb included both riverain cultivators and semi-nomads. The ruler (*malik*) was a vassal of the Funj sultan of Sinnâr. On the death of a *malik*, the sultan nominated his successor from the ruling family of Timshê. He also levied, at intervals of four or five years, a tribute of gold, horses and camels. Burckhardt (1814) describes the southernmost portion of Mirafâb territory as forming a small separate kingdom, known as Ra's al-Wadî, under a member of the Timshê family. Berber was an important trading-centre. A route from Upper Egypt across the Nubian Desert here reached the Nile, and caravans going to



Egypt from Sinnär and Shandil passed through Berber. The trade of Dongola found an outlet through Berber but by the early 19th century the Dongola-Berber route across the Bayda Desert was dangerous and little used. Trade with Suakin and al-Taka (the region around modern Kassala) was slight owing to the predatory Bedja and Bighār tribes. The transit dues levied on Egyptian caravans provided most of the *makā*'s revenue; the Mirāfā paid him no taxes on land or produce, although they provided the tribute levied by Sinnär. Caravans coming from the south (i.e., Funj territory) paid no dues, although they made presents to the *makā*. The trading-connections of Berber resulted in the settlement of Danakla, 'Abbadā and other strangers. The 'Abbadā served as guides and protectors of caravans crossing the Nubian Desert. The last *makā*, Nasr al-Din, is reported to have sought the assistance of Muhammad 'Alī Pasha to regain his throne; certainly he welcomed the arrival of the Turco-Egyptian army on 5 March 1821.

(2) Province. During the Turco-Egyptian period the Mirāfā territory formed part of the province of Berber, which extended to the Red Sea. The *makā* of 16° 24' N. lat. towards to Abū Hamad on the right bank and Kurit on the left bank, and included the adjacent deserts and their nomads. The extension of Muhammad 'Alī's rule over the Bedja, resulting in the opening of a permanent trade-route with Suakin, increased the prosperity of the provincial capital. The last khedivial governor was the 'Abd al-Nasir, Husayn Pasha Khalifa, who was endeavouring to repress Mahdist activities when Gordon arrived as governor-general in February 1884. Gordon's attempts to establish friendly relations with the Mahdi and his indiscreet disclosure of the intended evacuation of the Sudan weakened resistance. In April 1884 the Mahdi commissioned Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd Allah Khidmat to lead the *ghidā* in Berber, and in May the provincial capital was taken, leaving Gordon isolated in Khartoum.

Mahdist Berber was administered by a military governor and had a provincial garrison and treasury. The decline of commerce irritated the inhabitants but a precarious trade continued with Upper Egypt and Suakin, the customs dues of which formed a source of provincial revenue. The last Mahdist governor, Muhammad al-Zaki 'Uthman, after appealing in vain for help against the Anglo-Egyptian advance, evacuated the provincial capital which was occupied by Anglo-Egyptian forces in September 1897. After the reconquest, Berber was reconstituted within narrower boundaries than the pre-Mahdist province and was subsequently combined with Dongola and Halfa to form the present Northern Province.

(3) Town. Berber as the name of a town was apparently unknown before the Turco-Egyptian period. Bruce (1772) speaks of "Gooz" (i.e., Kūr al-Funj) as the capital of Berber. This place was much decayed at the time of Burchard's visit (1814), when the capital was a more northerly village called by him "Ankberry". This may be an error for al-Mikhayrīf, ("El Mekhey" in Cailland), a name used for the provincial capital under the Turco-Egyptians. Al-Mikhayrīf was abandoned after the Mahdist conquest and the modern town of Berber lies further north, on the site of the Mahdist camp. Since the Reconquest Berber has declined in importance. The provincial head-quarters was transferred in 1905 to al-Dinir, while the modern railway-town of 'Albārā has superseded it as a centre of communications.

**Bibliography:** J. L. Burchard, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, 207-251; N. Shoukayr (Shukayr), *Tārīkh al-Sūdān*, Cairo 1903, I, 87-99; O. G. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Senaar*, Gloucester 1951, 53-56, 267-270 (with source-references). A valuable unpublished report by Husayn Pasha Khalifa on the fall of Berber is in the Sudanese archives in Khartoum, Cairat 178, 36.

**BERBERA**, the port and former capital of the British Somaliland Protectorate, lying in 10°26' North lat. and 45°02' long. The *Periplus*, Ptolemy, and Cosmas give the name *Βερβερα* ἡ πόλις or *Βερβερα* to the coast of the land of Frankincense. The town itself may be *Μελιόνη* ἡ πόλις. The older Arab geographers write of the land of Berberā, the Gulf of 'Aden being *Barbarā* or al-*Ḥaḥāḥ* al-*Barbarā*. The inhabitants are known as *Βερβερα*, Berbera, or Berbari. They are Somali (q.v.) and the people whom Yāqūt (iv, 602) describes as barbarous negroes, amongst whom Islām had penetrated, living between the Zanj and the Habash. Ibn Sa'īd (died 1286) who seems to be first to mention the town of Berberā, describes them as Muslims, and Ibn Battūta records that they are Shāfi'ī which they are today. The name *Sūm* first occurs in an Ethiopic hymn in the reign of the Negus Yeshāḥ (1141-49) and frequently in the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* (1540-50).

Berberā's original site is Bandar 'Abbās now a burial ground to the East of the present town. Amongst its tombs are those of three *sayyids* said to have been concerned with the foundation of Bandar 'Abbās as other Arabian proselytisers founded Zayla and Makiyāh. Traditionally the town was contemporary with 'Amūd and Aw Barre further to the West. It formed part of the Muslim state of Adal (sometimes based on Zayla), (q.v.) which, founded in the 13th century, reached its zenith in the 14th century and rapidly declined after Imām Ahmad Ibrahim al-Ghāzī (1506-43)'s 16th century conquest of Abyssinia. While the Abyssinian armies were recovering their losses with Portuguese aid, Berberā was sacked in 1518 by Saldanha. In the 17th century, with Zayla, it became a dependency of the *ghazis* of Mukāḥ. The first British-Somali treaty was signed in 1827, two years after the Mary Ann had been plundered off Berberā. With 'Alī Sharmarkā (Sōmālī Habar Yōnik), governor of Zayla, Britain signed a treaty in 1840 to secure harbouring rights for vessels of the East India Company. He was British Agent at Berberā when Burton was attacked in 1855. Travellers in the 19th century describe Berberā as a poverty-stricken collection of huts with a population, in the hot months, of as little as 8,000. From October to March, however, during the north-east Monsoon, the port was open to vessels from Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and India, bringing imports of dates, cloth, rice, and metals etc., and exporting slaves, livestock, ghee and skins, and the town sometimes contained as many as 40,000 persons.

Berberā was occupied in 1875 by the Egyptians who withdrew nine years later during the Mahdist rebellion in the Sudan when Britain acquired Zayla and Berberā. Treaties were signed with the Gada-būsi (1884) and the Habar Awal (1884 and 1886) clans. In 1901 Shaykh Muhammad 'Abdille Hassan (q.v.) (the 'Mad Mullah') of the Shilliba tribe began his *ghidā* against the colonial powers. The administration of the interior was abandoned in 1908, and gradually resumed about 1912.

In Burton's time Berberā was dominated by the Habar Awal 'Ayyāl Ahmad who were still in 1912 receiving a subsidy of 10,000 Rs. annually. With a population today rarely less than 30,000 most of whom are Habar Awal 'Isa Mūsā, the town is the headquarters of Berberā District. It is the centre for the Protectorate of the Kādiriyā *ṭarīqa* with a *maḥal* for Sayyid 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī, and of the Somali Youth League nationalist party. A local Government Council was formed in 1953, and the harbour is being developed.

**Bibliography:** Mac'uddi, *Murāḥij*, (ed. Paris), I, 231-31; Yāqūt, I, 100, ii, 966 ff., iv, 602; Al-Dimashqī (ed. Mehren), 162; Abu T-Fidā' (ed. Reinaud), 158 ff.; Ibn Battūta (ed. Defrémery), ii, 180; Shihāb al-Dīn, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* (ed. and trans. R. Basset, 1897); R. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, London 1859, 407-440; G. Ferrand, *Les Comptes*, Paris 1901, 109-112; R. E. Drake, Brockman, *British Somaliland*, London 1912, 31-39; A. T. Curle, in *Antiquity* (Sept. 1937), 315-327; J. S. Trimmingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, *passim*.

**BERBERI**, name given to the eastern Hazāra inhabiting the mountainous region of central Afghanistan between Kūbd and Harāt; in Irin, the region of Māghbad, Balūḥistān (near Quetta), and in the S.S.R. of Turkmenistan, the oasis of Kūzjika (district of Maki) [see HAZARA].

**BERBERS**, the name by which are commonly designated the populations, who, from the Egyptian frontier (Siwa (q.v.)) to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean and the great bend of the Niger, speak—or used to speak before their arabisation—Berberic (or rather local forms) of a single language, Berber. This term is probably an abusive or contemptuous epithet, used in Greek (*Barbaroi*) and in Latin (*Barbari*) as well as in Arabic (*Barbar*, singular *Barbari*, pl. *Barbari*, *Barbarina*), and does not constitute a national name, as some people (cf. P. H. Antichan, *La Tunisie*, 1884, 3) maintain (cf. the toponyms Berber in Nubia and Berber in Somaliland; see G. S. Colin, *Appellations données par les Arabes aux peuples indigènes*, in *GLEES*, vii, 95-6). The term *amaziḡ* (*amazigh* (and var.), pl. *imaziḡin* (*imazighin* (and var.) may be considered as designating the Berbers in general, though they themselves, lacking as they do all sense of community, usually employ their tribal names when referring to themselves or have otherwise more or less willingly accepted foreign designations (Kabyles, Chaouis, etc.). The term *amaziḡ* has the meaning of "free man" (see however T. Sarnelli, *Sull'origine del nome Imazighin*, in *Mémorial André Basset*, Paris 1957, 131-138) and is still employed over a fairly extensive area. The feminine *lamaziḡt* (*lamazighit*) (*amazighit* (and var.)) is used there to designate the Berber language.

The only general work on the Berbers is the small but excellent popular account by G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1957.

#### I. History.

- a) origins.
- b) before Islam.
- c) after Islam.

#### II. Distribution at present.

#### III. Religion.

#### IV. Customs, social and political organisation.

#### V. Language.

#### VI. Literature and Art.

#### I. — HISTORY

##### a) Origins

The language is at present the only criterion which will serve to distinguish the Berbers, who, from the anthropological point of view, reveal morphological characteristics which are too varied, indeed too irreconcilably opposed, to permit us to speak of a homogeneous Berber race, whilst, from the political point of view, they have always been too divided to constitute a truly distinct nation. In spite of the relative abundance of prehistoric remains discovered in the immense territory conveniently called "Barbary", in spite of the epigraphic documents and the works of Greek, Latin and Arab authors, a whole portion of the history of this obviously composite people is still unknown to us. It would be useless to deny that the origin of the Berber language—the unity of which, moreover, is a relative matter (see section V below)—remains a mystery for us and that to locate, therefore, the cradle of the men who speak it remains an impossible task. However, on this absorbing subject, bibliography is by no means lacking, and, many hypotheses, sometimes presented as certainties, have been put forward concerning the origins of the Berbers. Classical authors consider them about variously as autochthonous, oriental or Aegaeans. The Arabs usually consider them as orientals, Canaanites or Himsyarites, and this latter hypothesis has recently been supported by cogent arguments (Helfritz). The Canaanite origin has been revived by some modern authors (Antichan, Daumet, Shoukayr), whilst for others the Berbers are autochthonous (Carette), with an admixture of Asian blood, especially Phoenician (Fournel, Mercier); some people, usually amateurs, even go so far as to reconstruct the ancient population of Barbary in all its elements (Rinā, *Les Origines berbères*, Algiers 1889; Col. de Lartigue, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences et belles-lettres de l'Algérie*, 1904) and to establish bold relationships with the Celts, Basques and Caucasian peoples (Comm. Cauvet, *Les Origines cancéennes des Touaregs*, in *Bull. Soc. Gég. Alger*, 1925; idem, *La Formation celtique de la nation targuie*, *ibid.*, 1926), or even with the indigenous populations on the other side of the Atlantic (idem, *Les Berbères en Amérique*, Algiers 1939). Anthropology is at a loss and the problem is not simplified by the existence of fair Berbers. The best qualified scholars are reserved in their opinion and generally consider that various elements coming from the south, the east and perhaps the north were added to a basic population rather similar to that which occupied the northern shores of the Mediterranean, but that this occurred at too remote a period for us to be able to date the various migrations. In any event, all these are no more than hypotheses; only linguistic data may perhaps enable us to solve the mystery of Berber origins, which, in the middle of the 20th century, remains complete.

**Bibliography:** Main works to be consulted: Olivier, *Recherches sur l'origine des Berbères*, in *Bull. Acad. d'Alger*, 1888; Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la Province Romaine*, 1888, I, 402; Carette, *Origines et migrations des principales tribus de l'Algérie*, 24 ff.; S. Goell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, I, 275 ff.; Regnaud, *Chi sono i Berberi?* in *OM*, 1921; M. Boule, *Les hommes Juifs*, Paris 1921, 376 ff.; R. Peyermonet, *Le problème nord-africain*, Paris 1924, 104 ff.; A. Bernard, *L'Algérie*, Paris 1929, 81 ff.; S. Goell, G. Marçais and G. Yver, *Histoire de l'Algérie*,



Paris 1929, 6 ff.; A. C. Haddou, *Les Races iberiques*, Paris 1930, 56 ff.; V. Pujol, *Les civilisations de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, 3 ff.; E. Leblanc, *Le Problème des Berbères*, 1931; H. Helfritz, *Le Pays sans ombre*, Paris 1936, 53 ff.; Essad Bey, *Allah est grand*, Paris 1937, 262; E. F. Gautier, *L'Afrique blanche*, Paris (1939), 170; Gen. Brémond, *Berberes d'Arabes. La Berbérie est un pays européen*, Paris 1942 (to be used with reserve); H. Lhoté, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 76 ff.; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, I, Paris 1951; L. Balout, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique du Nord. Essai de chronologie*, Paris 1955; R. Vaufrey, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique, I, Le Maghreb*, Paris (1955).

(CH. PELLAT)

#### b) Before Islam

All that can be said for certain is that the Berbers had been established in Northern Africa from a remote period. The classical historians and geographers refer to them under different names, which have not persisted as they were certainly not used by the peoples concerned: Nasonomians and Psylli occupying Cyrenaica and Tripolitania; Garamantians leading a nomadic existence in the Sahara; Mactians, Maxyans populating the Tunisian Sahel; Numidians living in the eastern Maghrib; Getulians defending the desert borders and the high plateaux; and lastly Moors, spread over the central Maghrib and the furthest Maghrib. The establishment of foreign colonies, Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Greek, only had a limited influence on all these populations, except perhaps in the immediate vicinity of Carthage. They were divided into numerous rival tribes, which were, however, capable of uniting briefly against the foreigners, though never to the point of forming powerful and lasting states. At the time of the Punic wars, however, whilst anarchy persisted in the East, the beginnings of political organisation (creation of the kingdoms of the Massylae, the Masasyllae and of Mauritania) can be observed in the centre and the west. The genius of Masinissa, bolstered by the support of Rome, permitted this prince to unite the whole of Numidia under his rule and to create, in a few years, a kingdom comprising all the Berber populations from the Moulouya to the Syrtes. But this kingdom had but an ephemeral existence: it disappeared in 46 B.C. and Eastern Numidia became a Roman province. A few years later the kingdom of Numidia was reconstituted and became a simple Roman protectorate. Still shorter was the life of the kingdom of Mauritania, created by Augustus in 17 A.D. in favour of Juba II, and transformed into a Roman province as from the year 42.

Rome's dominion in Africa lasted until the 5th century of the Christian era. In this period of time, the Berbers, whilst assimilated in the Province of Africa and in Numidia, were hardly changed in the mountainous areas, on the high plateaux, on the confines of the Sahara and in Mauritania. For the most part the Romans were content to impose on them the obligation of paying tribute and providing auxiliary troops, leaving the administration of the tribes to the local chieftains (*principes, praefecti, reges*). The Berber spirit of independence was by no means extinguished; it showed itself at times in risings, led by more or less romanised natives, such as Tacfarinas (17-29 A.D.), and at times in attacks by the desert peoples or by the barely civilised

tribes of the interior. Such were the attacks led by the Nasonomians and the Garamantians during the reign of Augustus and Domitian; the insurrections of the Moors during the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus and Commodus; of the Getulians during the period of military anarchy; the rising of the Quinquecentians (Kabyles of the Djurdjura) at the end of the 3rd century. As Roman authority progressively declined, there was an increasingly energetic reaction on the part of the Berbers, who affirmed their particularism by the adoption of heterodox religions, as for example Donatism, but that the religious quarrels which desolated Africa in the 4th century are, from many points of view, racial wars. The rising of the "Circumcelliones" appears to have been a kind of Berber jacquerie. Revolts, such as those of Firmus (372-75) and Gildon (398) provide further testimony of the effectiveness of the native populations. But, as previously, the Berbers were unable to ally themselves against the common enemy and to take his place. Their hostility to the Romans merely made the Vandal conquest easier. Like the Romans, these Germanic invaders were obliged to take the Berbers into account. Though Gaiseric succeeded in restraining them by enrolling them in his armies, his successors had to overcome the struggle against them, Mauretania, Kabylia, the Aurès and Tripolitania retained their independence. The Byzantines who, after defeating the Vandals, remained the masters of North Africa for a century (531-642), were no more fortunate. Indigenous chieftains such as Antalas in Byzacene and Yabdas in the Aurès, offered only resistance to Solomon, the governor sent by Justinian, that he had great difficulty in surmounting it. After the death of this general, killed in an expedition organised against the Levantines (Luwāta [g.e.]) of Tripolitania, the situation in Byzantine Africa became very critical. John Troglita was only able to stop the invasion of the Luwāta with the assistance of the Berbers of the Aurès. But Byzantine authority was not recognised by all the indigenous populations. Outside Byzacene, the former Province of Africa (Tunisia) and the northern part of the province of Constantine, the coastal towns and some strongholds in the interior, the Berbers were everywhere independent. At that time they formed three groups: 1—in the East, the Luwāta (Hawwāra, Avergha, Nazāwa, Avergha); 2—in the West, the Mactians, Cyrenaica, the Djardj, the Aurès; 3—in the West, the Sanhādja scattered throughout the central Maghrib and the furthest Maghrib (Kutāma in Little Kabylia, Zwāwa in Great Kabylia, Zanāta on the Algerian littoral between Kabylia and Chelif, Iren from Chelif to Moulouya, Ghmaāra in the Rif, Mawāda on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, Gersūla [Djardila] (p. 13) in the High Atlas, Lemta in Southern Morocco, Sanhādja "with the *litham*" leading a nomadic existence in the western Sahara); 3—the Zanāta spread out along the borders of the plateaux, from Tripolitania to the Djabal 'Amur, and extending progressively towards the central Maghrib and the furthest Maghrib.

(G. VYVER)

**Bibliography:** The basic work is that of S. Goell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1915-28; see also the historical works quoted in the bibliography of the articles *Algeria*, *Morocco*, *Tunisia*, as well as the bibliography of the preceding section, and Dureau de la Malle, *L'Algérie*, Paris 1852; Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, Paris 1896; S. Goell, *Textes relatifs à l'Afrique du Nord*; *Hérodote*, Alger-Paris 1916; P. Mouteaux, *Histoire*

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#### c) After Islam

The arrival of the Arabs scarcely changed the previous situation. Their first expeditions were, in reality, no more than raiding expeditions and left no traces other than the havoc wrought by the Muslim bands. It is true that the founding of al-Kayrawān (596/69) provided the Arabs with a permanent base of operations, but the expeditions of 'Ukba b. Nāfi' (g.e.) across the Maghrib were more like raids than an actual conquest. The towns still occupied by the Byzantines remained inaccessible to the Muslim leader, as did the mountain *massifs*, where he would have been unable to overcome the inhabitants. In fact so little were they under control that one of their leaders, Kusayla (g.e.), having surprised and killed 'Ukba at Tahūgha, expelled the Arabs from Ifrīkiya and formed a Berber kingdom comprising the Aurès, the Southern part of the present-day Department of Constantine and most of Tunisia (568-712). Kusayla was unable to hold his position for long and, in spite of the resistance of the Berbers of the Aurès, symbolised by the legendary personage of the "Kāhina" (g.e.), the Muslims finally emerged victorious at the end of the 1st/7th century. The conversion of the Berbers to Islam, initiated by 'Ukba without great success, took place at the beginning of the following century. This was accomplished less by conviction than by interest, for the Arab generals had the idea that the natives would enrol in their armies in hopes of booty and thus be won over to their religion. The Berbers formed the nucleus of the armies which, under the command of Arab or even Berber leaders like Tārik (g.e.), in a few years completed the subjugation of the Maghrib and, less than half a century, brought about the conquest of Spain.

Harmonious relations, however, did not long prevail between Arabs and Berbers. The latter complained of having been poorly rewarded for their services and, in spite of the fact that they were Muslims, of being treated more like inferiors than equals. And so, having first broken away from orthodox Islam and endorsed Khārījī doctrines (see below, section III), they rose against the Arabs. The movement began in the West (122/740), at the instigation of a man of the Matghūra, Maysara (g.e.), and subsequently, in spite of his death at the hands of his own followers, prevailed throughout the whole Maghrib and even spread into Spain. The Arabs suffered disastrous defeats, like that of Kulūdmīn (Yakū [g.e.]) in 129/741; they were expelled from al-Kayrawān, which was sacked by the Warfādijūma, followers of the Sufrite doctrines (139/756); then the Nawwāra (Ibādīs), led by Abū 'I-Khattāb (g.e.), defeated the Warfādijūma and formed an Ibādī state extending over Tripolitania, Tunisia and the eastern part of Algeria. For a while the authority of the 'Abbasid Caliph was abolished in Africa. But

the Berbers, continuously divided amongst themselves, were incapable of profiting from their success. The destruction of Abū 'I-Khattāb's army by troops from Syria restored Ifrīkiya to the Arabs (144/761). Forty years of sanguinary struggles and innumerable engagements (300 according to Ibn Khaldūn) enabled them to re-establish their control over the eastern Maghrib. The rest of the country eluded them. A number of states, governed by chieftains of Arab origin, but inhabited by Berbers, for the most part heretics, not recognising the authority of the 'Abbasid Caliph, came into being in various places. Such were the kingdom of Tāhart (144-296/761-908) founded by the Imān Ibn Rustam with the survivors of the Ibādites from the East who had taken refuge in the central Maghrib (see RUSTAMIDS); that of Sijilmāsa (g.e.) where the Banū Midrār (115-366/721-977); that of Tlemcen (g.e.) founded by Abū Kurra, chief of the Banū Ifren; that of Nakūr (g.e.) in the Rif; the state of the Barghawāta (g.e.) on the Atlantic coast; finally, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the kingdom of Fās, founded by Idrīs I, a descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, with the help of Berber tribes (Miknāsa, Sadrīta, Zwāgha). Only the semi-independent dynasty of the Agglabids (184-296/800-909) recognised the sovereignty of the 'Abbasids; they found among the Berbers soldiers for the conquest of Sicily, but had to suppress many revolts by the indigenous populations of Tripolitania, southern Tunisia, the Zāb and the Hodna.

Berber opposition to the Arabs remained, in fact, as inoperative as ever; it was even so violently strong to ensure the triumph of Sufrite doctrines in the Maghrib, in spite of the fact that they were radically opposed to the Khārījī doctrines embraced by the Berbers in the preceding century. The Kutāma provided the *da'ī* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shā'ī (g.e.) with the soldiers who fought the Agglabids and founded the Fātimid power for the benefit of the *mašā'ib* 'Ubayd Allāh (297/910). The Fātimids, it is true, did not succeed in imposing their rule on the whole of the Berbers. Though they succeeded in suppressing the Imāmate of Tāhart, they were unable to prevent the Idrisids from maintaining themselves in the furthest Maghrib; they did not obtain the submission of the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta who, out of hatred for the Fātimids, had placed themselves under the patronage of the Umayyads of Spain; finally, they had to combat the revolt of the Khārījids led by Abū Yazīd (g.e.) "the man with the donkey" (332-36/943-47), a revolt which endangered their power and which they only succeeded in suppressing with the help of the Sanhādja of the central Maghrib. In addition, at an early date, the Fātimids turned their attention towards the East and, once the Caliph al-Mu'izz had established himself in Egypt (362/971), they lost interest in the Maghrib. North Africa was once again disputed between the various Berber tribes, none of which was sufficiently strong to dominate the others. In the East, the Sanhādja, taking the place of the Kutāma, upheld the authority of the Zirids (g.e.), governors of Ifrīkiya and Tripolitania (362-563/971-1107); in the West, following the disappearance of the Idrisids, power passed into the hands of the Zanāta, at first nothing more than local governors on behalf of the Umayyads of Spain, but later independent princes at Fās until the advent of the Almoravids (455/1063). At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the Zaid state disintegrated; in the centre of the Maghrib there was founded the



Hammâdîd kingdom [g.e.], the rulers of which recognised the authority of the Caliph of Baghdad and took as their capital firstly the Ka'ba and then Bougie (Bijlîya; 405-547/1014-1152). The anarchy resulting from the internecine Berber struggles was further complicated, in the middle of the century, by the invasion of the Hilâlî tribes, which had as an immediate result the devastation of Ifrîkiya and part of the Maghrib, and which entailed, as a long-term consequence, a profound modification of the ethnography of North Africa.

However, just as the disorder seemed to reach its climax, two Berber dynasties, that of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀVĪDŪN] and that of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], both proclaiming reforming religious doctrines, succeeded in establishing their temporary supremacy in North Africa. The triumph of the Almoravids was that of the Lantîna, who until then had led a nomadic existence between southern Morocco and the banks of the Senegal and the Niger. Converted to Islam in the 3rd/9th century, they had for a long time been only nominal Muslims. They had been instructed in orthodox doctrine and practices by 'Abd Allah b. Yâsin (d. 451/1059) and resolved to carry the faith to the Blacks of the Sudân and to the ignorant populations of southern Morocco. Their conquests speedily passed beyond these limits. 'Abd Ilâz b. 'Umar founded Marrâkush (490/1098) and Yûsuf b. Tâghlîn (Tâghlîn) within a few years subdued the whole of Morocco and the central Maghrib as far as the borders of the Hammâdîd kingdom, halted the progress of the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula by the victory of Zâlîka (g.e.) (479/1086), dethroned the Andalusian amirs, and became the sole master of the whole of Muslim Spain. The decline of the Almoravids was as rapid as their success. Exhausted by their own victories and by contact with a higher civilisation, the Berbers of the Sahara rapidly disappeared. To replace them, the Almoravid Caliphs were obliged to have recourse to the use of Christian mercenaries, whilst they themselves, unimpaired of Islamic orthodoxy, scandalised strict Muslims by their conduct. Won over to the unorthodox doctrine (muḥakkid) by the preaching of Ibn Tûmât (g.e.), the Masmûda of the Atlas rose against them. Under the command of a man of genius, a Berber of the Kûmiyya, 'Abd al-Mu'în (g.e.), they overcame the Almoravids without great difficulty (541/1147). The Empire founded by the Almohads was still more extensive than that of their predecessors, though it is true that 'Abd al-Mu'în did not succeed in subduing the whole of Spain, on the other hand he destroyed the Hammâdîd kingdom of Bougie and the Zirid kingdom of Ifrîkiya, expelled the Christians from the parts which they had occupied, and made himself master of all the country between Syria and the Atlantic. Thus a great Berber Empire extended over the whole of North Africa; however it was not long before it began to crumble. The Almohad Caliphs were not more successful than the Almoravids in remaining faithful to orthodoxy; one of them, al-Mu'în (g.e.), even went so far as publicly to curse the memory of Ibn Tûmât, and dealt rigorously with the faithful. The rivalries of the various Berber splinter groups was an additional factor which contributed to the disintegration of the empire created by 'Abd al-Mu'în. The quarrels of the Masmûda and the Kûmiyya led to constant bloodshed at the Moroccan coast; the tribes of the central Maghrib supported the enterprises of the Banû Ghâniya (g.e.), or

attempted to make themselves independent. A century after the death of 'Abd al-Mu'în, the last of his line, Abû Dabbâs, reduced to the rôle of bandit-chief, met his end in obscurity (668/1269). The Maghrib was already divided among new powers, the Marinids (g.e.) installed at Fîs, the 'Abd al-Wâdîds (g.e.) at Tlemcen (Tilimsân), the Hafîds (g.e.) at Tunis. Not one of these new dynasties was capable of imposing its supremacy on the others, or even of making its own subjects respect it. In Morocco, the tribes of the mountain regions were in a state of constant revolt against the Marinids; in the central Maghrib, the Banû Warrâjîn of the Ouâsensis, the Zwiwa of the Dîjârija, the Kabyles of the province of Constantine, and the populations of the Zab and Dîjârid, remained outside the authority of the sovereigns of Constantine, Bougie and Tunis; the same was true of the oases of the Jebel Nafîsa and the Aurès. The inability of the Berbers to organise themselves in a large State is conclusively demonstrated. It therefore becomes impossible to follow their history except by making a historical assessment of the rôles of the various tribes. The task, moreover, would be immensely complicated by the changes brought about as the result of the Hilâlî invasion. In the plains and on the plateaux, the Berber populations intermingled with the Arabs; gradually they abandoned their language and customs, and even their names, and they are reduced to that of some personage from whom they traced their origin; they became arabised. Other groups escaped this transformation because of the inaccessibility of their habitat, as for example those of the Aurès, Kabylia, the Rif and the Atlas; their ranks were swollen by refugees from many sources who sought asylum among them; finally some were driven back into the Sahara, so that from the 8th/14th century "the Berbers form a cordon on the frontier of the country of the Blacks similar to that formed by the Arabs on the confines of the two Maghribs and of Ifrîkiya" (Ibn Khaldûn, *al-'Ibar*, trans. de Slane, II, 104). This disintegration was accompanied by a recession of Muslim civilisation. It would not be an exaggeration to say that a number of Berber groups reverted to a way of life of semi-savagery, only retaining a few very rudimentary notions of Islam. In the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries, their re-Islamisation was the work of maraboutism, presenting themselves for the most part as natives of southern Morocco, of the legendary Skîkîyat al-Hamrâ, which popular imagination pictures as a land of miseries and saints. Such was the influence of these pious men that whole tribes today consider themselves as their descendants. Only a few rare groups avoided their influence. (G. YVES\*)

**Bibliography:** The primary source is Ibn Khaldûn, *K. al-'Ibar*, Bûlak 1284, 7 vol. (French trans. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, Algiers 1852-56, 4 vol.); to this must be added the other Arab historians of North Africa cited in the bibliography of the articles ALGERIA, MOROCCO, TUNISIA, as well as: H. Fournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1875; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Alou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878; R. Basset, *Les Sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1890; S. A. Bouillat, *Le Djurdjara à travers l'histoire*, Algiers 1925; E. F. Gautier, *Les Sîbas obscurs*, Paris 1927; E. F. Gautier, in *Hepp*, 1930; E. Lévi-Provençal (ed.), *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au moyen âge*, Rabat 1934; T. Lewicki, in *REI*, 1934; P. Anulhat, in *REI*, 1937; R. Montagne, *Les*

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## II. — DISTRIBUTION AT PRESENT

At the present day, the Berbers, although without doubt constituting the basis of the population of North Africa, no longer form a homogeneous mass and one can at most take into account those of them who have retained the use of the Berber language; they would appear to amount to over 5,000,000 individuals. Many of them are in fact bilingual—even trilingual—but still more numerous are those who have lost—often deliberately—all memory of their origins as well as their customs and language, frequently providing themselves expressly with an Arab genealogy; a few contrast elements here and there lay claim to a Berber origin, though they have ceased to speak the language of their ancestors. Generally speaking, Berber has in fact always receded before the advance of Arabic, and recent events or those of the present day have tended to accentuate the narrowing of the area in which the old language is used; the disappearance of various Berber speaking pockets, especially in eastern Barbary, is a contemporary phenomenon, and it seems likely that the political situation in North Africa will continue in the immediate future to favour the extension of the domain of Arabic.

However, several considerable groups have persisted in the mountain *mâsâr* and in the desert, that is to say in those regions only superficially penetrated by the Arabs. They are linked together by pockets more or less close to one another, which remain as evidence of the older ethnic and linguistic pattern. In general terms, it may be said that the density of Berber groups increases from east to west. They are scattered over a vast area which extends from the Egyptian frontier (with Siwa and Dîjardub) to the Atlantic Ocean, from the cliff of Hombori, south of the Niger, to the Mediterranean.

**Libya.**—Various groups subsist in the mountains of the country of Barka, in the Djabal Ghûryîn, Ifren, Nafîsa; they are also to be found in the oases of Awjîla, Sokna, Timissâ and, on the coast, at Zâra; some of the elements of the population of Awjîla and of Urtîla, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, say they are Berbers although they speak Arabic (about 2½% of the population in all).

**Tunisia.**—Six villages in the island of Djerba: Adjim, Guelila, Sedoukch, Elmal, Mabboudin and Sedjiane, to which must be added seven on the mainland: Tmagourt, Sened, Zraoua, Taoudjout, Tamezert, Chnial and Douiret, which are still partly Berber-speaking; these Berbers, many of whom speak a long time in the towns of the North, especially in Tunis, where they occupy positions of trust, are much attached to their dialect, which moreover serves them as a secret language (1% Berber-speaking in all).

**Algeria.**—Kabylia in the north and the Aurès in the south-east have been the two poles of Berber resistance; these regions are now only separated by

a fairly narrow Arabic-speaking zone, up to Sétil. In the Algerian and Oranais Tell country, the groups only reach some importance in the mountain region of Blida and the Chêlîf (Ouâsensis, Djendel, Beni Menacer, Chenoual; finally, several groups appear along the Algero-Moroccan frontier (Beni Snous, near Tlemcen) (about 30% Berber speaking in all).

**Morocco.**—The geographical configuration of Morocco has been especially favourable to the survival of the Berber populations; though a number of tribes have relinquished the use of Berber, it nevertheless remains the language of the great groups of the Zanîta, Masmûda and Sanhâja in the Rif, the Middle, High and Anti-Atlas, as well as in the Sous, R. Montagne, *Vie Sociale*, 17, has estimated that the Arabs constitute from 10 to 15% of the population in Morocco, Arabised Berbers from 40 to 45%, the remaining 40 to 45% being Berbers who cannot disclaim their origin.

**Sahara.**—In the Algerian and Moroccan Sahara, the oases of Ouad Righ, Ouarâgla, Ngouma, the seven towns of the Mzab, the "Isours" of the Gourara, the Touat, the Tidikelt, of Figuig, of the Tafilaît, of the Dades; then in a very extensive zone in the shape of a triangle, between Ghâdimen in the North, Tombouctou in the south-west and Zinder in the south-east, including Ghat, Djanet and the Abshagar, we have the various groups of Touareg (g.e.).

Berber is also spoken in Mauritania (Zenaga) by about 25,000 inhabitants (especially the Trâra); the Wâda pocket uses Aser, a Soninké dialect mixed with Berber.

**Diaspora.**—Outside those zones roughly indicated above, attention must be drawn to the influx of the Berbers into the large towns of Morocco (Casablanca) and Algeria (Algiers), where, "détritisés" and lacking the control of their natural social group (see below section IV), they tend to form an impoverished proletariat, ready for anything. Outside Barbary, there are to be found in the Lebanon descendants of the Kûlâma who arrived with the Fatimids and, in Damascus, Algerian Berbers who emigrated at the beginning of the conquest, or who rejoined the amir 'Abd al-Kâdir (g.e.) or his descendants. Some elements remained in various European countries after the second world war, and a few are even reported in America, but above all Metropolitan France has the largest number of Berbers; the majority of them are Kabyles, who have temporarily—or in some cases permanently—abandoned the barren soil of their homeland, seeking to find more fruitful means of livelihood abroad; these displaced persons also form a proletariat which finds it difficult to adapt itself to the conditions of life in the Metropolis.

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Casablanca 1939; L. Justinaud, *Les Châleux de la banlieue de Paris*, in *REI*, 1928; L. Massignon, *Cartes de répartition des Kabyles dans la région parvienne*, *ibid.*, 1930; *idem*, *Annuaire du Monde musulman*, Paris 1935, index; see also bibliography to section V below.

(G. YVER-CH. PELLAT)

### III. — RELIGION

In ancient times, the religion of the Berbers appears to have been divided into a multitude of local cults, corresponding to the tribal divisions. The objects of this cult, concerning which we only possess scanty and incomplete information, were doubtless natural objects: grottoes, rocks, springs, rivers and mountains, to which must be added the celestial bodies, at least the sun, moon and some of the stars. The veneration accorded them still persists in some of the legends, beliefs, rites and religious ceremonies. In spite of their conversion to Islam and their deep feeling of belonging to the Islamic community, the Berbers have in fact retained a host of pagan practices, some of which have more or less been adapted to Islam, whilst others remain in direct opposition to Islamic precepts; these survivals are particularly apparent in agricultural rites and festivals, practices for obtaining rain, harvest rites, lightning bonfires, *amara* (q.v.), the concept of *baraka* (q.v.), the cult of saints etc.

It cannot be denied that from Punic times, various foreign divinities were not only borrowed, but were in fact assimilated to the national divinities (see H. Basset, *Influences puniques chez les Berbères*, in *KAf*, 1921). Judaism also obtained numerous proselytes, and even if it did not reach the rôle which some claim for it, it was disseminated over the whole of North Africa; in fact, with the exception of the descendants of Jews expelled from Spain in the 9th/15th century, the majority of indigenous Jews are descended from proselytes pre-dating the appearance of Islam (see Slouschz, *Hébreux-Phéniciens et Indo-Berbers*, Paris 1909; M. A. Simon, *Le Judaïsme berbère dans l'Afrique antique*, in *Rev. Hist. et Philol. Fac. phil. protestante de Strasbourg*, 1946; L. Volnot, *Philosophes judéo-musulmans du Maroc*, Paris 1948; P. Flambard, *Population israélite du Sud marocain*, in *Hesp.*, 1950, 363 ff.; *idem*, *Un Mellaq en pays berbère*; *Dennat*, Paris 1952; *idem*, *Les Communautés israélites du Sud marocain*, thesis, Sorbonne 1957).

Judaism paved the way for Christianity which prospered in spite of the bitter struggle which it had to conduct against paganism and the internal quarrels which soon beset it; it will be sufficient to note that it afforded the Berbers an opportunity of grouping together against Roman rule and that they enthusiastically embraced heresies (Arianism, Donatism, etc.) opposed to the doctrine of the Church of Rome (see P. S. Monnier, *Étude sur l'influence du Christianisme sur les Berbères*, Paris 1902; *idem*, *Le Christianisme en Afrique*, Algiers 1913; E. Albertini, *L'Afrique romaine*, 53 ff.; Dom Lederey, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris 1904; Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris 1900-23).

The same thing happened at the time of the Muslim conquest: it was only the name of their adversaries which had changed. We do not know in detail the history of the conversion of the Berbers to Islam, but tradition has it that they seceded twelve times and Islam only finally triumphed in the 6th/12th century; it was at this date that the last indigenous Christians disappeared, whilst Jewish

communities survived down to our own day. At the beginning of the conquest, the converted Berbers professed the orthodox doctrine, the only one known to them; but their spirit of independence soon showed itself by their adoption of Khāridjī doctrines which put forward the most egalitarian ideas (see IRĀDĪYYA, KHAWĀRĪDĪ and the works of T. Lewicki, especially *Études théologiques nord-africaines*, Warsaw 1955, and *La répartition géographique des groupements théologiques de l'Afrique du Nord au moyen âge*, in *Koehn Orientalistik*, 1957; see also Chahk Bēkri, *Le Khawāridjisme*, in *Af. Af.*, 1957, 55-108). The clearest indication that religious doctrine little concerned them fundamentally is given by the fact that one party espoused the cause of the Shī'is, not only that of the Idrīsids of Fās, but even of those who had come under the influence of the Persian outlook and saw in the *imām* an incarnation of the Divinity. Thus it came about that alongside the Khāridjīs (Sufīs and Ibadīs) there were the Fātimīds, and that the Kutāma provided the main support for *mahdī* 'Ubayd Allāh. This tendency to turn to extremes was again in evidence when a puritan reaction brought about the triumph of Sunnī doctrines with the Lamtūna (Almoravids) of the Sahara, recently converted in the 5th/10th century; it was further emphasised with the Maghāda of the Atlas who founded the Almūd, Emīr and destroyed the remaining dissidents, Christians or Shī'is, with the exception of a few Khāridjī communities who were protected by mountains, the desert or the sea; it again made its appearance with the formation of the small Marābūt states which arose in Morocco from the 5th/11th century onwards (see R. Montagne, *Le social*, 22 ff.).

Among reactions against official Islam, two further attempts must be cited which aimed at creating a new religion in Morocco: in the Rīf, in the 4th/10th century, the attempt of Hā-Mīn al-Mufraī (q.v.) and, on the Atlantic coast, that of Sālih b. Tarif (q.v.).

After having provided a Father of the Church, Saint Augustine, born at Thagaste (Suk-Aghar), the Berbers under Islam only produced theologians who were adept in disputation, but no great intellects. Wherever Sunnī Islam triumphed, it was Malikism which was adopted, and it continues to prevail in Barbary, though some Khāridjī communities (Ibadīs) survive in the Djabal Nafusa, at Djerba, in southern Tunisia and in the Mzab.

**Bibliography:** On the old religion of the Berbers and its survivals, there is copious bibliography and only the main works can be indicated: R. Basset, *Recherches sur le religion des Berbères*, Paris 1910 (extract from the *RHR*); L. Brunet, *Cultes naturels à Séfrou*, in *Arch. Berb.*, 1918/2; H. Basset, *Le culte des grottes au Maroc*, Algiers 1920; A. Bel, *Quelques rites pour la pluie*, in *NIF*; *Centre Orient.*, Algiers 1905; *idem*, in *MD*, *Gandefroy-Demombyres*, Cairo 1915; L. Joliveau, *Gravures rupestres et rites de l'eau*, in *J. Soc. Africanistes*, 1933/4; Protat-Biralen, *Les Rites d'obtention de la pluie*, *ibid.*, 1932/3; Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Paris 1895/9; F. Nicolas, *Les Industries de protection chez les Touareg de l'Azawagh*, in *Hesp.*, 1938; Rahmani, *Le mois de mai chez les Kabyles*, Algiers 1935/9; *idem*, *Notes de l'Algérie*, Constantine 1933; Montet, *Destaing*, *Le culte des saints en Af. du N.*, Paris; E. Destaing, *Fêtes et coutumes saisonnières chez les Beni-Snass*, in *RAf*, 1906; E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920; *idem*, *Noms et cérémonies des fêtes de joie*, in *Hesp.*,

1921; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Af. du N.*, Algiers 1909; *idem*, *Les Tribes*, Paris 1914; Dr. Foddy, *Mœurs et médecine des Touareg de l'Azawagh*, Algiers 1930; G. Marcy, *Origine et signification des tatouages des tribus berbères*, in *RHR*, 1930; E. Westernmark, *Midsummer customs in Morocco*, in *Folk-Lore*, 1903; *idem*, *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914 (French trans. 25 ff.); *idem*, *Notes on the customs and beliefs connected with agriculture*, Helsingfors 1913; *idem*, *The Moorish conception of Holiness (Baraka)*, *ibid.*, 1916; *idem*, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926 (partial trans. R. Godet, *Survivances païennes dans la civilisation musulmane*, Paris 1935); J. Servier, *Jeux rituels et rites agraires des Berbères d'Algérie*, Sorbonne thesis 1935 (unpublished); — On Islam in Barbary: H. Doutté, *L'Islam algérien*, Algiers 1900; A. Bel, *La Religion musulmane en Berbérie*, i (only published), Paris 1938; G. H. Bouquet, *L'Islam maghrébin*, Algiers 1942; See also J. D. Pearson, *Index Islamica*, 1906-1953, Cambridge 1958, nos. 1257-840 and 12841-13508 *passim*.

(R. BASSET-CH. PELLAT)

### IV. — CUSTOMS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION

Observers have all been struck by the character and usages of the Berbers, which differ in many respects from those of the Arabs, particularly as regards women, who, in general, enjoy a greater degree of freedom (see for example the "courts of love" among the Touareg [ahā], H. Lhote, *Touaregs du Hoggar*, 208 ff.) and to a certain extent, greater respect (on women, see M. Gaudry, *La femme chavica de l'Aurès*, Paris 1929; A. M. Golichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927-31; L. Bousquet-Lefèvre, *La femme kabyle*, Paris 1939; on matriarchy: G. Marcy, *Les vestiges de la parenté maternelle en droit coutumier berbère*, in *RAf*, 1941/3-4). As a rapid synthesis is made impossible by the great diversity which appears from one group to another, we shall limit ourselves to giving references to the large number of monographs and works of ethnography which have been devoted to North Africa.

The Berbers (except in the Mzab) are basically a rural population, leading a nomadic or sedentary existence. The nomadic life is in tents, of which the different types have been frequently described (see H. Lhote, *Touaregs du Hoggar*, 221 ff.; E. Laoust, *L'Habitat chez les transhumants du Maroc central*, in *Hesp.*, 1930 ff.); the sedentary population live in houses (see E. Laoust, *op. cit.*; A. Adam, *La Maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas*, in *Hesp.*, 1950, 486 ff.) or even in majestic kasbahs (kasaba) which in some respects recall the style of South Arabia (see H. Terasson, *Kasbahs berbères de l'Atlas et des sassi*, *Les Grandes architectures du Sud marocain*, Paris 1938; A. Paris, *Documents d'architecture berbère*, Paris 1925; K.A.C. Creswell, *A Bibliog. of Muslim Arch. in North Africa*, Paris 1924, *passim*).

One of the peculiarities of Muslim Barbary is the retention of customary law, which continues to be applied, either officially or unofficially (see 'Idā', both in Algeria and Morocco (for Tunisia, see G. H. Bousquet, *Note sur la survivance du droit coutumier berbère en Tunisie*, in *Hesp.*, 1952/2-3, 248-9). This custom ('Idā, 'urf, 'urf, 'urf) is essentially oral, but of recent years some tribes have felt the need to record in writing in Arabic and even in French, though rarely in Berber (see below section VI) some

*binās*, simple lists of sentences, with the scale of appropriate fines (imprecations are unknown). Justice, based on custom, is dispensed, in civil and criminal matters, either by a kind of (individual) arbitrator, or by judicial *qadīmās* which set themselves up as clandestine tribunals (for example in the Aurès subject to French law) or which in contrast have had a legal existence (as in Morocco since the famous *daīr* (daīr) of May 16th 1930, called the "Berber daīr", which gave rise to numerous protests because it established customary tribunals). Needless to say, this law is not uniform and varies quite considerably from group to group; as a result of its lay origin and oral transmission it is subject to modification (see Hachou-Campredon, *Étude sur l'évolution des coutumes kabyles*, Algiers 1921).

The social organisation of the Berbers also differs in many respects from that of the Arabs; it is based on the ties of blood, real or fictitious. The smallest social unit is the "hearth", a number of hearths among the sedentary people forming a village, and among the nomads a "douar" (aou, *hagmm*, etc.); several villages or "douars" form a division which is a state in miniature; the tribe groups several divisions together, but has less political personality; the tribal confederation only represents a temporary association required by especially grave circumstances, most frequently war.

The idea of relationship within the group has as its corollary the respect for a kind of collective morality, a constant solidarity between its members, who in particular perform a collective corvée (*tiwari*), ensure the safety of strangers to whom one of them has accorded his protection, own collective granaries (see *asādir*), etc.

The fact is, however, that their political organisation paradoxically reveals two diametrically opposed, but not incompatible, systems, which seems a further proof of the diversity of the ethnic elements numbered under the name Berber: on the one hand, an aristocratic type, having a warrior nobility, a religious caste, a class of tributaries and finally the *serfs*; this is the régime prevailing among the Touareg, who are governed by an *amānkal* (q.v.), each tribe being placed under the authority of an *amghar* (q.v.); on the other hand, in the rest of Barbary, we find a democratic type, with an elected assembly (*djama'a*, *enfās*, *ayl arl'n*) in which all power resides (legislative, judicial and executive); each assembly of a lower group delegates members to higher assemblies, but generally speaking, it is the *djama'a* of the division which has most political weight. This democratic system usually results in a *de jure* oligarchy and does not impede the development of personal power, at least in those regions where the internal leagues (*leff* (q.v.)) group independent divisions together (and not just villages or parts of villages, as in Kabylia, the *seffs* (q.v.)); R. Montagne (*Le social*, 91 ff.) has pertinently analysed the stages in the development of this power of the temporal leaders, who have been called the "Lords of the Atlas".

**Bibliography:** For ethnography, in addition to the works already quoted in the preceding section, see: Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, Paris 1864; Comm. Bissaul, *Les Touaregs de l'Ouest*, Algiers 1888; Benhatoua, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Algiers 1908; A. Richer, *Les Touaregs du Niger*, Paris 1912; H. Lhote, *Les Touaregs du Hoggar*, Paris 1924 (with a very copious bibliog.); C. Devaux, *Les Kébalas du Djerdjira*, Marseilles-



Paris 1859; Masqueray, *De Aurasio monte*, Paris 1886; R. Basset, *Nedromak et les Traras*, Paris 1901; L. Volinet, *Le Tidilshet*, Oran 1909; Abès, *Les Tazayen d'Orléans*, in *Arch. Berb.*, IV, 1916; idem, *Les Ait Nâhir*, *Idah*, III, 1917; S. Blum, *Notes d'Éthn. et de ling. nord-africaines*, Paris 1924; G. Marcy, *Les Ait Waranin*, in *Hesp.*, 1929; R. Maunier, *Mélanges de sociol. nord-africaine*, Paris 1930; J. Bourrillat, *Éléments d'éthnographie marocaine*, Paris 1932.—On customary law bibliography by H. Bruno, in *Rev. Algérienne*, 1929, I, 94 ff.; critical bibliography by G. H. Bouquet, in *Hesp.*, 1932, 508 ff.; to which should be added: G. H. Bouquet, *Le Droit coutumier des Ait Haddiden*, in *AIEO Alger*, 1936, 113-230; the two fundamental studies are, for Kabylia, Hano-teau and Letourneau, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, Paris 1893, 3 vols., and for Morocco, G. Marcy, *Le Droit coutumier Zemmuridj*, Algiers-Paris 1939 (see also 'Zemuridj'—On social and political organisation, in addition to the monographs quoted in the preceding sections: Masqueray, *Formation des cités*, Paris 1886; M. Mercier, *La Civilisation urbaine au Masab*, Algiers 1923; R. Montagne, *Villages et hautes herbes*, Paris 1930; idem, *Les Berbères et le Maklabin dans le Sud de Maroc*, Paris 1939; idem, *La Vie sociale et la vie politique des Berbères*, Paris 1931; F. Nicolas, *Notes sur la société et l'état des Touareg du Dinak*, in *Bull. IFAN*, 1939, 579 ff.; V. Montell, *Note sur l'loi et les Ait Ba'amrin*, Paris 1948; idem, *Note sur les Tehna*, Paris 1948; J. Berque, *Les Schuwa, Recherches sur les structures sociales du Haut Atlas occidental*, Paris 1954; Ph. Marçais, in *Mémoires A. Basset*, 69-82. (Cf. PELLIAT)

#### V. — LANGUAGE

One cannot but envy the assurance with which René Basset, fifty years ago, painted a picture of the Berber language in this *Encyclopaedia*. By an inevitable process, research has produced questions in greater number than answers: some illusions have vanished. However, the balance-sheet for this half century is not negative: a mass of materials has been collected, their classification and analysis has been undertaken and sometimes fairly extensively developed; an attempt at a synthesis has even been made by André Basset, but he is cautious and is at pains to avoid taking hypothesis for established fact.

#### A. The historical problem

1. — History of the language: Berber is almost exclusively a spoken language, and its history, even in the recent period, is almost unknown owing to the lack of written documents. It is only in the 19th century that the texts collected orally from Berbers by Europeans start to become numerous. Indigeneous documents are rare and of limited scope. Southern Morocco has produced manuscripts in Arabic script (cf. section VII) of which we only possess partial and out-of-date editions; moreover, the language of these works of religious edification, in spite of its undeniable interest, seems somewhat artificial. The Berber words and expressions cited by Arab authors have not received a systematic treatment. The best known and also the oldest are the phrases of the 12th century published by L. Lévy-Provençal in his *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*. Paris 1928 (cf. G. Marcy, in *Hesp.*, 1932, 61-77) and which appear to confirm the relative stability of the language. The Arabic texts have also preserved a number of Berber ethnic names, anthroponyms

and toponyms which still remain to be studied. The remains of Guanche, which was spoken in the Canary Islands up to the 17th century, are generally considered a Berber language. However after a very detailed investigation, L.-D. Wolff only relates a part of the Guanche forms to Berber.

Further back than the Almohad period, the linguist finds no Berber documents properly so-called. The early centuries after the Arab conquest are even more "obscure" for him than for the historian. Antiquity confronts us with a number of very difficult problems. It has bequeathed us a documentation as mysterious as it is abundant on African dialects:

a) Over a thousand Libyan inscriptions have been published (cf. section VII). The alphabet used is known with fair accuracy, at least for the bilinguals, but the proposed interpretations show serious divergencies and are not convincing; Libyan has not been deciphered.

b) In the east and particularly in Tripolitania, a series of inscriptions in Latin characters have been discovered, whose meaning is unknown. One or two words are Latin, others can be explained by Punic, but the remainder has not been identified.

c) A host of African words, mostly proper names, are to be found scattered throughout the Punic, Greek and especially Latin inscriptions, as well as in the classical authors. Some of these words have been identified as Punic; the majority have only given rise to nebulous explanations.

Thus, little has been made of these old materials. Why is this the case? Very few research workers venture into this field and if they do so, it is generally in the course of other investigations or in the service of a different discipline. Moreover, the unity of the documents, scattered both in space and time, is problematical. The inscriptions of Tripolitania are of an early period. The Libyans ones come from Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco and cover several centuries: the only one which is dated goes back to 139 B.C.; some appear to be contemporary with the Roman Empire; the majority cannot be dated at all. The onomastic material is even more dispersed: provided by texts ranging from Herodotus to the latest antiquity, it concerns the whole territory comprised between Egypt and the Atlantic. Such diverse evidence inevitably represents several stages of linguistic development, or even several languages. Its interpretation assumes that preliminary work has been done in listing and subjecting them to a critical examination; however, a general onomastic index is still awaited. In spite of the extraordinary diversity of this ancient material, the modern Berber dialects are frequently thought of as providing a miraculous key capable of unlocking all doors. Extensive use is made of the glossaries, but only in order to adduce isolated comparisons or erect a superstructure of conjectures, whereas a system of well established correspondences alone could afford proof. A direct connexion is postulated between Libyan and Berber, considered as two stages of the same language. This assumption is based on history, which discovers Berber populations in Africa from ancient times and concludes that the Berber language was already spoken there: but was it the only language? If it really is Berber that is concealed in the Libyan inscriptions? The parallels which are certain are rare; the similarity of the Libyan and Touareg scripts (cf. section VII) does not demonstrate that the languages are related; the difficulties encountered call for criticism. A. Basset has drawn

attention to the fact that the argument taken from history is negative. A. Picard is still more sceptical. This example of caution, little imitated as yet, is thus provided by Berber specialists. A comparative linguist and ethnologist like J. D. Wolff, whilst grouping Libyan and Berber together, also hesitates to consider them as a single language. J. G. Février asks whether Libyan cannot be considered "as a kind of pre-Berber", but allows himself no reply. Such rational doubt is preferable to the illusion of knowledge; it neither entails relinquishing research nor the denial of any connexion between Libyan and Berber; it timely invites us not to forget that what constitutes a certainty for the historian only provides the linguist with a working hypothesis.

2. — Cognate or neighbouring languages: The comparison of Berber with other languages has still only produced rather slender results. Certain unduly fanciful attempts are no longer worth mentioning. The connexions proposed by G. Marcy and Hauss have remained fragmentary. The opinion advanced by O. Rössler, according to which Berber is a Semitic language close to Akkadian, evokes an interest mixed with caution. The Hamito-Semitic theory, which places Berber in a group including Ancient Egyptian, the Cushitic languages of Abyssinia and the Semitic languages, appears to be unfruitful. For Marcel Cohen, the name Hamito-Semitic by no means implies the existence of a "Hamitic" branch as opposed to the Semitic. The position occupied by each of the members within the family is still inadequately known. As early as 1844, Berber was considered by T. N. Newmann to be a "Hebrew-African" language. Certain similarities, both in the respective roles played by consonants and vowels as well as in the nature and function of various morphological elements, justify the continued prosecution of research. Borrowings from other languages and reciprocal influences must be assessed, analogies specified and extended to vocabulary: l'essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamois-berber published in 1947 by Marcel Cohen gives the impression that the connecting links between Berber and the other languages under consideration are rather strained.

In addition to these attempts at defining relationships, we must refer to the whole field of studies which may be termed "Mediterranean", as they concern the civilisation which flourished on the shores of the Mediterranean prior to the arrival of the Indo-Europeans. Here vocabulary takes precedence over morphology: the aim is to determine a cultural community rather than to establish a linguistic affinity. The toponyms of ancient Africa and Berber, cited as a testimony of this remote period, are often invoked alongside Iberian, Basque etc. Thus it is that they are accorded a more or less important place in works devoted to the "Mediterranean substratum" (C. Battisti, V. Bertoldi etc.), to the non-Indo-European elements in Latin (G. Nencioli), to Sardinian (B. Terracini, M. L. Wagner), to the regions of the Alps and Pyrenees (J. Hubschmid) and more generally to the "Euro-African" civilisation (J. D. Wolff).

In spite of the inevitable grouping, the excesses and mistakes, research into these ticklish problems can no longer be ignored.

An even more urgent problem for North African dialectology is to determine precisely in what respects Berber and Maghribi Arabic have affected one another. It is a question of substratum or adstratum as the case may be. There is no lack of

documents, but we have scarcely passed the stage of noting the most obvious features. The Berber dictionaries summarily indicate certain borrowings from Arabic. Some words by Arabists (L. Brunot, G. S. Colin, Ch. Pellat, Ph. and W. Marçais) give a place to Berber matters.

We do not know what Berber owes to the languages of Tropical Africa: this may well be a great lacuna.

#### B) Dialects and Language

On the geographical distribution of dialects, cf. section II.

It is the study of present-day dialects which has produced the most positive results during recent decades, especially through the efforts of A. Basset. However, there still remain a few illusions to be shed. None of the classifications proposed for the dialects is really satisfying. Attempts have been made to discover in them the traditional division of the population into Masenka, Sanhaja and Zanata (cf. I): this is to appeal to a confused story. It would be preferable to start from the linguistic data: but what factors are relevant? A distinction is sometimes made between "occlusive" dialects and "spirant" dialects, yet the Chleuh dialects, which moreover form a distinct group (cf. below), are not in agreement on the problem of certain sounds: they therefore, far from being split up into several groups? As A. Picard reminds us, phonetics is only one aspect of living language. A classification based on phonological systems would be more interesting, though equally arbitrary. Linguistic geography demonstrates that every phenomenon occupies an area of its own; A. Basset proved this so convincingly in respect of Berber, that he relinquished the idea of dialect in this field altogether: the language disintegrates directly into four to five thousand local idioms. Nevertheless it would be difficult to avoid taking into account a kind of linguistic harmony which, in such geographically close-knit regions as the Chleuh country, Kabylia, Aures etc., superimposes itself on the division into local idioms, without effacing it; mutual comprehension is immediate within every such zone and Berber speakers have a feeling for these groupings (cf. A. Roux, in *Hesp.*, 1954, 269). Even in these privileged cases, no common language exists. It is true that the wandering poets of the Middle Atlas of Morocco, referred to by A. Roux (cf. section VI), use a kind of intermediate dialect for their compositions; furthermore, an investigation should be made of the Berber spoken in the large towns where the emigrants collect together. But up till now, political, economic and cultural conditions have militated against a unification which those concerned do not seem to need: when necessary, they use another language, frequently Arabic, to communicate with one another. Any comprehensive description of the Berber dialects, therefore, comes up against local factors which persistently impose limits on its applicability. Nevertheless, it is justified by the unity of the language, which remains clear in spite of the diversity.

1. — Phonetics and Phonology. Though the sounds of the numerous dialects have already been ascertained and more or less adequately described in the monographs, we still possess no complete table of their correspondences. Moreover, as yet no dialect has been subjected to a phonological analysis. Comparison, however, enables us to establish the main features of a system of phonemes which appears to be the basis on which the various local



systems rest. Here, only slightly modified, is the table proposed by A. Basset:

Consonants	labials	b	f	m
	dentals	t	d	n l r
	shibants		s	z
	palatal shibants		ʃ	t
	velars	k	g	
	uvular			
Semi-vowels		y	ʔ	
Vowels		i	u	
		ə		

The tendency for short occlusives to become spirant in numerous dialects (Rif, Middle Atlas of Morocco, Kabylie, etc.) has already been mentioned. This may lead locally to the introduction of new phonemes and to modification of the phonological system. Almost everywhere this system has been complicated and distorted by large-scale borrowing from Arabic, to which the presence particularly of the pharyngals and *ʕ* and the laryngal *h* in the majority of dialects appears to be due.

A remarkable fact is the presence in Berber of emphatic consonants. Apart from *d* and *z* there are attested: [ɖ], [ɣ], [ɟ] and even [ʒ], [ʒ], but they cannot be accorded phonological status *a priori*. Emphasis does not always belong exclusively to the phoneme concerned. On [i], cf. below.

*y* and *u* are sometimes pronounced as consonants [ɣ], [w], and sometimes as vowels [i], [u], according to their position; quality varies with syllable pattern, which is not everywhere the same. Furthermore, besides these occurrences of phonetic [i] and [u], morphology suggests the need to recognise separate vowels *i* and *u*: which is not devoid of difficulties.

Each of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u* comprises a range of gradations conditioned by the articulation of the neighbouring consonants and devoid of phonological value. As regards [a], it is in principle a purely phonetic element, the occurrence of which is subject to the laws, as yet not very well known, which govern the syllabification and structure of words. Very unstable in central and southern Morocco, it appears presents a greater consistency in Kabylie; in spite of certain indications by Foucauld which must be verified and above all, interpreted, it is by no means certain that [a] has phonemic status in Tuarég.

An important rôle is played by the quantitative value of consonants. Every consonant or semi-vowel may be "short" or "long", thus creating a type of opposition widely exploited by the vocabulary and to a still greater extent by the morphology. Chleuh *ʒ* "tongue"; *dl̄* "he has sold"; *ʒh̄at* "he has given it (masc.)"; *ʒh̄at* "he has given it (fem.)". The long consonant seems to be less characteristic by its duration than by the tenseness of its articulation; lengthening sometimes results in transition from spirant to occlusive and from voiced to voiceless: thus it comes about that the frequent realisation of *ʔy* is [tʃ], and that of *ʒd* [tʃ]: we may be represented by [ʒʔʔ] (on one occasion even [kkʃ] or [bbʔ]), and *ʔy* by [ʒtʃ].

Not all vowels always have the same duration; their length, however, is not pertinent, except perhaps in Tuarég.

Accentuation of a word, where the accent is one of intensity, is not recognised as fulfilling a distinctive function.

## 2.—Forms and their functions.

a.—The Berber word. Words are made up of

a theme and inflexions. The theme is produced by the combination of a root with a schema. The root is bound to a minimum concept beyond any kind of grammatical categorisation. It is always consonantal, containing one or four, most frequently two or three consonants, being characterised by their number and order. The term *schema*, borrowed from the Arabists (J. Cantineau), indicates the structure of the theme; the schema gives the word part of its grammatical identity: thus, to a degree which varies with cases, it may indicate the nominal or verbal nature of the word, the number of the noun, the form of the verb, etc. The schema itself is defined by the presence or absence of formative consonants, by short or long quantity of formative consonants or radicals, by the presence or absence, the place and quality of the vowels. The inflexions complete the grammatical description of the word; as prefixes and/or suffixes, they appear fundamentally to be consonants; in certain cases, it is convenient to recognise a zero inflexion. Examples: Tuarég *tbl̄as* "she tie" = theme *tbl̄as* (root KRS, schema *t ʒ a ʒ*) + inflexion *t*; *tbl̄asr̄id* "knut" = theme *tbl̄asr̄id* (root KRS, schema *t ʒ a ʒ*) + inflexion *t*; *tbl̄asr̄id* "knut" = theme *tbl̄asr̄id* (root KRS, schema *t ʒ a ʒ*) + inflexion *t*. The system on the whole closely resembles that of Arabic, though it is more difficult in Berber to isolate the roots and establish the precise value of the schemas.

Berber distinguishes two genders, masculine and feminine, and two numbers, singular and plural.

b.—The verb. The forms (stems) are derived. Verbs appear either in a simple form or a derived form. The simple form is constructed in principle with or without an object and is at times translated by our active voice and at other times by our passive. Derivation is achieved mainly by means of prefixes. There are three primary derived forms, which sometimes combine among themselves. They have frequently been referred to as the causative, passive and reciprocal forms, according to their most apparent significance; these designations do not correspond closely enough to the facts and have nowadays been replaced by those of shibant-form, dental-form and nasal-form according to the articulation of the prefix. Examples: Tuarég *ʔybr̄* "to strike with the foot"; *ʔybr̄* "to go to strike"; *ʔybr̄* "to be struck"; *ʔybr̄* "to strike one another". In fact, not all verbs possess the complete series of simple and derived forms. A derivation by the suffix *-t* is well attested in Tuarég and has left traces elsewhere.

The themes. For each of the forms, simple or derived, there are three themes or groups of themes: 1) an aorist theme: ex. Chleuh *ʒd* "to put on clothes"; *ʒw̄y* "to become red"; 2) an intensive aorist theme: *ʒs̄a*, *ʒw̄y*, which is sometimes accompanied by a negative intensive aorist theme; 3) a preterite theme: *ʒs̄a*, *ʒw̄y*, to which is connected a negative preterite theme: *ʒs̄a*, *ʒw̄y*. These themes may contrast with one another by alternation of vowels or of consonantal length, or by prefixing *ʒt* (in the intensive aorist only), or again by a combination of two or rarely three of these processes. In principle the two aorist forms a group opposed to the preterite, as *ʒw̄y* (intensive) to *ʒs̄a* (preterite). It frequently happens, however, that the themes of the aorist and the preterite coincide. When several verbs adopt precisely the same procedure to differentiate their themes, they are said to belong to the same type; this affords a means of formal classification which is justified by the existence of a relationship, often masked but

sure, between the verbal type thus defined and that of the derived forms, as well as between the verbal type and the schemas of the nouns of action and of the agent. The verbal type itself appears to be more or less bound to the structure of the root.

A careful examination of all the themes obliges us to distinguish a large number of types of verbs. In practice, account is taken above all of the antithesis of the aorist and preterite themes, which enables us to recognise the main groups, particularly the "zero vowel" type (A. Basset) in which the affirmative aorist and preterite are formally identical (Chleuh *ʔybr̄*: *ʔybr̄* "to harvest"), the type with a non-alternating "full vowel" (*ʔm̄n*: *ʔm̄n* "to accompany"), the pre-radical alternating vowel type (*ʔm̄n*: *ʔm̄n* "to take"), the intra-radical (*ʔm̄n*: *ʔm̄n* "to give back"), the post-radical (*ʔm̄n*: *ʔm̄n* "put on clothes"), different types of complex alternations (*ʔm̄n*: *ʔm̄n* "to become red").

The table of verbal themes lacks symmetry, as there is no intensive preterite given. The latter exists in Tuarég, and A. Picard, basing himself on certain Kabyle and Moroccan data, has recently raised the important question of the Pan-Berber character of the intensive preterite (*Memorial A. Basset*, 107-20).

The inflexions. — A first though incomplete series of suffixed personal inflexions is associated with the aorist and intensive aorist themes to produce the ordinary and intensive imperatives. The inflexion is zero in the 2nd person singular, which is the form of the non-intensive imperative used by grammarians to indicate a verb ("the verb *ʔybr̄*, the verb *ʔm̄n*", etc.).

The impersonal inflexions *y-n* (on occasion *z-n* in the plural) are added in well defined syntactical conditions (cf. below) to any one of the themes to form what is called the "participle". Survivals of an older stage (in the negative preterite) or disturbances in the articulation of the verb (cf. below), are closely welded to it. In the case of simultaneous use, these pronouns and the particles of approach and withdrawal follow one another in a fixed order: indirect object (I), direct object (D), participle (L). After a number of words (particles of the aorist, the intensive aorist, negation, etc.) or in a relative clause, the elements (L) precede the verb; elsewhere they follow it; hence these chains which illustrate on both sides of the verb: Chleuh *ad-as t̄n d-ʔw̄y* "I have brought them to him": *ʔw̄y-as-t̄n d-ʔw̄y* "I have brought them to him".

c.—The noun. All nouns cannot be reduced to a single morphological type. Some have been borrowed from Arabic (or from other languages) and have not been berberised; they have retained the Arabic article and are characterised by the initial consonant group *K-* or *CC* (< *K-* by assimilation): *ʔh̄as* "glass", *ʔw̄y* "market"; this group is considerable in all dialects except Tuarég.

The majority of Berber or berberised nouns in principle have an initial *a*, *i* or *u*: if they are masculine, *la*, *li* or *lu*; if they are feminine; this initial has been related to the demonstrative elements, which is not unlikely; locally in a number of schemas it loses its vowel. The prefixed *t* characterises the feminine; many nouns may have a suffix *-t* in the feminine singular: Chleuh *ʔyʔal* "ass": *ʔyʔalt* "she-ass"; *ʔigimmi* "house". The vowel of the initial syllable participates in both oppositions of number and state (cf. below). The plural is indicated, furthermore, either by a vowel preceding or following the last radical consonant, with or without further vowel alternances: *ʔyʔal*: *ʔyʔal*; *ʔyʔal*: *ʔyʔal*; *ʔyʔal*: *ʔyʔal*; or by a basic suffix *-n*: *ʔyʔal*: *ʔyʔal-n*; or by a combination of both processes: *ʔyʔal*: *ʔyʔal*. The concept of state, in spite of the ambiguity of the terminology, is

the intensive aorist and the preterite alone remain in opposition: *ʔyʔal* "these populations dwell" (process envisaged as a series or sometimes as a development); *ʔyʔal* "the members of such and such a family dwell, have taken up their domicile" (process envisaged from beginning to end, as a whole). With the exception of certain optative formulas, the non-intensive aorist, therefore, only appears in certain syntactical conditions where it may assume the meaning of any other verbal theme whatever: in this sense one may, with A. Basset, consider it as the "unmarked" term of the aorist: preterite opposition; this use of the aorist is very frequent in the Moroccan dialects, but is less current elsewhere.

Whatever the theme, the verb assumes the form of the "participle" when it occurs in a relative clause in which the subject and the antecedent are identical: Kabyle *w̄y ʔyʔal* "he (who) dwells".

The satellites of the verb. — The particles of the aorist have been mentioned above. There are other particles (*wa*, *da*, *ha*, etc.) which may accompany the intensive aorist or the preterite; the list of them and the conditions in which they are used vary considerably according to the dialect, some dispensing with them altogether. The basic negative particle is *ur* (*ul*, *ud*, *u*); it always precedes the verbal form which, in different dialects (Kabylie, Aurès, etc.), may then be followed by a second element (*as*, *ʔal*, etc.); *ur* is encountered with all the verbal themes, but negative constructions are not everywhere identical.

The verb is frequently accompanied by a particle "of approach" *d* and sometimes by a particle "of withdrawal" *a* (*a*), which indicate the direction of the action. Finally the personal pronouns, direct or indirect objects of the verb (cf. below), are closely welded to it. In the case of simultaneous use, these pronouns and the particles of approach and withdrawal follow one another in a fixed order: indirect object (I), direct object (D), participle (L). After a number of words (particles of the aorist, the intensive aorist, negation, etc.) or in a relative clause, the elements (L) precede the verb; elsewhere they follow it; hence these chains which illustrate on both sides of the verb: Chleuh *ad-as t̄n d-ʔw̄y* "I have brought them to him": *ʔw̄y-as-t̄n d-ʔw̄y* "I have brought them to him".

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its complement, the *Bahr al-Dumâ'*, partially published by de Slane in his appendix to the *Histoire des Berbères*, iv, 552-62 (a complete ed.-trans. of this last text by H. H. Stumme is in the press). The "Kur'ân" of Hâ-Mîn and of Sâlih b. Tarif are, in a sense, related to these works, but they are, entirely lost, the same being true of the Berber text of three treatises composed in Taghshlhit by Ibn Tûmart. Of *Khâridjî* literature, which was probably abundant, there remains the treatise of Ibn Ghânim entitled *al-Mudawwana* (cf. Motylinski, *Le Manuscrit arabo-berbère de Zougaga*, in *Actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orient.*, Algiers 1909, II, 64-78). A proportion of these religious works (particularly the *fiqh* and some others existing in manuscript form, cf. A. Roux, in *Actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orient.*, Paris 1909, 326-7) are in verse so as to be more easily memorised, but unfortunately they include a high proportion of Arabic words. To this type of literature belong religious poems, such as that of Sâlih, which relates a young man's descent into Hell in search of his parents (R. Basset, *Le poème de Çabi*, Paris 1879, P. Galand-Pernet, in *Mémorial A. Basset*, Paris 1957, 39-49), those of Sidi Hamûn (H. Stumme, *Dichtkunst und Gedichte der Schläb*, Leipzig 1895; Johnston, *Fadma Taghravani*, in *Actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orient.*, II, 100-11; idem, *The Songs of Sidi Hamûn*, London 1902; P. Justinar, *Poesie berberi*, in *JA*, 1908, 208), the legend of Joseph in verse (Loubigne, *Dial. des Zaïan*, Paris 1924-5, 359-94), a story of the ascent of the Prophet and a version of the *Burda* of al-Bûsîrî (q.v.). To these may be added the translations of the Old and New Testaments made by Catholic and Protestant missionaries.

Secular works are rare; apart from Arabo-Berber glossaries and books of popular medicine which have practical interest, such writings as we possess were composed under the guidance of European scholars, as for example the *The Narrative of Sidi Ibrahim* on West Africa in Taghshlhit (F. W. Newman, in *JRAS*, 1848, 215-60; trans. R. Basset, Paris 1882), or the description of the Djahâl Nafîsa by al-Sîmî, in *al-Sîmî*, in Nafîs (ed. trans. Motylinski, Algiers 1885); to these may be added the collection of stories entitled *Kitâb al-Shûba* (MS of the B.N. in Paris), which to a large extent appears to be borrowed from the *Dağdışîr-nâme* (q.v.) and the *Hundred Nights* (R. Basset, in *Revue des traditions popul.*, 1891; extracts published by de Slane, de Rochemonteix, R. Basset); to this category belong the ethnographical narratives and texts composed at the request of investigators who subsequently included them in their dialect studies or made independent collections of them, such as the *Textes touareg en prose* by Ch. de Foucauld, Algiers 1922. In this connexion it will not be without interest to note that the *Fichier de documentation berbère*, directed by Fort-National (Kabylia) by the Rev. Father Dallet, has been published since 1947 texts and even small plays composed in Berber, in addition to linguistic and ethnological documents.

As for the customary *binâmes* in use among certain Berber populations, very few of them have been published in the original language (see above section iv); the following may be mentioned: Ben Sedira, *Cours de langue Kabyle*, 295-353; Boufifa, *Le Kanoun d'Adin*, in *Revue de médecine ... XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès Orient.*, Algiers 1905, 152-78.

Folk-lore is abundant, not to say rich. Marvellous and humorous tales, fables, stories of animals, historical and religious legends are transmitted from generation to generation by the women, who are

wont to tell them of an evening. It is this folk-lore that investigators have been able most easily to collect and few are their accounts which do not contain some stories or riddles, without counting collections of folk-lore texts presented also as linguistic documents.

Finally, secular poetry, in spite of its appearance of primitive simplicity, is probably the most original literary production. The songs improvised collectively during the ritual dances (*ahidus*), hallabes, funeral laments, and ritual chants contain a large share of tradition, but real professional poets also exist among the Berbers, whose inspiration, generally speaking, is restricted to themes of love and war. In Morocco, the *imayasin* (see A. Roux, *Un chant d'amour, l'aide berbère du groupe linguistique berabér*, in *Mém. H. Basset*, Paris 1928, II, 237-42) travel about the country and, like the troubadours, celebrate important events, sing the praises of likely patrons and discharge their arrows at those who disappoint them. Some poets, such as the Kabyle Mohand b. Mohand and the Touareg poetess Dassin, have achieved a certain fame, local it is true and ephemeral, since their works, remaining oral, are soon forgotten in countries where the *rawâit* do not exist.

Berber art also is of no great account; the rock engravings and paintings are indeed far from lacking in quality, but one may well ask whether the artists who executed them are really the ancestors of the present day Berbers. In spite of the great architectural achievements to which we have referred (above, section iv), there is no real Berber art comparable to Arab and Hispano-Moorish art. The fact is that the Berber is a countryman, indeed a nomad, only seeking to possess articles of current use, which are easily transportable; his art, therefore, is limited to ornamenting articles of everyday life and does not transcend a craftsmanship seeking to provide the comforts of life rather than to delight the eye. Its products, sought at times by a clientèle enamoured with exoticism and simplicity, and supported in North Africa by the efforts of the authorities to maintain and improve traditions and techniques, are restricted to carpets, hangings, mats, silk embroidery, chinaware, earthenware, cabinet-work, work in gold, brass wares and damascene work; ornamentation is characterised by the almost exclusive use of the straight line (triangles, stripes, lotenges, checker-work). To this may be added very realistic statuettes in wood, which are at variance with the Islamic ban on the representation of the human form.

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1890; Mouléras, *Légendes et contes merveilleux de la Grande Kabylie*, Paris 1893-98; idem, *Les Fourberies de Si Dieb'a*, Oran 1891; Leblanc de Prébois, *Essai des contes kabyles*, Batna 1897; H. Stumme, *Ein Schicksal im Schläb. Dialect von Tazewalt*, in *ZDMG*, 1894; idem, *Märchen der Schläb von Tazewalt*, Leipzig 1895; idem, *Märchen der Berbern von Tamasralt*, Leipzig 1900; E. Destaing, *Textes berbères en parler des Chleûs du Soud*, Paris 1940; E. Laoust, *Contes berbères du Maroc*, Paris 1949; J. M. Dallet, *Trois contes berbères*, in *ILSL*, 1944.—Trans., colls.: Rivière, *Recueil des contes populaires du Schläb de Jurjura*, Paris 1882; R. Basset, *Contes populaires berbères*, Paris 1887; idem, *Nouveaux contes berbères*, Paris 1897; E. Dermenghem, *Contes kabyles*, Algiers 1945.—Songs and poetry: Motylinski, *Chanson berbère de Djelba*, in *Bull. Corr. Afr.*, 1885; A. Hanoteau, *Poésies populaires de la Kabylie du Sahel*, Paris 1867; R. Basset, *L'insurrection algérienne de 1871 dans les chansons kabyles*, Louvain 1892; Luciani, *Chansons kabyles de Smal Azhikou*, Algiers 1899; Ch. de Foucauld, *Poésies touarègues*, Paris 1925-30; E. Laoust, *Contes berbères contre l'occupation française*, in *Mémorial R. Basset*, Paris 1928; F. Nicolas, *Poèmes touareg*, in *ETI*, 1941-2; J. Servier, *Chansons berbères*, in *Revue de la Méditerranée*, 1955 (unpublished); trans. only: L. Justinar, *Poèmes chleûs*, in *RMA* 1925/2; L. Paul-Marguerite, *Chants berbères du Maroc*, 1935.—Art: in addition to the general works on Muslim art in North Africa, see: G. de Gironcourt, *L'Art chez les Touareg*, in *Rev. d'Est. et de Sociol.*, Jan.-Feb. 1914; Ricard, *Tissages berbères des Aït-Hichem*, in *Hesp.*, 1925; V. Piquet, *Le peuple marocain*, chap. xviii; G. Chantreux, *Les Tissages sur métier de haute lisse à Ait-Hichem et dans le Haut Sahara*, in *R Afr.*, 1941-2; *idem*, *Les Tissages décorés chez les Beni-Mgild*, in *Hesp.*, 1945; H. Ballet, *La Poterie des Aït Smal du Djurdjura*, in *R Afr.*, 1955, 289-340; G. Marçais, *L'Art des Berbères*, Algiers 1956.

**BERGAMA**, the ancient Pergamon in Mysia (on which of the data and references given in Pauly-Wissowa). Armenians who had fled before the Muslim raids into Asia Minor settled in Byzantine Pergamon during the course of the 7th century. The Byzantine emperor Philippikos (711-713) was of Armenian descent and came from Pergamon. Muslim forces under Madana b. 'Abd al-Malik sacked the town in 716, but it was rebuilt and refortified after the Arabs had abandoned their attempt to take Constantinople in 717-718. Pergamon was included, from the reign of Leo III (717-741), in the theme of Thrakesion and, from the reign of Leo VI (886-912), in the theme of Sanois. The town suffered during the Turkish raids into western Asia Minor after the battle of Manzikert (1071). It continued, however, to be a prosperous and well fortified centre under the Byzantine emperors of the house of Komnenos and their immediate successors. Pergamon, having been hitherto a suffragan bishopric dependent on Ephesos, was raised to the status of a metropolis in the reign of Isaac Angelos (1185-1195). After the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the town was included in the Greek state of Nicaea. Later, when the Turks overran western Asia Minor in the years around 1300, Bergama came under the control of the Begs of Karas. The Ottomans, during the reign of their Beg Orghân, annexed the emirate of Karas. Bergama became thereafter a *hadd* of

the *sandjâk* of Khulwendiğir in the *eyâlet* of Anadolu and later a *hadd* of the *sandjâk* of Izmir in the *vilâyet* of Aydin. The region of Bergama is fertile and noted for its production of cereals, fruit, vegetables, tobacco and cotton. Greek farmers occupied Bergama in the years 1909-1925. As a result of the subsequent exchange of population arranged between the governments at Athens and Ankara, Bergama lost its Greek inhabitants and received in their place Turkish elements brought over from Greece. The population of Bergama was estimated, in 1950, to be approximately 16,500 people.

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**BERKE**, a Mongol prince and ruler of the Golden Horde, grandson of Çingiz-Khan and third son of Jöchi. Little is known of his early career. He took no part in the wars in Russia and Eastern Europe in the years 634-659/1237-1242 but was more frequently in Mongolia than Batu, whom he represented at the enthronement of Güyük (642/1248) and that of Möngke (649/1253). His *yurt* of appanage was originally situated, according to Rubruk, in the direction of Darband but by 653/1255 had on Batu's orders been removed to the east of the Volga in order to cut off Berke from contact with his fellow Muslims. His conversion to Islam is mentioned by Rubruk, who says that he did not allow pork to be eaten in his *orda*. The date of his conversion is unknown. Djidajin's statement that he was brought up from infancy as a Muslim seems hardly credible. On the other hand he seems to have already become a Muslim at the time of Möngke's accession to the Rhanate, when, as Djirwayn tells us, the animals provided for the festivities were slaughtered for his benefit, in accordance with the Muslim ritual.

Batu died according to Djirwayn while his son Sartak was on his way to the Court of the Great Khan. Sartak continued his journey and was appointed his father's successor by Möngke but himself died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by the young prince Ulaghai, his son or brother, Horkidin, Batu's widow being appointed regent. According to the Russian annals the camp of "Ulavici" was visited by Russian princes as late as 1257. It was not until the death of the young Khân, probably in the same year, that the succession passed to Berke.

Like Batu, Berke, during the early years of his reign, seems to have exercised certain sovereign



rights in Mā warā' al-Nahr. According to Džurđān he visited Bulghār and showed great honour to the learned men of the town; he is also said to have ordered the Christians of Samarkand to be punished and their churches destroyed because of their behaviour towards their Muslim fellow townsmen. When the news of Muḥammad's death arrived (1259), the *Khutba* was read in Berke's mosque not only in Mā warā' al-Nahr but also in Khurāsān.

During the next four years (1260-1264) two brothers of the dead Great Khan, Kublāy and Arīgh Böke, were engaged in a struggle for the throne. As the coins struck in Bulghār show, the unsuccessful claimant Arīgh Böke was recognised by Berke as the rightful heir. Prince Alughu, a grandson of Ghaḡatay, appeared in Central Asia about the same time, first as a representative of Arīgh Böke and afterwards in open revolt against him; he succeeded in bringing under his sway not only the whole of his grandfather's appanage but also Khawārm, which had always belonged to the kingdom of Džochi and his successors; the governors and officials appointed by Berke were driven out of the towns. The measure mentioned by Wassāf (Bosnabey ed., 57) of a division of Berke's army, 5,000 strong, in Bulghār must have been carried out, not, as Wassāf himself says, by Kublāy, nor, as d'Ohsson supposes, by Hūlegü, but by Alughu. The war between Berke and Alughu was continued until the latter's death; in the last years of his life, after the final defeat of Arīgh Böke, Alughu's troops occurred and destroyed the town of Otrar. Berke, whose forces were engaged in the South and West, could do nothing against his enemies in the East, but he did not abandon his claims; Prince Kaydu, a grandson of Ögedey, who had fought under Arīgh Böke, continued the war against Alughu after Arīgh Böke's defeat and was supported by Berke.

The campaigns in the West against the Lithuanians and King Daniel of Galicia were of no great importance and were conducted by the frontier commanders without the personal intervention of Berke. King Daniel fled to Poland and Hungary and his son and brother were forced to dismantle the fortifications of all their main cities.

The war between Berke and his cousin Hūlegü, the conqueror of Persia, was more important and less successful. The causes of the war are variously given. Berke is pictured by some authorities as the defender of Islām and is said to have bitterly reproached Hūlegü for his devastation of so many Muslim countries and particularly for the execution of the Caliph Musta'sim. However those authorities who say that Džochi's heirs felt their rights endangered by the foundation of a new Mongol kingdom in Persia are probably nearer the truth. Some of the territories incorporated in the new kingdom, such as Arrān and Aḡharbāyduḡān, had already been trodden by "the hoof of Tartar horse" in the reign of Čingiz-Khān and were therefore, according to the Conqueror's directions, part of the appanage of Džochi. The evidence on the war itself is contradictory. Hūlegü seems at first to have been victorious, advancing against the Terek (late in 1262), and then to have been defeated by Berke's forces (Berke not being present in person), losing a great part of his army in the retreat; many were drowned in the Terek when the ice gave way under their horses' hoofs.

Even before the outbreak of these hostilities the Egyptian Sultān Baybars (r. 1260) had decided to enter into communication with Berke and form an alliance

against their common enemy Hūlegü. A message to this effect had been sent from Cairo to Berke as early as 1260; on the 16th November 1262 an embassy was dispatched for the same purpose, and in the following year Berke's ambassadors were received by Baybars. The detention of Mongol and Egyptian envoys in Constantinople led to hostilities between the Golden Horde and Byzantium. Berke dispatched an army under Prince Nokay into Thrace, where they joined forces with the Bulgarians; and the Saldjuk Sultan 'Izz al-Din Kay-Kubā, who had been driven out of Asia Minor and placed in custody in the fortress of Ainos on the Aegean was set free and brought to the Crimea.

In 1265, the year of Hūlegü's death, the Kipčak and Persian Mongols were again at war. The two armies, under Berke and Abaka, for a long time faced each other across the Kūr; in search of a crossing Berke proceeded upstream to Tiflis, where he died (1266); and his forces then withdrew.

Berke left no family, so that the throne passed to Batu's grandson Mangku-Temur. During the last years of his reign he was no longer, as Batu had been, second to the Great Khān in the Mongol Empire, but the ruler of an independent state, although this evolution was not completed till the reign of his successor, who was the first of the Kipčak Khāns to strike coin in his own name. It is difficult to estimate how much Berke did as a Muslim to further the practice of Islām among his subjects. The Egyptian accounts speak of schools in which the youth was instructed in the Qur'ān; not only the Khān himself but each of his wives and Emirs also had an *imām* and a *mu'addib* attached to their establishments; yet we learn from the same sources that all sorts of heathen customs were observed at the court of the Khān with the same strictness as in Mongolia. Not only Berke himself but several of his brothers are said to have adopted Islām; and yet half a century was to elapse after his death before Islām became definitely predominant in his kingdom.

Berke was the founder of New Saray (so called to distinguish it from the Saray founded by Batu), which was situated on the eastern bank of the Upper Akhtuba near the present-day Leningk, about 30 miles east of Stalingrad.

*Bibliography:* As in the article on Batu.

(W. BARTHOLOMÆJ, A. BOYLE)

**BESERMYANS** (or Glazov Tatars), a small ethnic unit akin to the Udmurts (Votyaks) living in North Russia. Differing views are held on the subject of their origin, some considering them as Finns who have come under Turkish influence, others as descendants of the old Kana Bulgars, profoundly influenced by the Udmurt language and culture.

The Soviet census of 1926 listed 10,035 Besermyans, 9,195 of whom were from the districts of Balezino and Yukamenskoe in the autonomous Udmurt SSR and 834 from the neighbourhood of the village of Slobodskoe at the confluence of the rivers Vyatka and Kama in the Kirov region. The Besermyans are bilingual, speaking Russian (in the Udmurt ASSR) and Kazan Tatar (in the Kirov region) as well as Udmurt much influenced by Tatar. They were converted officially to Christianity in the 17th century, and until the October revolution were considered fully Orthodox, but in fact they remained Muslims at heart, retaining many customs which are traditionally Islamic. Notably, they would call in the Tatar month after the Orthodox priest when a death occurred.

After the proclamation of freedom of worship in 1905 the greater part of the Besermyans returned openly to Islām.

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(A. HENNINGSEN)

**BESHİKE** (BESHİKE KÖYÜ, BESHİKA) is a bay on the western coast of Asia Minor opposite the island of Tenedos (Boğdja Adası). It lies about 23 kilometres to the south of Kuş Kape, between the two capes of Kuma Burnu and Beshik Burnu and, although open to the sea, affords good protection to shipping. Inland from the coast is situated the classical Troas and evidence of ancient remains has been found in the immediate neighbourhood of Beshike itself. The British and French fleets sailed to Beshike in June 1853 during the course of the crisis which led to the outbreak of the Crimean War. Great Britain also sent her fleet to Beshike in 1876 and 1878.

*Bibliography:* V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, Paris 1894, 766; 'Ali Džawid, *Tarih ve Coğrafyası Lughatı*, İstanbul A.H. 1313-1314, 172; Pauly-Wissowa, vii A1 (1939), s.v. *Troas* (cols. 546, 557, 568, 576).

(V. J. PARRY)

**BESHİK ASİ** [see İSTANBUL].

**BESHİK** [see SİĞIRCI].

**BESHİPARMAK** ("five fingers"), a Turkish name given sometimes to mountain ranges in Asia Minor and elsewhere. The best known example is the Beshiparmak-dagh in south-west Asia Minor, on the lower reaches of the Büyük-Menderes—a mountain chain rising at its loftiest elevation to a height of 1367 metres. This particular range was known in ancient times as *ḡ. Aḡḡḡḡḡ*. The region became, during the Middle Ages, an active centre of Christian religious life, which flourished until the Turks overran western Asia Minor in the 13th-14th centuries.

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(V. J. PARRY)

**BESİKA BAY** [see BESHİKE].

**BESKESEK-ABAZA** (or BESHİKESEK ABAZA), the Russian name for a Muslim people belonging to the Abasgo-Circassian (Adigh) section of the Caucasian family. Ethnically they are close to the Kabardians. From the time of the High Middle Ages the Abaza people have been divided into two groups speaking different dialects: the northern or Tapanta group of six tribes, and the southern or Şikarawa group, also of six. In the 1926 census 13,825 Abaza were counted, but Lavrov thinks that these real figures must be considerably larger, perhaps about 20,000 at the present time. The majority of the Abaza (10,093 out of 13,825 in

1926) live in the Circassian Autonomous region, the high valleys of the Great and Little Zelenčuk, the Kuban and the Kama. Here there are thirteen villages, and there are two other Abaza villages near Kislovodsk in the Stavropol' Krai, as well as a few groups of Abaza in the Circassian and Nogai villages in the Adigh Autonomous Region.

The Abaza are descended from the multi-lingual tribes which at the beginning of our era dwelt on the shores of the Black Sea, north-west of present-day Abkhāzia, and which fused together in the course of the centuries to form the Abkhāz national unit.

In the 14th and 15th centuries most of the Abaza left their original homes in the coastal region (between Tuapse and Bfbi), crossed the Caucasus, and dislodging the Kabardians settled in the area they now inhabit. From that time onward they had to contend with the hostility of the Circassians, and their history is one of slow but continuous decline. At the end of the 16th century the Abaza tribes which had formerly dominated the region accepted perforce the rule of the Kabardian and Besleni princes. At this time too (in the reign of Sultān Murād III) the Turkia extended their protectorate over eastern Caucasasia but by the treaty of Belgrade relinquished Kabardia, which was recognised as an independent territory. The Turkish frontier then ran along the Kuban, and the Tapanta who were leading a nomadic existence on both banks of this river became independent, no longer owing any clearly defined allegiance. After the treaty of Küçük-Kaynardja (1774) the Russians occupied Kabardia, and in 1802 the greater part of the territory of the Abaza was combined with that of the Nogai in a special *pristavstvo* administered directly by the Russian authorities. During the Caucasian war the Abaza were divided in their allegiance, the Tapanta allying themselves with the Russians while the Şikarawa supported the Mirdist cause. After the Russian conquest, which took place between 1856 and 1864, the majority of the Şikarawa (the Tam, Kizilbek, Bag, Cegrei and Mıslıbaı tribes) emigrated to Turkey; 30,000 are officially stated to have left, but this estimate seems too low. After the Caucasian wars only 9,921 Abaza remained in the region (E. Fellgins, *Cislovo danile n goriskom i problem musulmanskom naseleniu Kubansk oblasti, in Sbornik Svedeni o Kavkaze*, Tiflis 1885, ix, 87-94).

The conversion to Islām of the Abaza (who had formerly been animists or Christians) began after their migration towards the northern Caucasus, when they came into contact with the Crimean Tatars and the Nogai. They took over the 'Adal and chronological system of these peoples (a twelve-year animal cycle), together with Sunnī Islām of the Hanafī school. This conversion was slow, almost all the tribes south of the Kuban' being still animist or Christian at the end of the 17th century (Buseya Horafens, cited by V. D. Smirnov, *Krimskoe Khānstvo pod vserkizentskim Otomanskim Porti do nalada XVIII veka*, St. Petersburg 1887, 347). Ewliya Çelebi affirms that the Ribedraa, one of the most important Maza tribes, are not Muslims. Almost all the Tapanta had accepted Islām by the end of the 18th century, but the Şikarawa were still Christians when they were visited by P. S. Pallas, Islām being restricted to the nobility (*Bemerkungen auf einer Reise an die Südlischen Städtchen des Russischen Reichs in den Jahren 1793 und 1794*, Leipzig 1799, 365). At the



same period J. Reinegers (*Allgemeine historisch-geographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, Göttingen, St. Petersburg 1796, 273) states that the Tam, Cegrel, and Barakal tribes of the Şikawara group were "enemies of Islam". In 1807, J. Klaproth (*Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien*, i, Halle-Berlin 1812, 459) found that the Tam were Islamised but "kate pork", and this is confirmed by the anonymous author of the article *Goriskie plomena Irtinskia na Kabas'ya in Kavkaz* no. 94, 1850, who describes the Tam as "very lukewarm Muslims", the Cegrel as "settling small stores by Islamic ritual, apart from certain of the nobility", the Bag (a tribe of the same group) as "without precise beliefs" and the Barakal as partially converted to Islam. Thus it seems that the final conversion of the Şikawara dates only from the middle of the 19th century, effected by the missionary zeal of Muhammad Amin, the Na'ib of Şhimal [s.v.] in Circassian territory.

Until the beginning of the 20th century Abaza society retained its very complex feudal structure, which was similar to that of the Circassians. At the bottom of the social scale were the slaves, *unsul* (among the Circassians). Then came the free serfs, *İlg* (*İlg'ina* among the Şikawara), and the freed serfs, *asıl-İlg*, who remained under the obligation to perform certain tasks but could none the less change their master and themselves own *unsul* and *İlg*. Above these was the most numerous class, that of the free peasants, *ahāl* (or *İlshakşah*). Next were the nobles, divided into "small nobles", who made up the princes' retinues, and the *amlak*, "great nobles", *amlaklı* (found among the Şikawara) who could have retainers of their own. At the top of the scale were the "princes" who were heads of clans, *alğa*, and vassals of the Beskenel and Kabardian princes. They took their place not among the Circassian princely class (*paşa*) but in the lower class of *İlshakşah*. The children of the *alğa* and women of a lower class made up a special class, *İama*.

Until the October revolution and even during the first years of the Soviet regime the Abaza still retained certain patriarchal and feudal customs (clan divisions, vendettas, *kalyon*, *alalık*, etc.).

#### Language and literature

The Abaza language belongs to the Abkhazo-Adighe division of the Iberio-Caucasian languages. It is so close to Abkhaz that it is sometimes taken as simply a dialect of this tongue, but it shows numerous Kabardian features. There are two dialects: *Abğbara* in the south, with two sub-dialects, that of the *Apsua* Aul and that of Staro and Novo-Kavinskie, and in the north *Tapaşa*, comprising likewise the two sub-dialects of Kubina-El'barsan and Pidi-Krasno-Vostochnoe. Abaza was an unwritten language until the October revolution. In 1932 a modified Roman alphabet was devised for it and a page in the language added to *Čerkes K'apğıl*, the Čerkes Adighe daily. In 1939 the Roman alphabet was replaced by Cyrillic, and in this new script the first works by Abaza writers have appeared, from 1940 onwards (collections of poems by Tekeov and Tjibabakhov, the short stories and novellas of Zinov and Tabudov, etc.).

**Bibliography:** L. I. Lavrov, *Abasid (Ido-ričsko-Etnografičeskii Očer)* in *Kavkazskii Etnografičeskii Šornik*, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1955, 5-48, (the best historical and ethnographical study); see the same writer in *Sovetskaja Etnografika* no. 4, 1946 (*Očer russkikh Itepov*); *Šhura Bekmurzin Nagnov, Istoria*

*Adiğheşego narada sostavleniia po predaniyam Kabardskogo*, Tiflis 1861. On the Abaza during the Soviet period see the works on the Circassian Autononomous Region, especially the anonymous *20 let Čerkeskogo Avtonomnoi oblasti*, Stavropol' 1948; the relevant articles in the Čerkesk periodical *Krasnaja Čerkesia* (nos. 237, 245, 249 for 1940). On the Abaza language see K. Lomatidze, *Tapaškisi Dialekt Abkhazskogo yazyka*, Tbilisi 1941; and particularly G. P. Serdickovskii, "Abazinskii dialekt", Moscow, 1935; *Abkhazskaja Literatura* (vol. I of the Scientific Memoirs of the Pedagogical Institute of Rostov-on-Don 1939); and *Akharskaja Fonetika* (vol. v of the same collection), Rostov-on-Don, 1949.

[A. BENNISON and H. CARRÉRE D'ENCAUSSE]

#### BESLENYE (see ČERKES)

**BESNI** (Behesni in the Middle Ages), from the Syriac Bet Hensai, a crossroads settlement at a height of more than 2,900 feet on the important junction of the Malatya-Aleppo and (Cilicia)-Mar'ash-Diyār Bakr roads. Besni was the hinge between the series of strongholds north of the great bow of the Euphrates on the one hand, which protected the upper valleys of the right bank tributaries of this river from incursion from the plateaus and high ranges of the eastern Taurus, and on the other those towards the south, which dominated the small basins north of 'Aynāb. Further it was in the immediate vicinity of a pass which led down towards the north-west to the gorge of the Ak-Şu, the site of the old stronghold of Hadaşh the Rod. Despite these advantages and the ancient etymology of its name, Besni is not mentioned in texts until after the destruction of Hadaşh, whose place it then took (4th/10th century). Formerly it had been overshadowed by Kayşin, its southern neighbour, which was then more important and was itself linked predominantly with Mar'ash, Besni probably owed its rise to an influx of Armenians after the Byzantine conquest. At the end of the 5th/11th century it was part of the principalities of Philant and Kogh-Vasli, and during the period of the Crusades was one of the most frequently mentioned places in the Franco-Armenian province of Edessa. It was fought for by the Zengid or Ayyūbid princes of Aleppo and the Saljuqids of Rūm, who in the 7th/13th century incorporated it into their border province of Mar'ash. The Mongols ceded it to the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which in turn gave it also annexed by the Manlik state, with whose fortunes it was linked until the end of the 8th/14th century. It then came within the sphere of operations of the Dhu Tjghadir Turcomans, was pillaged by Timur, passed again at the end of the 15th century into Manlik control, and in 922/1516 was occupied by the Ottomans together with Syria. From that time on it has had no more than local importance. The town, in which a fortress largely rebuilt by Kā'itbāy is still standing, had a population of 10,500 in 1955.

**Bibliography:** Besni is mentioned by all the chroniclers of the period of the Crusades, in particular by Matthew of Edessa, Michael the Syrian, and Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm. The last-mentioned gives a note on it in the geographical section of his *İdğya* (Aya Sofya 3076, f. 313), and likewise 'Izz al-Dīn b. Şhaddād in his *İ'ā'id* (= Ibn al-Şihna, ed. Cheiko, 171). Of the Manlik chroniclers see especially Ibn Kadir, Ibn Hadjar, Makrizi, al-'Ayni, Ibn Taghribardī, Ibn Yās. On the modern period, particularly Ainsworth, *Travels*,

i, 265 and Cuiet, ii, 376; Mukrimin Halli, *Maras Emiri* in *TTEM*, years XIV-XV; G. Caben, *La Syrie du Nord*, 120-121; additional references in Besim Darket, *Besni*, in *IA*, x.v. (CL. CAREN)

#### BESSARABIA (see BUČAK)

#### BETELGEUZE (see NUGGŪM)

#### BETHLEHEM (see BAYT LAHM)

#### BEY (see BEG)

#### BEYATLI, YAHYA KEMAL (see YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI)

**BEYLİK** (BEGLİK), a term formed by joining the adjectival and relative suffix *bik* to *bey* (*beg*, *beg*) which was an old Turkish title [see BEG]. The word *bey* is said to correspond to the Arabic *amir*, and *beylik* to *imāra*. The term *beylik* thus denotes both the title and post (or function) of a *Bey*, and the territory (domain) under the rule of a *Bey*. Later, by extension, it came to mean also "state, government", and, at the same time, a political and administrative entity sometimes possessing a certain autonomy. When the Ottoman Empire was established, 'Oghmān Bey, the founder of the dynasty, was referred to as *Beş* by the sovereign of the Saljuqid Empire; in the same way, the territories which he had taken from the Byzantine Empire were granted to him as a *beylik*, *imāra*. At the beginning of the 16th century, the other Turkish principalities in Asia Minor (of the *Tuwağ' Malak*) were also generally referred to as *Beylik*. Later, as the Ottoman Empire increased in size, the country was divided into *Sandjak-beylik*s—the most important and fundamental military and administrative unit, and these in turn were grouped, regionally, under the authority of the *beylerbey*s. From the 9th/15th century, these Balkan countries which acknowledged the political and military suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire but enjoyed complete internal autonomy, were referred to as *Beylik*: e.g., *Beylik* of the Danube, *Beylik* of Eflak, *Beylik* of Bogdan, *Beylik* of Erdel. Later still, countries which had obtained some privileges from the Ottoman Empire and had succeeded in achieving a measure of autonomy, were also considered as *Beylik*: e.g., *Beylik* of Ssam (Samos), *Beylik* of Bulgharistan (Bulgaria). This term in turn extended its meaning still further, and began to be used as an adjective to denote places and things belonging to the Government; e.g., *Beylik ardi* (*mirt ardi*), "the lands (domain) of the *Beylik*"; *Beylik bigla*, "the winter quarters of the *Beylik*"; *Beylik fışma*, "the fountain of the *Beylik*"; *Beylik dābir*, "the stable of the *Beylik*"; *Beylik çami* "the ship of the *Beylik*", etc. There are also some Turkish proverbs in which this word occurs, e.g., "A *Beylik* of one day is a *Beylik*" (*Bir günün beyliğı beylihdür*). The name of an official in the central organisation of the Empire was derived from this term: *Beyliğdži* (*Begliğdži*), who was the president of one department of the *Divān-ı Hamāyün* [s.v.].

[M. TAYYİR GÖRKLÖN]

ii. — In North Africa, the term is used in the former Ottoman possessions in the Maghrib, but not in Morocco or in the Sahara, where Turkish administrative influence was never felt. Like the word *mağharra* in Morocco it refers to government and administrative authority at every stage. It may date from the beginning of the Ottoman occupation and the rule of the *beylerbey*s, or possibly from a later period. In this latter case it no doubt commemorates the influence of the local Algerian beys, of Constantine, the Titeri and the west, at least as much as that of the chief Bey in Algiers; he, moreover, was replaced by a *Dey*

from 1671 onwards. Our information is too scanty for us to draw any conclusions.

In Tripolitania, Tunisia and Algeria the regime denoted by the word *beylik* is substantially the same, except that in Tunisia offices of government tended very soon to become hereditary. This was not the case elsewhere.

The forms of government were everywhere Ottoman, and remained unmodified or almost so, while in the majority of cases the words used to denote them were also part of the Ottoman vocabulary. But these institutions did not strike deep roots in the countries of North Africa, and had no acceptance below the provincial level. The central government was in effect entirely Turkish, and the same held for the provincial government in so far as each province was under the authority of a Turkish governor or integrated within the Turkish regime, and all important towns, i.e., garrison towns, were administered by an official appointed by the central or provincial government. The authority of the *beylik* went no further; small ungarrisoned towns, villages and tribes were administered by their own officials, who were recognised by the central or provincial government and served as intermediary agents and points of contact between the *beylik* and the people.

The *beylik* as the central authority inspired a variety of feelings in the people: fear and suspicion, productive of a general ill-will, but also unbounded confidence in times of disaster and personal trouble. The *beylik* at such times, if it so desired, could deputise for Providence.

**Bibliography:** There is no work dealing specifically with this subject, but information on various aspects of the institutions of the *beylik* can be found in several works. The following are cited by way of example:

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[R. LE TOURNEAU]

#### BEYOĞURLU (see ISTANBUL)

**BEYŞEHİR** (Beyşehir), now the centre of a *kada* in the province of Konya, lies on the south-eastern shore of a lake (50') bearing the same name. This lake was known to the Ancients as Karalis (a village called Kırılı is still found close to the north-eastern shore). The town of Karaleis in Pamphylia was situated near the lake in ancient times. Beyşehir itself is believed to have been founded in the time of the Saljuqid sultan of Rūm 'Alā' al-Dīn I (616-634/1219-1237). When the Turks overran western Asia Minor in the years around 1300, Beyşehir came into the possession of the Begs of Hamid, who had at various times to defend it against the neighbouring Begs of Karamān. The Ottoman sultan Murād I purchased Beyşehir and certain other towns from Kamāl al-Dīn Husayn, the Beg of Hamid, in 751/1351. After the battle of Ankara (604/1402) Beyşehir fell under the control of Karamān. The Ottomans regained the town in the reign of Sultān Mehmed II (816-824/1453-1481), but their possession of Beyşehir did not become definitive until 847/1443. The present Beyşehir is a small town which had, in 1935, 2600 inhabitants.

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(V. J. PARRY)

**BEZETA** [see DIDO].

**BEZISTÂN** [see KAYSARIYYA].

**BEZOAR** [see BAZAR].

**BEZM-i 'ÂLEM** [see WALIDE SULTÂN].

**BHAKKAR**, a fortress situated on a limestone rock in the middle of the river Indus at 27° 43' N. and 68° 56' E., which is identified with the Sogd of Alexander. The island is connected with Rôhr and Sukkur by a cantilever bridge. With the decline of Arôr, the ancient Hindî capital of Sind, about the middle of 2nd/8th century, when the river Indus changed its course, Bhakkar soon attained the highest strategic importance. The island must have been fortified and garrisoned at a very early date as a certain Abû Turâb, an Arab, who died in 171/787 is reported to have reduced it. At the time of the conquest of Sind by Muhammad b. Qâsim al-Thakafî in 92/710-711 the place was known as Bahârîr. (Abû 'I-Fadl erroneously identifies it with the ancient Arab chieftain of al-Mansûrah). The name Bhakkar appears for the first time when 'Abd al-Kazzâk, waiz of Mahmûd of Ghazna conquered it in 417/1026. Nâsir al-Dîn Kubâdjî, the governor of Uth was besieged in this fort in 614/1227 by the armies of Shams al-Dîn Iltutmîsh and while trying to escape in a boat was drowned in the Indus. In 697/1297 it was invaded by the Mongols who were repulsed by the troops of the governor, Nûrâ al-Dîn, appointed by 'Alâ' al-Dîn. The famous Khwâjî [994/1594-716/1316]. The fort figures frequently during the Sind campaigns of Mub. b. Tughlugh and his nephew Firûz Tughlugh as well as in the later history of Sind. It changed hands several times, being considered the key to the conquest of lower Sind.

During his flight through the desert of Sind, Hamayûn [160] escaped here. Shâh Bîg Argîshûn, a ruler of Thatta, appointed Mir Mahmûd Kolkâtâsh its governor; he held it for fifty years, having been confined in 982/1574 in his appointment by Akbar. The fort was strengthened by the local sayyids, against the impending attack of Dharîdî tribesmen in 973/1567. Soon afterwards it was visited by Shâh Bîg himself; he drove out the sayyids and paraded out the ground into building sites for his chiefs, who plundered bricks from the ruined town of Arôr and some Turkish and Samana buildings in the vicinity of Bhakkar, for constructing their own houses. The fort was the scene of a fierce battle in 962/1554 between Mahmûd Kolkâtâsh and Mirzâ 'Isâ Khân Tarkhân, ruler of Thatta. It was captured by Nûr Muhammad Kalhôrâ in 1149/1736,

from whose descendants it was seized by the Afghans who were dispossessed in their turn by Mir Rustan Khân of Khayvârpûr. It came into British possession in 1859 with the conquest of Sind by Charles Napier.

Near the fort flourished the town of Bhakkar, now known as Purânî (old) Sukkur. In Akbar's time it had luxuriant orchards; in the 11th/17th century it was famous for its sword-blades. The town was peopled mainly by sayyids and was a great seat of learning, especially in the 10th/16th century. Amongst its prominent scholars and scholars were: Mir Ma'sûm Nâni [c. 15] author of the *Ta'rih-i Ma'sûmî*, a history of Sind (Poona 1938); Shâhîkh Farîd, who compiled the *Dihâbir al-Khawârid*, an excellent biographical dictionary still in MS, and Kâdî Zahir al-Din, grammarian, lexicist and philologist.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**BHARATPŪR**, formerly a princely State in India, now forming a part of Râjast'han, lying between 26° 43' and 27° 50' N. and 76° 35' and 77° 40' E. with an area of 1,982 sq. miles. The chief city is Bharatpûr, situated in 27° 23' N. and 77° 30' E., 34 miles from Agra, with a population of 37,321 in 1951. Paharsar, 14 miles from Bharatpûr, was first conquered in the 5th/11th century by the troops of Mahmûd of Ghazna, under the Sayyid brothers, Jalâl al-Dîn and 'Alî al-Dîn, who claimed descent from Imâm Dû'âfar al-Sâdîk, in about 3 hours, as the local tradition goes, whence the place derives its name *pahar* (1 hrs.) see (conquered). At the close of the 6th/12th century it passed into the hands of Mu'izz al-Dîn b. Sâm also known as Shâhîh al-Dîn Muhammad Ghôrî, and remained under the rule of different dynasties till it was conquered by Bâbur, who had sent an uli-

matum, in verse, to the Mir of Bayânâ, 34 miles from Bharatpûr, beginning *bd Tark satnâk malûn ay Mir-i Bayânâ*. It remained thereafter under the Mughals. An attempt by Brijî, the founder of the State of Bharatpûr, at independence towards the close of the reign of Aurangzib was thwarted by the Imperial army killing Brijî in action. During the reign of Farrûkhshiyar (1125-31/1713-18) Çârman Dîjât ravaged the area and closed the roads to Delhi and Agra. In 1132/1718 a strong expeditionary force under Sawâ'î Dîjân crushed the chief of Dîjârpûr, was sent to punish him but the Sayyid king-makers who were opposed to Muhammad Shâh, king of Delhi, made peace with the Dîjâts directly. In 1135/1722 Badan Singh, the successor of Çârman, was proclaimed full Râjâ of Bharatpûr on the condition of paying tribute to the Emperor. In 1167/1753 his son, Shîrâjî Mal, gained so much strength as to attack the Imperial capital and indulge in pillage and plunder. Shâh 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Dihawî [c. 18] has, in several of his letters, lamented the atrocities committed by the Dîjâts on the residents of Delhi.

The present city and the mud-fort of Bharatpûr are said to have been founded about 1140/1723. The British, under Lord Lake, made an unsuccessful attack on this fort in 1220/1805; it was, however, captured by Lord Combermere in 1242/1826.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**BHAROC**, A district in Gujarat (q.v.) in the present Bombay State, India, of about 1450 sq. mi. and with a population of some 300,000; the Islamic population was about 20% of the total prior to partition in 1947, but much of this has since moved to Sind in Pakistan. The principal class of Muslims was Bohârî (see BOKAROC). Bharoc is also the name of the principal town of that district, Lat. 22° 42' N., Long. 72° 2' E. It is first known as a town within the Mawra domains, and later (c. 130 A.D.) to have been in the hands of Parthian Shâhs; from the Middle Indian form *bharuaccha-* of the Sanskrit *bharguachra-* it was known to the Greeks as βαργουαχα, a seaport from which the Red Sea commerce was carried on (Ptolemy, *Geog.* VII, I, 63; VIII, xxvi, 12), and as the head of an important trade-route into India (*Periplus*, II 47-8). Held by Râjapûts in Gujarat and Gûjars, probably as tributaries of the Çâlukyas, it suffered Arab invasions in 15/636, 99/777, and 154/770. It was held by Râjâkrakutas in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries until reconquered by the Çâlukyas; from them it was taken in 698/1298 by Ulugh Khân, brother of the Sultan 'Alâ' al-Dîn Khiljî, by whom Hindu and Dîjân temples were destroyed (*Beegs, Persia*, I, 327). It was used as a summer residence by governors representing the Delhi sultans until 798/1396, when Muhammad Zâfar Khân (governor from 793/1391) assumed his independence. From then it continued subject to the Ahmad Shâhî kings (q.v.) until annexed by Akbar in 980/1572. In 1149/1736 'Abd Allâh Beg received from Nîrâm al-Mulk (independent in the Deccan from 1135/1722, who

previously as governor of Gujârât had made Bharoc part of his private estate) the title of Nîk 'Alam Khân, and was the founder of the line of Nawwâbs of Bharoc. In 1186/1772 Bharoc was captured by the British—whence its Anglo-Indian name of Beroch.

*Buildings*.—The old fortifications were rebuilt by Bahâdur Shâh (1512-43/1526-57). In 1071/1660 they were partially razed by Aurangzib, but rebuilt on his orders in 1097/1685 as a protection against the Marathas. They are now in a very dilapidated condition. The Dîjânî Masjid, c. 701/1302, is of great significance in the development of Islamic architecture in Gujârât; the earliest buildings at Patân were mere adaptations of existing Hindû and Dîjân structures, whereas here an original and conventionally planned mosque is composed of former temple materials, the enclosure walls, of temple stones specially recut, being thus the earliest examples of independent Islamic masonry in Gujârât. The *hauz* is an open colonnade, the three compartments of which are three temple *mandapas* re-erected intact, except for the removal of the Hindû animal figures, with 48 elaborately carved pillars; the three *mubâraks* are unadorned temple niches with pointed arches added under the lintels. The *hauz* road, with three large and 10 small domes, houses elaborate coffered ceilings removed from temples; the designs of these, though Hindû, were conventional in character, and were perpetuated in later Gujârât Islamic buildings. It appears that the whole production was the work of local Hindû artisans working under the direction of Muslim overseers.

*Bibliography*.—For the history see article GUJARAT; *Bombay Gazetteer*, II, 1877, 337-69. For a full description of the Dîjânî Masjid, J. Burgess, *On the Muhammadan architecture of Bharuch . . . in Gujarat*, ASW I VI (= ASI, NIS XXIII), London 1896. (J. BURGESS-PACK)

**BHATTI**, the Pandjâb form of the Râjput word Bhatti, the name of a widely distributed Râjput tribe associated with the area stretching from Jaisalmer to the western tract of the Pandjâb between Fâtahâbâd and Bhatnâr. Large numbers of those settled in the Pandjâb accepted Islam. According to one of their traditions the Jâdous of Jaisalmer were driven from Zabulistân to the Pandjâb and Râjputânâ, the branch settling in Râjputânâ being named Bhatti. The references in the *Cal'-nama* to the Bhatti king of Ramal in the Thar desert confirm the legends preserved in Tod's *Annals and antiquities of Rajast'han*, . . . , Madras 1871. They are also mentioned in 'ARF's *Ta'rih-i Firâz Shâhî* (Ib. India, 36-39). The widespread nature of their settlements is recorded in the *Âf'n* where Abû 'I-Fadl reserves the form Bhattî for those settled in Sîrind, Multân and Pandjâb.

*Bibliography*: MS. Eur. D. 164, India Office Library, *History of the Râthors and Bhattis of Râjputânâ*. (C. COLLEN DAVIES)

**BHATTINDA**, head-quarters of the Govindgarh tahsil of the former Patiala State, now merged with the Pandjâb State of the Indian Union, situated in 30° 13' N. and 75° E. Population (1951) was 24,991. An ancient town, seat of the Bhattîyâ or Bhattî Râjapûts, it commanded the strategic routes from Multân to Râjast'han and the Gangetic valley, including such historic places as Pînapat and further on Indraprâ (Delhi), for invaders from the north-west of the Indian sub-continent. In ancient times it stood on an affluent of the Ghaggar rivulet, which still flows past Anhâlâ [q.v.] and the surrounding



country was practically uninhabited. Known as Vikramgarh in the pre-Islamic period, it figures in early Indo-Muslim chronicles like the *Tabahat-i-Nasiri* and the *Taj al-Ma'asir* of Hasan Nizami (Panjab Univ. Lib. MS.) as Tabarhinda (تَبَرْهِنْدَا), a corrupt form of the correct name Bhattinda (بھٹینڈا) due apparently to the transposition of the dots of the letters *bā* and *hā*. Murtadā al-Zahidī is nearer the truth when he says that (تَبَرْهِنْدَا) *al-Bitranda* (Taj al-'Arāṣ, ix, 212) is "a city in India". Bhattinda is composed of the words *Bhatti* and *rinda* (a jungle, a haunt), meaning a place which "abounded" in Bhattis, as Sirhind, is of *sh* (a perceptive) and *rind* (a jungle), again corrupted by Muslim historians of non-Indian origin into Sirhind. This place-name is generally found written as بھٹینڈا in all earlier Persian chronicles and hagiographical works (e.g., *Bābur-nāma*, Eng. translation by A. S. Beveridge, i, 383). In the *Tabahat-i-Nasiri* (ed. 'Abd al-Hayy Habībī, Quetta 1949, i, 537) Bhattinda is wrongly called Sirhind because no hills exist in the vicinity of this town. The existence of a dense jungle, thirty miles from Bhattinda, in the direction of Sirhind, is, however, proved by a statement in the *Malikāt-i-Timuri* (Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, ii, 427). This jungle served as the favourite leopard hunting-ground for Akbar (*Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Eng. transl. Blochmann, i, 286). As to the predominance of Bhattis in and around Bhattinda, there is more than ample evidence (*Imp. Gazetteer of India*, n. ed. viii, 91). Cunningham's etymology of the name Bhattinda (see *ibid.*), based on mere conjecture is erroneous and wide of the mark.

It was conquered by Mahmūd of Ghazna in 393/1045 when the Rājā of Bhattinda (Bahāṭīya), Bīdjay Rāy, unable to resist the besiegers, fled from the fort, and committed suicide. There has been some controversy as to the identification of Bahāṭīya (Bhattiyya) mentioned by al-'Uṭbī (*Ta'rikh-i Yamini*, Lahore 1306/1882, 200 ff.). Muhammad Nizām positively asserts (*The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1911, 107-209) that it was Bhattinda and no other town. But a little-known place, called Hāṭiyya, still exists in the neighbourhood of Raiwālpindī, which also answers the description, given by al-'Uṭbī, to some extent. Unless, however, more conclusive evidence is forthcoming Muhammad Nizām's view must prevail. Towns of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna, Cambridge 1911, 199-202 and index; A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India* (Annual Reports), xxiii, 2-8; *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, ii, 109, iii, 35; *Cambridge History of India*, iii, 14; *Akbar-nāma* (Bib. Ind. English transl.), ii, 166; *Ā'in-i Akbarī* (Eng. transl. by Jarrett), Calcutta 1851, ii, 295, 300-1; Elliot and Dowson, ii, 438-40; Article *KATAS* in *PA Supplement*, London *al-Masūdī*, Haydarabad 1330, ii, 450. (A. S. BAZMĀZ AVASTHI)

**BHITTAI**, Sultān 'Abd al-Lāṭif (1689-1752), a Sindhi poet belonging to a priestly family of Mātari Sayyids. He lived for a large part of his life at Bhit ("sandhill"), a small hamlet near Hala in the district of Haydarābād in Sindh. He is the national poet of Sind. His poetry is soft in nature, as the poet, though not a man of great learning or education, was deeply impressed by the mystical thought of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, whose influence is evident in many of his poems. These poems were gathered together after his death by his followers and made into a collection which is called the *Risalo*. They are

however, killed by the Hindus while on their way to Delhi from Bhattinda. The fort was captured by Nāsir al-Dīn Mahmūd in 643/1253 and Malik Shāh Khān was appointed its commandant.

Very little is heard of the town thereafter. It must have decayed and lost its importance, although its fort has, throughout, been famous both for strength and impregnability. Strangely enough it finds no mention in the *Memoirs of Bābur*. Akbar, as already stated, used to hunt leopards in the *pargana* of Bhattinda. His guardian Bayram Khān (p. 95), after his disgrace, lodged his family in this fort before proceeding to Djalālūdīn (p. 95), where, in a decisive action with the Imperial troops, he suffered an ignominious defeat. It then completely fades out of history and only reappears in 1168/1754 when it was conquered by Āla Singh, the Patilāli chieftain, whose descendants held it till the merger of their territory with the Indian Union in 1956. The modern fort is 128 ft. high, with 36 bastions. It dominates the town, a thriving centre of trade and commerce, and is visible for several miles around. In the time of Sultān Mahmūd, it had a deep and wide moat, which that great conqueror ordered to be filled up with stones and trees before storming the fort. The ditch still exists partly filled up with the refuse and debris of the town, which is dumped here. The fort is now mouldering rapidly and some cracks have also appeared in the arches of the main gate. Its two massive minarets collapsed in 1958.

Bābā Hādījī Ratan (see *RATAN*), said to have been born in the pre-Islamic era and to have later visited the Prophet, was a native of this place.

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written in a pure form of eighteenth century Sindhi and are remarkable for the manner in which philosophic and religiousness is made of the folk tales of the Sind countryside. The poems deal with the longings of unrequited love and the need for trust in the power, wisdom and compassion of Allah. Their deeply mystical character has endeared them to the simple rural folk of Sind. It is noteworthy that their appeal has been as much to the Hindus of Sind as to the Muslims. The reason is perhaps due to the fact that the bulk of the indigenous Sindhi population is Hindu in origin, as many of the personal names testify, and the poet himself was deeply interested in the mystical contemplation of fakhs, *sanyasis* and *yogis*, which in turn found an echo in the Sikh religion followed by most of the caste Hindus living in Sind till the partition of India in 1947 resulted in their precipitate flight therefrom. The poems of the *Risalo* which are lyrical in type are sung to well-known Indian music and many of them, such as the *Sur Asa* and the *Sur Bilawal*, proclaim a sublime form of devotion. The folk stories on the other hand make direct appeal to the childlike simplicity common to unsophisticated people. The love tales of Hussai and Premaban, of Sahib and Mohar, and of Lalan and Channar, are the cradles of Sindhi children today. A vast literature in Sindhi on the poet and his message has been evoked by the poet's achievement and the *rauda* of Shāh 'Abd al-Lāṭif is the scene of regular pilgrimages of devotees who listen today to the recitation and singing of his verses. There have been learned studies of Shāh 'Abd al-Lāṭif's life and work by three Sindhi scholars of distinction, namely the late Shams al-'Ulamā' Mirzā Kalich Beg, the late Professor H. M. Gurbuxani and the late Shams al-'Ulamā' U. M. Daudpota, whose works may be consulted by those interested. (H. T. SORLEY)

**BHOPAL**, formerly a princely State in India, lying between 22° 29' and 25° 54' N. and 76° 25' and 78° 51' E. with an area of 6,898 sq. miles, with a population of 8,18,474 in 1951. It was the second most important Muslim State, next to Haydarābād (p. 2).

Bhopal was founded by a military adventurer, Dost Muhammad Khān, a native of Tirāh (in the tribal area of present-day Pakistan) who belonged to the Mirzā' Khel tribe of the Afridi Pathans. In 1120/1708 he went to Delhi, at the age of 14, in search of employment, and succeeded in obtaining from Bahadur Shāh I (p. 3), emperor of Delhi, the lease of *Bērasia pargana*, partly in recognition of his military services and partly through his own efforts. A man of exceptional courage and outstanding military skill, he soon extended his sway over a large area and founded the town of Bhopal with its citadel, which he named Fatgah. Taking advantage of the enfeeblement of the central Mughal authority, he broke loose and assumed the title of Nawab. He died in 1153/1740 and was succeeded by his minor son Muhammad Khān, who was soon afterwards ousted by Yār Muhammad Khān, a natural son of Dost Muhammad Khān. The latter died in 1168/1754 without ever being formally installed Nawab and was succeeded by Fayd Muhammad Khān, a pious man and almost a recluse, whose weakness as a ruler, combined with the political ebullience of his Hindū ministers, resulted in half of the Bhopal territory being lost to the Peshwā, Bāgī Rāo I. On his death in 1192/1777 he was succeeded by his brother, Hayāt Muhammad Khān who, strangely enough, adopted four Hindū boys as his *khāns*, two of whom, Fālid Khān and

Chōtē Khān, later became ministers. Rivalry between Wazīr Muhammad Khān, a cousin of the ruler, and Murtad Muhammad Khān, his minister, was responsible for surrendering the fort of Fatgah to Amir Khān Pindiri (the founder of the former Tōnk (p. 2) State (who was then in the service of the Sindhi of Gwalior. Wazīr Muhammad Khān had to leave Bhopal but on Sindhi's repairing to Gwalior, disturbances had broken out, he returned with a sizeable force and expelled the Marathas, under Amir Khān, from the fort and after sometime also drove out the Pindiris. In 1223/1807 Hayāt Muhammad died and Wazīr Muhammad, who had proved his capability as a ruler, succeeded him to the principality, setting aside the claim of Ghawth Muhammad Khān, son of the deceased ruler. In 1229/1813 the combined forces of Nāgpur and Gwalior marched on Bhopal, which resisted the invaders heroically for eight long months and the unsuccessful siege had to be lifted.

On the death of Wazīr Muhammad Khān in 1232/1816, his son and the son-in-law of Ghawth Muhammad Khān, Nadir Muhammad, succeeded him. He entered into a treaty with the British, the obligations of which he faithfully observed. This treaty guaranteed to him and his descendants the territories of Bhopal, while the British were assured the services of native troops for exterminating the Pindiris, who were then over-running Central India and were no more than organised bandits. Nadir Muhammad was married to Kudsīyya Bēgām, a daughter of Ghawth Muhammad, who assumed the reins of power after the death of her husband in 1261/1845, as regent on behalf of her minor daughter, Sikandar Bēgām, whose formal accession took place 25 years later in 1261/1845. From this lady began the long and illustrious chain of the Bēgāms of Bhopal, which ended up with the voluntary abdication of Sultān Djalāl Bēgām in 1345/1926, in favour of her son, Haimū Allāh Khān (the last feudatory ruler of Bhopal) and her subsequent death in 1348/1930.

Sikandar Bēgām, owing to the delaying tactics of her mother, who wanted to retain power in her own hands, was married very late in 1251/1835 to Djalāludīn Muhammad Khān, a nephew of Nadir Muhammad Khān. Kudsīyya Bēgām, still reluctant to part with power, instigated a civil war in which Nadir Muhammad was defeated by the combined troops of the Dowager Bēgām and his own wife. In 1253/1837 the authorities of the East India Company interposed and restored the administration of the State to Djalāludīn Muhammad Khān. Kudsīyya Bēgām, baulked of her wishes, had to retire on pension. She lived long thereafter but was scrupulously kept out of the picture by her successors, Sikandar Bēgām and her daughter Shāhidulāh Bēgām, whose husband Siddik Hasan Khān, for personal and public reasons, did not allow the old Bēgām even to attend social functions held by the ruling family. She died in 1299/1881 and held a *diqdar* of Rs. 498,682 since her retirement from political life until her death. The rule of Sikandar Bēgām is remarkable for a number of military reforms which forged the irregular Bhopal troops into a fine well-knit force. The State remained loyal to the suzerain British power during the upheaval of 1857 in spite of the refractory conduct of a few of the nobles. She also introduced agricultural, economic, administrative and legal reforms. Although the head of a Muslim State, she was bold enough to do away with the *pardā* and appear in public attired in military accoutrements. At the same time



she was of a religious bent of mind and performed the Hajj in 1280/1863-4. After a rule of 25 years, she died in 1285/1868 and was succeeded by her minor daughter Shāhjahān Bēgam, under the regency of Fawā'id al-Muhammad Khān, an uncle of Sikandar Bēgam. In 1285/1847 he had to resign, chiefly because of the machinations of Kudsīyā Bēgam, and Sikandar Bēgam was appointed regent. In 1272/1855 Shāhjahān Bēgam married Bahāddār Bakhsh Muhammad Khān, who did not belong to the ruling house. He, therefore, as subsequently all the husbands of Bēghams of Bhōpāl, enjoyed only the status of a Nawab-and-consort and had nothing effective to do with the administration of the State, the entire power having been delegated to Sikandar Bēgam, a woman jealous of her status and dignity. She strongly objected to the recognition of her minor daughter as ruler and could only be appeased by Shāhjahān Bēgam's voluntarily giving up all claim to rule during the life-time of her mother; an act of filial attachment rather than of expediency or political sagacity.

In 1285/1868, her husband having died a year earlier, Shāhjahān Bēgam was formally installed as the ruler. Three years later she remarried, taking a *maridat* of Kanawād, Sayyid Siddik Hasan [g.c.], once a petty official of the State, as her husband. Through the efforts of the Bēgam the honorary title of Nawab and other insignia of office were conferred on Siddik Hasan Khān as the consort of the ruler. She had discarded the *pardah* after the death of her first husband but again retired on her marriage with the *maridat*, whose learning and ability always over-awed her. Her second marriage met with a mixed reception, the entire ruling family strongly disapproving it. The heir-apparent Sultān Dīshān Bēgam, was full of bitterness and her memoirs depict Siddik Hasan Khān as an unscrupulous upstart, a tyrant who robbed her and her mother of all happiness, threatening the latter with divorce, a great stigma for a lady of high birth, if she went against his wishes. She also holds him responsible for the estrangement between her and her mother and the grand old lady Kudsīyā Bēgam. His disgrace in 1303/1885, due to his objectionable writings, came as a shock to the Bēgam but she had to bow before the decision of the British Government. Siddik Hasan Khān died in 1308/1890, to the great relief of Sultān Dīshān Bēgam and others, but the relations between the ruler and the heir-apparent showed no improvement. The real cause, it appears, of the estrangement between mother and daughter was the latter's husband, Ahmad 'Alī Khān Sultān Dulhā, with whom the ruler, for unknown reasons, was never entirely happy, although it was she who had selected him as her son-in-law out of some twelve suitors.

In 1310/1891 Shāhjahān Bēgam died of cancer and, in accordance with the *sanad* issued in 1270/1862 by Lord Canning, Governor-General and Viceroy of India, was succeeded by Sultān Dīshān Bēgam, her only child by her first husband. She had no issue from Siddik Hasan Khān. Sultān Dīshān, during 25 years of rule, personally directed the administration of the State and carried out a number of reforms. She paid two visits to England, first in 1320/1901 to take part in the coronation ceremonies of King George V (1911-1936), and then in 1344/1925 to get the succession of her youngest and surviving son, al-Hādīdī Hamid Allāh Khān, recognised by the British Government. Her two other sons, Muhammad

Nasir Allāh Khān (b. 1293/1876) and Hāfīz 'Ubayd Allāh Khān (b. 1294/1877) both died, in quick succession, in 1343/1924. It was suspected that they had been poisoned, but the political sagacity of al-Sultān Dīshān averted a crisis. The late Aghā Khān also played an important part in securing the rulership of Bhōpāl for Hamid Allāh Khān, who thus superseded the sons of his two dead brothers. Born in 1312/1894 Hamid Allāh Khān was educated at 'Aligarh and took an active part in politics insouciant in the native princes. On two occasions (1911-2, 1944-7) he was elected Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and in that capacity rendered yeoman service to the cause of his brother-princes. In 1366/1946 he played a memorable rôle in Indian politics, acting as an intermediary between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, led by Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah [g.c.], when he was able to secure a *carte blanche* from the Congress in favour of the Muslim League. This was, however, later repudiated by M. K. Gandhi, the undisputed leader of the Congress.

On the lapse of British paramountcy in 1947, when India and Pakistan became two independent States, Bhōpāl was first treated as a centrally-administered area but in 1949 was merged with the Indian Union. It has since elected a legislature and a ministry with a Chief Commissioner as the constitutional head of the administration. The ex-Nawab, now no more than an ordinary citizen, has since been pensioned off and is entitled to a privy purse of 1,200,000 rupees a year of which 100,000 rupees was allocated to the heir-apparent, Gawāhr-i Taqī 'Abdulla Sultān who has since migrated to Pakistan and settled permanently there.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**BHŌPĀL** (CITY). Capital of the Indian province of Madhya Pradesh, situated in 25° 16' N. and 77° 25' E. on a sandstone ridge and on the edge of two

beautiful lakes, the Pulghat-Pul Talab and the Barā Talab, famed throughout India for natural charm and picturesque surroundings, was founded by Dīshā Muhammad Khān, an Orakzār Afridī in 1747-1748 when he built the Pathgarh fort, named after his Indian wife, Fath Bāf, and connected it by a wall to the old dilapidated fort, ascribed by tradition to the legendary Rājā Bhōjī, after whom a quarter of the city is still called Bhōjipura. The population in 1937 was 120,333. The city is divided into two parts, the *Sikār-i Bādar*, enclosed by a wall built by Dīshā Muhammad, and the modern quarters and suburbs, Dīshāngrahābād and Ahmadābād, added by the succeeding rulers to perpetuate the memory of Dīshāngrahābād Muhammad Khān, husband of Sikandar Bēgam, and of Ahmad 'Alī Khān, husband of Sultān Dīshān Bēgam, rulers of Bhōpāl. The city was made the capital of the State by Nawab Fayd Muhammad Khān (1108/1754-1191/1777) whose predecessors' seat of Government was Idlīmānagar (23° 25' N. and 77° 25' E.).

In 1227/1812-3 the town, outside the wall, was devastated by the combined forces of Nāgpur and Gwalior, which had attacked Bhōpāl. Nadir Muhammad Khān (1233/1816-1234/1818), during his short rule began to restore the town, which soon was continued for decades thereafter. Many civic amenities, like roads and street-lighting, were introduced by Sikandar Bēgam followed by Shāhjahān and Sultān Dīshān Bēgams; the former particularly added some grand buildings of which the Taj Mahal palace and the Taj al-Masjid deserve mention.

The two lakes, on whose banks a string of palaces has been raised by almost all the rulers, are connected by an aqueduct and provide drinking water to the citizens. Above them rises the city, tier on tier of irregular houses, with spacious gardens here and there, dominated by the congregational mosque of Kudsīyā Bēgam, built of purple-red sandstone, with high minarets, from which the *madrās* [g.c.] was beaten during Ramadan both at the *sabr* and *shar* times.

**Bibliography:** See article Bhōpāl and *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, viii 142-5. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

**BFA** [see KASTLA].

**BIBAN**, the gates: passes across a chain of the Tellian Atlas Mountains—parallel to the Djurdjura, south of the depression of the Wādī Sahel. The French have retained the Arabic name for these passes, *Dammē kapa*, Iron Gates. The road and railway track from Algiers to Constantine both pass through the Great Gate, al-Bāh al-Kabir, hollowed out by the Wādī Chebba. The Little Gate, al-Bāh al-Saghir, 3.5 km. to the east, is crossed by the Wādī Buktān. It is the narrower of the two. These "gates", which were not included in the network of Roman roads that century onwards by Turkish troops travelling between Algiers and Constantine; but these troops were forced to pay the rough local inhabitants to let them pass through the area unopposed. On October 26th, 1839, a French column of 8000 men, commanded by Marshal Valée, Governor-general of Algeria, and at the head of a *hachaga* of 4000 men, crossed the Pass of the Little Gate without hindrance, for the mountain tribesmen of the locality had obtained the customary tribute through the good offices of Mokranī, *hachaga* of Medjijana, won over to the French cause.

This expedition, known as that of the Iron Gates,

was acclaimed as a brilliant feat of arms, but it led to the final rupture between the French and 'Abd al-Kadir who regarded it as a violation of the Treaty of Tafna.

Geographers have extended the name Bibān to the whole of the antinatal chain of mountains which cuts across the Iron Gates and which stretches at a height of 1000 to over 1400 metres from Aumale to the Gourgeon (Lafayette), separating the depression of the Wādī Sahel and the tributary valleys of the lower Bou Sellam from the structurally complex mountains of the Ouenougha, the Mrita and the Metmen and of the basin of the Bordj bon Arreridj. These mountains with their limestone, marl and schistose clay soil are not very fertile. The Bibān chain is partly wooded with Aleppo pines. Populated by Arab tribes in the west, Kabyle Berbers in the centre, it forms, in the east, the southern boundary of the Kabyle Berber dialect area (see 'ABD AL-ĀDİR, ALGERIA, ATLAS, KABYLIA).

(G. VYER-[J. DESPOIS])

**BIBI**, a word of East Turkish origin, with the meaning of "little old mother", "grandmother", "woman of high rank", "lady". It is noted, with the sense of "woman of consequence", "lady", in the Ottoman-Turkish dictionary *Lughat-i Delhizli*, composed in 988/1580-1581. Bibi also means, in Anatolian Turkish, "paternal aunt". Taken over into Persian at an early date, with the sense of "woman of the house", "lady", the word can be found in a verse of Anwarī (14th cent. A.D.) cited in the *Farkhang-i Nāyirī*. It was used in Khurāsān during the 12th century as a title for women of distinction, as in the case of the mother of the author who wrote the history of the Saljuqs in Asia Minor, al-Husayn b. Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Dī'ārī al-Rughāfī, better known under the name Ibn Bibi [g.c.] al-Munawwidjāna (son of the distinguished lady, the woman astrologer). One of the two wives lady of Shuykh Saif (cf. Saif al-Dīn) was called Bibi Fātima. The mausoleum, situated near Tehrān, of the daughter of the last Sāsānid, Yazdgerd III, is known under the name Bibi Shahrābād.

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**BIBLE** [see TAWRAT, ZANŪB, IḤḤIL].

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**. In the present article the word is used in the sense of a systematically arranged list of books, compiled for the benefit of those who need to know what has been written on a particular subject.

The outstanding achievement in Islamic bibliography to appear before the adoption of printing in Islamic territories is the *Fihrist*. Its author, Ibn al-Nadīm (g.c.), a bookseller (*ṣāhib al-kitāb*) in Bagdad, compiled the work in 379/987-8 in the form of a bibliographical history of literature, arranged in ten books, the first six being concerned with the "Islamic writings" (Kutub, grammar, history and belles-lettres, poetry, scholastic philosophy, and law), the remaining four with philosophy and science, legends and fables, sects and creeds, and alchemy. In each book there is to be found an account of the rise and development of the study of the subject dealt with, a list of all available writings on it and bibliographical details of their authors, from the earliest times.



The other great monument of Islamic bibliography is the *Kaṭiḡ al-Zawā'ir* (ed. al-Kutub wa'l-Ḥadith, I, 1931), a work for which the Ottoman polyhistor, Ḥajjījī Khāfī, spent some twenty years collecting materials. The first volume was completed in 1064/1653-4, some 650 years after the *Fihrist*. After an introduction relating at great length the nature, value, divisions and history of the various sciences, the author lists in one alphabetical sequence the titles of all the works written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish which he had personally seen or of which he knew the title. For each work he gives details of author, date of compilation, particulars of its division into sections and chapters, and the various commentaries, glosses, refutations and criticisms that the work has attracted to itself; he gives *isnads* of all works seen by him in order to facilitate the identification of unknown works. Several supplements to the work were compiled by his successors, the latest by Bagdath Ismā'īl Pasha (d. 1920) containing some 18,000 titles.

Little needs to be said about the remaining bibliographical works which have survived. Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (A.H. 502-572, [c. 6.5]), who spent the greater part of his life as a peripatetic student in Andalusia, compiled a *Fihrist* (ed. Codera and Ribera, *BAH* IX, X, Saragossa 1894) in which he enumerates the titles of some 1400 books in Arabic of both Spanish and Oriental origin which he had read or heard, with chains of transmission going back to their original authors. Lists of works of individual writers exist, such as those for Rāzī (compiled by al-Bīrūnī, ed. by P. Kraus, Paris 1936), Galen translations (by Husayn b. Ishāq, ed. Bergsträsser, Leipzig 1925, and 1932) and Suyūṭī's autobiographical (Brockelmann II 145; S II 179). The *Shi'is* have been assiduous in the compilation of bibliographies of writings of their own adherents; the earliest, by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Tūsī (d. A.H. 460), has been edited by Sprenger, *ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm*, and Ghāfir al-Kāfir for the Bibliotheca Indica. In the preface to this edition three similar works on bibliography are described. More recently, *Idjāz* Husayn's (A.H. 1240-1286) *Kaṭiḡ al-Ḥudūd wa'l-ʿAsfār* (ed. al-Kutub wa'l-Ḥadith, I, 1931) contains notices of 3414 *Shi'is* books arranged alphabetically, and the *al-Ḥārūf al-Tāyīn al-Shi'a* of Aḡā Burzur al-Tāyīnī (1936-), in progress has already run to ten volumes.

The publications of Western scholars and students of Islam were recorded for the first time by Schnurrer, the second edition of whose *Bibliotheca Arabica* published in 1811 lists in an arrangement by subject the printed works on the subject from the earliest times until the year 1810 with a chronological index. Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leipzig 1840; 2nd ed., 1846, 1861) which purported to give the titles of all Arabic, Persian and Turkish books from the invention of printing, is disappointing. Chauvin continued the work of Schnurrer in a much more expert fashion, providing incidentally an author index to the *Bibliotheca Arabica*. Of his *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885* twelve volumes in all were published during the years 1892-1922; the materials for the remaining part of this work are still preserved in manuscript in the library of the University of Liège. It was his intention to bridge the gap between Schnurrer and the *Orientalische Bibliographie* which began publication in 1887 and provided a most adequate record of all publications in the Islamic field, as well as in all

other branches of Oriental studies, until 1911.

Had Chauvin's work been published in its entirety there would now be in existence a substantially complete record of all Western publications on Islamic subjects from the beginnings down to 1911 readily to hand in the three bibliographies, Schnurrer, Chauvin, *Orientalische Bibliographie*. The ever-increasing volume of work done on Islamic studies and consequent publication since that date made it even more difficult to comprehend the total of publications over a period within the confines of a single work. For publications since 1911, therefore, the scholar must make recourse to a large number of bibliographies of all kinds which cannot here be listed in detail. (Pannmüller in his *Handbuch der Islamwissenschaft* (Berlin and Leipzig 1923) provided a useful introduction and guide to the literature of the subject, but had no intention of compiling a complete Islamic bibliography). The principal periodicals in the field have striven to cope with the problem: it is only necessary to mention the *Kritische Bibliographie* published in *Der Islam* at intervals from 1913 to 1933 and *Abriss der Islamwissenschaft* (1937), has been a regular feature of the *Revue des études islamiques*. In *Index Islamicus* (Cambridge 1938), Pearson has attempted to list the periodical and *Festschrift* articles of the fifty years from 1906 to 1955.

The Ibn al-Nadīm-Ḥajjījī Khāfī tradition of bibliographical literary histories has been carried on in our own times in the monumental works of Brockelmann and Storey on Arabic and Persian literature respectively. Each of these writers gives, in addition to biographical data, a list as complete as it is possible to make of surviving manuscripts, cumulating the printed catalogues of collections in all libraries, as well as notes on the principal editions, translations and works of history or criticism of the individual writers. Brockelmann handles his material on a chronological basis, Storey arranges his by subject; both are quite indispensable for all students of these literatures, as well as to all who have occasion to catalogue Arabic and Persian books and manuscripts. A similar work with more limited scope was compiled by Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen* (Leipzig 1927), Christian and Jewish literature in Arabic form the subject of separate treatments by G. Graf, *Gesch. d. christlichen arab. Lit.*, 5 vols., Vatican City 1944-53, and M. Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. der Juden*, Frankfurt 1902.

In recent years Islamic countries themselves have been making great contributions to their bibliography. In 1918 Yūsuf Ḥayy Sarāḥ published his *Muḥḍar al-Maḥḍar al-ʿArabīyya* (ed. al-Kutub wa'l-Ḥadith, I, 1931) which purported to give the titles of all Arabic printed books from the beginnings of printing to the year 1910 inclusive, arranged in alphabetical sequence according to the most commonly used name of the author's name, whether this be *ism*, *laqab*, *hunya* or *nisba*. The work is provided with an index of the titles of works. Egypt has issued a number of volumes of what is to all intents and purposes a national bibliography in *Al-sidq al-Ḥadīth*. A Persian national bibliography by Dr. Aḡhī Atāshī has appeared in the *Farhang-i Irān-samin* since 1954 and the first volume of a catalogue of Persian printed books by Khānabā Mughār was published in 1337 solar/1956. The *ʿOḡmānīl muḍḍir* of Bursal Mehmed Tabī is a bio-bibliographical dictionary of Ottoman writers in the style of the *ʿaḡḡā* and is of great value to all students of Turkish culture, even though it is

not marked by accuracy of bibliographical detail and, as Babinger puts it, fudging a name in the index is often a matter of luck or demanding of great patience. *Türk bibliyografyası* has recorded all publications in Turkey since 1928 and the National Library has announced plans for the publication of a catalogue of Turkish printed books from the date of the adoption of printing in that country in the 18th century. *Türkiye mahalleler bibliyografyası*, an index to articles in Turkish periodicals, has been issued regularly since 1952.

*Bibliography*: The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm was edited by Flügel and published after his death by J. Rosentzweig and A. Mueller (2 vols., Leipzig 1872-2, reprinted Cairo, 1348). A new edition by J. Fück is in preparation. Its contents were analysed in detail by Flügel in *ZDMG* xiii, 359-650 and set out in tabular form in Browne, I, 383-7. See also references in Pearson, *Index Islamicus*, nos. 23281-7, 733 (except 23285). For Ḥajjījī Khāfī, see Babinger, *G.O.*, 193-203. The *Kaṭiḡ al-Zawā'ir* was edited by Flügel (*Oriental Translation Fund*, 7 vols., Leipzig 1833-38; also *Büyük* 1858, İstanbul 1310-11, and 1941-3). The *Keṣf al-Zunūn Zeyli* of Bagdath Ismā'īl Pasha was published in İstanbul 1945-7. On astronomy: Nallino, *ʿIlm al-Falak*, 74- and Italian version, *Storia dell'astronomia presso gli Arabi in Raccolta dei scritti*, v, 144-150. On *Shi'is* bibliography see Browne, IV, chap. 5, esp. 353-8.

G. Gabrieli, *Manuale di bibliografia musulmana* (Rome 1916) is the only work of its kind and is invaluable for its lists of general bibliographical works. (Regrettably only the first part was ever published). For the works of Schnurrer and Zenker see the preface to Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, esp. 32-333; for the unpublished portions of Chauvin's *Bibliographie* see J. Gobeaux-Thoret, *Notes from the Liège Library on Victor Chauvin and on Ibn Ḥudūd in Unity and variety in Muslim civilisation* (ed. Grunbaum, 1955), 363-4; the index to Schnurrer occupies xli-cxvii; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* was originally published at Weimar and Berlin, 2 vols., 1898-1902; Supplementbände I-III, Leiden 1937-1942; 2den Supplementbänden angekündigt. Aufl., 2 vols. Leiden 1941, 1949. Storey, *Persian literature*, London 1927-, in progress.

(J. D. PEARSON)

**BID'AT**, innovation, a belief or practice for which there is no precedent in the time of the Prophet. It is the opposite of *sunna* and is a synonym of *mubḍar* or *hādith*. While some Muslims felt that every innovation must necessarily be wrong, some allowance obviously had to be made for changing circumstances. Thus a distinction came to be made between a *bid'a* which was 'good' (*hasana*) or praiseworthy (*maḥmūda*), and one which was 'bad' (*sayya'a*) or blameworthy (*maḥmūda*). Al-Shāfi'i laid down the principle that any innovation which runs contrary to the Kur'ān, the *sunna*, *ijmā'*, or *athar* (a tradition traced only to a Companion or a Follower) is an erring innovation, whereas any good thing introduced which does not run counter to any of these sources is praiseworthy. On this basis innovations have been classified according to the five categories (*akḥām*) of Muslim law. Under duties incumbent on all Muslims (*al-dīn al-kullī*) are included such *bid'as* as the study of grammar, rhetoric, etc. on which an understanding of the Kur'ān and the *sunna* is based, investigation of the reliability of men whose authority is quoted for traditions

(*al-ḡarḥ wa'l-ḡarḥ* [g.c.]), distinguishing sound and weak traditions, codifying law, and the refutation of heretical sects. Prohibited (*muharrama*) innovations include the doctrines of those who oppose the followers of the *sunna* and the accepted beliefs of the community. Among those which are recommended (*maḥmūda*) is the establishment of such institutions as hospices and schools. Innovations which are disapproved (*maḥmūda*) include the decoration of mosques and the ornamentation of copies of the Kur'ān. Among those which are permitted (*mubḥala*), i.e. towards which the law is indifferent, is the free use of pleasant foods, drinks and clothing.

*Bid'a* is to be distinguished from heresy. When it includes matters which have been introduced in disagreement with what has come down from the Prophet, it is said that this is not due to any purpose of rebelling against him, but has arisen through some kind of confusion. Innovators are called *ah* *al-bida'* and *ah* *al-ahwā'*. The implication is that the innovator (*mubḥala*) is one who introduces something on an arbitrary principle without having any basis in the recognised foundations of Islam. The objection to *bid'a* has led some Muslims in more recent times to denounce the use of tobacco and coffee, and even of modern scientific inventions; but among the Wahhābīs, the strictest body within modern Islam, scientific inventions are freely used. Indeed, the economy of the present state of Sa'ūdī Arabia is mainly dependent on oil whose production could not be accomplished without modern inventions.

*Bid'a* may be treated on the level of *hiyas* [g.c.]. Just as what is *hiyas* in one generation may be included in what a later generation considers *ijmā'*, so may it be with *bid'a*. The distinction between 'good' and 'bad' innovations was therefore a necessary principle. Only people of an ultra-conservative nature who live in an unreal world of their own ideas could insist that the practice of the Prophet and his Companions in al-Madīna may alone be followed, and that no allowance may be made for the development of knowledge and differing circumstances. But a number of traditions condemning innovations are found in the collections of Ḥadīth as statements of the Prophet.

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(J. ROSSON)

**BIDAR**, a district in south-central India (the 'Deccan', [g.c.]), and the headquarters of that district, lat. 17° 35' N., long. 77° 35' E., population over 15,000, 82 miles north-west of Hyderabad from which it is easily accessible by road and rail.

The identification of Bidar with the ancient Vidarbha (Briggs's *Ferishta*, II, 413) is now discounted, cf. G. Vazifā, *Bidar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1927, 3. Bidar was included in the Chōlōya kingdom of Kālyāṇ, 418-610/10th-12th centuries, but was in the hands of the Kāḷāṭyās of Warangal when conquered by Ulugh Shāh (later Muḥammad b. Tughlāk, [g.c.]) in 722/1322 (details of siege and men-



tion of fortifications, Divā' al-Dīn Barāni, *Ta'rikh-i Firāz Shāhī*, Bihl. Ind., 449), from whose governor it was taken after a fierce battle in 748/1347 by a *Amir-i Sadah* (Commander of a *Sadi* or subdivision of approximately 100 villages; Barāni, 495; *Kāshā*, Cairo ed., II, 75). Zafar Khān, the latter, on his acceptance as first king of the Bahmani dynasty (c. 1492) as 'Alī' al-Dīn Husayn Bahmani Shāh, divided his dominion into four provinces, of which Bidar was one. The town was important strategically (Bahmani dynasty, monuments, (g.e.)), and as a fortress held the seventh Bahmani king Shams al-Dīn (799/1397) in internment; Muhammad II (780-99/1378-97) established orphanage schools in Bidar and elsewhere, cf. Briggs's *Firihā*, II, 349-50. An assassin by the eighth king, Firda Shāh, against his brother Ahmad in 825/1422 was repulsed at Bidar, leading to Ahmad's succession, shortly after which he transferred his capital to Bidar from Gulbarga (Sayyid 'Alī Tabatabā'i, *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, Haydarābād edn., 49-50), rebuilt the fortifications and renamed it Muhammadābād; the natural position of Bidar on a healthy plateau with abundant water and its central position within the kingdom, offered advantages not possessed by Ahsanābād-Gulbarga. Bidar was attacked in 866/1462 by Sulṭān Mahmūd Khāldī of Māhā, who destroyed some of its buildings, but was repulsed with the aid of Sulṭān Mahmūd Shāh of Gujjarāt. Bidar's heyday under the Bahmanis was during the able ministry of Mahmūd Gāwān (g.e.), c. 866-886/1462-82; but after his murder the Bahmani power declined, to the advantage of the minister Kāshī, Barid (founder of the Baridī dynasty, (g.e.)) and his family. The Bahmanis reigned as puppet kings under the Baridī ministers until at least 952/1545; Amir Barid was *de facto* ruler until 949/1542, and his son 'Alī Barid adopted the royal title, presumably after the death of the last Bahmani king, Kalīm Allāh (for coins in whose name, dated 952 (= 1545 A.D.), see *Proc. VII All-India Oriental Conf.*, 749). Bidar fell to Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh of Bijāpūr in 1028/1579, was annexed to the Mughal empire by Aurangzib in 1066/1656, and passed to Nizam al-Mulk Asaf Dīsh in 1117/1714.

**Monuments.** Buildings particularly associated with the Bahmani and Baridī dynasties are described under those headings; those of the post-Baridī period are unimportant and are not described. Page references in the following account are to Yazdani, *op. cit.*

The city and fort are both fully walled, and in their present area date from the time of Ahmad Shāh Wali Bahmani, who incorporated the old Hindu fort in the west of the present area into his buildings of 815-1429/32; Persian and Turkish engineers and architects are known to have been employed. The ground on the north and east of the perimeter falls sharply away; on the other sides the walls are within a triple moat hewn out of the laterite outcrop by local Hindu masons (p. 29). Much of the defences was destroyed in Mahmūd Khāldī's invasion (vide above) and restored by Nizam Shāh; but their character was changed in the time of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani, c. 875/1470, after the introduction of gunpowder. Minor improvements were made by Mahmūd Shāh (inscriptions, *EIM* 1925-6, 17-8), and more extensive ones, including the mounting of large guns, by 'Alī Barid Shāh, 949-87/1542-79. The description of the defences in the reign of Shāhshāh by Muhammad Sākh Kamālī (*Amn-i Sākh*, Bihl. Ind. III, 249-50) indicates that little subsequent changes were made. In the perimeter of

4 km. there are 37 bastions, mostly massive, many with gun emplacements, and 7 gates as well as the three successive gates between town and fort. The first gateway serves as a barbican for the second, the Sharāz Darwāza—so called from the figures of two tigers carved on the façade, a common feature of Dakhni forts (32). The third gate, Gunbad Darwāza, is massive, with battered walls, hemispherical dome and cornice *guldastas* recalling the contemporary Delhi architecture, but with an outer arch of wide span stilted above the haunch, the shape of much Persian-inspired architecture in the Deccan and characteristic of the Bahmani buildings in particular (34). The town walls are said to be the work of 'Alī Barid (Muhammad Sākh, *Amn-i Sākh*, 17-18) in 952-5/1553-8, but doubtless superseded Bahmani work. Again there are 37 bastions, adapted for long-range guns, and five gateways (83-90).

Within the fort are the Solah Khambā ('sixteen pillars'), so called from a period of its decay when 16 pillars were screened off in the *finān* Masjid, the earliest Muslim building at Bidar and the original Dīnāf Masjid, having been established before the transfer of the capital (inscription giving date 827 (= 1423 A.D.), *EIM* 1912-24, 26-7); the style is heavy and monotonous, particularly in the 91-metre façade, and the inner circular piers are over-massive; the central dome rests on a hexadecagonal collar pierced with traceted windows, to form a clerestory (34-6); the Tāsh Mahall, the modern quarter for what was probably Ahmad Shāh Wali Bahmani's palace described in the *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, 70-1, and referred to as *Dār al-Indira* by Firāzī, I, 627. The arches have the typical Bahmani stilt at the apex, and the fine encrustive tile-work, probably imported from Kāshān, includes the emblem of the tiger and rising sun (66-77); the Rubandī Dīwān-i 'Kūm, with fine tile-work in floral, geometric and calligraphic (Kūfī) designs, generally Persian with some *chinoiserie* (62-6); the Gagan = (Skt. 'sky'), Tarkash and Rangin Mahall, all begun in Bahmani times and rebuilt by the Barid Shāhs; typical Barid chain-and-pendant motif in Turkish Mahall, 'Alī Barid's rebuilding of Rangin Mahall with ivory mother-of-pearl work and woodcarving; the Hindu as well as Muslim patterns with some carving of wooden arches, the best of Barid work but on too small a scale to be fully effective (60-2, 57-9, 44-9 respectively); a group of underground rooms, *Hasār Kothrī*, with an emergency escape passage leading outside the walls (77-8); and the Shāhī Hammām, late Bahmani or early Barid, with a fine vaulted ceiling, 51-2; and minor buildings.

Within the town walls are the Cawābā, a massive tower at a cross-roads probably built by Ahmad Shāh as an observation post (90); the great Madrasa of Mahmūd Gāwān, built 872/1472, whose Persian prototype was the madrasa of Khairābād in Khurasān (cf. E. Diez, *Churasmische Baudenkmäler*, 4, 72-6); corner, destroyed by a gunpowder explosion in 1707/1699), 40 m. high, in three stages. Much of the former tile work has perished from the *mudra* and façades, but the proportions, the silhouette, and the interplay of light and shade due to the rows of deeply recessed arches on all faces are very pleasing to the eye. The most imposing monument of the Bahmani period, it has no parallel elsewhere in India (91-101); the Tāsh Mahall, a gateway containing a room in which is a couch associated with the saint Khālī Allāh, with fine cut-plaster medallions, etc., of

late Bahmani design, and a trefol parapet which, originating in the Bahmani period, is found in Baridī buildings also (100-2); the Dīnāf Masjid of the town, plain but elegant, with a high lantern-vaulted *hauz* under its double dome, late Bahmani work restored in the Baridī period (chain-and-pendant motif in spandrels of façade), 103-4; the Bari Khānkhāh of Mahbūb Subhānī, whose mosque parapet shows the overlapping arches of the Bahmani period, 111. Outside the town walls are (besides the tomb buildings of the Bahmanis and Barid Shāhs, (g.e.)) the fine Cawkhānī of Hadrat Khālī Allāh, similar in style to the tomb of 'Alī' al-Dīn Bahmani and one of the best Bahmani buildings (141-6); the tombs of the Abyssinian nobles in the Mahall Kot, 180; the Kālī ('black') Masjid, probably early Baridī, whose *mīhrāb*, projecting out from the *hauz*, forms a high square chimney-like base for a dome supported on each side by an open arch, resembling an aerial Baridī tomb (196-7); and numerous other buildings.

Mention must be made of the local Bidrī ware, a class of damascened metalwork in which engraved and inlaid silver designs are made on an alloy (mainly zinc with some copper, lead and occasionally tin) base, which is afterwards blackened and highly polished; the blackening is carried out by rubbing a locally-obtained earth, containing alkali nitrates, mixed with ammonium chloride, on the fresh surface of the alloy.

**Bibliography:** Yazdani, *op. cit.*, supercedes all previous work on the monuments: full references, extensive plates, drawings, plans, inscriptions, etc. See also J. Burgess, *Antiquities in Bidar and Ahsanabad District*, ASIWT III (= NIS III, 1878; ASI Annual Report, 1928-9, 5-21; Hyderabad Arch. Dept. Reports, passim; Sir J. Marshall, *The Monuments of Muslim India*, Chap. xxiii in *Cambridge History of India*, 1928; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic period)*, Chap. xiii. For Bidar as a fortified city, full description with measured drawings of fortifications in S. T. R. *The strongholds of India*, London 1937. For the history of Bidar see *Gazetteer of the Bidar district*; Sherwani, *Mahmūd Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, and *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, an *Objective study*.

For Bidrī ware, full references in T. R. Gairola, *Bidrī Ware, in Ancient India*, XII, 1926, 116-8, which supercedes all previous technical work.

(H. K. Sureswar and J. Burgess-Patel)

**BIDRĪ**, MIRZĀ 'ABD AL-KĀSIR B. 'ABD AL-KĀSIR ARJĀS (or Barid), of Dughlāran origin, was born at 'Arīmābād (Patna) in 1054/1644, where his family had settled. He lost his father in 1059/1649 and was brought up by his uncle Mirzā Kalandar (d. 1076/1665) and maternal uncle Mirzā Zarif (d. 1075/1664), who was well-versed in *hadīth* literature and *fiqh*. In 1079/1669 he visited a number of places in Bengal along with Mirzā Kalandar. In 1079/1669 he went to Cuttack (Orissa) where he stayed for three years. It was here in Orissa that Mirzā Zarif, who also had strong mystic leanings introduced him to Shāh Khān Husaynīlāh with whom he soon after contracted his *bay'a*. In 1079/1669 he went to Delhi, where he met Sh. Khālīl, a madīfī, to whom he devoted a lengthy chapter in *Qasb-i Husaynī*. For two years thereafter he wandered about the woods of Bindrāban and the streets of Muttra, A'zamābād and Agra in search of Shāh Khālīl, who had disappeared suddenly. While at Agra, Bidrī experienced hardship and starvation. In 1079/1668 he married,

and entered the service of Prince Muhammad A'zam B. Aurangzib, whom he served for a number of years. The Prince once requested him to compose a *bayda* in his praise; Bidrī refused to do so, and requested his position. Bidrī's movement (as reproduced in *Fayāz Kuds*, 86) that Bidrī remained in the service of the Prince for twenty years is not supported by other writers. Soon after his resignation he again took to wandering; this time visiting several places in the Panjāb including Lahore and Hasan Abdāl. His wanderings, however, ended in 1091/1685 when he finally settled at Delhi. He was offered a high post by Asaf Dīsh I, the Nizam of Haydarābād, who was one of his pupils in poetry; although grateful for the offer, Bidrī refused to accept it. He died in 1133/1721 and was buried in the courtyard of his house in Old Delhi. The exact location of his grave in the ruined city has been a matter of great controversy. The present grave, with an inscribed head-stone, is spurious.

Essentially a mystic poet, said to have composed over-thirty thousand verses, Bidrī is very popular in Afghanistan and parts of Chinese Turkestan. In poetry he has been compared with Sa'dī and Rūmī, in prose with al-Ansārī al-Harawī and al-Ghazālī (g.g.).

He is the author of: (i) *Qasb-i Husaynī*, written in 1115/1704, a mainly biographical work interspersed with supernatural anecdotes (Cawnpore 1292/1875); (ii) *Nihā*, a philosophical treatise dealing with certain abstruse problems like *na'iy*, *ahim*, *nubuwat* etc., profusely interspersed with *ghazals*, *ba'z* and *rubā'iyyat*, (Cawnpore 1292/1875); (iii) *Muhā* A'zam, a *madhna* on the lines of Zuhūrī's *Sābīhinā*, published as a part of *Kulliyāt-i Bidrī* (Bombay 1299/1881); (iv) *'Arīn*, another *madhna*, written in 1124/1712 and comprising 11,000 verses, deals with metaphysical problems as the author understood them (Bombay 1299/1881); (v) *Tār-i Ma'rīfāt*, another *madhna* comprising 6,000 verses, still unpublished (M.S. Panjab Univ. Lib.), deals with natural phenomena; (vi) *Fihm-i Hayat*, also a *madhna* of the same length as *Tār-i Ma'rīfāt* (Bombay 1299/1881); (vii) *Dīwān*, no complete edition has been published so far; an incomplete edition, however, up to *radīf* only was published at Kābul (1334/1915), and another edition at Cawnpore (Nawākhshir: 1292/1875); (viii) *Rubā'i*, a fine specimen of Persian letter-writing, containing useful information about numerous pupils of the poet and some of his benefactors (Cawnpore 1292/1875); select works of Bidrī have also been published at Tashkent, as he is very popular in the republics of Tadzhikistan and Uzbekistan in the U.S.S.R.

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**BIDJĀN**, AHMED, son of Salāh al-Dīn 'al-Kātib' (and hence known as Yazīd al-Ḥaḥḥī) and younger brother of the famous Yazīd al-Ḥaḥḥī, Turkish mystic writer and popular educator who flourished in the middle of the 9th/15th century. The brothers, after studying under Hājīdī Bayram [q.v.] of Ankara, lived a retired life together at Gelbaha, Ahmed practising such austerities and becoming so emaciated that he was called—and calls himself in his books—'Biddi-jān', i.e., 'The Lifeline'. To judge from the date of the *Munāṭiq* (see below), Ahmed must have lived until after 870/1465-6. He was buried beside his brother at Gelbaha, where their *tirbe* was a popular resort of pilgrims (cf. Ewliya, v, 320 and iii, 401, where E. also records a tradition that Ahmed lived for some time at Sofia).

His works are: (1) *Asmā' al-Muḥibbīn* (H. Kh. [Fīgh] no. 1211), a Turkish prose translation of his brother's Arabic *Maḥabib* (H. Kh. no. 1246), completed in Muh. 555 (Feb. 1451); this book, a standard mystical work (contents described by Hammer in *S. B. Ak. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, iii, 129 ff.), has enjoyed great popularity, 12 printed editions being recorded in Felmi Karatay's *Is. Ün. Kit. Türkile Basmaları*, 1956; (2) *Durr-i Mahnān* (H. Kh. no. 4873), a cosmographical work written to display God's power and also based on the *Maghāzib al-Zamīn*; (3) *Āḡāz al-Maḥabib* (H. Kh. no. 8070), an abridgement of Kazwīnī's work (cf. Rieu, *CTM*, no. 606) made in 857/1453 (edition: Kazan, 1888). Numerous MSS of these three works exist. (4) *Munāṭiq*, a 'Summa' of faith and practice, with interpretations of Koranic texts, stories of the prophets, sayings of holy men, etc. (MS in St. Petersburg, *Lib. (Khāshī) EC*, Ty 3324), composed at Gelbaha in 870/1465-6 (cf. av.). All his books are written in a simple didactic style and a tone of humble and sincere piety.

The still popular *Āhmadiyya*, sometimes attributed to Ahmed Bidjān, is in fact the work of Ahmed Mūrshīd (for whom see 'OM', I, 33).

*Biddi-nagāz* 87: *Lahurī*, 51; *Shāh al-Dīn*, ii, 460; '*Āli*, *Kāsh*, v, 237; *Shāh al-Madīnī*, 128; *Hammer-Purcell*, i, 497, 501; idem, *GOD*, I, 127 ff.; Rieu, *CTM*, 27b, 105b, 106a and references there given; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 385 ff.; 'OM', I,

16 and 194-6; *ET*, arts. *BIDJĀN* (unsigned, = Ahmed Bican in *IA*) and *Yazīd al-Oguzi* (Fr. Babinger); Fr. Taeschner, *Die geog. Lit. der Osmanen*, in *ZDMG* 73 (1923), 36 ff.; E. Rosi, *Elenco dei Manoscritti Turchi della Bibl. Vaticana*, 1935, and references to other catalogues there given. (V. L. MENAGE)

**BIDJANAGAR** (see VIDJAYANAGARA).

**BIDJĀPŪR**, town and head-quarters of the district of the same name in Bombay State (India), situated in 16° 49' N. and 75° 43' E., 350 miles south of Bombay. Population in 1951 was 65,734. It was the seat of the Yadavā kings for over a century from 586/1190 to 604/1204 when it was conquered by 'Alī' al-Dīn Khwājā for his uncle Dīlāl al-Dīn Khwājā [q.v.], king of Delhi. In 809/1485-6 Yūsuf, an alleged son of the Ottoman Sultān, Murād II who, on the accession of his brother Mehmed II to the throne, was said to have escaped certain death through a stratagem of his mother, founded the Muslim kingdom of Bidjāpūr and built the citadel. This story seems to be unknown to the Ottoman historians (cf. Khālī Edhem, *Duval-i Islāmīyye*, 495); the Ottoman historian Munaḥḥim Baḡhī, who includes an account of the 'Alīd-shāhs in his *Dīnā* al-Duval, describes Yūsuf as of Turcoman origin. For a discussion of this question see further Ismail Hikmet Ertaylan, *Adab al-Bidjāpūr*, Istanbul 1953, 2 ff. He also included it in his dominions. He assumed the title of 'Ādil Shāh' which became the royal surname and the dynasty came to be known as the 'Ādil Shāhs of Bidjāpūr. He was succeeded by three incapable or profligate rulers. In 965/1557 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh came to the throne; he built the city wall of Bidjāpūr, the Dīnā Masjīd, aqueducts and other public utility works. In 973/1565 the combined forces of Bidjāpūr, Ahmadnagar and Golconda defeated the Vijaynagar forces at the battle of Tālibāda. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh died in 987/1579 and was succeeded by his minor nephew Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh, under the regency of the famous Cānd Bīm. He died in 1036/1626 after an independent rule of 47 years and was succeeded by Muhammad 'Āli Shāh, during whose reign Bidjāpūr, the Mahratta capital, rose to power. His father Shāhājī Bhōslā was a petty officer of the Bidjāpūr Sultān. Having been bred and brought up on Bidjāpūr 'salt', Shivājī repaid the debt of gratitude by attacking Bidjāpūr territory and between 1056/1646-1058/1648 he seized many forts of importance. In 1067/1656-7 Awarangzib, while still a prince, attacked and besieged Bidjāpūr, but on hearing of the serious illness of Shāhājīdshāh had to lift the siege and leave for Agrā. Thirty years later (1097/1686) Awarangzib succeeded in subduing Bidjāpūr during the reign of Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh (1083/1672-1097/1686), the last of the 'Ādil Shāhs. Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh was imprisoned and allowed a pension by Awarangzib. He died in 1117/1699-1700. In 1100/1688 Bidjāpūr suffered a violent type of bubonic plague which claimed 150,000 persons, including Awarangzib's Mahāl, a queen of Awarangzib while Ghāzī al-Dīn Firūz Dīlāz, a high noble, lost an eye. Towards the close of his reign Awarangzib appointed his youngest son, Kām Bāghshā, to the government of Bidjāpūr. On Awarangzib's death Kām Bāghshā proclaimed himself Emperor at Bidjāpūr, assuming the title of *Shāh al-Dīn*. In 1137/1724 Bidjāpūr was included in the dominions of the Nizām of Haydarābād. It was, however, transferred to the Marāṭhās in 1174/1760 for a sum of 6,000,000 rupees. On the overthrow of the Pēshwā in 1234/1818

the British occupied Bidjāpūr and assigned it to the Rājā of Satārā in whose possession it remained till 1266/1849 when, on the lapse of the State, it formed part of British Indian territory. In 1284/1864 Bidjāpūr was made a separate district and in many of the old palaces were housed Government offices which were, however, later shifted elsewhere.

The 'Ādil Shāhs were great patrons of art and literature. Malik Jūmāl the poet and Zafarī, the celebrated author of the two Persian classics, *Sih Naṭr* and *Mīnā Basīr*, adorned for a considerable time the Court of Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh, himself a poet, who composed in Dakhān Urdu.

Bidjāpūr, apart from the plague epidemic of 1100/1688 also suffered from two terrible famines. The first occurred in 1120/1718 and continued for six long years decimating the population of the city. It is still remembered as the Skull Famine, the ground being covered with the skulls of the unburied dead. The second occurred in 1234/1818-19 reducing the once flourishing city to a mere township, of a few thousand souls, which has since then remained a city of desolate palaces and historical ruins. Other periods of severe distress were those of 1240/1824-5, 1248/1832-3, 1270/1853-4, 1286/1863-4 and 1283/1866-7.

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**Monuments.**—The 'Ādil Shāhs developed the building art above all others, and their architecture is the most satisfactory of all the Deccan styles, both structurally and aesthetically; hence their capital, Bidjāpūr shows a more profuse display of excellent and significant buildings than any other city in India except Delhi alone. The Bidjāpūr style is coherent within itself, and there is a gradual progression between its two main phases. Most worthy of note are the doming system with its striking treatment of pendentives; profuse employment of minarets and *guldastas* as ornamental features, especially in the earlier phase; elaborate eaves; reliance on mortar of great strength and durability. The materials employed are either rubble-and-plaster or masonry; the stone used in masonry work is local, a very brittle trap. There is evidence to show that architects were imported from North India, and that use was freely made of local Hindu craftsmanship.

Pre-'Ādil Shāhi works are few: the rough *mināra*, (Ar. *masjid*) with wooden galleries, in the walling of the Makka Masjīd; Kāshū al-Dīn's mosque, inscribed 720/1210, from pillars of old Hindī temples, trabeate, with elevated central portion as clerestory, recalling

the mosques of Godjārāt [q.v.]; the Bahmāni *masjid* Khwājā Dīshāh's mosque, c. 890/1485, similar but without clerestory.

No 'Ādil Shāhi building can be certainly assigned to the reign of Yūsuf. The earliest dated structure, referred to as Yūsuf's Dīnā Masjīd, strikingly foreshadows the style to come with single hemispherical dome on tall circular drums with the base surrounded by a ring of vertical foliations so that the whole dome resembles a bud surrounded by petals, and façade arches struck from two centres, the curves stopping some way from the crown and

converging to the apex by tangents to the curve; inscr. 918/1512-3 records erection by Khwājā Sanbal in the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh Bahmāni, indicating that Bahmāni suzerainty was still acknowledged some time after the 'Ādil Shāhi defection. Of Ibrahim's reign are also the massive Dakhnī 'Idgāh (within the present city walls) and several small mosques, on one of which (Iḥlās Khān) the arch spandrels are filled with medallions supported by a bracket-shaped device, later a very common ornament. Only one mosque of this period (Ibrahīmīyā, 922/1526) is dated.

The long reign of 'Āli saw much building activity: the city walls, uneven in quality since each noble was responsible for a section, completed 973/1555, with five main gates flanked by bastions and machicolated, approached by drawbridges across a moat, beyond which is a revetted counterscarp and covert way (many bastions modified to take heavy guns; inscriptions of Muhammad and 'Āli II); Gagan ("sky") Mahāl, an assembly hall with much work in carved wood; a mosque in memory of sayyid 'Āli Shāhid Iṭr, small (10.8 m. square) but superbly decorated with cut-plaster, with a steep wagon-vaulted roof parallel to the façade, a tall narrow chimney-like vault over the *mihrāb* which has a door leading outside; the Shāhīyā suburb; outside Bidjāpūr, the forts of Shāhadrang (966/1581), Dhārwar (973/1567), Shāhānūr and Bānkpur (981/1573); 'Āli's own severely plain tomb; and his Dīnā Masjīd, generally ascribed to 985/1576, a fine large (137.2 by 82.5 m.) building, not fully completed (only buttresses where tall *mihrābs* were to be added, no *hauz* or *chahār-faḥs*), partially ornamented (only the central arch of seven in the *hīnā* façade is cusped and decorated with medallion-and-bracket spandrels), with the great hemispherical dome, standing on a square triforium, capped by the crescent, a symbol used by the 'Ādil Shāhs alone among the Dakhnī dynasties. The cornice is an improvement on earlier works by showing deeper brackets over each pier instead of a row of uniform size. The vaulting system of the dome depends on cross-arching; two intersecting squares of arches run across the hall between the piers under the dome, meeting to form an octagonal space over which the dome rests; the pendentives thus overhang the hall and counteract any side-thrust of the dome. The exterior walls are relieved by a ground floor course of blind arches over which is a loggia of open arches.

In Ibrahim II's reign fine sculptured stonework replaces the earlier rubble-and-plaster. The palace complex dates from about 990/1582 (Sāt Maḥal, 'Granary', Cind Mahāl); the first building in elaborate sculptured stone is Malikā Dīshāh's mosque (994/1586-7), which introduces a new shape by the dome forming three quarters of a sphere above its band of foliation. The Bāghīrī mosque and three others on the Shāhīyā suburb are very similar, and fine



stonework occurs also in perhaps the greatest work of the 'Ādil Shāhīs, the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm II and his family known as the Ibrāhīm Rawḍa: within a garden enclosure 137.2 m. square stand a tomb and mosque on a common plinth; the tomb (shown by inscriptions to have been intended for the queen Tājī Sultāna only) has uneven spacing of the columns and other features, and the cenotaph chamber is covered with geometric and calligraphic designs, reputedly the entire text of the Qur'ān. The mosque columns are regular. The whole composition is in perfect balance and was minutely planned before building. An inscription gives the date of completion, by *ahjād*, as 1036/1626. Palaces of this reign include the Ānād Mahall, built for entertainments (*Basā'it al-Salāṭin*), and the Aḡār Mahall (1000/1591) with fine painted wood decoration including some fresco figure-paintings thought to be the work of Italian artists. The Ānād ("egg") Masjid, 1017/1608, has the mosque (presumably for the use of women) on the upper storey, with a *sarīf* below; the masonry is polished and finely jointed, and above is a ribbed dome. In 1008/1599 Ibrāhīm proposed moving his seat of government some 5 km. west of Bidjāpur where the water supply was better; but the new town, Nawraspur, was sacked in 1031/1622, before its completion, by Malik 'Anbar, and little remains. Other work includes the mosque known as the Naw Gumbadh, the only Bidjāpur building with multiple domes; the fine but incomplete mausoleum of the brother *pirs* Hamid and Latīf Allāh Kādir (ob. 1011/1602, 1021/1612); and, the supreme example of the later work of this reign, the Mīhārī Mahall, near a gateway to the inner courtyard of a mosque in the city, with a narrow facade based on a vertical double square, richly covered with stone diaper patterns and with a balcony supported by long struts of carved stone, their decoration resembling, and really more appropriate to, woodwork patterns; fine paneled ceilings within; superb cornices and elaborate *minars* outside, all richly carved.

Works of Muhammad's reign are of uncertain chronology owing to lack of inscriptions and historical records. Muṣṭafā Khān's mosque is plain with a facade in which the central arch is much wider than the flanking ones, following the pattern of many of the older palaces; his Sarāṭ (finc. 1050/1640-51) a Mahall at 'Aynāpur; tombs of the *naẓir* Nawīz Khān (ob. 1058/1647) and of several *pirs* showing a decadence in style with a second storey and dome too attenuated for the size of the buildings; Afdal Khān's mausoleum and mosque, where the second storey is of insufficient height—the mosque being the only two-storeyed one in Bidjāpur, the upper *livās* being the duplicate of the lower except for the absence of a *minbar*, hence presumably for Afdal Khān's *sunnia*, 63 members of which have their reputed graves 1 km. to the south: finc. mausoleum 1064/1653; and the major building work, one of the supreme structural triumphs of Muslim building anywhere, Muḥammad's own mausoleum, the Gol Gumbadh. The tomb building, standing within a mausoleum complex, is formally simple: a hemispherical dome, of 43.9 m. external diameter, is supported on an almost cubical mass 47.4 m. square (external), with a staged octagonal tower at each angle. The floor area covered, about 1693 sq. m., is the largest in the world covered by a single dome. External decoration is simple, confined to the great cornice 3.5 m. wide supported by four courses of brackets, the openings on the pagoda-like corner

turrets, and the merlons and *minars* of the skyline. The dome is supported internally by arches in intersecting quadrates as in the Dījānī Masjid; inscription over the S. door gives the date of Muḥammad's death by *ahjād* as 1067/1656 at which time work on the building presumably stopped, the plastering being incomplete. Unfinished also is the tomb of his queen Dījānī Rēgām at 'Aynāpur: foundations, piers and octagonal turrets to the identical scale of the Gol Gumbadh, but the dome was intended to be covered by a central chamber. Of 'Alī II's reign the pavilion called Pān Mahall on the citadel wall, and the Makka Masjid, both with fine masonry and exquisite surface carving; the tomb-complex of Yākūt Dīlāwī, unusual by having the mosque larger than the tomb; and 'Alī's own unfinished mausoleum, with arches struck from four centres instead of the usual Bidjāpur arch. Later buildings are insignificant, except for Awrang-zib's eastern gate to the Dījānī Masjid; the tomb of the last monarch, the minor Sikandar, closes the 'Ādil Shāhī effort with a simple grave in the open air.

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**BIDJĀVA** (Bougie), maritime Algerian town situated about 175 km. east of Algiers. Built on the lowest slopes of the Djabal Guriya, the city overlooks a spacious and remarkably sheltered bay. Doubtless Roman and Carthaginian shipping anchored off Saldæ, the old town. At the beginning of the Christian era, it formed part of the domain of Juba, king of Cherchel. The emperor Augustus founded a colony there and settled it with veterans. An inscription dating from the second century extols Saldæ as "civitas splendidissima". Nevertheless, it played no significant part until the Muslim era. In the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī refers to it as a very ancient city, a pleasant winter resort, populated with Andalusians. From this period, the Spanish Muslims were strongly represented side by side with the Berber element, the Bidjāva tribe, to which the town owes its name.

The event which made Bougie historically famous took place in 460/1067. The facts are briefly as follows. The mid-5th/11th century witnessed the rupture between the Zirids of al-Kayrawān and the Fatīmid Caliph of Cairo, and the reprisals which followed: the Hilalian invasion, the arrival of nomad Arabs sent from Egypt to take possession of the rebel kingdom. These reprisals were terrible. The nomads pillaged the countryside of Irīkiya. The sacked inland towns were partly evacuated. The kingdom of the Hammāuids first took advantage of this free-for-all. The end of the eleventh century was the

golden era of their Kal'a. At the same time the Arabs were not slow to spread westward and offered a serious menace to the Kal'a of the Banū Hammād. These decided to look about for a less exposed capital. Just as the Zirids had left al-Kayrawān and betaken themselves to the maritime town of Mahdiyya, the masters of the Kal'a withdrew to the coast. In 1067, the Hammāuid al-Nāsir occupied the land of the Bidjāva and set up his capital at Bougie which he wished to call al-Nāsiiriyya. Though he continued to spend part of his time at the Kal'a, he gave priority to the expansion of his new capital, put himself out to attract settlers and built there the splendid Castle of the Pearl (*Kasr al-Lā'la*). The son of al-Nāsir, al-Manṣūr (485-498/1090-1104) left the Kal'a (which, however, he had embellished with new buildings) in his turn. He abandoned the Kal'a permanently and installed himself in Bougie with his troops and his court. Here he built the great mosque, planted gardens and erected the palace of Anīmūs and the Sta (*Kasr al-Kaḥab*) and supplied the city with water, carried by aqueduct from the Djabal Tudja. The town is reputed to have been divided into twenty-one quarters and to have contained seventy-two mosques. Doubtless this is something of an exaggeration but it is certain that the first half of the 6th/12th century was the golden age of Bougie. The second capital of the Hammāuids had inherited from the first. It had welcomed the intellectual *élite*, the wealthy bourgeoisie, the sages and artists of the fallen Kal'a. Life in Bougie was easy and free from austerity. The luxurious costume worn by the citizens, from the studied elegance of their turbans to their shoes, tied on with gilded ribbons, shocked Ibn Tūmāt, the future founder of the Almohad sect, who, about 1118, spent some time in Bougie and made an attempt to reform the manners and customs of the town. Like this visit of Ibn Tūmāt, that of the great Andalusian mystic Sīdī Bū Madyan and his teaching during that stay is sufficient to indicate the importance of Bougie as a centre of religious studies.

Through the nearest of Bougie, commercial and cultural relations were established with countries overseas, so that it became the centre from which the civilisation and art of eastern Barbary radiated outwards to Christian Europe, especially Sicily and Italy.

For al-Idrīsī, geographer to King Roger II, Bougie was "the chief city, the core of the Hammāuid state". There is every reason to believe that the royal residences of Palermo were inspired by the Palaces of Bougie, which were so enthusiastically described by the Sicilian poet, Ibn Hāmid. There is also the letter, most cordial in tone, written by Pope Gregory VII to al-Nāsir, "King of Mauretania and the Province of Setif" (Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 22-23).

Very little remains in Bougie of its past as a capital city. We can, however, identify with some certainty the sites of the palaces built by the Hammāuids. The castle of Anīmūs must have stood not far from the tomb of Sīdī Tuṣṭi; Fort Barral has supplanted the Palace of the Star. The Castle of the Pearl stood on the site of the Berber barracks. Some of the remains of the city walls (the eastern face, where the wall, four metres thick, is flanked by looped towers) can be attributed to the twelfth century rulers, as can the gate known as the Saracen Gate, that great arch through which ships could enter the inner harbour.

The city of the Hammāuids must have been

appreciably more spread out than the modern town, especially in the hilly section where the Plateau of the Ruins is situated. The names of seven or eight gates have come down to us. Some of these can be located: Bab Andarān to the east, on the road leading to the Valley of Monkeys, Bab al-Bunūd, on the site of the Fouka Gate, Bab al-Law, in the same position, but lower down than the Bab al-Bunūd. Outside the town, on both banks of the Soummam, stretched the famous gardens, planted in the twelfth century and restored in the thirteenth, the Baḥrī, on the west bank, the Kaḥf on the east.

In 546/1152, Bougie was captured by 'Abd al-Mu'min and the last of the Hammāuids set sail for Sicily. The ancient royal city became the chief town of an Almohad province subordinate to Marrākeḥ. Its downfall must have been painfully felt by its citizens. It is believed that the Almohads failed to win their affection, and one is tempted to attribute to this unpopularity of the new masters the choice of Bougie by the Banū Ghāniya, who landed there in the middle of the twelfth century in an attempt to restore the empire of the Almoravids.

Bougie was for the Banū Ghāniya merely an operational base. The Almohads were not slow to reconquer it and it remained under their rule thereafter until the collapse of the Mu'minid dynasty. From that time, Bougie and the region surrounding it became part of the kingdom of the Hafsids of Tunis. The remote position of this province seems to explain its rôle in Barbary from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. This governorship, far from the capital, would have been bestowed by tradition on the heir to the throne, and, in spite of the distance, the army of Bougie on more than one occasion marched to Tunis to press the claims of a Crown Prince anxious to succeed to the throne without further delay. By virtue of its position as a frontier province, Bougie was coveted by the 'Abd al-Wāhid sultans of Tlemcen, who attempted several times, though without success, to conquer it.

At the same time, Bougie remained an opulent mercantile town, into which Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, Marseillais and Catalans imported merchandise made in Europe and from which they exported local products, especially candied peel, wax, alum, lead and raisins. Meanwhile to the profits of trading were added the sometimes richer prizes of privatising. According to a famous work by Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berbères*, I, 619, trans. iii, 1127), piracy from the year 760/1360 was carried out according to a well-tried method and with remarkable success.

The attack on the town and its capture by Pedro of Navarre in 910/1510 were entirely in the nature of reprisals. Bougie, now a Spanish town, remained so until 962/1555. During those forty-five years, its new masters went through hard times, encamped on the seaboard of the land of the infidels without normal contact with the hinterland, threatened by the Berber mountain tribes and at the same time dreading the Barbary Corsairs who were blockading the coast. After a heroic stand, Don Luis de Peraltá had to surrender the area, which had become terribly impoverished.

Bougie, subjected to the mistrustful authority of the Algerian Turks who kept in their own hands the practice and profits of privatising, was unable to recover from this decline. The region retained some little importance by virtue of the *barasia*, the exploitation of timber for ship-building, which the masters of the Regency had supervised by



a local religious chieftain of the Amokrân family. But the town profited little from this activity. 'Ja Bongie', wrote the traveller Peyssonnel, "everything is falling into ruins, for the Turks keep nothing in repair". In 1833, when the French troops, commanded by General Trezel, entered the town, it was nothing more than a rather sorry city of barely two thousand inhabitants guarded by a hundred and fifty janissaries.

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(G. MARÇAIS)

**BIDJNAWR** (Bijonaw), a town and district in the Koblkhând division of the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh. The district has an area of 1,867 square miles with a population of 984,196, of which 36% are Muslims. The town has a population of 36,646 (1951 Census). Little is known of the district's early history. In 1399 it was ravaged by Timur. Under Albar it formed part of the *sarkâr* of Sambhal in the *sûba* of Dhili. During the decline of Mughal power it was overrun by Rohillas under 'Alî Muhammad. It contains the town of Nağhlâbâd founded about 1750 by Nağhlî al-Dawla who became *wâlî* of Dhili and whose son was the Rohilla leader Zabîta Khân. After the defeat of the Rohillas in 1774 Bidjawn was incorporated in Awadh. It was ceded to the British in 1801. During the 1857 insurrection Mahand Khân, a grandson of Zabîta Khân, was one of the most formidable opponents of the British.

**Bibliography:** H. R. Nevill, *Dijnor Gazetteer*, Allahâbâd 1908.

**BIDLIS** (Bitlis), chief city of the *wilâyet* of the same name, in eastern Anatolia. It stands on the river Bitlis, 25 km. south-west of the westernmost point of lake Van (38° 20' N., 42° 5' E.), at a height above sea-level variously estimated between 1,400 and 1,585 metres. Known to the Armenians as Bazesh (Paigish) and to the Arabs as Badlis, it is referred to as Bidlis in old Turkish works. The city is in a relatively wide part of the deep and narrow valley cut in the eastern Taurus by the river Bitlis before it descends to the upper *Djâzira*. The narrow and straggling streets, with their stone-built, earthen-roofed houses, are ranged one above the other from the valley floor, covered with poplar and fruit-trees, to the bare slopes of the hills. The quarters of the city are separated one from another by the main valley and its intersections, crossed by stone bridges. Although the picturesque aspect of the city has always been admired by travellers, its location gives it a harsh climate: summer days are excessively hot, winter is rigorous and long, with heavy snowfalls. Rainfall is also heavy (about

7 metres annually), particularly in spring, whereas drought is common in summer.

The valley in which Bidlis stands affords the only route across the Taurus from the Van basin to the plateau of Diyarbakr and the plains of the *Djâzira*. By this road, from time immemorial, caravans have made their way from the south to Erzurum and thence to the Black Sea; this was the route taken by Xenophon and his Ten Thousand. Throughout history the rulers of Bitlis lived toll on passing travellers and took care to maintain control of the plain of Mush, which supplied the food they could not find in their own barren mountains.

When and by whom the city was founded is not known. An ancient legend tells that it was Alexander the Great who entrusted to one of his commanders, a man called Lis, the task of building here an impregnable citadel. When the building was finished, Lis refused Alexander admission. Alexander besieged the citadel but failed to force an entrance. Lis then explained to him how he had carried out his orders to the letter. He was pardoned, and the city commemorates his name. The city played an important part in Armenian history, and is frequently mentioned in the old Armenian histories (Georg. *op. cit.*, Cairo, Leipzig 1890, 168), which are however silent about the date of its conquest by the Muslims, recording only that the region of Daron (Mush) was taken by them in 641. Streck (*EP*, s.v. Bidlis) mentions Arabic inscriptions on the walls of the citadel, but according to Lynch these were destroyed without ever being copied. Muslim historians relate that 'Iyâd b. Ghannî, 'Umar's commander in the *Djâzira*, after securing the surrender of Arzan went on to Bitlis and thence to Ahlâlât (Ahlât). The Patriarch of Ahlat accepted peace terms, and on 'Iyâd's return the Patriarch of Bitlis agreed to pay tribute on the same scale as Ahlat (al-Balâdhuri, *Futûk*, Cairo 1901, 184; al-Wâkidi, *K. al-futûk*, Cairo 1902, II, 152-154). It was not long however before the region reverted to Byzantine rule. Mu'âwîya subjugated it again, but after his death it was once more lost to the Muslims till the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, whose brother Muhammad attached it to the province of al-*Djâzira*. In the 'Abbasid period it fell under the successive Shaykhîd, Hasnîd and Marwânî dynasties of Diyarbakr. In the time of the two last-named dynasties, when Byzantium recovered the Euphrates basin, the Armenian King of Vaspourkan (Basrgirgan, the Van basin) threw off Muslim sovereignty and gave his allegiance to Constantinople, whereupon Bitlis, like Ahlat, became a frontier-city. The Muslim onslaught brought some branches of the tribes of Bakr b. Wa'il and Taghlîb to the region, and under Marwânî rule various Kurdish tribes spread over these parts, notably the Hunayyîd, to which the Marwânîds belonged. Nâsirî Khusrâw, who visited the region in 1046, the year before the great Turkish invasion, states (*Sajâr-nâma*, Berlin 1841, 8 foll.) that Arabic, Persian and Armenian were spoken at Ahlat, and we may suppose that the same situation obtained at Bitlis. Fajîr al-Dawla Muhammad b. Bîzârî, whom the Saljûqîds appointed to govern Diyarbakr in 1084, destroyed Marwânî rule and distributed their lands and fortresses to Turks. Bitlis was given to Muhammad b. Dîlmâc or Dîlmâc, whose descendants continued to rule it until 588/1192, when it was seized by the amir of Ahlat. In 1207 both cities fell to the Ayyûbîds, who settled large numbers of Kurds in the region. Though Ahlat was devastated by Jalâl al-Dîn Rûk'azimshâh in 1229, the cities

of Van and Bitlis began a period of prosperity. Bitlis in particular becoming an important centre of learning until the Mongol invasion. After the fall of the Hhânîds, the Kuzekî tribe of Kurds established a dynasty at Bitlis, which managed to maintain itself, despite many vicissitudes, till the mid-19th century, having acknowledged in its time the suzerainty of Timurîds, Kara Koyunlus, Ak Koyunlus, Safawîds and Ottomans. Sharaf Khân, a 16th-century member of this house (whose *Sharaf-nâma*, completed in 1570, is a principal source for Kurdish history) claimed descent from the Ayyûbîds, while his grandson 'Abdâl ('Abd Allîsh) Khân told Ewliyâ Celebi that he was descended from the 'Abbasîds. Ewliyâ's visit was in 1655. His observations include the following. The *bidî* exacted from caravans passing through the city went to the Khân. The *sharâf* of the plain of Mush had been bestowed by Murâd IV on the Khân for life; out of it he paid the warden and garrison of the citadel. On the other hand, the *diyar* paid by the Jacobite and Arab *ra'îs* of the city was reserved to the *hâl* (administrative division) of Van, and was collected by an *agha* who came from Van at the beginning of every year. Some 700 tribes were subject to the Khân. Within the citadel houses were 100 houses, but half the area was covered by the ruler's palace. In the 17 city-quarters were 5,000 houses. In the environs were thousands of orchards, all containing summer-houses. Of the mosques, with a total of 110 *madrâssas*, the most important was the *Sharafîyya*, built by Sharaf Khân, Tavernier, whose visit was at the same period, writes that the Bey of Bitlis recognised neither Shîh nor Pîshîgh, and could not raise in the field a force of 20-25,000 cavalry. At that time the population was largely Kurdish and Armenian. The *Dîkhînnâmî* states that the latter were in the majority. According to the Jesuits who visited the city in 1683, the nominal vassalage of the Bey to the Ottomans was preserved only in that he sent them tribute on his accession. (Fleuriot, *État présent de l'Arménie*, Paris 1694). The power of the Kurdish princes was not broken by the Turks till 1847, though the city remained a Kurdish political and religious (Nakshbandî) centre during the turbulences of the 19th century.

On the establishment of full Ottoman sovereignty, Bitlis formed a *hadd* belonging to the *sandjak* of Mush within the great *wilâyet* of Erzurum, but after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 it was made into a *wilâyet* to emphasise the dependence of the region on the central government. The area of the *wilâyet*, which was divided into 4 *sandjaks*—Bitlis, Sirt, Mush and Genç—was almost 30,000 square kms., with an estimated population of 400,000. According to Cuinet, the central *sandjak*, with an area of 5,500 square kms., had a population of some 108,000: 29,000 Moslems, 13,000 Armenians, 4,000 Syrian Jacobites and 1,000 Yazîdîs. The *silâsname* for the year 1310/1892-93 shows the population of this *sandjak* as 77,000: 46,000 Muslims, the remainder Armenian. Lynch, who quotes this total, says it ought to be increased by 15 per cent to compensate for deficiencies in the registration. For the population of the city itself in the 19th century no reliable figures exist. Lynch estimated it at 20,000 at the time of his visit (1898): 20,000 Armenians, 200 Syrians, the rest Kurds. A Russian source of the beginning of the 20th century gives the number of houses in the city as 5,100: 550 belonging to Turks, 3,000 to Kurds, 1,500 to Armenians.

The staple industry of Bitlis in the 19th century

was weaving, with its ancillary craft of dyeing. Other exports of the city and the surrounding country included gallnuts, gum tragacanth, madder, tobacco, honey and livestock.

Till the troubles of the end of the 19th century, Turks, Kurds, Armenians and Jacobites had lived side by side in Bitlis. The Jesuits who founded a mission there in 1683 had been well received by the Bey. In the 18th century an Italian priest, Maurizio Garzoni, lived and worked among the Kurds for 15 years. An American Protestant mission was founded in 1858. The insurrection of the Armenians, the measures taken to suppress it, and the Russian occupation during the First World War all contributed to a grave reduction in the population and to the disappearance of industry. The population of the city in 1927 was 9,050, in 1930 11,452.

Early in the Republican period each of the 4 *sandjaks* comprising Bitlis *wilâyet* became a separate *wilâyet*. In 1929 Bitlis was attached as a *hadd* to the *wilâyet* of Mush, nearly 70 per cent of the population of which were Kurds according to the 1935 census. Bitlis was restored to *wilâyet* status in 1936, and is now divided into 5 *hadd*'s: Bitlis, Tatvan, Ahlat, Mutlî and Hizan, with an area of 5,482 square kms. and a population (1950) of 98,422.

**Bibliography:** H. F. B. Lynch, *Arménie, Travels and Studies* 1890, London 1907, II, 145-59; Ewliyâ Celebi, *Seyahatnâme* (ed. Ahmed Djewdet), iv, 85 L.; Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1676, I, 5, 303; Hadjîdî Khallîl, *Dîkhînnâmî*, (ed. Ibrahim Mutafrîkî), 413; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, II, 521 L.; Sâlimînnâmî *wilâyet* Bitlis, 1310 (first issue); *Genel nüfus sayımı*, 20. X. 1925, Vol. xlv, *Mus wilâyeti*. See also the two articles s.v. Bitlis in *JA*, by Besim Darkot and Mûhrîm Halîl Yınarc, of which the present article is a shortened conflation.

(G. L. LEWIS)

**BIDLIS**, texts, Meslânî Hâkîm al-Dîn Idrîs b. Meslânî Hâkîm al-Dîn 'Alî al-Bidlîsî, historian of the Ottomans, was probably of Kurdish origin. He became *nîshân* at the Ak Koyunlu court, and in the name of Ya'qûb Beg wrote a letter of congratulation to Bâyezîd II in 800/1485 which was much admired (Hammer-Purgstall, II, 290). In consequence of the growing power of Shâh Ismâ'il he fled to Turkey in 907/1501-2, where he was welcomed by Bâyezîd and commissioned to write the history of the Ottoman House in Persian. His work was criticised as being over-lenient to the Persians, and he failed to receive the payments he had been promised. He asked for permission to go on the Pilgrimage, but this was granted only after the death of the Grand Vizier Khâldûn 'Alî Paşa (who seems to have been his chief enemy) in 918/1512. From Mecca he wrote to the Ottoman court a letter in which he threatened that if his wrongs were not righted he would expose in the *shîdhî* and *khâtîme* of his history (which were not yet written) the ingratitude shown to him. Selîm I invited him back to Istanbul shortly after his accession and the completed history was presented to him. Idrîs accompanied Selîm on the Chaldîran campaign of 920/1514, and afterwards rendered invaluable service to the Ottomans by winning over the Sunni Kurdish princes to their side; the *fermân* quoted by Sa'd al-Dîn (II, 322) shows that he was given a free hand in organising the Kurdish territories. He also accompanied Selîm to Egypt, where he is said to have protested against the misdeeds of the Ottoman officials (Hammer-Purgstall, II, 518).



He died in Istanbul, soon after Selim, in Dhū l-Hiǧǧa 926/Nov.-Dec. 1520, and was buried at Eyyüb beside the mosque founded by his wife, Zeyneb Khātun.

His great history, the *Haǧḡ Bidāǧ* [Hādǧǧī Khālifa, ed. Flügel, no. 2737, and cf. nos. 2732 and 14406], the 'Eight Paradises', i.e. the reigns of the eight sultans from 'Oḡmān to Bāyezīd II, is written in the most elaborate style of Persian *inshā*, avowedly on the models of the histories of Djuwaynī, Wāsiḡ, Mo'in al-Dīn Yaḡdī and Šaraf al-Dīn Yaḡdī. Though it was highly esteemed both by Sa'd al-Dīn, who frequently refers to it (cf. especially I 129), and by Hammer-Purgstall (cf. I XXXIV), it is still unpublished. It was begun in 905/1502-3 and finished in thirty months; the last political event described in detail is the relief of Midill in 907, but the latest date recorded is 912. The long *Khātme*, entirely in verse, which was written in Mecca (cf. Rieu, *CPM* 2192), describes the civil war at the end of Bāyezīd's reign; it concludes with a *Shāh-nāme*, in which Idrīs relates his misfortunes.

A continuation (*dhāw*) to Idrīs's history, covering the reign of Selīm I, was written by his son Abū l-Faḍl (on whom see Babinger, 95 ff.). A Turkish translation of the *Haǧḡ Bidāǧ* was made by a certain 'Abd al-Bāǧī Sa'dī in 1140/1733-4 at the command of Mahmūd I; it is not altogether reliable (cf. M. Sükrü in *Isl. XIX* [1917] 128). The history of Kemal Pašhaḡāde [g.o.], sometimes referred to as a 'translation' of the *Haǧḡ Bidāǧ*, was written as a *nāṣir* to it, but is an entirely independent work.

Idrīs also wrote a *Selīm-nāme* in prose and verse, which was left unfinished at his death and edited later by Abū l-Faḍl (a quite distinct work from Abū l-Faḍl's *dhāw*, cf. F. Taubert in *Arch. IV* [1932] 101). He was a poet and a calligrapher (cf. Mustakim-zāde, *Tuḡḡat-ı Khāḡḡīn*, 1st. 1928, 110), and wrote a number of treatises on various subjects including: (1) *al-Iḡā' 'an maṣālik l-'aḡāḡ* (H.Kh. no. 5930 (?) and 6218), Brockelmann II 302 and cf. S II 325; (2) two Persian translations of the 'Forty Hadīḡs' (H.Kh. no. 7507, and cf. A. Karahan, *Islām-Türk Edebiyatında Kerk Hadis*, Istanbul 1954, 111-3); (3) a *ḡarḡ* to the *Faṣṡḡ al-ḡurūm* (H.Kh. no. 9973); (4) a *ḡarḡ* to Šahabastār's *ḡulḡān* (H.Kh. no. 10839); (5) a *ḡarḡ*, entitled *ḡarḡ al-Mabīn*, to Šahabastār's *ḡarḡ al-Yahīn*; (6) a *ḡarḡ* to the *Khāmariyye* of Ibn al-Fārid (Dr. S I 464); (7) *Risāla l-'aṣāṣ* (Dr. S II 325); (8) a *ḡarḡ* to Bayḡāw's *Taḡrīf* (cf. Rieu, *CPM* 2190); (9) a Persian translation of 'Dāniš's *Bayān al-Havāṣī* (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, II, 578 and 'Oḡmānīl *Muḡḡīlār* III 7, where an autograph MS is recorded). Bursalī Meḡmed Ṭābir also records five other works, which he had presumably seen.

**Bibliography:** Babinger, 45 ff. and the references there given, especially Rieu, *CPM*, 216-9; Hammer-Purgstall, II, 432 ff., for Idrīs's activities in Kurdistan (mainly following Abū l-Faḍl's *dhāw*); Scherf-nāme, ed. Vellaniinof-Zernof 342 ff. = Charnoy's translation II/ 208 ff. (where however the *Haǧḡ Bidāǧ*, perhaps through confusion with the *Selīm-nāme*, is described as a poem of 80,000 verses: this error was reproduced by C. Huart in the article *Bidlist* in *Et' = Idrīs Bidlist* in *Isl.*; M. Sükrü, *Das Heḡl Dikḡl des Idrīs Bidlist* in *Isl. XIX* [1917] 127 (survey of the MSS in Istanbul, including autographs dated 919, and analysis of contents to the death of Orḡḡān); Storey, II/2 412-6 (the latest and fullest survey of the MSS). A passage from 'Abd al-Bāǧī's trans-

lation is quoted by F. Babinger in *Isl. XI* (1921) 42 ff., and several passages of the Persian text are quoted by F. Giese in *Die Verschiedenen Textversionen des 'Aḡḡalāde*, Abh. Pr. Ak. W. 1936, Phil.-Hist. Kl. no. 4. Some passages from the *Selīm-nāme* are given in translation by H. Mas'ūd in *Selīm I' en Syrie, d'après le Selīm-nāme*, in *Mlanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, Paris 1939, II, 779-782. In the archives of the Topkapı Sarayı are preserved Idrīs's letter asking for permission to go on the Pilgrimage (E 3156) and the letter he sent from Mecca (E 5675, reproduced with Turkish synopsis by F. R. Unruh in *Bell. VII* [1943], 198). A letter sent by Idrīs to Süleymān I and Idrīs's seal are reproduced in L. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarih-i II*, Ankara 1949, Pl. xli.

**BIDLIST**, ŠHARAF AL-DIN KHAN, commonly known as SHARAF KHAN, Persian historian of Kurdish extraction, the elder brother of the Amir of Bidlis, Šhans al-Din Khan, born at Karadīn-nūr Kummā on 30 Dhū l-Hiǧǧa 940/c. February 1541, during the exile of his father. His family was taken under the protection of Šhāh Tahmāsp the Safawid (930-984/1524-1576), and he was brought up at the court of that ruler with the latter's children, and received his education there. At the age of twelve, he was raised to the rank of *amir* of the Kurds, and held this position for three years. In Zimāddā II 973/January 1568 he took part in campaigns in Gilān against the last prince of the Kiyānī dynasty, Khān Ahmad Khān (913-1020/1536-1611), who on several occasions rebelled against the Safawids. This campaign having ended with the capture of the prince, he returned to court, and Šhāh Ismā'īl II, on his accession to the throne in 984/1576, conferred upon him the governorship of the province of Naḡḡdīwān and Širwān, with the title of *amir al-umam* of the Kurds. At the time of the invasions of these regions by the Turks under Murād III in 986/1578, he joined the army of the victorious Khurav Pašha and in this way was placed on the throne of his ancestors at Bidlis. In 1005/1596-7, he abdicated in favour of his son Šhans al-Din Khan, and commenced the task of writing a history of the Kurds in Persia, under the title of *Šharaf-nāma*, a work in 15 chapters, the first of which are devoted to the Kurdish tribes and princes and the last (part 2) to the Persian and Turkish rulers of his time. This work was translated into Turkish first by Muḡammad Bey b. Ahmad Bey Mirzā in 1078/1667-8, and later by Šam'ān in 1095/1684 (autograph MS. in the Bodleian). The Persian text was published by Vellaniinof-Zernof (*Scherf-Nāme*, or history of the Kurds, by Scherif, prince of Bidlis, published, ... translated and annotated ... 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1860-2), and a reprint of the first part appeared in Cairo in 1931. F. B. Charnoy has translated it into French (*Cherel-Nāme* or history of the Kurdish nation, by Cherel-ouddine ... translated with a commentary ... 2 vols. 4 books), St. Petersburg 1868-75).

**Bibliography:** Wolkow, *Notice sur l'ouvrage persan intitulé Scherf Nāme*, in *J.A.*, VII (1826), 291-8; Vellaniinof-Zernof, *Scherf-Nāme*, I, 3 ff.; H. A. Barb, *Geschichtliche Skizze, v. SHAH, Wien, = Geschichte der Kurdischen Fürstentherrschaft*, 96 ff.; Idem, *Über die unter dem Namen 'Tarich d' Akkad' bekannte Kurdisch-Chronik von Scherif, SHAH, Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, vol. 2, Vienna 1853, 258-76; Idem, *Geschichtliche Skizze der 11 verschiedenen Kurdischen Fürstenthümer, SHAH, Wien*, vol. xxi, Vienna 1857, 328; Idem, *Geschichte*

*fünf Kurden-Dynastien, SHAH, Wien*, vol. xxviii, Vienna 1858, 3-54; Idem, *Geschichte von Weliern Kurden Dynastien, SHAH, Wien*, vol. xxvii, Vienna 1859; Idem, *Geschichte der Kurdischen Fürstentherrschaft in Bidlis, aus dem Scherf-nāme*, 4 vols., SHAH, Wien, vol. xxxii, Vienna 1859, 143-250; Morley, *A descriptive catalogue of the historical manuscripts in the Asiatic and Persian languages preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ... London 1854, 146-147; C. Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. 1, London 1879, 208-9; Storey, I, 366-9; Said Nāḡī, *Tārīḡḡ-i-yi Muḡḡḡāri-Abd al-Bāǧī-i Irān*, in *Sāli-nāma-yi Faris*, 1328 solar/1949, 36. (SAID NAGIY)

**BIDPAY** (SEE KALĪLA WA-DIMNĀ).

**BIGHA** (the Greek Βιγιά), a town in north-western Asia Minor and now the centre of a *kāḡā* in the province of Kaḡḡaz, is situated on the Koḡḡa Çay, i.e. the ancient Granicus, about 15 miles from the Sea of Marmara. At the mouth of the Koḡḡa Çay stands Kara Bigha (the Βιγιάς of classical times), which is the port ('isole') of Bigha. Bigha, under Ottoman rule, was at different times a *sandāḡ* of the *eyālet-i Bahar-ı Sefid* (the province of the Kapadın Paḡa or High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet), a *sandāḡ* of the *vilāyet* of Khōḡḡāwān (Brusa), and still later a *kāḡā* in the Mutasarrıflik of Bigha (the administrative centre of which was, however, not Bigha itself, but Kaḡ-ei Sultāniyye, i.e. Çankīl-Kaḡe). The town had in 1945 about 8150 inhabitants.

**Bibliography:** Hādǧǧī Khālifa, *Divān-nuḡā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 667; Ewliya Çelebi, *Seyḡah-nāme*, v. Istanbul A.H. 1315, 209-200; F. A. von Tschiedert, *Das Lebenwesen in den moslemischen Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, 711; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (SHAH, Wien, Phil.-Hist. Cl., Bd. 124), Wien 1891, 14 and 94; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegewetz nach nomadischen Quellen*, (*Türkische Ethnograph.*, Bd. 23), Leipzig 1926, I, 128, and II, 70; Ö. L. Barkan, *Kavimler*, 19-21 (*Rica Lügla Kanunu*, 1922/1517); V. Culnet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II, Paris 1894, 753 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, VII/2 (1912), s.v. Granikos, cols. 1814-1815; Sāmi, *Kāḡū al-'Aḡm*, II, Istanbul A.H. 1306, 1447; 'Alī Dījāwād, *Tārīḡḡ-e Dījāwārīyye Luḡḡat*, Istanbul A.H. 1313-1314, 224-225; *IA*, s.v. Bīga (Besim Darikot). (V. J. PARKY)

**BIGHA** (SEE MISRĀL).

**BIH'AFRĪD B. FARWARDĪN**, an Iranian religious apologist who, in the later period of Umayyad rule—about 129/747—set himself up as a new prophet at Khawāf in the district of Nāḡāpūr. He gathered about him a large following and was put to death by his disciples on the orders of Abū Muḡḡlīm in 177/794. Before this he is believed to have lived in China for seven years, and on his return, to have revealed himself to certain people as resurrected and descended from heaven. Legend also has it that he pretended to be dead and remained for a year in the tomb which he had had built for himself. Enunciating his doctrine in a Persian scripture and claiming that he was in essence a Zoroastrian, he nevertheless adopted certain practices and prohibitions which seem to be inspired by Islam. Among these were the prohibition of wine, animals not ritually bled, and consanguineous marriages, the abolition of the *zāṣṣ* [g.o.], the prescription of seven daily prayers to be offered up facing the sun, and obligatory almsgiving.

Doubtless, he intended by this compromise to give a new lease of life to his old religion. But Abū Muḡḡlīm, incited to turn against him by the Mōbāḡḡs who did not approve of this reform and realisation moreover the danger which this movement represented for the new converts, forced BIH'AFRĪD to rally to Islam and to support the 'Abḡḡād cause. As, in spite of this, the reformer continued his preaching, he was later executed. Adherents of his doctrine, awaiting the return to earth of their master, were still to be found in the 4th/10th century. **Bibliography:** Fihrist, II/4; Khwāzmi, *Mas-jāḡḡ al-'Uḡm*, ed. van Vloten, 81; Raḡḡḡāḡ, *Farḡ*, 347; Šahristānī, 187; Hīrōn, *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, 210; *Th'sāḡḡil, K. al-'Uḡḡar*, ap. M. Th. Houtsma, *WZKM*, III, 1889, 30-37; G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, Paris 1938, 211-131; S. Monaci, *Rend. Istit.* 1949, 474 ff.; B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 196. (D. SOURDIS)

**BIHĀR**, a province of India lying between 21° 48' and 27° 31' N., and 83° 20' and 88° 35' E., bounded by Uttar Pradesh on the west, Nepāl on the north, Bengal and East Pakistan on the east and Orissa on the south; area, with Chōṭā Nāḡpūr, 67,164 sq.m., population 38,784,000. The dialects of the predominantly Hindu population, Bihārī, Maithilī and Māḡāḡ, are referred to as BIHĀRĪ, and are more akin to Bengālī than to Hindi; the latter is, however, the official language of administration and education. The region is now of major economic importance on account of its coalfields and heavy iron industries.

Biḡār—which takes its name from the now unimportant town of Biḡār, surrounded by Buddhist monasteries (Sk. *vihāra*)—was in the British period from 1765 within the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, later joined administratively with the now independent Orissa (g.o.). This lack of independence reflects the position of the region—whose boundaries have only been formally defined in recent years—from the earliest days of Islamic supremacy in India, and its history is one of individual governors and towns rather than of dynasties and regions. Monghyr (Mungyr), for example, was taken during Iḡḡḡīyār al-Dīn Muḡammad b. Baḡḡḡīyār [Hādǧǧī]s raids on Biḡār in 590/1193 and held by him under the Delhi sultan Kutb al-Dīn Ayyab; it was annexed to Delhi by Muḡammad b. Tuḡḡḡāḡ in 726/1339, belonged to Dījāwarpur (Jaunpur) from 799/1397, reverted to Delhi when overrun by Sikandar Lōḡī in 892/1488, and was later held by the kings of Bengal before becoming subject to the Mughals. Parts of Biḡār did form a separate administrative unit in the 7th/13th century (Šhans al-Dīn Beḡmīsh established a governor in Biḡār in 622/1225); under Akbar in 991/1582 it formed a *sāba* of eight *sarkārs*, subordinate to the *sāba* of Bengal. The capital remained at the town of Biḡār until transferred to Patnā by Šḡḡr Šhāḡ Sūr in the 9th/15th century. The importance of the region was as a buffer between Awadh and Bengal until the Mughal period, when the emphasis was as a line of communication between them, as many fine bridges of the Mughal viceroys testify.

2. Monuments: There is no particular 'Biḡār' style of Indo-Islamic architecture. The finest group of buildings is at Sāḡḡāḡm, including the justly famous mausoleum of Šḡḡr Šhāḡ (inscription of 952/1545) standing 50 m. high in a large artificial lake; its architect, Abūwāl Khān, had been a master-builder under the Delhi Lōḡīs, but his treatment of



the octagonal mausoleum transcends any of the Delhi conceptions. Shēr Shāh obtained the fort of Rohtāsarāh from its Hindi Rājā in 946/1539, and to him is attributed the Dāmā Masjid; the reconstructed fortifications, the palaces, Bahāsh Khān's tomb and mosque, etc., date from the viceregency (948-1008/1580-1600) of Rājā Mān Singh under Akbar; to Mān Singh is attributed the mosque at Hādāī, near Rājīmāhāl: the long barrel-vault traversing the central bay of the *hūmān* of this early Mughal structure recalls the style of Dzwānpur [9.3]. Monghyr has been mentioned above: the fort is reputed to have been built by early Bengal Sults, but the style appears Mughal; Rājā Tōdar Mall is known to have repaired the fortifications in 988/1580. The two forts of Palāmāw, built by local Cere Rājās in the 11th/17th century, were taken by the Mughal governor Dā'ūd Khān Kurayghī, who erected a mosque (1070/1660) and other structures; the Nayā Kūfā boasts the splendid Nāpūrī Darwāzā in the Dīkhānūtī style. The tomb of Muḥammad Shāh Dawlat (Choti Dargah) at Mānāwī erected by the governor Būshīm Khān in 1027-26/1608-16 is of some merit. For other buildings see M. H. Kurayghī, cited below.

**Bibliography:** There are no primary sources specifically dealing with Bihār; for the various historical incidents involving Bihār see *Cambridge History of India*, Vols. iii (1928) and iv (1937) (full bibliographies); also *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. viii, Oxford 1908, and for local histories, relevant volumes of the *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers*, Patna c. 1930; some are revised versions of the former *Bengal District Gazetteer*.

For the monuments of Shēr Shāh Sūrī, see A. Cunningham, *ASI Report*, xi, 1880; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, Bombay n.d., Chap. xvi; H. Goetz, *The mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram*, in *Art Islamica*, v, 1, 97; for other monuments also, *ASI Annual Report* 1922-3, 34-41, and (most important, with full descriptions and histories of monuments) Maunū Muhammad Hamid Kurayghī, *List of Ancient Monuments ... in Bihar and Orissa*, ASI, NIS Vol. II, Calcutta 1931, 54-66, 139-147, 146-191, 197-202, 207-219. (J. HERTON-PADE)

#### BIHĀR-I DĀNĪSH (see 'UNAVAT AL-BĀRQĀ')

AL-BIHĀRĪ, MUHAMMAD ALI B. 'ABD AL-SĀKĀR, AL-'UṢMĀNĪ AL-SINDHĪ AL-HANAFĪ was born at Kārā, a village near Muḥibb 'Alīpur in the province of Bihār (India). He belonged to the Malik community, of exotic origin, still unidentified. He received his early education at home from Kūth al-Dīn al-Anṣārī al-Sihāwī and read some books with Kūth al-Dīn al-Husaynī al-Shānābādī. After completing his studies he went to the Decraan where Awrangzib was at the time engaged in military operations against the local rulers. The emperor, impressed by his erudition, especially his high proficiency in jurisprudence, had appointed him *hāfi* of Lucknow. After some years he was posted to Haydarābād on the defeat of 'Abd 'l-Ḥasan Tāsh Shāh, the ruler of Golconda, in 1097/1686-7 at the hands of Awrangzib. He was later appointed tutor to Prince Rafī' al-Kādir, a son of Shāh 'Ālam b. Awrangzib. He went to Kābul in 1109/1097 along with his ward when Shāh 'Ālam was appointed governor of that province. On his accession to the *hāfi* of Lucknow. In 1106-7 Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh I appointed him the chief justice of the realm and conferred on him

the title of "Fāḍil Khān". He died soon after in 1110/1707.

He is the author of: (i) *Sullam al-'Ulūm*, a famous text on logic; (ii) *Musallam al-'Uḥūd*, a standard work on *uṣūl al-fih*; (iii) *Dzawhar al-Farā*, a dissertation on the individual atom. All these three books are prescribed as courses of study in Indo-Pakistani religious institutions and have been the subject of commentaries, glosses and super-glosses. (iv) *Risāla fi 'l-mughallāt al-'amnat al-wurūd*; and (v) *Risāla fi 'l-ibhāt anna madhhab al-Hanafīyya aḥd 'an al-rā'y min madhhab al-Shāfi'yya*.

**Bibliography:** *Āḥid Bilgrūd*, Ma'āhir al-Kirām, Haydarābād (Dn.) 1910, 211; *Iḍen*, Subhat al-Mawjūd *fi 'd-dikr al-Hindū*, Bombay 1303/1886, 76; Siddiq Hasan Kanawdī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, Bhopal 1296/1878, 905; Rahīmī 'Alī, *Tadhkira-i 'Ulamā' 4 Hind*, Lucknow 1312/1894, 175; Brockelmann, *GAL II*, 420, S II 622-4; *JASB* (1913), 195 ff.; Muhammad Husayn Azād, *Tadhkira-i 'Ulamā' 4 Hind*, Lahore 1914, 42; Zubaid Ahmad, *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, Jullundur 1916, 36-9, 126-130; 'Alī al-Hayy Nadwī, *Nuḥbat al-Khawāṣir*, Haydarābād (Dn.) 1376/1957, vi, 250-2; Fakir Muhammad Lāhorī, *Ḥadā'iq al-Banāfiyya*, Lucknow, 1324/1906, 431; Fadl al-Imām 'Iḥyārābādī, *Tarāḍim al-Fudāl* (Bih. trans. Barmee Ansari), Karachi 1936, 48-53. (A. S. BARMEE ANSARI)

#### BIHĀRISTĀN (see QIAD)

**BIHISHT** (see BĀSAR)

**BIHISHTI**, Ishāḡiyya of an Ottoman poet and historian, whose personal name was Ahmed. He was born in about 871/1467-7, the son of a certain Suleymān Bey. At the age of 13 he entered the service of Bāyezid as a page, but was banished from court for some offence and is reported to have fled to Harāt. He was pardoned but not received back into favour. He was writing his History in the last year of Bāyezid's reign (917/1511-2) and probably died in that year.

Bihiḡit is said to have written the first Khamsa [9.2] in Ottoman Turkish; of his *methnests* survive: *Laylā ve Mēdnān*, *Muḥsen al-Eṣrār*, *Mīrā u Muḡtārī*, *Ishkender-nāme* and *Heft Peygher*. His History, written in a somewhat turgid style, probably consisted originally of eight 'books', one for each of the sultans from 'Oghuz to Bāyezid II. Ad. 2869 in the British Museum and Revan Köprü 1270, two portions of the same MS, cover the years 791-908; Ad. 24, 995 in the British Museum, a later compilation mainly based on Bihiḡit's history, probably contains material from the first three 'books', which are not known in the full version. The history, which follows closely the *Hasd Bihiḡit* of İdrīs Bidlīsī [9.2], is neither so early nor so important as was once believed.

**Bibliography:** Rabinger, 43, and sources noted there, especially Rieu, *CTM*, 44 and 47; S. Nūzhet Ergun, *Türk Şairleri*, s.v.; R. Uter, *Bikhiḡ ve Laylā ve Mēdnān*, unpublished thesis, no. 386 in the Türkiye Enstitüsü library (a study of Turkish MS 1591 in the library of Istanbul University); a MS. at Ushaw College, Durham, contains the five poems named above.

(V. L. MÉSAGE)

**BIKHUBADH**, in 'Abhāsī times the name (adopted, with the organisation, from the Sāsānid Persians) of three districts (Aṣṭān, Arabic *Kūra*) of the province of Bārk, all situated on the eastern branch (modern Hilla branch) of the Euphrates. The name means "the Goodness (or good lands?) of

Kubūdh", a Sāsānid king who reigned in the 5th century A.D. The districts bordered, to the south, on that of Kūfa, and on the Great Swamp of the Lower Euphrates. The three districts, sometimes referred to jointly as the Bikhūbādīh, were those of Upper, Middle, and Lower Bikhūbādīh. The Upper district contained six sub-districts (*hassid*), those of the village and ruins of Bābil (Babylon), Khutarniya, Upper and Lower al-Tallūḡa, 'Ayn al-Tamr, and others. Middle Bikhūbādīh contained four subdivisions, those of the Baḡdāt Canal, of Sūrā and Bārsamān, of Bārsamān, and of Naḥr al-Māy. Lower Bikhūbādīh had five subdivisions, including those of Furāt Dadahlā and Nīstar.

**Bibliography:** *BGA*, *passim*, particularly iii, 133; vi, 723; Yāqūt, i, 770; *Mawṣid al-Iḥdā*, *Lexic. gener.* (ed. Joynboll), i, 57, 183; iv, 98, 412 ff.; Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 271, 484; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographien*, i (1900), 16, 20; J. Marguier, *Érudition* = *Abb. G. W. Geol.*, New Series, Vol. iii, no. 2 (1901), 142, 163 ff.; Le Strange, 70, 81. (M. STRECK; S. H. LOWENKOPF)

**BIHRŪZ** (Amīn), son of Amr Rustam and, like him, chief of the Dombolt. A loyal ally of the Sāfawids, he took part in the war between Shāh Tahmāsp and Sultān Sulaymān al-Kānī in 945/1538. He died in 985/1577, at the age of 80, after having been in power for 50 years. His labab was Sulaymān Khāllā. (B. KRITINE)

**BIHRŪZ KHĀN**, son of Shāh Bandar Khān, amir of the Dombolt. He was known under the name of Sulaymān Khān al-Dhān. At the time of Sultān Murād's attack on Aḡharbāyḡān, he distinguished himself in the army of Shāh Sāfi. He died in 1041/1631-2.

**Bibliography:** M. E. Zakī, *Maḡāhīr al-Kurd wa-Kurdīn*, 144; *Tārīkh al-Dawla wa'l-Imarat al-Kurdīya*, 386, 387. (B. KRITINE)

**BIHZĀD**, KAMAL AL-DIN, UṢTĀD, the most famous Persian miniature-painter. The main sources for his life are: i. Kh'āndamīr, *Habib al-Siyar*, Bombay 1857, iii, 350 (T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928, 140) and two documents from his *Nāma* Nāmah (Bibl. Nat., MS. Suppl. Pers. 1842), a preface to an album of calligraphy and miniatures compiled by Bihzād and the document appointing him head of the royal Kitāb-Khāna (Muhammad Kaẓwīnī-L. Bouvat, *Deux documents inédits relatifs à Behzād*, in *RMN*, xxvi, 1914, 146-161); 2. *Bābūr-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, London 1921, 278, 292, 320; 3. Mirā' Muhammad Haydar Dughlā, *Tārīkh-i Raghīdī* (T. W. Arnold, in *BOSQ*, v, 1930, 672-673); 4. Dīst Muhammad b. Sulaymān of Harāt, *Account of past and present printers of the year 951* (1544) in the Bahār Mirā' Album, Top-kapi Sarai Libr., Istanbul (Binyon-Wilkinson-Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Oxford 1933, 186); 5. Mustafā 'Alī, *Menzih-i Hānecārīn* (1931/187). Istanbul 1926, 37, 62-65, 67; 6. Kādi Ahmad b. Mir-Munshī, *Gulshān-i Hunar* (1075/1660), *Calligraphers and painters* ..., tr. by V. Minorsky, Washington, 1959, 159, 179-80, 183); 7. Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i 'Īlam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī* (T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, 141).

On the basis of the existing work of Bihzād, one can assume that he was born during the decade 1260-66, Mirā' Muhammad Haydar Dughlā, Dīst Muhammad, and Kādi Ahmad describe him as a pupil of Amr Rūh Allāh, known as Mirak Nakāsh of Harāt, the librarian of Sultān Husayn Bāyqārā, who brought up the young orphan; the Turkish art historian 'Alī states, however, that his teacher was

Pīr Sayyid Ahmad of Tabriz; lastly Dīshānūr mentions Khālī Mirzā as an artist whose style Bihzād continued (*Tāsh-i Dīshānūr*, trs. Röger and Beveridge, ii, 119). He became recognised very quickly, and received great artistic opportunities through his first patron Mir 'Alī Shāh Nawā'ī and, from some time before 893/1488 on, through the Tīmūrīd Husayn Bāyqārā, at whose court in Harāt gathered the intellectual *élite* of the time with Nawā'ī, Dīshānūr and Kh'āndamīr at their head. Bihzād remained in Harāt after the dynasty was overthrown by Muhammad Khān Shaybānī of Bihār; since that prince had the presumption to correct Bihzād's miniatures. He moved, however, to Tabriz, the Sāfawid capital, with the latter's conqueror, Shāh Ismā'īl. The favour which he enjoyed with the latter is evident from the story told by 'Alī of Ismā'īl's anxiety about Bihzād during the campaign against Sultān Selīm I, in 1514. The distinction in that prince had been even more evident from the fact that on 27th Dīshānī 1528/1532 he was appointed head of the royal library and placed in charge of all the librarians, calligraphers, painters, golders, marginal draughtsmen, gold mixers, gold beaters and lapis-lazuli washers. This document disproves the statement of Kādi Ahmad that Bihzād remained in Harāt until the beginning of the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp (930/1524). Under Shāh Tahmāsp, Bihzād also received numerous marks of honour and was engaged along with Sultān Muhammad and Akā Mirzā in the royal library. In the *Lafz-i-Nāma* of Faḡh Sultān Murād's attack on Aḡharbāyḡān, he is mentioned as the master of working; he took a Turkish assistant, Darwīsh Muhammad Nakāsh of Khurāsān, a colour-preparer, as his pupil and finally entrusted him with his own works. As other pupils are mentioned by Haydar Mirzā: the portrait painter Kāsim 'Alī, Maḡdūd and Muḡlā Yūsuf; by 'Alī: Sharḡhāda of Khurāsān and Akā Mirzā; by Kādi Ahmad: Dīstī Dīwāna and the father of the painter Murāfir 'Alī; he also called Bihzād a contemporary of Yāf Muḡhabbil of Harāt which is borne out by the fact that they jointly worked on the *Bistān* of 893 H. in Cairo (see below). Kādi Ahmad places Darwīsh and Kāsim 'Alī into a slightly earlier period than Bihzād, which would make the master-student relationship doubtful. Finally Iskandar Munshī states that Murāfir 'Alī was one of his pupils. According to a chronogram given by Dīst Muhammad, Bihzād died in 944/1536-1537 and was buried in Tabriz beside the poet Shāykh Kamāl of Khujandī; according to another tradition, he died earlier, in 1313/1534. Still another tradition preserved by Kādi Ahmad has it that he died in Harāt and that he was buried in the neighbourhood of Kūfā-Mukhlā within an enclosure full of paintings and ornaments. In the Yildiz Library in Istanbul is an alleged portrait miniature which shows the aged Bihzād as an unassuming, apparently shy man in Sāfawid costume (A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, Paris-Bruussels 1929, fig. 130).

The older sources yield little information for our knowledge of Bihzād as an artist, however much they praise him as the greatest of his age. Kh'āndamīr's extravagant language seems to emphasise his great refinement, minute perfection and power of lifelike representation. Haydar Mirzā compares him with his teacher Mirak, whose art is ripe although not so finished; also with Shāh Murāfir who seems to have been held in almost equal esteem, whom



Biḥzād surpassed, however, in control of the brush, in drawing and in figure composition, without attaining his delicacy. Kādi Ahmad stresses his sense of proportion and he mentions the excellence of his bird images and that he was fluent in his charcoal drawings. Bābur praises his art as very delicate, especially emphasising the fact that he drew bearded figures admirably, while his beardless figures were not so good, and adds that he exaggerated the length of the double chin. Bābur's successors on the Mughal throne were also among his admirers, eagerly endeavoured to get his works for their libraries and frequently mention the prices they paid (c. 3-5,000 rupees). His works had, however, already previously been collected, as some of his paintings formed part of an album of the Safawid prince Sultan Ṭhrālm Mirzā (d. 984/1517). Dīshāngir is one of the first to mention the tradition, also recorded elsewhere, that Biḥzād was specially distinguished for his drawing of battle-scenes. As a result of the general esteem in which he was held Biḥzād's name finally became proverbial. According to Kādi Ahmad he should be put alongside of Māni, the other traditional creator of incomparable masterpieces, while in typically Persian hyperbole, Kādi Ahmad exaggerates this further by stating that Māni would have imitated him had he known of him. Māni, however, hints that Biḥzād's success was to some extent due to the influence of his patrons. This presupposes intrigues and jealousies which may account for the fact that Biḥzād is not properly listed in the account of Persian painters and calligraphers given by the Safawid Prince Sām Mirzā in his *Tuhfa-yi Sāmī* (M. Mahfuz-ul Haq, *Persian Painters, illuminators and calligraphers, etc. in the 16th century, A.D.*, in *Journal & Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*, vol. 38, 1932, 239-42).

Modern research has been mainly concerned with identifying Biḥzād's original works. It has been to some extent successful, especially since the London Exhibition of Persian Art in 1931 at which a large number of pictures ascribed to Biḥzād were brought together. It is, however, not yet possible to isolate him completely from others in his artistic development and characteristic qualities, as a sufficiently large number of works have not yet been definitely attributed to his predecessors and contemporaries. The problem is greatly complicated by the fact that as a result of Biḥzād's fame his signature has been wrongly added to miniatures for centuries, be it for financial profit or to provide a collector with a page by the celebrated painter, or his works have been copied, including the signatures, either in *foto* or in parts, or they have been finished or restored after his death.

The basis for our actual knowledge of Biḥzād's work is provided by the paintings in the *Bāstān* MS. finished in Rājāb 893/June 1488 in Harāt, in the Egyptian National Library, Cairo. It was written for Sultan Ḥusayn Bāyqarā by Ṣalāḥ 'Alī Kātib, illuminated by Vārī, and it has one double frontispiece miniature (with a now defaced signature) and four single-page paintings, dated 893 and 894. Two of the latter have Biḥzād's name in the architectural decoration, so that they could not possibly be a later addition, and a third one has a signature that is so inconspicuously placed and modest in tone that they too seem to be genuine. As all paintings are in the same style and of the same quality, they have been accepted nearly universally as authentic works of the master. They prove to be the fulfilment of the Timūrid style

which is shown to perfection. These paintings are most skilfully and harmoniously composed, also in relation to the inserted text units. Within the pictorial space which is treated according to the concepts of the period the none-too-large figures are well distributed in their proper numbers. The rich pigments are of a wide range and applied with a highly developed colour sense. They reveal that, on the whole, Biḥzād seems to have preferred cool colours, such as blues and greens, particularly in interior scenes, but they are always balanced by complementary warm colours, especially a bright orange. All the units of the design fit into a decoratively conceived all-over picture which is perfectly executed. The branches of trees in bloom, the richly decorated tile patterns, and the designs on the carpets reveal in particular the artist's decorative sense and the delicacy of his work. Its realism distinguishes it, however, from the paintings of the previous period. This is apparent in the iconography which is no longer purely of courtly nature and primarily devoted to the many deeds and loves of kings; it brings in addition and on the same level everyday events (e.g., the odd behaviour of a drunken prince, the *awāḥ* at a mosque, mares nursing foals in a stud farm, etc.) and shows also a concern for the activities of persons of lower social standing (a *hasebi* chastising an intruder, servants bringing food, peasants at work, etc.). Furthermore the figures are no longer mere types, puppets with mask-like faces, but are individualised and often shown full of spontaneous movement or with a sense for the dramatic. Even when they are shown in repose, their attitude is natural.

Since none of the other works connected with Biḥzād have a safe signature, though some of them carry attributions dating from the first half of the 16th century, only their stylistic aspect—the perfectly executed combination of the decorative and the realistic—can serve as guide to other true Biḥzādian paintings. Some additional help is provided by the custom of the period to work with stencils, so that individual figures known from a well established Biḥzād painting can be traced in other, more uncertain works, although such a procedure could also have been done by a student. Unfortunately, our present ignorance of Biḥzād's paintings prior to 1485 and after 1500 leaves us in doubt about the master's activities in his youth and old age. In view of so many uncertainties, it is natural that scholars have disagreed about certain attributions, but even if not all of the following works are by the master himself, they are at least from his school.

1. Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, *Khamsa*, dated 890/1485 and written for Badī' al-Zamān son of Sultan Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. 4 vols. in Bodleian Library (MSS. Elliot 287, 408, 317, 339) and 1 vol. in John Rylands Library, Manchester (Turk. MS. 3). At least 1 miniature (Elliot 287, fol. 77r: "Muḥammad and his Companions") very close to Biḥzād while another, Elliot 339, 95v: "Mystics in Landscape", shows strong influence of his style.

2. Amīr Ḥusraw Dīblawī, *Khamsa*, written in 890/1485 by Muḥammad b. Aḥar. Four miniatures close to Biḥzād (F. R. Martin, *Les miniatures de Biḥzād dans un manuscrit persan daté 1485*, Munich, 1912, pls. 9, 16, 18 and 21).

3. Gulshin, written by Ṣalāḥ 'Alī Kātib, Muḥarram 891/Jan. 1486. M. de Rothschild Collection, Paris. One miniature ("Sa'di and the youth of Kāshghar") most likely by Biḥzād. The paintings



Figure A: "Entertainment at the Court of Ḥusayn Bāyqarā". Left part of double frontispiece by Biḥzād in a manuscript of Sa'di's *Bāstān*, written in 893/1488. Cairo, Egyptian National Library.

(Courtesy, Egyptian National Library)





Figure B: "King Dārā and the Horseherd". Miniature by Biḥzād in a manuscript of Saʿdī's *Bāstān*, written in 893/1488, Cairo, Egyptian National Library.

(Courtesy, Egyptian National Library)



Figure D: "Battle Scene". Miniature by Biḥzād in a manuscript of Nizāmī's *Āl-e Rūm*, painted at the end of the XVth century, British Museum, Add. 25900, fol. 211v.

(Copyright British Museum)

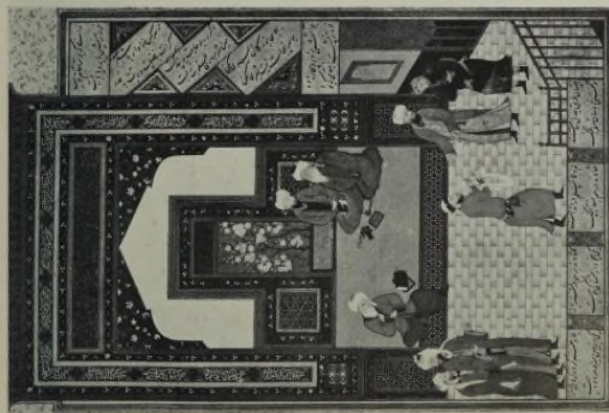


Figure C: "Masque Scene". Miniature by Biḥzād in a manuscript of Saʿdī's *Bāstān*, written in 893/1488, Cairo, Egyptian National Library.

(Courtesy, Egyptian National Library)





Figure E: "Iskandar and the Seven Sages". Miniature probably by Bihzād in a manuscript of Nizāmī's *Khamsa*, of 900/1494-95, British Museum, Or. 6810, fol. 214r.

(Copyright British Museum)

of these 3 MSS. of 1485-86, if they are indeed by Bihzād, would represent the work of his youth, which has not yet quite reached the quality of the Cairo *Bihzād* MS.

4. Double miniature "Sultān Husayn Baykāra with his Harām and Retinue in a Garden", ca. 1490-1495, Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library. Very close to Bihzād's style, goes at least in part back to him.

5. Nizāmī, *Khamsa*, text dated 846/1442, British Museum, Add. 25,090, 19 miniatures of later date, one dated 898/1493 which is the approximate date for 4 miniatures in Bihzādian style. Three paintings have small attributions probably genuine (fols. 121v, 161r, 231v), a fourth, unsigned on fol. 144r, ("Maḡnūn before the Ka'ba") of such high quality that it could also be by Bihzād.

6. Nizāmī, *Khamsa*, written for Amīr 'Alī Fārd Barīk, one painting dated 900/1494-95, British Museum Or. 6810. 16 miniatures attributed to Bihzād by Djahāngīr and most likely either by him (fols. 37v, 135v, 190r, 214r, 225v, 233v) or by his students (fols. 27v, 72v, 93r, 100v, 128v, 137r, 144v, 154v, 157r, 175r).

7. Shuraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafar-nama*, probably written for Sultān Husayn Baykāra; according to a later colophon finished in 872/1467 by Shīr 'Alī, but six double-page paintings date from 1490s. Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore (R. Garrett Coll.). 8 (sic) miniatures attributed by Djahāngīr to the early period of Bihzād. All paintings most likely by Bihzād, though in parts, possibly in collaboration with students; several show later retouches, probably Mughal.

8. Circular miniature "Pir and Youth in Landscape" in an Anthology dated 930/1524 written for Waṣīr Khān Malik Ahmad, Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, no. 44. 48. The painting which may be earlier than the MS. closely paraphrases a miniature in no. 2. According to the introduction, the owner, a high official of the Safawid court, regarded it as a genuine work at a time when Bihzād was alive and connected with the royal library. It seems therefore to be a work of the master's old age which would explain its weaker and repetitive character; alternatively, it may be a copy by a student, supervised by Bihzād and therefore regarded as his own work.

9. Single painting "Two Fighting Camels with Attendants", Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library. According to its inscription this is a work by Bihzād when he was 70 years old. In 1017/1608 Djahāngīr took it to be an authentic picture. A mid-15th century version of the same theme shows that this is much weaker than its prototype (R. Ettinghausen, *Some paintings in four Istanbul albums*, in *Art Orientalis* 4, 1954, 102, figs. 3 and 63). Nos. 8 and 9 would therefore have to be regarded as possible works of Bihzād's declining years.

Works mentioned in literature but not now known are: a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī written by Mawlānā Mahmūd Nishāpūrī for Shāh Tahmāsp, a *Timūr-nama* written by Sultān 'Alī Maḡhādī, and the paintings in the album of miniatures for which Khānīdār wrote the preface and in the one owned by Sultān Ibrahim Mirā.

Bihzād's influence is first seen in his pupils, of whom some, like Kāsim 'Alī and Ākā Mirā, almost attained their master's level. In spite of the fact that another change in style took place very soon under the Safawids, there was in the first three decades of the 16th/16th century a transitional style which shows

many features of Bihzād's work; a characteristic example is an 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī MS. of 1526 (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. turc. 316). Harāt painters carried Bihzād's style to Bulghārā where it became established at the Shaykhān court. A MS. of 'Ayyūb's *Mīhr-u Maḡfār*, copied in Bulghārā in 929/1523 is a good example of how much more faithful the Bihzādian style was preserved there than in Tabrīz (Freer Gallery of Art, nos. 52,5-12,8). Here the tradition of Bihzād and the Harāt school survived till beyond the middle of the 16th century. By the migration of artists from centres still under Bihzād's influence, the Harāt style and Bihzādian tradition were brought also to India.

Independently of the general development of style we find Bihzād's miniatures and motives more or less faithfully copied down to the 17th century. "Dārā's Meeting with the Horseherd" in the Cairo *Divān* is found in *Divān* MSS. of 1335 (Paris, Cartier collection) and 1556 (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. pers. 1187), and others. The "Fighting Camels" recur in many Indian and Persian miniatures, on a Persian carpet with animal designs of the 17th century (Berlin, formerly Schloss-Museum) and on a green glazed faience bottle of about 1600 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum), while as late as 1028/1619 and 1035/1626 Bihzād's 'Abdāl reproduces designs thought to be by Bihzād (Paris, Vignier collection and Gulistan Palace Library).

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**AL-BIKĀ'Ī**, plural of al-Bak'a, the proper name of the elongated plain commonly called the Bekaa, which, at a mean altitude of 1,000 metres, lies between the mountains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The ancients had clearly defined it by the term *Coele Syria* (Hollow Syria) of which the appellation was subsequently extended. It is a depression of tectonic origin filled in by sediment, and is an extension of the Jordan rift along the north-south axis which forms one of the basic features of the structure of the Near East. Two rivers, the Litānī and the Orontes, which have their sources on either side of the Ba'alabakk watershed, drain it rather inadequately before cutting their way, the one through the rugged highlands of the south, the other through gorges opening on to the basalt plateau of Hims. Its continental climate makes it a semi-arid steppe land, which nevertheless is studded with oases and depressions, for long marshy, which justify al-Bak'ahāndī in mentioning the lake of al-Bikā' in his day.

The complementary works of drainage and irrigation, among which those of Tankiz, viceroys of Syria at the beginning of the Mamlūk epoch, have remained famous, contributed to its development. But today it remains still scantily populated (38 inhabitants per sq. km.) and is traditionally devoted to the production of cereals, which is maintained by a system of communal ownership or of big estates. The majority of its population is Muslim, with Shi'is predominating in the north, and lives in large villages situated for preference on the foothills, where caves have long attracted those inclined to the monastic life. Among the localities in this high valley, in ancient times a region of sedentary population and a much-used trade route which then became from the time of the Arab

conquest one of the richest districts in the province of Damascus, one may mention, besides many sites renowned for their ancient ruins and cave carvings, the Umayyad residence of 'Ayn al-Jarir (q.v.), the straggling village of Karā' Nūh, which was the Mamlūk capital, and the little prosperous villages of today such as Zablā. The most important centre has always been Ba'alabakk (q.v.) although in Mamlūk times the authority of this citadel, which had for a long time commanded the whole of the country, had been considerably curtailed, and the neighbouring countryside, divided into two districts, had been entrusted to an independent governor. From that time, alongside the *nahya* of Ba'alabakk there were two *vilāyas*, the Bikā' al-Ba'alabakkī and the Bikā' al-'Azizī.

The last name is to be connected according to Arab historians with that of a son of Salāb al-Dīn, al-'Aziz (q.v.), and according to certain modern scholars with that of the ancient local divinity Atīnos. Perhaps one can also see traces of ancient cults in the numerous popular dedications to which toponymy and monuments bear witness, and which evoke above all either the story of Noah and the memories of the flood, or the figure of Ilyās, a hermit *par excellence* and despiser of the cult of Ba'al.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

**BIKĀSĀSHI** [see BIKRASHI].

**BILĀD-I THĀLĀTHĪA**, the three towns, a term employed in Ottoman legal and administrative usage for Eyyūb, Galata, and Üsküdar, i.e., the three separate urban areas attached to Istanbul. Each had its own *kādi*, independent of the *kādi* of Istanbul, though of lower rank. Every Wednesday the *kādi* of the 'three towns' joined the *kādi* of Istanbul in attending the Grand Veiz. This judicial autonomy of the three towns goes back to early Ottoman times, probably even to the conquest. The three towns also enjoyed some autonomy in police matters, being subject not to the police jurisdiction of the Agha of the Janissaries, which [was] proper, but of other military officers.

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(B. LEWIS)

**BILĀL B. ABĪ BURDA** [see ABĪ BURDA].

**BILĀL B. DJARIR AL-MUHAMMADĪ**. Abū 'l-NABA', Zura'yā' (q.v.) vizier and governor of 'Adan. He was appointed governor of the city by the Zura'yā' prince Sabā' b. Abī 'l-Su'ūd at the time of his war against his cousin and co-ruler of 'Adan, the Mas'ūdī 'Alī b. Abī 'l-Qharāt, 531-32/1136-38. With the death of Sabā' in 533/1138-39 his son and successor, al-'A'azz, intensely jealous of Bilāl, intended to have him put to death, but died himself in 534/1139-40 before this could be achieved. At his death Bilāl had a younger son of Sabā', Muḥammad, brought from Ta'izz, where he had gone into concealment from the hatred of his brother, placed him on the throne over the young

sons of al-'A'azz, and married him to his daughter. As a reward for his loyalty Bilāl was appointed vizier of the now unified city, a post which he retained until his death in 546-47/1151-53. Following the accession of Muḥammad b. Sabā' Bilāl was accorded the honorific titles of *al-Shaykh al-Sa'id al-Muwaffāq al-Salāb* by the Fātimid caliph al-Hāfi. He is reported to have amassed a considerable fortune while in office, of which he reverted to the ruler upon his death. Two sons of Bilāl followed him in the office of vizier until the fall of the dynasty with the Ayyūbid conquest of South Arabia (569/1173).

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**BILĀL B. RABĀ'Ī**, sometimes described as Ibn Ḥamāma, after his mother, was a companion of the Prophet and is best known as his *Mu'adhḡin*. Of Ethiopian (African?) stock, he was born in slavery in Mecca among the clan of Jumah, or in the Ṣarāt. His master is sometimes given as Umayya b. Khalaf (q.v.) but also as an unnamed man or woman of the same clan. He was an early convert—some sources credit him with having been the second adult after Abū Bakr to accept Islam. Owing to his status he suffered heavy punishment and torture, especially, it is stated, at the hands of Umayya b. Khalaf, but he bore it with fortitude and would not recant. Finally, he was rescued and manumitted by Abū Bakr who bought him, or exchanged for an able-bodied slave of his own who had not accepted Islam. Henceforth, although a freedman of Abū Bakr, Bilāl seems to have been in constant attendance on the Prophet.

He emigrated to Medina, where at first he suffered from fever along with Abū Bakr and a number of Meccan Muslims. The Prophet established a tie of brotherhood between him and Abū Hurayra of Khaybān, whom Bilāl later named as his representative for receiving his pension when he himself decided to campaign in Syria. As a result of this tie of brotherhood, 'Umar attached the list of African pensioners to that of the tribe of Khaybān, and Ibn Ishāq records that this was the case in Syria in his own days.

Bilāl became "official" *mu'adhḡin* when the call to prayer was first instituted in the first year of the *Hidjra*. He accompanied the Prophet on all military expeditions. At Badr he caused the deaths of Umayya b. Khalaf and his son, both of whom had already surrendered, but their captor was completely powerless to defend them against the determined attack led by Bilāl.

Although best known as his *mu'adhḡin*, Bilāl was also the Prophet's "mace-bearer" [see 'ANASA], his steward (*Khāzin*), his personal servant, and on occasions, his "adjutant". The climax of his career as a *mu'adhḡin* came when Mecca fell to the Muslims and Bilāl called the faithful to prayer for the first time from the roof of the Ka'ba. After the death of the Prophet, Bilāl agreed to act as *mu'adhḡin* to Abū Bakr but refused a similar

request from 'Umar, and joined the campaigns in Syria, where he spent the rest of his life. Some sources say that he refused to act in that capacity after the Prophet's death and called publicly to prayer on only two occasions afterwards—when 'Umar visited al-Djābiya, and when Bilāl himself paid a return visit to Medina and was requested to call the *adhān* by al-Hasan and al-Husayn. Both were moving occasions.

Bilāl seemed to have attained high prestige during his lifetime. An Arab tribe accepted his brother as a suitor in spite of his bad character, and (according to Tabarī, I, 2527) when 'Umar sent a representative to Syria to investigate the source of certain donations made by Khālid b. al-Walid, Bilāl lent support to both the different commander Abū 'Ubayda and the Caliph's representative, by himself removing Khālid's turban and demanding an answer. When a satisfactory explanation was given, Bilāl restored Khālid's turban with full respect and honour.

He is described as being tall and thin with a stoop, of dark complexion, with a thin face and thick hair strongly tinged with grey. The date of his death is given variously as 17, 18, 20, or 21 (63), 639, 641, or 642) and his place of burial is stated as Aleppo or, more probably, Damascus or Darayā.

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**BILAWHAR WA-YŪDĀSĀF**, hero of the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsāf* (*Bilwāhar*), an Arabic work deriving ultimately from the traditional biography of Gautama Buddha, and subsequently providing the prototype for the Christian legend of Barlaam and Josephat.

Contents of story. To the king childless king Janayyar, a pagan ruler of Sūlbat (i.e., Kapilavastu) in India, a son is born by miraculous means. The king names him Yūdāsāf (better: Bōdhissattva = Bodhisattva). An astrologer predicts that the prince's greatness will not be of this world; the king therefore confines the child in a city set apart, to keep him from knowledge of human misery. Growing up, Yūdāsāf frets at his confinement and insists on being allowed out. Finding forth, he sees two infirm men and later, a decrepit old man, and learns of human frailty and death. The holy hermit Bilawhar of Sarandīb (Ceylon) then appears in disguise and preaches to Yūdāsāf in parables, convincing him of the vanity of human existence and the superiority of the ascetic way. Bilawhar spurs removal and riches, indulgence in food and drink, sexual pleasure and all fleshly delights; a vague theme coupled with belief in immortality is preached, but no specifically Islamic dogma advanced.

King Janayyar is hostile to Bilawhar and opposes Yūdāsāf's conversion. In spite of the efforts of the astrologer Rāhīs and the pagan ascetic al-Bahwan, Janayyar's overcome in a mock debate on the faith and is himself won over. Yūdāsāf renounces his royal estate and embarks on missionary journeys: after various adventures, he reaches Kaḡḡūr (i.e., Kusinārā), where he entrusts the future of his religion to his disciple Abhād (i.e., Ananda) and dies.

The accompanying table shows the occurrence of the principal parables and fables in the three surviving Arabic versions and in the Georgian and Greek Christian recensions stemming therefrom.



TABLE 1

Fable	Greek	Georgian (Jerusalem)	Bombay Arabic	Iran Halle	Halle abstract
Drum of Death	3	1	1	1	1
Four Caskets	3	2	2	2	2
The Sower	1	3	3	3	3
Elephant and the Man					
in Chains	5	4	5	4	4
Three Friends	6	5	6	5	5
King for One Year	7	6	7	6	6
Dogs and Carion	—	7	8	7	7
Physician and Patient	8	6	8	8	8
The Sun of Wisdom	8	9	9	9	9
King, Wazir and Happy					
Poor Couple	9	10	10	10	10
Rich Youth and					
Beggar's Daughter	10	11	11	11	—
Fowler and					
Nightingale	4	12	12	12	11
Tame Gazelle	12	13	13	—	—
Costume of Enemies	11	14	14	—	—
Amorous Wife	—	15	15	—	—
Demon Women	13	16	16	—	—

Sources. The *Kūb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaif* is not a direct translation from any Indian Buddhist work but a synthetic compilation built round episodes in the legendary life of Buddha; it embodies parables of extraneous provenance, including the New Testament parable of the Sower. The narrative framework contains sections reminiscent of such works as the *Buddha-carita*, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalitavistara* and the *Jātaka Tales*. Note that in the authentic tradition, the Buddha had no teacher, however, the ascetic preacher Bilawhar figures in embryo in the Fourth Omen, where the Buddha-elect encounters in Kapilavastu one who had become a wanderer "for the sake of winning self-control, calm, and utter release".

Early clues to the story's transmission to the West are provided by Central Asian Buddhist-Sogdian texts, where *Būdāsaif* is shortened into the form *Pūtyōp*, i.e., *Būdāsaif*, and by the Manichaean fragments recovered from Turfan in Chinese Turkestan. Le Coq published (*SBPr. Ak. W.*, 1909, 1202-18) a Manichaean Turkish fragment containing the encounter of the Bōdāsaif prince with the decrepit old man; the same scholar published (*Türkische Manichäische aus Chotscho*, I, 2-7, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1912, Ashgani) and Kadow and Oldenberg (*Imp. Akad. Nauk*, 6th ser., VI, 1912, 751-3, 779-82) elucidated another, containing the story of a drunken prince who mistakes a corpse for a maiden, later incorporated in the Ibn Bābūya version. Of particular importance is the discovery, communicated in 1957 by W. B. Henning to the 24th International Congress of Orientalists, Munich, of a fragment in the Berlin Turfan collection comprising portions of 27 couplets of an early Persian metrical rendering, in which the heroes' names occur in the forms *Eylahar* and *Eudāsiif*. This fragment, containing part of Bilawhar's exhortation to Bōdāsaif and of the dialogue concerning Bilawhar's age, is part of a manuscript written not later than the first half of the 10th century A.D. The occurrence of the Iranian name-form *Eudāsiif*, as opposed to the Arabic *Būdāsaif* with *-ā-* in the second syllable, shows that this version belongs to the earliest line of transmission; it has been tentatively attributed to Rōdāki (p.g.) or his

school. These indications, pointing to a Central Asian environment and a Middle-Iranian language medium for the early development of the Bilawhar and Yūdāsaif romance, are supported by Yūdāsaif's inclusion, together with Mānī, Bardsayās, Māzāk and others, in a list of false prophets condemned in 'Abd al-Kāfir b. Tāhir al-Baghādī's treatise *Al-furq bayn al-firak* (ed. Muhammad Badr, Cairo 1328, 333; pt. II, trans. A. S. Halkin, Tel-Aviv, 1935, 200-1). Authorities such as al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, trans. Sachau, 186-9) connect Bōdāsaif with the Sabaeans, who were supposed to identify him with both Enoch and Hermes Trismegistus; Bōdāsaif was also represented as having invented the Iranian alphabet.

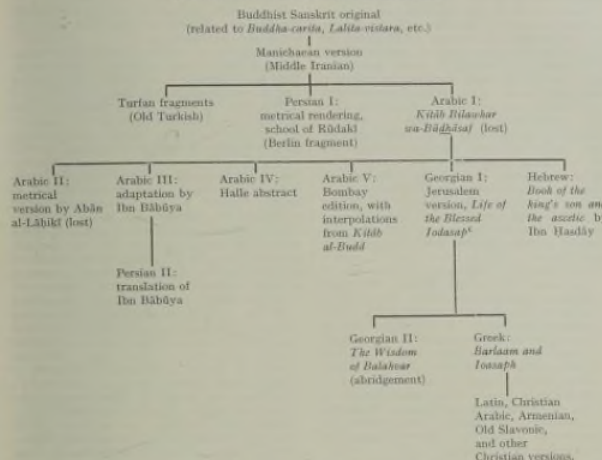
Versions of the work. Among the books translated in early 'Abbāsid times from Pehlevi into Arabic by Ibn al-Mukaffā' (p.g.) and his school, the *Fihrist* lists (305) the *Kūb al-Budd*, the *Kūb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaif* (*Būdāsaif*) and the *Kūb Būdāsaif mayra*. The last-named book survives as a chapter of the *Nabā'id al-furak* b. Tāhir al-Baghādī *wa-Yūdāsaif* (Browne in *JRAS*, 1920, 216-7; Rosen in *Zap. Vost. Ost. Imp. Russk. Arkh. Obshchestva*, 1901-2, 77-118). The first two are amalgamated in the *Kūb Bilawhar wa-Būdāsaif* published at Bombay in 1306/1885-9 (Russian trans. by Rosen, edit. by Krakovsky; *Poest' o Varlaame putimke i Isade Isavrite indyokom*, Moscow, 1947). This Bombay edition is the fullest version of the text: episodes introduced from the *Kūb al-Budd* having been distinguished from the remainder, the original Bilawhar and Bōdāsaif (Yūdāsaif) story may be largely reconstituted, reference being made to the Halle abstract (edit. by Hommel in *Verh. des VII. Int. Orient.-Congr.*, Semit. Sect., Vienna 1885, 115-65; trans. Rehatsek, *JRAS*, 1890, 119-33), the adaptation incorporated in the *Shi'at Kūb al-Budd al-din wa-Yūdāsaif* al-ni'ma by Ibn Bābūya (p.g.), the longer Georgian Christianised version discovered in Jerusalem (Greek Patriarchal Library, Ms. Georgian 140: edit. Abuladze, *Balasarionis K'art'uli redaktatsi*, Tiflis, 1957), as well as to the early 13th century Hebrew paraphrase by Abraham b. Hadyar or Chisid (see Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Uebersetzungen des Mānī*, *alters*, 86-7). The English fragment of the *Kūb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaif* in the Taimyriya collection, *Abkhāz* section (Broekelmann, I, 138) has been identified by Stern as belonging to the same redaction as the Halle abstract; it supplies some of the text missing in the defective unique Ms. of this recension (notes supplied by S. M. Stern). The metrical version dated in the *Fihrist* (119) to have been composed by Abn al-Lahikī (p.g.) has perished.

Note that in the Mss., the name of Yūdāsaif is written in many different ways; the original *Būdāsaif* or *Būdāsaif* has been corrupted by addition of a diacritical point into *Yūdāsaif* (whence *Yūdāsaif* or *Yūdāsaif*, and thence Georgian *Iodasaif*), from which comes Greek *Iosaph*, the Latin *Iosaphat*. Distortion of the story. With its companion works, the *Kallā wa-Dinnā* and the romance of Šudbād, the book of Bilawhar and Yūdāsaif was widely diffused in early Arabic literature. Note for instance the allusion in the *Rasā'id al-Ḥafid al-Safid* (Cairo ed., iv, 120, 223) to Bilawhar's fable of the King, the just Wazir and the Happy Poor Couple, in connexion with belief in immortality.

The Western *Bilawhar* and *Iosaph* (Iosaphat) legend derives from the *Kūb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaif* via the longer Georgian (Jerusalem) redaction, wherein the heroes' names appear as *Bilawhar* and

TABLE 2

## Transmission of the Book of Bilawhar and Yūdāsaif



Iodasaif; the Georgian was adapted and rendered into Greek by St. Euthymius the Athonite and his school about A.D. 1000. The mediaeval attribution of the Greek Barlaam to St. John Damascene, revived by F. Dölger (*Der griechische Barlaam-Roman, ein Werk des H. Johannes von Damaskos*, Eittal 1933), fails to take account of the textual evidence and is to be discounted.

Also to be rejected is the Almadī doctrine which identifies with Jesus Christ the holy Yūs āsaf whose shrine is venerated at Srinagar in Kashmir. Many of the legends concerning the Yūs āsaf of the Almadīs are simply extracts borrowed from the *Kūb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaif*, with "Kashmir" substituted for "Kusnīrā", the traditional place where the Buddha died.

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(D. M. LANG)

**BILBĀS**, a confederation consisting, according to C. J. Edmonds (220-22), of five tribes: Mangūr, Mānūh (I have rather noted it pronounced Mānūh), Prān, Sūn and Rīmī. The Mangūr of the mountains are an important tribe who live in Persia on both sides of the Lāwā (the upper reaches of the Little Zab in Persia). The Mangūr of the plain live in Irak where they consist of two branches: Māngūr Zūdī and Māngūr-a-Rūtā (the naked Mangūr). The Mangūr of the plain recognise the authority of the chief family of the mountain Mangūr, whose head appoints each year one or two persons (not of his own family) to govern the sections in the plain. The Mānūh are another important tribe who live in Persia east of the Lāwā and to the north of the Mangūr. They have also a section in 'Irāk, the Mānūh-a-Rūghā (the black Mānūh). The Prān have also one mountain branch in Persia to the north of the Mangūr, west of the Lāwā, and another in 'Irāk. The Sūn and the Rīmī who had formerly distinguished themselves in the cavalry of Nādir Shāh (ibid., 143), were afterwards expelled from Shahrīr (ibid., 142-143) by Salīm Bābān (1743-1757) and, fallen from their ancient glory, now occupy five poor villages in Bīrūn near the Zab. The Rīmī are subdivided into Kečel-a-Khāw Spī (bald and white hats) and Fakr Wāysī. Sometimes classed among the Bīlās are the Uđjāk who live in







subject of one of the most wide-spread and fertile cycles of legends in the Orient.

The name Bilkis does not appear in the *Kur'an* but is current with Muslim commentators. Sura XXVIII, 15-43 reflects some of the principal elements of the Sheba legend and describes the sun-worship of the Queen, how a hoopoe (*hudhūd*) carries a letter to her from Solomon, the Queen's consultation with her nobles, and the despatch of presents to Solomon. When these are not well received by the King, the Queen of Sheba comes herself and, by a ruse (mistaking the polished floor for a pool of water), is made to move her legs. Eventually, after her surroundings (together with Solomon) to Allah, i.e. she becomes a Muslim.

Muslim commentators (Tabari, Zamakhshari, Baydawi) supplement the story at various points: the Queen's name is given as Bilkis; the demons at Solomon's Court, afraid that the King may marry Bilkis, spread the rumour that the Queen has hairy legs and the foot of an ass. Hence Solomon's ruse of constructing a glass floor which the Queen mistakes for water thus causing her to lift her skirts. Solomon then commands his demons to prepare a special deplatory to remove the disfiguring hair. According to some he then married the Queen, while other traditions assert that he gave her in marriage to one of the *Tubba's* of the tribe of Hamdan.

In Jewish sources the continued narrative of *Kur'an* and Muslim commentators can first be traced in the 8th (?) century *Targum Sheni* to Esther where we find a most elaborate version of this story. This is further embellished in the 11th (?) century *Alphabet of Ben Sira* which avers that Nebuchadnezzar was the fruit of the union between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. The fullest and most significant version of the legend appears in the *Kebrā Nagast* ('Glory of the Kings'), the Ethiopian national saga. Here Menelik I is the child of Solomon and Makeda (the Ethiopian name of Bilkis) from whom the Ethiopian dynasty claims descent to the present day. While the Abyssinian story offers much greater detail, it omits any mention of the Queen's hairy legs or any other element that might reflect on her unfavourably.

Although the *Kur'an* and its commentators have preserved the earliest literary reflection of the complete Bilkis legend, there is little doubt that the narrative is derived from a Jewish Midrash. This judgement is based not only on intrinsic probability and our knowledge of the general influence of the Midrashic genre on early Islam, but is also supported by: (a) the curiously abrupt version of the story in the *Kur'an* which clearly presupposes prior development; (b) Talmudic insistence (*Shab. Batra 15b*) that it was not a woman but a kingdom of Sheba (based on varying interpretations of Hebrew *milh*) that came to Jerusalem (obviously intended to discredit existing stories about the relations between Solomon and the Queen); (c) the Ethiopic name Menelik I in *Sura XXVIII*, 44 (cf. Nöldeke, *NB*, 51); (d) the probable derivation of Bilkis from *בִּלְקִישׁ* or the Hebrew *pileggh* 'concubine'.

In Persian art Bilkis may often be seen standing in water before Solomon. The same scene is depicted on a window in King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

**Bibliography:** G. Risch, *Die Königin von Saba als Königin Bilkis* (*Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, 1886, 321-72); M. Grünbaum, *Neue Fiktion zur Sagenkunde* (1893, 212-21); E. Littmann, *The legend of the Queen of Sheba in the tradition of Aram* (1904); E. A. W. Budge, *The Queen of Sheba*

and her only son Menyeleh (1932); L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (vols. IV and VI); *The Queen of Sheba* (*The Times*, 28 June 1954); E. Ullendorff, *Candace* (*Adh VIII*, 37) and *The Queen of Sheba* (*New Testament Studies*, 1955, 53-61); idem, *Hebraic-Jewish elements in Abyssinian (monophy) Christianity* (JSS, 1956, 216-56); D. A. Hubbard, *The literary sources of the Kebrā Nagast*, 278-308 (St. Andrews University Ph. D. thesis, 1956). (E. ULLENDORFF)

**BILLAWR**, BALEER—whether from the Greek βύλαρος is a disputed point; cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 1170-1701, crystal. According to Ptolemy, Aristotle, the stone is a kind of glass but harder and more compact. It is the finest, purest and most translucent of natural glasses, and also occurs among the colours of the yābūt; by the dust-coloured rock-crystal is meant the smoky topaz. It may also be artificially coloured; it concentrates the sun's rays so that a black rag or piece of cotton or wool may be set on fire by it; valuable vessels for kings are made of rock-crystal. A commoner kind which is harder and looks like salt—i.e. quartz—gives out spark when struck by steel and is used for striking fire by kings' servants. No account of its crystalline formation, which Pliny gives, is given by the Arab writers, nor is the general distribution of quartz known. Al-Fihāqī says that at 13 days' journey from Kāshghar are two mountains the interiors of which consist entirely of beautiful rock-crystal; it is worked at night, as the reflection of the sun's rays renders work by day impossible. Al-Akādī (*in al-Maḥbir*, 1908) gives the fullest account of the places in which it is found; according to him it comes from East Africa (Zandī), Badakhshān, Armenia, Ceylon, the land of the Franks and Maghrib al-Akḥḥā. According to al-Bīrūnī (d. 430/1038), rock crystal of very high quality from the Zandī Islands, near East Africa, and from the Dībāghāt Islands, west of India, was brought to al-Basra, where it was worked into vessels and other objects. The organisation of the manufacture is described in some detail. Such defects as might have been found even in this rock crystal, said to be superior to that mined in Kāshghar, were concealed by ornaments and inscriptions.

Nāṣirī Khawar, who visited Egypt twice between the years 439/1047 and 441/1050, praises the objects of rock crystal that were sold in the bazaars of Old Cairo (Misr). The raw material had up to that time been brought from the Maghrib, but he was told that Red Sea rock crystal had recently been received which was even more beautiful and transparent than that brought from the Maghrib. Judging from al-Ḥazwī and al-Makrīzī, who drew on earlier sources, the manufacture of rock crystal objects in Egypt must have reached its highest level during the earlier part of the Fātimid period. The dispersal of al-Mustansir's treasures in the years 453/1061-461/1069 must have been a severe blow to the industry as it brought innumerable objects on the market, some of which are described. These objects were either *madḥrāḥ*, plain or faceted, or *manḥāḥ*, ornamented, and it is obvious from what we have heard from al-Bīrūnī that the latter were then held in higher esteem than the former.

Apart from pieces of Safawid, Mughal or other post-medieval origin, something like 165 objects of rock crystal are known to exist which are indisputably of Islamic origin. In the majority of cases they have been preserved in the treasures of European churches, where most of them have served as reliquaries. In such cases the mounting may offer a

*terminus ante quem* for the dating of the rock crystal object, the earliest of such *termini* falling within the years 973 and 982 A.D. Not a single one out of these 165 odd specimens—which include many chess pieces and other minor objects—bears a date, but two of them have inscriptions containing the name of a ruler, in both cases a Fātimid Caliph: a ewer in the Treasury of St. Mark's in Venice made for al-Azīz (365/973-386/996), and a crescent-shaped object in Nuremberg, perhaps the head-gear of a harness, made for his grandson al-Zāhir (411/1021-427/1036). A ewer in Florence must have been made for al-Husayn b. Ḥusayn between 399/1000 and 407/1017, during the reign of al-Hakīm.

All these works in rock crystal are often spoken of as 'Fātimid', but quite a number of them may be of pre-Fātimid origin, and some of them may have been made at al-Basra.

The entire number of specimens referred to belong to the category described as *manḥāḥ*; on the other hand we hardly possess any example of *madḥrāḥ* work, unless we accept as such some of the faceted ewers that some scholars regard as Fātimid, while others think they were made in Europe (Burgundy, Bohemia, Sicily, or Spain).

**Bibliography:** Clement Muller, *Essai sur la min. arabe in the Journ.* 43, Series 6, 31, 250; Tifāghī, *Asṭakh al-Aḥyā* (transl. by H. Bickel), 2, ed., 128; K. Risch, *Die Königin von Saba*, 1, 212; idem, *Asṭakh al-Aḥyā* (transl. by H. Bickel), 1, 212; idem, *Asṭakh al-Aḥyā* (transl. by H. Bickel), 1, 212; K. A. C. Creswell, *A Bibliography of Glass and Rock Crystal in Islam*, in *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University*, 1952, 111; R. Schmidt, *Die Hohlkörper und die verwandten fälschlichen Glas- und Kristallarbeiten, in Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, 1912, 23 ff.; C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Glas- und Steinwerkstätten aus dem Nahen Osten*, 1-11, Berlin, 1929-30; P. Kahle, *Die Schätze der Fälmiden*, in *ZDMG*, 1935, 329 ff.; idem, *Bierkristall, Glas und Glasflüsse nach dem Steinbuch von el-Bīrūnī*, *ibid.*, 1936, 322 ff.; K. Erdmann, *Islamische Bierkristallarbeiten, in Jahrb. der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1940, 127 ff.; idem, 'Fātimid Rock Crystals, in *Oriental Art*, 1951, 38; idem, 'The Sacred Blood of Weissau, in *The Burlington Magazine*, 1953, 299 ff.; idem, 'Die fälschlichen Bierkristallarbeiten, in *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, 1955, 189 ff.; D. S. Rice, *A Diable Islam: Rock Crystal*, in *Oriental Art*, 1956, 38. (E. RUSSELL C. J. LAMM)

**BILLITON**, corrupted form of Billang, island in Indonesia at about 108° eastern Long. and 5° southern Lat., a little larger than 1800 square miles. It owes its fame to its tin-mines, and it is probably for this reason that it is mentioned in Indonesian documents of about 900 A.D. A part of the indigenous population—less than 100,000 souls—was converted to Islam in the 19th century.

**Bibliography:** A. W. Nieuwenhuis, in *EV*, s.v. (C. C. BERO)

**BILLAR KÖSHK**, 'The Crystal Palace': this is the title of a Turkish folk tale which gave its name to the oldest Turkish collection of such tales. Variations of this one can be found in Naki Tez, *İstanbul masalları* (publications of the İstanbul Edebiyatı ve Tarih Cemiyeti, 1908, 202 ff.; W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, St. Petersburg 1885 ff., viii (texts collected by I. Künos, 1899), part III, no. 19; Ignace Künos, *Matériaux zur Kenntnis des rumelischen Türkisch*, part I, *Volksmärchen aus Adakale*, Leipzig and

New York 1907, 255-261, no. 30; 8 MSS. of the tale of Billar Köshk, or, more specifically, of its variant *İnceli Çadır*, can be found in the Fildere Archives of the Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi in Ankara. This collection usually contains 23 tales, including the title story Billar Köshk (in the edition by I. Künos, cf. *Türkische Volksmärchen*, V, note 2, there is a further tale, *Ekirisi ile Yemendi*) and the farce *Hırsı ile Yankesi*, ('The thief and the pick-pocket'). All of these have an oral tradition, and have only recently been somewhat modernised and brought out in book form. They have, however, lost nothing of their popular flavour in spite of their literary style. Numerous editions of this collection of folk tales have circulated in Turkey during the past hundred years, and since the writing reform in 1928, there have also been some in Latin script.

Editions: *Billar Köşh Hükümeti*, ed. Emîret Kutubhânesi, İstanbul 1339; *Billar Köşh Hükümeti*, İstanbul 1918; Selma Muir 'Yurdutari', *Resimli Billar Köşh Hükümeti*, İstanbul 1940.

Translations: T. Menzel, *Türkische Märchen I: Billar Köşh*, 14 Turkish tales, translated into German for the first time, from the two İstanbul editions of the collection. (*Beiträge zur Märchenkunde des Morgenlandes*, edited by G. Jacob and T. Menzel, II, Hannover 1923.)

**Bililography:** (apart from works already mentioned) Künos, *Osmann-Türk Nihâlihi Gıyâmeti*, Budapest 1887/89; G. Jacob, *Die türkische Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1901; I. Künos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, Leiden 1905; Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig 1913/32, 6, 229-77; P. N. Boratav, *Billar Köşh*, in *Id.*, II (1944), 613; W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1951. (H. W. DUDAY)

**BILMA**, (Ar.) (in Todaga: Toqei or Tūqei), chief centre of the Kavar, a group of oases situated mid-way between Fezzan and Chad, on the main route from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The palm groves extend for 50 kilometres from north to south, from Anay to Bilma. At no point are they more than 2 kilometres wide. Bilma is situated at the foot of a cliff which faces west; its base is formed by the marine layers of Upper Cretaceous, and its summit by the sandstone of the Continental terminal.

Although conquered by the Arabs in the 1st/7th century (expedition of 'Uthb b. Nāfi' reported by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam), the Kavar was still partly pagan at the beginning of the 19th century. The population, numbering about 1500, consists of a settled negro race, the Kanuri, and the Guzeblā, hybrids from Kanuri and Teda. These settlers have always been subject to the nomads who inhabit the neighbouring regions, first to the Toumou of the Air, then to the Teda. They cultivate palm-trees whose dates are sent to the Tibesti and to the Hausa countries; but their chief means of livelihood lies in the exploitation of the salt-works situated at 2 kilometres to the north-west of Bilma, at Kalala. These salt works are made up of about a thousand pits spread over some 15 hectares. The salt is mainly extracted in the hot season, from April to November, because of evaporation.

The pits are dug down to the underground water level (2 m.), the water is left to evaporate, a crust is formed which is broken with palm sticks, and the salt is deposited at the bottom. There are two main types of salt: *beza*, in the form of crystals which is



not treated in any way and is used for human consumption, and the *kaṣṣa*, moulded into loaves in hollowed out palm-trunks and used chiefly for the feeding of animals. The salt-works belonged first to the Kuṣṣan, a Kanuri tribe, who were driven back to the south-east of Kawaṛ, between Kouka and Gouri; then, from the sixteenth century, to a Tausarg tribe, the Kol Gress. Since the arrival of the French, they have belonged to the people of Bīlma. The apply for authority to dig to the village chief who is master of the land, and exploit the works themselves, without paying royalties to anyone. All commercial activity is carried on during the *asfar* [s.a.] in the autumn and spring, when the Tausarg caravans bring in the millet, butter, dried meat, fabrics and kola nuts which are bartered for the salt. These great caravans comprising several thousand camels, with growing security have been replaced by smaller individual caravans, which are tending to get smaller still, following into the infiltration into Nigeria of sea-water salt and European salt, but the family bartering system remains unchanged; only the rate of exchange varies from year to year.

**Bibliography:** Barth, *Reisen*, iv, ch. 6; Rohlf, *Quer durch Africa*, i; Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i; Montell, *De St Louis à Tripoli par le Tchad*, ch. xlii; Gabel, *Notes sur Bilma et les oasis environnantes*, in *Revue Coloniale*, 1909, p. 380; Cos. Grandin, *Notes sur l'industrie et le commerce du sel au Kawaṛ, et au Agnam*, in *Bul. IFAN*, xliii, 1951, 428-533; J. Chapelle, *Nomades noirs du Sahara*. (R. CAVOT-REV)

**BILMEÐJE**, the name given as a rule to popular riddles among the Ottoman Turks. Northern and eastern Turks use instead various words from the root *bil-* ('to find'), such as *bilâğmak*, *tapmağla*, *tağbiğak*, *tağbiğak*, *tağbiğjurnal*.

The true riddles of the people can generally be distinguished from artificial riddles such as the *laglas* or *mu'ammâ* by their obviously simple form, their puns or double meanings, and their appearance of unreason or illogicality. This last characteristic of riddles, their irrationality, is manifested in this way: when speaking of various objects and happenings, certain traditional expressions are employed which have only a vague connexion with the ordinary natural way of looking at things, and which must be known before the meaning can be grasped. That is to say, it is not generally possible to find the solution to a riddle by using one's logical judgement.

To solve a riddle, one must first comprehend the sense of the peculiar terminology, which has something of the quality of a berrypyth. None of these features is peculiar to popular Turkish riddles. The riddles of any given people differ from those of any other only in details, usually of form. The specially Turkish character of the *bilmecje* is primarily bound up with geographical location and Turkish popular life. Broadly speaking, the Islamic stamp is secondary and unimportant.

At the present time, riddles chiefly constitute the branch of Turkish popular literature that is peculiar to children. Nevertheless, we have evidence suggesting that once upon a time they were regarded very seriously and formed a part of popular philosophy: we find stories in which riddling contests occur, with one man quoting a hemistich and his opponent replying it with another, sometimes with serious consequences for the defeated party. So too the existence of riddles relating to cosmology and sex shows clearly that these were not originally

invented for children. With the change in their social rôle, riddles underwent considerable modification and took on new meanings. Indeed the solution of riddles is usually a shifting and fluid element in their history.

Riddles are mostly in the form of a short proposition: consider for example this riddle, known to have existed as early as the 14th century and still widespread today: *yer altında yağılı kayış* ('only sliding underground') = 'snake'. Most of the popular riddles consist of two parts which are assonant or half-rhyming because of the syntactical balance between them: *Allah yufur aspidâs—bîkâk âlar haplâm* ('God builds its structure, the knife opens its door') = 'water-melon'. Riddles of this pattern are often extended into regular quatrains (*mânî*), a characteristic form of Turkish popular verse. Paronomasia and onomatopoeia abound.

A comparative examination of material so far collected shows that the various groups into which riddles may be classified are all variants of certain primitive types. In fact, because of the alterations incidental to the process of being passed orally from one person to another, and because they are consciously adjusted to suit new solutions, riddles are subject to constant change. This entails a well-nigh infinite increase in the number of variants. Nevertheless there are some riddles which have changed neither their form nor their solution for centuries.

As early as Mahmûd Kâşgharî's *Dîwân Lughât al-Turk* (11th century) we find riddles, under the names *tabuğhuq neng*, *tabuğhuq* and *tabuğhuq*. But the oldest known examples of Turkish popular riddles are found in the Codex Cumanicus and have formed the subject of numerous publications (G. Koun, *Codex Cumanicus*, Budapest 1880, 141-157, 236 foll.; W. Radloff, *Das Türkische Sprachmaterial des C. C. (Mémoires de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg, 1887, xxxv, 2 foll., no. 6); W. Bang, Über die Rätsel des C. C. (SBPr. Ak. W., 1912, xxi, 334-353); J. Némethy, Die Rätsel des C. C. (ZDMG, 1915, lxxvi, 577-608); S. E. Malov, K istorii i izučeni C. C. (Izv. Akad. Nauk SSSR, Izvestia section, 1930, 348-375); J. Némethy, Zu den Rätseln des C. C. (RCA, ii, 366 foll.).*

There are also a good many collections of riddles recorded by contemporary scholars, but these are far from having exhausted the rich store existing among the Turkish peoples.

**Bibliography:** A. N. Samoylovich, *Zagadki zakavkazskikh Turkmenov* (Zivaya Starina, 1909), 28-31. He has published a bibliography of studies of riddles of the Turkish peoples till 1912. This (RO, iv, 4; ill 1926) has been completed by Malov. For bibliography of Ottoman riddles see Kowalski's article *Türkische Volksrätsel aus Nordbulgarien* (*Festschrift für G. Jacob*), 130 ff. (ill 1932). Important collections of Turkish riddles: I. Kinos, *Osmantürkische räthselhafte zweytheil*, Budapest 1880, s. 141-177; T. Komúdi, *Zagadki indonezijske*, Krakow 1919; Sa'd al-Din Nûzhet and Ahmed Ferid, *Konya ulâsiyeti khalâsâtı ve harîfiyatı*, Konya 1926, 225-233; Hammamî-zâde İhsan, *Bilmeceler* (articles on Turkish folklore), ii, Istanbul 1930; T. Kowalski, *Türkische Volksrätsel aus Kleinasien*, (ARO 1932, iv, 295-324). (T. KOWALSKI)

**BİMÄRİSTÂN**, often considered to be *mârisân*, from Persian *bimâr* 'sick' + the suffix *-istân* denoting place, a hospital. In modern usage *bimâristân* is applied especially to a lunatic asylum.

#### 1. Early period and Muslim East.

According to the Arabs themselves (cf. Makrîdî, *Kihât*, ii, 402), the first hospital was founded either by Maâkhyûl, a mythical king of Egypt, or by Hippocrates, the latter of whom is said to have made for the sick in a garden near his house a *xendakharion*, literally 'lodging for strangers'. The authority for this statement is given by Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (*U'yûn*, ed. Müller, i, 26-27) as Book 3 of Galen's *Fi al-ğibâ al-mawâf* (*Peri Eileas*), a work which has not survived in Greek. Since hospitals were not a feature of life in classical antiquity, the question of origin is not solved by these indications. Al-Walid I (Caliph 86-96/705-715) is credited with having been the first to build a *mâristân* in Islam, placing in it doctors and assigning them stipends (Makrîdî, *loc. cit.*), but although this is stated in similar terms (hospitals for the sick) by so early a writer as Ibn al-Fakhî *circa* 285/902 (106-107), the fact is open to doubt. According to al-Tabarî (ii, 1196), al-Walid restrained the lepers from going out among the people and assigned them stipends, — a bare statement somewhat amplified in another passage (ii, 1271), where al-Tabarî mentions that al-Walid 'gave donations to the lepers, telling them not to beg from the people nor assigned to every cripple a servant and to every blind person a guide'. Ibn al-Ağlir (*10th anno* 88/707) has a short notice to the same effect, and al-Dihabî adds that the servants and guides were slaves (*Ta'riğh al-İslâm*, iv, 67). It would seem that we have to do here with measures of segregation, somewhat as in Muslim Spain later, where a whole quarter at Kordova (Gordova) was known as Rabad al-Mardjâ, 'Suburb of the Sick' (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 385-382, 434).

The establishment of the first real hospital in Islam depended on the continuing influence of the medical school and hospital at Dîwandaysâbir (Dîwandaysâbir) in Khûristân. Founded under the Sâssânids, this institution maintained its Syro-Persian and Indian, ultimately Greek, traditions, into the Arab period and from the time of the transference of the capital to al-İrâk exercised a profound effect on the development of Arabic medicine. As far as hospitals are concerned, contact with Dîwandaysâbir bore fruit in the reign of Hârûn al-Râşid (170/786-193/809), who charged Dîrğahî b. Balğhithajî, a Christian doctor of that school, with the creation of a *bimâristân* in Baghdâd. At the same time a skilled dispenser in the *bimâristân* at Dîwandaysâbir was sent to Baghdâd. This man's son, Yûhannâ (Yahyâ) b. Mâsawayh, afterwards became head of the new *bimâristân* (Ibn al-Kifî, *Ta'riğh al-Bukamâ*, ed. Lippert, 385-384; Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 274-175). The original Baghdâd hospital was situated in the S.W. suburb on the Karğîlâh Canal. It was here that, following the catholic traditions of Dîwandaysâbir, the Indian Manka at the request of Yahyâ b. Bîğlîd al-Barmakî translated the Sanskrit medical work *Sûtrata-samhitâ* into Persian (*Fihrist*, 303) and al-Râzî (Rhazes) lectured, according to some.

How long the *bimâristân* of Hârûn continued to function alone is not clear. From the beginning of the 4th/10th century or somewhat earlier we hear of a spate of new foundations in Baghdâd: the *bimâristân* founded by Badr al-Mu'tadid, the *ğubûm*, 'page', of al-Mu'tadid (279/892-289/902) in the Muğharri quarter on the E. bank of the Tigris (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 221, cf. 214); a *bimâristân*

in the Harbiyya quarter, N. of the City of al-Manṣur, endowed in 302/914 by the 'good sultan' 'Alî b. 'Isâ, who gave the direction of it together with 'the rest of the hospitals in Baghdâd, Makkia and al-Madîna' to the learned Abî 'Uğmân Sa'îd b. Ya'kûb al-Dimishqî, otherwise known as a translator (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 234); the *bimâristân* al-Sayyida on the E. bank, opened in al-Maharram, 306/June, 916 by Sinân b. Ṭahit, who appears to have succeeded Abî 'Uğmân al-Dimishqî as general intendant of hospitals in Baghdâd and elsewhere (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 221-222); the *bimâristân* al-Muktadîr at the Bâb al-Shâm, built about the same time (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 222); and the *bimâristân* of Ibn al-Furât in Darb al-Mufaḍḍal, over which Ṭahit b. Sinân is said to have been given the charge in 313/925 (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 224). These hospitals derived their revenues from endowments (*waqf*) made by powerful and wealthy individuals. The funds were in the hands of trustees, who were not always very attentive to their responsibilities (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 221). An idea of the size of the hospitals may be gained from their monthly expenditure: at the Muktadîr *300 dinars* a month; at the *bimâristân* al-Sayyida, *600 dinars* a month (*ibid.*). Some comfort for the patients was secured by the provision of blankets and charcoal in cold weather (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 222). Efforts in this direction sometimes went much further (see below).

We know less about hospitals in the provinces, but some certainly existed before the 4th/10th century. The *bimâristân* of al-Rayy, over which al-Râzî presided before coming to Baghdâd, where he died as head of a hospital about 320/932 (Ibn al-Kifî, 271), was a large institution (cf. Ibn al-Kifî, 273; Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 310-311) and had probably been in existence for some time. A lunatic asylum at Dayr Hirkî between Wâsit and Baghdâd was visited by al-Mubarrad in the Caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, i.e. between 232/847 and 247/861 (*Mas'ûdî, Murûğh*, vii, 197 ff.).

In the time of Sinân b. Ṭahit, who died in 331/942 (*Fihrist*, 302), on instructions from 'Alî b. 'Isâ already mentioned the prisons were daily visited by doctors, medicines and potions were provided for sick prisoners, and female visitors were also admitted, evidently in the capacity of nurses (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 221). At the same period medical practitioners and a travelling dispensary (*khizma* *li-l'adwiyâ* or *ta'ğribia*) were sent round the villages of the Sawad (i.e., lower 'Irâk). From correspondence between Sinân and the *waqf* concerning this mobile medical unit it appears that at this time non-Muslims as well as Muslims were treated at the *bimâristân* (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, *ibid.*).

At least some of the Baghdâd hospitals which have been listed were probably still in existence when the great 'Aḍud *bimâristân* was founded at the bend of the Tigris in W. Baghdâd by the Buwayhid 'Aḍud al-Dawla. Al-Râzî is repeatedly mentioned in connexion with this hospital, which from the time of its opening in 372/982, shortly before the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (Dihabî, *Duwal al-İslâm*, i, 167), was the most celebrated of the hospitals of Baghdâd. It is said that al-Râzî chose the site by causing a piece of meat to be suspended in every part of the city, and discovering where there was least putrefaction, and also that 'Aḍud al-Dawla selected him from more than a hundred doctors as first chief (the word is *adîf*, from Syrian) of the new foundation (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, i, 309-310). But al-Râzî had died 50 years earlier. The explanation of the anachronism,



already noted by Ibn Abi Usayb'a (*ibid.*), may be the similarity in the script of the *Bimāristān* al-'Adulī and that founded in al-Rāḥ's lifetime by al-Mu'tadilī (see above).

When first founded, the 'Adulī hospital had twenty-four doctors (Ibn al-Kifī 235-236). Several classes of specialists are mentioned: 'physiologists' (*ḥabā'iyūn*), oculists (*ḥabā'īn*), surgeons (*ḥabā'īn*), beryones and bone-setters (*muḥabirūn*) (Ibn Abi Usayb'a, i, 310). The salary of *Ḍiḥrī* al-B 'Ḥayd Allāh, whose turn of duty at the *bimāristān* was two days and two nights per week, is given as 300 *ḍirhams*, i.e., monthly (Ibn al-Kifī, 148). Lectures were given at the 'Adulī hospital (Ibn Abi Usayb'a, i, 239, 244), and we know some of the works which were read in this way, e.g., the *Dirāḥiyya* (Andalusi) of Ḥabīb b. Saḥl of Qudayyāliyyūn (*Fiḥrī*, 297, cf. Brockmann, i, 232), eventually superseded by another work of the same title by Ibn al-Tūmī, a later dean (*shāḥ*, see above) of the 'Adulī hospital (Ibn Abi Usayb'a, i, 161, 259). When Ibn Ḍiḥayr visited Baghdad in 430/1038 the place was like a great cauldron, with a water-supply from the Tigris, and all the appointments of royal palaces (*Rūḥ*, ed. De Goeje, 225-226).

Another of the great hospitals of mediaeval Islam was founded in Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (547/1146-569/1175). The Nūrī hospital is said to have been built from the ransom of an unnamed king of the Franks (*Makrīdī*, *Ḥikāyat*, ii, 408). Ibn Ḍiḥayr (*Rūḥ*, 283) describes how the staff kept lists of the patients' names and the amounts of medicines and food which each required. A typical day in the life of a leading doctor at the Nūrī hospital included going the rounds of the sick and writing down prescriptions of medicine and treatment, visiting private patients, then returning to the hospital in the evening to lecture for the students on medical subjects (Ibn Abi Usayb'a, ii, 133). There was also a Nūrī hospital at Halab (Aleppo) (*Rāḥib* al-Tabāḥ, *Ta'rikh* Halab, ii, 77).

In Egypt no *bimāristān* existed till Ahmad b. Tūlūn constructed one in 259/872-261/874 (*Makrīdī*, *Ḥikāyat*, ii, 405). Here the rule was that no soldier or slave should be admitted for treatment. The institution was visited, however, by the king and his men and women. The Nūrī hospital was founded by Salih al-Dīn, but the great creation of al-Manṣūr Kāḥlūn, completed in 11 months in 693/1284, was the most splendid of its kind in Egypt, and perhaps the most elaborate which had yet been seen in Islam. The endowment is said to have amounted to nearly one million *ḍirhams* in a year (*Makrīdī*, *Ḥikāyat*, ii, 406). Men and women were admitted. None was turned away, nor was the period of treatment limited. Formerly a Fatimid palace with accommodation for 8,000 persons, the Manṣūrī hospital possessed wards where fevers, ophthalmia, surgical cases, dysentery, etc., were separately treated, a pharmacy, a dispensary, store-rooms, attendants of both sexes, a large administrative staff, lecture arrangements, a library, in fact all that the best experience of the time could suggest for the healing of the sick. The account of these matters given by al-Makrīdī (*Ḥikāyat*, ii, 406-408) is an impressive tribute to the hospital science of mediaeval Islam.

Books were written about hospitals, e.g., the *Kitāb* *bi-ḥikāyat al-bimāristān* of al-Rāḥ (Ibn Abi Usayb'a, i, 310), the *Bimāristān* par excellence, cf. Ibn al-Kifī, 272 = Ibn Ḍiḥayr, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, 77), which, like the *Kitāb al-bimāristān* of Ḥabīb al-'Ulamā' al-Fārikī, head of a flourishing hospital

in Mesopotamia in the 5th/11th century (Ibn Abi Usayb'a, i, 233), is now lost. Somewhat different are the *Makāla Amīniyya fi 'l-taḍayya al-bimāristāniyya* of Ibn al-Tūmī, and the *Daḥir al-bimāristān* of Ibn Abi 'l-Bayyān, both works on pharmacopoeia mentioned by Paul Shāth (*Al-Fihrist*, Cairo 1938, i, 70, 73), who gave an edition of the latter (*Bulletin de l'Association d'Égypte*, xv, 1933, 135, 138).

*Bibliography*: L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la Médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, 557-572; E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge 1921, 45-46, 56, 101-102; Amin A. Ḥayy Allāh, *Outline of Arabic Contributions to Medicine and the Allied Sciences*, Beirut 1946, 59-73 (contains a few mistakes); C. Elgood, *A Medical History of Persia and the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1937, index (gives also information on the W. of Islam); G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900; reprinting 1924, 62, 103-105; E. W. Lane, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, London 1866, 92-94 (reduced condition of the Manṣūrī hospital last century); M. W. Hilton-Simpson, *Arab Medicine and Surgery*, Oxford 1922, 73 (village hospital in modern Algeria); *Ḥabīb* al-'Ulamā', *Histoire des bimāristāns (hospitales) à l'époque islamique*, Cairo 1928; idem, *Ta'rikh al-bimāristān fi 'l-Islām*, Damascus 1939; J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, text, 126 n. 1, and album, pl. 131. (D. M. DEXTER)

#### ii. Muslim West.

The first large hospital in North Africa for which there is any evidence was founded at Marrākush by the Almohad sultan Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) about a hundred years before the establishment of the famous hospital at Cairo. The sultan was a great builder and, after attracting to his court the most celebrated Spanish doctors of his time, Ibn Tufayl, Ibn Ruḡḡib, Ibn Zuhr al-Hafid and his son, he built in his capital, for sick foreigners both rich and poor, a magnificent hospital of which there is a description by 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrākushī (cf. *al-Ma'adid*, ed. Mohammed El-Fassi, 1938, 176-177). The same sultan also founded, in various parts of the empire, hospitals for the insane, for lepers and for the blind (cf. al-Kurānī, ed. Fās 1905, 124; Francis Beaumont, 1907).

The great Marinid Sultan (q.v.), Abū Yusuf Ya'qūb, Abū 'l-Ḥasan and Abū 'l-'Inan, kept up these establishments and added many others (cf. al-Kurānī, ed. Fās, 1305, 214; cf. *Ḍiḥayr* al-Saniyya, ed. Ben Cheb, 100; Ibn Marzūq, *al-Musnad*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, in *Hispania* v (1925), 36; Ibn Bāḥrī, *Rūḥ*, ii, 327). At a later date, the ruling sultan appropriated the revenues intended for these hospitals, which consequently fell into decline or disappeared.

At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Leo Africanus described the hospital at Fez as being in total decline and used primarily as a prison for dangerous lunatics. This is still its function, and it is also used as a prison for women (cf. Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Schuler, ii, 78, trans. Epaulard, i, 188; Le Tourneau, *Fez*, 255-257).

The famous Almohad hospital at Marrākush seems to have disappeared without leaving any traces, and the hospital founded there by the Sa'adid sultan 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥabīb bi-Ḥabīb (965-81/1557-74) became a prison for women (cf. al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Idhār*, trans. v, 60).

In 1247/1832 the 'Alawid sultan Mawlay 'Abd al-Rahmān built at Sale a hospital attached to the

sanctuary of Sayyid Ibn 'Aḥir. This hospital, which is still in use, is dispensed with doctors; instead, the sick relied for their cure upon the baraka of the saint. The memory of old hospitals which have disappeared or fallen into disuse is preserved in some towns of Morocco, for example in Rabat and El-Ksar (cf. L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, in: *Glossary*, 753), and also in Tangiers.

Lepers (plural *ḍiḥāḥ*, or, euphemistically, *marḥū*) were usually placed in a special quarter, called *al-ḥāra*, outside the towns. At Fez, they were originally settled outside Bāḥ al-Khawḥja, on the Thénier road. During the first half of the thirteenth century they were removed to caves outside Bāḥ al-Sharḥ. Then, in 688/1286, they were installed in other caves outside Bāḥ al-Gāa. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century they lived in a town near the Sōk al-Khams (cf. al-Kurānī, ed. Rabat 1936, i, 53-54; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Epaulard, i, 229). At Marrākush, the *ḥāra* was originally outside Bāḥ al-Ḥamīd, until, at the end of the 10th/16th century, the Sa'adid sultan al-Manṣūr removed it to outside Bāḥ al-Dakḥl.

At Tunis, the Hafsid Sultan, Abū Farīs, founded the first hospital "for poor, foreign or infirm Muslims", completed in 823/1420 (cf. al-Zarkashī, *Ta'rikh al-Dawlatayn*, ed. Tunis 1289, 102). At Granada, the Nasrid sultan Muhammad V, built a splendid hospital "for sick and poor Muslims", completed in 768/1367. The foundation inscription reads that "never, since the beginning of Islamic influence in these parts, has such an establishment been founded". Perhaps this is an exaggeration, for there were others, and in Granada itself. And, from the 7th/13th century onwards, the Valencia *Ucubalida* translates *hospitale* by *diālatā* and, therefore, living terms: *marāṭin* and *maladīn* (cf. Ibn al-Khatib, *al-Idhār*, ed. Cairo 1379, II, 23; Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, 164; L. Seco de Lucena, *Planos de Granada árabe*, 53).

A distinction must be made between "hospitals" intended for the sick and "hospices" or "night lodgings" (*manāzil*) intended for travellers. In the Muslim West, such hospices were established outside the gates of the big towns by most of the sovereigns who founded hospitals. They received the name *ḍawīya* (q.v.) (cf. G. S. Colla, *La suavia mudejar de Anemli, a Taza, in Hispānia*, 1953, II, 1). Al-Khafādī appears to have repeated an earlier error in stating that the first *bimāristān* was set up by Hippocrates who gave it the name *ḥiḥimadūkhīya* (*ḥiḥimadūkhīya*, "hostelry for foreigners" (cf. *Ḥiḥimadūkhīya*, ed. Cairo 1282, 50) (cf. above, p. 1221).

The Moroccan author of the *Ma'adid* (cf. supra), writing in Baghdad in 621/1224, is the only Western author to use the correct etymological form: *bimāristān*. All the others use a form, *marāṭin*, which has lost the Persian preposition. Very soon, the word appears with the first *a* shortened. In the Spanish dialects, the *a* was followed by the *u* (perhaps a *Ucubalida* *marāṭin* and *maladīn*; P. de Alcala, *marāṭin*), and this vocalisation is attested for Egypt in the 11th/17th century by al-Khafādī (cf. *Ḥiḥimadūkhīya*, ed. Cairo 1282, 206). In present-day Cairo the word is pronounced *marāṭin*.

In the modern dialects of the Maghrib, some vocalisation has taken place in the word: *marḥū*, the reason for this being, as we have seen, that *marḥū* is attractive. In Tetuan it is pronounced *marḥūn*, and everywhere the meaning of the word is "prison for dangerous lunatics" (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 465).

#### iii. Turkey.

The first Saḥḥid *Dār al-Shifā'* (Hospital) and *Madrasa* were established in Kayseri in 602/1206. This was followed by the building of other hospitals in Sivas, Divriği, Çankırı, Kastamonu, Konya, Tokat, Erzurum, Erzurum, Mardin and Amasya. The Anatolian hospitals were numerous then, as now, *Bimāristān*, *Māristān*, *Tīmāristān*, *Dār al-Shifā'* or *Dār al-'Afiya*. They were general hospitals in that they accepted all kinds of patients, and their staffs included surgeons, physicians, pharmacists and oculists. They were supported by independent funds, and were organised according to the size, importance and specific needs of the locality.

The first Ottoman *Bimāristān* in Anatolia was the *Dār al-Shifā'* of Yıldırım in Bursa. When Bursa was conquered by the Ottomans in 726/1306, it had no hospital. The first Ottoman sultans (Sultān Orḡān, Murād I, Yıldırım Bāyazīd) enlarged the city and built some institutions, among which was the *Dār al-Shifā'* of Yıldırım, opened in 802/1399. This institution, which was a section of *Yıldırım 'Umdet* (a special centre including hospital, bath, rest house for travellers etc.) was repaired many times before it was abandoned in the middle of the 19th century in favour of the Ahmed Medfī Paḡha hospital. It is in ruins now.

The leprosy which was built at Edirne in the time of Murād II (824-853/1412-31) operated for approximately two centuries. Before this leprosy, the Turks had built others in Sivas, Kastamonu and Kayseri in Anatolia.

The *Dār al-Shifā'* of Fātih which was opened in 875/1470, was built by Mehmed II, the Conqueror (855-886/1451-81), and was a part of his *Kudsiye*. Although it is now in ruins as a result of many large fires, the hospital buildings served until the last century. The *Wahbiye* shows that there was a large medical student body in addition to the medical staff. This was the traditional method of training medical students in Islamic hospitals.

In the same century Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512) established another *Umdet* at Edirne, on the banks of the Tundja river. A part of this institution was a hospital which was named after him. The buildings were begun in 891/1486 and completed in eight years, but the *Wahbiye* was not established until 898/1493. Although the institution is now in ruins, its large staff served the public well until the beginning of this century. According to Ewliya Çelebi, it had a staff of ten musicians who played for the patients from dawn till noon. There are many mistakes in the plans of the institution, which were prepared very hurriedly by C. Gurliḥ, cf. C. Gurliḥ, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin 1872, 2 vols.

During the 16th century three great hospitals were established in Istanbul and one in Manisa. The *Bimāristān* of Khaseki was built in 940/1530 in the Spanish dialects, the *a* was followed by the *u* (perhaps a *Ucubalida* *marāṭin* and *maladīn*; P. de Alcala, *marāṭin*), and this vocalisation is attested for Egypt in the 11th/17th century by al-Khafādī (cf. *Ḥiḥimadūkhīya*, ed. Cairo 1282, 206). In present-day Cairo the word is pronounced *marāṭin*.

The fourth hospital, the *Bimāristān* of Topkapı, was built in 991/1583 in Istanbul for Nūrūdīn



Sultān, mother of Murād III (982-1003/1574-95). This institution served as a hospital until 1927 when it became a tobacco warehouse.

In the 17th century, Ahmed I (1012-26/1603-17) had a large hospital erected behind the old Byzantine Hippodrome near his famous mosque. The hospital was opened in 1025/1616 and has only recently been demolished to make room for a new school.

There was a recession in the establishment of Ottoman health and social aid institutions during the 18th century; but in the 19th century military service, styles of clothing, education etc. were modernised in the Ottoman Empire. In 1253/1837 the Ġharābī hospital was established in Istanbul at Edirnekapı in the *Madārasa* of Māhmut II Sultān. While this hospital was being modernised by Bezm-i 'Alea, Walide Sultān, mother of Sultān 'Abd al-Majīd, new modern military hospitals and a modern medical school were established. These institutions were to meet the medical needs of the new army. A new school of medicine and surgery established in Istanbul in 1253/1837, by Sultān Mahmut II (1227-1255/1808-39), began its teaching in Italian but switched to French with the coming of some good medical teachers from Austria in 1839. This medical school was enlarged by sultans 'Abd al-Majīd, 'Abd al-'Azīz and 'Abd al-Hamīd II, and eventually included a rabies institute, a bacteriological institute and an inoculation centre. A number of physicians having knowledge of European languages and modern medical methods graduated from this school. They went to Anatolia and founded modern hospitals there. Immunisations against rabies and smallpox were started here nearly at the same time as they were begun in Europe. The Ottoman Government was one of those which helped to establish the Pasteur Institute.

Shihlī children's hospital, which is one of the largest hospitals in Istanbul, was established by Sultān 'Abd al-Hamīd II, in 1316/1898.

These hospitals were the most important of the Ottoman Empire and although there are many others to be found throughout Turkey, space does not permit their inclusion. In five centuries the Turks established nearly seventy hospitals in Istanbul alone. (Hani N. Şenustaşoğlu.)

**BINĀ<sup>2</sup>**, building, the art of the builder or mason. Building techniques depend partly on the materials used. In the Islamic countries we find very widely differing materials employed, from rammed earth to ashlar, with unbaked and baked brick, rubble and rough-hewn stone as intermediary stages. The choice of one of these materials depends of course on the resources of a given country, or the lack of them, but as well as this on local traditions or traditions brought in by foreign builders, which may for a time supplant local ones. Thus Syria, where the art of stone-cutting had long been known, reproduces in stone the complicated forms of the *mukarnas* (= stalactites) which were borrowed from Persia and probably derive from brick architecture. And on the other hand Egypt, whose quarries had yielded such fine free-stone, uses brick at the time of the Tūlūmids, they are taking their models and no doubt their chief architects from 'Irāk, where brick was the normal material. Apart from such considerations Muslim builders seem comparatively indifferent as to choice of material, except in some countries such as Syria which cling to their preference for fine work. Of the three great Hispano-Moorish towers of the 6th/12th century, which—no doubt wrongly—are attributed to the same architect, the Giralda at

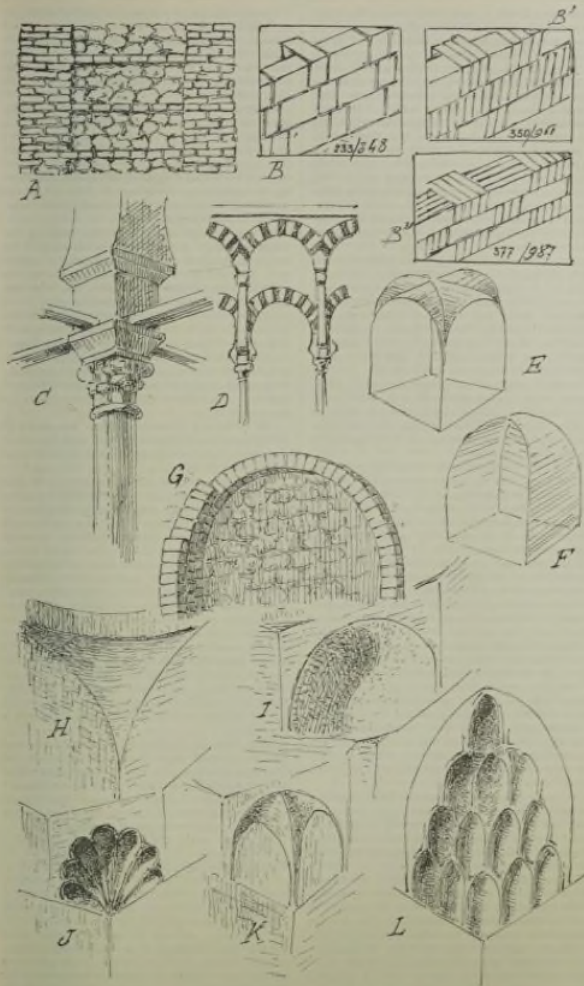
Seville is built of brick, the Ḥassān tower at Rabat of ashlar and the minaret of the Kutubiyya at Marrakech of rubble. This indifference on the part of the builder as to material and the carelessness of craftsmen in its use are seen more clearly in palaces than in religious buildings, especially in the West from the 7th/13th century. There are several reasons for this: speed of construction, the need being to satisfy a master's whim the shortest delay; the use of unskilled slave labour capable of nothing more complicated than ramming concrete between two boards; and finally the general use of facings (coverings of plain or sculptured plaster, inlaid-work of enamelled clay or earthenware tiles) which completely conceal the body of the walls.

It is remarkable that the technique of cobwork (*lābya*) should have been described in detail by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muḥaddima*, and leads us to assume that he thought it a characteristically Muslim practice. Earth with which chalk and crushed baked earth or broken stones are often mixed is rammed between two boards kept parallel by beams. The wall is plastered over, often in such a way as to simulate joints of heavy bond-work beneath. When this plaster falls, the regularly spaced holes left by the beams become visible. In the Muslim West cobwork became general in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, especially in military building. In the Maghrib it seems to have been an importation from Andalusia, where it had long been known.

Unbaked brick (*ṣaḥb*), which sometimes serves as a facing for cobwork, is made of earth and cut straw rammed together in a wooden former. It is still in common use in Sahara towns, and was employed very early in arid regions, especially in Mesopotamia and Arabia. The walls of the Prophet's dwelling in Medina were probably built of this material, as are those of the 'Abbāsid mosques of Sāmarrā. We find it employed about the same time in Ifrikiya. The excavations at 'Abbāsiyya, the seat of the Aghlabids of al-Rayawān, have brought to light carefully moulded specimens of *ṣaḥb* 42 cm. long by half that measurement in width, and a quarter in thickness, which suggests that the cubit used by the builders was 42 cm.

Baked brick (*qīr*), used so commonly in the Iranian world and by the Romans also, notably in the public baths, is to be found in all the Islamic countries, but was always *par excellence* the building material of Persia. It is of varying dimensions, and is sometimes cut on an angle or partly rounded off. It is used alone or with rubble in parts of a building where accuracy of line is important (pillars, pedestals, stairways, arches, vaults, etc.). It functions as horizontal tying material alternating with courses of rubble, or vertical tying, to maintain regularity of construction, especially at corners (A). Brick is as a rule covered over with plaster, but it may remain visible and add an element of colour, either the pink of baked earth or that of some enamel applied to its edge.

Rubble or rough-hewn stone was used in Sāsānid building and is still used in Muslim Mesopotamia, as in the stronghold of Uḡhaydir (mid 2nd/8th century). In the 5th/11th century it seems to have been the material most familiar to the Berber builders of North Africa. It is used above all for the ramparts of towns before the introduction of cobwork (cob walls will often have a foundation of rubble, and also in waterworks. The cementing mortar and protecting plaster are of chalk, sand, crushed fragments of tile, and wood charcoal. An analysis of their





composition reveals a pattern of evolution which has been studied by M. Solignac (*Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques de Kairouan*, . . . in *AIEO Algiers*, 1952-3), and allows us to date the works.

The use of ashlar continues a Roman and Byzantine tradition. Its homeland is in Syria, where ashlar has remained a common building material until our time. It was temporarily replaced by brick in Egypt, but came into use again in the Fātimid period (4th-6th/10th-12th century) especially in the fortifications of the Armenian Badr al-Dīnall. In Ifrīkiya it is used for the religious and military buildings of the 3rd/9th century and from the 7th/13th century was popular again with the Tunisian architects. In Spain it is the regular material of the Umayyad foundations; local tradition was there reinforced by Syrian influence. The Maghrib takes it over in the 6th/12th century in the Almohad buildings.

As in the Byzantine period, walls built of rubble-work are frequently faced with ashlar. The border-work, not as massive as the Roman, shows combinations of tiles and headers, whose chronology Valazquez Bono has contrived to establish, for Cordova (Valazquez Bono, *Medina Azahra y Alamo*, Madrid 1912) (B, B', B''). Almohad bond-work is of alternate thick and thin courses, which from Morocco pass into Tunisia.

To these materials we should add wood: longitudinal beams are sometimes sunk in walls; at al-Kayrawān heavy planks form architraves above the capitals; small beams form ceilings and sometimes lintels, a practice not without risk to the solidity of the building concerned.

Walls, the composition of which we have just indicated, are often flanked by buttresses. Projecting semi-cylindrical abutments of the old Mesopotamian type were added to the stone outer walls of the Syrian Umayyad strongholds, and the brick ones of the mosques at Sīmrā. The great mosque at Tunis (3rd/9th century) has at its four corners rounded buttresses of apparently the same origin, and they are found again in a building of the Ka'fa of the Banū Hammād (5th-6th/11th-12th century). The great mosque at al-Kayrawān was given massive rectangular buttresses, partly later than the original construction. The mosque at Cordova has similar buttresses at regular intervals around its periphery.

Among the supporting members found principally in the halls of mosques, columns deserve first mention. In early centuries in such regions as Syria, Egypt, Ifrīkiya and Spain they were taken from nearby pagan or Christian buildings. When these quarries of shafts and capitals were exhausted Muslim sculptors made their own. Columns are generally cylindrical and not entablature. In the 10th/16th century and after they were imported from Italy to North Africa.

The re-employment of columns of limited size in a hypostyle hall intended to produce an impressive effect led to these supporting members being prolonged upwards. It was doubtless from Egypt ('Amr mosque) that the builders of al-Kayrawān borrowed the technique of superimposing, as in the classical entablature, the support (= architrave), the impost (= frieze) and the cornice, with wooden ties bedded in the impost (C). The architects of the mosque of Cordova were perhaps inspired by the Roman aqueducts to superpose two rows of arches linking the masses of masonry raised above the columns (D). The Almohad mosque of Hassan at Rabat (6th/12th century) shows a rare example of columns formed of superimposed tambours.

The pillar, a masonry support of square, rectangular, cruciform, or divided plan or flanked by false columns, is in general use in Persian architecture. From the 6th/12th century it replaces columns in prayer-halls in the Maghrib. Tunisian mosques retain columns. The situation is found in the inner courtyard of houses.

Apart from the straight lintel formed by a single stone or oblique arch-stones surmounted by a relieving arch (Egypt, Syria), arches assume very varied forms (semi-circular, horseshoe, Persian arch with rectilinear divisions, etc.). These forms are not dictated by constructional requirements, but serve as ornamentation according to the architect's caprice. The arch-stones they contain are often purely decorative in function.

To cover prayer-halls Syria, the Spain of the Umayyad period, and, no doubt in imitation of the latter, the Maghrib regions, had recourse to timber-work protected by tiled saddle-back roofs. Square buildings had pavilion-shaped roofs, *i.e.*, with four slopes. Egypt and Ifrīkiya retained terraces, which were preferred also by the Turkish masters of Algiers in the towns along the Algerian coast. The scarcity of timbers of the necessary dimensions led architects to bring closer together the walls carrying them, and to give narrow, long proportions to enclosures with ceilings (naves, rooms, etc.). The use of wagon-vaults or small domes placed together answers the same need.

The problem of vault and dome was solved in different ways within the Sāsānid and Byzantine traditions, but Iranian genius was to add noteworthy variations.

The question alluded to above of suitable timbers or rather of their scarcity is the determining factor in building the vault, whether semi-cylindrical or elliptical. Setting up a stone arch or vault demands the use of a wooden form on which the arch-stones are successively placed. The use of bricks, their lightness and the fact that they can be mortared together, allows another method which dispenses with the former: the construction of the 'edge vault'. This is frequent in Sāsānid architecture and finds its most logical use in the specifically Iranian type, the *fadeh* (the form so constantly used in Muslim Egypt). It is a three-walled room open on the fourth side, like a large niche with a flat back surface). The builder cements a first row of bricks on the rear wall, tracing out the curve of the vault; a second row is then cemented to the first, a third to the second, so that row by row the vault advances across the space to be covered (G).

Apart from the wagon-vault Muslim architecture uses the groined vault so familiar to Roman and Byzantine builders (two semi-cylinders intersecting at right angles [E]), and more rarely the cloister-arch vault (in which the four walls curve in above the space to be covered) (F) which occasionally serves as the end and culmination of the wagon-vault.

As for the dome, the fine examples constructed in the Byzantine era were the prototypes of the Turkish domes, but this feature also was the subject of variations which Muslim art owes to Persia.

As is known, there are two main types of solution to the problem of how to place a semi-circular or eight-sided vault on a square base: the pendentive (H), the customary practice in the Byzantine world (cf. St. Sophia at Istanbul), and the more specifically Iranian squinch (I). This squinch, a quarter sphere the head-arc of which projects over the corner of the square supporting it, sometimes assumes with its

radiating flutings and indented edge the grace of a marine shell (J). In the Grand Mosque at Damascus and that at Cordova it takes the form of a small niche. North-African and Sicilian architecture knew the squinch as a half groined vault (a groined vault cut diagonally) (K). Finally Persia contrived the super-position of several ranks of cell-like niches, the probable origin of the *misharab* (= stalactites) (L). Above this zone where square and circle are brought into union there frequently rises a circular zone pierced with windows to allow the entry of light, and surmounted by the dome proper.

Persian architects, providing for the advantages offered by brick, showed great ingenuity in erecting widely differing domes. Such is the ribbed dome, of light arches crossing above the space to be covered, and supporting counter-arches which fill the intermediary gaps. This type of dome, which was known from the time of the Sāsānids (A. Godard, *Voltes sassanides*, in *Al-Bihar*, I, 1919), passed from Persia to Spain (3rd/9th century), then from Cordova and Toledo became known in the 6th/12th century in the Maghrib and about the same time throughout south-west France.

(G. MARGAÏN)

**BINBAŞI**, 'head of a thousand', a Turkish military rank. The word appears at an early date among the Western Turks, and is already used in connexion with the military reorganisation said to have been made by Orkhan in 729/1289 (e.g. Sa'd al-Din *Ta'rik al-Turk*, I, 126: 'binbaşlı, yubbaşlı, and binbaşlı were appointed to them. . .'). In the form *binbaşlı* the term also occurs among the Eastern Turks, and is used, for example, of a rank in the Safavid forces in Persia (V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, London 1943, 36, 74, 135). The title *miš-başı*, with a similar meaning, also appears in the memoirs of Bābur. The term *binbaşlı* does not seem to have been much used in the regular Ottoman forces of the classical period. It reappears, however, in the 18th century, and is used to designate the officers of the newly raised *miri 'askeris*, a treasury-paid force of infantry and cavalry. In the campaign of 1769 there were already ninety seven regiments of *miri 'askeris*, each commanded by a *binbaşlı*. The *binbaşlı* received 2000 piastres of pay for the campaign, plus a tenth of the ray of his regiment (Djéwhani, *Ta'rik al-Jihad al-Imperie Ottoman*, vii, Paris 1824, 382-2; cf. Konrad Hensel, *Khalid al-Fihri*, Istanbul 1286, 22 ff.). From the end of the 18th century, (Djéwhet, *Ta'rikh*, vi, 307), *binbaşlı* became a regular rank in the new, European-style armies, given to battalion-commanders. After the accession of 'Abd al-'Aziz, the pay of a *binbaşlı* was fixed at 1250 piastres a month, or 4,166 francs a year (Chichin, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, no. 19). In Egypt the title *binbaşlı*, along with other Turkish military terms and commands, was used in the army of Muhammad 'Alī Pasha, and remained current under subsequent régimes. In the Arab countries it is sometimes pronounced *binbaşlı*, presumably through a distortion of the Turkish *binbaş nân* (n = ن). (B. LEWIS)

**BINGÖL**, name of a town in ancient Turkish Armenia, previously called Capakür, capital of a *vilâyet* partly filled by the mountain range of Bingöl Dağı. It is situated on the Göküsu, a tributary of the Arasani Arsanus-Marid Su, and on the road joining Elazığ with Mush via Palu. (M. CANARD)

**BINGÖL DAĞI**, name of a mountain massif, a raised but not volcanic plateau, which stretches south of Erzurum across the *vilâyet* of Erzurum, Mush and Bingöl (Capakür). Its highest peak in the

east is Demir or Timur Kâle or Ka'fa (Fortress of Iron), over whose height there is some disagreement among different writers: 5660 ms. according to H. and R. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui*, pl. V, 1910. Abos Mons, cf. above, 355; 3650 ms. according to the Erzurum sheet of the Harita Genel Müşavirliği, 1907; 3250 ms. according to the road-map of the Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü, 1951; 3700 ms. according to Bause; 2977 ms. according to Blanchard. It dominates the high plain of Varto (formerly Güngör). The western peak, Bingöl or Toprak Kâle (Fortress of Earth) is almost as high. The northern part of the mountain is cut off by two circular depressions separated by a sharp ridge.

Bingöl Dağı is a true water-shed. It contains numerous little lakes from which it gets its name of mountain (dağı) of a thousand (*bin*) lakes (*göl*). The Araxes (Aras, al-Rass) in the north, the Tuzla Su, a tributary of the northern Euphrates, and the Bingöl Su in the west, the Göküsu Su in the south-west, the Çarğahar Su in the south, and the Kizil Su, the four last tributaries of the Murad Su, in the east and north-east, all rise here. Armenian legend makes it the site of the earthly paradise. In classical geography it is called Abos Mons. The Armenian name is Smanac' (Greek Σμνακίον). Arab geographers and historians do not refer to it, although there is some mention in the wars between the Hamdanids and the Byzantines in the 4th/10th century of the place *Halğöl* (Arm. Havalç) situated to the south of Kälälä-Erzurum and in the Bingöl Dağı at the source of the Araxes. Tavernier is the first among European travellers to give the name of Bingöl Dağı. The Kiliz-Blağ (4,6) lived in this region.

*Bibliography*: K. Ritter, *Erdbunde*, X, 79, 81, 385-6; M. Wagner, *Reise nach dem Ararat*, Stuttgart 1858, 272; Streckler, *Zur Geogr. von Hocharmenien*, in *Zeitschr. d. Ges. für Erdkunde*, Berlin 1869, iv; G. Radde, in *Petersmann's Geogr. Mitteilungen*, 1877, 411-422; E. Naumann, *Vom goldenen Horn zu den Quellen des Euphrat*, Munich 1893, 321-332; *Petersmann's Mitteilungen*, 1907, 143 f. (review of J. Conard, *A Treatise on the Geology of Armenia*); H. F. B. Lynch, *Arménie, Travel and Studies*, London 1901, ii, 363-377; Hübschmann, *Die alarmanischen Ortsnamen*, in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xvi, 1904, 376, 427; Bause, *Die Türkei*, Berlin-Hamburg, 1919, 207, 212-215, 219; Vidal de la Blache and Gallois, *Géographie Universelle*, volume viii: *L'Asie Occidentale*, by R. Blanchard, 128; Markwart, *Süd-armenien und die Tigrisquellen*, 492-493; Hönigsmann, *Die Orogenese des Byz. Reiches*, 1935, 73-80, 194-195, 197 and map iv; M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des H'amânides*, i, 246, 745; *Id.*, fasc. 18, 627-628. For the ancient period see Vasily-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, i, 108, vi, 1197-8.

(B. CANARD)

**BINYÄMIN**, the Benjamin of the Bible. In its narration of the history of Joseph ('Yusuf, [s.c.]), the Qur'ān gives a place to the latter's uterine brother (23, 8, 59-79), without ever mentioning him by name. Tradition embellishes without any great variation the biblical story concerning him (it is aware notably that his birth cost his mother her life) and moreover also Agadic additions (summarised notably in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, iv, 112-124), such as the etymological confusion of the names of his sons with the lost elder brother. In Muslim mysticism, the pair 'Yusuf-Binyāmin symbolises the primordial relationship between God and the sinner.







African and art encountered especially in eastern Tunisia from Bizerta to Djérba, on the coast of Tripoli, in the *haws* of Marrakesh, in the north-west Sahara (Tafilalet, *mrāb*), in the Touarg country, in the oases of southern Cyrenaica, in part of the southern Sahara, especially Lower Mauritania, and on the borders of western Sudan.

Wells with a balancing-beam, like the Egyptian *ghadī*, have various names: *ghadīra* (pl. *ghadīr*) in the Fezzān and the Souf, *gharghar* in the regions of Zibān and Gourara. The balancing-beam, made of a thin pole pivoting on a little wall or on a wooden cross-bar resting on two uprights, has a counter-weight at its base, and at its other end some sort of receptacle for drawing the water (*hama* in the Fezzān, *gawne* at Gourara), which only holds between 5 and 10 litres of water. It works more quickly than a *dah* but it is not usually capable of irrigating more than a few hundred square metres, for it is used where the underground water-level is not very deep (a few metres) and has a small yield. It is primarily for the poor man's well; one man can dig it, set it up and work it, and it needs neither an animal nor an expensive *dah*. Well-known not only in Europe but as far afield as China, this type of well is very rare in the Maghrib and on the coast of Libya. It is found in the Sahara the Lower Dra (Morocco) and in the region of Sauria at Tindouf, and in southern Mauritania, in the regions of Touat and Gourara, at Ouargla El Golea and at Ghadames, both in the north and the south of the Fezzān, in the oases of Cyrenaica at Koufra, in the regions of Air, Tibesti and Borku.

The noria or Persian well, chain-pump (*nā'ira* and sometimes *sinaya*) is an apparatus with buckets fixed onto a revolving chain, worked by an animal-driven wheel drawn by a horse, mule or camel. The traditional type is made of wood (most commonly olive-wood) with earthenware buckets fixed by means of ropes. It is being more and more replaced by a cast-iron apparatus with metal chain and buckets worked by an oil or electric motor, at least on the coastal plains of Morocco, Algeria and northern Tunisia, where it is sometimes used by European market-gardeners of Mediterranean origin who were accustomed to using it in their native country. It has to compete there with various types of pumps. In the Sahara it is only to be found in northern areas such as Tafilalet, Oued Righ and Tripolitania. In Morocco, large hoisting wheels with well-bass fins, worked by river-power, are also called *noria*. They are only used in the neighbourhood of Fez.

As for artesian wells, they were only to be found at one time in the region of Oued Righ (282 of them were active in 1856), and in small numbers in the eastern parts of the Shāhī (Fezzān) where they are called *'ayūn* (sing. *'ayn*); they were dug by specialists and were very fragile. They have increased in number, but are nowadays drilled and harnessed according to modern techniques, throughout the Lower Sahara from El Golea and Ouargla to Zibān, and from the Hodna to the Djérba and Nefzāwa; some have been drilled in Tripolitania and in the Fezzān.

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*Fezzān*, 1934 and *Le oasi cyrenaiche del 29° parallelo*, 1937; J. Lethellieux, *Le Fezzān, ses jardins, ses palmiers*, in *IDL*, Tunis 1948; J. Bisson, *Le Gourara*, 1957; H. Lecomte, *La culture des palmiers sur le littoral algérien*, 1955.

(J. Desrois)

**BIR MA'UNA**, a well on the Mecca-Medina road, between the territories of 'Amir b. Sa'sa'a and Sulaym, where a group of Muslims was killed in 549/605. The traditional account is that the chief of 'Amir, Abū Barā', (or Abū 'I-Bārā'), invited Muhammad to send a missionary group to his tribe, promising his personal protection for them. So a group of 'Kur'-an-readers' (*kurā'*) was sent from Medina. When they reached Bir Ma'una, they were massacred by clans of Sulaym, led by 'Amir b. al-Tufayl, who had failed to induce his own tribe of 'Amir to violate their protection for the Muslims. The Prophet grieved over the slain, and cursed the Sulamīs daily until Kur'an, iii, 169/163 was revealed.

This account has been interpreted to give a military failure the aura of religious martyrdom. The sources number the *kurā'* variously as 70, 40 and 29, but Wākidī names only 6. A large number cannot yet have existed, and was unnecessary for a religious mission. It was, indeed, an actual campaign, described as a raid (*sariyya*, *ghazwa*) in the sources; one specifically says its leader was sent 'as a spy among the Najdī folk'. Muhammad had apparently been invited to intervene in an internal dispute of Sulaym, but the incident is also mixed up with the quarrel within 'Amir between Abū Barā' and 'Amir al-Tufayl. The latter cannot have led the attack, but may merely have encouraged the Sulamīs from the background, since Muhammad did not curse him, unhesitatingly paid him the wergilds for two 'Amirites slain, on the way home, by the sole survivor of Bir Ma'una, and did not seek wergilds from him for the slain Muslims.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, i, 415-6, iv, 580; Ibn Hishām, 648-57; Ibn Isḥāq (tr. Guillaume, Oxford 1955), xlv; Wākidī (Weilhausen), 153-6; Ibn Sa'd, II, i, 36-9; Tabarī, i, 1443-8; Yā'qūbī, ii, 75-6; Lyaūt, *Divan of 'Amir b. al-Tufayl*, London 1914, 84-9; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 31-3, 97; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurān*, i, 246-8.

(C. E. Bosworth)

**BIR MAYMUN**, a well in the environs of Mecca. Although the well was famous in early Islamic times, the name no longer occurs in the Meccan area. Available sources fail to show whether Bir Maymun has been abandoned or is still in use under another name. The location of the ancient well is also uncertain. Much of the evidence places it between the Great Mosque and Mīna, somewhat closer to the latter. The account given by al-Tabarī, iii, 456, of the death of the Caliph al-Manṣūr at Bir Maymun in 258/775 indicates that the well lay inside the Sacred Zone (*al-Haram*) and suggests that it was on the main road for pilgrims from Iraq (another version has the death of al-Manṣūr take place at the hill of al-Hudayr, not at Bir Maymun—see Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1862, 160). Other evidence situates Bir Maymun farther north of Mecca near Marr al-Zahrān (now called Wādī Fāṭima). According to al-Hamadī, i, 128, Bir Maymun was one of the two oldest wells in the world; according to al-Bakrī, *Mu'daww*, Cairo 1945-51, iv, 1285, it was much older than Zamzam. If it was of any such antiquity, it must have been

dug originally by someone earlier than Maymun the brother of al-'Alī b. al-Hadrami, one of several Maymunīs named as the digger. The history of Mecca by al-Kuṭaybī, i, 141m, Mecca n.d., 282, states that Bir Maymun was connected to the main water system for Mecca, first constructed by Queen Zubayda. Bir Maymun has been identified by some commentators as the place mentioned in the final verse of the Kur'an.

**Bibliography:** al-Harawī, *al-Zaydī*, Damascus 1955, 89; al-Fāṣī, *Shi'at al-Gharām*, Cairo 1956, ii, 343; al-Sibā'ī, *Ta'riḥ Makka*, Cairo 1372, 26.

(G. Renzi)

**BIR AL-SAB'**, the Arabic name of Beer-sheba, in southern Palestine. At this place were the springs which Abraham is said to have dug with his own hands; many legends are current about them. The place was uninhabited from the 8th/14th century, but was rebuilt by the Turks in 1319/1901 as an administrative centre for the south. This step was no doubt influenced by the dispute with Britain over the Egyptian-Palestinian frontier and by the need for closer surveillance of the southern tribes. In October 1917 a decisive battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Beer-sheba between the British and Turkish armies. Under the British mandate the Beer-sheba sub-district contained about half the area of Palestine, with a nomadic population estimated at 75,000-100,000. The population of the town was put in 1940 at 3,000, many of them semi-nomads.

**Bibliography:** Yāqūt, v, 14, i, 5; 'Alī al-Harawī, *Oxford MS.*, i, 46; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 402 ff.; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, i, 240; Gülcin, *Jude*, ii, 276-84; Th. Nöldeke, *Sieben Brunnen*, in *ARW*, vii, 1904, 340-44; A. Legendre, art. *Hersabai*, in *Dict. de la Bible*, (3, col. 1669-74, and suppl., 4, 965-68); Art. el-Araf, *Bridown Lost Land and Legend*, Jerusalem 1944; idem, *Ta'riḥ Bir al-Sab'* u. *haba' d'ihā*, Jerusalem 1914.

(E. Honigsmann)

**AL-BIRA**, the name of several places, generally in districts where Aramaic was once spoken, for al-Bira is a translation of the Aramaic *birḥā* = 'fortress', 'citadel'. The best known is al-Bira on the east bank of the Euphrates in North-west Mesopotamia, the modern Birejdik (5,600); on other places, bearing the name Bira, cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'daww* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i, 787; Nöldeke in the *Nachr. der Götting. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1876, 11-12 and in *De Geoe*, BGA, iv, (Gloss.), 441; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (1890), 423.

(M. Streck)

**BIRDJAND**, District and town in the IXth *asān* of Persia. The town is situated at 59° 15' E. (Greenwich) and 32° 52' N. It is on the northern side of an arid valley and is built on two low hills between which is a torrent-bed. The altitude is 1490 metres.

The early Arab geographers made no reference to Birdjand, and Yāqūt (i, 785) is apparently the first to mention it (ca. 625/1226). He described it as one of the finest towns of Khūstān, which was then part of the great province of Khurāsān. Hamd Allah Mustawfi, writing ca. 740-1340, stated (*Nuzha*, 143) that Birdjand was a provincial town, round which much saffron and some corn were grown; in the villages around grass and fruit were produced. Like the town of Kān (7,25), which lies 90 km. to the north, Birdjand was for some time under the control of the Assassins. It was the birthplace of the poet Nizārī, who, as his name

indicates, was an Ismā'īlī; he died about 719-50/1320. Birdjand was for long eclipsed by Kān, but in the 19th century it took the place of the latter as the chief town in Khūstān. It is now administrative centre of the districts (*gholishikhs*) of Birdjand and Kān, under a *fārmāndār* or governor. In 1946 the population was 23,485, but is now lower, due to the migration of some of the inhabitants to Mashhad and elsewhere. The town has a piped water supply, the water being obtained partly from *handis* from the Kāh-i Bakrān to the south, and partly from a deep well in the town itself.

As in former times, the country round produces much saffron, and nuts of all kinds are also grown. The district has been famous for the quality of its carpets and rugs, most of which are made in the village of Darakshāh, 80 km. to the north-east; it is also renowned for its *barabā* (garments made of camel's hair). Birdjand enjoys some prosperity due to its being on the main road between Mashhad and Zāhidān; it is also connected by road with Kirmān.

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**BIREDJIK**, a town in Mesopotamia, on the left bank of the Euphrates. The name Birejdik (amongst the local population, Beledjik; also, according to Sachau, Bārdjik in the Halaḥ (Aleppe) dialect) means 'little Bira', i.e., 'small fortress' (Aramaic *bira*, with the Turkish diminutive suffix). The Arabic name 'al-Bira' (5,600; Bīrāh in the later Syriac writers) derives from the Aramaic 'Birḥā' = 'fortress'. Birejdik, known to the Romans as 'Birḥa', is to be identified (according to Cumont) with a certain Makodonopolis mentioned in some of the Byzantine sources. The town is called 'Bīr' in the Latin chronicles relating to the Crusades.

At Birejdik one of the main routes from northern Syria into Mesopotamia crosses the Euphrates. The river here flows out of the mountains into the Syrian-Mesopotamian plain. It is here, too, that the Euphrates first becomes navigable, after leaving behind the cataracts formed where it breaks through the Taurus range. An isolated cone of calcareous rock, which rises sheer out of the river at Birejdik, has been fortified from remote times as a protection for this important passage of the Euphrates. A bridge of boats existed here in Seleucid times, running from Zeugma on the right bank of the river to Apamea (= Bīrḥā) on the left bank (the Seleucid name Apamea was perhaps never in current use and disappeared in favour of the Aramaic 'Birḥā'). Apamea, at first a suburb of Zeugma, came in due course, owing to its possession of the fortress, to be far more important than Zeugma, which faded out of existence. There is evidence (cf. Khallāl al-Zahrī) that a bridge was still to be found at the river passage of Birejdik in the second half of the 13th century.

The older geographical works in Arabic make no mention of al-Bira. This name first appears in such treatises about the middle of the 13th century, e.g., in al-Dimashqī and Abū 'I-Fidā'. References to al-Bira in historical literature make their appearance, it



would seem, at the time of the Crusades. The Latin Counts of Edessa held the town from 1147-1159 until 1451/59, when the Christians, unable to maintain it after the loss of Edessa to the Muslims in 539/1144, surrendered it to the Byzantines, who soon lost it, however, to the Urtukid lord of Mardin. During the Mongol invasions of the 13th century al-Bīra, with its almost impregnable fortress, was a notable stronghold in the Muslim defenses. The Mandilūs of Syria and Egypt, in the reign of Sultān Kaʿbī Bāy, had to defend al-Bīra against the Ak-Koyunlu Turcomans under Uzun Hasan. Kaʿbī Bāy inspected the fortresses along the Euphrates in 882/1477-78 and later strengthened and repaired the defenses of al-Bīra in 887/1484. The fortifications of al-Bīra contain six Arabic inscriptions, the oldest dating from the time of the Mamlūk sultan Baraka Khān (676-678/1277-1279) and the most recent from the years 887-888/1482-1483 in the reign of Sultān Kaʿbī Bāy. As a result of the campaigns of Sultān Selīm I in 920-923/1514-1517, al-Bīra came under Ottoman rule and was included in the *sandak* of Urfa which formed part of the *vilayet* of Haleb (Aleppo). The Ottomans maintained at Bireğik a small naval arsenal to meet the needs of their river flotilla on the Euphrates. Not far from Bireğik, the Egyptian forces under Ibrahim Paşa won a decisive battle against the Ottomans at Nisib in 11 Rabiʿ II 1255/24 June 1839. Bireğik, where the ruins of the ancient fortress are still to be seen, lies now within the territories of the present Turkish Republic. The town had, in 1925, a population of approximately 10,000 inhabitants.

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**BİRGE** (Birgi, sometimes also Bērg or Birkā, a small town in western Asia Minor situated in the valley of the Kizilirmak Menderes, in the centre of a *subye* belonging to the *hukū* of Ödenişli in the province of İmr (Smyrna). Here stood the ancient *Δύε Τεγόν* in Lydia. The town was known in Byzantine times as *Χρυσόπολις* and also as *Περγύον*. It was raised to the status of a metropolis set between 1193 and 1199, being raised from the ecclesiastical control of Ephesus, but it became once more a suffragan bishopric of Ephesus in 1387. The Catalans under Roger de Flor drove the Turks from the town in 1304 and at the same time plundered it. Birge passed thereafter into the hands of the Turkish Beys of Aydin. Monuments dating from the period of their rule—namely the 176 *İsmāʿ*—are still to be seen in the town. Birge came under the control of the Ottomans in 793/1391 and remained in their possession thereafter, save for a brief interval during which princes of the house of Aydin, restored to power by Timur Beg, held the land once more (1402-1425). The town suffered considerable damage in the years 1920-1922 during the course of the war which was then being waged between the Greeks and the Turks in western Asia Minor. Birge had, in 1945, about 2150 inhabitants.

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**BİRGEWİ** (Birgöl, Birgöl), MEHMET B. PIR ʿAlī, a Turkish scholar whose fame still lives among the common people. Born at Balıkesir in 928/1512 (or 936/1520 if Kāth Celālī is correct in saying that he died at the age of 58), he began his education at home, but soon distinguished himself among his teachers and went to Istanbul, where he attached himself first to Aḥmad-zāde Mehmed Efendi and then to the *bīdī* ʿAshar ʿAbd al-Rahmān Efendi. Having completed his education he taught in the *medreses* of Istanbul, and during this time was initiated into the Bayramiyya by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahmān Kāndāl. Through the influence of his master ʿAbd al-Rahmān Efendi he obtained the post of *kassab* to the army at Edirne, but soon afterwards desired to withdraw both from this office and from teaching. His shaykh however would not consent to his totally abandoning teaching and preaching, and when his fellow-townsmen ʿAlī ʿAlī Efendi, the tutor of Selīm II, offered him the position of *medrese* in the *medrese* he had built at Birgi, he accepted. His career of teaching, writing and preaching at Birgi, (whence his appellation of Birgewi) came to an end in 981/1573, when he died of the plague.

Like Ibn Taymiyya, he set himself firmly against all sacrilege in order to protect the sacred law, and no considerations of rank would cause him to connive at any non-observance of the faith. Towards the end of his life he even made the journey from Birgi to Istanbul to advise the grand vizier Mehmed Paşa about the rectification of some irregularities which he had observed. Birgewi, an utter fanatic in religious matters, would not tolerate the slightest deviation from the *shariʿa*. The *risāla* which he devoted to the theme that it was *ḥarām* to teach the Kurʾān for money, or to accept payment for any act of worship, brought him into a controversy with the scholars of the day which gave rise to much gossip. One of the most famous *khāṣṣ* of the time, Balı-zāde, emerged as his chief opponent and wrote *risāla* in which he endeavored to refute his opinions. The Shaykh al-Islām Abū ʿIsaʿūd Efendi also took a hand in the dispute and, seeing that the *awāḥ* would suffer loss if Birgewi's views prevailed (in particular, his view of the illegality of making a *waḥ* of coined money or other movable property), pronounced a *fatwa* against him. Thereupon Balı-zāde went so far as to claim that Birgewi had been acting hypocritically.

Of Birgewi's works, the one which keeps his fame alive to this day is his Turkish manual of the rudiments of theology, entitled *Wasiyyat-nāme*, which still fills the needs of the common people in questions of religion. Commentaries on it were written by Kādzī-zāde Ahmed Efendi and Shaykh ʿAlī Efendi of Konya, the latter being in turn the subject of a commentary by the mufti of Çomankpazar, İsmāʿīl Niyazi. Often printed, the *Wasiyyat-nāme* was also translated into northern Turkish by Toktamış-oghlu [ed. Kazan 1804 and 1806; see Zecher, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, I, 1463 f., II, 1192 f.; *JA*, 1843, II, 32, 35; 1859, I, 544; Dieterici, *Charakteristik Othomane*, 38 f.; for translations see especially the French version by Garnier de Tassy, *L'Islamisme d'après le Coran . . .* (1874). Two grammatical works of his, the *Isḥār* and the *ʿAsmāʾ* were used in *medreses* for many years and considerably facilitated the study of Arabic, by the period. His *al-Tarīkh al-Muhammadiyya*, containing his sermons and homilies, in Arabic, was highly esteemed by the learned. ʿAlī al-Nīdī wrote a long *ḥayda* in which he made clear Birgewi's position among the scholars of Islām. Commentaries were written on *al-Tarīkh al-Muhammadiyya* by Khālidī Mehmed Efendi and ʿAbd al-Fāḥ al-Bāḥ. Emin Efendi adopted it as his guide to conduct, and was consequently dubbed 'Tarkīfatī'; after him there even came into being a festival of the same name.

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**BİRR** (Kurʾānic term), "pious goodness" (R. Black's translation; see Kurʾān, II, 189). In the analysis of the spiritual states (*awāḥ*) and the attitude of the soul towards God, it must at the same time be compared with and distinguished from *taḥwīd* (q.v.). (L. GARDET)

**BIRS**, also called Birs Nīrēdī, in the older literature Birs, a ruined site 3 miles S.W. of the town of Hilla on the Euphrates, about 12 miles S.W. of Babylon on the eastern shore of the Lake of Hinnidiya.

The place is the ancient Borsippa, the sister town of Babylon. Its immense ruins, the largest that have survived from the Babylonian period, were thought by the Arabs to be the palace of Nimrod b. Kaʿnān (arab. Nimrod, Yāqūt, I, 146) or of Būlkhamar (Yāqūt, I, 155). Even in modern times they were thought to be the ruins of the Tower of Babel and this erroneous view used to crop up even after H. Rawlinson had proved from inscriptions that they were the ruins of the tower of the Temple of Nīro of Borsippa. Whether there was still a town on the ancient site in the early Islamic period is not quite clear. Balīdhīrī early speaks of the *ʿAdāmāt* Birs (Asyr. *agummi*), the land around the marshy lakes of Birs which were taken possession of by ʿAlī. Upper and Lower Birs appear in Kudāma and are called al-Sibayn and al-Wukūf by Ibn Khuradādhbih in the lists of taxes, as districts (*ḥawāḍir*) of the circle (*astān*) of central Bīkhūdhī.

Even in ancient times the district of Babilonia and in particular Borsippa was famous for its textile industry (e.g., Strabo, xvii, I, 7). This in-



dustry survived into the Arab period. The garments made in the district of Burs were, according to Ma'sūdī (*Murūdī*, vi, 59) called Bursiyya or also Khutariyya, after the district between Burs, Bābil and Hilla (following G. Hoffmann's emendation). In Yāqūt, iv, 773, Narsīya should therefore be emended to Bursiyya.

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(E. HERZFELD)

**BIRŪN**, in Persian 'outside', the name given to the outer departments and services of the Ottoman Imperial Household, in contrast to the inner departments known as the *Endam* [e.g.]. The *Birūn* was thus the meeting-point of the court and the state, and besides palace functionaries included a number of high officers and dignitaries concerned with the administrative, military, and religious affairs of the Empire.

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(J. LEWIS)

**AL-BIRŪNĪ** (BIRŪNĪ) ABU 'L-RAYḤAN MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD, also sometimes called by the nisba **AL-KHŪWĀRIZMĪ** by certain Arabic authors (e.g., Yāqūt) and also, at the risk of a confusion of names, by some modern Orientalists (see *al-Khwarizmi*), was one of the greatest scholars of mediaeval Islam, and certainly the most original and profound. He was equally well versed in the mathematical, astronomic, physical and natural sciences and also distinguished himself as a geographer and historian, chronologist and linguist and as an impartial observer of customs and creeds. He is known as *al-Ustād*, "the Master", and was born of an Iranian family in 363/973 (according to al-Ghazālī, on 3 *Ḥuḥ* al-*Ḥijr* al-*Ḥijr* 4 September — see E. Sachau, *Chronology*, xiv-xv), in the suburb (*ḥiṣn*) of Kāth, capital of Khwārizm (the region of the Amu-Darya delta, now the autonomous republic of Karakalpakstan on the southern shores of the Aral Sea). He spent the first twenty-five years of his life in his homeland, where he received his scientific training from masters such as Abū Naṣr Maṣ'ūd b. 'Alī b. 'Irāk Ḍiḥānī, the mathematician. Here he published a few early works and entered into correspondence with Ibn Sīnā, the young prodigy of Bīhārā, his junior by seven years.

It would appear that he went in person to see the Sāmānīd sultan Maṣ'ūd II b. Nāḥ (387-396/977-990), whom he praised as his first benefactor. Next, he went for a long stay to Ḍiḥān, south-east of the Caspian Sea, apparently in 388/996 when the Zayrid sultan Abū 'l-Ḥasan Kābūs b. Waḡḡir ḡhams al-Ma'ālī returned from exile; from there he was able to go as far as Rayy (near Tehran). It was at the Court of Ḍiḥān that he wrote his first great work, on the subject of calendars and eras, and important mathematical, astronomical, meteorological and other problems. This was dedicated to Kābūs, probably about 390/1000, without prejudice to much later emendations and alterations; the *K. al-*

*Āḡār al-Bāḡiya 'an al-Kurūn al-Khāṣiya* (*Chronologie orientischer Völker*, published by Edward Sachau, Leipzig 1878, reprinted by Beilan, Leipzig 1923; English translation entitled *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, London 1879). Brought up in the Iranian dialect of Khwārizm, al-Birūnī spoke Persian, but deliberately chose to use the Arabic language in his scientific writings, though some later works may have been written in Persian or in Arabic and Persian simultaneously. Having returned to his own country before 399/1008, and having been received by Prince Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ma'mūn, he was able to give his services for seven years to the brother of this prince, the Khwārizmshāh Abū 'l-Aḥḥās Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn, and was entrusted, because of his "golden and silver tongue", with delicate political missions.

After the assassination in 407/1016-17 of the Khwārizmshāh by his rebellious troops and the conquest of the country by the powerful ḡhazawid sultan Maḥmūd I, Subuktāgin, many prisoners were led away to Ghazna in Sijistān (Afghanistan) in the spring of 408/1017, including learned and wise men among whom were al-Birūnī, Abū Naṣr already mentioned, and the physician Abū 'l-Khayr al-Ḥusayn b. Bābā al-Khannār al-Baghdādī. Ibn Sīnā must have left Ḍiḥān early for Ḍiḥān of his own free will in 398/1008 together with the Christian physician, Abū Sahl 'Isā b. Yahyā al-Maṣṣīḥ al-Ḍiḥānī. This physician had collaborated closely with al-Birūnī, even to the point of writing a series of works in his name, as did also Abū Naṣr (see below). Al-Birūnī, henceforth retained at the Court of Ghazna, possibly as official astrologer, accompanied Sultan Maḥmūd on several of his military expeditions to north-west India. Here he taught the Greek sciences and received in exchange, with his initiation into Sanskrit and various dialects, the incalculable sum of knowledge which he put into his *Description of India*, completed in 421/1030 shortly after the death of Maḥmūd: the *K. Ta'wīḡ al-Hind* (*Al-Beruni's India*, ed. E. Sachau, London 1887; English translation, 2 vols., London 1888, 2 1910). The previous year, al-Birūnī had written an abstract of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and astrology: the *K. al-Taḥṣīn li-Aṣnā' al-Sinā'at al-Tandīm*, English translation facing the text by R. Ramsay Wright, London 1934.

It was to Sultan Maṣ'ūd b. Maḥmūd (421-432/1030-41) that the Master dedicated this third principal work in 421/1030, retaining the right to add the finishing touches later: the *K. al-Rasā'id al-Ma'ādī fi 'l-Hay'ā 'an 'l-Nadīm* (Canon Masdicus, Haydarābād [Dn] 1934-36, 3 vols.). According to Yāqūt, Maṣ'ūd offered the author an elephant-load of silver pieces for this work, but al-Birūnī refused the gift. In spite of this, he was provided with the means of carrying out his scientific and literary work to the end of his life. The treatise on mineralogy which he wrote during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd b. Maṣ'ūd (432-441/1041-49) has come down to us; it is the *K. al-Djāmi'at fi Ma'arifat al-Djauhar*, ed. F. Krenkow, Haydarābād, [Dn] 1936. In a last important work, still unpublished, the *K. al-Sayda li-'l-Fah* on medicinal drugs, (see H. Bevelin, *Das Unbekannte von Al-Biruni*, *Die Welt* 1902, 133; H. Meyerhoff, *Das Unbekannte von Al-Biruni* [ed. and trans.], Berlin 1936) the Master declared himself to be over 80 (lunar) years old. The date of his death, usually fixed in 440/1048, according to al-Ghazālī, must therefore be put back a little. Al-Birūnī must have died after 442/1050, probably at Ghazna.

The total number of his works is considerable. In his *Risāla fi Fihrist kutub Muhammad b. Zakariyya al-Rāzi*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1936) he includes (in 427) the *Fihrist* of his own writings, of which 103 are completed, 10 unfinished (among which are the *Chronology* and the *Canon Ma'ādī*), 12 have been written in his name by Abū Naṣr, 13 by Abū Sahl and 1 by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ḍiḥī; making a total of 138.

Taking into account works written after the *Fihrist*, and also certain omissions in this list, the total number of works is 180, differing widely from another list in length, including brief treatises on specialised matters to major works embracing vast fields of knowledge. Apart from the edited texts referred to above, 4 mathematical and astronomical treatises have been published in Haydarābād (1948) in a single volume entitled *Rasā'id al-Birūnī*: 1. *K. fi 'l-Had al-Mahāl fi amr al-aḥd*; 2. *Fi 'l-Riḡāḡ al-Hind* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über die Lehre von der Proportion nach al-Biruni*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 48, 1-6, 1910); 3. *Tamhīd al-Mustaharr li-Tahhīḡ ma'nā al-mamarr*; 4. *Mahāla fi Istiḡhāt al-aḥd fi 'l-Dā'ira bi-Khawāṣṣ al-ḡhaff al-Mumhāt fi-hā* (translation and commentary by H. Suter in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, ii, folio XI, 31-78, Leipzig 1930-31). A volume entitled *Rasā'id al-Naṣr li-'l-Birūnī* was published separately in Haydarābād in 1948. This includes 15 mathematical and astronomical treatises by Abū Naṣr among which are most of these written in the name of al-Birūnī. Manuscripts, some partially edited, others unedited, of about twenty other works of al-Birūnī have come down to us, among which are: the *K. Tahdīd Nihāyat al-Amālin li-Masā'il Masā'il al-Masā'il* (geographical treatise, in *Biruni's Picture of the World* by A. Zaki Velidi Togan in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 53, New Delhi, 1941; the MS. Fāṭih 3586 completed at Ghazna in 416 is possibly in his own hand); the *K. fi 'l-Fah al-Waḡḡ al-Mumhāt fi Sa'at al-Aḡār* (cf. E. Wiedemann and J. Franks, *Allgemeine Betrachtungen von al-Biruni in seinem Werk über die Astronomie*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 52-53, 97-121, 1920-21); the *Mahāla fi 'l-Nisab al-Hay'ā bayna 'l-filzāl wa 'l-ḡardīr fi 'l-baḡḡ* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über Bestimmung der spezifischen Gewichte*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 38, 163-166, 1906); the *Tarḡamat K. Bāḡḡ al-Fah al-Fah al-Fah* (cf. H. Ritter, *La traduction du Livre de Ptolémée par Biruni*, communications in *Revue de l'Institut de l'Est*, 1922, 133-134; Tehran 1953).

**Bibliography:** Since lack of space makes it impracticable to provide an exhaustive list of the work done on al-Birūnī, of which there is a fair volume, though very inadequate for such an important figure, refer the reader to my study: *Le Livre de al-Biruni*, *Essai Bibliographique*, in *MIDEO*, ii, 161-250 and iii, 397-505, 1956; taking up the work of H. Suter and E. Wiedemann, *Über al-Biruni und seine Schriften*, in *SBPMS Erlangen*, *Beiträge*, 52-53, 55-96, 1920-21, we have listed 180 works of the Master, provided a bibliographical index as complete as possible for each one, with tabular summaries in *Revue de l'Institut de l'Est* and works as a whole of al-Birūnī are listed below, as well as a few studies of special subjects.

A. *Bibliographies and Studies of the Works as a Whole:* Birūnī, *Risāla fi Fihrist*, op. cit. ed. P. Kraus; the Arabic text and the autobiographical section are also to be found in E. Sachau's introduction to the *Chronology* (Arabic text); German

trans. in H. Suter and E. Wiedemann, op. cit. 71-79; biographical development in the other sections of this work, and also in E. Sachau's introductions to the *Chronology* (Arabic text and English translation) and in *India* (Arabic text and English translation); Ibn Abū 'Uyayna, *Uyayna 'an Abū 'l-Ḥasan*, 20-21 (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Biographie von al-Biruni*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 44, 117-8, 1912); Yāqūt, *Irḡād al-Arḡ*, ed. Margoliouth, iv, 308-14 (German trans. by E. Wiedemann and J. Hell, *Über al-Biruni*, in *MGWJ*, 31, 314-21, 1912); *Zāhir al-Dīn al-Bayhākī in his Ta'wīḡ al-Hakam* al-Jalīm, MS. Berlin, 1005 (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Einige Biographien nach al-Bayhākī*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 42, 160, 1910); 'Alī b. Zayd al-Bayhākī, *Taḥṣīn Ṣiḡāt al-Hikma*, ed. Muḥ. Shāfi', Lahore 1935, 62-4; Suyūṭī, *Baḡḡ al-Wu'd*, Cairo 1326, 20; Brockelmann, i, 475, S. I, 820-1; Suter op. cit. 6; Sartori, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Baltimore 1927, i, 707-9; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i, 480-4, Paris 1876; Carra de Vaux, *Penseurs de l'Islam*, ii, 75-87, 215-7; Syed Hasan Barani, *Al-Biruni: His Life and Works* (in Urdu), 'Aligarh 1927; idem, *Ibn Sina and al-Beruni. A Study in Similarities and Contrasts*, in *Asiatica Commemorativa* Vol. 10, Calcutta 1936, 1-14; H. Ritter, *Werke al-Biruni's*, in *Orientalia*, Istanbul 1933, i, 74-78; A. Zaki Velidi Togan, *New geographical and ethnographic Nachrichten*, and in *Geographische Zeitschrift* 1934, 303 ff.; R. Ramsay Wright, *Preface to the Book of Instruction* (K. al-Taḥṣīn), op. cit.: Zia ul-Din and F. Krenkow, in *Islamic Culture*, vi, Jul.-Oct. 1931; H. Meyerhoff, *Études de Pharmacologie arabe*, in *BIE* 1940, 22, 135-52; Wustenfeld, in *Liedes Zeitschr.*, i, 36, in *Die Arab. Ärzte* no. 129 and in *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber* no. 195; F. Taeschner, in *ZDMG*, 77, 33 ff.; M. Krause, *Al-Biruni ein iranischer Forscher*, in *Idl.*, 26, 1-15; M. Ya. al-Hāḡḡī, *Nasariyyat al-ḡhāḡ al-ḡhāḡ al-B.*, in *MMIA*, 15, 456-63; Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., history and philosophy section, *Biruni*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950; Iran Society, *Al-Biruni. Commemorative volume*, A.H. 362-A.H. 1362, Calcutta 1951.

B. *Detailed Studies:* E. Wiedemann (besides the works already quoted) *Astronomische Instrumente. Über trigonometrische Größen. Geodätische Messungen*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 41, 36-78, 1909; idem, *Ein Instrument, das die Bewegung von Sonne und Mond darstellt nach al-Biruni*, in *Idl.*, iv, 5-13, 1913; idem, *Über die verschiedenen, bei der Mondfinsternis auftretenden Farben nach al-Biruni*, in *Eders Jahrbuch für Photographie*, 1914; idem, *Über Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und bei Sonnenfinsternissen nach arabischen Quellen*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, xv, 415-52, 1913; idem, *Meteorolog. Zeitschr.*, 1909-203, 1922; idem, *Über Gesetzmässigkeiten bei Pflanzen nach al-Biruni*, in *Biolog. Zentralblatt*, xi, 413-16, 1920; idem, *Geographisches nach al-Biruni*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, 44, 1-26, 1912; E. Wiedemann and J. Hell, *Geographisches aus dem Arabischen Kanon von Tabula*, *ibid.*, 119-23; E. Wiedemann, *Über den Wert von Erdärdern bei den Muslimen*, in *Idl.*, ii, 345-58, 1911; idem, *Über die Verbreitung der Bestimmungen des spezifischen Gewichtes nach Biruni*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, *Beiträge*, 45, 31-4, 1913 (cf. *Misān*); H. Suter, *Über die Proportion der Sternbilder und der Länder von al-Biruni Taḥṣīn al-Suwar wa-taḥṣīn al-kawār*, in *Abhandlungen zur*



*Geogr. der Natur. u. Medizin*, iv, 79-93, 1922; idem, *Der Verfasser des Buches "Grundriss der Naturgeschichte des Chausinsland (nämlich al-Birān) in BIRL. Math.*, ser. 3, iv, 127-9, 1903; C. Schöy, *Ann. der Mathematischen Geographie der Araber* (nach dem Künin al-Mas 'Udh) etc. in *Isis*, v, 1922, 51-7; idem, *Die Bestimmung der Geographischen Breite der Stadt Ghazna durch al-Birān*, in *Annalen der Hydrographie*, 1925, 41-87; idem, *Die trigonometrischen Lehren des berühmten Astronomen Abu 'l-Kasim Muh. Ibn Ahmad al-Birān*, Hanover 1927; Reinand, in *Géographie d'Aboufeda* (trans.) i, 1928, sec II; idem, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xvii, 2, 29; Mehren, in *Annalen für nordisch Oldnordigkeit*, 2, 29; 1857, 23; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, ii, 1; M. Schreiner, *Les Juifs chez Al-Birān*, in *REJ*, vii, 257; M. Florin, *Le projections cartographiques*, M. Al-Birān, in *Bollettino della società geografica italiana*, ser. III, iv, 1928, sec II; E. Sachau, *Indo-arabische Studien zur Aussprache und Geschichte des Indischen, in der 1. Hälfte des XI. Jahrhunderts*, Abh. d. Berl. Ak., 1888.

(D. J. BOUTON)

**BIRZĀL**, Baxō, a Berber tribe of the Zenata group mentioned as living in the Lower Zab (south of Media) at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. These Berbers, in conflict with the Fātimid Caliph, 'Ubayd Allāh, who built the fortress of Milla as a look-out against them, supported the Khāridjite agitator, Abū Yazīd [q.v.], and offered him refuge when he was pursued by the Fātimid Caliph, al-Mansūr. Although the latter pardoned them, they nevertheless took part in the rebellion of the governor of the Zab, Dja'far Ibn al-Awladūsī [q.v.] in 360/971. Fātimid repression forced them to flee; they found refuge in Spain where they formed a corps of Berber troops at the service of the Umayyad monarchs. Their chiefs supported the party of Ibn Abd 'Asmār at the death of the Caliph al-Hakam II; one of them was rewarded for this by being made governor of Carmona. During the period of anarchy in Andalusia at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the Birzāl formed a little independent state at Carmona which tried to resist the ambitions of the 'Abbāsidīs of Seville. They were finally obliged to surrender to the king of Seville in 450/1059 and they had formerly disappeared from the Maghrib.

*Bibliography*: Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 213; Ibn Hawkal, 86, 106; Ibn Haxim, *Kutub al-Ansāb*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 463; Bakrī, *Deser. de l'Afr. Sept.*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1917, 59; Idri'ī, *al-Maghrib*, 99; *Kutub al-Ishārah*, ed. Kremer, Vienna 1854, 60; Marrākuṣī, *Ma'ādh*, transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1867, 83, 83; Ibn 'Idjārī, i, 190, 191 (transl. Fagnan, 272, 273); Ibn al-Athīr, transl. Fagnan, 345; *Kutub ma'ādh* al-Barbar, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 44; Ibn Khaldūn, *Barbar*, transl. de Slane, iii, 186, 205, 210, 297, 293; Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. d'Esp.*, ii, 202, 206, 207, iii, 251; E. Lévi-Provençal, *His. Esp. Mus.*, index. (R. Le Tourneau)

**AL-BIRZĀLĪ**, 'Alam al-Dīn al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, also called Ibn al-Birzālī, Syrian historian and *hadith* scholar. He was born in Damascus in Djumada I or II, 665/February-April, 1267. A case could be made for the earlier date, sometimes mentioned, of 663/1265, but al-Birzālī himself evidently maintained that he was born in 665. His ancestors belonged to the Birzāl [q.v.] Berbers. His great-grandfather, Zakī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (b. ca. 577/1181-82, d. in Hama in 636/1239),

had settled in Syria at the beginning of the 7th/13th century. Zakī al-Dīn's additional *nisba*, al-Ighlīlī, shows that he himself, or one of his ancestors, had once lived in Seville. A work of his is preserved in Damascus (cf. G. Makdisi, in *ISOAS*, xviii/1959, 22); copies of two volumes of Ibn 'Asākir's *History of Damascus* written by him are preserved in Baskipore (cf. *Cat.*, xii, 144 ff., nos. 800-801; cf. also v, 2, 223, no. 487). Al-Birzālī's grandfather, who succeeded his father in the position of *imam* at the Fālās Mosque (Fīlā) [q.v.], according to the localisation indicated by J. Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut 1932, 60; cf. al-Nu'aymī, *Diris*, i, 86, ii, 361, Beirut 1932, 60; cf. al-Nu'aymī, *Diris*, i, 86, ii, 361, 1245-46, leaving al-Birzālī's father, Bahā' al-Dīn, to be brought up by his maternal grandfather, Bahā' al-Dīn, an official of the judiciary and accomplished scholar, died 699/1300 in his sixtieth year (cf. Ibn Kādī Shuhba, *Yām*, anno 699).

As a member of a family of scholars, al-Birzālī, together with his sister Zaynab, received his instruction from his father and other famous scholars. Ibn Taymiyya, for instance, lectured in his home (Baskipore, *Cat.*, v, 2, 280). He started out very young, but precocious as he was, he retained his love for scholarship all his life. He went through the full curriculum of religious studies, travelled in pursuit of his studies to other Syrian cities and to Egypt, served for a while as an official witness, but spent most of his life as professor of *hadith* in Damascus colleges, his principal position being that at the Nūrīyya (*al-Jāz*) from his courses there in Baskipore, *Cat.*, v, 2, 50 f., 198 f. He undertook the pilgrimage several times and died at Khulays in the holy territory on 4 Dhū 'l-Hijja 739/13 June, 1239. His children, among them Muḥammad and Fāḥim, both gifted scholars, had died before him. Among his many students and colleagues were the most prominent scholars of the time, among them al-Dhahabī. There is unanimous agreement among his biographers that he was an unusually attractive person, good-looking, modest, generous with his books and his knowledge, blessed with a good handwriting, extremely industrious as a scholar, and enjoying the confidence of all scholarly factions, even those that were mutually hostile.

No list of his writings is available, and none of the preserved works has been published so far. His great *History*, ending with the year 736/1335-36, was often quoted. It was abridged and continued by later scholars. Its actual title appears to have been *al-Mubtala* (cf. al-Sakhāwī, in E. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 414, but al-Nu'aymī, *Diris*, i, 578, refers to a work entitled *al-Mundakā* [= *al-Mukhtalaf*] as if it were different from the *History* often quoted by him). The *Mubtala* is preserved in MS. Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III, 2951 (cf. al-Munajjidima, in *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits arabes*, 1956, 101 f.). His voluminous *Ma'ādh*, which was highly praised and often cited as a reference work for contemporary scholarly history, is not preserved. A small *Ma'ādh* of his early teachers is preserved in Damascus (cf. Y. al-Ishāh, *Fikrīst maḥḥallāt Dīr al-Kutub al-Zahiriyya*, al-Ta'rikh, Damascus 1366/1947, 228 f.). A *Ma'ādh* al-Buldān wa 'l-Kurā is cited by Ibn Tūlūn, *Lama'at* (Damascus 1348), 33 and 43. A small historical work on those who participated in the battle of Badr is ascribed to al-Birzālī on the strength of the handwriting of a manuscript in Damascus, said to be similar to other autographs of al-Birzālī in the Zāhiriyya Library (cf. al-Ishāh,

*op. cit.*, 46). Among his works on *hadith* an *Arba'ūn Buldāniyya* is mentioned. Two selectors of *awā'id* al-*hadith* collected from his teachers and a *Tajdith* (*ḥayy* mis *Musnad Ahmad b. Hanbal*) are preserved in Baskipore (*Cat.*, v, 2, 294 ff., no. 462, 2, 3, and 6). A *fiqh* work, on al-Shāfi'ī, is extant in Cairo. Other works can be confidently expected to turn up in the future. However, al-Birzālī published less than he wrote, and the preservation of his works, therefore, remained a matter of chance. Al-Nu'aymī (*Diris*, i, 113) considered it worth mention that he came across the last volume of the *History* in 894/1489.

*Bibliography*: For the family history, cf. in particular, the biography of Zakī al-Dīn in *Dhahabī, Nuhul*,<sup>2</sup> Ms. ar. Yale University, L 571, vol. 2 (Cat. Nemoj, 1177), fols. 330b-331b. The following biographies deserve mention: Ibn Fadl Allāh al-Umarī, *Masālik*, Ms. ar. Yale University, L 341 (Nemoj, 1188), fols. 179b-180b; Hamaḥī Dimaṣhī, *Dhahī Tabakāt al-Firafir*, Damascus 1347, 18-21; Kutubī, *Fawā'id*, Cairo 1951, ii, 260-64; Subhī, *Tabakāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, iv, 246 f.; Ibn Kadhīr, *Bidāya*, xiv, 183 f.; Ibn Ḥadīr, *Durar*, ii, 237-39; Nu'aymī, *Diris*, Damascus 1367-1370/1948-1951; Ibn Kādī Shuhba, *Yām*, MS. Oxford, Marsh 143, anno 739; i, 112 f. Some of the unpublished works of Dhahabī, who wrote a biography of al-Birzālī in monograph form (cf. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 323), and the *Wāḥ* of Salafī may also contain valuable information. Cf., further, Brockelmann, II, 45, S II, 34 f.; G. Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture*, Paris 1957, 35 and 56; id., *JA*, 1957, 143-46. (E. ROSENTHAL)

#### BISAT (see KAL)

**BISHARAK**, or HARIGARABHĀS KAYABE, also called KARKASĪ, Indian author who wrote in Persian; the correct pronunciation of his name in Sanskrit is Vighvarai (Rajah of the world), son of Harigarbhas (slave of God), of the well known family of Kayastha, which was particularly noted for its Persian culture. His surname Karkasī signifies "he who has ears as big as hands". He translated into Persian, in 1061-2/1651-2, during the reign of Shāh-Jahān, the Sanskrit tale *Vikramādityam*, making use of the work of his predecessors. (The Sanskrit original also bore the title *Vikrama-charitam*, that is to say, the life of Vikram, the Rājā Vikram Aditti in whose reign commenced the Bikrami era, which has now reached the year 2013.) His work is also known by the name *Singhasan Ratn* (Sanskrit *Singhasan-battisi*, 32 tales of the lion throne), and has been translated into French by Lessaulier (*Le Trône enchaîné*, New York 1817). For the various editions of this Sanskrit tale, and the Persian translations, see the works mentioned below.

*Bibliography*: Etché, in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ii, 353; Hase, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Museum*, ii, 763 f.; Pertsch, *Cat. Berlin*, 1054 f.

**BISHA**, an oasis in western Arabia stretching about 25 miles along the banks of the *wādī* of the same name immediately north of 20° N. Lat. The headwaters of the *wādī* are east of Abhā in the highlands of 'Asir, and the channel extends c. 400 miles north to its junction with Wādī Karayā, whence the combined channels turn inland to Wādī Taḥlīb and Wādī al-Dawāsir (see al-Dawāsir). The tributaries Hargīb and Tarḡī, coming from the east and west respectively, empty into Wādī Bishā south of the oasis of Bishā, and Wādī Tabāla (see TABALA) joins Wādī Bishā in the heart of the oasis. The early poets mention Bishā frequently, but on occasion confuse

it with the *wādī* and settlement of Bayḥ in Tihāmat 'Asir (see A. Sprenger, *Die alte Gegend Arabien*, Bern 1875).

The oasis of Bishā is noted for its dates, which are transported as far as Bayrūt, and the nearby 'Isodoun raises a famous breed of white camels known as *anwīk* (i.e., eaters of *arab* leaves). Bishā, at the junction of routes from al-Taḥlīb and al-Riyād to Abhā, Naḡrān, and all of south-western Arabia, has been an important stop on incense, pilgrimage, and invasion routes. Nimrīn and al-Rawḥān (Yakīr's Rāḥīn?) are the principal towns of the oasis, the former with the most important market of the region and the latter the site of Ka'at Bishā, where the Saudi Arabian Amīr of the district is established. Al-Rawḥān is divided into Rawḥān Al Maḥdī and Rawḥān Bānī Salīf. Among other towns and villages are al-Dajaw, 'Aṭf al-Jahārah, al-Rukayyā, al-Nakī, al-Shakīka, and al-Dunaynī. Yāḥyā lists the tribes of Bishā as *al-Bishā*, *Hilāl*, *Suwā'a* b. 'Amr b. Sa'sa'a, *Salūl*, 'Ukayl', *al-Hibāl*, and *Banū Hāghīm* of Kurayyā. At present elements of *Shāhrān* and *Aldub* (both of which stem from *Khaḥ'ani*), *Bānī Salūl*, and *Kaḥṭān* predominate.

*Bishā* *Biography*: In addition to Hamdānī and Yāḥyā, Fuḥd Hama, *Fi Bilād 'Asir*, Cairo 1931; M. Ibn Bishā, *Salāt al-Bishā*, Cairo 1370-3; 'Umar, *Riḍā*, *Khabāla*, *Dughāḥiyya*, *Shah Dīstār* al-'Arab, Damascus 1364; Admiralty, *A Handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-17; H. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, Ithaca, New York 1952; M. Tamišir, *Voyage en Arabie*, Paris 1840. (W. E. MULLIGAN)

**BISHAR** (Pers.), a term not often used, and then mainly in a pejorative sense; it is a compound of the Persian privative prefix *bi* ("without") and the Arabic *shar*, the canon law of Islam. It denotes in particular those Sūfīs who declare that the law of Islam does not exist for persons illuminated by mysticism (antinomians). This somewhat colloquial term seems primarily to denote the adepts of the Sūfī sect of the Malamattīyya, who were given to keeping secret their acts of worship, and hence to neglecting the official ritual. The term occurs very occasionally in the technical terminology of Sūfism. (SAID NAFICY)

**BISHĀRĪN**, a nomadic Bedja [q.v.] tribe, now occupying two areas: (a) the 'Athābī, or western slopes of the Red Sea Hills, between approximately 23° and 29° N; (b) the banks of the 'Athārā and adjoining lands between about 17° and 16° N. The tribe is divided into two main clans: (a) Umm 'Alī, in the north-eastern 'Athābī; (b) Umm Nāḡlī, in the south-western 'Athābī and on the 'Athārā. Tribal genealogies indicate a connection with the Arab Awlad Kāhīl (Rawāḥīl), who in the 12th century lived near 'Asaylāh. The original Bishārī homeland was in this region, around Djabal Abba. In the 19th century they apparently expanded into the 'Athābī, displacing the Balaw, who may represent the Ḥadīrī of medieval Arab writers. Their further expansion into the richer 'Athābī lands was carried out by force of arms under Ḥamad 'Isrān, probably c. 1760-70. After Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha's conquests in the Sudan, the 'Athārā Bishārī fell under Egyptian control, while those of the 'Athābī remained virtually independent. The expansion of the Ummārī into the Ayyāb district, in the early 19th century contributed further to the separation of the two groups. Neither group played an important part in the Mahdiyya, although 'Ummān, a Dīna had some control over the 'Athārā Bishārī. The



separate treatment of the two groups continued under the Condominium until in 1928 a single chief (*edat*) was appointed over the whole tribe. The recent history of the Bisharin has been uneventful.

*Bibliography:* G. E. R. Sanders, *The Bisharin, in Sudan Notes and Records*, xv/2, 1933, 179-149. Khartoum. See also under *BEQDA*. (P. M. HOI)

**BISHBALIK**, Bishbalk, the Soghdian (?) Pandjikat (both meaning 'Town of Five'), a town in eastern Turkistan frequently mentioned between the 2nd/8th and 7th/13th centuries (concerning the name cf. Minorsky in *Hudud al-'Alam*, 271 f. and 272 f.). It was rediscovered in 1908 by Russian explorers, with the aid of information found in Chinese sources. Its position is 47 km. to the west of Kūghang (Chinese Ku-t'ung) which was founded in the 18th century, and 100 km. north of Tashkent near the village of Hu-pao-tse. Its ruins (known as P'-o-t'ung-tse) have a circumference of 30 km. (B. Dolbežev in the *Izv. Russk. Komiteta dlya izučeniya Sredney i Vostochnoy Azii* IX, April 1909, 65 f.; Ed. Chavannes, *Documents*, 11; *Zap. Ak. Nauk* XXIII, 1915, 77-121; Sir Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 1928, 354-59).

From the 2nd century A.D. onwards, Bishbalk was mentioned in Chinese sources as the residence of local princes. From 658 onwards, it was the centre of a Chinese administrative area (with a Chinese or Turkish governor). This was due to its position as capital of a 'Five-Town-Area', and as one of the Chinese 'Four Garrisons'. The town is also mentioned in the Orkhon Inscriptions (II, E 28; Kül-Čur Inscription; cf. Wilhelm Thomsen in the *ZDMG* 1924, 153); A. N. Bernstamm, *Socialno-ekonomičeskii stroj orkhon-yenisejskikh Tyvov VI-VIII vekov* (The social and economic structure of the Orkhon and Yenisey Turks from the 6th to the 8th century), Moscow and Leningrad 1946, index. The Chinese names Kinnan, and in particular, Pei-tung (northern court) for Bishbalk, appear from this time onwards.

According to the T'ang-shu (Chavannes, *Doc.*, 96-99) the Scha-tu ('people of the Sandy Desert'; cf. below) lived near Bishbalk between 712 and 818. After long disputes (cf. Chavannes, *Doc.*, 113 f.; Kūghang, *Diwan*, I, 103, 317, (ed. Brockelmann 242); Marwanji, 73; *Hudud al-'Alam*, 227, 272) the town fell into the hands of the Tibetans in 791 (Chavannes, *Doc.*, 303), and later it became the residence of the Turkish Ilkhanid princes, whose inheritance was taken over (with the title of Idgh Kut, 'Holy Majesty') by the Uigurs in 860. According to a report by a Chinese mission in the year 982 (for list of translations cf. Wittfogel, 194), the town possessed more than 300 Buddhist temples, a Buddhist monastery, Manichaean shrines and one (artificial) lake. Some inhabitants, making use of the artificial irrigation, made their living by growing vegetables, others bred horses and did metalwork. The only early Islamic mention of the town (in *Hudud al-'Alam*, 17, a, trans. 94) dates from the same year. It is mentioned as being the residence of the ruler of the Toghruz (p. 1). Concerning this, and a comparison between the Toghruz and the Scha-tu, cf. V. Minorsky in *Hudud al-'Alam*, 266/72, 481. The mention of it made by Idgh Kut, 490, 502, is presumably based on a different report, namely that of Tamin b. Balr al-Mutaww'il (cf. bibliography).

As the northern residence of the ruler (Idgh Kut, Idgh Kut, or Idgh Kut) of the western Uigur part of the state, Bishbalk came under the Kara Khitay (p. 1) (there is mention of a Chinese work on this by Wang-

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(J. W. FOCK)

**BISHIR b. AL-BARĀ'**, Medinese Companion, of the Khazrajite clan of Banī Salama. Both he and his father al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr [p. 2] accepted Islam early and were among the seventy odd Medinese who were present at the second 'Akaba meeting with the Prophet. Later, Bishir fought at Badr, Uhud, the siege of Medina, (Battle of the Ditch), and at Khaybar in 7/62. There he ate from a poisoned sheep which a Jewess offered to the Prophet in an attempt to venge her lost relatives. The Prophet tasted the poison and spat out the meat, but Bishir swallowed it and died, according to some sources immediately, according to others after suffering for a year.

Bishir was a famous bowman, and an enthusiastic Muslim who is quoted as arguing with the Jews of Medina. The Prophet described him as the *sayyid* of his clan, the Banī Salama, al-Shirā'ī (al-Muḥaddith, Cairo, II, 176-7) quotes the case of Bishir as a precedent for making that method of poisoning a capital offence.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Hishām, 309, 378, 499, 764-5; Ibn Sa'd, III, 2, 118-119; Tabari, I, 253-4; Ibn al-Aḥḍir, al-Kāmil, I, 170; Yāqūt, *Tarīḡh*, II, 57; *Ud al-Ghābi*, I, 180; Nawawī, 173-4; Caetani, *Annali*, index. (W. 'ARAFAT)

**BISHIR b. GHIVĀTH** b. ABĪ KARĪMA ABĪ 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-MARISI, a prominent theologian belonging to the Murji'a [p. 2]. His father, a fuller and dyer in Kūfa, is said to have been a Jew, and Bishir, on his conversion to Islam, to have become a *muwālī* of Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He lived



separate treatment of the two groups continued under the Condominium until in 1928 a single chief (*edat*) was appointed over the whole tribe. The recent history of the Bisharin has been uneventful.

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According to the T'ang-shu (Chavannes, *Doc.*, 96-99) the Scha-t'u ('people of the Sandy Desert'; cf. below) lived near Bishbalk between 712 and 818. After long disputes (cf. Chavannes, *Doc.*, 113 f.; Kūshang, *Diwan*, I, 103, 317, (ed. Brockelmann 242); Marwanji, 73; *Hudud al-'Alam*, 227, 272) the town fell into the hands of the Tibetans in 791 (Chavannes, *Doc.*, 303), and later it became the residence of the Turkish Ilkhanid princes, whose inheritance was taken over (with the title of Idgh Kut, 'Holy Majesty') by the Uigurs in 860. According to a report by a Chinese mission in the year 982 (for list of translations cf. Wittfogel, 194), the town possessed more than 300 Buddhist temples, a Buddhist monastery, Manichaean shrines and one (artificial) lake. Some inhabitants, making use of the artificial irrigation, made their living by growing vegetables, others bred horses and did metalwork. The only early Islamic mention of the town (in *Hudud al-'Alam*, 17, a, trans. 94) dates from the same year. It is mentioned as being the residence of the ruler of the Toghruz (p. 1). Concerning this, and a comparison between the Toghruz and the Scha-t'u, cf. V. Minorsky in *Hudud al-'Alam*, 266/72, 481. The mention of it made by Idgh Kut, 490, 502, is presumably based on a different report, namely that of Tamin b. Balr al-Mutaww'il (cf. bibliography).

As the northern residence of the ruler (Idgh Kut, Idgh Kut, or Idgh Kut) of the western Ugar part of the state, Bishbalk came under the Kara Khitay (p. 1) (there is mention of a Chinese work on this by Wang-

Kuo-wei in Wittfogel 675, bottom left). In 1209, the Uigur ruler handed the town over to the Mongols of his own free will, and took part in their campaigns. Bishbalk came in close contact with the Islamic world within the Mongol Empire, and Islam gradually penetrated into the town in the 13th century, despite the resistance offered by the Uigurs, who realised that they would thereby lose their spiritual leadership of the Mongol Empire. After the Mongol governor of Central Asia, Ma'ad b. Mahmud Yalavai ('Ambassador'), had taken up his office in Bishbalk in 1252/53, the Idgh Kut is said to have issued a secret order in September 1258, for the murder of all Muslims in the order of the Grand Khān Mongke, he was taken and executed, but his dynasty remained (Djawayni, II, 34 f., 88; II, 60 f.; Raḡhd al-Din (ed. Blochet), II, 304 f.; Hamd Allāh Mustawī Kazwī, *Tarīkh-i Guzīda*, 577; R. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1955, 239).

After 1260, the town appears to have enjoyed a period of independence between the empire of the Grand Khān and the Gaghatai state. It repulsed an attack from the west in 1275. At that time, Bishbalk was the starting point of the postal route from China to Central Asia (Bretschneider, *Not.* 208). The region of Bishbalk then apparently belonged to the state of Gaghatai. Nothing is known about the subsequent fate of the town itself. It apparently vanished at the same time as the dynasty of the Idgh Kut, in the 14th century. Thereafter, the Chinese used the name Pei-tung only as a regional designation for an area which (according to Muhammad Haydar Dughlat, *Ta'riḡh Raḡhd*, trans. E. Denison Ross, London 1895, 365) was known as Moghulistan in the 16th century, and in which Islam was now firmly established. There is no further mention of Bishbalk itself.

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The 'Day of al-Bishir' was the climax of several clashes between the two tribes. This strife lay to some extent outside the Kays-Kalb tribal feud of the period; both tribes were accounted North Arabian, and its immediate cause was Sulaym's encroachment on Taghlib's pastures in al-Djazīra.

An uneasy peace was broken through the Christian Taghlib ruler handed the town over to the Mongols of his own free will, and took part in their campaigns. Bishbalk came in close contact with the Islamic world within the Mongol Empire, and Islam gradually penetrated into the town in the 13th century, despite the resistance offered by the Uigurs, who realised that they would thereby lose their spiritual leadership of the Mongol Empire. After the Mongol governor of Central Asia, Ma'ad b. Mahmud Yalavai ('Ambassador'), had taken up his office in Bishbalk in 1252/53, the Idgh Kut is said to have issued a secret order in September 1258, for the murder of all Muslims in the order of the Grand Khān Mongke, he was taken and executed, but his dynasty remained (Djawayni, II, 34 f., 88; II, 60 f.; Raḡhd al-Din (ed. Blochet), II, 304 f.; Hamd Allāh Mustawī Kazwī, *Tarīkh-i Guzīda*, 577; R. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1955, 239).

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**BISHIR b. ABI KHAZIM** (see 'Abd al-Kādir, *Khizmat al-Adab*'), II, 262) the most considerable pre-Islamic poet of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma in the second half of the sixth century. al-Farazdaq, *Diwan* (ed. Sawī) 721, mentions him amongst his predecessors. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alāī counts him among the classics (*ḥabīb*). His poems were collected by al-Ash'ari and Ibn al-Sikkīt (*Fihrist* 138, 6). Abū 'Ubayda wrote a commentary on his *Diwan* which was utilised by 'Abd al-Kādir Lc. II, 262, 4. The *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, Nrs. 96-99 ed. Lyaal, contain four poems of Bishir; the last of them (seriously coupled with Nr. 100) is also found in the *Diwan* of al-'Arāb 104, whilst Ibn al-Shadīr in *Hamasa*, Cairo 1306, 65-85, gives a selection of six poems. The numerous verses, quoted in dictionaries, commentaries and books of *Adab* have not been collected so far.

Of Bishir's life little is known besides what we learn from his poems, whilst the reports about him are often inconsistent and unreliable. From his vivid description of the victory of his tribe at al-Nisr in *Maḍ*, Nr. 96, *Yas*, 9-22 it seems certain that he took part in this battle, which is dated by Lyaal about 575 A.D. References to other deeds of the Banū Asad do not yield any date. There looms large in his poems the figure of Aws b. Hāritha b. La'm, chief of the Tayyī, the neighbours of the Banū Asad. 'Abd al-Kādir Lc. IV, 317, 1 quoting the commentary (of Abū 'Ubayda) states that a raid of the Tayyī on some confederates (*ḥulafā'*) of the Banū Asad caused Bishir to compose a poem against Aws b. Hāritha in which he threatened to satirise him if he did not come to terms (see also *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* I, 293, 10 and Lane 1126). Such satires are extant in *Muḥḥarrat* 66 f. and 68 f. The origin of this feud is told quite differently by Muḥarrat, *Kāmil* I, 122 f. (and further embellished by Ibn al-Adīr, *Kāmil*, I, 169 f.); according to this report, which makes Bishir a contemporary of al-Hutay'a (*Id.*, 30/650), the quarrel started at the court of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir (r. 580-602). Aws b. Hāritha raided the Banū Asad, got hold of Bishir but spared his life. Bishir then made amends for his five satires by composing five odes in praise of his benefactor. Whether the truth may be

there are indeed among Bishir's poems some elegies on Aws b. Hāritha (*Muḥḥarrat* 75; Ibn al-Shadīr, *Hamasa* 103) and fragments of a similar ode (cf. 'Abd al-Kādir Lc. I, 455; II, 265; IV, 111 and Muḥarrat, *Kāmil*, 133) which however is also ascribed to Djundab b. Khāritha al-Ta'ī. If his apology is authentic (Murtadā, *Amāl*, II, 114) then these elegies are later than the satires. Another satire (Kāfī, *Amāl* II, 233; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* I, 340, 584, 760; Freytag, *Proc. Arabum* I, 231) is directed against 'Uḥa b. Malik b. Dja'far b. Kilāb. The son of this 'Uḥa was 'Uḥa al-Rabbāb who was slain by al-Hārith b. 'Amr about 590 A.D. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alāī (in *Aḡḥān* xix, 73 f.) says that after his murder which led to the second war of the *Fijār* al-Barrād asked Bishir to warn Harb b. Unayya and other leaders of the Kuraysh against the revenge of the Kays 'Ayyin. The Banū Asad were in league with the Kuraysh (see Ibn Sa'd II, 81, 9). Finally there is an elegy on himself (*Muḥḥarrat* 81-3) which he is said to have composed when he was mortally wounded during a raid against the *Abnā'* of the Banū Sa'sa'a (see 'Abd al-Kādir Lc. II, 262; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* I, 31, 6; Marzubān, *Ma'djān al-Shu'arā'* 222). Legendary is the account how Bishir, 'Abd b. al-Abras (died c. 550-60) and al-Nisābīq al-Jubayyī were rescued by Hātim al-Tayy (the *Kutayba*, *Shi'r* 124; *Aḡḥān* xxi, 28). Untenable also is Abū 'Ubayda's assumption, that the 'King' 'Amr b. Unm Iyās, whom Bishir addressed in at least two poems, was a grandson of Hudr al-Murīr (*Aḡḥān* ix, 87; see also 'Abd al-Kādir Lc. II, 182). Occasionally verses of a later poet of his tribe were attributed to him (*Naba'id* 241; 245 Brevat).

*Bibliography:* In addition to the works mentioned in the article: Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r* 145-7; *Khizmat al-Adab*, II, 262-4; Marzubān, *Ma'djān al-Shu'arā'*, 222; Ch. Lyaal, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, II, 268 f.; A. Hartigan, in *MFON*, I, 284-302.

(J. W. FOCK)

**BISHIR b. AL-BARĀ'**, Medinese Companion, of the Khazrajite clan of Banū Salama. Both he and his father al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr [p. 2] accepted Islam early and were among the seventy odd Medinese who were present at the second 'Akaba meeting with the Prophet. Later, Bishir fought at Badr, Uhud, the siege of Medina, (Battle of the Ditch), and at Khaybar in 7/628. There he ate from a poisoned sheep which a Jewess offered to the Prophet in an attempt to venge her lost relatives. The Prophet tasted the poison and spat out the meat, but Bishir swallowed it and died, according to some sources immediately, according to others after suffering for a year.

Bishir was a famous bowman, and an enthusiastic Muslim who is quoted as arguing with the Jews of Medina. The Prophet described him as the *sayyid* of his clan, the Banū Salama, al-Shīrāī (al-Muḥaḍḍab, Cairo, II, 176-7) quotes the case of Bishir as a precedent for making that method of poisoning a capital offence.

*Bibliography:* Ibn Hishām, 309, 378, 499, 764-5; Ibn Sa'd, III, 2, 118-119; Tabari, II, 2538; Ibn al-Adīr, al-Kāmil, I, 170; Yāqūt, *Tarīḡh*, II, 57; *Uḍ al-Ghāla*, I, 180; Nawawī, 173-4; Caetani, *Annali*, index. (W. 'ARAFAT)

**BISHIR b. GHIVĀTH** b. ABI KARIMA ABO 'ABD AL-RAHĀN AL-MARISĪ, a prominent theologian belonging to the Murji'a [p. 2]. His father, a fuller and dyer in Kūfa, is said to have been a Jew, and Bishir, on his conversion to Islam, to have become a *mawla* of Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He lived







Malati, *K. al-Tanbih*, 30; al-Kurtubi (Abū 'Amr), *K. Dīwān Bayan al-ʿIlm wa-Faḥḥih*, Cairo 1346/1928, 62; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Mīdāl* (in the margin of Ibn Hānī), Cairo 1347/1910, I, 50, 61; Ibn al-Murtaga, *al-Muṣṣa wa-T-ʿamal*, Haydarābād 1316/1899; chapters on the Mu'tazila; Ahmad Anṣārī, *Duḥā al-ʿIlm*, Cairo 1938, III, A. Nader, *Le Système Philosophique des Mu'tazila*, Beirut 1958, 38 'et passim.

**BISHR b. AL-WALID** b. 'Abd al-Malik, Umayyad prince, one of the numerous sons of the Caliph al-Walid and brother of the Caliph Yazid III and Ibrahim. His learning earned him the title of scholar (*ʿālim*) of the Banī Marwān. He led many military expeditions: certainly in 927/1011, al-Ya'qūbī, II, 330, and in 957/14-15 against the Byzantines: al-Tabarī, II, 1269 etc.). He was nominated *amir* of the pilgrimage by the father in 95/714. His name does not appear in the sources until the conspiracy against his cousin al-Walid II in 126/743-44. Despite the prohibition of his brother al-ʿAbbas, the famous general, he joined the opposition to the Caliph which supported Yazid b. al-Walid (the future Yazid III). He was not, however, the only member of the family to do so, since Yazid was supported by thirteen brothers.

He was governor of Kinnaṣrīn when Marwān b. Muḥammad, the governor of Armenia and Mesopotamia, took the field against Yazid's successor Ibrahim in 127/744-45. Marwān, having succeeded in winning over the garrison of the town, largely composed of Kayrites, persuaded their leader to hand over to him Bishr and his brother Maṣrūr, and threw them both into prison. The date of Bishr's death is not known, but as Marwān in the course of his march after the battle of ʿAsn al-Djarr took over the caliphate, it is presumed that the two captives never recovered their liberty and died in prison.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, II, 1269, 131, 1270, 1787, 1876 f.; Ibn al-Djauzī, *Muntazam*, MS. Aya Sofia 3024, F. 146 v°, MS. Gotha 1553, F. 52 v°; Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, in *ḡuz* 73; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djauzī, *K. Mi'raṭ al-samāʾ*, 34, Paris 613, F. 44 v°; Ibn al-Aḍrī, v, 214, 215; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-Tawārikh*, MS. Paris 1587, F. 35 f°; *Fragmenta historiarum arab.*, ed. De Goeje, 13, 140; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'aḍir*, 183 (ed. Cairo 1300 A.H., 1231; Ma'sūfī, *Murūgh*, v, 361, ix, 60; Aghāh, vi, 137; F. Gabrieli, *al-Walid ibn Yazid, il Califato e il Poeta*, in *RSO*, xv, 1934. (L. Veccia Stagno).

**BISHR AL-HAFI**, full name: Abū Naṣr Bishr b. al-Hāfiḥ b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Aṭā b. Hūlāl b. Maṣnū b. 'Abd Allāh (originally Ba'ṣūr) al-Hafī. He was a Sūfī, born in Bakrī or in Mābarsīm, a village near Marw (al-Shāhūdān) in 150/767 (or 152/769), and died in Baghdād (some sources say that he died in Marw, but this seems unlikely) in 226/840 or 227/841-42. Little is known about his early age. He is said to have belonged to some young men's association, or a gang of robbers, whilst still in Marw. He has also been described as a great friend of wine. Another tradition has it that he earned his living by making spindles. We do not know how this fits in, or to which period of his life it belongs. It is a known fact, however, that like his maternal uncle 'Alī b. Khashram (165/784-258/872) he was a traditionist. With the exception of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (who came from Marw but travelled a great deal), his teachers lived in the Arabic-speaking regions; so Bishr is certain to have continued his *ḥadīth* studies after he left his home,

and it may be these very studies that induced him to go away. He had already made a name for himself when he reached Baghdād from 'Abbādin for the first time, for a Baghdād traditionist was anxious to meet him. Bishr is also said to have studied under Mālik b. Anas (who died in 179/795) and to have gone with him on a pilgrimage to Mecca. For chronological reasons Abū Ḥanīfa cannot possibly have been one of his teachers, as Hujwiri and 'Aṭṭār assert.

It is also not clear how and when he became a Sūfī. There is no mention anywhere of a spiritual guide and two completely different events are mentioned as the reasons for his conversion. According to one version a certain Isḥāk al-Maghallī (who is, unfortunately, otherwise unknown to us) wrote a letter to him in which he asked him how he meant to earn his living if he lost his sight and his hearing and was no longer able to make spindles. According to the other version he picked up a pit of devils in the street (one report of this even says that he was drunk at the time) with the name of God on it; he perfumed it and kept it reverently, with the result that either Bishr himself, or someone else, had a dream promising the exaltation of Bishr's name. In each case, the result mentioned is Bishr's conversion to a pious way of life. Quite apart from these contradictions, we do not know what form this piety took—*i.e.*, whether it included *ḥadīth*—and we have no proof that these events actually were the beginning of his life as a Sūfī. From Bishr's sayings which have survived we merely see that at some point, at the latest in Baghdād, he did turn away from traditionist studies, he buried his *ḥadīth* writings, and concentrated on Sūfī devotions. Traditionist studies, he says, do not equip one for death, they are merely a means to gain worldly pleasure, and they impair piety. He asked his former colleagues to impose a "poor-rate" on the *ḥadīth*, that is to say, to follow truly 2½% of the pious verses which they had learnt and which they declaimed with their professional self-complacency. He refrained from teaching *ḥadīth* for the very reason that he so greatly wished to teach them, and promised to return to them as soon as he had overcome his longing to teach them: "Beware of the *ḥaddithān*, for in the *ḥaddithān* there is embedded a particular sweetness". He admitted the science of *ḥadīth* only as far as the sake of God, and quoted *ḥadīth* only in conversation, where this would fit into the general framework of a training for a pious way of life. Still, as we do not know whether his earlier traditionism might not have been practised with this same idea in mind all along, we ought perhaps not to speak of an actual breach with his past.

Bishr's Sūfī piety is based upon the acceptance of the laws of Islam and the Sunnī Caliphs, but he is also said to have held the family of the Prophet in loving veneration. He was greatly respected not only by Ahmad b. Hanbal, but also by Ma'nūn (Mu'ta-alla, Shī'a). The statement that he took Faith to mean a positive confession, a belief in its truth and its, when formulated in this way, hardly true, although it is justifiable with regard to his practice. The decisive factor for Bishr was the deed itself. As an absolute minimum in this respect, he demanded that man should at least not sin, and to accomplish this he advised contemplation of God's greatness before which he himself trembled, despite his own ascetic life, up to the very point of death. Before

the choice between God or the world, he made his choice unreservedly in favour of God, and he despised all forms of worldly ambition and selfishness. He preached poverty, which was to be learned with patience and charity, and it is said of him that when one day he met a man suffering from cold, and could not help him in any other way, he undressed himself to show his sympathy and to give an example; he died in a borrowed shirt because he had given his own away to a poor man. He spoke against the avaricious, the very sight of whom "hardens the heart of the hearer"; and he advised a man about to start off on a pilgrimage to Mecca, to give his money instead to an orphan or to a poor man, for the joy caused thereby was worth a hundred times more than a pilgrimage. By saying this he hardly meant that the one pilgrimage to Mecca, which the law prescribes, could be replaced by some social act, as some other Sūfīs have taught, but must have referred to some additional pilgrimage. Tāwīs b. Kaykān already (who died in 105/724) is said to have refrained from going on a pilgrimage because he chose to stay with a sick friend instead (*Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, 4, 10; cf. Meier, *Zwei islamische Lehr-ansichten bei Tulayf*; in *Asiatische Studien*, 1958). He might call this pilgrimage the holy war of woman, but, unlike for instance Ḥaṭṭāb al-Sāḥib (al-Kāḍi al-Nu'mān: *Daḥīm al-Idām*, I, 346-47), he put the giving of alms above both pilgrimage and the holy war—because alms could be given in secret, without other people getting to know of it. The very wish to have one's good deeds known by other people is, for Bishr, an example of worldliness. In this he sees an element capable of destroying even the good deeds of man. He condemned the wish to be well thought of by one's fellow men to the extent of advising one against mixing with them at all—even if only to give testimony and lead the prayers. Here his teachings come close to the Māṣnawīyā: "Do not give anything merely in order to avoid the censure of others"; "Hide your good deeds as well as your evil ones". He confesses that he himself still attaches a certain importance to the effect he makes on others, and to his appearance as a pious man, but he wages an unrelenting war against all this "pretentiousness" (*isāna*)—in himself as well as in others. He only recognises those who wear patched cloaks (*muṣaḥab*) as sharers of his views, when one of them has told him of his resolution to live up to this symbol of dedication to God's service by an active furtherance of religion. He himself refrained, on one occasion, from accepting dates in the dark at the back of a shop, in order not to be different in secret from what he was generally considered to be. His abstinences (*taṣawwuf*) went beyond mere abstinence from dubious things by putting a limit to the unrestrained enjoyment of what was permitted: "what is permitted", he says, "does not tolerate immolation (*irḍā'*)". Of everything he ate a little less than his conscience would have permitted, thereby creating the *"ṭabaṣṣa"* which had already been recommended in the Jewish *Pirke Aḥbāh*, and which was also observed by numerous other Islamic ascetics. Destitute, he often lived on bread alone, and sometimes he was starving. Where the question of faith in God's providence (*taṣawwuf*) arose, he distinguished three types of the poor: (1) those who neither beg nor accept anything, yet receive everything they ask for of God; (2) those who do not beg but accept what they are given; (3) those who held out for as long as they can, but do then beg (Sulamī:

*Tabakhāt*, 47; 'Aṭṭār: *Ṭaḥḥira*, I, 110), describing those who belong to the middle group as people trusting in the providence of God, however, another place (*Ṭaḥḥira*, I, 110, 24-25). In he characterises this confidence as being the resolution not to accept anything from any man; whilst in a third place *ṭabakhāt* appears to be compatible with manual work provided the deed be done under the will of God (*Ḥilya*, 8, 351)—but the explanation of that oracular definition *idhrāḥ bilā takān wa takān bilā idhrāḥ* does not seem to me to be beyond all doubt. Admittedly, Bishr is said to have begged only from Sarī al-Sakātī, knowing that this man would rejoice in the loss of any worldly possessions; but some stories suggest that he lived largely on the earnings of his sister Muḥibba, who looked after him and lived by spinning. (Bishr had three sisters who are all said to have lived in Baghdād). The question of begging links up with the one concerning "giving and taking", which played a great part in Sūfism, especially later on (cf. Meier, *Die Vita des Scheich Abū Ishāq al-Kāḍirī*, in *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 14, 1948, Introduction 57-61). In spite of taking a great interest in the lot of the poor, Bishr did not—unlike Kāḍirī—for example—function as their spokesman and mediator, but rather withdrew into himself. He refrains from admonishing princes, he does not even drink of the water for which a prince has dug the channel. As a consolation when the cost of living is high he advises contemplating death. He knows that there is no way of satisfying mankind, and regards his own time (on a well-known pattern) as particularly far removed from the ideal of contentment: "Even though a cap should fall from heaven on to somebody's head, that man would not want it"; nor, like Muḥibbī, does he have much to say in his days in favour of the readers of the Qur'ān: "Rather a noble robber than a base-minded reader of the Qur'ān". He finds true piety restricted to the very few: "In these days, there are more dead within than without the walls". A Sūfī is one who stands before his God with a pure (*sāfi*) heart, and perfect is only he whom even his enemies no longer fear; but in Bishr's own days not even friends, he says, could trust each other. The opposition which a pious man has to overcome lies in his inclinations (*ḥawāḍir*): only those who have erected an iron wall against these inclinations, says Bishr, can feel the sweetness of the service of God. He advises silence to those who derive pleasure from speaking, speech to those who enjoy being silent. He declines teaching *ḥadīth*, because he does not wish in give to a desire to do so; he eats no subergines in order to fight his craving for them, and no fruit in order not to satisfy the fruit's own longing. He does not, however, advocate the repression of sexual desire, and does not even object to a harem of 4 women—though he himself remained unmarried.

In spite of the fact that Bishr puts the deed before knowledge, he is considered both knowledgeable and intelligent. This does not refer to his theological knowledge, but also to his ability to experience and expound religious feelings and to his pious way of life: "A wise man is not one who merely knows good and evil, but he who both does the former and refrains from doing the latter"; "First to know, then to act, then really to know". Ahmad b. Hanbal is said to have claimed for himself greater theological knowledge, but to have referred to Bishr for knowledge concerning the reality of things, the higher facts (*ḥakāḍir*). Without question, though only a few dicta and some verses in the style of the *ṭabakhāt*



have survived, Bighr played his part through his word in expanding the teaching of the mystical shaping of man in Islam. Some sayings of his, however, belong to an earlier tradition which he simply passes on—one of his frequently quoted Sūfī teachers is Fudayl b. 'Uyād. The men who learn from him are recognizable from the *tawā'id* of his dicta.

With regard to the origin of Bighr's cognomen "the barefooted" (*hāfi*), Ibn Khallikān tells the following story: Bighr once asked a cobbler for a new strap for one of his sandals, but the cobbler called this a nuisance, whereupon Bighr threw down both his sandals and barefooted walked barefoot. Much speaks in favour of this report, even if the explanation is not clear in every detail. Did Bighr fly into a rage at the cobbler's answer, and then, being a pious man, did he draw the consequences? Or did he, blaming only himself, soberly come to the decision never to inconvenience a cobbler again? Later referring to Sura LXVI, 19 "And God made the earth your carpet", he said that one did not step onto a king's carpet wearing shoes. As a further reminder he also says that at the "time when the pact was made" they too were barefoot. This probably refers to the pact of obedience which human beings are said to have made with God before their appearance on God's earth (Sura VII, 172: *al-ādā'a bi-rubūbiyyihim*). Such justifications belong to the symbolical associations which Sūfīs later attached to the various parts and colours of their clothes (cf. Meier, *Ein Kette zur Sūfī*, in *RSO* 32, 1937, 483-524). The statement made by Hudgway and repeated by 'Attār that Bighr went barefoot because he was so deeply moved in contemplation of God, is hard to understand—and, together with the explanations given by Hudgway and 'Attār, more likely, Bighr is to have called himself "the barefooted" and to have been called to account for this by a girl who said "All you have to do is to buy a pair of sandals for two *dīnār*, but then you would no longer have your beautiful name". Al-Hafī is also the name of the dervish in Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*. Although Reiske's *Abulfatā Annalen Moslemica*, I, Leipzig 1754, where, for the first time, the name Bishr al-Hafī (see *rudā'at*) *dīnār*, had already appeared by the time Lessing's play was written, it can hardly be regarded as its source. Lessing is more likely to have sought Reiske's advice personally, or to have derived the name from d'Herbelot (cf. *Baṣhar al-Hafī* and *Hafī*).

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62-63; 'Abd al-Hayy b. al-'Imād, *Shahdāt al-Baḥāth*, Cairo 1350, II, 60-62. Also other collections of biographies and Sūfī texts. (F. MEIER)

**BISKRA**, town and oasis of the Zibān in the south-east of Algeria and on the northern fringes of the Sahara. It is situated at an altitude of between 100-120 metres on the alluvial cone and the west bank of the Oued Biskra, at the mouth of a wide depression which extends from the Awrās massif to the western Saharan peaks of the Atlas Mountains. This has always been a route much used by nomads and conquering shepherds. Its blue sky, seldom streaked with clouds, its mild winter climate (mean temperature for January 12.5° = 52° F.), that of it a winter resort (it has numerous hotels); but its summer climate is torrid (13.5° = 92° F. in July) and favourable to the ripening of dates. Rains are fairly rare (156 mm. = 6.14 ins. per year) and, above all, irregular. The palm grove which covers an area of 1300 hectares, numbers more than 150,000 palm trees and thousands of fruit trees; it is irrigated by the waters of canals and springs. In the cold season, the surplus water makes it possible to irrigate vast fields of wheat and barley at the southern end of the oasis, where the harvest begins in April. The European town, which has grown into the administrative, commercial and tourist centre, is laid out on a grid plan; it was built upstream from the palm-grove, near the old Muslim cultivation of the village, in houses of crude brick. These are mainly to the south, surrounding the ruins of an ancient Turkish fortress. These villages are: Msid, Bab al-Darb, Ras al-Guerria, Sidi Darkat, Medjeniche, and Gueddacha; on the perimeter, a little apart, are Beni Mora, al-Kora, Filahat and Aliya. Biskra, which is the chief centre of the Zibān group of oases, is a township of 12,500 inhabitants in all, among which are a few hundred Europeans. It is served by the railway which runs between Touggourt and Constantine, and by the pipeline, since 1958, has carried the petrol of Hassi-Messoud to the port of Philippeville, and will soon extend to Bougie.

Biskra is built on the site of the old city of Vescera, one of the Roman towns of the desert, which was not occupied by the Byzantines. Its name dates back to the 3rd/11th century when it was conquered by the Aghlabids of al-Kayrawān with the whole of the province of Zāb (pl. Zibān) whose capital at that time was Tubna, in eastern Hodna. Under the Hammādiyya, Biskra was autonomous, with a council of *shaykhs* on which two families, the *al-Buḥārī* and the *al-Bakrī* (Slane's translation and ed., 11-12) speaks of its beauty and prosperity at that time and also describes its ramparts, the richness of its oasis and the Berber shepherds, Maghāra and Sadra, who led a nomadic existence round about. In the 6th/12th century Biskra succeeded Tubna, in the aftermath of the Muslim conquest of Tabna, known in antiquity as Tabudoss; according to al-Idrīsī, it was always well fortified. The Zāb had just been occupied by the Aṭṭabī (Hilalian) Arabs coming from the east. A settled family of the Latf tribe (from the Aṭṭabī confederation), the Banū Muzāl, sought to take over authority from the Banū Rūmān who had old ties with the country. They succeeded in the 7th/13th century with the support of the Hafsids of Tunis. Biskra became the principal town of the whole south-western region of the Hafsīd states but was, in effect, the capital of a prosperous and virtually independent principality, to which caravans came to barter the products of the Sahara for those of the Tell.

In the 8th/14th century, the Banū Muzāl committed more than one act of disloyalty to the Hafsids for the benefit of the rulers of Bougie, Tlemcen or Fez. Then, in 804/1402, the king Abū Fāris re-established the authority of Tunis over Biskra; he led away the last of the Banū Muzāl as his captives and replaced him, as elsewhere, by a *Kā'id* of his own entourage.

With the decline of the Hafsids at the end of the 9th/15th century, Biskra and the Zāb became the fief of the nomad Arabs, the Dawāwida. The town was still "decently populated" but the people were poor, wrote Leo Africanus in the middle of the 16th century (trans. E. Fagnard, 440). This was the point at which the Turks, following the two expeditions of Hasan Aghā in 949/1542 and Salāh Ra'īs in 959/1552 took over to establish a garrison and construct a fort. In practice, power was in the hands of the chiefs of the Bu 'Ukkā family, who were given the title of *Shaykh al-'Arab*. In the eighteenth century, the Bey Salāh of Constantine, finding them too powerful, set up a rival family, that of Ben Ganah. Biskra suffered from this rivalry and from the abuses of the Turks: its inhabitants gradually abandoned the town to put a greater distance between themselves and the *haya* and dispersed to small villages spanning the oasis.

After the French landing at Algiers (1830), the rivalry continued in the village, in the hands of the Bū 'Ukkā family, finally appeared to 'Abd al-Kādir, but the Ben Ganah family joined up with France in 1835, following the capture of Constantine. Biskra was occupied by the Duke of Aumale in 1844, in the following year a permanent garrison was established and a fort built on the site of the old castle. The Ben Ganah retained their position as the most influential family and held most of the key appointments in the region. They have recently become reconciled with the Bū 'Ukkā family (1938) whose allies they now are. Biskra has become a prosperous centre, chief town of a district, then of an annex of the military territory of Touggourt, centre of a mixed economy and a community with full powers. It has just become the chief town of the *sous-préfecture* in the new Department of Batna (1956). It is the economic capital of the Zibān.

(J. DESROIS)

#### BISMILLĀH [see BISMALĀH].

**BISTĀM** [also BISTĀM, rarer BISTĀM]. A town of c. 4,000 inhabitants (1950) in Khurāsān, in the district (shahristān) of Shāhristān and county (khāshāh) of Kārdān-nāg. It is located 6 km. N. of Shāhrudd at 55 E. Long. (Greenw.) and 36° 30' N. Lat., on a spur of the Elburz mountains.

The pre-Islamic history of the town is unknown. According to one tradition the town was founded by Bistām, governor of Khurāsān during the rule of his nephew Khurāsān II Farwā, c. 590 A.D. Yāqūt attributes the town to Shāhrudd II (cf. Schwarz, 521). During the Arab conquest Suwayd b. Mukarrim occupied the town before his invasion of Džundī, but the date is uncertain (Tabarī, refs. in Schwarz).

During the 'Abbāsīd caliphate Bistām was the second town of Kūmis province after the capital Dīngīnān. Little is known of the town except as the burial place of the Banū Bistām in the Yawn Fard (cf. R. A. Nicholson, *London-London* 1905, 1, 106-114). After the Mongol invasion the town declined and later it was replaced by Shāhrudd in importance. On the sanctuary of Bāyazīd see Houtum-Schindler in *JRAS*, 1909, 161.

At present in addition to the tomb and sanctuary of Bāyazīd, there are remains of a citadel from the

6/12th century, and of an Imāmshāda Muhammad. The mosque probably dates from the 18th century but a minaret and adjacent tomb are much older. On these monuments see E. Herzfeld in *Der Islam* 11 (1921), 168-9.

**Bibliography:** Le Strange, 1905; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, vi, Leipzig 1926, 820-2; *Farhang Dīghrān* (1951) *Iran*, ed. Razmāzī, III, Tehran 1951, 47.

**BISTĀM** b. KAYS b. Mas'ūd b. KAYS, ANU 'L-SAHNĀ' or ANU ZIK (according to Ibn al-Kalbi, *Dīnkhārā* 203, nicknamed "al-Mutakammir")—pre-Islamic hero, poet and sayyid of the Banū Shāyban. His family was considered one of the three most noble and aristocratic Bedouin families (*al-Aghnī*, xvii, 105). His father is known *al-Muḥabbab*, 253) as one of the "dhawī 'l-Ākāl" (enjoying grants of the foreign rulers) and was granted by the Sāsānid kings as well as the Umayyads and the adjacent border territories (Ta'fī Safawī) against the obligation to prevent marauding raids of his tribesmen. Failing to fulfil this obligation in face of the opposition in his own tribe, and being suspected of plotting with Arab chiefs against Persian rule, he was imprisoned and died in a Persian gaol (*al-Aghnī*, xi, 740).

It is a significant fact that Bistām did not avenge the death of his father. On the contrary, Persian diplomacy succeeded, despite the Arab victory at Ṭhū Kār, in securing the collaboration of Bistām, and a fairly trustworthy tradition (*al-Nahā'id*, 580) shows that the Shāybanī troops were equipped by the Persian *šāmī* at 'Ayn Tamm. Born in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. (T. Nöldeke, in *Der Islam*, xiv, 125) Bistām became a leader of his tribe at the age of twenty (Ibn al-Kalbi, *op. cit.*) and succeeded in uniting his tribe: he is known as one of the "dharrīn" (*al-Muḥabbab*, 250). Abandoning the idea of fighting the Persians he directed all his activities against his neighbours of the Banū Tamīm.

His first raid against the Banū Yarbū', a branch of the Banū Tamīm, was—according to al-Balādhurī—at al-A'ghāh (*Anṣāb*, x, 99b). The Shāybanī troops were defeated, Bistām himself captured and released; his tribe was not attacked. His second raid was probably at Kuḥāwa (*Anṣāb*, x, 100b). Here it is clearly mentioned that Bistām commanded the attacking troops, but the raid itself was insignificant and ended with seizing of camels of a clan of the Banū Salīṭ. To the same early period belongs apparently the encounter with al-Akrā' b. Hādhil at Salāmīn, in which al-Akrā' was captured. A more serious enterprise was the raid of Ghāblī al-Madara (known as the Yawn Fard) (*al-Balādhurī*). A tribal federation of the *Tha'alib* was attacked and overcome by the troops of Bistām, but when the attackers proceeded against the Banū Mālik b. Hanzala they met resistance and were put to flight with the aid of warriors of Banū Yarbū'. Bistām, captured by 'Uṭayba b. al-Hārith, had to pay a very high ransom and was compelled to promise not to attack the clan of 'Uṭayba any more (*Anṣāb*, 998a, 988a, 995b, 996a). Breaking his promise he attacked after a short time a camp of 'Uṭayba's son at Ṭhū Kār (*Anṣāb*, 995b, 998a) and succeeded in seizing the camels (the raid is also known as Yawn Fard). Not content with this victory, he prepared an attack on the Banū Tamīm in order to capture 'Uṭayba; but he was defeated in this battle at al-Samūd (or Ṭhū Tuḥ) and barely escaped with his life (*Anṣāb*, 998a). A further battle at al-Uṭāka (known as the battle of al-Ghāblīyān or al-Uṭāka), prepared and aided



by the Persian *šmūd* at 'Ayn Tamar, ended with the defeat of the attackers and with the escape of Bistām (*Anašā*, 1004 b). Bistām fought his last battle at Nakā al-Hasan. He was killed by a half-witted Dabbī, 'Asim b. Ḳhalifa, who is said to have boasted of his deed at the court of 'Uthmān. The date of his death must be fixed at *circa* 613 A.D. Very little is known about the posterity of Bistām. His grand-daughter Badrā, the daughter of his son Zih, was about to marry al-Farazdak, but died before the appointed date.

Bistām is said to have been a Christian. He was the *sayyid* of his tribe; when the news of his death reached his tribe they pulled down their tents as an expression of their sorrow. Many elegies were composed on his death, and his person was glorified as the ideal of Bedouin courage and bravery. But in the times of al-Ḳhābīz, in the urban mixed society of the towns of 'Irāk, his glory faded away, and the common people preferred to listen to the story of 'Antara (*al-Bayān*, I, 34) which came closer to their social exaltation tendencies (cf. *EL*, v, 'Antara, R. Blachère).

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**ABD AL-BISTĀMĪ, 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ĀLĪ B. AḤMAD AL-HANAFĪ AL-HURĪ** was born in Antioch and appears to have witnessed the sack of Aleppo, by Ṭūmar, in 803/1400. He studied in Cairo and went to Bursa, then the Ottoman capital and imperial residence. There he gained the favour of Sütlü Murād II, a patron of learning, to whom several of his works are dedicated; there he died in 858/1454.

He was a mystic, belonging, as his name indicates, to the Hurūfī (g.v.) order of dervishes, who attributed a mystical significance to the letters of the alphabet and to combinations of these (cf. his *Kaḡhāʾi Asrār al-Hurūf* and his *Shāh al-Ḳubāʾ fī Ṣin al-Hurūf*, written in 826/1423). Among works of this type is also his *Muḥabbi al-Djār al-Djīmī*. He wrote a number of Sūfī works, perhaps the best-known being *Mandibīdī al-Taḥṣīb fī Maḥabibīdī al-Tarassul*, and also wrote on history and geography, the most important work being the encyclopaedia entitled *al-Fawā'id al-Miḥsiyya fī 'l-Fawā'id al-Matḥiyya*.

**Bibliography:** Bruchmann, II, 309; Hādīdī, *Ḳhalifa* (ed. Flügel), iv, 468; *JRAS* 1899, 907.

(M. SMITH)

**ABD-BISTĀMĪ, AḤD YAZĪD** (see AḤD YAZĪD).

**AB-BISTĀMĪ, 'ALĀ AL-DĪN** (see MUḤANNIFAK).

**BISTĪ** (see SIKKA).

**BISUTŪN**, (Βερούνη of the Arabic geographers, Bistūn in present local parlance), a mountain ca. 30 km. E. of Kirmānshāh on the main road from Baghdād to Hamadān.

The name is found in Greek sources (Diodorus 2.13 and Isidore of Charax) τὸ Βερούτων ὄρος, and in early Islamic authors (as al-Ḳhāwīmī and Hamza al-Iṣṭahīn) where we find the archaic form Baghistān, Old Persian \**bāgastāna* "place of the gods", (or one divinity in particular). Later Islamic authors have the form Bihistān (Bahlstān) which in modern times became Bistūn (Bistān). The site is mentioned many times in Arabic literature since it lay on the main road from 'Irāk to Ḳhūzistān.

High above the road is the famous bas-relief of Darius the Great with cuneiform inscriptions in three languages, Old Persian, Achaemenid, and Elamite. Beside the road below was the relief of the Parthian king Gotarzes, unfortunately now almost obliterated by a modern New Persian inscription.

Bistūn was regarded as a world wonder by the Muslims. In the books of those authors who follow Abū Zayd al-Balāḡ appears a short description of the sculptures which is fanciful since the Bistūn sculptures are confused with those of nearby Tāk-i Rustān (considered Khuraw II Poros) with his horse, a work of Kattib b. Simmur. Ibn Hawkal gives the curious explanation of the Darius relief with his captives as a teacher and pupils. Most Islamic authors thought the sculptures depicted Shīrīn and Khuraw II.

The trilingual inscription of Darius provided the key to the decipherment of all cuneiform inscriptions.

**Bibliography:** Le Strange, 187; al-Ḳhāwīmī (ed. Vibert), 117; the Arab geographers are summarized in Schwaz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iv, Leipzig 1921, 487 f. For the O.P. inscriptions, cf. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, New Haven, Conn. 1953, 208. For photographs see F. Sarre & E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 189-198, plates 33-5.

(E. HERZFELD [R. E. FRYE])

**BITIK, BITIKČI**, Turkish words derived from the verb *bitt* "to write". A deverbal-noun *būg* "written document book" is found in the Orkhon inscriptions and in the Turkish texts of Turfan. *Bitik*, is a *nomen agentis* in -i signifying "scribe, secretary". It is first found in *Qutadgu būg* under the form *būg*. The forms with a final *ur* (*bitik, bitikur*) are well attested in middle Turkish notably in Cacaṭay and Coman. The verb *bitt* and its derivatives have almost disappeared from modern dialects. Khakas has preserved *pitik*, book, writing, document" as well as *pitikči* "cultured, literate" and in Tuvin we have for example *bisik* "official document".

The etymology of *bitt* is unknown. The much quoted derivation from the Chinese 𠬞 *pi* (> \**piu*) "writing brush" must be treated with caution. Comparison with Indo-European forms, such as Khotanese *pitāha* "written, document", Sanskrit *pitāha* "collection of canonical books", or Greek *πιτταχον* "letter", is tempting but unsubstantiated by the phonetic history of these words.

In written Mongol the verb "to write" is *bitt*, a form which corresponds with the Turkish *bitt*. The deverbal noun *būg* "written document, writing, letter, missive" occurs from the time of the Secret History of the Mongols and a *nomen agentis* *būgici* "scribe, secretary, copyist" is found in the Mongol administrative documents of the Il-khāns. Mean-

while in Mongol-administered Persia the Turkish form *bitik* seems to have been preferred to the Mongol form. One may see in this an indication of Uighur preponderance in the administration of the Mongol Empire. The two words of literary Mongol are clearly observable in modern dialects. For example: modern Khalkha *būg* and *bitik*, Buryat *buug* and *bišile*, Kalmyk, *būg* and *bitik*, Orkhos *būg* and *bitik*.

The most ancient Tungur form is Ju-chen \**bidgei* "book". Mandju *biche* "written document, as the book, document, letter" must be a loan-word as the derivation cannot be explained by the facts of Mongol. On the other hand *bichik* "scribe, secretary" is a regular Mandju *nomen agentis*. In Evenki *bich* "to write" and *bispa* "written document" are borrowed from the Mongol, while the Oroch *bitik*, Olchea *bitik* "written document, letter", is directly connected with Mandju forms.

It is reasonable to conclude that the Turkish words implanted in Mongol by Uighur scribes, followed the Mongol conquests, which enabled them to become technical administrative terms. — These found ready use in the highly developed states of the Ju-chen and the Mandjins. See further BERAT. (D. SINOR)

**BITILIS** (see BIRILIS).

**BITOLJA** (see MANASTIR).

**BITOLAWSE** in Spanish Pedroche, a little place in the administrative district of Posadano, 60 kms. north of Cordoba, on the Cordoba-Toledo road, and the same distance from Dar al-Bakar near El Vacar. According to Idrizi, it was a heavily populated fortified town with high walls; situated in the region of Faḡs al-Balāḡ of which Ḳhāḡik (now Belalokar) was the capital, it was the seat of a provincial judge. Its inhabitants like those of Ḳhāḡik had won renown for their bravery in repelling the attacks of the Christians. Its mountains and plains were, and to a great extent still are, covered with a variety of oak trees distinguished by the quality of their acorns, which the inhabitants cultivated with great care, and which in years of famine served them as food, for as al-Rāzi affirms, they were the best in all Spain. Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Balāḡ, who came originally from Pedroche, occupied Crete with the survivors of the 'Battle of the Suburj' (*al-rabaḡ*) and there founded a dynasty which lasted until 350/961. The Berbers settled in the district of Los Pedroches took part, under an Andalusian mystic called Abū 'Alī al-Sarḡidī, in a rising against the *amir* 'Abd Allāh which ended in the rout and death of their chief in front of the walls of Zamora (288/901). Of its history during the Almoravid and Almohad periods, we only know that at the beginning of the year 550/1155, the governor of Cordoba, Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḡmān B. Igit, made a sortie with Almohad troops against the forth of Pedroche and those of the Faḡs al-Balāḡ region, of which Almohad VII had just taken possession in the course of a rapid invasion which had also annihilated him to take Andujar. Ibn Igit routed the Count, the lord of Pedroche, whom Alfonso VII had left there as governor, and in the course of his assault on the fort, took him prisoner and sent him to Marrakūsh.

**Bibliography:** Idrizi, 175, 213 (text), 221, 263 (transl.); Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im, *al-Rawḡ al-miḡār*, 45 (text), 57 (transl.); Rāzi, 51; Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *ʿDbar*, iv, 211; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, I, 583; *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 3rd. part, MS. Tansrut; *Anales toledanos primeros*, A. Huici, 348. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

**BITRIK**, Arabised form of Latin *Patriarius*. The *Patriarius dignitas* was instituted by the Emperor Constantine (A.D. 306-337), an honorary dignity, not connected with any office, and conferred for exceptional services to the State.

1.—It is certain that no Arabs in the service of Rome were endowed with the patriarchate before the Ghassanids (g.v.) and no Ghassanid before al-Ḳhāḡib b. Ḳhalifa, who was honoured with the dignity ca. 540 A.D., as was also his son and successor al-Mundhir ca. 570 A.D. The assumption of this high Roman honour by the two Ghassanid dynasts is the most telling indication of their place and importance in the Roman hierarchy. Al-Ḳhāḡib and al-Mundhir are the only figures in the history of the Arabs before Islam whose patriarchate can be established with certainty; there is no positive evidence in the sources that the Romans conferred it again on a Ghassanid after al-Mundhir.

II.—As the Muslim conquests in the seventh century changed the status and rôle of the Arabs in their relation to the Romans from subjects and "allies" to conquerors, the patriarchate, which in the pre-Islamic period had been greatly coveted by Arab princes as a symbol of their Roman connexions, naturally ceased to be assumed by them. Instead, it survived as a term in the literature. Almost a *happas legumensis* in pre-Islamic poetry, *bitrik* acquired three broken phrases and found its way into the literature of the Muslim period. It was woven into the texture of Arabic poetry by al-Mutanabbī and Abū Fīrās and was frequently mentioned by the historians and the geographers. Indeed, in the military annals of Arab-Byzantine relations it became the regular term for a Byzantine commander. Although other terms occur, like *مَرْغِيوس* *στρατηγός* *domesticus*, and *دوقس* *dux*, paradoxically enough it was *bitrik*, a non-military term, which received the widest vogue.

III.—The frequent occurrence of *bitrik* in Arabic authors was, however, attended by confusion and inaccuracies. The patriarchate was conceived as though it were (a) an office (b) hereditary (c) applicable to the Persians, and (d) interchangeable with *batrak* (patriarch). The truth, of course, is that the patriarchate was a dignity, non-hereditary, peculiarly Byzantine, and non-ecclasiastical. But it is important to draw a distinction between the reckless use of the term in literary works of the type of al-Tanḡilī's *Farḡd* and the careful use of it in the serious works of the historians and the geographers. These have preserved information of some interest and relevance to the Byzantinist for the history of this dignity with particular reference to the term *στρατηγός*.

IV.—*Bitrik* was recognised by the Arabic lexicographers as a foreign term and was considered as such as a homophone and homograph of a supposedly indigenous Arabic word, which, *inter alia*, means "a proud and self-conceited man".

**Bibliography:** B. Kühler, *Patrius, patrius*, in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. 18, pt. 4, cols. 223-32; Th. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassanischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafnān*, Abh. Fr. Ak. W., Berlin 1887, 13-14; note 1 on 13 is inaccurate. For the occurrence of *bitrik* in Arab authors, see A. A. Vasiliev,



*Byzance et les Arabes*, Brussels 1935, 1950, vols. 1, 2, *passim*, and M. Conard, *Les aventures d'un prisonnier arabe et d'un patrie byzantin à l'époque des guerres bulgares-byzantines*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, (Harvard University Press, 1950) vols. 1-6, particularly, 62, n. 137; 66; 68, n. 28. Lane, *Arab-English Lexicon*, New York 1935, 1, 1, 217-8.

**al-BİTRİKİ**, Nūr al-nās Abū Isḥāq, called Alpetragius by medieval European authors, a Spanish-Arab astronomer, the disciple and friend of Ibn Tulay (about 1000/1000). His astronomical theory, the origins of which must be sought in the return to Aristotelianism initiated by Ibn Bādīja and other Arab philosophers of Spain like Ibn Tulay and the astronomer Djabir b. Aflah, involved the reintroduction of the idea of imperfect roughly formulated by Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.), the view that the celestial spheres revolve around different axes, thus producing a spiral movement (*haraka laḥabīya*). The work in which he sets forth his principles, entitled *Kutub fi 'l-Hay'a*, was translated by Michael Scot; Carnoy published in 1952, at Berkeley, a critical edition of this translation compared with the Arabic text. In 675/1279, Moḥib al-Dīn translated the work from Arabic into Hebrew, and in 914/1528, Kalonimos ben David made a Latin translation, based on the Hebrew version, which was printed at Venice in 1531, at the same time as the *Treatise on the sphere* of Sacrobosco.

**Bibliography**: see the works quoted by E. J. Carnoy, *al-Bitrīkī, De Mōdobus Caelorum*, Berkeley 1952; Sartori, *Introduction to the History of Science*, II, 390 and index. (J. VERMEER)

**BİYABANAK**, an area in the central desert of Iran (Daḡdā Kawr), with some twelve oases. The area is included within E. Long. (Greenw.) 54° 15' and 55° 15' and N. Lat. 33° 5' and 34° 10', roughly 70 miles by 90 miles. The date palm and underground supplies of water, some hot but all salty, have enabled the oases to flourish isolated from the rest of Iran. The word is probably a diminutive meaning "little desert", but the name does not appear before the 16th century (Tavernier).

We find no references to the area in pre-Islamic times, though local tradition claims that it was a place of banishment under the Sāsānids, and the existence of site names such as Atashkādā (6 km. south of the oasis of Mihrjān), attest pre-Islamic occupation.

A history of Yazd (see below) claims that the Arabs in pursuit of Yazdadjīd passed through the central desert area and obtained the submission of the local inhabitants. This, however, may apply only to Tabbas since local tradition (oasis of Farrūkhī) claims that the Bīyabānak was only converted to Islam in the 19th century in the time of the Imām 'Alī al-Ridā, and conversion was accomplished only by warfare. Ibn Hawkal says there are three villages at five stages from Nā'īn on the desert road to Khurāsān, Bīyadāk, Dīrnāq, and Arīzāb, each within eyesight of the other. The palm trees are especially noteworthy here. Nīsīrī Khurāsān mentions the village of Karmāh, 41 farsakhs from Nā'īn, and says that the area was infested formerly with Kūfūdā (Kūfs), but in his time (5th/11th century). Amīr Gilāki of Tabbas had rid the region of them. Later the area suffered from Balūči raids until the 1920s. Apparently Arab tribesmen from Khuzistān raided

this area as well, for European travellers in the last century report Arabs living here and local tradition tells of a tribe called the Bī-i Nasrī which terrorised the area under the Kādjars.

At present there are perhaps 10,000 people living in the oases, the time principal oases being Dīrnāq, Farrūkhī, Dīrnāq, Urdī, Irād, Mihrjān, Bīyabān, Čūpīnān, and the administrative centre Khūr. Dialects are spoken in all of the oases save Dīrnāq where Persian is spoken. The date palm provides the principal livelihood for the people of the oases.

**Bibliography**: J. B. Tavernier, *Voyage*, Paris 1724, II, 449; C. M. MacGregor, *Narrative of a Journey through Khorasan*, London 1879, I, 91; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien II*, SBAG, Wien, 108 (1885), 676-682; 'Abd al-Husayn Āyatī, *Atashkādā*, Yazd, Yazd 1939, 67; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, s.v. *Bīyabān*; Ibn Hawkal II, 405; Frey, *Bīyabān*, the Oases of Central Iran, in *Central Asian Journal*, IV (1960); Habbī Yaghmā'i, *Shārḥ Hal-4 Yaghmā'i*, Tehran 1925, 8-12; Rasmāzī, *Fārḥādā Dīghrīyā-yi Irān*, Tehran 1954, 3, under the various oases. (R. N. FREY)

**BIZARĀN** [see BILZET].

**BIZERTA** [see BAZART].

**BLIDA** [see BULDAV].

**BOABDIL** [see NAHIDIL].

**BOBASTRO** [see BARASTASTUR].

**BODRUM**, a small town situated on the west coast of Asia Minor, opposite the island of İstanköy (Ros). It stands near the site of the ancient Halicarnassus in Caria. When the Turks overtook western Asia Minor in the years around 1300, this region came under the rule of the Begs of Menteşe [405]. The Ottomans seized the emirate of Menteşe in 792/1390, lost it after their defeat in battle against Timur Lang at Ankara in 804/1402 and did not recover full and direct possession of Menteşe until 829/1425-1426. This second and definitive annexation of the emirate was not, however, destined to include the old Halicarnassus, for the Knights of St John at Rhodes, under their Grand Master Philibert de Naillac (1396-1424), had meanwhile occupied the site of the ancient town, and had built close at hand a fortress which received the name of "Castellum Sancti Petri" (Gr. Πτερύγος). It has been suggested that the name Bodrum derives either from the vault-like arcades among the ruins of Halicarnassus (cf. the Turkish *bodrum*: a subterranean vault, a cellar) or from the Latin name for the new fortress ("Sanctum Petrum").

The Venetian admiral Pietro Mocenigo, during the course of his sea campaigns in the eastern Mediterranean (1427-1478), ravaged the Ottoman-held hinterland of Bodrum. In 885/1480, the Ottomans, returning to Istanbul from their unsuccessful siege of Rhodes in that year, attempted, but without avail, to take the Castle of St Peter. Bodrum came under Ottoman rule only in 929/1522, when the Knights of St John, after a long and desperate resistance, surrendered Rhodes, together with its dependent possessions, to Sütlü Süleyman Kânîdân. Evliya Çelebi mentions that a naval engagement occurred in the harbour of Bodrum during the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1055-1080/1645-1669. Bodrum suffered bombardment from the Russian squadron operating in the eastern Mediterranean in the course of the Ottoman-Russian war of 1182-1188/1768-1774. It was again bombarded during the

Great War of 1914-1918, the fortress on this latter occasion receiving considerable damage, which was, however, repaired when Italian forces occupied the town in 1919-1920. Bodrum, under Ottoman rule, belonged to the *sandjak* of Menteşe in the *eyâlet* of Anadolu. It had later the status of a *kadî*, when this *sandjak* was subordinated, in 1864, to the newly formed *vilâyet* of Aydın (Smyrna). The town is now included in the present Turkish province of Muğla and had in 1950 a population of about 4,800 inhabitants.

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(V. J. PARRY)

**BOĞHA AL-KABİR** [see BOĞHA AL-KABİR].

**BOĞHA AL-SHARABİ** [see BOĞHA AL-SHARABİ].

**BOĞHAZ** [see BOĞHAZ-İCİ].

**BOĞHAZ-İCİ** (BOĞHAZICI) ("interior of the strait") is the expression used in Turkish to denote the Bosphorus, and especially the narrow waters, bays and promontories which constitute its middle section. The name Bosphorus (Gr. Βόσπορος, Lat. Bosporus, Bosphorus) derives from a word of Thracian origin (cf. Pauly-Wisowa). This narrow channel, the Thracian Bosphorus (so-called in order to distinguish it from the Cimmerian Bosphorus, i.e., the strait of Kerch between the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea), enters the Sea of Marmara (the ancient Propontis, Marmara Denizi in Turkish) and the Black Sea (the Pontus Euxinus of classical times, the Kara Deniz of the Turks). The Byzantines often referred to it simply as τὸ Στεῖνον, "the strait", while, to the Latins at the time of the Crusades, it

was known as the "bosphorus S. Georgii" (cf. Tomaschek). It is mentioned under a number of different names in the Turkish sources, e.g., *Khalidj-i bahr-i siyah*, *Khalidj-i Kustantiniyye*, *Kustantiniyye boğazi*, İstanbul boğazi, etc. The word *boğaz* means "throat" or "gullet" in Turkish, but has in geographical names the sense of "defile", "strait" (cf., e.g., Kilek Boğazi, the Cilician Gates, or Canak-kale Boğazi, the Dardanelles).

The Bosphorus has a mean length of about 30 km. and a width which varies from approximately 700 to about 3550 metres. A strong current (3-5 km. per hour) flows down the centre of the channel from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara, but a counter-current runs in the opposite direction below the surface and along the shores. The more notable localities which border the strait can be enumerated as follows (the names are given in the modern Turkish form): on the European side, in order from south to north, are to be found Tophane (the Byzantine Argemopolis), Beşiktaş (Byz. Duplikonion), Ortaköy (Byz. Hagios Phokas), Arnavut-Köy (Byz. Anaplos), Bebek (Byz. Chalki), Rumeli-Hisar (Byz. Phocaea), İstinye (Byz. Sosthenion), Yeniköy (Byz. Neapolis), Tarabya (Byz. Therapsall), Büyük-Dere (Byz. Kalos Agros) and Rumeli-Kavağ; on the Asiatic shore, in sequence from north to south, are present Anadolu-Kavağ (Byz. Hieron), Beykoz, Paşa-Bahçe, Çubuklu (Byz. Irenaeon), Kanlıca, Anadolu-Hisar, Kandilli (Byz. Brochthol), Çengel-Köyü, Beşlerbeyi, Kuşçumruk (Byz. Chrysokoranos) and Üsküdar (Scutari: Byz. Skutiarion, an imperial palace in Chrysopolis). The Bosphorus proper ended, according to the view held in ancient times, at the present Rumeli-Kavağ and Anadolu-Kavağ, the waters beyond this line, towards the north, being considered as a part of the Black Sea.

The Byzantines fortified the northern end of the Bosphorus in the region of Rumeli-Kavağ and Anadolu-Kavağ, where the strait narrows to a width of about 1000 metres. Traces of a Byzantine fortress can still be discerned to the north of Rumeli-Kavağ. There is in fact a tradition that the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II demolished this ancient fort ("Eski Kale"), the material thus acquired being used in the construction of Rumeli-Hisar in 856/1452 (cf. Gabriel, 77 and 81). A Byzantine fortress also existed at Anadolu-Kavağ. It was known to the Ottomans as Yoros (Yeros) Kal'esi (cf. Byz. Hieron) or Djeneyiz Kal'esi. This latter name arose from the fact that the Genoese, in 1350, had taken over from the Byzantines control of the defences in the northern zone of the Bosphorus.

It was only with the rise and growth of the Ottoman empire in the 14th-15th centuries that the lands bordering on the Bosphorus came under Muslim rule. The Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I (791-805/1389-1405) built on the Asiatic shore of the strait a strong fortress called Anadolu-Hisâr (also known as Güneşli Hisâr), to which Sultan Mehmed II made various additions and improvements in 856/1452. On the European shore, opposite Anadolu-Hisâr and at the site which the Byzantines called Phonnus (Φωνός; also Φωνάρι and Φωνάρις), Mehmed II constructed, in this same year, the fortress of Rumeli-Hisâr (often called Boğaz-Kesen, i.e., "which cuts the throat" or "which cuts the strait"). The Sultan furnished these two fortresses with artillery capable of firing across the Bosphorus, here compressed to its narrowest width (about 700 metres). After the fall of Constantinople in 857/1453



the Black Sea became in effect an Ottoman lake. Mehmed II brought to an end the former Genoese imperium over the Black Sea in 865/1461 and 880/1475. Moreover, in this latter year, the *Khân* of the Krim Tatars was reduced to the status of an Ottoman vassal. Rumeli-Hisari and Anadolu-Hisari, together with what remained of the old Byzantine defences at the northern end of the Bosphorus, now lost their earlier importance.

After a long interval of calm, danger threatened from the north, when Cossack sea-raiders plundered Serrae on the south shore of the Black Sea in 1023/1614 and ten years later, in 1033/1624, carried fire and sword into the Bosphorus itself, ravaging Sarıyer, Büyükdere, Tarabya and Yeniköy on the European shore of the strait. To ward off this menace, the Ottomans, in the reign of Sültân Murâd IV (1023-1049/1623-1640), built two new fortresses, one in the region of Rumeli-Kavâğı, the other near Anadolu-Kavâğı. These forts (not to be confused with the former Byzantine defences in this section of the Bosphorus) are described in Ewliya Çelebi (I, 461) as the *ka'f-i kâid al-harb*, 'the forts (which are) the lock of the sea' (*ka'f-i kâid*, the Kara Deniz or Black Sea). No trace of them now remains, both having been demolished in the course of the 19th century (Gabriel, 82).

During their unsuccessful war against Russia in 1182-1188/1768-1774 the Ottomans began to reorganise the defences of the Bosphorus. New fortifications arose, in 1187/1773-1774, at Kilyos (Ka'f-i Baghdâdî) on the Asiatic shore of the Black Sea, just outside the strait itself, and also at Fener-i Rumeli and Fener-i Anadolu on the northern exit from the strait. Additional forts soon made their appearance at Garıpe and Büyükdere-Liman on the European, and at Poyraz-Liman on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus above Rumeli-Kavâğı and Anadolu-Kavâğı. This defence system received the name of 'Ka'f-i Seb'a' (the seven fortresses). A sustained effort was made during the reign of Sültân Selim III (1203-1222/1789-1807) to extend and perfect the new defences of the Bosphorus. At the same time the older fortifications situated within the Bosphorus proper, southward from Rumeli-Kavâğı and Anadolu-Kavâğı in the direction of the Marmara Sea, underwent a process of repair and modernisation. These years witnessed, however, the emergence, in its modern form, of the Eastern Question. The control and defence of the Straits, i.e., of the Dardanelles as well as of the Bosphorus, was now to become a matter of prime concern, not to the Ottomans alone but also to the powers of Europe, who, during the 19th-century Great Powers of Europe, who, during the 19th-century, imposed on the Straits a much debated and often altered system of international control.

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BOĞHAZ KESEN (see KEMELİ HİSAR).

BOĞHDÂN, originally Boğhdân-ili or Boğhdân-sultânî (the land of Boğhdân), Turkish name of Moldavia, so called after Boğhdân who in 760/1359 founded a principality between the Eastern flanks of the Carpathians and the Danube (Turla). The name Boğhdân-ili appears in the *hûkûm* of Mehmed II dated 859/1455 (Kazaltı, *Ösm. Tarih*, I). The name Kara-Boğhdân is found in the letter of İsmâk dated 881/1476 (Hefleten, no. 3-4, 644) and in the Ottoman chronicles generally.

The principality suffered its first raid (*akın*) by the Ottomans in 823/1420 (unsuccessful siege of Ak-Kirmân). In 831/1428 the *Khân* of the Golden Horde, Uluğ Muhammad, proposed to Murâd II that they should act in concert to destroy the Vlach infidels dwelling between them (cf. Kurat, *Yarlık ve Bülâk*, 8). Hâdîdî Çerç [g.e.] made an alliance against Boğhdân-ili with Mehmed II, and an Ottoman fleet attacked Ak-Kirmân in 858/1454. As a result the *soyvoide* Petru Aron accepted Ottoman suzerainty, agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 2000 ducats (autumn 859/1455) (Fr. Babinger, *Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Turk. in Rumänien*, 21). and the sultan granted the merchants of Boğhdân freedom to trade in the Ottoman dominions (Kazaltı, 664).

Stephen the Great (1457-1504) renewed the vassalage to the king of Poland, repulsed an attack by the Crimeans in 873/1469, entered into diplomatic relations with Uzun Hasan (g.e.), and defeated the Ottoman beylerbeyi of Rumeli on 2 Ramsâdân 879/

10 Jan. 1475. Finally Mehmed II invaded Boğhdân and burned its capital Su'aveva (Rab' I, 881/1476). In 889/1484, as a result of the joint action of Bayazid II and his vassal the Crimean *Khân* Ak-Kirmân and Kili were occupied by the Ottomans, and Kawhân and Tombasar by the *Khân*. In 897/1492 Stephen, by sending tribute and his son to the Porte, acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty. Under the Ottomans Ak-Kirmân and Kili became more actively engaged in the commerce of the Levant (this can now be seen from the records of the Ottoman customs houses of this period at the Bayvekalet Arşivi İstanbul, Malive no. 6). With its exports of cereals, meat, butter and was the trade of Boğhdân became, under a monopoly system, more and more dependent on the Istanbul market.

Ottoman-Boğhdân relations rested on the Islamic principle of the *dir al-'ahd* [g.e.], as expressed in the 'ahd-nâmes granted by the Ottoman sultans and the *berâts* issued to the *soyvoide* (cf. the *berât* of Alexandru VI Ilah in Feridun, *Menzeh*, II, 398). The *berâts* attaching the *soyvoide* to the Porte were made still stronger when he received his appointment directly from the sultan, the first *soyvoide* so appointed being Petru IV Rareș (933/1527). The *soyvoide*'s whole authority emanated from the sultan. The sultan, in his *berât*, enjoined upon all the *boya*s, priests and people that they should recognise the *soyvoide* as their ruler (892) if they failed to do so their land would be regarded as *dir al-harb*. The *soyvoide*'s symbols of authority were the standard, the robe of honour (*âbâ'î*), and the red *berk* (felt cap). An *âghâ* accompanied the *soyvoide* to his capital, seated him on his throne, and had the proclamation read to the people. As late as the 16th/17th century it was felt to be important that the *soyvoide* should be a descendant of a former *soyvoide* (cf. Feridun, II, 398, 446). Nevertheless the wishes of the local *boya*s were taken into consideration. The Ottomans, assisted by the Crimean Tatars, had no great difficulty in removing pretenders supported by Poland or the Cossacks and *soyvoide* who refused to recognise the sultan's order of deposition. After the treasury of Dimitri Kantemir in 1123/1711 the *soyvoide* were selected exclusively from a few families of Phanariot Greeks (the Mavrokordati, Kallimachi, Hypsilanti). In this Phanariot period (1123-1236/1711-1821) the *soyvoide* were reduced to being merely Ottoman officials. They were frequently changed, but after 1217/1802, as a result of Russian pressure, they were appointed for periods of seven years.

The tribute which the Moldavians paid as *akî al-'ahd* was regarded as *âharâdî maktâ*, farmed by the *soyvoide*, who, acting as *îsmîl* (tax-farmer), was expected to raise the maximum amount of tribute that the country could support. In 859/1455 the tribute was fixed at 2000 ducats; it was increased under Stephen the Great to 3000, under Petru IV Rareș to 10,000, and in 1028/1619 under Gaghar to 40,000 ducats. In the 12th/13th century it was 65,000 *ghurek* [g.e.]. Boğhdân also paid tribute (7000 ducats annually) to the Crimean *Khân*. The gifts (*ghîzâgh*) which the *soyvoide* made to the Sultan, the *soya*s and other influential people became an established usage, and nearly equalled in amount the sum paid as *âharâdî*.

The 'ahd-nâme granted to the *soyvoide* also prescribed that he should be 'the friend of the sultan's friends and the enemy of his enemies', and should supply military aid when called upon, the

*soyvoide* serving in person when the sultan himself took the field (Na'mâ, vi, 322). But the *berâts* emphasised that Ottoman officials were not to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of the principality. The *soyvoide* had a representative (*kapu-hetâhuddul* or *kahya*) in Istanbul to attend to matters arising between the *soyvoide* and the Porte.

The people of Boğhdân were regarded as *âharâdî-gûsâr na'yyet* of the Sultan, who was obliged to defend them against their enemies and to depose *soyvoide* who oppressed them. The *boya*s never formed a hereditary nobility. In the 9th/15th century they were no more than a class of wealthy peasants. The Porte was able to strengthen its control of the country by playing off the *boya*s against the *soyvoide* and *vice versa*. In the 12th/17th century the *boya*s became great landowners and the peasants were reduced to serfdom; but the Phanariot *soyvoide* tried to break the power of the *boya*s, and in 1253/1740 Constantine Mavrokordato abolished serfdom and freed the peasants from their control. From then on the *boya*s looked for support more and more to the Christian powers, especially Russia. By the *Regulamentul Organic* which was drawn up in 1247/1831 during the Russian occupation, the council of *boya*s was given the right to elect the *soyvoide*.

In the course of time the Ottoman state had absorbed various parts of the principality into the *dir al-'ahd*. Süleyman I's campaign of 945/1538 represents a turning point in many respects: the *soyvoide* was brought into direct dependence on the Porte, and the district of Buğdâk [g.e.] was annexed to ensure the security of the port of Ak-Kirmân. In 1030/1621 'Oghmân II rescued Khotin from the Poles to give to Boğhdân, but annexed to the Ottoman dominions the area north of Ismail. In order to recover Buğdâk, Dimitri Kantemir in 1125/1711 secretly recognised the protection of the Czar. After the treaty of the Pruth, the Porte placed Khotin and the surrounding district as far as the Pruth under an Ottoman *Paşâ*. In 1189/1775 Austria seized the north-western part of the country (Bukovina), and in 1227/1812 Russia annexed Bessarabia. After the Treaty of Kütahya-Kaynarğa (1188/1774) Russia posed as the protectress of Moldavia, and eventually after the Treaty of Ak-Kirmân (5 Rab' I 1242/ Oct. 1826) Ottoman suzerainty over the principality became nominal and Russia was recognised as the Protecting Power. In 1276/1859 the twin principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (*Moldolavayn*) were united, though the Sultan did not recognise the union until two years later (28 Rûmûlâ 1278/2 Dec. 1861).

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(HALLİ İSALCIK)  
BÖĞRÂ, town and head-quarters of the district of the same name in East Pakistan, situated in 24° 51' N. and 86° 23' E. on the west bank of the Karâôya. Population, (1951) was 12,36,581 for the district and 25,303 for the town. The town is pre-



dominantly Muslim; even before the partition of the sub-continent in 1947 it had the largest number of Muslims in the whole of Bengal. They are mostly converts from the Kōṣ or Rājādhāns of the northern areas although there are some Pathāns and Sayyids also. The district and the town are both liable to cyclones and floods, sometimes of a terrible nature. In 1281/1284 many houses and trees were levelled to the ground by the cyclone which swept over the district. In 1294/1296 the town was inundated when 18" of rain fell within a short span of 1½ hours. Earthquakes of great intensity have also frequently occurred. The severe earthquakes of 1895, 1888 and 1897 did considerable damage to both life and property. Many of the brick buildings in the town were destroyed in the earthquake of 1897.

The district seems to have been converted *en masse* to Islam in the 7th/13th century as most of the villages still bear Hindu names but have no Hindu inhabitants. In 1603/1596 when the district was re-conquered by Rājā Mān Singh, the Mughal viceroy, he built a mud fort at Shīrpur and named it Salmāgar after Dīghājūr. A fort was also built at Mahāst'hān, now desolate. Shīrpur, to the south of Bōrā, was founded by Shīr Khān, the Afghan ruler of Bengal (c. 600-700/1568-72). These two places abound in archaeological remains while in the town itself the "Bōra Palace", the seat of the Cawdhari family, is the only place of some antiquity and interest.

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**BOHORĀS** (Bōhrās, Buhrah), a Muslim community in Western India (mainly of Hindu descent, with some admixture of Yemenite Arab blood), for the most part Shī'īs of the Ismā'īlī sect, and belonging to that branch of the Shī'īs which upholds the claims of al-Musta'īl (487-495/1094-1101) to succeed his father al-Musta'īr in the Fātimid Caliphate of Egypt. (For the history of the Fātimids, see the articles Fāṭimids and Ismā'īlīs). Musta'īl opposed his brother Nūr, whose adherents (the so-called Assassins) are represented in India by the Khōdās (q.v.). The name *bohōrā* denotes a "trader, merchant" (from the Gujjarātī *bōhrō*, "to trade") and records the occupation of the earliest converts to Islam. This is clearly mentioned in an Arabic work, *al-Tarjama al-Zakara*... (see below, and cf. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, *Ismaili Law of Wills*, Oxford 1953, 3, footnote 2). The appellation however is not confined to Muslims, and in the Census Report of 1901, 6,652 Hindus and 27 Jāyans returned themselves as Bohorās. The exact figures are a matter of some doubt, as Hindu Bohorās, Sunnī Bohorās (of Gujjarāt and particularly of Rāndhēr) and Dīyānī Bohorās are occasionally confused with Ismā'īlī Bohorās. The number of Muslim Bohorās was given in 1902 as 146,255, of whom 118,307 resided in the Bombay Presidency. Under the communities the following figures are given:

Bohorā (British Districts)	1911	1921	1931
	92,081	108,750	110,124

In the Census Reports of 1941 and 1951, the distribution of the communities is not given, with the result that it is now impossible to give accurately the figures for India. An approximate figure allowing for the natural increase in population would be 150,000 in India, and 200,000 for the world, including the trading communities of Ceylon and East Africa.

The Bohorās fall broadly in two main groups, the larger of which, belonging to the mercantile class, is Shī'ī; the other, composed mainly of peasants and cultivators, is Sunnī. Some of the Sunnī Bohorās of Rāndhēr (Gujjarāt) traded in Burma and made large fortunes. Certain families of Ismā'īlī Bohorās claim to be descended from refugees from Arabia and Egypt. It is difficult to substantiate this claim; but intermarriage, particularly with Yemenite Arabs of the Musta'īlīan branch, has taken place in a number of well-known cases. Recently among the Sulaymānīs, intermarriage has taken place with Sunnīs, Iḡnā 'Aḡhar Shī'īs, Hindus and even with Europeans; but the large majority of the Bohorās do not marry outside their communities.

The majority of Bohorās are undoubtedly of Hindu origin, their ancestors having been converted by Ismā'īlī missionaries. The first of these is commonly stated to have been sent from Yemen by the Imām of the Musta'īlīan sect and to have been called 'Abd Allāh. It is related that he landed in Cambay (Western India) in 400/1007 and actively engaged in propaganda. This story is given in varying forms, one of which is preserved in an Arabic booklet entitled *al-Tarjama al-Zakara li-Firāh Borkat al-Bāhira*. A copy exists in the library of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It has been translated into English by K. M. Jhaveri, *A Legendary History of the Bohoras*. *Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, 1933, New Series, Vol. 9, 37-52. The text has been edited by H. M. Fakhr (Tālib), in the *Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, 1949, N.S., Vol. 16, 88. Other accounts give Muhammad 'Alī, whose tomb is still revered in Cambay, as the name of the first Musta'īlīan missionary in India (died, 532/1137). The Čāḡkya dynasty of Anahīlvāda was then ruling over Gujjarāt and the Ismā'īlī missionaries seem to have been allowed by the Hindu government to carry on their propaganda without interruption and with considerable success. In 1227 the Hindu Kingdom came to an end and for a century Gujjarāt remained more or less in subjection to Dāhīl. However, under the independent Kings of Gujjarāt (1396-1572), who favoured the spread of the Sunnī doctrine, the Bohorās were on several occasions exposed to severe persecution.

Up to 948/1539, the head of the sect resided in the Yemen, and the Bohorās made pilgrimages to him, paid tithes and referred their disputes for decision and settlement. In 946, however, Yusuf b. Sulaymān migrated from the Yemen to India and settled in Sindhūr (Bombay State). About fifty years later, a schism occurred after the death of the dā'ī Dā'ūd b. 'Aḡlab Shāh in 990/1588. The Bohorās of Gujjarāt, in fact the large majority of the community, chose one Dā'ūd b. Kutb Shāh as his successor, and sent the tidings of his appointment (Ar. 1029) to their co-religionists in the Yemen; but the latter, including a small proportion of the community in India, supported the claims of a certain Sulaymān, who claimed to be the rightful successor in virtue of a

formal mandate from Dā'ūd b. 'Aḡlab Shāh. This document is still in the possession of the Sulaymānī dā'awt (the communal administration is called dā'awt; the *t* is pronounced by the community), but its authenticity has never been subjected to a scientific, critical or legal examination. Sulaymān died in Ahmādābād, where his tomb and that of his rival, Dā'ūd b. Kutb Shāh are still revered by their respective followers. Those who recognise the claims of Sulaymān are called Sulaymānīs and their dā'ī is in the Yemen. His chief agent in India is called the *marṣūf*, and the seat of the Sulaymānī dā'awt is in Baroda, where there is a good library of Ismā'īlī MSS. Another difference is that the Dā'ūdīs use a form of Gujjarātī language which is full of Arabic words and phrases, write in the Arabic script for all official purposes and deliver their sermons in this language, whereas the Sulaymānīs use Urdu for the same purposes.

The head of the Dā'ūdī Bohorās resides generally in Bombay, but his headquarters are in Sīrat and are known as the *Dārī*. In both places there are good collections of Ismā'īlī MSS. There is at Sīrat an Arabic *madrasa* known as the *dars-i sayf*, named after the present dā'ī, Sayyidnā Tāhir Sayf al-Dīn. The dā'ī al-muḥall, to give him his official designation, is commonly known as the Mullājī Shāh or Sayyidnā Shāh, and is greatly revered by his followers. In large numbers, a large number of the sectarians perform a form of obeisance, the *ḥabīb al-arḡ*, which has apparently come down from Fātimid times and differs but little from the traditional *sajda*.

As regards marriage and death ceremonies, and ritual prayers, the Bohorā community is in general well-served by local officials, called *imāds*, who are appointed by the Mullājī Shāh and are the servants of the dā'awt. They perform duties similar to those of the *khāḍis* of the Sunnīs, but in addition refer disputes to the Mullājī Shāh and have a much greater hold over their "parishioners". A feature of the Bohorā community both in India and elsewhere is that they form themselves into guilds, have little to do with others, and do not intermarry even with other Muslims, much less with adherents of other religions, and take little part in public affairs. In general, they restrict themselves to trade; but in some parts of India, Ceylon and East Africa, and particularly amongst the Sulaymānīs, certain families have entered public life and taken to Government service.

Two insignificant secessions from the Dā'ūdīs may be mentioned: (i) The 'Alīyā Bohorās, who in 1624 supported the claims of 'Alī, the grandson of Shāykh Ādam, the head Mullā, in opposition to Shāykh Tayyib, whom Shāykh Ādam had nominated as his successor, and (ii) the Nāḡōshīs, who broke away from the 'Alīyās sect about the year 1769; their name indicates that they consider the eating of flesh as sinful. The Dā'ūdī Bohorās are mainly descended from the Dā'ūdī Bohorās who became Sunnīs in the reign of Murzafer Shāh (810-813/1407-1411) and succeeding Kings of Gujjarāt, but they have received accession to their numbers from Hindu converts. They derive their name from a saint named Sayyid Ahmād Dīyār Shīr (15th Century), whose descendants they reverence as their spiritual guides.

The Bohorās keep their religious books secret, but recently some of their works on law (such as *Dā'īm al-Idām*), history (such as *Sīrat Sayyidnā al-Mu'ayyad*) and philosophy (such as *Rakāt al-'Alī*

and *al-Risāla al-Djāmī'a*) have been printed. Further details will be found in the bibliography by W. Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London 1933, of which a second edition is contemplated. For their religion and doctrines see Zāhid 'Alī, *Hamārī Ismā'īlī Maḡhāb aur aḡlī Ḥabīb* (Urolo), Haydārbād, Decan, 1953/1973. In this work a full exposition of the *ḥabībāt* (the Ismā'īlī term for their secret philosophical doctrines) has been given by a learned Bohorā. Recently A. A. Fyzee has given his collection of Musta'īlī Ismā'īlī MSS. numbering 160 to the Library of Bombay University.

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The literature of the dā'awt is still mostly unpublished, but has been described by W. Ivanow, *op. cit.* (with addenda by Paul Kraus in *R.E.I.*, 1932, 483-90). For further bibliographical material see A. A. Fyzee, *Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography, 1920-1934*, *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1935, 59-65, and *ibid.*, 1940, 99-101. Several important texts have recently been edited and published by Dr. Muhammad Kāmil Husayn (Cairo).

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**BOHTAN** (see KURDS)

**BOLOR DAGH** (see FARMIR)

**BOLU** (Boli, near ane, Bithynium, later Claudopolis) 40° 15' N 31° 30' E. The capital of a forested NW Anatolian *vilayet*, elevation 710 m., area 11,740 sq. km., lying between the Sakarya river bend and the Black Sea. In 1935 the population was 11,884 (town) and 148,612 (province). Boli lies in a plain on the Boli Suyu and is subject to severe earthquakes, notably that of May 26, 1937. It is on the highway 263 km. from Istanbul and 208 from Ankara. It boasts 32 mosques, a bath dated 791/1388-9, a women's teachers college, forestry school, other fine primary and secondary schools, a hospital, and new "brickworks" and lumber factories. Boli is the home of Kōrēhli, 'Aḡḡālī Derōlī and good cooks. Lake Abant lies 37 km. SW. Atatürk visited Boli from 17-19/viii/34 and İnönü from 5-7/viii/39. Its *hādīs* are Akchakdja, Boli, Dīdja, Gerece, Göynük, Kōrēhlik, Mengen (where lignite has been exploited since 1956) Mudrun, Seben and Yūğludja. Boli fell to the Ottomans circa 726/1325, to the







to September and the coldest months whose coolness is increased by the NE. winds then blowing continuously and frequently heavy with sand. The index of aridity compares with that of Tanzeout, but the country differs from the central Sahara in that it does not have long series of dry years; the rains, even if the fall is slight, come each year at least from May to September. This regularity is not in itself enough to explain the existence of profuse vegetation which round the springs takes on an almost tropical aspect. Water in fact is abundant: salt lakes at the foot of the Eni Koussi, pure or natronated springs of the central depression, layers of water saturating the sands of the valleys or appearing on the surface on the southern basins, the lakes of Ouinaiga. These waters apparently have their origin in the spates of the *wadis* of the Eni Koussi, which soak between the volcanic outcrops and percolate through the sandstone to reappear in the depressions.

The character of the steppe changes from north to south. The 'bad' which preponderates in the north and which supports a few species of grassy plants gives way about the 17th parallel to the 'crum-crum' (*leucurus biflorus*). Then Sahelian species appear, forerunners of the savannah; the domain of the ariels and ostriches begins. Islets of woodland in the northern valleys and especially in the central depression—down palms and particularly handsome acacias—seem to bear witness to at one time more extensive and denser woodland.

Oases and pasture have attracted the populations of the neighbouring mountains since the 10th century. The nomad tribes of eastern and central Tibesti (the two branches of the Tübbi people: Teda and Daak) occupied the oases of Gouni then the central oases (Woun), pushing back the Donza who seem to have been the aboriginal inhabitants, towards the palm groves to the south of the Eni Koussi, their present habitat. The nomads belonging to the lowest caste clans have become sedentary, sometimes partially, being abetted by the 'bad' and supplies of natronated water close by to keep their camels. The others have drifted to the southern steppes which are richer in pasture. Some tribes have reached as far as the Chad lowlands where they have changed from camel to cattle rearing.

Other populations, coming down from Ennedi and Wadai, have mixed with the Tübbi. The Anak-kaza, who constitute the most important group in Borkou, were formed in this way, whereas the Gauda seem to be descended from the Tundji of Kanem. Borkou has thus been a melting-pot in which, however, Tübbi influences have predominated. The Darä language is spoken by most of these populations, their customs are those of the Tübbi, and the Tübbi physical type—non-negroid black—is the commonest. One can understand that the Arabs should have lumped the whole of the Borkouans together under the single name of Kura'än. According to official statistics the Borkouans now number about 20,000.

The nomads live by stock rearing supplemented by the resources of the oases, whether they still enjoy over these vicerain rights acquired in the past, or whether the gardens are cultivated for them by the sedentary Kamadias, whose origin, though certainly servile, is ill-known. The Kamadias, who had become share-croppers of the nomads, have gradually freed themselves from their tribute obligation with the support of the French administration. The palm groves contain at present about

1,000,000 productive trees of which 90 per cent are in the central depression. They produce 30,000 quintals of dates per annum. The irrigation channels in the gardens are fed by balance-arm wells and produce on the average 120 tons of wheat and 200 tons of millet per annum; vegetables (onions, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, and pimientos) are also grown. Salt-pans from which salt is obtained by evaporation are numerous in the northern valleys, and their product, joined with that of Ennedi, represented (in 1930) half the Saharan production. The nomads of the southern steppe bring meat, butter, and tanned skins to the oases to exchange for their products. Sedentary and nomadic populations alike obtain their tools and arms from the despised smith caste. These smiths, known in the Tübbi domain as *Azzas*, deprived of local supplies of ore which are now exhausted, use as their raw material scrap iron or raw iron plates brought in Borno.

These exchanges suffice for local needs. 1,200 miles from the Mediterranean coast by the economically unimportant Kufra track, detached from the trade routes joining the Sudan with the Mediterranean (which avoid Tibesti and its brigands), detached from the tracks leading to the Nile lands passing to the south of Wadai, Borkou has always lived turned in on itself. For this reason archaic modes of life have survived in these oases until the present day and paganism had not retreated before Islam, in the 19th century. This isolation has of late years been twice violently broken. For half a century after 1842 the country was ravaged by the waves of the Awlad Sulaymān who swept down from the Fezzan in flight from the Turks. Then, about 1900, the Sanusiyya, falling back from Kanem and Maure, settled themselves firmly at the two ends of the central depression, at N'Galdaka and at Woun (alias Faya, later Largaou). They made their *zawiyas*, especially that at Gouni, agricultural centres as well as intellectual and religious centres from which Islam was propagated. But they indulged in raids which, by forcing the nomads to choose between the palm groves occupied by the Sanusiyya and the pasture lands to the south controlled by France since her occupation of Wadai and Bahr al-Jabal, disorganized and so ruined economic life. The Sanusiyya had the backing of the Turks, who placed garrisons in the country in 1911, but the Italo-Turkish conflict brought about the withdrawal of these garrisons in 1912, and in 1913 France re-occupied the whole of Borkou.

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**BORNEO**, the corrupted form of Brunal (which is a town in British North Borneo at about Lat. 5° N. and Long. 113° E.) applied to the largest of the greater Sunda Islands in Indonesia, probably as early as the 14th century, and in any case by the Portuguese since the 16th century. The greater part of the island is now called Kalimantan and constitutes a province of the Indonesian Republic. From the view-point of Muslim studies the importance of the island is small, as practically the whole population of the interior of Borneo is pagan. Islam and Christi-

anity penetrated in the coast areas whence they have been slowly spreading into the interior; since 1912 political conditions favour the propaganda of Islam rather than the spreading of Christian denominations. The character of the local Islam is not different from what we find elsewhere in Indonesia [p.s.]. The only important centres of Muslim activity is Pontianak [p.s.] on the West Coast (C. C. Hoan).

**BORNE**, or Barnd, the name of doubtful etymology the root of which reappears in Berberi (= Barbari) as their neighbours call the Kanuri—given to a region in the hinterland of West Africa and used:

(a) loosely, of an area never precisely defined in geographical terms, where there was established one of the major states of that part of the Western Sudan, —see para. 6 below,—and

(b) of a province,—area, according to 1931 census, 45,900 square miles—lying between latitudes 10° and 13.5° N. and longitudes 10° and 14° E., in Northern Nigeria, containing that part of (a) west of the Anglo-German and south of the Anglo-French original international boundaries, plus an adjacent narrow strip on the eastern frontier of the former German Kameruns mandated to Great Britain after the war of 1914-18; including the Shaykhdoms of Borno and Dikwa, together with some other administrative units.

2. **Geography.** Borno consists in the main of a vast sandy plain drained by two rivers—the Yobe running from west to east in the north and the Vederram from south to north in the south,—into the marshy shores of Lake Chad which lies in its north-eastern corner. The only mountainous features occur in the extreme south and south-east of the Province. In earlier times the Shari River which also flows from south to north into Lake Chad was regarded as the eastern border of Borno, dividing it from Bagirmi [p.s.] country. The early medieval geographers and historians were cognisant of the region under this name, which appears on the Catalan atlas of Charles V (1375 A.D.), and is mentioned by al-Umari (d. 1348 A.D.), Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406 A.D.), al-Makrizi (d. 1442 A.D.) and others. It was described (1803 VII) by Leo Africanus (d. circa 1552).

3. **Transport and Trade.** The main modern motor road (Kano-Maiduguri-Port Lany) runs from west to east across the region, with feeders from north and south, as did the former caravan route (Kano-Kukawa-Bilma). There is a permanent aerodrome at Maiduguri and numerous landing grounds elsewhere. Of old slaves and ivory were the main exports, now groundnuts, hides, gum, cotton and numerous minor items have replaced these. Imports consist of manufactured articles, especially cotton goods. There is a considerable internal trade in dried fish from the Lake Chad area, salt and kola nuts.

4. **Economy.** The region is not industrialised and contains no cities. It is self-contained so far as the necessities of life are concerned, and its population is mainly agricultural. In the 1932 census, of 790,361 males, 376,561 are shown as engaged in agriculture and fishing. Its capital wealth consists in numerous herds of cattle, sheep and goats, together with the fisheries of Lake Chad.

5. **Ethnography.** (a) The population of the region described in para. 2 (b) above comprises the Kanuri, Fululā, Hausa [p.s.], Shuwa Arabs and some other tribes. At the census of 1932, the salient figures for the Borno Province of Nigeria were—Kanuri 752,683; Fululā 168,944; Hausa 84,729;

Shuwa Arab 98,999; Bura 89,826. Total—including other less numerous mostly pagan tribes situated mainly in the hilly south and south east of the Province,—4,595,708. The comparable total in the 1931 census was 2,118,360.

(b) **Languages.** Kanuri [p.s.] is the major language of the region, but of importance also are the colloquial Arabic spoken by the Shuwa Arabs, and Fulafulde spoken by the Fululā [p.s.]. Hausa is little spoken except by the trading elements in the towns. The pagan tribes have their own tongues. English is also used by those who have been educated in the more advanced schools.

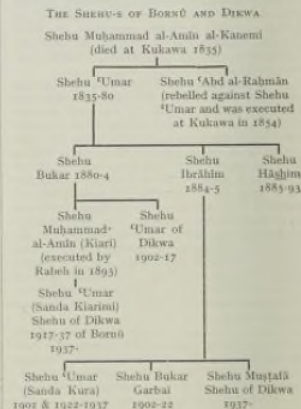
6. **History.** The early history of Borno is linked with that of the Kanem Empire. In 666 A.D., 'Ulka b. Nalī' penetrated the east-central Saharan desert as far as Tibesti in the Tebu country to the north of Lake Chad, the inhabitants of which, according to legend, were the So, a giant race originating from the Fezzan. According to tradition the first king of Kanem in this area was one Sayf, claiming descent from Sayf b. Dhī Yazan of the Bari Himyar. This tradition may be post-Islamic and fabricated. The ruling class of old in this area was called the Maghami, a word the root of which appears in the Kanuri words Mai (ruler) and Maghira, the title of the Borno Queen Mother, an office which carried and still carries considerable power. There is strong traditional and some written evidence that this ruling class was 'white-skinned', and a reasonable supposition is that it was originally matrilinear and probably of origins connected with the Tawarik, (plur. from sing. Tarki, vulg. Tuareg). The Saifawa were a nomadic people who absorbed or conquered the Tebu peoples to their north, and founded the Empire of Kanem, with capital at Nijmī. Their rulers are said to have given 'the Sultan of the Berberi' permission to settle, and tradition speaks of an invasion by Muslim Berberi from Yaman via Fezzan and Kuwar in 800 A.D. The Empire of Kanem had received Islam by the 11th century if not earlier, and by the 13th century was powerful enough for its influence to reach as far as Egypt in the north east and Dikwa in the south. Ibn Khaldun speaks of the 'King of Kanem and the Master of Borno', the last word apparently describing the southern part of the Kanem empire from Lake Chad to Dikwa. But, circa 1389 A.D., the Sayf dynasty was driven out of Kanem by a kindred tribe, and the consequent tribal movements resulted in the advance of the Kanuri nation to the west of Lake Chad, and finally to their founding, circa 1470 A.D., on the River Yobe, of Borno N'garargana as the capital of Borno and of the Kanuri nation. It remained their capital for three centuries, though, circa 1507 A.D., Nijmī itself was recaptured by the Kanuri, and old Kanem became a province of the new Borno Empire.

In the 16th century and under a succession of able 'Mats' or rulers (Muhammad 1526-45, Dumaqa 1546-63, 'Abdallah—in whose reign the first settlers in Borno are first mentioned—1564-70) the Borno Empire expanded greatly, and this process was no doubt helped by the conquest, in 1592 A.D., by Morocco of Borno's rival in the western Sahara, the empire of Souhagay. Of these rulers the greatest was probably Mai Idris Atuma, (ob. 1602), who successfully campaigned as far afield as Kano, and also subdued the tribes of Air [p.s.] and the Tebu. Mai Idris made the pilgrimage to Mecca and was buried in Aka Lake near Maiduguri. This peak was followed by two centuries of quiescence (Mai Ali, 1643-84 A.D., made the pilgrimage thrice), during part of which



at least the Bornu Empire seems to have been on the defensive, for 'Ali was besieged unsuccessfully in his own capital by the Tawiriki and the Kwararafa. Contributing causes may have been a series of severe famines,—one is recorded of seven years' duration,—and the general dislocation which followed the Moslem conquest of Songhay. The Fulani *ghazal* further to the west at the beginning of the 19th century soon had repercussions affecting Bornu, the suzerainty of which over the Hausa states lying between Bornu and Sokoto was challenged. In 1808 the Fulani in Bornu assembled at Gujba, defeated Mai Ahmad b. 'Ali and sacked his capital at N'garariman. (One of the successful Fulani leaders in this campaign later founded the Iwra and amirate of Katsam with the title of Sarkin Bornu.) Mai Ahmad fled to Kanem where he invoked the aid of a leading chief there, Muhammad al-Anin al-Kanemi, a man who had travelled extensively in the Muslim world and had a wide reputation for learning and piety. He reinstated Mai Ahmad and expelled the Fulani, who, however, on Mai Ahmad's death soon after, returned to defeat his successor, Dunama b. Ahmad. The last named in turn sought the aid of al Kanemi, and at this point the modern history of Bornu may be said to begin. Al-Kanemi, victorious again over the Fulani and Bagirmi, restored the old Sayf ruling house as titular kings and established himself at Kukawa, where he was visited by Dohi in 1822, as the power behind the throne. His further attempts, circa 1826, to re-establish the empire of Bornu over the Hausa states were less successful, and, after being defeated, he died in 1835, and was succeeded by his eldest son 'Umar who made peace with the Fulani. During the absence of 'Umar on these negotiations, the Sayf royal house called in the ruler of Wadai to help them expel the house of al-Kanemi. This plot failed. The then Mai, Ibrahim, was executed in 1846, and the last of the Sayf dynasty, his son 'Ali, was killed in battle. 'Umar now became *de jure* as well as *de facto* ruler of Bornu, adopting the title Shehu (= Shayikh) instead of Mai, thus inaugurating the Kanembu dynasty. He rebuilt Kukawa which had been destroyed by the men of Wadai, and was visited here by Dr. Barth in 1851 and 1853. War with Wadai was almost continuous, seriously weakening the strength of Bornu, and the outlying western territory of Zinder became virtually independent. In 1893, Rabeah (g.n.) entered Bornu from Wadai with a well armed and trained force of some two thousand men, which was altogether too strong for any forces with their antiquated weapons which could take the field against him. He defeated a general of the then Shehu, Haghim, at Anja, next Haghim himself near Ngala. He then took and plundered Kukawa, after which he returned to Dikwa where he made his headquarters, and built the first city that can still be seen. A cousin, Muhammad al-Anin nicknamed Kiar, of Shehu Haghim caused the latter, now a fugitive, to be severely wounded and himself advanced against Rabeah from Geidan. The two forces met at Gashegar and Kiar's troops had some initial success, even taking Rabeah's camp, but were finally put to flight by Rabeah's army. Kiar himself was taken and executed. This ended the resistance to Rabeah in Bornu. Rabeah established a military regime at Dikwa and sent out serious and predatory raids. His rule was entirely destructive and caused incalculable loss and dislocation over a wide area. In 1900, Rabeah was defeated and killed by French troops under Commandant Lamy. Rabeah's son, Fadl Allah, fled westwards before the

French, was pursued and finally, on 3 Aug. 1901, killed by them under command of Captain Dangeville in an engagement at Gujba in Nigeria, (130 miles on the British side of the Anglo-French boundary which, though approved on paper, had not yet been delimited by boundary commissions on the ground, thus causing considerable confusion in the then so unsettled state of the country). The French authorities offered restoration to Sanda, a son of the late Shehu, but he was unable to meet their conditions, and finally the Kanemi dynasty was restored by the British authorities with Shehu Bakar Garbai, his brother. Shehu Bakar set up first at Montegi, then moved to Kukawa and finally, in 1907, to Verwa near Maiduguri which has remained the capital of Bornu to the present time. Dikwa became part of the German Kamerun, which, after the German defeat in the 1914-18 war, were mandated to Great Britain and France by the League of Nations, Dikwa falling into the former's area. Details on the history of Bornu in the present century will be found in the reports of the Government of Nigeria.



7. Religion. Islam is the religion of the Kanuri, Fulani, Shuwa Arabs and Hausa, and their *madhhab* Maliki. Of the Tarika, the Kadiyaya (g.n.) and the Tijaniyya (g.n.) are the best supported, though representatives of others will also be found, including the Sanusiyya (g.n.) and the Shadhiliyya (g.n.). The Church of the Brethren (American Protestant) Mission operates among the Bura tribe in the south of the Province. It seems certain that, in modern conditions, the animism of the pagan tribes will gradually disappear.

8. Miscellaneous. Notable European explorers who visited Bornu were Denham, Clapperton (1822), Barth, who made long stays at Kukawa between 1851 and 1855 and collected much information about the history and circumstances of the region, Vogel (1854-6), Beumann (1860), Rohlf (1866), Nachtigal (1879-2), Mathieu and Masani (1880-1), Monteil (1892).

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(C. E. J. WHITTING)

## BOSNIA (BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA).

### 1. General outline.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a total area of 51,329 km<sup>2</sup>, lies within the latitudes 43° 20' and 45° 15' North and longitudes 15° 44' and 19° 41' East; it thus occupies the western—largely mountainous—region of Yugoslavia, rich in mineral resources, water-power, and forests. It is divided into two geographical and historical entities—Bosnia and Herzegovina. The name of Bosnia refers to the larger northern part of the country, while Herzegovina comprises the southern districts with the basin of the river Neretva. The name "Bosnia" is derived from the river Bosna (of uncertain meaning but doubtless of Illyrian origin) which flows through the central part of the country. It was round the source and the upper basin of the river that traces have been found of a district called Bosna (first mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus who thought it belonged to Serbia, inhabited by early settlers, members of Slav tribes. After many changes of fortune brought about by a succession of foreign and native rulers, the region became an integral part of a new State bearing its name, which—under the reign of King Tvrtko I (1353-1391)—comprised not only the present territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, except for a small district in the north-west, but also a large part of the Adriatic coast with the neighbouring districts in the south and south-east. Under Turkish rule, Bosnia was one of the *sandjaks* of the Ottoman Empire, and from 988/1580 an *eyalet* which comprised a larger area than that of the present Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only before but even after the loss of territory suffered in the second decade of the 18th/century. The name of Herzegovina dates from the middle of the 15th century when the magnate Stjepan Vukčić Kosača rebelled against the then king of Bosnia and had himself proclaimed "Herzeg (Duke) of St. Sava". The region later came to be called "Herzegovina" (the land of the Herzeg) and in Turkish, *Herz* or *Herzegovina*. The present territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina roughly corresponds to the area that constituted the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austrian rule (1878-1918) and which was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1918). The boundaries and the extent of the region remained unchanged during the later centuries. Under the new Kingdom (under the so-called Vidovdan Constitution). After the suppression of parliamentary rule in Yugoslavia (1929), an authoritarian Kingdom of Yugoslavia emerged, made up of nine large administrative units called "banovinas". This division altered the boundaries of the country, for the two banovinas with their seats within Bosnia and Herzegovina (those of Sarajevo and Banjaluka) now comprised parts of the neighbouring area, with the result that part of Bosnia and Herzegovina territory came to belong to the banovina the seat of which was in Split, while part of Herzegovina was included into the banovina whose seat was in

Montenegro. In present-day Yugoslavia a separate people's republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been formed within its traditional historic boundaries.

The social and political organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as one of the republics of Yugoslavia, is based on the written Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, passed 15th January 1946, the Constitution of the P.R. of Bosnia and Herzegovina dated 31st December 1946, the Constitutional Law of 13th January 1951 concerning the foundations of the social and political organisation of the F.P.R. of Yugoslavia and the federal organs of government, and the Constitutional Law of 29th January 1953 concerning the social and political organisation of the P.R. of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the republican organs of government.

The P.R. of Bosnia and Herzegovina has, as does each of the Yugoslav republics, its own People's Assembly with its Executive Council and Secretariats in Sarajevo, the capital city of the Republic. The country is divided into 12 districts and 134 communes (1951).

The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina shown by the census taken in 1953 was 2,847,790. Serbo-Croat is the language spoken by the people (except for small numbers of Slovenian and Macedonian settlers and national minorities) who are, however, divided—as regards nationality—into Serbs (largely of the Orthodox Church, the rest being Muslims), Croats (largely Roman-Catholics, the rest being Muslims) and those that abstained from declaring their nationality (very largely Muslims).

According to the preliminary results of the census of 1953 there were in Bosnia and Herzegovina: 80.3 per cent of no denomination, 35.1 per cent Orthodox, 21.4 per cent Roman-Catholics, 32.3 per cent Muslims, and 0.9 of other denominations.

The official and final results, now in print, of the census taken in 1953 are as follows:

Serbs	1,264,372—44.3% (including 35,228 Muslims)
Croats	654,229—23.0% (including 15,677 Muslims)
Undeclared	
Yugoslavs	891,800—31.4% (of whom 860,486 were Muslims)
Others	37,389—1.3%

The common language and close ethnical affinity of the population notwithstanding, the people are split into three groups owing to historical influences but mainly to different religious beliefs which were responsible for the formation of national differences between Serbs and Croats. The Islamisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina—the centuries-old borderland of the Ottoman Empire, situated at the very confines of East and West with their respective influences—came to introduce yet a third denominational element. Under Austro-Hungarian rule, the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was officially classified according to denominations—except for a small number of settlers whose nationality was duly recorded—although the greater part of the people was becoming nationally conscious, i.e., the Orthodox population professed to be Serbs and the Roman-Catholics Croats. Up to the World War II, Belgrade and Zagreb had each claimed national kinship with the Moslems of Bosnia, hence it came that a certain part of the Muslim population—mostly urban intelligentsia had declared themselves Serbs and Croats respectively.







and feudal systems. This resulted in great changes in economic and social relations. Mining, next to agriculture the most important branch of former Bosnian economic activities, was taken over by the new rulers, and all the mines became the property of the sultan. The days of high and powerful feudal lords, masters in their own districts, were gone. In agrarian relations, the *timâr* system was introduced controlled by a central authority. The *sandjaks* were administered by governors directly controlled by the sultan, whose incomes were the largest next to those of emperors. Governors used to be replaced all too frequently. On the other hand, the pressure on the peasant class and sheep-raising began to improve. In the countryside generally, patriarchal ways of life and a measure of autonomy became apparent.

At the same time, great religious and ethical changes occurred involving the whole population. There was a large-scale Islamisation. An improvement in animal husbandry in certain mountainous districts, particularly in those of Herzegovina, became evident, sheep-breeds were resettled in fertile agricultural districts which had been laid waste by wars and the like. Settling down on fertile lands, thousands of sheep-raisers turned to tillage, thus providing fresh manpower for the improvement of devastated areas. In view of the great importance attached to their work as colonisers, the settlers were allowed to retain their former privileges as sheep-raisers; however, with the growth of the feudal system and more settled conditions the settlers very largely became common *re'âyâ*. Because most of these settlers were Orthodox Serbs, many districts which had been devoid of Serbs now became peopled with them.

On the other hand, Islamisation helped the reigning religion to win adherents and partisans among all classes: peasants, feudal lords and townspeople. The Islamisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been the subject of comprehensive studies so far, so it still presents a problem awaiting solution. Before the World War I the generally accepted opinion was that the followers of the heretic Church, the so-called Bogomils had passed over to Islam in a body, allegedly because of a similarity of views on moral law, and owing to the earlier persecutions on the part of the Church of Rome. This opinion is still shared by many scholars today (A. Soloviev and others). By passing over to Islam *en masse*, Bosnian nobles had been allowed to retain their estates, and the traditional pattern of land-tenure in Bosnia and Herzegovina had thus remained unchanged until the 17th/18th century. The *timâr* system was only introduced as a superstructure. One of the chief supporters of this theory, before the World War I, was C. Truhelka. According to Truhelka and others, Bosnia had from the very beginning enjoyed a separate status in the Ottoman Empire.

During the interval between the two world wars some Yugoslav historians (V. Gubrdović, V. Skarić) sought to prove the groundlessness of these views. They were of the opinion that (a) the Islamisation had been carried out gradually, (b) the Bosnian nobles had not retained their estates after the conquest because of the setting-up of the *timâr* system, and (c) the system of land-tenure, such as prevailed during the 18th century and was continued in the following century, had developed only gradually within the framework of the old agrarian system.

Attention has been drawn by modern Yugoslav historians to Turkish sources of the first order, particularly to cadastral registers, which are likely

to throw light on the history of the Yugoslav peoples during the period in question; however, the results of the investigations have not all been made public as yet.

Before 1667/1463, while the Turks held part of Bosnia under their control, there were no *sipâhî timârs* in the outlying districts of the borderland governed by 'Isâ Bey, the only *timâr* being those owned by men of the garrison of the fort at Hodidje. Moreover, in the interior of the borderland, within the estates of 'Isâ Bey, there were a number of *sipâhîs*, mostly Muslims with a few Christians. After the conquest, it was mainly from here and Macedonia, then from Serbia and other regions that the bulk of *sipâhîs* were drawn. Among the *sipâhîs* that were sent to Bosnia there were many of Slav origin. After liquidating the leading representatives of the old Bosnian nobility during and after the conquest, *sipâhîs* and a good number of the old minor feudal landowners in possession of their estates. The conquerors also gave lands to headmen of sheep-raisers. This accounts for the presence at the time of many Christian *sipâhîs*, particularly in Herzegovina.

The coming over of Bosnian feudatories to the side of Turks began rather early, at a time when they had to rely on influential Turks in the settling of disputes. Thus the land of the ducal family of Pavlović was recorded in the cadastral register of 859/1455 as land paying tribute in a lump sum (*muhalla'a*) (see Bayveket arşivi, Mâlîye def. 544). Herzeg Stepan's line of policy was for long one of complete reliance on the Turks. His sons had some time to rely on the Turks as well. His youngest son went over to the Turks, embraced Islam, and as Hersekide Ahmed Paşa held the office of Grand Vizier five times during the reigns of Bayezîd II and Selim I. A considerable number of natives of Bosnia and Herzegovina belonging to Muslim feudal families, as well as boys collected from the *re'âyâs* by *dergâh* and educated at the Court, were to hold the offices of Viziers at Grand Viziers, Mehmed Paşa Sokolović (Sokollu), one of the foremost Ottoman statesmen, Grand Vizier 972/1564-987/1579, was descended from a distinguished Serbian family in Bosnia, whose Christian relatives were Patriarchs of Serbia after the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peč (1557). The bonds of blood and kinship between men of Bosnian descent who held high offices and their kinsmen helped greatly to raise the fortunes of certain Bosnian families.

Although the ranks of *sipâhîs* were partly filled with foreign newcomers, the majority were of native descent, raised from among the old Bosnian feudatories or the new *sipâhîs* created during Turkish rule. In the earliest cadastral registers of the *sandjak* of Bosnia, the names of Islamised *sipâhîs* and their Christian relatives are recorded. Likewise, the members of their whole families are found grouped around the names of outstanding dignitaries (see Bayveket arşivi, Tapu def. 28 and 24). During the period there were in Bosnia, adjacent to Sultans' and *Sandjak-beys'* estates, a number of *timâr*s held by feudal landlords and others; some of the *sipâhîs* likewise owned *timâr*s in addition to *timâr*s, but most of the latter contained no *timâr*s as a rule. The *timâr*s were hereditary possessions and remained as such even should the *sipâhî* have lost possession of the *timâr*. On the whole it would seem that a number of earlier feudatories, converted to Islam, had kept their inherited land in the form of *timâr*s. The latter, however, were few in number and consisted of

small estates, thus the theory can hardly be upheld, as C. Truhelka would have it, that the Bosnian nobles had remained in possession of their estates at the time of the conquest and had succeeded in holding them till the 13th/16th century. As a matter of fact, the number of *timâr*s continued to increase, however slightly, until the beginning of the 16th/19th century when, during the reign of Sültân Süleyman the Lawgiver, the *timâr*s of this kind were finally abolished. Such *timâr*s, however, were to serve as a basis and pattern for the future development of new agrarian relations out of the old.

Muslim descendants of Christian *sipâhîs* and members of Islamised families who had mended their fortunes under Turkish rule were to be found later as *sipâhîs* and *zâvîs*, as *desâirs* of fortresses and higher functionaries. The importance attached to Bosnia as a frontier land favoured the rise to influence and power of the native Muslims. True, after the break-through of the Turkish armies and the invasion of areas under Hungarian rule, a great many *sipâhîs* were ordered to settle in newly conquered regions, yet this was not followed by the same consequences as in Serbia where the process of Islamisation virtually stopped with the Turkish invasion of Hungary. In Bosnia and Herzegovina Islamisation had resulted in the creation of a broad basis of Muslims recruited not only from the townspeople but also from the peasantry.

The creation of conditions necessary for the development of town communities in Bosnia—particularly those of mining centres—had begun during the period preceding the Turkish conquest. After the establishment of Turkish rule, Bosnian towns began to develop and grow. Turkish craftsmanship, particularly the handicraft characteristic of the Near East, was far advanced as compared with the craftsmanship of the earlier Bosnian period. Consequently, handicrafts and trade guilds of an original type developed greatly over the first two centuries of Turkish reign in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Great progress was made in trades related to the manufacture of leather, in goldsmiths' work, and in crafts connected with the production of military equipment and of goods required by townspeople. On the other hand, the Ottoman mining industry was less developed than in Bosnia or Serbia where Saxon settlers had introduced their mining technique and rules. Owing to the introduction, by the Turkish authorities, of bureaucratic administrative measures in mining areas which became merged with the Imperial domains (*hâssâs*), the mining industry suffered a setback in the first century of the Turkish rule, with a consequent falling off in production and, more particularly, in the output of precious metals; the production of iron, however, showed a slight increase. For these reasons, the growth of towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of Turkish rule was associated—apart from military considerations, which were the most important factor in the mining and building of towns—not with the development of the mining industry but rather with the advancement of crafts and the related trade. The towns built by the Turks were all situated on sites ensuring good communications. Over the second half of the 16th/17th century, the Islamisation of the old Bosnian mining market-towns proceeded not slowly and was less conducive to their future development than in the case of new towns built by the Turks on the sites of former market-towns. A good instance are the towns of

Sarajevo and Banjaluka, among others, which, as the seats of Turkish authorities and military garrisons, expanded and developed into crafts centres and trading settlements. Besides the Muslims civil servants and soldiers, the populations of similar towns continued to grow because of the migration of Muslims from various places who brought in Oriental customs and ways of life. At the beginning however, it was the merchants of Dubrovnik who were the only traders on a large scale.

The building of the most important towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina was due to the initiative of individual governors. It was in and around these towns that governors had their estates, mills, houses, *hamams* and shops, which they would bequeath and leave, during their lifetime, as religious and charitable endowments (*vakıf*). Thus a great number of mosques, *tekkes* and religious schools were built, with libraries adjoining mosques or schools. Devshî orders introduced mystic rites and ceremonies likely to please the urban population. Briefly, the towns of Bosnia became the strongholds of Turkish power and the mainstays of Muslim culture. The towns also had an influence on the countryside and attracted great numbers of peasants and people from rural areas. Most of the migrants were peasants converted to Islam, and the non-Muslims soon became converts as well, Christians and Jews living in towns were few in number.

The earliest Turkish cadastral registers of the *sandjaks* of Bosnia and Herzegovina provide documentary evidence bearing out the contention that the Islamisation *en masse* had its origin in towns and its surrounding country districts. At the beginning of the period, as shown in the records, converted peasants in the *sandjak* of Bosnia were to be found only around the town of Sarajevo. In 894/1489 there were in the *sandjak* over 25,000 Christian houses, 1,300 odd Christian widows' houses, and over 4,000 unmarried Christian men, as compared with approximately 4,500 Muslim houses and over 2,300 single Muslims (cf. Bayveket arşivi, Tapu def. no. 24). The earliest cadastral register of the *sandjak* of Herzegovina for the year 882/1477 (Tapu def. no. 3) clearly shows—and so do the other cadastral registers—that the Islamisation was not instantaneous; nor there any evidence to prove the assumption that the conquerors had been joined by masses of partisans that belonged to the heretic Church of Bosnia. Only in some mountain villages of Herzegovina, as shown by the registers, were to be found the "devoted believers of the Church of Bosnia" (*krifiani*); also, some believers of the Church of Bosnia were recorded to have lived in a deserted village in the *sandjak* of Bosnia, this being the only instance. It would seem that twenty years' persecution of Bosnian heretics during the reigns of King Stjepan Tomaš and King Stjepan Tomašević had broken up the heretic Church of Bosnia; the change-over to Orthodoxy of Herzeg Stjepan Vučić must also have had its share in weakening the position of the Bosnian Church in Herzegovina. The Turkish government recognised the Serbian Orthodox Church. Under the Sultan's *berât* [e.g.], the Orthodox Church enjoyed considerable rights and privileges. The Catholic Church was also granted certain privileges by Mehmed II the Conqueror. It is evident from data in the cadastral registers that the "devoted believers of the Church of Bosnia" had retired into remote secluded districts of Herzegovina. There is no recorded evidence of any Islamisation of those parts of the country or the people at the time. The inference



could therefore be drawn that the Bosnian heretics in most areas had already been brought into the fold (Orthodox or Catholic), which would exclude the possibility of a general conversion to Islam of the followers of the Church of Bosnia.

However, the probability is that the earlier persecutions on the part of the Catholic Church, combined with the pressure brought to bear by the Orthodox Church, which had the right to collect church-taxes, had created conditions favouring the conversion to Islam of the former followers of the Bosnian Church. At all events, the development of towns as centres of Islam, and their influence on the surrounding countryside resulted in a steady spread of Islam among the peasantry of certain areas as early as the 9th/15th century. Thus a foundation was laid for a major Islamisation of the peasantry. The Islamised peasants were given the distinctive name of *potur*. Their religion was a mixture of Islamic and other elements, christianised pagan, Christian and heretical-Christian. It was on these grounds that the Muslim feudatories and religious intellectuals were inclined not to regard the Muslim peasantry as their equals.

During the reign of Süleyman Kanûnî measures were taken to check the growing power of the feudal class, which had been completely Islamised by then. Bosnian sipahis were made to move to newly conquered areas, the vacant timars being made over to sipahis from other districts. *Çiftliks* were transformed and made part of *re'âyî* lands. It was at this time—and to a greater extent later on—that by graft and bribe a number of courtiers began to acquire estates in Bosnia. However, at the same time concessions had to be made in view of the needs of defence, particularly those of the borderland, and the existence of many devastated areas. Over the second half of the 16th century the number of *çiftliks* in possession of feudal lords and army officers continued to grow, particularly in frontier districts. The post of *kapudan* (captain), formerly concerned with service on rivers in the borderland, came to be that of an officer in command of forts and defensive works of a district. The native feudal class could always rely on the *kapudan's* office for effective support. The setting up of the *eyâlet* of Bosnia added greatly to the ever increasing importance of the native nobility.

The second half of the 16th/17th century proved to be a period of rapid growth and development of certain Bosnian towns. There followed a steady rise in the volume of trade with Italian towns by enteringprising house traders and Dubrovnik merchants. Being in the majority, the Muslim inhabitants of towns enjoyed certain privileges and lived in special quarters apart from the Christian population. Owing to the influx of newcomers certain guilds closed their doors, hence a migration of Muslim population to places and towns beyond the Sava.

In the second half of the 16th/17th century, the signs of a crisis in the Ottoman general administrative structure became increasingly apparent in the country's finances. One of its effects was a considerable weakening of Turkish military power. This crisis became evident in Bosnia as well. The last military ventures and offensive operations made under the leadership of Hasan Paşa Predojević, the *beyler-bey* of Bosnia, ended in the capture of Bihać. In the following year (1602/159), a Bosnian army led by Hasan Paşa suffered a heavy defeat at Sisak, which brought about the war between the Habsburgs and Turkey.

(b) *The period of crisis in the Turkish state and military defeats of the Ottomans*

The administrative structure and extent of the *eyâlet* of Bosnia, which took definite shape at the beginning of the 17th/17th century, remained unchanged until about the end of the century. At this time, the governor of the *eyâlet* bore the title of *Vizier*, and the seat of government was transferred from Banjaluka to Sarajevo.

The crisis in the economic and financial affairs of the Ottoman Empire and the cracks in the Osmanli structure were also reflected in the conditions that prevailed in Bosnia where disorders were frequent and corruption rife. Owing to financial difficulties and the rising costs of maintaining control over wide areas of the conquered territory, the central government had to extend the system of lease of all public and imperial revenue and to raise the taxes and introduce new ones. The system of lease was extended to include the renting of local rates, and even the incomes from *timars* and *re'âyî* lands acquired by courtiers, officials attached to central offices, and by many other prominent men living in the capital.

The widespread centralised bureaucratic system, designed to control and check oppression, became a source of corruption practised by local authorities as well. From the second half of the 16th/17th century on, the financial burdens and exploitation of the *re'âyî* (peasantry) increased, the pressure being put on the sheep-raisers of the autonomous districts likewise. The long war (1595-1606) was a constant drain on Turkish resources and manpower, with Bosnia bearing the brunt. In her exposed position. Owing to the war there was much unrest and many risings of the Serb people in Herzegovina both during and after the war. Over the first two decades of the 17th/17th century, former rebels from Anatolia were sent to Bosnia as governors and would turn rebels in Bosnia as well; they could always rely for support on a large number of malcontents among the native sipahi class who were embittered because courtiers and those near to central authorities would be given *timars* and *re'âyî* lands as a present, thus enabling individuals and local bureaucrats to acquire estates as large as several *timars* put together. Turkish governors, whose term of office was rather short, were anxious to amass riches and exploited the country for their own profit, as did the officials of the central government sent to investigate malpractices and causes of unrest.

Despite such conditions the native feudal class continued to prosper and grow in strength. The process of transformation of peasant lands into *çiftliks* owned by military commanders, sipahis and wealthy citizens was gaining ground as was alienation of free *bağlılıklar* (inherited possessions) of *hüres* (village headmen) and other categories of land. Peasant tenants (*çiftçi*, hence) of such *çiftliks* were required to deliver one third of a fourth (at a later period a fifth, or a sixth in some instances) of crops to their owners (*çiftlik sâhibi*) besides being forced to work on *çiftlik* belonging exclusively to the *çiftlik* owner. Such tenants were bound to pay *şahîr*, *sâlârîye* and other duties of the *timâr* system to their sipahis (*çiftlik-i arî*) should the *çiftlik* happen to be part of a *timâr* or a *re'âyî*, which was usually the case. The system of government by *kapudans* was extended and came to be applied in the inland areas of the country, for the central government could not afford the means required for the upkeep of as large an army of mercenaries as was needed.

In the circumstances, *kapudans* tended to grow overbold and defy orders issued by Paşas.

Yielding to the demands of Bosnian sipahis supported by the Paşa, Sültân Ahmed (1603-1717) issued a firman establishing *timars* with rights of family succession (*şahâdât*), the successors being sons or brothers of the deceased, or else kinsmen living with the family (*şahâdât*).

Changes in land tenure and economic policy mainly affected the Christian peasantry; the land of Muslim peasants was seldom interfered with. Increased taxation and growing exploitation deepened the existing divisions between the two classes of peasantry, hence the frequent flights of Christian peasants over the border and increasing numbers of outlaws (*haydut* in Turkish), who as highwaymen became a menace to safety on the roads.

The trends of development in agriculture and other branches of national economy, apparent in the earlier period, became more pronounced during the second half of the 16th/16th century and during the 17th/17th century. Mining industry continued to decline and was at its lowest at the end of the century.

The towns grew and developed during the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries as a result of the expanding trade and commerce. The opening of the port at Split (1592), a rival to the port of Dubrovnik, proved an event of great importance to Bosnian trade. The town guilds came under the exclusive control of the janissaries, and this led to the further transformation of guilds into closed organisations. Town notables (*şeyh*, *şeyh*) and powerful *aghas* made their appearance in growing numbers. However, part of the inhabitants of towns were Christians, some of whom were craftsmen and tradesmen. Following the increasing migration of country people into towns the tax on abandoned land was very increased. Over the second half of the 16th/16th and the first half of the 17th/17th centuries, some of the towns grew both in extent and importance, particularly the town of Sarajevo. The amassed money-capital, however, served to advance the practices of usury. Besides the prosperous Muslim class, there were in towns certain Christian families of rich traders and merchants—Christians, however. The urban social pattern showed a marked tendency towards a sharper division between the wealthier, politically influential class and the lower class of the urban poor. In the 17th/17th century there occurred several serious outbreaks of disorder and rioting among the poor of Sarajevo, largely Muslim.

While in the first half of the 16th/16th century the Thirty Years War in Europe provided a major military undertaking against the Turk, in the second half of the century two long wars caused much suffering and lowered the standard of living conditions and the economy of the *eyâlet* of Bosnia. The war against Venice (1644-1669) and the shorter war against the Habsburgs (1663-1664) were waged in areas belonging to the *eyâlet* of Bosnia, where resultant incursions took place. The consequent flights of Christian population across the frontier resulted in the enlistment of many of the fugitives, called *asker*, in the military service of Venice. In Herzegovina also there was unrest and rising of the people. After the wars there followed a 14-year period of welcome peace, which on the whole resulted in consolidation of Turco-Bosnian power. The attack on Vienna started the new war with the Holy Alliance which was to last a long time (1683-1699). For once the Bosnian territory south of the Sava

escaped being the main scene of the operations, but a Bosnian army had to take part in the war and defend the frontiers. Austrian troops temporarily occupied some districts south of the Sava (in 1688), and nine years later Prince Eugene, after the battle of Senta, advanced as far as Sarajevo, burning it down in 1697/1697. The Christian population, particularly the Roman Catholics, migrated and retreated (1697) before the invading armies. The long wars left an epidemic of plague in their trail.

Under the terms of the peace-treaty of Karloveci (1110/1699) the *eyâlet* of Bosnia retained, with minor changes, the present frontiers of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the north and west. However, on these frontiers new fortifications began to be built and the old ones repaired; more "kapodanships" were established. The *eyâlet* now consisted of five *sandjaks* (Bosnia, Herzegovina, Kila, Zvornik and Bihać), the last being abolished soon after. It was at this time that the residence of the Bosnian vizier was transferred from Sarajevo to Travnik.

Muslim refugees from the ceded areas of Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia came to settle in Bosnia on lands abandoned or sparsely populated, which they were allowed to hold as *çiftliks*. The new settlers were embittered against the Christian Powers and the insurgents, which added to the division and differences between Muslims and Christians. A number of settlers came to stay in towns, for the most part tradesmen, craftsmen and soldiers.

The exposed position of the *eyâlet* of Bosnia called for great efforts on the part of the Muslim population. Under the peace-treaty of Pođarevac (1130/1718) Austria was given a belt of territory south of the Sava, and some areas around the western frontier were also lost to Austria and Venice. Despite the ravages wrought by the plague coupled with a succession of bad harvests and heavy loss of life suffered by Bosnian sipahis, a Bosnian army led by Hekim-oghlu 'Ali Paşa gained a decisive victory over the Austrians at Banjaluka in 1230/1737. The treaty of Belgrade (1152/1739) deprived Austria of all the territories held under the treaty of Pođarevac, except for the castle of Furjan.

Bosnian feudal nobility and Muslims in general had by now lost confidence in the power of the Empire. The arrival of janissaries from the abandoned regions strengthened the privileged position of certain towns, particularly that of Sarajevo, which were now granted virtual autonomy, the greatest power being yielded by municipal *şeyh* and military commanders ("bahadır") with *kapudans*. These dignitaries came to be the main representatives of the power of the Bosnian nobility in the Empire. The political power. In the time of 'Ali Paşa a Council of *şeyh* was set up, composed of municipal *şeyh*, *kapudans* and men of note from different parts of the *eyâlet*. The Council was meant to exercise control over the vizier himself and was given powers to determine certain vizier's incomes.

Sprung from this privileged class, the new native Muslim nobility was founded on the subjection of peasantry and depended on further extension of villanage. *Bey*s and *aghas* as land and *çiftlik* lords took over or seized new *çiftliks*, causing peasants from stock-rearing districts to settle on deserted land, and generally acting independently of the central authority. *kapudans* usurped the powers and functions of officers of state, renting the state's revenue, taking over *çiftliks*, and acquiring property by every means. Certain families of *kapudans* recorded in the first decades of the 17th/17th century



had reached a high position in society by the end of the century.

In order to acquire riches and indemnify themselves for taxes paid and bribes offered to obtain the appointment to the office, viziers of Bosnia would raise the rate of taxation and impose new rates, taxes and other dues. Indeed, immediate delivery of certain goods was often demanded as advance payment for taxes 6-9 months before they were to fall due. This provoked a series of revolts and risings of poor citizens and Muslim peasantry over a period of ten years about the middle of the 17th/18th century.

Such circumstances had an adverse effect on trade in town and country alike. The prevailing conditions acted as a serious set-back to economic growth of the country.

In the war between Austria and Turkey (1788-1791) the responsibility for the defence of the frontier districts rested with the Bosnian forces. Apart from capturing certain frontier castles (1788-1790) the Austrian armies had but few successes. Under the terms of the peace-treaty of Svishtov (1791) Turkey surrendered a little part of her territory, and Austria evacuated the captured frontier castles.

At the beginning of the 19th/20th century Sultan Selim III introduced a series of reforms and measures largely designed to curb the power of janissaries. The policy of the proposed reforms ran counter to the established foundations and prevailing influence of Muslim nobility and the privileged position of Muslim population of towns in the Bosnian *eyâlet*.

(\*) *The Period of Reforms in Turkey and Risings in Bosnia.*

The new Turkish reforms could not but be met with indignation by Bosnian Muslims, interfering as they did with the established military structure and being directed against the janissaries and the *sipâhî* army. In several campaigns against the insurgents in Serbia, Bosnia, *agâzar* and the urban population took part in large numbers; however, the Bosnian army suffered a heavy defeat at Mišar (1806). A short time after, several risings of Serb peasantry occurred in Bosnia but were soon put down. Far greater efforts were needed for the final suppression of the rebellion of the Drobjaks in Herzegovina. Bosnian Muslims also took part in the suppression of the rising in Serbia in 1813.

The transit trade improved during the period of Napoleonic continental blockade. Bosnian roads were chiefly used at the time for the transport of cotton, undertaken by Serbian and Jewish traders, many of whom grew rich in consequence. Muslim tradesmen in towns were dependent for their prosperity on the preservation of privileges and special rights. Sarajevo, the most important town, had acquired a large measure of independence in regard to viziers; there were frequent cases of serious differences and quarrels between the citizens and the vizier, which at times led to armed resistance. With the appointment and arrival of Djâli al-Dîk Pašja in 1820 law and order was restored at a great sacrifice of life. The abolition of the order of Janissaries was the cause of another rising of the people, particularly in Sarajevo, which was suppressed by 'Abd al-Rahmân Pašja. The general dissatisfaction and resistance to the reforms continued none the less. In 1820/1831, when attempts were made to carry the reforms into effect and reorganise the army,

a rebellion broke out headed by Bosnian Muslim nobles under the leadership of Husayn-kapudan Gradašević. The insurgents demanded complete autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the right to elect their own vizier; Bosnia had to pay a yearly tribute to the Sultan. The demands, if met, would have safeguarded the privileges of the nobility and the existing military structure. However, at the very start of the conflict the *kapudans* of Herzegovina, led by 'Ali Agha Kirvanbegović, separated themselves from the movement. Despite the victory of Husayn-kapudan over the imperial troops and of the understanding reached with the Grand Vizier, the initial great successes soon came to nothing because of personal ambitions of the leader (elected to the viziership in the early part of Džumâdâ I 1247/5-17 October 1831) and the rivalry between Bosnian leaders. The insurrection was put down (1831) and the movement proclaimed a *pašadâr* to be governed by 'Ali Pašja Kirvanbegović (1833).

After the suppression of the insurrection the hereditary *kapudanlik* was abolished (1835) and replaced by *mislimlik*. Many former *kapudans*, *agâzar*, and *sipâhîs* as well (after the abolition of their order) were appointed *mislims* and given posts of commanders. The iron hand in a velvet glove was the means used by the Ottoman Porte in dealing with Bosnian nobles and stubborn malcontents. Nevertheless, the conflicts still continued, particularly between the citizens of Sarajevo and the viziers. The resistance was finally broken by 'Umar Pašja Latas, a former Austrian petty-officer, born in Lika (Croatia). Sent to Bosnia (1850-1851) with special powers at the head of considerable forces, 'Umar Pašja succeeded in breaking the great political influence of Bosnian nobility and carrying the reforms into effect. He had 'Ali Pašja put to death, and abolished the *pašadâr* of Herzegovina. Bosnia was divided into six *kâimakimlik*s and Herzegovina into three *kâimakimlik*s. The town of Sarajevo became the official residence of the vizier.

Further reforms were made in the administration of the *eyâlet* of Bosnia during the tenure of office of the Vizier Topal 'Oghlan Pašja (1861-1869). The country was divided into seven *sandjaks*. The *vilâyet* Council was set up in 1866—an advisory body of representatives, on denominational basis. A start was made with modernisation of living conditions, health service and communications (the first railway—Banjaluka-Novi—was opened in 1874). In the sixties of the century the *vilâyet* printing-office was set up and a number of schools opened.

The reforms and measures taken favoured the development of certain branches of national economy. Commerce and trade improved, but the guilds were endangered owing to the development of the market. Many urban Serb families rose to prosperity and, as a result, the influence of Serbian citizens began to make itself felt in rural districts.

Yet the reforms were not far-reaching enough to deal with the essence of agrarian structure and its problems. With the abolition of the order of *sipâhîs* the *agâzar* (tithing) was made a tax of the state, and to indemnify the *sipâhîs* for loss of income a pension scheme was introduced in lieu of the rents. However, to recoup themselves for their losses, the *sipâhîs* proceeded to convert into *çiftlik*s the remaining peasant free-holdings. By the middle of the 19th/19th century the process had been completed; thus feudal land-tenure and tenantry came to be

associated with Christian peasants, for the Muslim peasantry had remained in possession of their *çiftlik*s. The burden of heavy taxation was meant to be borne largely by the peasant. Moreover, the amount of rates and other dues exacted from the *hmet*s (tenants) was not fixed but collected arbitrarily. Such conditions were a cause of general discontent among the peasantry, and provoked frequent rebellions.

Tâhir Pašja, Vizier of Bosnia, undertook (in 1848) to settle the agrarian question. Under his new scheme *çiftlik* owners were to collect a third part of the annual crop, and forced labour was to be abolished except in Herzegovina, where the *hmet*s were allowed to hand over less than a third of the crop. Certain obligations of the *çiftlik* owner in the district of Sarajevo, e.g., to provide his *hmet* with seeds, oxen and dwellings, were to apply to all Bosnian districts. However, *çiftlik* owners proceeded to collect the third of the crop everywhere, insisted on forced labour and failed to perform their own obligations. This caused much discontent among the peasants; not were the *çiftlik* owners satisfied. Several unsuccessful attempts had to be made before the question was finally settled—after the passing of the Agrarian Act (during the Ramadan of 1274)—by decree proclaimed in the month of Safar 1276/September 1859, enacting the customary practice in regard to *hmet*s. No provision was made, however, for a uniform system of taxation and other dues applicable to the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The regulations of the decree in regard to this system of land-tenure remained in force until 1918.

The unsatisfactory conditions gave rise to a series of peasant risings about the middle of the 19th century. The great rising of 1875 among masses of Christian peasants, *hmet*s of *agâzar* and *beys*, joined hands, was given a political colouring by the participation of the Serbian town population, particularly following the entry of Serbia and Montenegro into war against Turkey. True, the rising in Herzegovina was a mass movement, while in Bosnia it was only the frontier districts that were involved. The rising called forth the intervention of the Great Powers. The Treaty of San Stefano stipulated that Turkey should grant autonomy to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Under the terms of the Congress of Berlin, Bosnia and Herzegovina was mandated to Austria-Hungary. The Austro-Hungarian troops sent to occupy the country met with unexpected resistance from Bosnian Muslims. The rebels were led by men of the lower classes—since prominent Bosnians were unwilling to take sides after the withdrawal of Turkish authorities and the army—who incited the people to rise against the invader and set up a government of the people in Sarajevo. The occupation began on July 29th and was completed on October 20th, 1878. drastic measures were taken to break down the strong resistance offered at some places, particularly around and in the town of Sarajevo.

**Bibliography:** Historical studies relating to the period of Turkish rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina are far from being complete though much progress has been made of late. Most of the relevant historical material dealing with the period has not yet been published. The collecting and editing of the material is in charge of the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo. For the early part of the period of particular importance are the Turkish cadastral registers (with *hâsin-nâmas*), kept in

the Bayvekkâlet arşivi in Istanbul, *waşf-nâmas* (reported on by F. Spaho, H. Kreševljaković, G. Elezović, H. Šabanović, and others), and documents stored in the archives of Duhovnik (reported on by Č. Trubelka, F. Kraljević, V. Škarić, G. Elezović, H. Šabanović, J. Radonić, and others); also important are the *isâid sâidîs* of the 17th century with fragmentary records from the 18th century, and public records material (Oriental Institute, *Rhusew-bey Library*, etc.). Some public records of the *vilâyet* of Bosnia (from the middle of the 19th century) are kept in the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo. Valuable information concerning the later part of the period is to be found in the unpublished chronicle entitled *Ta'rih-i Diyar-ı Bosna*, written by Şâlih Sîddîk Ef. Hadžihusejinović, known by the name of Muvekkit, at the second half of the 19th century, the autograph of which is kept in the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo.

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### 5. Islamic culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The islamisation of part of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one outcome of the Turkish conquest, was to lay its impress on the country's pattern of life and culture. The style of living, both public and private, of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of Turkish rule was very much the same—particularly in towns—as in the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The mainstays of Islamic culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina were town settlements, for the manifest features of the culture were predominantly urban in scope and character. The way of living of Muslim peasantry had some definite particularities of its own. Owing to europeanisation however the elements of oriental culture—particularly in Christian—tended to disappear in the post-Turkish period, and did so to an ever-increasing extent after the country became a constituent part of Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the characteristic elements of oriental culture have not disappeared even to-day, and what is more, not even among Christian population, to say nothing of the Muslims. Many features of oriental ways of life are still very much in evidence, such as the style of living, furniture, cooking, drinking habits and certain old customs. Oriental practices are still in frequent use in the goldsmith's craft, carpet weaving and many other branches of applied arts.

The most lasting traces of the influence of Islamic culture are to be found in the field of architecture and town-planning. Some principles of oriental town-planning have found ready application because of prevalence of terraced sites. Many Bosnian towns still

show the former typical lay-out with a division into two quarters, viz. the *Casha* (shopping or commercial centre) and the *Mahalla* (the residential quarters).

In town-planning and building generally over the period of Turkish rule three stages can be distinguished: (a) the initial period until about the end of the 16th century, (b) the second until the end of the 17th century, and (c) the third until the end of the Turkish rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the initial period of development of Muslim town settlements it was the Governor-Generals and high Turkish dignitaries who erected places of worship and public buildings, the representative examples of monumental architecture. From this period date the finest monuments of the Islamic style of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, e.g., the Aladža mosque (1550) at Foča, the Ghāfī Khusew-bey mosque (1530) and the 'Alī Paşa mosque (1561) in Sarajevo, the Ghāfī Khusew-bey Medresa (1537) called "Sel-džukija" and later "Kursimulija" with Ghāfī Khusew-bey's *hamām* (before 1557) and the Brusa *beristan* (1551) in Sarajevo, and many others. With the growth and rapid development of guilds in the second period, it was largely the traders and merchants who were responsible for the erection of public buildings. The examples dating from this period are less monumental in appearance except for a few edifices erected by Governor-Generals or some high Turkish dignitaries, as for example the Hadī-Sinan's Tekiye (1640) in Sarajevo. The architecture of the third period shows signs of decadence and, towards the latter part, of the penetration of European ideas as well as imitation of styles prevalent in the towns of Turkey. There are also signs of direct influences. The period nevertheless has produced many interesting examples of technical ingenuity. The development of the town of Travnik, as the official residence of the Vizier, is typical of the period. The Süleymaniyya mosque (the present building—dating from 1816) has been constructed over a *beristan*. A number of ancient mosques were restored during this period. In the construction of monumental public buildings the Islamic architects displayed the fundamental features of the Ottoman artistry, though not all of the latter's forms and characteristics found expression in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Smaller mosques and public buildings, as well as dwelling houses, were built by native master builders, hence certain individual features of this style of architecture. In the post-Turkish period the examples of Islamic architecture show unmistakable signs of decadence. The Austro-Hungarian Governments attempted to develop the characteristics of Islamic architectural art by copying the Moorish style. The buildings in this style contrasted with both the earlier examples of Islamic architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina and those of the latter period of the Austrian rule, besides being in disharmony with Bosnian inland scenery and unsuited to climatic conditions. Buildings in this style proved a failure. The most representative example of this style is the Sarajevo Town Hall. The Bosnian and Herzegovinian style of architecture, as applied to dwelling-houses, held its own a little longer before it finally disappeared.

A very large number of words and idioms of Turkish, Arabic and Persian origin are in everyday use in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to a greater extent than in other areas where Serbo-Croat is spoken. The early literary style also made full use of such borrowings. With the development and

under the influence of standard Serbo-Croat, since 1878, and more so since 1918, words and phrases of Turkish origin have been falling out of use in everyday speech. During the period of Turkish rule a cursive Cyrillic alphabet was in use in private correspondence among Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims, particularly among native Muslim nobles. Arabic characters were used in the writing of Serbo-Croat literary texts done by Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims. The same characters were used in certain Serbo-Croat religious texts written during the period of Asian rule and that of pre-war Yugoslavia. Some religious books printed in these characters are still available. The orthography was rather arbitrary at first but gradually became standardised. Since 1930 however, the characters have hardly ever been used even in religious texts.

No comprehensive study has so far been made of the literary production, in Serbo-Croat or oriental languages, of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims.

In their devotion to folk-songs and popular poetry the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina differed little from their Christian compatriots. The earlier epic compositions of Bosnian and Herzegovinian *guslars* have all the basic characteristics of traditional Serbo-Croat epic poems. The difference mainly lies in a different religious and political attitude, a more frequent use of Turkish idioms, and a tendency away from heroic poems towards ballads. *Hasanaginica*, a popular Bosnian poem, is well known in the world of literature. Popular epic poems of the earlier type are preserved in the south of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A later type of popular Muslim epic poetry developed among the people of a western frontier district called Kraljina. Such poems were recited with a *lambarica* (mandolin) accompaniment, and differed in several respects from the popular poems of the *guslars*. Popular lyrics of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims, when compared with those of their compatriots, likewise show—and to a higher degree—a number of characteristic features of their own. The most familiar and popular among these are the love poems called "*sevdalinhas*". Apart from oriental influences of language, motifs, and music apparent in their composition, the *sevdalinhas* are essentially typical poems of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims, liked and enjoyed throughout Yugoslavia.

Judging by the results of studies published so far, the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslim poets who wrote in oriental languages did so mainly in Turkish, to a lesser extent in Persian, and in a few instances in Arabic. Among Turkish writers, there were several of Bosnian origin, some of whom were noted poets, as for example Derwish Paşa, son of Bayazid Agha (killed in 1012/1603), born in Mostar (Herzegovina), and the well-known stylist Mehmed Nersiz (died 1044/1634), born in Sarajevo. Not only were they born in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also held office for rather a long time, the former as Paşa of Bosnia and the latter as Müderris and Kādī. Likewise of Bosnian origin was Ahmed Sâdī (died 1005/1596-7), the well-known commentator on the Persian classics. One of the most copious writers of poetry in the Persian language, who also wrote in Turkish, was the shaykh Fawzi of Mostar (died about 1760/1747).

Ahmed Wabedit (died 1007/1598-9) of Dobrun near Vilegrad, as well as some other poets of Bosnian origin, deviated from Muslim orthodoxy. Hasan Ka'ini of Sarajevo (died 1103/1691-2) and Uskufi Bosnevi, also called Havâ'î (died about 1061/1650-1), born in Tuzla Donja, as well as a number of other

Bosnian and Herzegovinian poets, wrote both in Turkish and Serbo-Croat. The latter compiled a Serbo-Croat dictionary written in Turkish verse. In the 13th and 14th/19th and 20th centuries up to the present time there were a number of poets who wrote religious poems in the spirit of old traditions. Of this poetry worthy of note are the poems in praise of the birth of Muhammad (*mawlid*), the compositions of the early period being more versions imitative of the Turkish texts, latterly followed by some original writings.

The early prose of the Muslim writers of Bosnia and Herzegovina mostly in Arabic, is largely concerned with Islamic theological subjects, *shari'a* laws, State administration, and history. Many of the writers, natives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, lived and worked in Istanbul and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, as for example 'Abd Allah Bosnevi—died in 1054/1644—a writer of mystic-philosophical tracts and commentator on the *Fusûl al-Hikam* by 'Ibn al-Arabi. Noted as a writer on law and politics was Hasan Kâfi, born in Prusac (Akhisar), whose literary merit gained him a lifelong *hâdîk* in his native place, where he died in 1025/1616. In addition to his other writings, Kâfi was the author of the well-known work *Nisâm al-'Ilam*. As many as forty authors might be mentioned who were active in the field of religious and law studied during the Bosnia and Herzegovina literary period. A number of well-known Ottoman historians were descended from Bosnian Muslim families (e.g., Ibrahim Peševli); however, the historiography in the Turkish language in Bosnia and Herzegovina is of a later growth. A noted Bosnian historiographer of the 12th/18th century, who wrote in Turkish, was the Kādī 'Umar of Novi, the author of *Çavanvâli-i Hekim-oglu 'Alī-paşa*, a work dealing with historical events in Bosnia from the beginning of Muharram 1149/1736 to the end of Džumâdî I of 1152/1739. The first printing of the work was done by Ibrahim Müteferrika (1154/1741); it was later reprinted and translated into English and German. During the transitional period between the end of the 12th/18th and the beginning of the 13th/19th centuries, a few prominent chroniclers (Mustafa Başheki, Sâlih Sidki) on record, who wrote accounts of contemporary events. Among the historians dealing with the latter period of Turkish rule and the events following the Austrian occupation of the country are the following: Sâlih Sidki Ef. Hadî, ihusejović (died 1305/1888), Muhammad-Fawzi Kādī (1271/1855-1349/1931), a collector of historical material which he transcribed himself (28 books—a copy of the manuscript is housed in the Ghāfī Khusew-bey Library, Sarajevo). The transition from the old historiography to be noted in the work of the shaykh Saif al-Din Ef. Kemur (died 1335/1917). Likewise, certain characteristics of the earlier Islamic studies and some conceptions of the earlier historiography are also manifest in the works of Dr. Safvet-bey Rašagić (1870-1934), the first modern historian of the Turkish period and the first oriental scholar in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who was a poet as well.

However, since 1878, and particularly since 1918, the literary activities of Bosnian Muslims—apart from the romantic school of thought which still clings to earlier beliefs (with Dr. S. Rašagić as the outstanding representative)—have tended more and more to become merged into Serbian and Croat literatures. A. F. Džabić (died 1918), mufti of Mostar and fighter for religious autonomy, attained



prominence in Turkey as professor of Arabic language and literature. He also brought out a collection of choice poems of Muhammad's contemporaries.

The nurseries of Islamic education and culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as in every Turkish province, were the *mektebs* and *medreses* and religious institutions (mosques, *tekiye*, and the like). As a rule adjacent to mosques, the *mektebs* provided primary education mainly consisting of instruction in the reading of the Kur'an, writing and basic religious principles. *Medreses*, the secondary and higher schools, were also set up on the Turkish model. The earliest *medrese* on record in Sarajevo dates from the first quarter of the 10th/16th century. By the *nahiye* of 943/1537 the *Ğazi Khusrev-bey Medrese* with its own library was founded by Ğazi Khusrev-bey, the *sandžak-bey* of Bosnia. The building was completed in the following year and is still standing opposite the entrance gate to the harem of the Khusrev-bey Mosque. The Medrese Library has since been made into an independent public institution of Ğazi Khusrev-bey's *sandžak*, which has helped to extend its scope. The present inventory comprises the original stock of volumes, in oriental languages as well as a large number of additional copies, manuscripts and Turkish documents acquired from *sandžaks*, *medreses* and private libraries. The number of *medreses* went on increasing, yet the most famous among them was the *Ğazi Khusrev-bey Medrese*, which is now used as a secondary school for the study of theological subjects. Various surveys engaged in by the *medrese* in mystic teachings and studies of the Persian language. The first dervish *tekiye* appears to have been erected before the final downfall of Bosnia. Interesting structural details shows the *Ğazi Khusrev-bey* built by the *Ğazi Khusrev-bey*. The expenses of upkeep, religious teaching and education were defrayed by the *sandžak*.

The main development of publicly provided education and educational building dates from the viceroyship of Topal Ođman Paşa with the setting-up of the first *rüşdiyye* and the *mekteb-i hukuk* (administrative law-school), followed by the opening of the public reading-club and the Printing Office. Under the provisions of the Education Act (1286/1869) the responsibility for educational services and maintenance of schools lay with the State, but private schools or those of denominational character were not interfered with but were subject to State control. The provisions of the Act were not wholly carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, though *seyin mektebi* and *rüşdiyyes* were established, as well as some technical and training schools. According to official returns there were towards the end of the Turkish rule 917 *mektebs*, 41 *medreses* and 28 *rüşdiyyes*. In addition to the above there was in Sarajevo a military school of the lower grade, a training college for *mekteb* teachers, and a trade school.

Without interfering with denominational schools the Austro-Hungarian authorities began by introducing their own system of State education. Religious instruction in State schools was obligatory. *Mektebs* as well as *medreses* continued as religious schools. Under the statutory regulations of 1909 attendance of Muslim children at *mekteb* schools was compulsory, and no Muslim child could enter a secondary school without previously attending a *mekteb*. Certain measures were taken to reform the *mekteb* schools but in the majority of cases were not implemented.

In 1909 there were about 1,000 old *mekteb* (*seyin mektebi*) as well as about two schools of the reformed type (*mekteb-i ihiddi*). The *rüşdiyyes* were counted among the elementary schools for Muslim children and were retained as such—with their programmes reformed—only in county boroughs and the district town of Brčko. The *medreses* served as training schools for humble religious functionaries, and in 1887 a college was established for the students of the *ğazi*'s law and future *ğazi*'s court judges. The *sandžak* Board founded in 1892 a *mekteb-teachers'* training college, Muslim pupils of the State grammar school of Sarajevo had the choice of being taught Classical Greek or Arabic.

During the successive Yugoslav governments after the World War I only the State primary schools were given recognition, though the small number of such schools could not cope with all the children of school age. Religious instruction was provided for all children attending the primary schools. The *mektebs* became preparatory or non-educational institutions for the teaching of Kur'an reading. Religious instruction was also given in all secondary schools. A State *ğazi*'s secondary school was opened at Sarajevo in 1918. The *ğazi*'s judges' training college continued in existence until 1927 when the High School of *ğazi*'s and Islamic theology—of faculty grade—was established. The *sandžak* Board bore the cost of running the *mekteb teachers'* training college and the *medreses*—now secondary schools for the study of, mainly, theological subjects. Preliminary reforms concerning the *medreses* were introduced in 1913; a definite programme was adopted in 1929 whereby they were to be of the comprehensive type, similar in character to secondary schools of the lower grade. The *Ğazi Khusrev-bey Medrese* was an exception in that it provided senior secondary courses. A number of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims are known to have graduated from various eastern universities. The rôle of granting scholarships to Muslim pupils and students, as well as bearing the cost of upkeep and running of boarding schools and providing other educational facilities, which had been confined to the *sandžak*, was gradually taken over—in the field of secular education, at any rate—by various Muslim societies, such as "Gajret", "Udžanica", and others.

In the new Yugoslavia religious bodies and societies are separate from the State, but the latter may render assistance to religious communities. Religious instruction may be given only in the immediate vicinity of places of worship (under the provisions of the Religious Communities Act of 1933); however, the religious communities are free to open schools for the training of religious functionaries and staff. The *mektebs*, attendance at which was considered compulsory for Muslims by the Islamic religious community, were in existence until 1952, when they were abolished in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the Austro-Hungarian administration and in pre-war Yugoslavia, the study of Islamic branches of knowledge concerned with religion and oriental languages was closely associated with the activities of the above mentioned schools and colleges. At the same time, the Zemaljski Muzej of Sarajevo was engaged in collecting oriental manuscripts and records from Turkish archives. Among the staff of the museum there were a number of workers who studied oriental literary and historical records. It was here that conditions were created for the development of modern scientific studies and work

in this field (Č. Truhelka, V. Škarić, F. Spaho, R. Maderžović, and others).

Over the past years after the World War II increasing attention has been devoted in Bosnia and Herzegovina to oriental studies concerned with Islamic peoples. Thus the grammar school of Sarajevo provides courses of oriental as well as western classical type. In the University of Sarajevo (founded in 1949) there is a chair in oriental philology (Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages and literature), and the chair in history also offers Turkish courses, besides giving special attention to studies bearing on the history of Yugoslav peoples during the period of Turkish rule. The Sarajevo Oriental Institute, founded in 1950, has a valuable collection of oriental manuscripts and Turkish historical material taken over from the Zemaljski Muzej of Sarajevo. Besides publishing its year-book, the Oriental Institute has been engaged in editing a systematized collection of Turkish records and sources bearing on the history of Yugoslav peoples (*Manuscripta turica historiam Slavum Meridionalium illustrantia*). Thus a wide field of studies—concerned with Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages, the history of Yugoslav peoples during the period Turkish rule, and many other Islamic branches of knowledge—once within the scope of religious institutions and bodies, is now under secular control.

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4. The Islamic religious community in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1878.

The Sultan's sovereign rights over Bosnia and Herzegovina were recognised until 1908, when the province was annexed by Austria-Hungary. Nevertheless, the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Dual Monarchy remained undefined, largely because of the dualist constitution of Austria-Hungary.

Bosnia and Herzegovina were under a dual control exercised by the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Finance, both before and after the annexation. Each of the two powers had definite rights regarding administrative policy, the building of railways and matters concerned with the country's trade and finances.

The Austro-Hungarian system of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina was bureaucratic and police-ridden throughout the period. A military commander was responsible for the government, the number of departments being four, and later six. A Governor's "civil adlatus", was appointed in 1882, who was in effective control of the Civil Service. For administrative purposes the country was divided into six *oblasti* (departments)—Banjaluka, Ribna, Mostar, Sarajevo, Travnik, and Tuzla—and these in turn into *veći* (districts) and *ispokanas* (the smallest administrative units). Only in 1906—the administration of justice was separated from the government of the country. Following the annexation, a Constitution with a "Sabor" (Assembly) was granted in 1910. The Sabor consisted of seventy-two deputies and twenty appointed (ex officio) members, the latter being partly religious representatives (among Muslims: the *re'is al-'alamâ*), the Director of *waft* administration, and three *mufitis*), and partly high officials. The deputies were elected to three "curiae" according to their ranks, the first of which was of two classes, the Muslim owners of large estates belonging to the first. The curiae were organised by electoral districts on a denominational basis. The constitution restricted within narrow limits the powers of the assembly in respect of the Government, at the same time imposing many restrictions on the authority of the latter in respect of the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Finance.

In 1912 the Governor was given additional powers concerning the Civil Service. The Assembly was adjourned and did not sit during the World War I.

Despite the fact that the Austro-Hungarian government introduced a modern system of administration, developed trade (and mining and timber industries in particular), built roads, railways, and established schools and a number of scientific institutions, the framework of society remained in many respects unchanged. True, the Austro-Hungarian authorities were by this means able to win over to their side the greater part of the Muslim nobility, yet the unresolved agrarian question led to the stagnation of agriculture and told heavily upon the peasantry and in particular upon the *kmeti* (mostly Orthodox Christians). Nor was the solution of the agrarian problem brought any nearer by the passing of the Facultative Redemption of Land Act, 1911, whereby only minor changes were effected in the existing relations.

From 1882 to 1903 the leading rôle in the direction of Austro-Hungarian policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina was played by B. Kallay, the minister of finances of the Dual Monarchy, otherwise a well-



known historian. In order to keep Bosnia and Herzegovina as a *corpus separatum* within the Dual Monarchy and to check the spread of Serbian and Croatian nationalism, Kallay attempted to create a "Bosnian nation" and a "Bosnian language". This policy, however, failed to attract a sufficient number of partisans among the native population, for the Serbs and Croats had become nationally conscious, and the nationally "undecided" majority of the Muslims looked on Turkey as their mother country. Moreover, many Muslim families had settled in Turkey and Muslim leaders had always stressed the sovereign rights of the Ottoman Sultan over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only a small part of the Muslim intellectuals and landowners adopted the cause of "Bosnian nationalism".

The Serbian political movement directed its main efforts towards achieving autonomy in Church matters and freedom to conduct Serbian community schools. The idea found supporters among the great mass of the Serbian population and the new-born intelligentsia, but it was the Serb *gasdas* (moneyed men) who thrust themselves forward as leaders. There was general discontent among the latter because their usurious trade practices were obstructed by the predominance of Austro-Hungarian moneyed interests and trade capital. The efforts of the movement proved successful, and autonomy was granted in matters of religion and denominational instruction in 1905.

Muslim opinion became increasingly suspicious of certain measures taken by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. In order to gain control over Muslim religious institutions, the Government, in 1882, created the office of *re'is al-'ulema*, the supreme religious head of Bosno-Herzegovinian Muslims, as well as the highest religious authoritative body (*ulema medlis*) presided over by the *re'is al-'ulema* with four members. This organisation went so far as to control the rights of the *Wahf* Board. Dissatisfied and alarmed, the Muslims presented a petition to the Emperor (in 1886) asking to be granted autonomy in matters concerning the administration of the *waqfs*. A resolute struggle for the achievement of autonomy, religious and educational, for all Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina began in 1899 under the leadership of A. F. Džabić, the *mufiti* of Mostar. The struggle became linked with the Orthodox (Serb) movement. Džabić insisted on demanding maximum concessions but was outwitted. In 1900 a draft statute for the Islamic religious community was presented to the Minister Kallay, wherein a special emphasis was paid on the Sultan's sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina, a principle which the Austro-Hungarian authorities were unwilling to accept. When Džabić, the *mufiti* of Mostar, left for Istanbul to consult the Sultan, he was forbidden to re-enter Bosnia and Herzegovina. From 1906 onward the movement took a more organised and definite shape. An Executive Committee of the Muslim people's organisation was elected, presided over by 'Ali Bey Firdis. While championing the interests of the propertied classes, the organisation at the same time entered into negotiations with the Government for the granting of religious autonomy. The negotiations broke fire, for the Austro-Hungarian authorities refused to lend an ear to the slightest hint about the Sultan's sovereign rights over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following the annexation, the negotiations were brought to a satisfactory conclusion with the Emperor's sanction of the Statute concerning Autonomous Government of

Muslim Religious Affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina *Vahf-Mearif*. Under the statute the supreme administrative authority as regards *waqfs* and endowments of schools and colleges was vested in a *Vahf-Mearif* Assembly (*Sabor*) consisting of eight nominated (*ex officio*) members (the *re'is al-'ulema*), six *mufitis* and the Director of the *Vahf Board* and twenty-four members elected by district board committees. The president of the *Sabor* was the *re'is al-'ulema* *ex officio*. The *Vahf-Mearif* Committee was both the administrative and the executive organ of the *Sabor*. Other minor bodies of the *Vahf-Mearif* Board were the district committees, elected by district assemblies, and, among the latter, the *dimal* assemblies and *dimal medlis*. The highest religious authority was exercised by the *Ulema Medlis*, consisting of four members, with the *re'is al-'ulema* at its head. The *Re'is* and members of the *Ulema Medlis* were elected by a separate electoral body consisting of six *mufitis* and 24 elected members. Three (elected) candidates for the post of *re'is* were submitted by electoral body to the Emperor, one of whom was appointed *re'is* by decree. The *re'is* entered upon his duties only after obtaining the authorisation (*menharsa*) for the performance of religious duties from the *sheikh al-Islam* of Istanbul. The relevant petition had to be conveyed to Istanbul through the Austro-Hungarian Embassy. A vacancy in the *Ulema Medlis* was filled by appointment, on the part of the joint Ministry of Finance, of one of two elected candidates. Each *okrag* (department) had its *mufiti*, who were selected by the Government from among candidates submitted by the *Ulema Medlis*. The salaries of higher religious functionaries and civil servants came from the provincial budget. The statute also settled the question of Muslim denominational schools, as well as the rights of religious functionaries in respect of *ghari's* judges.

With the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into Yugoslavia the question of the Islamic religious community was in the forefront again. Moreover, there were Muslims in Yugoslavia outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the statute of 1909 remained in force in Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1920. There was a separate Muslim religious organisation covering Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro. The putting into effect of the agrarian reform hit some Muslim property owners much harder than it did the *waqfs* in Bosnia and Herzegovina, for most of the latter's property consisted rather of town sites than land in the countryside. Nevertheless, the decentralization of the *waqf* administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as disordered financial management and malpractices caused serious damage to *waqf* property.

Following the abolition of the parliamentary régime in Yugoslavia a law was passed in 1930 concerning the Islamic religious community and its Constitution in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Thus the former autonomous Muslim religious communities were united under one head—the *re'is al-'ulema*—and one supreme authoritative body composed of the *re'is* and the two presidents of the *Ulema Medlis*. The official residence of the *re'is al-'ulema* and the seat of the Board of the Islamic religious community were transferred to Belgrade; however, there existed, in addition, two *Ulema Medlis* and two *Vahf-Mearif* Councils with their administrative committees, whose central offices were in Sarajevo and Skopje. Lower in authority were the *mufitis*, the district *Vahf-Mearif* board with

a *ghari's* judge at its head, and the *dimal-medlis* presided over by the *Dimal Imam*. The main features of the Act and Constitution are to be seen in the fact that the majority of posts were held by appointment, and also, that the office of *re'is al-'ulema* took precedence of the *Ulema-Medlis*. The *re'is* was, in fact, the head and symbol of a unified Islamic religious community in the State, while the administration was dual (Sarajevo and Skopje). Special enactments regulated the election of candidates for the post of *re'is*, of *Ulema-Medlis* members and of *mufitis*. The electoral body was expected to choose three candidates for the office of *re'is*, one of whom was then appointed by royal decree on the recommendation of the minister of justice and that of the prime minister. Also nominated by royal decree were the members of the *Ulema-Medlis* and the *mufitis*, on the recommendation of the minister of justice.

With the passing of a new law and Constitution in 1936 changes were brought about which, however, did not interfere with the unity expressed by the function of the *re'is* or with the diarchy of the other governing bodies. The chief organs of the Islamic religious community were now the following: the *Dimal-Medlis*, the District *Vahf* Commission, the *Ulema-Medlis* in Sarajevo and Skopje, the *Vahf-Mearif* Assembly (Sabor) in Sarajevo and Skopje, with the assembly committees, *waqf* boards, and the *re'is al-'ulema* with a select or full Council. The official residence of the *re'is* was in Sarajevo. The function of *mufiti* was dispensed with. The main feature of the regulations was the selectivity of governing bodies and functionaries. For the election of members to the *Ulema-Medlis* each Assembly selected an electoral body of ten members, who in turn formed one electoral body for the election of three *re'is* candidates. As before, one of the candidates (usually the one with the majority of votes) was appointed *re'is* by royal decree on the recommendation of the minister of justice. It was through this organization that the Yugoslav Muslim Organization, the party led by M. Spaho, secured its position in the religious community.

In the new Yugoslavia, the position and privileges of the Islamic religious community have been safeguarded by provisions made in the Constitution and regulated by the 1933 Law concerning the legal position of the different religious communities. Religious organisations are separated from the State, the holding of religious beliefs being regarded as a private matter. Religious communities may conduct schools for the training of religious functionaries and staff. The State may also lend its aid to religious communities.

The Islamic religious community in Yugoslavia is governed by the provisions of the Constitution of the Islamic religious community in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, made and passed by the Supreme *waqf* Assembly in 1947. Some of the regulations have since been changed and others added. The Constitution has effected the unity of the religious organisation of Muslims in Yugoslavia not only through the function of the *re'is al-'ulema*, but also through the establishment of the Supreme *waqf* Assembly, allowing at the same time for the federal structure of the State. In 1947, separate *Ulema-Medlis* and *waqf* assemblies have been set up in the four republics where Muslims form a considerable part of the population. The supreme authority is vested in the *re'is* and four members from the four *waqf* assemblies. The *re'is al-'ulema*

and the four members of the supreme authority are elected by the Supreme *waqf* Assembly (see YUGOSLAVIA).

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**BOSNA-SARAY** (see SARAJEVO)

**BOSPHORUS** (see BOSGAZ-ICI)

**BOSRÄ** (Bostra), a town of southern Syria in the fertile plain of the Nukra, in the province of Hawran (Hauranitis of the *Notitia dignitatum*), the Idumea of the Bible. Situated in 32° 30' N., 36° 28' E., and called today Bosra Eski Şhün (to distinguish it from Bosra al-Hariri on the southern edge of the Ladjß, 12½ miles from Ezra), Bosra is 19 miles north of the present frontier of Jordan on the road joining Dar'fa on the west to Salghad on the east. It is close to two intermittent streams, the Wadi Zaydi and the Wadi Butim, tributaries of the Yarmuk. The name Bosra is attested in the sense of 'citadel' (De Vogüé, *Inscr. Palm.*, 25). The town, fortified since its foundation, seems to have been a strongpoint towards the north of the 'Arab', i.e. Nabataean, kings. Damascus (*Vita Ista*, § 109), writing in the 6th century, describes it as an ancient fortified town provided with ramparts by the Arab kings. The book of Maccabees (I, v, 26) makes it dependent on the great fortified region of Parra and calls it Bosorra. The extensive Nabataean countries which surround it are evidence that it belonged to the kingdom of Nabatene. Two inscriptions from the neighbouring town of Salghad (Salcha of the Romans) bear, for the eighth decade of the first century, the name of king Malkhß (Malchus of Damascus) (Littmann, *Semitic Inscr.*, in *Syria*, iv, A. nos. 23 & 28). The use of Nabataean was kept after the Roman conquest (*ibid.*, 12, 192, 193, 196). Certain Nabataean inscriptions include a Greek text.

When Bosra had been introduced into the Roman empire, after the annexation of the old Nabataean kingdom, by Cornelius Palma in 105-6 A.D. (Pauis-Wissowa, s.v. *Bostia*, II, 359, 11 E.) it was recognised on the initiative of Trajan. Writers on Roman history differ as to the date of its foundation. R. Ritter (*Erldkunde*, xv, 99) sees it as a town of Roman foundation. Damascus assigns to Alexander Severus the honour of incorporating it as a town. The latter did indeed confer on Bosra the title of Colonia Bostra concurrently with that of Nova



Trajanus Alexandrinus (222-35 A.D.). Malalas takes its foundation back to Augustus.

It is certain that the town of Bostra was enlarged at the time of its incorporation into the Roman Empire, as a study of its plan shows. Though it remained a stronghold in the 4th century—the most important in the province of Arabia, with Gerasa and Philadelphia '*murorum firmitate firmatissimas*' (Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv, 813)—the withdrawal towards the south of the true line of defence made of it no longer simply a garrison town, station of the Third Cyrenensis Legion (*Notitia Dignitatum*, Pridem, v, 27, 7), but an important centre, soon to become Christian, and seat of the government of the province of Arabia under the name of Nēa Trajanē Bostra. The Era of Bostra (105 A.D.) testifies to its importance. Thanks to the trade routes which attached it to Philadelphia and the Persian Gulf and those which gave it access to the Mediterranean across Palestine, it was also an important centre of commerce dependent on Damascus, to the north, to which it was joined by two roads. It had extensive markets, of which the ruins subsist; it had its own coinage; that struck by the emperor Philip 'the Arab', who was a native of Bostra, gives to it the title of Metropolis as well as that of Colonia (Butler, *Syria*, A iv, Bostra, cap. II, xvi, nos. 41, 42). Philip the Arab stationed a squadron of cataphractaries there.

At the time of the first form of the Manichean controversy (Tert., bishop of Bostra (about 360), took up (*Part. graca* xviii, 1069-1264) a doctrinal position and engaged in activity which placed him in the front rank of the ecclesiastical writers of his time by his knowledge, his philosophical training, and his secular activity. Before Basilides (222-32), under the influence of Origen, had testified against the heresy by returning to orthodoxy. Byzantine Bostra played the part of a frontier market where Arab caravans and pastoralists alike came to buy provisions under the watch of the troops stationed there.

As an administrative centre Bostra included a large population of functionaries and civic officials. It was the centre of a bishopric subordinate to the patriarchate of Antioch. An edict of Anastasius (Butler, *op. cit.*, no. 561) secured the stability of offices there by ridding them of corruption and devoting to them revenues derived from the annona and the grain trade, as also from the 'twelfth'. Romano-Byzantine inscriptions are testimony of the administrative importance of the town. It was the residence of the governor of the Provincia Arabia, who besides the titles of *legitimus* and *dux* (Gr. *δουξ*) bore the military title of *scholasticus* (488). As a municipium the town had its *praeses* (*prohedrus*) and a college of four *synarchontes* to which was joined a council (*boulerai*). For the time when Christianity had won, yet triumphed, over paganism, inscriptions are to be found to the official gods of the Empire and to those of Hawrān by their original or Hellenised names (D. Sourdel, *Cultes du Hawrān*, Paris 1952). Later, during the Christian epoch, numerous inscriptions mention the reconstruction or restoration of churches dedicated to the Virgin and Sergius or anonymous patron saints, and also of two monasteries of which at least one, dedicated to Saint Cyriacus, was for girls. To judge by funeral inscriptions the population had kept its old Semitic basis, sometimes partially Romanised, with infusions of new blood from Italy, Asia Minor, Coriouth, and even (thanks to the transfer of a

garrison) from Pannonia. By virtue of its archbishopric Bostra for a long time kept a basilica, of which substantial remains remain, and a bishop's palace of which nothing much is left. The convent possibly dedicated to Saint Sergius stood not far from there. It had a big church of which the walls and the apse are still standing. It is there that folklore places the sojourn of the monk Bahārā (g.r.), he who, as is well known, was one of the Christian witnesses to the Prophet's mission. (His name, which is still unexplained, may conceal that of Bahārā attested by a Nabataean inscription from Salghad (Littmann, *Nabat.*, 24) and likewise, Bartholomew of Edessa, P.G., 104, 1429). The Muslim epic legend later made of the taking of this town, 'the first Byzantine centre conquered by the Arabs', a sign of the divine mission of Islam (Pseudo-Wāḥidī, *Kutub Fuṭūḥ al-Shām*, Cairo 1954, 16-17).

The Arab conquest and then the establishment of the Umayyad power brought about its decline, in spite of the advantages accruing from its position on the pilgrim route, by depriving it of its status of provincial capital and permanent major frontier garrison. It preserved a certain prestige because of two legends, that of Bahārā and that of the 'kneeling' of the camel bearing the 'Syrian' copy of the Qur'ān (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gench. des Koran*, II, 112 ff.). This seems to have made of it the seat of a popular folklore which is attested by the accounts of pilgrimages (e.g., al-Harawī, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 27) and the names of its mosques: al-'Umarī (Sauvaget, in *Syria*, xxii, 41), Fāṭima, *Khidr*, al-Mabrak, and the popular tales attaching to them. Numerous inscriptions bear witness to their restoration from the time when the Saljūq princes of Damascus exercised suzerainty over Bostrā and devoted themselves to strengthening it against the Fāṭimids whose possession (in theory) it still was. The spoliation of the town by Abū Ghānim's Carmathians had made this needful. The 'Umarī mosque, anterior to 128/745 (date of a restoration by 'Ughaym b. al-Hakam, Ar. inscr., Littmann, no. 30), was renovated in 504/1114, the rebuilt in 618/1221 under the Ayyūbids with the supervision of an Egyptian architect. In 526/1132 the mosque of *Khidr* was restored by the *amir* Gümüştekin. The 'very old' Mabrak mosque had a Hanafī *madrasa* built beside it in 550/1156 (Sauvaget, in *Syria*, xxiv, 231).

The Ayyūbid governors made the town richer by another Hanafī mosque in 630/1233 (Littmann, *op. cit.*, no. 38). The college mosque known as the 'Dabbāgha' dates from 655/1257. The Mabrak mosque was—and still is—surrounded by a celebrated cemetery which formed a pair with the 'Martyr's cemetery' to the south of the town. Inscriptions attest the construction and restoration at this time of other monuments now lost.

The period of these constructions was that when the town regained under the Ayyūbids a major importance due to its military rôle, whether in face of the Crusaders or in the course of the conflicts between Saladin's successors. The great witness to this military function is the citadel of Bostrā. Under the governors representing the Aḥabaks of Damascus, the old Roman theatre on an esplanade to the south of the town outside the ramparts had been adapted for defence by a wall and three flanking towers. Between 483/1089 and 649/1251 the princes who successively held Bostrā under their sway enlarged this citadel which ended by becoming one of the chief military monuments of the Muslim world. In

1956 it still remained the most complete authentic document on the successive techniques of fortification from the Fāṭimid period to the Mamlik. After the Mongol invasion of 659/1261, which left the fortress badly damaged, Baybars sent a mission from Egypt which restored, made even bigger, and strengthened this monument (A. Abel, *La citadelle égyptienne de Bostrā Eski Cham*, in *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, vi, (1956), 93-138, XI pl.). This restoration, by using up a huge quantity of material, no doubt completed the destruction of the old Roman hippodrome which once stood to the south of the theatre. The extensive ruinification and depopulation consequent on the brief Mongol invasion seem to have plunged the town once more into obscurity. The restoration of the citadel 'outside the walls' was partially concerned it (al-Makrizī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, tr. Quatremère, I, 141). However, the town enjoyed a certain importance in the 13th century, for it furnished the Mamlik administration in Syria with several notable personages bearing the family name of al-Buṣṭānī. It remained the place through which pilgrims passed on the old Roman road from Damascus to Philadelphia-'Ammān. Its Birkat al-Hādīdī still bears their graffiti.

The development of Egyptian trade by the Red Sea and the fact that the Holy Cities, becoming more and more impoverished, lived principally on Egyptian aid, deprived it, however, of the character of trading centre which it had originally. The Ottoman invasion and conquest turned it into a minor provincial centre, the exile of obscure functionaries who did not always possess the means to defend the town.

The administrative centre of Hawrān was transferred to Mazyrib and Merkes in the 10th/16th century.

In the 11th/17th century the 'Anaṣah Bedouins, with their flocks, pushed to the edge of Hawrān. The threat of their pillaging expeditions hung over the whole region on dwellers and travellers alike. The pilgrims then adopted the western route by Sana'ayn and Mazyrib which has remained till today the '*darb al-hādīdī*' and alongside which the Hejaz Railway was built at the beginning of the present century.

Today the agricultural centre of Bostrā earns its living by the cultivation of the fine wheat fields of the Nukra when the rain is sufficient. It enjoys also an excellent water supply which allows the maintenance, in confinement, of a fair number of livestock. It has kept its fine vines and still produces a small quantity of very good wine.

The town is of enormous archaeological interest. Since the beginning of the 19th century travellers have been struck by the sight of its Roman ruins and have passed with interest before its gradually crumbling ramparts and its citadel. The Princeton Expedition (1904-5, 1906) published a great number of inscriptions in Greek and Latin (Littmann, David Macie Jr., and Duane Reed Stuart), Nabataean (Littmann), and Arabic (Littmann). The efforts of the members of the Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth have contributed in Syria, in the publications of the Institut de Damas, and more recently in the *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, to the increase in our knowledge of the town. Restorations due principally to the work of J. Sauvaget, have been successfully carried out to the 'Umarī mosque. The Syrian Service of Antiquities has made extensive excavations.

The exact study of ancient and medieval hydrological techniques, of the nature of the monuments and their chronological assignment, and, above all, of the successive levels of construction, still remains to be carried out within the framework of a master plan.

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**BÖSTÄNDJİ** (Bāstāndjī, from Persian *bāstān* 'garden'), the name applied in the old Ottoman State organisation to people employed in the flower and vegetable gardens, as well as in the bathhouses and rowing-boats of the Sultans' palaces. As long as the law of *devşirme* (forcible recruiting, g.r.) remained in force, these were recruited in accordance with its provisions. The *bōstāndjīs* formed two independent *ođaks* (g.s.), of which one was in Istanbul and the other in Edirne (Adrianople), commanded by the *bōstāndjī-bāğdī*. Only the strongest and most vigorous of those forcibly recruited were accepted in the two *ođaks* of the *bōstāndjīs*, either directly or from the *ođak* of the '*adamlı-oghāns*' (g.s.). There were nine grades in the *ođak* of the *bōstāndjīs*. New recruits were round their waists a belt made of the fringe of State cloth (*heyb*), while *bōstāndjīs* of the highest rank wore a green belt known as *muhaddem*. After a specified length of service the *bōstāndjīs* were promoted to the *ođak* of the Janissaries. Each man received on promotion the sum of 1,000 *akbes* for his equipment. At the end of the 17th and in the 18th century there were cases of *bōstāndjīs* assigned to the mounted *ođak* of the *kaptan-pašas* (g.s.). *Bōstāndjīs* were employed both inside and outside the palace. Others worked directly in flower and vegetable gardens, in bathhouses or in connexion with them. There were also *bōstāndjīs* in Sultans' estates, as for example, in Amasya, Manisa, Bursa and Izmit. Apart from the services mentioned above, the *bōstāndjīs* of Istanbul, were entrusted with duties such as guarding the palace, transporting material for the construction of palaces and mosques for the Sultans, working in boats used for the transport of timber from the environs of Izmit (v. *Kānūnname-i 'Alī-i 'Othmān*, ed. 'Arit Bey, TOEM, appendix 2, 25). Two different classes are shown in the paybooks of



the *bostândjîs*, the *ghilmân-i bîghîr-ê khâna* (boys of private gardens) and *ghilmân-i bostâniyân* (garden boys). In a paybook dated 954/1576 those employed in the Sultan's private gardens are shown as 30 *bûks* (g.s.), and those working in the vegetable gardens as 25 *dîmâ's* (g.s.). At that time there were 645 *ustas* in the private gardens and 971 in the vegetable gardens. Paybooks for 1174/1760 and 1192/1778, show 20 *bûks* in the private gardens and 64 *dîmâ's* in the flower and vegetable gardens outside. *Bostândjîs* were also concerned with keeping order in the places where the gardens in which they were employed were situated. There was a *dîmâ'at* in each district, commanded by an officer known as *usta* (master). The *ustas* performed functions analogous to those of police commanders of the districts. These *ustas* were appointed from among the four *halâdjîs* (g.s.) of the *odjak* of the *bostândjîs*. Terms such as "the *usta* of Kadi-Köyü or the *usta* of Bebek", seen in some documents refer to the *ustas* of the gardens in these districts. The retinue of each *usta* consisted of 20 to 30 *bostândjîs*, in accordance with the importance of the district. The *bostândjîs* of the bathhouses and the rowing-boats were specially chosen for these jobs, and pulled the oars of the 24-oar private boat of the Sultan, under the command of the *hamâdjî-bağî* (chief carman), when the Sultan wanted to travel by sea or to have a sea trip. Thévenot says that '*adjan-aghâs* sat by the right oars, and Turkish youths by the left oars, but this is not certain.

A record of the revenue of the flower and vegetable gardens run by the *bostândjîs* was presented every year in November to the Sultan through the *bostândjî-bağî*, and the money paid into the privy purse. Of this money, one purse (500 piastres) was bestowed on the *bostândjîs* and one purse given to the *wakf* of the Da'ud Pasha mosque. In this way, when the revenue was presented, property tenable on a life tenure was bestowed on the twelve most senior *bostândjîs* who were then promoted to the mounted *odjak* of the *kaptî-bûks* or to the rank of *muderrîs* (g.s.).

When the occasion arose, *bostândjîs* were sent on expeditions, e.g., in 1152/1739, 3,000 of them were dispatched by ship to Bender to fight against the Russians (v. Sübbî, *Ta'rih*, 127).

The numbers of the *bostândjîs* varied from time to time. At the beginning of the 16th century there numbered 3,596, at the middle of the century 2,947 and at the end 1,998. At the beginning of the 18th century there were 100 *bostândjîs*.

The independent *odjak* of *bostândjîs* at Edirne had its own organisation. It numbered considerably fewer people than the Istanbul *odjak*: 445 at the beginning of the 17th century, 751 at the end of the century, 751 at the beginning of the 18th century. There were 10 *bûks* of *bostândjîs* working in the Sultan's private gardens at Edirne, apart from whom there were *bostândjîs* employed in three other gardens. *Bostândjîs* were a hat known as *barala*. Those recruited originally among the *dergîme* conscripts were celibate. Later marriage was allowed. Apart from their commanders, the *bostândjî-bağîs*, *bostândjîs* had officers known as *kehlbûd* of *bostândjîs*, *khâssî-bağîs*, *hamâdjîs*, *kara-bağîs*, *bagh-târs* and *oda-bağîs*. Four senior members of the *odjak* were known as *halâdjîs*. At times the *bostândjîs* took part in mutinies and looting, in consequence, the confidence of the Sultans. For this reason, Ahmed III was obliged to make changes among them. Among the murderers of Selim III

there was a *bostândjî* known as Deli (mad) Mustafa. *Bostândjîs* were also opposed to the private garden organisation measures, known as the *nîzâm-ı dîvânî* and *seghîr-ı dîvânî*. When the *odjak* of the *bostândjîs* was abolished and the organisation of the new Ottoman army, '*askâr-ı manîre* (victorious army), was extended, these took over the task of keeping order in the districts previously entrusted to the *bostândjîs*, the latter officials' functions being now restricted to gardening and acting as night watchmen. As from Muharrar 1222 (August 1826), *bostândjîs* were incorporated in the new organisation. According to the new law, 1,500 persons chosen among the *bostândjîs*, commanded by a major, *hîbbâdjî*, were entrusted with the task of guarding the palace and its environs (Orta-Köy and Dolmabahçe). These formed the nucleus of the corps of guards, known in Ottoman times as *khâssa 'ashîrî*. A ministry, known as the Ministry of *bostâniyân-ı khâssa* (*bostândjîs* of the Sultan's palace) was formed to look after them. The *odjak* of *bostândjîs* at Edirne was at the same time abolished.

**Bibliography:** Eyyûb Efendi, *Kânûn-nâme* (in a private library); Na'mâ, *Ta'rih*, iv, 386; Râşid, *Ta'rih*, iii, 85, 89; Sübbî, *Ta'rih*, 127; Lütfî, *Ta'rih*, i, 200; a document referring to the reign of Mustafa II (Bayvekelet Arşivi, Enûrî's classification, no. 14954); reports by Hâşî Efendi, Minister of the Sultan's *bostândjîs*, and the *bostândjî-bağî*, 'Oğlânâ Khayrî Ağâ, concerning the organisation of the *odjak* of *bostândjîs* (Bayvekelet Arşivi); law concerning the *odjak* of *bostândjîs* (Bayvekelet Arşivi, cupboard no. 3, case no. 92); Artisans' Register (*Ehl-i San'at Defteri*) (Bayvekelet Arşivi, Kâmil's classification); Chaloudy, *Hist. Générale des Turcs* (Paris 1862, section on organisation); Ryeaut, *Hist. of the present state of the Ottoman Empire*; *Le voyage de M. d'Aramon* (ed. Scheler, Paris 1887) 39; A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman* (1801, i, fasc. 4); Enderûnî 'Aîâ, *Ta'rih* i; *ghilmân-i 'adjan-ı me'âh dîvânî* (summaries of paybooks of '*adjan-aghâs*) (Bayvekelet Arşivi); M. Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (1763), 114, etc.; Gibb-Bowen, *ibid.*, index.

(I. H. UZÜNKARSLI)

**BOSTÂNDJİ-BASHİ**, the senior officer of the *odjak* (g.s.) of the *bostândjîs* (g.s.). His retinue consisted of *bostândjîs* of several classes. His residence was at Yallı-Köskü on Seraglio Point in Istanbul. As the person responsible for the maintenance of order on the shores of the Golden Horn, the Sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus, he used to patrol the shores in a boat with a retinue of 30 men, as well as inspecting the countryside and forests round Istanbul. When the Sultan travelled by rowing-boat, the *Bostândjî-bağî* was entitled to hold the *rudîr* (*Kânûn-nâme*: *Âlâ-i 'Oğmân*, *TOE*, Appendix 2, 24). He had consequently the opportunity of speaking to the Sultan in private and of passing on to him such information, true or false, as he chose. Important State officials, including the Grand Vizier, had, therefore, an interest in conciliating the *Bostândjî-bağî*. Whenever the Sultan went out of the Palace, the *Bostândjî-bağî* was allowed to hold his arm or his stirrup.

The *Bostândjî-bağî* was invariably promoted from the *odjak* of *bostândjîs*, which would not allow an outsider, not even a member of the *odjak* in Edirne, to get the post. In 1072/1661, during the Vicerate of Fâdî Ahmed Pasha, Mehmed IV did not on one

occasion find enough animals to hunt during a journey from Edirne to Istanbul. Incensed, he dismissed the *Bostândjî-bağî* Şah'bân Ağâ, replacing him by Bodur Sinân Ağâ, the *Bostândjî-bağî* of Edirne. Veteran *bostândjîs* objected, however, on the grounds that it was not customary to appoint a commander from another *odjak* (Sâlihâr, *Ta'rih*, i, 223).

*Bostândjî-bağîs* used to entertain the Sultan every spring at a banquet at Kâğıtlıçine (the Sweet Waters of Europe) in Istanbul (Wâfî, *Ta'rih*, i, 13). When *Bostândjî-bağîs* were appointed to an outside post they were usually given the rank of *Kaptî-bağî* or *Sandjak-bey*. Those favoured by the Sultan were appointed to the rank of *Bayîr-bey*. Later, when the rules of organisation became more lax, there were cases of *Bostândjî-bağîs* becoming Grand Viziers. Such were the Pashas Dervîş, Hasan, Topal Redjeb, Khallî, Moldovandjî 'Alî, Hâfîz, Ismâ'îl and 'Abd Allâh.

*Bostândjî-bağîs*, apart from commanding *bostândjîs* proper, were also in charge of the *odjaks* of Topkapî, Yallı-Köskü, Septetler, Soğuk-Gesme, Başçelî, İsmâniye, Barsâniye, Küşine, Gulhâne, Inçilli, Dolap-Değirmen, Balıkhane, Merzûbe-Kesân etc. According to Enderûnî 'Aîâ, this responsibility was passed on to the *Bostândjî-bağî* by busy palace officials, such as the *sâkhâr* (Chief Armourer), the *kapî-bağî* (Master of the Wardrobe), the *kapî-âğâh* (Chief White Eunuch) or the *kehlbûd* (intendant) of the *kapî-bûks* (Imperial Wardens). The *Bostândjî-bağî* also commanded a group of *khâssîs* (members of the Sultan's bodyguard). Among the *odjaks* commanded by the *Bostândjî-bağî*, that of Balıkhane (fish market) had an evil reputation. Ministers and Grand Viziers sent to be exiled or executed were taken there. The fate of the Grand Viziers detained in this *odjak* was indicated by the colour of the sherbet offered to them by the *Bostândjî-bağî*. A white sherbet meant exile, while a red sherbet meant death.

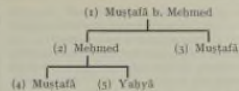
When the *Bostândjî-bağî* was dismissed or transferred, he was usually replaced by the *kehlbûd* (intendant) of the *bostândjîs* or the *agâs* (commander) of the *khâssîs*. There were, however, exceptions to this rule. It was customary for newly appointed *Bostândjî-bağîs* to be invested with their robe of honour (*khîrâf*) in the presence of the Grand Vizier ('Aîâ, *Ta'rih*, i, 110). There is a register in existence of the coastal residences of the *Bostândjî-bağî* in Istanbul.

The *Bostândjî-bağî* of Edirne was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in Edirne and its environs. Edirne, as the second capital of the State, was not subject to the Will of Rîmîlî, the government of the city being directly in the hands of the *Bostândjî-bağî*. The *Bostândjî-bağîs* enjoyed great revenues and were in a position to commit great abuses. New recruits were, for example, sometimes farmed out against payment.

**Bibliography:** Sâlihâr, *Ta'rih*, i, 223 & ii, 347; Wâfî, *Ta'rih*, i, 13; Râşid, *Ta'rih*, iii, 89, 144; v, 90; Râşid and Celebi-zâde, *Ta'rih*, 61, 371; 'Aîâ, *Ta'rih*, 246, 287; for other works see *bostândjî*, bibliography.

(I. H. UZÜNKARSLI)

**BOSTÂNZÂDE**, the name of a family of Ottoman '*ulama*' who achieved some prominence in the 16th and early 17th centuries. The founder of the family was (1) Mustafa Efendi, born in Tire, in the province of Aydin,



in 904/1498-9, and known as Bostânî (or Bostânî); his father was a merchant called Mehmed (thus in the text of 'Aîâ') and on the tombstone preserved in the Türk-Islâm Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul; the heading Mustafa b. 'Alî in 'Aîâ' is no doubt an error due to confusion with his namesake Mustafa, known as Kâğıt Bostânî; 'Aîâ' 131; cf. Huseyin Gazi Yurdaydın in *Bell.* xix, 1955, 129, n. 126). After studying under various teachers in his native town and in Istanbul, he held a succession of teaching and judicial appointments, and in 954/1547 became Kâdî'asker of Anatolia and shortly after of Rumelia. His appointment was terminated in 958/1551, in connection with an unfavourable ruling given by him in a case in which the Grand Vezir Rüstem Pasha was interested. Though exonerated by subsequent enquiries, he was not reinstated, and died on the 25th Ramadan 977/5 March 1570 (thus the tombstone; 'Aîâ' 3 says 27th Ramadan 977; 'Oğmânî Müdallîfî puts his death in 968). He was the author of several works of Kur'ân commentary and theology, some of which have survived in manuscript in Istanbul libraries. Recently it has been suggested that he was the author of the *Saleymân-nâme* previously attributed to Ferîdî (Yurdaydın, *Bell.* xix, 1955, 137 ff.).

**Bibliography:** 'Aîâ', *Dihât al-Shukhâ'*, 129 ff.; Yurdaydın, *loc. cit.* 189 ff.; 'Oğmânî Müdallîfî, i, 253; Sîdîkî-i 'Oğmânî, iv, 346.

(2) Bostânzâde Mehmed Efendi, the son of the preceding, was born in 942/1535-6 and graduated, i.e., obtained his *muderrîs* (g.s.), at the early age of 21. After holding various teaching appointments, in 981/1573 he abandoned the teaching in favour of the judicial branch of the '*ilmiyye* profession, and became Kâdî of Damascus. His subsequent promotions were rapid; after serving as Kâdî in Bursa and Edirne, he became Kâdî of Istanbul in 984/1576, Kâdî'asker of Anatolia in 985/1577, and of Rumelia in 988/1580. The following year he was retired and in 991/1583 sent as Kâdî to Egypt, where he stayed for three years. In 995/1587 he was reappointed Kâdî'asker and in 997/1589 became Şaykh al-Islâm. In 1000/1592 he was retired (on the circumstances see Na'mâ *anno* 1000), but returned to active duties as Kâdî'asker of Rumelia and, in 1001/1593, for the second time became Şaykh al-Islâm. He remained in office until his death in 1006/1598. In addition to poems in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, he prepared a translation of the *Thyâ al-'Ulûm* and a commentary on the *Mulhâd*. Hâdjîjî Khallîfâ mentions a *fatâvâ* in verse declaring coffee licit (*Miftâh al-bâh*, ch. VI, tr. G. Lewis, 60, 62). **Bibliography:** 'Aîâ', 410; Râşid, *ibid.*, *ibid.* al-Maghâzî 331; '*ilmiyye Sâlemânî* 410; 'Oğmânî Müdallîfî, i, 256; Sîdîkî-i 'Oğmânî, iv, 133; Hammer-Purgstall, index.

Other eminent members of the family of the Şaykh al-Islâm Mehmed Efendi were his younger brother (3) Mustafa Efendi (946/1539-40-1004/1605-6), who rose to the posts of Kâdî'asker of Anatolia and Rumelia ('Aîâ', 306-7; Sîdîkî, iv, 381); his sons (4) Mustafa (960/1572-3-1000/1601), who taught at the Şahnî-Thamân (g.s.) and then became Kâdî of Üsküdar ('Aîâ' 449), and (5) Yahyâ (d. 1049/1639) who became Kâdî of Istanbul and then







generally known as Sultān to foreigners, Sa'id was still living in 1226/1811 but died during the next ten years. Hāmid (d. 1206/1792) was succeeded by his uncle, Sultān, who captured Ġālibār, Hormuz, Kishn, Bandar 'Abbās and Bahrayn. Persia agreed to lease Ġālibār and Bandar 'Abbās to the Bū Sa'id, who already held Gwādar. In 1215/1798 he concluded a treaty permitting the British to build and fortify a factory at Bandar 'Abbās and promising not to allow the French or Dutch to establish factories in his realm so long as they were at war with Britain. In his last years he was in constant danger from Wahhābī attacks. He was killed in a sea fight near Lingāh (1219/1804). The ensuing struggle for power was won by Badr b. Sayf with Wahhābī support but he was murdered by Sa'id b. Sultān who ruled jointly with his brother Sālim until the latter's death (1236/1821) and then alone.

Sa'id was the greatest of his dynasty but in Arabia his position was often insecure, either because of family dissension or Wahhābī attacks. The former resulted in the temporary independence of Sulhār [g.u.] under the family of Kays b. Ahmad, while the Wahhābīs were sometimes bought off and sometimes restrained by the fear of British intervention. Sa'id was a firm ally of the British and assisted their expeditions against the Kawkāsim in the Persian Gulf. Under strong British pressure he restricted the slave trade (1218/1802) and the export of slaves from Africa was forbidden from 1203/1847. Sa'id's greatest achievement was the extension of his African dominions into a commercial empire supported by sea power. The conquests of the Ya'rūbī Imāms in Africa had mostly been lost during the Persian invasion of 'Uman. Sa'id at his accession controlled only Zanibar, part of Pemba, perhaps Mafia and Lamu, and Kilwa, which had been lost and regained. He gradually asserted his authority over the Arab and Swahili colonies from Makdūshū (Mogadishu) to Cape Delgado; the most serious opposition was at Mombasa [g.u.], the Hamitic and

Rantu tribes hardly recognised his authority on the mainland. Even on the principal islands Sa'id merely received tribute from the chiefs of the Wahādīn (the Maweyi Mkuu), the Wapemba (the Diwani) and the Watanbata (the Shela). In the middle years of the century the coast from Vanga to Pangani was, except for Tanga, held jointly by Sa'id and the King of Usambara, who sent representatives whom Sa'id confirmed in office. Sa'id's attempt to obtain Nossi Ibé was foiled by the French. In 1220/1854 he decided the Kuria Muria Islands to Britain.

On Sa'id's death (1227/1856) his son Thuwaynī remained in control at Maskat and his other son Mājid at Zanibar. By the decision of Lord Canning, to whom the dispute was referred, Mājid kept Zanibar and paid annual compensation, specifically stated not to be tribute, to Thuwaynī. Mājid's successor was Barghash who had tried to seize power on Sa'id's death and again a few years later. The influence of the British representative, Sir John Kirk, became paramount and in 1290/1873 the slave trade was prohibited. German penetration in E. Africa resulted in the appointment of an Anglo-Franco-German Commission to delimit Bū Sa'id territory. By its decision Barghash was recognised as ruler of Zanibar, Pemba, islets within 12 miles of them, the Lamu archipelago, the coast from Tumbi to Kipini to a depth of 10 miles, Kismayu, Barawa, Marka, Makdūshū and Warshayhū. Lamu was later ceded to the British East Africa Co. and the Somali ports to Italy. In 1307/1890, in accordance with another Anglo-German agreement, Bū Sa'id's possessions north of the Umba River were purchased by Germany, and almost all the rest became a British protectorate. The mainland territories were then leased. In 1309/1892 the administration was reorganised and a British First Minister (Gen. Lloyd Mathews) was appointed. Khālid b. Barghash attempted to seize power in 1310/1893 and in 1313/1896; by a second revolt led to the bombardment of the palace by his

British warship. In 1314/1897 the legal status of slavery was abolished. The British minister was Regent during the minority of 'Alī b. Hāmid (1320/1902-1323/1905). In 1331/1913 responsibility for Zanibar was transferred from the Foreign to the Colonial Office.

Thuwaynī, who had kept 'Uman under the Canning award, was assassinated. His son Sālim was suspected of complicity and expelled after a short reign by 'Azzān b. Kays, who was himself killed in a civil war. In 1288/1871 Turki agreed to partition 'Uman with 'Azzān's brother Ibrahim. The latter retained Sulhār, but lost it to Turki two years later. During these disorders the Persians resumed the lease of Bandar 'Abbās (1285/1868) and recaptured Ġālibār (1288/1872). In 1290/1873 the slave trade was prohibited under British pressure. About 1319/1902 a dissident movement began in the interior under 'Isā b. Sālib. In 1331/1913 Sālim al-Kharbī was elected Imām and in 1333/1915 Maskat was attacked by the rebels and saved only by an Indian detachment. Sālim was murdered in 1338-9/1920; his successor, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh, made an agreement with Sayyid Taymūr by which the tribes of the interior enjoy autonomy. Modern 'Uman includes Zufār and is bounded by the territories of the Sultān of Kishn, the Shaykh of Ra's al-Khays and the Sultan of Kishn. The coast of the Arabian Peninsula constitutes a separate Trucial state.

**Al-Bihar and the Arabs.** The chief Arabic authority for the period to the death of Sayyid Sa'id is the chronicle of Ibn Razik, translated by G. F. Badger as *History of the Imāms and Seyyids of 'Uman*, Hakluyt Society, 1871. The Arabic text has not been published and is now Camb. Univ. Add. MS. 2892. Ibn Razik is, however, careless about dates, some of which can be corrected from an anonymous MS. B.M.; Add. 23,391. On the dates of Imām Ahmad, C. F. Beckingham in *JRAS*, 1941. 'Abd Allāh b. Humayd al-Sālimī, *Tahsil al-A'yān bi sirat al-'Uman*, Cairo 1350; R. Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders, and The Exploitation of East Africa*; L. W. Hollinsworth, *Zanibar under the Foreign Office*; W. H. Ingrams, *Chronology and Genealogies of Zanibar Rulers, Zanibar*, 1926; B. Thomas, *Arab Rule under the Al Bu Sa'id Dynasty of Oman*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xxiv; R. Said-Ruete, *Said bin Sultan (1793-1856), ruler of Oman and Zanibar*, London 1929; *Idea, Dates and references of the history of the Al Bu Sa'id dynasty* . . . London 1921; *Idea*, in *Id.* 20 (1932), 237-240; C. U. Atchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, vol. xii pt 3, vol. xiii pt 4. See also the bibliographies to the articles *BAHR FĀRIS* and *ZANIBAR*.

(C. F. BECKINGHAM)

**BU'ATH**, the site of a battle about 637 A.D. of Aws and Bāshir. It lay in the south-eastern quarter of the Medina oasis in the territory of the Banū Qurayza. The battle was the climax of a series of internal conflicts. The Aws, whose position had deteriorated, were joined by the two chief Jewish tribes, Qurayza and al-Nadīr, and by nomads of Muzayna; their leader was Hudayr b. Ushayb. The opposing leader 'Aur b. al-Nu'mān of Bāshir was supported by most of the Khazraj, and by some nomadic Djuhayna and Ash'ajja, but 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy [g.u.] and another Khazraj leader refused to join him. The Awsite clan of Hāritha also remained neutral. In the fighting, the Aws were at first forced back, but eventually routed their opponents.

Although the leaders of both sides were killed, the war ended with an uneasy truce rather than a definite settlement.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, 385-7, 551-2; Ibn Sa'id, in *Id.* 98-9; Yāqūt, i, 670-1; Wellhausen, *Medina vor dem Islam*, in *Shi'ron*, iv, 27-36, 330-4, giving the extracts from Ibn al-Aghir, the *Aghāni* and the *Hamāsi*; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichte Medinas* (= al-Samhūdī), *Abh. Gott. Gesell. Wiss.*, vol. 9, 1860, 50-3; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 156-8. See also *AYYAM al-SARĀB*. (C. F. BECKINGHAM)

**BUCHARIST** [see *ABRĀHĀM*]

**BUDAPEST** [see *YEMIN*]

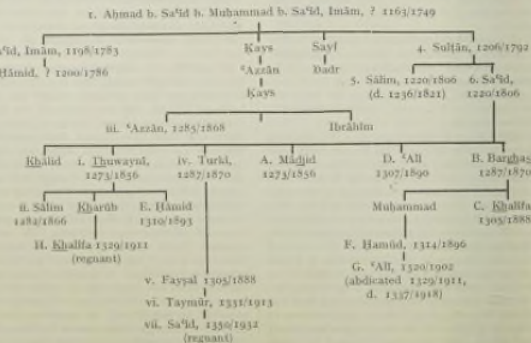
**BUDAYL b. WARRAK'**, chief of the Banū Khuzā'a, a tribe living near Mecca, who served Muhammad as spies, kept him informed of the enterprises of the Quraysh, and, after the agreement at Hudaibiya (628), were his allies. Budayl appears for the first time in the camp at Hudaibiya, to tell Muhammad that the Meccans are about to resist him. On his return he carried the Prophet's proposals to Mecca, where he had a *dār*. The Banū Khuzā'a took refuge there during their war with the Banū Bakr, when the Quraysh took the side of the latter, their clients, against the former. This was a breach of the treaty of Hudaibiya, by which the Banū Khuzā'a had been recognised as allies of Muhammad, and thus gave the latter an opportunity to attack Mecca. Budayl hurried to Medina to make an arrangement with Muhammad and on the way met Abū Sufyān [g.u.] who was on the way to Medina on a similar errand. Apparently they both came to an arrangement with Muhammad in Medina regarding the terms of a peaceful surrender of Mecca, for which they offered their services. Muhammad advanced against Mecca at the head of 10,000 men with the declared purpose of avenging the Banū Khuzā'a. On the day before his arrival at Marr al-Zuhār (middle of Ramaḍān 8/beginning of June 630) Budayl went out with Abū Sufyān to reconnoitre. If the two had not been secretly in agreement, the Unsurayd would not have been able to persuade the chief of the Khuzā'a, who was the cause of the campaign, to go with him at such a critical moment. After they entered the Prophet's tent, they are both said to have paid him homage and adopted Islam. The conversion of Budayl cannot have taken place earlier, because he is mentioned among the "Muslims of the conquest (*fak'h*)" of Mecca. It was granted him that his house in Mecca should be recognised as a place of asylum for the belligerents. After the capitulation of Mecca, Budayl accompanied Muhammad with his adherents to Hunayn. He was not present at the siege of Ta'if because he had to guard the booty taken at Hunayn, in the camp of Jil'ā'ina. He is not mentioned again and must have died before the Prophet, *i.e.*, between the years 9 and 11 (630 and 632).

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, i, 1335, 1621-1628, 1634; Ibn Sa'id, ii, Part 1, 70 ff., 98; Aghāni, vi, 97; Baladīyah, *Futūh*, 35 ff.; Ibn Hishām, 807; Ibn Hajar, *Isaba*, no. 614; Ibn al-Aghir, *Uṣd al-Ghābi*, i, 170; Caetani, *Anali*, ii, Part 1, year 8, nos. 21, 39, 40, 43, 46, 91, 97. (H. LAMERZ)

**BUDDO** [pl. *buddā*]; Pers. *budh* is used in Arabic in three different senses: it denotes either a temple, a pagoda, or Buddha, or an idol (not necessarily the Buddha). The principal instance of the use of the word in the sense of pagoda occurs in a passage in the *Merveilles de l'Inde* (ed. trans. M. Devic, 3; *Mémoires de l'Institut*, i, 192); this sense appears

#### GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE AL BÜ SA'ID DYNASTY

Arabic numerals indicate rulers of 'Uman and Zanibar, Roman numerals rulers of 'Uman only, and letters rulers of Zanibar only. The dates are those of the accession of each ruler.





to be the rarest, although given as the primary sense in the *L.A.*

*Budd* denotes the Buddha in authors such as al-Djāhiz (*Tarīf*, ed. Pellat, 790, al-Mas'ūdī, al-Bīrūnī, al-Shahrastānī; al-Mas'ūdī, speaking of the temple called "the house of gold" at Mūltān (*Tanbih*, 201; cf. al-Bīrūnī, *India*, trad. Sachau, I, 368, ii, 18; Reinaud, in *J.A.*, 1844-5), says that the appearance of the first Buddha among the Indians dates back 12,000 times 15,000 years. Al-Bīrūnī, though possessing such a good knowledge of Buddhism, knew little about Buddhism; the reverse is true of al-Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton, 416; ed. in the margin of Ibn Hazm, ii, 240), who defines the Buddha: a person of this world, who is not born, does not marry, does not eat or drink, and does not grow old or die; the first Buddha, who appeared 5,000 years before the *hijra*, was called Shākhim (= Cakya Mani; al-Shahrastānī also knows of, under the name of Būdhā'sīya (I), the Bodhisattvas, who are inferior to the Buddhas; they are men who seek the path of truth and attain their elevated rank by the practice of ten virtues and the avoidance of ten sins. The hagiographer, who adds that Buddhists believe in the eternity of the world and in the rebirth of one's acts in another life, states that Buddhists appear in various forms in the palaces of the kings of India, and compares them with al-Khadir (q.v.) as envisaged by Muslims. Although Muslims possessed only rudimentary ideas about Buddhism, it is noteworthy that they adapted to their own religious history, by dint of making Adam come down in Ceylon, the Buddhist tradition which regarded "Adam's peak" (SARANAKO) to the person of the Buddha (see *Akhbār al-Sin wa'l-Hind*, ed. trans. Sauvaget, 39).

Finally, the word *budd* is often used in the sense of idol. We should probably read *budd Kusayr* "idol of Kusayr" in al-Djāhiz (*Tarīf*, 40), and Ibn Durayd (apud *L.A.*) renders *budd* by *janam*. The author of the *Akhbār al-Sin wa'l-Hind*, 24, calls *budd* an idol worshipped in India to which courtisans were sacrificed. The idol of Sannath was well known among the Muslims (see Sa'ādī, *Būstān*, ed. Platts, 238 ff.; Eng. trans. R. Levy, London 1918, 67 ff.; Fr. trans. Barbier de Meynard, 354); al-Dinawarī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 170-1, describes it accurately and gives the name of *budd* to the principal object of worship, which consisted of two stones representing the male and female organs of generation. — On the legendary founder of the religion of the Sabaeans, Būdhā'sīf/Yūdāsāf = Bodhisattva, see BILAWHAR WA-YŪDĀSĀF.

*Bibliography*: in the article.

(B. CARRE DE VAXU\*)

**BUDHAN**, SHAYKH, of DIJAWUPĪ, a holy man belonging to the order known as Shattā'īyah (q.v.), (*Akhbār al-Ahghār* 191; *Akhbār-i Ahrar* 284 ff.). He was descended from Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Shattā'ī (d. 890/1485, in Māndō), who himself was the seventh descendant of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī and came to India from Persia towards the end of the 9th/15th century (for him see *Akhbār al-Ahghār*, 171; *Akhbār-i Ahrar*, 161, 286; *Mas'ā'id al-Wāḍiyā*, 1, 135; Muftī (Shuhān Sarawān), *Qasā'id al-Aṭīyah*, Lahore 1283, 947; 'Abd al-Hayy, *Nuḥd al-Khawāṣir*, Haydarābād-Deccan 1931, iii 93 f.). Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was the first to introduce the Shattā'ī *maghārah* in India. Shaykh Budhan received his literary education from, and was initiated into the Shattā'ī order by, Shaykh Hafīz DijawupĪ, a vicegerent (*khālifā*) of the

above Shaykh 'Abd Allāh and in his turn practised the teachings of the order, handed them down to others, and led sections of Truth to the Shattā'ī path. Shaykh Rīz al-Allāh Muḥṭabī, the paternal uncle of the famous Shaykh 'Abd al-Hakīm of Delhi, was instructed in the method of "the remembrance of God" (*dhikr*) by him. Shaykh Budhan, who flourished under Sultān Sikandar Lodhī (regn. 894-923/1489-1517) is described by Khwāṣṭh as "a saintly and blossomed person" (*muwīdī bāṣur wa mudabbarān*). He died in Dihlī at a very advanced age. His *dhikr*, Shaykh Wālī (d. 950/1540), carried on his work in the town of Badolī and left several *khāṭīfās*.

*Bibliography*: 'Abd al-Hakīm, *Akhbār al-Ahghār*, Delhi 1309/1891-2, 194 (= 'Alī Akbar Arīstānī, *Madīnas al-Awāyā*, Pandjāb University MS. E. 4008); *Akhbār-i Ahrar* (Urdu version of Mīrāsī, *Gulzar-i Ahrar*, Agra 1326, 287, 208; 'Ubayd Allāh Khwāṣṭh, *Mas'ā'id al-Wāḍiyā*, Pandjāb University MS., fol. 548 f.; *Medieval India Quarterly*, 'Aligarh, October 1930 (Vol. I, No. 2), 58. (MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

**BUDHĀSĀF** (see BILAWHAR WA-YŪDĀSĀF)  
**BUDIN** (Budūn, Bedin, Bodin, Budim, from the Slav Budin), the Latin and Hungarian Buda, the kernel of that part of the present Budapest which is situated on the right bank of the Danube, was conquered three times by the Turks in the second quarter of the 16th century (1526, 1529 and 1541). It was declared an Ottoman possession on 29 August 1541, and made the centre of that part of Hungarian territory which was converted into an Ottoman province (*Budin vilāyati*).

The Hapburgs, who were the Central European power most concerned with the expansion of the Turks, and who laid claim to the Hungarian throne, made in 1542 an unsuccessful attempt to recapture Budin. No further attack was launched for the next fifty years. It was only at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, at the time when the Ottoman Empire was at war with the Hapsburg Empire (Nemcs), that the coalition armies led by the House of Hapsburg again repeatedly laid siege to Budin (1595, 1602, 1603). These attacks were, however, repelled by the defenders of the fortress (the most violent attack, that of 1602, was driven back under the leadership of Kádizade 'Alī and Lālā Mehmed). Following this, the Turks enjoyed undisturbed possession of Budin for a fairly long period and the fortress was made to face the assaults of Kara Mustafa's defeat under the walls of Vienna in 1683. While the siege of 1684 failed against the resistance of the defenders (Siyāwush Paḡha and Shēyṭān Ibrahim Paḡha), the next siege brought victory to the attacking armies. 'Abd al-Rahmān Paḡha, the defender of the castle, was killed in action, and Budin, termed at the time the "splendour of the Ghāzīs" and the "strong wall of Islām", passed into the hands of the Holy Alliance on 2 September 1686.

The fortress of Budin was built on the castle hill running along the Danube from north to south. The foundations of the fortress were laid in the 13th century by Béla IV; it was developed by subsequent Hungarian Kings and converted, especially by Sigismund of Luxemburg and Mathias Corvinus, into a central royal residence in renaissance style, rich in artistic buildings.

The fortress was protected by high ramparts erected on the upper slopes of the steep castle-hill. During the Turkish occupation the southern part of the castle-hill, with the medieval royal palace and its

dependencies inside the walls, formed the closed inner fortress (*al-baḡ*); it was here that the gun-foundries (*ḡalāḡ-hān*) and magazines were placed. The rest of the castle-hill was called the middle fortress (*orta hisār*) and served to some extent as the residence of the civilian inhabitants as well. The town (*sarāf*), situated at the foot of the castle-hill, next to the Danube, formed the outer fortress (*diḡ hisār*) which was surrounded by a simpler town wall and fortified with bastions at the gates. To protect Budin from sudden attacks, guard-houses had been erected at some distance, around the northern thermal springs (Barutkhāne or Bunar Hisār, Welī Bey meterisi), further in the neighbourhood of the present Castrāka (Čardak) and on the Gellért-Hill (Görz Rya's tepesi).

Although Budin was always considered by the Ottomans an important fortress of the Empire, and a former royal city of great repute, they cared little for the development of the castle and the town. Some of the more active Turkish provincial governors, especially in the 17th century, fortified or reconstructed some points here or there on the castle-hill; a record of these activities was preserved for a considerable length of time in topographical denominations (Welī Bey kalesi, Murād Paḡha kulesi, Siyāwush Paḡha kulesi, Karakāḡ Paḡha kulesi, Kāsim Paḡha kulesi, Mahmūd Paḡha kulesi etc.). The governors, however, were able to do but little towards the fortification of Buda, because their building activities lacked co-ordination and guidance from a central authority and because they were not permitted by the Turkish Governments to remain long at the castle. Not less than 75 persons, several of them repeatedly, enjoyed the rank of Paḡha of Budin during the 145 years of occupation, so that the average length of their office was scarcely a year and a half. Thus there was never a general modernisation of the castle, and its system of fortification remained on the same basis at the termination of the Turkish rule as it had been centuries before under the Hungarian Kings. Both material supplies and general equipment were at all times antiquated and deficient. (Pieces of ordnance a hundred years old were found in the artillery stations at the recapture of the fortress).

The Turkish régime did not leave behind it any architectural works of artistic value, and this applies not only to the case of religious services but to other kinds of buildings as well. The medieval Royal Castle and the buildings of the town, taken by the Turks in 1541 intact, exceeded the modest needs of the conquerors and were thus easily able to meet the requirements of a provincial headquarters. Slight alterations were needed to make the churches suitable for the needs of religious services (the Church of Our Lady under the name of Sultān Süleymān Dīḡāmī' or Büyük dīḡāmī', the Church of the Royal Castle under that of Saray dīḡāmī' or Enderin dīḡāmī', the Church of Saint George under that of Orta dīḡāmī', the Church of Mary Magdalen under that of Felihyay dīḡāmī' etc.); other public buildings could be used as barracks, while the empty office buildings and the derelict private houses provided homes for the officials.

Still, even the little building activity that was manifested in the transformation or refurbishing of various buildings (e.g., minarets added to the churches), the Muslim thermal bathing establishments added to the thermal springs (erected, at the very beginning of the Turkish period by Welī Bey and

Şokollu Muṣṭafā) as well as the new constructions necessitated by conflagrations, earthquakes, etc. succeeded in giving the town, in the course of one century and a half, a new exterior sufficient to make it appear a new-style Muslim city in the eyes of any visitor coming down the Danube from the west. As regards appearance and general atmosphere, Budin was indeed a Turkish and Muslim city.

Being at a great distance from the Turkish capital, a centre in the borderlands, it was usual for the Governments to appoint persons of distinction to be the heads of the province of Budin, persons "who were prominent among their contemporaries". Important special tasks were entrusted to the Paḡhas of Budin, the guardians of that western borderland of the Empire, which was at the same time the most important frontier zone. At the termination of the period of occupation, when the Ottoman dynasty enjoyed preponderance over the Hapsburg dynasty, their task was to maintain this preponderance, whereas after the Peace of Zsitvatorok (1606) by which the Hapsburg rulers—called up to then Kings of Vienna (İsṭ kiralı)—had become exempt from the obligation to pay a yearly tribute, and when Turkish preponderance disappeared, the Paḡhas of Budin were given the task of counselling the weakening of the Empire. To this end the Paḡhas utilised and inspired controversies among local elements and supported the movements of the discontented Hungarians against the Hapsburgs. The dealings of the Turks with the Vienna Court of the Hapsburgs and the Court of the Princes of Transylvania resulted in a number of inter-state agreements, the ground for which had been prepared by the Paḡhas of Budin (Peace of Zsitvatorok in 1606, the agreements of Vienna in 1616 and Konáron in 1618, the peace treaties of Gyarmat in 1623 and Szöny in 1627 and 1642).

The population of the town underwent a radical change under Turkish rule; it is to be noted that Budin was not a populous city before the Turkish occupation, the number of inhabitants being probably below 5,000. A part of them had already left Budin during the civil wars, while a still greater part, viz. the employees of the Royal Household, the soldiers and officials as well as the persons in the employment of the Church, emigrated after the Turks had taken Budin. The oldest known list of Turkish tax-assessments enumerates among the inhabitants of Budin 235 Christian (*ghor*), Hungarian, 23 Jewish and 60 gipsy (*ḡipṭi*) heads of families. As the military personnel of the Turkish garrison (about 2,000 men at the beginning), the employees of the Turkish offices, and the Muslim religious functionaries outnumbered the original or native population at the ratio of 5 to 1, the change in the population was far-reaching from the very first days of the occupation onwards. Budin had thus become a Turkish military town, the population of which was nevertheless far from being Turkish in origin; most of the people in Budin with Muslim names were but newly converted Slavs from the Balkans. (This is clearly evident in the case of the gipsies, the majority of whom bore the theophoric name N. b. 'Abd Allāh). Turks of pure extraction formed a minority in the population of Budin, as did the Hungarians, Jews, Albanians, Greeks etc. and they remained in the minority throughout the period of occupation.

The spiritual life of the town was not remarkable. The magistrates and public offices were occupied by the "men of the pen" (*adā' kalmān*): viz. the officials of the administrative authorities, the



Pasha's divan, the local financial administration, the school-masters and the employees of the mosques. We know of religious works (mostly copies only) written in Budin, and we are also aware of certain exponents of religious life at the very beginning of the epoch. Both the names and locations of several dervish establishments are known; the names and memory of a number of *bábás*, together with the mystery clergies, to their persons, lived for a long time, the memory of one of them, that of *Gül-Baba* [g.u.], having survived the age of the Turkish occupation by many centuries. We even possess some sparse data concerning secular intellectual life. We know that folk-singers and minstrels recited epic poems to the frequenters of coffee-houses and of *lonczakozás*, in which poems the history of past centuries and the daily fights of the neighbouring borderland were commemorated; it is further known that Budin's beauty was glorified in meditative songs by local poets (Wüdjüdi and perhaps others as well). In the towns and the border provinces traditional Turkish folk songs were sung and new ones probably composed. Of works in prose we know the rather sketchy biography of Sokollu Mustafa, the able Ottoman governor of Budin (1566-1578). It was most probably compiled in Budin in Sokollu Mustafa's lifetime. There is only one among Budin's literary figures who achieved universal repute: Ibrahim Pefewi (g.u.), the historian. He was employed by the local *defterhâne* for some time, lived for many years in Budin, and, after having left it, returned to Budin on many occasions because of his family connections.

The spiritual life of the Christians (oriental and western) and of the Jews was, as far as can be judged from the sporadic records, rather primitive.

The Turkish occupation meant a radical change in the town's economic life as well. The markets had to satisfy the new needs of the new inhabitants of the town, the soldiers of the army of occupation, who brought with them some tradesmen of their own. The craftsmen dealing in household articles and clothing imported not only patterns and fashions but also a quantity of various materials, such as cloth from Bosnia, *Đjambolu*, *Salonica*, freeze carpets, finished leather-goods, household articles, vessels, arms etc. These articles were certainly more numerous on the local market than the scientific, literary, musical and fabric imports from the West.

Industrial development adapted itself to the new requirements. While the artisans from the Balkans (tailors, shoemakers, barbers, tinsmiths, gunsmiths), manufactured clothes, boots, vessels and arms that suited Balkan and Turkish taste, the market of Budin could offer similar articles (Hungarian apparel, Hungarian boots) manufactured in the Hungarian style for the Hungarian inhabitants of the countryside. However, only one or two of the new industries succeeded in taking root, e.g. the production of simple broadcloth (*qayash*) as made by the Jewish women in Budin, and further the dressing of skins. The Turks had methods of skin-dressing that were different from, and superior to, the methods employed by the tanners who worked in Hungary before their arrival; the new type of leather industry was then adopted not only in the towns inhabited by the Turks but also in the country, as is evidenced by the topographical term "tabán" (the Turkish *debbi* [dabbane]) still preserved in many Hungarian townlets.

During the sieges of 1684 and 1686, Budin fell completely into ruin, its medieval buildings,

together with those built in the Turkish era, were destroyed, and its Turkish and Muslim inhabitants were either captured or emigrated at the termination of the hostilities. The Buda of later times and the Budapest of our time have hardly anything to show in the way of records and remnants from the Turkish era.

#### Bibliographical references

There are scattered data concerning the external history of the town in the writings of the Turkish and Hungarian authors of the epoch [Ljéblázde about the occupation in 1541, Pefewi and the Hungarian Miklós Istvánffy on the fights around 1680, Káldi and, more extensively, Süldádr, especially as regards the siege in 1684]. All this has been adequately summed up by M. Cavid Bayazid (A. A. II, Istanbul 1942, 745-50). A great amount of topographical data will be found in the works of Ewliya Celebi and Süldádr, as well as in the military maps made during the years of the reconquest. The best Hungarian works are *A magyar nemzet napjai a mohácsi vérszínben* (The Days of the Hungarian Nation after the Catastrophe of Mohács), by Miklós Jancsó, Pest 1846; *Buda és Pest 1686-1686-ban* (The Retaking of Buda and Pest in 1686) by Árpád Károlyi, Budapest 1886, second edition in 1936; bibliographical material for the lives of the Pashas of Buda in Antal Gévay's *Versuch eines chronologischen Verzeichnisses der Türkischen Statthalter von Ofen* (in J. Chmel's *Der österreichische Geschichtsforscher*, Vienna 1841, II, 26-90). All these contributions were summed up by Lajos Fekete who, in his work: *Budapest a törökökben* (Budapest during the Period of the Turks) — published in Budapest in 1944 as the third volume of *Budapest története* (The History of Budapest) — also utilised Turkish archive material containing many additional data about the composition of the population and its material and spiritual life (G. Flügel, *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der k. k. Bibl. in Wien*, vol. II, 441 ff.; *Türkische Rechnungsbücher*). Áron Szilády and Sándor Szilády, *Okmányok a helytartói kancelláriához Magyarországon*, Pest 1863; *Török-magyarországi államokmányok* I-vii, Pest 1872; Imre Károcsy, *Török-magyar skizmatika*, Budapest 1914; Sándor Takács et al., *A budai bási magyar szellemi kultúra*, Budapest 1925; Süldádr Fr. Salamon, *Ungarn im Zeitalter der Türkenherrschaft*, Leipzig 1887; W. Björkman, *Ofen zur Türkenzeit*, Hamburg 1920; Fr. Babinger et al., *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927; G. Jacob, *Aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Frankfurt 1917; A. Le Faivre, *Les Magyars pendant la domination ottomane en Hongrie*, Paris 1903; T. Góglányi, *Kara Övez Pashan Budin Beylerbeyliği* (1575-1586), in *Türk Dergisi*, II (1912), 17-34; 18, *Macedonian'daki Türk Hakimiyeti Devrinde altı bina Nallur, Türkiyalı Mecmuası*, VII-VIII (1940-42), 200-211; L. Fekete, *Osmanlı Türklüğü ve Macarlar 1566-1569*, in *Belleten*, xiii (1949), 663-744. (L. FEKETE)

**BUDJÁK**, southern Bessarabia (the name Bessarabia formerly denoting only Budjak). In Turkish *budjak* (Budjak) in the Turkish of the Kumans who had settled here earlier means 'corner'. This area, from 638/1241 on, had formed part of the empire of the Golden Horde (see *BATU*). When it was in decline, the area was occupied temporarily by the *coyovode* of Wallachia (ca. 746/1345), and later by the *coyovode* of Boghdán (g.u.) around 802/1400. As a result of the joint action of the Ottoman and the Crimean Tatars

first Ak-Kirmán and Kili in 889/1484, and then the whole of Budjak in 943/1538, came under direct Ottoman rule (see *BOGHDÁN*). Budjak formed the Ottoman *sandjak* of Ak-Kirmán (g.u.), the boundary running from Solukça on the Butna through Gradishtë to Kili (Chilia); the Crimean *Khán* who had co-operated with Süleymán I during the 945/1538 campaign settled the Noghay tribes in Budjak (the Masúrs, the Orks, the Kasáys, the Masáys, the Or-Moheds, the Tatúds, the Yediks, the Džan-boyluk) (cf. *Al-Sab' al-ayyár*, 106), thus reinforcing the earlier Tatar inhabitants. In 1067/1657 Ewliya Celebi reported (V, 106) that these Tatars formed 200 villages and were very wealthy; the villages towards Bender contained some Tatars or were composed entirely of Wallachs; the villages of Ismail were wholly Tatar. Toward 978/1570 Bender and Ak-Kirmán were centres of *sandjaks* under the *beglerbegi* of Özü (g.u.), whose seat was at Ak-Kirmán or Silistre. The Tatars of Budjak were under the administration of a *Yalı-aghaz* appointed by the Crimean *Khán*, and later under the second heir to the *Khánate* (the *Núr al-Din*), who resided at *Khán-kishlak*, south of Bender.

The struggles against the Kazaks (Cossacks) and Poles in 1600, the *bag* of the Noghays, Kasmir distinguished himself, and the Ottomans supported him against the Crimean *Khán* and made him *beglerbegi* of Özü, in an endeavour to wrest control of the Noghay Tatars from the *Khán*. In 1111/1699-1113/1701 the Noghays of Budjak (4000 families) threw off their obedience to the *Khán* and asked to be recognised as Ottoman subjects; on this occasion the Porte did not encourage them, and Dewlet Geray (Giray) forcibly transferred 700 to 800 families to the Crimea (*Al-Sab' al-ayyár*, 262-66).

In 1184/1770 Budjak was temporarily invaded by the Russians, and thereafter Orthodox Christian Gagauz Turks and Bulgars began to immigrate from Dobruja (g.u.) into Budjak. By the Treaty of Bucharest (28 May 1812) the Porte ceded Budjak to Russia, and the majority of the Tatars emigrated to the Dobruja, Bulgaria and Anatolia.

**Bibliography:** N. Jorga, *Hist. des Roumains*, 2 vols., Bucharest 1936-39; idem, *Studi istorice asupra Chelien și Cetății-Albe*, Bucharest 1899; S. Mohamed Rida, *Al-Sab' al-ayyár*, 106; Süldádr *al-Tatár*, 106; Káldin Bük, *Kazan 1832*, 14; Bacak (by Aurel Docea). (HALL IASCIU)

**BUDJNÖRD** (BOGHDÁN). 1. Town in *Khurásán* situated at the northern foot of Mt. Aláhdž, 57° 17' E. Long. (Greenw.) 37° 20' N. Lat., alt. 698 m.

We find no information about the town before the time of the Safavids, when the Shadfi tribe of Kurds was settled in this area by Shah 'Abbás. It is uncertain whether Budjdnör was called *Büzdandj* before this time, but the ruins of an old citadel (*arg*) and other structures indicate that the town is old.

2. District of which Budjdnör is the capital. The population of the *shahrstán* has been estimated ca. 150,000 (1930), composed of Turkománs, Kurds and Persians.

**Bibliography:** P. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, 21; Razmárá, ed., *Farhang-i Džughráfiyá-yi Irán*, ix, Tehran 1931, 49; Mas'úd Kayhán, *Džughráfiyá-yi Mujañjal-Irán*, ii, Tehran 1933, 187. (K. N. FAYE)

**BUDÖH** (see SUPPLEMENT).

**BUDUKH** (see SHAN DAGU).

**BUGHÁ AL-KABIR** (the elder), a Turkish military leader who played a political rôle during

a troubled period under the 'Abbásid caliphate. Under al-Mu'tasim and his successors, he distinguished himself in several expeditions against rebellious tribes in the region of Medina in 230/844-45, in Armenia in 237/851-52, and against the Byzantines in 244/857. About at the time of the assassination of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, he returned subsequently to Sámarrá and, making common cause with the other Turkish officers, compelled the succession of al-Mu'ta'ín in 248/862. He died in the same year.

His son, Músh b. Bughá, came also to occupy an important place in the political scene at Sámarrá, and to direct for a time the *harid* service.

**Bibliography:** Tabarí, index; Ya'qútí, index; *Buldán*, 262; Baládhurí, *Futuh*, 211; Mas'údí, *Murád*, vii, index; Tanúkhí, *Nizám*, viii, 45-48; Ibn al-Aghír, index. (D. SOURDEL)

**BUGHÁ AL-SHARÁBÍ** (the cup-bearer), also called AL-SAGGIL (the younger) a Turkish military leader who bore the title *mauid amir al-mu'minin*, and who is not to be confused with his contemporary of the same name, Bughá al-Kabir. After having fought, under al-Mutawakkil, against the rebels of *Khaybar*, he led the plot against this caliph, whom he suspected of wishing to reduce the influence of the Turkish officers, and had him assassinated. With his ally Wañf, he subsequently held power under al-Mu'tasim and al-Mu'ta'ín. Al-Mu'taziz, however, ascending the throne in 232/846, sought to rid himself of this ancient enemy, the murderer of his father, and after relieving him of his functions and privileges, succeeded in 254/868 in having him imprisoned and put to death.

**Bibliography:** Tabarí, index; Ya'qútí, index; *Buldán*, 262; Baládhurí, *Futuh*, 130; Mas'údí, *Murád*, vii, index; Ibn al-Aghír, index; A. Amin, *Zuh al-idám*, I, 11, 20-22; D. Sourdel, *Le vizir 'abbáside*, I, Damascus 1959, index. (D. SOURDEL)

**BUGHURÁ KHÁN** (see KARAKÁNDI).

**AL-BUGHITRÍ, MAERIN b. MUHAMMAD**, *Ibádite* historian and biographer born in the village of Bughitira (also: Buktira) in the western region of the *Đjabal Nafisa* (g.u.). According to the *Kutab al-Siyar* of Abu 'I-'Abbás Ahmad b. Abi 'Uthmán al-Shammákhí (g.u.), an important historical biographical *Ibádite* work of the 10th/16th century, al-Bughitir was a pupil of two scholars of *Ibádite* history and biography, namely Abi Yahyá Tawfik b. Yahyá al-*Đjannawí* and Abi Muhammad 'Abd Alláh b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Alláh b. Mas'úd (also called al-Muhammád). While studying with the first of these masters, in the village of *Idnawán* also *Đjannawí*, today *Idnawán* in the *Đjidd* region, al-Bughitir wrote during the month of Rabi' II 599/December 1202-January 1203 his principal work on the biographies of celebrated *Ibádites* born in the *Đjabal Nafisa*. This work, known by the names of *Kutab siyar maghuyih Nafisa*, *Siyar Nafisa*, or perhaps more often *al-Siyar*, is lost today; it constitutes one of the principal sources of the *Kutab al-Siyar* of al-Shammákhí, who has given us substantial extracts from it, especially in the middle part of his work (143-144). The copy of the work which al-Shammákhí had at his disposal, was probably made in the first years of the 8th/14th century by Yahyá b. Abi 'I-'Izz al-Shammákhí of Tigherim, a famous *Ibádite* copyist and scholar of the *Đjabal Nafisa*.

**Bibliography:** Abu 'I-'Abbás Ahmad al-Shammákhí, *Kutab al-Siyar*, Cairo 1307/1883,



*passim* (especially 212, 242-3, 348 and appendix, 578); T. Lewicki, *Une chronique inédite, in REI*, 1934, cahier 1, 74-5 and *passim*; idem, *Études d'histoire nord-africaine*, Part 1: *Tamsiya Sayūh Gabal Nafisa wa-qurūhū*, Warsaw 1955, 15, 28, 69, and *passim*. (T. Lewicki)

**BUGI** [see *CELEBES*].

**BUHAYRA** (Ar.), lake, is probably the diminutive, not of *bahr* "sea", as one would expect, but of *bahra*, which is applied to a depression in which water can collect. Thus, in North Africa, *bhira*, pl. *bhāyir* denotes a low-lying plain, in eastern Algeria, northern Tunisia and part of southern Morocco; its most common meaning, however, is that of "vegetable garden, field for market gardening" or "field for the cultivation of cucurbitaceous plants (melons in particular)" (see W. Margais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 227). (Ed.)

The word *buhayra* (lake) underlies a toponym which is often encountered in Spain and Portugal in the forms *Albufera* (Valencia, Alicante, Majorca), *Albufera* (Almería, Albora), *Albufera*, and *Bajador*, *Albajora* (Almería), and *Albufera*, a coastal town in Algarve, Portugal; a diminutive of the diminutive appears also in *Albufera* (Alicante). The most important of these lakes is that at Valencia (see *BALANSIYA*), about 9 kms. from the town, the last remnant which is left (about 13 sq. kms.) of the great lake which used to cover the deep valleys of the Turia and the Júcar in prehistoric times. It was one of the biggest lakes in Spain, but of late years its area has been diminished in order to provide more rice fields on the north-western and southern shores. Nowadays its diameter is only 6 kms.

Ibn Mardāwī [c. 10] drowned his sister's two sons there when he saw himself abandoned by his people, just before the loss of his throne and his death. When Valencia was divided, James I (the Conqueror d. 1276) reserved the estate of *Albufera* for himself. At the beginning of the 19th century the crown relinquished this fine property to Godoy, and Napoleon offered it to Marshal Suchet before it became a national patrimony once more.

The word *buhayra* meant an irrigated garden in Almoḥad times. The battle in which the Almoḥads were routed by the Almoravids in 524 (1139) is known by the name of the Battle of the *buhayra* of Marrakush; the *buhayra* of Seville, subsequently called Huerto del Rey, was improved by Yūsuf I, son of Abd al-Mu'min. (A. HICER MORALES)

**BUHAYRA** (Behray), name of the western province of the Egyptian delta. This was first a pagarchy (*thara*) of small extent, limited to the north-eastern portion of the outskirts of Alexandria; the name may be an allusion to the lake of Abūkir, called also *buhayrat al-Ishandariyya*, and Yākūt was well aware that this last name applied to a series of neighbouring cantons of the town.

At the time of the division into provinces in Fatimid times, *Buhayra* was an extensive region, situated west of the Rosetta branch, and reaching from the point of the delta right to Alexandria but excluding it. The great port was rarely associated administratively with this province, of which the capital was and remained Damādhūr.

The region of Tarrina, and further north the wādī Natrān, possessed nation deposits, which were worked in the Middle Ages.

'Umari and Kalkashandī give precise information on the Arab (in the strict sense) population of *Buhayra*.

During Manlik times risings of Arab tribes and Bedouins of the Western Desert are frequently recorded. These rebellions began towards the end of the 9th/15th century; there were terrible punishments: summary executions, the enslavement of women and children, and confiscation of flocks. In the Ottoman period the troubles quite often provoked punitive expeditions, and the province was far from being quiet during the French occupation, as one sees from the massacre of the small French garrison of Damādhūr. After the departure of the French great importance was accorded to the Bedouin of the district, in whose favour an imperial firman was promulgated, confirming their ownership of their territories. But their turbulence, of which the Manlik bey Muḥammad Aḥīf momentarily took advantage, could scarcely be overcome. Muḥammad Aḥīf made no attempt to conciliate the Arabs of the province in his struggle against Muḥammad 'Alī.

**Bibliography:** Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 34-5, 178-7, 180, 181, 185, 187-91; 'Umari, *Ta'rif*, 76; Kalkashandī, *Suḥb*, vii, 160-1; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nadwīn*, ed. Popper, vi, 728-9, vii, 9, 570, 654, 708, 711, 715, 727, 734, 773; *Ḥawādith*, 57, 190, 209-11, 213, 500; Zāhiri, 35-6, 130; tr. Venture de Paradis, 55, 214; Ibn Isḥāq, *Bulāḥ*, ed. i, 142, 249, 268, 308; Mustafā ed. 12, 13, 20, 28, 90, 117, 125, 139, 141, 153; Kahle-Mustafā ed. ii, 11, 11, 21, 25, 48, 71, 227, 265, 268, 287, 388-9, 397, 408-9, 410; tr. Wiet, i, 13, 25, 55, 83, 260, 305, 308, 350, 440-1, 445, 457, 459; Kahle-Mustafā ed. iv, 256-8; Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, 239-41; Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, ii, 191-3, 197-200, 211; Ḥabardī, i, 24, 95, 334, 349, ii, 93, 119, 339, 219, iii, 57-8, 111, 205-6, 229, 237, 321, iv, 8, 11, 18, 31, 33, 37, 81-2, 135, 242; Trenchard, i, 57, 221, iii, 52, 88, iv, 150, 218, v, 24, 143, vi, 116-7, vii, 78-80, 133, 154, 359-60, viii, 13, 19, 24, 30, 67-8, 71, 73, 79-80, 177, 179-80, 300, ix, 167; *Histoire de la nation française*, v, 436; Georges Douin, *Muḥammad Aly, pacha du Caire*, 34; Saḥāḥ, *Diwān*, ii, 317, 60, 1013, 10, 60, 228; Polak, *Récit des populations*, in *REI*, 1934, 257, 259, 261-2; *History of the Patriarchs, Patriarchat orientalis*, 3, 324-5 [638-9]; Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 384; Combe, *Alexandrie musulmane*, extr. from *Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte*, 43; Dörp, *Le Caire*, in the same *Bulletin*, xxiv, 144. (G. Wiet)

**AL-BUHAYRA AL-MAYYITA** (or *AL-MUNTINA*) (see *NAHR LOT*).

**BUHLŪL**, *al-Muḥabbir* *al-Kāfī*, the name of a lunatic of al-Kūfa. We first meet him in the *Bayān* of al-Djāhīz (ed. Hārūn, ii, 230-1), who depicts him as a simpleton exposed to the rough jokes of passers-by, and definitely as a *Shī'ī* (*yahghayya*). It is possible that he met Hārūn al-Raḡhīd at al-Kūfa in 188/804, as Ibn al-Jawād reports (*al-Aḥbāṣ*), ed. 1277, 180 ff.; see *JRAS*, 1907, 15), and perhaps he even addressed some remonstrances to him (al-Shā'irān, *Tabāḥīṭ*, 53); but it is certain that legend, as far back as the 4th/10th century and maybe even before, set on his name to make of it a kind of prototype of the "wise fool" (*al-ḥakīm al-madīnī*) and to attribute to him a number of anecdotes, some pious and edifying stories, in addition to some didactic verse (see Charvin, *Bibl. ar.*, vii, 126 ff.; MSS. Berlin, *passim*; *Bibl. nat. de Paris*, 615, n° 365). It is likewise claimed that he produced some traditions (al-Dhahabī; Ibn Taghribirdī) but it is probable

that he has been confused with various characters similarly possessing the name of Buhlūl, and among whom are to be found genuine traditionists (see particularly Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Lisān al-Mīdān*, s.v.). One of them, who lived in Ifrīkiya and who died in 183/799, was named Buhlūl b. Raḡhīd, which perhaps explains the persistent tradition (see Ibn Taghribirdī, i, 518; *EDMG*, xlii, 115) which identifies Buhlūl with al-Sabtī, legendary son of Hārūn al-Raḡhīd (see Charvin, *Bibl. ar.*, vi, 193, and *ibid.* quoted).

Buhlūl's tomb in Bagdhād has been described by Niebuhr (*Reisebuch*, ii, 301 ff.; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 350), and an inscription dating from 501/1100-8 designates him as the sultan of the *madīdhāt* and as an "obscure, dim soul" (*nafs mutammasa*). People called him Buhlūddīna, "the wise fool", and they made of him the kinman and the buffoon of al-Raḡhīd, and they told stories in the coffee houses about his wit and subtlety. The culmination of the development of the legend of Buhlūl was reached when he became the hero of erotic tales as in *al-Rawḍ al-Ḍīr* (ed. 1315, 9) of al-Nafzāzī (8th/14th century), who makes him a contemporary of al-Ma'mūn (see also Meissner, *Neurab. Geschichten*, v and 73-83).

The word *buhlūl* is given in Arabic dictionaries with the meaning of "merry, jolly" (*dāḥabī*), "a generous and distinguished man", and it is still this sense which Redhouse (*Turkish and English Lexicon*, 476a) and Dozy offer (following Boettcher), although the latter does not fail to call attention to the meanings of "booby", "idiot", etc. which are already encountered in the 14th/20th century. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḥaddithin*, ed. Opstendörfer, i, 201 ff.). Currently, and particularly in North Africa, it has the general meaning of "simpleton", "ninny", etc., and H. Wehr, *Wörterbuch*, gives "wag, clown, buffoon". Owing to the fact that *bahlūl/bahlūlāt* still sometimes denotes an intense hilarity (see Douit, *Mazmūn*), D. B. Macdonald (*IEJ*, 8.v.) infers that the present use of the word rests also on its literal sense and not on the existence of an historical Buhlūl. It is of course possible that there may be some confusion with *buhlūl/bahlūl*, which have the same meaning, but it is probable that the modern meaning proceeds from the proper name.

**Bibliography:** Add to the references given in the text, Brockelmann, *S.*, 101, 102, 103, 104.

**AL-BUHŪTŪRĪ**, *Abū 'Alī* *al-Walīd* b. 'Umayyad (ALLAH), Arab poet and anthologist of 3rd/9th century (266-284/821-827), born at Manbij (some state his birthplace to be the neighbouring village of Hurdūfān), into a family belonging to the Buḥtur, a branch of the Tayyī; not only did he never completely sever connexions with his native town, where the fortune amassed during his long career as court poet allowed him to acquire property, but he took advantage of his tribal origin to make useful connexions for himself.

After having dedicated his first poetic efforts (223-6/327-40) to the praise of his tribe, he sought a patron, and found him in the person of the Tā'ī general Abū Sa'īd Yūsuf b. Muḥammad, known as al-Dhahīl (g.n.), at whose house he met for the first time the poet Abū Tanmūn, who also claimed to be a Tā'ī. Abū Tanmūn, attracted by his youthful talent, apparently recommended him at first as a panegyrist to the notables of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, who made him an allowance of 4,000 dirhams, but nothing remained of his output during this period. In any case al-Buḥtūrī was not slow in

joining Abū Tanmūn in the retinue of his patron Mīlik b. Tawī, governor of Mesopotamia, and then in following him to Bagdhād, where, by attending the courses of the most celebrated scholars (notably Ibn al-A'fābī) and by striving to acquire the manners of the capital, he prepared himself to extol important personages in the hope of getting close to the caliph.

However, he had scarcely any success with Ibn al-Zayyāt, and instead allied himself to a family of his own tribe, the Banū Ḥumayd, some members of which were established in Bagdhād, and he dedicated several odes to their chief, Abū Nahāḡīl; then he left 'Irāq at the same time as Abū Tanmūn, in 230/844, to return to al-Thaḡūrī, then at Mosul.

Contrary to all expectation he does not seem to have grieved at the death of Abū Tanmūn (232/845), from whom nevertheless he had received his first encouragement, and part of his poetic training; this was the first instance of the ingratitude and opportunism of which he gave ample proof later.

No sooner had al-Mutawakkil succeeded than he returned to Bagdhād, and thanks to the good offices of Ibn al-Munajjidīm won the favour of al-Faṭh b. Khāḡān, who introduced him to al-Mutawakkil, probably in 234/848. Thus it was that a brilliant career as court poet began for al-Buḥtūrī.

In spite of a passing odour in their relationship caused by inevitable jealousies, he enjoyed the constant patronage of al-Faṭh, to whom he dedicated his *Ḥamāsa* and a number of panegyrics; he also praised numerous great figures of the empire, but it was for the caliph that he kept the greater part of his poetic output; he lived on familiar terms with him, enjoying his confidence, supporting government policy even when this clashed with his personal views which had a *Shī'ī* bias, and proclaiming the virtues and rights of the 'Abbasids. The verse of this period contains many allusions to political happenings—the rebellion at Damascus (236/850), the revolt in Armenia (237/851), his rising at Hims (240/854), the caliph's visit to Damascus (242/858), the building of al-Mutawakkiliyya (245-6/859-60), etc.

Whereas heretofore the erotic prelude to his *ḥayās* had been dedicated to a conventional *ḥan*, there now appeared in his verse a woman of flesh and blood, 'Alwa bint Zurayka, who lived at Aleppo and had a country house in the district, at Ḥīṭyās; without doubt he used to see her during his journeys in Syria, for his stay in 'Irāq was never interrupted, and it is possible that he had a great passion for her, although he mocked her in a somewhat indecent poem.

After having been concerned, as al-Mas'ūdī reports of him, in the assassination of al-Mutawakkil and al-Faṭh (247/861), he thought it prudent to retire to Manbij, but he reappeared soon afterwards with a panegyric of al-Mu'tasir, and afterwards addressed his praises to the *naṣir* Ahmad b. al-Khāṣṣ, against whom, incidentally, he did not hesitate to incite al-Musta'in some time later. He tasted fame once more under al-Mu'tasir, to whom he dedicated numerous poems, in which are echoes of the unrest which was watering the provinces on the empire with blood, but which by no means prevented him from welcoming al-Musta'īf as if nothing had happened, and from becoming temporarily a poet of piety to humour the new caliph. His fame declined under al-Mu'tasim, whose fiscal policy caused him some anxiety over his fortune, and his last poem dedicated to a caliph is in praise of al-Mu'taḍī (279/892). He then left 'Irāq and became court



post once again with Khumrawayh b. Tulūn, and finally then returned to his birthplace where he died, after a long illness, in 383/97.

At the beginning of his career, al-Buhturi wrote, almost exclusively, vainglorious poetry or poems about his desert wanderings (a notable example is the famous poem of the jackal, *l. 120*), but as soon as he became court poet the paeueyric became the main form of his work. In this style he respected, except perhaps at the end of his life, the topographical form of the *hamsa*, relating a conventional portrait of his various patrons; however, the paeueyric is successfully heightened by splendid descriptions (in particular of the palace) where, thanks to a fine sense of poetic imagery and picturesque detail, al-Buhturi stands unobalanced; it was only later that he devoted an entire poem to describing a palace, the *Twin of Chosroes* (see 'Abd al-Kādir al-Maghribī, in *MMLA*, 1926, 77-88, 241-52, 427-36, 577-85). Though the ideas he expounded were generally without originality, his style, characterised by a simple vocabulary and musical and sonorous verse, is his great virtue, and puts him above the other court poets with whom at first he had to compete. He excelled equally in elegy but scarcely succeeded with invective, which he wrote only in the paeueyric, and most often addressed to a former prospective patron who had not fulfilled his hopes; and as a matter of fact, according to one story, on his deathbed he advised his son to destroy all his satires. Occasional poems are few in his *diwān*; likewise, love themes are only found in the prologues to the *hamsas*, and it was as a mere concession to fashion that he sang the praises of a few ephemes.

Western critics, who, after all, have taken little interest in al-Buhturi, class him among the neo-classic poets, and this label suits him perfectly. For their part, Eastern critics consider him, with Abū Tammām and al-Mutanabbī, as one of the most important poets of the 'Abbasid era; the comparison between him and his master Abū Tammām is a favourite subject for discussion, after having been a point of controversy even while al-Buhturi was alive; in his own opinion his best works were inferior to the best work of Abū Tammām, while he thought his own most mediocre poems to be better than the worst of Abū Tammām. This theme is treated in detail in two works which tend respectively to favour Abū Tammām and al-Buhturi: *Abū Tammām et al-Buhturi*, Cairo 1356/1937, and *al-Mawāḍi'a bayna Abi Tammām wa'l-Buhturi* of al-ʿAmīdī (Cairo 1363/1944).

Al-Buhturi had this in common with most of his fellows, that he begged ceaselessly and rejected no means of getting money; this greed for gain destroyed his moral fibre and led him to dissimulate in order to follow slavishly the fluctuations of the religious policy of the caliph who was his patron.

His success as court poet earned him bitter enemies among his competitors (though he seems always to have been on good terms with the Shīʿī poet Diʿbāl (q.v.)); naturally it also brought him into contact with all the eminent figures of the empire, sultans, generals, governors, courtiers, secretaries, and scholars. His contacts also allowed him to be conversant with many political facts, of which one hears echoes in the *diwān*; this last, independently of its literary value, presents an undeniable documentary interest (cf. M. Canard, *Les relations de la guerre byzantine chez les poètes Abū Tammām et Buhturi*, in A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, Brussels 1935, 397-403).

Indeed it forms a useful supplement to the chronicles of the time to which it often adds details, whether in giving the full names of personalities, or in describing monuments, or in mentioning occurrences which historians appear to have overlooked.

The *Diwān* was published at Constantinople in 1882, then at Beirut and Cairo in 1911, but these editions are rather faulty and incomplete, so that a new publication taking into account the various MSS. (notably that in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris) would be most welcome. A commentary compiled by Abū 'l-'Alī al-Ma'arri, 'Abū al-Walīd, was published at Damascus in 1355/1936.—Of the *Hamāsa* only one MS. (University of Leiden) has been discovered, which is evidence of the lack of success of this anthology, to which the verses are grouped according to their themes and not according to their genres, as in that of Abū Tammām; there have been three editions: Leiden 1909, Beirut 1920, Cairo 1929.—A third work attributed to al-Buhturi, *Ma'āni al-Sha'ir* (or *al-sha'ar*), is lost.

**Bibliography:** *Aghāni*, xviii, 167-75; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tahābil al-Shu'ara'*, London 1939, 180-75; Macdonald, *Mosir*, index; Ibn Khallikān, *l. de Sane*, iii, 637-66; Yāqūt, *Ma'ādim al-Udabā'*, xix, 248-58; Abū 'l-'Alī al-Ma'arri, *Risālat al-Ghulāt*, passim; Margoliouth, *The Letters of Abū 'l-'Alī*, Oxford 1898, passim; Husni, *Zahr al-Adīb*, index; Fihrist, Cairo edn., 235; Ibn Rashīq, *Umda*, passim; ZDMG, 1893, 418-39, 715-17; G. Karān, *al-Buhturi*, Hamān n.d.; Tahā Husayn, *Min Hadith al-Sha'ir wa'l-Naṣir*, Cairo n.d. (1923), 112-13; M. Sabir, *Abū 'l-Walīd al-Buhturi*, Cairo 1946; 'A. Rustum, *Tayy al-Walīd wa hayāt al-Buhturi*, Cairo 1947; Sayyid al-Akl, *'Abharisat al-Buhturi*, Beirut 1953; Brockelmann, *SI*, 125; an excellent monograph, *Un poète arabe du II<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'égire (IX<sup>e</sup> s. de J.-C.)*, Buhturi, was presented as a doctorate thesis at the Sorbonne in 1953 by S. Achar (unpublished). (Cf. PELLAT)

**BÖK**, the generic name for any instrument of the horn or trumpet family. Wind instruments played by means of a cup-shaped mouthpiece may be divided into two classes, viz.: 1. the horn or conical tube type; and 2. the trumpet or cylindrical tube type.

1. The horn type. Where the *pūr* and *nāṣir* mentioned in the Qur'ān (vi, 71; ix, 18; lxxviii, 16) are the horns, Abūnūd al-Hamālī (d. 241/855) and al-Jawharī (d. ca. 396/1005) say respectively, the early Persians and Arabs certainly knew of a conical tube instrument of the animal horn type. An example may be found in Greek art of the 14th century B.C. in which an Asiatic warrior is displayed sounding such an instrument, whilst a Greek warrior is sounding a straight trumpet (Gerhard, *Afrique*, *Yazem*, fig. 11). The Arabs appear to have known the crescent-shaped horn as the *harn* (Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, 579), cognate words being found in the Akkadian *harnu* and the Hebrew *harn*. This instrument is still used by the perambulating dervishes in Persia. According to Turkish tradition the *dārūsh harnu* (bārīn) (dervish horn) was invented by Manāḥ (the legendary Persian king (Ewliya Celebi, iii, 238). For a design of the instrument see Advielle, 9, and Lavignac, 3075, by whom it is wrongly called a *naṣir*. Actual specimens may be found in museums, e.g., the Crosby Brown Collection, New York, no. 2454. There is a large Hispano-Moorish horn of ivory of the 4th-6th/10th-11th century in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (no. 2925/1862). Much larger instruments were also in use. Ibn

Battāta (d. 779/1377) describes such an instrument of the Sūdān made from an elephant's tusk (Poyages, iv, 121), hence the term elephant horn. An Andalusian Arab, al-Shakandī (d. 629/1212), speaks of a monster horn (*harn*) known as the *abū harn* ('father of horns') as related by al-Makkārī (*Analectes*, ii, 144), which would be comparable to the monster horn (*bāḥ al-habir*), the height of a man, referred to by Muhammad al-Saghir (*Tadhkirat al-Nisrin*, 45).

A horn made out of a shell was known to the Arabs of the Pyreneas in the mid-9th century. Al-Layth b. al-Mata'arif says that it was used by sailors, and that it was a spiral conch resembling the *moshāf*, apparently something like the *ghanzh* of India (Day, *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, 151). It was probably the instrument which the Arabs called the *bāḥ*. It was not a warlike instrument in the early days of Islām, as the Arabs did not use horns in battle at that time (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddima*, xvii, 44). A poet quoted by al-Aḡma'ī (d. 828) says that the *bāḥ* was used by the Christians for that purpose, and, according to al-Jawharī, the Arabs borrowed that usage from them. In fact the word *bāḥ* appears to have been derived from the Greek *βαυχή* or the Latin *buccina* (Day, *Suppl.*, 121), which in the *Tah al-Arṣ*, a Persian word, *bāḥ* is considered to be the etymological original, an 'obviously improbable' derivation (Lane, *Lexicon*). In the 4th/10th century the Ikhwān al-Sha'fī refer to the *bāḥ* to illustrate their discussion on acoustics (Bombay ed., i, 89). From that time the *bāḥ* began to play an important part in martial and processional music in all Islamic lands (see *Antiquity*, in the *Art de Laya* ou *Laya* (ed. Marneghien, i, 80, ii, 382, 405) it is in constant use for those purposes, whilst the *naṣir* or trumpet is only mentioned once (ii, 656). Yet it should be understood that the term *bāḥ* was used for all instruments with a conical tube, whether crescent-shaped or straight, irrespective of the material of its facture,—shell, horn, or metal. Incidentally, the metal horn (*ṭārīq*, *parīq*; *harn*) is claimed to have been introduced by the Seldjūqs of the 5th/11th century (Ewliya Celebi, xii, 238). In view of the use of metal instruments by both Persia and Byzantium much earlier, that statement cannot be accepted. The *bāḥ* is mentioned in Persian as early as Firdawsī (d. 417/1026) and one supposes that the instrument was slightly different from the *ṭārīq* which is depicted on the Tāki Bustin sculptures (590-628 A.D.), and is still the type to be found there (Advielle, 9; Lavignac, 3075). In Moorish Spain the *bāḥā* of Al-Hakam II (d. 369/979) were mounted with gold. It was this monarch who, having devised the boring of the tube with finger holes and the insertion of a beating reed at the blowing end instead of a cup-shaped mouthpiece, introduced an instrument of the saxophone type (see MIZÉAN). The Spanish *albuque* is its lineal descendant.

The Turkish and Persian equivalent of the *bāḥ* was the *hōrā* (*bārī*) (Hādjdī Khalifa, i, 400; Meninski, s.v. *bār*; Ewliya Celebi, xii, 238; Toderini, i, 338). The word is to be found in modern Egyptian and Syrian Arabic (Anauy, *English-Arabic*, *Focus*, *hōrā*, s.v. *bagle*; *Conversations*, *MFOL*, vi, 29). It has become the Balkan *hōr* and *hōrye* (cf. the Sanskrit *bharīyā* and the Ghanaian *hōr*). The *burghū* or *būrgū*, a Cağatay word, was a huge horn introduced into the Islamic armies during the Mogul and Tatar regime. Ibn Ghaybī (d. 1435) says that it was larger than the *naṣir*. The name survives in the *burunga* of India (Day, 153; Lavignac, 358) where it

is another name for the *harnā*. Another instrument of the same group mentioned by Arabic authors is the *ghāfir*. Al-Jawharī says that it is a non-Arabic word, which Ibn al-Aḡlir Majdī al-Ḥafī (d. 1310) has rightly surmised was borrowed from the Hebrew *gophar*. Firdawsī includes the *ghayfir* among the ancient martial instruments of the Persians. The existence of the Arabic word *ghafir*, as mentioned by A. X. Idolsin (*Jewish Music*, 495, and J. Reider (*JQR*, Jan. 1934), must be accepted with reserve. Fāris mentions a modern Arabic trumpet under the name *ghāfir* (*Hist. pōn.*, i, 157), but see Mahillon (i, 182; and the *Saturday Review*, June 1882, 696).

2. The trumpet type. The chief instrument of the cylindrical tube class was the *naṣir*, although the name is frequently given to the straight instrument of the horn type (see *Hist. Nachrichten von Marokko* of Frey, pl. xxix). The name *naṣir* in this connexion occurs first in the 5th/11th century under the Seldjūqs, although the type may have been known earlier. Kurt Sachs (*Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, s.v.) erroneously derives the word from *naṣaba* ('to blow'). Originally the term *naṣir* meant 'a call to war', and so a trumpet used by such was called a *bāḥ al-naṣir*, i.e., 'a military horn or trumpet'. Ibn al-Tahkāk, Ibn al-Fahri (30) speaks of a large *bāḥ* similar to the *bāḥ al-naṣir*, from which we may reasonably deduce that the ordinary *bāḥ* was smaller or shorter than the *naṣir*. The bright incisive tone of the *naṣir*, which was due to its cylindrical tube, was better for signalling purposes than the hoarse sound of the *bāḥ* with its conical bore. The difference between them may well be illustrated by the verbs used to describe their sounding. We read for instance that the *bāḥ* player 'blew' (*naṣaba*) his horn, whilst the *naṣir* player 'cried out' (*yāka*) with his trumpet. For the respective numbers of the *naṣir* and *bāḥ* used in the Islamic army bands, see *TARĪKHĀSA*. In the time of Ibn Ghaybī the length of the *naṣir* was 108 cm. (= 2 cub).

The *harnā*, according to Ibn Ghaybī, was a trumpet folded in the centre of its tube into a 'S' shaped figure. Some of them were of enormous length. The Persian dictionaries give the form as *harnānā*, and it is thus vocalised in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. It is generally acknowledged (Ruhle, 28; Schlesinger, xviii, 226, 353; Golpin, 200) that the cylindrical horn instruments were borrowed from the East. Perhaps those *buccina Turca* and *corn saracenis* which the Crusading chroniclers record included the *naṣir* and *harnā*. Richard Cour de Lion, in the Third Crusade (1189-92), was well equipped with *robaz*, *lits*, *corns* and *buccinas*, but at Messina in Sicily, we read of a *trump* which was different from the tube. Could this have been the *naṣir* of the Hohenstaufen Saracen troops on the island? Yet if the Occident was indebted to the Orient for the cylindrical *naṣir*, the compliment was returned, since we know that Morocco, under Sultān al-Manṣūr (1576-1602) had a *trumpeta* (= Spanish *trompeta*) which was made of brass and was as long as the *naṣir* (*Tadhkirat al-Nisrin*, 127; the translator writes *negy*). Turkey also knew of the European trumpet (*ütrümpala* *borasu*) as well as the English trumpet (*ingiliz borasu*), the latter being the modern wreathed instrument (Ewliya Celebi, xii, 238). Both Niebuhr and Villoteau give designs and descriptions of the 17th-18th century instruments.

**Bibliography:** 'Abd al-Kādir b. Ghaybī, Bodleian MS. (Marsh, no. 282, fol. 80); Abū 'l-Faḡl,



*Abū-ʿAbd al-Kabīr*, ed. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873-4; Adélie, *La musique chez les Persans*, Paris 1881; *Al-Jayl wa l-jayl*, ed. Macnaghten, Calcutta 1839-42; Amery, *English-Arabic Vocabulary*, Cairo 1905, s.v. 'Bugle'; Arnold, *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford 1931; *Arts Asiaticae*, xiii, Paris 1929, pl. 1; Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico*, Rome 1722; P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Oxford 1924; Buhle, *Die musikalischen Instrumente in den Miniaturen des Irishen Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1903; *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments*, New York 1904-5; Chardin, *Voyages... en Perse*, Amsterdam 1735; Day, *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India...*, London 1891; Iwilyā Cebebi, *Travels of Evelyn Efenli*, London 1846; Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, 2nd Series, London 1930; *Ministry of The Arabian Nights*, London 1945; Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique*, Paris 1869-76; Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, London 1910; Hajjilī Khālifa, *Kaḡh al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1835; Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokko und Fez*, Copenhagen 1729; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages... en trad. par G. Defrigny*, Paris 1853; Ibn Khaldūn, *Notice de savants*, Paris 1858; *Rasāʾid al-Ḥikmah al-Sulṭ*, Bombay 1887-9; Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum...*, Lengo 1722; Lavigne, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v, Paris 1922; Mahillon, *Catalogue... du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles*, i, Ghent 1893; idem, *La Trompette, son histoire...*, Bruxelles 1907; Al-Makhrī, *Andalus*, 1855-61; Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, London 1912; Pedro de Alcalá, *Arte... la lengua aragonesa*, Granada 1503; Niebulur, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1776-80; *Survey of Persian Art*; Ribera, *La Música de las Cantigas*, Madrid 1922; Sachs, *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente*, Berlin 1913; Schiaparelli, *Vocabolario in Arabico*, Firenze 1871; Schlesinger, article *Trumpet in Encyclopaedia Britannica*, New York 1910-11; Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, Berlin 1900; Toderini, *Litteratura Turchesca*, Venice 1787; Villoteau, *La Description de l'Égypte, état moderne*, Paris 1809-26. (H. G. FARMER)

**BUKA**, one of the leaders of the group of the Uḡuz of Khurāsān which after the capture and death of its leader Arslan b. Balḡh (127/1037-7) was expelled from the province by Ghaznavid troops on account of its depredations, and continued its pillaging across central and western Iran as far as the borders of Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia, where it was annihilated by the Bedouin and Kurds in 435/1044. See *IF*, s.v., the article *SAḤḤ* (1819), and Cl. Cahen, *Le Malinchah et l'histoire des origines seldjūqides*, in *Oriens*, 1949, 37.

(CL. CAHEN)

**BÜKA**, a place, no longer extant, in northern Syria, whose name is very probably a word of Syriac origin meaning "mosquito", from which fact H. Lammens has inferred that the region was a marshy one. It figures in the Arabic texts of the first centuries of Islam. Nothing is known of its more ancient history, but it is mentioned in the narratives of the conquest by Abū Ubayda of the provinces of Antioch and Kinnastrin, and appears to have had a certain importance in Umayyad times. Then it was near the territory of the Ḍarādījima, placed by al-Balḡhūrī in the Ḍjabal al-Lukhām (Anāns) between Bayḡ and Būḡā. It was one of the places chosen for the establishment under Muʿawīya or

al-Walīd of the Zutt [g.s.] from Sind, who arrived there from ʿIrāk and installed themselves with their buffaloes. Later its defences were strengthened by the caliph Hishām, who built a fortress there. The Byzantines besieged it in 338/949-50, during a raid on Syria by Leo Phocas, and it then belonged to the territory of the ʿAḡshīm [g.s.], but the mentions made of it in the 6th/12th century by Ibn Shaddād and Yāḡūt seem to reflect an earlier state of things. Although it is not known in what circumstances it fell into ruins or was abandoned, by the time of the Crusades it had lost its previous importance, and H. Lammens (*EP*) could establish only by conjecture, based on literary data, the site which it presumably occupied in the ʿAuk [g.s.] depression, not far from the lake of Antioch.

**Bibliography:** Balḡhūrī, *Fuḡh*, 149, 159, 162, 167, 168; *BG*, indices; Ibn Shaddād, *asud* Ch. Ledī, *Maḡrib*, xasii (1934), 179 ff.; Yāḡūt, i, 762; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 424; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, i, Algiers 1951, 227, 229, 762. (J. SOURDEL-THOMAS)

**BUKA** or **BAGʿA**, denotes according to lexicographers a region which is distinguishable from its surroundings, more particularly a depression between mountains, and *habḡa* was applied especially to a place where water remains stagnant. The word appears frequently as a toponym, as well as its diminutive *bubayʿa*. (J. SOURDEL-THOMAS)

**BOKALĀ**, a term employed in Arabian Arabic (cf. *Baṣṣalā*) to denote a two-handled pottery vase used by women in the course of the divinatory practices to which it gave its name. The operation consisted, basically, of the woman who officiated improvising, after an invocation, a short poem which was also called *bōkālā* and from which portents were drawn. These practices, which seem to have enjoyed a certain vogue during the period when piracy was at its height (women wanted to have news of their men who were at sea), developed into a parlor game. They were recently the subject of an excellent study by S. Benchenen, in *AEO*, Algiers 1956, 19-111 (with numerous texts in translation). (E.G.)

**BOKALAMŪN** (see *ABŪ RALAMŪN*).

**BUKAREST** (see *BOKHREṢṬ*).

**al-BUKAYʿA** (a. *Bukayʿa*) denotes a little plain situated north of the Būḡā [see *Būḡā*] and south-east of the Ḍjabal Ansariyā, at an average altitude of 250 m. It is characterised by an abundance of springs which there give birth to the Naḡr al-Kabīr. It was known in the time of the Crusades by the name *Buqēs* and was dominated by the Hish al-Aḡrā [g.s.] whose ruins still overlook it today (see M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1914-5, 42; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1923, 92; J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Aboites*, Tours 1940, index s.v. Bouqalā).

The name *Bukayʿa* is found likewise in Transjordan, where it denotes a small inland plain to the north of the plateau of al-Būḡā in the neighbourhood of Suwayḡil (see F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, i, Paris 1913, 91).

(J. SOURDEL-THOMAS)

**BUKAYR b. MAHĀN**, *Amīr* Hāḡim, propagandist of the ʿAbbāsids at the end of the Umayyad caliphate, was a native of Sijistān and had at first been secretary of the governor of Sind al-Ḍunayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḡmīn. In 102/720-1 he was converted to the anti-Umayyad cause by Maysara

al-ʿAbdī and Muḥammad b. Khunays, and he put at the disposition of their party the fortune which he had amassed in business in Sind. After the death of Maysara he was entrusted with the direction of the movement in 105/723-4 and he was unusually active in gaining supporters among the population of Khurāsān. In 107/725-6 he also sent many emissaries to this region, who with one exception, ʿAmmār al-ʿAbdī, were at once taken and put to death by the governor Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh. Later, in 118/736, he appointed ʿAmmār b. Yazīd as chief over other agents who had been first imprisoned and then succeeded in freeing themselves. ʿAmmār established himself at Marw, took the name of Khālid, and met with some success, but having adopted the doctrines of the Khurramīs [g.s.] was in his turn imprisoned, tortured, and put to death by the governor Asad. This situation disturbed the *imām* Muḥammad, who was not content with the explanation offered in 120/738 by the delegate of the Khurāsān, Saduḡmīn b. Kabīr [g.s.], and despatched Bukayr himself to repudiate publicly the doctrines of Khālid. Bukayr was badly received the first time but the second time succeeded in convincing the ʿAbbāsīd partisans. Afterwards, in 124/741-2, having returned to ʿIrāk and being held responsible for political meetings which took place in a house at Kūfa, he was imprisoned, found on coins, over to his cause ʿIsā b. Maʿīn, from whom, according to an unreliable tradition, he bought a slave, the future Abū Muslim [g.s.]. Set at liberty, he went to Khurāsān in 126/743-4 to announce the death of the *imām* Muḥammad to the partisans of the ʿAbbāsīs, and to make them swear allegiance to his son Ibrahim. He returned to ʿIrāk with the money he had collected in Iran. He died soon afterwards, in 127/744-5, after nominating as his successor Abū Salama Hafṣ b. Sulaymān [g.s.], a choice which Ibrahim later accepted.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, *Yaʿkūbī*, *Dīnawarī*, index; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 1280, 1317, 1348, 1484, 1509, 1525, 1592, 1622; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabishe Reich*, Berlin 1902, 215-29; van Vloten, *De sphenet der Abbassiden in Chorasān*, Leiden 1850, *passim*. (J. SOURDEL)

**BUKAYR b. WISHĀH**, Governor of Khurāsān at the beginning of the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. A former lieutenant of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim [g.s.], this Tamīm of the tribe of the Banī Saʿd made himself noticed during the troubled time which was marked by the insurrections of the Tamīm, both when he commanded the troops of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim at Harāt and when he was the delegate of the governor in Marw after the recapture of the town from the rebels. In 72/691-2 the triumph of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, who had firmly established his power in ʿIrāk and Arabia, gave him the opportunity to be nominated as his own *amīr* over the province at Marw, and to substitute by force his authority for that of Ibn Khāzim, who had refused to pass over to the Umayyads and was soon to be killed while fleeing towards Tirmidh. But as troubles continued in the region, where the Tamīm were engaged in a veritable civil war, Bukayr was deposed, and, nominated in compensation governor of Tadjikistān, was obliged to cede his place, without doubt in 74/693-4, to the Kurayshite Umayyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid, sent by the caliph and perhaps, according to some sources, earmarked for this post since 72/691-2. In circumstances of which the details vary according to the accounts, the evicted *amīr* afterwards profited

by the absence of the new governor, who was away in 77/696-7 fighting against Bulghār, to arouse for his own ends the inhabitants of Marw, and to compel Umayyā to return as quickly as possible to lay siege to the rebellious city. The capitulation which followed was made with honourable conditions for Bukayr, but he continued to intrigue and in the same year was treacherously assassinated by one of his enemies.

**Bibliography:** Tabarī, index; Balḡhūrī, *Fuḡh*, 415-7; Yaʿkūbī, ii, 324; *Bulḡān*, 299; I. Wellhausen, *Das arabishe Reich*, Berlin 1902, 260-3; Caetani, *Chronographia*, 849, 859, 877, 925, 921. (J. SOURDEL-THOMAS)

**BUKHĀRĀ**, a city in a large oasis in present day Uzbekistān on the lower course of the Zarāfshān River. The city is 722 ft. (222.4 m.) above sea level and is located at 64° 38' E. long. (Greenw.) and 39° 43' N. Lat.

We have few references to the city in pre-Islamic times. In the time of Alexander the Great there was another town in Sogdiana besides Marakanda (Samarkand) on the lower course of the river but it probably did not correspond to the modern city of Bulghār. The oasis was inhabited from early times and towns certainly existed there.

The earliest literary occurrence of the name is in Chinese sources of the 7th century A.D., but the native name of the city, *buḡʿyā*, found on coins, indicates on palaeographic grounds that the name may have been used several centuries earlier. The derivation of this word from Sanskrit *bhūḡra* "monastery" is not improbable in spite of linguistic difficulties, since there was a *dhāra* near Nundīkād, a town apparently the predecessor of Bulghār, and which merged into the latter (cf. Frye, *Notes in HJAS*, below).

The native dynasty was called Bulghār Khudāt (or Bukhārā Khudāt) by the Islamic sources; on the coins we have *buḡʿyā* *yuḡ*, Sogdian for "Bulghār king", indicating that the local language was at least a dialect of Sogdian. Although the names of several of the pre-Islamic rulers occur on inscriptions and in later sources (cf. Frye, *ibid.*) it is only after the Arabic conquests that the history of the city can be reconstructed.

The accounts of the first Arab raids across the Oxus River are partly legendary and require critical examination. The first Arab army is said to have appeared before Bulghār in 54/674 under ʿUḡayd Allāh b. Ziyād. The ruler of Bulghār at that time was the widow of the late ruler Bādīn, or Baddīn. (In Tabarī, ii, 169, in place of her *Kabādī* Khāṭim is mentioned as the wife of the reigning king of the Turks. Perhaps this name is to be read *Kaylīgh* or *Kaygh*, as the Turkish tribal name 70.) According to Narghshī (ed. Scheler, 7, trans. Frye, 6) she ruled for 15 years as regent for her infant son Tughlakhī (Tabarī, ii, 169), has *Tūḡ* *Siyāḡ*; cf. discussion by G. I. Smirnova, *K iumeni soghskoyu khkhkhida Tughlakhida*, in *Trold Akad. Nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR*, Stalinabad 1953, 209). This same Bulghār Khudāt appears again in al-Tabarī as a youth in 91/710 when Kutayba b. Muslim, after overthrowing his enemies, installed him as prince of Bulghār. The rule of Islam in Bulghār was first placed on a firm footing by Kutayba. In Ramaḍān 121/Aug.-Sept. 739, Tughlakhī was murdered in the camp of the governor of Khurāsān, Naḡr b. Sayyār. During his long reign several rebellions against the Arab suzerainty took place and the Turks invaded the country several times. In 110/728-9 the town of Bulghār itself was lost to the Arabs and they had



to besiege it but regained it the next year (al-Tabarī, ii, 1524, 1529).

The son and successor of Tughlqāda, called "Kutayba" in honour of the conqueror, behaved at first like a good Muslim. When in the year 13750, the Arab Sharh b. Shaykh raised a revolt in Bukhārā against the new dynasty of the 'Abbāsids, the rebellion was put down by Ziyād b. Silih, lieutenant of Abū Muslim, with the help of the Bukhār Khudāt. Nevertheless the latter was a short time later accused of apostasy from Islam and put to death by order of Abū Muslim. His brother and successor Buwayt (although another brother Sānā, reading uncertain, may have ruled a few years between) met the same fate during the reign of the caliph al-Mahdī (probably in 166/782), for the Caliph had him put to death as a follower of the heretic al-Mukanna'. After this period the Bukhār Khudāt appear to have been of little importance in the government of the country but they an influential position because of their great estates. In the early years of the reign of the Sāmānids Ismā'īl, mention is made of the Bukhār Khudāt who was deprived of his lands but allowed the same income (20,000 *dirhams*) from the state treasury, as he had previously derived from his estates. It is not known how long the government fulfilled this obligation.

Besides the native prince there was of course in Bukhārā, at least from the time of Kutayba b. Muslim, an Arab *amir* or *šahin* who was subordinate to the *amir* of Khurāsān whose headquarters were in Marw. On account of its geographical situation Bukhārā was much more closely connected with Marw than with Samarkand. The Bukhār Khudāt had even a palace of his own in Marw (al-Tabarī, ii, 1688, 147; 1087, 7; 1091, 16). In the 3rd/9th century, when the *amir* of Khurāsān transferred their seat to Nishāpūr, the administration of Bukhārā remained separate from that of the other parts of Transoxania. Till 260/874 Bukhārā did not belong to Sāmānī territory but was under a separate governor immediately responsible to the Tāhirids. After the fall of the Tāhirids (259/873) Yāqūt b. Layth was appointed only for a brief period in Bukhārā as *amir* of Khurāsān. The clergy and populace applied to the Sāmānī Nāg b. Ahmad who was ruling in Samarkand and he appointed his younger brother Ismā'īl governor of Bukhārā. Bukhārā was henceforth ruled by the Sāmānids until their fall. Ismā'īl continued to live in Bukhārā after the death of his brother Nāg in 279/892 when the whole of Māwarān-nahr (Transoxania) passed under his sway, and also after his victory over 'Amr b. Layth in 287/900 when he was confirmed by the Caliph in the rank of *amir* of Khurāsān. The city thus became the seat of a great kingdom although it never equalled Samarkand in size or wealth during this period. It was Bukhārā that the New Persian literary renaissance blossomed.

The Bukhārā of the Sāmānī period is described in detail by the Arab geographers and we also owe much to Nargahāh and later editors of his work. A comparison of these accounts with the descriptions of the modern town (particularly detailed is N. Khanikov, *Opisanie Bukharskogo Khana*, St. Petersburg 1843, 79 ff.) shows clearly that in Bukhārā unlike Marw, Samarkand, and other cities, only an expansion of the area of the town and not a shifting from one place to another, may be traced. Even after destruction Bukhārā has always been rebuilt on the same site and on the same plan as in the 3rd/9th century.

As in most Iranian towns, the Arab geographers distinguish three main divisions of Bukhārā, the citadel (NP *kakawān*, from the 7th/13th century known as the *arḡ*), the town proper (Arabic *madīna*, Pers. *shahr*), and the suburbs (Arabic *raḥāl* lying between the original town and the wall built in Muslim times. The citadel from the earliest times has been on the same site as at the present day, east of the square still known as the "Rīstān". The area of the citadel is about one mile in circumference with an area of ca. 23 acres. The palace of the Bukhār Khudāt was here, and, as Isfahāhī shows (106), it was used by the early Sāmānids. According to Mukaddasī [280], the later Sāmānids only had their treasuries and prisons there. Besides the palace there was in the citadel the oldest Friday mosque, erected by Kutayba, supposedly on the site of a pagan temple. Later this mosque was used as a revenue office (*divān al-ḡharāj*). The citadel was several times destroyed in the 6/12th and 7/13th centuries, but was always rebuilt.

Unlike most other towns, the citadel of Bukhārā was not within the *ghabrīstān* but outside. Between them, to the east of the citadel, was an open space where the later Friday mosque stood till the 6th/12th century. One may determine what part of the modern town corresponds to the *ghabrīstān* for, according to Isfahāhī (107), the water running under the surface of either the citadel or the *ghabrīstān* because of their height. According to the plan given by Khanikov, this high-lying portion of the town is about twice as large as the citadel. It had a wall around it with seven gates, the names of which are given by Nargahāh and the Arab geographers.

According to Nargahāh (text, 29, trans., 30) at the time of the Arab conquest the whole town consisted of the *ghabrīstān* alone, although there were scattered settlements outside which were later incorporated into the city. Nargahāh gives us a fairly detailed account of the topographical details of the *ghabrīstān*. A new Friday Mosque was built by Arslān Khān Muḥ. b. Sulaymān in 315/1122 in the *ghabrīstān* probably in the southern part of it where the Madrasa Mir 'Arab, built in the 10th/16th century and the great minaret still stand.

It was not till 235/849-50, according to Nargahāh, that the *ghabrīstān* was linked with the suburbs to form one town and surrounded by a wall. In the 4th/10th century another wall had been built enclosing a greater area; it had eleven gates, the names of which are given by Nargahāh and the Arab geographers.

Besides the palace in the citadel there was one in the Rīstān from pre-Islamic times. The Sāmānī Nāg II (301-331/914-943) built a palace there with accommodations for the ten state *divāns*, the names of which are given by Nargahāh (text, 24, trans., 26). During the reign of 'Amr b. Nūh (399-469/1000-60), this palace is said to have been destroyed by fire, but Mukaddasī tells us that the Dār al-Muḥ was still standing on the Rīstān and he praises it highly. During the Sāmānī period there appears to have been another royal palace on the Dīwān Māyān Canal to the north of the citadel.

In the reign of Mansūr b. Nūh a new *musallā* was built at the *arḡ*, but not covered by a multitude of believers. The new area of prayer was built in 360/971 at one-half *farsakh* (ca. a mile) from the citadel on the road to the village of Samath.

In the 4th/10th century the town was overcrowded and insanitary, with bad water and the like. Mukaddasī and some of the poets (al-Tha'libī,

Yalima, iv, 8) describe the town in the most scathing fashion.

Nargahāh and the Arab geographers give information on the villages and country around the city. Isfahāhī (30) gives the names of the canals which led from the Zarafshān to water the fields. According to Nargahāh some of these canals were built in pre-Islamic times and many of the names have survived to the present. Traces also survive of the long walls which were built to protect the city and surrounding villages from the incursions of the Turks. According to Nargahāh (text, 29, trans., 33) these walls were begun in 166/782 and completed in 171/788. The town itself was not in the centre but in the western half of the area enclosed within the walls. After the time of Ismā'īl b. Ahmad the walls were no longer kept in repair. At a later period the ruins of these walls were given the name Kanparak, and as Kanpar Dāwād ("wall of the old woman") traces survive to the present on the borders of the steppes between the cultivated areas of Bukhārā and Karmina.

On the fall of the Sāmānids (389/999) the town lost much of its earlier political importance and was governed by governors of the Ilk Khāns or Karaghānids. In the second half of the 5th/11th century Shams al-Mulk Nāg b. Ibrāhīm built a palace for himself to the south of the city and prepared a hunting ground; it was called Shamsābād, but fell into ruins after the death of his successor Khidr Khān. A *musallā* was made of the hunting ground in 513/1119.

Even during the period of decline Bukhārā retained its reputation as a centre of Islamic learning. In the 6th/12th century a prominent family of scholars known as the Āl-i Burhān (see *at-ta'rikh*) succeeded in founding a kind of hierarchy in Bukhārā and making the area independent for a time. After the battle of Katwān (5 Safar 536/9 Sept. 1141) the Karā Khān ruled Bukhārā through the *padr* (pl. *padars*) or head of this family. The *padars* maintained good relations with the pagan overlords and in 1207 took refuge with them when they were driven out of Bukhārā by a popular (Shī'i) rising (Yāqūt, *Ladhi*, ii, 285). In the same year the city passed under the rule of Muḥ. b. Takash Khwārmīr Shāh. He renovated the citadel and erected other buildings.

According to Ibn al-Aḥfir (xii, 230) Bukhārā submitted to the army of Cingiz Khān on 4 Dhū l-Hijja 616/10 Febr. 1220. The citadel was taken until 24 days later. The town was sacked and burned with the exception of the Friday Mosque and a few houses. Bukhārā soon recovered and is mentioned as a populous town and a seat of learning under Cingiz Khān's successor.

In 636/1238 a peasant revolt occurred under the leadership of one Mahmūd Tarabī who posed as a religious leader. After initial successes, mainly against the aristocracy, the revolt was suppressed by the Mongols (cf. Djauwaynī, i, 86, trans. J. A. Boyle, 109). Little is known of early Mongol rule in Bukhārā; *muḥlis* and *sayyids*, like the clergy of other religions, were exempted from all taxation. A Christian Mongol princess even built a *madrasa* called the Khāwāyī in Bukhārā at her own expense (cf. Djauwaynī, iii, 9, trans. Boyle, ii, 553).

On 7 Rajab 671/1273 Jan 1273 Bukhārā was taken by the army of Abū Bakr, Mongol Il-Khān of Persia, and the city was destroyed and depopulated. It was rebuilt and again ravaged in Rajab 716/19 Sept.-25-Oct. 1316 by the Mongols of Persia and their ally the Chaghatay prince Yashwir. Bukhārā seems

otherwise to have been of no importance in the political life of Transoxania under the rule of the house of Chaghatay or later under the Timūrids. The *Kith-i Mullāsāda* of Mu'īn al-Fukārā, written in the 9th/15th century, gives information about the town in this period (cf. Frey in *Asiatica Commenioration Volume*, Iran Society, Calcutta 1935). Bahā al-Dīn Nakshband (d. 791/1389) and his order of *derwishes* (see NAKSHBANDIYA) flourished in Bukhārā. Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449) built a *madrasa* in Bukhārā in the centre of town.

Towards the end of the year 905/summer 1500 Bukhārā was taken by the *Uzbeks* under Shīrkhān and remained with them till the Russian Revolution except for two brief periods, after 918/1510 when Shīrkhān was killed, and in 1153/1740. The dominions of the *Uzbeks* were regarded as the property of the whole ruling family and divided into a number of small principalities. Samarkand was usually the capital of the Khān (usually the oldest member of the ruling house), but the prince who was elected Khān retained his hereditary principality and frequently resided there. Two princes of the house of Shīrkhān, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mahmūd (ruled 928-946/1512-1539), and 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar (ruled 964-1006/1557-1598) had their capital in Bukhārā. Through them Bukhārā became again a centre of political and intellectual life. The prince of the *Uzbeks* dynasty, the *Qajans* or Ashkharhānids, also ruled from Bukhārā while Samarkand lost its importance.

The materials for the history of Bukhārā during the Uzbek period are mostly in manuscripts, such as the *Ta'rikh-i Mir Sayyid Sharif Rūhm* from 1113/1701, the *Hadith al-Wahab* of Wasīf, and the *Rah al-Arīf fi Manāḥib al-Ahḡār* of Amir Wafā. On these works see Storey, 381 ff.). A. A. Semenov has translated into Russian two important works on Uzbek history of special value for Bukhārā, the *Ubaydalla-nama* of Mir Muḥammad Amin Bughārī, Tashkent 1957, and *Mukhimkhana satoriya* of Muḥammad Yusuf Munshī, Tashkent 1957.

From the 10th/16th century there was trade intercourse between Russia and the Uzbek principality. In the 17th and 18th centuries many merchants and emigrants from Central Asia whose settlements were to be found as far as Tobolsk were known to the Russians as "Bukhārjars". The same name was also extended to the inhabitants of Chinese Turkistan which was called "Little Bukhārā".

The reign of Khān 'Abd al-Azīz (1055-97/1645-89) was recorded by native historians as the last great period of their history. After him various princes made themselves independent and the Khān in Bukhārā ruled only a small portion of his former kingdom, and even then the authority was rather in the hands of an Atalik ruling in his name.

In 1153/1740 Nadir Shāh conquered Bukhārā but after his death the *Uzbeks* regained their independence but under a new dynasty, for the Atalik Muḥ. Rahīm of the tribe of Manḡit had himself proclaimed Khān. His career has been recorded by Muḥ. Wafā Karmīnāgī under the title *Tahyat al-Khān*. His successor Dāniyār Beg was content with the title of Atalik and allowed a scion of the house of Cingiz Khān to bear the sovereign title. His son Murād or Mir Ma'Yūn, however, claimed the royal title for himself in 1199/1785 and called himself *amir*.

Under his successor Haydar (1215-1242/1800-26) the observance of religious ordinances was much more harshly enforced than under his predecessors. He was the last ruler of Bukhārā to strike coins in his own name till the last *amir*. His successor Nāg



Allāh (1242-1277/1287-1286) succeeded in strengthening the power of the throne against the nobles and in extending his domains. The native chroniclers agree with European travellers in describing Nasir Allāh as a bloodthirsty tyrant. Instead of tribal levies a standing army was created.

In 1275/1282 the capital of the rival Khānate of Khokand was taken but the conquest could not be held. When Nasir Allāh's successor Muḥammad al-Dīn (1286-1289) ascended the throne the Russians had already secured a firm footing in Transoxiana. After being repeatedly defeated the Amirs had to submit to Russia and give up all claims to the valley of the Sir Daryā which had been conquered by the Russians. He had to cede a part of his kingdom, with the towns of Tjark, Ura-tūbe, Samarkand, and Katta Kurghān (1286) to the Russians. In 1273, however, Bukhārā territory was increased in the west at the expense of the Khānate of Khiva. In the reign of 'Abd al-Allāh (1285-1290) the boundary between Bukhārā and Afghanistan was defined, England and Russia agreeing that the river Panj should be the boundary.

The relationship between Bukhārā and Russia was also defined during the same reign. Beginning 1287 a railway was built through the Amir's domains but the station for Bukhārā, ten miles away, is now a town called Kagan. In 1290 Mir 'Alim succeeded his father after having been educated at St. Petersburg. He ruled until the Revolution drove him to Afghanistan where he lived in Kābul till the end of World War II. Since the Revolution Bukhārā has become part of the Uzbek SSR with its capital in Tashkent. It has become a large cotton producing area vying with Farghāna and other parts of Central Asia in cotton production.

The archaeological and topographical investigation of Bukhārā has made great progress from the 1930s, and the work of Shihāhin, Pugačenkova, Sukhareva, and others, has greatly added to our knowledge. The existing architectural monuments of Bukhārā which are of importance are: 1) the "so-called" mausoleum of Ismā'īl Samāni from the 4th/10th century; 2) the mausoleum of Ismā'īl b. 'Alī (45.3) high (16th/17th century); 3) Mosque of Maḥall Atīr (the last construction of which dates from 1547); 4) Mosque of the Namāzgāh (*muḥallā*), dating from 1119 A.D.; 5) Mausoleum of Sayf al-Dīn Bukhārā (d. 1261); 6) Mausoleum at the site of Caḡma Ayyūb (end of 14th century); 7) Madrasa of Ulugh Beg, restored in 1583; 8) Maḥallī kolan, 16th century (the oldest ancient minaret); 9) Madrasa Mir 'Arāb, (cf. 1513); 10) Maḥallī Khwāja Zayn al-Dīn, many times restored. Other monuments exist in great numbers outside the town, mostly in ruins.

**Bibliography:** References to Bukhārā down to the Mongol invasion, with extensive bibliography, can be found in R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954 (a translation of Narshahī's work). A bibliography of Russian works on Bukhārā can be found in O. A. Sukhareva, *K istorii gorodov bukharskogo khannstva*, Tashkent 1958. On the early coinage see Frye, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana*, New York 1949, with additional notes in the *American Numismatic Soc. Notes* 4 and 7. On the name and pre-Islamic history see Frye, *Notes on the History of Transoxiana*, *osiana*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 19 (1956), 106 ff.

For Uzbek history see Storey, 371-82. For a guide to the architectural monuments see G. Pugačenkova and L. Rempel, *Bukhara*, Moscow 1949, 67 pp. & 39 plates. For a map of the present

city and tourist guide see Yu. S. Ashurov, *Bukhara, kratkij spetsialnii*, Tashkent 1956.

(W. BARROW & R. N. FRYE)

**AL-BUKHĀRĪ, MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-BĀKĪ** ARB. 'U-MĀ'ILĪ 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN AL-MARKĪ, Arabic writer who in 971/1583 composed a treatise on the eminence of the Abyssinians (after al-Suyūṭī and others), entitled *al-Tarīkh al-Manḥūḡ li-Mahabbat al-Hubbūh* and existing in numerous manuscripts. The work has been translated by M. Weisweiler, *Bundesdruckerei*, . . . Hannover 1924; extracts from the text in *Bibliotheca Bodlianae, cat. med. or. vol. II*, 1365. An extract, by Nūr al-Dīn al-Halabī (d. 1044/1635; see al-Halabī, s'f'r al-dīn) was printed in Cairo, 1307.

**Bibliography:** Flügel, in *ZDMG*, v, 81, xvi, 696-709; Brockelmann, II, 504, S. II, 519.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

**AL-BUKHĀRĪ, MUHAMMAD B. ISMĀ'IL** B. ISMĀ'IL B. 'ABD MUḤALLĀF B. BAKHTIYAR ARB. 'AMU ALLĀH AL-DJŪ'FĪ, a famous traditionist, b. 793/310, d. 256/870. He has the *nisba* DJŪ'FĪ because his great-grandfather al-Maḡhīra was a *maḡhīra* of Yamīn al-DJŪ'FĪ, governor of Bukhārā, at whose hands he accepted Islam. Al-Bukhārī began to learn traditions by heart at the age of ten, and seems to have been a very precocious boy, for he is credited with having been able at an early age to correct his teachers. He had a remarkable memory, and companions of his are said to have corrected traditions they had written down from what he recited by heart. At the age of sixteen he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca with his mother and his brother, and when they returned he remained for a time in the Hijāz. He travelled widely in search of traditions, visiting the main centres from Khurāsān to Egypt, and claimed to have heard traditions from over 1000 *ṣaḥābūh*. In later life he suffered opposition in Naysabāb from Muhammad B. Yahyā al-Djūhālī who was jealous of the large numbers who went to hear him. Because al-Bukhārī held that although the Kur'ān is uncreated this does not apply to the recitation of it, he was accused of heterodoxy and had to leave Naysabāb. There the governor, Khālid b. Ahmad al-Djūhālī, asked him to bring his books to him, but he refused, saying it was an indignity to convey learning to people's houses, so if the governor wished to learn he should come to his mosque or his house. The governor asked him to hold sessions specially for his children, but al-Bukhārī refused to give them preferential treatment. He was then expelled and went to Khartank, a village about two parasangs from Samarkand, where he stayed with relatives. It is said that, being oppressed by the hostility he had experienced, he was heard one night praying that God might take him, and died within a month.

His most famous work is the *Saḥīh* which took him sixteen years to compile. It is said that he selected his traditions from a mass of 600,000, and that he did not insert a tradition in the book without first washing and praying two *rak'as*. This famous collection of traditions is arranged in 97 books with 3430 *ḥabīs* (chapters). There are 7397 traditions with full *isnāds*, but if repetitions are omitted the total is 2762. This work, which claims to contain only traditions of the highest authority (*muḥallā*), is of the *muḥallā* (classified) type which arranges the material according to the subject-matter. As certain traditions contain material on more than one subject it is not surprising that they should appear in more than one *ḥabī*. The work in the main is arranged according to the various matters of *ḥabī* (i.e.), but it

also contains other material, such as on the beginning of Creation, on paradise and hell, on different prophets and, in greater detail, on Muhammad, on Kur'ān commentary, etc. Although al-Subkī includes al-Bukhārī among the *Shāfi'ī* *ṣaḥīh* this is not accurate, for he did not hold consistently the doctrine of any particular school. The titles of the *ḥabīs* are meant to indicate the subject-matter and teaching of the traditions they contain, but al-Bukhārī has sometimes been criticised because the contents of the traditions do not always seem to be relevant to the title. Some *ḥabīs* have a title but no traditions, which may mean that al-Bukhārī drew up the scheme of his book and left blanks when he had no sound traditions to illustrate a particular subject, hoping that he might yet find some relevant material of sufficient authority. There have been many commentaries on the whole or part of the *Saḥīh*, notable among which are those of al-Aynī, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Askalānī and al-Kaṣṣālī. While the *Saḥīh* was considered in al-Bukhārī's time as just one among others, it was soon recognised as outstanding, and by the 4th century it came to be placed along with Muslim's *Saḥīh* at the head of collections of Sunnī tradition. In time, although criticisms have been made on matters of detail, it was accepted by most Sunnīs as the most important book after the Kur'ān, but in the West it was not known until the 19th century. Al-Bukhārī wrote his *Ta'wīḡ*, which gives biographies of the men whose names appear in *isnāds*, when a young man, saying he wrote it on moonlight nights at the Prophet's tomb. Other smaller works are detailed by Brockelmann. In his lifetime al-Bukhārī was recognised as an outstanding traditionist, noted for his minute knowledge of detail and his perspicacity in detecting defects in traditions.

**Bibliography:** Al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡdādī, *Ta'wīḡ* *Ḥaḡḡāḡ*, II, 4-34; al-Subkī, *Tabaḡāt al-Shāfi'īyya al-Kubrā*, II, 2-19; Ibn Khallikān, 541; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Juḡfā*, II, 122-124; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taḡḡīb al-Taḡḡīb*, IX, 47-55; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shuhūd*, II, 134-136; Ahmad Amin, *Duḡā al-Islām* (Cairo, 1371/1952), II, 110-119; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, No. 62; L. Krehl, *Über den Saḥīh des Buchārī*, in *ZDMG* IV (1850), 1 ff.; I. Goldziher, *Muslime und Muslime*, in *Studien*, II, 234-245; J. Vuck, *Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Bukhārī's Traditionsammlung*, in *ZDMG*, 92 (1938), 60-87; M. F. Sezgin, *Bukhārī'nin hayatı ve eserleri hakkında araştırmalar* (Recherches concernant les sources de Bukhārī, Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara xiii, 1956; Brockelmann, I, 163-166, S. I, 260-265).

(J. ROBINSON)

**BUKHĀRĪLĪ** (or Bukhārīlīs of Siberia). A small ethnic group, Muslim (Sunnī) of the Khamti school, made up of the descendants of merchants and caravaners originating from Turkistan and established in western Siberia since the 16th century, when the commercial relations between the Emirate of Bukhārā and Siberia were flourishing.

The Bukhārīlīs live in contact with the Tatars of Siberia (i.e.) to whose Islamisation they have contributed, and with whom they have many similarities. They live principally near Tobolsk, Tūmen and Tara, and an isolated group of Bukhārīlīs are found close to Tomsk.

In 1926, the Soviet census numbered 12,012 of them. The Bukhārīlīs speak the local Tatar dialects, but with the difference that they preserve in their

own speech a large number of Persian terms. They employ the Tatar of Kāzan as their literary language.

(A. BESIMBOGOS)

**BUḤĪL** (Ar.; also vocalised *buḥūl*, *buḥūl*, *buḥūl* and *buḥūl* [pl. *buḥūl*]; less often *buḥūl*, pl. *buḥūl*) mean respectively 'avarice' and 'avaricious, miserly'. Just as in the ancient poems the virtue of generosity is constantly sung, so avarice furnishes a theme for satire which is widely exploited by the poets, though it seems that this fault, at least in its most sordid forms, was scarcely widespread among the ancient Arabs. It is however a fact that it is castigated in a number of Kur'ānic verses aimed at combating avarice in the full sense (xvii, 102/100; lvii, 24) or simple hoarding (ix, 35, civ, 1 ff.), or at the encouragement of generosity in general (ix, 77/76; ix, 9) and almsgiving in particular (ix, 40/38, 175/180; iv, 127/128; lxiv, 16 f.); moreover, numerous *ḥadīṡ* against avarice are attributed to the Prophet (especially *ayyā* *ḍaḥḍaḥ* *min al-buḥūl*); these condemnations and exhortations, however, seem to result less from an absolute moral principle than from the necessity in which the newly-founded Islamic community found itself of receiving spontaneous gifts and then of collecting regularly the contributions of its members (see *Ṣaḡāḡ*, ZAKAT, and cf. *ḥab* al-*mal* in the *ḥadīṡ* collections).

After the conquests the Arabs were brought by the entry into Islam of new racial elements into contact with peoples of a somewhat different temperament, and when, brought before the bar, they had to put up a defence, shrewd minds did not fail to single out the generosity of the Arabs in order to contrast it with the avarice of the non-Arabs. It is doubtless not by mere chance that, under the 'Abbasids, it is the Khurāsānīs who supply the anthologies with anecdotes about misers. The relationship: generosity=Arabs/avarice=non-Arabs takes practical shape in the polemics of which al-Djāḡīb gives several specimens in his remarkable *Kātib al-buḥūl*, the first and probably the only attempt in Arabic literature to analyse a character and portray him through anecdotes, though with political undertones. This psychological analysis which had its origin in al-Djāḡīb, was ignored by later writers who, in their *adab*-books and then in the popular encyclopaedia, confined themselves to reproducing the Kur'ānic verses, *ḥadīṡ*s, anecdotes, and poems about misers (see for example Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿIḍā*, *passim*; al-Buhārī, *Muṣṭafā*, I, 235), not omitting, however, to mention that history knows but four (sic) Arab misers: al-Hafṣa'ya, Humayd al-Arkaṭ, Abu 'Aṣwad al-Du'ālī, and Khālid b. Ṣāwān.

(CR. PELLAT)

**BUKHIT-NAS(S)AR**, the Nebuchadnezzar of the Bible. The Kur'ān does not mention him. He is a very complex figure in Muslim tradition and here we can record only the outstanding points. It retains here the first place the main Biblical features, using to an unusual degree the texts of the prophets Jeremiah and even Isaiah, and establishing a connexion between Bukhit-Nasar and Sennacherib, whom it makes the great-grandfather of the former. It also confuses him sometimes with later rulers such as Cyrus and Ahasuerus. To these Biblical extracts, much more corrupted and simplified, are added features borrowed from the Jewish Maggaba (for example, Bukhit-Nasar was one of the universal monarchs, cf. Babylonian Talmud, *Megilla* 31a; he was tormented to death by a mosquito which got into his skull, this being a transfer of the rabbinical legend about Titus, the destroyer of the Second



Temple) and some elements of a folkloric character (an obscure Babylonian man of the people, for a long time hopelessly ill, he believed that he heard his future glory proclaimed and achieved it by his intelligence and a remarkable concurrence of circumstances). In the second place he is found forming part of the epic cycle of the ancient kings of Persia (the deformation of the name of which Buḫṭ-Nasār is the result seems to indicate some imaginary Iranian etymology); he is then reduced to the rank of satrap (*maršān*) of Bighṭīsh or of his father (Luhrāsh), or even of Bahrām, the son of the first named. In the third place he is said to have led an expedition against the Arabs (to which Kur'ān xxxi, 11 ff. would refer). There is perhaps here a memory of Babodūn's settlement at Taynāṣ (cf. above, art. al-'ARAB) combined with that of Arab infiltrations into the region of the Euphrates, Al-Ma'sūdī and al-Bīrūnī know an era of Buḫṭ-Nasār (cf. the article of Carra de Vaux in *E.P.*). Al-Bīrūnī sought also to disentangle the chronological difficulties raised by the confused traditions of which he had knowledge.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 234; Tabari, I, 643 ff.; Ma'sūdī, *Ma'ārif* and *Ta'wīl*, 140-141; Pseudo-Balāhī, *al-Faḍl wa'l-ta'wīl*, II, 100-104, III, 46-8, 91-5; Tha'alabī, *ʿArāʾiṣ al-maḡallā*, 192-205; Bīrūnī, *Āḡār*, 25, 27, 301 (*Chronology*, 28, 31, 297); P. Tannery, *Recherches sur l'histoire de l'astronomie ancienne*, Paris 1893, 158, 162.

(G. VAJDA)

**BUKHṬIŠHĪC'**, the name borne by several physicians of a celebrated Christian family originally established at Djuḡdaysābūr. It was from there that Djuḡdīs b. Djuḡbīl b. Buḫṭiṣhāḫ, who was director of the hospital of this town and well known for his scientific writings, was called to Baghdad in 148/765 to attend the caliph al-Manṣūr, ill with a stomach complaint. By successful treatment he won the confidence of the sovereign, who asked him to remain in the capital, but he wished to revisit his native land in 152/769.

Buḫṭiṣhāḫ b. Djuḡdīs, to whom his father had left the direction of the hospital at Djuḡdaysābūr at the time of his departure for Baghdad, was called in his turn to the capital when the future al-Hādī was gravely ill, but the hostility of al-Rhāyruṣnī, who favoured the physician Abū Kuraysh, prevented him from establishing himself there. Nevertheless, in 171/787, Hārūn al-Raṣīd, suffering violent pain, had him brought back to Baghdad and appointed him physician-in-chief, a post which he held until his death in 185/801.

Afterwards Djuḡbīl b. Buḫṭiṣhāḫ, whom his father had recommended to Dhu'ar the Barmakid in 173/791, succeeded in 190/803 in winning the confidence of the caliph, following a successful treatment of one of his slaves, but he fell into disgrace during the last illness of Hārūn at Tūs, because he did his duty as a doctor with too much frankness. He was condemned to death by the caliph because of the accusations of a bishop, but was saved by al-Faḍl b. al-Raḥīṣ, who stayed the execution of the sentence, and he then became al-Amin's physician. At the time of al-Ma'mūn's triumph he was imprisoned, not to be set at liberty until 202/817, when al-Hasan b. Sahl had need of his services. Three years later he was again in disgrace, and was replaced by his son-in-law Mūḥṣīl, but was recalled in 212/827 because Mūḥṣīl was unable to cure an illness of the caliph. He was reinstated, and his goods, confiscated after his fall, were restored, but he had not long to enjoy the prince's favour for he died the

same year, and was buried at al-Maḍā'in in the monastery of Sergius.

His son Buḫṭiṣhāḫ, who took his place, accompanied al-Ma'mūn on his expeditions into Asia Minor, then, under the caliphate of al-Wāḡiḫ, was exiled to Djuḡdaysābūr. Recalled during the caliph's last illness, he arrived in the capital too late, but remained there, nobly esteemed for twelve years, under al-Mutawakkil, until his exile to Babayan. He died in 236/850.

Buḫṭiṣhāḫ had a son, 'Ubayd Allāh, who was a finance official of the caliph al-Mu'tadī, and whose fortune was confiscated after his death. His widow married a physician, and his son Djuḡbīl followed in the footsteps of his fathers, but received his training only in Baghdad, where he had taken himself penniless after his mother's death. Having treated an envoy from Kirman successfully, he was called to Bīrāz by the Buwayhid 'Adud al-Dawla, but returned to Baghdad, which thereafter he only left for short periods of consultation, declining even the offer of the Fātimid al-'Azīz who wished to establish him in Cairo. He was, however, retained at Mayyīḫārīn by the Emir al-Manṣūr al-Muḥammad al-Dawla Abū Manṣūr who had summoned him there, and he died on 8 Rāmādān 306/8 June 1006.

Abū Sa'īd 'Ubayd Allāh b. Djuḡbīl, a friend of Ibn Butlān (s.c.), lived at Mayyīḫārīn and died in the second half of the 5th/11th century, leaving some known works, in particular a dictionary of medico-philosophical terms and a treatise on love.

Another member of the family, Buḫṭiṣhāḫ b. Yahyā, was physician to the caliph al-Rāḍī and was held responsible for the death of prince Hārūn in 324/936.

**Bibliography:** *Fihrist*, 266; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, ed. Müller, 123-48; Kiftī, ed. Lippert, 100-84, 132-51, 158-60; Djuḡdīyārī, K. al-Wuzarā', Cairo 1918, 225-6; Tha'alabī, *al-Faḍl*, Cairo 1918, 11, 113-4; Sūfī, *Āḡār al-Raḥī*, tr. Casard, I, Algiers 1916, 70 n. 1, 130; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, I, Paris 1876, 370-4; E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge 1921, 23, 57; Brockelmann, I, 636, S. I, 414, 885-6.

(D. SODERSTRÖM)

**BÜKRİ** [see **ARABIA**].**BUKOVINA** [see **GROTES**].**BUKRAT** [see **SUPPLEMENT**].

**BÜKREŠH** (BUKAREST) a town in Wallachia on the Dâmbovitza river about fifty km. north of its mouth. It is mentioned for the first time in 760/1368 by the name of Cetatea Dâmbovitzei, a name used side by side with Bucharest until the 15th century, when it became the seat of the Wallachian princes. Vlad the Impaler issued documents from there in 863/1459 and 865/1461 and Radu the Handsome, the prince installed by Mehmed II in 866/1462, established himself in that town, protected by a Turkish garrison from Giurgiu. For more than two centuries the history of Bucharest was linked to the relations of the Roumanian princes with the Porte. Those princes who rebelled against Ottoman suzerainty preferred Târgoviște, less exposed to Turkish raids. At the end of the 16th century, Bucharest witnessed the massacre of Michael the Brave's creditors and Sinan Paşa's occupation. Sorely tried by the revolts against the Turks, as well as by epidemics and fires, the city had a turbulent history. With the Treaty of Berlin (1877) the last vestiges of Ottoman suzerainty disappeared. The peace conference convened at Bucharest in 1913 relieved Turkey of the greater part of her European possessions.

Information on the population during the earliest periods is lacking. The sources mention the presence of Greek, Armenian and native merchants. Towards 1050/1640 Bucharest had 12,000 houses; fifteen years later only 6,000 are mentioned, and Ewliya Çelebi speaks of 12,000 houses and 1,000 shops. During the 17th century the population of Balkan cities increased, and became quite significant in the 18th. Popular revolts broke out, inspired by members of corporations discontented with the competition of foreign traders protected by the Phanariot princes. At the end of the 17th century the town had 50,000 inhabitants. The number varied between 20,000 and 60,000 for the end of the 18th and between 50,000 and 100,000 for the first half of the 19th.

Absorbed for three centuries in the Ottoman Empire, Bucharest acquired an oriental imprint which became stronger under the Phanariots during the 18th century, when the town became an important centre for the study of Greek. The princes initiated the publication of religious books for Christians in the Ottoman Empire, and monastic revenues provided for the monasteries of Athos, Constantinople, Trebizond and the Holy Land. The Austrian and Russian occupations introduced the first occidental influences and a knowledge of French, which, in the first half of the 19th century, supplanted Greek. Under the impact of ideas engendered by the French Revolution, the town became the centre of the struggle for the political unity of Roumania which led to the union of Moldavia and Wallachia (1859).

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(N. BELICERANU)

**BÜKÖM**, AC- (sing. Büküm), a tribe in Western Arabia, traditionally held to be descended from al-'Azī. Although considered a Hijāzī tribe, the Büküm range over the region east of al-'Azī and in the vicinity of the lava fields of Harrat Ḥaḍn and Harrat al-Büküm, where the boundaries between the Hijāz and Najd are not clearly defined. The tribe is estimated to have close to 10,000 people, of whom less than half are nomads. For at least several centuries a majority of the Büküm have been engaged in oasis cultivation in the district of Wādī Turaba (also Taraba), with the town of Turaba (N. 21° 14', E. 41° 37') being their main centre of population. The Büküm are subdivided into two sections: al-Mahāmid and Al Wāzi.

During the early period of Wahhābī expansion, the Büküm were victorious of the Sharīf Dhuḥlī in his wars against Najd. From 1228/1813 the Büküm defended their territory against the troops of Muḥammad 'Alī, the Ottoman Viceroy of Egypt, during which campaign a woman named Ghāliya notably distinguished herself. The Büküm finally surrendered and Turaba was occupied in 1230/1815. In the early years of the present century the loyalty of the Büküm was divided between 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd and the Sharīf Husayn, the Mahāmid having declared for the Sharīf, while Al Wāzi fought for Ibn Sa'ūd. The Mahāmid surrendered to Ibn Sa'ūd after his victory at Turaba in 1337/1919, and

members of both sections of al-Büküm participated in the later Sa'ūdī campaigns in the West.

In 1959 the chief of the Mahāmid was Husayn b. Mahyī, while Muḥammad b. Ghannīm was chief of Al Wāzi.

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(F. S. VIDAL)

**BÜLAK**, a small town quite close to the Cairo of Mamlūk and Ottoman times, and its port on the Nile for traffic with Lower Egypt. It was built on the sand which the Nile left when its bed shifted one to one-and-a-half kilometres westwards between the time of Saladin and the 8th/14th century (see al-KAHRIB). It was separated from Cairo by the Nāṣirī canal, dug in 723/1325 by the sultan Muḥammad b. Kalā'ūn, who encouraged people of affluence to build their villas (*manāṣir*) at Bülāk, to which were added later mosques, *hamāms*, etc. The customs transferred there from Cairo. About 1800 Bülāk had some 24,000 inhabitants, 24 mosques (including that of Abū l-'Alā, a place of pilgrimages and *maṣāhid*), 'okelles', depôts for agricultural products, shipyards, etc. Muḥammad 'Alī built workshops and foundries there, designed to modernise Egyptian life.

Bülāk is well known for its printing works, the first established in Egypt after the short-lived ones of Bonaparte's expedition. A small Egyptian team, trained at Milan, returned in 1821 with presses. In 1822 the Bülāk Printing Press was able to work at full capacity, under the direction of Nicolas al-Maṣlūh, of Lebanese origin (d. 1830). Owned by the state, modernised several times, it was transferred to private ownership in 1862 (to 'Abd al-Rahmān Ruḡḡīḫ Pāshā, then in 1865 to a son of the Khedive Ismā'īl). The state took it over again in 1880, and it was further developed after 1894 under English directorship, then under Egyptian ones more. It was founded for army needs (manuals, etc.), and for the administration (official journal, *al-Faḥāṣ al-Miṣriyya*) and was an important factor in the modern Renaissance. It printed on its own account or on that of individuals translations and numerous classical works in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, and some books in European languages. The rapid growth of the private presses which made Cairo the centre of the Arabic book trade eventually deprived it of the virtual monopoly which it enjoyed.

At the present time Bülāk is no longer anything more than a quarter of modern Cairo.

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(J. JOMERK)

**BULANDSHAHR** (BARAN), an ancient town in India situated in 28° 15' N. and 77° 32' E. on the main road from Agra and 'Aligarh to Meerut. Population (1951) was 34,496. Its old name was Baran (by which it is even now sometimes called but only in the *maḥal* Baran) given to it by its legendary founder, one Ahilbaran. Its antiquity is



established by the discovery of inscribed copper-plates of the 5th century A.D. and coins of much older dates. It came to be called Bulandshahr ("high town") from its elevated position near the bank of the Kām Nadi, which flows past the town. This name is clearly Muslim and appears to have been given to the town sometime during the Mughal period, although Sulṭān Rāy's *Khulāsat al-Tawārīkh* (compiled as late as 1700/1699) still mentions it as Baran. It was conquered by Mahmūd of Ghazna in 409/1018 when the Hindu Rājā, Har Datt, offered submission and accepted Islam with 10,000 of his followers. The town was restored to Har Datt whose descendants forsook Islam and Candār Sēn, the last of the line, was killed while defending the town in 590/1193 against Kāth al-Dīn Aḡbak, a general of the Ghūrī Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sām, who bestowed it as an *ikṭā'* on Bētmiṣh [q.v.], his son-in-law and successor. Dīwānī, a kinsman of Candār Sēn, accepted Islam and was rewarded, for betraying the garrison to the invaders, with the headmanship of the town. His descendants still flourish in Bulandshahr. During the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughlūq [q.v.], it was the centre of a peasants' rebellion; this was ruthlessly suppressed by the king who laid waste the country all around and perpetrated horrible atrocities on the residents of Baran. In 802/1399 the rebel amir Ḳubāḡ Khān (Fajl Allāh Balghī) took refuge here when he rose against Sulṭān Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad (641/1246–662/1266). In 1504/1507 the town was occupied by Sulṭān Ḥabīb Shāh Shārkī of Dīwarī (602/1402–825/1430) but he had to vacate it hastily on learning that Muḥammad Shāh I of Guḡjārāt was about to attack Dīwānpūr.

Thereafter nothing is heard of the town as it continued to enjoy a period of peace and tranquillity during Mughal rule. Awarangzib's proselytising zeal won a large number of converts, mostly among the Rājapūts, in and around Bulandshahr. During the 12th/18th century when the entire country was disturbed the Marāṭhās overran and captured Bulandshahr and administered it from Kolī ('Allgarh). With the fall of the fort of 'Allgarh, Bulandshahr came into the possession of the British in 1218/1803. During the upheaval (Mutiny) of 1257 the town was badly disturbed and Walīdād Khān of Mīllāgarh drove out the British garrison and assumed the reins of government. He and his confederates, the Guḡjārās and Muslim Rājapūts, proved irreconcilable enemies of the British and surrendered the town only after a five months' resistance.

This town is familiar to students of Indo-Pakistani history as the birth-place of Dīr al-Dīn Baranī [q.v.], the scholar-historian of the 9th/15th century. There are some very old mosques and tombs including a *dargah* of the Khwāḡja Lal Barand, which was built in 590/1193 to commemorate the Muslim victory. A small town at the commencement of the British rule, it is now a thriving centre of trade and commerce.

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(A. S. BALMER-ANSARI)

**BULĀY**, the Arabic transcription of Poley, the old name of a stronghold in the south of Spain the site of which (as has been shown by Dozy, *Rech.*, 1, 307, on the strength of information supplied by a charter of 1238) is the modern Aguilar de la Frontera, a small town in the province of Córdoba, 12 miles N.W. of Cābra and of Lucena. The town, which played a considerable part in the rising of the famous 'Umar b. Ḥafṣūn [q.v.] against the Umayyad amirs of Córdoba, is again mentioned in the 6th/12th century by the geographer al-Idrīsī. The ruins of a fortress, which dates from the Muslim period can still be seen there.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

**BULAYDA** (BLIDA), a town in Algeria, 51 kms. S.W. of Algiers, at the southern end of the plain of the Mitidja. There was no ancient settlement on the site. It has been identified with the town Mitidja known in the Middle Ages, which was ruined at the time of the campaigns of the Banū Ghāniya (beginning in the 7th/13th century). According to tradition the place which in 942/1535 was called Bulayda (little town) was founded by a religious personage known as Sidi Ahmad al-Kabir. He, after many wanderings, came to stay in the valley of the Wādī al-Rumānīn, nowadays the Oued el-Kebir. He was joined by his disciples, then by Andalusians coming from Tipasa fleeing from the attacks of the Kabyles of the Chenoua. Sidi Ahmad al-Kabir obtained from the Uṣṭā Sulṭān who occupied the region the land necessary to build houses for the new arrivals. The beylerbey of Algiers, Khayr al-Dīn, made of this settlement a veritable city, by providing it with a mosque, *hammam*, and public bakery. Bulayda prospered quickly thanks to the Andalusians, who planted orange orchards around it and applied there methods of irrigation of their own country.

Under Turkish domination Bulayda formed part of the *āyā al-mitidja*, that is to say the region administered directly by the bey of Algiers, who was represented there by a *bākhim* of Turkish origin. A detachment of janissaries had a garrison there. The population, composed of the descendants of the Andalusians, Moors, Jews, and Mozabites, was renowned for its urbanity and love of pleasure. A saying attributed to Sidi Ahmad b. Yūsuf praises it and calls it Urida (little rose). The town offered a pleasant sojourn to the élite of Algiers, who possessed country houses there. Officials of the Regency who were interned there found their exile easy to bear. It suffered many earthquakes, of which the most severe almost entirely destroyed it in 1827. It was shaken again by an earthquake in 1865.

After the occupation of Algiers by the French, Blida remained for some time independent under the administration of its *bākhims*. It was effectively occupied in 1839.

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(G. VYER-G. MARÇAIS)

**BULBUL**, the nightingale. To the nightingale belongs a large place in Oriental literature, particularly Persian and Turkish literature. The characteristics of the bird are its beautiful voice and its tuneful and harmonious song. In the season of roses it laments the whole night long; the hours before dawn are enlivened by its singing. It is in love with the rose. This love is its most outstanding characteristic. Its other characteristics are grouped around this.

In Persian literature the nightingale is treated according to the poet's indication. In some it sings of figurative love which has no aim, in others of figurative love which is a stage on the path to real love. To understand its meaning in Sūfi writing, we must look at the *Manḡsh al-Tayr*, written in the year 583/1187-8 by one of the important Sūfi writers of Persian literature, Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṣṭār (died 627/1230). In this work the nightingale's main characteristic is that it is drunk and ready to lose its material substance because of the perfection of its love for the rose (see Garcin de Tassy, *Le langage des oiseaux*).

The Persian poet Khwāḡjī Kirmānī (679-732/1260-1352), in a work entitled *Rawdat al-Anwar*, represents the bird of the meadow (*mawḡh al-tamaw*) as a bird tired by passion and desire, that sings at night and drives away sleep; then he likens the nightingale and the rose to the fabulous lovers Wānīk and 'Adhḡr. In a *hiḡa* of Sa'dī of Shirāz (died 690 or 691/1291-1292), who speaks of the nightingale fairly often especially in his *ghazals*, the poet treats the moth as the real lover. Ḥazīnī al-Bīḡlī (died 1202/1796) speaks near the coast of the nightingale and the moth, saying, "The nightingale complains because it has only just learnt of love. We have never heard a sound from the moth". Mawlānā Rūmī b. Barīz has a work too (*luḡhāt* of Shāh Muḥammad Karwīn) which contains disputes between nightingale and rose, candle and moth. The Persian poet Zamīnī-Yāzdi also confronts the nightingale and the moth.

Ḥāfiḡ (died 791/1389) raises the nightingale somewhat towards real love in this verse: "Settling on the cypress branch last night the nightingale chanted the lesson of spiritual stations with the Pahlawī warrior". One of the poets of the circle of Mahmūd of Ghazna, Farroḡhī b. Sīstānī (died 470/1070), also imagines the nightingale on a cypress branch: "Nightingales are *ākhīrs*, reciters *khāsh* upon trees". Now the nightingale recites the *Tawrīt* upon the cypress.

In one of his *ḡaydas* Manūḡhīrī (died after 423/1031) gives its song a religious significance, saying "On the rose branch the nightingale performs the *paḡā*". In Anwarī (died after 580/1184) a characteristic of the nightingale is its eloquence: "The nightingale catching the scent of spring has grown eloquent, the rose entering the garden has grown fresh".

The Persian Sūfi poet Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī (died 809/1406) likens the soul to the nightingale, fallen into the cage of flesh. Here the cage of flesh is the spirit, that has fallen from the world of unity into the world of elements. Another Sūfi poet, Kamāl Khwāḡdī (died 803/1400), brings out another characteristic of the nightingale in the verse: "Kamāl recites no *ghazals* unless he has fallen in love with a face of roses. The nightingale does not sing when it is not drunk". Sa'dī too in one of his *ghazals* puts spring and the nightingale side by side: "The trees are in bud, the nightingales are

drunk, the world has grown young, the lovers are lost in joy and merrymaking". He views the nightingale essentially as the harbinger of spring. The giver of bad news is the owl. Ḥillālī-Ghaḡṭayī (died 939/1531) also makes this contrast in the verse: "The nightingale nests in the garden, the owl in the ruins, everyone makes his home according to his desires". It is appropriate in this connexion to mention the proverb: "Of the nightingale's seven chicks only one becomes a nightingale" (*Dihlīyeh, Anḡhāl son Ḥabās*).

The nightingale has provided an opportunity for more delicate and refined conceits among poets writing in the 'Indian style'. In this literature with its generally Sūfi colouring, the nightingale occupies a position between figurative and real love. The seventeenth century poet Shāwkiat Bulḡhārī sings thus of the nightingale in a verse of his *ghazals*: "How long will the beloved wait to recognise the lovers that are its prisoners? As the nightingale sorrows and sheds its tears its nest comes to resemble a basket of roses. The rose branch is a seat that gives rest to the nightingale's aching head".

The idea that the nightingale is hunted and caged because of its beautiful voice has passed into literature; thus in a verse of Bāḡhlī (1134-1195/1727-1781): "Because of its lament it is captured and deprived of its freedom".

The bird is encountered in the oldest Turkish literary texts. In various Turkish dialects the nightingale is called as follows: in the *Kutadgu Bilig*, *samsal*, *sinal*, *sandaul*. In other dialects *andag* (see Kaz.), *sandag* (Tel.), *sandaul* (Rab.), *sandaul* (S.S.). In his Dictionary, Şevkiyî Suleymânî Bulḡhārī Ghaḡṭayī mentions this as a bird like the nightingale and explains that it is the canary. The verse in *Kutadgu Bilig* (1059/1070) "The nightingale sings in the flower garden in thousands of voices (*hasir destin*) as though reciting the Masnawī night and day" (v. 79) recalls the Pahlawī warrior and the *Tawrīt* as we found in Persian literature.

Entering the Islamic period, Turkish literature in time lost the *sandaul* and used in its place the words '*andah*, *hasir* (only in classical literature), and *bihālī* (in both classical and folk literature). In folk literature the nightingale is the lover of the rose, it is a stranger, in spring time it sings at night and before the dawn (Karaḡajī Ogḡlūn). In both folk and classical literature the nightingale in the cage is like the soul in the body. The characteristics of the nightingale in Turkish *Dīwān* literature may be seen in the *mathnawī* "The rose and the nightingale" composed by Fadlī for Sulṭān Sūleymān's son Mustafā (960/1553). According to this work the nightingale "is a heart-sore and agitated creature, it is its nature. Its voice is lovely, its ways are pure and charming. It is a witty fellow, a drinker. Love is the place of its frequenting. Love has set a polish on the mirror of its heart. Its dream is a dervish's cloak of felt (*namad*) so that the mirror inside the felt may not grow rusty". After numerous adventures the nightingale and the rose are united. In this work Fadlī uses the nightingale to express a purely Sūfi idea. In this allegorical treatment the nightingale is the heart, the rose the spirit.

When we come to *Dīwān* literature of the seventeenth century, the nightingale is a lover consumed by the fire of love. This is embodied in the poetic concept that the rose resembles fire in its colour, and kindles the nightingale and burns it to ashes. The nightingale is the colour of ash. There is a pun



between *göl*, rose, and *kül*, ash. The elimination of the material existence of the lover (tossing up his ashes) is an idea that comes from Söfiem. Consequently the likening of the nightingale to ashes has become so firmly established that the word *şâkîstâr*, ash, has come to mean nightingale.

The *ghazals* with the *redif* 'bulbul' by Nâ'îlî (died 1594) and Neshîrî (died 1674) are both major works of the literature of that period, tending towards the Indian style. The last verse of Nâ'îlî's *ghazal* reveals to us the Söfi connexion of the nightingale and the rose.

In the 12th/13th century Nedîm (died 1143/1179) mentions this bird in a number of his poems. In a *ghazal* with the same *redif* he writes: "Do not suppose that the nightingale's nest is filled with bloody tears. That nest is a pot of red ink made ready to write down the secrets of longing. Do not fancy that the cup-bearer of spring poured dew upon the rose; he filled the nightingale's cup with *rahî*!"

After the *Tançınâit*, in the poets of the *anjonâmî* *Şâ'arâ'* who imitated older literature, the nightingale shows no new development. Like Maghrîbî among Persian poets, one of these, Herâkî 'Arîf Bîkânî (1839-1903), in a poem entitled *Hasb-i Hâl*, treats the nightingale from an entirely Söfi point of view. Reşîdîzâde's poem with the *redif* "*bûlbul*" bears the somewhat shallow marks of his melancholy temperament and slender poetic gift. In these there is nothing new, but 'Âbîd al-Hakk Hâmîd [g.c.] in the *anjonâmî* wrote to Herâkî's *Hasb-i Hâl*, and in the poem *Walking through Hyde Park*, produces new ideas appropriate to his age with regard to the nightingale: "In the morning it recites the *adân*. Its nest in the darkness is a sublime symbol for patriotism. Its songs have become the model for love-*hayâtas*. The form of its expression is as new as modern literature (*edgâddad ed-biyâdî*). It is God's poet. Its *kasîdes* are read from the page of nature" (*Nâzi'at-Hasb-i Hâl*).

(ALI NİYAT TARLAN)

**BULBUR** [see BURBUR].

**BULGARIA**, a country in the Balkans. It drew its name from the Bulgars, a people of Turkic origin, who first invaded the Dobruja [g.c.] under Asparukh or Isperikh in 679 A.D. and founded an independent state in the Byzantine province of Moesia. Adopting Orthodox Christianity from Byzantium (865) and identifying themselves with the native Slavs who had previously settled Bulgaria, the Bulgars built up a strong empire in the Balkans which extended from the Danube to the Adriatic Sea under Czar Symeon (893-927).

The first Islamic accounts of Bulgaria belonged to this period through the reports of Muslims al-Jahiz (about 215/831), Hârûn b. Yahyâ (349/960) and Ibrahim b. Ya'qûb (349/960). Hârûn reported (in Ibn Rusta, ed. De Goeje, 127) that the Christianised Slavs, *al-Saklîth al-Mutanacîra*, had adopted Christianity after Süs, the ruler of the Bulgars. Incorporated into the Byzantine empire between 1018 and 1186 Bulgaria was organised in two themes, the theme of Bulgaria with its centre at Skopje (Üsküb) and that of *Paristrion* or *Paradunaea* with its centre at Silistria.

The invasion and settlement of the Cumans in the lower Danube prepared the way for the creation of the so-called second Bulgarian empire under the Asensids (1185-1218).

In 1262 Michael VIII, the Byzantine emperor, took Anchialus and Mesembria from the Bulgarians

and settled in the Dobruja the Anatolian Turks who had taken refuge in Byzantium with 'Izz al-Dîn Kaykâwûs II [g.c.]. Most of them returned to Anatolia in 707/1307 and those who remained were thought to be the ancestors of the Gagauzes [g.c.]. (P. Vittek, *Yashligluh 'All on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *ISIOAS*, 310/3).

Tertîr I (1179-1190) resumed Noghay's [g.c.] overlordship (1185) and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Caka, who later took refuge in Tmovo and seized his father-in-law's throne (1300), but soon was ousted by Tertîr II (1309-1326).

In the contemporary Arabic sources (Baybars, *Zubdat al-Fîtra*, in I. H. Imridi, *Al-Bihar*, . . ., Ist. 1941, 221; Abû 'l-Fidâ', 295) Bulgaria is shown as the land of the *Qitab*, and the Bulgarians are considered as the same people as the *Qitab*. We know that Kalojan had called himself *imperator totius Bulgariae* at Vlachia (G. Ostrogorsky, *Hist. of the Byzantine State*, 358). It appears that the Christianised Cumans in Bulgaria, must have been shown under the general term of Vlach.

The Shishmanids (1342-1395) came to the Bulgarian throne with Shishman, a Cuman magnate in Vidin.

The Anatolian ghâzi Turks came in contact with the Bulgarians when Aydinoglu Umûr [g.c.] allied himself with Cantacuzens. First in 742/1341 Umûr aided him against Ivan Alexander, the Bulgarian Czar, and, then, on 5 Rabi' I 746/July 7, 1345 destroyed Monclio, the Bulgarian adventurer who had been dominating the Rhodope region (P. Lewalle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin*, Paris 1937). The Ottomans replacing Umûr in his alliance with Cantacuzens appeared to come into contact with the Bulgarians first in 753/1352 when these came to support his rival John V. After the conquest of Edirne [g.c.] in 762/1361 Lâli Shâhin seemed to be active in the direction of Zagbra (Berbova) and Filibe [g.c.] (different dates in the chronicles: 763/1362, 765/1364, 766/1365), but the Byzantine-Bulgarian clash in 765/1364 is thought to be connected with an Ottoman-Bulgarian agreement. In 766/1365 Czar Ivan Alexander divided his realm between his two sons: Stratsimir got the Vidin region and Shishman the Castrum of Tmovo. Dobrotic in the Dobruja and Varna were actually independent. The same year Hungary seized Vidin, threatened Tmovo, and Amadeo of Savoy not only occupied Ottoman Gallipoli but also Mesembria, Sopolis and Anchialus for Byzantium in 767/1366. With Ottoman auxiliary forces Shishman tried to recover Vidin (769/1368), and gave his sister Thamar in marriage to Murâd I. According to the Ottoman chronicles (see *Safâ al-Dîn*, I, 14-17) the Ottomans reached the main Balkan passes by taking Kizilbagat-yeniçisi, Yanbol (Iambol), Karli-ovâd (Karnobati), Aydos (Altos), Sözebol (Sopotolis) under Timûrtâsh in about 770/1368. Ihtiman and Samakov under Lâli Shâhin in 772/1370 and 773/1371. Filibe on the one side and the Yanbol-Karli-ovâd region on the other were then the main *ahls* [g.c.] where the *ahls*idîs, Yûrûks [g.c.] and *ahls* were settled in large numbers. Nâh was taken by the Ottomans only in 787/1385 (Neshîrî, Taeschner ed. I, 58). Sofia was still in Shishman's hands in 780/1378 (C. Jireček, *Gesch. der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876, 339). It seemed to surrender between this date and 787/1385. In 789/1387 when Murâd I found that his vassals Shishman in Bulgaria and Ivanko in Dobruja were not on his side against the Serbians he hastily sent an army under 'Alî Pâsha to

secure his rear. Our information on this expedition comes from Neshîrî and Rîhl who both used here a detailed and well informed source, and there is no need to question its chronology (cf. F. Bahinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgesch. der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien*, Munich 1944, 29-35). In the winter of 790-1/1388-9 'Alî Pâsha took Provadia (Pravadi), Venčan, Madera and Shumûl (Shumen) and passed the winter in the latter. In the spring of 791/1389 he sent Yakkûbî Beg against 'the son of Dobruja' in Varna, then went to meet the Sultan in Yanbol. Shishman came there, too, and made his submission to Murâd I. But on his return he did not surrender Silistria (Silistria) to the Ottomans as he promised. Upon this 'Alî appeared before Tmovo (Tmovo), Shishman's capital; The infidels brought him the keys of the city' which meant submission. Accepting the submission of several other towns on his way 'Alî came and laid siege to Nikebôl (Nikopol, Niropolis) where Shishman had taken refuge. He asked pardon which was granted. 'Alî was to join Murâd's army.

After the battle of Kosovo Bayazid was detained in Anatolia while Mircea, supported by Sigismund, took Silistria and the Dobruja and made a successful raid on the *ahls*idîs of Karli-ovâd, in 793/1391. Only 795/1393 was Bayazid able to come and take Tmovo by force (6 Rana'dî 797/July) and he also subjugated the Dobruja and Silistria. But still Shishman was left in his stronghold, Nikebôl, as a vassal. He then appeared to Sigismund; this caused Bayazid's [g.c.] invasion of Transylvania and the battle of Argeş against Mircea (26 Rabi'ab 797/17 May, 1393). We find in a newly discovered document (Topkapı Sarayı Archives, Istanbul, no. 6374) the following 'Crossing Arghîsh river Yildirim Shân came before the fortress of Nikebôl the ruler of which was a lord named Shishman. He was paying tribute to the Sultan in the same way as the *Proyode* of Wallachia. The Sultan asked him to send ships, which he furnished. As soon as the Sultan was on the other side he fetched Shishman, beheaded him, and seized Nikebôl and transformed it into an Ottoman *sandjak*. The Slave sources (see J. Bogdan, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, xiii, 496) dated Shishman's death as 12 Sha'bân 797/3 June 1395 which fits in with this Ottoman evidence.

The battle of Nikebôl (24 Dhu 'l-Hijja 798/28 September 1396) sealed the fate of Bulgaria. After his victory Bayazid invaded Stratsimir's Vidin too. He settled in Vidin, Silistria and Nikebôl the powerful *Ödî-begs* against Hungary and Wallachia. In 847/1443, when a Hungarian army advanced into Bulgaria, the Bulgarian *re'âyâ* and *re'âyâs* in the region of Sofia and Radomir joined the invaders, who appointed a 'Vladika' in Sofia for them. They were soon repressed by the Ottomans (see Isakick, *Fatih Devri*, Ankara 1954, 20).

During this period, and especially after 805/1402, Bulgaria became strongly ottomanised. In Eastern Bulgaria the Muslim population was definitely in the majority as the surveys of 1520s show (see Ö. L. Barkan, *İhtisat Fihristi Mecmuası*, vol. XI, nasp.). In 819/1425 in Filibe there were 600 Muslim households as against 20 non-Muslim. Bulgaria was divided into the *sandjaks* of Çirmen, Sofya, Silistria, Nikebôl and Vidin in the *eyâlet* of Rûmêlî [g.c.]. In the 11/17th century the *sandjaks* of Nikebôl and Silistria were included in the *eyâlet* of Özü which was created against the Cossacks. Its capital was Özü and Silistria. The *sandjak* of Silistria included Pravadi, Yanbol, Harsova, Varna, Akhyoll (Anchialus),

Aydos, Karli-ovâd and Rûst-kârî (Rhosoukastron) in 924/1518. Bulgaria was put under typical Ottoman administration with the *hînde* [g.c.] system (see the laws and regulations in Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1941, 255-289). Most of the members of the pre-Ottoman military class were integrated in the Ottoman military organisation (see my *Fatih Devri*, 136-184), *frontiers* as *himar*-holders, *sevînks* as Ottoman *re'âyâs* [g.c.]. As to the bulk of the Bulgarian population, they were given the status of *ghîlime re'âyâ* [g.c.]. But among them many groups enjoyed financially a special status as *derhendâgî* (guardians at the mountain passes) or suppliers of rice, meat etc. for the palace or the army (see *şavâhid*), and the *Dewghîms* [g.c.] was also extensively applied in Bulgaria.

As Istanbul and the army was dependent for a great proportion of their food supply on Bulgaria the government put restrictions on the export of the Bulgarian meat and rice. In 973/1566 the appointed sheep owners in western Bulgaria were ordered to provide 174,230 sheep for the army (A. Refik, *Türk İdariside Bulgaristan*, Istanbul 1933, document no. 3). The rice production in the upper Maritza (Merik) valley brought to the state as *mahdû'a* [g.c.] a yearly revenue of about one million *akça* (20 thousand gold ducats) in about 887/1483 (T. Gökbelgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Lîzan*, Istanbul 1952, 131). Timber from Shumûl, Hazargard, Tmovo (Tmovo) and iron from Samakov were supplied for the construction of the warships at Akhyoll in 979/1571 (A. Refik, doc. 19, 22). An industry of cloth and felt developed in Filibe, Shumûl and Islayme (Sliven) in this period which was exported in other parts of the empire (A. Refik, doc. 28). Bulgaria experienced neither an enemy invasion nor an insurrection from 1450 to 1595. The Bulgarian towns, especially Filibe, Sofya and Silistria, developed as military and commercial centres on the main routes in Rûmêlî [g.c.]. In these cities new Muslim districts sprang up around *ghîmî*'s *mevârit*, *bedestins* and bazars with rich *males* (see Evliyâ Çelebi's detailed description in 1061/1651, vol. III, 301-421, and H. J. Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahr.*, Wiesbaden 1926). According to the Ottoman census in 1520 (see Ö. L. Barkan, *JESHO*, vol. I, Part 1, 1957, 32) the *sandjaks* of Silistria, Çirmen, Nikebôl, Vidin and Sofya had about 125 thousand households altogether including the population in the places belonging to Pasha in Bulgaria.

From the end of the 16th century onwards the rate of several taxes was raised and the complaints of the Bulgarian *re'âyâ* from the exactions of the local officials and soldiers began (A. Refik, doc. 37, 38, 41, 43, 46, 47). In 1014/1605 the *re'âyâ* of the Sofya region complained that the agents of the Patriarch were trying to raise the rate of duty from 6 *akça* to 12 for the *re'âyâ* and from 60 to 400 for the local priests (A. Refik, doc. 58). The first important uprising in Bulgaria took place at Veliko-Tmovo in 1003/1595 when Michael, Wallachian Prince, made successful raids in Bulgaria. Sinân Pâsha [g.c.] put down the insurrection and thousands of Bulgarians took refuge in Wallachia. Also in 1014 this time on the Bulgarian *haydûks* or *eghbîrîs* begin to be mentioned more frequently in the Ottoman sources (A. Refik, doc. 52, 54, 75). Now almost with every enemy invasion the *re'âyâ* were joining them and when they withdrew large groups of *re'âyâ* followed them in spite of the assurances on the part of the Ottoman government (for example in 1100/1688 the *re'âyâ* of the region of



Vidin, Kutlodja, Piroi and Berkojda (A. Refik doc. 59) in 1430/1737 the *velâyet* of the region of Izobil (Znepolje) (A. Refik, doc. 81, 82); in 1206/1793 those of the region of Ismail and Stannakia). In 1245/1829, seventy or eighty thousand Bulgarians followed the Russian army to settle in Bessarabia; in 1861 ten thousand of them left their homes for the Crimea.

In the second half of the 18th century the *ayâls* were particularly powerful in Bulgaria. As *multazims* [g.n.] and hereditary possessors of the large state lands, *zâbiks* [g.n.], they became real masters of the country since the government had to rely on them to collect the taxes of the *velâyet* and most powerful of them such as Trevelin-oghlu İsmail, Bayraklı Mustafa [g.n.], Rusluk, İsmail Çınar in Hozargrad even maintained private armies to which the Sultan had to have recourse at critical moments (A. Refik, doc. 90). The Rhodopes and the Balkan mountains sheltered an increased number of bandits called *Kırdalı* in this period. Profiting from this anarchy a soldier of fortune, Farwand-oghlu or Fışân-oghlu Oğlman [g.n.] rebelled, and then, as the Poşla of Vidin, ruled over Western Bulgaria between 1212/1792-1221/1807 (Djedwet, *Ta'vîd*, viii, 217, 249, 250, viii, 126-48). Under Mahmud II [g.n.] the *ayâls* were eliminated and the central authority was established in Bulgaria. In the period of the *Tanzimat* in 1263/1846 Bulgaria was reorganised as the *vilâyet* of Silistre, Vidin, Nish with the provincial councils in which the Bulgarian representatives were admitted. But the administrative reforms did not prevent unrest among the Bulgarians. An insurrection in the Nish region in 1257/1841 and a more violent one in the Vidin region in 1266/1850 broke out partly because of the provocation of the revolutionists in Serbia and Wallachia, and partly because of the abuses of the *çiftlik* system maintained there by the Muslim *aghas* or *göğdars* (see my *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Medenîti*, Ankara 1943).

Many observers in the middle of the 19th century (N. V. Michoff, *La population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie*, 3 vols. Sofia 1913-1929) came to the conclusion that one third of the population of Bulgaria was Muslim. Out of this about 400 or 500,000 were the *Pomaks* (Pomati), the native Bulgarians who had accepted Islam in the 10th, 11th and 17th centuries in the central and western Rhodopes. Muslims were in the majority in the cities of Filibe Vidin, Şumnu, Rusluk, Ragrad, Varna, Plevne, Osman-bazar, Eski-djuma'a, Yezigazra and in the minority in those of Gabrovo, Nish, Sofia, Tırnova, Karnobat (Karlin-oval) by 1293/1876. After the Crimean war the Ottoman government had settled in Bulgaria 70 or 80,000 Circass and about 100,000 Tatars (in A. H. Midhat, *Midhat Paşa*, Cairo 1323/1904, 35; 350,000 immigrants). Tension between these and the native Bulgarians was exploited by the Bulgarian revolutionists who had finally organised a Central Committee of Revolution in Bucharest in 1286/1869. In 1287/1870, the new administrative reform was for the first time applied in Bulgaria. The *sandjaks* of Rusluk, Varna, Vidin, Tulci (Tulca), Tırnova (Tırnova) formed the *vilâyet* of Tuna and those of Sofia and Nish that of Sofia. Midhat Paşa [g.n.], first governor of the *vilâyet* of Tuna, made it the most progressive province of the empire (A. H. Midhat, 24-26). Although the tax revenue of the *vilâyet* increased fifty per cent under his administration, the peasantry had to pay more and do forced labour for the construction of the new routes. In 1287/1870 the struggle for an independent

Bulgarian church resulted in the establishment of the Exarchate which was regarded as a national victory. In the same period the increased activities of the Bulgarian revolutionists, *komitadjis*, supported actively by the Russians, resulted in the great insurrection of 1293/1876 (April-May). Bulgaria became the main field of operations of the Ottoman-Russian war of 1293/1877. It caused an exodus of the Muslim population to the south. With the Treaty of San-Stefano Russia attempted to create under her protection a great Bulgaria from the Danube to the Aegean Sea. But the great powers replaced it by the Treaty of Berlin which created a principality of Bulgaria, *İzmirli Emirliği*, under the Sultan's suzerainty, and the autonomous Province of Eastern Rumelia (*Rumeli-i Şarkî Vilâyeti*). It united with the Principality as a result of a revolution in Filibe in 7 Şuh 1302/18 September 1885 (A. F. Türkeldi, *Mesail-i Muhimme-i Siyasiye*, Ankara 1957, 193-246). At the time of the revolution of 1326/1908 in İstanbul Prince Ferdinand declared the independence of Bulgaria and assumed the title of Czar (Ş. Ramazanoğlu, 23 October 1908).

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(H. Inalcik)

**BULGHÄR**, in Islamic literature the name of a Turkic people by whom two states, one on the Volga, the other on the Danube, were founded in the early middle ages.

Early historians. The original Bulgars seem to have arrived in the south Russian steppes with one of the Hunnic waves. They are mentioned for the first time by Joannes Antioch (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv, 619) in the year 481 A.D., when they helped the Emperor Zeno in his fight against the Goths. The centre of the Bulgar country was then the steppes in the vicinity of the Danube river and the Maeotae (Azov Sea), but some of their borders dwelled also in the region of lower Danube and in the Caucasus. In the Byzantine chronicles

their original country, Kuban, is known as Great Bulgaria (Thoponous, Nicomedia). After the death of Khân Kuvrat in 642 A.D. the unity of these Bulgars was brought to an end, probably under the pressure of the growing power of the new Khazar kingdom. One section of the Bulgars remained in their ancient settlements on the Kuban and in the Maeotis till the 10th century. At this time this country was called by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (1049, 12, 48) "Black Bulgaria", and the Russian chronicles give them also the name of "Black Bulgars". This section of the Bulgars did not play any great part in history and was probably absorbed by the successive waves of Magyars, Pechenegs and Cumans. By far the greatest group of Bulgars, under Khân Isperukh, left their home country in 675 for the Balkans and the Danube, where they founded a state among the South Slavonic tribes. In a comparatively short time the numerically weak group of Turkic Bulgars was assimilated and absorbed by the more numerous Slavs. In Islamic sources this state and its inhabitants are known as Bulgär.

The third and smallest group had retreated along the Volga to the north (this fact is now confirmed by archaeological data) and settled down by the confluence of the rivers Kama and Volga. There they subjugated the Finnish aboriginal population and founded a new state. This group are the Bulgars of Arabic, Bulkar of Persian sources, and this name is applied also to the country and to the capital of their state.

**Sources.** Our outstanding authority on the Bulgar is Ibn Fadlän, who in 399-1021-922 took part in an embassy sent by the Caliph al-Muktadir bilähi to the Bulgar king. A little earlier is the source preserved in Ibn Rusta, *Hudud al-'Alam*, Gardizi, al-Bukri and Marwazi. Some decades younger than Ibn Fadlän are the accounts of al-Istakhr, al-Mas'udi and al-Muqaddasi, and from the second half of the 11th/12th century we have the report of Ibn Hawkal. Beside these main sources we find some few remarks in other Arabic and/or Persian works, such as those of al-Biruni, Bayhaqi, Ibn al-Nadim etc. In the 6th/12th century Bulgar was visited by Abü Hämüd al-Andalus and two centuries later by Ibn Battüta, but the report of the latter is not free from the suspicion of invention. The historians of the Mongol epoch, such as Ibn al-Ağir, Abu'l-Fidä, Rashid al-Din, Djuvayni and others, inform us about the end of Bulgar state. European sources are represented only by the Russian chronicles, which are valuable for the time before the Mongol invasion and after. As our sources come chiefly from the 11th/12th century, the following picture of the internal state of affairs in Bulgar is drawn from these and applies to later times only indirectly.

**Territory and population.** The centre of the Bulgar kingdom was formed by the triangle between the Volga and the Kama and the country south of the confluence of both these rivers. As to the frontiers of the Bulgar territory, our sources leave us entirely in the dark, and chapter 31 in the *Hudud al-'Alam* (erroneously captioned *Hurid*) is totally useless in determining its neighbours. Nevertheless we can gather some indications about these neighbours and their relation to the Bulgar kingdom. To the north lived various Finno-Ugrian tribes, as *Wäsi* (in Russian sources *Ves*, today *Veps*) and *Yürs* (Russ. *Vugra*); both of them at different times were under Bulgar domination, at least nominally. In the east, the *Basğit* (Bashgirs) were subject

to the Bulgars, and to the south-east some Pecheneg and *Çuuz* tribes led their nomadic life quite independently of the Bulgars. Between the Bulgars and the Khazars, in the forests, dwelled the more primitive *Burtis* (Burtas, probably ancestors of the Mordva); they were subject to the Khazars and the object of frequent raids by the Bulgars and in later times also incorporated in the state of the latter. According to al-Istakhr it was 15 days' journey from the land of the Khazars to the land of the *Burtis* and thence another 15 days' to the limits of this people, probably to the north-west. To the west lived various Slavonic (Russian) tribes, but the limits of their eastern colonisation are uncertain. That some of these were in the 10th century subject to the Bulgars is evident from the fact that the Bulgar ruler is frequently called by Ibn Fadlän *malik al-Saklabä* (king of the Slavs).

The Bulgars were divided into many hordes and groups, known under different names to Islamic authors. *Bartäla*, *Ighid* (or *Ashli*) and *Bulkär* are the three main groups named in Ibn Rusta and his epigones and Ibn Fadlän mentions, apart from *Ashli*, the tribe of *Savär* and a group or a large clan, called *al-Ikrazadjar*, who were already Muslims and had a wooden mosque. In the forests dwelled the subjugated Finnish tribes and in the towns (at a later period) a mixed population formed by merchants and craftsmen from Russia, Khazaria, Central Asia and even from Baghdad.

**Political institutions.** The Bulgar ruler bore the title *yülkär* (in Ibn Fadlän *Khazär*), a Turkic title known also in the form *alghar* from the Öghuz inscriptions. This title indicates the status of a lesser prince, vassal of a *khäbän*, in this instance of the Khazar *khäbän*, and shows also that the Bulgar country originally formed only part of a greater empire and that their ruler was not entirely independent. The Bulgars paid to the Khazars a salary for from each house as a tax, and their dependent status was manifested also by the fact that a son of the Bulgar king lived at the court of the Khazar *khäbän* as a hostage. These feudal relations were probably loosened by the Bulgar alliance with the caliph in Baghdad, but it seems that only the fall of the Khazar empire in 965 allowed them to become an absolutely independent state. The changed position of the Bulgar ruler after the alliance with the Caliphate is expressed also in the change of the old title *yülkär* to the new one *amir* as a symbol of the cessation of the former allegiance to the Khazar *khäbän*.

The state of Bulgar did not form a political unity, since the tribal leaders (Ibn Fadlän calls them *maliks*) did enjoy a large independence and freedom; this is apparent from Ibn Fadlän's report of the refusal of the *maliks* of the tribe *Ashli* to obey an order of the king. Although the Russian chronicles mention continuously only one Bulgar state, we read *amir* *amir* 1183 of a war waged by one Bulgar prince, allied with the Komans, against the Great Town of Isbügar and in the Mongol epoch that another state, that of Zhozkoti (Zhuze-Tau), was founded.

In Ibn Fadlän's time the relation of the ruler to his people was still quite patriarchal. He used to ride through the capital (a town of tents) alone, unaccompanied by a bodyguard or escort; at the sight of their ruler his subjects rose from their seats and bowed their heads. The ruling class was formed, besides the family of the king and the tribal leaders, of 500 important families.

**Economy and trade.** Until the first half of



the 10th century the Bulgars led a nomadic life, like other Turkic peoples in the Russian steppe, and cattle-breeding was their chief occupation and the foundation of their economy. This is clearly shown in the earlier sources, for according to Ibn Rusta the taxes were paid in horses. Ibn Fadlān already found the society in a state of change from nomadism to settled life. Many customs of the former way of life were then still surviving, i.e., no permanent capital served as the seat of the ruler, who wandered from one place to another and lived in a large tent. Al-Isfahānī mentions that the inhabitants spent the winter in wooden houses and the summer in tents. In the latter part of this same century Bulghār was already a flourishing agricultural and trading centre.

The chief products were millet, wheat and barley (Ibn Rusta, Ibn Fadlān) and these formed also the main food together with horse-meat. From the produce of their fields the people paid no sort of taxes to the king. According to archaeological finds agricultural technique was on a fairly high level of development, which permitted also the export of crops; in 1024 the Russians of Suzdal' where there was a famine, brought wheat from Bulghār and thus saved their lives.

Although agriculture predominated, cattle-breeding still played an important rôle in the economy. It formed the basis for various branches of manufacture, mainly tanning and also for export. At a later period Bulghār leather (the modern Russian leather *yul'*) and the Bulghār shoes (Pers. *mizra-i bulghārī*) were particularly well-known, especially in the East. Archaeology has brought to light many other industrial products such as copper-ware, ceramics, jewels and implements of a comparatively high degree.

The main source of the country's wealth was, however, international trade. The river Volga is one of the most ancient trade-routes in the world and the favourable site of the town of Bulghār at the cross-roads of east-west and north-south trade was fully exploited. The Bulgars themselves traded mainly in the north and in a lesser degree also in Central Asia, but the importance of Bulghār was due in the first place to its function as a meeting-place of foreign merchants, Russians, Khazars, and the king levied a duty of 10% on all water-borne merchandise: for instance the Russian merchants paid from every ten slaves one slave 25 tax. The chief caravan-route led to Central Asia (Khwarezm) and to Kiev. From northern countries the Bulgars imported furs of martens, sables, beavers, foxes and squirrels, and exchange with these northern peoples, such as the Witig and Yura, was made by dumb barge (see Ibn Fadlān, Birind, Marwazi, Abū Hamid, Ibn Battūta). The Russians, too, brought furs and as another chief item slaves, who were re-exported to Central Asia by the caravan-route or to the Caspian provinces by the Volga. Al-Mukaddasī, 325, gives a long list of Bulghār exports: furs of many different kinds, horse and goat skins, shoes, halatunae, arrows, swords, armour, sheep, cattle, falcons, kingfish, fish-teeth, birch wood, walnuts, wax, honey and Slavonic slaves. Many of these items are mentioned also by other sources and as Ibn Rusta, al-Isfahānī, Abū Hāmid etc.

From Islamic countries the chief imports were textiles, arms, luxury goods and ceramics.

The unit of currency was, as in other parts of Eastern Europe till the 12th century, the fur (especially that of foxes, martens and squirrels).

There was also silver money current which had been imported from Muslim countries, this money being used to buy the goods of the Russians and Slavs. From the beginning of the 11th/10th century there were struck in Bulghār imitations of Sāmānid dirhams with the same of the original mint and original date, but with the name of the Bulghār amir Mikhā'il b. Dja'far (probably the son and successor of Dja'far b. 'Abd Allāh, the ruler in the Fadlān's time). From 337/948-49 we have the first dirham from a Bulghār mint (Suwār), struck in the name of Tālīb b. Ahmad, and further coins till the year 337/968. Other coins bear the names of Mu'īn b. Ahmad (366/976-77), struck in Suwār and Bulghār, and of Mu'īn b. Hasan (between 366/976-77 and 370/980), struck in the same mints (see Vasmer, *Wiener Num. Zeitsch.* 57, 1924, 631). Besides the names of the rulers there also appear on the coins the names of 'Abbāsid caliphs.

At the time of his visit Ibn Fadlān did not notice any towns or villages, as the Bulgars led a nomadic life. It seems that the building of the fortress, which was one of the principal tasks of the Baghdad embassy, laid the foundation of the future town of Bulghār. The non-existence of towns in Bulghār prior to the embassy is confirmed on the one hand by the silence of the Ibn Rusta group of sources about this, and on the other hand by the use of the name Bulghār: this name signifies to Ibn Rusta and Ibn Fadlān always the country or the people, never the town. Al-Isfahānī is the first author who mentions the existence of the towns Bulghār and Suwār, with wooden buildings and mosques and 10,000 inhabitants. This account is then repeated by all subsequent authors with some small additions (*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*: 20,000 inhabitants; Gardīzī: 300,000 families). The Russian chronicles know a number of Bulghār towns, but owing to their lack of details it is impossible to ascertain their locations. The most important of these towns was *Veliky gorod Bolgary* (the Great town of Bolgary), which is mentioned many times in the chronicles.

During the past half-century the Russians have undertaken numerous archaeological excavations on the sites of the ancient towns in Bulghār territory. The ruins near the village of Bulgarskoe, a distance of 6 km. from the town, show a high culture in the 13th and 14th centuries. All the buildings such as palaces, mosques, baths as well as the walls were of stone; the town had a circumference of about 6 miles and was surrounded by suburbs to the north and west. It must have had a population of some 50,000 souls at this time. The more recent discoveries in Bilyar and Suwār are richer than those in Bulgarskoe and it seems that Bulghār (i.e., the ruins at Bulgarskoe) was the capital only in the 10th and 11th centuries and then in later times its rôle was transferred to Bilyar in the central part of the country, on the river Cherechgan. Which of these two was the "Great town of Bolgary" of the Russian chronicles is difficult to tell.

Religion: According to our oldest sources (Ibn Rusta, ca. 950/92, but with an older source) Idān was well established amidst the Bulgars and there were some wooden mosques on their territory. This is fully confirmed by Ibn Fadlān, who during his visit found many Muslims, mosques, and a *khān* and *mu'addhin*. The early Arabic sources are silent about the beginning of Islamisation in Bulghār and only the 12th century traveller Abū Hāmid relates a legendary account, connected with a popular etymology of the name Bulghār; this

legend, however, is not known to the later Tatar traditions. One of the purposes of the Baghdadī embassy and especially that of Ibn Fadlān, was the strengthening of Islam, the introduction of Islamic law, the building of a mosque and a *mihrab* and the Islamisation of the whole country. It seems that this task was successfully accomplished. It was from Central Asia that Islam first reached Bulghār; the manner in which the *adhān* was performed clearly followed the *madhāb* of Abū Hanīfa, then ruled amongst the Central Asian Turks. Because Ibn Fadlān followed the Shāfi'ī *madhāb*, a disputation arose between him and the Bulghār *mu'addhin*, backed by the king. The Bulgars remained true to their Hanafī *madhāb* throughout the whole of their history. In towns there were mosques and Friday mosques, and the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* confirms that the inhabitants of Bulghār and Suwār were zealous fighters for the faith. According to Ma'addī (*Marāḡi*, II, 16) a son of the Bulghār king had made the pilgrimage to Mecca during the reign of al-Muktadir; another proof of the religious zeal of their rulers was the presentation to the mosques of Sabzavār and Khwarezmdīd, of a gift in 415/1024 by the Bulghār amir Abū Ishāk b. Shārdin b. Muḥammad b. Bīrīk (see *Ta'rikh-i Bayhaq*, ed. Tehrāni, 63). It seems that the Bulgars exercised a decisive influence on the conversion of nomadic Turkic tribes, such as Pechenegs and Kumans, to Islam, and they also nursed hopes of spreading the Muslim faith in Russia, in the 10th century still pagan. In the year 986 an embassy was sent to Kiev in order to convert prince Vladimir to Islam, and some time later this same ruler, searching for a suitable religion for himself and his people, invited Bulghār Muslims to explain to him the principles of their faith and to take part in a religious disputation between the representatives of the chief religions.

This northernmost Islamic country posed some ritual problems, owing to the short days and long nights during the winter and *vice versa* during the summer. To perform the daily five prayers in a short day was not an easy task and it was impossible to hold to the prescribed times; similar problems arose in Ramadan. This peculiarity of high latitudes, unknown in other Islamic lands, soon attracted the attention of Muslim writers and led to lengthy discussions as to what should be the right solution of these problems. As late as 1866 the Kazan historian Marjani wrote a treatise concerning this problem (see Togan, *Ibn Fadlān*, 170, where there are further references).

Language and literature: The language of the Bulgars, like that of the Khazars, has left very few remnants, mainly in toponymy and onomastics, and, beginning with the 12th century, also a fair number of epitaphs. The linguistic affinity of their language remained a problem a long time. Al-Isfahānī, 225, tells us that the language of the Bulgars resembled the speech of the Khazars, but both are unlike the languages of Burtās and Rūs. (An analysis of Kāshgharī's account of the Bulghār language together with a discussion of the whole problem is to be found in Pritsak, in *ZDMG* 100, 1939, 92-116). It is, however, now established that the Bulghār language belongs to the so-called "Bolgarian" group of the Western (or West-Hunnic) branch of Turkic languages, the other groups being Ghuz, Kipchak and Karluk. The "Bolgarian" group consists, apart from the Khazarian, of the following languages: 1) Proto-Bolgarian—the language of the Proto-Bul-

garian inscriptions and of the so-called "List of Princes" of the Bulgars of the Danube, found in an ancient Russian chronicle (see O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstendynastie*, Wiesbaden 1955); 2) Kuban Bulgarian; remnants of this language are found in loan-words in Hungarian, and 3) Volga-Bulgarian, the language of the epitaphs, written in Arabic script, found on the territory of Bulghār. The degree of affinity between this language and that of the modern Cavghaz has not yet been satisfactorily investigated and explained. As the Cavghazs have been very little affected by the highly developed Muslim culture of the Bulgars, it is improbable that they are descendants from these; a greater right to claim such descent belongs to the modern Kazan Tatars.

With the sole exception of the above mentioned tomb-inscriptions, dating from the 12th until the 14th centuries, we do not possess any remnants of literary activity of the Bulgars. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions in his *Fihrist* that the Bulgars, prior to their Islamisation, used the script of the Chinese and of the Manichaeans, but no sample of this writing has come down to us. Abū Hāmid reports a *Ta'rikh-i Bulghār*, a work of Kādī Ya'qūb b. Nu'mān al-Bulghārī from the beginning of 12th century, in the year 595/1195. Shārd al-Dīn Husnān al-Dīn al-Bulghārī composed in the Tatar language a *Risāla-i Tawārīkh-i Balghariyya*, which contains nothing but fabulous stories about the propagation of Islam and the lives of saints; it was printed in Kazan in the year 1902.

History: The scarcity of our sources does not permit us to follow the course of Bulghār history closely. The Bulgars came into the light of written history only at the time of Ibn Fadlān's visit; at this period their ruler was Yūsuf al-Mursh b. Shārdīn, who subsequently changed his title and name into amir Dja'far b. 'Abd Allāh. The coins supply the name of his son and successor Mikhā'il b. Dja'far and also the names of another three rulers: Tālīb b. Ahmad, Mu'īn b. Ahmad and Mu'īn b. al-Hasan (for the dates see above, section on economy). The Bulgars remained till the fall of the Khazar khānate a vassal state of the latter. In the year 964 the country in the Volga basin was devastated by the Kievan prince Svyatoslav; an echo of this is found in Ibn Hawkal's story of the conquest of Bulghār, Burtās and Khazar in the year 358/968-69. This is, however, not the date of the Russian expedition but that of the year in which Ibn Hawkal received the information of these events. This invasion had no lasting effects on the prosperity of Bulghār; similarly the second Russian campaign, led by Vladimir, the son of Svyatoslav, in the year 985 did little damage. On the contrary, the Bulghār gained by the downfall of Khazar khānate; as the Russian armies after their victory retreated, the place of the mighty Khazars was occupied by the Pecheneg nomads, representing no real danger to the Bulgars. For a short period the relations between the Russians and Bulghār improved, as is shown by the trade treaty concluded in the year 1006 on equal terms. Yet both these states were in the same way threatened: the trade in the north and this led to continuous fighting since the second half of the 11th century; Bulghār history is from this time a history of their wars with the Russians.

In 1085 the Russian town of Murom was captured by the Bulgars, but remained in their hands only for a short time. After this event they were on the defensive and on many occasions in the years 1110, 1164, 1172, 1183, 1220—the town of Bulghār was



besieged by the Russians. Only two instances of a Bulghar offensive are mentioned: in 1107 they unsuccessfully attacked the town of Susadul and in 1213 they sacked the town of Ust'-yag, situated far in the north. The further fighting with the Russians was interrupted for nearly two centuries by the Mongol invasion.

Abū Hānūd, who visited the town of Bulghar and the Volga basin in the first half of the 12th century, says nothing about political history except the statement that in the town of Salān on the lower Volga there lived a Bulghar *amir* and stood a Bulghar mosque.

When the Mongols were returning to the east after the victory over the Russians on the river Kalka (1224) they were ambushed by the Bulgars and suffered heavy losses (Ibn al-Adīr, xi, 254). This was avenged in a most sanguinary fashion: in 1229 the Bulghar vanguard on the river Yāyik (Ural) was put to flight, and, in 1236 according to Muslim sources, in 1237 according to Russian chronicles, the Mongols attacked the Bulghar state and destroyed the capital with all its inhabitants.

From then on the country of Bulghar formed part of the kingdom of the "Golden Horde", the Mongol empire in the Eastern Europe (see BULOI). The capital Bulghar appeared to have then to a flourishing condition in a relatively short time; the archaeological finds show a high culture dating just from this period, and the majority of the epitaphs is dated in the Mongol epoch. The subsequent history of the country and the capital is very little known and we are not even told when and why the town was abandoned by its inhabitants. It was not affected by Timur's campaign of the year 1397, but Bulghar was soon afterwards, in 1399, destroyed by the Russians. The town probably suffered more from the rise of Kazan (called also Noviy Bulgar, New Bulghar), which was founded just before this time by Batu-Khan, than from these wars. The selection of this town as capital of an independent Tatar state, founded by Ulugh Muhammad (died 1446), sealed the fate of the town of Bulghar, its importance as the greatest market on the central Volga passed first to Kazan and then to the Russian town of Nizhny-Novgorod (today Gorkiy).

The word Bulghar still remained in use in literature, though only as the name of a country, and as late as the 19th century the Tatars called themselves Bulgars.

**Bibliography:** Muslim sources: Ibn Rustā; Ibn Fadlān; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*; al-Istakhri; Ibn Hawkal; al-Mukaddasi; *Yūsuf al-ʿAlam*; al-Bīrūnī; Gardīzī; al-Bakrī; Abū Hānūd al-Andalusī, *Tuhfa* (ed. Ferrand); idem, *Muʿrib* (ed. Dubler); Yāqūt; al-Kazwīnī; Abu T-Fida'; al-Dīnawarī. For the Mongol period: Ibn al-Athīr; Abu T-Fida'; Raḡhā al-Dīn; Dīnawarī; Ibn Battūṭa etc. (see the bibliography in Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1913). Russian chronicles in *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, Moscow 1846-1925. Modern studies: Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939; Grekov, *Volzhskiy Bulgariy, Istoricheskiye zapiski* 14, 1945, I-II; A. P. Smirnov, *Volzhskiy Bulgariy*, Moscow 1951; Yakubovskiy, *K istoricheskoj topografii Itila s Bulgariy*, *Soviet Arkheologiya* 10, 1948, 255; A. P. Smirnov, *Trudy Kavkazskoy Arkheolog. Ekspeditsii*, Moscow 1954; *Istoriya Tatarskoy ASSR*, vol. 1, Kazan 1955; Kovalevskiy, *Kniga Achmeda Ibn Fadlana ...*, Kharkov 1956;

M. Canard, *Ibn Fadlān chez les Bulgares de la Volga*, in *Afrique Alger* 1958, 41-146.

(I. HREBEK)

**BULGHAR-DAGH** (see TOROS).

**BULGHAR-MA'DEN** (see TOROS).

**AL-BULĠĠINI**, family of Egyptian scholars of Palestinian origin, whose ancestor Šālih settled at Balkina in al-Gharbiyya.

(1) ʿUMAR b. KASLĀN b. NAsIR b. ŠALIH, SIRAGI AL-DIN ABD HAFS AL-KANANĪ, born 12 Šaʿbān 724/4 August 1324, died 12 Dhū l-Kaʿda 805/7 June 1409. He studied at Cairo under the most famous scholars of the day, including Ibn ʿAKIL [q.v.], whose daughter he married, and served as *maʿūn* during Ibn ʿAKIL's brief tenure as Grand Kādī in 759/1358. Appointed Mufti in the Dar al-ʿAdl in 795/1363, he became the most celebrated jurist of his age (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddima*, ch. 6, § 7 [Quatrecentième iii, 8]), but except for a short term as Šāhīnīe Grand Kādī at Damascus in 769/1367-8 (made notable by rivalry with his teacher Tādj al-Dīn al-Suhāfi) he was never promoted Grand Kādī, but only to the lesser (though lucrative) office of Kādī l-ʿAskar, in addition to a number of teaching posts. In later life, however, he was honoured with the title of Shaykh al-Islām, ranked along with or above the Grand Kādīs, and regarded by some as the *Muʿaddid* of the eighth century. With his stupendous knowledge, he was seldom able to finish any literary work, and besides a treatise on *Mahāsin al-Isṭiḥāq* left only an uncompleted work, *al-Tadhīn*, on Šāhīnīe fikh. He was the founder of the family's *madrasa* in Hārat Bahā' al-Dīn Karākhūsh.

**Bibliography:** Šāhīnī, *Daw' Lāmī*, v, 89-90; al-Dīn Taghribardī, *Nuḡām*, I, 105-106; v (= Cairo xii), index; vi, 156; *Maḥād*, *Sāh*, index; vii, 172 (with family table and additional bibliography); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar Kāmina*, ii, 267, 427; Suyūṭī, *Ḥuṣn al-Muhādara*, i, 248 (135); Brockelmann II 93, S II 410; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Inṣāḥ al-Ḥuṣn* (IM, MS. Add. 7321), 1234, b.

(2) MUHAMMAD b. ʿUMAR, BAHR AL-DIN, 757/1356-797/1389, eldest son of (1), succeeded him as Kādī l-ʿAskar and Mufti Dār al-ʿAdl in 779/1377.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar Kāmina*, iv, 105; Wiet no. 2288. His son, Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad; *Daw'*, x, 171; Wiet no. 2350; and grandson, Wāḥ al-Dīn Ahmad, Kādī at Damascus: *Nuḡām*, vii, 343; *Daw'*, ii, 136; Suyūṭī, *Naṣm al-ʿIyān* (Hitt), 90.

(3) ʿABD AL-RAMMĀN b. ʿUMAR, DIALAL AL-DIN, 763/1362-824/1421, succeeded his brother Muḥammad as Kādī l-ʿAskar in 797/1389. He lived in luxurious style, had a retinue of 300 mamālūks, and in 804/1401 obtained the office of Šāhīnīe Grand Kādī, which he held with intervals until his death.

**Bibliography:** Šāhīnī, *Daw'*, i, 106-112; Ibn Taghribardī, *Nuḡām* vi, 548-9 and index; Wiet no. 1381; Kalkashandī, *Subḥ*, ix, 180; for his extant works on *Kuṭān* and *fikh*, Brockelmann II, 112; S II, 139. His sons: Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad, Kādī l-ʿAskar, *Nuḡām*, vii, 361; *Daw'*, vii, 204-5; Suyūṭī, *Naṣm al-ʿIyān*, 151; Wiet no. 2180; and Zayn al-Dīn Kāḥya, *Ḥuṣn al-Dīnawarī*, *Daw'*, viii, 27; vii, 205; Wiet no. 1807; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Inṣāḥ al-Ḥuṣn*, IM, OC. 5371, 105A, Add. 23,330, 105A, 6, Add. 7321, 458A, b. (4) SĀLĪH b. ʿUMAR, ʿĀLAM AL-DIN ABU'L-BAKĀʾ, 797/1389-868/1464, youngest son of (1), eight times Šāhīnīe Grand Kādī of Cairo from 825/1422 until his death, professor in various *madrasas*, and *naṣir*

of the Baybarsiyya khānshāh. He was the teacher of al-Salḥī and of al-Suyūṭī in *fikh*. In addition to editing his father's *fatāwā* and *Muḥimmi*, completing his *Tadhīr*, and writing his biography, he composed a *tafsir* and other works on tradition and law.

**Bibliography:** Šāhīnī, *Daw'*, iii, 312-4; iv, 40 (biography of his brother Dīyāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Khālik); Ibn Taghribardī, *Nuḡām*, vii, 792-3 and index; Wiet no. 1197; Suyūṭī, *Ḥuṣn al-Muhādara*, i, 205 (189); *Naṣm al-ʿIyān*, 119; Brockelmann, II 96; S II, 114-5. (5) MUHAMMAD b. (TĀJ) AL-DIN MUHAMMAD b. ʿĀLAM AL-RAMMĀN, BAHR AL-DIN ABU'L-SAʿĀDĀT, 810/1417 or 821/1419-890/1485, grandson of (3), served as *maʿūn* for his uncle Sālih, was appointed on his father's death in 853/1451 to succeed him as Kādī l-ʿAskar, obtained for 7000 dinars the office of Šāhīnīe Grand Kādī in 871/1466, but held it for only four months, and greatly discredited the family by his extravagances.

**Bibliography:** Šāhīnī, *Daw'*, ix, 95-100; Ibn Taghribardī, *Nuḡām*, vii, 742; Ibn Iyās (Kāh), iii, 211. His brothers: ʿĀLĪ al-Dīn ʿĀLĪ, *Daw'*, v, 310; Šihāb al-Dīn Ahmad, *Daw'*, ii, 119; their sons, *Daw'*, iv, 28; v, 102; vii, 70.

Collateral branches descended from Abū Bakr b. Rasāl and Muḥammad b. Muṭṭar b. NAsir, cousin of (1), held office as Kādīs of al-Mahalla, Alexandria, etc.; see table in Wiet no. 1721 (to be supplemented as above), and Šāhīnī, *Daw'*, i, 253; iv, 228, 232; vi, 296; viii, 62.

(J. A. R. GIES)

**BULUGĠIN b. MUHAMMAD** (see HAMMADIS).

**BULUGĠIN** (in Arabic: Bulūḡīn) a. ZIRI b. MANAN, first Zīrid of Ifrīkiyya (eleventh century). As a reward for distinction in the service of the Fātimids as *amir* of the Sanhājīya against the Zanāta he was nominated governor of Ifrīkiyya by al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh. As he was almost always on campaigns in the central Maghrib, he entrusted the administration of al-Kayrawān and eastern Ifrīkiyya to a vice-*amir* whose power continuously increased. The principal events of his life are as follows: Bulukkin founded Ajlūn, Milana, and Medea (1109/960), fought against Abū Khazar (1138/968-9), and boat the Zanāta (1160/971). His father Ziri was killed by Dīyāʾ b. ʿĀLĪ b. Ḥamdūn al-Andalusī, the rebellious governor of Maṣla and the Zab (Ramādān 360/June-July 971). The new *amir* of the Sanhājīya ejected the Zanāta from the central Maghrib (end of 360 autumn 971) and obtained Maṣla and the Zab. On 20 Dhū l-Hijja 361/2 Oct. 972 he was invested, under the name of Abū T-Fatḥ Yūsuf, with the Fātimid west except for Sicily and Tripoli. He campaigned in the Maghrib (362-3/973-4), appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kātib governor of Ifrīkiyya, fought the Kutāma (364-5/974-5), gained Tripoli, Sort, and Ajlūn (367/977-8). During his last campaign (368-73/979-84) he took Fez, Sijilmāssa, and Basra, beat the Barghawāta, and died on the return journey on 21 Dhū l-Hijja 373/25 May 984. He was succeeded by his son al-Manṣūr.

**Bibliography:** Ibn ʿIdrīs (ed. Levi-Provençal & Cufin), i, 228-34, 239, 296, ii, 243; 293 (Ziry's gained Tripoli, Sort, and Ajlūn); al-Buhārī (167/977-8). During his last campaign (368-73/979-84) he took Fez, Sijilmāssa, and Basra, beat the Barghawāta, and died on the return journey on 21 Dhū l-Hijja 373/25 May 984. He was succeeded by his son al-Manṣūr.

al-Barbar, 6, 8, 13, 16-8; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʿnis*, 62-4, 71-5; Ibn Taghribardī, iv, 72; Ibn ʿImād, *Shāhīnī*, ii, 53-4, 80-1; Makrīfī, *Ḥuṣn al-Muhādara*, 1045, 142-5, 180, 186, 196, 198, 294; Ibn al-Kātib, *Aʿmāl*, in *Centenario M. A. Amari*, ii, 431-3; Fournel, *Herbiers*, ii, 205-6, 349, 350, 352-3; H. R. Idries, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides* (in preparation). (H. R. IDRIES)

**BULUGH** (see BALIGH).

**BULUWADIN** (see BULWADIN).

**BĠNA** (see AL-ʿANBAR).

**AL-BUNDĀRĪ**, AL-FATĪH b. ʿĀLĪ b. MUHAMMAD AL-ʿISFAHĀNĪ, KĠWĀM AL-DIN, a historian who wrote in Arabic and is primarily known for his revision of the History of the Šāhīnīdīs written by his compatriot ʿImād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī. Relieving it of certain stylistic embellishments, he dedicated it in 623/1226 to the Ayyūbīd al-Muʿazzam (ed. M. Th. Houtman in *Revue de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Saljuqides*, ii). He says that he had previously similarly treated the History of Salāhīn, al-Barī al-Šāhīnī, by the same author. He had also written a continuation to the (biographical) History of Baghdad by Khātib Baḡdādī (autograph MS. dated 639/1241-42, Paris Bibl. Nat. Arab. 6132). Finally he is the author of an Arabic translation of Firdawsī's *Šāh-nāma* which he also dedicated to al-Muʿazzam in 642/1227 (ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-ʿAsʿam, Cairo 1350). We know nothing more of his life, which he seems to have spent divided between Syria and ʿIrāk. The date of his death is unknown.

**Bibliography:** Houtsma, *op. cit.*, preface; Brockelmann, i, 321, and S I, 354 (where the author is incorrectly distinguished from Taʿībī); *Baghdād* from the *Ḥisāb* to al-Khātib, cf. *ibid.* 563). (M. TH. HOUTSMA [cf. CHAMBERS])

**BUNDUK** (see BĠDĠ).

**BUNDUKDĀR** (see BAYRAK).

**BUNDUKI** (see SIKKA).

**BUNDUKIYYA** (see BĠDĠ).

**AL-BUNĠ** (see SUPPLEMENT).

**AL-BUNT**, Spanish Alpuente, a small *municipio* in the north-west of the province of Valencia, on the eastern slopes of the mountains forming the valley of the Guadalquivir-Turia; it belongs to the *partido judicial* of Chelva, 87 kilometres from the chief town. Situated at the junction of two mountains, Monte del Castillo and loma de San Cristobal, its castle stands on a crag sheer on all sides, which can only be reached by the steep and narrow ascent of an artificial covered way defended by a tower of dressed stone. In the ruins one can see traces of Roman and Arab masonry. It was reached by a drawbridge, some 40 metres long, which has perhaps given its name to the place.

It has no history before the time when, at the beginning of the *fifteenth* which put an end to the Unmayyad caliphate, the Banū Kāsim, Kutāma Berbers, bound by a long-standing alliance with the Arab tribe of Fihri, became independent in their small, steep territory, which formed part of the *haya* of Santipetia.

Of the four petty kings who ruled it, the first was ʿAbd Allāh b. Kāsim al-Fihri, an ʿĀmirid *mamlūk* who took the title of *hādīd* and ruled as an independent sovereign. After the caliph al-Murtada was routed before Granada and killed at Cadix, his brother Abū Bakr Hādīd sought refuge in Alpuente and, having been proclaimed by the Cordovans as caliph at the end of Rabiʾ II 418/June 1027, lived peacefully in this obscure place for over two and a



half years, welcomed and well-treated by the 'Amīrid *amūd*, who was a supporter of the Marwānid dynasty notwithstanding the harm which the last caliphs had done to his predecessors. When he at last decided to make his official entry into Cordoba it was with a retinue as small and courtly as the place from which he came; he was quickly deposed and it was thus that the Umayyad caliphate came to an end.

'Abd Allāh b. Kāsim, who ruled with the title of Nizām al-Dawla and died in 421/1031, was succeeded by his son Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh Yūsuf al-Dawla, who died early in 424/1032, leaving a son six years old. The son was deposed after a few months by his paternal uncle 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad, who married the queen mother and lived on good terms with the neighbouring *reyes de taifa* until his death in 485/1092.

Alpuente next passed into the hands of the Almoravids and then into those of the Almohads. When the Almohads were expelled from Andalusia, the *sayyid* who was governor of Valencia, Abū Sa'īd Zayd, grandson of 'Abd al-Mu'min, allied himself with James I the Conqueror and offered Alpuente to him; afterwards, when he sought refuge at his court and turned Christian, he submitted Alpuente to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Segorbe, Don Guillem.

There is another Al-Bunt, a farm near Granada, where in 428/1037 Bādīs, the successor of Habbās, and his brother Buluggin treacherously killed the 'Amīrid *faṣā* Zuhayr, lord of Almería.

**Bibliography:** Ibn 'Idjārī, *al-Bayḥān al-Mughrib*, iv, 127, 145-6, 215; Ibn Hazm, *Ḍaw'at al-awā'id*, 446; Ibn al-Khathīb, *al-Ma'āl al-ḥam*, 239-40; Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, II, 338; P. Madox, *Dictionnaire géographique*, II, 197-8. [A. HECH MIRANDA]

#### BCR [see BA'Ā]

AL-BURĀK, the beast on which Muhammad is said to have ridden, when he made his miraculous "night-journey". According to Sīra xxi, 1, the "night-journey" led the Prophet from the sacred place of worship, i.e., Mecca, to the "remote place of worship". This latter place has been identified by B. Schrieke and J. Horowitz with a point in the heavens, and by A. Guillaume, recently, with a locality near Dīr'āna on the border of the sacred precinct of Mecca. The addition of the phrase "the environs of which we have blessed" makes it probable, however, that the passage refers to a place in the Holy Land, namely Jerusalem (cf. Sīra xxi, 71, 81; Sīra vii, 137; Sīra xxxiv, 18; *al-lahī bīrānī fīhī*). Be this as it may, the "remote place of worship" has always been understood, in the indigenous tradition, as a reference to Jerusalem. It was accepted, moreover, that Muhammad made the journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and back, not merely in a dream, but accompanied by Gabriel—in the living flesh and within the space of a single night. The miraculous speed of such a feat was held to be explicable on the ground that Muhammad rode a beast of exceptional fleetness. It was in this connexion that the legend of al-Burāk arose.

In one of the numerous *ḥadīths* that Tabarī, in his *Kutub al-kutub*, gives on the "night-journey", Muhammad's mount is described simply as a horse (xv, 1, 1). Most *ḥadīths* of the earlier times call it, however, al-Burāk and define it as "a beast (in size intermediate) between a mule and an ass", sometimes with the further detail that it is white. It is also

declared to be long (Muslim, *Imān*, 259), with a long back and long ears (Ibn Sa'd, i, 1, 143), with shaking ears (Tabarī, *Ta'isr*, xv, 10), saddled and bridled (*ibid.*, 12). The *raḍā*-poet 'Aḍḍādī (d. 97/715) speaks, in connection with Abraham, of the "bridled Burāk" (cf. Abūwardī, xxv, 107-11; if genuine, the oldest dated evidence). The earlier Prophets have themselves made use of this beast (Tabarī, *Ta'isr*, xv, 10; Ibn Hishām, 263). Its speed is said, as a rule, to be such that "with one stride it moved as far as its gaze reached". In Ibn Hishām, 264, in Ibn Sa'd, i, 1, 143 and in Tabarī, *Ta'isr*, xv, 3 it is also described as a beast having "wings on its shanks, with which it drives forward its legs". These words are intended to mean, of course, only that al-Burāk could move its legs extremely quickly, and not that it was capable of flying. Genuine wings are first ascribed to it only in later texts. It is generally depicted in miniatures as a winged creature (see below). Grammatically al-Burāk is construed both as masculine and as feminine.

It is reported in some *ḥadīths* that al-Burāk at first resisted the attempt of the Prophet to mount him and was therefore brought to obedience by Gabriel. Muhammad, after the arrival in Jerusalem, is said to have dismounted and tied the beast to a rock (*ṣaḥāba* Tabarī, *Ta'isr*, xv, 7), or "to the ring, to which the Prophets were wont to tie it" (Muslim, *Imān*, 259; Tabarī, *Ta'isr*, xv, 10; Ibn Sa'd, i, 1, 143 f.). Al-Burāk, in certain *ḥadīths* transmitted by Buḥārī and Muslim, serves as the steed for Muhammad's actual "journey to heaven". The legends of the "night-journey" (*isrā'*) and of the "journey to heaven" (*mi'rāj*) became combined at an early date. Al-Burāk was also included in this confusion of legends, and thus developed gradually into a flying steed. The ascent into heaven (*mi'rāj*), in the original form of the legend, occurred however by means of a ladder.

The etymology of the name Burāk is not yet fully elucidated. E. Blochet believed it to come from the Middle Persian *bīrag*, "steed". J. Horowitz has rightly questioned this interpretation and has declared himself in favour of a derivation from the Arabic root *baraka*, "to lighten, to flash". According to this view, Burāk could be explained as a (rare) diminutive form. "The miraculous beast would thus have received its name 'the little lightning-flash' on account of its fleetness or of its brilliant colour". Yet even this explanation is not wholly convincing. The possibility must also be envisaged that the name Burāk goes back to a pre-Islamic tradition now unknown to us. In general, much that is reported about the steed of the miraculous "night-journey" will derive from pre-Islamic tradition. It is, however, difficult to uncover the various links in all their detail.

The later development in the conception of the Burāk is to be discerned rather in figurative representations than in literary documents. This statement is also valid in relation to the fact that eventually al-Burāk received a "human face". Horowitz has pointed to a *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās, transmitted by Ḍa'ūd (d. 1035), as the earliest literary evidence declaring that al-Burāk had "a cheek like that of a man". Buḥārī, in his description of the ruins of Persia's burning of the 6th-century city, designates the monster in the gateway of Xorras, "whose face resembles a human face", as Burāk. The earliest picture yet known of al-Burāk dates from the year A.D. 1314 (in a MS. of the *Ḍiḥān* al-Tawḥīd of Raḥīd al-Dīn). None of

less, it is clear that the real development occurred within the sphere of the visual arts. The decisive stimuli arose out of those forms of representation which—from the figures guarding the gates of Assyrian palaces onwards—remained alive in the shape of crests, griffins or sphinxes and have again and again appeared as artistic forms. The winged creatures, which in the course of time became petrified into a formal element no longer understood, obtained at last a new meaning in connexion with the legend of the *mi'rāj* of the Prophet. In illustrations to Persian poetry, and especially to the works of Nizām al-Burāk with his rider and with Gabriel as guide came to be a much cherished subject. The splendidly composed picture of the "journey to heaven" in the Nizām MS. Or. 2265 of the British Museum constitutes the highest point of artistic achievement in this evolution.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, 263-265; Ibn Sa'd, i, 1, 143 ff.; Buḥārī, *Ba'ṣ al-ḥaḥ*, 6; Buḥārī, *Muḥall al-Asr*, 42; Muslim, *Imān*, 259, 264; Naṣīf, *Saḥīḥ*, i; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 143 and iv, 207, 208; Tabarī, *Ta'isr*, Cairo 1321, xv, 3-13; Nawawī, *Commentary on Muslim*, Cairo 1283, i, 234 ff.; Ibn al-Balḥī, *Fīr-nima*, ed. G. de Strange and R. A. Nicholson London 1921 (Gib. Mem. Ser. N.S. II, 126, trans. G. de Strange, in *JRAS* 1912, 202); Dandl, *Hayat al-Jawāhid al-Kubr*, Būlak 1284, i, 146 ff.; M. Wolff, *Muhammadiische Eschatologie*, Leipzig 1872, 101 f. (Arabic text: 57); E. Blochet, in *RHR* 40, 1899, 203-16; B. Schrieke, in *EP*, x, v. 100; A. A. Bevan, *Muhammad's Ascension to Heaven (Be'heṭṭe zur ZATW* 27, Gießen 1914, 49-61); J. Horowitz, *Muhammadi Himmelfahrt*, in *Idl.* 9, 1919, 159-183; M. Asin Palacios, *La mística del Islam en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid-Granada 1943; E. Cerulli, *Il "Libro della Scala"*, The Vatican 1949 (= *Studi e Testi* 150); A. Guillaume, *Where was al-Ma'īd al-Aḡa?*, in *Al-Andalus* 18, 1953, 323-336; R. Paret, *Die "ferne Gehobenseite" in Sure 17, 1*, in *Idl.* 34, 1929, 150-2; W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928, 117-121; R. Estinghausen, in *AP* Orientalis, II (1937), 358-59; *idem*, *Persian ascension miniatures of the fourteenth century* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, XII Convegno "Volta" promosso della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Rome 1957, 360-383). (R. PARET)

BURĀK (or, more correctly, BARAK) **MĀRĪT**, the first of the Kutubg Khāns of Kirmān. By origin a Kara-Khitay he was, according to Dīwāynī, brought to Sultān Muhammad Khwārm-Shāh after the defeat of the Kara-Khitay on the Talas in 1220 and taken into his service, in which he rose to the rank of *hājib* or chamberlain. According to Nasawī he had held this same office at the court of the Gūr-Khān or ruler of the Kara-Khitay. Being sent on an embassy to Sultān Muhammad he was forcibly detained by the latter until the final collapse of the Kara-Khitay and was only then admitted into his service. When the sultan had met his death in flight before the Mongol armies and his son Dīāl al-Dīn Khwārm-Shāh (q.v.) had taken refuge in India, another son Ghlyāth al-Dīn Pr-Shāh succeeded in establishing himself in Persian Turk (winter of 1222-3). Here he was joined by Burāk, whom he appointed governor of Isfahān. On account of a quarrel with Ghlyāth al-Dīn's vizier, Burāk obtained permission to leave for India in order to enter the service of Sultān Dīāl al-Dīn. Attacked en route by the governor of Kirmān he not only defeated

his assailant but made himself master of his territory, and he then renounced the idea of proceeding to India (1222-3). This is Dīwāynī's version; Nasawī represents Burāk as being appointed governor of Kirmān from the outset. When Sultān Dīāl al-Dīn appeared in Kirmān in 1224 he confirmed Burāk's appointment, though not without some misgivings. In 1226, whilst campaigning in the Caucasus, he received information that Burāk had risen in revolt. In his haste to deal with the rebel he travelled, according to Dīwāynī, from Tiflis to the borders of Kirmān in the space of 17 days. He then turned back, either because of Burāk's conciliatory attitude or because of the strong defensive measures he had adopted. In 1228 Ghlyāth al-Dīn, having quarrelled with his brother, came as a fugitive to Kirmān. His mother was forced to marry Burāk against her will and was then accused, together with her son, of complicity in a plot against his life. They were both put to death though Dīwāynī and Nasawī disagree as to the details. According to the former Ghlyāth al-Dīn was executed first; according to the latter he was kept a prisoner for a time after his mother's death and there was even a rumour that he had escaped to Isfahān. Dīwāynī relates that Burāk now approached the Caliph announcing his conversion to Islam and asking to be recognised as an independent sultan. The Caliph granted his request and gave him the title of *bulugh sultān* ("Fortunate Sultan"). In 630/1232-3 the Mongol commanders operating in the Siltān area called on Burāk to submit to the Great Khān. He excused himself from proceeding to Mongolia in person but sent his son Rukn al-Dīn instead. Rukn al-Dīn was still en route when he received the news of his father's death, which occurred in the late summer or early autumn of 1235.

**Bibliography:** Dīwāynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, transl. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols., Manchester 1958; Nasawī, *Histoire du Sultan Dīāl ad-Dīn Mankobīrī*, ed. and transl. O. Houliat, 2 vols., Paris 1891-3; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1925.

(W. BARTHOLOMÆ, J. A. BOYLE)

BURĀK (or rather BARAK) KHĀN, a ruler of the Chaghatay Khānate. A grandson of Möste'ken, who fell before Hāmān, his father, Yesin-To'a, had been banished to China for his part in the conspiracy against the Great Khān Möngke. Burāk himself began his career at the court of Möngke's successor, Kublāy Khān (1260-94). When in March 1266 Muḥarrak-Shāh, the son of Kara-Hölgei, was elected to the Chaghatay Khānate, Kublāy dispatched Burāk to Mā war? al-Nahr with a *yarlīg* or rescript appointing him co-regent with his cousin. Burāk at first concealed the *yarlīg* and then, having gained the support of the military, attacked Muḥarrak-Shāh, whom he defeated and captured at Khujand in September 1266.

Although he owed his throne to Kublāy, Burāk was soon involved in hostilities with the Great Khān. He expelled the latter's governor of Chinese Turkestan and defeated the army which Kublāy sent to restore him. In his war against Kublāy's great adversary, Kaydu, the head of the House of Ögödei, who had now possessed himself of Semirechye, Burāk was less successful. He gained an initial victory but Kaydu obtained help from the Golden Horde; Burāk was defeated on the Sir-Dar'āy and withdrew into Mā war? al-Nahr, where he prepared to offer desperate resistance. However a reconciliation was effected between the two princes and at a *kuriltay* held on the Talas in the spring of 1269 there



was organized, under the suzerainty of Kayda, a kingdom completely independent of the Great Khan. Kayda and Burak bailed each other as *anda* ("blood brother"), and an agreement was reached that the princes should live in the mountains and on the steppes, keep their herds of horses out of the cultivated areas and not exact from the population anything beyond their legal dues. Two thirds of Mä warä al-Nahr were left to Burak but the government of the cultivated areas was placed in the hands of Ma'ad Beg, a governor appointed by Kayda.

At the time of this hostility Burak had expressed his intention of invading the territories of Abaka, the Il-Khan of Persia, and had been encouraged by Kayda, who hoped to see the back of a dangerous rival. Ma'ad Beg was sent to Persia, ostensibly to collect the revenues due to Burak and Kayda, but in reality to spy out the land. Soon after his return Burak crossed the Oxus and occupied parts of Khwarizm and Aghlänistan. However he received little support from the troops sent by Kayda and was soon left in the lurch. On 7 Rabi' al-Hijrid 668/22 July 1270 Abaka inflicted a crushing defeat on his opponent, who withdrew across the Oxus with only 5,000 men.

Accounts differ as to how Burak passed the last year of his life. According to Wansil, he spent the winter in Bulghara, where he adopted Islam and assumed the title of Sultan. Ghayyiq al-Din, in the following year he undertook a campaign in Sibir, but his plans were frustrated by the defection of several princes and he was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of Kayda, who caused him to be poisoned. According to Maghrib al-Din's more circumstantial account the defection of the princes took place immediately after Burak's return across the Oxus. He appealed for help to Kayda, who advanced very slowly at the head of a large army, his intention being not to assist Burak, but to profit by the situation. Having in the meanwhile suppressed the revolt Burak begged his *anda* to turn back, but Kayda continued to advance. His troops finally entered Burak's camp and when they entered it the next morning they found that he had died during the night, of fright, as it was said. His death took place according to Ghazal Karaji at the beginning of 670, i.e., on or after the 9th August 1277. He was buried, by Kayda's command, on a high mountain after the Mongol and not the Muslim fashion.

**Bibliography:** *Ta'rikh-i-Wansil*, ed. Hammer, 124 ff. (trans. 128 ff.); *Rashid al-Din, Jihannam al-Tawarikh*, ed. Blochet, II, 168 ff. and 177 ff.; *D'Oshon, Histoire des Mongols*, III, 427 ff.; *Gossens, L'Empire des Steppes*, Paris 1939; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1955; W. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, transl. by T. Minorsky, I, Leiden 1956. (W. Barthold's J. A. Burak.)

**BĀRĀN**, wife of the caliph al-Ma'mun and daughter of the Persian secretary al-Hasan b. Sahl (g.). According to some her real name was Khadija and Baran simply an appellation. Born in Safar 192/December 807, she was married from the age of ten to the caliph whom her father had faithfully served during the first part of his reign. The wedding celebrations, the splendours of which are described with relish by many authors, did not take place until Ramadan 210/December 825-January 826, on al-Hasan's estate at Fum al-Sih, near Wasit, at a time when the former secretary had retired from public life, but when the caliph was still desirous

of showing his attachment to the family. It was on this occasion that Baran, according to tradition, interceded for Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi (g.). Baran died in Rabi' I 271/September 884, aged nearly eighty. She lived in the former palace of Haffar the Barmes, long their heads of horses out of the cultivated areas and not exact from the population anything beyond their legal dues. Two thirds of Mä warä al-Nahr were left to Burak but the government of the cultivated areas was placed in the hands of Ma'ad Beg, a governor appointed by Kayda.

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**BURAYDA**, the present capital of al-Kasim district of Saudi Arabia, is located at 26°20' N, 47°58' E, on the left bank of Wadi al-Rumal just west of where it flows into the sand of Nafid al-Sir. The city lies on a ridge of Nafid Burayda, 25 km. north of its traditional rival, the city of 'Unayza on the opposite bank of "the Wadi", as it is usually called in al-Kasim. In the alluvial flats scattered among the dunes of Nafid Burayda there are gardens and villages called collectively al-Khadija (sing. khadija). These fertile plots were formed by the Wadi flood, from which they continue to derive their copious water supply.

The altitude of Burayda is 670 m. at the airstrip. North and west of the city there is excellent grazing and an ample supply of fine salt which once made the city a famous market for horses, camels, and even cattle. The livestock, the agricultural produce and water from al-Khadija, the central position of the city on the Basra-Medina route has all factors in developing Burayda into one of the great trading centres of Arabia. The mixed population, comprising settled elements of Harb, 'Anaza, Mutayr, 'Uyayba, and Bani Tamim, traded throughout the Arab world. Men from Burayda belonging to the corporation of 'Uyayl became known from Cairo to Bombay as livestock dealers and caravan men.

The origin of the city is not clear. Yaqut mentions Burayda as a watering place of Bani Dahina of the tribe of 'Ahs, and the modern Arab geographers, al-Khadija and Ibn Balayhid, accept this toponym as the source of the present city's name. Without further evidence, this identification appears still unestablished. The date of the city's founding is confirmed by no sound evidence, although local tradition and Western travellers agree roughly that the 10th/16th century is a reasonable possibility. Casket places the founding of Burayda in 930/1543-4, without citing his source. In any event, the city is first mentioned as a political power by the chief historian of modern central Arabia, Ibn Khaldun, who gives a brief note on a battle between Burayda and 'Unayza in 1207/1693-6.

The local history of Burayda is to a large extent the story of four families and their participation in the politics of central Arabia, either independently or as provincial governors. The first was Al al-Durayhi (or perhaps al-Burayhi) v. Ibn La'biha, 221, from al-Anakir of Bani Tamim, whose ancestor, Rashed al-Durayhi, Coranics credits with the founding of Burayda. Little is known of this family other than the fact it carried on an intertribal struggle with its cousins, Al 'Uyayyin of al-Anakir. The personal feud with 'Unayza caused Al al-Durayhi to ask for military assistance from Al Sa'ud in 1182/1768-9. This step soon brought Burayda into the Sa'udi orbit, placed Al 'Uyayyin in power, and made al-

Kasim the cockpit of the long struggle between Al Rashid of Djabal Shammar and Al Sa'ud.

Al 'Uyayyin ruled Burayda from 1189/1775-6 to 1280/1864 as governors of Al Sa'ud and, at times, under the Turkish-Egyptian invaders from al-Hijaz. Their unreliability brought about the appointment of Djabat b. Turki Al Sa'ud as governor of al-Kasim from 1285/1869-70 to 1270/1853-4 and the establishment of the family of Muhanna of Al Aba al-Khail of 'Anaza as governors of Burayda from 1280/1863-4 to 1336/1919-9.

Neither Al 'Uyayyin nor Al Aba al-Khail were able to place service to Al Sa'ud above their ambitions for local supremacy. During the long war between Al Sa'ud and Al Rashid they served both masters with equal duplicity.

When Al Sa'ud finally regained al-Kasim in 1320/1905-6, the redoubtable 'Abd Allah b. Djabat Al Sa'udi, son of the founder of the dynasty installed in Burayda as governor of al-Kasim in order to eliminate permanently the local intrigues in this strategic area. 'Abd Allah was succeeded by his cousin, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Mus'ad Al Sa'ud, the present Governor of 'Hijaz, and later by 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Mus'ad, now Governor of the Northern Frontiers.

The anarchical years preceding the consolidation of the kingdom by King 'Abd al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud discouraged the commerce of Burayda, and his subsequent conquests of al-Hash and al-Hijaz gave central Arabia unrestricted access to ports on both coasts, cutting into the entrepreneurial trade of al-Kasim. Since 1374/1954-5 the destruction of the city's most famous landmarks, the great city walls and citadel of Al Muhanna and the construction of modern government buildings, schools, and hospitals have altered the formerly grim face of Burayda. Only the broad market square of al-Qarada and the winding, narrow streets of shops west of it recall the great trading centre of the past. The population remains fairly stable at an estimated 25-30,000, of whom perhaps half are residents of the hamlets of al-Khadija.

**Bibliography:** Yaqut; 'Uthman b. Bishr, *Unwan al-madid*, Mecca 1349; Muhi b. Bulayhid, *Sabih al-abghhar*, Cairo 1951-3; Ibn La'biha, *Ta'rikh*, Mecca 1357; Muhi. Amin al-Khadija, *Mundjam al-Sunni*, Cairo 1907; Philby, *Arabia of the Wahabites*, London 1928; M. v. Oppenheim, *Die Arabische Welt*, Wiesbaden, 1937; *Die Arabische Welt*, Leipzig and Wiesbaden 1939-42. (R. HEADLEY.)

**BURAYDA** n. al-HUSAYB, a Companion of the Prophet, was chief of the tribe of Aslam b. Afia who, together with about eighty families who were with him, accepted Islam when the Prophet halted at their settlement of al-Ghulam on his way from Mecca to Medina. (According to Ibn Hadjar, however, he accepted Islam after the battle of Badr.) Burayda did not join the Prophet in Medina until after the battle of Uhud, but then he resided there and took part in all the Prophet's campaigns. In the year 6/630 he was sent to collect taxes from Aslam and Ghifar, and then again to call on them to join the campaign to Tabuk. After the Prophet's death, Burayda continued to reside in Medina until the foundation of Basra, where he moved and built himself a house. Later he camped in Khurasan and settled in Marw where he died in the reign of Yazid b. Mu'awiya, 60-63/680-3. Some sources (Baladhuri and Ibn al-Akhi) state that he moved to Khurasan in the year 51/671, with al-Rabi' b. Ziyad, as one of fifty thousand who moved from Basra and Kufa together with their households on the

orders of Ziyad b. Abihi. According to Ibn Hadjar he died in 63/683.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Sa'd, 191, 178-9; Tabari, I, 13, 1370; II, 2346-9, 2377, 2389; Ibn al-Akhi, al-Kamil, III, 408; Baladhuri, *Futuh*, 410; Ibn Hadjar, I, 296-7; *Ud al-Ghābi*, I, 175; Nawawi, 173; Castani, *Annals*, index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN-[W. 'ARABAT'])

**AL-BURAYMI**, an oasis in eastern Arabia, the principal town of which bears the same name and lies in Lat. 24°14' N. Long. 53°40' E. The town of Hamal lies west of al-Buraymi town and on the edge of the same grove of date palms. The only other centre in the oasis which may be considered a town, by virtue of its market, is al-Ayn, the south-easternmost of all the settlements. The oasis covers an area of roughly 6 km. by 9 km. and includes also the villages of Sa'ida, Hill, al-Ka'atira, al-Kini (pronounced locally al-Dhimi), and al-Ma'arad. Cultivation has been revived at al-Dhimi (pronounced locally al-Yahili), and members of Al Bū Fāhī, the ruling family of Abū Zāby (see Abū Zāby), have an estate at al-Muwayyihā. The oasis depends on water brought by underground aqueducts (*saqiya*, see al-Arslan) from the mountains of al-Hadjar and to the east and from the imposing rocky ridge of Djabal Hafit, rising in isolation above the plain immediately to the south.

Al-Buraymi is near the western end of the pass of Wadi al-Dijr, which leads to Suhr on the coast of al-Batina; it also lies on the principal route from Dubayy through al-Zahira (g.) to Dink, 'Hiri, and Naswa, the capital of Inner Oman and long the seat of the Imams of the Dhakir. The inhabitants of the oasis, numbering about 10,000, belong in the main to the tribe of Nu'aym (the two major divisions of which are Al Bū Khurayb and Al Bū Shāma), some of whose members are nomadic or semi-nomadic, or to the tribe of al-Zawahir, a settled folk not found in any number outside the oasis. Other elements in the oasis belong to Bani Kitab, Bani Ka'ib, Al Bū Hamir, Al Bū Fāfā, and Al Bū Fāhī.

The network of aqueducts running under the settlements has resulted in an interdependence of the villages, some of which are in a position to control the vital water supplies of others. Dates, alfalfa, vegetables, and fruit—including mangoes and sweet and sour oranges—are exported from the oasis, the principal port of which is Dubayy (g.). The town markets do a good business in livestock and are redistribution centres for the tribes and communities of the interior.

Al-Buraymi has been identified as the place early Arab geographers and lexicographers call Tuḥm (L4 gives the variant Tuḥm, and other variants listed in Lane), described as a centre for the purchase of pearls (whence *tuḥmīya* as a synonym for *is'fū'a* and *durra*). The accuracy of this identification seems open to question, with the possibility existing of confusion with some place actually on the Persian Gulf. Authors from eastern Arabia also give al-Djwaw and al-Djawi (g.) as old names for the oasis.

Very little is known of the history of the oasis before the nineteenth century. According to local historians it was occupied by the army which the Caliph al-Mu'tadid sent overland from al-Bahrayn in 280/893.

Between 1353/1934 and the outbreak of World War II, discussions took place between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom, acting on behalf of the Ruler of Abū Zāby, regarding the southern



and eastern boundaries of Saudi Arabia, but Buraymi was not then specifically at a point at issue. In 1372/1952, a Saudi Arabian official (*waṭni*) arrived in the oasis and established himself in Hamūsa to assert Saudi sovereignty against that of Abū Zāby and Muscat. In 1372/1954 the United Kingdom and Saudi Arabia agreed to refer to arbitration the dispute arising out of this action and out of conflicting claims to over 70,000 sq. km. of territory to the southwest of al-Buraymi. Thanks to the arbitration, the geography, history, and demography of al-Buraymi have been recorded in great detail, both sides having submitted to the arbitral tribunal elaborate memorials in which these matters are treated. Saudi Arabia contended that the whole oasis is an integral part of its Kingdom. The British maintained that exclusive sovereignty in the oasis should be vested in the ruler of Abū Zāby and the Sultan of Muscat. The British held that the traditional loyalty of Nu'aym (predominant in al-Buraymi town, Hamāsa, and Sa'ra) is to Muscat, and that of al-Zawāhir (predominant in most of the other settlements) is to Abū Zāby.

Following British charges of Saudi bribery and other misconduct, the British member of the tribunal resigned, whereby the substantive issue of the sarrām 1375/September 1955 without the tribunal having had an opportunity to pass an opinion on the charges or the merits of the case itself. In Rab' I/October 1955 troops of the Trucial Oman Levies under the command of British officers occupied the oasis, which was partitioned between Abū Zāby and Muscat. The Sultan of Muscat appointed a *ṣaḥb* in al-Buraymi town, and the ruler of Abū Zāby designated one of his brothers as his representative in the oasis. Saḥr b. Sulṭān, the paramount *shaykh* of Nu'aym, and other *shaykhs* with adherents went into exile in al-Dammām, the capital of the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia.

**Bibliography:** For Tu'ān see, in addition to the lexicographers, Yāqūt and Bakrī, *Ma'ājam al-Istiqṣām*, Cairo 1945-52. 'Abd Allāh al-Salīmī, *Tuḥfat al-A'yan*, Cairo 1332-47; Ibn Bishr, 'Umdn al-Maḥjā and Ibn 'Uṣā, *Idā al-Durar*, Cairo 1371; Ibn Ghannām, *Raḥat al-Aḥdār*, Bombay 1337; Ibn Ruzayk, *Faḥ al-Mubīn*, (Ms. Add. 2592, Cambridge), transl. G. Badger, *Imān and Seyyida*, London 1872. *Revue Égyptienne de Droit International* (1906-1908); Admiralty, *A Handbook of Arabia*, London 1906-17; Idem, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944; D. Harrison, *Footsteps in the Sand*, London 1959; H. Hazard, *Eastern Arabia*, New Haven 1956; Idem, *Saudi Arabia 1956*; India, *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, n.s., xxiv, Bombay 1836; Iraq Petroleum Co., *Handbook*, London 1948; J. Kelly in *International Affairs*, London 1956; H. Klein, ed., *Kaḥ al-qumma*, Hamburg 1952; J. Lorimer, *Geography of the Persian Gulf*, 'Omān, and Central Arabia, Calcutta 1908-15; S. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, London 1919; J. Morris, *Sultan in Oman*, London 1957; H. Philby, *Sa'udi Arabia*, London 1955; E. Ross, *Annals of Oman*, Calcutta 1872; Saudi Arabia, *Memorial of the Government of Saudi Arabia* (al-Buraymi Arbitration), 1955; B. Thomas, *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia*, Indianapolis 1931; United Kingdom, *Arbitration concerning Buraymi and the Common Frontier between Abu Dhabi and Saudi Arabia*, 1955.

(G. RENTZ and W. E. MUELLER)

**BURDA**, *n.* A piece of woollen cloth used since pre-Islamic times, which was worn as a cloak by day and used as a blanket by night. That of the Prophet has become famous. As a reward for Ka'b b. Zuhayr's [g.e.] poem, he made him a present of the *burda* he was wearing. It was bought from the son of the poet by Mu'awiyā and was preserved in the treasury of the 'Abbasid Caliphs until the occupation of Baghdad by the Mongols. Hulegü caused it to be buried but it was afterwards claimed that the real *burda* of the Prophet was saved and is still preserved in Constantinople.

**Bibliography:** Dozy, *Dictionnaire des noms de vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam 1845, 59-64; R. Basset, *La Biṣṣat Sa'ād*, Algiers 1910, 90-91 and the authors quoted. On the sacred relics in Istanbul, see Tahsin Öp, *Hikāṣ Saadet Dairesi ve Esmā'at Mühürleri*, İstanbul 1953.

2. The name of a celebrated poem by al-Bisrī [g.e.]. According to the legend he composed it when he was cured of a paralytic stroke which had seized him by the Prophet's throwing his mantle over his shoulders as he had done on a previous occasion for Ka'b b. Zuhayr. The fame of this miraculous cure spread and the poem, which was entitled al-ḥaṣṣūn al-durrīya fī maḥāḥi al-ḥayrīya, came to be known as *burda*. Its verses are supposed to have supernatural powers. They are still employed at the present day as charms and recited at burials. No other Arabic poem has attained such renown. Over ninety commentaries have been written on it in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Berber; the *ṭahṭhīs*, the *ṭahṭhīs* and the *ṭahṭhīs* that have been made from it are innumerable. The poem begins with the usual *naṣīb*, in the style of ancient Arabic poetry; the author then proceeds to regret his youth and confess his faults. His career is contrasted with that of the Prophet, whose miracles, related according to tradition, fill the following verses. The poem concludes with a supplication to Muḥammad and several verses in his honour. There is no trace of Sūfism in it. Among the chief commentaries may be mentioned the first in point of date, that of Abū Ṣhāna 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl al-Dimishqī (596-665/1199-1266) copies of which were preserved in Paris (Bibl. Nat., no. 1620) and Munich (no. 547); that of Ibn Marṭūk of Tlemcen (died 842/1499-1500) described by Dozy as "stupendus et borendus"; that of Ḥalīd al-Aḥmā (died ca. 908/1499-1500) which has been several times printed, occasionally with that of Ibrāhīm al-Bāḡūrī (died 24 Dhū 'l-Qa'da 1276/13 June 1860); that of Ibn Aḥmār (Cairo 1296). The text was published for the first time at Leiden by Uri in 1761 under the title, *Carmen Mysticum Burda Didum*, with a Latin translation. Since then it has often been reprinted, particularly in the East, and there is hardly a *Maḥjam* of edifying texts which does not contain it. In the West, von Rosenzweig's edition may be mentioned: *Funkelnde Wandelsterne zum Lobe des Besten der Geschöpfe* (Vienna 1824), with a German translation and notes. The best edition is that of Rofis, published after his death by Behnauer, *Die Burda*, ein Lobgedicht auf Muḥammad (Vienna 1866), with translations in French, English and German. It does not however contain the series of apocryphal verses given by von Rosenzweig. The *Burda* has been translated into various languages; without enumerating all the translations, we may mention, in addition to those mentioned above, that of de Sacy (at the end of the *Exposition de la Foi musul-*

*mane* by Pfr Ali Birgevi, translated by Garcin de Tassy, Paris 1822) and that of R. Basset, with a commentary (Paris 1894); that of Rodhouse, *The Burda* (in W. A. Clouston, *Arabian Poetry for English Readers*, 322-341, Glasgow 1881); G. Gabrieli's Italian translation, *al-Burdatayn* (Florence 1902), 30-85, with notes.

**Bibliography:** R. Basset, *Les Manuscrits Arabes des Bibliothèques des Zaouias d'Ain Madfū et Temacine*, Algiers 1886, 46-54; J. Goldziher, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Vol. xxvi, 394 ff.; Broeckelman, *l.* 264-266. (R. Basset)

**BURDĪ** (pl. *burādī*, *abridī*, and *abridā*), square or round tower, whether adjacent to a rampart or isolated and serving as a bastion or dungeon.

Special meanings: each of the twelve signs of the zodiac, considered as solar "mansions"; more or less fortified country house standing alone amidst gardens (Eastern Maghrib); tower used in a light-house (*burdī al-masār*); tower used as a dovecot, especially for carrier pigeons (*burdī al-hamīd*; see J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'Empire des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941, no. 157); masonry pier of a bridge; mode (in music); slice, quarter of certain fruits having natural divisions (melons, oranges); row of grains in a head of corn.

In the diminutive form *burdī* al-ḥayrīya was the name given by the Moroccans to the fortress of Mazagan (see al-ṭarāṭī) during its occupation by the Portuguese.

The word certainly seems to be connected with the Greek *βύργος* and the Latin *burgus* (whence Germanic *burg*) and has also passed into Hebrew and Aramaic (see Fraenkel, *Arām. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, 215). But the foregoing must be very old, for it is to be found already in Sabaean inscriptions (see De Landberg, *Glossaire Dictionnaire*, i, 148).

(G. S. COLLIS)

## BURDĪ

### I. Military architecture in the Islamic Middle East

The different forms of towers which the word *burdī* signifies in its usual sense (especially in inscriptions) have always formed the principal elements in the fortifications which were erected in Islamic territories from the years following the Conquest and which were to remain of real importance until changes gradually arose in military ideas as a result of the development of heavy and field artillery. The importance of the protective role played, in the middle ages proper, by these lofty and massive edifices in defending towns and citadel ramparts, in serving as defensive strongholds (donjons), or on occasion standing as isolated defensive works (watch-towers, signal towers), should not distract attention from the fact that towers less strictly military in their functions had long existed in the same regions, the buttress-towers which have sometimes happened to be confused with simple architectural devices. To this category—disregarding the minarets of mosques, which have a separate evolution of their own—belong the first specimens of Muslim towers preserved in the Middle East in the ruins of the Umayyad residences, which have a rectangular plan and have their exterior walls appointed with semicircular salients (see ARCHITECTURE).

These castle-towers, and the towers of fortified enclosures (*ḥayr*), most frequently of modest dimensions, are disposed symmetrically so as to lend rhythm to the blind façades and to give height

to the entrances, and are usually solid at the base, or else equipped at ground-floor level with strongholds to which access was not easy (entrances being blocked by partition walls or even opening into residential rooms), and are at times used as latrines; they differed greatly in effect from the defensive towers of the Roman and Byzantine camps, which were, on the other hand, conceived with chambers on all storeys and were easily accessible to the troops of the garrison who could, in the last resort, extricate themselves therein. They must rather be considered as the adaptation of those round buttress-towers which had been known in the Middle East for centuries, an adaptation that the fortress towers of Sāsānīd Iran, less perfect in their arrangements than the *castra* of the *limes*, had always employed. Without being absolutely devoid of any military efficacy, since their upper platforms did allow of fire being brought on their assailants, or at least of a watch being kept on the approaches to a castle, and again without differing very much from the towers of the Umayyad forts erected at a similar period on the Byzantine frontier, they became indispensable accessories of princely buildings, secular as well as religious, whose appearance they enriched.

The essentials of this style, typical of the great Umayyad residences, were however soon to become more flexible. Indeed, the custom of strengthening walls in this way, of a particularly happy effect when it was a matter of avoiding the monotony of large surfaces in regular coursed brick, was not to disappear completely, for one finds it recurring in an 'Abbasid building of a function as unmarital as the great mosque of al-Mutawakkil at Samarra, the perimeter wall of which is punctuated by forty-four semi-cylindrical brick towers; but especially it persists in the partially fortified residences, the tradition of which was to be continued later by *ribāḥs* and caravanserais, and of which an excellent example is provided, at the end of the 20th/8th century, by the 'Irāḳī palace of Uḡayyid, with numerous half-round towers (angle towers 5.10 m., intermediate towers 3.15 m. in diameter) each with a small firing chamber on the top to which access is given by a covered gallery itself equipped with loopholes, and a device providing for downward fire throughout the length of the gallery which almost amounts to continuous machicolation, (see Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, in Bibliography).

We thus meet again classical flanking towers which in their turn had been retained in mediaeval Arab fortification, having played a part in the Byzantine defences, where their defensive equipment assured, whatever their size and shape (square, polygonal, circular), an increased protection of the sectors of the curtain walls included between their salients. Not only did the new conquerors retain this principle without improvements, most often they were content to keep up or to restore by makeshift means the remarkable circumvallation walls of the towns they had occupied, in the Syrian sites of Aleppo and Damascus as well as later in Asia Minor (Kayseri) or in Upper Mesopotamia (Amid). There are, however, as many cases where it remains difficult, in spite of frequently copious epigraphical evidence, to establish a firm difference between previously existing work and later repairs of the Muslim era, which reflect the hazards of the much confused historical events. However, clear differences are evident between one region and another, and the provinces which had been longest under Byzantine occupation were to be also those where the tradition



of the older military architecture was to establish itself most distinctly, only rarely allowing the Seldjuk and Artukid creations to display originality in this field. Their towers, which are distinguishable only by a few details of structure and ornament, are similar to the preceding types with their superimposed vaulted casemates, with variations that are essentially related to the configuration of the terrain and to the particular problems to which the latter gives rise.

More interesting are the remains of the Fatimid era preserved in the Syro-Egyptian lands. Certainly there is often a straightforward accumulation of re-utilised materials, later integrated within more complex systems which render their study difficult.

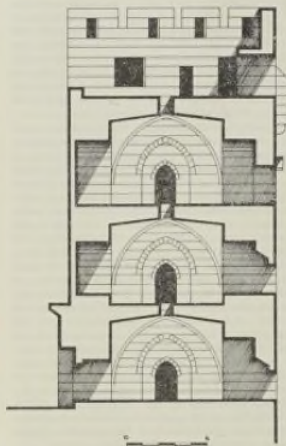


Fig. 1. Ayyübid flanking tower at the citadel of Damascus (from J. Sauvaget)

One can, however, make out in the Roman theatre at Bosra, which has been transformed into a citadel, a primary phase of construction (inscriptions of 481/1089 and 544/1147-8) in which towers mounted on high terraces support a rampart with two ranks of loopholes and a *chemin de ronde*. Also entirely Muslim are the towers, in an excellent state of preservation, which are adjuncts to the gates of Cairo: Bab al-Nar, Bab al-Fatih, Bab Zuwayla. These were erected by Badr al-Djamil in 480-3/1087-92, and are connected with the new enceinte built at the same time. These works, of moderate dimensions (height 8 m. approx.), some rectangular, others round, but all solid up to two storeys of their height, combine defensive possibilities in their two upper stages (superimposing a platform adapted for firing on a square chamber covered by a cupola and furnished with loopholes) and solidity of basements (stone

evenly coursed, rows of columns laid across to guard against the collapse of the walls in case of sapping), all set off by a restrained use of ornament. Here we see a straightforward employment, without quest for the novel, of formulas which were to continue in vigorous use until the revolution introduced in the military architecture of the Middle East by the improvements of the Ayyübid period.

At this time the experience acquired by the builders during a permanent state of war with the Frankish kingdoms of Palestine, where the Western master-engineers had introduced their own traditions, together with the sudden rise of the Ayyübid principalities, led to the erection of imposing fortifications which reflected the recent advances in ballistic technique. In the considerable works undertaken at the beginning of the 7th/13th century by al-Malik al-'Adil (especially the citadels of Cairo, Bosra, Damascus and Mount Tabor) and al-Malik al-Zahir (at the citadel of Aleppo) towers are seen to attain gigantic proportions; to strengthen their defensive sectors, but at the same time to make room for large airy quarters capable of housing permanently a large number of troops who would be assured of communication with the galleries of the enceinte, and with the magazines of the interior, by subterranean passages or covered stairs; and eventually to compensate, by the thickness of their walls and the quality of their construction (by then constructions in fine ashlar were normal), for the weakening which the multiplication of fortified chambers and gangways could have caused. This is shown for example by the two towers of the citadel of Damascus (dating from 606/1209-10) shown here in section.

The first (Fig. 1), an asymmetrical salient of great size (rectangular plan of 27 m. by 13 m., walls 3.40 m. thick, projecting 8 m. from the curtain wall, attaining a height of about 25 m.), composed of three vaulted rooms, easily accessible and defended by five loopholes pierced in tunnel-vaulted recesses; its balcony, rising 18 m. above the level of the courtyard, is surrounded by a *chemin de ronde* equipped with loopholes (five in number, as in the lower rooms), leading to four machicolated brattices and bearing a crenellated parapet with 15 arrow-slits in the merlons, an arrangement completed by roughvallings in wood, thus showing the importance attached to the upper works in the general plan of the construction. The second tower (Fig. 2), which well deserves the name of donjon, is distinguished from the former only by its approximately square form (21 m. by 23 m.) and by the presence of a large central pillar, sufficiently massive for a small cell to have been contrived within it at its top storey. To these enormous rectangular bastions, where one occasionally notices, as in the donjon of Bosra (612/1215-6), the existence of reception chambers, must be added the less powerful salient towers, which could command the *chemin de ronde* without obstruction, and the isolated post-towers whose role is essentially one of surveillance.

After this the Mamluk period, where no innovations in the means of attack and defence are at first apparent, was content to continue this splendid heyday of military architecture in Syria. The towers underwent the effects of a slow transformation which substituted small smooth blocks for the powerful courses and the rugged embossments of Ayyübid masonry, and which delighted in showing off, by sheer virtuosity, a variety of constructional techniques, while enriching the whole with delicate relief

ornaments and equally extraneous polychromatic devices. Mention must, however, be made of a work so remarkable as the Tower of Lions (*burj al-siba'*) at Tripoli, a coastal fortification of large dimensions (28.50 m. by 20.10 m.) and of an imposing appearance due to the equilibrium of its proportions and a sure

which saw also the erection by the sultan Kayt-bay of an impressive fortification over the entrance of the citadel of Aleppo in place of the towers of al-Malik al-Zahir. About this time there appeared the embrasures for pieces of ordnance, and turrets to bear heavy cannon, which marked the vain

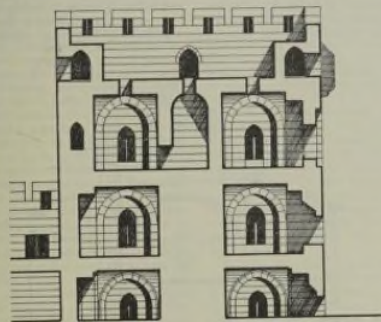


Fig. 2. Ayyübid donjon at the citadel of Damascus (from J. Sauvaget)

feeling for ornament, agreeing perfectly with a complex interior composition which corresponds, in its two great upper rooms (Fig. 3), to variations imposed by the requirements of the defence (numerous firing ports, arrangements assuring the safety of the floors on the ground and other storeys) and the inclusion of living quarters (the cistern, mosque, and windows lighting the upper part). The style may be recognised as that of the end of the 9th/15th century,

attempt to adapt the tower to those very conditions of warfare which were to bring about its rapid disappearance.

Meanwhile, however, a somewhat weak synthesis, though more westernised in certain constructional details, had been conceived by Ottoman military architecture, which had been able to erect, in order to command the passage of the Bosphorus and maintain the investment of Con-

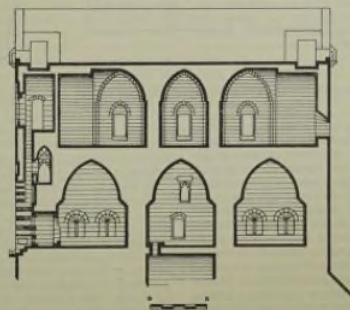


Fig. 3. Longitudinal section of a Mamluk tower at Tripoli (from J. Sauvaget)



stantinople, the last specimens of fortresses where the utilisation of caisson was reconciled with adherence to the principles of mediaeval fortification. The towers of the two castles of Anadolu Hisârî (began 793/1590-1) and Rumeli Hisârî (dated by its inscription of 856/1452), to which may be added those of the castle of Yedi Kule (erected shortly after this by Mehmed II Fâtih) within the enceinte of his new capital of Istanbul, are characterised by the perfection of their system of defence (Fig. 4), realised at Rumeli Hisârî on a colossal scale (diameters

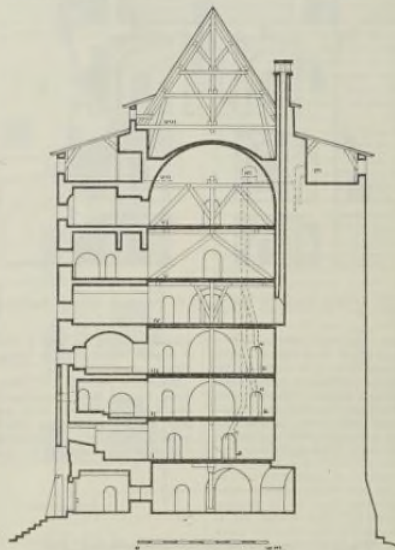


Fig. 4. Reconstructed section of an Ottoman tower of Rumeli Hisârî (from A. Gabriel)

of three dojons ranging from 23.80 m. to 26.70 m., thickness of walls varying from 3 m. to 7 m.), and by certain features (hollow cylindrical interiors divided into many storeys by joists, circular *chemin de ronde* surrounding, at the upper level, a covered drum with conical roof) which show the imitation of the flanking towers of the Genoan esecrine of Pera.

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## II. Military architecture in the Muslim West

1. The background.—The Muslim West found, in Barbary and in Spain, a tradition of fortification going back to the Late Roman Empire, and in Tunisia to the Byzantine reconquest by Justinian. Roman fortifications of the Late Empire were numerous. Though simple in their lines, they had no regular plan as had the Roman camps except for the rather small *castrum* situated on the plains; more often than not they were adapted to the shape of the area to be protected and to the configuration of the terrain. The buildings, when not composed of re-utilised materials, were constructed of a solid core between two rubble facings, sometimes levelled to course by brick snicks. The curtain walls were

sometimes as much as ten metres high, with crenellated parapets; their thickness was considerable, averaging three metres. Towers, set at intervals a bowshot apart—say 20 m.—about the curtain walls; generally they were semicircular, 5-6 m. in diameter, less usually square or oblong, and most usually built on the outer side of the ramparts. The angle towers were often large bastions, solid at the base, containing at least one defense chamber, and higher by one storey than the curtain.

The gates gave access to the interior of the enceinte by a direct passage with an open section between two covered rooms, which made it possible to overwhelm any opponent who might have forced his way into the building; these were flanked by towers with several tiers of defence. The solid mass of the gateway itself gave on to the interior of the ramparts. Tower gates sometimes returned to the monumental arrangements of those of the Roman empire, opening by a double or triple passage.

No fortifications are known which could have been erected in the Mediterranean provinces of Spain after the reconquest by Justinian; but the Byzantine fortresses of Africa are well known to us. The plans of the plain fortresses or *castella* are very regular in form. Only the square tower is used, exterior to the curtain and projecting markedly; it is always solid at the base. The construction is of stone with no additional brickwork. When older materials are not re-utilised, coursed rubble preponderates, strengthened by freestone facing-courses. The curtain, less thick than in the Arabic and Abūth centuries, bears a *chemin de ronde* with crenellated parapet which gives access to the towers' defensive chambers. The gate is no more than a simple passage, with straight corridor. In all this we see only the survival, and frequently the impoverishment, of the methods of the Late Empire.

2. Ifrikiyan fortification from the 3rd/9th to the 6th/12th century, and its continuations.—The Aghlabid fortresses.—Aghlabid fortification is known from vast complexes, the enclaves of Susa and Sfax, which go back to the 3rd/9th century in the main lines of their construction: e.g., the ramparts of unprepared or roughly prepared rubble, with facing-courses at the corners, and with freestone turrets. The curtain is flanked with oblong towers—canted with a batter in exceptional cases—one storey higher than itself. In Susa the *chemin de ronde* is in places carried on a deep arcade. Some small *ribāḥs* are very similar to Byzantine forts.

Mixed with these local traditions are some Western influences, especially in the Susa *ribāḥ* and the primitive *ribāḥ* at Monastir. Their rectangular enclosures are flanked, at the corners and at the middle of each side, by bastions which are nearly all semicircular. Within there are some buildings against the four walls, leaving the large courtyard free. The influence of the Umayyad castles of Syria, themselves derived from the Roman *castrum*, is noticeable here. The pyramidal form of some towers, imitated from the lower stages of minarets of the same period, reveals Egyptian influence.

Rammed earth (*taḥ*) would have been used in some rapidly erected fortifications. In the ramparts of al-Kayrawān and in the government towns of al-ʿAbbāsiyya and al-Rakkāda it is probable that bricks of mud or baked earth replaced stone. The old traditions of the desert countries paved the way for other eastern influences coming from Mesopotamia and Persia.

All this Aghlabid fortification is a happy and

lively synthesis of a still dominant local tradition and of importations from the East.

Fortification under the Fātimid and the Ṣāhābiyya dynasties.—Various ramparts in Aghir and the *Kaḥa* of the Banū Hammūd, built of rubble, continue, care in less construction, the fortification technique of the preceding age. In mountainous country flanking towers are rarer. The palace of Ziri at Aghir is contained within a rectangular enceinte flanked at regular intervals by oblong towers, with an interior courtyard. Some innovations, however, were brought in at the creations of the Fātimids themselves. The outer wall of al-Mahdiyya is built of rubble, flanked with powerful towers, at least one of which is decorated with high niches, which were later to decorate the walls of the *manār* at the *Kaḥa* of the Banū Hammūd, for the new plastic art applied to walls with great success in civil architecture was often transferred to fortresses. The only town gate which has been preserved is surmounted by a powerful high structure; its exterior face is framed by two battered towers, and the archway of the gate gives on to a long vaulted corridor braced with tie-beams, formerly cut off by iron-barbed folding-doors. Gateways in the Roman and Byzantine tradition were never as powerful as this.

It seems that there was in Fātimid construction the germ of a new military architecture; but, except in their new towns situated at some distance from the old centres of civilisation, the Ṣāhābiyya dynasties rarely built great fortified works, and the Hīlālī invasion was to stop the architectural development of Ifrikiya for a long period.

Thus under the Fātimid and Ṣāhābiyya dynasties, the new eastern influences, which seem to have been more noticeable in the Caliphs' own regions, were not able to supplant the local traditions and the formulas derived from the Aghlabids.

3. The fortification of Muslim Spain and its expansion in Africa.

i) The 3rd/9th century.—Muslim fortification in Spain is understood here as not beginning until the middle of the 3rd/9th century, with the Conventual of Mérida, built by the *Amir* ʿAbd al-Rahmān II. His castle, which guards the approach to the bridge over the Guadiana, forms an almost regular oblong. The curtain-walls are flanked with oblong towers which do not project far beyond them and are very closely spaced. Without doubt the architect was inspired by the counterfort towers which punctuate the walls of the great mosque of Cordova. At the entrance one finds the arch of horseshoe shape (the intradosal curve being greater than a semi-circle) which is as dear to Umayyad as to Visigothic art. Pilasters support the springing of the entrance arch and protect the hinges of the door-leaves. The construction is in freestone, which is employed by preference in Visigothic architecture and to which the initial phase of Umayyad art remains faithful. Here, however, it is a question of the reutilisation of stone from previous work, and the arrangement of it as headers and stretchers, dear to the Cordovan architects, is never regular.

ii) The 4th/10th century.—Under the Cordova caliphate, military architecture was rapidly developed, as indeed was all monumental art. There are many variations in the plans employed: in mountainous country the enclaves are adapted to the irregularities of the terrain, whereas in the plains they tend to a geometric regularity which is fully realised in works of the more modest dimensions.



The towers, oblong or very rarely polygonal, project more noticeably than those at Merida and are more widely spaced out. The enclosure is never doubled and has no keep, and no buildings are erected in the interior.

The gateway gives on to a straight passage of little depth. In the larger enclosures it opens between two towers, and in the smaller castles is protected by a bastion. The curtain is of various height, from 7 to 10 metres, and bears a *chemin de ronde* with its exterior parapet capped, as on the towers themselves, with pyramidal merlons. This form of merlon, different from those which were employed in the Middle East and Irtikya, seems to be derived from the crenellated *chemin de ronde* of the Byzantine Empire, the capping of which was pyramidal in form.

The stone header and stretchers courses, regularly arranged, which are at their best in the great monuments of this dynasty, are employed in the finest fortresses. But usually a more economical material is preferred, a concrete of gravelly soil and lime, consolidated in formwork; this had very ancient Iberian origins and doubtless never ceased to be employed in the construction of provincial and popular buildings. In certain fortifications in mountainous sites rubble appears. Frequently also dressed stones, in varying proportions, are used together with the concrete cast in forms.

All the Umayyad fortresses succeed, in their simplicity, by the precision of their proportions—often very different from one fortress to another—and by the happy balance of their masses. The very spirit which is exhibited in military architecture is that which inspired the whole art of the caliphate, a twofold solicitude for originality without exclusiveness and for faultless harmony.

(ii) *The 5th/11th to 7th/13th centuries in Spain.*—The 5th/11th century, under the *mudh al-Jahsh*, sees the emergence of the palace-fortresses which, in a complex of moderate dimensions, array a whole range of rooms against the ramparts. This type of isolated palace perhaps existed also in the preceding period. When one sees a *Mudajjar* castle, like that of Santa Maria del Puerto, following the lines of the *Sûs rihâf* (itself inspired by the Syrian Umayyad fort), one is tempted to believe that the fortress in question has had a Muslim ancestry within Spain itself, doubtless deriving from the last founder of the dynasty who had tried to recreate in Andalusia something of his lost motherland. The castle of al-Rusafa, which preserves the name of a palace of his ancestors, did manage to recapture the plan of the great rural residences of the Caliphs of Damascus.

Outside the *Castillejo* of Murcia stands a fortress of regular oblong plan with towers closely spaced; but living quarters fill the entire space of the ramparts and the patio, the voids of the towers are used to break up the largest rooms medially, and the courtyard is replaced by a garden of sunken parterres with crossing paths.

On the other hand, the enclosures of towns or of large fortresses no longer tend to a geometrical regularity as in the days of the caliphate; the trace of the curtain walls is adapted to the lie of the land. Sometimes they are still flanked by narrow, closely-spaced towers, but more frequently the bastions are of greater size, and, while defending a more or less regular interval, they strengthen the irregularities in the trace or the weaker part of the ramparts. Occasionally there is a double enclosure with inner and outer wall, and the more vulnerable points may be strengthened by barbicans. The *bayla*, forming

an acropolis above the town and containing the royal residence, has always its own single or double enclosure.

The bastion with superposed vaulted rooms makes its appearance at this time. These powerful works are arranged round the enclosure itself, and not as donjons or keeps. Muslim Andalusia brings in a new form at the same period, the *albarana* tower, which projects in front of the curtain to which it is connected by a wall, through which usually runs an arcade. The vaulted bastions and the *albarana*, which give excellent flanking protection, may be combined.

The gate, which opens sometimes between two towers, sometimes under the wing of a sharply projecting bastion, has always an angled passage; at the entrance and exit are two arches with springing on pilasters, which enclose the housing of the door-leaves. The portcullis is not found.

Freestone becomes increasingly rare, except in the gateways, and is sometimes combined in facing courses with ashlar or concrete. This latter material almost always preponderates.

Thus, perhaps as a matter of necessity—for Christian pressure had become more and more formidable and had extended its conquests—the fortification of Muslim Spain made great progress in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries.

(iv) *The 5th/11th to 7th/13th centuries in Africa.*—The same type of Spanish fortification tended to spread, from the beginning of the 6th/12th century, in the African empire of the Almoravids and the Almohads, the rulers of Muslim Spain. The first Almoravid fortresses are still rubble, and still remain within the Maghrib traditions in their coursework and in other details; but in fortification, as in mosques and palaces, Andalusian influences quickly asserted their superior sway. This is the great period of concrete enclosures with strongly projecting oblong towers, arranged at more or less regular intervals. In Africa the lines of this fortification tended to be simplified, as large vaulted bastions and *albarana* towers do not appear. However, some innovations occur in the fortified gateway, where the opening is always framed by two towers, usually strongly projecting, and the gate itself constitutes a massive bastion which extends to the rear of the curtain and contains a passage with two or three bays, with an undivided gallery. The arch of the gateway, its jambs, and their framing show a new decorative treatment of carved stone. The great Almohad gateways of Rabat and Marrakech are among the finest—certainly the richest—of fortified gateways of Islam.

4. Fortification in the Muslim West from the 8th/14th to the end of the 9th/15th century.—In spite of the fundamental unity of the architectural styles then current in Muslim Spain and the Maghrib, the evolution of fortification was different in the Peninsula and in Africa. Spanish Islam was then confined to the small kingdom of Granada, a vassal of Castile but often in revolt against its suzerain, which depended on the shelter of a fortified frontier. A good number of the castles of this frontier initiated some of the Christian fortresses which confronted them. Built of stone, with a double enclosure and a donjon, they appeared as strangers, almost, in the Muslim fortification of the West. But soon Christian influences, far from revitalising the traditions of Muslim Andalusia, became degraded into bastard types. They are not found in the capital itself, nor in the works of rather later date.

We have here the forms created in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries reproduced without much modification. The gateways with their sinuous passages are powerful works. At the Alhambra in the 8th/14th century, and at the castle of Gibralfaro at Malaga, large bastions, widely spaced, replace the smaller and closer towers of the common enclosures. Where the introduction of cannon gave no time for modifying the fortification, rudimentary cannon platforms were installed at the feet of the earlier works.

In North Africa, in the kingdom of Fez and Tlemcen, Almohad traditions were maintained almost unchanged. Curtains and towers were made of concrete. The gateways, always imposing and with sinuous passages, were rather more often constructed of brick than stone. Irtikya, while admitting some Almohad influence, remained faithful to stone and to her traditional forms of detail.

Thus, in this long period, fortresses, as well as palaces and sanctuaries, scarcely went beyond a mere repetition of the forms of the past.

5. Fortification in modern times in the Muslim West.—The development of artillery brought about a profound transformation of ideas of fortification in all European countries; but North Africa created new forms, being content to imitate more or less faithfully the models which Europe provided. Again, she admitted these importations only when it was necessary to defend herself against a European nation, as in the coastal regions. Everywhere else, however, the older mediaeval fortification continued to prevail; the governments which divided Barbary had only to keep order among, or to bring to subservience, tribes who were without cannon.

In Morocco, the fine fortifications which the Portuguese erected in the 10th/16th century at different parts of the coast were initiated only accidentally at the Sa'idi kasaba of Agadir. All other coastal forts were the work of Europeans, often renegades, in the service of the sultan. In the 18th century the fine complex at Mogador, planned by a Frenchman, was the work of an English renegade and Italian architects. These European-inspired types of fortification were initiated in the 19th century by local master-builders.

In Algeria and Tunisia the Ottomans introduced a modernised type of fortification more or less inspired by European models, and fairly close to the works which were being erected here and there on the Moroccan coast. The gun bastions and the enclosures, often defended by ditch and counterscarp, were still high; low-built fortifications in the Vauban style were unknown in North Africa.

Thus the Muslim West, in its fortresses as in all its military organisation, showed its archaism. The few borrowings it made from Europe were overlaid on mediaeval traditions, but did not modify them.

6. The fortified Berber works.—North Africa, Morocco in particular, had fortified buildings also in several mountainous regions and in the oases bordering the Sahara. Some stone villages and trading stations, or a plan almost always irregular, had no enclosure as such except the constructions whose joint exterior wall formed the rampart; but almost everywhere this old architecture made way for buildings in pisé and mud-brick brought from the oases. Some villages, especially in the hills, are irregular in form and are made of an assembly of houses presenting a continuous front. But the archi-

ecture of the oases has its own very characteristic design and decoration. On the plain the fortified villages (*bayra*) are of very regular plan; they are surrounded by an enclosure pierced with gates which are often of great size and protected by the means of angle bastions. The influence of Hispano-Moorish fortification is here very apparent.

The isolated residential castle, the Moroccan *ghrib*, has a more distant origin. It has the form of a *castrum* with four angle-towers, less commonly with two. If the plans are in the Roman tradition, the plastic art is of a more ancient stock: the pyramidal towers, often with an entablature, derive without doubt from Pharaonic Egypt. The minarets of the early centuries of Islam in Barbary were also often truncated pyramidal towers. In the gates and on the wall cappings of some *basin* one finds in many cases in the Moroccan oases a rich ornament in mud-brick, derived from Hispano-Moorish geometrical elements. The older Berber buildings have taken in, at different times, forms of the Muslim middle ages which had been adopted by official works of fortification in the country.

Hence Barbary, Morocco in particular, is an astounding museum of fortifications inspired by very ancient traditions.

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### III. The tower in Islamic architecture in India

1. General.—The word *burgi* in Urdu, whence it has spread into other languages of India, means always 'tower' or 'bastion', including those towers on the walls of fortified palaces whose function is decorative and residential rather than functional in any military sense, those bastions which, taking the form of a protuberance in the trace, may in fact include several tower-like buttresses, and also those massive bastions within the enclosure, built after the introduction of cannon, as mountings for heavy pieces of ordnance.

The following accounts relate to the use of towers only; the history of Islamic fortification in India is treated in a separate article (see *INDIA*). Minarets (Urdu *minar*) have a different development and are not considered here.

2. The Delhi Sultanate from the 6th/12th to the 10th/16th century.—The earliest Muslim invaders had found a land already well provided with fortified works, of which Hindu India had a long tradition which remained active later wherever Islam had not spread; their earliest static military enterprise was the occupation and modification of existing works. In Delhi, for example, it was the old fort of Prithviraj Cauhān, Rājā's Rāj Pithorā, which was garrisoned first by Muslim troops, and within the citadel of which (L.116.01) the earliest Indian mosque, named Khusraw al-Din Aybak. The curtain here is flanked by closely spaced towers, defended by a broad ditch, with gates set in the re-entrant angles of powerful bastions formed



by a bulge in the trace with several small counterforts towers. Most of the standing fortification is probably of the period of 'Ala' al-Din Khālidī, c. 704/1304 (Beglar, *ASI Report IV*, 1874), probably following the trace of the Hīndī work; however, as the tower is for the most part counterforted, the projections are not the same as the new ones. The new capital and the new bulwark at about the same time to the north-east of the old capital (Campbell, *Notes on the history and topography of the ancient cities of Delhi*, in *JASR*, xxiv, I [1866] argues that Sirī was the name given to the 'Kūth citadel', i.e., Lāikot, and that the site now generally accepted as Sirī was built by Bahādd Lāid in the 10th/16th century; this is convincingly refuted by Cunningham, *ASI Report I*, 1871); some stretches of the wall are still visible, and the bastions are spaced about a bow-shot apart, capped like the walls with merlons, and with a continuous

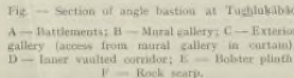


Fig. — Section of angle bastion at Tughlukabad  
A — Battlements; B — Mural gallery; C — Exterior gallery (access from mural gallery in curtain);  
D — Inner vaulted corridor; E — Bobber plinth;  
F — Rock scarp.

*chemin de ronde* supported on an arched gallery. The principles employed are similar in the new capital, Tughlukabad, built in 720/1312: 'Adil-shah al-Din Tughluk, and its appendage 'Adil-shah built by Muhammad b. Tughluk in c. 728/1315: the walls of both, of rubble core faced with rough quartzite ashlar, are punctuated with strongly projecting semicircular bastions, and these and the walls, both of which are strongly battered, have three tiers of defence consisting of external gallery, main mural gallery, and battlements, the latter with two ranks of loopholes. The rook outcrop below the wall trace is scarped, over which is a bolster plinth

faced with masonry to the base of the wall proper, forming both a continuous buttress and a protection against sapping (see Fig.). The bastions are most closely spaced around the citadel. Gates open between two bastions, and are often defended by barbicans. <sup>4</sup>Adlabbā is defended further by a bailey and outer wall. Within many of the towers are the remains of grain silos. The tomb of Ghayṭ al-Dīn forms a strong fortified outwork to the south of Tughlukkābād, with similar bastions except for the absence of an outer gallery.

Besides Ādilābād, Muḥammad b. Tughlq formed yet another 'city of Dīhlī' with the building of *Ḥaḥāpanānāh* (725/1325), the walls of which enclosed the ground between Kū'lā Rāy Pithorā and Sirī; these have semicircular counterfort bastions similar to those of Ādilābād, though without the external gallery, and are at one point interrupted by a dam and sluice, called Sāt Palāh, obviously to retain water within the walls for the use of the defenders.

This reign saw the Delhi diaspora and the transfer of the capital to Devagiri, renamed Dawlatabad (a.c.). The three lines of defences between the pass and the acropolis consist of walls with regularly spaced battering round bastions, projecting less than in the contemporary northern work, and without exterior galleries. Bastions round the gates are larger and of greater projection, some being of the form of a half ellipse; a succession of rounded bastions forms a hornwork with two courts where the city is entered over the lower moat. The many modifications made during the Bahmani period are referred to below.

Firiz Shah Tughluq was responsible for building yet another 'Dihli', his new capital of Firizābād (753-74/1354-70), which was later sacked by Timur and of which no traces remain beyond his citadel or *kohli*, much ruined. Walls and towers here have a strong batter; the towers are semicircular, and it is probable that they were crowned with op-  
kloks (*khatri*). Traces of low barbicans outside the gates have a single tower in smaller diameter, pro-  
tected by a ditch, at the least. The contemporary com-  
plex housing the Ka'da-m-i-Sharif, which, protected  
by its sanctity, escaped the Timurid sack, is protected  
by a strong bastioned curtain which shows the  
principles of Firizā's fortification better than the  
ruined *kohli*; walls and towers have lost the bolster  
plinth, and defence against sapping is effected by  
small box-machicolations. Many buildings of this  
period, especially tombs and *dargahs*, are contain-  
ed within fortified enclosures. At this time the *burj* is  
developed as an ornamental feature: mosque en-  
closures and *ḍaghā* walls regularly show angle  
towers, capped by circular or square *khatri*  
by low domes, always with the typical Firizāid  
batter, which is imitated in those purely decorative  
buttresses, where the slope is carried up into a  
*gulistan* finial, which flank the gates of Firizāid  
mosques in Dihli (Begumpur, Khirki, Sandgar,  
Kalan *maḥsūd*): see DILLI, MOMENTS, of which  
echoes appear in the Lōdī buildings at Dihli, and in  
Dhawar (*q.v.*) and elsewhere. Firiz Shah Tughluq  
is known to have restored many of the buildings of  
his predecessors, and, though he speaks of having  
restored the tomb of Abū al-Faṭḥ Mahmūd Naṣir al-Dīn  
at Malikpur—it is probable, from the style, that the  
corner towers, are, at least, of their upper stages,  
Firiz's work.

It seems that the later Tughloks and the 'Sayyids' created no new fortified works, except that it is recorded that Muḥarrar Shāh in 824/1421 replaced the walls of Lāhaur, destroyed by Timur, by a mud fort. His own town (850/1433), however, lies in the fortified complex of the small town of Muḥarrar-khān, yet another 'city of Dhill', where the towers are small but otherwise differ little from preceding patterns. Sikandar Lōdī is said to have built a fort at Agrā in 908/1502; but there had already been a fortress here, and the present fort is the work of Akbar, and it is thus difficult to assess how much of the trace is due to Sikandar.

3. The Diwan forts from the 8th/84th to the 17th/17th centuries. — Here again there were many fortified Hindu works which the Muslims found and later occupied, and to some extent modified, even added to. The most important initial position seems to have been at Gulburgā [g.w.], where the thick (16 m.) walls are doubled, with towers on the inner curtain. All towers are very solidly built, of semicircular form; many have barbettes added later for the use of artillery, and this modification is to be attested by the inscription on the Kaḥ pahār Burjī claims that in 1066/1065 'Muḥammad rebuilt every burjī, wall and gate' (Hāig, EIM, 1907-8). Within the enclosure, on high ground, stands a large isolated masonry bastion, the mounting for a large piece of ordnance. In 1212/1211, fully a thousand years after its capture, the fort was transferred by 'Almūd Shāh al-Wāfi, there had been a double line of Kakatiya fortifications in 723/1322 (Dīyā al-Dīn Barī, *Tārīkh-i Firāz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 449) when it first fell into Muslim hands; in the rebuilding of 832/1429-32 Persian and Turkish engineers are supposed to have been employed in the rebuilding in the time of Muḥammad Shāh III (866-97/1453-82) by his wazīr Mahmūd Gāwān, after the introduction of gunpowder in the Deccan. The older round bastion is largely superseded by the polygonal variety, although the round and square tower at the base of the bastion is almost certainly of the older work. The wall gives way to smaller rubble set in deeper beds of mortar in the repairs and restorations. The towers are solid at the base, defended by chambers at the same level as the curtain battlements and by their own battlements one stage higher; like the curtain wall they are decorated with niches and machicolations. At the angles of the irregular trace, and also standing free within the enclosure, are large and massive bastions, some of imported trapezoidal and others of the local red laterite, built as mountings for heavy pieces of ordnance; these may be, as for Kalyānā Burjī, of the 16th century. The successive machicolated curtains, and may provide room for the accommodation of a large number of troops. The walls of Bidar town are of the Barīd Shāhī period (built 962/1555-56); the 37 bastions include the massive Muḥdā Burjī of two defended stages, approached by steps built on the back wall of the bastion itself, which mounts a cannon. The towers at the corners of the bastion are here, as in the case of the fort curtain, variable; they are closest at those points in the curtain most vulnerable to attack. The *Caḥwārā* in Bidar town, presumed to be part work of 'Almūd Shāh's defences, is a tall conical watch-tower, 23 m. high, commanding a view of the entire plateau and highlands. It is surrounded by a circular plain of guard-rooms and an internal stairway. There was much activity in the construction

military work in the Deccan in the heyday of the  
 Bahmanī dynasty (c.1395): Dawlatābād, Hīdjar, Gwāghar, Elchpur, Narānā, Pārenda, Naldarg, Panhāli, Warangal, Gohādhā, Mūdgāl, Rāyūr, etc. At Dawlatābād the old defences were strengthened  
 and heightened, in smaller stone or brick, and one  
 striking example of this is the building up of a  
 bastion in the second court of the entrance horowork  
 enclosing the old chambers, the bastion being a  
 height of three storeys, the curtain adding a high  
 upper storey while maintaining the batter of the walls, and  
 building a projecting arched oriel supported on  
 corbels of re-utilized Hindu work as a further watch  
 chamber. There are thus two upper defence  
 chambers, pierced with embrasures for small cannon,  
 over the solid base. At Pārenda the most important  
 parts, built in the early sixteenth century, are the  
 Gārtā, but in fact probably earlier—the towers on  
 the fausse-braye and curtain are defended by heavy  
 bartizans. At Kandahār (Yazdani, *Hyd. Arch.*  
*Dept. Rep.*, 1337-38 F/1922-4 A.D., 3) are circular  
 bastions on the fausse-braye and bastionary bastions  
 on the curtain, with inscriptions of 998/1588 giving  
 Turkish names as the responsible engineers. At  
 Kalyani polygonal and circular bastions are  
 placed by box machicolations on corbels,  
 while a corcopicous bastion within the  
 barbican has a mural chamber defended by bartizans,  
 with a barbette on the battlements, which have  
 two tiers of loopholes. The old Kakatiya fort of  
 Gohādhā (q.v.) ceded to the Bahmanīs in 766/1394,  
 has three successive curtain walls which show a  
 variety of towers: square, cylindrical, conical,  
 polygonal—the tower before the citadel is a  
*hergi* in the form of a fort, the citadel being a  
 square tower. In the later enclosure, a 'rimlobed'  
 bastion of strong projection, each of whose 'lobes'  
 is a quarter-circle on the exterior face. This last  
 feature is found also at Naldarg. At Hīdjarpur  
 (q.v.) the city walls, of the time of 'Alī 'Adī Shāh I.  
 (completed 975/1566), which are of uneven quality  
 since each notch was responsible for one section,  
 have some 96 bastions, mostly square, and  
 embrasures for small guns, and some 100  
 bastions to take heavy guns (inscriptions of  
 Muḥammad and 'Alī II), one, the Farangī or Tābūt  
 Burdī built to commemorate several large *gungis*.  
 On high ground, well within the walls, is the Uprī or  
 Haydar Burdī, a massive cavalier oval in plan and  
 some 24 m. high, built (c. 992/1583) to mount a  
 large (over 9 m. long, 15 cm. bore) piece of  
 the Sherāfī or 'Alī Shāh type. It is built out  
 from the curtain, to which it is connected by a  
 broad ramp forming a 'head and neck'.

Later fortifications in the Deccan, constructed or rebuilt during the Marāṭhā supremacy, generally follow the patterns of the Muslim period.

4. North India from the 10th/11th to the 12th/13th century.—Bābur's conquest in 932/1526 brought no new style of building in its early days, although his interest in the Hindu fortress of Gwalior communicated itself to his successors who developed the palace-fort *par excellence*. He son Humāyūn began yet another city of Dhilli, called Diya-pānāh, but this was razed by the Afghans under Sher Shāh, who commenced building his own capital, which now little but the citadel remains, constructed on a site identified with the ancient Indraprastha and known as the Old Fort (Purānā Kīl'ā, Kīl'ā-i kuhān). The walls and widely spaced bastions of the trapezoidal trace are of roughly



coursed rubble, while the gates, each flanked by two strongly projecting bastions, are of red polychrome ashlar. The towers are semicircular, solid to a height of 3 m., with several tiers of superposed rooms and galleries, with small box machicolations; one gate has an internal machicolis, a rare feature in India. Humayūn's re-occupation of the Purānā Kila' added nothing, and Mughal building of forts started with Akbar. Sikandar Lodī's fort at Agrā had fallen into ruin, and was raised and rebuilt; work started in 972/1564. There are semicircular bastions on the inner and outer curtains, the same height as the walls; the inner ring is much higher than the outer, reaching 30 m. Outer and inner bastions are concentric, and both have crenellated battlements defended by two or more ranks of loopholes, some protected by stone beds for downward firing. The inner Dihlī gate on the west is defended by two magnificent half-octagonal bastions, with a blind arcade at ground-floor level finely decorated with marble and polychrome ashlar, a wide arch in each face on the first floor with an exterior balcony, and a defended chamber above with two ranks of loopholes. The battlements above have some merlons equipped with stone hoods, and others pierced with loops. Each of these towers is topped by a *chattri*. The work throughout the walling is in red sandstone ashlar over a rubble core. Akbar's new city (979-1571) of Fatehpur (Fatḥ-pur) Sikrī is undistinguished in its fortification: the outer single curtain is incomplete, and its half-round bastions are simply bulges in the trace. The citadel was enclosed rather than fortified, though boasts one gate bastion, the Saigir Burdj, semi-octagonal with an internal hall, for a guard which was probably ceremonial rather than defensive. The new city was soon abandoned, and Akbar moved back to Agrā, which was later occupied by his son Dīshāhūr. From his time presumably dates the Muḥammadian Burdj (later called Samān 'jasmine') Burdj, a half-octagonal projecting on the river side of the fort surrounding a semicircular buttress; it is of two storeys with open arcades on each face, with fine *pietra dura* decoration. Some of this work is probably of the time of Shāhjahān, whose principal buildings were, however, at Dihlī (g.e.) and Lāhawar (Lahore) (g.e.). The New Fort at Dihlī (Laī Kila') was commenced in 1048/1638 and completed within two years. The nearly rectangular trace has semicircular bastions at regular intervals, defended by one tier of loopholes at about half their height and by two rows in the battlements; the merlons are decorated by cusping. Each tower is surmounted by a *chattri*. Similar towers on the barbicans are of the time of Awrangzib. The north and south bastions on the river front are larger, two storeys in height above the level of the courtyard, crowned by *chattris* Shāh Burdj, Asad Burdj; between them is a larger half-octagon, the Muḥammadian Burdj, originally known also as Burdj-i Tili on account of a gilded copper dome; the five sides which overlook the river are filled with marble screens. Lāwhr fort, built by Akbar at about the same time as Agrā fort (Abu 'l-Faḍl *Asfat Akbari*, Blochmann's trans., i, 538) has a similar Shāh Burdj, also called Muḥammadian Burdj, now showing completion 1041/1631-2, of great size (45 m. diameter). Manucci in his *Storia dei Mogor* says of these works: 'At each place [Dihlī, Agrā, Lāhawar] there is a great bastion named the Xaaburg [Shāh Burdj]... they are domed and have architectural ornaments of curious oriental work, with many precious stones. Here the King holds many audiences

for selected persons, and from it [sic] he views the abundant light... (Twelve years later, it is said). Certainly also the Muḥammadian Burdj in Dihlī was used for the emperor's daily *darḡan* (ceremonial showing himself to the people).

These Mughal *burj*s had no pretence of being fortified works, and thus what started as a grim military work was transformed into a vehicle for Mughal art. The walls of Shāhjahān's Dihlī were bastioned, certainly, but the rebuilding of Dihlī in the British period that it is not possible to recapture the Mughal arrangements.

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**BURDJ** [see *burdj* (g.e.)].

**BURDJIYYA.** The Burdjīyya regiment was second in importance only to the Bahriyya (g.e.) regiment throughout the history of the Mamlūk sultanate. It was created by Sultān al-Manṣūr Kālā'ūn, who selected for this purpose 3,700 of his own Mamlūks and quartered them in towers (*burdj*, sing. *burdj*) of the Cairo citadel. Hence its name. The source mentions the creation of this unit only when they sum up Kālā'ūn's career at the end of his rule, without specifying any date. It was composed of Mamlūks belonging to Caucasian peoples (*al-Dīshāz* wa 'l-*As* = Circassians and Abkhāz), Al-Maḥrīf (*Kutaf*, ii, 214, li. 22-26) mentions Armenians (*Arman*) instead of the *As*. The Bahriyya and Kipčāks mentioned by him in the same passage as performing duties pertaining to the Kibāshīyya (g.e.) do not seem to have belonged to the Burdjīyya.

During the reign of Sultān Kālā'ūn (678-89/1279-90) and that of his son al-Aḡrāf Khālāḥ (689-93/1290-93), the participation of the Burdjīyya in the affairs of the state was not very conspicuous. Immediately after Khālāḥ's death, however, they are mentioned as the main body supporting *amir* Saḡḡār al-Shudhī, while the main supporters of his rival, *amir* Kitbughā, were the Wāfīdiyya (g.e.) Tatars and the Shāhrāzūrī Kurds. Kitbughā defeated Saḡḡār, ascended the throne after having deposed the boy-king al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kālā'ūn (694/1294) and retaliated against the Bahriyya by expelling a part of them from the citadel and quartering them in different parts of the

capital: Mayḍān al-Lūk, al-Kabḡh and Dār al-Wazīra.

This was the first blow inflicted upon the regiment. Kitbughā, however, was soon deposed and replaced by Lāḡḡh (695/1296) and the Burdjīyya recovered their former position. They became extremely powerful after having murdered Sultān Lāḡḡh (698/1298) under the leadership of their commander Kurḡḡ Makkaddam al-Bahriyya. During the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kālā'ūn (698-702/1298-1302), the leaders of the regiment gradually became *de facto* rulers of the Mamlūk sultanate. In the struggle between the *amirs* Baybars al-Dīshāhnākīr and Sallār over the Mamlūk throne, the Burdjīyya naturally were on the side of the first, who was one of their number, whereas the second was supported by the Shāhīyya (the remnants of the Bahriyya regiment, created by al-Salāh Naḡm al-Dīn Aḡrāḡh) and by the Zāhīyya (the Mamlūks of al-Zāhīr Baybars). Baybars defeated Sallār without difficulty and succeeded al-Nāṣir Muḥammad as sultan (708/1308).

Under al-Muḥaffar Baybars, the Burdjīyya reached the peak of their power, but their success was short-lived, for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad soon succeeded the throne for the third time (709-741/1309-1340) and dislodged the Burdjīyya from their powerful position. As al-Nāṣir subsequently ruled for more than thirty years without interruption, the Burdjīyya gradually degenerated, and after his reign they are hardly mentioned by the sources.

Orientalists usually call the first two centuries of the Mamlūk rule "the Bahri and Burdjī periods". This terminology is hardly ever used by the Mamlūk sources, which call the early part of that rule, as well as the whole Mamlūk rule, *Dawlat al-Turk*, and its latter part *Dawlat al-Dīshāz*.

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**BURDUR**, a town in S.W. Asia Minor, distant about 4 km. from the south-eastern shore of the lake Burçuk, 168-79 cited in *Jorge, GOR*, i, 207; I. H. Erancıgil, *Osmanlı Tarih*, i, 61, 69; I. H. Danişmend, ... *Kronoloji*, i, 47-8; Burgas played a minor role in Ottoman history, serving as a

near the modern Burdur is of doubtful value (cf. *Kırsarı*, Pauli-Wissowa, s.v. *Limbura*) and *Hicnām* (Hicnām). The present name of the town, Burdur ("Buldur" in the speech of the local Turkish inhabitants and in the accounts of various travellers who have visited this region; also "Purdur" (Πορδούρ) amongst the Orthodox Christians who lived here formerly), points towards an identification with the Polydoron (Πολυδρόν) of medieval times. As to the lake of Burdur, it is the old 'Araxos' λίγυρ in Psidia. Burdur, in the course of the long conflict between the Byzantines and the Turks in Asia Minor during the 11th-12th centuries, passed into the hands of the Salḡḡḡ sultans of Rūm. The town came thereafter under the rule of the Begs of Hamid early in the 14th century and, still later, of the Ottoman sultans in the 15th century. The population of Burdur included in former times a considerable number of Orthodox Christians, who spoke Turkish as their language (Cunet noted that the town contained 4,000 Greeks and also approximately 3,000 Armenians). Burdur, under Ottoman rule, was at first a *hads* of the *sandak* of Hamid in the *eyālet* of Anadolu and, subsequently, a *sandak* in the *vilāyet* of Kōnya. It is now the administrative centre of the present Turkish province of Burdur. The town had, in 1955, a population of almost 20,000 inhabitants.

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**BURGAS** (BURGAS, near Zosopolis, ancient Apollonia), 42° 30' N., 27° 25' E., after Varna Bulgaria's major port and fifth largest town. Burgas is the centre of a district, a resort with a recently modernised harbour, textile, fishing and salt industries situated on Burgas gulf with a population of 43,684 in 1976/1956 (district 22,795). The name derives from Greek *Burgos*. Mural I took Burgas district circa 778-9/237-8 (B. de la Brosquerie, 168-79 cited in *Jorge, GOR*, i, 207; I. H. Erancıgil, *Osmanlı Tarih*, i, 61, 69; I. H. Danişmend, ... *Kronoloji*, i, 47-8). Burgas played a minor role in Ottoman history, serving as a











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(MURHAMAD SHAFI)

**BURHĀN AL-DĪN AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ** [see AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ].

**BURHĀN AL-MULK**, Mīr Muḥammad Aḥmad b. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD NAṢIR AL-MURĀWĪ, was a ḥafiz of Nighāpūr who founded the Awadh dynasty of Navevāb-Wāḍir (1336/1724-1267/1754). The exact date of his arrival in India is not known, but it is clear that he was in the service of Sarbuland Khān, commandant of Karā-Munkpur, in 1223/1717. On the accession of Farrukh-siyar to the throne of Delhi (1224/1713-1231/1719), he managed to obtain the post of a *nā'ib-harārī* (a revenue official), through the good offices of Muḥammad 'Alī Shar, a *mansabdar*. In 1232/1719 he was appointed commandant of Hudaib Rayyān when he reduced to submission the turbulent Rājput and Dīpt *zamindars* of the area. For the rôle that he played in the conspiracy to murder the *amir al-umara*ḥ Husayn 'Alī Khān Bārha, one of the Sayyid king-makers, he was awarded in 1235/1720 the title of Sa'adat Khān Bahādūr with the personal rank of 5,000 and the command of 3,000 horse. The same year he was appointed governor of Akbarābād (Āgra) with a rapid promotion in rank, and only after a month (Muharram 1235/November 1720) the title of Bahādūr Dīrang and the insignia of *mahī marātib*, were conferred on him. He in 1235/1722 he was appointed governor of Awadh when he ruthlessly suppressed the *shaykhzādes* of Lucknow. He also ordered a fresh revenue survey of the province, thereby increasing the imperial income from land, and the emperor Muḥammad Shāh rewarded him for his services with the title of Burhān al-Mulk.

After bringing the whole of Awadh, then in a state of turmoil, under his control, he punished the refractory feudal lords of Banāras and Dīwanpur. In 1245/1725 he was given charge of the district of Kāraḥ-Dahābād, whose landlord, Bhagwant Rāy, had been responsible for some trouble; he was ultimately killed in an encounter with the troops of the Nawwāb. The same year Burhān al-Mulk, flushed with repeated successes, waited on Muḥammad Shāh at Delhi in the hope of securing increased royal patronage. In 1249/1727 he attacked the Marāṭhās, who had seized a part of the Dākā, defeated and expelled them with heavy losses. The Marāṭhās in order to avenge this defeat soon afterwards attacked Delhi.

In 1252/1739, when Nādir Shāh Afshār invaded India, Burhān al-Mulk marched out from Awadh with a strong contingent of 30,000 troops. Although his baggage was looted by the enemy before it reached the imperial camp at Karnāl, Burhān al-Mulk decided to lose no time and to give battle to the

invaders. In the thick of the action he was, however, recognised by a fellow-townsmen from Nighāpūr and his elephant was, without any resistance, driven away into the enemy's camp. On Nādir Shāh's victory, Burhān al-Mulk, from ulterior motives, prompted the invader to increase the amount of indemnity (5 million rupees) which had been agreed upon between Nādir al-Mulk and Nādir Shāh, the emissary of Muḥammad Shāh, and the Persian invader, on the ground that the stipulated sum could be easily paid off by a single *amir* of the Mughal court. Burhān al-Mulk himself had to pay 33 million rupees in hard cash as his own share to the invader. He, however, suddenly died on 10 Dhu l-Hijja, 1252/19 March, 1739, soon after his return to Delhi. His almost sudden death has given rise to many speculations. He is reported to have committed suicide, unable to bear the insults which Nādir Shāh heaped upon him for his failure to arrange the full amount of indemnity (200 million rupees) which he had foolishly promised the invader. Other authorities, including the *Ma'āthir al-Umūr* (I, 466) maintain that he died of an old neglected wound which had erupted again. The latter statement, however, appears to be an attempt to mitigate his responsibility for actions which brought untold misery and grief to the citizens of Delhi.

Burhān al-Mulk, an otherwise good man, was ambitious to the extreme degree and his passion for self-aggrandisement did not spare even a person like Husayn 'Alī Khān, whose favourite and client he had been both as *Sayyid* and as *Shīr*. A disused canal in a part of the city of Delhi is still known after him as Nahr Sa'adat Khān. It appears to be an extension of the Fayd Nahr, the main source of the water-supply system of Delhi during the later Mughal period.

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**BURHĀNPŪR**, town in Madhyā Pradesh (India) situated in 23° 18' N. and 76° 14' E., along the north bank of the Tapti, with bathing-steps (*ghāṭ*) on the river-side and a solid masonry wall, pierced by a number of massive gates and wickets, on all the other sides. This wall was constructed by Nāṣim al-Mulk Āṣaf Dīkh I [q.v.] in 1241/1728, during his governorship of Burhānpūr. The population in 1951 was 79,066. While the walled town occupies an area of 2½ sq. miles, numerous remains outside show that the suburbs, which may comprise *Āṣafpūr*, must have been very extensive.

This town, which was of great strategic importance

during the medieval period, was founded by Naṣir Khān al-Fārūkī, founder of the Fārūkī dynasty of Khāshab (renamed Dāūdīsh by Akbar after his son Mīrā Dāūdīsh, but the name never caught the popular fancy) in or about 801/1398-9 and named after the Deccan saint Burhān al-Dīn Gharrīb [q.v.]. Another town on the other side of the Tapti was also founded at the same time and called Zaynābād, after Shāykh Zayn al-Dīn Dā'ūd al-Shīrāzī, one of the *ghulāt* of Burhān al-Dīn Gharrīb.

In 969/1561, Burhānpūr was sacked by Mīr Muḥammad Shīrāzī, a servant of Bayrām Khān [q.v.], who massacred the inhabitants and carried off immense booty. It continued to be the capital of the Fārūkī dynasty till its overthrow by Akbar in 1010/1601 when the kingdom was annexed to the Mughal empire, although the town itself had been occupied by the imperial forces under the command of Abu l-Faḍl 'Alīkhān [q.v.] in 1008/1599. 'Abd al-Rahīm, *Khān-i Khānā*, [q.v.] was appointed governor and stayed in Burhānpūr for a very long period. It was here in Burhānpūr that his eldest son, Mīrā Jādī (entitled Shāhnuwās Khān), died; his father built a tomb over his grave. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, had waited on Farwiz, [q.v.] in 1021/1616. Shāhjahan, then prince Khurram, made it his general headquarters during his Deccan campaigns. Prince Farwiz died here in 1036/1626 and Aurangzib accused his father Shāhjahan, after the latter's deposition, of having poisoned him. In 1040-2/1630-2 it again formed the base of Shāhjahan's military operations against the Deccan when a great famine, resulting in an extremely heavy death-roll, devastated the town. In 1041/1631 the empress Mumtāz Mahal, consort of Shāhjahan, died here and was temporarily interred in Zaynābād, before the removal of her dead body to Āgra for a permanent burial. In 1046/1636 Aurangzib, then a youth of 18 years of age, was appointed governor of the Deccan, including Khāshab, and he made Burhānpūr his headquarters. It was during his viceroyalty of the Deccan that Aurangzib came to know Shāykh Nāṣim Burhānpūrī, who remained in his employment for nearly forty years and was subsequently appointed chairman of the board of 'ulama' and jurists responsible for the compilation of *al-Fatawā al-'Ālamiyya* [q.v.].

It was again in 1092/1681 that Aurangzib encamped at Burhānpūr before invading Bīhār [q.v.]. Soon after the emperor left the town in 1096/1685, it was sacked by the Marāṭhās. There followed a series of battles in its neighbourhood, and peace could only be restored to the harried town in 1213/1719 when the demand of the Marāṭhās for levying the *ṣāḥṣ* (one of the taxes) was formally conceded. In 1240/1726 when Nāṣim al-Mulk Āṣaf Dīkh I was appointed to the government of the Deccan, he also made it his headquarters. After his return from Delhi in 1257/1724 till his death in 1261/1748 Burhānpūr continued to remain an important outpost of the new principality which Āṣaf Dīkh founded, and also served occasionally as his headquarters. After the death of Āṣaf Dīkh I it was occupied by the Marāṭhās, who were only dispossessed by Lord Wellesley in 1218/1801. It then changed hands several times and became finally a British possession in 1277/1860. In 1266/1849 it was the scene of a terrible Hindu-Muslim riot which claimed many lives. In 1265/1849 a great fire completely gutted Sindhpūr, a quarter of the town peopled mainly by the descendants of early migrants from various towns in Sind. Next

year a large number of houses in Dawūdāpūr were gutted, while the third fire of 1214/1897 destroyed a part of Lohār Mandī, including the mosque in the Cawk. In 1321/1903 bubonic plague took a very heavy toll of life.

Burhānpūr contains a large number of tombs and shrines of saints and mystics, many of them, from Sind and Goghrāt, find mention in the *Gulshān-i Aḥwar*, whose author, Muḥammad Gharrībī, visited Burhānpūr frequently. Among other buildings of note are the tombs of Mubārak Shāh al-Fārūkī and Rājā 'Alī Khān entitled 'Adī Shāh al-Fārūkī, the Dīyārī Masjid, built by the latter in 997/1588, and the old fort, along the bank of the Tapti, now in a state of utter disrepair. A caravansarai built by the *Khān-i Khānā* 'Abd al-Rahīm is still extant.

Dīkhānī's system of water-supply for the town, completed in the 17th century by the *Khān-i Khānā*, compares favourably with any modern waterworks system. During the Mughal period Burhānpūr housed a number of Imperial factories which produced quality and expensive cloth for the royal household. The workers in these *kārkhānas* were mostly skilled weavers from Thar (Sind), who had migrated to Burhānpūr during the governorship of the *Khān-i Khānā*.

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**BŪRĪ AL-AYYŪB** [see AYYŪB].

**BŪRĪ TĀDĪ AL-MULŪK** [see MŪLŪK].

**BŪRĪ-BARS** R. AL-ARSLĀN, the Saḥlīqū, was sent by Barkīyārūk against Arslān Argūn, another son of Alp Arslān, who was trying to make himself independent in Khurāsān. In the struggle between the two brothers, Būrt Bars was at first successful, but in the second encounter, in 488/1095, his troops were scattered and he himself was taken prisoner and strangled by his brother's orders.

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Aṭṭār, x, 179; Routsama, *Revel*, II, 537.



BÜRİ TAKİN [see KARAKHĀNIDS].

**BÜRDİS**, a dynasty of Turkish origin which reigned in Damascus from 1071/1104 to 1154/1154. Its founder was the *atabeg* [q.v.] of Şams al-Mulk Dukāq, son of the Saljūqīd sultan Tutuq (see SALJŪQĪD). This *atabeg*, named Tughtakīn and called Zahr al-Dīn, was the confidant of sultan Tutuq, and was entrusted with the direction of affairs in Damascus as early as 488/1095 by Dukāq, whose mentor he had been. After the death of Dukāq (12 Rabi' al-Thani 1095 June 1294), Tughtakīn continued to exercise power in the name of the deceased prince's young son, Tutuq, who in turn died shortly after his father. From that moment, Tughtakīn became the master of Damascus. His dynasty was founded, and it endured until the capture of Damascus by Amir Nūr al-Dīn Zankī on 10 Safar 519/25 April 1134. Tughtakīn ruled until his death, 8 Safar 527/12 February 1128. He was replaced by his son Taqī al-Mulk Būrdī, who died as a result of an attempt made against his life on 21 Rabi' al-Thani 526/6 June, 1132. Just before he expired he named as his successor his son Abu l-Faḍl Ismā'īl, called Şams al-Mulk, who was himself assassinated by his slaves on 14 Rabi' al-Thani 529/20 January 1135, by order of his own mother. His brother, Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd, followed him, and was murdered by three of his servants on 23 Shawwāl 533/23 June 1139. His brother Qāsim-al-Dīn Muḥammad, governor of Baḥbak, was summoned to replace him, and died as the result of an illness 8 Sha'wān 534/29 March 1140. The military chiefs then raised to power the son of Qāsim-al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Dawla Abu Sa'īd Abū, called Muḥḥir al-Dīn, who left the responsibilities of administration to his *atabeg*, Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur, until the death of the latter on 23 Rabi' al-Thani 544/30 August 1149. He then took the direction of affairs into his own hands, but was very soon obliged to accept the domination of the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn, by whom he was driven from Damascus in 1154.

During the fifty years that the dynasty lasted, the Būrdī rulers received their investiture from the caliph and from the sultan of Baghdad, who, in exchange for considerable gifts, did not interfere in the internal affairs of the principality.

Throughout this period, the Būrdī princes were confronted by situations which often were very difficult. When Tughtakīn assumed authority, the territory of Damascus was in immediate proximity to the Frankish states of Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem. The Franks of Jerusalem menaced the regions from which Damascus clearly acquired its food provisions; that is, Hawrān and the plains of Upper Jordan and of Yarmūk. In order to avoid risking the entire loss of these indispensable territories, and to safeguard the communications of Damascus with Egypt and Arabia, the Būrdī princes were induced to negotiate with the Franks on several occasions, and even to conclude with them genuine treaties of alliance. They made them all the more easily since the treaties were not always looked upon with very much apprehension by their Muslim neighbours. Tughtakīn did try to co-operate with the Egyptian garrisons, who still held some coastal positions, Tyre for example, but with little success or effect. On the other hand, the masters of Baghdad were prejudiced by the tortuous politics of the Damascus rulers, so much so that the latter were repeatedly obliged to appear before the sultan and the caliph to justify their actions. Finally, from 544/1130, when the Zangid amir, 'Imād al-Dīn and

his son Nūr al-Dīn became masters of Aleppo, they grew progressively more threatening toward Damascus. With the exception of Şams al-Mulk, who was preparing to deliver the city to 'Imād al-Dīn when he was assassinated, the Būrdī princes were therefore not displeased to find support in the Franks against the covetousness of the princes of Aleppo. However, the unprofitable attack by the Franks on Damascus during the second Crusade (July 1148) ended this policy and hastened the taking of Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn.

The internal situation of the city was no less troubled during the Būrdī epoch. The lower orders of the town, organised into a sometimes very turbulent militia (*ahdāt*), frequently participated in the political life of the city under the direction of those enterprising persons known by the term *ra'īs*. Over against the militia and actively opposing it, at least on one occasion, was a rural class. Led into action by the Ismā'īlīs [q.v.] or Būḥniyya, this group also played an important rôle, particularly in 522/1128, with the complicity of some highly placed persons. It was not the first time that the Ismā'īlīs used Damascus as the arena of their activities; several political murders had been perpetrated there by them, notably that of Amir Ma'wūd the ruler of Mawālī, on 18 Rabi' al-Thani 507/23 October, 1113. Amir Taqī al-Mulk Būrdī was also their victim in 1132.

Until the end, or until just a little before the end, the Būrdī princes could count on the support of their Turkish troops whose loyalty was unswerving, and on the neutrality, growing steadily less benevolent, of the bourgeoisie. The latter were not opposed to the dynasty so long as it maintained order and assured, as best it could, the security of commercial transactions. But as the situation deteriorated after the death of Taqī al-Mulk Būrdī, the middle classes of Damascus showed themselves to be increasingly impressed by the prestige of Nūr al-Dīn, and facilitated his entrance into Damascus.

Thus, as long as the Būrdī dynasty was represented by men of ability such as Tughtakīn and his son, it had no difficulty in retaining its power in Damascus; but the last twenty years, apart from the administration of Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur, were characterised by sometimes bloody rivalries and by growing economic difficulties. Also the population of Damascus, principally the bourgeoisie, who had never wholeheartedly supported the Būrdīs, no longer saw any reason for linking its destiny with that of the dynasty. The last prince, Muḥḥir al-Dīn, left the city amid indifference, if not hostility.

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**AL-BÜRİNİ**, AL-HASAN R. MUHAMMAD AL-DI-MASĠG'IL AL-SAFFIRI BADER AL-DIN, an Arab historian and poet, born in the middle of Ramadan 663/July 1566, at Saffiriyā in Galilee, came when he was older with his father to Damascus, where he received his education at the Madrasa al-Sālībiyya. After the completion of his studies, which he had to interrupt in 974/1567 by a four years' stay in Jerusalem on account of famine, he lectured in various madrasas. In the year 1020/1611 he acted as Kādī to the Syrian pilgrim caravan. He died on the 13th Rabi' al-Thani 1021/June 1612. His chief work is the collection of biographies entitled *Tarāḡim al-'A'yān min Abnā' al-Zamān*, containing accounts of 205 individuals which he had collected at long intervals and completed in 1023/1614; it was edited by Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh in 1078/1667 and published with a supplement (cf. Ahlwardt, *Vorlesungen der arab. Hist.*, no. 9889; Flügel, *Die arab. Arab. und türk. Hist.*, no. 1190; *Fihrist al-Kutubkhāne al-Khādiyya*, v. 33; his *Diwān* is preserved in Istanbul (Köprülü, no. 1287). There are some of his poems in Berlin (*Mawāḍi' on the Saffi Muhammad b. Abi l-Barakāt al-Kādi*, s. Ahlwardt, *op. cit.* no. 7858, 3), Gotha (poetic epistle to Aḥmad b. Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Thifirī al-Dimashqī, with the latter's reply, Perle, *Die arab. Hist. der herzog. Bibl.*, no. 44, 23) and London (*Catalogue Coll. Or. Mus. Brit.*, ii, no. 630, 2). Lastly he also wrote a commentary on the *Diwān* of 'Umar b. al-Fārid, lith. Cairo 1279; he completed the commentary on the *Tā'īyya al-Suḡrā* in 1002/1593, cf. Derenbourg, *Les Mss. Or. de l'Escurial* no. 420, 4.

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**BURMA**. Islam made its first major impact in the early 15th century through the King of Arakan, Nyaung-U. This monarch returned from exile in Bengal in 1430, accompanied by Muslim followers. He set up his capital at Mrohaung, where the Sandikhan mosque was erected. Subsequent Arakanese kings, although Buddhists, used Muslim designations, and even issued medallions bearing the *kalima*. Muslim influence was intensified when Prince Shogūn, brother of Nyaung-U, fled to Arakan in 1660. Shogūn was murdered by King Sandathudamma and his treasure sequestered, but his followers were retained at court as Archers of the Guard, in which rôle they frequently intervened as kingmakers. Descendants of these Mughal courtiers remain distinctive to this day. Before the 19th century, Muslim presence in Burma proper was confined to small numbers of Gadjah traders and certain gunners and other foreign technicians conscripted into the service of the Kings of Ava. The British annexation of Arakan in 1826 led to an influx of Muslims from Cittaung into coastal towns, particularly Akyab. The annexation of Lower Burma (1852) was followed by large-scale Indian immigration from the 1880's onwards. 1911 Census (the last to be completed in detail) gives a Muslim population of 584,839, out of a total of 14,667,146. Of the Muslims, 396,584 were of Indian origin; 1,474 were Chinese (Panthay); and 186,861 were indigenous, mainly Arakanese. Muslim

Arakanese were among the early officials and police officers under the British; they took advantage of higher education and many were prominent in government service, banking, and business. Cittaung Muslims supplied almost all the crews of the coastal and river steamers. Ismā'īlīs [q.v.] and Gadjahs dominated the retail trade. The 1930's were a decade of depression and some resentment was vented upon Muslims, conspicuous in the economy. Violent riots occurred in 1930 and '38; the latter lasted from July to December, and were fiercest in Rangoon and Mandalay; some 200 Muslims were killed. Following the Japanese invasion (1942) many Indians fled; numbers returned after the war, but they are less than before. The total Muslim population in 1958 is probably slightly higher than in 1931, perhaps 600,000 (the Census of 1953-4 is quite incomplete). About half are from India and Pakistan. A political organisation, the Burma Muslim Congress, was formed in 1945 and is affiliated to the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, the government coalition party. Two Muslims have been Cabinet Ministers during the greater period since independence: M. A. Raghid (b. 1912) a leading trade unionist and business man, and U Khin Maung Lat ('Abd al-Laṭif, b. 1913) a lawyer. The leaders of independent Burma, notably U Nu, lay great stress upon their Buddhist heritage; Muslims are accepted as equal citizens, but a number of irritants to good relations have existed. The Muḡlāḥid revolt in northern Arakan led by Kāsīm, a fisherman, aimed at union of this area with Pakistan. The Muḡlāḥid terrorised the Buthidaung-Maunglaw area from 1918 to '54, but with the imprisonment of Kāsīm in a Pakistan jail their activities were greatly reduced. In September 1954, a national political crisis was created by widespread monastic protests against Islamic teaching in state schools, but in general relations are harmonious. In Arakan, where Buddhists and Muslims are intermingled, many Muslim customs are followed by the Buddhists, even beef-eating. But in Lower Burma, beef-eating and animal sacrifice at the 'Id are actively discouraged. The Burma Muslim Dissolution of Marriages Act, passed in March 1955, gave Muslim women equal rights to those of Buddhists: equal opportunity to divorce their husbands, and the right to retain their marriage portion on dissolution of the union. The act evoked Muslim protests outside Burma, but was accepted by the Burma Muslim Congress. Married Burmese Muslim women do not take the veil or observe purdah. In 1955, U Nu as Prime Minister initiated a project to translate the *Kur'ān* into Burmese.

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**BURSA**, also called NIĞDE, was founded by the Ottomans after the ancient city of Prusa (295/52a) on the northern foothills of Mysian Olympus, became the main capital of the Ottoman state between 726-805/1326-1402.

It was mentioned by Ptolemy along with Nicaea and Philadelpheia as one of the three principal cities still in the hands of the Byzantines when the Turkish borderers invaded the whole of western Anatolia about 699/1300.

According to 'Aḥlik Paḥadāde (ed. Fr. Gies, 22-23) the Ottomans were able to lay siege to Bursa for the first time when they invaded the Bursa plain after their victory over the Byzantine Tekfur [q.v.] of Bursa who, in alliance with the other Tekfur had







*İhtisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, İstanbul, xv, no. 1-4 (1953-54), 51-57; H. Turhan Dağlıoğlu, 16. *asrda Bursa*, Bursa 1943; a number of documents selected from the official records of the kâdis of Bursa were published in *Üludağ*, Bursa Halkedvi Dergisi; Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunîmânâ İhtisâsî Bursa (1502)*, *Türk Vekâilari Dergisi*, ii, 7, 15-40; A. Erzi, *Bursa'da İhtisâsî Derslerine mukavvâ Zaviyenin Vakfiyesi*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (1942), 423-428; Biographies: Balırdzâde Mehmed, *Küddü Râvâdât al-süfîyâ*, MS. Bursa Orhan emeli Kütüphanesi no. 4; İsmâ'îl İzzetli, *Güldenâ Kiyâs-ı Trîfin*, ed. M. Müderrisoğlu, Bursa 1302; Eyyâzâde Seyh Ahmed Zâhidî, *Wafâyât al-wafâid*, MS. Orhan e. Kütüphanesi, Bursa, no. 58; Seyh Abdullâhî, *Râvâdât al-Muallîhîn*, Orhan e. Kütüphanesi, idem, Bursa; *Khulâsât al-safayât*, Süleymaniye Küt. Esad efendi kitapları; Bakırçî Râşid Mehmed Efendi, *Zuhdât al-wakâid*, der. İzzetli, Bursa, Fatih Millet Kütüphanesi, İstanbul; Bursal Mehmed Tahîr, *Ölâdîlî Mâdîdîleri*, 14th, İstanbul 1333-1342; Travels: Ibn Battûta, *Voyages*, ed., and trans. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, Paris 1853-5, 4 vols.; J. Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels*, trans. from K. F. Neumann's German edition and ed. by B. de la Teller, Hakluyt Society, London 1879, 401; B. de la Bequerie, *Le Voyage d'Asie*, ed. Ch. Scherier, Paris 1862, 132-137; Ewliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, vol. 2, İstanbul 1334, 7-55; Kâtib Çelebi, *Dişkin-nâmâ*, İstanbul 1345, 657-8; P. Belon, *Les Observations de plusieurs singularités et choses mémorables trouvées en Grèce...*, Paris 1588, 450-51; I. P. de Tournfort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, B. Lyons 1717, 469; J. von Hammer, *Umblich auf einer Reise von Konstantinopel nach Brussa*, Pest 1818; A. Grisebach, *Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa im Jahre 1839*, 2 vols. Göttingen 1841; A. D. Merdmann, *Anatolien, Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien, 1850-1859*, Hannover 1901; G. Perrot, *Souvenir d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, Paris 1864; P. de Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure*, I, Paris 1866; E. Haerdel, *Brussa unter osmanischer Herrschaft*, Berlin 1875; V. Culot, *La Turquie d'Asie, géographie administrative*, vol. 4, Paris 1894; R. Hardmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, Leipzig 1928; J. Lewis Farley, *The Resources of Turkey*, London 1862 (A report of D. Sandison, British Consul in Bursa, is published in it; similar reports are preserved in Public Record Office, F. O. 195: 115, 399, 393, 598, 680, 721, 724); The *silâmnâmâ* (annuals) of Bursa were published regularly beginning with the year 1287/1870-1335/1917. Studies: Hasan Ta'ib, *Khâfîya pâkîdât Mu'it-i Bursa*, Bursa 1323; M. Sham' al-Dîn, *Yâdigâr-ı Şemsî*, Bursa 1332; A. M. Turgut Koyunluoğlu, *İsmâ'îl Bursa Tarihî*, Bursa 1937; K. Baykal, *Bursa Yâdigârî*, Bursa 1948; Nesret Köneoğlu, *Tarihi Bursa Mektûbî*, Bursa 1946; J. Sölk, *Historisch-geographische Studie über byzantinische Siedlungs-Nümmen, Nikaia, Prusa, Byzantion-neugriech. Jahrbücher*, i, 1920; A. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1903; the newspapers which appeared in Bursa under the Ottoman administration were *Khaddudîgâzî* (official), *Bursa*, *Gün-dâğız*, *Fevâ'id*.

(H. İNALCIK)

**BURSUK** (Eastern Turkish = "badger"), one of the chief officers of the Great Saljuqs, whose descendants also played a notable rôle at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. Bursuk,

although youthful, entered history as one of the principal *amirs* in the service of Tughril-Beg, who after restoring control in Baghdad following the death of the years 450/51/1058-59, made Bursuk his first *dişina* (military commander) in Baghdad. However, under the pacified Saljuqid organisation, the essential power belonged to the *şahîd*, the civil administrator, and it is not certain that there had been a *ghisva* with any permanence in Baghdad for a dozen years. In any case, Bursuk did not remain in the position since we find him in 455/1063 as *hâdîdî* of the sultan whom he accompanied (Sibt Ibn al-Djawrî, *Mu'it al-Zamân*, Bibl. Nat., Paris, Arab. 1506, 87v.1); then, in 456/1064, he was charged by the new sultan, Alp Arslan, to go and extract from a vassal arrears of tribute (*ibid.*, 99v, 100v). Then, without our being able to explain the reason, silence overshadows him for 15 years. We discover him again only around 471/1078, under Malikshâh, sent to Anatolia against the Saljuqid rebel sons of Kutlu-mush, one of whom, Mangûr, he killed but without being able to crush the other, Sulaymân (Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, trans. Budg., 227). In 479/1086, together with Bûzân, he led the advanced guard of Malikshâh's army, which on the death of Sulaymân occupied Aleppo; and probably from there was dispatched to Asia Minor to combat the heir of süymûn al-Nisâ'î, who, despite the efforts of the sultan, was supported by Alexius Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, Bonn ed., 302-11). It was probably on this occasion that he obtained from Constantinople the tribute of 300,000 *denars* about which Bundârî speaks (*ed. Houtsma*, 70). A little later Bursuk organised the celebrations in Baghdad honouring the marriage of the caliph to a daughter of Malikshâh. Following the death of the sultan, in the quarrels among the latter's heirs he took the part of Barkiyûrk, particularly in the resistance to Tutuq, and followed his prince to Isfahân, there falling victim to the Assassins. His sons avenged him by participating two years later (490/1097) in the execution of the Shûh *wasayî* of Barkiyûrk, Najid al-Mulh al-Ishâhân, whom they suspected of having been the instigator of the murder of Bursuk and of others as well.

The sons of Bursuk—Zenghî, Akbîrî, İbîkî, and Bursuk—appear, generally speaking, as a close-knit family group, which remained attached to Barkiyûrk as long as he lived, but which was more normally established on their *ihdâ* of the province of Abwâz, which, with Tustar, foremost town of the province, was acknowledged to be hereditary, either legally or by fact of possession. Bursuk assisted Barkiyûrk in recapturing Rayy from his brother Muhannad. Probably it was for this reason, when in 498/1105 Muhannad succeeded Barkiyûrk who had died, that we find Zenghî incarcerated by the new sultan. But the family found a way to reconcile itself with Muhannad by refusing to follow the rebel Mangubars and by betraying him to the sultan. Zenghî, who would have been put to death, was set free, and although the sultan demanded from the Banû Bursuk the return of their *ihdâ*, in exchange he conceded to them Dînasar. Furthermore, even this exchange appears to have been provisional; for we find the Banû Bursuk subsequently once more in possession of Tustar. Meanwhile, Bursuk (the son of Bursuk) was made by Muhannad governor of the province of Hamadhâna, one of the capitals of the Empire (Ibn al-Kalâkânî, *ed. Anedroz*, 574).

Firmly installed in power, Sultân Muhannad sought to organise war against the Franks in Syria. Bursuk b. Bursuk was one of the principal participants of the expedition of 509/1115, which miscarried because of quarrels among the chiefs and the jealousy of the Syrian princes toward the "Easterners"; moreover, he was ill almost the whole time. But he received command of the expedition of 509/1115. Again the circumstances were difficult, Bîghârî, the principal chief of the Diyâr Bakî Turkomân, Tughtakûn of Damascus, and Lu'lu', regent of Aleppo, having made an alliance with the Franks against him. With such bases as Hama, where the camp was his friend, and Hama, which he conquered, Bursuk attempted to dislodge the coalition army. He succeeded only on making contact, withdrawing, returning, and finally being overrun at Dînâfî, to the east of the Orontes, by Roger, Prince of Antioch. He was preparing to take his revenge when he died, as did his brother Zenghî, in 510/1116. This death and that of Sultân Muhannad, two years later, meant the end of political intervention by the Sultanate against the Franks.

It is only on the occasion of the dissensions among the Saljuqids that the last heirs of Bursuk are heard of again, re-established in Khûzistân. Akbîrî and some of the sons of Zenghî and İbîkî found in the army employed by Sultân Mahmûd against his uncle Seljuq, and Bursuk b. Bursuk participated in the complicated quarrels of Lower 'Irâk. At the death of Mahmûd, the brothers Tughrîl and Bursuk were found in the party of Tughrîl, who protected Sanjar; then, when he (Tughrîl) died, they joined the party of Dâ'ud, who had the support of the Caliph. Nevertheless, they were able in time to reconcile themselves with the conqueror. Mas'ûd was (529-33/1134-1136). We cannot say whether it was one of these two whose death, under the name of Hamza b. Bursuk, is mentioned by Ibn Abî Tayyîl (cited by Ibn al-Furât, NS. Vienna II, 1135\*), as lord of Tustar in 533/1139. In any case, it appears this is the last mention of a member of the family whose heirs are no longer encountered among the vassals of the subsequent sultans.

It was as an officer of the first Bursuk that Ak-Sumkur al-Bursuk [s.c.] began his career.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references given in the article: Ibn al-Akhrî, *Kâmil*, s. xi, Index; 'Imâd al-Dîn al-Ishâhân in Bundârî's version (Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, index); Râwandî, *Rihât al-Sudûr*, ed. Muh. Ibbîl, index. For the sultan's campaigns, the sources are collected in Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord etc.*, 253-3, 271-4; cf. also Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, i, 463 ff., and 493 ff.

**AL-BURSUKI** [see AK BURSUK].

**AL-BURTÎ, pl. al-Burtât**, a Spanish-Arabism derived from the Latin *portus*, the meaning of which the Arab authors explain as the equivalent of Arabic *hâdî*, pl. *shuhûd*, the triangular shape which the Arabs gave to the Iberian peninsula is well known. Following Ptolemy, they fixed its points at Tarifa in the south, at Cape Finisterre in the west, and in the east in the Narbonne area according to some, or the valley of the Llobregat according to others, or at Port-Vendres (Portus Veneris/Haykal al-Zuhârî according to a third group. The disagreement over the fixing of the third point arises from two causes, to which nobody has given the attention they deserve. In the first place, the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages had no clear idea of the Pyrenees, nor did they give a definite name to them; in the

second place, they show the north-east frontier in ways which differ markedly according to the ideas of the times in which they lived and the political situation of the region.

Some, the earliest, such as al-Râzî and after him Ibn Hayyân and al-Yaqûbî, follow the Visigothic tradition and take the limits of the peninsula, as in Wamba's time, to the Narbonne area. Others, coming later, such as al-Bakrî, who knew of the Frankish conquest of the Spanish marches, and had travelled through the country several times by land and sea, on hearing the Catalans of Barcelona and of the Pyrenean countries called Frank and taken for such, place the north-east limit on the line of the Llobregat; on this frontier al-Bakrî mentions al-Burt (the Gate) in the Catalan coastal range; and in order to leave no room for doubt that the frontier between al-Andalus and the continent (*al-arḍ al-khabîra*) stands on that river whose Latin name (Hiberitatis) he knew, he states that the gates (*abwâb*) of the *ġabal* al-Burt are the islands of Mallorca and Minorca. This testimony is confirmed by Ibn Sa'îd, and al-Makkârî accepts it as the most accurate since it is corroborated by many travellers. Ibn al-Akhrî mentions more than once the famous battle during which the Almoravids *amir* Ibn 'Ayyûb died and calls it *waḥdat al-Burt* (Christian sources refer to it as the battle of El Congost de Martorell) and Ibn Khaldûn mentions the embassy which the Frankish count of Barcelona who was living on the other side of al-Burt sent to 'Abd al-Rahmân III. al-Idrîsî, on his part, who was writing in the second half of the 6th/12th century, and witnessed the independence of the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom, takes care not to call the Catalan Franks and puts the frontier of Spain at Port Vendres; in enumerating the 26 provinces or *ihlâm* of Andalusia he puts Tortosa, Tarragona, and Barcelona in the *ihlâm* of al-Burtât, further south than the Pyrenees, appearing to show that this *ġabal* al-Burt or al-Burtât was the centre of the *ihlâm*.

**Bibliography:** Idrîsî, text 176, tr. 224; Makkârî, *Anatolien*, 252-3 (quotations from Râzî, Bakrî, and Ibn Sa'îd, i, 82-3); Ibn al-Akhrî, *Tahmila*, in *BAH* iv, 55, 309; Ibn Khaldûn, *Ibar*, iv, 142; Chronicle of Ripoll and Chronicle of Tortosa in Villanueva, *Fuente literaria*, v, 247.

(A. HUCI MIRANDA)

**BURTAS**, or BURDAS (in al-Bakrî FURDAS), pagan tribe of the Volga basin. For an account of the Burtas and their neighbours the Khazars and the Bulgars, to the north and south, see BOLGHAR. Al-Mas'ûdî (*Murâdj*, ii, 14 & *Tanbih*, 62) lists Burtas also as a river flowing into the Ird (Volga); Marquart identifies this stream with Samara (*Streitsage*, 336). The sources do not mention any adherents to Islam among the Burtas, which contrasts with their accounts of the Khazars and Bulgars. Yâqut's report on the Burtas (i, 567) is based on a misunderstanding, as he applied Ishaq's remarks on the Bulgars (225) to the Burtas. The sources in which they are mentioned, Ibn Rusta (140 ff.), al-Bakrî (Kunîk & Rosen, *Ishtiyaq al-Bakrî*, etc., i, 44) and Gardizî, (Barthold, *Ölüt o poyeshdâk v Srednyaya Asiya*, 96 ff.) content themselves with saying on the subject of the Burtas religion that they adhere to the same beliefs as the *ġiyas* (Turks) and that some of them burn while others bury their dead. They allowed themselves to be outdistanced by their neighbours more in contact with civilisation. They lacked government authority, the direction of affairs



being entrusted to the elders of each tribe. The only commercial dealings of any importance between the Muslim World and the Burtās was the traffic in furs—the *furā* mentioned by Yāqūt (loc. cit.).

The majority of authorities (V. V. Holmsted, A. P. Smirnov, P. P. Stepanov) identify the Burtās with the Finnish Morde-Moksha (the "Moles" of Ruteniquis), class which at the beginning of the Middle Ages inhabited the area between the upper basins of the rivers Khoper and Medveditsa and the right branch of the Volga, extending so far northwards until the Finns were the immediate neighbours of the Slavs. Others (A. I. Popov, A. E. Alilgova) locate their place of origin in the northern Caucasian steppes and argue that the Burtās emigrated northwards only at the time of the Golden Horde; others again (Shoer, Rittich) place them among the ancestors of the Cossack. Tokarev believes that the Burtās were a Finnish tribe more or less Turkicised, and which finally was assimilated partly by the Morde-Moksha and partly by the Cossack. Russian chronicles from the 13th century onwards mention the Burtās as vassals of the Golden Horde. After the downfall of Kazan, their land was conquered and colonised by the Russians in the 16th century. At the beginning of the 18th one reads of insurrections among them but from that time the name Burtās ceases to figure in Russian documents.

The present Mordeve (Morzins) in Estonia are divided into two distinct groups: the Moksha and the Erzia, numbering about 1,450,000 souls (Soviet census 1939), living in an autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Autonomous SSR of the Mordeve, capital Saransk). A large number of the Mordeve, however, live outside their republic, notably in Tataristan, Bashkiriya and Siberia.

The Mordeves were subject to strong Russian cultural influences, and from the 17th century adopted the Orthodox faith. One must, however, mention the existence of another Mordeve-Moksha group living in the Tatar region (in the district of Kamsho-Ustinsk of the autonomous SSR of Tatarstan)—the Karatā. These from the 17th century have been subjected to Tatar influence and were completely "Tatarised". The Karatā have lost the use of their Finnish language and speak the Tatar of Kazan. Considered officially as Christian Orthodox, they are in fact crypto-Muslims.

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(W. BARTHOLOLMEU C. QURLEQJAV)

**BURUKĀL**, the name given by the Arabs to an ancient town (Cale or Calasa, Portus Cale, modern Oporto) at the mouth of the Douro, and later to the kingdom of Portugal. Before the establishment of an independent Portugal in the 12th century, the history of the region belongs to that of Spain (see AL-ANDALUS). At the Arab conquest the whole of the territory of modern Portugal must have passed rapidly into Muslim hands, though details are lacking. We hear only of resistance in the south (see HĀĠĠA) and of the occupation of Évora, Santarém and Coimbra by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (governor of al-Andalus, 95/714-97/716). According to a notice in a late author, but cited on the good authority of Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzi (3rd/yth century), Santarém and Coimbra had before this been exempted from a general division of the conquered land among the soldiers of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, apparently under a treaty (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus., iii, 202-203*, and see below).

Political confusion in al-Andalus and especially, from about 750 onwards, the withdrawal owing to famines of large numbers of the new inhabitants of the NW (mostly Berbers) provided conditions for the beginning of the Reconquista. Alfonso I of Asturias (739/737) or, according to Ibn Rayyān (Makkatī, *Nafh, i, 213*), his son Fruela I (737-760) made himself master of the north of modern Portugal, including the towns of Oporto and Braga north of the Douro and Viseu south of the same river. Another son of Alfonso, Aurelio (reigned 768-774), is given by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (A'māl al-4'44m, 373) as conqueror of 'and Burtalāh'. Alfonso II (791-842) is said to have taken Lisbon (842) and to have sent a message to Aix-la-Chapelle announcing the news to Charlemagne. But these successes, if authentic, were transitory. It was not till the time of Alfonso III that the line of the Douro was more or less effectively held by the Christians, after the definitive capture of Oporto in 868.

Kulmuriya (Coimbra) fell in 868/878 but was retaken in 375/975 by al-Mansūr, whose extraordinary march from Cordova to Shant Ya'qūb (Santiago de Compostella) was directed via Coria and Viseu. Al-Ughbina (Lisbon), which still belonged to the expiring Caliphate in 400/1000, the time of the *Muḥall al-Tawā'if*, a dependency of the Alṭafids of Badajoz, who disputed control of the W. of al-Andalus with the 'Abbāsidah of Seville, and after the final loss of Coimbra in 456/1064 (Ibn 'Udhayr, iii, 239) remained with Shantarān (Santarém) as a Muslim enclave N. of the Tagus, till both were captured by Alfonso Henriques, the first king of Portugal, in 547/1147. Alfonso Henriques is usually said to have taken the royal title after a victory over the Muslims at Ourique near Beja (July, 1139). Before his death (1185) the Portuguese were in possession of most of the South. The fluctuating fortunes of war earlier are illustrated by the case of Lamego, S. of the Douro, which appears to have been captured by Alfonso III in 904. It was afterwards lost, but was retaken by Ferdinand I in 1038, when its king or governor was permitted to remain as vassal of the Christian. Some time before 1103 it passed again under Muslim control, being finally recovered to the Count Don Henrique in that year (cf. Fernandez y Gonzalez, *Mudajarras de Castilla*, 29). For the deep-rooted Arabism of the region we may compare an account in the 12th century writer al-Mawā'aynī (Pons Boigues, *Historiadores*, no. 189) of certain Arabic

speaking Christians encountered by al-Mu'tadid of Seville on an expedition into Portugal circa 1020 at Hīṣay al-Ighwān, now represented by Alalones or Alalões (≠ Alajones), N. of Viseu, who claimed to hold their land by treaty from Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (cf. above) and, though doubtless Mozarabs, alleged their descent from 'Iṣḥāq b. al-Aḥyān, a Christian Arab of Syria contemporary with Muhammad (Fernandez y Gonzalez, *Ibid.*, cf. Dory, *Les de Abbadides*, ii, 7).

Under the Caliphate several āḥās (i.e., provincial districts with chief town, governor and garrison, see ART. AL-ANDALUS, 2, iii) belonged in whole or in part to the territory of modern Portugal. 1. In the extreme S., corresponding to the present-day province of Algarve, was the *hāra* of Ughyūmā (Ozemboba), so called from the ancient town of that name, inland from modern Faro. The town declined in importance after the Arab invasion and gave way to Shīb (Silves) as provincial capital, but was still in existence in the 5th/11th century (Ibn 'Udhayr, iii, 215). Silves, situated more to the W. near the estuary of two small rivers, is first mentioned as a port at the time of the descent of the Norsemen in 229/844 (see AL-RĀH al-SUḤṬI), and grew to be a flourishing city, especially perhaps after the fall of the Caliphate under the 'Abbāsidah of Seville. Other towns or large villages in the province were, according to Ibn Sa'īd (al-Mughrib fi Hādā' al-Maghrib, al-Aḥḥāṣ al-Arāḥ, x, Cairo 1953-1955, i, 460 ff.), Shammāḥ or Shammās (≠ Shammās, for São Brás), Kamāḥ, Shantamariyya (Santa Maria de Algarve, now Faro), al-'Uḥyā (Londē) and Kastalla (Carda). Al-'Uḥyā (circa 1154) in his description of Silves mentions that the inhabitants of its villages, as well as the townspeople, spoke pure Arabic. 2. Immediately N. of Ughyūmā, i.e., corresponding to modern Baixo Alentejo, was the *hāra* of Bēja (Beja), with principal town of the same name (see HĀĠĠA). This province, according to Ibn Sa'īd, included Mārtula (Mértola), which is placed by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (A'māl, 287) in the *hāra* of Shaghūna (Sídona). 3. Further N. lay the *hāra* of al-Ughbina or Lisbon (Makkatī, *Nafh, i, 90*), which included Shantarān (Santarém), Shantarān (Coimbra) and al-Kabāḥ or al-Kabāḥ (cf. al-Kabāḥ = Alcázar de between Cordova and Granada). Other *hāras* in Portugal are not named. Yābura (Évora) N. of Beja is included by Ibn Sa'īd in the kingdom of Badajoz, and perhaps in Caliph times formed part of a *hāra* of Mārida or Merida (cf. Makkatī, *Nafh, i, 103*). While it still belonged to Islam before 264/878 Kulmuriya (Coimbra) may have been the centre of a *hāra* (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Exp. Mus., iii, 31*).

Like other outlying parts of al-Andalus, Muslim Portugal affords plenty of examples of particularism throughout its history. Partially successful attempts to assert independence of Cordova were made in the 3rd/yth century by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Marwān, often called Ibn al-Dīlīm (‘son of the Gallin’), and his descendants, operating widely from Badajoz, and by the Banū Bakr at Santa Maria de Algarve in the same century. Much later a militant religious movement in the W. headed by Ibn Kāṣi, who resided at Mertola in 539/1144, contributed to the downfall of the Almoravids. Ibn Kāṣi became master of Silves, and he and his contemporary Ibn Wāṣi were perhaps the only Muslims to coin money on Portuguese soil.

The last period of the struggle in Portugal between Christians and Muslims was marked by a great

though unsuccessful effort of the Almoravid Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf in 580/1184. The Almoravid fleet, it seems, failed before Lisbon, and the main land assault on Santarém had to be abandoned. In a Portuguese attack on the *alca* or rearguard of the Almoravids Abū Ya'qūb received a wound from which he died near Évora on the march back to Seville.

The set-back in Portugal was contrary to general expectation, for at this time Almoravid power and prestige stood high. In 1180, the year in which it first fell into Portuguese hands, Silves was described by an anonymous Crusader ('Anonymous of Turin') as much stronger than Christian Lisbon and ten times as rich. After the victory of the Christians at al-'Iḥāb (Las Navas de Tolosa) in 609/1212, in which Portuguese forces took part, the issue of the prolonged struggle came within sight. Silves fell finally in 1219 and the Muslims lost Algarve, their last holding in the territory of modern Portugal. At a battle fought near Tavira on the Rio Salado in 741/1340 the Portuguese under their king, Alfonso IV of Portugal, joined forces with the Castilians to oppose the African troops of the Marinid ruler of Fās, Abū 'I-ḥasan 'Alī and the contingents of Yūsuf I, Sultan of Granada. Ibn al-Khaṭīb describes how the Andalusians almost broke the ranks of the Portuguese at the first charge, but their colour was in van and the day was lost (A'māl al-4'44m, 389). Hereafter there was no hope of restoring Muslim rule in the West of al-Andalus.

The principal towns of Muslim Portugal produced a respectable number of literary men, whose names are given in the Arabic biographical works. Among the best known are the historian Ibn Bassim, Abū 'I-Walīd al-Bīḍī (see AL-ĠĠĠI), Ibn 'Ammār, the poet and friend of al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbad, and Ibn Kāṣi, already mentioned, author of the *Khaṣṣ al-Na'ayn fi 'I-Taqawwūf* and other works.

Some itineraries in 10th century Portugal are given by al-Iṣḥāqī (BGA, i, 46) and Ibn Hawkal (ed. Kramers, i, 116-117).

**Bibliography:** F. Godera, *Los Etnimorfos en Miradas y Badajoz — Noticias que referentes al Algarve de Alandulid en todo el siglo III de la hégira y principios del IV, o sea desde el 700 al 317 (815 a 929 de J.C.), encontramos en los autores árabes, in Estudios críticos de Historia árabe española, segunda serie, (Colección de Estudios árabes, ix), Madrid 1917, 174; the same, *Desaparición y Desaparición de los Almoravides en España, (Colección de Estudios árabes, ix), Zaragoza 1899, 29-32*; D. Lopes, *Os Arabes nas Ovas de Alexandre Herkulano, Notas marginaes de língua e historia portuguesa, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Boletim da Segunda Classe, iii-iv, Lisbon 1910-1911*; the same, *A Badajoz de Ourique e conselheiro da política, in Boletim, iii, 100, 11-12, 1911*; see a monograph, in *Boletim, iii, 100, 11-12, 1911*; José D. Garcia, *Domingos, História Luso-Arabe, Epifânio e figuras meridionais, Lisbon 1945*; Ambrosio Huici, *Los Almoravides en Portugal, in Anuario da Academia Portuguesa da História, Series II, Vol. 7, 1947*; R. Dory, *L'expédition du Califé almoravide Abou-Yacoub contre le Portugal, in Recherches de l'École, iii, 443-480*; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus., iii, 31*, indices.*

(D. M. DUNLOP)

**AL-BURUKĀL** (see BURUKĀL).

**BURUKĀL** (see BURUKĀL).

**BURUKĀL**, i.e., Proclus (A.D. 410-485), head of the pagan philosophical school at Athens (the 'Platonic Academy'), outstanding scholar



systematiser of Neoplatonic thought and one of the chief links between ancient and medieval philosophy. Although it would be premature to attempt a monograph about the influence he exercised upon medieval Arabic thought, the information at present at our disposal is not so scanty that its complete neglect in R. Beutler's comprehensive article on Proclus (*Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll* 45, 1957, col. 186 ff.) appears justified. Better information is available in E. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen* 111, 24, 839 n. 1 and E. R. Dodds, *Proclus the Elements of Theology*, Oxford 1933, xxviii f.

A list of those works by Buruklus which in some way became known to Arabic scholars is to be found in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 252; Flügel (= 333 Egypt, ed.); it was reproduced, with a few omissions, by Ibn al-Kifā'i, *Ta'riḡh al-Ḥukamā'*, 89, (ed. Lippert).

## 1.

Some works by Buruklus appear in Arabic under very inappropriate false names.

a. The work referred to by the bibliographers as *Kitāb al-Ḥalāḡiyya* and ascribed by Ḥaḡḡi Khalifa, v, 66 (Flügel) to Proclus and (!) Alexander appears to have been the systematic manual of Neoplatonic metaphysics known as *Elements of Theology* (Ἐλεγεῖαις Θεολογικαῖς). The Arabic text of propositions 15-17 (16-20 Durlin) has been published by A. Badawi, *Arīḡḡ ḡndā l-Ḥārāb*, Cairo 1947, 291 f. from a 11th century Damascus MS., where it is wrongly attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias. The truth was discovered independently by B. Lewin (*Orientalia Suecana* 1955, 101 ff.) and S. Pines (*Oriens* 8, 1955, 195 ff.). The translator was Abū Ḥijāb Sa'īd b. Ya'qūb al-Dīnashīrī, a minor member of the school of Hunayn.

b. A work K. al-Idāb fī l-Ḥayr al-Maḡd, based on 31 propositions of the *Elements of Theology*, is known in the West since the days of Gerard of Cremona (second half of s. xii) as Aristotle's *Liber de sensu*. A critical edition of the Arabic text (which ought to be based on the Latin and Hebrew versions as well and be minutely compared with the Greek) is being prepared by G. C. Anawati (cf. *Mélanges Masson*, Damascus 1956, 73 ff.). For the time being we have to be content with O. Bardeleben's edition (Freiburg-Breisgau 1882, reprinted recently) and A. Badawi's text (*Islamica* 19, 1955, 1 ff.). A résumé of the Arabic text (ascribed to Aristotle), composed about A.D. 1200, was discovered by P. Kraus (*Bulletin de l'Institut de l'Égypte* 23, 1949, 277). The question whether the work as we have it was originally translated from an older re-arrangement of extracts from Proclus or compiled by an early Arabic philosopher cannot be decided at present.

## 2.

a. Proclus himself is mainly familiar to Arabic thinkers as proclaiming the eternity of the world. His 15 propositions about this tenet (Ἐπεξεργαστα περὶ ἀδιόλετου κόσμου), which are lost in the Greek original, were as well known to the Arabs as John Philoponus' reputation (*De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*)—of which the Greek MSS. lack the beginning. The first nine propositions are now published in Iḡḡāḡ b. Hunayn's Arabic version by A. Badawi (*op. cit.*, 35 ff.); eight of them were known from John Philoponus' quotations but the first is preserved in Arabic only (cf. G. C. Anawati, *Mélanges A. Dis*, Paris 1956, 21 f.). Muhammad

Ibn Zakariyā al-Rāzi in his book "On doubts which arise against Proclus" (K. al-Shakāḡ aladī 'alā Buruklus) referred to this work (cf. S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomlehre*, Berlin 1936, 93, n. 1)—he may have made use of John Philoponus—and so does, for instance, Al-Shahrastānī (K. al-Mīāl wa'l-Nihāl, 338 ff. Cureton), who rightly points to Ibn Sīnā's use of Proclus' arguments; Al-Ghazālī was familiar with them as well (cf. S. van den Bergh, *Avicenna's Tahafut al-Tahafut*, London 1954, 1, xviii; cf. 1).

b. Additional proof for the popularity of Proclus among Arabic philosophers is provided by the chance discovery of fragments of some other writings. There are eight Προκλήδεια φωνικά evidently part of a larger treatise which may well be genuine, published by A. Badawi (*op. cit.*, 43 ff.). c. B. Lewin, *Orientalia Suecana* 6, 1248) has found a small fragment about the concept of ἀγάπη from the *Letter to Eurylochus*, mentioned by the Arabic bibliographers (Badawi, *op. cit.*, 257). F. Rosenthal made known, in English translation, a passage from his work *On the immortality of the Soul according to Plato*, and a small section of the lost part of his huge commentary on the *Timaeus* is available in German (see article ARISTOTELIS). The Arabs knew of his commentaries on the myth of the Gorgias and on Plato's *Phaedo* but neither Syriac nor Arabic remains of them have hitherto been traced. A commentary on the pseudo-pythagorean *Golden Verses* is a misattribution, due to the misreading of B. for the less known Neoplatonist Hierocles (which can be easily explained). (R. Walzer).

**BURULLUS** (BURULLUS). The name given to a district and to a lake to the north of the Delta of Egypt. The lake stretches between the mouths of the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile, and is separated from the Mediterranean only by a narrow band of dunes.

The Arabic name is the transcription of the Greek *Paralos*, transmitted through Coptic, and this word, which signifies "the maritime littoral", is applied quite naturally to this region. It may be noted that Yāqūt and Ibn Battūta were acquainted with the vocalisation *Barullus*, which has not survived.

It was the administrative centre of a pagarchy (*bīra*) before the division of the country into larger districts. Burullus was then made part of *nastārā*-siyya, and in the 8th/14th century the *ḡndā* took the name of its chief town, Aḡḡim Tannāḡ; now the region of Burullus belongs to the province of ḡḡariyya.

In the Middle Ages the lake was called Buhayrat Nastārāwa, after the name of a locality which no longer exists today. To Ibn Hawkal, it was the lake of Bughmur, another designation for this swampy country.

Fishing in this lake was farmed out, a practice which represented an ancient fiscal organisation, predating the Muslim era. It can hardly be supposed that the various governments deprived themselves of such a productive source of revenue, and when the sources speak of the creation of this system, in the 3rd/9th century, they are probably referring to an aggravation of fiscal pressure. In the same way, references to the suppression of the tax probably denote an alleviation.

The tombs of the Twelve Companions of the Prophet described by al-Harawī very likely recall some episodes of the Arab conquest, although according to the traditions, the chief of Burullus made terms with the conquerors. There may, how-

ever, have been battles following the landing of the Byzantines in 53/673.

The inhabitants of Burullus had the reputation of being expert trackers.

**Bibliography:** Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 85, 124; Yāqūt, 138; trans. Wiet, 193; Ibn Hawkal, 2nd ed., 138-139; Harawī, 47; trans. Sourdel-Thomelin, 110; Yāqūt, 1, 593; Ibn Battūta, 1, 58; trans. Gibb, 1, 33; Ibn Duḡmak, v, 113; *Mudafaf*, 1, 101; trans. Rat, II, 176; Makrīf, ed. Wiet, 1, 114; II, 92, 96; 97, 101, 142-143; IV, 39, 81; Zāhiri, 108; trans. *Venture de Paradis*, 160; Maspéro and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, 26, 41, 43, 111; Omāḡ Tomossou, *La géographie de l'Égypte, dans Mémoires de la société royale de géographie de l'Égypte*, VIII, 18, 58, 68, 223; 'Abd al-Latīf, 708; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, VII, 263; X, 323.

(G. Wiet)

**al-BURZULI**, ABU 'U-SAYYID B. AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD, of the tribe of the Banū Buziḡa, a Maliki author. Born in al-Kayrawān, he studied under the 'Arāfa for thirty or forty years and under other great masters, and became himself a teacher of Islamic law in Tunis and an *imām* at the Zaytūna mosque. In 506/1105, he passed on the pilgrimage through Cairo, where he issued several *ḡḡāḡas*. He died in Tunis in 841/1438 (according to others, in 842 or 843 or 843), at the age of 104, of 105 years. He is famous on account of his collection of *fatāwā* and *ḡndāḡ* entitled *ḡḡimā' Mas'ūḡ al-Aḡḡim minnāḡ nāḡal min al-Kaḡḡi bī-Muḡḡin wa'l-ḡḡḡim*, in which, in numerous manuscripts of which are known; it is one of the main sources of the *Miḡyā* of al-Waḡḡarīḡī (I, 914-1508); two extracts were made from it in the 9th and in the 12th century. The innumerable *ḡndāḡ* which al-Burzuli mentions there together with the names of their authors, famous jurists who can easily be situated in space and in time, make his work the most important source for the history of society in Ifriḡiyya under the Zirids of al-Kayrawān and al-Mahdiyya (10th-12th cent.) and the Hafsiḡ 13th-14th cent.).

**Bibliography:** Zarkashī, *Ta'riḡh al-Dawlatayn*, Tunis 1296/1879, 61, 101, 122; tr. E. Fagnan, *Constantine 1895*, 112, 202, 226; Ahmad ḡḡāḡ al-Tunbulī, *Nayf al-ḡḡḡḡḡ*, Cairo 1320/1911, 225-6; al-Saḡḡāwī, *al-Daw' al-Līma'*, Cairo 1355/1936, II, no. 429; M. Ben Cheneb, *ḡḡḡḡ*, no. 264; Ibn Maryām, *al-Buḡḡān*, Algiers 1908, 150-2; tr. F. Provençal, *Algiers 1910*, 164-7, index 588; Brockelmann, II, 319, S II, 347; R. Brunschwig, *La Barbarie Orientale sous les Hafsiḡes*, Paris 1940-7, II, index 436; H. R. Idris, *La Barbarie Orientale sous les Zirides*, (to appear), *passim*.

(H. R. Idris)

**BŪSHAIHR** (BŪḡḡān), district and town in the VIth *Uḡḡā* (Fārs) of Persia. The position of the town is lat. 28° 30' N, long. 50° 52' E. (Greenwich). BŪḡḡān stands on a low outcrop of sandstone at the northern end of a long and narrow peninsula. So low is the isthmus connecting this peninsula with the mainland that it is sometimes flooded at high tide, and a raised causeway had to be built across it in order to maintain communication between BŪḡḡān and the hinterland at such times. At the southern end of the peninsula, 7½ miles south of BŪḡḡān, are the ruins of the ancient town of Rīḡḡān, where burial urns and cuneiform inscriptions dating back to the Babylonian era have been found. Rīḡḡān may perhaps be identified with the "Greek town"

(Γḡḡḡḡ) of Isidore of Charax. It was founded anew by the Sāsānid king Ardāshīr and was given the name of Rīḡḡān, of which Rīḡḡān is a contraction. In the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries the Portuguese had a settlement and fort there.

The derivation of the name BŪḡḡān is uncertain. As "Abū Shahr" ("Father of the Town") does not make good sense, the suggestion has been made, on the analogy of Rīḡḡān, that the original name was BŪḡḡān-ardāshīr ("Ardāshīr has delivered"), but this etymology, though possible, is doubtful. British seamen in the 19th century corrupted the name to "Bushier" and "Busher".

The earliest reference to BŪḡḡān is apparently in Yāqūt (I, 593). The place remained no more than a village until 1734, when Nādir Shāh [q.v.] made it the base of his navy in the Persian Gulf and gave it the name of Bandar Nādirīyya (see the *Greenhouse Diary* of the English East India Company, 51th/17th July 1734, in vol. IV of the *Persia and the Persian Gulf Records*, India Office Library, and L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 92-3). Subsequently, an unsuccessful attempt was made to build a large warship at BŪḡḡān, using timber that had been brought overland from the forests of Māzandarān at a vast expenditure of labour. Sir W. Courtenay saw the remains of this vessel when he landed at BŪḡḡān in 1811 (see his *Travels in Various Countries of the East, more particularly Persia*, London 1819, Vol. I, 188). Although this shipbuilding experiment failed, BŪḡḡān prospered in consequence of the attention that Nādir Shāh gave to it. Moreover, it subsequently benefited commercially when the English and Dutch East India Companies transferred their factories there from Bandar 'Abbas [q.v.]. Another factor of great importance in the development of BŪḡḡān at those times was the fact that Shīrāz, with which it was connected by a caravan route, became the capital of Persia in the reign of Karīm Khān Zand [q.v.]. The consequence was that BŪḡḡān took the place of Bandar 'Abbas as the chief port of the country, a position which it was destined to hold for over a century and a half. Abraham Parsons, who visited BŪḡḡān in 1775, stated that, when approached from the sea, the houses were sighted before the land itself came into view. So shallow was the sea there that large vessels had to anchor some 3 miles off shore. He estimated the population in normal times at nearly 20,000, but when he was there two-thirds of the inhabitants were absent at the siege of Basra [q.v.]. See his *Travels in Asia and Africa*, London 1808, 187-8.

In the 19th century BŪḡḡān easily maintained its supreme position as a port. During the brief Anglo-Persian war, British forces occupied the town in December 1856, and held it until the conclusion of peace in the following March. The British connexion with BŪḡḡān, at first only commercial, but later also political (for it became the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf), increased in importance as time went on. Other nations too participated in the trade of the town. Particulars of this trade and also of the movement of vessels in the latter part of the 19th century are to be found in the *Administration Reports* of the British Resident from 1876 onwards; these reports were published in Calcutta in *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, Foreign Department (the tables covering the years 1893 to 1897 in *Freiherr M. von Oppenheim's Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, II, 310-17, and in these publications).



For the first quarter of the 20th century Būshahr continued to prosper, but, with the completion of the Trans-Iranian Railway in 1938 and the development of Bandar Shāpūr and Khurramshahr, it lost its position as the principal port of the country. Unlike Būshahr, both Bandar Shāpūr and Khurramshahr have wharves and jetties where large vessels can berth, and they are, moreover, connected with Tehran and other places in the interior by rail.

In 1946 the population of Būshahr was 15,000. It is understood that the Persian Plan Organisation intends to improve the port and other facilities of the town, but it seems unlikely that, even if this project is fully carried out, Būshahr will ever regain its former predominant position as a port.

**Bibliography:** C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie et en d'autres Pays circonvoisins*, Amsterdam 1780, II, 75-76; James Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia*, London 1818, 38-43; J. R. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khuzistan*, London 1825, 54-58; J. R. Wellsted, *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, London 1840, I, 130-136; W. A. Shepherd, *From Bombay to Bushire, and Backwards*, London 1857, 123-134; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861; F. Spiegel, *Erdoische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig 1871, I, 90; C. Ritter, *Erdoisde*, vi, 712, viii, 779-791; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, *Revue géographique*, Paris 1893, II, 300-301; W. Tomaschek, in *SBAG*, Wien, Vol. cxix, dissert. viii (1890), 61-63; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, II, 230-236; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, 12-14; A. T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, Oxford 1902, 41, 30, 73, 176, 178, 181-183, 204, 257, 279, 285, 286; Rāmānāṣ, *Farhang-e* *Diaghāy-e Irān*, vii, 40; *Rāmānāṣ-e Irān* (published by the Geographical Section of the Persian General Staff, Tehran 1921), 60 (with town plan on 61). (L. LOCKHART)

**BUSHĀK**, FARJID AL-DIN ARMAH B. HALLĀDĪ AḤI ISHĀK (*ḥunay* contracted into the *ḥashūsh* Būshāk). Born in Shīrāz, he lived principally in Isfahan at the court of Iskandar b. 'Umayr Shāykh, grandson of Thaur and governor of Fārs and Isfahan, where he died (827 or 830/1424 or 1427). That is almost all we know concerning him (apart from an anecdote reported by Dawlatshāh). According to Hidayat (*Risāla*), he maintained relations with the mystic poet Shāh Nūr al-Dīn Allāh (g.c.). From the name Hallādī, a noun of occupation, it can be assumed that he was a cotton-candler. In dictionaries of the Persian language (*farhang*) he appears as an authority on culinary matters; hence the nickname *bushāk-i al-'ama* or simply *al-'ama* (prepared dishes) given him. A good edition of his works (*diwān*) was prepared and published at Istanbul in 1303/1885-86 by the learned Mirzā Habib Isfahānī, who added a glossary of technical terms with Turkish and Arabic equivalents (H. Feré had translated some fifty). This *diwān* contains *Kanz al-'aṭṭār* ("Treasury of Appetite") with a preface (trans. by Feré and by Browne) which shows that the various poetic genres had already been made famous by his precursors and that all he had to say had been said before; he merely transferred the inspirations of a number of great poets (for their names see Browne) on to a culinary and gastronomical plane. He deals, therefore, in parodies. This applies not only to the "Treasury" but also to the second part of the work—the third being composed of two short works in prose mingled with verse, of the same inspiration, and having a conclusion followed by an amusing glossary of

culinary terms (some of these have been trans. by Feré). If one considers 'Umayr al-Zāhid as the master of satire, one can, while admitting the existence of several earlier parodies, regard Būshāk as the creator of this genre to which he devoted all his literary activity. He may have lacked the distinction and "moderation" evinced in the French poet Berchou's *Gastronomie* (Paris 1800), but he nevertheless excelled in the minor genre he had chosen, revealing humour and originality. A practiced stylist, he handled with ease all poetic forms, both in the classical language and in the dialect of Fārs. Finally he rescued from oblivion a series of technical terms, as did his imitator Mahdūd Kāfī, who wrote his "*diwān al-Dīn*" (*diwān-i al-'ama*) on a plan analogous to that of Būshāk's *diwān*.

**Bibliography:** H. Feré, *Shāh's Anar, poète satirique, et Recueil de poésies gastronomiques d'Abou Isḥaq Hallādī Chirazi*, in *JA*, 1886 (a selection of poems well translated); P. Horn, in *Beilage zur Allg. Zeitung in München*, 26 and 27 January 1899; Dawlatshāh, 366-371; Lutf 'Alī Adhūr, *Atiqhāda* (ed. Bombay 1277), sub nom.; Rīdā Kāfī Khān, *Madīna al-Fuṣṣāṭ*, II, 10; 280; *Kishk al-Jarīf*, Tehran 1305, 44-45; Browne, *Padshāh*, II, 121-123; idem, *Some notes on the poetry of the Persian Dialects*, in *JRAS*, 1895, art. xxvii, 287-8 and 820-821. (P. HORN) (H. MASSE)

**BÜSHANDJ**, also known as Fūghānj, in Middle Persian probably Pūshang, ancient Iranian town to the south of the river Harīrūd, and to parasaṅga (= one day's journey) W-S. of Harāt (Yāqūt, I, 758) which lies north of the river. The town already existed in pre-Islamic times, and, according to legend, was founded either (considering its name) by the hero Faghānj (the son, though in the epos the father, of Afrāsiyāb), or else by the Sāsānid ruler Shāpūr I (242-271) (J. Marguier, *Erānshāhr*, 49). In the year 588, the town is mentioned as the seat of a Nestorian bishop (*libā*, 64; it is, however, not referred to by Jean Dautville, *Les provinces Chaldéennes "de l'Estrieux"*, in *Mémoires Cavaillera*, Toulouse 1948, 279-282). Wilh. Tomaschek, (*Zur historischen Topographie von Persien*, I, Vienna 1881, 78), connects it with the Πουσανδία of Theophrastus.

Round the year 650 AD, the town came into the hands of the Muslims, and it remained for 20 years on the frontier between the Arabs and the not fully conquered east-Iranian mountain regions. Here it found support, when in 41/661-2 and again in 160/775-7, it revolted against the Arabs. From 92/791 until 94/793, the place was in the hands of the Khārijites, and it entered into a quieter period only when the Islamisation of the area was largely completed under the rule of the Fāhimids (g.c.). whose founder was a native of the place. Later, Būshānj was connected with Shāhān, and came under Ghāmawid rule in 392/1002 (cf. B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Leipzig 1952, 29, 25, 51, 53, 71 f., 111, 301, with reference to sources).

At that time, the size of Būshānj was roughly half that of Harāt, and throughout the Middle Ages it was known as a strong fortress with three gates. Economically, the town was important as the junction of the roads from Harāt to Nīshāpūr and Harāt to Kūhestān (Yāqūt, 267, last line, 268, line 8; Ibn Rosta, 172, line 17; *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, 64, 104, 327; Hamid Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥa*, 152 f., 177, 220 = trans., 151, 171, 212). In addition, Būshānj had timber and furniture industries, kept going by supplies from the nearby woods (Mukāṣ-

ḥasā, 307 f. (based on Istakhrī); Spuler, *op. cit.*, 408; Le Strange, 431).

After the Mongol conquest, under the vassal-dynasty of the Kurts (or Karti (g.c.), 1213-1259), Būshānj had a comparatively quiet period until it was conquered and ruthlessly destroyed by Thaur in the middle of 730 'Hijjā (732/March 1381). It was rebuilt soon afterwards. It is also repeatedly mentioned in the 13th century by Hāfiz Abū, (g.c.), and a *riḥl* supposedly founded by Abūshāh 'Alīshāh, *Rasād al-'Aṭṭār*, *Herāt*, printed in *JA*, v, 16 (July-Dec. 1860), 491 f. was shown nearby in 897/1491-2. Later on, the place vanished from history; it was presumably destroyed during the Ōzbek and Türkmen raids. According to W. Tomaschek (*Topographie*, I, 78), the modern Ghūriyān is situated on its site. (W. BARNHOFF-B. SPULER)

**BÜSHĀRĀKĪ**, "patriot" (*ḥisrā* de *yarb* y *de pāst*), is the origin of the Spanish name Alpujarras; the Arabic toponym really applies to all the mountainous region which forms the extension of the Sierra Nevada southwards to the Mediterranean, from Motril to Adra and Almería; but more particularly designated by this name are the many fertile valleys which issue thence, for in 1903/1 Alpujarras = Orgiva - Cádiz and Ujijar - Alceda - Lantjar - Camijar - Rágol - Gádor; in the Middle Ages the Alpujarras were of greater extent because the capital was Jaén, and in addition to many fortresses it had more than 600 silk-producing villages. Ibn Hāfṣān (g.c.), who succeeded in seizing Jaén, must have mastered this region or at any rate fought partisans there, for in 1903/1 Alpujarras = Al-Rakmānīn Hī captured his emissaries at Fīfāna, crossed the Sierra Nevada, and besieged Juviles where, after a short siege, he captured and beheaded the Christian garrison which Ibn Hāfṣān had placed there. The belligerent inhabitants of the many villages in these valleys which intersect each other in all directions, the Alpujarras, had in fact in Arab times rebellious tendencies, and after 1492 revolts continued to mark their history, in particular the great rebellion of 1568-70 which was directed by Ibn Ūmayyā and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbā, and which was suppressed with the shedding of much Moroccan blood by the Marquis of Mondejar and Don John of Austria (see MORISCO). (C. F. STACCOLO-(A. HUCET MIRANDA))

**BÜSHĀR** or **ABÜSHĀR**.

**BÜSHĀR** or **ABÜSHĀR**, the name of several places in Egypt, which is not unnatural since it refers to places in which the god Osiris was the object of special veneration.

The name Abūshār is found in the large suburban area west of Alexandria, a memory of the site of *Tapeiris Magna*.

Būshār, on the west bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile, in the province of al-Gharbiyya. In the middle ages this small town was connected to a neighbouring settlement, Bānā, so that one spoke of Būshār-Bānā. Famous in antiquity, Būshār was an episcopal seat and the administrative centre of the pagarchy (*lōra*).

Būshār al-Sidr, in the province of al-Djīza where there are still pyramids. The description of it by 'Abd al-Latīf is a document of the first order, as are also the discoveries which he mentions in the cemetery of the town.

Būshār, called Būshār-Kūrdīya in the Middle Ages, and from the 11th/12th century at least, Būshār al-Malak, is located at the entrance to the Fayyūm, within the western strip of Middle Egypt. Owing

to the great number of places called Būshār, Arab authors have found it difficult to situate exactly where the Ūmayyad caliph Marwān died. It is more than likely—and is in addition supported by a local tradition—that Marwān spent his last days at Būshār al-Malak. The information is already given by Kudāma. About this town developed a small, ephemeral province, Būshāriyya, which lay between those of Aḥlū and Bahariyya.

Opposed to this documentation, another school of writers places the final defeat of the Ūmayyads in a locality also called Būshār, opposite Aḥmīnāyā, on the other bank of the Nile, about 70 kilometres south of Būshār al-Malak. The region claimed to be the place of origin of Pharaoh's "magicians" and, according to al-Iḥrī, the inhabitants of his time had a certain reputation as sorcerers. This particular Būshār has left no traces.

Finally, there is a Būshār-Badaḥsh in the province of Fayyūm.

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**AL-BÜSHĀRĪ** (see SUPPLEMENT).

**BUSR** b. ABĪ ARTĀT or B. ARTĀT (there is less authority for the latter form), an Arab general of the Quraysh clan of the Banū 'Amīr, was born in Mada in the last decade before the Hijra. Only traditions which have been influenced by Shī'ī prejudices deny him the title of Shāhī. He went with the relief column into Syria under Khālid b. al-Walīd, distinguished himself there by his bravery and afterwards took part in the conquest of Africa. His bravery earned him a *du'ā* and rewards from 'Umar. During the civil war he vigorously declared himself on the side of Mu'āwīya for whom he won over the influential Kindī chief, Shurābbīl b. al-Simt. At Siffa he found him in the Syrian camp. He afterwards helped 'Amr b. al-'Ās to reconquer Egypt for Mu'āwīya. Busr is perhaps the most striking figure among the lieutenants of this Caliph. He was a typical Bedouin of the old school, utterly impervious to pity, if Shī'ī tradition has not exaggerated the details of the portrait of this fiery opponent of 'Alī. Sent into Arabia against the latter's partisans, Busr waged a war of extermination against them. He destroyed the dwellings of the enemies of 'Ujīma in the sacred towns of the Hijāz and displayed a loyalty to the Ūmayyads which was only surpassed later by Muslim b. 'Ukba and Ḥajjādīd. In the Yemen he put to death the two young sons of 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abbās. During the brief campaign, which was terminated by the abdication of Hasan, son of 'Alī, he commanded the vanguard. As a reward, he received the governorship of Basra where he established a dictatorial regime. He spent little time in the Irāk but returned thither to seize the children of Ziyād b. Abīhi and by this drastic











to the gardens. He was, however, transferred to Kābul before the canal reached Lahore. On completion, a year later, it cost the Imperial exchequer a sum of 100,000 rupees. The garden with all the buildings, walls etc. was completed in 1050/1642-3, when it was visited by the Emperor. The name of the first terrace was changed to Farah Bahāsh by the emperor, Shāhjahān; the second and the third terraces, added later, were named Fayd Bahāsh. The Farah Bahāsh measures 330 yds. sq. and in the days of Bernier had 8 buildings, four in the middle of the side walls and four at the four corners. This garden suffered most damage during the Sikh rule, most of its marble having been looted and taken to Amritsar [g.v.]. The canal of 'Alī Mardān Khān, which had silted up, was reopened by Rājā Singh in 1806. The present gate is a later construction built by W. L. McGregor, Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, in 1849.

The other Mughal gardens of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent include Pīndāwar, near Ambāla [g.v.]; Gulābi, Sādā Harā and Dilkushā in Lahore; Rawāḥan Arāb, Tālkatārā and Mahtab in Delhi; Nāgīn, Wārī Nāg, Aḥḥibāl, Habbāl, and Parī Mahāil, in Kashmir.

The Mughal gardens follow a definite plan, a salient feature being the construction of a central channel and shallow tanks in the centre surrounded by soft green turf, a lofty boundary-wall, cypress trees, artificial pools and numerous fountains. The Mughal garden is generally arranged in squares or geometric patterns, usually in the form of terraces placed in such a way as to make the distribution and flow of water easy. Each terrace has four divisions, to conform to the traditional plan of the *Chahār Bāgh* or four-fold garden. Taken as a whole, the garden looks like a combination of rectangles and straight lines; no curved paths or even circular parterres are allowed.

Great care was taken in the selection of the sites, and the foot of a wooded hill, or a charming cliff, served as the background. The Kashmir Shāhīnā is the best specimen of Mughal horticulture.

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**AL-BUSTĀNĪ.** [see SUPPLEMENT].

**AL-BUSTĪ,** ABU 'L-FATH 'ALĪ B. MUHAMMAD, Arabic poet of the 10th/11th century. He was of Persian origin and a native of Bust [g.v.] where he studied *kāfiyā*, *fiḥr* and *adab*. He was a pupil of the traditionalist Ibn al-Hibhān, who was living at Bust from 340/951 till his death 354/965. Another traditionist, al-Shāṭibī (d. 388/1007), was Bustī's friend. In law he followed the Shāfi'ī school. As a young man he became secretary (*kalīb*) to Bāyūnā, the lord of Bust. When in 367/977 Bust was taken by Subuktigin, al-Bustī went over to the victor. Owing to some intrigue he was compelled to retire to a village in the Rūghhahad district, but after a few months was called back by Subuktigin and remained in office together with al-'Uḍī till the reign of Mahmūd. In this capacity he composed his much admired state letters announcing the spectacular victories of Mahmūd. Later on he fell again into disgrace and was banished to the 'land of the Turks' i.e., Transoxania. He died in 400/1010 or 401/1011 (or even as late as Shawwāl 403/Feb.-March 1016) in Rūghhahad. According to al-Manīn, *Sharḥ al-Yamīnī* (1286/1589-70) vol. i, 73, 2 he died in Urgend where his tomb was shown.

His varied writings both as a poet and letter-writer show all the traits of rhetorical artificiality typical of the poetry and oratory of the 10th/11th century. He was much praised for his skill in applying the *taḍwīn* (paronomasia) and especially the *taḍwīn mutadāḥib* i.e. the use of homonyms for the sake of puns. This technique he developed gradually after having heard in his youth a quibble from the poet Shu'ayb b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Bustī (*Yatīmāt al-Dahr*, iv, 233 f.). He was on friendly terms with Ḥafṣ al-Bustī, who composed his *Aḥsan maṣnū'* on his instigation and gives of Bustī's art an appreciative selection in his *Yatīmāt al-Dahr*. His *Dīwān* was published at Beirut in 1294/1877-8. Especially famous is his didactic poem *al-Nāṣiḥa* or '*Uḥūd al-Riḥān*'.

Bustī wrote also some poems in his mother-tongue, Persian, but they were never collected (see H. K. Edin, in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Festschrift H. L. Fleischer, 1875, 15-27). He is sometimes confounded with his namesake Abu 'l-Fath al-Bustī (*recte* al-Baynī) an Egyptian poet of the 5th/11th century (see Ibn Rashīq, *al-'Umda* i, 200, 18 and Ibn Sa'ūd, *Mughrib* 103 Talqīnī).

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**BUT** [see BUTNĀN].

**BUTAYN** [see BUTNĀN].

**BUTNĀN**, the name of a wadi located thirty kilometres east of Aleppo. At this place springs feed a large stream, Nahr al-Jihāb, which flows southwards and empties into the salt lake of Djabāl. These natural conditions have permitted the development

of essentially agricultural villages (fruit trees and cotton), of which the most important are the market-towns of Bāb and Buzā'a. A convenient stage about a day's march from the valley of Kuwayk, it was always a halting-place on the routes from Edessa and Raqqa, and the revenues drawn from the saltbed of Djabāl formed consistently an appreciable support for the finances of the governors or rulers of northern Syria.

Popular etymology relates Butnān to the root *bṭn* and gives it the meaning of 'low-lying ground'. In fact the name preserves the memory, beyond a Byzantine Batnai and a Roman Batnae, of the principality of Pato.

Conquered by Ḥafṣ b. Madama, Butnān fell very soon under the influence of the new centre, Aleppo, and henceforth played only an episodic rôle. In 706/69-90, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik wintered in the valley, during a struggle against Mu'ā'ib b. al-Zuhayr. The Carmathians made a disastrous raid, it was devastated by Niophora Phocas in 966/955. In the time of the Mirdāsids the valley was the scene of confused struggles, and fell under the authority of Tutuḥ in 1080/472. The Crusades and the Frankish occupation of Edessa and Antioch opened a period of insecurity which began in 1098/491-92 with an Armenian raid, doubtless in connexion with the siege of Antioch. A prompt response by the Salḡūks of Aleppo ended in the extermination of the large Ismā'īlī community at Bāb. Burned by Joscelin of Tell Bāḡle in 1125/518, Buzā'a as well as Bāb was taken by the Emperor John II Comnenus in 1138/532. The arrival of Nūr al-Dīn in Aleppo brought back security. The Butnān of this period is known owing to the descriptions, as numerous as they are stereotyped, of the Arab geographers (cited by Le Strange and Dussaud).

With the Mamliks, Butnān disappeared from the political scene. The region was administered by two Mamlik *djunds*, appointed by the *miṣr* of Aleppo, one for the towns of Bāb and Buzā'a, the other for the neighbourhood of Djabāl. The Turks made it a *ḥaḍr*, where a *ḥā'im* or *ḥā'im* subordinate to the Paḡha of Aleppo kept an eye on the salt-mines of Djabāl (400-500,000 pounds annual revenue for the exchequer in the middle of the 19th century). He resided at Bāb, which had 6,000 inhabitants at this period.

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(J. Hottot)

**AL-BUTR**, the name given to one of the two groups of tribes who constitute the Berbers [g.v.], the other being called al-Barīnīs [g.v.].

The chief groups of whom al-Butr was composed were the Lawāṭa, the Naḥṣa, the Naḥṣa, the Buḥā Fāṭin and the Mikāna. Their earliest habitat is the region of steppe and plateau which extends from the Nile to southern Tunisia; they were there originally Libyan Berbers. But, very early, several of these peoples (Mikāna, Buḥā Fāṭin, and a part of Lawāṭa) moved towards the west—to Algeria (the areas round Aurès, Tiarret and Timenon) and Morocco (the Moulouya basin, the Saharan country between Sūjjimāsa, Fīgī and Twāt, and the Sebou basin), and from the western Maghrib many elements penetrated into Spain. An attempt has been made to present the Butr as the Berber nomads and camel-drivers par excellence. This was perhaps their primitive way of life, which is no doubt why Arab historians have attached to this group peoples of definitely nomad habits, such as the Hawwān and the Zanāta. The Naḥṣa, the Naḥṣa and a part of the Lawāṭa appear nevertheless to have become established rather early in the mountains of Libya, perhaps at the time of the Arab conquest. As for those who moved into Algeria and Morocco, they were soon settled and even established a number of small towns.

The greater part of the tribal names of which this group is composed are still current, but the collective name itself has disappeared. It is the plural of the Arabic (b) adjective *al-bṭr*, the alleged surname of Mādgīth, whom these peoples recognised as their common ancestor. The word means 'he whose tail is docked, mutilated, he who has no descendants'. The last sense is hardly suited to an eponymous ancestor of the other group, Barīnīs, the ancestor the first two are supposed to have been. However, the name coincident with the Arabic word (an early borrowing from the Greek *barnos*) designating the garment which we call burnous. Thus, the Barīnīs might be 'the (wearing of) burnous, or long garments' and, in contrast, the Butr would be 'those clad in short garments'. In fact, in the Arabic dialect of north-west Morocco, there is an adjective *ḥḥḥ* (a quadrilateral expansion of the root *bṭ*) meaning 'the who has his tail cut short', and is applied in particular to the very short *jellabas* of the mountaineers (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes de Tanger*, 430).

For other ethnic appellations derived from



peculiarities of dress, note that of the Sanhūdja Berbers [g.n.], who are called *malathimān* ["those who wear a veil over the mouth"]; and that which has been suggested for the Maymūda [g.n.] Berbers, who are called *Shūfūh* (cf. *Mélanges Godefroy-Dumortier*, Cairo 1939, 305).

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(G. S. COLLIS)

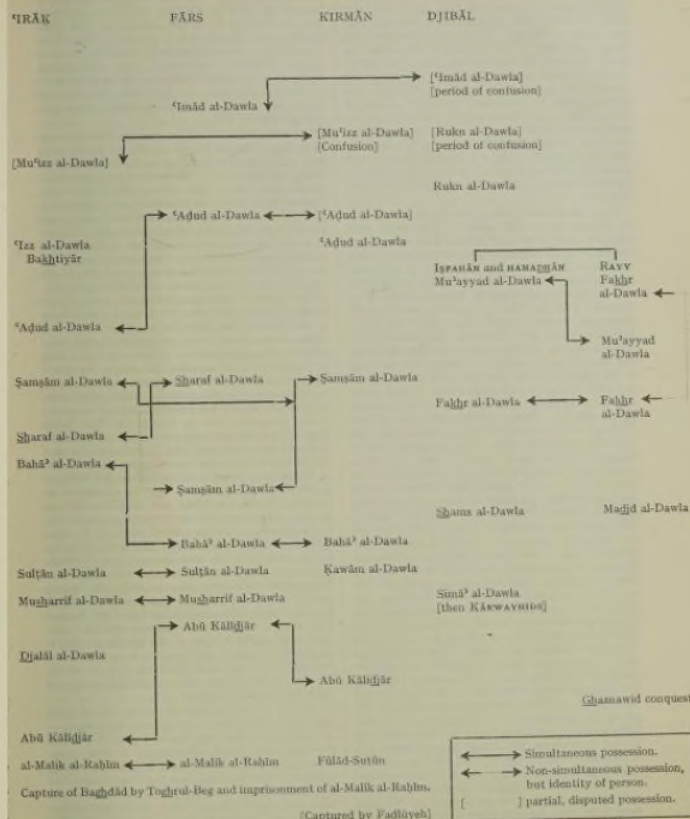
**BUWAYHIDS or BÜYIDS**, the most important of the dynasties which, first in the Iranian plateau then in 'Irāk, side by side with the Sāmānids of Khurāsān and of Māwarā' al-Nahr, marked the "Iranian intermezzo" (Ménarsky) between the Arab domination of early Islam and the Turkish conquest of the 5th/11th century. Its name derives from Buwayh or Būyeh, the father of three brothers who founded it, 'Alī, al-Hasan, and the youngest, Ahmad. *Condottieri* of humble birth, they belonged to the population of the Daylamites [g.n.] who, newly won over to (Shī'ī) Islam, were at that time enlisting in large numbers in all the armies of the Muslim East, including those of the Caliphate.

To some extent, it was the Daylamites who, with the advent of the Buwayhids, assumed power and imposed on the régime something of their own character. While the Daylamites remaining in Daylām formed small principalities, sometimes extending as far as Kilīsbahān, the others, in Iran and 'Irāk, developed in consequence into a political factor of growing importance. The Buwayhids, who, to begin with, had followed one of their compatriots, Mākin b. Kākī, who had entered the service of the Sāmānids, and then their Gilānī ally Mardāwīdī [g.n.] in his struggle against their common enemy, the Zaydī state of Tabaristān (sometimes extending as far as Ray), continued to follow the Gilānī Mardāwīdī when he carved out for himself in central Iran a vast autonomous principality. Soon, however, they began to adopt a somewhat intractable attitude towards him. Having become for a time master of Isfahān, then, more permanently, of Fārs, and 'Alī, to protect himself against Mardāwīdī, and in spite of being a Shī'ī, got his authority in the government of the province recognised by the Caliph, as the 'Abbāsīd armies would have been incapable of reconquering it. He still had possession of it when in 334/943 Mardāwīdī was assassinated. After confused struggles (see the articles 'IMĀD AL-DĀWLĀ, MU'IZZ AL-DĀWLĀ and RUKN AL-DĀWLĀ) against the remnants of allies of the Sāmānids or of the various clans who shared among themselves an influence with the Caliphate, 'Alī, the eldest, kept the province of Fārs, while his brother al-Hasan occupied almost the whole of Dībil and the youngest, Ahmad, entrenched himself on the one hand in Kirmān and on the other in Khūzestān. These important strongholds, and more especially the last acquisition, drew the Buwayhids into the interplay of factions for power in 'Irāk and the other territories of the Caliphate under the successive *amīr al-umara'*. Only a very close study can determine whether, in the general post of intrigues and betrayals, the Buwayhids were allied to any one specific faction. However that may be, in 334/943, Ahmad entered Baghdad. The régime which he set up there lasted until 447/1055. The new era was at once inaugurated by a change of name: Ahmad, 'Alī and al-Hasan respectively had bestowed on them simultaneously by the Caliph the honorific titles (*lahabs*) of Mu'izz al-Dāwlā, 'Imād

al-Dāwlā and Rukn al-Dāwlā, by which they were henceforth known to history. Before long, 'Imād al-Dāwlā died without an heir, leaving Fārs to 'Aḍud al-Dāwlā, son of Rukn al-Dāwlā. When the latter died (366/977), after Mu'izz al-Dāwlā, 'Aḍud al-Dāwlā, finding himself head of the family, dispossessed his nephew, 'Izz al-Dāwlā Bahhūtīyir, of 'Irāk, and only allowed his brother, Mu'ayyid al-Dāwlā, to remain master of the rest of Buwayhid Iran, by virtue of his incontrovertible loyalty. 'Aḍud al-Dāwlā, who was the most distinguished personality of the dynasty, achieved the fullest unity that the family was to enjoy.

Outside 'Irāk, the new principalities merely joined the number of those which, for a century, had been carving up the 'Abbāsīd Empire. The Buwayhid principality of 'Irāk in a sense did little more than implant in this last 'Abbāsīd redoubt the form of government which had triumphed elsewhere. But there was, in this instance, a factor of greater importance, in that Baghdad was the very centre of the Caliphate. It is true that its seizure by the Buwayhids did little more than set the seal on the developments which had, in effect, placed the Caliphate under the domination of the army chiefs, promoted *amīr al-umara'*. But this time there was the added fact that the Buwayhids were professing Shī'ism, so much so that it might have been asked whether they were not about to suppress a Caliphate whose legitimacy had no special meaning for them. Nothing of the sort happened. Doubtless Mu'izz al-Dāwlā was aware that the Shī'is were in the minority, and that, had he destroyed the Caliphate in Baghdad, the institution would have reappeared elsewhere. It was better therefore to keep it under his thumb, both to legalise his authority over the Sunnis in his states and to strengthen his diplomatic relations with the world outside by the weight of the respected moral authority which the Sunnī princes still enjoyed by right. In fact, deriving their official authority from the Caliphate, the Buwayhids behaved as though they believed genuinely in the legitimacy of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate.

The question of the relations between Buwayhids and Caliphate is moreover bound up with that of their religious adherence. It has sometimes been said that the Buwayhids were Zaydis because Daylām had been the scene of the activity of the emissaries of these same Zaydis who had set up political hegemonies in Tabaristān and, on the very borders of Daylām itself, by those of their rival al-'Utrūsh, around the year 900. All the same, there were also Ismā'īlīs (Misk., II, 32-33) in Daylām and, in the entourage of al-'Utrūsh or his descendants, Twelvers (I.F., s.v. al-'Utrūsh), and Mardāwīdī, affected perhaps by Ismā'īlī propaganda, had at any rate joined the Sunnī Sāmānids in fighting the Zaydis of Tabaristān. At this time, Twelver theology proper was only just beginning to be elaborated, and there is consequently nothing remarkable in the persistence, in later Buwayhid society, of Zaydī doctrinal influences or, linked to these, Mu'tazilī influences. But, for the Buwayhid conquerors, politics took precedence over religion. The notion, for a time entertained, it is said, by Mu'izz al-Dāwlā, of considering the Caliphate as a certain Zaydī 'Alid in his entourage was set aside, never to be taken up again, precisely because it would have been necessary to obey such a Caliph. The distinction between the various branches of Shī'ism was probably not yet clearly defined outside the Zaydī states (leaving Ismā'īlism aside), and the Twelver tendency, certainly in



'Irāk and Fārs were united from 367 to 372, 376 to 379, 388 to 413, and 435 to 447.

'Irāk and Kirmān were united from 334 to 356, and 380 to 388. Kirmān was united with Fārs from 338 to 367 (to 372 with 'Irāk), 380 to 403, 419 to 440; it stood alone from 403 to 446 and from 440 to 448.

'Irāk stood alone from 334-367, 379 to 380, 416 to 435. Fārs stood alone from 328 to 338 and from 372 to 380.

A union between 'Irāk, Fārs and Kirmān was achieved from 367 to 372, 388 to 403, 433 to 440.

The Dībil always stood alone, except during the early days of the dynasty.

'Umayyad, except for a short time under Saḥm al-Dāwlā, when it was united with 'Irāk, was united with Fārs.

Basra and Ahwāz, after 'Aḍud al-Dāwlā, were often separated from 'Irāk or constituted an autonomous government at the heart of the 'Irākī kingdom; they were often incorporated in the kingdom of Fārs.

Complete genealogical tables are to be found in Zambaur 212-16 and Q.



Mesopotamia and probably in central Iran, was the majority form of Shi'ism. In fact, about the time when the Buwayhids were seizing power (and was this purely fortuitous?) the doctrine was spreading among adherents of this movement that after the period in which the imāns were present in person, followed by that in which they were represented by a *wakil*, the time of the "great occultation" was coming, when nothing more would be known of them. Thus, if the 'Abbasid Caliph was not, strictly speaking, legitimate, at least, if he tolerated Shi'ism, there was nothing discreditable in putting up with him. It is certain that the Buwayhids followed somewhat indiscriminately Shi'is or Mu'tazilis of different shades of opinion, but politically they were Twelvers.

At no time did the Buwayhids plan the persecution of the Sunnis by the Shi'is — both sects were represented in their army; rather they intended to set up a sort of 'Abbasid-Shi'i condominium, which freed the Shi'is from the obligation of a certain *lahiya* and provided them, as well as the Sunnis, with an official organisation. Basically, they were reviving, from the Shi'i angle, what had been the dream of many 'Abbasids from the time of al-Ma'mun. Thus, they believed, they acquired a strong following, without at the same time alienating the rest of the population. Without the smallest doubt, Twelver Shi'ism owes to the Buwayhid régime not only this organisation, but even a part of its doctrinal structure. The importance of the rich Shi'is and the *Sharifs* towards the end of the 'Abbasid era is well-known. It was upon them that — leaving aside the army — the Buwayhid régime depended in its social relations with the local population. The régime organised the 'Alids — or as they are more usually called, the Tālibids — into an autonomous body to counterbalance the 'Abbasids, whereas formerly this family unit was merely integrated into, though, of course, dominated by, the 'Abbasids. On the doctrinal level, the presence of Imāns in the 3rd half century and the fact that the Twelvers had for a long time been, to a somewhat negative fashion, those among the Shi'is who had not joined in active rebellion, had obstructed the work of the traditionalists and theoreticians. The Buwayhids now made up for lost time. While al-Kulūbī, the first of the great theologians whom the Twelvers recognised as specifically their own, died at the dawn of the Buwayhid régime in Iraq, the second and more important, Ibn al-Hakam (Ibn al-Hakam) was encouraged in his work by the Buwayhids in the third quarter of the century. He was followed by others among whom — also important in Iranian Shi'ism — were Arabs from the old 'Alid circle of Kumm. In Baghdad, the brother *gharib* al-Rāfi and al-Murtadī were, throughout the whole of the first quarter of the 11th century, the real masters of the town, acting as intermediaries between the Buwayhids, the Caliphs and the population, at the same time as the Shi'i scholars and traditionalists. It is said that at this moment when the four schools remaining to the Sunnis were beginning to be defined by them as exclusively orthodox, they would have wished that their form of Shi'ism might be recognised in the heart of the *sunna* as a sort of fully authorised school. More readily apparent from the outset of the régime is the organisation or recognition of forms which are still those of Shi'ism to this day. Influenced perhaps by Daylamite practices, Mu'izz al-Dawla openly created or consecrated the lamentations of the 'Aggā'ka'. He also created the festival

of Ghadir Khumm. The 'Alid *mayshads*, genuine or conjectural, were embolished, and 'Adud al-Dawla was the first to be buried there after 'Alī. Shi'i schools were created, such as the Dār al-'Ilm of the vizier Sābūr, endowed with *waqfs*, a replica (1022/993) of the Fātimid "University", and considerably earlier than the Sumi Nizāmiyya of the Saljūqids; and in the mosques, the Shi'i cult, including the public call to prayer, was in dangerous competition with the Sunni cult.

Naturally, it was out of the question that the recognised Caliph should govern effectively. In the same way as the *lahak* of Nāsir al-Dawla, the first of its kind conferred on the Hamdanids, the Buwayhid *lahaks* show that, while it was the Caliph who legalised their power, they alone were its custodians. Al-Murtadī, the Caliph who welcomed them, had joined forces with many others before them. He was replaced by his personal enemy al-Mu'izz, who nineteen years later himself had to yield the throne to al-Tā'i for having backed the wrong side in the struggle between the heirs of Mu'izz al-Dawla. Al-Tā'i in his turn abandoned the throne to al-Kādir. Nevertheless, the life-span of the Caliphs in the time of the Buwayhids — three and a half reigns in a century — was appreciably longer than that of their predecessors precisely because they no longer ruled in anything but name. As to the *lahaks*, they became more numerous as they declined in value. As each prince in the family, then little by little princes of other dynasties, claimed them too, it was necessary first to double and then treble those of the head of the Buwayhids. Thus 'Adud al-Dawla was also called al-Tā'i al-Mu'izz etc. The last Buwayhid went so far as to claim that he had conferred upon himself a title ending in *dhā*, faith, — a procedure and implication (a condemnation of Sunnism) which obviously the Caliph could not accept. In the same way, the supreme prince marked his superiority over his *amars* relatives by proclaiming himself from 'Adud al-Dawla onwards, *malik*, and even, in Iraq though not in 'Irāk, *shāhshāh*, the old Sāsānid title. The last of the Buwayhids committed the sacrilege of styling himself al-Malik al-Rāfi, a title properly reserved for Allāh alone. The exalted position of the Buwayhids was shown also in the mention of their name, after that of the Caliph, in the *dhawā*, except in the Caliph's quarter, and on coins, as well as in the privilege of having the *fatā* beaten in front of the princely residences at the three principal, and later five, hours of prayer.

To turn to the exercise of power, the essential point is that there was no longer any instrument of government in Baghdad which depended even in law upon the Caliph — though for a time under Nāsir al-Dawla this had been the case. Everything, especially the *waqf*, was now an institution directly attached to the *amirate*, though this transfer did not in itself mark any change in the distribution of functions. Topographically, everything in Baghdad was now at the Dār al-Mandaka (see below). During the period in which the power of the régime conferred on the *waqf*, as on the principality, a certain stability, there were Buwayhid *waqfs* who were by no right-ranking officers were sometimes granted the right to the taxes of a full district, with no further obligation than to pay the standard Muslim tithe to the public Treasury. The Buwayhid régime, following in the footsteps of the Hamdanids, extended and ruthlessly intensified this practice. Many districts were systematically distributed as *dhawā* of this new type, now without even title obligations to

of the Buwayhids, principally 'Adud al-Dawla, the greatest of them all, preferred to keep the co-ordination of the instruments of government in their own hands and, in practice, divided the functions of the *waqfs*, with or without the title, among two or three high dignitaries. Their inadequate knowledge of Arabic had made it impossible for the Buwayhids of the first generation to do more themselves than reap the benefits of the work done by their more effective *waqfs*. Under the last of the Buwayhids, the *waqf* was more unstable although *waqfs* were frequently drawn from a single family. Of course, the Caliphate still kept a secretariat and a Chancery, but these were exclusively occupied with the administration of matters pertaining strictly to the Caliphate or with international correspondence on behalf of the *amirs*.

The functions of the Caliphate comprised the administration of its goods and the organisation of the palace, the representative duties which devolved upon the Caliph, the control of the good works and religio-legal life of the Sunnis and a certain moral share in the administration of Baghdad. The income of the Caliph, apart from family and private means, was no longer what he set aside for himself out of State revenue, for it was no longer the Caliph who authorised wages and salaries. On the contrary, as was already the case in the time of Nāsir al-Dawla, no allowance was granted to him by the *amir* out of the public funds which, in former times, had been administered by himself. The total was smaller than before though still worthy of his station — two or three hundred thousand *dirhams* under the early Buwayhids — to which must be added the numerous gifts made to him by the entire Muslim world and by the foreign ambassadors, as well as what he received from the Buwayhids themselves at festivals and investitures. Against these however, must be set the forced contributions extorted by the Buwayhids in times of crisis. As to his religio-legal powers, they consisted in the nomination and control of the personnel of the mosques and the holders of the office of *kāfi* for the Sunnis, in particular in Baghdad where the Caliph, al-Kādir compensated for his powerlessness to oppose the Buwayhid government by a drive to enforce the letter of Sunni orthodoxy, especially among the Mu'tazilis and the Isma'ilis.

The transfer of government from the Caliphate to the *amirate* did not *ipso facto* alter the character of the government. In practice, the Buwayhid régime established the absolute supremacy of the *amir* in the government. However, since the general functions of public administration still had to be carried out, this supremacy meant also that, in a sense, the military authority now extended its competence to fields which previously had been outside its province. The innovation which probably had the most serious consequences was the transference of the *dhawā* régime. For a long time, faithful supporters and, increasingly, the military chiefs, had been rewarded by the Caliphate with the grant in quasi-ownership of lands appropriated from the state domain. In fact, for the last hundred years or so, this source having been inadequate, high-ranking officers were sometimes granted the right to the taxes of a full district, with no further obligation than to pay the standard Muslim tithe to the public Treasury. The Buwayhid régime, following in the footsteps of the Hamdanids, extended and ruthlessly intensified this practice. Many districts were systematically distributed as *dhawā* of this new type, now without even title obligations to

the Treasury. Miskawayh, or, before him, Thābit b. Sinān, have described perfectly some of the consequences of this system. From the point of view of the central administration it meant the loss of control of fiscal transactions in part of the country and, in the long run, even of factual knowledge of the nature and extent of the tax levied. In so far as the fiscal value of each district remained roughly calculable, it tended no longer to be within the province of the *diwān* of Taxes, but that of the Army. The *diwān* of Taxes, deprived of part of its functions, correspondingly reduced its staff and the number of its departments. Nevertheless, the Buwayhid *dhawā* was not a tie, but an assignment of salary; the beneficiary would exchange it, at his own or the government's wish, if the revenue of the district were no longer equal to the balance due to him, or for any other expedient cause. He had no permanent ties with the district and therefore no interest in its development. At best, the means thus placed at his disposal enabled him to build up more stable properties. Nevertheless, they were not yet either *dhawā*-holders of the provincial governments — these functions, when they exercised them, were paid in the normal way — nor bound to maintain their troops out of their *dhawā*. Each soldier received his pay direct from the Treasury in whatever form it might be given to him. One should not exaggerate: a variable proportion of the pay was still paid in kind, a part of the land was still administered in the traditional manner by the traditional authority, of which some fiscal handbooks for this period have been preserved for us.

With these reservations, socially and economically, a new and more powerful aristocracy, that of the military leaders, was gaining ascendancy over the middle-class and slowly declining aristocracy of the great merchants, civilian landlords and high-ranking officials who had been at the height of their power in the 'Abbasid era. But, under the great Buwayhids, the princes exercised a *dean-cut* authority over these leaders and made it their business to see that the new aristocracy respected their strict control in such matters as the police, public order (*banda*) and even taxation. There was, of course, no question of relaxing the tax on all subjects which was the basis of the upkeep of the army, whether this applied to pay or *dhawā*; and, for the taxpayer, a change of tax-collector and beneficiary did not mean any corresponding change in the fiscal system. The great Buwayhid *waqfs*, after the period of conquest during which their masters behaved as common thieves and looters, applied themselves to establishing a sound administration, which was made possible by the restoration of public order; side by side with new taxes, we hear of the remission of others, and the currency of the early Buwayhids was sound. Nevertheless, it may also be observed that the successors of 'Adud al-Dawla provoked riots in Baghdad by their attempts to tax the cloth manufacturers who were responsible for the livelihood of thousands of artisans in the capital. State revenue, under the great Buwayhids, slightly exceeded that of the Caliphate over an equivalent area. In agriculture, disturbances dating back to before the Buwayhid conquest had resulted in damage to the irrigation works. Repairing the damage and building new canals, etc., were among the burdens which fell upon the Buwayhid administration. The roads and bridges used for commercial traffic were also restored, and the capitals, Baghdad, Shirāz and Isfahān benefited from the presence of the princes,



who built themselves sumptuous palaces. In east Baghdad the whole group of these buildings formed the *Ḍār al-Manāshih*, as opposed to the *Ḍār al-Khāḍiḥ*, and the buildings erected at the gates of *Shīrāz* by 'Aḍud al-Dawla at Kard Fānāshūrāw enchanted al-Muqaddasī. The close union of 'Irāk and Fārs resulted in some attempts to introduce 'Irākī customs into Fārs, although no administrative unification was ever achieved. This union, from which local industries may have derived some profit, is in contrast with the periods which preceded and followed it, when the ties between 'Irāk and Iran were directed, across the central plateau, towards Khurāsān.

Culturally, the early Buwayhids were rough fellows without education, but their successors were moulded by the cultured indigenous aristocracy of Iran. In contrast with the remote Iran of the Sāmānids, the Buwayhid sphere of influence in Iran—not to mention, *a fortiori*, in 'Irāk—had the appearance of a strongly arabised area. We have already observed that the early Buwayhids, with Ibn al-'Amlid and Ibn 'Abbād as their wazirs, thus commanded the services of two of the most illustrious Arabic scholars of their day. Furthermore, a galaxy of Arabic poets were present at their court. It was under the Buwayhids that Abū 'I-Faragī al-Ishfahānī's "Book of Songs" and al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, two treasures of Arabic literature, were compiled. If Abū Ishāq al-Sābī had grounds for complaint against 'Aḍud al-Dawla, his grandson, the historian Ḥidā al-Sābī lived comfortably in the Baghdad of the later Buwayhids, who also protected the philosopher-historian al-Miskīnī. Generally speaking, sagas were well-received by the Buwayhids, especially those whose special knowledge could be put to practical use. Such—leaving aside the religious sciences—were the geographer, Istakhfī, the mathematician, Abū 'I-Wafā' al-Būghdī, al-Nasawī, who disseminated the "Indian numerals", the astrologers, for whom Sharaf al-Dawla built an observatory in Baghdad, the physicians (such as al-Maḥḥāḥ), who had cause for self-congratulation especially on the foundation by 'Aḍud al-Dawla of a remarkable hospital in the ancient palace of Khuld at Baghdad, and another at *Shīrāz* (see *al-Maknāsāt*). The libraries of *Shīrāz*, Kayy, Ishfahān, organised by successive Buwayhids, excited universal admiration. It is common knowledge that Avicenna found sanctuary and high preferment (as a wazīr?) under Shams al-Dawla. The great patron-wazīr were scarcely less munificent as long as they did not see in their protégés possible rivals for glory (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī as against Ibn 'Abbād), Ibn al-Bawwāb, a high Buwayhid dignitary, was one of the inventors of *naḥḥī* calligraphy.

But, while the Buwayhids and their ministers patronised literature and science of a traditionally Arabic character, they also showed a genuine interest in neo-Persian literature. If the first Daylamite generation were not sufficiently polished to have any such pretensions, those who followed were in the widest sense more fully Iranian than Daylamite. It was not for nothing that, as Mardāwīdh had dreamed, they revived the title of *Shāhshāh* and caused to be drawn up for themselves a Sāsānid genealogy which, however, was universally recognised by their contemporaries as being historically unsound. Though their rôle in literature cannot be compared with that of the Sāmānids, they nevertheless had their Persian poets, and Firdaws found a welcome at the court of Bāhā' al-Dawla. The indubitable

decline of Zoroastrianism, still flourishing in the Fārs province at the dawn of the Buwayhid régime, is probably in part linked with the fact that henceforth it was possible to form a separate block within Islam itself, under a "national" dynasty.

The place of the Buwayhid era in the history of Persian art would perhaps seem equally great if more thoroughly reliable testimony were available. Their buildings have already been mentioned in another connection in which their places of worship perhaps count for less than their palaces, fortresses, hospitals, etc. Recent finds of textiles have now made it possible to study in actual examples this apparently traditional branch of Iranian craftsmanship. A good recent study on the art of the Buwayhid period is that of E. Kühnel (see *Bibliothèque*), to which the reader is referred.

More generally, it is certain that, among the Buwayhids as elsewhere, the establishment of regional principalities, by setting up many new courts and cultural centres outside what until then was the more or less unique cultural centre of Baghdad, enriched and disseminated the life of the spirit, and by bringing it into contact with the varying requirements of different peoples, conferred upon it a new vitality.

The foreign policy of the Buwayhids seemed scarcely to have been affected by doctrinal considerations. In Iran, their great opponents in the 4th/10th century, were the Sāmānids with their Ziyārid (descendants of Mardāwīdh) and Šāffīrid (of Sāḥān) vasaals. Very naturally, they supported the Khurāsānid rebels, especially the Sāmānids, against the Sāmānids. They took advantage of the ascendancy of the Ghaznawids at the beginning of the century and of the final ruin of the Sāmānids at the end. In the north-west, their policy was to establish or maintain a vague protectorate over the small Daylamite dynasties, so as to have them on their side in the fight against the Ziyārids on the one hand and the Kurds on the other. The struggle against the Kurds falls partly under the heading of "foreign policy", on the *Āḥbariyyān* side, and partly of internal security—in other words mere public order—on the *Dībāl* side (the Hasanawid Kurd). The same is true of the hostilities, carried out for the most part in the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, against the Kūh and the *Ḥāḥ* of Kirmān and Makāsh. Finally, the occupation of the 'Uman, or more precisely of the vital strategic coastal area of the region, at times by the Buwayhids of Fārs, at others by those of 'Irāk, was clearly related to considerations of economic security. In Mesopotamia, following the liquidation of the Barīdīs of Basra, the main efforts of the two first generations of Buwayhids were aimed at the neutralisation and then the liquidation of the Hamadnids who, though *Shī'īs* like themselves, were Arabs, and had been by only recently their rivals in Baghdad. Naturally, a small semi-permanent war was essential for the maintenance of order on the borders of Arabia, and, in 'Irāk itself, in the Baḥḥā as also in the Persian Gulf against the Carnathians of Bahrayn.

The appearance of the Fāṭimids in 968 in Egypt, then in Syria, confronted the Buwayhids of the second generation, and their descendants with a problem unknown to the first. The claim of the new dynasty to be 'Alid could not fail to excite interest among all *Shī'īs*. Nor could this dynasty, with its "imperialist" ambitions, fail to try and further its own expansion by claims of this kind. It would, however, have been necessary for all *Shī'īs* to accept

the heterodox doctrines of the Imā'īs which were the official doctrines of the Fāṭimid State, and, further, it was difficult to avoid clashes between two powers bent on dominating the territories between Egypt and 'Irāk. The Buwayhids occasionally joined forces with the Carnathians, when they quarrelled with the Fāṭimids, and also, of course, with the Arab tribes fighting the Fāṭimids on one front and the Hamadnids or their heirs fighting them on another. It is difficult to assess just how far the anti-Fāṭimid manifesto of the Caliph al-Kādirī (455/1051) was an exact reflection of Buwayhid policy or whether it was also instigated by the desire to counteract Imā'ī infiltration. At any rate, there is nothing to support a view that it was done against the wishes of the Buwayhids, and it is remarkable that it was signed jointly by the Sunnī and Twelver sages. It was not until the end of the dynasty that a Buwayhid, Abū Kāldjār, lent a complacent ear to the explanations of al-Mu'ayyad al-Šīrīnī, the Imā'ī missionary, though, officially at least, nothing came of it (*Sīra* of al-Šīrīnī; al-Balḥī, 118; Abū Shudjā, 232). And the fact that after the fall of the dynasty in Baghdad their Turkish general, al-Basāḥīrī (q.v.), thoroughly abhorred, against the Salḡūkhid conqueror, to the Fāṭimid Caliphate, which alone was capable of coming to his aid, cannot be regarded as characteristic of Buwayhid policy in general.

However stable the Buwayhid dynasty may have appeared from the outset, however brilliant some of its achievements, it was not without its weaknesses. Some of these were common to other régimes, others were peculiar to itself, others again came not from within but from without. In this last category was the maritime trading crisis which had an appreciable effect upon the end of the Buwayhid era. It is certain that towards the year 1000 A.D. trade with the West from the Indian Ocean ceased to flow mainly through the Persian Gulf, being diverted to the Red Sea (see B. Lewis, *The Fatimids and the Route to India*, in *Revue de la Fac. de Sc. Econ. d'Istanbul*, 1951). The persistent troubles of Lower 'Irāk and the presence in Bahrayn of the Carnathians, whom the Buwayhids were never able to control, must certainly have had something to do with this, as had also the complete segregation of Syria and Mesopotamia brought about by the Fāṭimid and Buyyid conquests. Probably an even more significant influence, however, was the economic imperialism of the Fāṭimids and the favourable conditions which attracted the attention of the merchant ships of Italy. When a natural catastrophe (in about the year 1000) ruined *Shīrāz*, which up to that time had been the great Persian port of the Gulf, the town was not rebuilt, and the mastery of the Gulf belonged henceforth to the Lord of the Island of Kish, who seems to have been more or less a Corsair chieftain. Although we cannot accurately assess the consequences of these facts, it is scarcely likely that they were not serious both for the merchant classes of society, who were doubtless henceforth less well able to resist the growing power of the military aristocracy, and for the internal economy of the Buwayhid régime and consequently its general stability. Even before the year 1000, the Buwayhids were unable to avoid the devaluation of their silver coinage, and doubtless it was for this reason that in the 10th century, gold was used more and more, though one wonders how it came there. The Buwayhids were increasingly

forced, in order to raise taxes, to have recourse to tax-farming, selling offices, etc.

A more domestic and congenial weakness in the Buwayhid régime as to most of the near-eastern régimes of this period, lay in that very army which had brought about the ruin of the Caliphate. The Buwayhid army, in spite of the pay being supplemented by *thā'f*, was no more easily satisfied than its forerunner, the army of the Caliph. Like its predecessor, it knew itself to be the cornerstone of the system, and took advantage of its position. It was not, however, united. The original Daylamite nucleus was not adequate for long and, even before the conquest of Baghdad, the Buwayhids, like Mardāwīdh, had added to it the corps of Turkish slaves indispensable to every Muslim army in the East. These, on the one hand, could be used against the Daylamites in the event of a breach of discipline (and vice versa), and on the other hand, and even more important, they were mainly horsemen, while the Daylamites, who came from the mountains and forests, were infantrymen. Occasionally, Kurds, Kufs, etc., were also recruited. To the rivalry between this diversity of ethnic groups, must be added the fact that, at the beginning at least, the Turks taken over by the Buwayhids from the Caliphate were Sunnīs. Finally, for reasons which are still unexplained, the recruitment of Daylamite troops dried up progressively. The last descendants of the princes who owed their power to them were surrounded almost entirely by Turkish soldiers.

The third cause of weakness, rather more peculiar to the Buwayhid dynasty, was the splitting-up of power. From the beginning, it has been noted, there was not one but three Buwayhid principalities. The circumstances of the conquest may have had something to do with this, but another factor must surely have been a patrimonial or familial conception of power. When strength and chance combined to permit 'Aḍud al-Dawla to establish an almost complete unity to his own advantage, he did no more than his predecessors to perpetuate this unity, which was disrupted at his death. This splitting-up of power, which distinguishes the Buwayhid dynasty from all the other Muslim dynasties before the Karakhanid and Salḡūkhid Turkish conquests, inevitably brought about internal strife, once the three founder-sons were dead. It goes without saying that the army and all the trouble-makers benefited, so much so that this flaw in the dynastic organisation in its turn aggravated the vices born of the military régime and the other internal weaknesses of the system. The disturbances among the urban population, a harsh warning to the early Buwayhids, started up again; a revolt of Istakhfī caused the destruction of the old metropolis, and Baghdad was at times in the power of the *Ḥayyirān* (q.v.). If the late *imānīs* of the *fatimān* are to be believed, Abū Kāldjār was one of them. The policy of religious equilibrium followed by the Buwayhids in practice did no more than foster in this same town and elsewhere the struggle between *Shī'īs* and Sunnīs, and the Banḥālī extremists went so far as to burn the maḥḥāḥ of Husayn and the tombs of the Buwayhids. The later Buwayhids, especially in 'Irāk, were virtually powerless to command obedience from anyone.

This powerlessness to some extent beset the Caliphate. The Caliph, who sometimes arbitrated in dynastic disputes, required some measure of influence, at least in the affairs of 'Irāk. Finally the Caliph al-Kāḍirī was able to have once more in his service after the lapse of a century a war in the



person of the intransigent Sunni Ibn al-Musallim. Hope of a partial recovery of the Caliphate as an institution now became something more than a utopian dream, witness the treatise *al-Abhān al-Sulḥiyya* of the great kādī al-Mawārdī, closely associated with the policies of the Caliph. It was even possible, in Sunni circles, to look forward to the removal of the heretical protector. True, the weakness of the Buwayhids was not sufficient to restore to the Caliphate the material power needed for the reconstitution of an autonomous government; but it was possible to hope at least that an orthodox and more respectful guardian might be found.

There was no lack of candidates to succeed the Buwayhids, some having only local ambitions, others aspiring to the unification of the Muslim East to their own advantage. Barely twenty years after the fall of the Hamdānids, faced by the Marwāzī Kurds of Diyār Bakr, it became necessary to recognise the power of the 'Ukaylid Arabs in Dīqlāra. Twenty years after the fall of the Hasāwayhid Kurds of Dībāl, the ascendancy of the 'Amāzīd Kurds had to be recognised in the same region; not to mention the various Isma'ili tribes who held the 'Irāk al-Ahī or 'Irāk-Sayrān borderlands and the frontiers of the almost independent principality of the marshes of the Baḥlā at the gates of Baghdad.

In Iran, a family related to the Buwayhids and for this reason called Kākwayhids or Kākūyids (from Kākūyeh; in Daylamite: maternal uncle), had taken over first Isfahān and then Hamadān. But the gravest danger came from the east. Here, the Ghaznawids had become a power to be reckoned with, and Mahmūd of Ghazna now openly aspired to liberate the Caliphate. Meanwhile, he took advantage of the quarrels and imprudences of the Buwayhids to send his son Ma'wūd to occupy Ray. His forces massacred the Shī'īs and burnt the treasures of their library as well as those of the Mu'tasils (420/1027). The death of Mahmūd, followed by the defeat of Ma'wūd by the Saljuqids, gave a brief respite to the rest of the Buwayhids. But the triumph of the Saljuqids enabled them to take up on their own account and with greater efficiency the plans for a sound empire. They had supporters in the *entourage* of the Caliphate. Buwayhid acceptance of Saljuqid suzerainty was of no avail. In 1053, Tughril-Beg entered Baghdad without striking a blow, and imprisoned al-Malik al-Rāḥim Fāris, in spite of fortifications set up at Shīrāz, also fell, being attacked from the north and from Kirmān. The Buwayhid dynasty was at an end.

**Bibliography:** Sources: We are fortunate in possessing three collections of correspondence and official documents: that of Abū Ishāk al-Sābi, secretary to the Caliphs al-Mu'ti and al-Tāi; important for the study of diplomatic history; some extracts edited by Shakhī Arslān, 1898, the greater part unpublished; that of the waḥī Ṣābi Ibn 'Abdūl al-Dawla only have been preserved, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azām and Shawkī Dayf, Cairo 1947, of considerable interest for the study of home administration; finally that of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Yūsuf, a high official under 'Adud al-Dawla (summary by Cl. Cahen in *Studi Orientalistici in onore . . . G. Levi della Vida*), all three from the third quarter of the 11th century. See also Kalkaghānī, *Sabk*, xiii, 129 & 139.

Nevertheless, the principal sources are the chronicles. The fundamental chronicle is that of

Ḍābiḥ b. Sīnā, continued by Hāḍ al-Sābi until 447 A.H. All that has been preserved pertaining to the Buwayhid period is an extract relating to the period from the end of 396 to the beginning of 393, but whose general substance seems to have been carried over into the later chronicles who made use of it, first the *Tadhīr al-Umm* of Miskawayh and his successor Abū Shujā' al-Rudhawarī, the single manuscript of which links up with the fragment of Hāḍ al-Sābi (the scholar ed. trans. Margolin), *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, 7 vols, 1920-21, but also, completing and often correcting the *Tadhīr*, the *Tahmila* of Mub. b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadānī (preserved only up to 397) [ed. Kan'an in *Machriq*, 1935-58], the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Aḥfār, the *Mu'īd al-Zamān* of Sibt Ibn al-Jawālī (unpublished for this period, more complete than the *Mudawwan* of his ancestor Ibn al-Jawālī from which it also derives); these last three sources only cover the years after 393 A.H. An apology for the early Buwayhids in the form of a chronicle was composed (in order to obtain his release from prison) by Abū Ishāk al-Sābi, under the title of *al-Kutub al-Tadhīr* (for 'Adud al-Dawla, Taḍīl al-Milla), the beginning of which, recently rediscovered in the Vatican, is in the possession of Dr. Minovi (it was not accessible to me); the work seems to have been known by later historiographers. Among the remaining mass of Arabic historiographical literature, the following deserve special mention: Ma'wūd, *Murādī*, 13, 1-14 (origins); Yahyā of Antioch; Ibn Zābir, *al-Fawa'id al-Musallāh* (relations with the Fatimids); unpublished but used by Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Califen*; Ibn Khallikān (lives of Mu'izz, Rukn and 'Imād al-Dawla); Ibn Tiktākā' (late, but Shī'ī traditions); al-'Uṭbī (relations with the Ghaznawids); and the unduly neglected *Nestorian History* of Marī b. Sulaymān, ed. Gieseler, Rome 1903.

Persian historiography comes into the picture with the anonymous *Madjāl al-Tawārīkh* [ed. Bahmanyār, 1940], linked as regards Buwayhid history to al-Hamadānī, and with the chronicles of the border states, the Ghaznawids (Gardīzī, *Paygah*), Zivārī and other southern Caspian dynasties (Ibn Isfandiār). Moreover, several important local histories have come down to us in Persian, as examples of these: the *Ta'wīḥ* of Kāwīm of Ḥasān b. Mub. Kummī, ed. Dīdād al-Dīn Thīrānī, 1934, and the anonymous *Ta'wīḥ-i Sīdān*, ed. Bahār, 1937.

In parallel literature, some information is to be found in al-Tanūkhī's *Niḥayāt* (41, 151, 157, 166) and also in the Damascus 1930 volume, 1501, and in the autobiography, *Sīra*, by the Fatimid missionary al-Ma'wūd al-Shīrāzī, ed. Kamāl Husayn, Cairo 1946 (relating to propaganda in the time of Abū Kāldjār). The *Divans* and anthologies of such poets as al-Tha'libī (Yūsuf), al-Balḥārī (Dumay), al-Tawhīdī (especially K. al-Indā) are also useful; there is also some original information in the *Iḥṣāl* of Yāqūt, ii, 273 f., iii, 180 f., v, 147 f., vi, 220 f., etc.

To the great general classical geography, *Itāḥṭāḥ*, Ibn Hawkal and al-Muqaddasī—all three contemporaries of the Buwayhids (the first mentioned were his subject)—may be added Nisrī Khuraw's *Safar-nāma* and some information contained in Yāqūt's *K. al-Bulān* (especially iii, 149, art. Samirān), and in Ibn Balḥār's *Fisṣalāna* [ed. Nicholson; historical passage, 117-119].

Among juridico-institutional works, al-Mawārdī, *al-Abhān al-Sulḥiyya*, in which see *supra*, and, recently discovered at al-Azhar, the *Rasām Dār al-Khādja* by Hāḍ al-Sābi or his son Mub., on the etiquette of the Caliphate and the rules of the chancellery up to the Buwayhid period (which was made accessible to me by the courtesy of Prof. Duri, Baghdad). The financial history of the era can be studied through the treatises on fiscal mathematics by Abū 'I-Wāḥ al-Baḥḍān (unpublished) and the anonymous *K. al-Hāwā* (analysed by Cl. Cahen in *AIEO*, Algiers 1952). See also Nizām al-Mulk's *Siyāsāt-nāma* (ed. Scheler), especially 183. For religious history, see the theological works cited above, especially those of Ibn Bāhawayh.

Epigraphical material is to be found in *RCEA* (v, 1831-32, 1877, 1916-17, 1079, 2177, vii, 2577), to be supplemented by G. Wiet, *Soieries Persanes* (cited below). For numismatic material, incompletely published, see, in addition to the *Catalogue of the British Museum* by Lane Poole, G. C. Miles, *A Numismatic History of Rayy*, 1938.

Modern Studies. No detailed comprehensive study of the Buwayhids exists, apart from the summary of V. Minorsky, *La domination des Daylamites*, Paris 1912, readers should consult those sections of R. Spuler's *Iran in früh-Islamischer Zeit*, 1952, and of A. Mez's *Die Renaissance des Islams*, devoted to the Buwayhids. More specialised aspects are dealt with in Mohsen Azādi, *La domination arabe et l'épanouissement du Califat musulman*, 1948, 1949; *Survey of Persian Art*, Vols. ii & iii, G. Wiet, *Soieries Persanes*, 1948, 99-178 (much more general than the title suggests); A. Duri, *Ta'wīḥ al-'Irāk al-Ḥisānī* b. 'I-Karn al-Rāḥī al-Hidri, Baghdad 1948; C. Elgood, *A Medical History of Persia*, 1951; Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion*, 1813; R. Struthmann, *Die Zawiya-Schāfi'i*, 1925 (summarised in *ET*, art. 201A); H. Lauth's introduction to *La Profession de Foi d'Ibn Bāḥa*, 1958; Cl. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'Iḥṣāl*, in *Annales ESC*, 1953; and E. Tyan, *Institutions de droit public musulman*, ii, 1957, Chap. 1 (but cf. *Arabica*, 1958, 70 ff.).

From his unpublished London University thesis entitled *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad from the accession of 'Izz al-dawla to the end*, Maḥ. Kāldjār has abstracted several articles, in particular *Cultural Development under the Buwayhids of Baghdad*, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, 3, 1956.

Special studies to be noted are H. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, in *JRAS*, 1929; N. Abbott, *Two Buwayd coins* (with detailed historical commentary), in *AJS*, lvi, 1931; Cl. Cahen, *Notes pour l'histoire de la hémaya*, in *Mémoires Muséum*, 1; Anedon, *Three years of Buwayhid rule*, in *JRAS*, 1901; idem, *Der Vezier Ibn al-'Amīd*, in *Der Islam*, 10; M. H. Al-Yasīn, al-Sāḥib Ibn 'Abdūl, Baghdad 1376/1957 (solely from the cultural point of view); E. Kühnel, *Die Kunst Persiens unter den Buwayiden*, in *ZDMG*, 1956; Kurkū 'Awadī, al-Dār al-Ma'wūdī b. Baghdad, in *Sumer*, 2, 1950-2. On foreign relations, Mub. Nizām, *The life and times of Mahmūd of Ghazna*, 1931; M. Canard, *Les Hamdanides*, 1, 1951; A. Kasezāwī, *Shahriyār-i gumdim*, Tehran 1335/1928 (on *Shahriyār* in the 4th/10th-5th/11th centuries).

(CL. CAHEN)

**BUXAR**, a town on the south bank of the Ganges in the Shāhābād district of the Patna division of the Indian State of Bihār. Population: 18,087, (1951 Census). It seems to have been a place of great sanctity in ancient times and was originally called Vedagarbha 'the womb of the Vedas'. Local tradition derives the name of the town from a tank originally called *aktar*, or *effacer of sins*, which was later changed to Baghar, the tiger tank. It was at Buxar, on 23 October 1764, that the forces of Mir Kāsim, ex-nawāb of Bengal, and Shujā' al-Dawla, nawāb-wazīr of Awadh, were defeated by Major Hector Munro. This victory completed the work of Plassey. Henceforward the English were the unchallenged rulers of Bengal. It also placed Awadh at the disposal of the English Company.

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**BÜYÜDS** (see BUWAYHIDS).

**BUYURULDU'** (بُيُورُلْدُو), also BUYURULTU, BEYURUTU, etc., order of an Ottoman grand vizier, vizier, *beglerbeg*, *daherdar*, or other high official to a subordinate. The term is derived from the word *buyurıldı*, 'it has been ordered', in which the order usually ends and which gradually developed into a conventional sign. *Buyurultus* are of two main types: a) decisions written in the margin (*der henüz*) of an incoming petition or report, often ordering that a *termin* (or *berat*, etc.) be issued to a certain effect (cf. *Kânu-n-nizâm*, II: 'Uḡmān, *TOEM*, Suppl. 1310, 16); b) orders issued independently (*ter'sen, heyâz âzîre*). The form of many of the latter was modelled on the Sultans' *terims* [q.v.]. Many *Buyurultus* had a seal and/or a *tağrı*-like substitute of a signature, the so-called *pençe* [q.v.], affixed. Sometimes the word *saḥb*, 'it is correct', was added for authentication. *Buyurultus* deal with various administrative matters, especially appointments, grants of fiefs, economic regulations, safe passage, etc. Originals are preserved in many archives in Turkey and elsewhere. The *Dişmehmet Arşivi* [q.v.] at Istanbul also possesses numerous volumes of *Buyurultu* copies. Other texts are found in *inşid* works (e.g. library of Turk Tarīh Kurumu, Ankara, MS no. 70; Bibl. Nat., Paris, suppl. turc. MS no. 90) and in the records (*siğird*) of *Sherrī'a* courts.

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(U. HEYD)

**BUZĀ'Ā** (or BUZĀ'Ā), a locality in northern Syria about forty kilometres east of Aleppo in the rich valley of the Nahr al-Dīḥab or Wādī Butnān [q.v.], which has lost its former prosperity in favour of its western suburb Bāb al-Buzā'ā, today the small town of al-Bāb. The freshness of its gardens and its commercial activity attracted the attention of Ibn Dīḥayr who stopped there in 580/1184, on the caravan route from Manbij to Aleppo. Half town and half village according to that writer, and dominated by a citadel from which its strength was derived, it managed to withstand after the establish-



ment of the Crusaders in Syria numerous attacks resulting either in the plunder of its territory, or even, in 532/1138, its seizure by the Franks, followed in the same year by Zuhār's reconquest. An inscription there mentions in 567/1171 the name of Ismā'īl, the son of Nūr al-Dīn, before the town fell in 571/1175 to Salāh al-Dīn, and passed after that into the hands of the Mongols in 657/1258. It is also known that in 578/1183 there was a massacre of the Ismā'īlīs there who seem to have dominated the country forcibly, and that in the vicinity the *mughād* of 'Aḳbī b. Abī Tālib was venerated.

It was during the period of the Mamlūks that the village of al-Bāb, whose name was not separated from that of Buzā'ā in the medieval texts, appears to have clearly taken the lead. The importance of this place, which was the principal town of the 24th district of the province of Aleppo, and which Yāqūt formerly described as an exportation point of cotton stuffs, is attested by the construction at that time of its great mosque (connected with the erection of the minarets of Buzā'ā and Tādhīf, dated by inscriptions of 756/1355 and 755/1354), and by the number of administrative measures which were engraved on the gates of this building between 775/1374 and 858/1454.

Several epigraphical fragments are preserved as well in the neighbouring village of Tādhīf.

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**BUZ-ABEH**, governor of Fārs under the Sāldūks. Buz-Abeh was one of the *amirs* of Mengu-ḡān, the governor of Fārs, for whom he administered the province of Khūzestān. He was also in the army of his superior when the latter, accompanied by other *amirs*, moved against the Sāldūk sultan, Mas'ūd and was made prisoner at the battle of Kurshānha (other sources call the scene of the encounter Panjī Anguhtī), later being put to death, in 532/1137-38. Since, after their victory, the sultan's troops began to plunder the enemy camp, Buz-Abeh's ataraid and dispersed them. Several prominent *amirs* of the sultan's retinue were captured, and the sultan himself escaped only with great difficulty, in the company of the *atabeg* Kara Sankor. Enraged at the death of his superior, Buz-Abeh had all of the prisoners executed, among whom was the son of Kara Sankor. In order to avenge his son, the *atabeg* undertook in the following year an expedition against Fārs, where he installed the Sāldūk prince Sāldūkhāh. But scarcely had Kara Sankor retired with his troops when Buz-Abeh, who had in the interim withdrawn to the fortress of Saffidz (Safat al-bayda'), reappeared and conquered the defenceless Sāldūkhāh (534/1139-40). Sultān Mas'ūd was forced then to abandon to him the province of Fārs. Buz-Abeh found an opportunity to confirm his

situation by allying himself with two other *amirs*, 'Abbas, ruler of Rayy, and 'Abd al-Rahmān Tuganyarak. The sultan tolerated for some time the tutelage of these men, but succeeded in freeing himself by having assassinated the two latter *amirs*. Buz-Abeh marched against the sultan, but was captured and killed at the battle of Marj Karastāh, a day's march from Hamādhān, in 541/1147. Buz-Abeh appears to have left a good administrative record at Shīrāz. Conforming with the tendency of all of the generals engaged in the Sāldūk tradition, he had erected a *madrasa*, richly endowed and at first Hanafī, though it became later Shāfi'.

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**AL-BUZĀDĀNĪ** [see ABU 'I-WARĀḲ].

**BUZĀKHA**, a well in Naḡd in the territory of Asad or their neighbours Tayyī? (cf. *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, 361, n. 3). The forces of the Hanū Asad, who, led by the false prophet Tūlayha, had relapsed from Islam on Muhammad's death, were defeated at Buzkha in 11/632 by 'Abū Bakr's general Khālid b. al-Walīd. Khālid's army was reinforced for the battle by 700 men of Tayyī?, detached from Tūlayha's side; Tūlayha had the help of 'Uyayna b. Hān and 700 men from Fazāra of Ghatafan, old allies of Asad's. After fierce fighting, 'Uyayna saw that Tūlayha's alleged prophetic powers were in practice proving useless against the Muslims, and fled the field. Tūlayha had to flee to Syria; Asad submitted to Khālid; and neighbouring tribes like 'Amir, who had been awaiting the outcome, now rallied to Islam.

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**BUZUR G. SHAHRYĀR**, a Persian ship's captain (*nāḡhān*) of Rām-Hormuz of the first half of the 4th/10th century and author of the *Kāsh al-Aghār al-Hind* (Marvels of India). This is a collection in Arabic of 134 stories and anecdotes gathered by the author from ship's captains, pilots, traders and other seafaring men who used to sail the Indian Ocean and liked to spin a yarn about their adventures in East Africa, the Indian Archipelago and China. Incidentally they also give some information about these countries and the customs of their inhabitants. Sometimes the year of the event referred to is given, the latest being 342/953. The language of the book shows some Middle-Arabic traits (see *Faravayra*, above, 570b).

**Bibliography:** The Arabic text, extant only in the Istanbul MS. Aya Sofya 3306, was edited by P. A. van der Lijth together with a French translation by M. Devic, Leiden 1885-6. A new translation in French by J. Sauvaget is given in his *Mémoires*, I, Damascus 1954, 188-300; Russian translation by R. I. Erlich, Moscow 1959. See also Brockelmann S I, 409. (J. W. FRICK)

**BUZURGMİHR**, Iranian personal name (arabised form Buzurgmīhr) which according to a tradition transmitted by Iranian and Arab writers, was given to a man endowed with every ability and virtue who was the minister of Khuraw I. Anāghis-

rawān (6th century A.D.). The earliest authorities who were acquainted with the Pahlavī *Šāh-nāma* (*Book of Sovereigns*), written towards the end of the Sāsānid period (7th century), the source of the oldest accounts of pre-Islamic Iranian history penned by Arab writers (al-Tabarī, Ibn Kutayba), have no reference to Buzurgmīhr. It is only in later works that he becomes the hero of anecdotes deriving from popular tradition. In Buzā'ā's "History of the Persian Kings", a section of the *Ġharar al-Siyar* — vide ET, iv, 770 col. a, and, more freely than one would expect, in Firdawsī's "Book of Kings", the *Shāh-nāma*, and sometimes the originator of numerous wise precepts, survivals from the collections (*andars*) of the Sāsānid period, preserved in some minor post-Sāsānid Pahlavī works (notably the *Pandnāmag* — *Favargūnīr* — *Dāghastān*, "the Book of precepts of Buzurgmīhr son of Dāghastān"). These precepts were translated into Arabic and Persian by several authors: al-Mas'ūdī, Firdawsī (in whose poem Buzurgmīhr presents the king with a book of wisdom, the fruit of their conversations, which is really derived from the *Pandnāmag*), Nizām al-Mulk, and others. There are three anecdotes concerning Buzurgmīhr which are significant because of their elements of popular origin: I—the King of Persia dreams that, as he is drinking, a pig puts his snout in the cup. No one can interpret this until the young Buzurgmīhr informs the king that one of his wives is bestowing her favours on another and that, in order to be certain, the women must be summoned to appear asked; among them is discovered a youth disguised as a woman (in addition to the popular theme of the oneromancy practised by an adolescent, one recalls a similar review of women in a tale from ancient Egypt). II—Buzurgmīhr discovers the secret of the game of chess, sent as a challenge by the King of India to the King of Persia; he then invents the game of tri-trac, the secret of which the latter and his counsellors do not succeed in discovering (the source of this is a small Pahlavī work of a popular type, the "Story of the Game of Chess", *Mādhaghān-e Gāstān*). III—Buzurgmīhr, in disgrace and in prison, is recalled when the Byzantine Emperor refuses to pay tribute to the Persian sovereign unless he guesses the contents of a sealed coffer which he has sent him; the king summons Buzurgmīhr, who reads the enigma and is reinstated in royal favour (to the preceding theme is joined that of the sage liberated and recompensed for his wisdom: Nöldeke recognised the similarity of this episode with another in the history of the sage Ahikar). These anecdotes put Buzurgmīhr in direct contact with popular tradition, but he is a historical or a legendary figure? A. Christensen, in a noteworthy article, has rightly noted that, apart from the references to Buzurgmīhr, there are others relating to the sentence of death passed by Hormizd, the son and successor of Anāgharawān, on three of the latter's counsellors, one of whom bore the name of Buzurgmīhr (in *Shā'ālīb*), Buzurgmīhr, then Sīnāwī Buzurgmīhr—a hypocritical Buzurgmīhr (in Firdawsī). In the name of Buzurgmīhr, the famous physician, the supposed author of the Pahlavī adaptation of the *Order of Asarinas*, The Hague 1935, index.

(M. G. S. HODGSON)

**BUZURGMİHR**, Justī (*Iran Nāmenāsh*, 74) and Christensen see the same root *buzr* ("high") and a hypocoristic ending (as in Buzrūn): as names with the root *buzr*, peculiar to the Sāsānid period, are very rare, Buzurgmīhr ("protected by") the High Mithra") is semantically related to Buzurgmīhr ("protected by") the Great Mithra"); further it is enough to write both words in the Arabic script in order to see how easily they can be confused. Finally, certain passages in the preface to the *Kāsh*, traditionally attributed to Buzurgmīhr and known through the Arabic translation of Ibn al-Mukallaf, give biographical details which the authors also attribute to Buzurgmīhr or divide them between both personalities. To sum up, Iran in the reign of Anāgharawān was influenced by Indian civilisation, thanks to certain intellectuals, of whom Buzurgmīhr was one, and who was made famous by his Pahlavī adaptation of the *Pandāntarā*; the introduction of chess in Iran was attributed to him, a number of precepts and maxims, and later certain characteristics of sagacity and divination which already existed in popular tradition; then a false reading of his name as transcribed in Arabic led to the creation of a double personality.

**Bibliography:** A. Christensen, *La légende du sage Buzurgmīhr*, in *Acta Orientalia*, 1939, III/1, 81-128 (a basic and detailed study, with an analysis of and extracts from the sources); idem, *Iran sous les Sassanides* (particularly 37-8, and index, s.vv. *Buzurgmīhr*, *Buzurg*); on the *Zar*, s.vv. *vide* the text in Ch. Schuler, *Chrest. Persica*, I, 1-7 and Christensen's trans. in *La légende...*, 121; *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie*, II, 346-7. (H. MASSÉ)

**BUZURGMİHR**, KIYA, second *dā'ī* (1124-1138) at Alamūt [s.v.] of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs. He was evidently related by marriage to the ruling families of Māzandarān. From 1095-1108-1124 he was Ismā'īlī governor of Lānuḡsar, a stronghold in the Rūdāra of Alamūt. He with three other chiefs had captured it for Hasan-i Šabbāh when its holders had broken their agreement with the Ismā'īlīs and had planned to call in the Sāldūk *amir*, Nūstāḡin Shīrīz. Using local forced labour, he rebuilt it, equipping it with water and fine gardens. There he successfully resisted the last and gravest attack on the Ismā'īlīs by Muhammad Tapaq's troops under Shīrīz in 517/1117. In 518/1124 Hasan-i Šabbāh on his deathbed appointed him his successor as head *dā'ī* of the sect, with three associates. Under his rule the Ismā'īlī state retained its independence against renewed attacks [see ALAMŪT (II) *The Dynasty*]. Several new strongholds were established, including Maymūdīn in 520/1126. In 525/1131 he defeated and killed a Zaydī *imām*, Abū Hāshim, who had arisen in Daylāmān and had followers as far as Khūzestān. Buzurgmīhr died in 532/1138, leaving the position of *dā'ī* to his son Muhammad. He was buried next to Hasan-i Šabbāh, where his tomb was piously visited. His descendants formed the leading family in Alamūt.

**Bibliography:** Rashīd al-Dīn, *Qutb al-Tawārīkh*, section on Nizārīs; Djuyaynī, ii, 206 ff.; and further in M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1935, index.

(M. G. S. HODGSON)

**BYZANTINES** [see RŪM].

**BZEDUKH** [see GERRES].



